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“MIGRATION CRISIS IN BRITISH MASS MEDIA”

Master’s thesis

written by the student of the 2nd year
of studies of master’s programme
“English Communication Studies and
Translation and Two Western
European Languages”

Field of science: 03 “Humanities”

Specialty: 035 “Philology”

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«Допущено до захисту»

Протокол засідання кафедри англійської філології

та міжкультурної комунікації

Протокол № 8 від 12.05.2020

Завідувач кафедри _____ д. філол. н., проф. Белова А.Д.

KYIV 2020

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INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, migration has become a frequent phenomenon not only in Europe but also throughout the world. During the last 6 years, European countries are increasingly suffering from overpopulation caused by migrants; they also face problems associated with the placement and social assistance of the asylum-seekers. The ongoing migration flows of people compel political leaders to think about their policy regarding refugees. In turn, the reaction of the EU citizens to this problem is predominantly formed by national and international media. They are responsible for providing accurate and reliable information about the state of affairs with migrants. The same media resources are responsible for creating either a positive or a negative image of a migrant among the population.

Scientists who studied the issue of migration and the peculiarities of the migration crisis coverage in the British media space were U. Korkut [63], M. Montagut, C. Moragas-Fernandez [68], S. Ramasubramanian, C. Miles [72], V. Ukmar [81] and the rest.

The specificity of modern British media is that it covers the topic of the 2015 Europe's Migrant Crisis in a polarized and fragmented manner. As many studies show, tabloid newspapers, as well as some quality ones, mostly spoke negatively about refugees and unilaterally represented their situation. Given that the main flow of refugees comes from Syria and Libya, i.e. Muslim countries, many media in the UK were and still actively use ethnoreligious stereotypes against Muslim refugees as the way of constructing social perceptions. From 2013 till 2016 the country's local media resorted to various forms of framing to make the population believe that the migrants are "enemies", "strangers" and, what is more, a "threat" to public safety. Thus, they use stereotypical cartoons on their newspaper pages and publish stories and photographs of Muslim refugees in which they present as a danger to society. As a result, the increasing negativity of victims of forced migration was one of the reasons that led the UK to Brexit in 2016.

Despite the huge amount of stereotypical material directed against migrants (mainly Syrians), there were also press outlets in the British media sphere that tried to present the situation with refugees from a different perspective, reporting their stories and transmitting their voices.

The relevance of the research paper topic is due to the interest in the coverage of the European migration crisis in the English-language media space. It is important to explore the verbal and non-verbal means used by different media resources in Great Britain to create the image of a contemporary refugee from the Middle East.

The object of the research is the issue of the Refugee crisis in migration discourse as well as the influence of other discourses on the state of development of this topic in linguistics.

The subject of the research work is the study of verbal and visual coverage peculiarities of the Migrant crisis by different press outlets - tabloids and broadsheet newspapers.

The aim of the research is to determine the migrants' representation peculiarities in the British media discourse, to have a better understanding of how migrants are framed in the UK's public debate, which sets such **objectives**:

- to study the influence of migration narrative on the media discourse in the UK;
- to explore the issue of British newspapers fragmentation;
- to reveal how the migration topic is framed in the media sphere;
- to study the ability of negative rhetoric to influence the polarization of the audience in the UK;
- to explore the migration news content of the British printed press;
- to analyse the features of the negative portrayal of refugees in the media;
- to identify coverage peculiarities of migration processes by left- and right-wing news outlets.

Research Methods. The following methods were applied during the research: *discourse analysis* (to study the concept and features of political, media and

migration discourse); *contextual method* (which contributed to the allocation of a separate corpus of texts related to the topic of migration); *content analysis method* (allowed to determine the frames that are used in British media texts, as well as to explore the ways of linguistic representation of migrants in mass media); *comparative analysis* (used to compare the features of framing in the right- and left-wing outlets, as well as to distinguish their common and distinctive features) as well as *continuous sampling method* (used to select the news articles, front pages and headlines published by the newspapers).

Research materials included the publications of leading tabloid and broadsheet press outlets in the UK starting from 2012 till 2016, which were dedicated to migration and migrant issues. During the research period, we analyzed the content of more than 40 articles, front pages and headlines of *the Sun*, *the Daily Mail*, *the Daily Express*, *the Telegraph*, *the Guardian*, *the Independent* newspapers as well as *BBC News* texts describing the Refugee crisis in Europe, which were selected by the continuous sampling method.

The scientific novelty of the work lies in the study of the migration crisis from a discursive point of view. Due to the comprehensive study, such concepts as framing, polarization, and fragmentation were analyzed in modern media discourse, as well as the positive and negative coverage of migrants in the press are characterized. In the research work, the classifications of A. Goatly and L. Arcimaviciene and S. Baglama were improved and further developed. Moreover, the verbal and non-verbal means of framing in British media discourse were explored for the first time. The work shows the importance of the further study of hate speech, the peculiarities of stereotypes formation, and the construction of biased perceptions among the public by other media types.

The practical significance of the research is that the master's thesis enriches the research experience of modern media linguistics and discourse studies with new knowledge of negative rhetoric, framing, and fragmentation in the modern English language. The materials and obtained results of the work can be used in educational processes, in particular in theoretical and practical courses on media linguistics, on

the topic of the political discourse peculiarities as well as in further research on stereotypes in the British context. In addition, the results of the study will be useful in the courses on the stylistics of the English language, linguocultural and regional studies of intercultural communication.

Approbation of the research work results. The main methodological, theoretical results and conceptual theses of the study were discussed at the International interdisciplinary scientific conference «English across discourse, literature, culture» (15 April, 2020; Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Kyiv, Ukraine).

Publications. The main points and the results of the master's research work are summarized and published in the International interdisciplinary scientific conference book of abstracts: *Migration crisis coverage in modern English-language media discourse // English across discourse, literature, culture: Theses of the International interdisciplinary science conference, Kyiv; 15 April 2020. – Kyiv, 2020. – pp. 33-34.*

Structure and volume of the research work. The thesis consists of an introduction, 3 chapters, conclusions to each chapter, a summary, an abstract, a bibliography (100 sources, including 74 - in a foreign language) and supporting materials (44 sources with total amount of 221 pages). The total volume of the master's work is 107 pages. The main content of the paper is outlined on 81 pages. The work is illustrated by numerous pictures, cartoons as well as a posters and a figure.

1. DISCURSIVE STUDIES OF THE MIGRATION NARRATIVE IN THE MEDIA SPACE

Migration processes as a multidimensional phenomenon are increasingly attracting the attention of scholars from various fields of life. Recently, the topic of migrants has been actively developed and analyzed from the standpoint of such disciplines as political science, sociology, and economics. The research results in these fields give us information about how the demographic situation in the countries of migrant residence is changing, how migration affects the economic stability of these countries, how the political moods of society and the policies of states are transformed.

Linguistics is also heavily involved in the study of the characteristic features of migration and its impact on the functioning of other sciences. Given the multifaceted nature of the migration concept, one can trace an increased interest in the study of migration issues from a discursive viewpoint in the last few years.

In this context, it should be pointed out that political and media discourse is actively being developed and studied as they reflect the migration agenda and the ongoing linguistic changes. Furthermore, migration discourse is being recognized as a separate field of research, which is the result of the influence of politics, media, and other spheres on migration processes.

The media play an important role in the study of the migration narrative. In today's realities of life, various media resources - TV, radio, newspapers, magazines, the Internet and so on – have become a powerful tool of popularization, report, and coverage of the migration topic. Their ability to set agendas and tones can directly influence the state policy change towards certain issues. They have become even more powerful in coverage of political and social problems as well as in the construction of needed images and shaping the public sentiments.

1.1. Political discourse and the issue of migration

Given the current rapid globalization processes as well as the evolving political situation that is taking place in the world, the sphere of politics and political discourse has become the subject of active interdisciplinary research. Here we can name such well-known scholars as R. Wodak [91]; N. Arutyunova [1]; P. Bayley & D. Miller [28]; Y. Stepanov [20]; T. van Dijk [86]; Ch. De Landtsheer [41]; E. Kubryakova [9]; P. Chilton & Ch. Schäffner [36]; V. Krasnykh [8]; P. Bayley [29]; F. Bacevych [2]; E. Sheigal [23]; R. Wodak & P. Chilton [92]; P.L. Dunmire 43; D. Tannen, H.E. Hamilton & D. Schiffrin [80]; N. Kirvalidze & N. Samnidze [62]; T. Ananko [26]; G. Amaglobeli [25].

It should also be noted that the growth of scientific interest in political discourse is the result of a social inquiry, which is aimed at studying the characteristics of political thought and actions. In addition, nowadays it is necessary to study the linguistic tools that are used by almost every politician to influence, control, or manipulate public opinion.

Political discourse is mainly based on how events or actions are interpreted. Rationality is the key feature that distinguishes this type of discourse from all the other forms and types of analysis. It encompasses many aspects not only from the spheres of linguistics, semiotics, and philosophical concepts but also from political science and sociological analysis.

In order to study political discourse and understand all its features, at first it is necessary to find out what the concept of *discourse* itself means. Thus, in Cambridge Dictionary, one may find that *discourse* is interpreted as ‘*communication in speech or writing*’, or ‘*a speech or piece of writing about a particular, usually serious, subject*’ [97]. It can be concluded that these definitions are brief and do not reveal all the peculiarities of such a deep notion as *discourse*. Dictionaries merely give us a hint on how or in what way we should think in order to understand the real nature of discourse.

Turning to scholars who were engaged in the research of discourse, one may observe that the interpretations of the term vary depending on the position from

which it was examined. For instance, a well-known applied linguist and the father of critical discourse analysis, Norman Fairclough, in his book “Discourse and Social Change”, refers to the concept of discourse in order to ‘*make the connection between texts and their social purposes*’. From his stance, discourse indeed can be considered as complex notion for the research.

N. Fairclough gives an example of discourse definition in linguistics and later on emphasizes its difference from the concept of text: “*More commonly, however, ‘discourse’ is used in linguistics to refer to extended samples of either spoken or written language. In addition to preserving the emphasis upon higher-level organizational features, this sense of ‘discourse’ emphasizes interaction between speaker and addressee or between writer and reader, and therefore processes of producing and interpreting speech and writing, as well as the situational context of language use*” [46, pp. 3-4].

T. van Dijk, one of the most respected discourse researchers and linguists, defines *discourse* as a complex communicative event that occurs between speakers. The complexity of this event includes the language in which the conversation is conducted, the situation and context, as well as certain extra-linguistic elements (knowledge about the world, attitudes and goals of speakers) [85].

A different notion of discourse was proposed by the renowned French philosopher Michel Foucault, who is known for such a term as ‘Foucaultian discourse analysis’, in his methodological treatise “Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language” (1969). He defined “*discourse*” as a ‘*way of speaking*’. Accordingly, his method studies only the set of ‘things said’ in their emergences and transformations, without any speculation about the overall, collective meaning of those statements. Summing up philosopher’s thoughts, we may say that discourse is a way of organizing knowledge that structures the constitution of social relations through the collective understanding of the discursive logic and the acceptance of the discourse as a social fact [49, pp. 49; 135-140].

A Russian linguist N. Arutyunova states that *discourse* is an object of interdisciplinary study and thus confirms the classical approach to the definition of

discourse. The complex concept is defined in her works as '*a coherent text together with extralinguistic - pragmatic, sociocultural, psychological and other factors; the text, taken in respect of the eventual aspect while understanding; the speech, considered as a purposeful social action, as a component involved in interactions of people and the mechanisms of their consciousness (cognitive processes)*' [1, p. 136].

According to a Ukrainian researcher, G. Pocheptsov, "*discourse is no longer a purely linguistic structure, but a sociolinguistic one. It must comply with the norms of the linguistic, communicative and social situation. Discourse is a linguistic reality that is put on the social coordinates*" [17]. The sociological approach here is to focus on the phenomenon of linguistic variation, which is caused by social factors (gender, class, ethnic typology, etc.).

Another linguist, I. Klymenko, who explores the political discourse, claims that the notion of a '*discourse*' should be understood as a communicative action, occurring in a given communicative space [6, pp.182-186].

As one can observe the problem of discourse definition remains open. Thus, the meaning of discourse varies depending on the style and genre, as well as the approaches to the study of this phenomenon.

Rhetoric, the art and science that studies the ways of effective language usage and which had its origins in ancient Greece and Rome, can be considered as the starting point for the development of political discourse. For rhetoricians, the main task at that time was to train public speakers, in other words, politicians.

According to N. Kirvalidze, the main areas of study in ancient times were: *invention* (disclosure of ideas), *disposition* (arrangement of ideas), *eloquence* (exploration of appropriate expressions for ideas), and *memorization* (which was prior to delivery on the actual speaking occasion) [61, p. 9]. It is obvious that rhetoric in its classical understanding significantly influenced the formation of the concept of political discourse despite differences in terminology and methodology. The importance of rhetoric lies in finding the ways of how political texts were produced, presented and interpreted.

Namely since that time, the study of political discourse has greatly attracted the attention of various scholars, linguists and discourse analysts. To date, we have a huge number of works and publications devoted to this issue. Among the most famous are the “Journal of Language and Politics” [100], as well as the book series “Discursive Approaches to Politics, Society, and Culture”, which were edited by Ruth Wodak and Paul Chilton [98]. Published in these series, “Politics as Text and Discussion: Analytic Approaches to Political Discourse” [37, pp. 1-41], edited by Paul Chilton and Christina Schäffner, is considered as a kind of introduction to political discourse area and provides the in-depth methodological research work.

P. Chilton and Ch. Schäffner proceed from the fact that politics is mainly a language and therefore advocate the study of politics not only from the philosophical and political point of view, but also from the linguistic one. It is due to the methods, which were elaborated by discourse analysts, that the new perception of old and new issues in politics has developed [36].

T. van Dijk in his paper “What is an Analysis of Political Discourse?” (1998) concludes that the meanings and forms of political discourse are not directly related to the political context, but through the medium of the participants’ construction of this interactive and communicative context, which is, in turn, based on their knowledge, attitudes and ideologies [86, pp. 11-52].

Scholars have always been interested in the question of the features of language functioning in a specific institutional context. Since political discourse is a broad macro-category, researches on the political language have included investigations into a wide variety of subgenres – the language of elections and parliament, language of diplomacy and international relations, party political language and the rest. It is worth noting that linguistics was not the only field of research that studied the relationship between politics and a language. The interest has also arisen from the point of view of political science.

Returning to the overview of *political discourse*, it is also necessary to determine what this concept includes. We should note that there is no single

definition for this sphere of research, as far as constant studies of political science reveal new perspectives in the interpretation of political discourse.

From the point of view of T. van Dijk, "*political discourse*" is a phenomenon connected exclusively to the public sphere. He claims that *political discourse* is a class of genres that is quite clearly limited by the social sphere and politics in particular. Government discussions, parliamentary debates, party programmes, speeches of politicians – are those genres that belong to the sphere of politics.

Limiting the political discourse with professional frameworks as well as the activities of politicians, the scientist notes that political discourse is at the same time a form of institutional discourse. This means that the discourse of politicians is a discourse, which is produced in such an institutional environment as government meeting, parliamentary sessions, and congresses of a political party. Thus, discourse is political when it accompanies a political act in political conditions [86, p. 18].

Other experts agree that there are two approaches to the definition of political discourse: wide and narrow. Thus, the renowned professor of Linguistics P. Bailey claims that "*there is no such thing as political language, but a wide and diverse set of discourses, or genres, or registers that can be classified as forms of political language. It would be feasible to identify a set of 'canonical' forms of political discourse: policy papers, ministerial speeches, government press releases or press conferences, parliamentary discourse ... etc. They are all characterized by the fact that they are spoken or written by (or for) primary political actors – members of the government or the opposition, members of parliament, leaders of political parties, candidates for office*" [30].

Hence, given the wide approach, the language of the media or other institutions that is mainly used in the socio-political sphere of communication, can be considered political discourse. This definition of political discourse was proposed by Ch. De Landtsheer in her book "The Political Rhetoric of a United Europe" [41, pp. 1-16; 43, pp. 35-51].

It is worth pointing out that such a field of science as political linguistics is engaged in the study of political discourse and its features. This is a relatively new,

but actively developing science, which mainly studies how language tools and resources are used to manipulate public opinion, as well as to get the political power.

