تمثيل المهاجرين العرب في الأخبار الانجليزية والعربية على الإنترنت: تحليل نقدي للخطاب في صحيفتي ديلي إكسبريس والجزيرة

Arab Migrants in English and Arabic Online News: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Daily Express and Al Jazeera

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المستخلص :

تعنى هذه الدراسة بالتمثيل الخطابي للاجئين وطالبي اللجوء والمهاجرين العرب في صحيفتي ديلي إكسبرس والجزيرة، والتي تعد وسيلة لإعادة إنتاج تفسير عنصري للعلاقات بين المجموعات والجماعات الخارجية واستمرار ذلك التفسير. ترمي الدراسة إلى كشف مدى انعكاس الأيديولوجيات المتضمنة في التغطية الإخبارية على وجهات النظر السياسية للصحيفتين بإلقاء الضوء على أن تصوير هاتين المقالتين عبر الإنترنت للمهاجرين العرب أكثر من أن تكون انعكاسات للواقع فحسب بل هي حقائق أنتجت عمدا. لذا، تكمن أهمية تجميع العينة لهذه الدراسة في تصنيفات الوضع ودرجات الذاتية، والتي تحلل باستخدام الأدوات المنهجية التي يوفرها نهج الخطاب التاريخي لريسيجل وفوداك (2001)، (2009) لإظهار ماهية الاستراتيجيات الخطابية المستخدمة ونوعها، باتباع المبادئ العامة لدراسات الخطاب النقدي. تظهر النتائج أنه على الرغم من الاختلافات الأيديولوجية، ساهمت الصحيفتان في إظهار نقاط مهمة أو (لقطات مهمة) في تصوير المهاجرين العرب بطرق متشابهة.

كلمات مفتاحية: الاخبار على الانترنت، الاستراتيجيات الخطابية، الخطاب النقدي، الاعلام، المهاجرين

Abstract:

This paper delves into the discursive depiction of Arab refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, and migrants in the Daily Express and Al Jazeera, regarded as a means of reproducing and continuing a racist interpretation of inter group and outer group relations. The paper aims to unpack the extent to which the ideologies incorporated in news coverage mirror the two newspapers' political views via throwing a light on how these two online articles' depictions of Arab RASIMs are more than just reflections of reality; they are intentionally produced realities. Therefore, the importance of corpora compilation for this paper lies into the stance categories and degrees of subjectivity, which are analyzed with methodological tools provided by Reisigl and Wodak's discourse-historical approach (2001); (2009) to show the nature and quality of the discursive strategies used, following the broad principles of critical discourse studies (CDS). Findings show that, despite ideological differences, in some significant ways, the two newspapers contribute to depict Arab RASIMs in similar ways.

Keywords: RASIMs, critical discourse, discursive strategies, online news, media

1. Introduction

With its significant technical convergences and role in educating and informing the public about the newest updates, online news journalism appears to have become a powerful and significant tool in contemporary society that leads to a more outstanding and scrutinized discourse of online newspapers (Richardson, 2007). Today, it intervenes in the public perception of the im/migration process and in shaping the individual and collective experience of im/migrants in a variety of ways. Images drawn of Arab refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, and migrants (henceforth RASIMs), which are transmitted online to destination countries in the Arab world or abroad, may form a foundation of potential knowledge. Therefore, these images act as a vital factor in determining the type of reception RASIMs render – and henceforth the degree of social inclusion or exclusion they are plausibly required to attain. As a result, the crucial function of online media in establishing broad assessments and generic preconceptions about people of various nationalities and cultures has gained an increasing priority.

Along the same lines, and notably after what is called "*Arab spring*", Arab RASIMs have become on the top of the list for the global media audience, gaining widespread coverage from the two famous outlets of online news worldwide: the *Daily Express* and *Al Jazeera*. In fact, the development of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, as well as the civil wars that have erupted across the Arab world, have all pushed Arabs to the

front pages of online newspapers and into the minds of readers around the world. Adding to this, regional civil wars have prompted a considerable number of Arab people, mainly from Syria and Iraq, to escape their homes. The resultant bulk number of Arab RASIMs, who sought safety in European Union countries, incorporated and triggered a refugee crisis that drew international attention and sparked a number of debates. As a result, a study on how Arab RASIMs are stereotypically depicted in English and Arab online newspapers, as frequently hostile and conflict-oriented, is particularly important, especially in light of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), the regional war on terrorism, and the current instability in the Middle East. For media reportage consciously or unconsciously propagates and supports prevalent, generally negative depictions (Armstrong & Neuendorf, 1992). Add to this, despite the great number of foreign studies on the analysis of the textual and phrasal aspects of RASIMs, few studies have focused on the vital rapport between Arab media and immigration both of which are splendidly interdisciplinary yet hardly pursued together. Hence, this study digs into such relation to unpack the hidden ideologies that lie behind Arab RASIMs' negative depiction.

2. RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Media Discourse, Migration and CDA

Media, migration and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) are deeply interdisciplinary fields of current critical studies. However, they intersect in various ways but their interconnections have occasionally been searched. These associations are not just a subject for academic research, but they do influence the consciousness of Arab and Western citizens on almost a daily basis. In the last few years, *Al Jazeera* press and the *Daily Express* have evidently reported, exaggerated, and politicized events like the Syrian three-year-old boy, Alan Kurdi, who drowned in a failed attempt to sail to the Greek islands; the flow of Roma asylum-seekers; and the new British government's plan for immigration. Terms or phrases such as "*illegal immigration*" and "*false asylum seekers*" have persistently asserted. In other words, how language of Arab and English online news impacts, shapes and controls the knowledge, attitudes and manners of Arab and Western public with respect to present-day im/migration processes is a major enquiry of this paper. In media discourse and CDA, it is regarded as recontextualizations of discursive practices (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). It is a method of theorizing the mechanisms by which socially constructed practices are realized in speech & in contexts of mediated discursive discourses (Van Leeuwen, 2008); it is a method of reflecting upon the communicator's selections to reveal the

hidden agendas that validate the process of intentionally legitimatizing specific agents.

