

UiO : Universitetet i Oslo



 **UCLouvain**

The representations of migrants in articles shared on Reddit and their related comments

A corpus-driven discourse analysis

MA Dissertation

Jeanne Coppin

Supervisors

Signe Oksefjell Ebeling

Louise-Amélie Cougnon

Universitetet i Oslo

Université catholique de Louvain

Master in Linguistics
Linguistics and its Applications for a Multilingual Society
Double Degree Programme

Academic Year 2019 – 2020

The representations of migrants in articles shared on Reddit and their related comments

A corpus-driven discourse analysis

MA Dissertation

Jeanne Coppin

Supervisors

Signe Oksefjell Ebeling

Louise-Amélie Cougnon

Universitetet i Oslo

Université catholique de Louvain

Master in Linguistics
Linguistics and its Applications for a Multilingual Society
Double Degree Programme

Academic Year 2019 – 2020

© Jeanne Coppin

2020

The representations of migrants in articles shared on Reddit and their related comments.

Jeanne Coppin

Abstract

The so-called 2015 migration crisis has given rise to many questions at a political level as well as at the human level. These issues have been extensively covered in the media and provoked many reactions of the European citizens, especially on the social network websites. However, researchers usually agree on the fact that the media “shape citizens’ understanding of what the arrival of these refugees” (Heidenreich, 2019). In order to sketch both the representations conveyed in the media and the reception of those by the audience, this thesis studies Reddit; a media sharing forum where the users publish online articles and comment on it.

This study aims, first, at sketching the representations of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants (henceforth RASIM) conveyed in the online articles shared on Reddit over a two-months period (from the 10th of November, 2019, to the 10th of January, 2020). Secondly, the contexts of writing of the articles are examined in order to determine whether it is related to the representations found. Finally, the representations of RASIM found in the comments are also analyzed and then compared to the related articles in order to see to what extent the representations are shared. Combining corpus-driven methods with a discourse analysis approach, this thesis examines the discursive strategies used to represent RASIM, following KhosraviNik (2010) framework of analysis. This framework focusses on three levels of analysis: actors description, actions attribution and arguments.

The results show that RASIM are either framed as victims or as burdens in the articles as well as in the comments. They are mostly patient of the actions and represented as a homogeneous population. Several metaphors, emphases and mitigations were found, accompanied with arguments referring to their growing number and the need for management. It was found that rather than influencing the representations of RASIM in the comments, the articles are opening the debate on migration. More surprisingly, no relation between the contexts of writing of the articles and the representations of RASIM were found.

Résumé

L'ainsi dénommée crise migratoire de 2015 a soulevé beaucoup de questions, tant au niveau politique qu'au niveau humain. Ces questionnements ont été amplement traités par les médias et ont provoqué beaucoup de réactions parmi les citoyens Européens, surtout sur les réseaux sociaux. Cependant, les chercheurs se mettent généralement d'accord sur le fait que les médias construisent la compréhension des citoyens sur ce que signifie l'arrivée des réfugiés pour leurs pays respectifs (Heidenreich, 2019). Dans le but d'appréhender à la fois les représentations transmises dans les médias et la réception de celles-ci par le public, ce mémoire se concentre sur Reddit, un forum de partage des médias où les utilisateurs publient et commentent des articles électroniques.

Ce mémoire a pour premier objectif de déterminer les représentations des réfugiés, demandeurs d'asile, immigrants et migrants (rassemblés sous l'acronyme anglais RASIM) transmises dans les articles électroniques partagés sur Reddit durant une période de deux mois (du 10 novembre 2019 au 20 janvier 2020). Deuxièmement, les contextes de rédaction de ces articles sont examinés afin de déterminer si ceux-ci affectent les représentations trouvées dans les articles. Finalement, les représentations des RASIM trouvées dans les articles sont également analysées puis comparées à celles trouvées dans les articles pour mesurer à quel point ces représentations sont partagées. Combinant des méthodes motivées par le corpus avec une approche critique d'analyse de discours, ce mémoire examine les stratégies discursives utilisées pour représenter les RASIM suivant le canevas d'analyse de KhosraviNik (2010). Ce canevas se concentre sur trois niveaux d'analyse : la description des acteurs, l'attribution des actions et les arguments.

Les résultats montrent que les RASIM sont représentés soit dans un carcan de victimes soit en tant que fardeaux. Ils sont principalement patients de l'action et représentés comme une population homogène. Plusieurs métaphores, emphases et mitigations soulignant les arguments relatifs à leur nombre grandissant et à leur gestion ont été trouvées. Il a été montré que plutôt qu'influencer les représentations des RASIM dans les commentaires, les articles ouvrent le débat sur la migration. De manière surprenante, aucune relation entre les contextes de rédaction des articles et les représentations des RASIM n'a été trouvée.

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to thank my two supervisors without whom this thesis would have been impossible. I am grateful to Dr. Louise-Amélie Cougnon of the UCLouvain for her help to shape the project of this thesis in the continuation of my internship and to Pr. Signe Oksefjell Ebeling of the University of Oslo for her support and wise advice throughout the process of writing.

I also owe thanks to Violeta Gutierrez Figueroa of the UCLouvain, who guided me during my internship and taught me how to use the Reddit API without which the extraction of my corpora would have been laborious. I would also like to acknowledge Luigi Maglanoc from the Department of Statistics of the University of Oslo for his help with the choice of the statistical tests I conducted.

I am also grateful to Baptiste for continuously supporting me in everything I undertake. Finally, I would like to thank my brother and my father, who helped out with the proofreading in these difficult times.

Table of contents

Abstract.....	v
Résumé.....	vi
Acknowledgments.....	viii
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Aims and scope of the thesis.....	2
1.2 Outline of the thesis	3
2 Theoretical Background.....	4
2.1 Previous studies of the representations of RASIM in the press.....	4
2.1.1 Overview of previous works	4
2.1.2 Contexts of Writing.....	6
2.2 The role of the media in ideology reproduction.....	8
2.2.1 The Power of the Media in Shaping Opinions	8
2.2.2 The Evolution of News Media.....	9
2.3 Reddit.....	10
2.4 Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis	11
2.4.1 Corpus Linguistics	11
2.4.2 Critical Discourse Analysis	14
2.4.3 Synergy of CL and CDA.....	15
2.5 Summary	15
3 Material and Method	16
3.1 Corpora and corpus tools.....	16
3.1.1 Presentation of the corpora	16
3.1.2 Sketch Engine.....	18
3.2 Annotation of the Representations	19
3.2.1 Typology of the Semantic Preferences of RASIM.....	19
3.2.2 Beyond Collocations: Discursive Strategies.....	21
3.3 Typology and Classification of Articles	28
3.3.1 Typology.....	28
3.3.2 Classification of the Articles	31
3.3.3 Relation between the contexts of writing of the article and the representations of RASIM	31

4	Results	32
4.1	Representations of RASIM in the articles.....	32
4.1.1	Semantic preference	32
4.1.2	Description of Actors	34
4.1.3	Attribution of Actions	37
4.1.4	Arguments	39
4.2	Representations of RASIM in the comments.....	42
4.2.1	Semantic Preference.....	43
4.2.2	Descriptions of Actors.....	44
4.2.3	Attribution of Actions	45
4.2.4	Arguments	48
4.3	Relation between the contexts of writing of the articles and the representations of RASIM	53
5	Discussion.....	54
5.1	Representation of RASIM in the Press	55
5.2	The Role of the Contexts of Writing	57
5.3	Relationship between the representation of RASIM in the comments and those found in the articles	57
6	Conclusion.....	60
6.1	Perspective for further studies.....	62
	References	62
	Appendix	68
	Appendix A	68
	Appendix B.....	70
	Appendix C.....	71
	Appendix D	72
	Appendix E.....	74

List of figures and tables

Table 1 Definition of the RASIM terms by the International Organization for Migration.....	2
Table 2 Differentiation of cyber media according to typology factors (source: Salaverria, 2017:27).....	7
Table 3 CDA-informed Categories used in grouping Collocates of RASIM in Baker’s study (2008:21).....	13
Table 4 List and explanations of the semantic sets of the collocates of the RASIM terms	19
Table 5 Typology of online articles	28
Table 6 Result of the classification of the articles.....	53
Figure 1 Framing of migration messages in print and online media—irregular migration theme: Phase I and II (source: McAuliffe, Weeks & Koser, 2017:296)	7
Figure 2 Offline vs. online news text commenter response (source: Boyd, 2019:297)	9
Figure 3 Frequency (%) of the different semantic sets in which the collocates of the RASIM terms occur in the articles.....	33
Figure 4 Frequency (%) of the different semantic sets in which the action RASIM are agents (in the articles).....	38
Figure 5 Frequency (%) of the different semantic sets of the actions of which RASIM are patients (in the articles)	39
Figure 6 Frequency (%) of the different semantic sets in which the collocates of the RASIM terms occur in the comments.....	43
Figure 7 Frequency (%) of the different semantic sets in which the action RASIM are agents (in the comments).....	46
Figure 8 Frequency (%) of the different semantic sets in which the action RASIM are patients (in the comments).....	48

1 Introduction

Migration is inherent to human nature: since the very beginning of our species, we have been migrating either driven by curiosity or the need to flee conflicts, natural disasters, oppression, poverty, etc. This phenomenon has, however, become a great cause for concern in the last few years for the European governments, the media, and the people. Around 2015, the term *migration crisis* came up, and a growing body of literature regards it as a major social issue. This term, which has been extensively used by the media, is defined by the International Organization for Migration (2019:137) as

“the complex and often large-scale migration flows and mobility patterns caused by a crisis which typically involve significant vulnerabilities for individuals and affected communities and generate acute and longer-term migration management challenges”.¹

Media have massively cover this topic, and several studies have examined the representations of migrants in the press: Baker and Al. (2009) in British newspapers, Soto-Almela and Alcaraz-Mármol (2019) in Spanish news articles, Torkington and Ribeiro (2019) in Portuguese digital press headlines, to name just a few of them. Along the same lines, McAuliffe, Weeks and Koser (2017) show that representations of migrants vary depending on the context of production of the articles. This general interest in representation is not surprising as they “consist of words and images which stand for various social groups and categories. They provide ways of describing and at the same time of regarding and thinking about these groups and categories” (Pickering, 2001:xiii). As for most people media are the primary sources of information about migrants, they are a dominant force in forming and shaping public opinion (Boyd, 2018:3).

While online and offline media have been conscientiously examined, no single study has investigated these representations on social networks. These websites, however, are rich sources of computer-mediated communication (CMC) and would enable the researchers to analyse the users’ reception of these representations. Among social networks, Reddit is one of the most used media-sharing websites with 330 million monthly active users. The advantage of studying website is that as online media articles are shared and commented on this platform,

¹ <https://publications.iom.int/books/international-migration-law-ndeg34-glossary-migration>

the reception of the representations of migrants in the articles could be directly analysed in the comments.

1.1 Aims and scope of the thesis

People who are migrating are actually not a homogeneous crowd: they have different motivations, aims and legal status. In order to include all of them, this thesis will use Baker’s (2008) term RASIM² which refers to “refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants”. These terms are extensively used but their definitions and how they distinguish from each other are often little known. This study will use the definitions given by the International Organization for Migration (Sironi, Bauolz, & Emmanuel, 2019) (Table 1).

Table 1 Definition of the RASIM terms by the International Organization for Migration

Refugee	A person who, owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.
Asylum seeker	An individual who is seeking international protection. In countries with individualized procedures, an asylum seeker is someone whose claim has not yet been finally decided on by the country in which he or she has submitted it. Not every asylum seeker will ultimately be recognized as a refugee, but every recognized refugee is initially an asylum seeker.
Immigrant	From the perspective of the country of arrival, a person who moves into a country other than that of his or her nationality or usual residence, so that the country of destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence.
Migrant	An umbrella term, not defined under international law, reflecting the common lay understanding of a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an

² This acronym refers to plural terms and is therefore mainly used without determiners.

	international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons. The term includes a number of well-defined legal categories of people, such as migrant workers; persons whose particular types of movements are legally defined, such as smuggled migrants; as well as those whose status or means of movement are not specifically defined under international law, such as international students.
--	--

The present study examines the representations of RASIM conveyed in articles from digital news media shared on the subreddit r/Europe over a two-months period (from the 10th of November, 2019, to the 10th of January, 2020) and their influence on the comments in this subreddit. Examining comments on a social media such as Reddit is a way of understanding – to a certain extent – how these representations are perceived by the readers. Different contexts of production of the articles and different discursive strategies (i.e., turn of phrases) for representing RASIM will be compared in order to find out whether some have more influence than the others on the Reddit users’ comments. The research questions are the following:

- What are the representations of RASIM conveyed in online news media articles shared on the subreddit Europe and through which discursive strategies?
- To what extent do these representations and discursive strategies differ between different types of articles?
- To what extent are the representations and discursive strategies found in the articles also found in the contributors’ (i.e., those who write comments) comments?

1.2 Outline of the thesis

This thesis is composed of six chapters (including the Introduction) that will be detailed in this section. Chapter 2 begins by laying out the theoretical dimensions of the research, providing an overview of the studies on representations of RASIM in the media and the power that these representations may have over the audience’s opinion of RASIM. Secondly, information regarding the website Reddit will be given. The final section of this chapter outlines the advantages of the synergy of Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis when it comes to the study of representations. The following chapter (Chapter 3), *Material and Method*, first presents the corpora used and how they were compiled and secondly describes the methodology used to study the representations of RASIM, notably introducing the concept of semantic preference and KhosraviNik’s (2010) three-levels framework of analysis. Chapter 4 presents the results of the analysis of the representations found both in the articles and in the comments.

The fifth chapter discusses the results in light of the research questions. Finally, chapter 6 will close this thesis by going through the main conclusions of the study and will offer some suggestions for further studies.

2 Theoretical Background

This chapter first gives a brief introduction to previous analyses of the representations of RASIM in the press (Section 2.1). Then, Section 2.2 presents the role of the media in the reproduction of ideology and its power to shape the audience's understanding of a social phenomenon. This chapter goes on with a description of Reddit, the social media that is under study (Section 2.3). Finally, the advantages of combining Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis are discussed in Section 2.4.

2.1 Previous studies of the representations of RASIM in the press

2.1.1 Overview of previous works

Numerous studies have been investigating discourse about RASIM in the European press and have tried to sketch their representations. This section aims to introduce some of these studies, particularly those focussing on the so-called “2015 migration crisis”.

Torkington and Ribeiro (2019) study the representation of the migration-related terminology in Portuguese digital press headlines. Even if they conclude that RASIM are impersonalized, passivized, and are not given a voice, they find that there is a distinction between the representation of refugees and migrants, the former being depicted “less as helpless victims of their own circumstances than (im)migrants, and are slightly more likely to be attributed with identifying characteristics, meaning that they are (arguably) not so impersonalized” (Torkington & Ribeiro, 2019:30). They aim to “shed some light on the role of news media discourse on the shaping of social representations of groups of people who are not considered to be part of ‘us’ and are therefore positioned as ‘outsiders’ from the starting point of news headlines” (Torkington & Ribeiro, 2019).

This notion of ‘in-group’ and ‘out-group’ is also tackled by Wodak (2019:viii) who states that RASIM are seen as not belonging to the European “imagined community”, and therefore as not worthy of becoming Europeans. Along the same lines, the increasing importance of citizenship and cultural competence (such as speaking the national language of the country) is said to

strengthen the separation between the in-group of European “us” and the out-group of non-Europeans “them”, “the illegal migrants” or “the others” (Wodak, 2019:ix).

Koca-Helvaci (2019:109) finds that, regardless of the topic of the articles, RASIM are represented as “problem people”. When the news content is taken into account in the analysis, the negative experiences depicted in the articles are generalized to the whole group of RASIM. On the other hand, when the media depict positive experiences including RASIM, they are “treated as credible sources that are allowed to speak for themselves or else depicted in great detail with emotive vocabulary” (Koca-Helvaci, 2019: 110). Unlike the other studies, Šarić and Felberg (2019:230) find that RASIM are positively represented “as people that need help” by Croatian and Serbian online public broadcasters. The focus is on mothers, children and educated people. They argue because most RASIM are only crossing these countries and do not take up residence there.

These different representations of RASIM (e.g., as victims, as threats, as strangers) are conceptualized as frames. Gitlin (1980:6) defines this term as follows:

“Frames are principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters. [...] Media frames, largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports.”

According to Heidenreich et al. (2019:173), the most frequent frames in the media about the 2015 migration “crisis” are: “the ‘Economy’ frame (e.g., migrant workers’ impact on the job market), the ‘Welfare’ frame (i.e., migrants’ impact on the welfare system), crime and security-related perspectives and an emphasis on political and legal processes”. Horsti (2016) distinguishes only two types of frames: migrants as threats or as victims. The first frame can be subdivided into three parts: “a physical threat to a society and its security, an economic threat often in the form of suspected welfare exploitation, and a cultural threat of invading values” (Horsti, 2016:2). Eberl et al. (2018:211) also study the frame in which RASIM are represented and distinguish *issue-specific frames* and *generic frames*:

“Generic frames, such as the victimization, conflict, or negativity frame are argued to transcend thematic boundaries and are closely related to routines of journalism, while issue-specific frames are intrinsically related to certain topics such as immigration, or even more specifically, the refugee crisis.”

The authors only list three generic frames (i.e., victimization, conflict and negativity) while there can be a plethora of issue-specific frames, such as *threat*, *(economic) burden* and *multiculturalism* frames.

This short overview has revealed that the representations of RASIM, both positive and negative, are diverse. Section 2.1.2 of this chapter discusses one of the factors that might explain this diversity of representations of RASIM in the press, i.e., the different contexts of writing.

2.1.2 Contexts of Writing

In his research, Van Dijk (2012) emphasizes that the press is heterogeneous and that the contextual variations should be taken into account in studies of representations conveyed in news articles. According to him, “we would need to provide detailed context analysis for each newspaper in terms of education, social position, status, and ethnic beliefs of owners, editors, and reporters” (Van Dijk, 2012:18). He also argues that news production is a complex set of social and discursive interactions that can correspond to a particular editorial agenda (Van Dijk, 2012:18). The study of these different contexts of writing can reveal that some of the newspapers/editors are inclined to represent RASIM in a certain way rather than in another. For example, Gabrielatos and Baker (2008:33) show that the conservative and tabloid press are responsible for “creating and maintaining a moral panic around RASIM”.

Moreover, McAuliffe, Weeks and Koser (2017) state that the representations of RASIM vary across countries and over time. They examine how irregular migration is framed (mainly focussing on the Security, Humanitarian, Economic and Sociocultural frames) in 6 different countries over two periods of time (phase I: 1 October 2013 to 31 March 2014; and phase II: 1 April 2014 to 30 September 2014). The distribution of the four frames in the press is displayed in Figure 1, each bar representing one country during one phase. Two observations can be made based on this figure: first, at identical phases, countries have different distributions of the frames. Second, countries have different distributions of the frame during the two phases.

