'Rapefugees Not Welcome'
Ideological Articulations of Media Discourses on Migrants and Refugees in Europe: New Racism and Othering – A Critical Discourse Analysis

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Ideological Articulations of Media Discourses on Migrants and Refugees in Europe: New Racism and Othering – A Critical Discourse Analysis

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ABSTRACT

This research discusses the ideological properties of the discourses employed by the media to portray migrants and refugees in Europe. For that, it will combine an ideological approach to discursive practices with a study of the role of media in the discursive reproduction of racism and othering. Ergo, this research will feature a multidisciplinary framework of analysis as follows *(a)* a study of the triangulation between ideology and discourse with an analytical approach to theory of articulation (Hall, 1985) to highlight the links between both notions *(b)* a socio-cultural approach to ideologies of racism and othering as well as other social representations (Said, 1979; Mohanty, 1984) *(c)* Appropriating the concept of 'Elite Racism' (Van Dijk, 1993) to study the structural role of media in the reproduction of racism as a form of ethnic dominance and inequality, and *(d)* a critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1995) of media texts portraying migrants and refugees in Europe.

The analysis will look at a number of media texts from British newspapers to study the ideological influence on the discourses used to portray migrants and refugees in the wake of Cologne Sexual assaults that took place on New Year's Eve of 2016. The results will elaborate on the extent to which these discursive practices are rooted in ideological notions of racism and othering.

INTRODUCTION

Refugees make a perilous journey through the Mediterranean Sea, fleeing unthinkable woes in their countries. A tale as old as time, migration has been always imperative to major historical wars, conflicts and economic depressions. On one hand, the public discourse is moved in solidarity by the photos of stranded refugees battling the waves for a safe haven. However, this empathetic mood has quickly turned into a growing sense of resentment toward the flow of refugees to the member states of the European Union. Separate narratives started to emerge to differentiate between 'refugees' fleeing war and 'economic migrants' looking for a better life in Europe. Both narratives seemed to converge in the discourses of different social institutions namely the media and the political discourse.

Meanwhile, European countries scuffled to manage the rising numbers of refugees coming to Europe between 'keeping the door open vs. erecting wire fences' (*Fargues, 2015: 6)*. In 2013, the German federal government responded to the crisis proactively by promoting a pan-European solution aiming at efficiently managing the refugee crisis through an even distribution of asylum seekers across the European states (Engler, 2015). However, such solution was disregarded as only a few countries were apt to participate (Ibid.). Eventually, Germany carried on with the process of receiving incoming refugees on a much larger scale than its European counterparts. Such internal policy was very well-received by the German society that has showed extensive compassion and solidarity with the newly arriving- mostly Syrian- refugees to their homeland (Engler, 2015). However, right-wing movements in Germany such as Pegida and NPD who have declared hostile stances against immigrants and Islam have marched in protest of the recent favourable internal policies for refugees (Ibid.).

Nonetheless, tides quickly changed on the sense of hospitality surrounding the refugees' arrival to Germany and to Europe at large. As the world celebrated New Year's Eve of 2016, a series of gruesome sexual assaults have taken place in several cities across Germany, especially Cologne. For what will be later remembered as 'Cologne Sex Attacks'. Early media reports rushed to confirm the identity of the perpetrators as 'Middle Eastern/North African migrants and refugees' who have recently arrived in Germany. Shortly, refugees across Europe have witnessed a backlash of xenophobic violence against their shelters, including many arson attacks where many of them were injured (The Telegraph, 2016). Cologne events marked a milestone in the 'refugee crisis' debate and have had the gravest effect on related political, social and administrative matters that rippled across Europe. Most importantly, it seemed to have triggered an unprecedented wave of Xenophobia and a racialization debate around the social identity and culture of the newly coming group of refugees.

Narratives of the Cologne attacks re-emerged ahead of the UK European Union membership referendum vote in June 2016. Leaders of the 'Leave campaign' have frequently used the narratives of the Cologne attacks to warn the UK of similar repercussions if they remain in the EU. Nigel Farage, the former UK Independence Party (UKIP) leader has described Cologne sex attacks to be the 'nuclear bomb' of EU referendum. Eventually, the vicious circle of racism and xenophobia intensified after the UK's decision to leave the EU. As Laleh Khalili (2016) puts it in a recent editorial:

> What has transpired in Britain since the Leave campaign won has only shown how easily the veneer of civility and conviviality can be peeled back to reveal the virulence of racism and xenophobia seething under the skin of British social life. (Khalili, 2016)

More than ever, we need to relocate race and ethnicity in the analyses of media power by examining patterns of misrepresentation in the discursive practice (Georgiou, 2012). However, Cologne attacks present a specific challenge as the issue at hand is rather multi-dimensional. Whereas, the first dimension involves the incident of mass sexual violence from a gender perspective as women bodies have been violated largely due to their socially assigned gender as females (Nazra for Feminist Studies, 2016). The second dimension relates to a socio-cultural dimension, in which, we distinguish between the identities of the aggressors and the survivors within broader social contexts. The overarching dimension is that of the media discourse, how the press represented each of these elements, identities and cultures relating them to wider political/social debates while reflecting certain dominant ideologies. As much as I would have preferred to cover all dimensions related to the issue at hand as they are deeply intertwined, I will mostly focus on the third level of this thorny subject, with a focus on how it links to the first and second dimensions. Ergo, this study focuses on the process through which the text exercises its ideological power through different discursive articulations (S. Hall, 1986; Yin, 2005). As a Middle Eastern journalist who happens to be a feminist as well, studying the discourses on Cologne attacks has proved rather challenging. However, engaging with the media texts from a scholarly approach has given the analysis a richer, more theory-grounded perspective.