While analyzing the texts features in the field of political discourse, it should be noted that they are characterized mainly by their textual diversity. This is another argument in favor of the important position that communication and speech occupy in the nature of political discourse. People by using political texts thereby activate the mechanism of objectification of power relations among the public. The texts of political discourse are distinguished by the fact that they are formed by the range of narrative, normative and descriptive meanings [71, p. 47 – 52].

The cognitive parameter of political discourse includes such components as argumentation, means of cognition and logical mechanisms. This form of discourse widely uses the arguments that refer to the recipients' emotions. Emotional argumentation, as well as argumentation that appeals to traditions, cultural values, universally accepted authorities and so on actively employed in the field of political discourse. The language of politics is different in that it is characterized by ideological diversity, semantic latency, emotionality, pseudo-dialogism. These qualities underline the pragmatic orientation of politics towards the results in the public sphere. As already known, the language of politics is a key means of political manipulation.

Considering the communicative parameter of political discourse, one has to indicate that it includes such institutionalized elements as the system of relations between agents, the semiotic sphere of communication, as well as the strategy of institutionalization of communication in the sphere of political discourse. The latter is based on the mass nature of communication, the potential boundaries of the communicative field and the specificity of communication itself as well as other means of power inclusion [71, p. 47 – 52.].

It is becoming increasingly apparent that linguistic research has recently become of particular interest to scholars. This perspective is also important in view of the fact that any political actions or beliefs are inextricably linked to political speech. Events, facts, various actions and words interact with each other and create a specific image.

In this case, discourse acts as means for political rhetoric to do politics itself. Indeed, any political initiative or action is prepared and implemented by means of the language.

One of the central topics of political and media discourse over the past decades has been the issue of migration. Furthermore, the European refugee crisis has given a new impetus to changes in both political and media narratives on migration. The active development of various areas of conceptualization of migrants and European policies is confirmed by recent numerous studies of linguists.

The research on the parties programs, political debates and speeches of politicians on the one hand, as well as the peculiarities of news reporting in the media, newspaper columns, cartoons on the other hand have become popular trends in the migration narrative studies [63; 52; 53; 89, pp. 227-245; 58, pp. 1261-1280; 79, pp. 17-38; 68, pp. 69-91].

Political discourse, along with the public one, plays a crucial role in the issues of inward and outward migration. These areas of research are responsible for framing the migration problem as well as for how and when this problem appears in the political spectrum. As a result, public and political discourse significantly affects and shapes the general attitudes of society towards the migration narrative [56, pp. 225-249]. In addition, they influence policies and legislation, which, in turn, regulate and frame both the act of migration itself and migrants, and at the same time give a backlash to prejudices that are clearly present in public attitudes.

It should be pointed out that the political discourse is characterized by discursive positions, which most often problematize migration issues or partially reveal migration problems. Considering the predictable and strengthening anti-immigrant sentiments spread by some right-wing radical parties (UKIP in Great Britain), a number of researchers also claim that the current political elites are unable to adequately assess and present both the complexities and positive aspects connected with migration processes. Frequently, what they *don't tell* us is just as important as what they *tell* [57].

As one may notice, the sphere of discourse is very wide and has its own peculiarities of formation. The definitions that linguists offer to conceptualize this phenomenon are very diverse. It should be pointed out that such approaches as deconstruction, poststructuralism and performative turn had a huge influence on this situation. All these processes show that it is not in the right way to consider discourse and discursive analysis purely within the framework of linguistics.

We see a similar trend in the interpretation of one of the many genres of discourse, namely, political. Linguists in their works prove the multi-dimensional nature of the study of this concept and also indicate the multidisciplinary nature of political discourse.

One can as well as track changes in the development of a migration narrative, which combines several discursive areas. Refugees, political realities and media participation give rise to new opportunities for studying migration processes from different perspectives.

1.2. Conceptual framework and content of media discourse

It is obvious that today mass media significantly influence the formation of public consciousness, because most of the ideas about the world people get from newspapers, journals, magazines, radio- and television programmes, not to mention such a powerful resource as the Internet. Later on, we will cover the characteristic features of media as a field of research. However, what we have to stress in this regard is that media act not only as channels of information exchange. Nowadays we are all aware that they are also active participants of socio-political and economic transformations, i.e. a party that creates events and affects the viewpoint of society.

The study of media discourse, as well as political one, is getting a lot of attention and for the time being this topic remains one of the most relevant in linguistics. Thus, we can mention such names of scholars who worked in this field as R. Fowler [50], G. Pocheptsov [17], G. Solhanyk [18], L. Bennet, S. Bison, eds. [31], I. Kozhemyakin [7] and others. Their works are dedicated to the analysis of media discourse and its structure, typology, as well as research methods.

A great input into the mass media discourse development was made by T. Dobrosklonskaya, who offers such a definition to *media discourse* - "*a set of the processes and products of language activities in mass communication sphere in all diversity and complexity of their interactions*" [4].

Another well-known linguist E. Kubryakova claims that *media discourse is the reality created by the media of communication, which indirectly produce, preserve and disseminate socially important information*. [10].

I. Kozhemyakin, in turn, considers this phenomenon as "*a thematically focused, socially culturally determined speech-thinking activity in the media space*" [7, pp. 13-21]. He also states that there are at least two approaches to the definition of the term "*media discourse*". According to the first one, *media discourse* is a specific type of verbal and mental activity, which is inherent exclusively to the media field of information. In this regard, it is necessary to understand how the media discourse differs from other genres of discourse, such as political, scientific or religious. Mainly, the discrepancies consist of modifications of the parameters of the discourse itself – various language practices and communicative situations of their implementation.

According to the second approach, media discourse should be understood as any kind of discourse that operates within the framework of mass communication, which is produced by the media. In addition to media discourse, this can include other discourse – political, religious, pedagogical and so on. It is worth noting that for the implementation of these types of discourse there is a certain set of practices related to the production, interpretation and transmission of mass information [7, p.16].

N. Fairclough emphasizes the importance of media analysis and advocates for the research that track public perceptions of various media texts. The way the audience "reads" the texts is as important as the study of the ideology that is present in the texts. The researcher also argues that ideology is not always clearly visible in media discourse, but the reader should always seek to uncover the ideological elements that can be used by the media. It is also worth noting that the connection

between the use of language and power is not always clearly visible to readers, which makes it easy to manipulate or exploit them [47].

Media discourse is aimed at describing, explaining, managing identity, influencing the recipient's consciousness and assessing the reality.

One of the essential principles of the media discourse is its focus on the addresser. The role of the addresser is to take into account the huge number of elements that make up the status of the addressee - gender, age, cultural, social, and other factors. There are media that focus only on a specific addressee, his linguistic consciousness and worldview. Thus, the audience unites around the content and the form of communicative actions [16, pp. 209-212].

Thus, we can notice that the concept of media discourse is very diverse and can be interpreted from different perspectives. As a result, one can find various definitions as well as typologies of media discourse proposed by discourse researchers such as T. van Dijk [85], D. Crystal [39], M. Zheltuhina [5], O. Shyryaeva [24], E. Mendzherytska [13].

However, let us take a look at some distinctive functions and classifications defined by them that are peculiar to media discourse.

M. Zheltuhina in her work gives an explanation to the discourse in the sphere of mass media and also points out several features characteristic to this type of discourse [5, p. 27-40]:

- group correlation (when the author shares the views of his/her group);
- dissent orientation (creating a conflict with its following discussion);
- staging and mass orientation (i.e. impact on several groups simultaneously);
- publicity (focus on mass addressee).

Moreover, one should acknowledge that media discourse in fact represents the state of society we live in, shows both negative and positive changes that take place in the course of its development.

As linguists state, the types of media discourse are directly related to the genre functional peculiarities of mass media space. Thus, they classify them according to:

- 1) the communicative function performed:

- publicistic discourse;
- advertising discourse;
- PR-discourse

Each of subcategories has its own functions and is characterised by the usage of certain channels of communicative influence.

2) channel of realization:

- television discourse;
- radio discourse;
- computer discourse.

All these types possess certain stylistics, structural and speech features and are the constituents of a general social and verbal context [22].

Media discourse is also characterized by certain structural and organizational features.

Media discourse is the process and the result of a linguistic personality's activity. The latter is interpreted as a set of human abilities and qualities, which determine the emergence and perception of speech products. The model of a linguistic personality in a media context consists of three levels: media orientational, linguocognitive and motivational. These levels, in turn, subordinate the organization of media discourse to the four structural stages of the recipient's activities. These activities include general orientation, building referents that are reported by the media, establishing relationships between these referents, and constructing events and sequences [12].

Modern discourse researchers also highlight the study of media texts of two types – printed and spoken.

Particular attention should be paid to the printed media and its peculiarities. Often, linguistic analysis of newspaper media is rather skeptical. And sometimes it is linguists who consider themselves controllers of any manipulations in the language aimed at distorting reality. P. White believed that through the use of an “objective” language, many journalists could transmit their subjective opinion through a neutral

position during news reports. The researcher also emphasized that resorting to such an impersonal register is nothing more than a *"rhetorical strategy for beclouding journalistic subjectivity"* [90, p.130]. However, such a discipline as content analysis is more concerned with the study of this feature. We have to admit that the amount of linguistic studies, that have been conducted to find out how newspapers use language tools and how they influence meaning-making every day, is not enough.

Taking present surplus of printed media and the emerging online media resources there is a strong need to develop and study them. The huge potential in this area is represented by critical discourse analysis in connection with corpus linguistics. They are an effective tool for the analysis of how newspaper and magazine texts shape topics in course of time.

In the study of spoken media (radio and television), the dominant position is occupied by the methodology of conversation analysis (CA). This tradition of research has arisen from ethnomethodology, a field that is more related to sociology. Of great importance for the analysis were the works of H. Sacks, E. Schegloff and G. Jefferson, who influenced the research into spoken media discourse in the main way [75, pp. 696-735; 78, pp. 361-382; 76].

Conversation analysis focuses on how conversations are structured and based on this a conclusion is drawn about social organization. According to P. Scannell [77, pp. 251–267], the object of study for CA is not a language, but social interactions. According to M. McCarthy's statements (1998) [67], this area of research describes in detail and allows us to understand how participants motivate themselves to achieve common goals. In addition, it provides an opportunity to study many social situations, including media interactions.

The peculiarity of the mass media discourse is that it is sensitive to the context of modern social sphere of life and ideology. It is directed at the public consciousness as well as the formation of public views. Media resources act as subjects in the process of production, reproduction, as well as broadcasting of important values.

Considering that the recipient of media messages is a wide audience, an important task for the mass media is to create texts that will be understandable to the consumers [18, pp. 7-15]

It is worth noting that previously it was widely believed that media refers to interactions that occur through a specific broadcast platform (spoken or written) in which the discourse is addressed to a non-present listener, viewer or reader. The problem was that although the discourse was focused on these recipients, they often could not immediately respond to the producer of the discourse. However, today we see how this trend is changing and a new concept of how and who mediates the discourse appears.

New platforms, new media are emerging that help to convey the thoughts of the recipients, as well as instantly respond to what people see, hear or read. Thus, our traditional knowledge about the institutional participation structure of media discourse, both spoken and written, is changing.

The media discourse reflects the state of society, both negative and positive transformations at each stage of its development. Through the use of certain linguistic tools, grammatical structures or forms, addressers reveal their personal language likings and also emphasize the skills of the society as a whole at the particular historical moment [19, p. 220].

The perception of media materials in the media discourse affects a certain culture of society, stereotypes and prejudices (images and models), as well as the values which the author refers to in order to achieve the goals.

Developing the topic of migration crisis further, it is worth noting that some statements, e.g. the 'flow' of refugees pose a "threat" to the country, form the basis of different media texts. Consequently, many news stories about migrants are grounded on these allegations and journalists use various interviews, quotes and information, as well as select certain pictures to strengthen these ideas. Using these methods of conveying information, media channels can build a specific, biased way of understanding and assessing the reality.

Studies, conducted by S. Ramasubramanian and C. Miles concerning the analysis of English and Arabic news sources as well as by M. Montagut and C. Moragas-Fernandez concerning the Refugee Crisis discourse in the Spanish printed media, show that while media has always played an important role in framing of events, due to the European Migration Crisis, news sources has obtained the key role in the framing of refugees [72, p. 4488; 68, pp. 69-91].

The press began to show particular activity in this context and increasingly tried to accentuate the negative aspect of migration. Using various ways of framing, media change people's perceptions of the world and deprive the public of critical thinking and evaluating events. Due to the well-developed media language, the press expertly teaches people how to think and what to think about a particular problem.

As a result, from the stated above we may conclude that media discourse is an integral part of personal, social and professional relations. Media discourse day by day becomes one of the leading genres of discourse and permeates into all other types of institutional and everyday communication.

Information, as the main driving force of modern society, proves that media discourse is the key among all the other types. The discourse of media space is involved in the formation of conceptual pictures of the human world.

We also may note that given the multifaceted nature of such phenomenon as media discourse, its complex structure, functional features, it is almost impossible to conclude a unified and detailed taxonomy of this concept. Nowadays media texts, as the product of this phenomenon, act as a powerful tool for shaping our society's viewpoint and perception of the world by individuals.

Media discourse becomes an important part of the geopolitics formation and affects our understanding of global processes. What the public thinks about world problems such as crises, wars and various disasters and catastrophes is a consequence of the use of media frames.

1.3. Migration studies within media research

Mass migration and population displacement today are one of the main problems for humanity. Refugees, who are forced to leave their homes due to poverty, various civil conflicts and unrest as well as political persecution, arriving at a new place of residence, face no fewer problems than in their native country. The phenomenon of migration is changing the situation in the country in the wake of the distribution of jobs, resources, payment of social benefits, and, most importantly, questions the security of citizens of the country and national borders. At the same time, many long-established concepts are being rethought – nationality and belonging, traditions and cultural characteristics.

A French linguist P. Charaudeau believes that migration discourse is a type of social practice, since its formation is influenced by social structures, agents and participants. He also takes into account that migration discourse is a speech activity that includes both linguistic and extralinguistic aspects [35, p.28].

In addition, migration discourse also plays the role of an ideological construct, with the help of which a certain public opinion and attitude towards migrants is formed, and the corresponding language techniques, strategies and tactics characterizing the whole peculiarity of migration discourse are used.

The discourse of migration has the same characteristics as the discourse as a general notion – its complexity as a political, linguistic, social or cultural phenomenon. Discourse related to migration covers a large group of different discourse genres (Internet, educational, personal, administrative). The most prominent genres among them are media (news reports, interviews, cartoons and reportages), political (speeches and debates) and social (slogans, declarations, peoples' conversations) discourse.

Materials revealing the problem of immigration are various news reports, debates and speeches of politicians, editorials and even ordinary conversations. It is they who cover "migration" topics both directly and indirectly by relating to objects – migrants (Them), indigenous population (Us), and the reasons that provoked the migration flow. In these discourse genres, special attention is paid to problems related

to integration, discrimination, stigmatization, racism, as well as policies pursued by the state towards immigrants.

It is important to understand that migration discourse studies not only migration or its particular forms. It is also an essential component of the very phenomenon of migration, and this includes not only refugee stories, but also another aspect of the discourse, the parliamentary one, which implies the introduction of a certain immigration policy. Recently, discourse has increasingly been seen not just as a form of linguistic expression. This concept is much broader and, what is more important, it includes interaction – political and social. Based on this, we can conclude that migration as a social event is formed by its participants, various institutions, as well as political and social actions, interactions and their types that relate to migration discourse.

It is not difficult to notice that over the past two decades, precisely from the point of view of discursive analysis, the interest in studying migration and racism as an integral part of it has substantially increased. Hence, we can name the following scholars who devoted their works to the topic of migration discourse and racism - J. Blommaert and J. Verschueren [34], T. van Dijk [82; 83; 84; 88], J. H. Hill [60], M. Reisigl and R. Wodak [73; 74], U. Korkut [63], R. Wodak [93], M. Georgiou and R. Zaborowski [54], R. Zapata-Barrero [94; 95] and the rest.

Numerous works of Russian and Ukrainian researchers confirm the growing relevance of research in the field of migration studies [3, pp. 74-77; 21, pp. 397-403; 11]. Accordingly, Russian scholars Y. Nesterova and E. Burova studied this type of discourse in terms of metaphorical analysis and, as a result, distinguished the discourse-forming 4 main groups of metaphors [15].

At the same time, V. Mukomel in his work indicates that migration discourse is at the junction with the political one and has the corresponding features of the latter. He also offers his own typology of discourse in the field of migration [14].

We accept that the local population in every country receives basic information about the situation with refugees and the overall migration picture, first of all, through national news channels and then through the international ones.

