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Contemporary News Discourse Around the Globe

Edited by

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MeCCSA Postgraduate Network 2018 Conference Special Issue: Contemporary News Discourse Around the Globe

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The papers presented in this special issue were submitted as part of the Best Paper competition at MeCCSA's Postgraduate Network conference in 2018. The conference took place on 5th and 6th July 2018 at Canterbury Christ Church University and was organised by Nicholas Furze, Aurora Patera and Emma Kaylee Graves. As there were several high-quality papers submitted for the competition, it was decided that the 2018 conference would have two special issues in *Networking Knowledge*, instead of the usual one. This issue therefore compliments the previous issue of the journal: *MeCCSA Postgraduate Network 2018 Conference Special Issue: Communities and the Media Around the Globe*. While the first special issue had a very broad scope in terms of the topics covered by the authors, the current special issue has a more specialised focus on analyses of news discourse.

Monika Bednarek and Helen Caple state that news discourse

'has great potential to exert considerable influence over us. [...] Sometimes we may modify our behaviour, ideas and beliefs, based on what we have read or heard [...]. This also points to the power of the media: the influence they exert both on our governments and major institutions as well as their ability to shape our ideas and behaviours' (2012, 6).

With this in mind, it is no surprise that research on news discourse has been plentiful over the years. This includes analysing news media's representation of individuals, groups, events, issues and objects. Recent examples include Juliane A. Lischka's (2017) examination of *The New York Times*' coverage of Donald Trump, Hsiang Iris Chyi and Angela M. Lee's (2017) research into US news coverage of *Apple* products, İbrahim Efe's (2018) study of the representation of Syrian asylum seekers in the Turkish press and Sophie Hinde and Bianca Fileborn's (2019) analysis of the #MeToo movement in Australian news. The research presented here further enriches this established and important field. In just three papers, this issue provides insight into news discourse from a variety of countries: the UK, US, Germany,

Denmark and Russia. Each of the authors in this issue have appropriated some form of discourse analysis in their studies of news media, though each differs in their topic and approach.

The first paper in this issue, written by Zixiu Liu, won the Best Paper Award at the Postgraduate Network's conference in 2018. Liu's contribution analyses the Ukraine crisis in both Russian and British news, focusing on quality print media with global audiences: *The Moscow Times* and *The Guardian*. Liu applied Robert Entman's framing analysis to almost 200 news articles published during the period that marked the start of the 'Euromaidan' anti-government protests in Kyiv. In addition to framing, Liu takes a mixed methods approach to her study, while also considering agenda setting theory. Her comparisons between the two newspapers are particularly insightful, which lead to an argument which 'challenges the current perception that Russian news media are more propagandistic than British media' (4). Overall, this first paper provides a sound contribution to research on news framing of conflicts.

Also involving framing, Michelle Lawrie's paper uncovers the representations of Muslims in British and Danish newspapers reporting on the Charlie Hebdo Attack. Focusing on four newspapers, two from the UK (*The Guardian* and *The Telegraph*) and two from Denmark (*Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken*), Lawrie presents a meticulously detailed multimodal critical discourse analysis of one opinion piece from each source. In addition to framing, throughout her analysis Lawrie considers ideas of Othering and orientalism as well as Virginia R. Dominguez's Star System theory. Ultimately, Lawrie argues that within these newspapers, the Charlie Hebdo Attack has been 'recontextualised to focus on the incompatibility of Muslims living in each country' (25).

Moving away from British news media, Svitlana Tubaltseva's paper analyses international news coverage of the Winter Olympic Games in Sochi, Russia, 2014. Unlike previous research, Tubaltseva does not focus on the coverage during the games, but on what was published leading up to the games. She argues that this is an important period to analyse because it is the public's first experience of the Games (having not yet seen live footage), so news coverage can play a major role in creating attitudes towards the Games. With this in mind, Tubaltseva's main analytical technique is J. R. Martin and David Rose's evaluative theory of Appraisal. She applies this to 30 news articles from both North American and European newspapers: *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *New Europe* and *Deutsche Welle*. This detailed analysis provides valuable insight into news coverage of the Sochi Olympic Games whilst considering Russian politics and the issues that arose surrounding this event.

To conclude the issue, co-editor Nicholas Furze presents a review of the *Fan Phenomena: Harry Potter* collection edited by Valerie Estelle Frankel. Overall, the research published in this issue contributes to journalism studies, linguistics, discourse studies and media studies more broadly, amongst other areas specific to each author.

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The Ukraine crisis in the Russian and British media: Manufacturing a confrontational mentality?

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ABSTRACT

This pilot study uses mixed methods following the framework of *generic frames*, *diagnostic* and *prognostic frames* (Godefroidt et al. 2016) to compare the news coverage of the Ukraine crisis in Russia and the UK from 30 November 2013 to 26 February 2014. *The Moscow Times* and *The Guardian* were chosen as examples of quality print media with online editions that are comparable in terms of quality, political stance, and more importantly – global targeting. Drawing from a broader work on the media systems (Vartanova 2012; Hallin and Mancini 2004), the study argues that while the Russian media reflected the crisis from various perspectives, the British media was characterised by unfairness and non-proportionality in reporting the crisis. The argument challenges the current perception that Russian news media are more propagandistic than British media, as the two newspapers did not always report the Ukraine crisis in confrontational lights.

KEYWORDS

comparative study, conflict, content analysis, framing, news

Introduction

The years 2014-15 were momentous years for Ukraine, as a wave of protests in the heart of Kyiv shook the foundations of the existing regime. From the moment the former Ukrainian President Victor Yanukovich decided to postpone the country's EU Association Agreement (21 November 2013), Ukraine was plunged into, in the words of the Russian president Vladimir Putin, a 'civil war' between government and opposition (Thompson 2017). Highlighting the split between the pro-European west and Yanukovich's power base in the pro-Russian east of Ukraine, a peaceful demonstration supporting the country's pro-European course gradually developed into a succession of violent clashes separating families, communities, and the Ukrainian nation (Pikulicka-Wilczewska 2015, 2). On 20 February 2014, Kyiv saw its worst day of violence for almost 70 years. Violence broke out when a shootout occurred between protesters and police in Maidan Square. As clashes intensified, different groups joined, uniting liberals, moderates, technocrats, pro-European and far-right nationalists (Yugas 2014).

Perceptions of this ever-changing conflict that readers have depends on how the media select and organise the information in a particular reporting angle. As Robert Entman (1993) points out the media can make certain perspectives about ideas more salient by framing them one way or another. Namely, by highlighting specific elements while downplaying others, framing functions to bring specific ideas for news audiences (Iyengar 1991). This concept has been linked closely to the agenda-setting theory, which is often termed a second level of agenda-setting (McCombs et al. 1997). McCombs (1972) explains the media's agenda-setting function as a 'process by which attention is distributed on a given agenda' (cited in Boydston 2013, 218), thus making some thoughts more salient. In accordance with these two theories, when different media narratives of the Ukraine crisis appear coming from different parts of the world, they have the potential to impact on public opinion and result in various perceptions about the crisis. Thus it is important to ask in what particular ways the different narratives of the Ukraine crisis contribute to the daily productions of news.

This pilot study uses mixed methods to compare the news framing of the Ukraine crisis in Russia and the UK from 30 November 2013 to 26 February 2014. This period marked the beginning of the 'Euromaidan' anti-government protests in Kyiv against President Viktor Yanukovich. Newspaper articles were collected from the British and the Russian media, as these two countries were politically most involved in the conflict, but differ geopolitically, economically, and culturally. The different framing practices in Russia and the UK is discussed

in the broader structure of the media systems of the two countries. The main research questions are as follows:

RQ1: To what extent have the selected British and Russian media paid attention to the Ukraine conflict during the period?

RQ2: What news frames were adopted in the mediated Ukraine conflict coverage; and what are the differences among the different media?

Based upon preliminary data, the study not only contributes to the recent research on the topic by looking at the Russian media in a comparative way, but also offers a valuable insight into the current media ecology where an increasing number of political and academic bodies have paid attention to combating Russian propaganda that are perceived as manipulating the public opinions more than the western media by propagandising, stretching the truth, distorting facts, or circulating disinformation (Robinson 2016). This paper begins with a theoretical background of media systems and war reporting. Second, a methodology section introduces the theories informing the method. The third section shows the results of empirical and analytic observations. The final section discusses the findings in light of the pertinent theories in the case of the Ukraine.

The Media Systems of the UK and Russia

The media within democratic societies are expected to play ‘watchdog’ roles, inform and educate about everyday issues, thus providing a public sphere for public discussion and political advocacy (McNair 2011). Regardless of this, there are different normative values /journalistic cultures among the media from different parts of the world (Waisbord 2013). Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini (2004) adopt four variables to gauge and compare different media systems covering Western European and North American democracies: media markets, political parallelism, journalistic professionalism, and state intervention. Accordingly, the media system of the UK falls into the Liberal Model, where the level of market mechanisms and commercial media and journalistic professionalism is high, with a low level of political parallelism and state intervention. Brüggemann et al. (2014) revisit the framework and suggest that the British media display a high level of state intervention. Elena Vartanova (2012) develops a Statist Commercialised Model to characterise the media system of Russia with a focus on the co-existence of governmental and commercialised media. Therefore, the level of journalistic professionalism is low owing to the strong state intervention and self-censorship; whilst political parallelism is embedded within oligarchy players for political and economic interests (Vartanova 2012; Oates 2013).

The Role of Media in War / Conflict

Attention paid to humanitarian dimensions was a feature of the media coverage of conflicts during the 1990s (Carruthers 2011, 142-43). This is how the so called ‘CNN effect’ emerged. Piers Robinson (2002) defines the CNN effect by focusing on all media impact upon political decision-making. He argues that the notion ‘is in the alleged influence of the media upon decisions to intervene during humanitarian crises with the use, or threat of use, of force’ (Robinson 2002, 2). While the CNN effect theory emphasises the power of media, there is also the ‘manufacturing consent’ thesis delivering a strong criticism to the media system (Herman and Chomsky 1988). The two theories have polarised the debate of media’s role in conflict with evidence provided to support both.

The manufacturing consent thesis has received widespread acceptance among scholars (Entman 1991; Entman and Page 1994; Robinson 2017; Hammond 2017). Their research on war/conflict coverage reach a similar conclusion that media reporting is compliant with the policy interests of governments. Carruthers (2011) with a focus on the framing of war coverage, likewise recapitulates that the media became voluntary co-conspirator in wartime propaganda. The empirical studies exemplify that news is shaped by the media’s construction of the conflict as per their interpretation and framing.

There are a variety of definitions of framing. Given the news orientation of this study, Entman’s definition is adopted. Entman suggests that selection and salience constitute essential part of the framing process. Thus a perceived reality is selected and made more salient in order to ‘promote a particular problem definition, a causal interpretation, a moral evaluation, and/ or treatment recommendation’ from the daily events (1993, 52).

Methodology

Framing Analysis: Generic, Diagnostic and Prognostic News Frames

This study uses mixed methods to identify the attention paid and the actual frames used by the British and the Russian media in their coverage of the Ukraine crisis. A deductive approach that involves predefined *generic news frames* consisting of six frames, and *diagnostic* and *prognostic news frames* was applied to scrutinise the news frames used. This approach was chosen for several reasons. Firstly, this approach could be easily replicated and could cope with large samples. Secondly, it could thus easily identify differences in framing between media (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000). Thirdly, it offers an opportunity to examine whether this

applies to other global subjects: ‘how generic are those generic frames’ (Godefroidt et al. 2016, 781)? The six pre-defined generic frames are suggested by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) and by Van Cauwenberge et al. (2009): the *conflict*, *human interest*, *economic impact*, *morality*, *responsibility*, and *nationalisation* frames. The combination of this set of frames has also been applied by Godefroidt et al. (2016) to scrutinise four countries’ news articles of the Syrian conflict in a comparative content analysis.

Journalists often inform the audience about the larger social, economic, or political context surrounding an issue (e.g., Pan and Kosicki 1993; Ojala and Pantti 2017). This is what Robert D. Benford and David A. Snow (2000) refer to as the *diagnostic* frames highlighting the wider backgrounds of the issue. Along with diagnoses, journalists may also suggest solutions for the problems to people. Snow and Benford characterise such solutions as the *prognostic* framing, referring to how the issues identified in the diagnostic frames are to be solved, aiming to offer desirable solutions to the issue. Therefore, the diagnosis and prognosis are major constructs of the consensus mobilisation (Klandermans 1984), potentially intending to produce support amongst individuals in news coverage.

The Sample

This pilot study scrutinises the news frames used between 30 November 2013 and 26 February 2014. This period marks the beginning of the ‘Euromaidan’ anti-government protests in Kyiv against President Viktor Yanukovich due to his refusal to sign the country’s EU Association Agreement. Several critical events are included. Articles on the topics were collected from two newspapers – one Russian and one British for two reasons. First, Russia played a major role in the conflict between the West and the East, although President Putin denied its involvement. Second, Britain was the first country that suggested excluding Russia from the Group of Eight and played a key role in designing sanctions on Russia. Thus, the two countries were conflicting parties in the Ukraine crisis with different foreign policies. The focus of this study is on English-speaking media. It is important to look at the English language presence of the Russian media because this is the one that is outward facing attracting intense global public attention. *The Moscow Times* and *The Guardian* were chosen because they both are quality print media with online editions and are comparable in terms of quality, circulation rate, political stance, and more importantly – global targeting. Although *The Moscow Times* enjoys lesser popularity than *The Guardian*, Juyan Zhang and Shahira Fahmy state that the newspaper is ‘a major publication in Russia that takes critical stances toward the government’ (2009, 523).

