Universiteit Leiden

MASTER THESIS

MULTIMODAL REPRESENTATION OF MIGRANTS AS OTHERS: DECONSTRUCTING THEIR PORTRAYAL AS VICTIMS AND CRIMINALS IN A SAMPLE FROM THE FRENCH AND GREEK PRESS

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Abstract

This thesis is analysing the main linguistic and visual characteristics of refugees and migrants represented in a selected number of printed media from France and Greece in the context of the ongoing refugee crisis in Europe which started in 2015. Based on the postulates of Multimodal Critical Discourse analysis and van Leeuwen's (2008) model of visual and verbal representation of social actors, news items will be deconstructed in order to demonstrate to what extent their discourse on migration is constructed in a negative way around the theme of otherness. Finally similarities and differences between the selected news outlets and the countries will be discussed.

1. Introduction

The aim of my thesis is to investigate the representation of immigrants in selected newspapers during the refugee crisis in Europe which started in 2015 and is still ongoing. In a world where the exceptional (refugee camps) has become the norm, many pertinent questions arise not only on the impact of the refugee camps in Western societies, but also on the impact on the identities of the refugees themselves. More specifically, I will delve into the constructions of refugees' identities in selected newspapers from France and Greece. By using the postulates of "Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis(MCDA) as explained by Machin and Mayr (2012), I will try to expose the strategies used by the media to emphasize the 'otherness' of immigrants.

Europe has been the stage of terrible humanitarian disasters in the past[1]. The recent refugee crisis has taken on considerable proportions, compared to earlier crises, due to a number of factors. Among those, we find the diversity of nationalities and motives behind migration that render this crisis extremely complicated to deal with. In addition, there is the recent political and economic deadlock among European states that has created a fertile ground for the rise of nationalist discourses. The main victims of such hate-speeches are the refugees.

Since the 1951 Refugee Convention, a refugee is defined as "a person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.''(Article 1 of the Refugee Convention) Apart from the legal definition, the identity of a refugee is currently also defined via a series of 'cultural representations' as Said (1979) would argue, which identity the "other" as an outsider who supposedly threatens the cohesion of the insiders (us, the citizens) who constitute a modern nation. Campbell (2007), reflecting on Foucault's analysis on identity, argues that "the individual human is an effect of the

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[1] The Washington Post offers a visual guide of 75 years of refugee crisis until the year 2015 accessible at
https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/world/historical-migrant-crisis/

operations of power" (p. 233). This makes it logical that the refugees' image is a by-product of the most powerful discourse creation force of our time, the media.

Having myself originated from Greece, a country that has seen many refugee crises and has, in the past, experienced the forced migrations of its own population, I believe that analysing the process of construction of a specific migrant identity, frequently in stereotypical even 'orientalist' ways, through media can be a fruitful task. In more detail by deconstructing the main linguistic and visual characteristics of migrants and refugees represented in selected newspapers, this thesis is aiming to examine to what extent the discourse employed by these media is negative and constructed around the theme of otherness.

This thesis is organised in four parts. In section 2, I look at the literature on related topics. Section 3 addresses the theoretical and methodological basis for my research as well as my data. Section 4 concentrates on the case study of the representation of migrants in French and Greek newspapers. The fifth section contains my concluding remarks.

2. Background

I organise my literature review into two main subsections. The first part focuses on the work of authors that present the relation between discourse and identity. The second part explores the work of authors that apply the postulates of Critical Discourse Analysis on the media representations of refugees and migrants.

2.1 Discourse and identity

From a poststructuralist point of view, Foucault's contribution to the understanding/theorizing of the constitution of the subject is noteworthy. Foucault (2014), describes early on the concept of "otherness" by analysing the decision of modern society to exclude, by incarcerating into special institutions, the mentally ill. This process of exclusion, as Foucault would argue, plays a vital role in the construction of identity of citizens who identify themselves through a binary process of 'us versus them.' Along the same lines, Edkins (2000), following Foucault (2014) and Agamben (1995), explores this concept of identification through exclusion, pointing out the relationship between sovereignty and the

reduction of refugees to a form of "bare life" or non-political subjects[2] (Edkins, 2000, p.13). By doing so, Edkins aligns her thought with the concept of "biopolitics" introduced by Foucault (1978), namely how populations become a political issue and fall under the control of the state which will play a major role in the creation of their identity. For her part, Rozakou (2012) applies the concept of biopolitics to Greece by analysing the concept of "filoksenia" (hospitality) in regard with asylum seekers. She concludes that "the current situation of asylum and immigration in Greece thus does not reflect a crisis of hospitality but rather the expansion of the code of hospitality and the reaffirmation of state sovereignty thought the ultimate control and the ontological production of the 'ksenos' (foreigner)" (p.574).

These studies seem to convey that the construction of a certain social group's identity, migrants in our case, is based on a negative process of othering that is a direct expression of the sovereign power of a state towards populations. Othering processes intensify when represented in the media. Traditional media tend to express the elites' ideology, by reproducing a series of "hostility themes". Leudar et al. (2008), define the hostility themes present in the media as "representations of refugees/asylum seekers but not just that- they justify their exclusion from the community in the UK" (p.215). Furthermore, Leudar et al. (2008) argue that these "hostility themes" have a great impact on the creation of competing representations of refugees by reproducing a negative identity of asylum seekers (p.215). Most importantly they argue that these representations created by the media and containing hostility themes tend to orient the refugees/asylum seekers into constructing a narrative of themselves by referring to this hostility (p.216). This same pattern of hostility themes in the media towards a social group is reproduced in the Czech media as Leudar and Nekvapil(2000) demonstrate. Leudar and Nekvapil (2000) using membership categorisation analysis, investigated the representations of Romanies in the Czech media. They came to the conclusion that most of the descriptions/representations of the Romany were "negations of what Czechs find desirable in themselves and Romanies were characterised by the absence of positive qualities" (Leudar & Nekvapil, 2000, p.507). Even though in this case study the hostility themes are directed towards a specific ethnicity, an analogy could easily be made with the social group of refugees that is often excluded by societies.

The aforementioned studies demonstrate that a general pattern of hostility is present in the media regarding their disposition towards refugees. We could argue that these hostile

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[2] I am reffering here to the concept of "bare life" introduced by Agamben who argues "that in western societies bare life has the peculiar meaning of being that whose exclusion founds the city of men" (Agamben, 1998, p7)

representations of refugees are part of what Barker calls "New Racism" (Barker 1981). The concept of "New Racism", consists of a modern, more subtle form of racism that doesn't correspond in traditional racist phenomena such as segregation or apartheid. This kind of racism is present in "increasingly cosmopolitan societies such as Western Europe or the United States of America" as Peter Teo (2000) argues (p.8). This new form of racism can be quite difficult to identify because as Teo (2000) argues, "the people who practice this new racism believe in and uphold the basic values of democratic egalitarianism and would thus deny that they are racist" (p.8).

2.2 Critical approaches to discourse

Van Dijk (2000) describes the benefits of applying a discourse analytical approach to this new racism present in the media. Indeed, Van Dijk justifies the need to adopt a qualitative method of analysis to observe the discourse of the media towards minorities (p.35). Furthermore, Van Dijk (1988) argues the general strategies for the expression of shared, group based attitudes and ideologies, and therefore for affiliation to and disaffiliation from social groups, comprise both positive representation of the in-group and negative representation of the out-group. Van Dijk then devises an evaluative structure for these representations, which he calls the 'ideological square' and includes four strategies: Emphasise our good properties/actions, emphasise their bad properties/actions and mitigate our bad properties/actions, mitigate their good properties/actions (p.33). One of Van Dijk's most helpful analytical observations, regarding racism and discrimination in modern EU and US societies, is the role of denial in racist discourse. Van Dijk (1992) argues that it seems that in modern western societies "where discrimination and racism are officially banned and norms have developed that do not tolerate blatant expressions of out-group hate, denial takes a much more prominent role in the discourse on ethnic affairs" (p.95). More importantly, the role of denial in discourse can have multiple purposes, as it can 'protect' its users from being accused of racist intentions but at the same time denial can be used as an offensive tool against anti-racist discourse and thus has a "prominent role in the very reproduction of racism" (Van Dijk, 1992, p.96).

The negative forms of discourse regarding refugees that Van Dijk identifies in the media seems to be a phenomenon still present in most media around the world. A major project regarding the discourses on refugees on media is undergoing by the university of Lancaster under the name "Discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press, 1996-2006". Khosravinik (2010), a participant of the aforementioned project, claims that a pattern can be observed in UK newspapers regarding refugees "the newspapers give more space and

direct quotations to an in-group member, while citations to out-group members are given only when they are (or can be represented as being) inarticulate, extremist, illogical or threatening." (Khosravinik, 2010, p. 23) Again, we are in the presence of a strategic negative discourse regarding the identity of refugees.