Mass media, through the use of a huge amount of resources starting from articles in newspapers and magazines, comedy shows, movies and ending with commercials, posters and materials on the Internet, have always been, still are and will be playing a pivotal role immigrants' representation and in construction of their identity and social position in the country.

The past few years have seen the number of research works of media content studies with a special focus on migration issues. Nowadays one can find numerous publications that analyze the features of state policy and news coverage on migration by local media in Germany, Spain, the UK, the Czech Republic, Hungary and many other countries [58, pp. 1261-1280].

Furthermore, V. Ukmar investigated the visual representation of migrants in the British and German newspapers. Unlike German media resources, which positively positioned migrants and emphasized the need for their integration into the new society, the British press was distinguished by the fact that they portrayed migrants as hostile and most often associated with crime [81].

Moreover, it is possible to find newspapers or magazines almost in every country that either approve of the state policy of marginalization and persecution of newly arrived "strangers" – migrants and refugees, or are inclined towards a more diplomatic attitude towards such groups of people.

To date, the efforts of scholars who study the migration discourse in the media sphere are aimed at identifying and analyzing the factors that influence the formation of a negative perception of migrants groups. For example, by studying various newspapers' news, one can find that the frequent use of certain phrases and combinations such as "illegal migrants / refugees" deepens a paralinguistic effect of already biased statements.

It should be indicated that practical research in the field of migration today is aimed not only at establishing common meanings (topics and themes), but also at the order of their position in the discourse itself. In fact, a large part of the readership spends time reading the main elements of news reports – the first page, headline, summary or conclusions of articles. Actually, a large part of the readership spends

time flicking through the main elements of news reports – the first page, headline, abstract, or summary of articles. Accordingly, the public much better remembers the information expressed (colour, shape and location of text, images, etc.) by these components [89, pp. 227-245].

In addition, the use of certain conceptual metaphors is inherent in migration studies, which is usually intended to humiliate migrants and, as a result, leads to the support of state anti-immigrant policy by local population. At the same time, these discursive practices are very often associated with the general strategy of negative presentation of "Them" and positive construction of "Us", which in turn exacerbates the above mentioned dichotomy.

Political metaphors, which are widely used in news materials of the newspapers, are aimed at the change of meanings that results in the transformation of the socio-political reality. Thus, linguist A. Musolff in his work gives a detailed description of the metaphors which are used in the political studies (but can also be transposed to migration discourse) as a means of framing. He also gives an explanation to the notion of '*metaphor scenario*' and shows its link to narrative, argumentative and evaluative patterns [69].

A detailed analysis of metaphors in the context of academic discourse is presented in a book by another researcher, J. Herrmann. The work is unique in the sense that it studies metaphors not only from discursive, cognitive and sociolinguistic points of view, but also from a psycholinguistic one. The features of metaphors are described in terms of lexical and grammatical forms as well as communicative functions taken from different fields of use – news, conversation and fiction [59].

Speaking about the issue of migration in the political context, it is important to mention how important it is to study political cartoons that reveal the attitudes of the population in relation to migration. Cartoonists often use world-known metaphors in their pieces to convey a certain idea. This can be manifested in the symbols used by them (flood or waves mean an uncontrolled phenomenon, which leads to fear) and the color scheme (dark colors cause negative emotions). At the same time, cartoonists

can resort to metaphors that emphasize the social, cultural, political contextual differences of particular countries [70, pp. 33-63].

One of the popular areas of the migration discourse research is the study of anti-immigrant and racist narratives in modern social media. Social media today are not only a space for interpersonal communication; they also serve as a platform for the political discourse and identity construction. In order to understand the sharp increase in racist, xenophobic and anti-immigrant attitudes, one should recognize the social media as social and technical systems that play an important role in the “formation of social relations, including those related to racism” [44, pp. 606-618].

Among the anti-immigrant strategies, the most common is to reframe and to recontextualize news related to the topic of migration. As one can observe, such stories mainly focus on negative aspects or crime - public discontent, socio-economic problems, misunderstanding and so on.

Recontextualization and reframing are conducted through some text transformations: using reformulations, naming strategies and the omission of certain parts of the story. It should be noted that under the “recontextualization” is understood a “neutral” news text that transmute into news with a characteristic anti-immigrant agenda [44, pp. 606-618].

Studying migration discourse in the media space, one must take into account the role of the framing theory. It explores how journalists and media cover particular events, topics, issues, and what additional meanings they bring in. This theme is closely related to the agenda-setting theory, which describes the formation of public awareness and concern of important issues by the news media. The framing theory differs from the previous one in that it is broader by claiming that the manner in which the news is presented creates a “frame” for understanding this information [40].

When considering migration issues in the context of the news (TV, radio, press), it should be pointed out that, the topic of immigrants is most often associated with "bad news." Many broadcasting resources link migration processes to words and phrases with a characteristic negative connotation – “*crisis*”, “*problems*”, “*security*

threat”, “*illegal immigrants*” and the rest. Recently, studies of such "local" meanings of words, words combinations or sentences have become relevant in the migration discourse.

Furthermore, most news releases state that there is a direct link between migrants and the committed crimes in the country. Scholars such as L. Bennet, S. Bison, M. Morani [31], T. van Dijk [87], who study this type of discourse, argue that these newscasts are created in order to provoke anti-immigrant sentiments among ordinary people and establish a racist and sometimes xenophobic information field.

Summing up the aforementioned, we can conclude that migration is a complex and controversial socio-political phenomenon, the study of which is carried out by researchers from different fields of science.

It is worth pointing out that in the age of globalization, media channels are a powerful means of shaping public thought. Different types of media and their target orientation differently affect the representation of migrants. Media can, on the one hand, reinforce the stereotypical, criminalized portrait of migrants, or on the other hand, influence the integration of refugees into the communities and facilitate the direct broadcasting of their stories.

Content and frame analyzes, as well as other methods of modern discursive studies, elucidate how migration discourse is structured and how it conveys existing ideologies and attitudes. Furthermore, what is not less important, the study of migration narrative from the perspective of related to it discourse helps to identify the socio-political functions of migration discourse in society.

CONCLUSIONS

The European migration crisis plays a central role in political and media narratives on migration. The study of the impact of migration processes on public debate has been actively developed by leading political scientists, sociologists, linguists and other representatives of scientific fields.

Given that political studies are involved in the formation of a migration narrative, it was rational to consider the characteristics of this genre of discourse.

The concept of discourse and discursive peculiarities are often studied by various linguists and scientists. Due to the different researchers' views on the nature and functional features of the discourse, distinct approaches to its determination have been formed [49; 47; 86; 88; 1; 17].

Summarizing the opinions of the scientists, we can say that discourse is a method of organizing knowledge that structures the constitution of social relations through the collective understanding of the discursive logic and the acceptance of the discourse as a social fact.

Studying further the political discourse, we examined the features of its historical development as a genre. In addition, we found that there is no single definition of this field of research among scientists, since constant scientific studies reveal new prospects for interpreting the political discourse [87; 30].

We pointed out that today there exist two approaches to the study of this concept: wide and narrow, as well as examined the textual features, the communicative and cognitive parameters of this research area [71]. Also, the influence of political discourse on the development of migration narrative and the popularity of the study of this phenomenon [56; 63] was studied.

Our attention was also paid to the media discourse as a relevant area of study in modern linguistics [39; 50; 18]. We also examined various interpretations by scientists and approaches to the study of this concept [10; 7]. In addition, various classifications of the media discourse functions and its types were given. Two main types of this genre of discourse were distinguished - spoken and printed. The important role of the media discourse in shaping public opinion was pointed out.

Changing globalization processes and constant migration of the population actively influence the development of another leading genre of discourse - migration. We considered the general characteristic of the discourse of migration - its complexity as a political, social, cultural and linguistic phenomenon. In addition, we have identified its object of the study, as well as the material base for the study. We

also pointed out that a huge number of works of scientists is now devoted to the study of the concept of migration, racism and other related topics [93; 88; 3]. A distinctive place is occupied by the study of political metaphors used in the migration narrative [69]. It is worth emphasizing that the media are actively influencing the migration discourse, which affects the migration agenda setting. We also examined the role of media in the stereotypization and negativization of the migration processes.

Thus, we came to the conclusion that migration narrative is present in the study of many discursive genres, namely political and media studies. The topic of migration is relevant because it is a phenomenon that is constantly being developed and analyzed.

2. IMMIGRATION FRAMING AND PRESS POLARIZATION IN THE UK MEDIA DISCOURSE

It has long been known how powerful the media can be regarding the issue of framing and transmission of particular topics [65, pp. 1-24; 38]. These aspects, in turn, affect how events will be perceived by ordinary people. Today, the media resources are able to set the agenda and the tone for what is happening around. The key role in informing the population about European migration, as well as its “crisis” framing is also played by the media. Even a detailed analysis of the causes and factors of a difficult situation with refugees could not surpass group polarization, sensationalism and negative rhetoric [64, p.35].

Before delving further into the analysis of frames used in the printed press, one must first understand what exactly is meant by this concept. According to R. Entman, ‘*frames*’ can be regarded as schemes of interpretation that endorse a particular problem definition or causal interpretation of an issue [45, pp. 51-58]. In political discourse, the frames are considered as a tool for giving meaning to different topics and issues. Thus, this tool becomes vital in the process of an argument-construction. Other scholars like J. Matthes and M. Kohring in their article about media frames claimed that ‘a frame is quite an abstract variable that is hard to identify and hard to code in content analysis’ [66, p. 258].

It is also worth pointing out that, given the ambiguous interpretation of the notion of *framing*, all definitions recognize that language as a key means of natural language processing takes the central role in this context.

Considering the framing as a concept, we have to say that it is connected with the agenda-setting process and, what is even more important, it is focused on the essence of the issue. Framing also acts as a central concept within the sphere of political communication.

Frequently, the highly circulated media are one of the most effective means of influence on the dominant political ideology. The topic of the migration crisis has gained momentum owing to the broadcast of a myriad of images and videos about

crowds of refugees with their children, their movement and way of life. However, the most important thing here is that their own voices were not presented and their own stories were not conveyed to the society.

Another aspect of negative framing of the migration process is the separation of “immigrants” and “native” populations. In this case, newspapers portray newly arrived refugees as a serious threat to national identity. All the published images describing refugees climbing over the fences, families huddling on the streets and many other photographs presented the situation in a one-sided way and created an atmosphere of uncontrollability and disorder at the borders of “our” country. Such ideas were a reflection of the views and values of the population and also shaped certain political and social paradigms and migration discourse as a whole, the consequence of which was the creation of an appropriate “reality”.

It should be emphasized that according to a research conducted by the Cardiff School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies [31] in 2015, coverage of the topic of migrants and refugees in the British press was much more aggressive and polarized compared to other European newspapers.

Another analysis, more detailed and concerning the purely British press outlets, which was carried out in 2016 by a former journalist of *the Sunday Times*, Liz Gerard, proved that *the Daily Express* over the 5 years had carried 179 front pages devoted to the coverage of anti-immigrant stories. *The Daily Mail*, in turn, devoted 122 pages to this topic [55]. In addition, according to the analysis, the journalist expressed her opinion on the attitude of British newspapers to the coverage of migration issues. She writes:

“The Sun and Star see footballers and reality TV stars as better sellers, but are generally hostile [to the topic of immigration]. The Telegraph is not quite as fevered as the white-top tabloids, but shares their outlook. The Guardian and Independent are all generally sympathetic, while the Times tries to steer a middle course”.

It should be emphasized that the selected paper materials in this research work also confirm the conclusions drawn by Liz Gerard.

Studying various articles, media columns, as well as headlines and front pages of the newspapers, we realized that, in fact, right-wing tabloids such as *the Daily Mail*, *the Daily Express* and *the Sun* presented information about migration in an extremely stereotypical and hyperbolized manner.

On the other hand, the left-wing press, namely *the Independent*, *the Guardian* and Internet editions of *BBC News*, by placing the stories of migrants and sharing their experiences on their pages, as well as by publishing photos and images that showed the suffering of refugees, contributed to the process of positivization of the migrants' image and the normalization of relations between incoming people and the local population.

As a result, we can observe that having an impact on millions of people's lives, the framing of the migration issue presented by various media sources potentially affects the public's voting preferences concerning the migration policy. It also directly influences the way the local people treat and welcome refugees as well as shapes the understanding of the problems connected with migration by the citizens.

Fragmentation, as well as contradictory information coming from different press outlets, has risen even more questions and myths about the victims of the migration crisis. The situation was becoming more complicated by the fact that, unfortunately, most British media resources sought to build a wall of misunderstanding and hostility between the local population and the desperate refugees.

2.1. The issue of negative rhetoric against refugees and news coverage fragmentation

Today, political circles are actively discussing the fragmentation issue of modern media resources and their impact on the polarization of public opinion.

For many years, immigration-related topic has been toxic and vexed political question in the UK. Since 2014 – the migration crisis that has swept across Europe - and to this day, fierce disputes around refugees have not subsided.

The British printed media have previously been criticized due to the presence of political bias in their articles on migrants and refugees. However, during the

European migrant crisis, the international community has been closely examining every publication coming from Britain.

According to the Cardiff School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies, the polarization of the population emerges mainly due to the fact that British people to a lesser extent read articles that feature humanitarian topics (only 7, 1% in *The Sun*, 20 and 9% in the *Daily Mail*). At the same time, it should be pointed out that newspapers, which emphasize the “threat” posed by migrants and refugees to the UK and its welfare system (41,9% in the *Daily Mail*, 26,2% in *The Sun* and 15,8% in the *Telegraph*), are gaining great popularity [32]. The right-wing media encouraged the Fortress Europe approach, i.e. hardline anti-immigrant tactic.

In order to influence the audience and achieve the desired result, newspapers use not only headings or just a single article with a detailed explanation of what to think and how to react. By constantly repeating the same information and strengthening people’s bias and preconceptions day by day, as well as supplementing materials with the rest countless editorials, articles, pieces by columnists and pictures, the media instill the population with desirable ideas.

The journalists’ columns taken from the right-wing newspaper *the Sun* serve as an example of how strong the framing in the UK is (Pic. 2.1. 1.).

Thus, the authors of the newspaper emphasized that migration is Europe’s “*worst*” problem, which will only increase over time. They also claimed that by voting IN, the UK will lose many “*legal migrants*”, which helped to establish the idea among the population that all migrants are illegals. In addition, columnists blamed European leaders, especially Angela Merkel (as it is portrayed on the cartoon), who advocated an open door policy towards migrants at that time.

In addition, these publications accentuate that the decision to accept refugees is wrong and the price will be “*throng*.”

Sun SAYS Cam benefits fight isn't real. It's more like a rugby haka

Sun SAYS BLOCK ON LOW SKILLED Aussie migrants points system is a corking idea

Rod Liddle May's got as much chance of cutting immigration as I've got of pulling Kristen

Sun SAYS Let's help refugees by training them to go back home

Rod Liddle Blame huvvies for surge in migrant deaths (not refugees)

Kelvin MacKenzie Migration is still the question. May's not got answer so let's hope Leadsom has

Rod Liddle Migrant crisis is bad but EU just made it worse

Sun SAYS Forsyth Immigration helps Out go on the attack

Sun SAYS Turks driving the EU to destruction

Rod Liddle We've woken up to immigration... liberals must too

Rod Liddle Kitten heels must put foot down on immigration now

Kelvin MacKenzie Truckers aren't the bad guys, it's violent migrants

Kelvin MacKenzie If you want 11.5% of all Europe's migrants to come here, vote YES

Sun SAYS PARTY'S EURO 'SUICIDE NOTE' UK population explosion is proof pro-EU Labour's wrong

Sun SAYS Get rid of stupid migration target

Sun SAYS Your Brussels deal has done nothing to halt migrants, nothing to win powers back for Britain. Sorry, Prime Minister, but... **IT STINKS**

Sun SAYS Don't be so dozy Sarkozy

Rod Liddle Cam's EU deal is so mad it makes Jezza seem sane

Kelvin MacKenzie If we vote IN, how many legal migrants will come?

Rod Liddle Migrants deal is a real Turkey but EU chiefs can't see it

Rod Liddle Migration worst thing for Europe since War... and it will get worse

Sun SAYS Kavanagh Merkel's eyes open on open-door policy

Kelvin MacKenzie Poll is proof UK Muslims ARE different from the rest of us



Pic. 2.1. 1. *The Sun*

The news materials published by *the Sun* serve as an evidence of how the media outlet, in order to popularize xenophobic sentiments, used the traditional prejudices that “***Muslims*** ARE different from the rest of ***us***” and that “***they***” have no place in “***our***” country. One can also see how *the Sun* actively propagated the stereotype that migrants are evil and threatening, that refugees mean a disorder and their presence will negatively affect the UK welfare system.