On the other hand, CDA emphasis lies on the socially binding character of news discourse as well as the conceptual connection between a discursive incident and the political constructs that reflect it. Furthermore, it emphasizes the vital role of discourse in the formation and legitimization of stereotypes, prejudice, and discriminatory manners, as well as in the resistance and deconstruction of such ideas (Krzyzanowski & Wodak, 2009). Thus, the present paper is concerned with comparative argumentation in political discourse as it is represented in the rhetoric of online news. The selected articles about Arab RASIMs can help us gain a thorough understanding of the different sorts of relationships that exist between different identities and social positions. These texts portray Arab RASIMs along with the events that are taking place at critical time in a concise manner. Analyzing the content of these texts allows us to deduce the ideologies represented.

2.2 Media-Migration Nexus: Previous Studies

While migration is becoming significantly politicized, it has gained several meanings and various reactions in different parts of Europe (Krzyzanowski & Wodak, 2009, p. 10). In the meantime, the representational and stratified nature of Arab and Western media have not only provided the cultural and social contexts that can influence today's public views of RASIMs, but also previous media portraits as these are modified and recontextualized to correspond to the current ones.

KhosraviNik (2010) adopted a three-level analytical framework for CDA studies to investigate the representation of various social outgroups in discourse following the analytical categories proposed by Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) (Wodak, 2001). His findings reveal the identical construction of RASIMs in the selected and analyzed newspapers despite the existent ideological differences.

In the same vein, a plethora of studies has tackled the construction of RASIMs in media discourse. For example, Bennett (2018) has focused in his study on the discursive construction of migrant integration in government policy from 2000 to 2010. His study analyzes several political texts as well as national and local newspaper articles qualitatively following the (DHA) approach offered by Reisigl and Wodak (2001). It concludes that ethnic minorities and incoming non-nationals are excluded from the public sphere, as seen by the absence of migrants' voices in the media and

policy debate, as well as it proves the reliance on official sources in the selected articles.

Another trend of RASIMs' treatment has concentrated on in-group and out-group construction via analyzing selected media data from cable TV and radio news along with public journals as in Reisigl's and Wodak's investigation of the "*Anti-Foreigner Petition*" in postwar Austria (2001). They have looked at in-group and out-group social actors, metaphors, metonymy, and synecdoche in the discourse genre about the '*Waldheim Affair*'. Their findings have demonstrated a wide range of ethnic, anti-Semitic and racist attitudes that have been utilized by western media and its politicians t achieve certain objectives through interdiscursivity and intertextuality.

In a third perspective, the discursive construction of RASIMs had been studied via the integration of corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis which had been manipulated by researchers such as Gabrielatos & Baker (2008) who used a corpus-based approach to examine a 140-million-word corpus of UK press articles published from 1996 to 2005. The aim was to enable an understanding of the complexity and often-ambiguous media representations of RASIMs in the UK. Their findings suggested the existence of a number of mostly negative representational categories, nonsensical phrases, and media ambiguity and combination of RASIMs terms.

From another standpoint, Hart (2010) uses cognitive theory along certain linguistic and social theories to draw on evolutionary psychology in explaining and in interpreting stages of power abuse and prejudice in a manipulative discourse. He shows that topoi such as threat, fear, law, danger and displacement have activated reactions of self-defense in end users leading them to conceptualize immigrants as "*false asylum seekers*", "*cheaters*" and "*culture threats*". It appears that it would have been worth investigating this ostensible correlation a bit more, even if plausibly stipulating a definitive answer as to the universality of topoi discussed in the works of Reisigl and Wodak (2001); (2009) as well as proximisation and legitimisation strategies as theorised by Cap (2008) and later by Reyes (2011).

Heidenreich et al. (2019) focus on the national media discourses in a group of European countries. Their study is based on a great number of articles from 24 news outlets and then they employ Latent Dirichlet Allocation topic modeling in five languages to obtain which perspectives, orientations, or thematic focuses are stressed in a selected media coverage of the "refugee crisis" in Europe in (2015-2016). Their findings reveal that while there are similar dynamics throughout countries, there exists also some systemic variances. Yet, there appears to be a lack of studies into how Arab

RASIMs and the migration crisis are represented in Arab news agencies, and how these depictions correlate and sound the already established negativism in European news outlets. Hence, this paper fits into that body of literature and examines some discursive strategies of mis /representation. It seems essential to analyze how Arab people are portrayed in both Arab and European online news to demonstrate the identical negative perspectives towards Arab RASIMs.

3. Scope of the Present Study

The aim of this study is to analyse how media discourse on Arab RASIMs in *the Daily Express* and *Al Jazeera* is used to reproduce and sustain a racist interpretation of relationships among inter groups and outer groups. It examines some online news articles published in two different English and Arabic news agencies: the *Daily Express* and *AL Jazeera,* respectively. The chosen articles are on similar topics of Europe migration crisis and we have incorporated their states in the framework of CDA introduced by Reisigl and Wodak's DHA (2001); (2009). More precisely, our interest lies on Arab and Western media facets of argumentation as the fabrication of certain perspectives regarding identical ideologies, i.e., a formation constructed with the intention of changing the readers' convictions towards Arab RASIMs.

In line with Bin and Xiaoli (2021), we argue that the most vital privilege that the news media has is to decide what is critical and what voice on what issue should be reported. That is, news reporting and journalism regarding Arab RASIMs are in most cases selective. International online news in the Arab and the Western worlds' agencies are dominating the world voice, influencing and controlling public views and its awareness; therefore, certain forms of hegemony emerge from English language culture used that have become increasingly noticeable. As a result, it is necessary to apply CDA to news articles in both types of media outlets (Arab and Western) by examining the linguistic aspects and by interpreting them in light of socio political and historical contexts in order to disclose the hidden argumentation in the language used. Add to this, given that there appears to be a lack of research into how Arab RASIMs and the migration crisis are depicted in Arab news agencies, this study compares these depictions to echo the already entrenched negativism in the European and Arabic media outlets. It aims also at showing the extent to which these two sides of media are identical in describing Arab RASIMs.