For their part, Don and Lee (2014) add to the aforementioned literature by exposing the relation between the negative/racist discourse towards refugees and the political agenda of country's elites (Malaysia) (Don and Lee 2014, p.703). By doing so, they strongly argue that the discourse used by the media is part of a hegemonic plan that serves the interests of a neoliberal system of values based on state sovereignty. However such claims regarding the relationship between media discourse and elite/state policies still needs to be verified since Schrover and Walaardt (2017) demonstrate that media influence on state policies can be difficult to predict or even opposite to the initial intentions of the media (p.53).

Alongside this literature that focuses on the negative representations of refugees and asylum seekers in the media there has been an extensive literature focusing on the portrayal of refugees and migrants making use of discourse analytical tools and frame analysis (see for example Every, 2008; Steiner, 2001; Schrover & Schinkel, 2013) 'organising' the discursive constructions of migrants around specific themes or frames that help explain how migration is problematised. Understanding the portrayal of migrants around specific themes or sets of arguments is crucial as it offers an explanation as to why migrants are portrayed in a specific way. Schrover and Schinkel (2013) making use of 4 "topoi"[3] (humanitarian , economic, endangering and cultural), identified by Bauder (2008, p.102), are summarising the portrayal of migrants as follows:

In the economic topos the emphasis can either be on the benefit of migrants to the host society (mostly as workers), or migrants can be portrayed as competitors in the labour market and as persons likely to become a public charge. The humanitarian topos is used in a comparative sense: no country wants to be accused of being less humanitarian than neighbouring countries, but no country wants to attract migrants with too much humanitarianism either. The endangering topos presents migrants as a threat to social order, cohesion, sovereignty and security. The cultural topos presents migrants as fundamentally different from the 'home' population. This can be seen as an asset, but it is usually presented as a problem. (p.1130).

Among these series of arguments regarding the portrayal of migrants presented by Schrover and Schinkel (2013) there seems to be a shift within the western world towards more

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[3] According to Schrover and Schinkel (2013) "A topos is a system of public knowledge, a discursive resource in which one may find arguments for sustaining a conclusion"(p.1129)

rational arguments dominated by "individualism" and national interest as Poppelmonde and Goddeeris (2017) have argued recently (p.20). This shift is in accordance with the aforementioned studies that focus on negative discourses regarding migrants present on media and based on racist and otherness themes.

Finally acknowledging the major role of denial in modern racist discourses, as described by Van Dijk (1992), it seems logical to focus my analysis on one of the most powerful means of communication of news journalism, images. As a matter of fact, as Tagg (1988) argues, photography has acquired a great "evidential force" (p.4). More importantly the evidential power of photography is not due to the medium but as Tagg (1988) argues "this is not the power of the camera but the power of the apparatuses of the local state which deploy it and guarantee the authority of the images it constructs to stand as evidence or register a truth" (p.64). Furthermore, what can be really problematic with the use of photography in news articles is that "visually communicated racism can be much more easily denied, much more easily dismissed as "in the eye of the beholder" than verbal racism" as Theo Van Leeuwen argues (2008, p.137). For that reason multimodality will be at the core of this analysis examining both texts and visuals as a whole.

This paper is trying to add to the above listed literature by offering an analysis that is situated in between the literature that focuses on the negative themes present in migrant representations in the media and the literature that focuses on the portrayal of migrants problematised according to specific 'frames' of discourse. By applying the postulates of MCDA this paper is exploring how the migrant discourse is constructed and by linking this discourse to specific frames already mentioned in the literature review this discourse will be re-politicised understanding why migration is problematised in a specific manner. As the focus of this thesis is to deconstruct the construction of migrants representations that are based on the themes of exclusion and otherness only the "topoi" that are exposing a binary relation between national populations and migrants will be used in the analysis, such as the "endangering topos" focusing on threat and the "humanitarian topos" focusing on the need to protect 'ideal victims'

In light of the above, this thesis aims primarily to provide a response to the following research questions:

RQ1. What are the main linguistic and visual strategies employed by the selected media?

RQ2. To what extent do these strategies construct a representation of migrants based on the theme of otherness?

RQ 3. Are there any significant similarities/differences between the representation of these stories among the four newspapers featured? And if so, why?

In order to provide answers to the above-mentioned research questions, the methodology detailed in the following section was devised.

3. Material and method

3.1 Material

The present analysis is based on three case studies. My selections were influenced by Van Dijk's claim that "news is not simply an (incomplete) description of the facts but a specific kind of reconstruction of reality according to the norms and values of some society" (Van Dijk, 1988, p.28). Taking Van Dijk's claim as a point of departure, I intend to carry out a contrastive analysis of the representation of refugees focusing on the criminalisation/victimisation strategies as the basis of the comparison, in the French and Greek mainstream press. The choice of these two countries is intentional as I believe both countries express different facets of the European identity. Moreover, even though both countries have a tradition of immigration influxes in their history, a discomforting rise of extremism views on immigrants can be observed in both societies (see Front National party France and Golden Dawn party Greece).

The selection of 4 newspapers, two from each country, is based on a series of criteria. Firstly, I tried to identify the newspapers with the largest circulation assuming that they reached a broader readership. It should be noted at this point that there exists an interesting difference between Greece and France regarding the circulation of newspapers. Whereas since 1922 an independent association, OJD[4], measures and makes available to the public the circulation of newspapers at a national and regional level in France, in Greece such figures are

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4   OJD which stands for Office de justification de tirage has been renamed ACPM since 2015, after broadening its measurements to other media sources such as internet sites and television channels. The primary role of this association, as stated in its charter, is to ensure a liaison between publications and advertisers based on public audience.

not available. Indeed, the only official figures to which we have access come from two major distribution companies which include some of the major publishers of newspapers in Greece. Each newspaper was selected in order to establish solid baselines for comparison between the two countries. From France, I will be reviewing the newspapers "Le Monde" and "Le Figaro" and from Greece "I Kathimerini" and "Ta Nea". These four newspapers express mainly mainstream political views varying from more liberal to conservative. "Le Monde" and "I Kathimerini" are considered more liberal news outlets whereas "Figaro" and "Ta Nea" prone a more conservative discourse. Most importantly, they seem to have a stable readership and pay great attention to their writing style.

It seems that by adopting a bottom up approach where it is expected to come across forms of "New Racism" in order to reach to non biased conclusions I had to exclude every media outlet that would be considered to represent extreme political views serving populist interests. For that reason, newspapers that can be considered anti-racist or representing an extreme 'far right', even though they do represent growing parts of Greek and French societies, were excluded for my case study. I believe that by reviewing so called "mainstream" newspapers and revealing subtle forms of racism towards immigrants could be of great importance especially in today's climate.

After having selected the 4 afore-mentioned newspapers, I collected every news article related to the refugee crisis in 2015. The first criterion for the compilation of my corpus was multimodality, so only articles that contained an image and were related to the refugee crisis were selected. This resulted in a reference corpus of approximately 700 multimodal news items. Due to the limitations of this paper, out of the different news items collected, I intend to offer a detailed analysis of 3 case studies, focusing on the images, titles and captions selected by the newspapers. The choice of data is motivated and based on three further criteria. Firstly, I tried to find common topics figuring in all four newspapers. By selecting the same news stories figuring in all four newspapers I was able to obtain an analytical corpus that was adapted for a comparative study. Furthermore, this criterion not only provided a more limited corpus suitable for a qualitative analysis as it excluded all local news stories, but most importantly provided a level of objectivity in the selection of my cases. Secondly, salience in terms of space given was taken into account. Finally, the cases were selected chronologically to provide an overview of the ongoing refugee crisis for the year 2015 and, most importantly, to expose the evolution of the strategies used by newspapers to identify refugees and immigrants.

The selected cases are the following:

1   From April 2015, news articles that report on two Mediterranean shipwrecks with a high toll of victims.

2.   From August and July 2015, news articles that report on cases of violence and intolerance towards refugees that took place in Calais, the island of Kos and the Hungarian borders.

3.   From the beginning of September 2015, articles that report on the highly publicized case of drowning of the Syrian Aylan Kurdi.