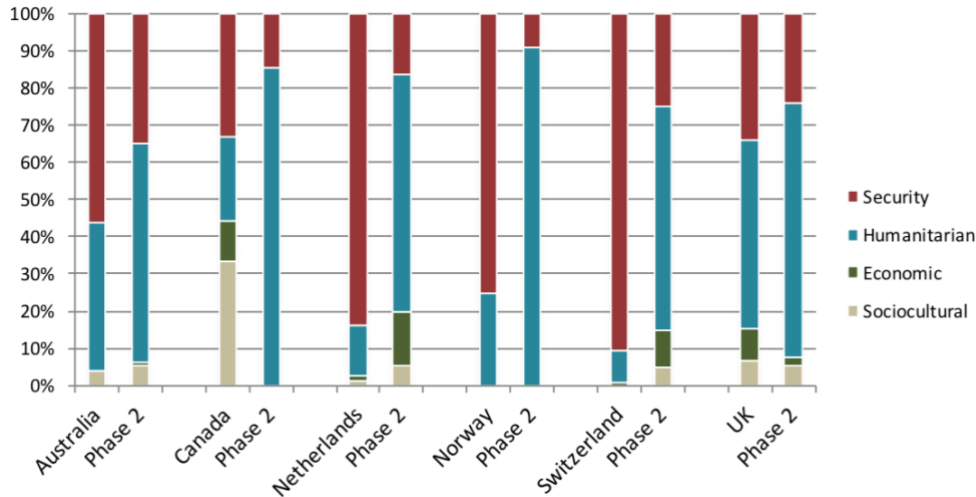


Figure 1 Framing of migration messages in print and online media—irregular migration theme: Phase I and II (source: McAuliffe, Weeks & Koser, 2017:296)

While the variations of context have often been acknowledged in previous studies, they have never been central to the research. Researchers tend to choose newspapers known to have different political stances (e.g., one liberal, one conservative and one tabloid) but there seem to be few, if not any, that have conducted a more systematic analysis of contextual variations in a wide variety of newspapers. In order to distinguish the different types of digital news media, Salaverria (2017:27) builds a typology that could help to understand and contextualize online news websites. This typology is based on nine factors (see table 2): the platform, the temporary nature, the topic, the scope, the ownership, the authorship, the approach, the economic aim and the dynamics.

Table 2 Differentiation of cyber media according to typology factors (source: Salaverria, 2017:27)

Typology factor	Types of digital news media
Platform	1. Web only digital news media 2. Tablet only digital news media 3. Mobile only digital news media 4. Multi-platform digital news media
Temporary nature	1. Periodic digital news media 2. Continuously updated digital news media 3. Polychronic digital news media
Topic	1. General news digital media 2. Specialist news digital media
Scope	1. International or global digital news media 2. National digital news media 3. Local digital news media 4. Neighborhood or hyper-local digital news media
Ownership	1. Publically-owned digital news media 2. Privately-owned digital news media
Authorship	1. Individually authored digital news media 2. Collectively authored digital news media
Approach	1. News digital media 2. Non-news digital media
Economic aim	1. For profit digital news media 2. Not-for profit digital news media
Dynamics	1. Static digital news media 2. Dynamic digital news media

2.2 The role of the media in ideology reproduction

The previous sections have shown that RASIM are represented in many different ways in the media and that those representations arouse interest among linguists. This section explains why representations of minority groups (and thus of RASIM) in the media influence the opinion of the audience and by extension, why so many linguists study these representations.

2.2.1 The Power of the Media in Shaping Opinions

According to Van Dijk (2012: 16), ethnic beliefs, stereotypes and prejudices are not innate but socially acquired, mainly through the public discourses of the symbolic elites; these symbolic elites are politicians, journalists, scholars, teachers, and writers, etc. Nevertheless, the public discourses of these elites would not reach the audience without the media: Van Dijk (2012:17) argues that “their discourses and opinions become influential only through media accounts”. This is particularly true given the one-way flow of information from producer to consumer of the traditional media: “powerful news producers are seen as a dominant force in forming and shaping public opinion” (Boyd, 2018:3).

Many linguists agree on the role of symbolic elites and in particular on the role of the media in the reproduction of ideologies and have therefore studied discourse about RASIM in the press. According to Heidenreich et al. (2018:173), the climate of uncertainty created by this so-called migration crisis left ample room for the media to shape citizen’s understanding of this phenomenon. Koca-Helvacı (2019:94) states that the way the media represent the 2015 migration crisis is of great importance because, as she states, as the “principal institution of the public sphere (Curran, 1991:29), the media have immense influence on our understanding of ethnic relations (Van Dijk, 1987)”. Gabrielatos and Baker (2008:8) suggest that “the press can influence the views of the public in general, and [...] the public’s stance toward minority social/ethnic groups”. The media’s power to influence the public opinion goes both through the frequency of the coverage and the *frame* used to present the information. Blinder and Jeannet (2018:1444) find out in their study that “even subtle media interventions can shift public perceptions of immigration”. Their work is two-fold: they first conduct a corpus study and then an experimental study. The former examines the representations of migrants and immigrants in order to find the key frames they are depicted in. This first part is needed because they want to use frames that are close to reality in the second part of their study. Then, the authors conduct a survey experiment by framing the same news item in three different ways: immigrants as ‘illegal’, Eastern European, or highly skilled. The participants were asked to read the articles,

then their perception of immigration has been assessed based on a survey. Their results show that one article alone can influence the perception of immigration.

2.2.2 The Evolution of News Media

Over the last decades, the evolution of the Internet has offered a new digital medium for news sharing. According to Salaverria (2017:21), the new “digital news medium was placed on the same supreme high-profile level as the press, radio and television from its very birth. It was immediately acknowledged as the “fourth media outlet”. Salaverria (2017:23) distinguishes the online news media from others through two characteristics: (1) it is published on a digital platform, and (2) it is not subject to any type of periodicity.

However, the difference between traditional and online media is also reflected in the audience’s reception. Khosravini and Unger (2016:209) state that “the power of a text is now determined through pull communicative strategies to convince ordinary users to react (e.g., ‘like’ a post)”. Traditional media discourse is often described as a one-to-many communication model that does not include the readers: the only way they can express their opinions is to write a letter to the newspaper with no certainty it would be published or even read. New online media, on the other hand, rely on the participation of the readers: articles are now shared on social media, commented and liked. Figure 2 presents Boyd’s (2019:297) model of the flow of information, with the dotted lines representing possible interactions. According to Boyd (2019:311), the commenting adds a new layer of recontextualization for the readers: they can have access to different opinions shared by other users’ comments, as shown in Figure 2. The traditional one-

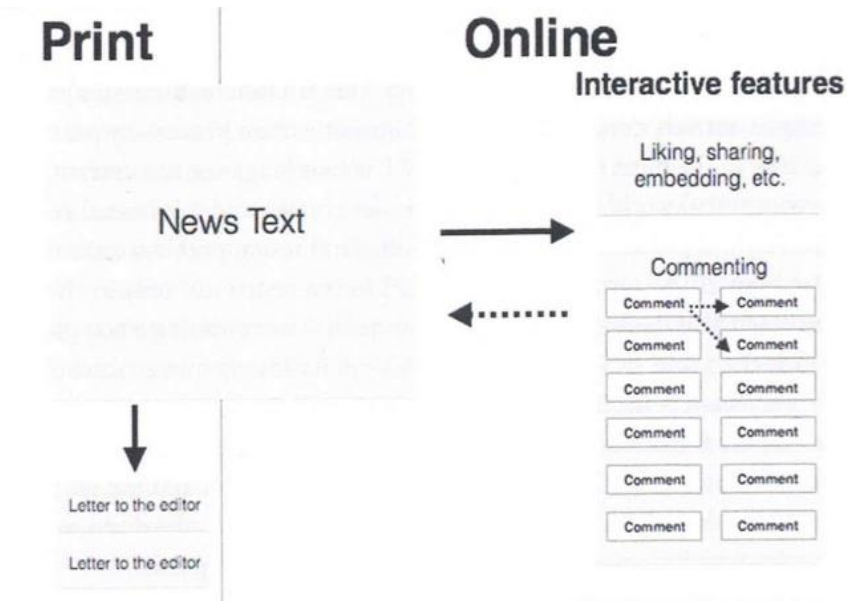


Figure 2 Offline vs. online news text commenter response (source: Boyd, 2019:297)

to-many relationship between the media and the readers becomes a many-to-many communication system. This change implies that first that readers can communicate with each other and second that researchers have now access to data reflecting the reception of the audience. While the importance of the audience reception/interpretation was recognized, it has not been at the centre of research of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) studies, as highlighted by Boyd (2018:3): “although many CDA analysts recognize [the importance of] *audience interpretations*, the analysis of such reception factors has been *relatively invisible*”.

The above outline of media influence shows that studying the representations of RASIM in the media (particularly the online type) is essential in order to understand what the current atmosphere about them is. The changing news consumption behaviours provide precious entry points to the audience reception of these representations of RASIM. One of these entry points are social media websites where articles from online media are shared. Once they are published on these platforms, users express their opinions about them through comments and reactions (such as likes). The present study focusses on the website Reddit, which is introduced in the next section.

2.3 Reddit

Reddit describes itself as the “front page of the Internet” and is made up of interest-specific communities (i.e., subreddits) where users can post and comment on articles related to the interest of the subreddit. In 2017, it counted 430 million monthly active users and was the fifth most visited website in the US.³ When a user publishes an article, an image, a video, etc. on a subreddit, this contribution is called a “post” that other users can comment on (examples can be found in Appendix A). This thesis especially focusses on the subreddit r/Europe (for a screenshot of its frontpage, see Appendix A) for two reasons. First, users are more likely to publish articles related to the European “migration crisis” on the subreddit Europe. Secondly, most of the users subscribed to this subreddit are European (their nationalities are usually displayed next to their usernames; see Appendix A).

In order to fully define Reddit, we first have to define social media. Although we can agree that a plethora of social media is out there, McCay-Peet & Quan-Haase (2017) suggest that there is

³ <https://www.redditinc.com/>

a lack of formal and unanimous definition of social media. The authors gather different definitions and, based on these, state that (McCay-Peet, & Quan-Haase, 2017:17):

social media are web-based services that allow individuals, communities, and organizations to collaborate, connect, interact, and build communities by enabling them to create, co-create, modify, share, and engage with user-generated content that is easily accessible

Due to the growing number and diversity of social media, researchers attempt to divide them into categories. Herring (2019) classifies them according to the modes of communication used on social media and their combinations: text, audio, video, robot and graphics. Within Herring's (2019) framework, Reddit can be categorized as a media-sharing site. Kowert, Domahidi and Quandt (2016), on the other hand, indicate six types of Computer Mediated Communication (CMC) platform: mailing services, instant/direct messaging, social networking websites, online forums, online games and mobile technologies. According to Kowert, Domahidi and Quandt (2016:6), Reddit falls into the *online forum* class and is defined as "a social networking and news site on which people can submit texts and tag them with key words (subreddits)". Wasike (2011) categorizes Reddit as a Social News Site where users share content generated by media outlets. Once again, there is no consensus on what type of social media Reddit is, but two main features are worth noticing: people share media content and comment on it, thereby sharing their opinions. Reddit then seems to be a perfect place to analyse how the readers receive and are influenced by online news media.

2.4 Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis

Now that the interest of studying the representations of RASIM in the online press and on Reddit has been expressed, this section will discuss two approaches (and their combination) used to sketch the representations of RASIM: Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis.

2.4.1 Corpus Linguistics

Corpus Linguistics (CL) is an empirical approach used to study "real language" (i.e., language in use) and is defined as "a way of using computers to assist the analysis of language so that regularities among many millions of words can be quickly and accurately identified" (Baker & McEnery, 2015:1). Most of the time, researchers analyse huge corpora with corpus search engines (such as AntConc, SketchEngine and WordSmith Tools to name only three of them). This sort of software provides tools to quantitatively analyse corpora. Their typical features are

the following: frequency list and dispersion, wordlist, concordances, and collocates (Baker, 2006). Frequency and dispersion are related concepts: frequency examines the number of occurrences of a term in the text, while dispersion determines where these occurrences appear. The wordlist tool is available in corpus search engines that automatically tag the part-of-the-speech (POS) of the words or for corpora that are already POS-tagged. This tool generates frequency lists following different criteria: it can retrieve lists of words from a specific part-of-speech (e.g., all nouns, adverbs, etc.), and of words starting, ending, or containing certain characters. A concordance is a list of all the occurrences in the corpus of the queried term, “presented within the context that they occur in; usually a few words to the left and right of the search term” (Baker, 2006:71). Finally, collocation is “the above-chance frequent co-occurrence of two words within a pre-determined span, usually five words on either side of the word under investigation (the node)” (Baker et al., 2009:278).

Regarding the study of representations, many linguists (e.g., Baker & Gabrielatos, 2008; Soto-Almela and Alcaraz-Mármol, 2019; Taylor, 2014) use CL to study the semantic preferences of the RASIM words. The advantage of semantic preference is that it gives a good overview of the different semantic fields the RASIM words occur in. According to Soto-Almela and Alcaraz-Mármol (2019:13), semantic preference is related to “the habitual collocation of lexical items with linguistic expressions that belong to certain semantic fields”. Put differently, the semantic preference of a word can be found by computing the collocates of this word and classify them into different cohesive semantic sets. Thus, the semantic preference of a word is determined on the basis of all the major semantic sets observed in its context. For example, Baker and Gabrielatos (2008) study the semantic preference of the RASIM words in the British press. They find that the different RASIM’s collocates could be classified in eight semantic sets: provenance/destination/transit, number, entry, economic problems, residence, return/repartition, legality, and plight (see Table 3). The examples provided in the table are actual collocates of RASIM that Baker and Gabrielatos (2008) find in their corpus.

Table 3 CDA-informed Categories used in grouping Collocates of RASIM in Baker's study (2008:21)

CDA-informed Categories Used in Grouping Collocates of RASIM	
Category	Definition and Examples
Provenance/ destination/transit	Used to refer to all forms of RASIM. Words referring to the country, region, or continent that RASIM come from (provenance) e.g., Iran, Lebanon, Pakistan, Turkey, China; or the country, region, or continent they want to go to (destination) e.g., UK, or the place that they temporarily stay, or are held, while waiting to be allowed go to their place of destination, or while waiting for their case to be decided (transit) e.g., France. As the same word may refer, in different texts, to more than one sub-category (e.g., <i>France</i> is both a country of destination and transit), these collocates were grouped together.
Number	Used mainly to refer to refugees, these are words denoting their large number (e.g., <i>flooding, pouring, streaming</i>).
Entry	Used mainly to refer to refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants, these are verbs denoting entry to the country of destination/transit (e.g., <i>arrive, come, enter</i>), verbs denoting their journey (e.g., <i>cross</i>), verbs denoting their (illegal) attempts to enter (e.g., <i>trying</i>), verbs denoting their being in transit (e.g., <i>waiting</i>), or the place of entry (e.g., <i>borders, Dover</i>).
Economic problem	Mainly used for asylum seekers, immigrants, and migrants, these are words denoting either that they are a financial burden because they receive state benefits (e.g., <i>benefits, claiming, receive</i>), or a financial threat because they compete for jobs with existing citizens (e.g., <i>jobs, working</i>).
Residence	Mainly used for refugees and asylum seekers, these are words denoting their residence during transit (e.g., <i>camp, shelter, temporary</i>), or in the destination country (e.g., <i>housed, settled</i>), or verbs used to express opposition to the latter (e.g., <i>allowed, granted</i>).
Return/repatriation	Mainly used for refugees and asylum seekers, these are words referring to RASIM returning, or being made to return, to their country (e.g., <i>back, refused, return, sent</i>).
Legality	Mainly used for asylum seekers and immigrants, these are words concerning the legal status of RASIM. They are either direct—that is, attributive (e.g., <i>bogus, genuine, illegal</i>), or indirect—that is, they imply their illegality (e.g., <i>caught, detained, smuggled</i>).
Plight	Mainly used to refer to refugees, these are words referring to the situations that necessitated their leaving their country (e.g., <i>fear, forced, persecution</i>), the manner of their leaving (e.g., <i>escape, fleeing</i>), their current/recent state (e.g., <i>displaced, homeless</i>), or their current needs (e.g., <i>aid</i>).

One should note that the semantic preference of a word is specific to the corpus in which this semantic preference is investigated: this is why the comparison of the semantic preferences of the same word in two different corpora is meaningful.

While Corpus Linguistics provides many possibilities for quantitative analysis, the results remain “raw data” that have to be qualitatively analysed. CL is frequently criticized for its lack of sociocultural context (Nartey and Mwinlaaru, 2019). Indeed, CL is often said to treat language as “a self-contained object, ‘abstracting text from its context’” (Baker, 2006:7), without taking into account the “real world” in which the text has been produced, i.e., the context of production. However, Baker (2006:7) argues that such criticism “should not prevent researchers from using corpora” but rather invite them to use corpus-based techniques in combination with other methodologies. Baker (2006:18) suggests using Critical Discourse Analysis, as this approach focusses on how a text exists within the context of society. This approach is further explained in section 2.4.2.

2.4.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

The second approach that is used in this study is Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA). CDA aims to reveal the asymmetries of power (hidden or not), relationships of dominance and discriminations in discourse and by extension in society (Nartey and Mwinlaaru, 2019). According to Wodak (1997:173), this approach studies:

real and often extended, instances of social interaction which take (partially) linguistics forms. The critical approach is distinctive from discourse analysis in its view of (a) the relationship between language and society and (b) the relationship between analysis and the practice analysed (Wodak, 1997:173).

Torkington and Ribeiro (2019:26) argue that since there are many ways of representing the same social interaction, texts should be studied “as representations as well as interactions”. By introducing this notion of representation, the authors emphasize that the way a social phenomenon is represented in a text is the result of an ideological choice (conscious or not). The preferred topics of CDA are among others: political discourse, ideology, media language, racism and discourse on immigration (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000).

Within the representation studies, CDA focusses on different discursive strategies which are defined by KhosraviNik (2010:23) as “any systematic representation in discourse which pertains to certain ideology and/or constitutes it”. In other words, these are the turns of phrase chosen by the writer that influence our understanding of the message encoded. Different discursive strategies can be chosen to study the representation of a social group: Van Dijk (2012) suggests the study of rhetorical figures (involving metaphors, hyperboles and euphemisms), quotations (who is given voice) and local meanings, in which he includes presuppositions, detailed vs general description, implicit vs explicit meanings and disclaimers. Baker and Gabirelatos (2008) study the referential strategies, the predications, the argumentation and the intensification and mitigation of RASIM actions. Salahshour (2016) studies the use of metaphors; Torkington and Ribeiro (2019) study the genericization and specification of reference, the agents and role allocations (who is doing what). KhosraviNik et al. (2012) focus on aggregation, functionalization and collectivization (unification of a heterogeneous population) and their reverse processes: humanization and individualization. To put in order all these concerns, some authors (Machin & Mayr: 2012; KhosraviNik, 2010) suggest categorizing them into different levels of representation (e.g., actors, actions, and arguments).