Accordingly, *The Moscow Times* enjoys a journalistic excellence with *The Guardian* making a comparable analogue in terms of their independent journalistic practices.

Articles from *The Guardian* were collected from Lexis-Nexis databases, while *The Moscow Times* articles were collected from its official website where the print version of archives were available. For *The Moscow Times* articles, the researcher downloaded all the issues within the period, and looked through each issue to retrieve the relevant articles with regard to the Ukraine crisis to ensure credibility without omission. 117 articles from *The Moscow Times* were selected for the final sample. To obtain the data from *The Guardian*, the keywords: *Ukraine, protest, Yanukovich, Putin, and Russia* were input into the search engine of the database. The search initially generated 223 articles. The decision to exclude an article was made during the coding procedure. The final sample was reduced to 78 articles mainly due to duplication. Overall, a total sample of 195 articles were selected for analysis.

Approach for Identifying News Frames

Generic frames

The analysis of the six generic frames contains a series of 21 yes/no questions stemming from Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) and Van Cauwenberge et al. (2009). Some of the questions were not applicable to this study, thus some changes have been made to account for the specific subject of analysis (*Appendix I*). This modification followed Godefroidt et al.'s (2016) approach that was used for identifying generic news frames in the reporting of the Syria war. The conflict frame was identified through four questions on the contentious situation. In light of the subject the second question from Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) (i.e. does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?) was altered: instead of 'reproach', 'fights, riots, and confrontation' (Godefroidt et al. 2016) were used. The human interest frame was scrutinised through four questions on the extent to which the story is personalised. Again Semetko and Valkenburg's last question (i.e., presence of visual information in the story?) was not applied, as visual analysis is not part of this study because the archives used do not always contain visual information. In addition, three items on financial impact were used to assess the economic impact frame; and three items on moral information were used to assess the morality frame. The responsibility frame was examined through five items interpreting which party is to be blamed for the issue. Finally, the nationalisation frame was investigated through two questions about the connection between Ukraine and Russia, and between Ukraine and the UK.

Diagnostic and prognostic framing

All articles were also scrutinised for proposed causes of and solutions to the Ukraine crisis. Based upon Godefroidt et al.'s (2016) approach to evaluating diagnostic and prognostic frames, six questions were developed to measure potential diagnoses and eight questions were raised to scrutinise the potential prognoses (*Appendix II*). Rather than all-encompassing 'diagnostic/prognostic framing', specific causes and solutions were chosen to be looked at, because this allowed us to draw parallels with the policies carried out by the countries involved (Godefroidt et al. 2016). The researcher worked out the possible diagnoses pointing towards political, socio-economic, religious factors, human rights abuse, geopolitical factors, specific triggers (and/or other causes). These six elements were determined by the guidance from Godefroidt et al. (2016), a close reading of the articles, and paying attention to recent studies about the roots of the Ukraine crisis (e.g., Ojala and Pantti 2017). The 'rest' category was aimed to offer an opportunity to suggest a new category once more coding was complete (Godefroidt et al. 2016). The prognostic solutions could be: military action, change in government, diplomacy, financial intervention, internal reforms, and removal of the military weapons arsenal (and/or other solutions). Again, the 'rest' category was aimed to offer an opportunity to suggest a new category once more coding was complete. As a result, the external assistance was added as a separate option. By this means, this researcher should be able to generate a substantial list of diagnoses and prognoses. To confidently determine which diagnostic or prognostic frame it was, it was of significance to state 'specific elements that needed to be mentioned clearly' (Godefroidt et al. 2016, 787).

Results

Press Attention

To answer the first research question examining the attention paid to the conflict, the overall reporting quantities and the length of coverage by the media were generated. In purely quantitative terms, first, the Ukraine crisis enjoyed substantial attention paid by the Russian media between 30 November 2013 and 26 February 2014, reflecting the geopolitical interest of the Russian government. The number of articles in *The Moscow Times* was 117 occupying 60% of the whole sample of 195 articles. Conversely, *The Guardian* offered a slightly moderate attention to the crisis with 78 articles (*Table 4.1*). Second, press attention was also measured in their coverage length. Averagely, *The Moscow Times* published longer articles, with a mean length of 702 words, than *The Guardian*. Longer stories also suggests the media's effort to

investigate an event more exhaustively. This is evident in *The Moscow Times* offering more diagnostic frames than *The Guardian*.

Press attention of *The Guardian* did not intensify until a Ukrainian journalist was beaten on 27 December 2013 causing great focus on human rights. Such human-oriented attention ran in parallel with the media's preferences of the human rights violations and the government's crackdowns frames (diagnosis). *The Moscow Times* however paid little attention to the issue and offered only 120-word coverage. The use of frames by the two newspapers is going to be discussed in detail in the next section.

Table 4.1: Press attention by the media: 30.11.2013 – 26.02.2014

| | Quantity | Mean Length |
|------------------|-----------|-------------|
| The Guardian | 78 (40%) | 684 |
| UK | | |
| The Moscow Times | 117 (60%) | 702 |
| Russia | | |
| Total | 195 | |

Framing of the Ukraine crisis: Generic news frames

The second research question investigated the differences in framing between the two newspapers. At first, in both media outlets, the coverage provided in the period revealed the existence of a high level of interest in the conflict frame (Table 4.2). Looking at the differences in more detail between the two newspapers, there was a significant gap between the uses of the economic consequences frame. One notices that *The Moscow Times* during the period employed more economic frames with 21 out of 117 articles (18%) compared to *The Guardian* with only 3 representing 4% of the 78 articles. The crisis disappeared from the British media from 18 to 27 December 2013, while the Russian media constantly reported in favour of economic consequences frame. The coverage explained how Ukraine would benefit from Putin's deal to recover from the present economic crisis, while the EU offered no full membership with little financial aid for the country. The implication is clear: Yanukovych's refusal to sign the country's EU Association Agreement and turn to closer economic and political ties with Russia was a wise choice; although the EU claimed that Brussels had prepared a document showing the long-term benefit that could have flowed to Ukraine over seven years. The efforts aimed to divert the attention from the general perception that Yanukovych should be responsible for the Ukraine crisis, to a rather glorified one that Yanukovych committed himself to dealing with the country's current debt crisis in the bigger

picture for all Ukrainians interests. Such means of misdirection leads to an appeal to the readers that either you are supporting the EU who could not guarantee a promising economic future, or Russia who will solve the country's financial problem immediately with a further bonus of being a member of the Eurasian Union.

Table 4.2: Distribution of the Generic frames by the media: 30.11.2013 – 26.02.2014

| | The Moscow Times | The Guardian | Total |
|-----------------------|------------------|--------------|----------|
| Conflict | 55 (47%) | 40 (51%) | 95 (49%) |
| Responsibility | 24 (21%) | 20 (26%) | 44 (23%) |
| Economic consequences | 21 (18%) | 3 (4%) | 24 (12%) |
| Human interest | 11 (9%) | 12 (15%) | 23 (12%) |
| Nationalisation | 5 (4%) | 1 (1%) | 6 (3%) |
| Morality | 1 (1%) | 2 (3%) | 3 (2%) |
| Total | 117 | 78 | 195 |

With the most used conflict frames in both media outlets, the researcher found no statistically significant differences between the two, reflecting the extent of dispute among the key parties over the crisis. *The Guardian* devoted slightly more coverage with 51% compared to *The Moscow Times* which received 47%. The second most commonly used frame was the responsibility frame. As the table shows, the frame came with 21% and 26% of coverage attention in *The Moscow Times* and *The Guardian* respectively. *The Guardian* was more likely to reflect the involved parties' efforts to pursue a long-lasting solution to the crisis, and the engagement in the blame game. This might also explain why the media applied more human interest and morality frames compared with the Russian media. The implication is double-fold: One may suggest that *The Guardian*'s relatively higher interest in the blame of the former President Yanukovich for his crackdowns proves that the media still plays an important role as a watchdog in a democratic society by holding politicians accountable. Alternatively, the newspaper also seems to conform to international norm in which human values are at the core. The formulated norm is based on the value of 'equality, democracy, and freedom' aiming to develop equal rights of peoples and to maintain universal peace (Charter of the United Nations 1945). By highlighting Russian-backed Yanukovich with his 'anti-freedom' issues, the emotional feeling of 'to do something' could be spread on a moral level. Such salient indicator and use of emotionally related frames reveals an interventionist nature with an unfair downplay of other viewpoint. For example, *The Guardian* rarely mentioned how the protesters started

attacks and the injuries in the riot police during battles, while it gave extensive coverage to Yanukovych's disputed use of brutal force to suppress the pro-democracy protests. Therefore, there is no equal treatment of the subject by the media who took it upon themselves to justify the 'good' anti-government forces. A shared commonality between the two newspapers drives this point further. In introducing Yanukovych as one of the major players in the crisis, the media often brought up his petty criminal record accusing him of replicating the Soviet past in terms of criminal order and corruption. The demonization of him mobilises the idea that the basic values of the current society are endangered under Yanukovych's ruling, which thereby polarised the Ukraine crisis into a matter of Good vs. Evil.

Apart from the economic frame, the nationalisation frame was the only one that *The Moscow Times* used more than *The Guardian*. Though the nationalisation frame attracted a total of 3% of coverage attention, *The Moscow Times* contributed most to the quantity, with 5 articles out of 117 (4%) in comparison with *The Guardian* of 1%. Finally, the morality frame hardly appeared in any of the samples during this period, with minimal differences between the two countries.

Framing of the Ukraine crisis: Diagnostic and prognostic framing

The study explored the prevalence of each diagnosis and prognosis with a focus on the differences among newspapers. Generally speaking, the vast majority of the articles (88%) offered explanations of the cause of the conflict to their readers, but with a small number (26%) of solutions. Frequency analyses (*Table 4.3*) showed that, overall, the global dimensions came on top with a total of 39% of coverages explaining the root of the issue and the current situation between the West and the East. Political causes (19%) were moderately mentioned. A particular trigger was less frequently cited with 17%, while human rights violations received 9% of the coverage. The articles hardly touched on the socio-economic causes (4%) and religious prescriptions (0%). As the table shows, 89% of *The Moscow Times* sample offered diagnostic frames, whereas *The Guardian* provided almost the same percentage of 86%. Each newspaper favoured the global dimensions frame with small differences. However, the most difference between the two hinged on their uses of the particular triggers frame. *The Moscow Times* employed the frame in 11% of their coverage, mentioning the Yanukovych government's crackdowns as the main reasons of the escalation of the Ukraine crisis. *The Guardian*, however, used the frame as their second most frequent one (26%), with a number of 20 out of 78 articles. Another small difference between the two media was the political causes frame, where the percentage for *The Moscow Times* and for *The Guardian* were 21% and 15% respectively.

While *The Moscow Times* mentioned the socio-economic causes, *The Guardian* did not mention this at all. The two media, nevertheless, had something in common, in terms of the similar amount of the use of human rights violation frame, and in terms of their zero mention of religious prescriptions.

Table 4.3: Distribution of the diagnostic frames by the media: 30.11.2013 – 26.02.2014

| | The Moscow Times | The Guardian | Total |
|-------------------------|------------------|--------------|----------|
| Global dimensions | 49 (42%) | 27 (35%) | 76 (39%) |
| Political causes | 25 (21%) | 12 (15%) | 37 (19%) |
| Particular triggers | 13 (11%) | 20 (26%) | 33 (17%) |
| Human rights violations | 9 (8%) | 8 (10%) | 17 (9%) |
| Socio-economic causes | 8 (7%) | 0 | 8 (4%) |
| Religious prescriptions | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 104 | 67 | 171 |

The vast majority of *The Moscow Times* articles (84%) did not provide prognostic solutions, compared to *The Guardian* with 59%. The two did not give attention to the military action and the dismantling military weapons as possible solutions at all, due to the nature of the events during this period. The solutions they tended to offer were the external co-operation with almost the same percentages (*Table 4.4*), in terms of the EU assistance or talks, the cooperation either between Russian and the opposition party in Ukraine, or between Russia and the EU, and the tripartite negotiations. Additionally, *The Guardian* was significantly in favour of the change in government, while *The Moscow Times* barely mentioned it. This however further proves *The Guardian's* omission of information that intends to discredit Yanukovych regime. The first wave of suggestion of the solution from *The Guardian* occurred right after the first casualties of a protest that burst dramatically into violence on 22 January 2014. The second wave occurred around the time when confrontation reached a peak on 18 February with 18 people reported dead. *The Guardian* frequently recommended the change in government through broad focuses on the direct quotes from politicians and the protests' voice to topple the Yanukovych regime and require a snap election.

The financial intervention and the internal reforms frames were marginally preferred by *The Guardian* attracting 5% and 6% of the articles, in comparison with *The Moscow Times* with 1% and 3%.