3.2 Method

My primary theoretical framework for my approach of the selected news items is based on the postulates of Critical Discourse Analysis. As Campbell (2007) argues "discourse refers to a specific series of representations and practices through which meanings are produced, identities constituted, social relations established, and political and ethical outcomes made more or less possible" (p.234). Keeping this critical approach in mind, I use Theo Van Leeuwen's (2008) approach to social actors in order to understand how immigrants are represented and what is their relationship with 'our' society (pp.23-54, 136-141). In more detail Van Leeuwen's (2008) model of social actors is constructed around two main questions "how people are depicted" and "how are depicted people related to the viewer" (p.138). Answering the first question asked by Van Leeuwen will allow me to observe if immigrants are given an active or passive role and whereas they are being represented as individuals or rather as part of a group. Keeping in mind these specific representations of immigrants the relationship to the viewer or in other words 'our' society, will then be revealed by analysing three variables, the social distance, relation and interaction between us and them (immigrants). Applying the model of representation of social actors of Van Leeuwen to my analysis will demonstrate the two main strategies, which are victimisation, or portraying people as helpless passive victims who for humanitarian reasons need to be taken 'cared off' by an already burdened social state, and criminalisation, or portraying people as active agents who commit illicit acts such as crossing borders illegally, in which immigrants are portrayed and how these strategies contribute to an othering discourse towards immigrants.

It should be noted at this point that these two strategies, victimisation and criminalisation which are used to organise my analytical corpus are reflecting my decision to provide an in depth analysis that deconstructs the linguistic and visual choices that the media use in order to construct an othering representation of refugees. We could argue that these

strategies are only some of the main "topoi" or series of arguments related to migration discourse that have been identified and used by researchers such as Bauder (2008, p.102). Many authors are basing their analysis of migration discourse by making use of "topoi" or "frames" of discourse that include victimisation and criminalisation alongside "economic frames" "legalistic frames" as Schrover and Walaardt (2017, p.28) in order to demonstrate a relation between media discourse on migration and government policies, or as Poppelmonde and Goddeeris (2017) do in order to evaluate the evolution of the migration discourse through the years. However, even though such approaches that make use of "frames" of discourse can be really useful for deconstructing migration discourse as a whole and making connections between media discourse and policies will not be applied in this paper as the focus of this thesis is on deconstructing racist discourse towards migrants/refugees that is based mainly on exclusion through otherness. Finally it should be noted that the strategies of victimisation and criminalisation used to organise my analytical corpus were the main strategies identified in my corpus and the main strategies that are used in similar approaches as mine that focus on media discourse of migrants by applying the postulates of Multimodal critical discourse analysis as they demonstrate the relationship between discourse and racism based on exclusion.

The theoretical and methodological postulates mentioned above will be applied to my data in order to move past of what a news item simply "denotes" and offer the most neutral possible account of what a news item "connotes" to use Machin and Mayr terms (2012, p.49). In more detail, the first case will present an example of a criminalised representation of migrants while the second one will focus on a more victimised construction of migrants' identity. The last case was selected in order to demonstrate how these two strategies of representation can often coexist in one news item. My analysis of the news items will be organised in three parts. Part 1 will provide the texts (headlines, subtitles and captions) in their original language with a translation as well as the visuals to be analysed. My analysis then will be divided in two parts where following Van Leeuwen's (2008) model of social actors I will attempt firstly to analyse "how people are depicted" and secondly "how are depicted people related to the viewer" (p.138).

4. Results and discussion

4.1 Case study 1 - Criminalisation

News Item 1: 17 April 2015, onboard of a boat heading to Italy, a number of passengers were thrown to the sea after a dispute of allegedly religious character.

Texts:

1.Figaro: *Douze chrétiens tués en mer par d'autres migrants*
Twelve Christians killed by other migrants at the sea

1.1 Subtitle *: Sur le navire où 105 Africains avaient embarqué pour gagner l'Italie, des musulmans s'en sont pris aux chrétiens*.
Onboard of the vessel where 105 Africans had embarked heading to Italie, Muslims attacked Christians.

2.Le Monde: *Des migrants chrétiens auraient été jetés à la mer par des musulmans au large de l'Italie*
Christian migrants were thrown allegedly into the sea by Muslims close to Italy.

2.1 Subtitle*: Une enquête sur cette tragédie inédite au large de l'Italie, rapportée par des survivants, a été ouverte par le parquet de Palerme.*
An investigation regarding this unprecedented tragedy, reported by the survivors, was opened by the Palermo prosecutor's office.

3. Kathimerini: *Μετανάστες πνίγουν... μετανάστες λόγω θρησκείας*
Migrants drown…migrants due to religion

3.1 Subtitle: Μουσουλμάνοι έριξαν στη θάλασσα χριστιανούς που ταξίδευαν στον ίδιο πλοίο, αναζητώντας μια καλύτερη ζωή, μεταξύ Σικελίας και Τυνησίας.
Muslims have thrown into the sea Christians who were travelling on the same boat, looking for a better life, between Sicily and Tunisia.

4.Ta Nea: Ιταλία: Μουσουλμάνοι μετανάστες πέταξαν χριστιανούς στη θάλασσα.
Italy: Muslim migrants have thrown Christians into the sea.

Visuals:

Figure 1, Caption: Recovered from the coastguard, African migrants are taken over by the Red Cross during their disembarkation,16 of April 2015 at the Sicilian port of Augusta(Italy)

Figure 2 , Caption: At Augusta, in Sicily, 16th of April.

Μετανάστες πνίγουν... μετανάστες λόγω θρησκείας

ΡΩΜΗ. Ηταν όλοι τους Αφρικανοί, έφυγαν όλοι μαζί από τη Μαύρη Ηπειρο, αφηνώντας τα κύματα της Μεσογείου, σε αναζήτηση μιας καλύτερης τύχης στην Ευρώπη. Μεσοπέλαγα, όμως, κάποιοι από αυτούς ρίχτηκαν στη θάλασσα από συνταξιδιώτες τους, ύστερα από έναν καβγά για θρησκευτικές διαφορές και πολύ πιθανόν να έχασαν τη ζωή τους, καθώς έως αργά χθες βράδυ αγνοούνταν.

Το διπλά ανατριχιαστικό περιστατικό έλαβε χώρα στον πορθμό της Σικελίας, μεταξύ Τυννησίας και Ιταλίας. Οπως ανακοίνωσαν οι αστυνομικές αρχές στο Παλέρμο, 15 άνδρες από την Ακτή Ελεφαντοστού, το Μάλι και τη Σενεγάλη συνελήφθησαν με την κατηγορία ότι έριξαν στη θάλασσα 12 άλλους από τη Νιγηρία και την Γκάνα. Σύμφωνα με μαρτυρίες διασωθέντων, οι δράστες ήταν μουσουλμάνοι και έριξαν στη θάλασσα τους άτυχους συνεπιβάτες τους που ήταν χριστιανοί, ύστερα από αντιπαράθεση λόγω διαφορετικών θρησκευτικών δοξασιών. Το πλοίο μετέφερε περί τους 100 πρόσφυγες και είχε αποπλεύσει από τη Λιβύη.

Σε ένα άλλο, εντελώς ανεξάρτητο επεισόδιο, λαστιχένια βάρκα που είχε αποπλεύσει επίσης από τη Λιβύη και με προορισμό την

Μουσουλμάνοι έριξαν στη θάλασσα χριστιανούς που ταξίδευαν στο ίδιο πλοίο, αναζητώντας μια καλύτερη ζωή, μεταξύ Τυννησίας και Σικελίας.

Ιταλία ανετράπη, με αποτέλεσμα να αγνοούνται 41 πρόσφυγες, σύμφωνα με μαρτυρίες τεσσάρων συντρόφων τους που διασώθηκαν. Οι διασωθέντες περιέγραψαν πώς το μικρό φουσκωτό, με 45 ανθρώπους, ανετράπη λόγω της θαλασσοταραχής στα ανοιχτά της Σικελίας. Περισυνελέγησαν από σκάφος της ιταλικής ακτοφυλακής, που τους μετέφερε στο λιμάνι Ρέτζιο της Καλαβρίας.

Στο μεταξύ, οι περισσότεροι από τους 400 πρόσφυγες που φέρεται να επέβαιναν σε σκάφος με προορισμό τις ιταλικές ακτές, συνεχίζουν να αγνοούνται από την Κυριακή. Παρά τις έρευνες

από αέρος και θαλάσσης, κανένα ίχνος των αγνοουμένων δεν είχε εντοπιστεί έως χθες βράδυ. «Τα αεροσκάφη αλλά και οι ακταιωροί μας δεν έχουν εντοπίσει κανένα ίχνος από τους περισσότερους από 400 αγνοούμενους», είπε χθες ο εκπρόσωπος της ιταλικής ακτοφυλακής, κυβερνήτης Μαρίνι.