2.4.3 Synergy of CL and CDA

Combining CL and CDA enables the researchers to profit from both fields while, at the same time, responding to their respective limitations. As pointed above, CL provides useful quantitative tools such as concordances, collocations and frequency list. While it is a good insight into the corpus, the results obtained have to be qualitatively analysed. On the other hand, traditional CDA faces several limitations, especially regarding its qualitative approach. The data analysed is often small and might be cherry-picked by the researcher to correspond to his/her agenda. Besides, the analysis may lack rigour and be “informed by the analyst’s subjective preconceptions and assumptions” (Nartey and Mwinlaaru, 2019:207).

When those two fields meet, CL provides a large and solid empirical basis with objectively retrieved quantitative data while CDA offers a sound framework for the qualitative analysis of those data. Paul Baker (2006) was one of the first to combine Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics, and he identifies several advantages of using this synergy, which enables the researcher to reduce his/her bias, highlight the incremental effect of discourse, notice resistant discourse and strengthen his/her analysis with triangulation.

Regarding the study of representations, Baker et al. (2009: 295) state that the synergy of CL and CDA creates a “virtuous research circle”. CL can provide the frequency of phenomena recognized in CDA (such as the discursive strategies discussed above). CL may also uncover some unexpected and scattered positive representations of RASIM. CDA, on the other hand, offers a more detailed analysis of the representations where the CL approach is mostly “lexical” (Baker et al., 2009: 296). The present study is performed along the same lines and profit from the combination of CDA and CL: the first step of this study makes use of CL to get an overview of the representations of RASIM while a CDA-informed analysis of the corpus gives rise to a more detailed description of the representations of RASIM.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has given an overview of the previous studies on the representations of RASIM, showing that few studies focus on online news media and on the context of production of the news. Then, the importance of these representations in the media has been emphasized as they are a dominant force in shaping public opinion with the traditional one-to-many information flow. However, this model of information flow has been challenged with the arrival of online media and social networks which allow the readers to comment on the articles. These comments

are useful for researchers as they give insights into their reception of the representations of RASIM shared in the media. As this thesis focusses on the social network Reddit, a short description of this website has been given. Finally, the approaches (i.e., Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis) usually combined to study the representations of RASIM have been discussed.

3 Material and Method

The first section of this chapter describes the corpora that are used to study the representations of RASIM, including the method of compilation and then introduces the tool Sketch Engine used to process the data (Section 3.1). Section 3.2 explains in detail the framework of analysis that is used to study the (discursive strategies conveying the) representations of RASIM. The last section of this chapter (3.3) details the typology used to classify the articles shared on Reddit in order to study the effect of the contexts of writing.

3.1 Corpora and corpus tools

3.1.1 Presentation of the corpora

I used two corpora in this study: one containing posts and comments from Reddit and the other containing the articles shared on those Reddit posts. The first step in the extraction of material for the corpora was to select which posts on Reddit would be retrieved. I extracted all posts from the subreddit Europe (r/europe) using the Reddit API for two months (from the 10th of November, 2019, to the 10th of January, 2020).⁴ Of course, a lot of these articles were not about migration, so the first filter was applied on the title of the posts: I kept those whose titles included the lemmas “migrant”, “refugee”, “asylum seeker”, “immigrant” (i.e., the RASIM words). The posts were then filtered in order to keep only those sharing links of articles and containing more than or equal to 10 comments to ensure that the articles generated enough discussion and potential RASIM representations.

Although a period of two months may seem too short or arbitrarily chosen, it has two advantages: first, the number of articles and comments to be treated remained manageable: 38

⁴ I owe the knowledge of this method of extraction to Violeta Gutierrez Figueroa, a PhD student with whom I did my internship. However, due to the configuration of my laptop, I needed to use another version of the API (I switched from Pearl to Python).

articles and 3213 related comments were gathered in total. Furthermore, this also gives us an idea of the overall atmosphere about RASIM in the press without cherry-picking the articles to be studied according to specific events or concerns. Different events occurred during the period of extraction, and these events influenced the content of the articles shared on Reddit. As these events certainly influenced the way RASIM were represented, I will briefly comment on them. A first glance at the articles revealed that four different categories of events could be distinguished.

1. First, this period coincides with the publication of two reports of two migration agencies: the UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) and the FRA (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights). The first one, published on the 13th of October 2019, is entitled “European States urged to do more to protect and support child refugees and migrants” and was transmitted in the press throughout November. The second one, published on the 12th of November 2019, is entitled “Young migrants: Is Europe creating a lost generation?”.^{5,6}
2. Events from the second category are about political discussions: Germany put forward a new plan for RASIM relocation, stating that all EU countries should be a part of it. Different countries (such as the Czech Republic and Hungary) refused it.
3. The third category includes articles about how Germany declined the European Commission’s request to take in new RASIM children.
4. Finally, the last category of events gathers all the minor news items about RASIM that were also covered.

Regarding the corpora themselves, two different collection methods were used. The corpus containing the posts and comments was extracted, as stated before, with the Reddit API. This resulted in 38 posts and 3213 comments (the number of comments ranged from 10 to 483 per article). Each of the posts was downloaded with its related comments in a .csv file. For each post, the following information is available: name and title of the post, author, body (that is to say the text itself), the date of creation, the URL of the article shared, the number of comments

⁵ <https://www.unhcr.org/news/press/2019/10/5da056014/european-states-urged-to-protect-support-child-refugees-migrants.html>

⁶ https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/pr-2019-young-refugees-integration_en.pdf

and its permalink. For each comment, its title, author, body, level, date and permalink were provided. I created a file with the comments converted into .txt format in order to use them in SketchEngine. This corpus counts 128,850 words. As far as the corpus containing the articles is concerned, I copied/pasted them manually from their original websites linked in the posts to a .txt file. This corpus consists of 38 articles and counts 29,516 words.

While this number of words may seem too small in the context of Corpus Linguistics that usually uses corpora ranging from 100,000 to several millions of words, Baker (2006:28) argues that “for discourse analysis, it is possible to carry out corpus-based analyses on much smaller amounts of data”. Moreover, the number of articles needed to remain quite low as they generated many comments and that the framework of this study is demanding a manual (qualitative) analysis. Finally, the small scale of this study is not a disadvantage in the study of representation as Blinder and Jeannet (2018) show in their work that even one article can change one’s perception of immigrants.

3.1.2 Sketch Engine

Sketch Engine is a text analysis software tool available online and developed by Lexical Computing Limited. Two main reasons explain the choice of this software: first, the software POS-tags and lemmatizes automatically the data uploaded. In other words, Sketch Engine defines the part of speech (i.e., POS-tags) and determines the lemma of each of the words of the corpora.

The second advantage of Sketch Engine, resulting from the first one, is that it offers the features of “word sketch”.⁷ According to the Sketch Engine website: “a word sketch processes the word’s collocates and other words in its surroundings. It can be used as a one-page summary of the word’s grammatical and collocational behaviour”.⁸ The advantage of this feature is that the software sorts the collocates of the noun studied depending on grammar relations: modifiers of X, verbs with X as an object, verbs with X as a subject, X and/or, prepositional phrases (of X, X from, etc.) and possessor of X. Understanding the relationship between the collocates and the noun enabled me to classify the collocates in the most accurate semantic sets. For each

⁷ An example of the output of the wordsketch feature is available in Appendix B.

⁸ <https://www.sketchengine.eu/guide/word-sketch-collocations-and-word-combinations/>

collocate, the frequency and the score of typicality are available. This score of typicality is computed with the logDice logarithm, which does not depend on the corpus size. The higher score is 14 and represents the stronger collocational relation.

Sketch Engine also provides the standard tools of text analysis software, including the two used in this study: concordances and wordlist.⁹ Both concordance and wordlist tools (defined in Section 2.4.1) were used at different steps of this study. Their uses are explained at each of these steps. All results obtained via Sketch Engine are downloadable in .xls files.

3.2 Annotation of the Representations

The study of the representations combines both Corpus Linguistics with the classification of the collocates into semantic sets and Critical Discourse Analysis with the analysis of the discursive strategies used to represent RASIM in the articles. These analytical frameworks are explained and illustrated with examples from the corpora in the following section.

3.2.1 Typology of the Semantic Preferences of RASIM

First, the word sketches of each of the RASIM words in the two corpora were computed and the resulting collocates were examined. Secondly, semantic sets of the semantic preference of the RASIM words were created based both on previous research (Baker and Gabrielatos, 2008; Koca-Helvaci, 2019; see Section 2.4.1) and a manual analysis of the primary data through concordance lines. This manual analysis consisted of close scrutiny of the concordance lines in order to understand the context of use and to take into account potential negations. When one of the collocates could have been classified into two semantic sets, the strongest of those two was chosen. The resulting typology, presented in Table 4, is composed of 13 different semantic sets in which 93% of the collocates found in the articles could be classified.

Table 4 List and explanations of the semantic sets of the collocates of the RASIM terms

SEMANTIC SET	EXPLANATION AND EXAMPLES OF COLLOCATES
NUMBER	Refers to the (growing) number of RASIM, either the ones already settled or the new ones arriving. (e.g., <i>continue to flow</i> ,

⁹ An example of the output of the concordance lines on SketchEngine is available in Appendix B.

	<i>outnumber</i>). This also includes the quantifiers such as <i>many</i> , <i>enough</i> and <i>more</i> .
ECONOMIC PRODUCT	Refers to RASIM working illegally or legally. When working illegally, they are a burden because they "steal" jobs from citizens. On the other hand, they are also expected to answer the need for a younger working population in certain countries, such as Germany and Sweden. (e.g., <i>low-skilled</i> , <i>build</i> , <i>contribute to the UK</i> , <i>needed</i>)
RETURN	Refers to the forced returns of RASIM to their origin countries. (e.g., <i>deport</i> , <i>sent back</i> , <i>return</i>)
(IL)LEGAL STATUS	Refers to the (il)legal status of RASIM. This also includes the ideas that they are out of the system: undocumented and hard to count. (e.g., <i>undocumented</i> , <i>illegal</i> , <i>unauthorized</i>)
MANAGEMENT	Refers to the management of RASIM: how they are transferred from one country to another, the administrative procedure they have to follow and the resulting problems. This also includes the healthcare system set up by the countries. (e.g., <i>redistribute</i> , <i>secure</i> , <i>register</i> , <i>transfer</i>)
STOP THEIR JOURNEY	Refers to the means used to stop the journey of RASIM. (e.g., <i>stop</i> , <i>intercept</i> , <i>arrest</i>)
THREAT	Refers to the violent behaviours attributed to RASIM, which are considered both as security threats and cultural threat. (e.g., <i>stab</i> , <i>blame</i> , <i>kill</i>). This also includes the hostility that RASIM have to face because they are considered as threats.
JOURNEY	Refers to the description of their journey to Europe and within Europe. (e.g., <i>cross</i> , <i>travel</i> , <i>pass</i>)
HUMANITY	Refers to situations in which RASIM are depicted as "like us", having a normal life, when they are integrated into Europe. (e.g., <i>meet</i> , <i>ordinary</i> , <i>help others</i>)
ATTRIBUTE	Refers to the personal characteristics of RASIM present in the texts. Also refers to the origin of RASIM. (e.g., <i>young</i> , <i>Syrian</i> , <i>child</i> , <i>Jewish</i>)

DIFFICULTIES	Refers both to the difficulties that RASIM encounter once they are arrived in Europe and to the cause that forced RASIM to migrate. (e.g., <i>camp, traumatize, endure</i>)
WELCOMING	Refers to the things that have been set up to welcome RASIM, integrate them to society. (e.g., <i>help, integrate, support</i>)
LEGITIMACY	Refers to debates about so thought legitimate and non-legitimate RASIM. Economic migrants are usually considered non-legitimate, while refugees are considered legitimate. (e.g., <i>differentiate between, separate from, figure out who's who</i>)

This section has introduced the typology of the semantic preference of RASIM in the two corpora. While collocation analysis is a good and systematic way of entering the corpora, it “will not always reveal the full pictures” (Baker, 2006:113). Therefore, an in-depth CDA-informed analysis of the texts is essential. Next section presents KhosraviNik’s (2010) framework of analysis, the discursive strategies under study and the method used to retrieve them.

3.2.2 Beyond Collocations: Discursive Strategies

In order to systematize the study of the discursive strategies used for the representation of social groups, KhosraviNik (2010) created a three-level text analysis framework introduced in Section 2.4.2: the three levels are actors description, actions attribution and argumentation. At each of these levels, the questions *what?* and *how?* are asked: those two questions aim to analyse what *is* present (or not) in the text and through which linguistic processes it is transcribed. The main idea of this framework is that the choice of the event, the actors represented, and the words used, in itself, loaded with ideology and influences the readers’ decoding of the text. Each of the three levels used in this study examined different discursive strategies. However, the list of those discursive strategies was not exhaustive: not all could have been investigated at once. Those under study were chosen because of their recurrence in other studies of the representation of RASIM.

This section will detail the different discursive strategies according to the three levels of analysis. As the two corpora used in this study don’t count the same number of words, relative frequencies are provided. In order not to inflate the frequency, they are expressed as per 10,000 words.

a) Actors Description

The level of actors description examined the presence (or not) of the social actors and how their presence was perspectivized. In other words, this level aimed to understand which actors were presented in the text and how they were referred to. The first step was then to spot which of the RASIM were “talked” about. I tried to answer the following questions: is there one or several refugee(s), asylum seeker(s), immigrant(s), migrant(s)? Is the text about only one of the RASIM, or is it about several of them? Are there RASIM who are not represented?

The second step was to see what linguistic processes were used to refer to RASIM. I focussed on assimilation and functionalization strategies, and individualization strategies as described by Van Leeuwen (2008).

i. Assimilation and functionalization

Assimilation and *functionalization* are linguistic processes through which RASIM are

“systematically referred to and constructed as one unanimous group with all sharing similar characteristics, backgrounds, intentions, motivations and economic status or reducing these groups to their functions e.g. ‘entrants’” (KhosraviNik, 2010:13).

According to Van Leeuwen (2008:37), assimilation can be of two kinds: aggregation or collectivization: “the former quantifies groups of participants, treating them as statistics, the latter does not”. In order to locate the aggregation strategies, different search queries were made through Sketch Engine. First, the wordlist of all the numerals present in the corpora was retrieved, and their concordance lines were manually analysed in order to keep only those containing aggregation strategies. As many numbers written in figures were used to aggregate RASIM, a regular expression was used to extract the concordance lines containing those numbers. Within the user guide of Sketch Engine, regular expressions are defined as “a collection of special symbols that can be used to search for patterns rather than specific characters”.¹⁰ A particularity of the corpora is that the texts and comments were produced by people coming from different (European) countries and having different conventions regarding the writing of numbers. Therefore, the regular expression had to retrieve both commas (“,”) and periods (“.”) as delimiters of numbers and figures. The following regular expression was used:

¹⁰ <https://www.sketchengine.eu/guide/glossary/>

[word="[1234567890]+(.[1234567890]+)?"]. The first part, [1234567890]+, searched the number on the left of the comma or the period, i.e., any number from zero to nine. The “+” allowed to repeat any of those numbers as many times as needed. The second part (.[1234567890]+) worked in the same way as the previous one, apart for the period “.” which was a replacement for all one-letter words (in the corpus, the only one-letter words found between two numbers were periods and commas). Finally, the “?” made the (.[1234567890]+) optional: the RegEx included at the same time numbers with and without period/comma. Once the concordance lines were retrieved, they were downloaded in a .xls file, and the aggregation strategies were manually selected. Example (1) illustrates an aggregation strategy found in the articles.

- (1) “The initial plan was to redistribute 160,000 migrants and, in the end, the countries redistributed only 34,705 people.” (t3_e12vz8)

As far as collectivization strategies are concerned, they can be realized only with the use of the plural forms (Van Leeuwen, 2008:38). This thesis especially set the focus on quantifiers such as “many, all, most of” because RASIM terms were used almost exclusively in the plural forms in the corpora. The list of quantifiers queried is inspired by the closed-class and open-class quantifiers defined by Quirk et al. (1985: 262).¹¹ The concordance lines were downloaded in a .xls file and then manually analysed to keep only those referring to RASIM. An example of a collectivization strategy is provided in (2).

- (2) “Most of those seeking asylum came from countries in the Middle East, Africa or South Asia.” (t3_dylh9w)

Finally, functionalization strategies occur “when social actors are referred to in terms of an activity, in terms of something they do” (Van Leeuwen, 2008:42). The process to retrieve those strategies was slightly different: the wordlist of verbs ending with *-ing* was retrieved and semantically analysed to pick up those that could potentially complete a phrase such as “people...(e.g., applying)”, “those who are...(e.g., coming)”. Concordance lines for those verbs were computed and manually analysed to keep only those referring to RASIM. As suggested by Van Leeuwen (2008:42), two other processes of functionalization were also investigated: first, nouns “formed from a verb, through suffixes such as -er, -ant, -ent, -ian, -ee,” and second, nouns denoting “a place or tool closely associated with an activity [...] through suffixes such as -ist,

¹¹ The list of quantifiers queried is available in Appendix C.

-er”. Example (3) shows the use of a functionalization (i.e., the applicant) strategy in one of the articles.

(3) “[...]as well as for the final decision on whether the applicant is to receive protection.” (t3_e12vz8)

ii. Individualization

The process of *individualization* can be considered the opposite of assimilation and functionalization processes as it is realized by the singularity (Van Leeuwen, 2008:38). With this process, the diversity and differences between the RASIM are acknowledged and respected. They are presented with feelings or in everyday situations to which readers can identify. RASIM are referred to as individuals or a definite group. Individualization strategies were found by retrieving the concordance lines of the singular forms of the RASIM terms, numerals from one to ten (to make sure that the group is small enough to consider their differences), proper nouns and the singular of generic terms such as “man, woman and child”. Eventually, these concordance lines were manually analysed to keep only those referring to RASIM. Example (4) illustrates the use of an individualization strategy, embodied by the use of the singular form “refugee”. One should note that, apart from the use of proper nouns, individualization processes are different from nomination processes (i.e., representing actor in terms of their unique identity): the actors are still anonymous (Van Leeuwen, 2008:40).