4. METHODOLOGY

Corpus and Analytical Framework

This research is grounded on Reisigl and Wodak's DHA (2001); (2009) and legitimisation strategies as theorized by Cap (2008) and later by Reyes (2011). The reasons these three paradigms are operated is the fact that they emphasize triangulation as a method of reducing bias and that they include three areas of analysis: the contents or themes of specific discourses, discursive strategies, and the language tools employed to represent topics and strategies in RASIMs discourse. Hence, we examine two types of media in these circumstances as they are inextricably linked to the socioeconomic, cultural, and historical contexts in which news is created and received and that DHA provides the fundamental theories and methodologies for addressing the entire topic.

Figure 1

Theoretical Framework of the Study [adapted from Reisigl &Wodak (2009) and (Wodak, 2009, p. 44)
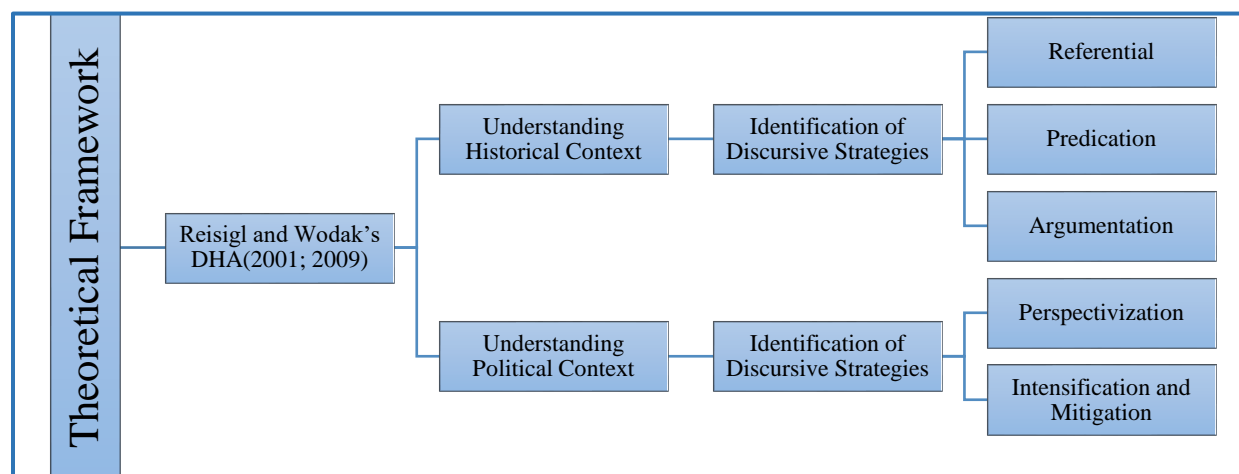
As shown in Figure 1, the focus of this study is on the employment of referential strategies (naming), predicational strategies (attribution), argumentative strategies (topoi), perspectivization, mitigation and intensification strategies in the Arab and Western newspapers' depiction of Arab RASIMs. In this comparative analysis, topoi in argumentation theory are of vital significance as "*they are the content-related warrant*s" or "*conclusion rules*" that link arguments with the claims (Wodak, 2001, p. 74).

The present paper is part of a larger project that is a comparative investigation on the misrepresentation of RASIMs in two international Arab and Western news agencies: *The Daily Express* and *AL Jazeera*. The measures for selecting these two newspapers

are based on their adoption of RASIMs as frequent editorial topics along with their embedded ideologies, which are often intertwined to support certain agenda that educates prominent worldwide popularity. In choosing the sample for this paper, we have looked at headlines at first before choosing the full editorials, which are the most prominent feature of news discourse, serving as "*retrieval cues*" and defining the foundation within which readers comprehend or assess articles (Van Dijk, 1988). Using the phrases of "*the migrant flood*" and "*flow of refugees*" in a headline, for example, can change how a situation is framed.

5. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

5.1. ANALYSIS OF THE DAILY EXPRESS ONLINE NEWS ARTICLE

5.1.1 Referential Strategy

The overall frame of the referential strategy employed by the writer in this article evolves from Us/Them categorization via pronouns, proper nouns and metaphoric expressions. This bipolarization is to necessitate an urgent political move to stop the entrance of Arab RASIMs.

Table 1

Referential Strategy of the Self and the Other in the Daily Express (Text 1)

Discursive Strategy	Objectives	Content Categories
Referential/ Nomination	Discursive Construction of the Self positively	Pronouns: 'We, Our' Proper Nouns (references): names of persons as 'anthroponyms' such as *'Theresa May'; names of institutions as* 'anthroponyms' such as 'The Home Secretary'; Places as 'toponyms' such as 'Britain'; Professional 'anthroponyms' such as 'UK border officials'; initialisms as acronyms such as, 'UK, EU'
Referential/ Nomination	Discursive Construction of the Other negatively	Pronouns: 'themselves, their, those'; Collectives as metonymic toponyms such as, 'migrants, immigrants, the Arab spring countries, North African migrants, asylum seekers';

		Metonymic statistics such as, '450,000, 75,000'
Referential/ Nomination	Discursive Construction of the process negatively	Metaphoric and economic references such as, 'flood, influx, migration, immigration'

As Table 1 shows, the analysis of Text 1 reveals the employment of pronouns such as 'We and Our' for the Self and 'Those, Themselves, Their' for the Other. This strategy is used to construct what is perceived as a legitimate in-group via these Self-pronouns since they present the Self as a legitimate category. Whereas 'They' pronouns of 'Those, Themselves and Their' stage the constructed 'Them' as unfair rival who is against 'Us'.

The host country newspaper refers to Arab RASIMs 'the Other' as "*a rough sea*" to signify their huge numbers and danger using water metaphors with the absence of their names, careers and gender. The writer resorts to these metaphoric expressions to intensify the number, for example, (2) "*BRITAIN is to block a mass influx of migrants*" and (1) "*We'll end the migrant flood*". This depiction is sometimes explicit as in (3) "*Theresa May has warned that entry controls will be toughened in a bid to stop hordes of immigrants*", (4) "*the large numbers of North African migrants will be turned away*" and (19) "*tens of thousands of asylum seekers*". More often, Arab RASIMs are referred to via statistics only, for example, (16) "*10,000 illegal attempts to cross the Channel were thwarted*" and (24) "*Another 75,000 have disappeared*". This dehumanization is nested within the article for the sake of depicting their plight as banal. This is framed within a dominant law and order discourse, in which Arab RASIMs are negatively characterized as economic burden. For example, (18) "*These are economic migrants*" and (11) "*close his country's frontiers to unwanted foreigners*" show that Arab RASIMs are metonymically depicted as bogus claimers.