'It is a racism that is not just directed at those with darker skins, from the former colonial territories, but at the newer categories of the displaced, the dispossessed and the uprooted, who are beating at Western Europe's doors, the Europe that helped to displace them in the first place'

- Ambalavaner *Sivanandan (Sri Lankan Novelist)*

THEORETICAL CHAPTER

This project aims at providing empirical methodology backed by a relevant theoretical framework to analyse the media discourses used to portray migrants and refugees in the wake of Cologne sex attacks. Therefore, this chapter will discern the theoretical foundations of the research topic highlighting the triangulation between ideology, discourse and power as the base of the discursive practice of the social institutions under study. This chapter will also review relevant literature on the representation of migrants and refugees as well as relevant notions of 'new racism' and 'othering'. Furthermore, I will examine the scholarship's position on the role of media as a social institution in perpetuating such ideological discourses. For that, I will borrow from culture studies, Stuart Hall's theory of articulation to conceptualize the triangulation of discourse and ideology with the issue of migration. I will also draw on various notions from different studies to lay the theoretical foundation of this research, notably, the notion of 'New Racism' (Baker, 1981) from socio-cultural studies, 'Elite racism' (Van Dijk, 1993) from discourse studies, 'Securitization' from international relations and 'othering' from postcolonial studies.

TRIANGULATION OF DISCOURSE AND IDEOLOGY

Notions of ideology and hegemony are central to the representation of racial discourse; Gilroy (1987) highlights the emergence of 'racial' ideologies and the new politics of 'race' calibrated by the incorporation of ideology and hegemony. In this section I will explore the triangulation of discourse and ideology, while I recognize that attempting to theorize such triangulation in a single paper, as Hall (1988) noted, cannot be fully achieved. Nevertheless, this research is to be treated as a case in point or an exploratory test regarding a specific historical, social and political articulation of the ideology-discourse conjuncture (Hall, 1988).

Ideology

The first corner of the triangulation is the notion of ideology that is in the Western Marxist tradition has been long perceived as one of the embodiment of the hierarchical system of domination. Ideologies are sociological conceptions of socially-shared, foundational belief systems that organize and control individuals' attitudes within a group towards certain issues (Purvis and Hunt, 1993; Van Dijk, 2006). Similarly, Neo- Marxist theorist, Antonio Gramsci notes in his *Prison Notebooks* that ideology is used as means to 'organize human masses and create the terrain on which men move, acquire consciousness of their position and struggle' (1972: 160). Therefore, Gramsci conceptualizes a relationship between ideology and hegemony whereby, ideologies act as strategic tools controlled by dominant groups in the society to shape individuals and subordinated groups' conceptions of the world to eventually influence and modify their actions within the processes of social struggle (Hall, 1988). Similarly, Stuart Hall's work on theorizing the ideological influence of the far right in Britain during the 70's *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order (*1978) and *The Toad in the Garden: Thatcherism among the Theorists*, (1988) is particularly relevant to this research from an academic as well as historical perspective. Evidently, in his own words Hall explains:

> The current debate on ideology exhibits the greatest range, penetration and explanatory power in terms of accounting for the rise of the New Right and the extraordinary political conjuncture (1988: 35)

Discourse – Ideology

Van Dijk's argues that: 'ideologies consist of social representations that define the social identity of a group, that is, its shared beliefs about its fundamental conditions and ways of existence and reproduction' (2006, p.116). Therefore, ideologies have social functions through discourses, to guide the social practices, actions and interactions of a certain social group's members (Van Dijk, 2006). Evidently, discourses are instrumental to cumulatively build narratives within ideologies through language and other social semiotic vehicles, making them so banal and ubiquitous (Purvis and Hunt, 1993; Van Dijk, 2006). Despite their stratified and complex relation, ideology is the conjuncture between discourse and power (Eagleton, 1991; Van Dijk, 2006). Eagleton (1991) explains, 'the force of the term ideology lies in its capacity to discriminate between those power struggles that are somehow central to the whole form of social life and those which are not.' (ibid: 8).

Ergo, 'Discourse' and 'ideology' converge in that both concepts refer to the way people comprehend the social world through language and other systems of sign, this understanding has a 'hermeneutic dimension' and consequences on the actions of those people (Purvis and Hunt, 1993). Such proposition requires the study of language as a composite of the discourse-ideology triangulation. While Saussure (1962) argues that the use of language is individualistic and asocial, Fairclough (1995) explains that language is a social practice that articulates a dialectical, ideological relationship between discourse and various social structures (political, social, economic). Whereby, ideological 'discourse is shaped by structures, but also contributes to shaping and reshaping them' (Fairclough, 1995: 73). Hence, discourse production by social structures appropriates an ideologically biased use of language (Van Dijk, 2006). Nonetheless, Fairclough stresses those critical approaches to study linguistics ought to engage with wider social contexts and broader notions of power and hegemony (1995). Hence the need for an approach to study the relationship between discourse and ideology in light of change in the discursive practice (Fairclough, 1995)

Hereby, it is important to examine media texts as discursive practices, site of struggle between power and ideology. On one hand, Althusser (1971) argued that media texts should be looked at in their own right as producing their own meaning system not merely reproducing existing power structure in the society. On the other hand, Wodak and Busch (2004) noted that there is a shift of paradigm when studying media texts to focus more on the localization of meaning within social, political and cultural contexts in what they referred to as 'decentralization' of media text (ibid: 106). Ultimately, media texts have a function that goes beyond confirming social hierarchy, but rather, normalizing hegemonic ideologies and presenting them as common sense (Gramsci, 1972; Yin, 2005). Therefore, studying media texts as discursive products of social institutions such as the media enables us to uncover the ideological conceptions underlying those practices.