Εντονες επικρίσεις για την ολιγωρία των ιταλικών και ευρωπαϊκών αρχών εξέφραζαν χθες ανθρωπιστικές οργανώσεις, επισημαίνοντας τις διαφορές στην αντιμετώπιση της παρούσας κρίσης, με εκείνη του 2013.

Η «επιχείρηση Mare Nostrum»

είχε οδηγήσει στην ανάπτυξη σημαντικών αεροναυτικών μέσων για τον εντοπισμό και τη διάσωση μικρών σκαφών προσφύγων, ιδίως όταν οι καιρικές συνθήκες ήταν δυσμενείς. Ο υψηλός της προϋπολογισμός, όμως, που έφθανε τα 9 εκατ. ευρώ μηνιαίως και οι πολιτικές αντιδράσεις που αυτή προκαλούσε στην Ιταλία, οδήγησε την κυβέρνηση Ρέντσι στην αντικατάστασή της με τη μικρότερης κλίμακας «επιχείρηση Τρίτων», μηνιαίου προϋπολογισμού 2,9 εκατ. ευρώ.

Για τη «Mare Nostrum», το ιταλικό πολεμικό ναυτικό ανέπτυξε ένα αμφίβιο σκάφος διοίκησης, ικανό να λειτουργεί ως πλωτό νοσοκομείο, δύο φρεγάτες και δύο κορβέτες περιπολίας και τέσσερα ελικόπτερα παντός καιρού, επίσης μία ομάδα ειδικών αποστολών, για πραγματοποίηση νηοψιών και τρία επανδρωμένα αεροσκάφη παρακολούθησης.
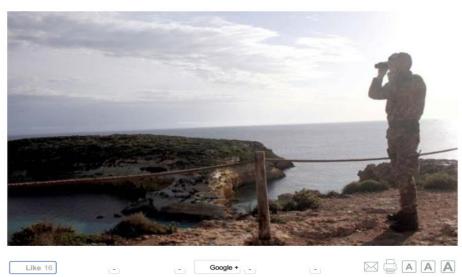
Αντίθετα, η περιορισμένης κλίμακας «επιχείρηση Τρίτων» αφορά δύο επανδρωμένα αεροσκάφη, τρεις ακταιωρούς του ιταλικού Λιμενικού Σώματος και συρρικνωμένη ομάδα επτά μελών των ειδικών δυνάμεων της ακτοφυλακής, για ιατρική βοήθεια και νηοψίες σκαφών προσφύγων.

REUTERS

Νεαροί πρόσφυγες προσεύχονται σε αυτοσχέδιο μουσουλμανικό τέμενος, λίγο μετά την άφιξή τους στο Καλτατζιρόνε της Σικελίας.

Figure 3 , Caption: Young refugees are praying inside an improvised Muslim mosque, shortly after their arrival at Caltagirone in Sicily

ΙΤΑΛΙΑ: ΜΟΥΣΟΥΛΜΑΝΟΙ ΜΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΕΣ ΠΕΤΑΞΑΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΤΗ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ

ΔΗΜΟΣΙΕΥΣΗ: 16/04/2015 18:06 | ΤΕΛΕΥΤΑΙΑ ΕΝΗΜΕΡΩΣΗ: 16/04/2015 18:11 |

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Νέα διάσταση αποκτά η τραγωδία που λαμβάνει χώρα τις τελευταίες εβδομάδες στη Μεσόγειο. Εν μέσω πληροφοριών για νέο ναυάγιο με περισσότερους από 40 νεκρούς, ανακοινώθηκε ότι 15 μουσουλμάνοι μετανάστες κρατούνται προσωρινά στο Παλέρμο της Σικελίας, μετά από καταγγελίες ότι στη διάρκεια του διάπλου από τη Λιβύη προς την Κάτω Ιταλία πέταξαν στη θάλασσα 12 χριστιανούς συνταξιδιώτες τους

Figure 4, No caption

Analysis

This news item regarding a violent dispute on board of a vessel among immigrants, leading to the death by drowning of twelve amongst them, could easily be categorised as an article that constructs a criminalised representation of immigrants. Indeed, in this news story the immigrants in question are depicted as the perpetrators of homicide, in other words as actors of an illicit act of extreme violence.

As mentioned in section 3, I will analyse the headlines and subtitles of the selected articles as well as the visuals and their captions. The analysis is structured around two questions based on Van Leeuwen's (2008) model of 'social actors' (p.138): 1. How are people depicted? and 2. How are depicted people related to the viewer?

1. How are people depicted?

Grammatically in all four texts, either through the use of active or passive voice, an unspecified number of migrants is activated attacking a specific number of individuals that are represent as passivated victims. It should be noted at this point that regarding the criminal nature of the incident only one newspaper (Le Monde text 2) reports on the alleged character of the story through the use of a verb in the conditional form, all the other newspapers report with certainty regarding the acts of the agents with verbs such as 'killed, drown, thrown".

Even though the strategy of criminalisation of immigrants through a representation of them as active perpetrators of an illicit act appears to be evident in this news item, the analysis would be incomplete if we did not take under consideration the religious adjectives used to describe the "agents" and the "patients" of this incident. Indeed, it is interesting to observe at this point how religious adjectives such as Christians and Muslims can change this news story from a typical group violence story between immigrants to an almost "orientalist" narrative of Muslims attacking Christians. In all texts, the words Muslim and Christian are used either as nouns or adjectives to "categorise" the immigrants in a specific religious group, to use Van Leeuwen term (2008, p.45) (see texts 1, 2, 3.1, 4). By drawing attention to the religious affiliations of the immigrants, other possible explanations for the violent incident - such as cultural differences or animosities related to the nationality of the immigrants, or any specific situations that may have occurred on the boat to trigger these acts of violence - are completely ignored. Given the fact that all these newspapers are part of the European media targeting a western audience, this news story can be assimilated within a general narrative of hostility against Muslims who are often associated with terrorism and criminality by western media (Jackson,2007, p.400).

This strategy of religious "categorisation" of immigrants is reinforced by Figure 3, which shows a number of individuals standing with their hands crossed and looking down. The caption reads: young refugees are praying inside an improvised Mosque, shortly after their arrival in Caltagirone, Sicily. This photo seems completely out of context as it has nothing to do with the news story; nevertheless, if we examine the photo alongside the title of the article (see text 3) it is difficult to ignore the "anchoring" effect of the title towards the photo confining the viewer to a predefined interpretation; an interpretation that blurs the limits between peaceful expression of religious beliefs and religious violence (Chandler, 1994, para 34).

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Furthermore apart from their religious identity, no other information is given regarding the identity of the immigrants such as their nationality or former occupation, education etc. creating an homogenised group of individuals whose only common variable is the status of immigrant. Another linguistic choice that highlights the group identity of the represented immigrants ignoring their individual characteristics is the fact that a numeral (see text1) is only used to describe the alleged victims, whereas all the other participants of the incident are referred to simply as immigrants (Van Leeuwen 2008:37-38). This discursive choice is very interesting. According to Van Dijk (2000) figures have one "main semantic objective: to associate immigration with problems and threats, if only by quantity" (p. 45). However contrary to this argument in this case the numeral 12 is used to clearly separate the group of Christian immigrants who are represented as victims of the violent acts from their companions. By doing so, the division between 'us and them' is accentuated as a specific group of 12 Christian migrants is attacked by a 'group' of migrants.

This lexical "specification" to use Van Leeuwen's (2008) term regarding the victims of this incident and a general tendency to highlight the group identity of the immigrants is reproduced in all photos in the news items. In figure 1, a tight line of immigrants is portrayed as a homogenous group next to individual health workers who are clearly identified and separated from the group by their white clothes (p.35). This dichotomy between individuals and a homogenised group is even more dramatic in figure 2 where we can see a seemingly endless number of immigrants advancing towards one individual soldier who is positioned in the foreground with his back turned against the viewer. The same technique can be seen in figure 3 where a group of immigrants standing close to each other in a similar pose praying, according to the caption, create a "they are all the same" impression centred around Muslim religion (Van Leeuwen,2008 p.146). Finally, in figure 4, we can see one soldier patrolling on top of a hill looking towards the sea. Even though no information is given related to the soldier he is "individualised visually through being represented alone" as Machin and Mayr argue (2012, p.101). Similar images as the ones analysed, which tend to represent a "homogenised whole" by "collectivising" the participants ignoring any individual characteristics seem to be a common strategy in news articles reporting on mass immigration (Machin & Mayr, 2012 p.100).