(4) “One of their employees, a Pakistani refugee who had started working in their Headquarters, was about to be deported.” (t3_em4gvi)

b) Actions attribution

The second level of analysis studied the *actions* that were attributed to the actors and how these actions are connected to them (i.e., transitivity). This section examines transitivity as described by Machin and Mayr (2012:104): i.e., transitivity that “goes beyond traditional grammatical approaches which distinguish between verbs that take objects and verbs that do not”. In other words, the aim was to examine “who does what to whom”. To retrieve the actions RASIM are part of, I manually selected the concordance lines of the RASIM terms in which an action occurred. Two main points were investigated: the passivation/ activation of RASIM and the process types of the verbs.

i. Passivation/ activation

Passivation is when RASIM are “undergoing” or “receiving the end of it” while activation happens when RASIM are represented as the dynamic force in an activity (van Leeuwen,

2008:33). The role allocation of *agent* and *patient* not only goes through the subject/object relationship but also through “circumstantialization” (i.e., preposition such as “by/from”) or “possessivation” (i.e., preposition such as “of”). I manually analysed the concordance lines of RASIM to determine whether they were patients or agents of the actions. The semantic sets of the actions were also examined in order to give a more accurate picture of the actions RASIM are agents or patients of. Example (5) illustrates passivation while example (6) shows activation of RASIM.

(5) “This so-called “push back” of asylum seekers is illegal under European and international law.” (t3_dw8v21)

(6) “The Space Egg building was built with the help of undocumented migrant workers.” (t3_edn66c)

ii. Process types

Machin and Mayr (2012), based on Halliday’s work (1994), distinguish six process types: material, mental, behavioural, verbal, relational and existential. This study, however, focusses only on those two that are the most used in newspaper texts: material processes and mental processes. Material processes refer to the processes of *doing*: “these are concrete actions that have a material result or consequence” (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 106). Material processes can be either transactive, i.e., including two participants: the actor and the goal; or non-transactive, i.e., including only one participant, the actor (Van Leeuwen, 2008:60).

Regarding mental processes, they are the actions of *sensing* and are divided into three categories: “‘cognition’ (verbs of thinking, knowing or understanding), ‘affection’ (verbs of liking, disliking or fearing), and ‘perception’ (verbs of seeing, hearing or perceiving)” (Machin & Mayr, 2012:107). The authors provide examples of the three classes of cognition, affection and perception: “I understood the story”, “Peter liked the film a lot” and “We saw many interesting buildings”, respectively (Machin & Mayr, 2012:107).

c) Argumentation

Argumentation is “an activity in which participants use language to do certain things, whether this is advancing their point of view, defending their point of view or attacking that of someone else” (Richardson, 2007:155). This last level of analysis looked first at the arguments, which can be “for” or “against” certain social actors, present in the text. The distinction “for” and “against” might seem simplistic, but when arguments are examined within social contexts and

in their simplest forms, a dichotomy is the most basic level of understanding. The dichotomy used here, “for” or “against” RASIM, included more detailed dichotomies such as “for/against taking in more RASIM” or “for/against spending more money in accommodation for RASIM”. In a second phase, the formulation of these arguments (the discursive strategies) was examined: different figures of speech can be used in order to “cater for certain ideological manipulation” (KhosraviNik, 2010:66-67). This study especially focussed on metaphors and emphases.

i. Metaphors

Metaphors are “means to make complex or abstract meanings more concrete and understandable.” (VanDijk, 2012:26). Therefore, the choice of metaphors in the media plays an essential role in the collective consciousness as they can be “used in various expressions and manipulations of power and control” (Baker et al., 2008:280). Regarding the migration crisis, researchers have found that RASIM are associated with, e.g. PARASITE metaphors (Musolff, 2014), WATER metaphors (Salahshour, 2016), HEALTH metaphors (Arcimaviciene, 2019). In this study, the metaphors of WATER, OBJECT, DISEASE, ALIEN and PARASITE were investigated. Examples of these metaphors found in the corpora are given in examples (7), (8), (9), (10) and (11), respectively. Lists of words belonging to the semantic field of each metaphor were created based on both previous studies and observation of the corpus.¹² Concordance lines of these words were computed (on the whole corpus) and manually analysed in order to find the related metaphors.

- (7) “The past week has shown that migrants continue to flow en masse to Europe both at sea and on the mainland.” (t3_e76vkk)
- (8) “Sometimes not even their country of origin won't take them back.” (e2ij85)
- (9) “[...] their [UK's] demographics give them an immense advantage over a rapidly ageing continent plagued by migrant integration issues to boot.” (e7scnc)
- (10) “But Middle Eastern countries are very quiet about it as if those refugees were from another planet , I dont see how the EU is even involved with this nonsense.” (eftg0p)
- (11) “[...] they [RASIM] become parasites and wonder why people treat them like trash.” (ebt2ta)

¹² The list of the words queried in order to locate the metaphors are shown in Appendix D.

ii. Emphases and mitigations

According to Van Dijk (2012:25), emphases and mitigations are used for respectively “emphasizing *their* [RASIM’s] bad things and de-emphasizing *our* bad things”. Emphases can be used to exaggerate the number of RASIM, their “negative” actions and attributes, while mitigations can be used to tone down the number of RASIM having so-called positive behaviours. According to Swan (1980: 200), emphases and mitigations can be shown through different ways, including 1. the format of the text and 2. intensifiers:

1. The format of the text can be considered more or less as the equivalent of the intonation (Swan, 1980:200). While it is less likely to find variation in the formatting of the text in articles, Reddit users regularly use it. The Reddit feature allows users to write their comments in italics, bold or strikethrough (but they cannot underline their text). Users can also write in capital letters when it is not expected. The API of Reddit provided access to these format variations: words/sentences in italics were surrounded by one asterisk on each side (“*hello*” in the corpus = “hello” in the comment on Reddit), words/sentences in bold were surrounded by two asterisks and words/sentences stricken through were surrounded by two tildes (~~). The use of upper case was investigated through the RegEx feature with the following regular expression: [word=“[A-Z]+”]. The first part, [A-Z], was used to find any upper-case letter ranging from A to Z. The following “+” allowed to repeat any of those upper-case letters as many times as needed. The resulting concordance lines were manually examined to keep out the acronyms, and the pronoun I. Example (12) illustrates the use of italics in the comments.

(12) “It **is** the answer to spread them around Europe [...]” (eftg0p)

2. Regarding intensifiers, I used the definition of Quirk et al. (1985: 589) according to which an intensifier “indicates a point on an abstractly conceived intensity scale”. Therefore, intensifiers are divided into two major kinds: amplifiers scaling upwards from an assumed norm and downtoners scaling downwards from an assumed norm. Both amplifiers and downtoners can be subdivided into more detailed categories (Quirk et al., 1985), but these categories were not taken into account as it was not relevant to the scope of this study. Within the framework of this thesis, only intensifying adverbs were studied (and not adjectives) so the manual examination remained manageable. These intensifying adverbs were selected by computing the wordlist of all the adverbs in the corpora. Then a manual analysis selected only those that were intensifiers. The

selection was based on the lists provided by Quirk et al. (1985: 589-599).¹³ Once the intensifier adverbs were identified, concordance lines including these were retrieved and manually analysed to keep only those whose primary function was intensification and to determine whether they were amplifiers or downtoners. Example (13) illustrates the use of intensifiers in one of the articles.

(13) “[...] notably as concerns the situation on the heavily overcrowded islands and the very challenging situation in the hotspots.” (t3_ef1a3v)

3.3 Typology and Classification of Articles

This section presents the methodology used to examine the relationship between the contexts of writing of the articles and the representations of RASIM found in those articles. The typology of factors used to classify the articles is first introduced. Then the methodology used to gather information needed to classify the articles is explained. Finally, the statistical tests computed to determine the relationship are detailed.

3.3.1 Typology

The typology used in this study is based on Salaverria’s (2017), discussed in Section 2.1.2. This typology meets two of the requirements of this study: first, it is specially established to categorize online news media and therefore includes categories (such as platform or temporary nature) that are relevant to this topic. Secondly, it provides an in-depth contextual analysis of the articles as Van Dijk (2012) suggests for the study of representations (see section 2.2.2). However, this typology was slightly adapted in order to match both the data and the research aims. The resulting typology is presented in Table 5.

Table 5 Typology of online articles

Typology of factors	Types of digital news media
Platform	1. Only online 2. Both printed and online
Temporary Nature	1. Periodic 2. Continuous 3. Multi-timed
Scope	1. International 2. European 3. National

¹³ This list has been expanded according to Quirk et al. (1985: 589)’s definition of intensifiers and is available in Appendix E.

Specialization	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. General 2. Specialist
Ownership	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Public 2. Private
Authorship	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Individual 2. Collective 3. Unknown
Approach	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. News 2. Non-news
Topic	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Politicians' discourse 2. Countries accepting/rejecting EU policies and measures 3. Report from the FRA or the UNHCR 4. Miscellaneous news items 5. In-depth analyses of the current situation
Genre	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. News 2. Interview 3. Report 4. Analysis 5. Opinion 6. Non-journalistic

a) Platform

This category differentiates between the media that are only published online from those that are both printed and online.

b) Temporary nature

The temporary nature refers to the frequency of publication. Media websites can be updated periodically (e.g., daily, weekly), continuously (no pattern of publication) or be multi-timed (periodic content and additional articles). This category is linked to the previous one: typically, newspapers that are also printed consist of periodic content which is completed with continuously published additional articles. Exclusively online media, on the other hand, are more likely to publish articles continuously.

c) Scope

The scope of a media website is its main geographical focus. It can be international, European or national. Website publishing a certain amount of international content but with a section *world* were considered to have a national scope (such as the BBC).

d) Specialization

The different media can have general interests or specific interests, such as business, finance and economics.

e) Ownership

This category differentiates publicly owned from privately owned media.

f) Authorship

Articles can be written by only one person (individual authorship) or more than one person (collective authorship). Nevertheless, in some articles, the author is not specified (unknown).

g) Approach

This category distinguishes media whose main aim is to inform readers from those that have other (more or less hidden) interests such as “institutional communication, advertising or propaganda” (Salaverria, 2017:26). This category also aims at differentiating “real” news from “fake” news. Tandoc et al. (2017) list six different types of fake news: news satire (mocking other news), news parody, news fabrication (news without sources, written “in the style of news articles to create legitimacy”), photo manipulation (using a non-related image to illustrate news), advertising and public relations (advertising on the website pretending to be news), propaganda.

h) Topic

Articles focus on varying topics, and the following categories can be established.

i. Politicians’ discourse

This category gathers the articles which refer to one -or several- politician discourse. This can either relate to the discourse itself, or to the reactions it caused.

ii. Countries accepting/rejecting EU policies and measures

This category includes the debate about the new relocation plan proposed by Germany. On the other hand, this category also gathers articles reporting country measures to respond to migration.

iii. Report from the FRA or the UNHCR

Several articles are referring to one of the two reports.

iv. Miscellaneous news items

This category includes the articles presenting “minor” news items and articles about the number of entries of the year in this or that country.

v. In-depth analyses of the current situation

This category gathers the articles that provide a complete analysis of one topic related to migration.

i) Genre

The classification of genres is based on Adam’s article (2001) which distinguishes five types of genre: news (short articles about something that recently happened, with contextualization), interview, report (of reporters or correspondents that investigated in the field), analysis (articles providing in-depth analyses of phenomena, with multiple sources) and opinion. A sixth category was added to classify articles that do not follow any journalistic code (e.g., lack of context).

3.3.2 Classification of the Articles

In order to successfully classify the articles, different pieces of information had to be gathered. First, a careful reading of the articles allowed their classification into the “authorship”, “topic” and “genre” categories. The information needed for the “approach”, “scope”, “specialization”, “temporary nature” and “platform” categories was found on the media website, either on the home page or on specific pages such as “about us” or “FAQ”. Finally, the category of “ownership” sometimes needed further research on the Internet, as it is not always clearly stated on the media website.

3.3.3 Relation between the contexts of writing of the article and the representations of RASIM

As no clear correlation could be observed at first sight, statistical tests were conducted. The first step to choose the right tests was to define the variables that will be used. On one side, there are the independent variables: these are categorical variables, i.e., the different factors detailed in Section 3.3.1. On the other side, the dependent variables are the discursive strategies found (or not) in the articles: assimilations, functionalizations, individualizations, metaphors, emphases and mitigations. These variables were simplified into the absence or presence of the discursive strategy under study in the different articles (this means that the number of discursive strategies found in one article was not taken into account). As all variables were categorical,

the suitable tests were chi-squared. The significance of the tests was set at a p-value smaller than 0.05. For example, one of the tests computed was used to determine whether the variable “metaphors” (either “found” or “not found”) is significantly dependent of the variable “ownership” (either public or private). All tests were computed on the software Rstudio (2015).

These tests should be treated cautiously as the data was very small, but they provide near certainty that there is no correlation between the contexts of writing and the representations of RASIM and discursive strategies found in the articles.¹⁴

4 Results

This chapter analyses the representations of RASIM and the discursive strategies conveying these representations according to the methodology introduced in the previous chapter. Section 4.1 focusses on those found in the articles while section 4.2 focusses on representations found in the comments. Both sections follow the same structure. First, the semantic preference(s) of the RASIM terms is analysed in Section 4.1.1 for the articles and Section 4.2.1 for the comments. Then, KhorsraviNik’s (2010) three levels of analysis are examined: the level of actors description in Sections 4.1.2 and 4.2.2, the level of actions attribution in Sections 4.1.3 and 4.2.3 and finally the level of arguments in Sections 4.1.4 and 4.2.4. The last section (4.3) first presents the results of the classification of the articles. Then the results of the statistical tests computed to determine the relationship between the types of articles and the representations of RASIM are discussed.

4.1 Representations of RASIM in the articles

4.1.1 Semantic preference

In total, 395 collocates of the RASIM terms were examined, and 367 of them were classified in one of the 13 semantic sets presented in Section 3.4.1 of the Material and Method chapter. Figure 3 displays the frequency (in %) of the different semantic sets into which the collocates of RASIM terms were classified. The categories that were less frequent than 5 percent were lumped together under the *other* category (i.e., *Humanity* 2%, *Welcoming* 3%, *Stop their*

¹⁴ The statistics service of the University of Oslo advised me to conduct them anyway as it could still reveal some patterns not discernible otherwise.

journey 3%, *Return* 4%, *Economic product* 4%, *Legitimacy* 0%). As shown in the graphic, the most frequent categories are *Number* (21%) and *Management* (17%). *Attribute* (12%), *Journey* (10%), *Difficulties* (10%) and *(Il)legal status* (9%) have a similar frequency while *Threat* occurs in only 5% of the cases.

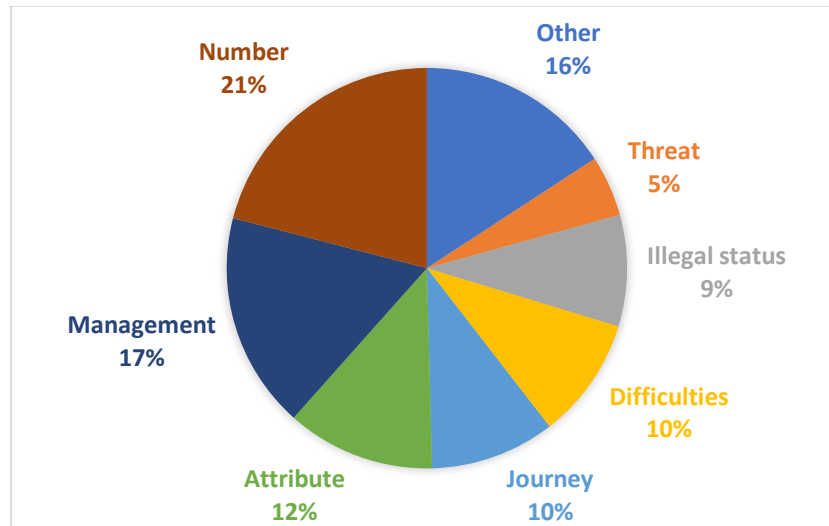


Figure 3 Frequency (%) of the different semantic sets in which the collocates of the RASIM terms occur in the articles

This unveils that the biggest concern of the articles seems to be the growing number of RASIM in Europe. It is interesting to see that this semantic set almost matches in terms of frequency with the *Management* one; thus an almost equally important concern is to manage the growing number of RASIM (how Europe is supposed to manage them: how many to accept, which country “takes them in”, how to “transfer” them?; see example (14)). Then, the *Attribute* semantic set, the third most frequent, turns out to be creating a homogeneous image of the population migrating: most of the words of this semantic set refer to “young male children”, as in examples (15), (16) and (17), while in reality, RASIM are much more diverse. *Journey* and *Difficulties* are two semantic sets that show interest in RASIM experiences, e.g., example (18). Finally, the semantic set of *(Il)legal status* is only ranked sixth in frequency.

- (14) “The initial plan was to redistribute 160,000 migrants and in the end, the countries redistributed only 34,705 people.” (t3_e12vz8)
- (15) “EU countries warned of 'lost generation' of young refugees.” (t3_dylh9w)
- (16) “European States urged to do more to protect and support child refugees and migrants.” (t3_e2ij85)
- (17) “The man is accused of charging the male migrants for guiding them across the fake state borders.” (t3_e6w1r7)

- (18) “Traumatised refugees are often unable to sleep, drink or eat properly as they wait to be processed.” (t3_dylh9w)

However, while Figure 3 gives an overview of the categories collocating with RASIM, it cannot be understood as a summary of the individual trends of the RASIM terms because these terms have different frequencies in the corpus (the term “migrant” is more frequent than the term “asylum seeker”, for example). A closer look at the semantic preferences of each of the RASIM is then needed.

For example, the term “immigrant” co-occurs with a collocate from one of the semantic sets of *Number* or *(Il)legal status* in 70% of the cases: immigrants are depicted as being numerous, hidden in the shadow of illegality. The term “immigrant” is mostly used to refer to people settling illegally in Europe and potentially working there. As for the asylum seekers, they typically collocate with items in the *Management* and *Number* semantic sets and are depicted as problems that have to be managed. Asylum seekers are also represented within the semantic set of *(Il)legal status* when their applications have been rejected, and they become a *bond d'accord*. Finally, the term “migrant” follows the general trend displayed in Figure 3, except for the fact that this term has about 15% of its collocates in the semantic set of *Journey*. Refugees, on the other hand, seem to stand out: they are depicted as “legal”, and even though they still co-occur with items in the semantic set of *Management*, they are not represented in the semantic set of *Threat* but very often in the *Attribute* and *Difficulties* sets (encountered during their journey, but also those they fled). They are also the only ones occurring within the semantic set of *Welcoming*.

These observations show that the different RASIM words have different semantic preferences and that some categories are specific to one of the RASIM words. More generally, it indicates that the media have different attitudes towards the different types of RASIM.