Using the intimidating technique and escalating fear, *the Sun*, like other print media, successfully instilled the public with the desired idea that migrants (especially Muslims) should be excluded from the hosting community; they should be isolated because they destroy the Europe’s way of life, its traditions and culture. The prejudices that spread during the migration period mainly indicated that Muslim migrants influence the change in the demographic picture of Great Britain and that these people want to change “*Us*”.

The negative rhetoric that comes from the lips of the political leaders of Great Britain aggravates the situation with migration and contributes to the increased framing of refugees. Thus, a striking example in this case is the former British Prime Minister D. Cameron, who in January 2016 called immigrants attempting to cross the English Channel as “***a bunch of migrants***”:

‘Look at their record over the last week. They met with the unions and gave them flying pickets. ... They met with a bunch of migrants in Calais, they said they could all come to Britain. The only people they never stand up for are the British

people and hardworking taxpayers’ [The Guardian, ‘Cameron’s ‘bunch of migrants’ jibe is callous and dehumanizing, say MPs].

Human rights groups, as well as other activists advocating for the rights of migrants, harshly condemned and criticized the Prime Minister’s choice of collective noun for the description of refugees.

In addition, a few months earlier, in July 2015 D. Cameron, speaking about the migration crisis at ITV News, also portrayed suffering migrants as *‘a swarm of people’*:

‘You have got a swarm of people coming across the Mediterranean, seeking a better life, wanting to come to Britain because Britain has got jobs, it’s got a growing economy, it’s an incredible place to live’ [ITV News, ‘Calais migrant crisis: UK-French centre to tackle traffickers’].

The usage of such dehumanizing phrases and ‘disappointing’ language provoked anger among the public and other MPs. It should be added that the same noun was used by the former leader of the UKIP party Nigel Farage in one of the morning TV programmes [ITV News, ‘Farage calls on army to get involved in Calais’].

As we can see, the above mentioned facts play a significant role in how the media cover migration issues. Negative rhetoric, as well as serious fragmentation of the British news media, leads to a direct polarization of the society and a change in the perception of refugees.

2.1.1. Front pages overview on migration in the UK

British press is well-known for its ability to skillfully use the front pages as a means of propaganda. One can see how at first the refugees were called "foreigners" or "immigrants" who flooded almost all European countries and who were going to “swarm” the UK. Even the concept of “migrant” itself in the context of the refugee crisis has lost its neutrality and has gained a negative connotation.

The negative framing of a refugee image, as well as the active use of loaded language and metaphors, led to the fact that group polarization began to intensify and the conviction of social domination was actively instilled in British society. The latter

was manifested in the humiliation of “them” (intensification of negative qualities) and the exaltation of “us” (positivization of the locals).

Thus, the headline that was published on the cover of *the Sun* in May 2015 can be regarded as an illustration to the popular process of ‘othering’ within the UK. The newspaper headline “Their rights ... Or yours?” emphasized the “us-them” opposition that existed in the public and, as a result, contributed to the negative refugee framing (Pic 2.1.1. 1).



Pic 2.1.1. 1. *The Sun*, May 2015

On the cover, the media resource posted the images of 4 angry looking men and put the following signatures: “killer”, “rapist”, “paedo rapist” and “terrorist”. On the other side, readers saw the smiling faces of Dave, Zafreen, Karina and Wilks, which positioned the group of “us”, the people who can be called by their names with the possibility to indicate their ages.

This front page also repeated the stereotypical assertions that were imposed on the population that incoming asylum seekers were primarily terrorists, rapists and murderers. Like all left-wing media, *the Sun* did not consider migrants to be people

who should be shown compassion, and, thereby, due to such representations, the UK citizens began to see and frame refugees as exclusively enemies and evil-minded "invaders."

A single day changed the attitude of the British press towards migrants in a way that was more positive. However, it should be admitted that for most of the right-wing media outlets this effect did not last long. September 3, 2015, after the publication of pictures of a drowned 3-year-old Syrian toddler Aylan Kurdi, the migration politics of many newspapers had u-turned for a while. Aylan's and his brother's bodies, washed up on a Turkish coast have united the UK press outlets. For them, the refugees became victims, the sufferers who need help. As a result, newspapers began to urge the government to soften its tough stance on the number of people who migrate to Europe (Pic 2.1.1. 2.).



Pic 2.1.1. 2. Daily Mail, The Sun, Daily Mirror, The Daily Telegraph

Thus, we can say that Aylan humanised as well as individuated those 'swarms' of refugees that are constantly trying to reach the Europe.

Such powerful media resources as *The Sun*, *The Guardian*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Mirror*, *The Times* dedicated their front pages to describe this tragic event by using a picture of the dead boy (Pic 2.1.1. 3.).



Pic 2.1.1. 3. *The Sun*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Mirror*, *The Times*, *The Guardian*

Moreover, *the Sun* newspaper, after leading on September 3 its front page with photos of Aylan Kurdi and calling that "it's life and death," abandoned its humanitarian policy towards migrants after over time. As a result, seven weeks later, the newspaper began to publish articles and images of refugees using its notorious anti-immigrant propaganda narrative. (Pic 2.1.1. 4.)



Pic 2.1.1. 4. *The Sun*

The newspaper used the headline *'Illegals have landed'* and presented the 114 people at the RAF base in Cyprus as *'alleged refugees'* who were seeking *'a back door into the UK'*. Also, the alarmist rhetoric that is used by the UKIP member Steven Woolfe, who spoke about *'boatloads'* and migrants *'on Brit soil'*, is quite visible in this publication.

Another front page ran by *the Sun* with the following article appeared later in November 2015 and led to an immediate reaction of the public as well as the international community (Pic 2.1.1. 5.).



Pic 2.1.1. 5. *The Sun*

The press watchdog, The Independent Press Standards Organization (IPSO), as well as other British media outlets like *the Guardian*, *the Independent* and *the BBC News* criticised *the Sun* and for the usage of discriminatory and provocative terminology. IPSO reported that it received more than 3,000 complaints over the article with the offensive headline: *'1 in 5 Brit Muslims' sympathy for jihadis.*' The image of British Isis member Mohammad Emwazi (Jihadi John) that was accompanying the story that *"nearly one in five British Muslims has some sympathy*

with those who had fled the UK to fight for Isis in Syria" contributed to the strengthening of the stereotype that Muslims support terrorist organizations and their activities. Later, *the Sun* had to admit that the coverage was 'significantly misleading' and the poll results conducted by the newspaper were misrepresenting.

After reading and seeing the front pages and screaming headlines, which were published at the height of the migration crisis by such newspapers as *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Express*, one can understand how strong the propaganda was in the UK at that time and how skillfully journalists convinced the public that refugees represented evil, harm and devastation for the country (Pic 2.1.1. 6.).



Pic 2.1.1. 6. *The Daily Express, The Daily Mail*

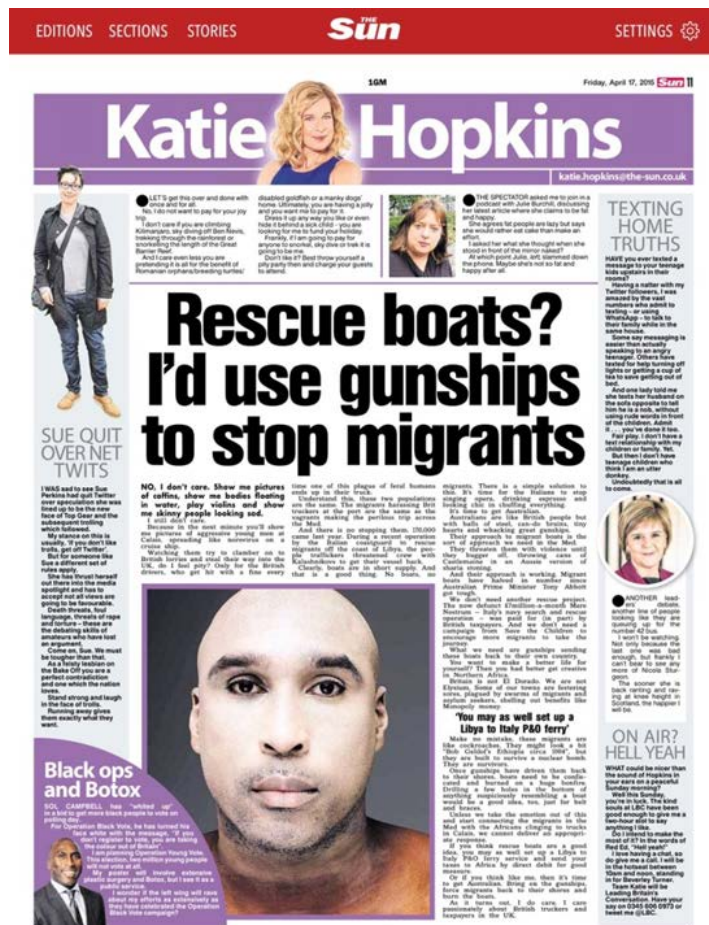
By creating such a racist picture regarding the migration, the aforementioned tabloids were inclining the British people to the fact that the only chance to escape from this "migration chaos" is to vote for Brexit.

2.1.2. News content and headlines peculiarities of the British press

The language used by the mass media when portraying events about migrants is a kind of mirror that conveys the stance of society. It also depicts the existing narrative of migrants as "others" and acts as a means of forming this narrative. Many studies conducted over the past 10 years in the field of media discourse have shown that most of the British press actively conducts anti-immigrant propaganda. After having studied more than 30 articles from the leading British publications from 2013

to 2019, it was found that “*illegal*” was the most commonly used word for migrants. It is worth noting that despite the fact that tabloids mostly resorted to this word for the description of desperate people, we can find that broadsheet newspapers also used this hostile adjective in relation to the refugees and asylum seekers. Thus, one can find such headlines as “*Eight-fold increase in the number of illegal migrants entering Europe*” published in *The Independent* or “*Illegal migrants flooding into EU: Record 1.8MILLION border breaches in just one year*” printed on *the Daily Express* pages are quiet typical of that time.

Negative media coverage in the UK reached its peak at the moment when one of the most circulated tabloids - *the Sun* newspaper - posted a column on its pages where migrants were described as “*cockroaches*” and “*feral humans*”. The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights strongly condemned this publication and the newspaper itself for the references to anti-Semitic Nazi propaganda (Pic. 2.1.2. 1.).



Pic. 2.1.2. 1. Katie Hopkins' column, The Sun, 2015

The author of the column, Katie Hopkins, wrote: "I don't care. Show me pictures of coffins, show me bodies floating in water, play violins and show me skinny people looking sad. I still don't care. Because in the next minute you'll show me pictures of aggressive young men at Calais, spreading like **norovirus** on a cruise ship. Make no mistake, these migrants are like **cockroaches**. They might look a bit 'Bob Geldof's Ethiopia circa 1984', but they are built to survive a nuclear bomb. They are survivors."

It was published amid deaths in Italy and sinking boats with migrants off the coast of Libya. As a result, these words stirred society and people protested on the Internet, as well as sent complaints to the recently created IPSO.

5 months later, after the tragedy with two drowned boys who "became the heartbreaking symbols of the migrant crisis," the Sun published a new column calling on the UK Prime Minister David Cameron to help those in a "life-and-death struggle not of their own making" and that Britain should not "flinch" from "taking in desperate people." (Pic 2.1.2. 2.).



Pic 2.1.2. 2. *The Sun*, 2015

Alarming rhetoric of another tabloid newspaper - the *Daily Mail* - was reframed almost overnight - on August 28 they published the next article - "*Migrants: How many more can we take*". But on September 3 the newspaper was already calling for hospitality and aid - "*A tiny victim of a human catastrophe*".

In fact, the media's inadequate response to the migration crisis shows the attitude of the British press to the issue of refugees - on the one hand, fearful, and fearless on the other.

It is argued that the unbalanced media coverage of issues related to migration and refugees reflects public sentiments and attitudes. Most media resources in the UK also actively welcomed anti-immigrant ideas promoted by the government and its negative responses to the migrant process.

Stories about refugees are rarely told from the perspective of those arriving or local residents. Inaccurate information continues to be published in newspapers, and sometimes radical points of view that are potentially aimed at inciting xenophobia among the population are freely presented.

One of the leading British quality newspapers - *The Guardian* - dedicates most of its materials to criticism of migration crisis coverage in the media rather than the refugee crisis as it is. Thus, journalist Roy Greenslade mainly focuses in his publications on reporting migration issues by other British news resources. He constantly refers to a powerful 'drip-drip-drip' (also described in the analysis prepared by blogger Liz Gerard) technique that is used by the anti-immigrant media to influence their audiences:

'in a drip-drip-drip process over months, if not years, newspapers have an impact on readers who never think about, let alone question, the propaganda they consume'. [The Guardian, 'The Brexit drippers: how Eurosceptic papers wage their propaganda war'].

By aiming to evoke the fear of refugees among the population, the right-wing outlets actively resorted to this drip-drip-drip or repetition technique. Through the usage of repetitions and misinformation in stories describing the "hordes" that are coming into Britain from different countries destroyed by war and concentrating

solely on negative materials, they were able to create the desired picture of a migrant, i.e. negative and stereotyped one.

Here are the examples of splashes (headlines) from *the Daily Mail*, *the Daily Express* and *the Telegraph* published only in 2016:

- ‘*Staggering*’ number of European ihadis: EU’s own border agency admits terrorists are exploiting refugee crisis and lax controls - but has no idea how many illegal migrants there are’ [Daily Mail];
- ‘Isil exploiting migrant routes to smuggle ihadists back to Britain using fake documents’ [Telegraph];
- ‘Heading for Britain: ISIS sends ASSASSINS into UN refugee camps to murder Christians’ [Daily Express];
- ‘Illegal migrants flooding into EU: Record 1.8 MILLION border breaches in just one year’ [Daily Express].

Metaphors along with other strategies that are used by these newspapers help to reinforce the idea that migrants pose a threat to the British society. This is predominantly achieved through the use of word combinations “*illegal migrants*”, “*illegal immigrants*” the repetition of the nouns ‘*terrorists*’, ‘*ihadists*’, ‘*ISIS*’ and so on.

Often, newly arrived refugee families succumbed to framing by the local media, which tried to present these people as different from "us." “*Strangers*” were rarely associated with Europe, as they were “*hostile*” to European culture, traditions and its way of life. One may notice that such newspapers as *the Guardian* or *the Independent* portrayed the migrants positively and sympathetically, broadcasting mainly those stories and the images of people that fell under the stereotypes of defenselessness, innocence – women and children, elderly and sick people (Pic. 2.1.2. 3).



Pic. 2.1.2. 3. *The Guardian*

BBC News also participated in building of a positive frame concerning refugees and published photos of people who fled from war-torn Arab countries, trying to protect their family (Pic. 2.1.2. 4.):

“Sara came to Lesbos with her two sons from the Damascus suburb of Ghouta, because life there was becoming impossible and she was unable to find the medicines she needed. “There was no life. Just worse and worse. There was no food. ... There was no work, no water””. [BBC News, Five migrant stories from Greece: The pull of Europe].



Pic. 2.1.2. 4. *BBC News*

Men, on the contrary, were covered from the negative side; they were nameless and running away or crowding around fences (Pic. 2.1.2. 5.):



Pic. 2.1.2. 5. *The Daily Mail*

One of the most popular British newspapers, *the Sun*, despite its sympathetic front page about the 3-year-old drowned Syrian Aylan Kurdi in September 2015, just a couple of weeks later presented migrants as “*illegals*” and those who are trying to get to the UK by all means.

Such media outlet as *The Independent*, when representing refugees and immigrants, tends to stick to non-manipulative technique in presenting the facts and it is rather sympathetic or neutral to the situation of these desperate incomers. This can be seen primarily from a review of their front pages (Pic. 2.1.2. 6.).

The Independent most often in its splashes portrayed children who suffered from war and became defenseless migrants. The headlines and news materials of the newspaper confirmed this fact: “A *third of refugees are now children*” or “*Lords savage Britain for failure to take in fair share of child refugees*”.



Pic. 2.1.2. 6. *The Independent*

In addition, the news outlet revealed its readers the data about the scale of negative rhetoric against refugees, which has increased in Europe since the beginning of the migration crisis.