THEORY OF ARTICULATION

We conclude from the previous review on the tensions between discourse and ideology in the literature that there is a need for a theoretical framework to highlight the links between both concepts in the discursive practice. Ergo, the theory of articulation that was central to the work of Stuart Hall (Slack, 1996; Clarke, 2015) will be used as a framework in this chapter to highlight the conjuncture between concepts of ideology, discourse and hegemony in the examined media texts. Through his work, Hall saw the theory of articulation as a site of ideological struggle and a tool to examine social formations through analyzing discursive practices (Clarke, 2015). Notably, Hall's theory of articulation moved between an

Althusserian concern with ideology (notably the notion of interpellation) and a Gramscian focus on hegemony (Clarke, 2015). In his own words, Hall (1985), in an interview with Larry Grossberg, explains the theory of articulation as follows:

> A theory of articulation is both a way of understanding how ideological elements come, under certain conditions, to cohere together within a discourse, and a way of asking how they do or do not become articulated, at specific conjunctures, to certain political subjects (Grossberg, 1996:. 142–143).

Therefore, central to the theory of articulation is the notion of 'subjectivity', where specific political subjects driven by an ideological conception forge the social representation of other groups through the discursive practice. Ultimately, the theory of articulation would be employed by this research to investigate the ways in which discursive elements are articulated by elite social institutions through means of the discursive practices (media texts) to shape the debate around the issue of migration. Evidently, Hall discerns the connections necessary for the formation of 'articulation' between discursive practices:

> By the term 'articulation', I mean a connection or link which is not necessarily given in all cases, as a law or a fact of life, but which requires particular conditions of existence to appear at all, which has to be positively sustained by specific processes, which is not 'eternal' but has to be constantly renewed, which can under some circumstances disappear or be overthrown, leading to the old linkages being dissolved and new connections – rearticulations– being forged. (Hall, 1985: 113)

Furthermore, drawing on Marx's '1857 Introduction', Hall highlights an immediate identity emerging between two practices under the influence of 'articulation'. However, Hall (1985) has repeatedly stressed the fact that there are no 'eternal' links between different practices of articulation; rather, he suggests studying the political and cultural specifics of particular articulations (Hall, 1985, Clarke, 2015).

Racism

The theoretical framework explained above will look at how racial ideologies are being appropriated by the media, to construct social representations of migrants and refugees. Evidently, Van dijk (1993) explains that racism is the **articulation** of ideologies, acts, structures, processes and institutions that directly or indirectly contribute to the dominance

of one group and the subordination of the other. He also argues that media 'defines, legitimates, and manufactures ethnic and racial consensus' (Van Dijk, 1993: 243). Therefore, racism has been systematically enacted and pre-formulated in elite discourses of social institutions despite official assurances on values of inclusion and tolerance (Van Dijk, 1993). Broadly speaking, if a society is premised on an assumption of inequality, then producing an accepted hierarchy demands the configuration of a cause (or causes) of the underlings' position in some specific differences on their part that makes them less worthy than others (Tucker, 2007) . Ergo, racism as a form of ethnic dominance and inequality is in fact a social practice reproduced through discourses of elite institutions. Thus, the concept of 'elite racism' coined by Van Dijk (1993) looks at the subtle ways in which elite discourses reproduce racism through discursive practices.

Racial ideologies and discourses have been long employed by elite institutions such as political discourse and the media to construct the identities of certain minority groups in the society. Within the political discourse, not that far back in time during the 70s, Margret Thatcher came to power in Great Britain after explicitly expressing her fear that the country would be 'rather swamped' by immigrants with a different culture that threatens the 'British national identity' (Van Dijk 1993; Olad, 2013). Several studies have previously looked at the reproduction of racial discourse within social institutions to build social consensus around minority groups. Notably, Stuart Hall and others (1978) conducted a critical analysis, *'policing the crisis'* , highlighting how media images of 'race' were appropriated by political leaders such as Margret Thatcher and Enoch Powell to shape political discourse on law and order in Britain (Gale, 2004). Moreover, Van Dijk's 'Elite discourse and racism' (1993) offers a multidisciplinary discourse analysis approach to the reproduction of racism through elite discourses of politicians, academic textbooks and the press in the UK. Similar to Hall, Van Dijk's (1993) work follows the Gramscian tradition by highlighting the notion of hegemony through the domination of elite groups over the public opinion and the manufacturing of consent (1993). Moreover, Van Dijk (1993) stresses that the media supports the dominant political attitudes on ethnic affairs and migration. Previous studies on media and racism underscores two main features, first, that racism is still relevant to contemporary discourses in politics and the media despite official disclaimers of tolerance, the second feature is that elite groups in a society fuel the reproduction of racism through perpetuating dominant discourses (Van Dijk, 1993).

Nevertheless, literature shows the emergence of a 'modern form' of racism in the discursive and social domain (Ibrahim, 2005). The term 'New Racism' was first conceptualized by Baker (1981) and later theorized and appropriated in various ethnic, racial and cultural studies.

'New Racism' transcends traditional biological conception of race onto capitalizing on certain ethnic, religious and cultural differences as decisive boundaries between social groups (Van Dijk, 2000; Toğral 2011). Racism in the traditional sense of the concept mainly led to pronounced consequences of bodily harm (slavery, segregation,...) whereas, new racism is of an covert nature on the discursive and social level (Van Dijk, 2000). Despite its symbolic rather than material effects, new racism is as harmful because it strategically marginalizes and excludes certain social minorities through generalizations, stereotyping and othering (Van Dijk, 2000). Public discourse of media and politics constantly denies 'new racism' as a form of covert discrimination in salient efforts to normalize such discursive practices as natural and commonsensical (Van Dijk, 2000).