4.1.2 Description of Actors

The most represented actors are the migrants (118 occurrences, relative frequency: 39.9/10,000), followed by the refugees (94 occurrences, relative frequency: 31.8/10,000). Asylum seekers and immigrants are less frequently represented with respectively 37 and 34 occurrences (relative frequency: 12.5 and 12.8/10,000 respectively). Regarding the co-occurrence of the actors in the articles, the collocation “migrants and refugees” is used eleven

times, and the collocation “migrants and refugees” five times while only one occurrence of such collocations with other actors was found (i.e., “immigrants and asylum seekers”). This finding supports the hypothesis that the term “migrant” is an umbrella term (as defined in Table 1 in Section 1.1) including the terms “immigrant” and “asylum seeker” while the term “refugee” refers to only one type of actor. Using the collocation “migrants and refugees” would then be a way to refer to all RASIM.

a) Assimilations and functionalizations

In total, 142 assimilation strategies (relative frequency: 48.1/10,000 words) were found in 28 out of the 38 articles. This high frequency in the use of these strategies is, in fact, expected. As some researchers point out (A’Beckett, 2019; KhorsraviNik, Krzizanowski and Wodak, 2012), these strategies are very popular in the press. However, the assimilations found in the articles are not linked to a feeling of a dangerous mass of people as shown in previous studies (KhorsraviNik, Krzizanowski and Wodak, 2012; Baker and Garbielatos, 2008). The assimilations are most often used to depict RASIM as a heavy burden (especially economically speaking) that nations don’t want to shoulder alone, as in example (19). However, some of the articles use numbers to refer to the new legal workers they need to sustain their demography, such as in example (20). Finally, assimilations are also used to underline the new arrivals in the already overcrowded refugee camps in Greece and Turkey, e.g. example (21). These uses of assimilations correspond to the two major semantic preference sets of RASIM, *Number* and *Management*, but also to the *Economic product* one.

- (19) “Already home to the planet's largest refugee population—numbering almost 4 million—his nation simply can't accommodate any more, Erdogan claims. This new "migrant burden" shall not be shouldered by Turkey alone, the firebrand leader said on December 23.” (t3_eihdkq)
- (20) “In the article you mentioned earlier, I wrote that 500,000 immigrants were needed per year. That's roughly the amount we need to counter the demographic change.” (t3_em4gvi)
- (21) “Greece is predicting up to 100,00 asylum-seekers to arrive on its islands from Turkey in 2020, placing a further strain on its already bursting migrant camps.” (t3_eca9gx)

As far as functionalization is concerned (in terms of Van Leeuwen (2008), i.e., referential strategies referring to them through their “occupations” as explained in Section 3.4.2), it is

interesting to note that the terms “migrant, asylum seeker and immigrant” are themselves functionalizations (even if they were not taken into account in the analysis). In total, 49 occurrences (relative frequency: 17/10,000 words) were found in 16 articles. Most of the functionalization strategies occur in articles already using collectivization. These strategies mainly refer to RASIM as “the applicants”, the claimants” but also as “the people coming” or “seeking” or “applying”. On the whole, these functionalization strategies portray RASIM as people coming by different means and through different routes, but once they are in Europe, they are an inert mass waiting to know their fate. On the whole, both assimilation and functionalization strategies dehumanize RASIM, and they are pushed into the background.

b) Individualization strategies

The individualization strategies are used on their own in only three articles. In two of them, migrants are represented as victims, and always as patients of the actions as shown in (22). The third article, on the other hand, tells stories about migrants helping homeless people in Spain. They are depicted as agents of positive actions (such as helping and distributing); see example (23).

(22) Russian authorities arrested a man accused of building a fake border with Finland and charging four South Asian migrants more than 10,000 euros, or \$11,000, to help them cross into what they believed was the European Union (t3_e6w1r7)

(23) Abdullah Abass, a migrant, distributes the blankets and clothes after he’s finished soccer training. He is scarcely 18 with an easy smile [...]. (t3_egaax0)

However, these strategies of individualization also co-occur with strategies of assimilation and/or functionalization. At first glance, this is somewhat counter-intuitive because these strategies are defined as inverse processes, but a closer look at the articles shows that the assimilation strategies are also used to raise awareness of the scale of the humanitarian disaster that is happening. This coincides with the topic of the articles: three (out of the four articles using these strategies together) are related to the reports from the FRA or the UNHCR, as in example (24). The last article using these strategies together is about how many RASIM Germany needs for its economy. This article combines the number of RASIM needed and a story of a Pakistani refugee who has found a job in Germany, e.g. example (25).

(24) In 2019 alone, over 70,000 successfully made the journey, leaked E.U. documents reveal. [...] In a sobering reminder of the dismal conditions, two

refugees this month committed suicide. The pair had, in fact, made it to mainland Greece before they died. Most do not. (t3_eihdkq)

(25) 'Germany needs 500,000 new immigrants every year'. [...]. One of their employees, a Pakistani refugee who had started working in their Headquarters [individualization]. (t3_em4gvi)

4.1.3 Attribution of Actions

The study of the agency of RASIM reveals some interesting patterns. RASIM are depicted as agents in only 23% of the actions they are part of, but they are massively represented as patients (77%). There is no distinctive variation of these percentages for the different RASIM terms. However, it is worth noticing that the dispersion of agent/patient role allocation is not even across the articles: the results show that RASIM are mostly agents in 4 articles, mostly patients in 25 articles and both in 7 articles. If there is a tendency for RASIM to be depicted as patients, there are still articles representing them as being agents, or at least allocating both roles to them. This study will now analyse the agent/patient roles in the light of the semantic categories in which the actions were classified.

a) RASIM as agents

Figure 4 displays the frequencies of the semantic sets of the actions of which RASIM were agents. Most of the time, when they are represented as agents, the action refers to their journey (26%), e.g. “crossing”, “making their way”, “reaching”, or how new RASIM join the ranks of the others and how their number (22%) inflates, e.g. “continue to flow”, “arrive en masse”, “wave of”. 10% of the actions with RASIM as agents were used in order to give their origin: “coming from”. Other verbs are used to represent RASIM dealing with their illegal status: e.g. “apply for”, “overstayed their visa”. RASIM are also represented as actors who encountered difficulties (10%): “being unable to sleep” or even “committing suicide”. In some cases (7%), they are represented as actors that are threatening the population of the host country: “stabbing to death, killing”. Only one article depicts them as actors contributing positively to society, using verbs and expressions such as: “helping”, “distributing”, and “organizing the soccer team”.

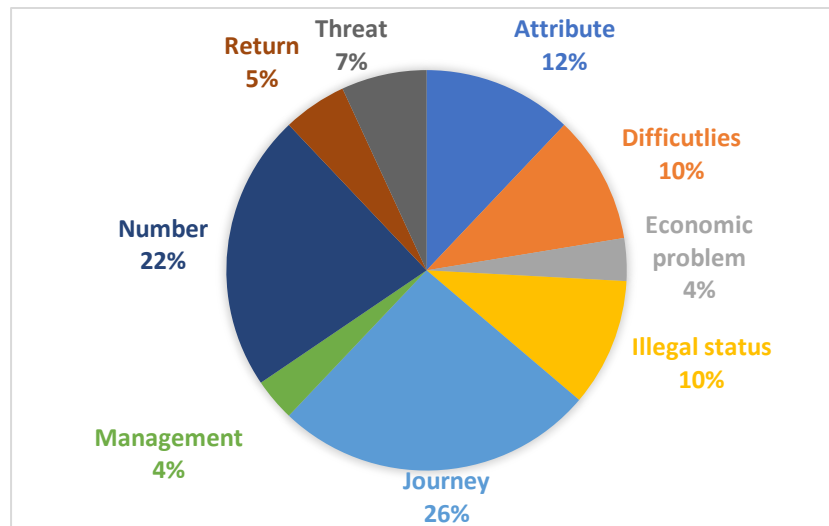


Figure 4 Frequency (%) of the different semantic sets in which the action RASIM are agents (in the articles)

On the whole, RASIM are considerably represented as agents of non-transactive material actions. These material processes have no beneficiaries, such as in example (26) (especially from the semantic categories *Journey*, *Number* and *Attribute* which taken together account for 58% of the cases). According to van Leeuwen (2008:60), agents of non-transactive actions are represented as powerless. On the other hand, RASIM are also agents of transactive actions (i.e., when the material processes have beneficiaries). In those cases, the beneficiaries are mostly non-humans, which reinforces the creation of powerless agents. Example (27) illustrates this phenomenon: migrants apply for asylum, but they don't have any power on the success of their applications; they have to do it multiple times to be maybe accepted. In the few cases in which the beneficiary of the action is human, the action itself is depicted as negative (especially in the *Threat* set), as in example (28).

(26) “In a new development, most migrants came from Afghanistan.”
(t3_ebt2ta)

(27) “Thousands of migrants in Germany have applied for asylum multiple times.” (t3_e4g8ho)

(28) “The person who wrote last summer that they would enjoy it if an asylum seeker stabbed my family to death in Turku Market Square.” (t3_e2i0fg)

It is worth noticing that when their names are used (and then not included in this concordance lines analysis), they are more likely to be represented as “feeling human beings”. However, this happens in only one of the articles, the one naming the RASIM (mentioned in Section 4.1.2.b) shown in example (29).

(29) “El Masdouri still mourns the loss of an older brother who drowned crossing the Strait of Gibraltar.” (t3_egaax0).

b) RASIM as patients

As was mentioned above, RASIM function as patients in almost 75% of the cases. Figure 5 shows the frequencies of the different semantic sets of the actions of which action RASIM were patients. What is even more striking is that when the action belongs to one of the semantic sets of *Management* (37%), *Number* (14%) or *Return* (7%) RASIM are objectified. RASIM lose all humanity and become something that has to be “transferred”, “taken in”, “sent back”, “returned”, their number “is growing” and has to be “reduced”.

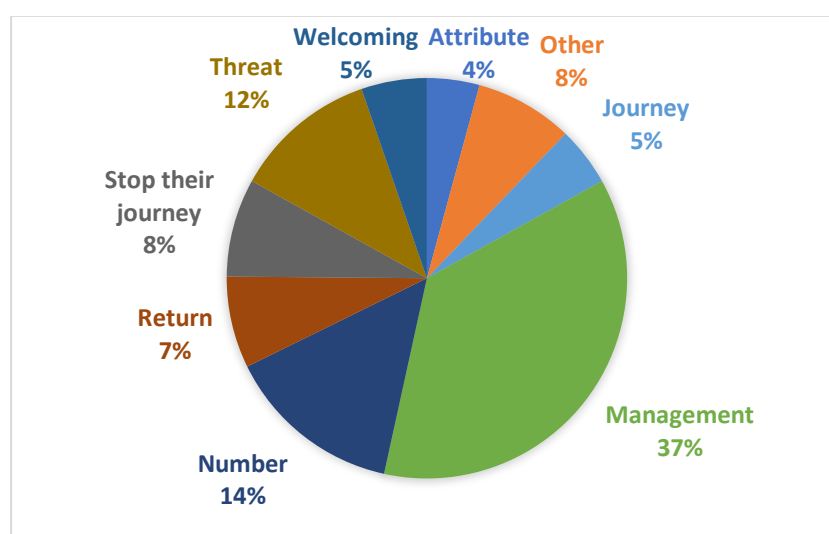


Figure 5 Frequency (%) of the different semantic sets of the actions of which RASIM are patients (in the articles)

On the other hand, when the action belongs to the semantic set of *Threat* (12%), RASIM are “victims” of the threat and not the cause: they face “harassment” or “hostility”, they are “pointed fingers at”. The three less frequent semantic sets represented in Figure 5 are *Welcoming* (5%), *Attribute* (4%) and *Journey* (5%). Taken together, the *Welcoming* and *Attribute* sets account for 9% of the cases. Actions from these sets are the most likely to represent RASIM as human beings: they are “protected”, “helped” and “supported” in the *Welcoming* set and as for the *Attribute* set, they are “described” and “met”.

4.1.4 Arguments

The articles put forward different arguments that can be classified as “for” or “against” RASIM. On the whole, 13 articles use arguments “against” RASIM, 18 of them are “for” RASIM and 6 of them are considered to be neutral. No metaphors of ALIEN, DISEASE or PARASITE were found.

a) Metaphors

i. Metaphor of WATER

WATER metaphors are widely used discursive strategies in the construction of the discourse about RASIM. Their movements are conceptualized as moving water in order to create the impression that these movements are uncontrollable and overwhelming. Terms such as “wave”, “flow”, “influx”, “flood” are so common in the press that they are now “normalized” (Šarić & Felberg, 2019:218). Seventeen water metaphors (relative frequency: 6/10,000 words) were found in 9 different articles: they tend to occur more in the articles “against” RASIM (5 of them). They are mainly used to refer to the movements of RASIM towards Europe; these movements were conceptualized as moving water which can sweep away everything in its path, as in example (30).

- (30) The past week has shown that migrants continue to flow en masse to Europe both at sea and on the mainland, increasing migration pressure on the continent, especially along the Balkan route. (t3_e76vkk)

However, they also occurred in two of the articles “for” RASIM. One of them (example 31) makes extensive use of these metaphors in order to denounce the bias of other newspapers (please note that the example in itself is not “for” RASIM, but that on the whole, the article is):

- (31) The Daily Mail ran a story about a “flood of bogus asylum-seekers swamping Dover” while the Independent warned: “Gypsies invade Dover hoping for a handout”. The actual numbers were tiny. (t3_dwn6xk)

ii. Metaphor of OBJECT

The OBJECT metaphors are also very recurrent in the articles. The analysis of the sentences in which RASIM are patients of the action has already shown that they are often objectified. Verbs such as “take in”, “transfer”, “return”, “redistribute” (typically from the semantic sets of *Management*, *Number* and *Return*) objectify RASIM semantically but also syntactically “through the syntactic positioning in a sentence via an (indirect or direct) object in the sentence that undergoes the action or passive form” (Arcimaviciene, 2019:148).

In total 67 OBJECT metaphors (relative frequency: 22,6/10,000 words) were found in 58% of the articles with no distinction of frequency depending on whether the article was “for” or “against” RASIM. These OBJECT metaphors have a powerful psychological effect on the audience as they

“simplify and at the same time neutralize a tone towards migrants [RASIM]” (Arcimaviciene, 2019:148). When RASIM are objectified, they can be treated as a problem, among others, that Europe has to face as these metaphors tone down the (strong) feelings that the fate of RASIM can create. Example (32) illustrates this phenomenon: RASIM as human beings are entirely pushed into the background.

(32) But Dublin [agreement] is also "inefficient" since "in the entire EU, applicants are transferred to the member state (originally) responsible in only 3 percent of cases, thus allowing for a free choice of the member state responsible by the applicant," which is a point Germany and northern European countries have been making: that it is very hard to send asylum seekers back to the country of first arrival. (t3_dw61en)

b) Emphases and mitigations

Regarding emphases and mitigations, no variations were found regarding the format of the articles. This is not surprising because even if they are online resources, online news media keep, at least partly, the codes of the written press in its format. On the other hand, (adverb) intensifiers (amplifiers and downtoners) were found, and some recurrences in their uses can be observed.

i. Amplifiers

As far as amplifiers are concerned, 59 were found in 23 different articles (relative frequency: 20/10,000 words), and they are used to emphasize very different points. They typically put emphasis on the fact that the measures taken are ineffective or not adapted, as in example (33). They are also used to underline the fact that the migration “crisis” is a humanitarian disaster or the bad living conditions, which often goes with the framing of RASIM as victims, as in (34). Finally, they are also used to highlight the number of RASIM which is continuously growing, e.g. (35).

(33) Regulations drafted 20 years earlier that required asylum seekers to register in first-entry countries were "completely inadequate now," he said. (t3_ebbutu)

(34) The situation is said to be particularly critical on the so-called hotspot islands of Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Leros and Kos , and the Greek government has already attempted to move some refugees to the mainland. (t3_ef26ia)

- (35) Not since Europe's historic agreement with Turkey to curb migrant flows at the height of Syria's civil war in March 2016 have arrivals been so high. (t3_ebbutu)

ii. Downtoners

Regarding downtoners, 19 of them (relative frequency: 6/10,000 words) were found in 12 different articles. They are mainly used to underline the fact that the number of RASIM arriving is not decreasing or else very slightly, as in examples (36) and (37), and to denounce the so-called bad management and decisions of countries or of the UE, e.g. (38) and (39).

- (36) [...] the range [of immigration] was significantly higher than in 2014 (3 million to 3.7 million) but had fallen slightly since a 2016 peak of 4.1 million to 5.3 million. (t3_ekvl42)
- (37) "And, frankly, that estimate [of the number of arrivals of RASIM] is rather modest". (t3_ebbutu)
- (38) He [Spijkerboer] found that 65% of this funding winds up in the hands of only five organizations [...]. (t3_e8ofkh)
- (39) But Dublin is also "inefficient" since "in the entire EU, applicants are transferred to the member state (originally) responsible in only 3 percent of cases, thus allowing for a free choice of the member state responsible by the applicant" (t3_dw61en)

Downtoners are also used, as in example (40), to stress the little help that is provided to RASIM and to Greece, which has to handle the arrival of RASIM on its own. Finally, some of them are also used to depict how the authorities are overwhelmed and unable to manage the "crisis" properly, e.g. example (41).

- (40) It [Greece] says just one country has heeded its call. (t3_ef1a3v)
- (41) Despite concerted efforts to decongest the islands, the authorities have only been able to move about 10,000 people to the mainland in recent months (t3_ebbutu).

4.2 Representations of RASIM in the comments

This part of the analysis will focus both on the comments as a whole to investigate the shared representations of RASIM on Reddit, and on the relation between the articles and their respective comments. For the purpose of intelligibility, the term "thread" has to be introduced:

on Reddit, a thread is the combination of the comments and the original post (see appendix A). This term will allow us to compare the analysis of an article and the analysis of its related thread. An additional comment has to be made on the examples shown in this section: they remained unchanged and may include some spelling or grammatical mistakes (yet they were chosen for their good illustration of the phenomenon under discussion and thus are intelligible).

4.2.1 Semantic Preference

Regarding the comments, the semantic preference of the RASIM terms is not drastically different from that of the articles. However, some variations are still worth mentioning. Figure 6 presents the semantic preference of the RASIM words through the frequencies of the semantic sets. The three main semantic sets, *Management* (24%), *Number* (17%) and *Attribute* (12%), remain the same as in the articles, even if the *Management* set takes the first place. The semantic set of *(Il)legal status* is the fourth most frequent while in the articles it is only the sixth. The *Journey* (5%) and *Difficulties* (6%) sets are half as frequent as in the articles. Finally, two semantic sets, *Legitimacy* (5%) and *Economic product* (9%) which are less frequent than 5% in the articles are more prominent in the comments.