Table 4.4: Distribution of the prognostic frames by the media: 30.11.2013 – 26.02.2014

| | The Moscow Times | The Guardian | Total |
|------------------------|------------------|--------------|----------|
| External co-operation | 13 (11%) | 9 (12%) | 22 (11%) |
| Change in government | 2 (2%) | 14 (18%) | 16 (8%) |
| Internal reforms | 3 (3%) | 5 (6%) | 8 (4%) |
| Financial intervention | 1 (1%) | 4 (5%) | 5 (3%) |
| Military action | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Dismantling weapons | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 19 | 32 | 51 |

Discussion

This study uncovered that both the Russian and British media resonated with national foreign policy establishments as the manufacturing consent thesis suggests (Herman and Chomsky 1988). Despite *The Moscow Times*' generally critical stance towards Russian government in the coverage of the Ukraine crisis, the media showed an alignment with Russia to a certain degree. This can be tracked from the media's use of the economic consequences frame highlighting the bright side of Moscow's deal with purposes of misdirection, justifying and naturalising Russia's involvement. The strategy was particularly obvious at the beginning of the conflict when Russia was in the crosshairs and topped headlines globally. However, Russia's financial aid did not seem unconditional. To pay the price for Ukraine's rescue plan on the economic front, a termination package with EU was the first step to transition to the final win-win situation of multilateral relations within the Russian-led Eurasian Economic Union.

In contrast, *The Guardian* largely presented the protests in Ukraine in a positive light to support the battle for freedom and democracy. Nevertheless the media seems more likely to 'facilitate the engineered outcomes' by the western establishments, through 'manufacturing a type of consensus reality' with omission of information (Henningesen 2017). By giving the public a sense of urgency regarding the Ukraine crisis through the human-interests lens, alongside omission of information and negative representations of Yanukovich and Putin, the media morally contributed to the call for Western politicians to intervene in the crisis against Russia that is perceived as the enemy in the geopolitical realities (Ojala and Pantti 2017). This however

has resurrected the knee-jerk Russo-phobia of the Cold War, which may cause a deeper misunderstanding of the rather complex Ukraine crisis (Putz 2016).

These characteristics of the media coverage of the Ukraine crisis fit in with previous literature documenting governmental influence on the work of journalists in conflict (e.g., Bennet 2003; Carruthers 2011; Keeble 1998). For instance, Keeble (1998) famously argued that the British coverage of the 1991 Gulf War played a crucial role in propaganda function through various reporting routines. In this study, on the one hand, the Russian media served the propaganda function aiming to search public support for the deepening conflict and glorify them. The influence of Putin's vertical power (Vartanova 2012) alone might have resulted in the media's submissive role; it is also vital to take into consideration the limited journalistic autonomy and the journalistic culture in terms of self-censorship (Oates 2013). Furthermore, the evidence from *The Moscow Times* being critical of Russia for the most part can be explained by what Vartanova (2012) claims the existence of commercial media in Russia. On the other hand, the British media's downplay of information that was as important as the inclusions (Entman 1993) showed a consensus with EU leading to subsequent rounds of sanctions on Russia and intensifying anti-Russian rhetoric. As Brüggemann et al. (2014) argue the state intervention plays an important role in the British media industry. Richard Sakwa (2015) suggests that geopolitics between the West (e.g., EU, NATO) and Russia for influence in the post-Soviet space is key to understanding the Ukraine conflict. Accordingly, the British media helped promote Western values via selectively covering the crisis, resonating with the West's political position in detaching Ukraine away from Russia (Boyd-Barrett 2017).

Finally, the lesser use of nationalisation frame in both newspapers differs from previous studies (e.g., Godefroidt et al. 2016). The study also failed to find the frequent use of morality frame, which is in line with the findings of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) and Godefroidt et al. (2016). These may challenge the framework of the Generic frames. Yet it is also important to reiterate the nature of the material used that may have affected the result. The study only covered the very early stage of what only later came to be known as the 'Ukraine conflict'. Thus, rather than the military conflict, the Euromaidan protests were the focus. During this period, neither Russia nor the UK was officially involved in the conflict that ensued. This means that it is not feasible to question the applicability of the nationalisation and morality frames in war coverage. It brings to the issue of limits of this study, further research with sufficient data would be essential to complement the findings of this study. Nonetheless, the study seems to validate previous analyses in relation to the high occurrences of the conflict,

responsibility, economic, and human-interests frames, thus adding to our understanding of the dynamics of news framing of conflicts.

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Appendices*Appendix I The twenty-one framing items**Generic Frames***Conflict frame**

Does the story revolve around disagreement between parties, individuals, groups, countries?

Does the story refer to fights, riots, and confrontation between two or more parties, individuals, groups, countries?

Does the story refer to two sides or more than two sides of the problem?

Does the story refer to winners and losers?

Human interest frame

Does the story provide a human example or 'human face' on the issue?

Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings?

Does the story emphasise how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problems?

Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?

Economic consequences frame

Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?

Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?

Is there a reference to economic consequences of (not) pursuing a course of action?

Morality frame

Does the story contain any moral message?

Does the story make reference to morality, God, and other religious tenets?

Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?

Responsibility frame

Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the issue/problem?

Does the story suggest some level of the government (including President Yanukovich) is responsible for the issue/problem?

Does the story suggest that an individual or group of people in society (including any coalition of the rebels) is responsible for the issue/problem?

Does the story suggest solutions to the issue/problem?

Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?

Nationalisation frame

Does the article mention a connection between Ukraine and the individual country?

Does the article articulate or quote the ideas of national politicians or persons that are active on a national level?

Appendix II Diagnostic and prognostic framing

*Diagnoses***Political causes**

Does the article mention corruption, a lack of political freedom, power struggle between competing oligarchs, and/or unfair elections as a (possible) cause of the Ukraine crisis?

Socio-economic causes

Does the article mention inflation, rising unemployment, poverty or a lack of prosperity, limited educational opportunities, social insecurity, and/or generating gap between young and old Ukrainians as a (possible) causes of the continuation/escalation of the Ukraine crisis?

Human rights violations

Does the article mention infringement or lack of the freedom of speech, opinion, religion, equal rights or human rights in general, and/or war crimes against civilisation or the violation of international law as a (possible) cause of the continuation/escalation of the Ukraine crisis?

Religious prescriptions

Does the article mention Ukrainian Catholics or Christians, disagreement between diverse religious groups, and/or the character or culture of religious groups as a (possible) cause of the continuation/escalation of the Ukraine crisis?

Global dimensions

Does the article mention disputes between Western powers and Russia, Russian ties, new cold war, and/or regional ambitions with limited resources as a (possible) cause of the Ukraine crisis?

Particular triggers

Does the article mention the shooting of the people, the many (innocent, civilian) victims and/or a violent attack as a (possible) cause of the continuation/escalation of the Ukraine crisis?

Others

This is a residual category for unforeseen causal elements

*Prognoses***Military action*****Intervention***

Does the article mention suppressing the fights with action by their military and/or a no-fly zone as a (possible) solution of the Ukraine crisis?

Assistance

Does the article only mention military assistance as a (possible) solution of the continuation/escalation of the Ukraine crisis?

Rejection

Does the article mention that any military action is rejected or will only deteriorate the Ukraine crisis?

Change in government

Does the article mention the dismissal of President Victor Yanukovich or his entire regime and/or the appointment of a new government as a (possible) solution of the continuation/escalation of the Ukraine crisis?

Financial intervention

Does the article mention economic cooperation with other countries of the international community to provide financial support and/or economic measures against one or more parties involved as a (possible) solution of the continuation/escalation of the Ukraine crisis?

Internal reforms

Does the article mention internal negotiations or reforms in terms of political issues, socio-economic issues, religious issues, and/or the improvement of human rights as a (possible) solution of the continuation/escalation of the Ukraine crisis?

Dismantling military weapons

Does the article mention the removal of the Russian stockpile of military weapons as a (possible) solution of the continuation/escalation of the Ukraine crisis?

External assistance

Does the article mention external co-operation or negotiations in terms of political issues, socio-economic issues, religious issue, and/or the improvement of human rights as a (possible) solution of the continuation/escalation of the Ukraine crisis?

Others

This is a residual category for unforeseen remedial element.

Charlie Hebdo Attack and Discourses of Muslims in British and Danish Newspaper: A cross-cultural critical discourse analysis of four newspapers

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ABSTRACT

A perceived shift to the right when representing Muslims in the press in Europe has been evident in recent years. Events such as 9/11, the July 2005 London bombings, broader European discussions and mainstreaming of populist discourses have marked a significant shift in the media focusing on Muslims living in Europe.

This paper outlines the discourses used to represent Muslims, via conducting multimodal critical discourse analysis. The paper focuses on the 2015 Charlie Hebdo terrorist attack and cross-culturally compares four newspapers in two countries – the UK and Denmark. Results indicate a recontextualisation of the terrorist attack situating the threat within each country, with newspapers positioned as ‘left’ utilising the same framing and discourses of right leaning newspapers. This situated threat is demonstrated through discourses framing both countries in contrast to Muslim ‘values’. Furthermore, both countries focus on utilising Muslim ‘voices’ who are part of a *Star System* that are critical of Muslim communities.

KEYWORDS

media discourse, Muslim representation, multi-modal critical discourse analysis, Charlie Hebdo, UK and Denmark

Introduction

The 9/11 attack has resulted in targeted media attention, scrutiny and focus on Muslim communities in Europe (Rytter and Pedersen 2014). Significant events following 9/11 such as terrorist attacks in parts of Europe, broader debates about Muslims and the murders of Pim Fortuyn and Theo van Gogh have aided in the rise of right-wing populism in Europe. This rise has resulted in a homogenous *Othering* of Muslims in contrast to a heightened focus on the perceived indigenous ‘people’ or ‘renationalization’ within a nation across Europe (Wodak 2015, 1). The media constructing of viewing Muslims through a ‘multicultural visibility’ lens and a general questioning of multiculturalism in Europe have been sustained by ‘cluster events’. Furthermore, the constant media reporting and ‘threat’ framing of Muslim communities following these events have constructed and ‘intensified[...]concerns’ of Muslims (Cihodariu and Dumitrescu 2013, 53).

Leaders such as Sarkozy and Cameron have contributed to the focus on Muslims and legitimisation that multiculturalism has failed ‘via a “permissive signal”’ (Lesinska 2014, 38–39). The discursive linking of Muslims, multiculturalism and terrorism has become a focal point in populist rhetoric and subsequently mainstreamed in politics and the media. Thereby this discursive linking has further legitimised media scrutinization and construction of Muslims as suspect. Emma Hanes and Stephen Machin (2014) found a rise in hate crime towards Muslims after a terrorist attack has occurred in the West. In combination with the dialectical relationship between the media and politics, as demonstrated with the rise of right-wing populist rhetoric becoming normalised in media discourse, shows the necessity of examining media discourse on Muslims (Fairclough 2001).

The heightened media focus on Muslims post 9/11 has resulted in the framing of Muslims as linked with terrorism and is increasingly normalised within the media, particularly following events such as Charlie Hebdo (Sultan 2016). Therefore, it is evident that negative *Othering* of Muslims is a Europe-wide phenomenon (Wodak et al. 2013; Wodak 2015) with concern expressed by organisations and academics in the UK and Denmark (see Sian et al. 2012; Hervik 2012; Keskinen and Andreassen 2017). However, variations in Muslim media representation is context dependent within Europe (Caviedes 2015). Consequently, there is a need to examine and compare Muslim media discourses cross-culturally. Saifuddin Ahmed and Jörg Matthes (2017) have outlined examining Muslim media representation ‘cross-nationally’ as increasingly essential to further the field of media representation studies.

This paper focuses on discourses about Muslims within media reporting, in four newspapers, on the Charlie Hebdo terrorist attack of 7th of January 2015 where two gunmen killed 12 staff from Charlie Hebdo and injured 11. Amongst the dead were cartoonists, editors, maintenance workers, police officers and guests (Withnall and Lichfield 2015).

Multimodal critical discourse analysis is used on four newspaper opinion pieces from *The Guardian*, *The Telegraph*, *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken* who covered the attack over two weeks. The paper argues that the event is recontextualised to focus on the incompatibility of Muslims living in each country. Furthermore, Muslims who are critical of the Muslim ‘community’ are utilised in texts to justify negative representations of Muslims and legitimise discourses of the status quo. The research contributes to cross-cultural media representation of Muslims, with the inclusion of examining representation through Gullestad’s *Star System* theory. Moreover, the paper contributes to mediation literature on Muslims. This paper uses a cluster event and developed theory taken from my PhD thesis (Lawrie, 2019).

Press Reporting on Muslims

Previous research has been conducted focusing on media representation of Muslims. Paul Baker et al. (2013) found from a corpus analysis covering 1998 – 2009 of British press reporting that Muslims are increasingly linked with extremism and represented through negative *Othering*. Similarly, Kerry Moore et al. (2008) examined reporting of Muslims through content analysis and some critical discourse analysis on the British from 2000 – 2008. Findings indicate that Muslims are increasingly discursively linked to acts of terrorism. However, their approaches did not filter stories that focus on national identity, which this study did. Edward Said (1997), Elizabeth Poole and John E. Richardson (2006) and Ferruh Yilmaz (2011), for example, offer more generalised examinations on Muslim representation within the media. However, this paper narrowed the focus on examining if national identity and multiculturalism in each country are referred to when constructing discourses on Muslims following a specific cluster event.

Media reporting on Muslims following Charlie Hebdo has also been examined previously; Des Freedman (2017) focuses on the recontextualization of Charlie Hebdo as an issue of freedom of speech which is similar to the media framing of the Muhammad Crisis of 2006 (Hervik 2018 and Boe 2017). Desislava Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva (2015) cross-culturally examined newspaper articles from Bulgaria and Britain for over two months following Charlie Hebdo. Results indicated that both countries attempted to portray a positive representation of Muslims.