2.   How are depicted people related to the viewer?

After having seen how immigrants are represented discursively and visually their relationship to the viewer will now be analysed. In order to do so, I will examine the four visuals focusing on three variables, social distance, social relationship and social interaction according to Van Leeuwen (2008, pp.138-146).

First, all four visuals with the exception of figure 2 could be described as an example of an "offer image", as none of the participants is looking directly at the viewer offering a 'spectacle' for us to examine at will (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.140). In figure 2, two individuals who appear in the centre of the photo are looking directly towards the viewer, 'recognising' him and demanding, maybe his help or compassion making this image an example of offer and demand image (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.141)

In noticing social distance "people shot in a long shot from far away, are shown as if they are strangers; people shown in a close-up are shown as if they 'are one of us'" (Van Leeuwen 2008, p.138). In figures 1,2 and 3 immigrants are shown in a long shot far from us emphasizing our symbolic distance. In Figures 2 and 1, this distance becomes even clearer as an individual can be seen in the foreground looking towards the immigrants who are backgrounded. In addition, the fact that we can only see the back of the foregrounded individuals offers us their "point of view", facing a large number of immigrants advancing towards them/us (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.99). Finally, figure 4 holds a great interest as distance can be also represented by exclusion. In this shot where an individual soldier is positioned on the right corner of the photo and relatively close to us, he is clearly separated by some wire which stands between him and the sea from where immigrants are expected to arrive. By not representing them visually, immigrants are represented as all-encompassing looming danger against which we need to be in constant alert

Examining the angle of the visuals according to Van Leeuwen (2008), expresses "two aspects of the social relation between the viewer and the people in the picture: power and involvement" where the horizontal angle realises symbolic involvement or detachment and the vertical angle is related to power differences (p.139). If we look at figures 1,2,3, the social actors are shown through a frontal angle representing an involvement between the viewer and the subjects. However, the fact that almost none of the subjects is looking towards the viewer and thus addressing him directly, and the fact that a high angle is used in all 3 visuals making the viewer looking down on the subjects could represent a symbolic power of the viewer towards the immigrants. In other words, the viewer/us is looking from a distance, without being noticed a homogenous group of immigrants who are shown physically in a lower position than him being represented symbolically as 'inferiors'.

In sum both linguistically and visually, this news item seems to be part of an othering discourse towards immigrants focusing grammatically and linguistically on their criminal intentions, and visually distancing the immigrants from us.

4.2 Case study 2 – Victimisation

News item 2: Aylan case. The death of Syrian Aylan Kurdi by drowning on September 2nd, 2015 became a global headline story after it was captured by Turkish photojournalist Nilüfer Demir.

Texts: Front Pages.

1.Figaro : *Migrants: sous le choc, l'Europe tente de surmonter ses divisions* .
Migrants: in shock, Europe is trying to overcome its divisions.

1.1 <u>Subtitle</u>: *Paris et Berlin ont proposé jeudi d'instaurer des quotas contraignants par pays pour l'accueil des réfugiés. Cette initiative doit encore être validée par leurs partenaires européens qui se réuniront le 14 septembre.*
Paris and Berlin proposed Thursday to introduce binding quotas per country for the reception of refugees. This initiative has yet to be validated by their European partners, who will meet on the 14th of September.

1.2 2nd Title: *Aylan Kurdi, 3 ans, mort noyé au large de la Turquie.*
Aylan Kurdi, 3 years old, dead by drowning off the coast of Turkey.

2.Le monde: *Réfugiés: l'Europe sous le choc après un nouveau drame*
Refugees: Europe in shock after a new drama

3. Ta Nea: *ΦΤΑΝΕΙ ΠΙΑ. Η ανεπάρκεια της Ευρώπης μπροστά στο δράμα της μετανάστευσης*
THAT'S ENOUGH. Europe's inadequacy in the face of the drama of migration

4. Kathimerini:[5] *Η δημοσίευση*: *Έπρεπε η όχι να δημοσιευθεί η φωτογραφία του νεκρού προσφυγόπουλου που ξεβράστηκε στις τουρκικές ακτές; Είναι δημοσιογραφική υποχρέωση ή τουρισμός στην οδύνη; Δυο συντάκτες της «Κ» διαφωνούν και επιχειρηματολογούν.*
The publication: Should the photo of the dead refugee who was washed ashore the Turkish coast have been published or not? Is it a journalistic obligation or pain tourism Two editors of "K" disagree and express their point of view.

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[5] It should be noted that "Kathimerini" was the only newspaper in review that did not republish the photo of Aylan's body at the front page. Instead they included a small photo depicting other newspaper's front pages.

Visuals: Front Pages

Figure 1, No Caption

Figure 2, , Le Monde. Caption: The body of Aylan Kurdi, Syrian 3 or 4 years old, was found dead on a beach by Turkish police, Wednesday 2 September, after the shipwreck of a refugee boat that killed a dozen people.

Figure 3, Tα Nea, No caption

Figure 4 Kathinmerini, No Caption

Texts:

5.Figaro : *Migrants: sous le choc de la mort d'Aylan, l'UE sonne le tocsin.*

    Migrants: in shock from the death of Aylan, EU sounds the alarm

5.1 Subtitle: *Sur fond de crispations croissantes entre pays européens, Paris et Berlin ont décidé de passer à l'action en lançant une initiative commune.*

    In a context of growing tensions between European countries, Paris and Berlin decided to take action launching a joint initiative.

5.2 In text citation: *Les Européens ont peur, parce qu'ils voient leurs dirigeants incapables de contrôler la situation. Victor Orban, Premier Ministre hongrois.*

    Europeans are scared, because they see their leaders as incapable of controlling the situation.

5.3. Quotas*: Hollande dévoile un plan franco-allemand*

    Quotas : Hollande reveals a Franco German plan.

6. Le monde*: François Hollande rejoint Angela Merkel sur les quotas d'accueil de refugiés.*

    François Hollande agrees with Angela Merkel on the quotas for the reception of refugees.

6.2 Subtitle: *France et Allemagne cherchent à contrer l'opposition des pays d'Europe centrale et du Royaume-Uni*

    France and Germany are trying to counter the opposition of central European countries and the United-Kingdom.

6.3 La tragédie de la famille Kurdi

    The tragedy of the Kurdi family .

6.4 Subtitle : Le petit Aylan et ses parents fuyaient Kobané, en Syrie, vers le Canada.

    Young Aylan and his parents were fleeing Kobane, Syria, to Canada.

7. **Kathimerini**: *Το μεταναστευτικό, η αιχμή στη Μεσόγειο- ενημέρωση και αντιμετώπιση σε σειρά συναντήσεων ενώπιον του Προέδρου της Δημοκρατίας.*

    Migration, tension in the Mediterranean- briefing and addressing the issue in a series of meetings with the President of the Republic.

8.Ta Nea: *Μεταναστευτικό: Τα παιδιά ενός κατώτερου θεού.*

    Migration: The kids of a lesser god.

8.1 *Χρειάστηκε λοιπόν η εικόνα ενός νεκρού αγοριού για να καταλάβει η Ευρώπη πόσο επείγουσα είναι η κατάσταση;*

    Was the image of a dead boy necessary for Europe to understand how urgent the situation is?

Visuals:

Figure 5 Figaro, Caption: This terrible photo of young Aylan Kurdi, whose body is collected by a Turkish policeman in Bodrum, is part of a series of photos who have shocked the world.

Figure 6 Le monde, Caption: Abdullah Kurdi, the father of Aylan, the 3-year-old child found dead in a Turkish beach, coming out of the morgue of Mugla(Turkey), the 3rd of September.

Figure 7 Kathimerini, Caption: At the morgue in Mugla, Turkey, Syrian refugee Abdullah Kurdi is mourning the death of his just 3 years old son Aylan Kurdi whose dead body was found on the seashore of the resort Bodrum. The photo was shared all over the world, causing emotion and anger in the developed countries that are receiving migrant flows. Abdullah, who in his effort to emigrate to Canada, has lost his wife Rehan (35) and his sons Gallip (5) and Aylan (3), has been left without a family. Destination of the ship that was capsized was Kos.

Figure 8, 8 Ta Nea, Caption: Many joyful moments for Aylan (left) and Galip. The photos with the dead bodies of the two kids washed out in a beach in Turkey have global impact sensitising the international common opinion.

Figure 9 9 Ta Nea, Caption 1: Abdullah Kurdi is sobbing coming out of the morgue, where he identified the corpses of his children and his wife.