Similar to traditional racism, new forms of racism that capitalize on cultural differences turns to discursive knowledge and epistemology putative of racial discrimination to act as archetypal doctrines to build and confirm racial hegemonic consensus. Therefore, cultural differences related to some social groups are perceived by media discourses to be a threat to the (European) identity and values, hence, needs to be addressed as a security issue (Toğral 2011). Therefore, the securitization approach adopted when dealing with cultural differences between social groups (namely refugees and migrants of Arab descent) has led to pronounced consequences on their representation in the discursive and the social practice. 'Securitization', a speech act in international relations developed by Copenhagen School describes the framing of an issue as an existential threat justifying any measures taken outside the limits of normal political procedures (Buzan et al., 1998). While the theory of securitization provided a relevant framework for research, its approach focusing on linguistics marginalized the role of discursive and social institutions and failed to highlight the role of power and ideology which limited its sociological application (Toğral 2011). Hence, this research aims at contextualizing the securitization approach to representations of migrants and refugees within various ideological conceptions through analyzing the discursive practice using a critical approach.

Othering

Refugees and migrants as social groups face multiple forms of marginalization within the public discourse of social institutions as a result of their race, ethnicity and lack of citizenship rights (Georgiou, 2012). At times of crisis, dominant media discourses on issues of migration and race are usually upstaged as legitimate public discourses adopted by other social institutions as well as dominating the public opinion at large (Georgiou, 2012). Previous studies looking at the media representations of migrants and refugees highlighted 'race' and

'cultural difference' as crucial composites of the media portrayals of those social groups. Gale (2004) highlights that a colonial discourse on 'race' continues to inform notions of a white Australia reflected in the media coverage of the early 2000's refugee crisis. Moreover, framing migrants as others, parasites and threats is a common practice within media discourses of British newspapers (Waters, 2015). Furthermore, Fekete (2010) highlighted the rise of Xeno-racism sentiment amid the emergence of an anti-refugee discourse demonizing asylum-seekers by portraying them as 'bogus' and 'illegal'.

Such inferior representations and framings of migrants and refugees can be theorized through the concept of 'othering'. A postcolonial concept based on Edward Said's orientalism (1979), Homi Bhabha's cultural difference (1994) and Gayatri Spivak's notion of Subaltern (1994). Said (1978) explains that Orientalism stems out of the imaginary Western vision of the orient as 'the other'. He further notes that this 'other' is constantly dehumanized, imagined as anti-democratic and barbaric through a Western canon of literary and culture (Said, 1979). By studying Western literary texts, Said described a set of textual and discursive practices that dominates and perpetuates inferior discourses about 'the other'. Similarly, Spivak (1994) draws on the work Michel Foucault to conceptualize 'an epistemic violence' that functions discursively 'to constitute the colonial subject as Other'. Nonetheless, the notion of 'cultural difference' is central to imagining and reproducing 'the other'. Ergo, Bhabha (1994) locates the problem with the globalized notions of multiculturalism (as opposing to cultural difference) in that ' the problem of the cultural emerges only at the significatory boundaries of cultures, where means and values are misread or signs are misappropriated' (ibid: 206). He fears the 'essentialization' of the cultural traditions of subordinate groups (the other) and its reduction to a racist set of stereotypes. Therefore, he advocates for a 'third space' to examine cultural differences away from existing social formations that imposes a 'universalist' dominant culture of the colonizer and that ignores issue of structural racism (O'Neal, 2007). On their approach to contextualize discourses of 'othering', Spivak uses deconstruction as a critical tool to rethink the oversimplified binary opposition of 'colonizer' and 'colonized', while Bhabha uses deconstruction to dismantle the false opposition of 'theory' and 'political practice' a typical distinction of the Marxist tradition (Graves, 1998). Whereas Said used deconstruction to discern the ways in which the 'other' (the orient) is being reduced to a suitable model for Western cultural domination (Said, 1979).

ROLE OF MEDIA IN PERPETUATING RACIST IDEOLOGIES AND NOTIONS OF OTHERING

We learned that the media has a pivotal role in the reproduction of racial discourses; therefore, this section will explore the communicative functions of media discourses on an ideological and social level as well as elaborating on the discourse-processing approach adopted by this research to study products of mass media. Mediation plays a large role in the reproduction of ideological, social and political modern societies (Van Dijk, 1993). In fact, media strategically shape the processes of individual and institutional communication through providing a relevant framework for the production and consumption of mediated representations of specific social groups (Georgiou, 2012). Therefore, Van Dijk (1993) strongly argues that the media has a structural as well as ideological function of reconstructing social ideologies of racial affairs through the reproduction of racial inequalities.

An early generation of scholars (Schramm and Roberts, 1973; McCombs and Shaw, 1972 and Katz et al., 1973) have explored the immediate effects of media messages by adapting psychological models, conceiving an agenda-setting theory and outlining a uses and gratification approach to the study of mass media (Perloff, 1989). However, media messages and representations do not simply travel in a linear model from producers to consumers (Georgiou, 2012). In fact, media power is a social process 'reproduced in the details of what social actors do and say' (Couldry, 2000: 4). Therefore, the discourse-processing approach to studying the ideological and structural functions of the media in reproducing discriminatory discourses goes beyond measuring the immediate effects of media messages (Van Dijk, 1993). Rather, this approach developed by hegemonic theorists (Hall, 1980; Van Dijk, 1993 and Said, 1979) studies the ways in which active media recipients' beliefs are being 'systematically shaped through various social, ideological and communicative processes (Van Dijk, 1993). Ultimately, a critical study of the role of media articulates both its ideological and structural functions as constitutive elements in the production and consumption of meanings of the 'self' and the 'other' (Georgiou, 2012). On an ideological level, there is an agreement that media, is predominantly the main source of information and the principal framework of interpretation about racial and ethnic affairs for the largest group in the society (Nimmo & Comb, 1990; Van Dijk, 1993; Georgiou, 2012). **Whereas** on a structural level, media has been seen as a powerful social institution that engages with other elite groups and entities to reproduce dominant hegemonic discourses shaped by specific ideological conceptions (see: Altschull, 1984 on the role of press as the agent of powerful political and economic forces;

Lichter et al., 1986 on the emerging elite of journalists employed by the mass media) (Van Dijk, 1993).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH QUESTION