However, the newspapers analysed were more left-leaning, unlike this study, which focuses on examining newspapers from both spectrums. Juan Liu and Ashik Shafi (2019) analysed British and American newspaper coverage of the Charlie Hebdo attack through content analysis and survey data and found freedom of speech a dominant framing. Other studies have focused more generally on outlining Charlie Hebdo and subsequent press reporting as the result of the normalised racism and xenophobia against Muslims (Bertelsen and Zagato 2015) and a dominant focus on the reporting of Muslims (Sreberny 2016). However, no paper has examined and compared cross-culturally press reporting on Muslims by the British and Danish press following the Charlie Hebdo attack.

Dominant discourses of constructing an incompatibility with the West and linking Muslims with violent acts through an Orientalist lens has resulted in negative *Othering* of Muslims in Europe and Western wide (Benzehaf 2017). An *Orientalist* discourse is the means of creating an imaginary *Other* between the East and West to promote European power and differentiation (Said 1995). It constructs a positive identity of the West and presents Muslims as ‘barbaric’, homogenising Islam as a ‘malevolent and unthinking essence’ linked with terror and extremism (Said 1997, 8). The media construct Muslims, through a mix of *clash of civilizations* and *orientalist* discourse whereby Muslims are framed as having an ‘Islamic’ viewpoint on everything (Karim 2011).

The Western media represent Muslims through a ‘globalised discourse’ combining *Orientalism* and xenophobic discourses and focusing on a moral panic of the Muslim *Other* as uncivilized (Dagistanli and Grewal 2012, 119). These discourses are employed to justify anti-multiculturalism stances. Additionally, this is evident in both the Danish and British press (Kublitz 2010; Richardson 2004). *Orientalist* discourse constructs a discursive difference between the ‘unenlightened outsiders’ Muslims and the West (Morey and Yaqin 2011, 1). Although media discourse is constructed to be interpreted as ‘common sense’ it is ‘largely ideological’ in preserving the status quo (Talbot 2007).

Despite many European countries being well established multicultural nations, the focus in the media remains on the cultural incompatibility of Muslims through an ‘*Us*’ versus ‘*Them*’ dichotomy (Gemi et al. 2013). A fear-inducing anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant frame has been created within European media focusing on multiculturalism or multicultural aspects within a nation and the loss of national identity (Lesinska 2014). This is also evident in the UK and Denmark and has been partly influenced by the rise of right-wing populist parties, which has affected mainstream politics and media reporting on Muslim communities. Examples of

this are the success of UKIP (an anti-immigrant, anti-Islam and anti-Europe party) in 2004 and 2009 European Elections (Hayton 2010; Sheets et al. 2015); and the Danish People's Party (DPP hereon) entering mainstream politics in 2001 Danish general election. A further Danish example includes the subsequent negative focus of Muslim immigration and framed 'struggle to reclaim Denmark from a political elite' following DPP entering mainstream politics (Hervik 2012, 212). The rise of right-wing populism has emerged as a result of an ethno-national focus, through cue expressions, implicitly 'stressing difference' of Muslims (Wodak 2015, 54; Inglehart and Norris 2016). National 'markers' are used implicitly through banal nationalism deictic words such as 'we' and 'us' (Billing 1995). The *Us v Them* dichotomy functions as a primary focus in constructing the conspiracy theory of the political elite favouring the rights of Muslims over of the 'indigenous' (Stoica 2017).

In the British media, the framing of Muslims as culturally different through an *Us* and *Them* lens has been constructed following focus on multiculturalism as 'the weakest link in British national identity' (Morey and Yaqin 2011, 77). Events such as the July 2005 London bombings (7/7) have led to the '*Othering*' of British Muslims (Poole 2011), through discursively linking terrorist attackers with the wider Muslim community.

Within Denmark, the media have predominantly employed a *clash of civilizations* discourse, focusing on freedom of speech, and the 2005/2006 Muhammad Cartoons succeeded in pushing this discourse to the forefront of public debate (Bødker 2009). Further expansion of 'multi-ethnic' neighbourhoods framed as 'ghettos' is constructed in the media as sites of 'bad integration' (Jensen 2015). Debates on Muslims are focused on cultural difference, a threat to national security and the loss of national identity.

Although this paper focused on print newspaper articles, it should be noted that there is an increasing need for examining the fast-growing online news medium, as recommended for future research (Bergström and Belfrage 2018). However, Marina Ghersetti (2014) and Thorsten Quandt (2009) found no differences between print and online contents of newspaper articles. Nevertheless, the paper examines print newspaper articles and tools used to construct discourses on Muslims.

Star System

A *Star System* has developed in the media, as a discursive tool, to forefront and present views of minority women who are critical of 'their' Muslim and Islamic communities as 'Western' (Gullestad 2006). The *Star System* theory developed from Virginia R. Dominguez's (1994)

initial finding focusing on race inclusion within the Academy in America in the 1990s introduced to ‘counter historical patterns of exclusion based on racial classification’ (333). Dominguez found the Academy created a ‘star system’ of ethnic minority academics hired to demonstrate diversity within Universities. The ‘star system’ functioned not to promote diversity but to control visible differences between white and black academics further. The theory has overlapped into media research to highlight the employment of the *Star System* of ‘diversity’ within the media. Gullestad (2006) outlines minority women who censor their minority, are ‘superprivileged’ (ibid: 50) by the media to ‘confirm’ dominant negative discourses of Muslims while constructing an image of the press promoting diversity of voices.

This theory proved essential for the analysis of this paper, which found ‘Muslim’ voices who were critical of the Muslim communities were utilised in articles to legitimise negative representations of Muslims.

Method

This paper conducted a comparative study of the British and Danish media, of Muslim representation in reporting of, and following the Charlie Hebdo terrorist attack in Paris, France, 2015. The Charlie Hebdo attack was chosen to analyse to build on previous literature examining media discourses on Muslims during ‘cluster events’ (see for example Alghamdi 2015; Hervik 2014; Weaver 2010; Vliegenhart and Boomgaarden 2007 and Andreassen 2007). Furthermore, the significance of the Charlie Hebdo attack on media discourse has been acknowledged as contributory in normalising negative representations of Muslims (Hjarvard and Lundby 2018 and Freedman 2017).

Research Question

The paper focuses on discourses used about Muslims in media reporting within selected newspapers after the Charlie Hebdo attack. The following sub-questions for the research were:

1. What discourses are utilised to represent Muslims in the British and Danish newspaper articles?
2. What framings are used within discourses to represent Muslims in the British and Danish newspaper articles?
3. Is national identity utilised to represent Muslims, if so, how?

4. Are references made to multiculturalism in each country?

The research questions developed from engagement with existing literature around the dominant framings and discourses the media employ when discussing Muslim communities (see Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010; Wodak 2015; Allen 2015; Billig 1995 and Poole 2011, 2014). These research questions aided in formulating the methodology for selecting and filtering the corpus.

In total, four texts, all opinion pieces, were analysed from four newspapers. The newspapers used were; *The Telegraph* and *The Guardian* from the British press and *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken* from the Danish press¹. A mix of left and right leaning newspapers was required to determine if political stance would influence Muslim representation, as has been found in previous research (see Jacobsen et al. 2013 and Fryberg et al. 2012). Texts were retrieved from the Danish media database *InfoMedia* and British texts were retrieved from *International Newsstand* and *LexisLibrary*. All texts are available online.

Texts were gathered over two weeks from 7th – 22nd of January. Thereon texts were filtered through a stratification system² To narrow the comparative element to four texts to focus on producing multiple textual evidence. The paper utilised critical discourse analysis using Fairclough's three-dimensional framework (1992). The primary analysis was on the textual level with a focus on 'cue' words/phrases and framings, although discursive and social practices dimensions are referenced. Criticism of critical discourse analysis outlines the need for more textual evidence, and therefore, the focus of the paper is on the textual level (Breeze 2011; Stubbs 1997).

Textual analysis in the form of multi-modal critical discourse analysis was used, including a Barthes inspired semiotic analysis of three images selected from the texts. The images analysed were chosen to outline the representation of newspapers' use of binary opposition depicting Muslims as *Other*. Furthermore, the addition of analysing some images from the articles are in part, a response to Ahmed and Matthes' (2017) call for media representation on Muslims to include more visual analysis.

¹ Danish texts were translated and interpreted by the researcher who has a background in Danish.

² Texts were required to refer to Muslims in general, national identity and reference, implicitly or explicitly, multiculturalism in each country. These stratification requirements were formulated from common themes used concerning Muslim representation, such as multiculturalism, evident in previous literature.

Analysis

Four texts were analysed and the main discourses found were; *Orientalism* and *Clash of Civilizations*, these were presented in a right-wing populist framing of fear of ‘the’ Muslim *Other*. The analysis for both countries is structured under discourse headings and framings. All texts recontextualise the attack to situate the threat of terrorism within each country, which is linked to the Muslim community’s lack of integration and understanding of their constructed ‘host’ country.

UK

The UK newspapers focus on using an *Orientalist* discourse within three frames – they are Muslim victimhood identity, blaming the political elite and binary opposition of an enlightened West versus barbaric Muslims. The framings all contribute to creating an ‘*Other*’ representation of Muslims. Furthermore, national identity is employed, constructing an ‘indigenous’ UK representation, in opposition to Muslims.

Orientalism & Muslim Victimhood Identity

The Telegraph article ‘When will the safety of innocent civilians – of all faiths and none – be put before the human rights of maniacs?’ by Allison Pearson focuses on creating an *Orientalist* binary opposition of an ‘enlightened West’ and ‘barbaric’, ‘childish’ Muslims. This is to be expected as Pearson, a columnist, is known for her framing of Muslims against liberal ideals, particularly during the Jack Straw veil debate (Meer et al. 2015). The text focuses on the Charlie Hebdo attack survivors who are framed as having ‘forgiven’ the attackers by creating the cartoon ‘I am Charlie’. This framing is in opposition to the attackers who chose to react in ‘anger’. However, this representation is extended to the wider Muslim community in the UK who; ‘lash out like angry children’, they are ‘childish’ and will not acknowledge they are ‘part of the problem’ (Pearson 2015). Muslims are framed as ‘offended’ and ‘hurt’ by the Charlie Hebdo cartoons and being intolerant. This functions as part of a Muslim Victimhood identity framing which is part of the *Orientalist* discourse. Legitimation is created by quoting Sara Khan, director of Inspire, who has supported the Prevent strategy, a major contributor in constructing Muslims as ‘suspect’ (Qurashi 2018). Khan states the reaction by Muslims towards the cartoons is ‘the Muslim “grievance narrative”’ (Pearson 2015). Khan is used as a *Star System* member with a critical voice on Muslims living in Europe, via a homogenous grouping of Muslims stating that they live in;

‘European nations that afford them remarkable freedoms and benefits’ however ‘insists on seeing themselves as forever oppressed by the West’ (Pearson 2015)

Similar to *The Telegraph*, *The Guardian* text ‘After the Paris attacks we’re in danger of abandoning the right to offend’ by Natalie Nougayrède, also uses *Orientalism* to frame Muslims as collectively ‘angry’ consistently. This is achieved with intertextual reference to *Jyllands-Posten* 2005 publication of the Muhammad cartoons. *The Guardian* focuses on the fake cartoons, which *Jyllands-Posten* did not create, that imams presented in the Middle East, this was ‘intended to arouse hatred and anger’, which led to ‘violent incidents’ and ‘dozens of deaths’ (Nougayrède 2015). This intertextual reference recontextualises the Charlie Hebdo attack to frame Muslims as violent, and manipulative. The text highlights that Muslims will use ‘deliberate manipulation’ of facts to cause anger because of ‘sensitivities’.

Similarly, this is, like *The Telegraph*’s framing of Muslims, part of a Muslim Victimhood Identity. Again, like *The Telegraph*, *The Guardian* uses right-wing populist framing by focusing on the liberal left who are preventing freedom of speech and allowing terrorism by not challenging ‘issues’ within the Muslim community (Freedman 2017). *The Guardian* frame the left as ‘guided by[...]colonial guilt’ (Nougayrède 2015).

Colonial guilt is an interpretive and nationalist ‘cue’ (Fairclough 1989 and Billig 1995) that the text producer is referencing Muslims. The left is permitting Muslims to be ‘sensitive’ in criticism because of their ‘guilt’, and this is negating the right of freedom of speech. ‘The right to offend’, or freedom of speech, is ‘in danger’ from the liberal left and Muslims. The text producer utilises right-wing populist rhetoric and banal nationalism of a British ‘Us’ and minority ‘Them’ to strengthen their argument of the ‘danger’ to freedom of speech. Nougayrède are ‘struck by the argument’;

‘that we should be especially sensitive to the views of minorities, or any group perceived as weak[...]should they infringe our free choices in a democracy?’ (Nougayrède 2015)

Despite *The Guardian* being left-leaning the text aligns with the rise and mainstreaming of populist rhetoric around Muslims.