Caption 2:The lifeless body of Aylan in the middle of a session of the Arab League, an organisation that takes no action regarding the ongoing wars in the area- one of the hundreds of variants of the photo that shocked the world and flooded the internet yesterday.

Quote: they slipped from my hands

Analysis

This is probably one of the most cited news stories regarding immigration in Europe for the year 2015, not only because of the dramatic accident per se but especially because of the way the death of a young boy was represented in all its cruelty in the media. For this case study, both the front pages and the articles dedicated to the story of Aylan have been included in order to provide a more spherical point of view. However, for the purposes of this paper, I will focus on the texts (headlines, subtitles, and captions) and the visuals figuring in the editorial pages as they provide a more thorough analysis of the incident and present a bigger diversity amongst the newspapers compared to the front pages.

1. <u>How are people depicted?</u>

The very nature of this news story that focuses on the death of a young child can be described as a very strong example of a victimised representation of immigrants. Indeed, all the texts and visuals selected to construct this news story portray young Aylan and the surviving father as helpless victims of a tragedy. The tragic image of a dead boy laying on a beach allows the viewers to give a face to an ongoing humanitarian crisis, "creating" in a way a disaster for Western audiences, to borrow Benthall's argument (1993, p.11). This victimised representation is done in multiple ways.

First, contrary to news stories that construct criminalised representations of immigrants and which tend to highlight the group identity of immigrants as 'deviant others', in our case the "unique identities" of Aylan and his father are put forward or to use Van Leeuwen's term "nominated" (2008, p. 40). Nomination, according to Van Leeuwen (2008), is either realised by the use of "proper nouns" or other items when one social actor is occupying a "certain rank" or "fulfils a certain action". In this case, that would be 'young boy' or simply 'boy' (p.41).

Examples of this discursive strategy can be seen in texts 5, 6.3,6.4,8,8.1 and in the captions of all the figures. The important question that we need to ask when a social actor is nominated, instead of simply referred to as the victim or the perpetrator for example, is the motivation behind this nomination. Of course, we could argue that in a story which reports on the death of a boy its name could be a crucial part of the story itself. However, as many authors (Martinez-Lirola, 2016; Konstantinidou & Michailidou, 2014; Walaardt, 2013) have demonstrated, a great majority of news items on migration that adopt a humanitarian or victimised discourse tend to construct these representations portraying women and children as they are often seen as the most vulnerable members of society. In the case here under analysis, Aylan's young age is repeated often creating the representation of an individualised

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victim and focusing on his young helpless child identity, thus creating an "ideal victim", to use Greer's term (2007:21). By doing so, the attention of the reader is drawn to the individual misery of a family, which seems decontextualized from the political and social causes that lead to their migration.

However, young Aylan is not the only social actor that is nominated in this news story. In texts 5.2, 5.3, 6 different head of states are nominated as well. By nominating the heads of states, the elite discourse related to migration is presented and highlighted. The practice of nomination transforms this news article from a simple recitation of a maritime accident into a more complex story that "problematises" in the Foucauldian (1984:389) way the question of migration, by defining the problem and providing an elite response in the form of 'quotas' of refugees per nation (see texts 5.3 and 6). This linguistic strategy of using the story of Aylan in order to promote a specific political response to migration is supported by the visuals of the story. Figure 5 is a great example of this strategy as the image of a Turkish policeman holding the dead body of Aylan is placed in the middle of a series of articles regarding European responses to migration. The same technique can be seen in figure 6 where the image of Aylan's crying father exiting the morgue is used as the centrepiece visual for an article regarding quotas of refugee reception. And finally in figure 7, the same picture is reproduced in a smaller scale under two larger pictures that portray state officials, embedding the story of Aylan within elite political discourses on migration. Furthermore the use of quotes made by state officials, in figures 5 and 6, lend further support to Van Dijk's claim (2000) that "in general, even in ethnic news, minorities are quoted less, and less prominently than (white) elites" (p.39); the father of Aylan is quoted only once in figure 9.

Another linguistic strategy allocates a more passive role to Aylan's father: it presents him as a helpless victim. This characterization can be seen in the captions of this news item. Indeed, even though in many cases in the corpus captions play a more complex role than simply describing a visual, often anchoring the reader to predefined definitions as explained by Chandler (1994), in the case of this news item this anchoring role is even more accentuated (para.34) . This can be clearly seen in the captions of figures 7 and 9 where a very emotionally charged vocabulary (see sobbing, mourning) is used to describe a photo of Aylan's father exciting the morgue. This is a very powerful moment as it shows a man in tears, not a stereotypical representation of masculinity.

2) How are depicted people related to the viewer?

After having seen how immigrants are represented visually and through discourse their relationship to the viewer will now be analysed. In order to do so I will examine the visuals focusing on three variables, social distance, social relationship and social interaction according to Van Leeuwen (2008, pp.138-146).

First, it should be noted that while the majority of the newspapers reviewed chose to include a photo of Aylan on their front pages, they selected a photo of a broken father for their editorials on the story. Another particularity of this news item is the fact that even though the same photo is used (see fig.6,7,9) the distance from the subject appears to be different as the photo has been more or less cropped making the face of the father the most salient part. In noticing social distance, "people shot in a long shot from far away are shown as if they are strangers; people shown in a close-up are shown as if they 'are one of us'" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.138). All three shots that portray the father are close shots representing the father as one of "us" devastated by a tragedy. This effect is even greater if we see how between fig. 6,7,9 the face of the father is becoming the only element of the photo.

Examining the angle of the visuals according to Van Leeuwen (2008), expresses "two aspects of the social relation between the viewer and the people in the picture: power and involvement" where horizontal angle realises symbolic involvement or detachment and vertical angle is related to power differences (p.139). Figures 6,7,8,9 are shot through a frontal angle demanding the involvement of the viewer towards this tragic figure. The fact that the photos are taken at an eye level reinforces this sentiment of involvement, so we can relate to the father of Aylan as our equal. This symbolic proximity that the visuals portray between "us" and Aylan's father could be in a way explained as the physical features of the father, and even his children (see fig.8), are similar to European Caucasian characteristics like most of the audience, which makes this news story an example of an "ideal victim". At the same time, the massive coverage that this news story received seems to be representative of a general tendency observed in the corpus that seems to 'segregate' in a way between 'legitimate' immigrants who are mostly from Syria and sub-Saharan immigrants who are more often victims of a criminalised representation.

Furthermore, I would like to comment the choice of the newspaper 'Ta Nea' to include in figure 9 a tempered collage of the body of Aylan in the middle of a meeting of the Arab league. This visual seen together with its caption is a blatant effort to anchor the reader to a certain political interpretation: while Europe is morning for the death of innocents the powerful states of the Middle East are standing by, doing nothing. It should be noted that this

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kind of discourse which is based on a binary opposition between us and them can be observed often in Greek media where religious opposition between us/Christians and them/Muslims is often present.

Finally, all the visuals could be considered as "offer images" as none of the participants is looking directly at the viewer thus offering a 'horrifying spectacle' for us to examine at will (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.140). The only exception is figure 5 where a police officer looks directly at the viewer recognising his presence but adding in a way a more dramatic tone to the photo from this expression of his face.

4.3 Case study 3 – Criminalisation *and* victimisation

News Item 3: Calais incident. During the last week of July, a number of individuals tried to cross the UK borders via the Eurotunnel in Calais, France resulting in the death of a Sudanese man on the 29th of July 2015

Texts:
1.Figaro: *Tunnel sous la Manche: le flot grandissant des migrants suscite l'inquiétude.*
Channel Tunnel: the growing flow of migrants is raising concerns.

1.1 Subtitle*: Les autorités locales et la police craignent que les intrusions massives et répétées sur le site d'Eurotunnel ne deviennent la règle.*
Local authorities and the police fear that the massive and repeated intrusions into the Eurotunnel will become the rule.

1.2 In text citation : *C'est évident que certains arrivent à gagner l'Angleterre et que cela se sait dans la communauté. Un policier de calais.*
It is obvious that some manage to reach England and that is a known fact in the community. A police officer of Calais.

1.3 Le Royame Uni, Eldorado des clandestins
United Kingdom, Eldorado of illegals

1.4 Paris: un Egyptien électrocuté sur le toit d'un train
Paris: An Egyptian electrocuted ontop the roof of a train

1.5 En Grande Bretagne, Cameron reconnait que la situation est «préoccupante»
In Britain, Cameron acknowledges that the situation is «worrying»

2. Le Monde: Migrants: le tunnel sous la Manche pris d'assaut
Immigrants : the Channel Tunnel taken over

2.1 Subtitle*: Dans la nuit de mardi à mercredi, plus de 2300 intrusions de migrants ont été recensées dans le tunnel.*

During the night of Tuesday to Wednesday, more than 2300 intrusions of migrants were recorded in the tunnel.