5.1.2 Predication Strategy

Simpson argues that modality reflects a speaker's attitude or opinion towards the proposition expressed by a sentence (1993, p. 47). Modality, throughout the analysis, clarifies the links between form and content as well as between content and function. A news article writer does have the free choice to express the proposition in its 'raw' form but adding a modal verb modifies the claim in accordance with the politics of his/her news agency. In Text 1, the category of predictions in positive presentation of the 'Self' consists of those that signify 'We, the Government, Theresa May', as only

pursuing the logical and legal rights to dismiss 'Them' since the latter people are presented as "illegal", "hordes", "smugglers", "economic migrants" and "unwanted foreigners". Moreover, the predicational content on constructing and de-legitimizing the 'Self' and 'Other' is typically noticed via subject/verb combinations, including both content verbs as in (3) "*Theresa May has warned that entry controls will be toughened in a bid to stop hordes of immigrants*," and (4) "*The Home Secretary said the large numbers of North African migrants will be turned away*". It is also evident in the use of linking verbs as in (10) "*The fight against illegal immigration is one of this Government's highest prioritie*s".

Reports of events in Text 1 are shaky between subjective and objective views so that they employ tropes to persuade others to adopt their way of thinking (Richardson, 2007, p. 65). Corbett defines a trope as "*a deviation from the ordinary and principal signification of a word*" (1990, p. 426). In Text 1, metaphors and metonymies are utilized to signify the dangers of Arab RASIMs on their security and economy as in (2) "*BRITAIN is to block a mass influx of migrants flooding across the Channel from France*" and (16) "*Last year nearly 10,000 illegal attempts to cross the Channel were thwarted*".

5.1.3 Argumentation Strategy

Online news typically relies on fallacies about the number of Arab RASIMs or their financial outcomes, thereby legitimizing nationalist discourse or hindering policies that might enable these "*foreigners*" to stay longer (Grobet, 2014); (Staglianó, 2014). Text 1 contains conclusion rules or 'topoi' that connect the patterns of arguments for the 'Self' and the 'Other.' Topoi are concluding rules that serve as a discursive reasoning for separating the 'Self' from the 'Other' in Text 1. The majority of these justifications are offered as topoi in support of Arab RASIMs' expulsion. The argumentation focuses more on the financial burden and the negative security upshots that result from their residence than on their plight.

Table 2

Topoi or the Conclusion Rule in the Daily Express article (Text 1)

Premise: (18) *These are economic migrants (the Other) and we (the Self) are already pouring huge amounts of time, money and resources into their countries.*   **Warrant**: (3) Theresa May (the Self) has warned that entry controls will be toughened in a bid to stop hordes of immigrants.

Conclusion: Because they (the Other) will not end this migration towards our territories, (2) Britain (the Self) is to block a mass influx of migrants (the Other).

In Text 1, there are five types of topoi which are are numbers, finances, amendments, authority and blame. These are used to emphasize the necessity and legitimacy for Arab RASIMs' expulsion. The text refers to the numerous numbers of Arab RASIMs who are fleeing war in their home countries in a hint to direct the blame towards the Arab Governments due to the latter's irresponsibility. For example, (13) "*At least 40,000 migrants have fled to Europe since the start of the Arab Spring*". By doing so, it becomes clear what kind of alibi is used to propel Arab RASIMs' expulsion since they are considered as economic and security threat. For example, (18) "*To accept economic migrants would be wrong*". Moreover, making use of topos of authority uncovers the tendency to consider Arab RASIMs as legitimate targets of bigotry in examples such as (3) "*Theresa May has warned that entry controls will be toughened*" and (4) "*The Home Secretary said the large numbers of North African migrants will be turned away*".

Further topoi in form of fallacies are employed as argumentative strategy in Text 1. The first fallacy is "*argumentum ad verecundiam*" (Latin: appeal to reference). This fallacy assigns references to authorities that are considered as competent to highlight the persistent need to expel Arab RASIMs since such an appeal would be treated as a legitimate one. It is clearly seen in (3) "*Theresa May* has warned that […]" and in (17) "*Alp Mehmet, of Migration Watch, said* […]". The second fallacy used is called "*post hoc, ergo propter hoc*". This fallacy falsifies the source of criticism by assigning blame to past political events. It is obviously noticed in (13) "*At least 40,000 migrants have fled to Europe since the start of the Arab Spring*" and in (19) "*Today's talks come in the wake of a scathing report exposing UK border officials for creating a secret amnesty for tens of thousands of asylum seekers*". The third fallacy is called "argumentum ad baculum" (Latin for argument to the stick) as in (1) "*We'll end the migrant flood*" and in (10) "*The fight against illegal immigration is one of this Government's highest priorities*". All these fallacies emphasize the need to use force to deter this flow of Arab RASIMs. Another prominent fallacy used in Text 1 is the "cherry-picking of quotations" that best fit the perspectives of the news agency. It is called "*straw man fallacy*" and it is a fallacy used for highlighting the bad intentions of Arab RASIMs as in (18) "*These are economic migrants and we are already pouring huge amounts of time, money and resources into their countries to make sure they are safe for people to live in*". That is to accept Arab RASIMs or "*economic migrants*" would be "wrong". A final argumentation schema in Text 1 is the constructing of scapegoats or "*Trajectio in alium*" (Latin for a victim-victimizer reversal). Here Arab

RASIMs are presented as occupiers of European lands and not people seeking safety as in (11) "*close country's frontiers to unwanted foreigners*" and in (16) "*Last year nearly 10,000 illegal attempts to cross the Channel were thwarted*".

