Characteristics of Narratives in Media Based on The Telegraph Website

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ZADÁNÍ BAKALÁŘSKÉ PRÁCE
(PROJEKTU, UMĚLECKÉHO DÍLA, UMĚLECKÉHO VÝKONU)

Jméno a příjmení:	**Jan Navrátil**
Osobní číslo:	**H16797**
Studijní program:	**B7310 Filologie**
Studijní obor:	**Anglický jazyk pro manažerskou praxi**
Forma studia:	**prezenční**

Téma práce:	**Charakteristika vypravování v médiích na základě webových stránek** *The Telegraph*

Zásady pro vypracování:

Shromáždění materiálů k tématu
Studium odborné literatury
Formulace cílů práce
Analýza vypravování ve vybraných článcích
Vyvození a formulace závěrů práce

Rozsah bakalářské práce:
Rozsah příloh:
Forma zpracování bakalářské práce: **tištěná/elektronická**

Seznam odborné literatury:

Fludernik, Monika. 2009. An Introduction to Narratology. Abingdon: Routledge.

Hühn, Peter, John Pier, Wolf Schmid, and Jörg Schönert, eds. 2009. Handbook of Narratology. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

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Vedoucí bakalářské práce: **Svitlana Shurma, M.A., Ph.D.**
                                    Ústav moderních jazyků a literatur
Datum zadání bakalářské práce: **9. listopadu 2018**
Termín odevzdání bakalářské práce: **3. května 2019**

Ve Zlíně dne 22. ledna 2019

L.S.

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ABSTRAKT

Tato bakalářská práce se zabývá charakteristikou prvků vyprávění, obsažených v mediálních článcích britského deníku *The Telegraph*. Práce se skládá z teoretické a praktické části. Teoretická část obsahuje vybrané teorie vyprávění, charakteristiku žurnalistiky a její vývoj, dále pak metodiku kritická analýzy diskurzu, její cíle a postupy během analýzy novinových článků. Praktická část obsahuje analýzu titulků, podtitulků a fotografií vybraných článků z britského deníku *The Telegraph*.

Klíčová slova: vyprávění, aktér, diskurz, žurnalistika, kritická analýza diskurzu, uprchlík

ABSTRACT

This bachelor thesis deals with the narrative features of the articles dealing with the topic of European refugee crisis available at the British daily newspaper *The Telegraph* website archive. The thesis consists of theoretical and practical parts. The theoretical part includes an overview of selected narrative theories, characteristic features of narrative journalism, and critical discourse analysis approach to analyzing newspapers. The practical part involves an analysis of headlines, decks and photographs of selected *The Telegraph* articles.

Keywords: narrative, social actor, discourse, journalism, critical discourse analysis, refugee

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Shurma for her patience, advice, and determination to guide me towards the completion of this work.

I hereby declare that the print version of my Bachelor's/Master's thesis and the electronic version of my thesis deposited in the IS/STAG system are identical.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Newspapers were one of the main sources of information for decades – a status, which they keep even nowadays, despite the technological advancements that were created alongside their existence. Ever since, newspapers frequently and consistently provided information to people, often on a daily basis. These days, the range of the featured articles spans from the hard topics such as economics, politics and science to more entertaining articles about everyday life, culture, travelling and so on. Articles are no longer just reports of events – they are written as narratives using techniques of fictional writing. Nevertheless, all articles, despite the genre, have in common the main principles of journalism – to report the truth in an objective, neutral way. However, this is often not true since many articles are ideologically tilted or express author's bias in quite disguised way. What narrative aspects are used in media articles and what is their purpose? And what techniques allow inconspicuous expressing of personal opinions and ideology in media articles and how are they identified?

This thesis focuses on the online articles of the British *The Telegraph* online archive, dealing with the topic of the European refugee crisis. The purpose of this work is to describe the narrative aspects present in the selected articles, the choice of language and the portrayal of social actors expressed in the headlines and decks, and the purpose of the images accompanying the headlines of the selected articles.

The first part of the thesis, dedicated to theoretical framework, includes selected theories of narratives and the attributes of narratives in media as well as the evolution of narrative journalism. This is followed by the explanation of the principles of critical discourse analysis as well as the description of techniques used to represent ideology in discourse. Lastly, a brief history of the refugee crisis is included together with a short overview of *The Telegraph* ideology and social attitudes.

The second part of the thesis offers the analysis of headlines, decks and related photographs of the selected articles. The headlines and decks are analysed with regard to the social actors, stylistic and narrative aspects they are featuring. The photographs are analysed in terms of their composition and portrayal of social actors. The thesis is finished by the conclusion, which contains the summary of the analysis, the meaning behind the gathered data, and a comparison of the found evidence with the attitude of *The Telegraph*.

I. THEORY

1 NARRATIVES AND DISCOURSE

Hardly a single day passes in people's lives without receiving or telling at least one story – whether it is told by a friend or family member, read in a book or heard on the radio. These stories convey certain information, in most cases for two main reasons: to pass on some knowledge or to entertain. Sometimes these two reasons merge, as often happens in documentaries or newspapers. Yet, informative stories providing useful content might mislead or even lose credibility when the interpretation is executed poorly. This typically happens because of mismatch of the message and the execution, which are the two key components of narratives (Fludernik 2009, 2). The execution is the way of presenting the content, which depends on the abilities and perception of the presenter and is known as "discourse" (Genette 1980, 26). The remaining part, being the actual content of the narrative, is referred to as "story" (Genette 1980, 27). According to Gérard Genette (1980, 27), there is a third component referred to as narration or "narrating", which is described as "[…] producing narrative action and, by extension, the whole of the real or fictional situation in which that action takes place," meaning that narration is the actual activity leading to the production of discourse.

The following chapter focuses on the theories of narratives, which describe, among the key components, several other aspects narratives consist of.

1.1 Theories of narrative

Many scholars attempted to analyse and describe the aspects of narratives but their theories focused only on a few specific aspects (Fludernik 2009, 88). As there is not just one type of narrative, a more complex model was required. The field of narratology which attempted to create a model that would account for all aspects and types of narratives became known as structuralist narratology (Fludernik 2009, 88). The system or structure with which structuralist scholars operated was based on the concept of "binary opposition," meaning that every function can appear in two variations (Fludernik 2005, 38). This thesis will focus on the theories of two structuralist scholars, Gérard Genette and Franz Karl Stanzel, who made an attempt to provide a universal model to be used in the description of narratives. Genette created a purely binary system based on the grammar of texts (Fludernik 2009, 88); whereas Stanzel proposed a model of inter connected narratives (Fludernik 2005, 40). The theories and models of both these scholars are discussed in more detail below.

1.1.1 Franz Karl Stanzel

The theory of Franz Karl Stanzel is mainly concerned with the identity and attributes of the agent of the narrative act – a narrator (Fludernik 2009, 88). A narrator is typically defined as "[...] textually projected and readerly constructed function, slot or category whose occupant need not be thought of in any terms but those of a communicative role" (Margolin 2009, 351). Therefore, a narrator is the one, whose duty is to lay out the story in their own words. Stanzel divided the attributes of the act of a narrator into three main categories or "narrative situations" (Stanzel 1982, 12–13).

The first of Stanzel's narrative situations is called a first-person narrative. This is a type of narrative where the narrator plays a role in the story itself in the sense that the narrator is a character in the same world as other characters of the story – therefore narrator's world and the story-world are identical (Stanzel 1982, 12). There is an option when a first-person narrator is not the protagonist of the story but rather an observing minor character. This narrator evaluates the things he sees happening; however, his perspective is often biased or lacking some necessary information (Fludernik 2009, 90). Stanzel (1982, 139) calls these narrators peripheral.

The next narrative situation is referred to as authorial narrative. The narrator in this situation leaves the story and rises far above to the vantage point, from which they are telling the story. They are completely detached from the events happening and from the fictional world itself (Stanzel 1982, 13). However, a narrator does not always have to be explicitly visible. A situation may occur where there is an impression of no narrator being present. In this case, the story is often perceived or reflected through the eyes of one of the characters – a reflector character (Stanzel 1982, 13). This leads to Stanzel's third narrative situation called figural narrative situation. In this narrative situation, the narrator's figure is substituted by a "reflector character" – a character of the story who does not narrate but through whose perspective the story is perceived (Stanzel 1982, 13). This creates a feeling of "immediacy" due to the fact that the narrative act is not as visible as it was in the previous narrative situations (Stanzel 1982, 13).

However, these narrative situations are the result of various combinations of more basic attributes of the narrator. Stanzel (1982, 76–79) describes three basic attributes: "person", "perspective" and "modus." Each of these aspects has two variations, following the structure of binary opposition. "Person" focuses on, as the label suggests, the person in which is the narration realized, with the two variations being first-person and third-person narrative (Stanzel 1982, 101–106). "Perspective" considers the position of the narrator in

the story. Perspective is "internal," if the narrator is a character in the world where the story takes place or "external" when they are not a part of the story (Stanzel 1982, 138–143). The last aspect, "modus," describes whether the story is perceived by the narrator figure or by a reflector character (Stanzel 1982, 176–181). In news reporting, vast majority of narratives follow similar pattern: they are narrated in third-person, from an external perspective, and are perceived by the narrator figure. However, in the case of personal stories, which are far less frequent than reports, the narratives are in first-person, from internal perspective, and perceived by the narrator figure (if the story is the author's own experience) or by a reflector character (if the personal story is of someone else).

Stanzel's typology provides a thorough insight into narrative properties as well as wide range of resulting narrative situations, accounting for a variety of possible cases of narratives (Fludernik 2009, 98). On the other hand, the same was a subject of criticism, as the model was perceived as overcomplicated and problematic in some combinations of the narrative aspects, creating inadequate descriptions of narratives (Fludernik 2009, 95–96).