2.2 *Un nouveau décès a été confirmé portant à 9 le nombre de personnes qui ont péri côté français début juin.*

One new death was confirmed, raising to 9 the number of people who have perished on the French side since the beginning of June.

3.Kathimerini: *Παράνομοι μετανάστες προσπαθούν να διαφύγουν από το Καλαί*
Illegal migrants are trying to escape from Calais

4. Ta Nea: *Παγιδευμένοι μέσα στη «ζούγκλα»*

Trapped inside the "jungle"

4.1 Subtitle*: Εκατοντάδες μετανάστες επιχειρούν πλέον καθημερινά να κρυφτούν σε φορτηγά που θα περάσουν το τούνελ της Μάγχης.*

Hundreds of immigrants are trying daily to hide in trucks that cross the Channel Tunnel

Visuals

Figure 1 Figaro, Caption : Young Migrants, Tuesday, on the rail tracks of Eurostar terminal at the Calais Frethun station

Figure 2 Candidates to the passage towards Great-Britain, invaded, Tuesday, the grounds of the Channel Tunnel at Calais

Figure 3 Le Monde, Caption: Migrants along the rail tracks of Eurotunnel, Monday 28 of July, at Calais

Figure 4 Kathimerini : Illegal immigrants at Calais are removed by police officers in front of the entrance of the Eurotunnel that leads to England. One more immigrant lost his life yesterday at the French port, raising the number of deaths to ten since the beginning of June. At the same time the government of Hungary announced that the fencing at the borders with Serbia will be completed at the end of August, an event that Belgrade warns will result in a humanitarian disaster.

Figure 5 Ta Nea, Caption: An African immigrant in one of the improvised camps that make up the so called "jungle" at Calais, a port that resembles more and more to a fortress, with fences and barbwires.

Figure 6 Ta Nea, Caption: When you are desperate you are doing everything to change your life. The refugees that are trapped at Calais, for instance, are using trees to overcome the fence that separates them from the train to England. That way, one young Sudanese was killed the other day. From the beginning of the year more than 37.000 immigrants that were trying to cross to England have been arrested at Calais.

Analysis

For this last section of the analysis, I have selected a case that constructs both a criminalised and victimised representation of immigrants. The reason being that even though for analytical purposes the majority of authors who conduct CDA focusing on the representation of immigrants in the media opt for a dichotomy between strategies of criminalisation and strategies of victimisation, these categories are often hard to distinguish as Konstantinidou and Michailidou argue (2014, p.64). However, both strategies contribute to the representation of immigrants around the common theme of otherness.

This analysis will be a bit different from the two previous ones as it will be divided into three parts, instead of two. Part one and two provide answers to Van Leeuwen's question "how are social actors represented in a criminalised and victimised way?" whereas part three focuses on the relationship between the social actors and the viewer will be examined.

1) <u>How are social actors represented in a criminalised and victimised way?</u>
At first glance, we could easily argue that this case is a typical example of a criminalised representation of immigrants who are represented trying to cross illegally the borders of England. Indeed, both linguistically and visually, the threat that immigrants pose to "us" is accentuated throughout the four newspapers.

First, examining the agency of the social actors according to Van Leeuwen (2008), we can observe that in almost all of the articles the social actors who are activated are the immigrants who are represented as trying to 'invade' Great Britain (see texts 1,2,2.1,3,4.,) (p.23). This activation is done through the use of active (see text 3) and passive voices (see text 2) and is accentuated lexically by the use of terms that are related with natural disasters, such as "flow of migrants" which evokes water calamities or the extensive use -both as a verb and a noun - of the term invasion, which according to Van Dijk (1988) can "suggest the imminent presence of a hostile army" (p. 244). Moreover, this activation is supported by the visuals figuring in the articles which represent several individuals in action walking towards an invisible to the viewer border (see fig. 1,2,3) or even climbing over fences (fig.6).

The representation of immigrants around the theme of a growing threat towards 'us' is further accomplished through the multiple use of figures referring to the growing number of immigrants attempting to cross the borders. We could argue that in a news article, the use of figures could provide credibility and demonstrate a thorough journalistic research; however, as Van Dijk argues (2000), the "main semantic objective" in the use of numbers "is to associate immigration with problems and threats, if only by quantity" (p. 45). This argument

is supported in this case as the numerals that figure in the articles lack consistency: sometimes 'hundreds' (text 4.1) are mentioned, whereas other times thousands, as in text 2.1, are brought up. Furthermore, it seems interesting to note that an exact figure of successful crossings is nowhere to be found in the selected articles. We could argue that such an instrumentalised use of numerals does not only provide a misleading representation of reality to the reader, but most importantly it also constructs a growing threat based solely on staggering number of numerals.

Finally, a very interesting visual choice that adds to the threatening representation of immigrants in this case is the fact that police or state officers are not visible in any visual with the exception of figure 4. We could argue that this is a motivated choice, as by only providing an image of a group of individuals walking towards presumably a state border with no one to stop them, a feeling of helplessness among the general population may be created, which could then be used to justify an ever-growing police state.

It has been argued in the analysis of the first case study that a tendency to focus on the group identity of immigrants without providing any additional information on their origins, reason of immigration, or 'categorising' them by cultural or biological characteristics to use Van Leeuwen's term (2008:144) contributes to the "us" and "them" dichotomy based on difference or even threat. However as with any other visual or linguistic strategy, the context is of particular importance. Amongst this "flow of immigrants" an individual is specified (see texts 2.2, caption of fig.4 and 6). This 'specification' to use once again Van Leeuwen's term is representing a victim both figuratively and literally. Indeed, as we are informed in text 2.2 and the captions of figures 4 and 6, during the latest attempt to cross the Eurotunnel an immigrant lost his life, becoming "another victim". But most importantly, this news story creates alongside a criminalised representation of immigrants that of a desperate individual whose actions are dooming him to an inevitable end.

This argument is represented in an exceptional way in figure 6, where a hooded individual can be seen on top of a tree trying to climb over a large fence. This image concurrently represents a reprehensible act of illegal trespassing, and an imminent accident from an eventual fall. A similar conflicting message can be seen in figures 1,2,3. Of course, these visuals can be analysed as a threatening group that walks towards a forbidden area, but at the same time the very area where they walk (on top of rail tracks) represents an imminent risk of death for the individuals. In that way, a very paradoxical representation of immigrants is constructed: that of a threatening criminal/potential victim. In both cases, the state needs to

take action, either to enforce order or to protect the individuals from their own "reckless" actions.

2)   The relationship between the social actors and the viewer

After having seen how immigrants are represented visually and through discourse their relationship to the viewer will now be analysed. In order to do so, I will examine the six visuals focusing on three variables: social distance, social relationship and social interaction (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.138-146).

Primarily, it should be noted that most visuals (see fig.1,2,3,6) seem to be part of security footage adding to a feeling of illicit activity introduced by the titles of the articles. Furthermore with the exception of figure 4, the visuals are taken using a long shot representing a symbolic distance between 'us' and 'them' as according to Van Leeuwen (2008), "people shot in a long shot from far away, are shown as if they are strangers; people shown in a close-up are shown as if they 'are one of us' (p.138). This social distance is reduced in figure 4 where an individual can be seen being lifted by a police officer. This visual, once again, is a very interesting choice, as the reader is invited to take a closer look at a police intervention, the only one visible in the articles. In this figure, several individuals can be seen sitting on the floor waiting to be removed by police officers, adopting in a way a "childish" passive behaviour.

Examining the angle of the visuals according to Van Leeuwen (2008), expresses "two aspects of the social relation between the viewer and the people in the picture: power and involvement" where horizontal angle realises symbolic involvement or detachment and vertical angle is related to power differences (p.139). The social distance analysed is further reinforced by the oblique angle that is used in every visual of this case (see fig.1,2,3,4,6). Once again, the reader is invited to observe but to stay detached from this kind of 'alien' actions. However the high angle that is used in these visuals, and can be seen clearly in figure 2, emphasises the feeling of a security footage, where the viewer is in a position of symbolic power over the represented social actors. A position of power that reminds us of that of a security professional who maintains order through means of surveillance. As a consequence, in all visuals, the reader is prompted to keep his/her symbolic distance from the subjects who are represented carrying out illicit or dangerous activities. Furthermore, this feeling of detachment is emphasised by the fact that none of the actors is directing his gaze towards the viewer, making these visuals an example of "offer images" that can be examined at will (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.140). It seems interesting to note that the only person who looks directly at

the viewer is UK's prime minister David Cameron (see fig.1) who can be seen enlarged next to immigrants adopting a 'confident position'.