Moreover, European leaders who did not support immigrant politics were harshly criticized in the newspaper.

Considering the issue of how printed media represent refugees from a positive perspective, in contrast to the negative rhetoric of most tabloid newspapers it is necessary to highlight *the Guardian*'s role in this regard.

Reports, articles, editorials and interviews exemplify how the newspaper is trying to introduce a new approach to the discussion of the migrants' way of life and migration topic in Britain. The newspaper immediately began to distribute the information about the new initiative - "I Am an Immigrant" poster campaign:

'Something interesting has been happening in the days since the Movement Against Xenophobia, ..., and comprising 113 organisations, began seeking support for a campaign to focus on the other side of the story. It plans to run a poster campaign with photos – taken by a Vogue photographer – depicting ordinary migrants, and a few not so ordinary, who contribute to British life'. [The Guardian, 'The crowdfunded campaign to help immigrants tell their stories'].

Moreover, *the Guardian* also contributed to the 'migrant positive representation approach' and dedicated the number of its pages to the presentation of 100 immigrants short stories that are aimed at 'normalising' migration process as a part of the country's society.

The newspaper decided not to concentrate on the 'victimized' representation of the migrants, but rather to open up to the public the day-to-day experiences of the people who were forced to move to Britain as well as to stimulate the understanding of the refugees' problems among the community members:

"We are not criminals... most of us want to seek asylum by ourselves and we are being detained for half a year and over. We are locked up in rooms like animals". [The Independent, 'Harmondsworth: Asylum seekers' hunger strike spreads to second centre'];

"A proud father who is fleeing persecution, a mother who wants to give her family a chance – every migrant who risks their lives in the Mediterranean has a story that any European would recognise". [The Guardian, 'The Guardian view on the Mediterranean migrants: every life is a precious life'];

'Ali came from Najaf with his wife and son, fleeing the advance of Islamic State (IS) militants and the breakdown of services such as basic drinking water. "I'm not thinking about me," he says, "it's about the future for my son"'. [BBC News, Five migrant stories from Greece: The pull of Europe].

Left-wing newspapers, by publishing a series of such personal and often emotional stories of migrants, tried to inspire a sense of empathy among the audience. The media, revealing living conditions of being a migrant, were aimed at reducing the stigmatization of refugees in society and removing the labels of "terrorists" and "killers" that were used by right-wing newspapers.

Summing up all the above mentioned, it should be said that British newspapers during the migration crisis were distinguished by their fragmentation and polarization, which was noticeable not only through their front pages and headlines, but also in the articles and images. The news content of such newspapers as *the Sun*, *the Daily Express* and *the Daily Mail* was aimed at severely negativization of the migrants' portrayal, while the media outlets opposing them – *The Independent*, *the Guardian* and *BBC News* - took a more humane position on refugee issues and spread the voices of forced migrant victims.

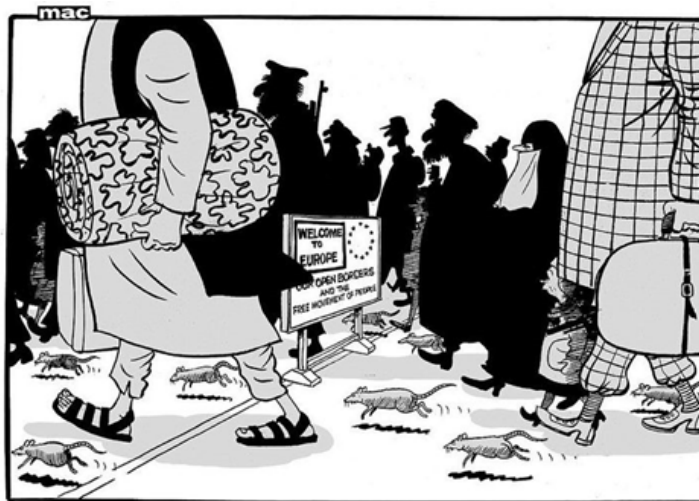
2.2. Non-verbal means of framing

In their materials on refugee crisis, the British right-wing press outlets tend to use images that increase the population's fear, risk and danger in relation to migrants. Speaking about images in this context, we want to pay attention to creolized texts that influence readers / viewers much more effectively than simple texts and form either positive or negative attitude towards migrants among representatives of Western society.

One of the genres of a creolized text that is often found in the media is a cartoon. Cartoons are characterized by the use of a graphic image, satire and grotesque to purposefully exaggerate and emphasize the negative aspects of life events or people. In his work J. Fiske noted that "*cartoons are examples of messages which attempt to convey a wealth of information by simple, direct means—they use simple signifiers*

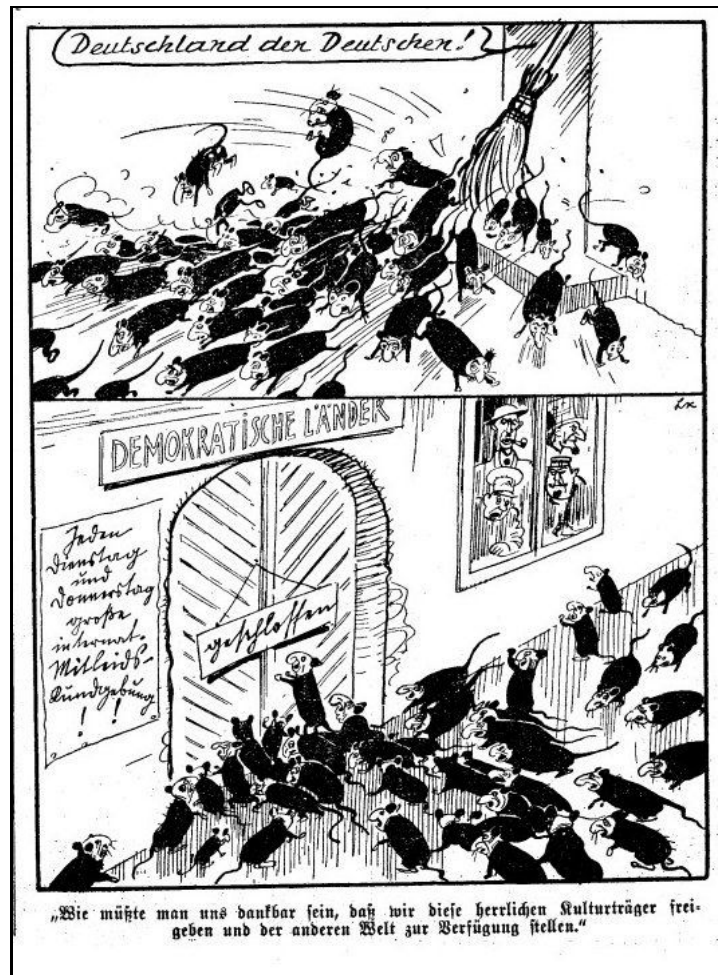
for complex signifies” [48, p. 48]. This genre of creolized text portrays social, political and everyday phenomena in a humorous manner. It is precisely because of this reason that it is easier to incorporate certain stereotypes and prejudices towards Muslims (in our case, refugees) in them [11, p. 181].

One of the most notable cartoons that drew public condemnation was published in *The Daily Mail* newspaper in 2015 (Pic.2.2. 1.).



Pic. 2.2. 1. “MAC ON ... Europe’s open borders”, *The Daily Mail*, 2015

Thus, the British animator Stanley “Mac” McMurry in his piece for *the Daily Mail* portrayed *Muslims* (migrants, refugees) as “rats”. The prototype for this image was the cartoon, which was popular in Nazi Europe in 1939, where Jews were portrayed as rats, which must be expelled from Germany (Pic. 2.2. 2.).



Pic. 2.2. 2.

In his foreground cartoon, Mac portrayed a man in an appropriate outfit carrying a mat for prayers. A little further away, there is a woman in a hijab who is heading to the sign where it reads "Welcome to Europe" and "open borders." Near the sign one can also see a man with a rifle on his back. In this way, Mac wanted to show that Muslims are the "terrorists" that "flooded" European countries. On the ground there, rats are running between the feet of refugees.

The reaction of Internet observers was very sharp - many of them negatively assessed this cartoon and called on the British authorities to investigate this situation.

One more publication with a catchy cartoon appeared in *The Independent* in March 2016 (Pic. 2.2. 3.). The image was a response to the harsh words of German Chancellor Angela Merkel. She said that "the EU should try to slash the flow of migrants entering illegally "and not just for a few countries, but for all countries".



Pic. 2.2. 3. *The Independent*, 2016

As a result, famous illustrator Dave Brown presented his vision of the actions and statements of the European policy. He portrayed Angela Merkel in a military uniform with the “EU” caption, who is trying to drive an innocent Syrian child from the Europe’s shore. The dead boy looks like already known Aylan Kurdi, who drowned trying to get to a safer place with his family. In addition, the caption on Aylan's back reads “Return to sender”, which underlines the EU’s ignorance and reluctance to deal with the migration crisis and the increasing number of refugees.

One of the effective methods of stereotyping and street campaigning is posters. They are not often found in the press, as they are mainly placed in public places. Posters are actively used during political agitation to promote certain ideas of the party.

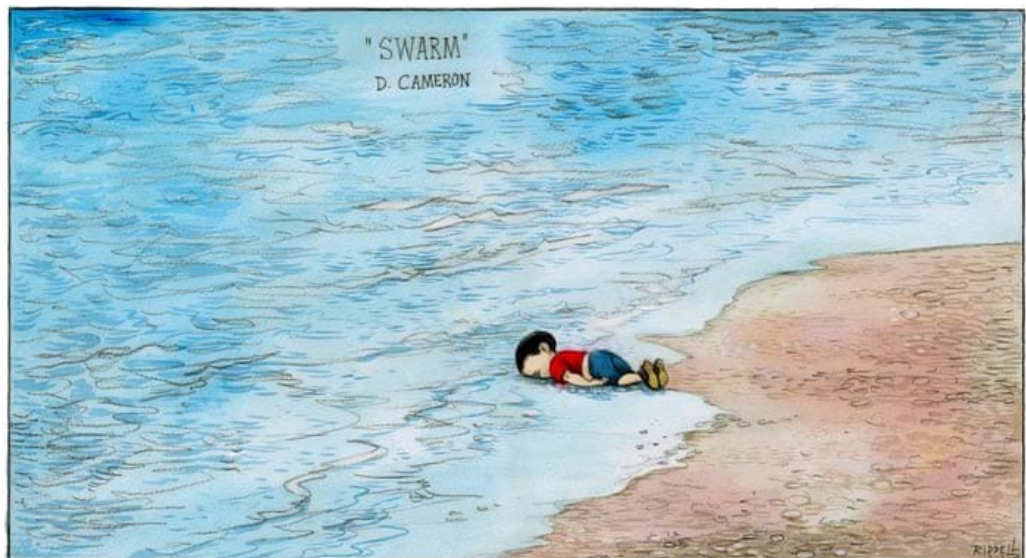
Despite the above mentioned information, printed media publish materials with posters from time to time. Thus, for example, in 2014 *The Daily Mail* newspaper released an article supplemented by a very controversial poster of the UKIP political party (Pic.2.2. 4.).



Pic. 2.2. 4. “No border. No control. The EU has opened our borders to 4, 000 people every week”. *The Daily Mail*, 2014

The poster depicts an escalator running up the White Cliffs of Dover. It also has an inscription - "*No border. No control.*" In this way, the former leader of the UKIP party, Nigel Farage, wanted to emphasize that by adhering to the EU's free movement rules, Great Britain has "*no borders*" and the country cannot control the incoming flow of people. The article also presents the position of the UKIP leader, who thereby imposed his political beliefs on the audience about the need for Britain to leave the EU as well as the importance of the British themselves to control their borders.

The Guardian, distinguished by its pro-immigrant policy, published an image in September 2015 that was a reaction to the statement of the UK former PM David Cameron about migrants and to the death of the Syrian boy Aylan Kurdi (Pic. 2.2. 5). The author of the cartoon, Chris Riddell, portrayed a drowned refugee with the inscription "*SWARM*" on the top of it. The latter word was a description that, as we indicated earlier, was used by the former British Prime Minister to describe refugees.



Pic. 2.2. 5. 'Refugee crisis: journey's end for Aylan',
The Guardian, 2015

The newspaper, therefore, condemned the negative, anti-immigrant rhetoric of British politicians and emphasized that asylum seekers - both adults and children - are not a "swarm", but desperate people who seek refuge in Europe.

One of the most influential journalistic materials of *the Independent* was an article by Sudanese illustrator Khalid Albaih published in August 2016. It was about Omran Daqneesh and the tragic situation in which he found himself. The most noticeable thing in this article became the cartoon, where the author combined the images of two Syrian boys (Pic. 2.2. 6.).



Pic. 2.2. 6. Choices for Syrian children...

The Independent, 2016

The cartoon with the caption “*Choices for Syrian children ...*” shows Omran Daqneesh and the text “*if you stay*” and Aylan Kurdi and the text “*if you leave*” below. Omran Daqneesh has become a collective image of those boys and girls who hide every day from airstrikes and lose their loved ones. Aylan Kurdi, on the contrary, became the personification of thousands of refugee children (especially Syrians) who died in an attempt to reach European borders.

This piece created by Kh. Albaih has become viral on the Internet and has been liked or reposted by many media resources like the *Huffington Post*, *The Telegraph*, *The Guardian*. In this way, the author, who was interviewed by *the BBC*, *CNN*, *AJE* afterwards, emphasized the horrific choice faced by children from Syria.

Thus, it can be argued that due to the versatility of the creolized texts, they are easier to remember and more effectively generate prejudices among the readers.

As seen, the main tool in creolized texts is the non-verbal component, to which an explanatory text can be attached. Political cartoons, due to the satire, are able to represent the verbal and visual images regarding the cultural, social or political issues. The meanings of such cartoons’ messages are simplified and direct. The signs that are used in cartoons (icons, symbols) make the last one an important social medium.

Regarding the UK right-wing media materials on the topic of migration, it is clearly seen that the image of “*terrorist*”, “*jihadist*”, and “*rat*” dominates in them.

Left-wing press also uses creolized texts that, as opposed to the right-wing ones, convey the plight of the migrants, their suffering and problems. On the pages of *The Independent* as well as *the Guardian*, one can often see the cartoons that do not bear any stereotypization or negative representation of the migrants. On contrary, they criticize the negative rhetoric of the politicians and anti-immigrant policy of the state.

Thus, cartoons and posters are quite common in British printed media. However, it should be noted that most often they exaggerate existing problems, creating a negative picture for the audience, but one can also find (however, not so many)

newspaper publications with positive connotations that help to look at the issue of the refugee crisis from a different perspective.

CONCLUSIONS

The resources that are used in the media discourse play an important role in setting the agenda and tone for the events that take place around. During the past 6 years, the importance of British media has been that they played a key role in informing the population about the situation with the migration in Europe and formed connected with this it the “crisis” frame.

Framing, as a concept, is associated with the process of setting the agenda, which operates in the field of political communication and is realized through the use of headlines, front pages of newspaper articles and other means.

The study shows that the UK media space in 2012-2016 differed from the European ones in that it was much more aggressive and more polarized [31].

The British print press became an instrument of ideology and political parties, which through articles, images and pictures influenced the population's perception of the migration process. Press fragmentation was another aspect that influenced the polarization of the public. The right-wing populist newspapers – *the Sun*, *the Daily Mail*, *the Daily Express*, *the Telegraph* – stood out among others in Great Britain, which actively promoted the policy of “negativization” of migrants and used dehumanizing photographs of people for this purpose as well as called them “terrorists”, “killers” and “rapists” (*the Sun*). The negative rhetoric, used by politicians on the topic of migration and broadcasted by anti-immigrant media, also influenced the strengthening of the “Us” (native population) and “Them” (refugees) dichotomy and became an effective strategy for the manipulations.

Considering the news content and headlines of the British press, it should be noted that the right-wing newspapers often used the repetition technique and the language of “otherness” to form a stereotypical narrative on migration. In addition,

such media, when characterizing refugees, used such lexical units as “*illegal immigrants*”, “*ihadists*”, and “*cockroaches*”.

Left-wing newspapers, such as *the Guardian*, *the Independent* and *the BBC News* on the contrary, sympathized with the desperate migrants and published materials that were aimed at a positive image creation process of a refugee. Thus, *the BBC News and the Guardian* actively posted the stories of migrants on their pages and allowed the public to hear the voice and the experiences of refugees.