Orientalism - Blaming the Political Elite

Similarly, *The Telegraph* also focus on the liberal left, explicitly blaming them for the attack. There is intertextual referencing through listing media events and news of forced marriage, segregation in schools and female genital mutilation that ‘we’ (Brits) are ‘fed up’ of hearing

(Pearson 2015). The text claims to represent ‘non-Muslim Britons’ ‘cue’ of ethno-nationalism, populist rhetoric, and of speaking for ‘the people’ (Wodak 2015). The text continues that non-Muslims are ‘fed up’ and ‘despise’ the ‘cowardly political class’ that ‘tip-toed around ‘cultural sensitivities’ (Pearson 2015). These examples are used to link *Orientalist* discourse with the framing of the political elite allowing the ‘*Orientalist*’ practices to happen in the UK. The framing alludes that this is because they are afraid of offending Muslims who are discursively linked as part of the prevention of freedom of speech and potential terrorism in the UK. References to these practices being non-British are demonstrated when referring to a Muslim girl who has been raped by men in ‘her community’, the author states;

‘how dare they come here and recreate their primitive, peasant society in this enlightened land?’ (Pearson 2015)

Security discourse is used intertextually to include a video of Abu Hamza or ‘Captain Hook’, which the British media has nicknamed him, who was found guilty of terrorism in the USA. The video documents his years of working in terrorist groups; the images from this video reinforce the *Orientalist* discourse of angry, barbaric Muslims. This further reinforces the right-wing populist rhetoric of ‘feeble’ British political elite not protecting Britain from terrorism. Furthermore, in comparison to a video used at the end of the article, the two images reinforce the *Orientalist* binary opposition of enlightened West and barbaric Muslims.

Orientalism - Binary Opposition Enlightened West v Barbaric Muslims

The Telegraph’s focus of Abu Hamza to frame the left as tacitly supporting terrorism, while negating the promotion of freedom of speech, additionally creates a binary opposition between the West and Muslims. Image 1 reflects this and on a denotative level has three men shown as holding onto a beige car. The men are each wearing a headpiece; they all appear to be laughing, smiling and shouting. One man to the left is holding a semi-automatic rifle, the man next to him is wearing a bandolier and the man to the forefront is carrying a semi-automatic rifle on his back. Image 2 denotatively shows three white men sitting at a table. The man to the left-hand side is looking and facing a man in the middle; he is holding a microphone and is wearing glasses and a brown suit. The man in the middle is wearing a black leather jacket; he has his head down and his face is not visible. He is using his left hand to hold his head, and his right hand is touching a microphone lying on a table on top of what appears to be a newspaper with a green front cover and white font. The third man to the right-hand side is wearing a black suit with a white shirt, he is facing the man in the middle and has his right arm on the man’s shoulder, he appears to be leaning towards the man in the middle.

The Abu Hamza video is in binary opposition to the Charlie Hebdo video where the use of the crying cartoonist shows the emotion or humanness of the West, expressed in the cartoonist and his creation of 'I am Charlie' connoting 'we are all Charlie'. The cartoonist Renald Luzier discusses forgiving the attackers while being visibly upset. This display of vulnerability and emotion reinforces the 'enlightened West', ready to forgive discourse by in contrast with the intertextuality of Abu Hamza 'Captain Hook'. Hamza is represented as what the left have permitted Muslims to 'do' in the UK, fostering 'primitive' practices such as segregation in schools.



Image 1: Video still, *Telegraph* (Telegraph Media Group Limited 2015)



Image 2: Video still, *Telegraph* (Telegraph Media Group Limited 2015)

This is intended to discursively link Hamza with 'barbaric' Muslims immigrants, not demarked from the wider Muslim community, referred to in the article. This further eludes to the Christian

religion and prominence of forgiveness, reinforcing the Western framing and *Othering* of Muslims from the mainstream Western religion.

Denmark

The Danish texts use a *Clash of Civilizations* discourse with further sub-discourses focusing on: fear, Muslims as a suspect community, and like the UK texts create a visual binary opposition demarcation between angry Muslims and democracy. Similarly, like *The Telegraph*, *Jyllands-Posten* also utilises *Star System* members to justify negative *Otherisation* of Muslims.

Clash of Civilizations – Fear Discourse

Fear of violence within a *Clash of Civilizations* discourse is focused on in *Jyllands-Posten* text ‘We can’t just pretend it is not Muslims’ by Lasse Lavrsen and Martin Kaae. The text includes quotes from several Muslims confirming that there is a need for ‘us’; to examine Islam and Muslims. Naser Khader, a Conservative Danish MP is quoted as saying that Muslims need to be vocal about denouncing terrorism. He states there is:

‘a need for a complete fundamental cultural war inside the Muslim house’
(Lavrsen and Kaae 2015)

The ‘Muslim house’ creates a static, homogenous representation of Muslims who are in a ‘culture war’. The metaphor of ‘cultural war’ connotes that there is an inherent problem, a cultural norm of terrorism, within ‘the’ Muslim community discursively linking Muslims with terrorism. Quotes from Professor Emeritus Mehdi Mozaffari, author of a book on Islamism in 2013, cue Mozaffari as an authority on the topic. These quotes are utilised to legitimise the linking of Muslims with terrorism. Mozaffari is quoted that ‘violence is part of Islam’, therefore an extension of all Muslims.

Furthermore, fear and suspect community discourses are discursively linked with Muslims through comparisons between Islam and Nazism. This is achieved by quoting Khader, a *Star System* member, who suggests that Muslims are the solution to extremism. Muslims need to ‘distance themselves from terrorism’; Khader states it is:

‘your problem [Muslims] more than it is the Danes problem[...]You have a problem as a Muslim if you do not say “not in my name”’ (Lavrsen and Kaae 2015)

Tacit support for terrorism from Muslims is implied in this framing as the problem and solution in tackling terrorism, which *Jyllands-Posten* frame as part of Muslim culture. This framing

and discourse from *Jyllands-Posten* are no surprise considering the newspaper's history of negative Muslim representation, from campaigns against Somali refugees to the publishing of the Muhammad cartoons (Hervik 2012).

Clash of Civilizations – Star System

This utilisation of *Star System* members within *Jyllands-Posten* functions within a *Clash of Civilizations* discourse. The headline 'We can't just pretend it is not Muslims' by Lavrsen and Kaae 2015 uses banal nationalism with the use of the word 'we'. Quotes from Ayaan Hirsi Ali, a *Star System* member, who, along with 'Danish experts' all 'agree' that the Quran was the terrorists' inspiration thus supports the headline. Furthermore, the headline creates an image of a 'clash' between Islam and the West because it homogenises Muslims who follow the same ideals or 'ideology' as Islamists. This is legitimised in the statement that 'a row of experts' (cue for 'truth') in religion and politics have confirmed it is 'not possible' to separate the terror attacks from Islam. The number of experts quoted is not stated, however, the metaphor of a 'row of experts' functions to legitimise the discourse because it is 'confirmed' by many experts. The experts 'underline' that;

'the terrorists follow an extreme version of Islam, but this is based on a religion practiced worldwide by 1.6 billion Muslims' (Lavrsen and Kaae 2015)

Teun A. van Dijk (1992) outlines the word 'but' is often employed when xenophobic discourses are utilised because it negates what was previously stated. The 'suspect' lens, therefore, is on Muslims 'worldwide' because they practice the same religion as the extremists. Thereby this creates a binary opposition of a 'clash' between the West and Muslims through discursively linking and framing all Muslims as potential terrorists. Importantly, there is an attempt to demark Muslims from terrorists by stating that not all Muslims be blamed for terrorism. However, the legitimising use of quotes from 'experts' is again employed in the next paragraph reinforcing that Islam cannot be separated from terrorism. This reiterates that it is a problem with Muslims and Islam and is further evident in *Politiken*.

Clash of Civilizations – Suspect Community

Constructing Muslims as a suspect community is dominant in *Politiken's* article 'Whilst We Wait' by DPP member, Mogens Camre. Muslims living in Denmark are linked with terrorism because they are framed as part of a 'problem', have culturally different values and the left have 'allowed' 'them' to remain 'different' in Denmark. There is linking of recent settlements

of non-Western immigrants in the overall framing that the movement of people into Denmark will ultimately lead to a terrorist attack. The article states;

‘we can’t continue to house humans who reject our fundamental values’ (Camre 2015)

Framing Muslims as being against the constructed ‘indigenous’ ‘values’ is employed more in the Danish newspapers than the British newspapers utilising the discourse. The ‘cue’ word, and Danish idiom, ‘house’ establishes a need to examine the ‘issue’ of immigration from non-Western countries, framing all Muslims as immigrants. Further framing of Muslims as immigrants is indicated when Camre states:

‘we cannot have foreigners in this country, who are against democracy’ (Camre 2015)

The word ‘foreigners’ in the excerpt translates to ‘fremmede’ in Danish; this is significant as in Danish two words can be used to mean ‘foreigner’ – ‘udlænding’ and ‘fremmede’. This is linked with radical right-wing populist parties’ rhetoric who have been found to use the xenophobic use of the word ‘Fremmede’ in Denmark and Austria (Boreu 2013). On a discursive level it must be acknowledged that Mogens Camre, the text producer, has voiced negative opinions about Islam and Muslims overall who he cites ‘cannot be integrated’ (Holtug 2011, 109). There is further focus on the incompatibility of Muslim ‘values’ against Danish ‘values’ with intertextual referencing of a Muslim woman debating headscarves on DR (Danish television network) who supports:

‘the culture of the oppression of women’ (Camre 2015)

This is framed in contrast against Danish ‘values’ which are implied as incompatible because they cannot both be supported.

Although *Politiken* is a traditionally left-leaning newspaper the collaboration with Camre to produce the article demonstrates the normalisation of negative Muslim *Othering* and mainstreaming of populist rhetoric in the media (Wodak 2015; Hervik, 2012). Moreover, the article reflects the influence of DPP on Danish society including politics, the media and changing media landscape in Denmark towards increased collaboration with politicians to widen the readership (Blach-Ørsten in Kuhn and Nielsen 2014).

Use of the *Clash of Civilizations* discourse is further exemplified in the utilisation of an image in the text, creating a binary opposition between Muslims and Denmark.

Clash of Civilizations – Binary Opposition of Angry Muslims versus Democracy

A binary opposition of angry Muslims versus Democracy ('cue' word for Danish identity) is reinforced with the inclusion of an image to legitimise the *Clash of Civilizations* discourse.

Image 3 shows a grey/blue shadow covering a man holding the gun and aiming towards a 'democracy' sign. This connotes that he is coming out of the darkness in reference to the overall narrative of Denmark being the next target. This is reinforced with the headline 'Whilst We Wait' because society has allowed democracy to be attacked for too long. Therefore, terrorism is coming out of the darkness, which additionally represents this darkness is already present in Denmark and emerging out into the light. This reinforces the incompatibility of Islam with the West or Denmark, because it is 'angry' or threatening to 'democracy' or Danish identity. The shadow around the man holding the gun constructs the myth of the unenlightened Muslim in duality with the enlightened Westerner. In this framing, the image also emphasises an Orientalist discourse.

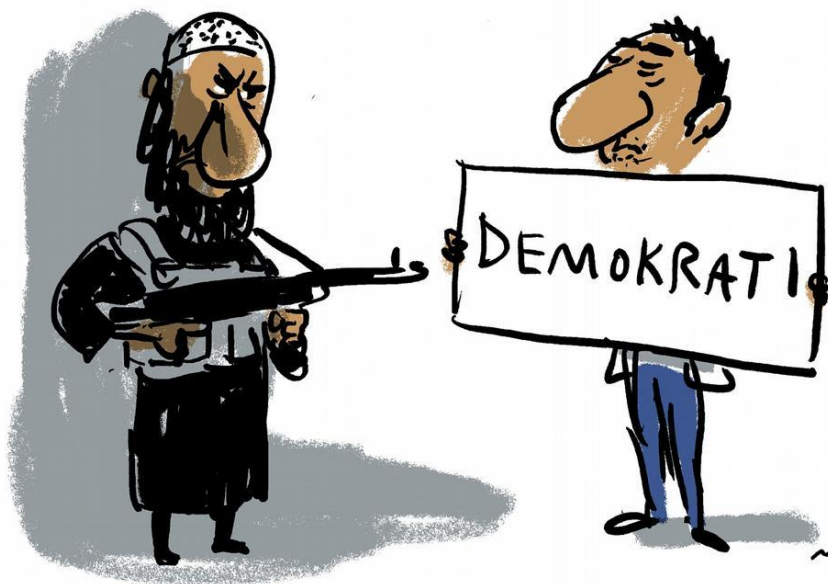


Image 3 *Politiken*, (Dreyer 2015)

This is a similar duality to that of *The Telegraph* and the use of videos showing the duality between Hamza and the cartoonist or the barbaric, angry 'foreign' Muslim versus the forgiving, enlightened West.

Conclusion

This paper examined, cross-culturally, media discourses on Muslims in British and Danish newspapers following the Charlie Hebdo attack. The analysis demonstrates that discourses on Muslims are utilised within banal nationalism to construct Muslims implicitly as immigrants. *Orientalist* discourse references to Muslims having moved from another country into the ‘host’ nation. This is a similar finding to Baker et al. (2013) that Muslims and immigration are discursively linked in the media. Furthermore, Muslims are framed as being ‘barbaric’ and having different values from the ‘host country’. Additionally, references to country ‘values’ and the liberal political elite function to criticise multiculturalism and multi-cultural visibility in both countries.