The structuring into opposing pairs is also present in the work of another scholar, who decided to analyse similar aspects of narratives from a grammatical approach—Gérard Genette.

1.1.2   Gérard Genette

Similar to Stanzel, Genette also focused on the aspects of a narrator and its position in the narrative and on a few occasions Genette's and Stanzel's descriptions of certain aspects are in an agreement. Genette's theory studies the connections between three components of narratives: narration (the act of producing a narrative), discourse (the result of the production of a narrative) and story (Genette 1980, 27). Based on this foundation, Genette further proposes three basic categories, in which he described the relations between the components of narratives – voice, mood and tense (Genette 1980, 30–31).

The first category labelled "voice" takes into account aspects of the narrator as well as other features of narratives such as time of narration and narrative levels. The subcategory of voice which deals with the narrator's perspective is referred to as "person" (Genette 1980, 243–245), which follows the same pattern as in Stanzel's theory. However, Genette introduces two different terms to describe how the narrator is related to the story: "homodiegetic" and "heterodiegetic" (Genette 1980, 248), which correspond with Stanzel's first-person and authorial narrative situations respectively.

Second category, "mood", focuses on what perspective is the narrative perceived from and the distinction between the agent of narration and a character whose point of view is used – or as Genette (1980, 186) puts it, "Who sees?" and "Who speaks?" To avoid the confusion resulting from the use of several terms such as point of view, perspective or vision, Genette introduced a new general term "focalization" (Genette 1980, 188-189). Focalization describes the perception of the ongoing action by a certain character (Genette 1980, 189), similar to Stanzel's reflector character in his modus category. There are two types of focalization: "internal focalization," which is a narrative where the act of narration is limited by the conscience and knowledge of the focalized character, through whose mind the story is perceived, and "external focalization" where is the access to the mind of the focalized character unavailable and therefore, his thoughts remain unknown (Genette 1980, 189–190).

Last of the three categories is "tense" which is focused on the sequence of events, the amount of times events are described and time management of the narrative (Genette 1980, 29–31). For the purpose of this work, only the frequency of description and the sequence of events will be of importance since news headlines and decks do not cover events across a time span but are constructed to address the events in the exact moment they are happening – this enhances the immediate feeling of headlines and decks. These aspects are analyzed in subcategories called "order" (Genette 1980, 33–85) and "frequency" (Genette 1980, 113–160). Vast majority of narratives follow chronological order of events, meaning that the beginning of the story is at the beginning of narration, which then proceeds to go through the events as they occurred, eventually ending the narration as the story itself ends (Fludernik 2009, 101). However, there are many examples of disorders where the narration shifts between events irregularly; these deviations in the chronology of narrative events are frequently present in news reporting, often stressing the important information by presenting it first. The use of these deviations will be discussed further in Chapter 1.2.

Under the subcategory of tense labelled as "frequency" Genette examines the relations between the repetition of narrative events and their associated descriptions in discourse (Genette 1980, 113–115). He distinguishes three main types of these relations: "singulative" narrative, accounting for events which were narrated the same number of times they actually happened, "repeating" narrative, including events that happened once but were narrated multiple times, and "iterative," which deals with one-time narration of an event that happened multiple times (Genette 1980, 113–116). Frequency is often used in reporting, as the types of frequency can be used to either persuade, create tension

(repetitive) or to abbreviate or evaluate, and therefore, save space (iteration) (Fludernik 2009, 35). To summarize, Genette's theory uses specific terminology, which accurately describe the differences between individual aspects (Fludernik 2009, 103). However, his theory, just as Stanzel's, focuses mainly on verbal narratives – their theories do not account for narratives, which are realised, for example, visually (drama, film, photographs) (Fludernik 2009, 104). Therefore, in news narratives, even though photographs are the key parts of articles, these theories cannot be fully applied as their concern is purely textual.

1.2 News narratives in mass media

As technologies advanced and evolved, they created new means of communication and therefore, new types and aspects of narratives. Mass communication can be described as a "[...] process by which a person, group of people, or large organization creates a message and transmits it through some type of medium to a large, anonymous, heterogeneous audience" (Pearce 2009, 623). The media, through which the transmission of the message is realised, is typically referred to as mass media. Nowadays, the means of mass communication include: printed text, audio and video formats and the hybrid forms of the Internet. This section will discuss the aspects of narratives used in the Internet representations of media.

The term "news" as such does not have one specific definition. In general, news can be described as "events [...] which can then be turned into 'news' by the application of various linguistic and professional practises" (Fulton 2005, 219). In other words, news are events described by various sources, which are then adjusted and polished according to news values, the agenda of the news agency, and the expectations of their respective audiences (Fulton 2005, 219).

Now, since the theories of narratives discussed earlier are mainly concerned with fictional writing, it is important to mention, how narratives are created in non-fictional writing such as news and journalism. There are several ways of transforming information into narratives. These are referred to as narrative strategies and they are used to give information a narrative structure, and therefore, create news. These strategies can be in general divided into five groups: angle, which fulfils the role similar to plots, point of closure, symbolizing the outcome or resolution of the story, individualisation, meaning the portrayal of the characters of the story, focalisation, which corresponds with Genette's definition of the term (see Section 1.1.2), and perspective from which the story is told, and finally chronology, which is concerned with the time and sequence of the described events

(Fulton 2005, 233–240). There is also a presence of a narrator figure: in case of news articles the author can be described as an extradiegetic narrator since they usually do not play a role in the story (Dunn 2005, 146). However, they must fulfil the requirement of news values to be objective and therefore, perceived as reliable (Dunn 2005, 146–147). In order for a story to be considered as a narrative, it must involve characters, as they are a key element of narratives (Fludernik 2009, 6), both fictional and non-fictional. In news reporting, characters of the stories are referred to as social actors (further discussed in Section 1.2.1).

The hybrid nature of the Internet allows simultaneous use of spoken word, imagery and sounds, which in their turn enhance the narratives (Ryan 2009, 268). The influence of mass media on the narratives resulted in their segmentation. Segmentation is the division of narratives into segments. For example, in TV broadcasting, those will be short sets of visual and aural elements based on the same context; for example, "a single TV news story, a commercial, a title sequence or the story action in that part of a program that occurs between one commercial break and the next" (Dunn 2005, 130). In this sense, the narrative appears as if divided into chapters (Dunn 2005, 154). William Labov (1997, 32–41) described narrative segments as follows: orientation, complication, evaluation and resolution. This division into narrative segments also corresponds with the segments found in news reporting, however, they are often in alternated order. Labov proposes one extra segment at the very end of the story labelled as "coda," which he describes as "[...] a functional device for returning the verbal perspective to the present moment" (Labov 1997, 39–40). In news reporting, coda represents a present outcome of the story reported, shortly summarizing what happened after the story ended (Molek-Kozakowska 2013, 186).

Printed newspapers and television news use similar narrative techniques to some extent. The Internet could be perceived as some middle ground since it merges the techniques of both by publishing written articles, comparable with those in printed newspapers, enhanced by the visual (and sometimes audiovisual) functions. The narrative properties of texts in the Internet articles follow the rules of narrative journalism (further described in Chapter 1.3) (Espinel 2014, 22). In case of the Internet, it is the images accompanying the articles that became the significant part of an article (Fulton 2005, 260). The choice of a certain image is made so that it either portrays what the article is about or points to specific information which is not explicitly mentioned in the text (Fulton 2005, 260). Those images contain a number of signifiers with narrative functions which can be divided into two categories: technical code (signifiers as a result of composition, setting of

the scene or lighting) and visual code (signifiers representing metonymy or ideology) (Fulton 2005, 261–263).

The application of narrative aspects to news reporting changed rigidly shaped reports into more reader-friendly texts, making the readers more engaged with the characters, increasing the overall entertainment value of the articles (Espinel 2014, 15–16). The application of narrative structures can also help with the placing of the narrative segments in a desired to order to increase the attractiveness of the articles, and therefore, the reader's curiosity (Molek-Kozakowska 2013, 185). Thus, people represented in the articles, which partake in a story in a way similar to characters in fiction, are known as social actors.

1.2.1 Theory of characters / social actors

For a narrative to be perceived as such, it must contain characters. In general, character can be described as "[...] a text- or media-based figure in a storyworld, usually human or human-like" (Jannidis 2009, 14). To appear real, every character has to have a certain set of attributes to be a functional participant of the story as well as creating distinctions between a numbers of different characters. There are several ways to describe the acquisition and execution of character traits but only three of them are relevant in the topic of narratology, each of them relying on a different kind of information: "[...] (a) the basic type, which provides a very fundamental structure for those entities which are seen as sentient beings; (b) character models or types such as the *femme fatale* or the *hard-boiled detective*; (c) encyclopaedic knowledge of human beings [...]" (Jannidis 2009, 14). In literary text, characterization may be direct (explicit assignment) or indirect (the association is based on text implications and the types of information described earlier). Character traits often help creating a more interesting and complex story as characters can develop throughout the text, and therefore gain additional traits. In fiction, there a few ways of making the reader relate to a character:

> "(a) the transfer of perspective; (b) the reader's affective predisposition toward the character—itself influenced by: (i) the character's emotions, whether explicitly described or implicitly conveyed; (ii) the reader's reaction to her mental simulation of the character's position; (iii) the expression of emotions in the presentation—and (c) evaluation of characters in the text." (Jannidis 2009, 15)

Just as in literary discourse, news narratives try to appeal to the reader through the expression of opinions and views, which the reader can associate with, creation of emotional bonds and sympathy and empathy for the character.

Vladimir Propp in his work *Morphology of the Folktale* analyzed the function, characteristics and behaviour of characters, and based on their "spheres of action" classified characters as: the villain, the donor, the helper, the princess and her father, the dispatcher, the hero and the false hero (Propp 2009, 79–80). In news narratives, the characters categorization could be simplified into two opposites by dividing the characters into two groups: "us" (positive interpretation) and "them" (negative interpretation) (Wirth-Koliba 2016, 23).