We also analyzed the features of non-verbal framing means, namely creolized texts used by anti- and pro-immigrant newspapers. It should be noted that the most common tools here are the cartoons and posters that enhance the verbal image of migrants.

Thus, one can observe that the use of the non-verbal means of migrants’ representation was used by both left- and right-wing media, which, in turn, were aimed at humanizing or dehumanizing the image of refugees in society.

3. THE LINGUISTIC REPRESENTATION OF THE MIGRATION CRISIS IN THE BRITISH MASS MEDIA

Today, the power of mass media is immensely great. It occupies the central role in the process of formation of national identity, self-awareness and sense of belonging. Various media outlets are responsible for creating and promoting characteristic narrative myths and a fictional national community to which certain people may have a legitimate sense of belonging. Thus, the media determine who belongs to such a community and who does not belong there, and, as a result, the media contribute to disengagement, a binary social order and categorization.

The presented analysis is based on materials collected from the British leading broadsheet and tabloid newspapers over the 2012-2016 period - namely *The Daily Mail*, *The Daily Express*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Telegraph*, *BBC News (online version)*. Despite the fact that there is a decline in printed media circulation, they still significantly affect public discourse. This is especially true for tabloid journalism, the striking front pages and headlines of which cannot be simply ignored.

More and more often one can find scientific papers on the topic of the portrayal of migrants in mass media. Analyzing the representation of the topic of migration in America, researchers came to the conclusion that most magazines were negative and “alarmist” in revealing the topic of migration [38]. Furthermore, a recent international review showed that while covering migration processes, journalists are not always able to fully convey the story. They usually become hostages of political propaganda [99]. At the same time, it was pointed out that the problem is that the migrants' voice in the media is either completely absent or underrepresented.

Concerning the United Kingdom, the public discussion of migration concept as a whole has evolved out of two points of view. According to the first one, the political leaders were to blame for escalating the migration crisis, as they ignored the problem and avoided public speaking. According to the second perspective, politicians and the press acted incorrectly concentrating mainly on the negative aspects of migration and supporting growing xenophobic and racist views [38].

3.1. Negative refugees' portrayal in printed media resources

As it was mentioned before, the way the migration processes are covered in the British media has always been and continues to be a popular topic among researchers. In most of their works, they emphasize the prejudiced, predominantly negative and inhuman representation of migrants and refugees in the printed media [Ukmar, V., 2017; Wodak, R., 2015; Van Dijk, T., 2018].

The Daily Mail, *The Daily Express*, *The Telegraph* – these newspapers deserve special attention when discussing the characteristics of the negative coverage of refugees within the UK. Starting from the front page, headlines and exploring further the language of the articles and images used in these printed media outlets, these papers drastically stood out among other European press. Moreover, they were harshly criticized - not only within the UK, but also abroad – for the unreliability, the frequent use of sensational materials and, most importantly, the spread of xenophobic sentiments. In addition, for many years before the start of the European Migration Crisis in 2015 the abovementioned tabloids actively participated in the formation of the anti-immigrant agenda in the UK. Despite all these “flaws,” along with another contradictory media outlet - *The Sun* (with the circulation of 1,41 million), they remain the best-selling tabloid (except for *The Telegraph*) newspapers compared to more reliable broadsheet media, such as the Guardian, the Independent and the Times [96].

At the same time, before digging into the analysis of the selected materials, one should not forget that *The Daily Mail* (with the circulation of 1,24 million) traditionally adheres to the right-wing radical views and supports the Conservative Party. In its turn, *The Daily Express* (with the circulation of 321,146) promotes "hard" Euroscepticism as well as right-wing radical populism, which are the consequences of the UKIP party (right-wing populist political party) support. Thus, their use of anti-immigrant claims, images and quotation of populist statements by politicians becomes clear.

It should be emphasized as well that one of the most popular broadsheet newspapers in the UK, *The Telegraph*, also tends to express more right-leaning

rhetoric (the circulation of 360,345). The media outlet shows its non-welcoming stance (which only intensifies over time) in relation to Syrian migrants arriving into the country. This is due to the fact that in 2014 the active phase of the Civil War in Syria began, which provoked a large outflow of the population to Europe. As a result, among the refugees arriving in the EU, most of them are Syrians who flee from a warring country in order to save their families and find refuge in more peaceful European states.

3.1.1 Metaphorization and verbalization of the press language: nouns and adjectives

The refugee crisis is one of the best examples of how the various media can use metaphors in a particular country. This linguistic tool, which became an essential part of the media discourse, effectively helps both positive and negative press outlets to dehumanize or, vice versa, to humanize the migrants. One of the important elements of understanding the global significance of media coverage is documentation of the metaphors visibility and revelation of what these linguistic units try to convey.

During the analysis of the articles, it has become obvious that the majority of the terminology used to describe migration and the victims of migration was based on negative stereotypization.

It should be understood that for traditional media both in Europe and in the USA, migration is seen as the problem of security or “law and order”. As a result, the migration crisis was perceived as a “problem” that needed to be addressed as well as a threat to society. Moreover, it is easy to find a number of articles where migrants and refugees were described as a burden for the state or were associated with crime. Also, a recent analysis of the British tabloid and broadsheet newspapers showed that the word "immigrant" was primarily used with the adjective "illegal" [33, pp. 3-40].

The metaphors used in the media also help to distance migrants from the “native” population, which is manifested in the use of dehumanizing language.

When analyzing printed media articles, we used A. Goatly's classification to show the linguistic peculiarities of migrants' representation in the British mass media

[51]. The researcher explored the conceptual metaphors and their impact on social behavior and thinking in his work. Thus, concentrating on the construct of humanity conceptions, he argues that the human beings can be metaphorically conceptualized:

- as machines or computers – *basket case* (person who is mad or insane), *crook*, *hulk*, *dynamo* and *the rest*.
- as food – *lollipop* (attractive young girl), *honey* (pleasant person), *beefcake* (muscular, attractive man) and *the rest*.
- as commodities – *pay* (the price) *for* (experience the bad results of what you do), *trade on* (exploit to your own advantage a characteristic that you possess) and *the rest*.
- as animals – *germ* and *the rest*.

In addition, we took into account a more advanced version of A. Goatly's typology proposed by other linguistics, such as Arcimaviciene, L., & Baglama, S. H., [27] who also explored the common uses of metaphors in the British media context.

For the negative representation of migrants, newspapers resort mainly to two popular narratives - migrants as "objects" and migrants as "commodity". The purpose of using these two metaphorical scenarios is to suppress the manifestation of any positive emotions like compassion or sympathy among the British towards migrants. The examples below vividly demonstrate how the Object metaphor is used by the various UK media outlets:

*“The true scale of the immigration crisis facing this country was laid bare last night as damning figures revealed **net migration** had surged to a record 330,000 - a rise of 40 per cent in one year’. [Daily Mail, “How many more can we take? Number of migrants entering Britain breaks all records in humiliating blow to Cameron”];*

*‘No wonder **Italy is buckling under the strain**’. [Daily Mail, “The tragic but brutal truth: They are not REAL refugees! Despite drowning tragedy thousands of economic migrants are still trying to reach Europe”];*

*‘**Non-European migrants were the greatest burden** on the taxpayer, according to the report’. [The Daily Express, “BOMBSHELL REPORT: Mass immigration is costing Britain £17 BILLION each year”].*

In the articles analyzed, nouns such as "*burden, strain, net, share*" contribute to "objectification." This implies that these nouns include concepts of an un-lived thing and object.

Thus, media outlets by using the Object metaphor achieve several effects: delegitimization of "them" as a social group, justification of "our" actions towards "them", and emotional negativity in relation to migrants who steal "our comfort zones".

The Object metaphor transforms into the usage of the Commodity metaphor. Here the EU migration policy plays a central role, which is viewed from the perspective of a "deal". In this case, "commodities" are the refugees and migrants who are controlled or traded by other countries. For example:

*'It is right that the increased **resettlement programme** is phased in over time and is subject to review, ...'. [Daily Mail, "Britain will take 3,000 MORE refugees from the Middle East as ministers admit previous promises did not go far enough"];*

*'Running costs are supposed to be subsidised by the funding the EU is releasing as part of their **deal with Turkey** to "exchange" refugees'. [The Telegraph, "Turkish town at centre of Syrian refugee crisis says: 'We're full'"];*

*'Britain has an opt-out meaning it would not have to join the **new scheme**, but if it lost the ability to deport people who have entered other countries first, it would be embarrassing for Mr. Cameron'. [Daily Mail, "Deal on migrants crisis delayed AGAIN: Brussels talks end without breakthrough after Turkey demanded EU double its €3bn offer"]].*

According to the analyzed examples, the Commodity metaphor is a more extended version of the Object metaphor. They are similar in the way that they position the migrants as a commodity, an object of trade between the EU countries. It is exemplified by the usage of such nouns as '*deal, scheme, programme, target*'. The implementation of this metaphor legitimizes the actions of the European governments and at the same time confirms the attitude of the EU leaders towards migrants as an object without the right to be heard.

Another widespread type of metaphor within the media is the Natural Phenomena metaphor. Along with other types, it helps to create the feelings of fear and insecurity caused by the development of migration process in the EU. The examples below present the linguistic construction of this type of metaphor:

‘The town at the epicentre of the Syrian refugee crisis has unwelcome news for European politicians relying on it to stem the human flow to the Mediterranean: it is saying it is full’. [The Telegraph, “Turkish town at centre of Syrian refugee crisis says: ‘We’re full’”];

‘Anti-Brussels campaigners said the growing flood of illegal crossings shows just how porous Europe’s borders have become’. [Daily Express, “Illegal migrants flooding into EU: Record 1.8 MILLION border breaches in just one year”];

‘Officials warned that the influx from countries like Syria made Britain and its European neighbours more vulnerable to terrorism’. [Daily Express, “Illegal migrants flooding into EU: Record 1.8 MILLION border breaches in just one year”].

Thus, it can be seen that the Natural Phenomena metaphor is characterized by the use of noun phrases such as *"influx, flow, hotspot"* to indicate the unregulated movement of a huge number of migrants. As a result, the effect of panic and chaos in the face of catastrophe is formed in people. Migrants are highlighted as a threat, a destructive force for the civilian population and its usual way of life.

In addition to the above mentioned types of metaphors, a special role is played by the Crime and Terrorism metaphor. Due to its frequent use in the British newspaper articles, the stereotype that migrants are a danger is becoming even more deeply rooted. This type of metaphor is important in the negative framing of the refugee crisis and exacerbating negative feelings for “Them”. For example:

‘Intelligence officials fear terror groups are increasingly exploiting the huge migrant flows to set up jihadist sleeper cells throughout Europe’. [The Telegraph, “Isil exploiting migrant routes to smiggle jihadists back to Britain using fake documents”];

‘Last month, Frontex, the EU Border Force, warned that terrorists are infiltrating Europe by pretending to be refugees’. [Daily Mail, “The tragic but brutal

truth: They are not REAL refugees! Despite drowning tragedy thousands of economic migrants are still trying to reach Europe”];

‘Prevented by Free Movement rules from carrying out extensive background checks on EU nationals, we are now in clear danger from European Islamists’. [Daily Express, “Illegal migrants flooding into EU: Record 1.8 MILLION border breaches in just one year”].

The presented articles show that the Crime and Terrorism metaphor is most often found in the right-wing media resources. Thus, the stereotypical attitude towards the migrants is emphasized even more and the xenophobic attitudes of the population are intensified. Danger and threat to life are metaphorized through the frequent use of nouns such as *"terrorists, terror groups, jihadists, insurgents, Islamists, extremists, smugglers"*. Moreover, the use of a huge number of the Crime and Terrorism metaphors in the media discourse, again, leads to legitimization the policies pursued by the government, strengthens the social divide and the dichotomy “Us” - “Them” and helps to increase the negative feelings and emotions of the population towards the refugees.

Therefore, all the highlighted metaphors effectively complement the negatively constructed frame that “Migration is Terrorism, Danger and Threat”.

By analyzing the British tabloids during the period of the migration crisis, it is hard not to notice a huge number of lexical units which are directly associated with the narrative of migration and migrants. The right-wing media quite often used the adjective “*illegal*” in this context to emphasize their attitude towards migrants and to show the population that arriving refugees cannot become the part of “*our*” society.

Thus, the Daily Mail became one of the most frequent users of the “illegal migrants” combination:

‘The failure of the EU to control its external borders has seen tens of thousands of illegal migrants attempt to gain access to Britain’. [Daily Mail, “Revealed: Migrants try to sneak into Britain at a rate of one every six minutes, official figures show”];

'Incredibly, yesterday's figures do not include illegal immigrants in the UK, estimated at 1.1 million'. [Daily Mail, "How many more can we take? Number of migrants entering Britain breaks all records in humiliating blow to Cameron"];

'But it said it had no idea how many illegal migrants there were and, in any case, had no way of tracing their movements inside the EU'. [Daily Mail, "'Staggering' number of European jihadis: EU's own border agency admits terrorists are exploiting refugee crisis and lax controls - but has no idea many illegal migrants there are"]].

Thus, the frequent use of the word phrase "illegal migrants" by the newspapers leads to the strengthening of the idea that all migrants are illegals and should be banished from the country. In addition, we have to emphasize that the use of adjectives along with other conceptual nouns and nominal phrases that negatively portray migrants leads to the reinforcement of stereotypes and biased attitude towards refugees.

When analyzing the news materials, the Daily Mail publication which is headlined *"'Staggering' number of European jihadis: EU's own border agency admits terrorists are exploiting refugee crisis and lax controls - but has no idea many illegal migrants there are"* dated April 5, 2016 deserves special attention and commentaries. by using the linguistic means, the author, promotes in this article the stereotype that refugees are terrorists and illegals, who should be feared and expelled from the country [Daily Mail, *"'Staggering' number of European jihadis: EU's own border agency admits terrorists are exploiting refugee crisis and lax controls - but has no idea many illegal migrants there are"*].

Thus, such label as "jihadist" occurred 5 times and the word "terrorist" was applied 6 times in the article. On top of that, the author referring to refugees called them *"Islamic extremists, failed asylum seekers and illegal migrants"* that *"sneak into Europe"*. It should also be noted that the peculiarity of this newspaper is that by using the adjectives, it emphasizes the nationality of migrants – whether they are *Syrians, Libyans, Moroccans, Afghans, Iraqis, Sudanese and so on*. As a result, *the*

Daily Mail newspaper forms a stereotype among its readers that Muslims are terrorists who commit crimes, atrocities and terrorist acts.

Thus, using the materials of anti-immigrant newspapers as an example, one can observe how important metaphors are in the process of conceptualization of an idea. Right-wing news outlets, resorting to the Object, Commodity, Natural Phenomena and Crime and Terrorism metaphors that are expressed by such nouns as “*the burden, the strain, the flow, the flood*”, contribute to the "objectification" of the victims of the migration crisis and legitimize “*Them*” – “*Us*” opposition.

The frequent use of such combinations as “illegal immigrants, terrorists, Islamic extremists” leads to the justification of prejudices towards refugees, who pose a threat to life and security and results in the heightening of the negative emotions towards migrants.

By using these means of expression in media texts, the *Daily Mail*, the *Telegraph* and the *Daily Express* participate in the process of dehumanization of the migrants’ image and reinforcement of stereotypes and prejudices related to these people.

3.1.2. Verbs as a tool for the negative news coverage on migration

The analysis of the chosen material shows that the newspapers effectively use not only the nouns in their metaphorical sense, but also make use of verbs and verbal phrases. The verbs that are used in the migration discourse gain new senses and, as a result, contribute to the negative representation of immigrants.

Thus, continuing the metaphorical study of the news outlets articles there have been found a number of verbs that fall under the classification proposed by Arcimaviciene, L., & Baglama, S. H.

Regarding the usage of the Object metaphor, we can name the following examples:

‘Germany expects to take in up to 1.5 million migrants in 2015 alone, many of whom are fleeing war-torn Middle Eastern countries including Syria’. [*Daily*

Express, "Germany: Fears as EU migrant crisis fuels biggest rise in Nazism since Adolf Hitler"];

Britain has pledged to take 20,000 people in from such camps in the last five years'. [Daily Express, "Heading for Britain: ISIS sends ASSASSINS into UN refugee camps to murder Christians"];

'Across the water on Italy's mainland, the southern port of Salerno yesterday received more than 1,000 migrants from sub-Saharan Africa who had been recovered by a Norwegian ship.' [Daily Mail, "The tragic but brutal truth: They are not REAL refugees! Despite drowning tragedy thousands of economic migrants are still trying to reach Europe"].