Given the scope of this research, I hope I have covered the main foundations and debates around each of the theoretical concepts tackled in this chapter. I have attempted to outline the theoretical triangulation between ideology and discourse and how the theory of articulation is to be used as a framework of analysis to unravel the ties between both concepts in the discursive practice. Moreover, we have learned from the literature review that media enables the reproduction of racism through perpetuating dominant discourses of elite groups in the society. Additionally, the literature has highlighted the emergence of 'new racism' ideologies underlying media discourses employed to construct the social identities of migrants and refugees. Previous studies have showed that migrants and refugees are being portrayed by the media as 'others' by capitalizing on their racial and cultural differences. Therefore, this research aims to answer the question: *To what extent do discourses employed by British newspapers to portray migrants and refugees articulate ideological notions of racism and othering?* As a case in point, I will use critical discourse analysis along with Hall's theory of articulation to examine a number of media texts published by British newspapers in the wake of Cologne New Year's eve sex attack in Germany.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Most of the recent studies tackling the representations of the latest refugee crisis (Syrian refugees) have been focused on the humanitarian discourse and the discourses of suffering related to the crisis. However, Cologne events represented a milestone in changing the media's humanitarian discourse into a more aggressive one. Hence, we turn to studying the emerging trend in media discourses around migrants and refugees in Europe. Similar research studied the material effects of the discursive representations of migrants and refugees within the political domain (Gale, 2004; Waters, 2015, Spencer, 2015). Thus, there is a need to study media texts in their own right and as products of a structural social institution. Therefore, this research will analyse the ideological discourses of media as social institutions and the extent to which they fit into notions of racism and othering. For that, I will analyse a selection of media texts from different British newspapers following New Year's Eve sex attacks in Cologne, Germany .The research sample will include two media texts from three different British newspapers 'The Guardian', 'The Telegraph' and The Daily Mail', hereafter (G), (T) and (DM).

Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis for the Purpose of this Research

Drawing on the work of Norman Fairclough, this research employed critical discourse analysis to examine a purposeful sample of media texts in a number of British newspapers. CDA was specifically chosen as a methodology for this study for reasons of relevance to the research questions and the nature of data the study is examining. This research begs to differ from other studies tackling the representation of refugees in the discursive practice as it tries to integrate an ideological and a social dimension to the analytical approach. Thus, CDA as a methodology was suitable to serve this purpose as it is grounded in theory providing direct engagement with the theoretical triangulation of power, hegemony and discourse.

However, a careful review of the literature on CDA as a methodology would make one wary of referring to it as a homogenous entity with an exhaustive definition. Rather, there is a number of groups within the CDA tradition as outlined by Breeze (2011) starting from the initial British approach (Fairclough, 1985; 1989) that was further developed thoroughly by Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) different from other socio-cognitive (Van Dijk 1991, 1993), discourse history (Wodak 1996, 2007) and ideology focused (Maas, 1989) theoretical framework of CDA. Ergo, Fairclough's three dimensional framework of critical discourse analysis was pertinent to detecting the recurrence of the 'new racism' and 'othering' ideologies on the discursive level of elite institutions that inform various social practices. Additionally, CDA uniquely stands out from the other descriptive discourse analysis methods as it tries to understand how discursive practices are socially shaped as well as highlighting their social effects (Fairclough, 1995). CDA's distinctive contribution as sociolinguistic approach is the study of how discourses work to constitute knowledge and power relations in particular ways that 'mask, marginalize or totally exclude other ways of knowing and doing' (Phillips, 2008, p.4)

Accordingly, this research requires a tool that studies linguistic variations of media texts, conceptualizes recurrent discourses but also theorizes them on a social formation level. Thus CDA was chosen for its particular interest in the relationship between power and language as a social practice which use is considered to be of a high importance for this approach (Fairclough, 1995; Wodak and Busch, 2004). While CDA has strong 'textual orientation' (Fairclough, 1995), it goes beyond the boundaries of the language syntactics and semantics to understand how discursive practices are socially shaped as well as highlighting their social effects (Fairclough, 1995; Barker and Galasinski 2001). Evidently, Fairclough argues that

'texts constitute a major source of evidence for grounding claims about social structures, relations, and processes' (Fairclough, 1995: 209).

Limitations of CDA and relevant mitigation measures taken by the researcher
Despite its increasing popularity in social research as an 'an intellectual orthodoxy' (Billig, 2002: 84), CDA's theoretical epistemology and analytical framework aren't unproblematic. Despite worries about the 'instrumentalisation of theory' (Breeze, 2011: 494), the theoretical and practical coherence of CDA's framework presented an opportunity throughout this study to analyse media texts 'in their own right and their full specificity' (Gill, 1996, p.156). Similarly, despite its core analytical commitment to integrate text analysis into broader social structures, CDA researchers are more prone to decontextualize texts under analysis leading to 'naively deterministic assumptions about the workings of discourse and social reproduction' (Breeze, 2011, p.494). Thus, this research aims at balancing out the decontextualization shortcomings foreseen due to the use of CDA by using Stuart Hall's theoretical framework of articulation to analyse media texts. Whereas on the analytical level, CDA critiques argue that it fails to establish an objective standpoint for research (Breeze, 2011). Here, I would like to address the question of objectivity of the analysis in light of self-reflexivity sought by this research study. CDA mainly depends on the researcher's reading of the text, therefore, requiring him/her to engage their background, beliefs and cognitive perceptions directly with the material under analysis with the condition of making those biases declared accordingly (Gill, 1996). Nonetheless, the results of this analysis should not be seen as deterministic, but rather, should be considered as a departure point for further relevant research and contextualized as a part of media and communications research cannon in that field.