Since narrative is a chain of events and scenes, not all characters might be present at the same time. When character makes presence in the story for the first time, it is perceived as its introduction (Jannidis 2009, 21). Whenever a character appears again is referred to as identification which might take several forms: false (identification of a character where in reality is reference to someone else), impeded (inexplicit reference, never clarified in the text) and deferred (a correct and immediate identification) (Jannidis 2009, 21). It is important to note the text implications about who is being referred to as some of them might be intentionally constructed to derail the focus of the reader and possibly influence his perspective on the ongoing action in a desired way (Jannidis 2009, 24–25).

Speaking of news reporting, the term character is not used in this connection. The term used to describe how people are presented in news is "social actor," which is the description of the participants by their name, age, nationality or occupation or on the other hand can be categorized by presenting them as members of a general, homogeneous group of people (Machin and Mayr 2013, 223).

Social actors can be represented in a number of ways. For example, they can be excluded from the text, leaving just the result of actions but not their cause (Leeuwen 2008, 28–32). They can also be activated or passivized, depending on whether they are active agents of a described action or receivers, which are affected by the action (Leeuwen 2008, 33). The expression of social actors by referencing to their personal identity or to the institution they are related to is a possibility as well (Machin and Mayr 2013, 79–80). Social actors might be presented individualised or as a part of a collective group (Machin and Mayr 2013, 80), or they can be referred to by their occupation or only their own name (Machin and Mayr 2013, 81–82) and a few other techniques – techniques, which are chosen on behalf of the interest of authorities, the publisher's agenda or the author's bias.

This segment focused on the basic definition of character roles, the segmentation of narratives into smaller narrative units and the way social actors are presented in newspapers. The focus on the narrative aspects and social actors gave rise to a style of writing, which is frequently used in today's news – narrative journalism.

1.3 Evolution of narrative journalism

The traditional sense of journalism is to objectively report on major events influencing society. Such tradition is labelled as hard-news, which can be defined as "serious important news that is considered to be of interest to many people, either in a particular area or country, or in the world" (Cambridge Dictionary). Hard-news are mainly focused on the current happenings in the sectors mentioned above, reporting any important event as soon as possible (Fulton 2009, 226). However, in the 1960s and 1970s a new way of writing news was pushed forth by a movement called New Journalism (Espinel 2014, 14). The idea of this movement was to tackle the traditional news reporting by applying four techniques of realistic writing onto news reports, which are the following: "the use of scene-by-scene construction, full record of dialogue, third-person point-of-view and the description of "status details" – the entire pattern of behaviour and possessions through which people express their position in the world or what they think it is or what they hope it to be – to round out a character" (Espinel 2014, 14). Use of this technique changed the form of news from short, strict reports to longer texts, unwrapping like a story. These articles were in general referred to as soft-news (Fulton 2009, 226).

Soft-news, as opposed to hard-news, focus not on the sole factual truth of events but rather on the background or "human interest" in these specific matters (Fulton 2009, 226–227), and therefore allows the news entries to "engage the reader both intellectually and emotionally" (Berning 2011, 38–39). Further differences were realized through the description of thoughts (of characters but often author's as well), centralization of the author in the story or deviation from standard punctuation (Espinel 2014, 15). This type of writing gave rise to a new genre of news reporting which was labelled as narrative journalism.

However, the aspects of narrative journalism derived from fictional writing do not change the texts into fiction. Journalism as such belongs into factual writing and therefore, the author is obliged to include and describe events based on his own experience or information provided by existing sources (Espinel 2014, 16–17). The structure is based on a narrative model of fictional writing described earlier with a condition that the narrator is,

in fact, the author, whose knowledge is always limited to what has actually happened in real life (Espinel 2014, 18). Another aspect of those news narratives is that one vent or story can be split up into several articles or reports, referred to as a "running story" (Dunn 2005, 208). This practice is often used when reporting major events or pressing issues – in this case, the reports are basically updates of the information given earlier (Dunn 2005, 208–209). Taking into consideration these properties, it is possible to assume that narrative journalism is merging of reporting facts and fictional writing; however, the balanced informative and entertainment values underline the fact that it is much more than that (Berning 2011, 41). Although one of the main differences is the unique linguistic style, the author is obliged to convey the story in an easily comprehensible way while still maintaining to fulfil the journalist requirement to answer the five W-questions (Espinel 2014, 19–20).

Furthermore, narrative journalism developed certain practices, which are used to catch a significant amount of attention and to appeal to a variety of audiences. These practices are gathered under the term "sensationalism" (Molek-Kozakowska 2013, 173–174). Sensationalism can be defined as "a strategy used to catch and focus audience's attention" (Molek-Kozakowska 2017, 175). This includes the language used to describe the story as well as the photographs that accompany the text – in a way that the story is perceived as of increased value and significance, making the story more "newsworthy" (Molek-Kozakowska 2013, 177). Now, it is true that in order to achieve a desired effect the article should be appealing to the reader from the beginning to the end; however, it is the headline that helps the reader to decide, whether to read an article or not (Molek-Kozakowska 2013, 180). There is a number of sensationalist techniques used in headlines:

> "These include the omission of function words, frequent nominalizations and premodifications, the use of untensed phrases instead of clauses, the use of the present tense to increase timeliness, the increased frequency of adverbs of manner, the decreased frequency of attributions and time specifications, the use of marked/emotional/evaluative words, the intertextual references in the form of pseudo-direct quotes or allusions, as well as such patterns as proverbs, idioms and puns." (Molek-Kozakowska 2013, 180–181)

But it is not only about the use of individual terms; the overall feeling is important as well. Molek-Kozakowska (2013, 183–184) provides a few categories of the overall message of headlines, based on her studied examples, which provide an insight of how can the structuring and use of language influence reader's perception of given information.

All in all, narrative journalism changed the approach to writing media articles and pushed forward techniques and structures which are used nowadays. Sensationalist techniques are also connected to discourse – and to study the techniques of sensationalism properly, it is important to define what discourse is. That is the focus of the following chapter as well as the overview of "critical discourse analysis," and they way it is applied to study the intentions behind the use of language.

2 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF MEDIA DISCOURSE

So far the focus was on the act of narration and the structure of narratives; thus, this part of the thesis will focus on discourse, the remaining component of narratives proposed by Genette. Discourse is typically understood as the use of language – specific terms the author chooses to pass on certain information – as well as the reception and interpretation of such language (Widdowson 2015, 6–7). The choice of language is unique and varies from person to person. If there were five people to present the same story, they would provide five different discourses resulting from that one story. Now, discourse analysis is a study about the use language as well as the specific connections between structures of discourse at various linguistic levels (Mithun 2015, 11). Approach to discourse analysis is fairly neutral, where the person analyzing does not view the texts from any specific perspective. Opposed to this is what is referred to as critical discourse analysis (hereinafter CDA). CDA studies the text itself as any other discourse analysis; however, it takes into consideration other factors such as social context, beliefs and opinions of the author, abuse of power or control and ideology (van Dijk 1993, 249–250). The aim of CDA is to approach the discourse from a point of view of an oppressed social group (van Dijk 1993, 270). Another main property of CDA is that "[r]ather than merely *describe* discourse structures, it tries to *explain* them in terms of properties of social interaction and especially social structure" (van Dijk 2015, 467). In other words, CDA is aimed at explaining the intentions behind certain discourse structures, the way in which it is presented and the resulting impact on the audience's perception of reality.

2.1 Principles of CDA

CDA as such is not a specific method of analysis but rather an approach choosing and using tools from a broad range of discourse studies, making CDA a "discourse study with an attitude" (van Dijk 2015, 466). The choice of the methods applied resides on several principles. First, its concern with the enactment of power and dominance is only to tackle certain social problems, in order to understand them (van Dijk 1993, 252). It is possible that an analysis of a certain social issue may require larger amount of general knowledge, meaning that the problem needs to be tracked for a certain time span to be able to acquire necessary information and data (van Dijk 1993, 253).

Another core notion, which needs to be accounted for is the understanding and acknowledgment of the existence of inequality and the source of power – and therefore an ability to control – of certain groups in society (van Dijk 2015, 469). Power can derive

from several types of source, whether it is wealth or military, and can be exercised explicitly as well as inconspicuously in the form of "[...] laws, rules, norms, habits, and even a quite general consensus [...]" (van Dijk 2015, 469). Associated with control is also the access to discourse or communication in general, where the groups of power can exert their influence in a way that restricts the "lesser" groups' participation and connection to means of communication (van Dijk 1993, 255–256). This means that social groups in power are able to control the amount of information released to the public, whether it is the limitation of information sources or, in extreme cases, censorship. In addition, the organization of access to discourse increases the power of the group in mind, and therefore its influence over opinions of the public (van Dijk 1993, 256–257). Another form of controlling access to discourse is the organization of a communicative event, let's say a public debate. In vast majority of cases, it is the speakers and the ones they represent who decide about the topics discussed, time and place of the event or the choice of who is allowed to participate in the debate (van Dijk 2015, 470–471).

One of the major ways of enacting power is the control of knowledge and its result, referred to as "mind control". The mind of each individual consists of opinions, often based on personal experience but to some extent influenced by the experience and opinions of the surroundings (van Dijk 2015, 472). The understanding and response to a discourse about certain events is called a "mental model" and can be applied either to the perception of an individual receiver or – in more practical terms – the representations of social groups (van Dijk 2015, 472). Now, these models can be influenced and changed upon the wide reception of specifically built discourse structures, making the opinion on the topic at hand more generalized; therefore much easier to adapt (van Dijk 2015, 472). The appearance of people or organizations, perceived by the public as trustworthy, that have accepted a specific view or opinion, even further helps people to accept that view (or opinion) as well (van Dijk 2015, 472–473). This acceptance of a set of ideas by large groups of people then turns into ideology which places a crucial role in creation as well as perception of text.