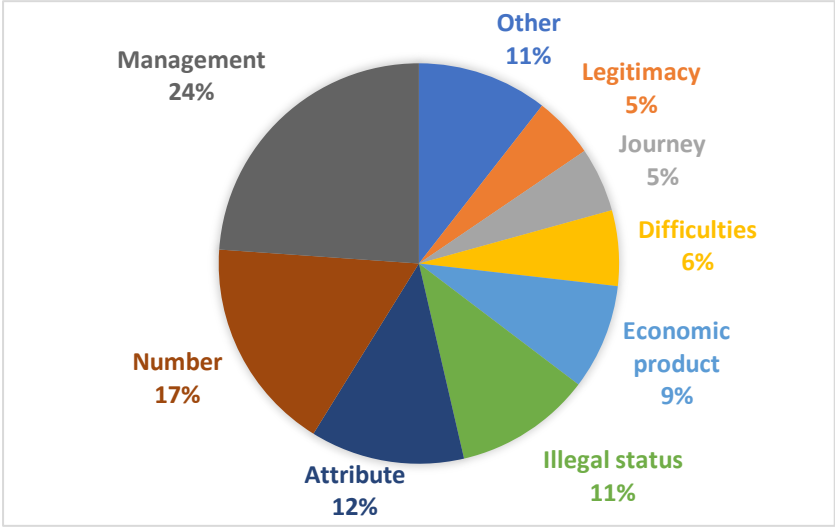


Figure 6 Frequency (%) of the different semantic sets in which the collocates of the RASIM terms occur in the comments

The comparison between the semantic preferences of RASIM in the two corpora is interesting. Regarding the articles, while the number and the management of RASIM is a cause of concern, the frequencies of semantic sets of *Difficulties* and *Journey* are about 10%; the articles still depict the human aspects of RASIM. The semantic preference in the comments, on the other hand, is more about their (il)legal status and their impact (good or bad) on the economy, without taking into account their experiences of migration.

Regarding the individual semantic preferences, each RASIM term has at least one of the semantic sets of *Number* or *Management* in their two most frequent semantic sets. No other semantic set stands out with such a high frequency, but some of these are interesting to notice. The semantic preference of the term “refugee” is, as in the articles, the only having the semantic set of *Difficulties* distinguishing with 13% of frequency. The collocates of migrants belong to the semantic sets of *Economic product* and *(Il)legal status* in 15% of the cases: they are depicted as illegal and “economic migrants” and most of the time regarded as illegitimate migrants. The legitimacy of asylum seekers is also a concern as this semantic set is the second most frequent (i.e., frequency of 16%). Finally, the joint (with the *Number* set) most frequent semantic set of the immigrant semantic preference is *Attribute* (19%): there is a great concern to know where they come from, as if some countries of origin are more legitimate than others.

4.2.2 Descriptions of Actors

The different RASIM terms show a sizeable difference in their frequencies of occurrences in the comments. Refugees are the actors that are the most frequently represented with a relative frequency of 35 occurrences per 10,000 words followed by migrants with 28.5. Immigrants are half as frequently represented with a relative frequency of 13.7 occurrences per 10,000 words, and finally, asylum seekers are by far the least represented actors with a relative frequency of only four occurrences per 10,000 words. Compared to the articles, refugees and immigrants are barely more represented while migrants and asylum seekers are both much less represented. However, refugees and migrants are still the two major actors in the comments.

The co-occurrences “refugees and migrants” and “migrants and refugees” appear one and five times in the comments, respectively: this is much less frequent than in the articles.¹⁵ Two points might cause less frequent uses of these collocations: either Reddit contributors don’t use the terms “migrant” as an umbrella term in the way some media do or their discussions do not aim to cover the whole group of RASIM but instead are specific to one of these actors. A closer look at the comments supports the second hypothesis as a lot of the comments make it a point of honour to differentiate RASIM (especially to judge whether they are legitimate or not).

¹⁵ Collocations hypothesized to refer to all RASIM in Section 4.1.2. (i.e., *migrant* would be an umbrella term for both *immigrant* and *asylum seeker*)

In order to have a more accurate overview of how RASIM are represented as actors in the comments, we will now turn to the analysis of the discursive strategies of assimilation, functionalization and individualization.

a) Assimilations and functionalizations

In the comments, 281 instances of assimilation strategies (relative frequency: 21.8/10,000 words) were found, which is half as (relatively) frequent as in the articles. Many of these assimilations are used to emphasize that RASIM are unskilled workers putting pressure on a fragile economy, such as in example (42). Other instances contribute to debates arguing how to manage such a high number of RASIM, such as in example (43). Finally, some of these strategies are also used to homogenize RASIM and express the author's resentment like in example (44).

(42) The migrant crisis has pushed a lot of things like housing, schooling, healthcare to the brink because they weren't funded to provide for thousands of people who don't pay into these systems making use of them. (ebbutu)

(43) So your solution would have been to let Greece handle 1 million refugees. (e2ij85)

(44) Unfortunately Europe is being taken for an absolute ride, and all of these migrants are just here to get free stuff - paid for by you and me. (ecas2d)

As far as functionalization is concerned, similarities with the articles can be observed. The forms of “people/those +ing” gather verbs such as “fleeing, coming, applying, awaiting”. These results are in accordance with those found in the articles: RASIM are represented as coming to Europe, and once there, they wait for their application to be processed. Yet other functionalization strategies have the same functions in the articles and in the comments such as “applicants”, “claimant”, and “workers”.

b) Individualization

In the corpus of comments, no individualization strategies were found. This result was expected as a tiny percentage of the population has already met a RASIM. In that sense, Reddit users probably don't have any “individual anecdotes”.

4.2.3 Attribution of Actions

The percentage of passivation/activation of RASIM in the comments is less marked than in the articles: RASIM are depicted as agents in 36% of the actions and as patients in 64% of the

cases. A closer look at the threads shows that, in about 16 of them, RASIM are more or less equally represented both as patients and agents, which is twice as much as for the articles. In 16 other threads, RASIM are mostly represented as patients while they are mostly agents in only 7 of the threads. No direct relation between the articles and the threads of comments regarding the role allocation has been found: some articles representing RASIM as mostly patients have threads of comments mostly representing them as agents and vice versa.

a) RASIM as agents

Figure 7 shows the percentage of the semantic sets of the action of which RASIM are agents. The major semantic set is the *Journey* one (40%). Next, five sets share a similar percentage of the actions: *(Il)legal status* (10%), *Economic product* (9%), *Threat* (9%), *Attribute* (9%) and *Difficulties* (8%).

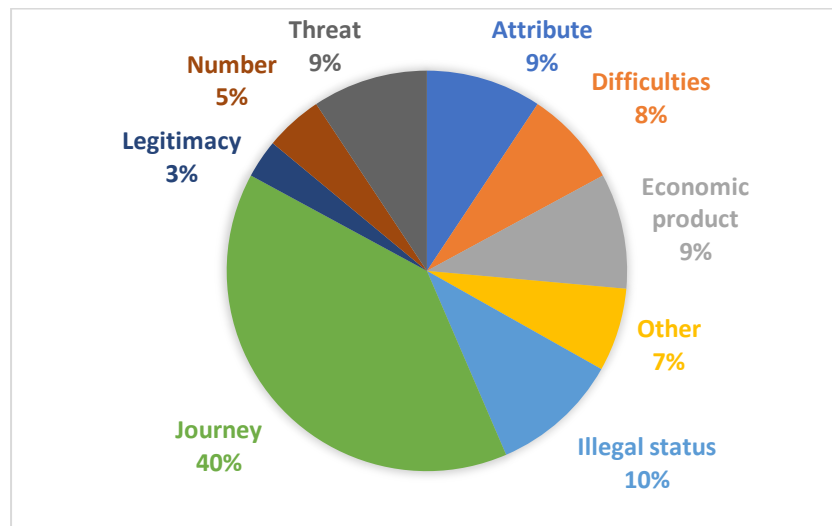


Figure 7 Frequency (%) of the different semantic sets in which the action RASIM are agents (in the comments)

There are three important differences in the frequency of the semantic sets of the actions compared to the articles. First, the *Journey* set has a much higher frequency, even though it is also the most frequent set in the articles (40% in the comments against 26% in the articles). This is partly explained by the fact that the users widely discuss an issue that is barely mentioned in the articles: the movement of RASIM within Europe, or at least their will to move, once they are in Europe. This way, they are still represented as agents of non-transactive material processes such as “crossing” or “travelling” but also as agents of mental processes: they “want to move to Germany” or they “don’t care to stay in Hungary”. According to Machin and Mayr (2012:107), these mental processes fall into the class of *affection*; they allow us to “gain an insight into the feelings or states of mind of certain participants” and encourage the

reader to empathise with them. Representing RASIM as agents of mental processes attributes them more humanity. Second, the semantic set of *Number* that has a frequency of 22% in the articles has a frequency of only 5% in the comments. It seems that the users care more about the decisions taken to manage RASIM rather than their actual numbers. Finally, in the comments, the semantic set of *Economic product* distinguishes among the most frequent ones while in the articles it was clustered in the *Other* category. In the comments, this category is associated with their working skills and consequently, what they bring to the economy. The discussion is about whether their contribution will exceed their cost to the host society: either they are “qualified” and “integrated workers” or they “don’t bring a lot” and “don’t have the skills”.

b) RASIM as patients

Figure 8 represents the distribution of the semantic sets of the action of which RASIM are patients. As shown in Figure 8, the semantic set of *Management* is, just like in the articles, the most frequent one. Regarding the other semantic sets, the three sets of *Number* (9%) *Return* (9%) and *Threat* (8%) have more or less the same frequency as in the articles. Similar to what happens in the articles, when the actions belong to the semantic sets of *Management*, *Number* or *Return*, RASIM are objectified: they are “taken in”, “transferred”, “sent back” or “expected to be more”. However, in the comments, when RASIM are patients of actions from the semantic set of *Threat*, they are not framed as victims (which was the case in the articles) even though they are the targets of the threats. The single most striking observation to emerge from this set is that they are the one receiving the threats, but these threats are, in some cases, depicted as a way stop migration: they should be “mass murdered”, “killed”, “jailed” or “let to die” as in example (45).

- (45) “Stop saving them and taxi-ing them to Europe. A few will die , but the senseless migration will stop.” (ecas2d)

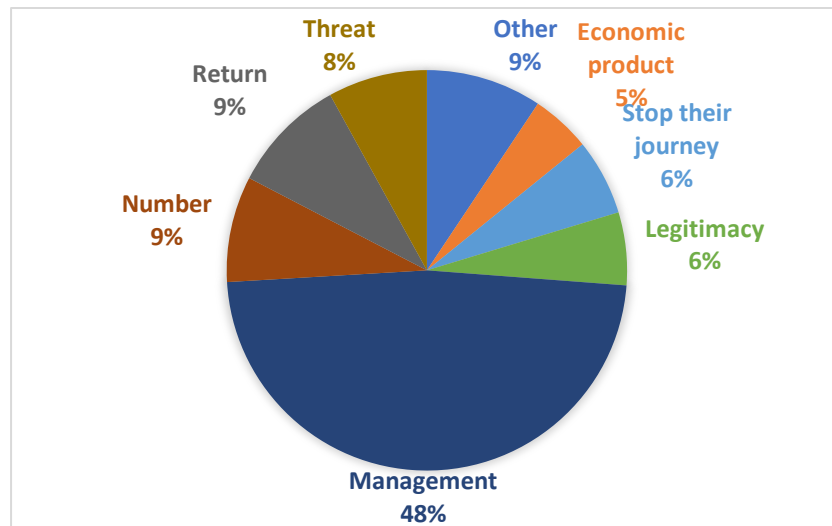


Figure 8 Frequency (%) of the different semantic sets in which the action RASIM are patients (in the comments)

The percentages of the sets presented in Figure 8 coincide with the one found in the articles, even if the percentages differ a little bit as the *Management* set is more important here than in the articles. The main differences between the articles and the comments are found in the less frequent sets (but frequent enough not to belong to the *Other* category). In the comments, these sets are the *Economic product* (5%), *Stop their Journey* (6%) and *Legitimacy* (6%) while in the articles, these sets are *Welcoming* and *Attribute*. The main difference between the articles and the comments is that some of the actions with RASIM as patients take into account the human aspect of migration (i.e., actions from the *Welcoming* and *Attribute* sets). In the comments, RASIM are completely dehumanized when they are depicted as patients of the actions.

4.2.4 Arguments

The arguments put forward in the comments will be introduced along with the different discursive strategies presenting them. We will first focus on metaphors and then on emphases and mitigations.

a) Metaphors

Regarding DISEASE, PARASITE and ALIEN metaphors, there are only a few of them and no reliable conclusions can be drawn as they can result from individual preferences rather than from the influence of the media. However, they will still be discussed.

i. Water metaphors

The comments count 60 WATER metaphors (relative frequency: 5/10,000 words) occurring in 16 articles, and these metaphors are distributed quite evenly throughout the threads. In contrast to the articles, no variation in the frequency of metaphors was found in the threads related to

articles “for” or “against” RASIM. Some of the metaphors found in the comments are similar to those found in the articles: there are waves, flux, inflows of RASIM, such as in example (46). These sorts of metaphors refer to the movement of a large number of people, and as stated in the analysis of the articles (Section 4.1.4), they are widely found in the press and are normalized. The arguments put forward with these metaphors are, for the most part, against the growing number of RASIM. However, some of the comments go further in the WATER metaphor: example (47) shows the consequence of this human wave: it drowns people. The mass of moving water becomes dangerous and has destructive consequences. In example (48), the author of the comment uses another word from the same domain: “stemming”.

(46) Why should Germany or Bosnia or any country suffering under this migrant wave be "responsible" of anything? (eftg0p)

(47) At the end of the day you either do something difficult or you drown in a human wave. (ebbutu)

(48) I absolutely support Frontex and stemming the wave of migration from Northern Africa and the Middle East. (e2ij85)

ii. Object metaphors

The OBJECT metaphors are numerous; 305 were found in the comments in 60% of the threads (relative frequency: 23.67/10,000 words). This is more or less the same result than in the articles, both in terms of relative frequency and in terms of dispersion in the corpora. The threads containing the OBJECT metaphors, however, are not directly linked to the articles containing the OBJECT metaphors. Moreover, these metaphors occurred in the threads regardless of the topic of the articles. Regarding the arguments put forward by the use of these metaphors, they are similar to those of the articles: RASIM arrivals are a political problem that has to be managed. However, there are some comments that refuse to “take in” RASIM and, as in example (49), that want to “return them to the sender”.

(49) Maybe we can bribe the sender to take them back? That sounds like a good plan. (ebbutu)

iii. Alien Metaphors

Four ALIEN metaphors were found in three different threads. All three of these threads are related to articles about the growing number of RASIM arrivals. Three of these metaphors use the term *alien* but in an unexpected way: RASIM are not referred to as the aliens, but the culture of the host country is, see example (50). The argument put forward with these metaphors is that

the redistribution of RASIM among European countries is not taking into account that RASIM could integrate more easily in some countries than others.

(50) Instead, many have been moved to ****smaller, less wealthy and more homogenous**** countries like Estonia in an effort to fairly distribute the burden across the E.U. The result is a grand social experiment in which families like Iyman's are thrust, unprepared, into alien cultures with little experience of outsiders.

The last ALIEN metaphor, shown in example (51), is used to raise the question of why Middle Eastern countries (the previous comments was talking of Qatar for example) don't "accept" any RASIM even though their culture is thought to be more similar to the culture of RASIM than to Europe's. This sort of arguments is based on the idea that RASIM consist of a homogeneous population that shares the same culture.

(51) But Middle Eastern countries are very quiet about it as if those refugees were from another planet , I dont see how the EU is even involved with this nonsense. (eftg0p)

iv. Parasite Metaphors

Four PARASITE metaphors were found in the comments. Three of them are in the same thread and are written by the same author, using the verb *mooch off*. This thread is related to an article whose topic is one of the agencies' reports on migration. However, two of these metaphors are not referring to RASIM but to Poland, who is taking advantage of the EU's fund without taking its share of responsibility regarding RASIM. The third metaphor, shown in example (52), is used to relate how Nazis think about RASIM. The last one, available in example (53), appears in another thread (related to an article about the number of "migrants' arrivals") and uses precisely the term *parasite* to refer to RASIM who need financial support.

(52) Because to them [Nazis], it's always the same, every refugee is really just here to mooch off people. There are no true asylum seekers, either. Everyone, EVERYONE is just a subhuman trying to live off welfare. (e2ij85)

(53) They [RASIM] come to Europe with no qualifications whatsoever and think they are going to have a good life, instead they become parasites and wonder why people treat them like trash. (ebt2ta)

v. Disease Metaphors

Regarding the DISEASE metaphors, four of them were found in three different threads. Two of these threads are related to articles discussing the number of RASIM while the last one is related to an article about a new English law against unskilled migrant workers. Among these metaphors, three of them refer to RASIM as a disease spreading and plaguing the host society, as illustrated in example (54). The last metaphor, shown in example (55), is used to refer to a consequence of RASIM being a disease; the user is sick of them.

(54) Many predict a bad time for the UK after Brexit, but their demographics give them an immense advantage over a rapidly ageing continent plagued by migrant integration issues to boot. (e7scnc)

(55) I'm so sick of these migrants coming to Turkey and some of them are Islamists from Pakistan who worship Erdogan like please we really don't need anymore islamists in Turkey. (ecas2d)

b) Emphases and mitigations

i. Intensifiers

If we now turn to intensifiers, 193 of them (relative frequency: 15/10,000 words) were found: 63 downtoners and 130 amplifiers. As far as amplifiers are concerned, they are used to emphasize different arguments. Several amplifiers strengthen the argument that some RASIM are more legitimate than others, such as in example (56), or even that they should not accept any RASIM at all as it is not Europe's problem, as illustrated in example (57). These arguments are often going along with nationalist feelings, e.g. example (58). As expected, a lot of these intensifiers are used to argue that the political management of this "crisis" is not appropriate as in example (59). Finally, a few of them emphasize the human aspect of RASIM and argue that it should be put first, see example (60).

(56) Those seriously in danger of torture or death in their home country, we want to help those. (ecas2d)

(57) Foreign migrants are completely out of the EU's competence. (e2ij85)

(58) Its very easy for these populations to overwhelm native Europeans (yes, Europe is our native land, that we should proudly defend) and become a forever burden on the population. (ecas2d)

(59) And at the end of the day, you have very, very large chunk of European population who believe that spending 4 billion in Africa on some projects

that prevent migration is 4 billion wasted, just as the mythical "Marshall fund for Africa" is. (e9fpagg)

(60) A lot of the rhetoric about this [migration crisis] has been absolutely without any consideration on the situation of these refugees. (ebbutu)

Regarding downtoners, a lot of them are also used to criticize an ineffective system of management, such as in example (61): the author is criticizing the fact that RASIM can move within Europe after they are given asylum in a country. Downtoners also underline the lack of contributions of certain European countries, as illustrated in example (62). Some authors use downtoners to explain (or even just state) why they think Europe should not "accept" RASIM; see example (63).