5.1.4 Perspectivization Strategy

Text 1 is framed in a way that implies a tendency to adhere the United European side and stands against any blunders that might allow more Arab RASIMs to enter. The linguistic and rhetorical devices used to embody the perspectivation of the *Daily Express* are deictics, metaphors, discourse markers and direct speech quotes. Firstly, the utilization of "We" and "They" in news reporting could not be as obvious as in a political speech since there are three voices in the reporting process (i.e., the writer, the United European countries (Self) and Arab RASIM (Other)). Furthermore, the writer of Text 1 takes an active position in news discourse by commenting on procedures and political decisions in order to orient the public with his/her agenda setting and strategic framing. This threefold construction of agentivity recalls a persistent need to clarify the two conflicting sides (i.e., Self and Other) in this political news discourse. Consequently, although it is argued that news construction and sourcing are intentionally linked with the opinions and beliefs of the dominant group (Richardson, 2007, p. 1), the news agency in Text 1 is considered as the voice of the "Self". Add to this, the frequent concurrence of personal and possessive pronouns in quotations vow more borders restrictions that reflect the negative viewpoint towards Arab RASIMs as in (1) *"We'll end the migrant flood*"; (2) *"our creaky borders"* and (7) "*weaken our borders*". To state it differently, Arab RASIMs are perspectivated as the "Other" via deictic expressions referring to personal and reflective pronouns as in (22) "*They are among 450,000*", (3) "*smuggling themselves*" and in (23) "*they have been here so long*".

In addition, examining the use of metaphors in Text 1 in depth shows that surrounding discourses oscillate between water metaphors that focus on Arab RASIMs' "influx" and security-threat discourses that focus on the precautions that have to be counted to avoid possible problems. Consequently, the metaphors that interpret the dangers posed by RASIMs are grounded rhetorically on water metaphors. Arab RASIMs are connected with unpredictable and unpleasant danger, notably via natural disaster metaphors as in (1) "*the migrant flood*" and as in (2) "*a mass influx of migrants flooding*". Such metaphors, as demonstrated in the previous instances, translate the concepts of unexpected and frequently disastrous

flowing water into the world of human mobility, invoking a frightening relationship between Arab RASIMs and the geographical movement of materials in the same way. Other metaphors that signify the precaution of the "Self" concentrate mostly on border protection, control and security as well as metaphors shaping Arab RASIMs as the enemy on the border or the enemy who penetrates the "Self" border as in (2) "*tightening of our creaking borders*" and (15) "*Britain porous borders*".

Furthermore, the focus on the structure of perspectivity in Text 1 is related in cognition and language to intertextuality. Since texts are interrelated "*prior texts reside in present texts and hence, no text itself is ever fully self-present, self-contained, or self-sufficient*" (Leitch, 1983, p. 98), "intertextuality" serves as the best tool for the writer of Text 1 to establish connections between past and present events about Arab RASIMs. Therefore, the writer here decontextualizes a text (i.e., take it out of a specific context) and inserts it into a new one. This process is called "recontextualization" since the inserted element will acquire a new meaning due to its new use. Therefore, the writer in Text 1 utilizes both external and internal intertextuality to enable the "Self" to get the lion's share in the reporting. It is argued that external intertextuality exists in case when the complete meaning of the text cannot be obtained unless its relation to other texts is established (Richardson, 2007, p. 100). This type of intertextuality is embodied in Text 1 in the use of discourse markers such as (4) "*a new era of hardline border controls*", (7) "*the UK will not opt into any EU proposals*" and in (18) "*We are already pouring huge amounts of time, money and resources*". The use of modifiers and discourse markers reveals first text writer's negative perspectives towards the migration issue and supports his/her tendency to adhere the side of host countries.

Internal intertextuality, on the other hand, relies on quotation and reported speech. In news reporting, all texts contain fragments, fractions or elements of a formerly produced texts (Richardson, 2007, p. 102). Interestingly, in a hint to position his/her hostile point of view towards Arab RASIMs and shows his/her involvement in encouraging new decisions to stop them, the writer of Text 1 intentionally selects the quotes that best fit the purpose with the absence of any supporting quotes for the "Other". Direct quotes are mostly used in Text 1 as in (8) "*Britain will not be accepting large numbers of North African migrants*", (10) "*The fight against illegal immigration is one of this Government's highest priorities*" and (18) "*To accept economic migrants would be wrong*". Fairclough, in his turn, refers to this vitality as "the relationship between the [quote] and the rest of the text in which it occurs" (2003, p. 51).

5.1.5 Intensification and Mitigation

Intensification and mitigation are used to "emphasizing their [RASIM's] bad things and de-emphasizing our bad things," (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 25). Intensification can be used to falsely inflate the number of Arab RASIMs, as well as their "negative" actions and qualities, while mitigation is used to minimize their level that exhibit "positive" faces. Human's lexical and grammatical selections are not random since they choose appropriate meanings for the domain, tenor, and mode of a situation. This applies to news discourse and the writer's visions in Text 1 that are ingrained in his\her choice of specific reported verbs that pave the way for reinforcing the needed views. It is worth noticing that since the most vital background of reported speech is formed by "reporting verbs," which have the role of projecting and shaping the meanings in Text 1, the reporter's choice of reporting verbs often conveys his or her opinion and attitude toward the reported statements about the others. Thus, in Text 1, quoted verbs often intensify or mitigate the effects of the reported speech.

Bin & Xiaoli divide reporting verbs into three different categories: "speech reporting verbs (SRVs), mental/ thought reporting verbs (M/ TRVs), and speech act reporting verbs (SARVs)" (2021, p. 147).

Table 3

Reporting verb classification

Reporting verbs
a. Speech reporting verbs, such as say, tell, report, and answer.
b. Mental/ thought reporting verbs, such as wonder, recall.
c. Speech act reporting verbs, such as warn, claim, shout.