2.2 CDA and ideology

CDA does not only deal with the expression and enactment of power through discourse, it also studies how discourse pushes forward certain agendas or ideology. Ideology as such can be perceived as a "self-image of a group, organized by fundamental categories such as the desired (valued, preferred) identity, actions, norms and values, resources and relations to other groups" (van Dijk 2008, 193). In other words, ideology is a set of beliefs which is

shared within a certain group of people. Thus, an ideology is sort of a generally explained set of rules for a specific group of people; however, each member of the group may perceive the rules in their own way due to their personal beliefs, opinions and experience – all of which forms an individual's attitude (van Dijk 2008, 193). The major sign of discourse influenced by ideology is polarization, which means the division between "our" group (Us) and some other group of people (Them) (van Dijk 2008, 193). However, ideology is typically hidden within the discourse, and therefore, the audience is more susceptible to be influenced. In its turn, this encourages the adaptation and reproduction of ideological discourse.

The division into the groups "us" and "them" is based on clusivity, meaning whether someone is a part of the group or not (Wirth-Koliba 2016, 25–26). There are several techniques of underlining the differences between "us" and "them." One of these techniques is called proximisation, which is a technique used to adjust the distance between the matter at hand (or the opposite group "them") and the speaker and addressees, usually by portraying the matter in a specifically negative way (Wirth-Koliba 2016, 26). In other words, proximisation makes the matter appear more urgent and important to the participants of the "we" group. This is achieved via inducing fear in addressees through the description of the matter as threatening to everyone involved, with the worst imaginable outcome when not dealt with (Wirth-Koliba 2016, 26–28). This inclusion and proximisation is often used to legitimise political decisions, since the addressees are more susceptible to agree with any decision just so they will feel safe (Wirth-Koliba 2016, 26). It also allows the author of a statement to push forward their own beliefs as beliefs of the whole group – and at the same time underline the ideas of the opposite group (Machin and Mayr 2013, 84–85). The differences of the groups can be further supported by "claiming common ground" (Wirth-Koliba 2016, 31). Common ground is a concept of values shared in general and values shared between the members of the groups – these include aspects such as nationality, age, job position as well as personal preferences (Wirth-Koliba 2016, 32).

In conclusion, since newspaper discourse is rarely neutral, discourse analysis would not provide the desired information. Therefore, CDA appears to be a suitable tool for analysis of newspaper discourse as it takes into consideration a broader spectrum of aspects.

2.3 Themes and frames in the news

Newspapers create specifically constructed discourses on a daily basis, all with various aims and intentions. The news discourse often bear marks of ideology and bias – either of the author or on behalf of a larger organization – which are projected in the text mainly in an inconspicuous way (Machin and Mayr 2013, 47–48).

Apart from a specific use of language to push the agenda, ideology can be disguised in the overall intention or message of the article. This message is referred to as topic or theme (van Dijk 1985, 74). The concept of topics is related to the perception of the article by the reader, who then constructs a generalised and simplified meaning and message encoded in the article (van Dijk 1985, 76). It is important to note, however, that themes are "not simply a word or a single concept, but a (macro)proposition" (van Dijk 1985, 76), meaning that themes are realized by the text as whole. Even though themes cannot be completely drawn out from separated parts of text, there are two units of the text, which contain a portion of the article's theme – headlines and decks (van Dijk 1985, 78). However, in the case of headlines and decks, the theme and perception presented is that of the author (van Dijk 1985, 77).

The technique of creating and adjusting specific themes of newspaper articles is referred to as framing (Lück et al. 2018, 1638). The framing of similar events in the same way results into a change of the general perception of such events (Lück et al. 2018, 1638). The perception is further underlined by a specific choice of visuals, presented in the articles (Lück et al. 2018, 1638). These visual elements – photographs mostly – in newspaper articles meet two requirements: denotation, meaning what is actually portrayed on the photograph, and connotation, which relates to the ideas the photograph is conveying (Machin and Mayr 2013, 49–50). Whereas denotation relies purely on what is present in the image, connotation is disguised in the settings of the photograph (centre of focus, size, colours etc.) (Machin and Mayr 2013, 51–56).

This section dealt with the concept of themes and framing, the construction of newspaper articles in order to package them to fit under a certain theme and the way visual choices, which accompany the articles, are made to give across an idea in an inconspicuous way.

3   SPECIFICATION OF THE MATERIAL AND METHODS

3.1 Refugee crisis history

European refugee crisis is a label for a situation in Europe which has lasted several years. The situation has been caused by the arrival of large numbers of people from Middle East and Africa, seeking new homes and lives or simply fleeing from conflict and dreadful living conditions.

The number of people applying for an asylum began to noticeably rise in 2014, when the largest group of migrants came from Syria, Afghanistan and Eritrea (Frontex 2015, 16). These migrants were using two main routes to get to Europe: through Turkey and Greece, which had not been used often earlier, but later became one of the most frequent routes, and across the Mediterranean Sea to Italy and occasionally Spain (Frontex 2015, 23). In 2015, the numbers of migrants kept rising until it surpassed the numbers from previous year, which were considered as record numbers until then (Frontex 2018). That was the year of the largest wave of migrants coming to Europe, with 1.3 million people applying for asylum in total. The numbers peaked in September and October 2015 when there were 10 000 migrants coming to Greece from Turkey per day (Publications Office of the European Union 2017). The statistics were similar 2016 with a total of 1.2 million applications; however, in 2017 the number of applications was approximately half the amount in comparison with previous years (European Commission 2018).

As for the European Union, the main premise was to help the people on the run while tackling the causes which created this situation. The member states of the EU, led by Germany, Italy and France began to accept the migrants in large numbers. The EU also focused on patrolling the Mediterranean Sea in order to rescue people travelling on primitive boats or dinghies (Publications Office of the European Union 2017). However, with the increasing numbers of refugees, mainly Muslim, seeking asylum in European countries problems began to surface: reported attacks on locals, riots and the risk of religious extremists infiltrating Europe with crowds of refugees. This resulted in growing fear among European citizens, which made the overall public opinion turn cold towards the whole situation. There were several protests against helping the refugees, mostly in the three countries leading the operation of accommodating refugees.

These days, the situation has normalised a little as the numbers of incoming refugees dropped significantly since 2015 and 2016 (European Commission 2018). It is true that the fear and resentment are still present; however, it is not as empowered as it was the few

years back. What remained the same are the economical concerns about the accommodation for the refugees – even though the EU had assigned approximately €17bln to help solve the migration crisis (Publications Office of the European Union 2017). As for the media, this topic was featured as cover stories in newspapers and on news websites; yet, as time passed by, the focus of news has drifted away from this topic and articles about refugee crisis or related matters appear rarely nowadays.

The Telegraph, a leading British daily newspaper, nowadays considered as one of the three best newspapers in Britain with regard to quality (Encyclopedia Britannica), started reporting the crisis in June 2014. The frequency of reporting rose in 2015 and peaked in autumn of the same year. The number of articles as well the consistency of reporting declined since then; however, selective reporting on this topic is there at present. In general, *The Telegraph's* news production is described as "conservative, middle-class approach to comprehensive news coverage" (Encyclopedia Britannica). The newspaper promotes itself as fair, proud of its brand, producing memorable stories, and contributing to the society overall (The Telegraph). Therefore, the reporting of the refugee crisis is expected to be objective and neutral. However, the conservative approach might result in a slightly negative bias towards this topic.

3.2 Methods of analyzing narratives in the articles from *The Telegraph*

The material for the present analysis is 160 *The Telegraph* articles, dealing with the topic of refugee crisis, from September 2015, which was the peak month in relation to the number of incoming refugees as well as media hype around it. The articles have been selected from the "News" section of *The Telegraph* website.

The CDA methods have been applied to the analysis of headlines, decks (the lead-ins following the headline, giving a brief summary of the content) and images accompanying the introductions of articles.

First, the representation of social actors in headlines, decks and picture cuts have been traced. Van Leeuwen's classification is applied to headlines and decks, where the techniques of description are on textual basis. In picture cuts, the analysis focuses on social actors and their individual presentation (poses, gaze, and positioning). The photographs are further analyzed at the level of overall structure, regarding the aspects of the composition (settings, focus, tone and salience). In headlines and decks, an analysis of the lexical surroundings is made; the focus is on the use of stylistically marked language chosen to convey the information in a specific, emotionally altered way. Finally, the narrative

features, including narrative structures of headlines and decks and the overall theme of these parts of text.

The data were gathered through the AntConc software, which upon entering the corpus provided statistic information regarding the use of specific language, word clusters, and lexical surroundings of specific items, number of featured narrative structures and the frequency of use of techniques used to describe social actors.

II. ANALYSIS

4   ANALYSIS OF HEADLINES IN THE TELEGRAPH ARTICLES

The headlines of 160 continually selected articles published in September 2015, concerning the topic of European refugee crisis, were selected for analysis. The chapter focuses on social actors and their portrayal in the headlines, the way stylistic techniques are used to convey various explicit and implicit information, and the use of narrative features and structures.

4.1 Social actors

This section focuses on the representation of social actors and the vocabulary used to address them in the headlines, and the techniques used to refer to them.