In the articles analyzed, verbs such as "take, receive, redistribute" to the same extent as nouns reinforce the "objectification" process. Thus, migrants act as an object that needs to undergo a certain action. This exacerbates the distance and emotional and physical detachment between refugees ("them") and "us."

Analyzing another group of metaphors, the Commodity metaphor, we found out that they also help media to delegitimize migrants:

*'Running costs are supposed to be subsidized by the funding the EU is releasing as part of **their deal** with Turkey to "exchange" refugees'. [Telegraph, "Turkish town at centre of Syrian refugee crisis says: We're full"];*

"A fresh policy is needed which will expand the number of dispersal areas and fairly distribute asylum seekers throughout the country". [Daily Express, "REVEALED: The Cabinet ministers whose constituencies house NO refugees... including Cameron"].

The Commodity metaphors also position immigrants as objects or commodities, which is proved by the usage of such verbs as "to exchange, to distribute, to share". In this case, the political leaders and their decisions represented as the right ones while the refugees are not even regarded as the figures of the international politics.

The media resources also actively use verbs that fall under the group of the Natural Phenomena metaphors and implant the associations about incoming migrants as the threat to the society:

*‘The image could not be more harrowing - but must be seen to comprehend the gravity of **the migrant crisis engulfing Europe**’. [Daily Mail, “Tiny victim of a human catastrophe”];*

*‘The concerns will increase pressure on European leaders to get a grip on **the migrant crisis that is engulfing the EU**’. [The Telegraph, “Isil exploiting migrant routes to smuggle jihadists back to Britain using fake documents”];*

*‘The devastating statistics came as thousands of **migrants yesterday flooded** across the Hungarian border into Central Europe’. [Daily Mail, “How many more can we take? Number of migrants entering Britain breaks all records in humiliating blow to Cameron”].*

We can see that the Natural Phenomena metaphor is characterized by the use of verbal occurrences as *“to engulf, to flood, to surge”* to indicate the natural and uncontrollable movement.

One should not underestimate the power of the Crime and Terrorism metaphors that media resources use almost in every article on the topic of migration:

*‘**Terrorists** such as those behind last November’s attack on Paris are using the chaos caused by the migrant crisis **to sneak into Europe** in order to commit atrocities and kill innocent civilians’. [Daily Mail, “‘Staggering’ number of European jihadis: EU’s own border agency admits terrorists are exploiting refugee crisis and lax controls - but has no idea many illegal migrants there are”];*

*“Frontex echoed warnings about **terrorists smuggling themselves into** Europe among genuine refugees”. [Daily Express, “Illegal migrants flooding into EU: Record 1.8 MILLION border breaches in just one year”];*

*“But it is said it [**The Frontex agency**] had no idea how many illegal migrants there were and, in any case, had no way of **tracing their movements** inside the EU”. [Daily Mail, “‘Staggering’ number of European jihadis: EU’s own border agency admits terrorists are exploiting refugee crisis and lax controls - but has no idea many illegal migrants there are”].*

We can say that the Crime and Terrorism metaphors as well as the other ones are important tools in building the concept of migrants' 'otherness' by means of the following verbs "*to sneak into, to trace movements, to smuggle into*".

To sum up, we can say that by using these metaphorical combinations the newspapers are able to strengthen negative emotions towards migrants and conceptualize their representation as the "threat" and 'disorder'. The verbs such as '*to smuggle*', '*to sneak*', '*to flood*' exacerbate the negative framing of migrants and contribute to the racist portrayal of refugees.

3.2. Positive media coverage of immigrants

The migration crisis in the UK succumbed not only to negative framing, but also to positive one. The materials of the newspapers that conveyed truthful and reliable information to the audience were not as common as the tabloids. Among the most notable "fighters" for the rights and stance of refugees still remain such newspapers as *the Guardian*, *the Independent* and *the BBC News* (2012-2016).

Journalists of these news media positioned migrants not as '*villains*', but as "*victims*" and those who needed support, understanding and changes in the socio-economic and legal environment of the UK. *The Guardian* and *the Independent* more often conveyed the voices of migrants directly by publishing their stories on their pages, which helped to transform the refugees from an object into a subject of the politics as well to be heard by the "native" population of the country.

Thereby, the left-wing press, posting on its pages the voices of migrants and their life stories, helped to distribute humanitarian frames in which refugees were positioned as victims. These stories also participated in the deconstruction of many dominant stereotypes about migrants and the shaping of positive emotions about them among the readers:

"Forget the fact that this society wouldn't work without migrants, that nobody else will pick your vegetables and make your latte and get up at 4am to clean your office. Forget the massive tax contribution made by migrants to the Treasury. This is not about economics. Far too often, even the positive takes on migration are driven

by numbers and finance, by “What can they do for us?” This is about two things: compassion and responsibility.” [*The Guardian*, ‘Refugees don’t need our tears. They need us to stop making them refugees’].

Thus, the articles published by *the Independent* and *the Guardian* on the topic of migration adopted the positive refugee framing and used the emotive language to influence the audience.

The research that was undertaken by H. Crawley, S. McMahon and K. Jones found that only 15% of the news articles published just before the 2015 General Election quoted migrants or at least included their perspective (Figure 3.2. 1) [38].

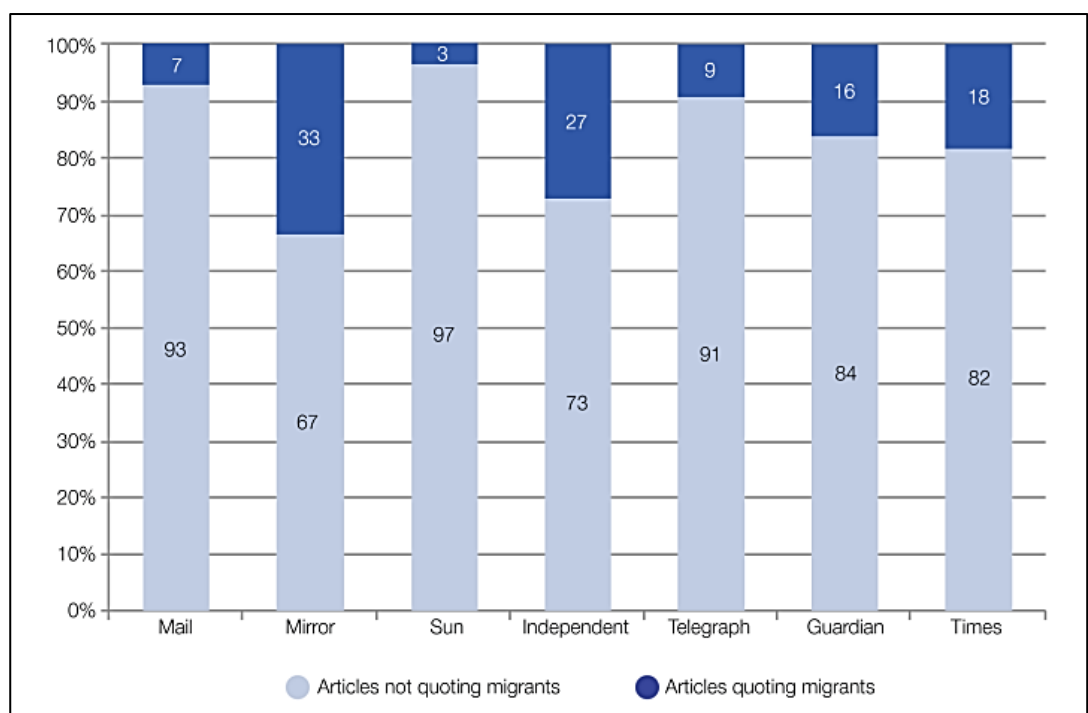


Figure 3.2. 1. Presence of migrant voices in British newspapers

As a result, we can notice that 97% of *the Sun* and 93% of *the Daily Mail* articles did not provide a migrant voice. On the other hand, 27% of the articles from *the Independent* as well as 33% in the case of *the Daily Mirror* referenced a migrant perspective.

The Guardian newspaper together with the other media outlets, *the BBC News* and *the Independent*, quoting many politicians in their articles or referring to certain sources and analytical works, are trying to condemn those who speak negatively about migrants. In addition, one can find a number of *The Guardian* articles where

the propaganda newspapers (*the Sun, The Daily Mail-Express*) and their media products are severely criticized for their stance and the language used in relation to immigrants.

As a result, it can be argued that, opposed to the negative framing of refugees by the tabloid press, the left-wing media sources promoted humanitarian frames and debunked the myths that migrants are a threat to order and security in the country. To this end, newspapers such as *the Independent* and *the Guardian* conveyed the voices and viewpoints of the refugees and helped to narrow the gap between "Them" and "Us."

3.2.1. Nouns and adjectives as a means of migrant representation

The negative representation of migrants has proven the statement that the language used by the media outlets affects the perception of information and the correct selection of nouns contributes to either legitimization or deligitimization of actions and ideas.

Unlike the British media resources that promote anti-immigrant rhetoric, left-wing newspapers are struggling to explain to their audience the connotation of negatively coloured words used by *the Daily Mail, the Daily Express, The Sun* and so on.

Although they use the noun "migrant" in their articles as a general coverage expression for people who moved for different reasons, they urge all the journalist and political community to refer more positively to the suffering people coming from the Syria and other war-torn countries. Thus, *The Guardian* proposes instead of the noun "migrant" to operate with the words like "refugees", "displaced people" and "asylum seekers" as these definitions are clear, accurate and non-labelled.

As we already mentioned before, such newspapers as *The Guardian, The Independent* and *BBC News* are distinguished by that fact that they use humanitarian frame towards the migrants.

In one of its articles, *the BBC News* gives the information about the suffering migrants and the new phase of the Europe's migrant story:

‘The danger for both Greece and Italy is that European ‘partners’ fail to honour pledges to resettle those given asylum, seal off their countries and that arrivals across the Mediterranean continue. With more than 50,000 already stranded in Greece, this scenario is already very real to them’. [BBC News, ‘Europe’s migrant story enters new phase’].

The author of the following article tries to convey the problems that are faced by the immigrants on their way to Europe:

‘That [reception centres] would help prevent the ordeals and tragedies suffered by migrants crossing the Mediterranean’. [BBC News, ‘Migrant crisis: How can EU respond to influx?’].

A study of newspaper materials showed that not only tabloids use the conceptual metaphors to represent migrants. Applying the classification developed by L. Arcimaviciene & S. Baglama to the analysis of the news articles, we came to the conclusion that left-wing media use the Object, Natural Phenomena, Commodities and Crime and Terrorism metaphors in the migrants’ portrayal almost to the same extent as the right-wing ones.

Thus, we can provide the following examples of the Object metaphor usage:

‘But it is proving difficult to get agreement on joint action, as migration pressure varies from country to country’. [BBC News, “Migrant crisis: Five obstacles to an EU deal”];

*‘And in any case, it was not fair for Italy and **Greece to shoulder the burden** alone for dealing with a humanitarian crisis on this scale’. [BBC News, “Europe in disarray over migrants”];*

‘Trainloads of migrants are heading for Austria and Germany from Budapest...’. [BBC News, “Migrant crisis: Five obstacles to an EU deal”].

Nouns such as ‘burden’, ‘pressure’ and ‘trainloads’ affect the negative representation of migrants and emphasize that refugees are inanimate things that can be controlled. In addition, the deligitimization of “them,” as people who burden our society, is intensified.

One more type of metaphors that was also present in the news materials is The Commodity metaphor:

*'Turkey has missed an EU dealing that would have allowed its citizens visa-free travel through most of Europe, amid ongoing tensions over a controversial **migration deal**'. [The Guardian, "Turkey fails to meet criteria for visa-free EU travel"].*

*'Austria's **contingency plans** for more migrants included building three short fences at Brenner, ...'. [BBC News, "Migration fears spark Italy-Austria border row at Brenner"].*

We must admit that although this type of metaphors was not used as frequently used as all the other ones, it still plays an important role in the process of dehumanizing migrants. Nouns like "*plan*", "*deal*" also emphasize the superiority of "Us" over "Them" as a social group and, thereby, justify the public attitude towards refugees as a commodity.

Another group – the Natural Phenomena metaphors – was also used in the articles:

*'Europe is experiencing one of the most significant **influxes of migrants** and refugees in its history'. [BBC News, "Why is EU struggling with migrants and asylum?"];*

*'There are fears that the Brenner Pass could become one of the next **hotspots** in Europe's migrant crisis'. [BBC News, "Migration fears spark Italy-Austria border row at Brenner"].*

As one can notice, the effect of the uncontrolled human movement and the impending threat was achieved due the use of such noun phrases as "*hotspot*", "*surge*" or "*influx*". Refugees were presented as a natural phenomenon that can destroy the order and society's peaceful way of life.

The Crime and Terrorism metaphors were one of the most rarely used types of metaphors that facilitated the negative evaluation of migrants:

*'Official border agency figures record spike in number of **illegal border crossings**'. [The Independent, "Eight-fold increase in the number of illegal migrants entering Europe"].*

Noun phrases such as “*border crossing*” or “*border control*” affected the deligitimization and stereotypization of refugees as “terrorists” and “criminals”, as a group of people who are dangerous and threatening to “Us” and therefore must be separated.

It is a well-known fact that many tabloids and sometimes even the quality papers use certain expressions in order to highlight the distinction between the *bogus* and the *genuine* migrants coming into the Europe.

Thus, the Guardian argues that these popular expressions such as “*economic migrants*”, “*genuine refugees*” or “*illegal asylum seekers*” are politically charged and should not be the part of our vocabulary and be present in the media coverage. [*The Guardian, ‘We deride them as ‘migrants’. Why not to call them people?’*].

Another powerful British media resource, BBC News, as well uses the word “*migrants*” in all its articles, but, at the same time, it refers to refugees by using such adjectives as ‘*poor*’ and ‘*desperate*’ people. For example,

“*Championing the rights of poor migrants is difficult as the economic climate is still gloomy, ...*”. [BBC News, “*Why is EU struggling with migrants and asylum?*”];

“*The UK government is among those arguing that the EU aid budget can stem the flow of poor and desperate migrants seeking a better life in Europe*’. [BBC News, ‘*Migrant crisis: Five obstacles to an EU deal*’].

Analyzing one of the BBC News article published in 2015 one can understand the attitude with which the author refers to migrants and why he uses the “*misery of refugees*” in his text:

“*Under international law, genuine refugees - people fleeing war or persecution - have a right to asylum. And doing little or nothing to help them just prolongs their misery*’. [BBC News, ‘*Migrant crisis: How can EU respond to influx?*’].

Thus, we see an ambiguous thing that very often news media while criticizing the dehumanizing language of other newspapers use the same lexical units in their own materials on migration.

As a result, one may notice that the quality press as well uses nouns and adjectives as a part of metaphorical framing of migrants. On the one hand, the articles

containing the positive lexical units such as ‘desperate people’ that create a certain image of migrants and provoke the corresponding positive emotions.

3.2.2. The features of the verb use in the portrayal of refugee crisis

When analyzing the conceptual metaphors in the left-wing press, it is also necessary to note the frequent use of verbs, which are an integral part of this linguistic means of expression and the crucial element in framing the topic of migration.

The Object metaphor used by the broadsheet newspapers contributes to the intensification of the idea that migration is a process regulated by the countries and the governments and the one, which is not related to migrants and their lives:

***Germany accepted** by far the largest number of asylum claims last year and expects to see as many as 800,000 this year’. [BBC News, “Migrant crisis: Five obstacles to an EU deal”];*

*‘... **Britain should not take any further refugees** from the war-torn Middle East, ...’. [The Guardian, “Britain should not take more Middle East refugees, says David Cameron”];*

***Austria has placed a cap** on the number of people allowed into its borders’. [BBC News, “Why is EU struggling with migrants and asylum?”].*

As we can see, the group polarization exacerbates due to the application of verbs such as “to accept”, “to take” or phrase “to place a cap” that are used metaphorically and, thereby, lead to the detachment between the local population and the refugees.

One may notice that many quality papers also use the Commodity metaphor. Thus, they also take part in the construction of the frame that migrants are objects of the trade and the migration process is solely “a deal”:

*‘Under an EU rule known as the Dublin regulation, **refugees are required to claim...**’. [BBC News, “Why is EU struggling with migrants and asylum?”];*

*‘France and Germany are putting forward joint proposals for a mandatory quota system that could see more than 100,000 **refugees distributed “more fairly”**’*

across the EU'. [BBC News, "Migrants crisis: Hungary's Orban lays bare the EU East-West split"];

'The danger ... is that their European "partners" fail to honour pledges to resettle those given asylum, ...'. [BBC News, "Europe's migrant story enters new phase"]].