In fact, the most monotonous types of reporting in Text 1 are the ones that use "say" without any explanation of the subsequent body language. Bin & Xiaoli (2021, p. 161) state that "the authenticity of the news differs from that of literary works". Therefore, if the verb "said" is substituted with various reporting verbs throughout Text 1, along with a description of the body language utilized, this style of reported speech is measured the least trustworthy, precise, objective, and clear, but also the most vivacious. For this verb is a basic speech reporting verb, as Bell notes (1991, p. 206), and it represents the reality that objective facts are the source of news. Before transmitting a message through newspapers, news sources are "filtered" by the

perspectives of professional journalists. Furthermore, writers should work for the appropriate balance between involvement and objectivity (Cole & Shaw, 1974). In other words, objectivity must therefore receive priority in news coverage. In Text 1, it seems that the writer depends on the reporting verb 'say' not to show a bland effect, instead, the intention is to assert that using punchy performative verbs is in vain when it comes to authenticate official direct or indirect quotes that clearly describe the writer's attitude. For example, (8) "*Mrs. May said*: […]", (4) "*The Home Secretary said* […]" and (14) "*Mrs. May said* […]" utilize this technique. The writer of Text 1 does not need to prove any other details, this combination of speech and act is ideal for the strategy of intensification in Text 1.

It is argued here that, allowing the readers to experience a certain source's speech shows that the writer of Text 1 places a higher value on that source than on other opinions, in a way that s/he is trying to mitigate the 'Other's' supporting quotes. At this juncture, a news article's selection of online news source usually "*reflects cultural beliefs and power structures*" (Caldas- Coulthard, 1995, p. 229). It is worth mentioning that in Text 1, the writer attempts to avoid using the mental/thought reporting verbs and prefers the use of speech reporting verbs and performative verbs to conceal the identity of the writer, and thus his or her accountability for the thoughts conveyed is diminished. However, this demonstrates that the speaker is responsible for his or her own words and that the reported speech or thoughts are not the result of the journalist's modifications. This will ensure the fact that there is no direct contact with the writer and that the news agency's objectivity and authenticity are not jeopardized.

Bell (1991) adopts the name 'news performatives' for all reporting verbs (with the exception of 'say', 'tell', and 'according to'), including 'announce', 'declare', 'refuse', 'threaten', 'insist', and 'denounce', in a news report he analyzes, following Austin's speech act theory. These news performatives differ from 'say,' 'tell,' and 'according to', in that it does not matter whether the information they convey is accurate or inaccurate; rather, it matters whether it is 'happy' (proper), as they already reflect a behavior. The extent of engagement of the writer of Text 1 in the reported speech is echoed in the reporting context, which is heavily influenced by the type of reporting verbs and reporting intention. Accordingly, it is often possible to forecast the presence of more so-called "news performatives" in the *Daily Express* article as in the wording of its headline and body. In examples (1) "*We'll end the migrant flood vows Theresa May*"; (3) "*Theresa May has warned that* […]" and (14) "*insisted that* […]", the majority of sentimental performative reporting verbs are used to convey not only the

writer's stance and views, but also to reveal how the writer exaggerates the situation to indicate the negativism towards the 'Other'.

5.2. ANALYSIS OF ALJAZEERA ONLINE NEWS ARTICLE

5.2.1 Referential Strategy

The first strategies noted in Text 2 are the nomination strategies by which the writer constructs and represents the different social actors (the 'Self' and the 'Other') which are basically the European countries as representatives of the in-group and Arab RASIMs as the out-group. The manner in which "*social actors are named identifies not only the group(s) that they are associated with (or at least the groups) but it can also signal the relationship between the namer and the name*d" (Richardson, 2007, p. 49). Thus, this Arabic news agency immunizes itself via depending on authoritative documentations despite the crystal-clear tilting to the side of the European host countries (Van Dijk, 1995).

Table 4

Referential strategy of Self and Other in AL Jazeera article (Text 2)

Discursive Strategy	Objectives	Content categories
Referential/ Nomination	Discursive Construction of the Self positively	Tokens concerning national toponyms such as: (9) "refugees had already crossed into *Macedonia*"; (3) "to reach *Western Europe* "; (7) "continue their journey to *Serbia and Hungary*". Collectives including metonymic toponyms, such as: (5) "*the EU Commission*"; (28) "The central *European nation*"; (29) "wealthy *EU nations*"; (15) "the *police*"; (26) "Hungary's *government*" Proper names, such as:(3) "Macedonia's Foreign Minister *Nicola Poposki*".
Referential/ Nomination	Discursive Construction of the Other negatively	Economic anthroponyms as in "asylum seekers", "refugees" and "migrants". Statistic numbers such as: (12) "*1,500*", (2) "Millions", (22) "*tens of thousands* of refugees", (23) "*450,000*", (24) "*160,000*".

		Deictics expressions such as: (7) "*their* journey to Serbia", (13) "*They* are reportedly being organised into groups of 50 people", (14) "public transportation will then take *them* to the border", (18) "*those* in the crowd", (29) "*those* hoping to eventually reach wealthy EU nations".
Referential/ Nomination	Discursive Construction of the phenomenon negatively	(4)" the refugee *crisis*", (6)" *illegal* border crossing", (7)" their *journey*", (20)" the Mediterranean *Crossing*".

As shown in Table 4 above, the writer of Text 2 constructs the referential for the Self by referring to it as a unified bloc facing an imminent danger (i.e., Arab RASIMs). Besides, s/he uses this strategy to legitimize the anti-immigration stance or rhetoric and shows that everything comes out of it is legal and lawful. For example, the writer employs toponyms standing for the national identity as in: (9) "*refugees had already crossed into Macedonia*"; (3) "*to reach Western Europe*" and (7) "*continue their journey to Serbia and Hungary*". Adding to this, nomination is reinforced via proper names as in (3) "*Macedonia's Foreign Minister Nicola Poposki*". Similarly, the utilization of collectives including metonymic toponyms as in (5) "*the EU Commission*"; (28) "*The central European nation*"; (29) "*wealthy EU nations*" and (26) "*Hungary's government*" serves the same goal which is highlighting the extent of the legitimacy and solidarity of the immigrant countries.