The word used the most to describe people coming to Europe from other countries was "refugees" with 116 uses followed up closely by "migrants" with 61 uses. The difference between these two terms is that "refugee" has slightly different connotation than a more neutral term "migrants." The word "refugee" signifies people running away from their familiar environment often due to war or life-threatening situations, whereas "migrants" describes "people that travel to a different country or place, often to find work" (Cambridge Dictionary). The reason for a more frequent use of the prior term rather than the latter is to create empathy by using emotionally richer vocabulary to provide desired response from the reader. However, the use of such term in the majority of the headlines is inadequate, as it generalises all the people into one group. It is true that the majority of people coming to Europe are fleeing Syria due to the ongoing conflict and danger, describing them as "refugees" is fairly accurate. However, the specifying collocation "Syrian refugees" was used only 21 times. This means that in the rest of the headlines the origin of the people apparently does not play an important role and all people are assumed to be placed into the same group and associated with the group's fate, reasons and actions. This assumption is incorrect though, as there are numbers of people leaving countries for various other reasons rather than fleeing from conflict. The term "migrant" would be better because of its neutrality and universality. Nevertheless, both those terms have one thing in common – they are used as a part of a technique, which is called genericisation. Genericisation is sorting individuals into one homogenous group often resulting in the creation of stereotypes (Machin and Mayr 2013, 80–81). An example would be:

(1) *Riot police clash with <u>refugees</u> in Lesbos* (Squires 2015).

Leaving "refugees" further unspecified puts a stereotyping mark on anybody labelled by the same term, inclining that every "refugee" is capable of the same behaviour. Genericisation was present in 12 headlines in total.

Another type of presentation of social actors frequently featured in the headlines (27 in total) was impersonalisation. In simple terms, this can be described as presenting opinions of an individual as opinions of a whole organization or group and vice versa (Machin and Mayr 2013, 79–80). Since governments and political institutes were highly concerned with the topic of immigration, we observe this phenomenon with respect to their presentation. Impersonalisation would be used to refer to the name of whole countries instead of their representative or political figures responsible for the described action, such as in the following:

(2) *Refugee crisis: EU divided as Hungary attacks migrant quota as 'unrealisable and nonsense'* (Nolan 2015).

It is clear that it is not the whole population of Hungary attacking the quota but rather the Hungarian government, who discussed and voted on this matter. On the other hand there are several articles which feature personalized participants, often political figures or people of a higher standing, for example David Cameron as in:

(3) *David Cameron confirms Britain will act with its 'head and its heart' and accept thousands of refugees* (Hughes 2015).

Since this is a well known political figure, this kind of presentation can be also referred to as nomination – describing the social actor using only his name, making the description more personal (Machin and Mayr 2013, 81–82). There were 28 entries featuring nomination in total. The opposite technique of nomination, which is realized via referring to his occupation, is called functionalisation, which is demonstrated in the following headline:

(4) *Tory MP claims he couldn't get a haircut because refugee barber went on holiday* (McCann 2015).

The political persona is only referred to as a member of Conservative Party. Now, the mention of a social actor's occupation is in mainly used to underline and ensure his/her respectful position, and therefore, increasing the trustworthiness of the statement (Machin and Mayr 2013, 81–82). In this case however, the name is omitted so the occupation stands out to support this sort of ridiculing headline. Functionalisation was used in 26 headlines in total.

The techniques of describing social actors are often combined together. An example would be:

(5) *Archbishop* warns *Cameron* over *Syrian refugees* (Mendick 2015).

Here, three social actors are described. The "archbishop" as a social actor is represented through functionalisation (referral by occupation) and impersonalisation in a sense that his concerns about refugees reflect concerns of the whole religious community and other representatives of religion. Second social actor – "Cameron" – is referred to here by his own name since he was the Prime Minister of England at the time of reporting and did not require to be specified any further. Again, apart from being described through nomination, his personalisation here is to signify him as a representative of the whole country, giving more weight to the archbishop's warning as he addresses people of Britain through reaching out to one of the highest standing political figure. The last social actor in this headline is "Syrian refugees." They are presented through collectivisation, which puts people of various age, gender, beliefs and motives into one group with only one aspect in common – their place of origin. In the context of this headline it is possible to say that genericisation took place as well in a sense that no matter what, each and every one of refugees coming from Syria is needed to be warned about. The following table presents the dominant techniques in these headlines along with the number of headlines in which they were used.

Technique	No. of entries
Nomination	28
Collectivisation	28
Impersonalisation	27
Functionalisation	26
Specification	14
Genericisation	12

Table 1: The techniques used in The Telegraph headlines

As can be seen, dominant techniques were nomination (used to describe political figures) and collectivisation (depicting of the refugees). Furthermore, collectivisation and genericisation were specifically bound to the portrayal of refugees, whereas the rest of the techniques applied for public figures and institutions.

Equally important to the way participants are mentioned and presented in the headlines is also their lexical surrounding. Choice of emotionally coloured words, collocations and idioms, puns and other stylistic devices plays a crucial role in the perception of given information as well.

4.2 Stylistic features

There are always several ways of presenting a single piece of information and the choice of lexical and stylistic means of doing so is always in the hands of the author (Richardson 2007, 54-55). However, there can always be just one word chosen from the several options available, which fits the desired description the most, according to the author of the text and his aims and preferences. This draws out an important question concerning the reason for the author's choice of a specific word, as it might carry a slightly different meaning than the other alternatives (Richardson 2007, 54). This being said, the components analyzed can be divided into three categories as per Simpson (1993, 82): the participants, the action or the "process" and the related lexical surroundings of the clause. The participants were described in the previous section; this section will address use of verbs and the lexical surroundings.

An example of how the choice of the verb tilts the connotation of the clause would be this headline:

(6) *Migrant crisis: Jean-Claude Juncker plans to compensate countries for each refugee taken in* (Holehouse and Philipson 2015).

What this headline says is that every country that accommodates refugees will receive help, possibly in the form of funds. However, the clause uses a verb "to compensate" which in other words means "to pay someone money in exchange for something that has been lost or damaged or for some problem" (Cambridge Dictionary). Therefore, this headline connotes that accommodating refugees is an unpleasant, unwelcome action needed to be compensated for if carried out. Other example would be:

(7) *Police <u>raid</u> Berlin mosque as 'Isil' jihadists try to recruit refugees* (Huggler 2015).

The headline consists of two clauses. However, the verb of the first clause "raid" is emotionally stronger than the verb in the second clause. The whole verb phrase "Police raid Berlin mosque" then connotes that the police action was a significant exertion of force, fast, and violent, which might come out as unnecessary due to the location it took place in.

Another technique, concerning the use of verbs, is the change of the clause from active voice into passive. This technique avoids unnecessary or unwanted suggestions, which the text would otherwise provide, while keeping the core information intact (Richardson 2007, 56), as in the following headline:

(8) *Andy Burnham accused of using Syrian refugee crisis for political advantage* (Hope 2015).

In this sentence, the part "Andy Burnham accused of using" is passivized, therefore, deleting the agent of the accusations. Since this article deals with political affairs, the passivization was probably used to prevent any potential political conflicts as well as to concentrate the interest on the content of the allegations. The next headline features the use of the technique; however, in this case, the agent is not removed completely. In the headline (9) the clause "German woman threatened" is again passivized to avoid mentioning the author of the threats. Although there are no traces of the agent in this clause, the following words suggest otherwise. According to the headline, the woman was threatened "with eviction," which is an action that can only be enforced either by law or the municipality the flat belongs to. In this case, it was the latter. This statement is further supported by the use of the term "eviction" which connotes use of specialized terminology and evokes feelings of seriousness and strictness. On the other hand, the verb "threatened" requires some attention too as that might be an exaggeration, used to push forward a certain attitude (Richardson 2007, 65–66). In reality, the woman was just notified by the landlord that her home was chosen as a place to house refugees, without any implications of a threat.

(9) *German woman threatened with eviction to make way for refugees* (Huggler 2015).

The lexical surroundings or "circumstances", as Simpson (1993, 82) labels them, are "normally expressed by adverbial or prepositional phrases." The following headlines are focused on the same event on the same day:

(10) *Migrant crisis: EU president Jean-Claude Juncker's plan to force member countries to accept 160,000 refugees* (Foster and Holehouse 2015).

(11) *Juncker calls for 'compulsory' redistribution of 160,000 migrants* (Foster, Holehouse, and Marszal 2015).
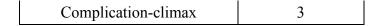
It is clear that the first headline feels much more authoritative than the second. The headline speaks about a "plan to force to accept refugees" which, supported by the mention of Juncker's position, creates a notion of Juncker using his power as an EU president and ordering member countries to oblige without discussion. However, the second headline pushes forward a sense of an open topic, where the matter is still a subject of discussion. In the second headline, Juncker's calling for compulsory redistribution does not seem like a demand but rather a necessary procedure. Although the number of refugees stays the same, the second headline gives it less weight using the word "redistribution", implying the option of every member country to accept the number of refugees they would be able to manage instead of issuing quotas as mentioned in the first headline.

Analysis of lexical features of *The Telegraph* headlines showed that in several cases the headlines are enhanced by the use of emotionally coloured words, making the matter appear more serious and important, than it might actually be. The next segment will discuss the narrative structure and features of these headlines.

4.3 Narrative features

In the majority of cases headlines constructed using the inverted pyramid scheme where the climax event is foregrounded, followed by the initial event, complication and resolution (Molek-Kozakowska 2013, 185–186). However, for this rule to be observed the headlines must contain at least two events and two social actors. In the case of the selected articles, 49 of them fulfil this requirement, whereas the rest of the headlines were more of statements or speech reports.

Narrative structure	No. of entries
Climax-complication	41
Climax-resolution/coda	5

Complication-climax	3

Table 2: The narrative structures featured in The Telegraph headlines

As for the patterns observed, the dominant structure was climax-complication with 41 entries. An example of such structure can be this headline:

(12) *Lesbos mayor calls for help after migrant ferry riot* (Agencies 2015).