There is a focus on Islam as ‘clashing’ with the West; this is in binary opposition to the ‘enlightened West’, demarcated as emotional, forgiving and liberal. All texts, irrespective of political leaning, utilise right-wing populist rhetoric through focusing on nationalism and ‘the people’ being under threat from Muslims. Terrorism is framed as ‘allowed’ and welcomed by the liberal political elite and discursively linked to ‘threatened’ freedom of speech and democracy in both countries (Freedman 2017). This reinforces the typical right-wing populist rhetoric, which concentrates on the construction of the political elite against the ‘people’ while ‘pandering’ to Muslim *Others* rights, neglecting the ‘indigenous’ (Stoica 2017). There is dominant use of right-wing populist discourse and focus on the differences in values. Thus, the incompatibility of Muslims in both countries is part of the ‘cultural backlash’ perspective used in right-wing populist rhetoric (Inglehart and Norris 2016). Muslims are represented as an *Other*, who are a security risk reinforcing Wodak et al.’s (2013) theory of the ‘normalization’ of *Othering* in politics, media and public discourse. This is in contrast to Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva’s (2015) finding of positive representation of Muslims following the Charlie Hebdo attack. However, this can be explained by the focus of this paper examining articles published within two weeks of the attack and the inclusion of more right-leaning newspapers, as well as left-leaning, in the analysis.

Furthermore, in the context of Gullestad’s *Star System* theory, the paper identifies an extension of the theory in that a text including quotes from Muslims or ex-Muslims who criticise Islam or fellow Muslims, functions as part of the ‘authority’ to legitimize and normalise discourses and ideologies around Muslims. This was used in all texts except *The Guardian*. The findings outline that following the Charlie Hebdo attack, all newspapers utilised negative discourses framing and representing Muslims as a homogenous community linked to the terrorist attacks.

The paper contributes to mediation research offering a further theoretical lens, through the *Star System* theory, to examine ways and tools which the media use to represent Muslims. Although the paper has limitations as it examined four texts, including three images, there is scope for expanding the corpus of texts. This could be achieved by employing mixed methods of quantitative content analysis on a larger corpus of texts and critical discourse analysis on selected texts.

Future Research

Future research should focus on utilising the *Star System* theory in Muslim media representation to examine how *Star System* members are utilised in different countries by the press as well as other media. Another interesting element for future research would be to focus on case study interviews of journalists about the production of news stories centred around the Charlie Hebdo attack. This would add a further contextual layer to a critical discourse analysis of the Charlie Hebdo attack.

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Sport or politics? Evaluative discourse analysis of the international media coverage of Sochi Olympic Games 2014

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines how media and news reports in particular contribute to the construction of evaluation and attitudes to the Winter Olympic Games 2014 in Sochi as a global media event owing to its controversial nature and various issues connected with these Games. The data are gathered from the prominent English-speaking newspapers in the USA and Europe representing two traditional centres of the Olympic stream and Western ideology in the contrast to the host country – Russia. In attempt to address the aim, the research explores resources of Appraisal in the articles dedicated to Sochi 2014. The study combines both qualitative and quantitative approaches to the analysis of data. The findings reveal that all newspapers construct a distinctively negative evaluation of Sochi 2014 by means of the use of emotive language and selective coverage of topics relating either to the Games or to the host country. The paper is aimed to contribute to the existing research of discourse analysis and the evaluation theory of Appraisal in the context of the Olympic discourse.

KEYWORDS

Olympic discourse, evaluation, appraisal, media coverage, thematic organization

Introduction

The modern Olympic Games are indisputably the apotheosis of human advance in sport. With the rapid development of technology, they have become a global media event (Bernstein and Blain, 2003). The process of choosing a host country, preparation for the Games and the actual performance generate a range of newspapers articles, online news, television broadcasting, specified television programmes and tele-debates. The seeming target audience of the Games is supposed to be athletes, sport journalists and sport spectators, as according to the Olympic Charter, ‘the Olympic Games are competitions between athletes in individual or team events and not between countries’ (Article 6, Olympic Charter 2013). Yet, Richard Espy (1981, 7) points out, ‘the modern Games, however, have been utilized not so much for international fair-play, peace, and understanding as for national self-interest, survival, and pride’. Despite the fact that this was stated in 80s, the current paper aims to explore whether it is still relevant now by conducting a discourse analysis of the recent Olympic media coverage.

For this purpose, the 2014 Winter Olympic Games in Sochi (Russia) are selected as the main research object. Being hosted by a former communist and thereby politically alien country, made these Games disputable from the beginning. Furthermore, passing of the new laws banning gay propaganda six months before the Games caused a storm of criticism by members of LGBT community and a number of foreign politicians. In addition, two bombings in the city of Volgograd, which is relatively close to the Olympic Village, two months before the Games raised concerns about the appropriateness of choice of the host country with a bad record on terrorist attacks (e.g. Russian apartment bombings in 1999, Moscow theater hostage crisis in 2002, Beslan school siege in 2004, Saint Petersburg Metro explosion in 2017 and etc.).

All these issues multiplied by ongoing geopolitical disputes involving Russia and the West generated huge debates on Sochi 2014 that were realised through a range of newspapers articles and news reports. According to Paula M. Jullian (2011, 767), no other discourse type is more ideological than the news report since this genre is not overtly political, but the selection of the event, the framing, the sources, the way the events are presented, the headings, etc. are all ideological decisions. Hence, the aim of this paper is to investigate how all factors listed above affect evaluation of the Games and attitudes constructed in media by applying methodological tools of Evaluative theory Appraisal (the overview of the theory will be provided in next sections).

Literature review

The role of media discourse is crucial in contemporary society, as we discover about domestic and international events by means of newspapers or web services that evaluate and represent reality according to their national identity, political, social and religious stances and personal attitudes. As Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky (1988, 2) point out, media serve societal purposes, and these societal purposes include the need to inculcate and defend the economic, social, and political agenda of privileged groups that dominate the domestic society and the state through selection of topics, distribution of concerns, framing of issues, filtering of information, emphasis and tone, and by keeping debate within the bounds of acceptable premises. Sam Keen (1986, 10), similarly notes that ‘in the beginning we create the enemy. Before the weapon comes the image. We think others to death and then invent the battle-axe or the ballistic missiles with which to actually kill them. Propaganda proceeds technology’. As a result, media discourse becomes a fruitful area for linguists and media researchers as it provides a unique combination of reportage on a particular event and intervention of ideology and culture.

One of the most evaluative piece of media discourse is news reportage. Andrew Tolson (1996, 18) defines news as a constantly updated, continuous text, which has no conclusion and which punctuates a society on a repeated, regular and scheduled basis. Jullian (2011, 767) develops it further and claims that no other discourse type is more ideological than the news report since this genre is not overtly political, but the selection of the event, the framing, the sources, the way the events are presented, the headings, etc. are all ideological decisions. The analysis of news reports has been massively discussed and investigated in the academic literature. Much research has been conducted on reporting news in different countries (e.g. Al-Hejin 2014; Baker et al. 2008; Baker 2011; Fang 2001; Kim 2014; Yang and Jiang, 2015). Furthermore, the ideological intervention into news reports and what effect it has on narrating events was articulated and examined by Teun A. van Dijk (1995, 1998), Roger Fowler (1991) and Norman Fairclough (1992, 1995).

On the account of news analysis on the Olympic discourse, there is growing interest in examining the sport event from a media analysis prospective (e.g. Higgs and Weiller 1994; Urquhart and Crossman 1999; Close, Xu, and Askew 2006; MacAloon 2008; O'Bonsawin 2010; Gong 2012; MacDonald and Hunter 2013). Most of the research focuses on sport coverage of different gender and ethnic groups during the Games. Regarding the media analysis of international news coverage of the Games, there is not such a vast range of research,

however, a few studies are worth mentioning. For example, Susanna Hedenborga (2013) conducts the analysis of media representations, exploring how coverage intersects with gender and nationality, and devotes special attention to a comparison between the ways in which Sweden and Britain are represented in the media on the London Games 2012. Mei Yang (2015) investigates news coverage of the Beijing Games 2008 conducted by the British and the Chinese media through applying the elaborated analytical approach – corpus-based CDA.

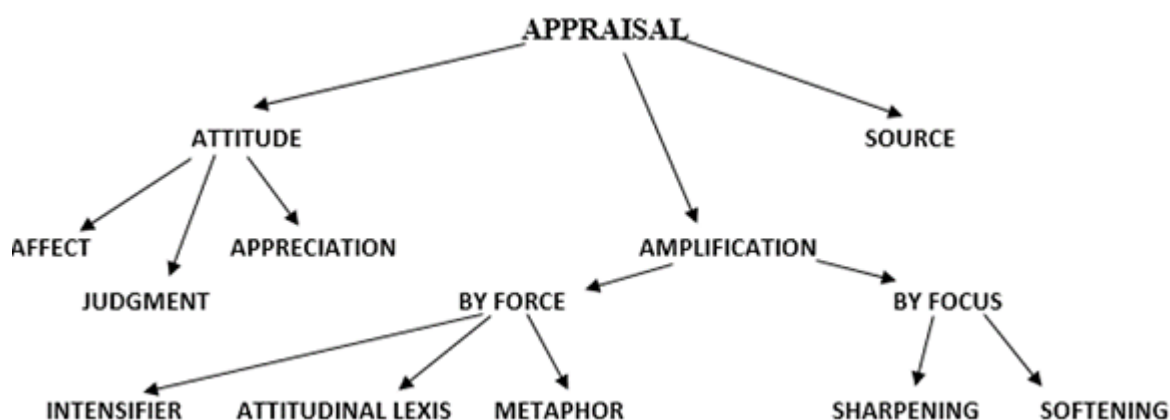
However, no vast research has been found on the media analysis of the Olympic discourse prior to the Games themselves, as all the works mentioned above analyse coverage during the Games. I hypothesise that the articles appearing before the actual event, when the public predominantly does not have any other information or visual evidences in favor or against published facts, creates an initial image and develops preliminary attitude towards the Games. In order to examine the construal of attitudes towards the Games 2014 in the international media news reports, I apply the evaluative theory of Appraisal which is discussed in Section 3.

Methodology

As it was stated above, the main focus of the paper is evaluative meanings and attitudes constructed in international news reports through the lenses of the evaluative theory of Appraisal. The theory of Appraisal designed by J. R. Martin and David Rose (2003) offers ‘one of the most comprehensive classifications available to explore linguistic evaluation’ (Benitez-Castro and Hidalgo-Tenorio 2019, 308). It examines texts from the perspective how an author/authors construct interpersonal meanings. This system allows authors to create alignment and solidarity with their audience by using language that expands the discourse to include other voices and opinions or, if the opposite effect is desired, to create distance from their audience by using language that contracts or closes the discourse, giving the speaker’s position more weight and finality (Gales 2009, 227).

The taxonomy consists of three major branches – Attitude, Amplification and Source (see Figure 1). However, for the purpose of the pure focus on the construction of attitude in the news and due to space restriction, the paper only analyses categories of Attitude and Amplification. Attitude is represented through feelings, human characters and behavior and evaluating things. In other words, appraisal refers to emotion (Affect), ethic (Judgement) and aesthetics (Appreciation).

Figure 1. The systematized overview of the system of Appraisal (adapted from Martin and Rose, 2003)



In addition to the categories focusing on what is appraised, attitudes vary in the intensity. This is called Amplification or Graduation (both terms are used interchangeably). By Amplification we mean emotive vocabulary, metaphors, idioms, adverbs, etc. Traditionally, amplification is divided according to how it is executed – by force or by focus. Amplification by force is divided into three sub-categories, namely grammatical intensifier (e.g. *extremely* hot; *highly* motivated), attitudinal lexis (a purely lexical tool that comprises itself the higher or lower degree of intensification) and metaphor (items of figurative meaning).

The second dimension of Amplification is focus. As Martin and Rose (2003, 46) point out, grading resources of this kind does not so much turn the volume up and down as sharpen and soften the boundaries between things. In other words, we might deploy sharpening or softening to the language that is traditionally non-graded (e.g. *as sort of* guy, *kind of* teacher, *about four hours* (softening); *very first time*, *exactly the same*, *true music* (sharpening)).

Overall, the system of Appraisal concentrates on semantic and lexical instantiations which can construe an evaluative meaning and potentially dispose and prime readers/listeners to build up a targeted attitude. The main advantage of the system is a set of recourses and methodological tools which help uncover covert or implicit meaning uttered by writers/speakers. This interpersonal focus of Appraisal makes it suitable for the project that explores how linguistic devices contribute to the construction of the attitude towards the Games 2014.

Data selection

For the discourse analysis, two newspapers from two geopolitical centers (USA and Europe) are selected. The rationale behind the choice of these particular regions is their political and

sport dominance on the international scene. But, more importantly, a traditional pro-Western orientation of the modern Games might influence the way the event was reported in these regions. For this purpose, in the American context they are *The New York Times* (the third largest US newspaper of a predominately liberal stance) and *The Washington Post* (the sixth largest daily newspaper of a right-wing agenda) (Statista 2018). In the European context, the selected newspapers are the *New Europe* (independent, weekly published English-language newspaper based in Brussels, Belgium) and the *Deutsche Welle* (Germany's international online newspaper broadcasting in 30 languages around the world). The rationale for choosing these two European newspapers is their location in two political centers in Europe –Belgium, the centre of EU political life, and Germany (the largest economy of Europe).