5.2.2 Predication Strategy

The predication strategy in Text 2 takes the form of an analysis of the traits, features, and qualities attributed to the in-group and out-group via metaphors, simile, and modality to construct negative and positive qualities. It is worth noticing that describing Arab RASIMs as attackers explains a lot about why European countries take a defensive attitude towards Arab migration. Modality, in Text 2, is realized specifically by content and modal verbs as in (1) "*Macedonia mulls border fence to stop flow of refugees*"; (6) "*We too will need some kind of physical defence to reduce*

illegal border crossing"; (16) "*Macedonian border police had blocked their path*"; (25) "*it struggled to cope with the relentless stream of people*"; (27) "Hungary *completed a razor-wire barrier*" and (28) "*The central European nation is building another fence*". In addition, the focus on legitimizing the "Self" lies on modality as a rationalization to achieve the writer's intended aim. According to Facchinetti et al. (2003), modalization can be achieved by linguistic items from "*a wide range of grammatical classes, covering not only modal auxiliaries and lexical verbs, but also nouns, adjectives, adverbs, idioms, particles, mood, and prosody in speech*".

To delegitimize them, Arab RASIMs in Text 2 are branded as a threat via explicit metaphors. This implements extraordinary measures to remove or dismiss them. For defining them as a threat necessitates the deployment steps to prevent the actualization of this threat. For example, (1)" *flow of refugees*"; (3) "*the influx of refugees trekking through the Balkans*"; (16) "*frustrations grew once more*"; (25) "*the relentless stream of people*"and (31) "*the refugees surging forward against the fences*". Also, simile serves the same function as in (30) "*like animals in a pen*". This likening indicates Arab RASIMs' economic burden, huge numbers and underdevelopment. Other content categories are modal and content verbs that denote their illegality and savagery. For example, (2) "*millions more in Syria could become refugees*"; (9) "*an estimated 7,600 refugees had already crossed into Macedonia*"; (12) "*about 1,500 had crossed on Friday morning*"; (15) "*impatient" refugees facing off with the police*" and (19) "*They left Syria 25 days ago, entering Greece*".

5.2.3 Argumentation Strategy

The basic argumentation of Text 2 revolves around describing European countries as they are trying to stop the continuous arrival of Arab RASIMs towards their lands or borders, portraying the latter, through metaphors of land and borders negatively.

Table 5

Topoi or the Conclusion Rule in AL Jazeera article (Text 2)

Premise: (2) UNICEF says millions *more* in Syria could become *refugees* (the Other) and head to *Europe* (the Self) if there is no end to the war.
Warrant: (3) Macedonia's Foreign Minister Nikola Poposki has said that

his country *might follow* Hungary's example and *build a border fence* to stem the influx of *refugees* (the Other) trekking through the Balkans to reach *Western Europe* (the Self).

Conclusion: Because Macedonia (the Self) (7) is currently forced to let the 3,000 to 4,000 migrants (the Other) who arrive on a daily basis continue their journey to Serbia and Hungary unimpeded, it (the Self) *mulls border fence* to stop flow of *refugees* (the Other).

As in Table 5 legitimisation via depiction or representation have become two key principles in political discourse which are evolving and being confronted (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 5). Kieran states that "a journalist's news reporter should aim to persuade the audience that his or her description and interpretation is the rational and appropriate one" (1998, p. 27). Therefore, the writer in Text 2 uses topoi and fallacies to justify European negative policies towards Arab RASIMs. In doing that, s/he makes use of certain allusions to the West-East conflict, as it is the dominant reason behind the former's counter-position. Evidently to the prevention of RASIMs, the writer uses the topoi of burden, numbers, authority, threat, urgency, European dispute and temporary residence as well as certain fallacies in constructing arguments such as references to sources of authority to reinforce his/her government's negative arguments. For arguments in the second text are made up of premises, which are expressed in the form of negative statements to support the key interpretations or conclusions that are delivered. For example, both topoi of burden and numbers pour in the stream of depicting Arab RASIMs as an extra burden thrown on European countries' shoulders and consequently affecting their economy as in (30) "*Hungarian police have been feeding refugees like animals in a pen*" and (14) "*public transportation will then take them to the border with Serbia*".

While the argumentation in Text 2 follows an identical macro-structural framework, invoking old/new negative knowledge about Arab RASIMs and the construction of the Other as a 'threat,' AL Jazeera tries to uphold a safe distance to safeguard its own identity. Therefore, the writer steadily hedges direct references to Arab RASIMs and their widely suspected linkage with non-peaceful claims to defend its government stated objectivity. For s/he throws the bulk of the case at the shoulders of persons of authority via reporting their direct speech to legitimize the accusations as in (9) "according to the *UN refugee agency*" and (10) "*Peter Salama, UNICEF's regional director for the Middle East and North Africa, said* […]". Together, the topos of threat is invoked in favor of the arguments for immigration controls, in discussions about national identity, and in discussions about terrorism. Examples are (15) "*The*

situation was tense, with impatient" refugees facing off with the police" (27) "*it has failed to stop distraught refugees from scaling the barrier*" and (28) "*the government has said it will be manned by the military*". These are grounded on the negative notions that Arab RASIMs pose a clear security threat resulting from the inherently criminal nature of migration and the presence of large numbers of terrorists mingling with them, which is commonly presented as a given certainty.

Furthermore, the utilization of the topoi of urgency, European dispute and of temporary residence present Arab RASIMs as a dangerous phenomenon that necessitates a state of emergency to eliminate it. This is obvious in examples such as (26) "*Hungary's government is considering declaring a state of emergency*"; (4) "*amid a growing rift over the refugee crisis*"; (30) "*inside a border camp*" and (32) "*a makeshift camp*". However, many arguments in Text 2 relate to fallacies by way of appealing to negative depictions or by legitimizing the European policies towards RASIMs. The writer's use of "*post hoc, ergo propter hoc fallacy*" in (29) "*but have been forced to leave because of wars in the Middle East, Africa and South Asia*" indicates the extent to which it is biased towards the European side. This is because blaming the wars and political conflicts in the Middle East, and considering them as a cause for the crisis in Europe, will serve the interests of the RASIMs, not be a reason for their non-containment, not only by European countries, but also by the Arab ones.