In this case, the call for help is the climax of the story, which is precedes the cause "after migrant ferry riot." The ferry riot is the reason for the mayor taking action, and therefore, the complication of the story. This structure of headline is featured the most due to the fact that it is viable of catching attention as well as building curiosity (Molek-Kozakowska 2013, 185–186). However, this is the only type of structure in these articles with chronologically altered events.

The second featured structure was climax-resolution, which keeps its chronological order despite the fact that the events which would precede climax (e.g. introduction or complication) are not presented. In the case of the selected articles, only 5 of them followed this structure. A clear example would be:

(13) *Nicola Sturgeon calls on David Cameron to accept more refugees* (Hughes 2015).

In this case, "Nicola Sturgeon calls on David Cameron" is the climax of the story and "to accept more refugees" is the resolution of the story. However, it is not only about the structure – the articles without any of these mentioned structures can contain narrative aspects, for example the narrator.

In the majority of these articles, the narrator is not a part of the story described (heterodiegetic) and the narrative mode is third-person. However, there are few entries, where the narrative mode is first-person – this occurs as an introduction to an article capturing the point of view and opinions of the article's author or in a form of direct speech. To put it in numbers, 6 headlines were entirely first person. All of the former headlines belong to articles where the author speaks for him/herself in order to provide their personal story and experience. The following headlines are examples of this feature:

(14) *Britain must help Syrian refugees, as it once helped me* (Wafic 2015).

(15) *I'm not offering my home to a Syrian refugee. That does not make me evil* (Hartley-Brewer 2015).

In these articles, the author describes his own personal beliefs and point of view of the matter at hand. These opinions and beliefs may vary and can even be the exact opposites (as in 14 and 15). The reason for this technique is to relate to the way the topic is portrayed or to appeal to a certain audience by making the article personalised, and therefore, evoking empathy.

Last part of this section will deal with themes presented in headlines. As themes are related to narratives (Lück et al. 2018, 1638–9), only those headlines, which contained narrative structures will be concerned. The themes are summarised in Table 3.

Theme	No. of entries
Struggle	14
Political dispute	11
Fear	9
Helping the struggling	8

Table 3: Types and frequency of themes in headlines

The dominant theme in headlines was the one labelled 'struggle,' which accounted for the struggle of the refugees as well as that of people affected by related circumstances, as in (16). The second most frequent theme was 'political dispute,' featuring headlines concerning political debates, public statements made by political figures, and disagreements of authorities. The theme of 'fear' involved worries of authorities, suggestions of outcomes of the crisis, and insecure feeling expressed along the presented numbers of accepted refugees. The least entries belong to 'helping the struggling' theme, which includes headlines describing the steps made in order to solve the refugee crisis as well as stories of people who voluntarily provided help to the refugees.

To summarize this segment, the majority of the articles (111) had non-narrative structure, serving only informative or descriptive purpose. As for the articles which did contain narrative structure, the prevalent was the structure order climax-resolution since it manages to push forward the main and important information – the main event of the story followed by the cause – which makes the article more appealing and sensational. Linked with sensationalism was also the dominance of themes capturing struggle – that of refugees on one hand and political figures and institutions on the other – suggesting the aim of these articles to encourage the readers to help change the situation by presenting the incompetence of politicians on the background of the struggles of refugees.

5 ANALYSIS OF THE TELEGRAPH DECKS

The decks of the selected articles, which work as lead-ins to the actual story, provide background for the statement presented in their related headlines and give a brief summary of the overall story. Even though decks are longer than headlines and provide additional information on the story, they do not contain any disclosing data or important information, which are needed in order to understand the whole situation – they work as a sort of headline extensions. Due to this fact, the analysis will take similar steps as above: first, the analysis of featured social actors and their representation in the text, then the stylistic features and language used and last the narrative features and structure of the text.

5.1 Social actors

The approach to the description of social actors in the decks is slightly different – since decks are not the first target of attention of the reader and have larger space at their disposal, they tend to be more descriptive and are able to avoid generalized terms. An example can be the words "refugee" and "migrant" which were discussed in the analysis of headlines as well. The number of uses of both of the words in decks is quite lower: 72 entries for "refugee" and 44 entries for "migrant." This signifies that quite a number of articles used these words in headlines to link them to the topic whereas in decks the focus shifted on different aspects of the story. Another aspect affecting these numbers is that several decks use either "people" or "they/them" to refer to refugees, as they were already mentioned in the related headline, which takes place in 25 entries in total. Whereas the term "people" is fairly neutral and even connotes the feeling that the refugees are just ordinary people, the use of "them" creates a division between the reader and the refugees, which can be seen in the following deck:

(16) *Europe has a duty to protect <u>them</u>, and treating <u>them</u> as temporary refugees saves money and stops <u>them</u> risking their lives on the Mediterranean* (Dufour 2015).

Here, the feeling is that the word "them" refers to someone quite different and detached from the European society – a feeling which could be easily altered if two parts of the utterance were changed. For example, "Europe has a duty to protect people" and "treating refugees as temporary" would make the statement fairly neutral and the refugees would appear to be more human. The following table shows types of techniques and the frequency of their usage in decks.

Technique	No. of entries
Functionalisation	38
Impersonalisation	31
Nomination	27
Collectivisation	26
Personalisation	13
Specification	10

Table 4: The techniques used in The Telegraph decks

Similar to headlines, functionalisation was frequently used in decks; however, it is also complemented by nomination on many occasions. This can be observed in the following deck:

(17) *Sandra Tsiligeridu, an ex-model, and her friends were sailing when they spotted Mohamed Besmar, close to dying from exhaustion"* (Squires 2015).

The purpose of functionalisation is to underline the legitimacy of the social actor, since she is perceived as decent person contributing to society (Machin and Mayr 2012, 81–82). Another example would be the following:

(18) *Plans endorsed by Theresa May, the Home Secretary, would see facilities built to register and fingerprint migrants will be set up on mainland Europe* (Holehouse 2015).

Theresa May is personalised by the use of nomination in order to underline that she personally was responsible for the endorsement of the plans, and also functionalised by her occupation to increase weight and credibility of the statement. Nomination often has purely descriptive function – where the occupation of a social actor is not specific enough, nomination is used to assure the identity of the presented individual. But in several cases, nomination is used to individualise the social actor, bringing the reader closer to his story and persona, as in the deck below:

(19) *Alison Criado-Perez explains why she's left her comfortable home in Rutland for life on the front line of the refugee crisis* (Criado-Perez 2015).

Alison is described only by her name, which decreases the distance between the reader and her and makes the article feel more personal, evoking emotions and empathy. Another example would be this:

(20) *Images of <u>Aylan and Galip Kurdi</u>'s bodies washed up on the shore of a Turkish beach have stirred the conscience of Europe. Who were they?* (Rayner 2015).

Here, the social actors are individualised and personalised in order to give them an identity and invoke emotions in the reader, rather than to describe them generally as "two refugees" or "two boys." Quite rare was the use of nomination as legitimization of a source, for example:

(21) *One Labour source said: 'There are some things that are more important than a Labour leadership election'* (Hope 2015).

Here nomination is used to decrease the legitimacy of the statement (Machin and Mayr 2012. 81–82). However, as was said above, this use of nomination occurred rarely in the selected decks, resulting in only 3 entries.

Very frequent was the use of impersonalisation in a sense of addressing the statements on behalf of a country rather than an individual. As it was mentioned in Section 4.1, impersonalisation in the form of substituting an individual for a whole institution is used to remove the agent of the actions as well as render the presence of any opinions against the statement invisible. In the case of decks, in 26 of entries was the technique of impersonalisation used. As can be seen in the following example (22), any social actor or group responsible for the decision is substituted by the whole country, which makes an illusion that the decision was based on the opinions of German government and citizens equally, without anyone who would oppose neither the opinions nor the decision. Same goes for (23), where "Hungary" does not symbolize all the people living within Hungarian borders – it is there to substitute the person or group responsible, therefore, blur the target for potential blame.

(22) *Germany announces emergency border protections after weeks of leading Europe's response to the migrant crisis* (Huggler and Nolan 2015).

(23) *Hungary accused of new iron curtain ahead of meeting of European interior ministers* (Holehouse and Philipson 2015).

As for the presentation of social actors, the decks of selected articles were written using similar techniques as their respective headlines; therefore, the analysis yielded similar results for the frequency and techniques used.

5.2 Stylistic features

The access to additional space, which decks are provided with, creates an opportunity for the author to use some specific or emotionally stronger words that would not have place in headlines. In the case of decks of the chosen articles, 48 of them featured informal or emotionally coloured words, which serve as an insight into the ideology of the publisher. These words ranged from subtle emotional word to a few extreme cases, which will be presented in the examples below.

The most emotionally coloured parts of speech were verbs and adjectives, followed by nouns. The reason for the verbs and adjectives being affected the most is that they are in general more descriptive than for example nouns. An example of a subtly emotionally coloured verb would be the following deck:

(24) *France takes swipe at British stance on refugees as it pledges to take in 24,000 in two years and announces sending warplanes over Isil-held Syrian territory* (Samuel 2015).

This deck uses a phrase "to take a swipe at," which is an informal idiom meaning "a criticism of someone or something, or an attempt to annoy them or damage it" (Cambridge Dictionary). Therefore, the use of the idiom, rather than for example the verb "to criticize," may present the attempt of critique as futile or not taken seriously. Another example would be the following:

(25) *Up to 2,500 migrants surged towards a government-chartered ship bound for Athens on Monday night, with baton-wielding riot police screaming "Keep back"* (Squires 2015).

This deck contains two emotionally coloured verbs, "surge" and "scream." Both of these verbs were chosen in order to increase the tension of the situation – "to surge," meaning "to move quickly and powerfully" (Cambridge Dictionary), is used to underline the desperation of the people trying to board the ship and "to scream" is there to imply the exertion of force by the police, which might be perceived as unnecessary. There are also several examples of emotionally strong verbs being used, such as in this deck:

(26) *Liberal Democrat leader uses first speech to conference <u>to attack</u> David Cameron's 'media' driven approach to refugees* (Riley-Smith 2015).