Within these papers, the articles selection is conducted according to a few requirements. The first requirement is their thematic dedication to the Games with headlines containing such words as 'Sochi', 'the Games' and 'Olympics'. This method is supported by van Dijk (1998) who claims that the overall gist of the article is represented in headlines. The second requirement is that the period of publication should cover six months before the Games. The first reason is that six months before the Games is usually the time when all construction is over. The second reason is the passing of the new laws banning gay propaganda in Russia six months before the Games that caused a storm of criticism. Overall, 15 articles from each region are selected (30 in total) for the further discourse analysis which is discussed in the next section.

Discourse analysis

All the articles are qualitatively analysed and all the evaluative data are detected and identified. By evaluative language here, I apply the definition used by John Du Bois (2007 cited in Hunston 2011, 1). He defines it as language which indexes the act of evaluation or the act of stance-talking. In order to facilitate the process of the Appraisal analysis and its further discussion, all the evaluative data are divided according to themes. Such an analytical technique is also supported by van Dijk (1988) and Fang (2001) who argue that by analysing the themes, we gain valuable insights into not only how information was organised, but also what the journalists consider important.

Table 1. Topics and sub-topics in the articles

| Gay issues | Sochi issues | International reaction | Russia |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|
| Russian law | General view on Sochi | | Russia |
| Gays in Russia | Local residents | | Human rights |
| International representation of gays | Venues/facilities | | Politics |
| | Hotels | | Putin |
| | Climate | | Economics |
| | | | Police/Justice |
| | | | Pussy Riot |
| | | | Soviet Past |
| | | | People/culture |
| | | | Press/media |

As a result, four topics, namely ‘Gay Issues’, ‘Sochi Issues’, ‘International Reaction’ and ‘Russia’, are identified as major themes of the analysed articles, which are not accidental as they narrate the main international and domestic issues of the 2014 Games. Considering the fact that these themes are quite broad, and the analysed data showed evaluation of different aspects of these issues, they are divided into sub-themes, with the exception of the theme ‘International Reaction’ (see Table 1).

Having undertaken preliminary preparations for a more detailed investigation, the next step of the discourse analysis is to scrutinise evaluative language items from the perspective of Appraisal theory and the polarity of utterances (negative or positive stance). All the findings are categorised and organised in summarising tables. In the following sub-sections, I will focus on discursive patterns and trends of attitudinal language in two different national contexts.

American news coverage

In this sub-section, I will discuss what evaluative patterns and trends are identified in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. In terms of the distribution of analytical categories, *The Washington Post* tends to use the resources of Appreciation more frequently than Affect and Appreciation (see Table 2). The most commented theme in terms of Appreciation is Sochi as the geographical location of the Games. Hence, it is worth discussing Appreciation instances in more details below.

Table 2. The categories of appraisal in *The Washington Post*

| Main Topic | Subtopics | Positive connotation | | | | | | Negative connotation | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|----------|--------------|---------------|-------------------|----------|--------------------------------|--------|----------|---------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | | Attitude | | | Amplification | | | Attitude | | | Amplification | | | |
| | | Affect | Judgment | Appreciation | Intensifier | Attitudinal lexis | Metaphor | Sharpening/ softening focus | Affect | Judgment | Appreciation | Intensifier | Attitudinal lexis | Metaphor |
| Gay issues | Russian law | | | | | | | | | 1 | | 1 | | |
| | Gays in Russia | | 1 | 2 | | 3 | | | 2 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | |
| | International representation of gays | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sochi issues | Sochi | | | 3 | | 1 | | | 4 | | 36 | 9 | 17 | 3 |
| | Local residents | | 1 | 2 | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | | 4 | 2 | 2 | |
| | Venues/facilities | | | | | | | | | | 11 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| | Hotels | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 5 | | |
| | Climate | | | 5 | 1 | 1 | | | | | 7 | 4 | 1 | 2 |
| | International reaction | | | | | | | | 1 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 1 | |
| Russia | Russia | | | | | | | | 2 | 2 | 18 | | 13 | 2 |
| | Human rights | | | | | | | | 1 | | 4 | | | |
| | Politics | | | | | | | | | 1 | 2 | | 2 | |
| | Putin | | | | | | | | | 3 | 4 | | 4 | |
| | Economics | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Police/Justice | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Pussy Riot | | 3 | | | 3 | | | | | | | | |
| | Soviet Past | | | | | | | | | | 2 | | 2 | |
| | People/culture | | | | | | | | 1 | | 1 | | 2 | |
| Press/media | | | | | | | | | | 2 | | 2 | | |

Instead of forming the appreciation of Sochi by means of negative adjectives, *The Washington Post* uses contrastive adjectives or antonyms in a sentence. Even the use of positive adjectives, that are supposed to change the connotation of the whole phrase, has an opposite effect. They seem to emphasise the negative side of described events and makes sentences sound even more negative and corrosive.

| | |
|---|---|
| The grim and the gorgeous | Appreciation |
| in a sort of charming, broken English | Appreciation Amplification (softening focus) |
| stunning in its stony, ruined way | Appreciation |
| broken concrete next to soaring opulence | Appreciation |

In addition to the abundant Appreciation, the theme has the highest number of Affect among all other topics. Noticeably, all of them are used in the negative comments (e.g. *cautioned* wearing their uniforms and gear outside venues; *full of suppression, apprehension; fired up* about these Games). The multiple use of Appreciation accompanied with some occurrence of Affect seems to indicate that the newspaper tended to evaluate Sochi by means of commenting on its drawbacks, but by referring to the feeling people have on Sochi, that seems to be more emotive.

Considering the category of Judgment, it is best represented in two themes – ‘Putin’ and ‘Pussy Riot’. The latest is worth discussing in detail, as Judgment there is amplified by attitudinal lexis. The use of positive judgments intensified by particular lexis (e.g. magnificent, gloriously, heroic) in the comments on Russian opposition group seems to indicate the political position of the newspaper on Russia that comprises the criticism of the Government and support for opposition forces.

| | |
|---|--|
| magnificent human rights spokeswoman from Pussy Riot | Judgment Amplification (attitudinal lexis) |
| gloriously brave and witty | Judgment Amplification (attitudinal lexis) (intensifier) |
| heroic human rights stance | Judgment Amplification (attitudinal lexis) |

Another category of Amplification deployed in *The Washington Post* is metaphor. It is widely used solely in the negative comments (see examples below). Interestingly, some metaphors include references to world-known films and Russian history, although their most negative and disgraceful manifestations (e.g. *weapons in The Matrix and Potemkin village*).

| | |
|---|---|
| a bubble so closed and devoid of reality | Appreciation Amplification (metaphor) |
| men with more weapons than Keanu Reeves when he went through the metal detector in "The Matrix. | Appreciation |
| Potemkin village, an elaborate facade built to impress foreign passersby and to enhance the image of a small, odd, chill-faced man who likes to pose menacingly shirtless in order to seem much taller than he actually is | Judgment Appreciation Amplification (intensifier) (metaphor) (attitudinal lexis) |

The analysis of appraisal in *The New York Times* does not reveal fundamental differences from *The Washington Post*, although some unique patterns are still observed. Similar to *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times* shows the dominance of Appreciation in the most of topics (see Table 3). The only theme where Appreciation does not have the highest point was ‘International reaction’. Interestingly, the number of Affect in this theme is almost twice as high as the number of Appreciation. This is quite a striking pattern considering the overall dominance of the latter.

Table 3. The categories of appraisal in *The New York Times*

| Main Topic | Subtopics | Positive connotation | | | | | | Negative connotation | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|----------|--------------|---------------|-------------------|----------|----------------------------|--------|----------|---------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | | Attitude | | | Amplification | | | Attitude | | | Amplification | | | |
| | | Affect | Judgment | Appreciation | Intensifier | Attitudinal lexis | Metaphor | Sharpening/softening focus | Affect | Judgment | Appreciation | Intensifier | Attitudinal lexis | Metaphor |
| Gay issues | Russian law | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | 15 | 6 | 5 | | |
| | Gays in Russia | 1 | 1 | | | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| | International representation of gays | | 1 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sochi issues | Sochi | | | 1 1 | 2 | 3 | | | 1 | | 25 | 4 | 9 | 3 |
| | Local residents | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Venues/facilities | | | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | 23 | 3 | 5 | 3 |
| | Hotels | | 1 | 1 | | | | | 1 | | 5 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| | Climate | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | | | | |
| | International reaction | 1 | | 1 | | | | | 7 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 1 |
| Russia | Russia | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | 1 | |
| | Human rights | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Politics | | | | | | | | | | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| | Putin | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| | Economics | | | | | | | | | | 4 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| | Police/Justice | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Pussy Riot | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Soviet Past | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | People/culture | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | |
| | Press/media | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

The multiple use of Affect in this theme indicates that the paper tends to use emotive language to emphasise the negative evaluation of the Games. In some cases, Affect is accompanied with various kinds of Amplification that intensified the language (e.g. *adamantly*, *all things*, *so*).

This strategy looks consistent with *The Washington Post* which deploys the same strategy but in the topic ‘Sochi’.

| | |
|--|---|
| Outraged | Affect Amplification (attitudinal lexis) |
| boycott watching the Olympics on TV | Affect |
| so reluctantly (show the Winter Games in his bar) | Affect Amplification (intensifier) |
| adamantly opposed | Affect Amplification (intensifier) |
| boycott all things Russian | Affect Amplification (sharpening focus) |
| Cautioned | Affect |
| concern about the quality of medical care in the region | Affect |

Another feature that unites *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* is the use of contrasts, though used more in *The Washington Post* (e.g. peculiar mix of grandiosity and bungling; luxury hotels with lobbies stuffed with inventory, frenetic employees and unnerved hospitality professionals; the mall’s doors are open, though the individual stores are not). They are predominantly deployed in the themes ‘Venues/Facilities’ and ‘Hotels’. This gives an initial impression that the paper is more disposed to the Games, although in reality it endorses the negative image of the Games.

| | |
|--|---|
| word “Mystery” on the bottom of the television? Is that the brand name? Or a sly invitation to wonder why it does not work? | Appreciation Amplification (metaphor) |
| It actually seems like some small, spiteful pharaoh is building himself the greatest pyramid in the world | Appreciation Amplification (attitudinal lexis) (metaphor) |
| makes subterranean hipster bars in Brooklyn seem desperate for attention | Appreciation Amplification (metaphor) |
| short-lived McDonald’s sandwich (Sochi Olympics slogan) | Appreciation Amplification (metaphor) |
| word “Mystery” on the bottom of the television? Is that the brand name? Or a sly invitation to wonder why it does not work? | Appreciation Amplification (metaphor) |

The case where both newspapers show a similar trend is the use of metaphors in the negative comments. In the case of *The New York Times*, they are mostly in such themes as ‘Sochi’ and ‘Venues/Facilities’. If we draw a parallel with *The Washington Post*, the metaphors in *The New York Times* are less corrosive and refers more to American realia (*McDonald’s* sandwich, bars in Brooklyn). This might reflect a possible orientation of the paper – domestic readership or a

more international one. Alternatively, it might show the emphasis the author is aiming to have – to contrast American and Russian cultures.

The most striking difference between two papers is the use of sharpening focus. On the contrary to *The Washington Post* that barely utilised this category, *The New York Times* shows multiple incidents in the topic of ‘Venues/Facilities’. The use of this category seems to demonstrate that the author aims to emphasise the numerous drawbacks of the Games (e.g. *fair question, and just one of dozens; not only is Building 10 hard to find; none of the buildings have names*).

Overall, both American papers demonstrate the negative appraisal of the Games and are more openly antagonistic, though *The New York Times* has more positive appraisal. The difference in the themes coverage shows that *The Washington Post* is the most critical towards Russia in general, whereas *The New York Times* appears to attack the quality of Sochi facilities and reports on the international reaction to the Games. Apart from this, both newspapers show many similar trends in the use of linguistic strategies (e.g. the use of contrastive adjectives, the use of metaphors and attitudinal lexis relating to American and Russian realis).

European news coverage

The European media produce significantly fewer evaluative comments than the American press. This particularly concerns the *New Europe*. The paper demonstrates the lack of Amplification in positive comments (e.g. five samples of intensifier and one of attitudinal lexis) and slightly more variety in negative comments (see Table 4). In terms of Attitude, the paper seems to follow the American trend and deploys mostly Appreciation. The categories of Affect and Judgment are barely presented in the paper. Therefore, it seems relevant to focus on the use of Appreciation which dominates in the discourse.