Strengthening the arguments, the Arab newspaper uses "*argumentum ad verecundiam fallacy*" to rationalize the stated negative portrayals. For example, (3) "*Macedonia's Foreign Minister Nikola Poposki has said that*" (9) "*[…] according to the UN refugee agency*" and (10) "*Peter Salama, UNICEF's regional director for the Middle East and North Africa, said […]*". In the same vein, the use of "*straw man fallacy*" supports the previous negative portrayal via "a cherry-picking of quotes" that falsify the opponents' objectives. For example, (6) "*We will need some kind of physical defence to reduce illegal border crossing… Either soldiers or a fence or a combination of the two*"; (16) "*Macedonian border police had blocked their path and frustrations grew once more*"; and (30) "*like animals in a pen*". Using the fallacy of victimhood, they are portrayed as victims of struggle, wars and intolerance. The trick lies in placing such depictions in a context of numbers and law and order to recall the fact of their illegality and out-group status. For example, (18) "*were among those in the crowd*" and (21) "*We know it's going to be difficult here, we know some don't want us*". While constructing Arab RASIMs as "victims" may imply a positive or anti-discriminatory view, it can implicitly promote negative constructs. For they are characterized as the threat posed to international peace by their illegal status.

5.2.4 Perspectivization Strategy

To say that news reporting depends on a neutral activity is close to a truism as it contains a significant amount of "cultural reconstruction of reality". Thus, quoting specific voices entails a process of gathering information and deciding on the format of the citation. Evidently, al Jazeera newspaper shapes the reported events and positions the judgments towards its favorable views (Haarman & Lombardo, 2009, p. 171). It uses reporting to prove conclusively its assertions since it authenticates them via persons of authority who represent (the Self) (see perspectivization strategy in Text 1). Wodak states that a reporter will pick out particular quotes which best fit the general rationale of his/her article (2015, p. 281). For example, (6) "*We too will need some kind of physical defence to reduce illegal border crossing… Either soldiers or a fence or a combination of the two, Poposki was quoted*". Hence, al Jazeera's writer transfers given elements to new contexts in a press coverage to establish certain views and to trigger past agendas in order to obtain a new governmental decision, or criticize a currently debatable issue.

Additionally, the metaphorical use of crossing borders and transgressing precincts that misrepresent Arab RASIMs suggests a blatant negative bias such as in (1) "*Macedonia mulls border fence to stop flow of refugees*" and (3) "*build a border fence to stem the influx of refugees*". Blommaert argues that "*Every text incorporates, reformulates, reinterprets or rereads previous texts, every act of communication is grounded in semantic and pragmatic histories which are not simple and linear, but complex*" (1999, p. 5). Therefore, recontextualization, via the use of discourse markers, mirrors the articulated process of intertextuality. The use of phrases such as (5) "*which proposed 120,000 additional asylum seekers*"; (9) "*7,600 refugees had already crossed into Macedonia*" and (24) "*160,000 have already crossed*" reflects bias towards European countries.

5.2.5 Intensification and Mitigation

For persuasive intentions in al Jazeera's online news, the aim of amplifying an issue is crucial. By intensifying a topic, the writer of Text 2 captures the readers' attention and induces the psychological state essential for focusing the readers' opinion on the issue and, as a result, influencing them (Mohan & Lampert, 2013, p. 84). At first sight, numerical definitions are intensified with hesitation markers as in (9) "*an estimated 7,600 refugees*"; (12) "*about 1,500 had crossed*"; (24) "*So far, more than 160,000 have already crossed*"; and (29) "*Some 85 percent of those refugees*". The readers will probably interpret these phrases to mean that they wait millions of Arab RASIMs. Sharp numbers are reinforced via metaphors such as (1) "*flow of refugees*"; (3) "*the influx of refugees*"; (25) "*the relentless stream of people*" in order to intensify the number of Arab RASIMs entering the country via showing a

difficulty of counting the number of refugees and a necessity to calculate those numbers.

On the other hand, the type of reporting verbs used can often indicate the nature of the reported speech that follows. Reporting verbs in Text 2 create the most obvious context of the quotations and have the task of determining and directing its understanding (Volosinov, 1973). The writer's use of reporting verbs in Text 2 often reveals his/her thoughts for there is a need to achieve a balance between interests and authenticity; however, authenticity is always given top priority. Actually, the writer appears to rely on the reporting verb "say" not to create a mild impression, but rather to emphasize that utilizing forceful performative verbs is in vain when it comes to authenticating official direct or indirect statements that clearly convey his/her attitudes.

6. Conclusions

When taking a bird's-eye view, it appears that the discourse surrounding the depiction of Arab RASIMs in these two news articles is consistent in that the majority of the aroused themes are similarly touched on. In such a context, danger and threat are two prominent topoi in these news articles to lead to a drastic anti-immigration policy reform. Add to this, the leadership of some countries' anti-migrant attitude offers an alibi for Europe's ongoing incapacity to respond to the crisis in a spirit of cooperation and compassion. Besides, the absence of the Arab media's support to call on Arab countries to shelter their doomed people makes things worse.

Additionally, anti-immigration rhetoric in the two texts construct the threatening other (i.e., Arab RASIMs) in order to define their different identities, cultures, and behaviors. Thus, insecure, fearful or hostile emotions align Arab RASIMs within a certain network (forming a sense of belonging), while excluding them from national individuals. Notably, many of Arab RASIMs' depictions in the two texts do not include their voices in the conversation (except for the unnoticed narration of the Syrian refugees in *AL Jazeera*'s article). Narratives are promoted through the words of others in accordance with their own interests, despite the fact that Arab RASIMs are often considered as a denied agency. Consequently, as social actors, they are given a limited set of responsibilities.

Within the same vein, reconstruction and recontextualization of mainstream news on Arab RASIMs are one of the most prevalent anti-immigrant methods in both texts. Recontextualization is the process through which seemingly neutral news articles become news with an anti-migration or racist intent. In fact, these two texts tend to focus on violence or other unfavorable topics like frustration, cultural

misunderstandings, social issues, and financial consequences rather than on other affairs. Recontextualization and reframing are frequently accomplished with a few textual changes, such as the use of certain naming tactics, selective extraction, paragraph reformulation, or the absence of explanatory components in the story. Consequently, the pretended dichotomy of depicting Arab RASIMs as both threats and victims reflects the news agency's attitudes toward them and how they contribute to the propagation of their "Otherness" and the perpetuation of hostility toward them in order to justify the latter's social exclusion.

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