This deck features the verb "attack," signifying strong critique powered by the speaker's emotions, or even an attempt to denounce Cameron's approach. The use of such verb might signal the perspective of the author, as the word could be replaced by the verb "to question," which would decrease the emotional aspect while still containing the meaning.

As for adjectives in the case of *The Telegraph* articles, the decks often feature compound adjectives formed of nominal and verbal parts, as in (24 and (25) (such as "Isil-held" or "government-charted"), which are in the majority of cases used to save space. However, they can also be used to emphasize the attributes of the noun they are associated with, especially when they precede the noun. A good example is the adjective "baton-wielding" in (25) that describes the force used against the refugees by the "riot police." In this case, the adjective does not feel necessary as batons are essential equipment of riot police. Another example of an author's use of specific terms to project a specific attitude is the following deck:

(27) *The Labour frontrunner's <u>lily-livered</u> <u>knee-jerk</u> isolationism has no response to the tide of human misery now flowing from the Middle East* (Stanley 2015).

This deck includes two adjectives; "lily-livered," which means "not brave" (Cambridge Dictionary) and "knee-jerk," which means "a quick reaction that does not allow you time to consider something carefully" (Cambridge Dictionary). Both of these adjectives are informal and emotionally strong. This deck portrays the attitude to the featured public figure in very expressive terms, presenting him as weak or a coward, dealing with matters prematurely without thorough consideration.

Regarding nouns, even though emotionally coloured nouns are not too common in the selected decks, they still do appear. The following deck is an example of the use of emotionally marked nouns:

(28) *The vast profits of the people-smugglers must surely be finding their way into the* <u>*coffers*</u> *of the very death cults driving* <u>*the exodus*</u> (Tebbit 2015).

Here, emotionally-charged nouns are "coffers" meaning "a large, strong box in which money or valuable objects are kept," and "exodus", described as "the movement of a lot of people from a place" (Cambridge Dictionary). The synonym for "coffer" would be "a chest," which is usually associated with large amounts of wealth – and that is what is portrayed by the use of "coffer." The author is implying that people trafficking is providing large amounts of money to Islamic State that there is the metaphoric need to keep the money in "coffers." However, the other word "exodus" is not placed here for its literal meaning but rather the reference to the Bible, comparing the refugee crisis to the journey of Moses and the Israelites. The following noun is emotionally strong due to the associations it is connoting:

(29) <u>*Core of ex-Communist*</u> *eastern states block efforts by Germany and France to secure agreement on sharing out responsibility for sheltering refugees* (Reuters 2015).

In deck (29), the author describes the countries of Eastern Europe that refuse to accept any quota concerning refugees as "ex-Communist," implying that the reason for their decisions is the ideology, which the countries shared in the past. Furthermore, there could also be drawn an implication that any truly democratic state should agree with the policy of EU because only those with different ideological past are refusing.

This analysis showed that article decks are more inclined to feature impersonal and strong emotionally coloured words, as there might be different policy applied compared with the production of headlines as well as the increased spatial availability.

5.3 Narrative features

Similar to headlines, decks can also be divided into narrative segments, which provide the basis of a narrative structure. However, decks tend to have chronological order of the

narrative segments as opposed to headlines, where the most important information is often presented as first. Due to the purpose of decks, which is to provide a short summary or overall description of the story, the chronological order is used more frequently than in headlines, presenting the events as they occurred.

From the total of 160 entries, 74 of them have a narrative structure. Furthermore, whereas headlines mainly had narrative structures following the scheme of inverted pyramid, in the case of decks it is nearly half and half, with 38 entries for inverted pyramid structure and 36 for chronological structure. A certain pattern can be observed in the relation of decks and headlines – the decks tend to follow the inverted pyramid structure when the headline of the article did not, which applies to 20 out of the 38 entries. This pattern was used when the headline referred to a statement – by both direct and indirect quotation – announced by a public figure or an institution.

Similar to headlines, decks contain themes to a certain degree as well. Although headlines contain the most important information, and therefore, the meaning of the text (van Dijk 1985, 77), it is possible to gather a valuable insight from decks as well. The themes observed are described in the following table.

Theme	No. of entries
Helping the struggling	22
Struggle	19
Political strife	14
Warning	8
Fear	6

Table 5: Types and frequency of themes in decks

Although the themes are similar to those featured in headlines, the order of their frequency is different. In decks, the dominant theme was 'helping the struggling' as opposed to headlines, where it had the lowest frequency of use. This is due to the nature of decks, which is to briefly explain the background of the headlines. The headlines containing a statement or describing a situation as such might be perceived differently. The decks then provide additional information which either supports or contradicts the theme of the headline. The reason for the high number of decks on 'helping the struggling' is connected with the helping deeds and caring attitudes presented in the headlines. The 'struggle' theme captures the obstacles the refugees face on their journey as well as the struggle of countries to provide accommodation for every person they have accepted. The next frequent theme is 'political strife,' taking into account the backgrounds for statements or decisions presented in the headlines. Lastly, 'warning' and 'fear' were the least popular themes. This indicates

that the author's intentions were mostly to withhold and explain what procedures were being made in order to help the refugees and why they are a subject for a dispute, again supported by the portrayal of the trouble both sides are going through.

To conclude, the articles were mainly concerned about the topic of struggle, whether of refugees, people who want to help or political figures. The reason for this amount of frequency is that struggle is a topic, which can be highly and easily sensationalised, resulting in the attraction of large amounts of readers.

6 CDA OF CUTS ACCOMPANYING THE HEADLINES

Photography plays a crucial role in news reporting and every article features at least one photograph precisely chosen to support its headline as much as possible. This analysis focuses on the images accompanying the headlines; however, due to the fact the articles analysed are archived, some of them do not feature its introductory image anymore. Out of 160 articles, only 145 still include their introductory image.

6.1 Social actors

The images accompanying the articles can be divided into three categories based on what social actors they are portraying: (1) 'public figures,' which include the photographs of public or political figures; (2) 'refugees,' portraying the refugees on the move; (3) 'encounters,' which capture the encounters between refugees and some other side – mostly police or members of other public services in this case; and (4) 'unspecified' images, which do not fall into any of the previous categories. Statistically, the largest category was 'refugees' with 69 cuts, 'political figures' had 38 cuts, 'encounters' had 18 cuts and 20 cuts were referred to an unspecified category.

Name of category	# of entries
Refugees	69
Political figures	38
Encounters	18

Table 6: The categories of social actors featured in the photographs

The category photographs with 'refugees' in the majority of cases captured people on the move, either on foot or on the boat, portrayed people standing alongside the border or boarding trains. 17 photographs portrayed children. Although the category labelled 'refugees' had the most cuts, the number of unique photographs is slightly lower as several photographs were used repeatedly. The photograph used most repeatedly was of a Turkish guard carrying a body of a drowned boy, which was used 6 times. The intentions of the portrayal of children were solely to apply to the reader's conscience and evoke emotions, possibly influencing the reader's approach to the topic. The photographs involving children often include only a small group of people overall.

As for the category labelled 'public figures,' the photographs portray mostly politicians or people in authoritative positions. The photographs were usually taken during a speech or debate, capturing the figures in movement, which was the case of 22 cuts. In a few cases, where two opinions are a matter of discussion, two figures are featured in one

image, alongside each other. The most frequently featured public figure was David Cameron, with 5 entries, 2 of which could also be viewed as 'encounter' category, since Cameron is captured meeting refugees; yet, his figure dominates the photograph and is foregrounded and for that reason is viewed as part of 'public figure' group. The type of presentation of the public figure depends on the attitude of the article, whether it supports or disagrees with presented statement.

The last category described will be 'encounters,' including any photograph capturing the encounters of refugees with the other side, meaning the police and members of other public services. Children appear in 7 cuts, usually compositionally placed in a close proximity of the units of public services. Whereas the refugees are captured as upset, disordered and desperate, the members of public services are portrayed as still, organized and emotionally unaffected by their surroundings.

To sum up, social actors that were captured in the photographs could be divided into two groups: those who represent Europe (us) and the refugees, who represent something foreign to European society (them).

6.2 Composition of images

The meaning of images is not only about what the literal depiction denotes, but about the implications or ideas the image represents (Machin and Mayr 2013, 49-51). These implications can be realized via the structure of the image, such as colours, position on the image or the centre of focus (Machin and Mayr 2013, 54-56), as well as individual attributes of the social actors, such as their pose or gaze (Machin and Mayr 2013, 70-76). These aspects are discussed with regard to the categories identified earlier, and the aim of the analysis is to analyze certain patterns the production of these images follows.

Regarding the 'refugees' category, the cuts can be divided into two groups based on the number of people they are portraying: images capturing large crowds and images capturing only a small number of people. The images capturing large crowds are medium distance shots attempting to include as much people as possible. This is to underline the number of people who are on the run and the conditions they have to live in on a daily basis. The background is used to signal the location where the picture was taken, for example crowds of people waiting at the sea shore or a train station. When refugees are pictured on the move, they are usually facing away from the camera. This is often used to associate the reader with the point of view of the portrayed people (Machin and Mayr 2013, 99). If the people encounter an obstacle, such as border fences or walls, they are

facing the obstacle. Usually, the camera is positioned on the other side of such obstacle, facing the people. This portrays their seclusion from the European society and desperation as they cannot overcome the obstacles. The last setting in which the large crowds are portrayed is on a boat. The images are medium to long shots in order to capture the size of the ship with all the people aboard. These images accompany articles describing the numbers and movement of refugees between countries and the change of immigration policies in these countries.