5. Concluding remarks

This paper aimed at exposing the dominant visual and linguistic strategies used by a selected number of French and Greek newspapers reporting on the migrant crisis during 2015. Applying the tools of CMA to the analysis of the data, I sought to understand to what extent these strategies contribute to an othering discourse towards immigrants/refugees. The main goal of the analysis here presented was to respond to the research questions that guided it:

RQ1. What are the main linguistic and visual strategies employed by the selected media?

RQ2. To what extent do these strategies construct a representation of migrants based on the theme of otherness?

RQ 3. Are there any significant similarities/differences between the representation of these stories among the four newspapers featured? And if so why?

✓ RQ1 and RQ2:

As it was demonstrated in the analysis section, the vast majority of news articles reporting on the ongoing migrant crisis construct a representation of migrants by using two main strategiese: that of hostility by criminalising migrants and that of vulnerability by victimising migrants. Both of these strategies that represent migrants either as a threat or a burden for society have two main consequences for the construction of migrants' identity.

First, by representing migrants either as a threat or as burden to society migrants are reduced to non-citizen status clearly excluded from the French and Greek populations. Even though at first view, the representation of an individual as a criminal or as a victim could appear antinomic, they both result in an othering discourse, mainly by reducing people into "social types" of migrants (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.146). Indeed, one of the most striking similarities between the two strategies of representation is a tendency to highlight the group identity of individuals, ignoring their origin, individual traits, or reasons that led them to migrate. Most importantly, almost none of the news stories in the corpus offers a possible plan

of integration of the 'newcomers' into the general population, focusing mainly on the negative aspects of migration. The only exception where the group identity is put aside in favor of that of an individual is when news stories focus on an accident that includes a specific type of victim, in most of the cases a child or a woman.

Role allocation as described by Van Leeuwen (2008:32) follows an almost predictable pattern throughout the corpus as individuals are either represented as 'active invaders' or as 'passive victims' depending on the news story. Nevertheless, both representations demand action from the state to either stop or help migrants. It seems important to note, as the case study 3 demonstrated, that even though these main strategies of representation are often mixed they result in a same othering discourse based on exclusion.

Regardless of whether migrants are represented as criminals or victims, in the vast majority of news stories selected, the reader is advised to keep his/her visual distance. The reader is often invited to observe from a safe distance either because the actions represented are illegal activities or because they are too difficult to look at.

The second main consequence of representing migrants either as a threat or as a burden to society is that migration is problematised in a Foucauldian way (1984:389), i.e. migration is always presented as a problem that needs to be resolved. The response to this problem is offered by political elites who are often quoted and given prominent space in news stories regarding migration. However, by presenting migration as problem, the real causes behind migration related to climate change or military interventions of western countries on the countries of origin of migrants are ignored in favor of local responses, by state and police forces. Simple news stories are embedded into more complex discourses that are based on a dichotomy between 'us' and 'them' and provide one-way solutions to a phenomenon that has been characterised a problem.

✓ RQ3

Regarding the comparative analysis of this paper, it should be noted that contrary to my initial expectations I found a striking homogeneity in the corpus among all four news outlets. A homogeneity that is based on the aforementioned othering discourse towards migrants. Obviously, small differences regarding the general presentation of a given news article could be observed between the more 'traditional' newspapers (Le Monde, Kathimerini), who opt for a more conventional presentation that includes one main visual a heading and an article, and the more 'modern' newspapers (Ta Nea, Le Figaro) who opt for an almost webpage presentation of a news story with multiple visuals smaller articles and a frequent use of charts. In addition to these differences in form, it should be noted that the

Greek newspapers under analysis have a tendency to use photographs without credits or any other identifiers more often than the French. However, these stylistic differences where not sufficient to alter the results of my analysis.

I believe that this finding regarding an almost identical discursive strategy assumed by four different newspapers is noteworthy as it demonstrates that, regardless of ideological differences and different readership groups, there seems to be a tendency to problematise migration around the common basis of otherness. Furthermore, the presence of such a discourse in so called 'mainstream' media reaffirms the initial hypothesis that "new racism", as theorised by Barker (1981), is well established in western societies and their media.

However even though the main discursive strategies employed by the four news outlets evolve around a common theme of otherness based on threatening or victimised representations of migrants some important differences between France and Greece could be observed.

One of the most notable differences between the two countries can be observed in the different way that French and Greek newspapers attach the migration problem to different journalistic themes. In more detail regarding Greece, the majority of news stories in the corpus articulated their construction of the migration problematic around the Greek debt crisis theme. This correlation between the economic crisis in Greece and the migration crisis has been observed since 2011 by Konstantinidou and Michailidou (2014) who argue that "irregular migration was constructed as an exceptional crisis within the Crisis by all Greek media, orchestrating public discourse and fuelling the law and order and anti-immigration rhetoric" (p.65). The main argument that was employed by the news stories when correlating the economic crisis to irregular migration was the incapacity of the Greek state to manage this 'exceptional' crisis.

Regarding France the migration crisis was more often associated with a national security theme and more specifically with (anti)terrorist discourse. More specifically, it was observed that criminalised representations of immigrants where often part of editorials treating national security. It seems interesting to note that since the terrorist attacks in France in January and November 2015, the quasi permanent state of emergency that has been established by the government and remains in place until today has created a fertile ground for the reproduction of discourses that are based on otherness and target an omnipresent 'other' who threatens the French society. Under these exceptional political circumstances where security measures target more and more civil liberties, it was no surprise to find news stories

on migration that construct a criminalised 'other' alongside stories that construct a terrorist 'other'.

These different links established respectively between irregular migration and the economic crisis in Greece and irregular migration and national security in France could be attributed to cultural differences as well as the different socio-political context in the two countries. However, it should be noted that both problematisations of migration are based on a common negative theme of otherness. Indeed, in both cases a nation-state is presented in danger or even defenceless against an invasive migration that threatens, both by quantity and by cultural differences, citizens, and state.

A second difference was observed between the two countries regarding an opposition between Syrian migrants, often of Christian faith, who were portrayed as more 'legitimate' migrants, and sub-Saharan migrants who were more often criminalised or labelled economic migrants. This opposition between us/Christians and them/Muslims that was much more present in the Greek newspapers could be explained in terms of the different relationship between state and religion in the two countries.

The separation of state and church is incomplete in Greece[6]. As a result, both the state and the media define the Greek nation as a Christian nation. Departing from a religious Christian construction of the Greek population, Greek media are more prone to portray, in a more sympathetic way, Syrian migrants by putting forward a humanitarian or victimised discourse. Even though a distinction between Syrian 'legitimate' migrants and sub-Saharan migrants was also apparent in the French newspapers, it was done in a subtler way than in their Greek counterparts who often focused on the religious beliefs of the migrants as a way to approach them to Greek society.

I am aware that due to space limitations a limited number of case studies was analysed in this thesis. However, as it was argued in section 3, these cases studies are highly representative of the corpus and provide depth of analysis of the selected data sample. Further research focusing on larger number of articles as well as making use of quantitative corpus analysis tools could be used to provide different angles on the results of my analysis. Lastly, I believe that the corpus of data collected during this research may be useful in future related research, as it includes an almost complete list of all news articles that contain visuals and are related to the migrant crisis in the four selected newspapers for the year 2015.

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[6] According to Greek Constitution "the prevailing religion in Greece is that of the Eastern Orthodox Chrurch of Christ". Apart from the constitution, blasphemy against the Christian religion is still criminalised under criminal law.

This study has revealed a series of linguistic and visual strategies employed by selected mainstream media in the representation of migrants. Following Van Leeuwen, these strategies were categorised into two broad categories based on the themes of victimisation and criminalisation. Representing migrants as violent agents or as passive victims contributes to an elite problematisation of migration where migrants are represented as 'non-citizens' threatening the cohesion of 'our' society. This type of problematisation confirms the findings of Poppelmonde and Goddeeris (2017) regarding a shift towards more rational arguments dominated by "individualism" and national interests in western countries (p.20). Most importantly even though this paper has focused on a limited number of media from two European countries, I believe that the similarities that were observed in the construction of the representation of migrants by these media are demonstrative of an alarming homogeneity in othering discourses in European media. The fact that such an othering discourse is present and often imperceptible in mainstream media, viewed as objective journalistic sources by the public, reveals the importance of a deconstructed reading of news articles with the help of discourse analytical tools.

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