Despite the highest number of Appreciation in the topic ‘Sochi’, the second largest topic, ‘Russia’, is worth discussing. The reason behind this is the orientation of the comments that mostly refer to the Caucasus wars. This is not surprising as the Games were located in South Caucasus which is not far from a terrorist base. The shift of themes indicates the author’s intention to focus on the most controversial and notoriously famous events to construct a negative attitude to Russia. In addition, the vast use of the resources attitudinal lexis and intensifiers might prime readers to associate Russia with terrorists and radical Muslims.

| | |
|---|---|
| the terror the Islamists spread in some regions of the North Caucasus Russian autonomous republics is equated with the abuses of the Russian government (report) | Appreciation Amplification (attitudinal lexis) |
| Government abuses in counter-insurgency operations include enforced disappearances, torture, and extrajudicial executions. These abuses go unpunished | Appreciation Amplification (attitudinal lexis) |
| actually much more complicated than this simplifying picture (the situation in the North Caucasus) | Appreciation Amplification (intensifier) |
| Repeatedly (North Caucasian Muslim fundamentalist guerrillas attacked and killed civilians) | Appreciation Amplification (intensifier) |
| spread a reign of terror (North Caucasian Muslim) | Appreciation Amplification (metaphor) (attitudinal lexis) |
| spreading an intolerant version of Wahhabi Islam (North Caucasian Muslim fundamentalist guerrillas) | Appreciation |

However, it is worth noting that the paper still gives a couple of positive comments on the Russian security and their ability and readiness to guarantee safety during the Olympics. The only incident of Judgment comprises not only a comment on Ramzan Kadyrov, the Head of the Chechen Republic, which is at the center of the Caucasian wars, but also the evaluation of the branch of Islam he practices. A positive appraisal of the latter (e.g. traditional, tolerant) indicates a contrast between two branches and acknowledges that Islam is not a solely radical religion.

| | |
|--|--------------------------|
| a defender of the traditional Sufi, tolerant branch of Islam (Putin's protégé Ramzan Kadyrov) | Judgment Appreciation |
| "ready" for the security challenge presented by the <u>game</u> | Appreciation |

As it is mentioned below, the category of Affect is scarcely represented in *The New Europe*. The only theme including a couple of incidents is International reaction. Despite the fact that they are both deployed in the negative comments, one of them does not appraise the Games, but instead the International Olympic Committee (IOC) president (e.g. *unhappy* with the performance of Rogge as IOC president). He is criticised by human activist for his support of Sochi 2014. It appears to be quite difficult to analyse this comment, as despite its definite negative connotation, it does not criticise Sochi, but instead demonstrates that not all international leaders condemn the Games.

Table 4. The categories of appraisal in the *New Europe*

| Main Topic | Subtopics | Positive connotation | | | | | | | Negative connotation | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|----------|--------------|---------------|-------------------|----------|--------------------------------|----------------------|----------|--------------|---------------|-------------------|----------|--------------------------------|
| | | Attitude | | | Amplification | | | | Attitude | | | Amplification | | | |
| | | Affect | Judgment | Appreciation | Intensifier | Attitudinal lexis | Metaphor | Sharpening/ softening focus | Affect | Judgment | Appreciation | Intensifier | Attitudinal lexis | Metaphor | Sharpening/ softening focus |
| Gay issues | Russian law | | | 1 | | | | | | 5 | | 1 | | | |
| | Gays in Russia | | | | | | | | 3 | | | | | | |
| | International representation of gays | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sochi issues | Sochi | | 1 | 9 | 2 | | 1 | | | 2 | 5 | 6 | 1 | | |
| | Local residents | | | | | | | | 2 | | 1 | 1 | | | |
| | Venues/facilities | | | 1 | 1 | | | | 3 | | | | | | |
| | Hotels | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Climate | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | International reaction | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | | | | 2 | 1 | 1 | 4 | | | |
| Russia | Russia | | 1 | 2 | | | | | | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | | |
| | Human rights | | | | | | | | 1 | 8 | 1 | 6 | 1 | | |
| | Politics | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Putin | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Economics | | | 3 | 1 | | | | | 6 | 2 | | | | |
| | Police/Justice | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | |
| | Pussy Riot | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Soviet Past | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | People/culture | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Press/media | | | | | | | | | 8 | 1 | 4 | 2 | | |

Considering the categories of Appraisal presented in the *Deutsche Welle*, it does not reveal any striking differences from the *New Europe* in terms of variety of categories (see Table 5). The German newspaper shows a traditional dominance of Appreciation and the limited use of Affect and Judgment. The only thing that stands out is a larger scale of appraisal. Another pattern that distinguishes the *Deutsche Welle* is a considerable amount of attitudinal lexis. This is particularly salient in the topic ‘Russia’, where apart from the lexis other resources of Amplification are also used.

Table 5. The kinds of attitude in *The Deutsche Welle*

| Main Topic | Subtopics | Positive connotation | | | | | | Negative connotation | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|----------|--------------|---------------|-------------------|----------|--------------------------------|--------|----------|---------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | | Attitude | | | Amplification | | | Attitude | | | Amplification | | | |
| | | Affect | Judgment | Appreciation | Intensifier | Attitudinal lexis | Metaphor | Sharpening/ softening focus | Affect | Judgment | Appreciation | Intensifier | Attitudinal lexis | Metaphor |
| Gay issues | Russian law | | | 3 | | | | 1 | | | 1 | | | |
| | Gays in Russia | | | 2 | | | | 1 | | 4 | 3 | | | |
| | International representation of gays | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sochi issues | Sochi | | | 2 | | | | | 1 | 19 | 3 | 4 | 2 | |
| | Local residents | | | | | | | | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | |
| | Venues/facilities | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Hotels | | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Climate | | | 8 | 2 | 2 | | | 1 | 11 | 2 | 3 | 1 | |
| | International reaction | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | |
| Russia | Russia | | | 7 | 2 | 1 | | | 1 | 21 | 5 | 7 | 1 | |
| | Human rights | | | | | | | | | 9 | 1 | 5 | | |
| | Politics | | | | | | | | | 4 | | 2 | | |
| | Putin | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| | Economics | | | 1 | | | | | | 3 | 1 | | | |
| | Police/Justice | | | | | | | 1 | | 2 | | 1 | | |
| | Pussy Riot | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Soviet Past | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | People/culture | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Press/media | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 | 2 | | | |

The theme 'Russia' is also quite remarkable owing to what is narrated there. Similar to the *New Europe*, the *Deutsche Welle* also refers to the Caucasian wars, though it accounts only for one comment in the topic 'Russia' (e.g. *fears of Islamist terror*). Instead, it focuses more on main issues of the modern Russia such as corruption, media censorship, oppression of the opposition, etc. (see examples below). The use of the large amount of appraisal accompanied with Amplification in almost all comments greatly emphasise the negative evaluation.

| | |
|---|--|
| dark sides of the new Russia | Amplification (metaphor) Appreciation |
| the corruption, the arrogance of public officials, the arbitrariness of government organizations, the critical human rights situation, the environmental destruction, media censorship, homophobic laws, unfair treatment of migrant workers, ethnic conflicts in the Northern Caucasus, the unfinished facilities and much more | Appreciation Amplification (attitudinal lexis) (intensifier) |
| no real rule of law; that the opposition is oppressed; that human rights activists, lawyers and journalists are thrown in jail if they criticize the government | Appreciation Amplification (attitudinal lexis) |
| fear of repression | Affect Amplification (attitudinal lexis) |
| exclusively to discredit and to scare people (The foreign agent law) | Appreciation Affect Amplification (intensifier) |
| not a normal state | Appreciation |
| nature of democracy in Russia | Appreciation |

Considering the positive comments on Russia, another pattern is identified. The majority of the comments depict modern changes in Russia (e.g. *strong and modern Russia; significant change of Russia*). Some of changes are related to the Russian President Putin (e.g. *under his rule was modern and progressive*). This is quite surprising as this topic is also abundant of negative evaluation that mostly condemns the Russian Government and its policies (see examples above). This indicates that the *Deutsche Welle* does not have a clear definitive position on Putin that leads to the presence of both positive and negative appraisal.

The reference to Putin is also noticeable in the *New Europe*, though in the topic ‘Sochi’. The Games are appraised through its association with the President (e.g. *his personal project*) and his personal contribution to hosting the Games (see the example below). The use of judgment of Putin in the topic ‘Sochi’ signifies that the Games are appraised through the evaluation of politics of the host country. This also exemplifies the shift of themes previously noticed in the topic ‘Russia’.

| | |
|---|--|
| Culmination of years-long effort by Russian President Vladimir Putin, who has bet much of his personal prestige and Russia’s modern image on hosting successful Games at Sochi | Appreciation Judgment Amplification (intensifier) |
|---|--|

Meanwhile, the *Deutsche Welle* demonstrates another intriguing pattern in the topic ‘Sochi’. Instead of referring to Putin, it shows a reference to the previous Games, namely Moscow 1980 and Beijing 2008. The choice of these particular Games does not seem to be random as both of them have obtained the most international criticism. Thus, drawing parallels between them and

Sochi emphasise that despite a modern view of Russia, the Games are still perceived as highly controversial.

| | |
|---|--------------|
| China 2008 | Appreciation |
| turned Sochi-2014 into Moscow-1980 | Appreciation |

In conclusion, European media shows the overall negative attitude towards Sochi 2014, although the *Deutsche Welle* proves to be more of a protagonist of the Games. Another important finding is the limited number of comments that lead to the lack of variety of the Appraisal categories presented in both newspapers which highlights a more neutral position of Europe.

Conclusion

The individual analysis of the news reports in two different regions demonstrates that all national media have a distinctively negative evaluative load of the 2014 Games, however, the ways they execute it vary. The American newspapers have many commonalities, among which are a larger theme coverage than in European media and a vast variety of linguistic realisations (the categories of Appraisal). In turn, European media show a tendency to omit commenting on Russian issues (which were heavily appraised in the American media) which indicates the attempts of the paper to sound more neutral.

In terms of the categories of Appraisal, all the newspapers show a salient feature – the dominance of Appreciation. This is not unexpected as the main appraised item is the event (the Olympic Games) and events are usually appraised by means of Appreciation. Therefore, the scarce use of Affect over Judgment is highly significant and influential. Remarkably, all the newspapers use Affect and Judgment in the themes ‘International reaction’, ‘Russian law’, ‘Gays in Russia’ and ‘Putin’ which are the most controversial and ambiguous.

By contrast, the resources of Amplification are presented differently in the newspapers. The American media show abundant incidents of attitudinal lexis and intensifiers, whereas the European media tend to be less emotive. It is worth noting that American newspapers apply different strategies in using metaphors. While *The Washington Post* refers to Russian history and famous films, *The New York Times*, as more progressive, deployed references to American household things (e.g. *McDonald's*). This pattern might indicate the intentions of American

press to contrast Russia versus US wherein the former is associated with only negative manifestations.

Overall, the study attempted to explore a build-up of the evaluative meanings which lead to the construction of attitudes towards the Olympic discourse on Sochi 2014 in different national contexts (America and Europe). Despite some differences in the scale and variety of categories (see above), all newspapers use emotive language to emphasise and intensify their evaluation of the Games in order to prime the readers to make negative judgements on the Games as a whole. The Appraisal analysis of the news reports provides a more empirically justified account of the article's construal of a distinctive negative attitude not only to the sport event of the Games but also to the political and cultural life of the host country. The current findings add substantially to a growing body of literature on Olympic discourse analysis (or any other sport event) in the media and contributes to the study and application of the system of Appraisal in the analysis of news reports.

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Fan Phenomena: Harry Potter (Review)

Frankel, V.E. (2019) *Fan Phenomena: Harry Potter* (eds) Frankel V.E. Bristol: Intellect Books.

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Co-Guest Editor

It has been 12 years since *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows*, the last in the initial series of Harry Potter books was published, and yet the franchise remains very popular, with various films, plays, computer games, theme park rides and websites still being created, and enjoyed, by people all over the globe. All of this has helped feed a large and diverse fanbase whose engagement with the series remains just as strong as it was when the initial book series was first published. It is this fan community that is the focus of Frankel's edited collection, which covers a wide variety of subjects from the more official expanded sources, such as Erin Pyne's consideration of *The Wizarding World of Harry Potter* at Universal Studios to the more unofficial fan-created stories, films and online activities, that have allowed the fan community to maintain its loyal base over the years. Similarly, this edited collection also includes interviews with various practitioners in the Harry Potter fan community, with their insights providing useful contextual information which could be useful for future scholars working in this field. Therefore, this edited collection makes a valuable contribution within the growing field of fan studies but it can also be enjoyed by those same fan communities who feature in the text.

In *Buffy, Hamilton and Jon Snow go to Hogwarts: Literary Affordance and the Hogwarts Houses as Interpretative Framework and Rhetorical Tool*, Jessica Hautsch creates a convincing analysis of the myriad ways in which the series' device of sorting every student into houses has been taken up and developed further by online blogs and websites to create new interpretative communities (Fish, 1980). These communities reinterpret what the Hogwarts Houses mean and apply it to themselves, as well as in debates surrounding other characters in fiction.

Similarly, in *Surveying Fanworks: Art, Dance, Fic, Music and Community*, Madeline Wilson provides a broad overview of the myriad ways in which the Harry Potter fan community has engaged with, and reinterpreted, the core seven novels, and then shared their alternative narratives online. She looks at how those reinterpretations are in conversation with each other,

such as some fan artworks being created as adaptations of fan fictions. Wilson makes a particularly intriguing point when she observes how J.K. Rowling's laissez faire approach to fan works (only requiring that they are not obscene) allowed these fan communities to thrive in the early 2000s. She contrasts this approach with the attitudes of authors such as Anne Rice and Orson Scott Card, who take a harsher stance on the issue. This comparison raises a particularly intriguing point for the analysis of fan communities and their relationship with creators that could benefit from being analysed further in future research.

Overall, the assorted essays and interviews in this collection present a thoughtful analysis into how the Harry Potter fan community has developed over the past 22 years. Moreover, they present a convincing argument as to how the same community will continue to develop, especially while the official series continues to expand. All of this makes *Fan Phenomena: Harry Potter* an intriguing addition to a growing field of study, while at the same time provoking a number of questions which future research would benefit from exploring further.

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