The examples demonstrate that the potential of the Commodity metaphor is that it suppresses existing positive sentiments towards the groups of migrants. The verb expressions like "to be required to do something", "fail to resettle" or "to distribute" present that the asylum seekers are a means of migration policy that is based on profits and benefits.

Another widely used type of conceptual metaphors is the Natural Phenomena metaphor:

'Of the 4 million **Syrians** who have fled their country since the war began, including hundreds of thousands **who have poured into Europe**, ...'. [The Independent, "Refugee crisis: Number of Syrian refugees Britain has taken in would fit on a Tube train"];

'**There number** of illegal migrants entering Europe has surged in the past year'. [The Independent, "Eight-fold increase in the number of illegal migrants entering Europe"]].

As a result, the use of this metaphor in relation to refugees in quality papers strengthens the frame that the incoming refugees have to be combated and controlled in order to avoid the disaster.

The following examples show how the Crime and Terrorism metaphor is used in order to reinforce the negative refugee portrayal and trigger the feelings of threat and danger associated with migrants:

'**Fences are being strengthened**'. [BBC News, "Europe in disarray over migrants"]];

'But as European countries struggle with the mass movement of people, **some have tightened border controls**'. [BBC News, "Why is EU struggling with migrants and asylum?"]].

As you can see, left-wing media, such as the BBC News employ, albeit to a lesser extent, the verb constructions that popularize threat narratives used towards migrants (i.e. *fences “are being strengthened” or some “have tightened” border controls*) as well foster the belief that the refugees are dangerous to “our” welfare and security.

Thus, as one may see, the verbs are actively used as parts of metaphors to enhance their influence and create migration frames. They also contribute to strengthening the dichotomy of "Us" and "Them", i.e. to the construction of the language of ‘otherness’.

CONCLUSIONS

The linguistic representation of immigrants in the British media outlets is characterized by both positive and negative coverage of the migration issue.

Conceptual metaphors are an important element in the construction of the narratives particular topic by different print media. To analyze the linguistic features of tabloids and broadsheets, we used the classifications developed by A. Goatly [51] and improved by L.Arcimaviciene and S.Baglana [27].

Negative refugees’ portrayal is achieved through the effective construction of such metaphorical concepts - "Migrant as an Object / Commodity / Natural Phenomena and Crime and Terrorism" by the newspapers. Thus, a study of anti-immigrant newspaper articles shows that most of the outlets when describing refugees used such nouns as *“burden”, “strain”, “influx” “deal”, “scheme”* and others, verbs like *“to take”, “to resettle”, “to redistribute”, “to flood”, “to surge”* and adjectives such as *“illegal, terrorist, jihadist”* as well as indication of the migrant’s ethnic groups.

We can say that the use of such dehumanizing words and expressions that distance immigrants and the local population of the EU and provoke negative feelings such as fear, insecurity, and danger.

The positive coverage of migration by the left-wing media is distinguished from the negative one by the fact that these newspapers are trying to convey reliable, truthful and accurate information to the readers about the situation that refugees are in and about the problems that families of migrants constantly face.

In addition, there are certain media outlets (*The Guardian*) which devote separate articles to the explanation to their audience the negative connotations of the words and combinations vividly used by other right-wing journalists and government officials.

At the same time, it should be noted that during the analysis of the quality papers' articles it was found that they also employed conceptual metaphors with negative connotations while describing migration processes, but to a lesser extent than tabloids. As a result, they used nouns like "*plan*", "*influx*" or verbs such as "*to take*", "*to accept*". Meantime, the left-wing press used the adjectives "desperate", "poor" to highlight the migrants' inhumane position in society.

Thus, the issue, peculiar to both broadsheet and tabloid media outlets, is that they tend to use metaphors and framed lexis to portray migrants in their publications with both the negative and the positive meanings.

SUMMARY

Migrants and migration play one of the key roles in today's geopolitics and significantly affect the process of globalization. The European Migration Crisis 2015-2019 was a phenomenon that changed the policies of many EU countries, their public and social spheres of life. The media sphere has become an effective tool for the delivery of information to the public as well as manipulation.

Particular interest in this context arose among scientists who began to study migration in a discursive aspect. A huge number of publications appeared in which the features of migration in a specific European country were explored. Studies, conducted by S. Ramasubramanian and C. Miles [72] concerning the analysis of English and Arabic news sources as well as by M. Montagut and C. Moragas-Fernandez [68] concerning the Refugee Crisis discourse in the Spanish printed media, show that while media has always played an important role in framing of events, due to the European Migration Crisis, news sources has obtained the key role in the framing of refugees.

Studying the features of the media discourse on migration, we used materials of the leading newspapers in the UK. In our sampling, we included both tabloids and broadsheets - *the Sun*, *the Daily Mail*, *the Daily Express*, *the Telegraph*, *the Guardian*, *the Independent*, as well as *BBC News* texts from 2012 till 2016. We examined in detail the front pages, headlines, news content of the selected newspapers, as well as their non-verbal means of representing refugees.

Through the use of research methods such as discursive, contextual, content and comparative analyzes, it was also demonstrated how the specificity of discourses changes under the influence of various factors. Thus, the analysis of political discourse showed that migration narrative affects the development of politics as a science. On the other hand, the study of media discourse emphasized how much the topic of migration is incorporated into the media sphere and how the range of media interaction increases towards other discourses.

Summing up the material presented at the beginning of our thesis, it should be noted that the migration narrative is being actively developed and investigated in the context of such discourses as political and media. In order to understand the interaction of these genres, we examined each of them separately.

Thus, the concept of discourse itself is a multidimensional phenomenon, which is proved by numerous works and interpretations of scientists.

We observed the historical development features of the political discourse as an important area of research. The paper also indicates the approaches to its study proposed by different scientists [30; 86]. In addition, we explored the peculiarities of the political language, as well as the cognitive and the communicative aspects of political discourse, which affect the formation of a migration narrative.

Further exploring the media discourse, we have established its important role in shaping public thought and consciousness. The concept of this genre of research, as well as its functional features was presented in the work. Our attention was paid to the problem of the taxonomy of media discourse. We found out that media texts significantly influence the conceptualization of the concept of migration.

We emphasized that migration discourse plays a key role in the understanding of the migration issues and the constructing of the refugee identities. The connection of this genre with political and media studies was indicated. In addition, we found that metaphors are one of the important elements of the functioning of the discourse on migration. Thus, we can say that migration narrative is an ambiguous concept, but at the same time relevant in terms of studying the impact of migration on different spheres.

In the next chapter, we examined the features of media framing of migrants in the UK in more detail. The importance of frames and the way of conveying the information about refugees to polarize British society was pointed out. We analyzed British right- and left-wing newspapers and came to the conclusion that they actively used various headlines, front pages, images and other visual means to represent migrants. The importance of the negative rhetoric, which affects the public perception and the fragmentation of news content, was also highlighted.

The front pages of the British press were distinguished by their "negativization" and "positivization" of the image of a migrant. It is also worth emphasizing that the negative coverage of the topic of migration was facilitated by various tabloid front pages and headlines, which were replete with images of refugees climbing the fences and 'terrorists'. These images of people that flooded the Europe, instilled fear in the population and visualized the threat that the refugees allegedly posed.

The headlines and texts of the news outlets such as *the Sun*, *the Daily Express*, *the Daily Mail* and *the Telegraph* were full of negative linguistic units while describing the topic of migration – "swarm", "cockroaches", "wild people", "threat". On the other hand, the left-wing newspapers – *the Guardian*, *the Independent* and *BBC News* - portrayed the migrants as "victims" who need to be sympathized and support, as they are *poor, desperate people* who find themselves in a difficult life situation.

Creolized texts are becoming more popular due to the fact that they allow to criticize the events or the people in a humorous manner and are much more effectively perceived by public than verbal texts. Therefore, various newspapers try to draw the attention of their audience to pressing issues or to arouse certain feelings.

The posters and cartoons that were published on the pages of the right-wing newspapers further reinforced the negative representation of the migrants and contributed to the spread of stereotypical views and xenophobic attitudes among the population. At the same time, the pro-immigrant media portrayed innocent refugee children in their cartoons who were presented as the victims of the situation and who had no choice.

Analyzing the linguistic representation of the refugees in the British media, we found out that they were portrayed from both negative and positive sides.

The main means used by anti-immigrant media to dehumanize and deligitimize the status of refugees were the conceptual metaphors. In turn, the left-wing newspapers tried to convey the voice of migrants in their materials, their stories and experiences, thereby causing sympathy among the local population.

As we can see, the language becomes an important tool of the propaganda, racist rhetoric and an effective strategy for the media manipulations.

The classification we used to analyze the British tabloids and the quality press showed that the newspapers widely use nouns, adjectives and verbs with different connotations to convey the information on migration.

Particularly selected images and vocabulary depicted migrants as objects, commodities, natural phenomena and criminals as well as terrorists and, thus, fostered the perception that these are the people with whom Europeans, and especially the British, must fight or control. Excessive tabloidization of the migration process has led to the deepening of the “Us” – “Them” opposition and the decrease in solidarity and sympathy towards the refugees.

Such media resources as *the Guardian*, *the Independent*, and *BBC News* played a significant role in portraying migrants and in the process of their framing. They tried to positively cover migration crisis, convey reliable information about the number of refugees in Europe, as well as to present their voices on the pages of their outlets. At the same time, they used negative vocabulary like many British tabloids, namely metaphors that contributed to the conceptualization of such beliefs that migrants are a commodity, a natural phenomenon, an objects and sometimes even criminals.

The results of the analysis show the importance of studying migration topics in the discourse of other English-speaking countries. In addition, the study of the media frames of such European countries as Spain, Germany, Italy and Greece regarding refugees, as well as the issue of negative rhetoric that is used to increase the process of ‘negativization’ of migration victims, is of great interest for further studies.

The practical significance of the work lies in the fact that the process of news fragmentation and refugees’ framing in the British press has been studied in detail. Thus, the results of this research can be used for further development of the migration narrative. The study of the migrants’ representation by other media, especially television, as well as the impact of negative anti-immigrant rhetoric used by different politicians on the formation of public perception are of particular scientific interest.

ABSTRACT

In connection to the events of the past few years, the study of migration discourse has become of a scientific interest, which includes the analysis of such spheres as political studies, sociology, public relations, law and so on. The research on the migration topic as well as the analysis of the positive and negative features of the refugees' representation were largely influenced by political and media studies.

The master's thesis is devoted to the study of the European Migration Crisis' coverage in British media. The paper explores the linguistic means – verbal and non-verbal – that are used by print news outlets to frame the migrants' image within the UK. Right- and left-wing British newspapers, which are well-known for their polarization and fragmentation of the issues, use different means either to strengthen the stereotypes and prejudices towards migrants in society, or vice versa to debunk the myths that exist in Western culture when portraying migrants.

The object of the research is the Refugee crisis in migration discourse, which is considered from the perspective of migration studies. In addition, the features of political and media discourses and their impact on the evolution of migration narrative in modern linguistics are studied.

The verbal and visual representation of refugees in print media, the peculiarities of their framing and conceptualization are **the subject** of the research.

The aim of this work is to study and analyse the migrants' coverage characteristics in the British media space, as well as to study negative and positive framing of the topic of migration by broadsheet and tabloid newspapers.

In the course of data analysis, such **research methods** were used as discourse analysis – in studying the discursive characteristics of the political and media spheres, as well as of migration narrative; contextual analysis and continuous sampling method that influenced the formation of a particular corpus of texts (news articles, headlines, caricatures) on the topic of migration which were published by the British print media. In addition, the method of content analysis was used, which made it possible to distinguish frames and linguistic characteristics of the migrants' portrayal

in British media texts; comparative analysis, which was used to compare framing process by tabloids and quality newspapers, the features of a migrant image construction.

The research paper is based on the **materials** of the leading UK media outlets (*The Guardian, the Independent, the Telegraph, the Sun, the Daily Mail, the Daily Express and the BBC News text*), published from 2012 to 2016 on the topic of migration. In the course of the study, more than 40 news texts on migration topic were analyzed, which amount to more than 200 pages.

The scientific novelty of the work lies in the comprehensive analysis of verbal and non-verbal means that take part in the construction of positive and negative representations of migration. The examples of the metaphorical conceptualization of the image of a refugee, as well as features of the language of “*otherness*” are studied and analyzed. The research paper describes the techniques that are used by the quality press to facilitate the “positivisation” process of migration issues.

The thesis consists of an introduction, three chapters with a conclusion, a summary, bibliography and supporting materials.

Migration is one of the components of today's geopolitics. The processes that are associated with the mass movement of people affect both world politics as a whole and the policies carried out in a particular country. Migrants, their lifestyle, the problems they face every day – these all factors affect the political situation, change the media space and social perception in the country. European Migration Crisis (2015-2019) became a new impetus that transformed EU's politics, media and social spheres of life and became a popular topic for a number of scientific research.

The first chapter of the thesis concentrates on the features of political discourse and provides a brief overview of what this concept implies. In addition, the paper analyzes the elements and concept of ‘discourse’ itself from the perspective of different researchers.

The chapter also examines the historical development peculiarities of the political discourse as an important sphere of research. The definitions of political discourse proposed by different scientists are given and the approaches to the study of

this concept are indicated. The paper also analyzes the textual features of the political language and highlights the cognitive and communicative parameters in the study of political discourse. The arguments that confirm the role of the political discourse in the development of migration narrative are as well presented.

Furthermore, the paper indicates the important role of the mass media in the formation of public consciousness. The concepts of media discourse are given according to linguists who study the features of the media sphere. The chapter justifies the complex taxonomy of media discourse. Various methods of analysis of media texts are pointed out and the direct influence of the media on the conceptualization of migration processes is indicated. It is stated that media studies have become an important part of the geopolitics formation and affects the public's understanding of global processes.

It is emphasized that migration discourse also plays an important role in the ideological construct, which is involved in the formation of public opinion and attitudes towards migrants. The connection between the migration discourse and the political and media ones is exemplified and it is stressed that metaphors are an inherent part of the migration discourse. The directions of study of this type of discourse in the works of modern researchers are indicated.

The second chapter of the research thesis is devoted to the issue of immigration framing in the British mass media. It is stated that framing is realized through the use of front pages, headlines and other visual means. The research indicates the fact of the polarization of print media in the UK media discourse. The features of the negative rhetoric used towards refugees are covered, as well as the fragmentation of news migration content.

To exemplify the abovementioned, the front pages of left- and right-wing newspapers that participate in the processes of "*stereotypization*" and "*positivization*" of the image of a migrant are analyzed in detail. The front pages of anti-immigrant newspapers are distinguished by the fact that they use the images of particular refugees, mostly men who are called "*terrorists*", "*killers*" and "*rapists*" and are contrasted with innocent faces of Europeans. Due to the use of bright and catchy

headlines and texts of the British press, the peculiarities of the language of “otherness” are highlighted.

The chapter also provides the analysis of creolized texts – cartoons and posters, which influence the deepening of the “*Us*” - “*Them*” dichotomy.

The third chapter of the thesis analyzes the linguistic representation of migrants in the UK media. The articles of media resources were studied which cover migrants and the migration process both negatively and positively.

It has been established that the main means of achieving negative stereotypization, dehumanization and deligitimization of the refugee image that is used by the right-wing press are conceptual metaphors. The analysis of left-wing media revealed that in order to narrow the gap in society between “them” and “us,” the stories and voices of migrants are actively posted on the pages of these newspapers.

It is stated that the metaphorization of migrants was carried out through the use of such lexical groups as nouns, adjectives and verbs, which have strengthened the verbal representation of migrants.

In order to summarise the research findings, it should be said that British media resources actively use both verbal and visual means of refugees’ portrayal. The analysed data prove that there are more examples when refugees have been “attacked” and have been negatively represented in comparison with the positive coverage of migration. Right-wing media prevailed over left-wing ones in that they more often escalated fear and spread xenophobic and racist attitudes towards migrants among society.

The results of the research may be used for further development and profound study of discursive aspects of migration concept. The particular scientific interest lies in the analysis of the refugees’ representation by other media, namely television. Migration frame types in the British press, stereotypization and deligitimization of refugees by spoken media, the potential of creolized texts in migrants’ framing in other English-speaking countries as well as the study of hate speech within the migration discourse may become a topic for further research.

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