(61) They left the Czech Republic and were accepted in Germany. And deporting is not so easy, most people just disappear. Probably hoping they will be forgiven in the future if they stay long enough. It is a pretty ineffective system. (e2ij85)

(62) East europe wont give a fuck because they know their economy cannot handle a influx of mostly unskilled and uneducated people, this is why poland and hungary simply told the EU to fuck off with their need to take a certain amount of people in every year. (eeog5g)

(63) There is simply no place for millions of undereducated migrants in Europe. (e9fpagg)

ii. Text Format

Regarding text format, bold, italic and strike through highlightings were examined. In the comments, 64 (relative frequency: 5/10,000 words) variations in text format were found. The arguments put forward with these variations are pretty much the same as those conveyed by other discursive strategies: users denounce the terrible management of RASIM, such as in (64) but they also call for concrete actions, e.g. (65). Arguments about the need for differentiation between RASIM are also found, as in (66). Example (67) illustrates the types of arguments according to which, to be accepted, RASIM have to contribute positively to the economy.

(64) as long as dublin 2 exists on its current form nothing and i repeat NOTHING will change in europe (ebbutu)

- (65) We **will** drown together unless we deal with these problems and create long term sustainable practices now, instead of acting as if the current migration and asylum patterns are an anomaly. (eca9gx)
- (66) This guy probably means asylum seekers, NOT immigrants (ecas2d)
- (67) But at the same time we allow them to earn money that helps their family at home a lot. What's important is that we did let them to come and improve their lives **as long as they will work for it**. It allows us to **throw out people who are trouble.** (e2ij85)

On the other hand, some of the text format variations are used to put the well-being of RASIM at the centre of the debate, e.g. example (68).

- (68) When we add ACTUAL fucking human suffering and dying.. Are you really going to make a point next how your luxury is actually worth people dying? (e2ij85)

4.3 Relation between the contexts of writing of the articles and the representations of RASIM

The results of the classification of the articles are available in Table 6. As stated in Section 3.3.3, the examination of the frequency of the discursive strategies in light of the different factors listed in Table 6 did not reveal any patterns of influence. Statistical tests were then the second option to see whether some of the factors could influence the discursive strategies used. However, the chi-squared tests conducted were not significant (i.e., the p-value were higher than 0.05), and thus, no correlation between the contexts of writing and the representations of RASIM found in the articles can be assessed. Some explanations will be put forward in the discussion of next chapter.

Table 6 Result of the classification of the articles

Typology of factors	Types of digital news media	Number of articles
Platform	1. Only online	23
	2. Both printed and online	15
Temporary Nature	1. Periodic	2
	2. Continuous	22
	3. Multi-timed	14
Scope	1. International	5

	2. European	3
	3. National	30
Specialization	1. General	32
	2. Specialist	6
Ownership	1. Public	12
	2. Private	26
Authorship	1. Individual	26
	2. Collective	4
	3. Unknown	8
Approach	1. News	34
	2. Non-news	4
Topic	1. Politicians' discourse	6
	2. Countries accepting/rejecting EU policies and measures	11
	3. Report from the FRA or the UNHCR	3
	4. Miscellaneous news items	14
	5. In-depth analyses of the current situation	4
Genre	1. News	28
	2. Interview	1
	3. Report	1
	4. Analysis	6
	5. Opinion	2
	6. Non-journalistic	0

This chapter has presented the representations of RASIM conveyed in the corpora of articles and of comments. It is now necessary to look at these results with the light of the research questions and to put these results into the context of previous studies.

5 Discussion

This chapter discusses the results of the analysis presented in Chapter 4 in more details to answer the research questions. The three sections of this chapter correspond to the three research questions of this study.

5.1 Representation of RASIM in the Press

The first question in this study sought to determine the representations of RASIM in the articles shared on the subreddit Europe over a two-month period and the different discursive strategies conveying these representations. The semantic preference of the RASIM terms presented in section 4.1.1 shows that RASIM are mainly represented in articles that worry about their growing numbers and how they should be managed. Two main frames co-exist regarding the way the “migration crisis” should be handled. Either Europe has to take responsibility to help people and European countries, such as Greece, to end the crisis, or Europe has to reduce the number of RASIM who are granted asylum and prevent those who are not accepted from coming and staying in Europe because they are an (economic) burden for society. These two frames are the *victim* frame and the *burden* frame, respectively (see Section 2.1.1). According to Eberl et al. (2018:211), the *victim* frame is related to routines journalism and “elicits emotions of compassion in readers”. On the other hand, the *burden* frame is an issue-specific frame. This frame leads “to support for restrictive immigration policies and attenuated support for policies that empower immigrants” (Eberl et Al., 2018:213).

The population of RASIM described in the articles is quite homogeneous: they are represented as young unskilled males. Sometimes, RASIM also referred to as unaccompanied children, especially when they are framed as victims. This result is both in accord and contrary to Šarić and Felberg’s (2019:230), as they state that when RASIM are represented as people that need help, the focus is set on mothers and children. There is, however, a distinction of representations between the different RASIM terms: “migrant” is the most represented term, as it is an umbrella term grouping “immigrant” and “asylum seeker”. That being said, the terms “immigrant” and “asylum seeker” also occur on their own, typically associated with illegality and threat, respectively. Refugees, on the other hand, occupy a special status: their suffering is acknowledged, and they are depicted as people fleeing violence and needing welcome. Refugees are also the most likely to appear in a *victim* frame. This outcome is contrary to that of Torkington and Ribeiro (2019:30) who find, in their study of press headings, that refugees are “portrayed less as helpless victims of their own circumstances than (im)migrants”. However, one should note that the representations of refugees found both in this study and in Torkington and Ribeiro’s are different from those of migrants, immigrants and asylum seekers.

The study of the discursive strategies presented in Chapter 3 offers further insight into the understanding of the representation of RASIM. Many assimilations were found, and their uses

coincide with the main semantic sets of *Management* and *Number* of the semantic preference of RASIM. This also accords with the study of the role allocation: RASIM are depicted as agents only in 25% of the actions and mostly of those linked to their number and journey. These results reflect those of Torkington and Ribeiro (2019:29) who also find that RASIM were agents in only 19% of the actions and mainly “portrayed as simply being in the process of migrating, either by ‘arriving’, ‘reaching’ or ‘entering’ a given territory or as being in a transitional state: ‘passing through’, ‘making their way’, ‘crossing’ (the sea), or ‘drifting’ (in boats in the sea)”. So little agency was already to expect after the analysis of the functionalization strategies: they are depicted as an inert mass of people “coming”, then “applying” for legal status and finally “waiting” for a response. When they are depicted as patients, in 75 % of the actions they are part of, RASIM are “transferred” to another country, “returned” to their country of origin or their number “has to be reduced”. Taken together, RASIM, both as agents and patients, are represented as powerless actors. These results agree with the *victim* frame (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017), but also with the *burden* frame: RASIM are a burden despite themselves. Along the same lines, many OBJECT metaphors are used in the articles: these encourage the readers to elude the human aspect (in other words: dehumanize) of the so-called migration crisis and consider it as a problem that Europe has to manage. The words of Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017:1171) seem appropriate: “refugees turn into objects of ‘our’ [European] responsibility”.

On the other hand, a possible explanation for the importance of the management of RASIM might be that they are considered to be destructive. The articles don’t show fear for security, but the attested WATER metaphors found are known to express an idea of “a large number of people unpredictable and difficult to control” (Arcimaviciene, 2019:152). Šarić and Felberg (2019:216) state that WATER metaphors imply “a series of mappings, including the following: receiving countries are the containers, movement of people is dangerous water, and liquids are not easily stopped, nor are movements of people”. In the context of the articles shared on the subreddit Europe, it seems that the European countries are containers full of RASIM and that every country wants to transfer them to the others. This “overflow” of RASIM is also expressed through intensifiers: both amplifiers and downtoners are used to create this feeling. Indeed, as far as the emphases and mitigations are concerned, they reveal an essential point of the articles: many of them are criticizing political decisions that are taken either by Europe or by one of the state members.

Finally, one of the articles, from a Spanish newspaper (written in English), conveyed different representations of RASIM: they were given a voice (i.e., they speak for themselves and are quoted in the article), are represented as actors of positive material processes (such as helping homeless people) and are referred to by their names. This coincides with the results of Koca-Helvaci (2019:109) who finds that when RASIM are portrayed as doing positive actions, they are “allowed to speak for themselves”. This article is the exception but is still worth mentioning.

5.2 The Role of the Contexts of Writing

Concerning the second research question, the chi-squared tests show that the contexts of writing of the articles do not seem to influence the representations of RASIM nor the discursive strategies used. This finding is contrary to previous studies (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; McAuliffe, Weeks & Koser, 2017) which have suggested that the context of writing plays a role in the representations found in the articles. Several explanations, however, might be put forward. First, the small number of articles (i.e., 38) is probably not representative enough to draw some patterns. Secondly, the variables (i.e., authorship, ownership, etc.) were quite numerous, and some articles were alone in their type (i.e., being the only one having the same combination of factors). Those weaknesses were overcome by examining the influence of different factors separately (this is on this configuration of the data that the chi-squared tests were computed). Yet, no influence on the representations and discursive strategies were found. A hypothesis might be that the articles published on Reddit are not representative of the realm of newspapers. Moreover, the fact that the discursive strategies were simplified into variables taking into account only their absence or presence can have concealed some patterns. Finally, another explanation might be that the typology used was not appropriate. Further research should be undertaken to investigate a more significant and more diverse sample of articles.

5.3 Relationship between the representation of RASIM in the comments and those found in the articles

The final research question of this study was “to what extent are the representations and discursive strategies found in the articles also found in the contributors’ comments?”. To answer this question, we will first come back to the representations of RASIM found in the comments and connect them with those of the articles. Then, some of the most striking similarities and differences will be brought to light. Finally, we will try to evaluate the influence of the articles on the comments.

As already discussed in Section 4.2, the articles and the comments share some representations but also show some differences. The semantic preference of the RASIM terms in both corpora reveals that the primary concern of both is the management of the growing number of RASIM. However, the comments show an interest in their (il)legal status and economic contribution to the society while the articles take more into account the humanity of RASIM with semantic sets reflecting their journey to Europe and how hard it is to manage them. The semantic set of *Attribute* is equally important in both corpora, but the collocates of the RASIM terms were different: the articles focus more on the characteristics of RASIM (i.e., age and gender) while the comments focussed more about their countries of origin. Regarding the level of actors description, users are more likely to differentiate the different RASIM than in the articles. These differences are used to judge who is legitimate to be accepted in Europe and who is not. Along the same lines, fewer assimilation strategies were found (in terms of relative frequency) to refer to RASIM. When they are used in the comments, assimilations refer to the number of RASIM like in the articles. Nevertheless, they are more likely to refer to the potentially unskilled workers that might be a burden to the economy of their host countries. The study of the individualization strategies revealed to be interesting as none was found in the comments. On the other hand, functionalization strategies were very similar to those in the articles. The study of the agency of RASIM also showed that articles and comments shared some representations: RASIM are mostly patients in both corpora. In the comments, however, RASIM are agents in 10% more cases than in the articles, and the actions they are part of are not about their growing number but about their impact on the economy. Moreover, in the comments, they are agents of mental processes which tend to create empathy towards RASIM without victimizing them.

Finally, the comparisons of the analyses of the argument in both corpora also proved to be useful. The results showed that the articles and the comments shared some arguments and discursive strategies (i.e., metaphors and emphases). The arguments suggesting that their growing number is not manageable and that the European Union (and its member states) are not doing enough to handle this so-called crisis is found in the two corpora. However, arguments differed in two ways between the articles and the comments: the two former arguments were more advanced in the comments (in their formulation and their implications), and completely new arguments were found. The advanced arguments implied both a more sophisticated use of the metaphors and a more drastic reject of RASIM. On the other hand, the new arguments found were most of the time about the “legitimacy” of RASIM to be “accepted”

or not in Europe. However, some of them were in favour of RASIM and respect for human rights.

One of the most striking differences between the comments and the articles is about the dehumanization of RASIM: in the articles, their human aspect is mostly eluded, and they are considered as problems. In the comments, two types of authors dehumanizing RASIM were distinguished. First, there were people not caring about RASIM at all and considering them as “subhuman” and refuse all RASIM. This vision of RASIM is consistent with those reported by Wodak (2019:IX): she states that RASIM can be seen as people who don’t deserve to live a better life and are not worthy of becoming Europeans. On the other hand, some other users seem to consider RASIM as humans in some ways but care first about their own fate (and the fate of their country/Europe). So, their main focus is to share as little as possible of their “advantages”. These users are most likely to differentiate legitimate and illegitimate RASIM: they want only to “accept” those who come from a war zone (and not so-called “economic migrants”).

Overall, this analysis suggests that the comments have more complex representations of RASIM than the articles, e.g. the arguments are more developed and/or different, the metaphors are more advanced than in the articles, and RASIM are more likely to be agents of material processes. A good illustration of this hypothesis is that the comments included some DISEASE, PARASITE and ALIEN metaphors while the articles contained none of them. The uses of such metaphors could also be explained by the fact that Reddit users are not required to be politically correct (even though they have to follow the subreddit rules).¹⁶

However, the topic of conversation in the comments among the threads was mostly the management of RASIM. This topic was also the main focus of most of the articles. It can thus be suggested that the articles, instead of “influencing the comments”, are opening the debate. This hypothesis agrees with Boyd’s (2019:311): “commenters would appear to be both responding to the editorial [Boyd focusses only on the editorial genre] and creating their own portrayals (and, presumably, worlds) of the migrant crisis”. It was expected that the influence

¹⁶ https://www.reddit.com/r/europe/wiki/community_rules

of the articles was not direct and absolute: the migration crisis is an important issue which has been dealt with more or less daily in the media for six years now. However, it seems that the users already have their own opinions that need more to influence than one single article. This is contrary to Blinder's and Jeannet's results (2018) that show that one article alone can influence the readers' perception of RASIM. However, one should keep in mind that their experiment was conducted in 2014 and reflects the beginning of the so-called migration crisis. A hypothesis might be that, at the time, participants only had little information about RASIM, and then their opinion could more easily change, while, five years later, the contributors from the Reddit corpus have probably heard much more about the migration "crisis" and have then a more rigid opinion about it.

One of the limitations of this study regarding influence is that it is probable that some of the Reddit contributors did not read the article shared on the thread but only the headline: this suspicion is supported by some comments, such as in example (69), accusing previous contributors of not reading the articles. Another limitation is that the users often use external sources, see example (70): links from other online articles, Wikipedia, Youtube, etc. These sources probably play a role as well, but they have not been studied in this work.

(69) No, read the article, this is about a paper from the German government where relocation quotas are again proposed.

(70) Didn't Germany welcome refugees in 2015? [link for example](https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/angela_merkel/12193876/Angela_Merkels_historic_error_on_immigration.html)

6 Conclusion

This thesis has shed some light on the representations of RASIM going around on the subreddit r/Europe over the two months covered with the help of a synergy of Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics. The thesis had three main objectives: (1) identifying the representations of RASIM found in the articles shared on the subreddit r/Europe over this period, (2) examining to what extent the contexts of writing of these articles influences the representation conveyed in the articles and finally (3) understanding to what extent the representations found in the articles impact those found in the related comments on Reddit.

Regarding the methodology, this thesis combined Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics so they can complement each other's limitations. The research of discursive strategies conveying representations of RASIM was structured around KhosraviNik's (2010) CDA-informed three-levels framework of analysis, and these strategies were effectively accessed through CL tools (i.e., through Sketch Engine). CL was also used to investigate the semantic preferences of the RASIM terms to provide an overview of the semantic sets these terms occur in. The contexts of writing of the articles were investigated through manual analyses of the websites hosting the articles.

The results showed that, in the articles, RASIM were framed either as *victims* or as *an (economic) burden*. They are mostly patient of the actions and represented as quite a homogeneous population. Several metaphors, emphases and mitigations were found, accompanied with arguments referring to their growing number and the need for management. Many discursive strategies dehumanized RASIM, except for refugees, that are more likely to be depicted as human beings. On the whole, the representations of RASIM in the articles are in agreement with previous literature.

The analysis of the contexts of writing did not point to any clear correlations with the representations of RASIM in the articles. Some potential explanations were put forward, but the most plausible one is that the sample of articles was too small. However, the methodology used to conduct this thesis demanded a lot of manual analysis (i.e., analysis of the concordance lines, queries of the lemmas for the metaphor analysis, analysis of the intensifiers, etc.) and a more significant data set would not have been easily manageable. In order to conduct a study with a broader scope, corpus-driven methods have to be central in the research, but their limitations would not be handled.

Regarding the last research question, the representations in the comments were found to be those in the articles but somehow more complex, both regarding the arguments and the discursive strategies used. Therefore, it was suggested that rather than influencing the comments, the articles shared on the subreddit were spurring and inspiring the debate. The users are then putting forward their own opinions about the topic set by the articles. This result supports that of Boyd's (2019) and suggests that the understanding of the influence of the traditional media has to be remodelled to meet the new system of online news consumption on social networks.

6.1 Perspective for further studies

A plethora of research has tried to sketch the representations of RASIM in the online press, but audience interpretations have been relatively invisible (Boyd, 2018:3) in all these studies. This thesis has tried to tackle this weakness, and in spite of its limitations, certainly adds to our understanding of the audience interpretations of representations of RASIM. However, more studies are needed to fully explore the readers' reception of the online news media and to remodel the traditional flow of information. Further research might also explore different discursive strategies than those chosen in this thesis and investigate corpora with more significant sizes.

Furthermore, this study is, to the best of my knowledge, the only one focussing on the representation of RASIM shared on social networks. Nevertheless, as illustrated by the 330 million monthly active users of Reddit, these social networks are virtual places where more and more people exchange ideas, and by extension, representations. Representations studies, on RASIM but also on other minority groups, would benefit from investigating these new platforms.

References

A'Beckett, L. (2019). Displaced Ukrainians; Russo-Ukrainian discussion of victims from the conflict zone in Eastern Ukraine. In: Viola, L., & Musolff, A. (Eds), *Migration and media. Discourse about identities in crisis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Adam, J-M. (2001). Genres de la presse écrite et analyse de discours. *SEMEN*, 13.