More generally, It is important to situate CDA within critical language studies and social constructionist discourse analysis approaches (Barker and Galasinski, 2001; Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002). It is fair to assume that CDA is more identified with the social constructuralism field as it adopts a Marxist view that discourse is one among many aspects of social and discursive practice (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002). Nevertheless, Phillips and Jorgensen, (2002) highlight that critics of social constructionism have questioned the notion of 'contingency' held by social constructionists when studying language and all forms of knowledge. Even more specific to this research's context, the data analysis accounted for the possible dangers of engaging in the debate around social constructivism of language, identities and social practices. Thus, it was crucial to firstly acknowledge that social constructivism doesn't go across the board and that the social field is rule-bound and regulative where knowledge and social practices are inflexible in certain situations (Phillips

and Jorgensen, 2002). Furthermore, as we deal with the study of language as a social practice, CDA actively tries to explore the tension between the two sides of language use, the socially shaped and socially constitutive belonging to the 'actionalist' and the 'structuralist' schools respectively (Fairclough, 1995, p.131)

Worth noting that CDA was chosen for this study rather than its non-critical counterpart, content analysis as it allows the researcher to delve into the interpretations of the possible meanings of the media text rather than merely quantifying its textual characteristics (Richardson, 2007). Similarly, the researcher didn't perceive a need to employ corpus assisted methods of analysis because they yield results that back the research hypothesis in terms of quantifying the instances of discursive recurrence rather than theorizing them. Likewise, same rationale was followed for not choosing to mix different analytical methods for this study as Fairclough's (1995) three dimensional framework of CDA provides adequate multiple levels of analysis.

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

Sampling

Consequently, two articles were chosen from three British publications, 'The Guardian', 'The Telegraph' and 'The Daily Mail'. The selection featured long reports from three different types of press writings: hard news, feature reports and an opinion article. While the first two publications belong to 'the broadsheet' label, the latter belongs to 'the tabloid' category, the difference between both types lies in the degree of engagement of the tabloids with their readers, notably employing a more emotional and subjective tone rather than a neutral one (Duguid, 2010; Morley, 1998). Evidently, a purposive sampling technique was especially relevant for this study as CDA doesn't necessarily aim at producing empirical generalizations as much as its research methodology counterparts do (Gill, 1996). Rather, CDA aims at discerning the ways in which accounts were articulated and the functions they serve. Ergo, the question of quantifying the sample to reflect a literal representation of all media outlets was less significant for this research than studying in-depth media texts related to the context we are examining. However, a much larger scale of this research would have combined the study of this sample of media texts with audience reception study tools. Therefore, the following criteria were determined to fit the research puzzle to study the extent to which the texts perpetuate notions of racialization and othering. a) Texts articulating sexual assault aggressors to a specific social group or identity b) Texts articulating generalized criminality

attributes to the said social group or identities. c) Texts drawing a spatial or cultural juxtaposition to interpret the events.

Design of research tool

Fairclough defines the aims of critical discourse analysis as:

> to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony. (Fairclough, 1995, p.135)

The analysis would focus on reflecting the aims highlighted by Fairclough that were also used by this research as guidelines for integrating the results into the three dimensions of CDA: textual, discursive and social dimensions respectively (Fairclough, 1995). Generally, the analysis would look at the generic structure of the article, consisting of headlines, followed by the lead, the body of text and the recap (Fairclough, 1995). The analysis will also examine the ideological stance constructed by the text while considering the other excluded oppositional constructions. Ultimately, media texts can be constructed in different ways from different perspectives to reflect the ideology of the author (Fowler, 1996; Yin, 2005). I took freedom in the presentation of the analysis and interpretation of the results as my aim was to avoid merely describing the findings, but rather, integrating them thematically with the theoretical concepts highlighted in the literature review. Therefore, CDA will be combined with Stuart Hall's theory of articulation previously outlined in the theoretical chapter to categorize the results into three main articulations, each followed by three sub-sections outlining each dimension of Fairclough's CDA. On one hand, the textual dimension will look at the language of the texts, the structure and the choice of lexicon. On the other hand, the discursive dimension will examine the different discourses struggling to make meaning in the texts. Finally, the social dimension will combine the latter into broader social contexts.

RESULTS AND INTERPRETATIONS

Data analysis involves a great deal of meticulous work on a textual, discursive and social practice levels. Yet, this research hopes to strike the right balance between uncovering dilemmas and contradictions in the discursive practice while avoiding direct or dichotomous interpretations of the media texts (Wodak, 1999; Billig et al., 1988). For that, this section will thoroughly describe, analyse and theorize the findings of the data analysis. The list of articulations identified in this analysis was derived from the most commonly recurring themes within the collected sample, nevertheless, such list is not exhaustive (Gale, 2004). The focus of analysis in the articulations identified was on the conjuncture between ideologies with the discourses used to portray migrants and refugees and how they are reflected on a textual level. Nonetheless, the analysis' other major challenge was the abundance of textual details worth examining within the discursive practice as Fairclough himself noted (1992: 74). While it was impossible to include all textual details and features in the analysis, I followed a selective analytical approach relevant to the previously outlined research design. Ultimately, as texts do not have fixed meanings (Gale, 2004), the analysis sought to identify the contrasting articulations based on a critical discourse analysis of all aspects of the articles' structure, language, overall tone and most importantly context.

ARTICULATING DIFFERENCE: THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE OTHER AND THE BOUNDARIES BETWEEN 'US' AND 'THEM'

The first recurring theme identified through the analysis was a 'dichotomized articulation' (Yin, 2005: 157) aiming at constructing the 'other' by actively highlighting boundaries to distinguish between two different social groups, 'us' and 'them'. This formation has been outlined to historicize the discourses that constitute contemporary social representations and examining the ideological interests they serve (Hall, 1996; Gale, 2004). Similarly, such articulation appears to be almost a classic of media discourse employed to portray migrants and refugees as shown by previous studies examining newspaper coverage using a critical discourse analysis technique (see Teo, 2000; Gale, 2004; Khosravinik, 2005). Despite the recurrence of this particular articulation across different contexts, constructing the 'other' is reproduced through various textual and discursive tools in the examined media texts for this research. Most certainly, constructing a binary 'us' and the 'other' is a strategy to encode an ideological position reproduced through social institutions. Ultimately, as 'every

representation has a logic, a history and a politics'[1] , the main aim of uncovering such binary representations is not just to confirm them, but rather; to contextualize and historicize them.