Type of shot	No. of entries
Close shot	43
Medium shot	20
Long shot	6

Table 7: Types of shots used in the 'refugees' category

In contrast, analyzing the portrayal of small groups of people is challenging as the setting is more diverse. However, they have one aspect in common, which is the distance – since they are capturing smaller groups of people, the shots are usually close, making the reader feel involved in the story and struggle of the portrayed people as close distance signifies intimacy (Machin and Mayr 2013, 97-98). Families or children are in the centre of focus if they are present in the image; infants are captured upset and crying, carried by an exhausted family member, older children are facing the camera. This appears as if they are trying to reach the reader and ask him for help (Machin and Mayr 2013, 71). The background or the surroundings are blurred to direct the focus on the family or children, underlining their seclusion even though they are a part of a larger group. The images portraying children accompany the articles concerning the question of whether or not to help the refugees. Frequently featured setting is people disembarking from boats and dinghies on the shore, where the people face the camera, often dragging other exhausted people. They are mostly looking down, signifying their humility and vulnerability, signalling that their fate depends on the actions of the readers as they are the ones capable of making things change.

On the other hand, cuts falling into the category 'public figures' share a lot of aspects. Vast majority of the photographs are taken up close with the public figure always facing the camera. The only aspects that change are angle of the point of view, gestures, gaze and pose and the facial expressions of the figure. An example would be a picture of David Cameron in Figure 1.

David Cameron confirms Britain will act with its 'head and its heart' and accept thousands of refugees

Prime Minister says Britain will 'do more' becasue it has 'moral responsibility' to help refugees as it has throughout its history

Figure 1: An article featuring a photograph of David Cameron

The politician is captured looking directly to the camera with a neutral facial expression, which, in combination with the close shot, signifies honesty and trustworthiness. His pose is open and steady, which may signal determination and certainty. On one of the images, there was also the British flag in the background, which may suggest that Cameron represents the values of the United Kingdom, which is supported by the related article, describing a change of his attitude towards helping refugees. When official figures are not looking into the camera, the picture makes the reader observe rather than be engaged (Machin and Mayr 2013, 71-72). If they are looking upwards, they are associated with hope, ambitions, new ideas and open mind whereas looking down signals worries, uncertainty and tension (Machin and Mayr 2013, 72-73). An example of the former was Angela Merkel's photo in Figure 2, which describes her plan of creating jobs for refugees or the Archbishop of Canterbury in Figure 3, announcing that he will offer housing to refugees. Overall, 7 cuts fit this description.

Refugees will change Germany, Merkel says, as government releases £4.4bn to cope with crisis

The German chancellor will create thousands of new jobs to handle the asylum requests

Figure 2: An article featuring a photograph of Angela Merkel

Syrian refugees to be housed in Grade-II listed cottage

Syrian refugees will be housed in a Grade-II listed cottage at the heart of Lambeth Palace by the Archbishop of Canterbury

Figure 3: An article featuring a photograph of Archbishop of Canterbury

Negative associations can be observed in images of Vladimir Putin, as in Figure 4 an article deals with the attitude of Russia to the refugee crisis, declaring that removal of the Syrian leader would not make things any better, or Viktor Orban (see Figure 5) in a photo accompanying an article regarding his plan to arrest illegal immigrants. Both leaders are portrayed looking slightly downwards and to the side while touching their face, presenting them as dishonest and careless.

Russian arms to Syria prevent 'even bigger' refugee flow to Europe, says Putin

Russian president defends support for Bashar al-Assad, insisting that the fall of the Syrian leader would worsen Europe's migration crisis

Figure 4: An article featuring a photograph of Vladimir Putin

Hungary faces 'rebellion' by migrants, says Viktor Orban

The Hungarian prime minister vows to enforce new laws allowing the arrest of anyone entering the country illegally from next Tuesday

Figure 5: An article featuring a photograph of Viktor Orban

The salience of the cuts in the last category 'encounters' also varies; however, it is possible to observe some similarities. Again, the entries could be further divided into three groups, depending on the angle of the camera: images, where the police or members of other public services are captured facing away from the camera (back shots) images, where the refugees and the police are on the same level in the composition (side shots), and images where the refugees are facing the camera (frontal shots).

Type of shot	No. of entries
Back shot	9
Side shot	4
Frontal shot	3

Table 8: Types of shots used in the 'encounters' category

Back shots are used most frequently, with 9 entries, positioning the reader behind the public service members, drawing a clear line between "us" and "them," further underlined by the medium distance of the shots. This conveys the feeling of detachment of the two different social groups as well as somewhat mechanic and unemotional response of the public service members to the situation the refugees are in. These images are associated with articles concerning plans for border fortification and the use of police to slow or stop the movement of refugees, as in Figure 6. The side shots are featured in a similar context,

where the refusal is realized via the restrictive action the members of public service are undertaking (see Figure 7).

Refugee families split up by Hungarian authorities unable to accept lifts from activists

Families who began walking to Austria, after the Hungarian authorities wouldn't allow them to take trains, had to refuse the offer of a lift as they did not want to be divided again

Figure 6: A photograph portraying the encounter of refugees with Hungarian police

Eastern bloc to stand firm against EU migrant quotas

Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic and Slovakia insist they are neither financially nor 'culturally' equipped to take in new arrivals

Figure 7: A photograph capturing the distress of refugees

However, the composition of the photographs changes compared with the back shots. The distance is close to medium from the line where the two social groups meet. The distance shortening brings the reader closer to the action but since they are side shots, he is brought only to observe the situation. This is done in order to provide the reader with details on both sides, such as gestures or facial expressions, so the reader can interpret the situation in his own way. However, the spatial portion the social groups take is uneven with the refugees taking up the majority of the image, underlining that this is more about the refugees than the public service members. Overall, 4 cuts followed this setting. Frontal angle was present in only 3 cuts, from which two used the same image. The image portrayed a large crowd of refugees stretching from the foreground to the background, accompanied by several members of public service, walking towards the camera. In the context of the article in Figure 8, which uses the image, the ratio of refugees to the public service members implies that there is still a large amount of refugees that needs to be taken care of; whereas the movement towards the camera signals that they are coming "closer," suggesting that the situation requires a response as soon as possible.

Migrant crisis: EU refugee quota doesn't go far enough, says UN as ministers meet

Czech Republic rejects refugee burden-sharing in the EU as UN says the quota plan will not stabilise the situation

Figure 8: A photograph capturing a large number of refugees on the move

All in all, it can be observed that the photographs are in majority of cases chosen to support the statement presented in the headline the photograph is related to. There is also a pattern of presenting those, who support helping the refugees, in a positive way while those, who oppose, are presented in a negative way. This stance towards the refugee crisis is further supported by the choice of pictures portraying the refugees, used to send a message to the reader that they should participate in helping refugees as well.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis was to characterize narrative aspects, such as social actors, structures, emotional elements, and themes, present in the introductory parts of newspaper articles, namely the headlines, decks, and photographs. Attention was paid to stylistic and lexical choices used to portray described events as well as involved participants. All of the analysed articles were published in September 2015, when the European refugee crisis was at its highest peak.

The newspapers nowadays are not purely about the reportage of facts and currently happening events, but about stories of the people involved as well, serving the purpose of entertaining the reader. This entails the photographs accompanying the articles, personal stories and experience, and topics that are deemed newsworthy – new, significant events, involving either public figures or a matter of importance. The sensationalist strategies were traced in the *The Telegraph* articles, and included framing, the use of similar descriptive techniques for certain social actors throughout the articles and narrative structures created using the scheme of inverted pyramid. Since this work deals with the written discourse mainly, the language techniques used to describe the participants – social actors – bear the markers of attitude either on behalf of the author or the publisher *The Telegraph* in general. This attitude admits that refugees do need aid, however, they are not perceived as potential members of European society. Emotionally marked words, mainly verbs and adjectives, were used in articles portraying the refugees, underlining the struggle they were undergoing. In the contrary, refugees were mainly collectivised and genericised to appear rather as a whole, not making differences between the people involved. Only European public figures and protagonists of personal stories were individualised. This provided a separation between the refugees (them) and Europe (us), creating a notion of vast differences between the two camps, describing the refugees as something alien to European society. The choice of photographs accompanying the headlines enhances the effect of the headlines and decks. Photos of refugees are shot in such a way as to evoke the feeling mainly of empathy and concern for the refugees as well as immediacy of the situation. Some of the photographs were used repeatedly as they carried a high emotional value.

Political figures of Britain are pictured as honest and caring if their intentions are to help with the crisis. Those, who have other intentions, are presented as insincere, arrogant, and overall not trustworthy. However, this also applies to the representatives of other

countries – those with good intentions are members of 'us' and those, having other intentions than to provide aid for the refugees are dismissed into the 'them' camp. Whereas the headlines were more focused on the capture of struggle and dispute, the decks were oriented towards highlighting of the helping deeds institutions and people are carrying out. This might result in the change of people's preferences as the articles uphold certain political figure among others. The effect of this might be the shaping of public opinion about certain political representatives and as a result people will more likely vote for them.

To summarize, a good portion of the articles of *The Telegraph* contained narrative aspects in the form of inverted pyramid, the construction of texts evoking emotions, and certain opinions and attitudes encoded in the text itself in a mainly inconspicuous way, which to a certain degree oppose the self-reflective statement of *The Telegraph* of being objective and neutral. The analysis showed that a number of articles contained biased attitude, mostly inclined towards aiding the refugees, and to a certain degree shunning those who do not support the same idea. And even though helping the refugees is a noble cause, no attitude should be present in 'objective' and 'neutral' news reporting, which *The Telegraph* proudly claims to provide.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDA   Critical discourse analysis – An analysis of discourse, which focuses on the social context, the abuse of power and ideology projected in the discourse.

EU   European Union

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