Arcimaviciene, L. (2019). Gender, metaphor and migration in media representations: Discursive manipulation of the Other. In: Viola, L., & Musolff, A. (Eds), *Migration and media. Discourse about identities in crisis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Baker, P. (2006). *Using corpora in discourse analysis*. London: Ken Hyland.

Baker, P. et al. (2009). A useful methodological synergy? Combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics to examine discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press. *Discourse and Society*, 19, 273-306.

Baker, P., & McEnery (2015). *Corpora and discourse studies: integrating discourse and corpora*. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.

Blinder, S., & Jeannet, A-M. (2018). The 'illegal' and the skilled: effects of media portrayals on perceptions of immigrants in Britain, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44:9, 1444-1462.

Blommaert, J., & Bulcaen, C. (2000). Critical discourse analysis. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 29, 447-466.

Boyd, M. (2018). Critical Discourse Analysis and the Editorial 2.0: News Reception and User-generated Comments in Discourse about (im)Migration, *Language and Discourse in Social Media: New Challenges, New Approaches*, 10, 1-22.

Boyd, M. (2019). Preaching from a distant pulpit. In: Viola, L., & Musolff, A. (Eds), *Migration and media. Discourse about identities in crisis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Chouliaraki, L., & Stolic, T. (2017). Rethinking media responsibility in the refugee 'crisis': a visual typology of European news. *Media, Culture and Society*. 39, 1162-1177.

Curran, J. (1991). Rethinking the media's public sphere. In: Dahlgren, P., & Sparks, C. (Eds), *Communication and Citizenship*. London: Routledge.

Eberl, J., Meltzer, C., Heidenreich, T., Herrero, B., Theorin, N., Lind, F., Berganza, R., Boomgaarden, H., Schemer, C., & Strömbäck, J. (2018). The European media discourse on immigration and its effects: a literature review, *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 42:3, 207-223,

Gabrielatos, C., & Baker, P. (2008). Fleeing, Sneaking, Flooding A Corpus Analysis of Discursive Constructions of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press, 1996-2005. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 36, 5-38.

Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1994). *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (second edition). London: Edward Arnold.

Hangartner, D., Sarvimäki, M. (2018). Dealing with the Refugee Crisis: Policy Lessons from Economics and Political Science. *Economic Policy Council*, 1-35.

Heidenreich, T. et al. (2019). Media Framing Dynamics of the ‘European Refugee Crisis’: A Comparative Topic Modelling Approach. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 32, 172-182.

Horsti, K. (2016). Visibility without voice: Media witnessing irregular migrants in BBC online news journalism. *African Journalism Studies*, 37, 1-20.

KhosraviNik, M. (2010). The representation of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in British newspapers: A critical discourse analysis. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 9,1-28.

KhosraviNik, M., Krzizanowski, C., & Wodak, R. (2012). Dynamics of Representation in Discourse: Immigrants in the British Press. In: Messer, M., Schroeder, R., & Wodak, R. (Eds). *Migrations: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Vienna: Springer.

KhosraviNik, M., & Unger, J. (2015). Critical Discourse Studies and Social Media: power, resistance and critique in changing media ecologies. In: Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (Eds). *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies* (3rd edition). Los Angeles: SAGE.

Kowert, R., Domahidi, E. Quandt, T. (2016). Networking and Other Social Aspects of Technology Use: Past, Present, and Future Considerations. In Potenza, M., Faust, K., Faust, D. (Eds.), *Handbook of Digital Technologies and Mental Health*. Oxford university press.

Koca-Helvaci, Z. (2019). A humanitarian disaster or invasion of Europe? 2015 migration crisis in the British press. In: Viola, L., & Musolff, A. (Eds), *Migration and media. Discourse about identities in crisis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Machin, D., & Mayr, A. (2012). *How to do Critical Discourse Analysis. A Multimodal Introduction*. Los Angeles: SAGE.

McAuliffe, M., Weeks, W., & Koser, K. (2017). Media and migration: Comparative analysis of print and online media reporting on migrants and migration in selected countries. In: McAuliffe, M., & Koser, K. (Eds), *A long way to go*. Acton: Anu press.

McCay-Peet, L., & Quan-Haase, A. (2017). What is Social Media and What Questions Can Social Media Research Help Us Answer? In: Sloan, L., & Quan-Haase, A. (Eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Social Media Research Methods*. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Musolff, A. (2014). From Social to Biological Parasites and Back: The Conceptual Career of a Metaphor. *Contributions to the History of Concepts*, Vol. 9, 18-32.

Nartey, M., & Mwinlaaru, I. (2019). Towards a decade of synergizing corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis: A meta-analysis, *Corpora*, 14.2, 1-26.

Pickering, M. (2001). *Stereotyping. The Politics of Representation*. New York: Palgrave.

Quirk, R. et al. (1985). *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.

Richardson, J. (2007). *Analysing Newspapers: an approach from critical discourse analysis*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

RStudio Team (2015). RStudio: Integrated Development for R. RStudio, Inc., Boston, MA URL <http://www.rstudio.com/>.

Salahshour, N. (2016). Liquid metaphors as positive evaluations: A corpus-assisted discourse analysis of the representation of migrants in a daily New Zealand newspaper. *Discourse, Context & Media*, 13, 73-81.

Salaverria, R. (2017). Typology of Digital News Media: Theoretical Bases for their Classification. *Mediterranean Journal of Communication*, 8, 19-32.

Šarić, L., & Felberg, T. (2019). Representations of the 2015/2016 “migrant crisis” on the online portals of Croatian and Serbian media discourse. In: Viola, L., & Musolff, A. (Eds), *Migration and media. Discourse about identities in crisis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Sironi, A., Bauloz, C., & Emmanuel, M. (2019). *Glossary on Migration*. Geneva: International Organization for Migration.

Soto-Almela, J., & Alcaraz-Mármol, G. (2019). Victims or non-humans: Exploring the semantic preference of refugees in Spanish news articles. *Language and Communication*, 69, 11-25.

Swan, M. (1980). *Practical English Usage*. Oxford University Press.

Tandoc, E., Lim, Z., & Ling, R. (2017). Defining “fake news”. A typology of scholarly definitions. *Digital Journalism*, 6, 137-153.

Taylor, C. (2014). Investigating the representation of migrants in the UK and Italian press, *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 19:3, 368-400.

Torkington, K., & Ribeiro, F. (2019). ‘What are these people: migrants, immigrants, refugees?’: Migration- related terminology and representations in Portuguese digital press headlines. *Discourse, Context and Media*, 27, 22-31.

Van Dijk, T. (1987). *Communicating Racism: Ethnic Prejudice in Thought and Talk*. London: Sage.

Van Dijk, T. (2012). The Role of the Press in the Reproduction of Racism. In: Messer, M. et al. (Eds.), *Migrations: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Vienna: Springer.

Van Leeuwen, T. (2008). *Discourse and Practice. New tools for Critical Discourse Analysis*. Oxford university press.

Viola, L., & Musolff, A. (2019). Introduction. In: Viola, L., & Musolff, A. (Eds), *Migration and media. Discourse about identities in crisis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Wasike, B. (2011). Framing Social News Sites: An Analysis of the Top Ranked Stories on Reddit and Digg, *Southwestern Mass Communication Journal*, 57-67.

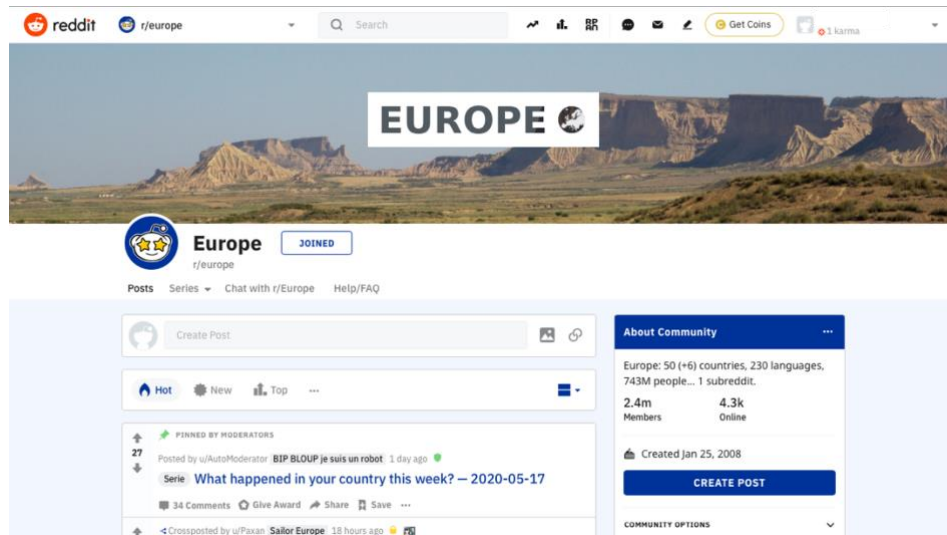
Wodak, R. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis and the Study of Doctor-Patient Interaction. In: *The Construction of Professional Discourse*. London: Longman.

Wodak, R. (2019). Preface. In: Viola, L., & Musolff, A. (Eds), *Migration and media. Discourse about identities in crisis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

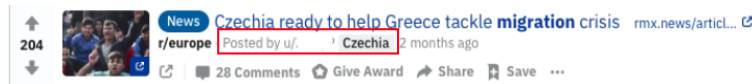
Appendix

Appendix A

Frontpage of the subreddit r/Europe. The username has been intentionally removed.



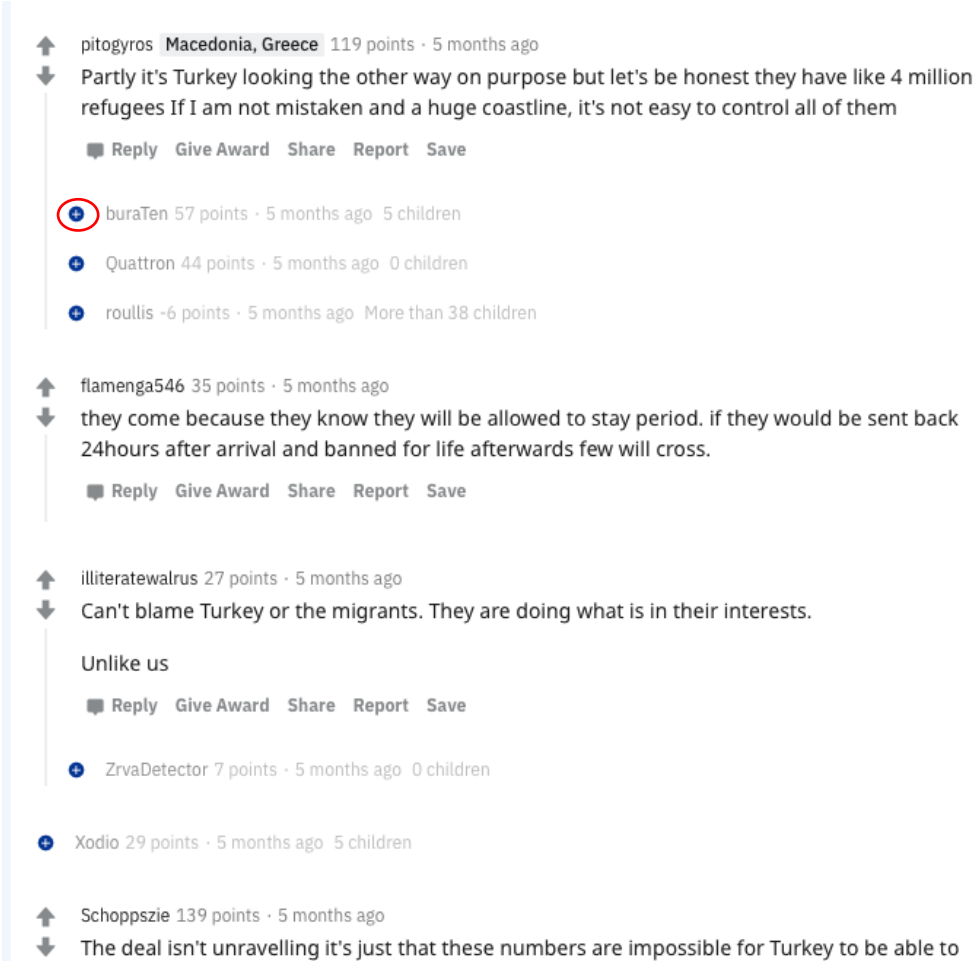
Example of one of the posts on R/Europe. As can be seen on the screenshot, users can choose to display their nationalities next to their usernames (here removed intentionally).



Example of a post. The written content of the post consists of the title of the articles shared (within the red frame) and the link to this article is shown in the yellow frame. The commenting section is showed at the bottom of the picture.



Screenshot of a part of the ensemble of the comments related to one post on Reddit. The red circle shows the button to display the response to the previous comment.



Appendix B

Screenshot of the wordsketch of the lemma «migrant» on SketchEngine (other grammatical relations are not shown in this screenshot as it is at the bottom of the webpage).

The screenshot displays the wordsketch for the lemma «migrant» on SketchEngine. The interface is organized into five main columns, each representing a different grammatical relation:

- modifiers of "migrant"**: Lists terms like 'most', 'more', 'Asian', 'South', 'undocumented', 'development', 'economic', 'male', 'enough', 'potential', and 'low-skilled', each with a brief example sentence.
- nouns modified by "migrant"**: Lists terms like 'return', 'claim', and 'camp', with example sentences such as 'Thousands of migrants return after deportation'.
- verbs with "migrant" as object**: Lists terms like 'accept', 'deport', 'charge', 'bring', 'intercept', 'expel', 'attempt', 'secure', 'redistribute', 'blame', and 'view', with example sentences.
- verbs with "migrant" as subject**: Lists terms like 'cross', 'arrive', 'come', 'live', 'stay', 'reach', 'be', 'prop', 'build', and 'endure', with example sentences.
- "migrant" and/or ...**: Lists terms like 'refugee', 'mid-December', 'development', 'report', 'suspect', 'facility', 'claim', and 'camp', with example sentences.

Screenshot of the concordance line of the lemma “migrant” on SketchEngine.

The screenshot displays the concordance line for the lemma «migrant» on SketchEngine. The interface includes a search bar, a KWIC dropdown, and a list of 17 concordance lines. Each line shows the word «migrant» highlighted in red within a sentence. The concordance lines are as follows:

- 1 t3_dw61en... ie country, which is a key issue as less than half of rejected **migrants** are successfully returned. </s></s> All applicants should be i
- 2 t3_dw8v21... <s> " </s></s> t3_dw8v21 Greece illegally deported 60,000 **migrants** to Turkey: report. </s></s> Greece illegally deported 60,000
- 3 t3_dw8v21... to Turkey: report. </s></s> Greece illegally deported 60,000 **migrants** to Turkey, documents released by Turkey reportedly show. <
- 4 t3_dw8v21... heir status. </s></s> Greece illegally deported about 60,000 **migrants** to Turkey between 2017 and 2018, according to a report on
- 5 t3_dw8v21... ng Greece of not properly dealing with the asylum status of **migrants** . </s></s> Instead, Turkish Interior Ministry files claim that Gr
- 6 t3_dw8v21... <s> The state is obliged to assess the asylum status of new **migrants** rather than sending them to another country. </s></s> Where
- 7 t3_dw8v21... i sending them to another country. </s></s> Where were the **migrants** from? </s></s> According to the Turkish documents, the larg
- 8 t3_dw8v21... :cording to the Turkish documents, the largest proportion of **migrants** sent away from Greece were Pakistani, with large numbers
- 9 t3_dw8v21... sh-Greek border region of Edirne reported that over 90,000 **migrants** were arrested between January and September 2019, a big
- 10 t3_dwn6xk.txt is election manifesto, an outburst against free movement of **migrants** from the leader of Unite the Union, the party's biggest affiliat
- 11 t3_dwn6xk.txt appear in our media's fearmongering accounts of a "tide" of **migrants** "flooding" into soft-touch Britain on supposedly spurious gro
- 12 t3_dwn6xk.txt losive in the UK. </s></s> While Britain has always received **migrants** with initial suspicion, it was not inevitable that the issue wou
- 13 t3_dwn6xk.txt ribe a system premised on disbelief and a tendency to view **migrants** from wealthy white nations more favourably. </s></s> As forr
- 14 t3_dwn6xk.txt age used, Labour had added to this mounting impression of **migrants** and refugees as "sneaking into the UK", "cheating" the syste
- 15 t3_dwn6xk.txt view of asylum was seeping more widely into hostility to all **migrants** . </s></s> The hope, according to one home office adviser, v
- 16 t3_dwn6xk.txt Plymouth and Peterborough, IRR reports in 2012 show that **migrants** who were not asylum seekers, as well as black and ethnic n
- 17 t3_dwn6xk.txt ear, with cross-party support, Labour opened the borders to **migrants** from eastern Europe's A8 countries: the Czech republic, Hui

Appendix C

List of the quantifiers queried.

Quantifiers	
Many	Lots of
Few	Plenty of
Several	Any
Much	No
Little	Some
A lot of	All
Loads of	A good deal of

Appendix D

List of the lemmas queried for the metaphors analysis.

Water metaphors	
Inflow	Stream
Flow	Tsunami
Flood	Drown
Wave	Full
Flux	Submerge
Influx	Pour

Parasite metaphors	
Bacteria	Viper
Virus	Parasitical
Bacilli	Scrounger
Maggot	Worm
(blood) sucker	Squat
Leech	Locut
Rat	Mooch (off)
Flea	Louse

Disease metaphors	
Ill	Pest
Illnes	Poison
Contaminate	Pollution
Contamination	Affliction
Disease	Affect
Plague	Spread
Infection	Immune (system)
Epidemic	Cell
Sick	Heal
Germ	

Object metaphors	
Take in	Manage
Transfer	Send back
Return	Take
Relocate	Swap
Move	Bring
Distribution	Redistribution
Label	Distribute
Redistribute	

Alien metaphors	
Alien	Martian
Planet	Space
Extraterrestrial	Spaceman/woman

Appendix E

Lists of the intensifiers investigated.

Amplifiers	
Absolutely	Intensely
Absurdly	Irretrievably
Altogether	Largely
All	Most
A lot	Much
Amazingly	Perfectly
Awfully	Severely
Badly	Sharply
Bitterly	So
Completely	Strongly
Deeply	Strikingly
Downright	Terribly
Entirely	Thoroughly
Enormously	Totally
Extremely	Too
Far	Unbelievably
Fully	Utterly
Greatly	Vastly
Heavily	Very
Highly	Violently

Downtoners	
A bit	Practically
A little	Pretty
Almost	Quite
Barely	Rather
Hardly	Relatively
Just	Scarcely
Merely	Slightly
Mildly	Somewhat
Nearly	Simply
Only	Sufficiently
Partly	Practically
Partially	Pretty
	Virtually