TEXTUAL LEVEL

Constructing the 'other' on a textual level was reproduced in the sample through what Hall (1992) refers to as, 'binary system of representation' whereby, racial discourse defines 'symbolic boundaries between racially constituted categories… naturalizes the difference between belongingness and otherness (1992: 255). The examined texts had clear signifiers drawing the boundaries between two distinct social groups within the following dichotomous themes: criminality/victimhood, progressiveness/backwardness, whiteness/dark-skinned. Those themes converge to build a language modality aiming at drawing racial boundaries between two distinct groups, a 'universal' group with a certain set of attributes and an 'other' group with a contrasting set of attributes.

First Social group: Migrants, the 'others':

Criminality**:** 'Drunk; 'High'; 'trouble-makers'; 'dissipated by drugs and alcohol'; 'marauding men'; 'asylum seekers represent one percent of the population… But were involved in 5 per cent of all registered crimes'; '10 per cent of migrants would turn to criminality'

Backwardness**:** 'illiterate'; 'ill-educated'; '(migrants) regard women as inferior'

Dark-skinned: 'we want to show that not all dark-skinned people should be put in the same boat, which we feel is happening right now'

Second Social Group: Europeans, 'us'

Victimhood: 'women and children are unprotected here'; 'sexual harassment in parks and streets had been unknown in Finland before… asylum seekers arrived'; 'women were chased like cattle'

Progressiveness: 'girls celebrating in chic dresses and high heels with friends'; '(society) of warm hospitality'; 'society of good order'; 'civilized values'

Whiteness: '… my fear is directed at people of another skin colour'

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[1] From Banaji S. (2016) forthcoming book

Nevertheless, one of the texts (The guardian 2) had a unique approach of constructing boundaries within the same social group. Whereby, 'old migrants' who arrived in Europe long time ago denounced the acts of 'the newly arriving migrants' to inflict further exclusion and marginalization of the latter group.

'Most of us were born here and could not be more integrated' (G2)

'We're being looked at with great suspicion because we look exactly like the people who are accused of carrying out these attacks' (G2)

DISCURSIVE LEVEL

Discourses of Universality vs. Otherness

Among the examined texts, the struggle of meaning was especially reflected in the contrasting discourses of "universality" vs. "otherness" (M. McAlister, 1992). Central to the work of Edward Said is the notion of 'otherness', the assumption that 'orientals', as a group from the Middle East are fundamentally different than Westerns (Akram, 2000). Thus, there is a presupposition of a universal group 'us' and a foreign group, the 'others'. Nonetheless, the claim of universality is rather problematic as it generalizes a specific group as 'human and universal' while others are less of both (Yin, 2005). Universality operates as a mechanism of social exclusion as it reproduces hierarchal power structures in the society (Yin, 2005). Evidently, the concept of universality was recurrent through the text from a racial perspective where aggressors were seen as 'foreign' to liberal Western victims. On the other hand, negative framing of the 'other' sets symbolic racial boundaries between belonging and otherness that gives ground to accepting institutionalized violence against that 'other' (Hall, 1992). Furthermore, discourses of 'othering' reproduce classic sociological notions such as 'exclusion', 'discrimination', and 'marginalisation' (Inokuchi and Nozaki 2005). Therefore, such discourses setting racial boundaries between groups have material effect as they fuel hostile public reactions to new minorities namely: prejudice, discrimination, political opposition and violence (Pettigrew, 1988)

SOCIAL DIMENSION

Orientalism

The overlapping textual and discursive dimensions of this theme converged into a broader ideological notion of 'Orientalism'. Orientalism was strategically employed to construct the social identity of the 'other' into an epistemological distinction between the 'Self' and the 'other' (Said, 1979). Inokuchi and Nozaki (2005) argue that othering is 'involving particular

types of discourses that are applied to the representation of the Orient, thereby placing it in the position of the Other' (ibid: 63). Said criticizes Western tendencies to conceptualize any difference in relation with 'Orientals' within an essentialized repertoire of Middle Eastern cultural traditions, calling it an 'endemic of Western Neocolonialism' (Said, 1979; Akram, 2000). For that, Orientalism carries a power, as it produces knowledge about the 'orient' and 'the Orientals' as a race by providing a series of representations and vocabularies (Inokuchi and Nozaki, 2005).

ARTICULATING VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AS AN 'ARAB' CULTURAL ARTEFACT: REPRESENTING THE 'CULTURE OF VIOLENCE'

This theme featured an articulation between Arab/Middle Eastern culture with violence against women, generalizing 'culture of violence' as base of identity for migrants and refugees. Gale (2004) argues that racial assumptions place an emphasis on what is seen as a threat to the national (European) culture, values and lifestyle. Therefore, racial discourse of the media might not explicitly label non-while migrants as being racially inferior, however, their cultures and values are commonly represented as 'alien' and a threat to western modern and democratic values (Gale, 2004). Therefore, the increasing cultural heterogeneity of European societies has been constructed by the media as a matter of security crisis (Rattansi and Westwood, 1994).

TEXTUAL DEVICES

Generalizations and stereotypes

The studied media texts consistently referred to the perpetrators of the attacks as '**asylum seekers', 'migrants', 'Arabic speaking asylum seekers' and 'foreigners of Middle Eastern and Arabic appearance'**. This recurrent naming pattern has been frequently coupled with signifiers indicating the unconfirmed nature of the official statements where such naming is derived from that points at the identity of the perpetuators, such as **'allegedly', 'assumption', 'are believed to be'.** Yet, this naming pattern goes beyond the direct quotations of official statements in the reports to other parts of the texts reproducing the unconfirmed initial reports as 'facts'. This common modality aims to establish a firm cognitive connection between the perpetuators of the acts and a specific social group namely migrants and refugees. Ergo, the crimes committed by minorities within such social group are emphasized and generalized to the entire group. Furthermore, the dehumanization of asylum seekers as **'mass', 'gangs', 'thousand-strong group'** resonates xeno-racist discourses used in past texts to describe black people under slavery and natives under

colonialism, who were similarly dehumanized, held to possess dangerous mass characteristics which justified their prosecution (Fekete, 2010). Nonetheless, referring to the perpetuators of the attacks as 'refugees' rather than migrants was plausibly employed to associate criminality and violence with the newly arriving group of Syrian refugees as the context suggests. Therefore, the consistent recurrence of certain representations of some social groups in the media reproduces stereotypes that confirm the dominant social and political hierarchies (Lippmann, 1922; Georgiou, 2012).

DISCURSIVE DIMESNION

Stereotyping violence against women as an 'Arab' practice

Unequal social relations between dominant and subordinate groups in the society allow stereotypes against particular social groups to circulate without much scrutiny (Inokuchi and Nozaki 2005). Such stereotypes are enmeshed in the working of power, and operate by suggesting particular norms as standard; constructing human beings as subjects of the power it carries (Inokuchi and Nozaki 2005). Consequently, Van Dijk notes that media is either overtly racist and xenophobic notably most right-wing press in the UK, or at the very least biased, for example, mainstream media allocating more emphasis to the criminality of the immigrant minorities while turning a blind eye to the systematic racism perpetrated by the majority (1993). Therefore, despite narratives of integration and tolerance, racial minorities are perpetually constructed as foreign, subscribing to a different culture and a system of beliefs that is quintessentially seen as hostile, backward and uncivilized (Yin, 2005). Similarly, the analysed media texts have emphasized a discourse that is branding the incoming refugees with inherently violent attitudes that disrespects and sexualizes women.

> ... the attacks were planned predominantly by migrants and asylum seekers, with young men summoned specifically to Cologne to participate in Taharrush gamea, a sort of mob sexual harassment previously only seen in Egypt. (DM2)

> The situation here is opportune to those men (migrants from Arab and Middle East origins) who already regard women as their inferiors and treat accompanied women as fair game (T1)

The problem with perpetuating such discourse is closely related with the main objective of this research, which is contextualizing discourses to underline their ideological stance. Therefore, this discourse removes sexual violence from its broader context as a global, gender-based systemic problem and assumes that violence against women is exclusive to a specific race. Thus such discourse ignores that these discriminatory practices against women are committed on daily basis by men of different social and racial backgrounds (Nazra for Feminist Studies).

SOCIAL DIMENSION

New Racism: Cultural Difference as a threat

The social dimension of this articulation stereotyped the 'rape culture' as an 'Arab' phenomena related to a foreign and alien culture carried out by those refugees into Europe.

> Police fear a gang-rape phenomenon known as 'taharrush gamea' in the Arab world and seen in attacks on women across German cities at the New Year has now spread to Europe. The name of the practice translates to 'collective harassment' and is carried out by large groups of men who sexually assault lone women, either by groping, or in some instances, raping them. (DM)

Such narrative resonates to Said's explanation of the epistemological repertoire of Orientalism, he describes it as 'an archive of information bound together by a family of ideas and a set of values proven in various ways to be effective' (1979: 41). Thus, mass sexual assaults against women in Egypt in 2011 were appropriated within this discursive toolbox of orientalism to highlight a cultural superiority from the media outlets perspective.

> The Arab phenomenon first came to the attention of the Western world when South African reporter Lara Logan, working for CBS, was set upon by a large group of men while reporting on celebrations in Tahrir Square, Egypt, in 2011. (DM)

The extract above shows an illustration of 'ethnocentric universalism' (Mohanty, 1984, p.336) par excellence where a dichotomous First World Culture vs. Third World Culture was reproduced. Arab women's experiences and struggles with sexual violence were appropriated by British newspapers to articulate Cologne attacks against Western women. Mohanty (1984) points that the use of such articulation as an explanatory construct is inherently problematic as it oversimplifies complex issues by reformulating historical contexts into manageable

psychological ones . She argues that the articulation of Arab women's experiences with sexual violence is in fact a composite of a broader culture of violence portrayed to fit into larger hegemonic Western discourse (Mohanty, 1984). Evidently, the media process of appropriation and codification of third world women's experiences with sexual violence is quintessentially ideological subsumed in various discursive and textual practices recuperating the 'East' and 'Third World women' as Others (Mohanty, 1984).

ARTICULATING THE SECURITIZATION APPROACH TO THE REFUGEE CRISIS

The texts have established firmly established migrants and refugees as 'others' in the discursive practice, branding them as a violent mass whose influx is to bring a 'culture of violence and rape' that is foreign to Europe. Consequently, the call for action adopted was to 'send them back' and to 'stop' the immigration influx'.

TEXTUAL DIMENSION

Therefore, 'the open door policy' has been associated with negative modality while 'stricter immigration laws' were associated with a positive one as follows:

Negative modality associated with 'open door policies'

Germany has to confront the harsh results of welcoming in huge numbers of (migrant) men… (DM2)

The attacks have sounded the alarm bell in Germany over the consequences of mass migration (DM2)

Critics of Merkel's open-door policy on refugees were quick to blame it for the attacks, despite the police's insistence that the alleged perpetrators were not new arrivals. (G1)

the events …. may be looked back on as the tipping point of Chancellor Angela Merkel's open door policy. (G2)

Angela Merkel's naïve policy (T1)

The journalistic reporting has also been characterized with heavy reliance on an authoritative voice, overwhelmingly quoting official sources: 'police'; 'minster'; 'police president'; 'mayor'; 'head of police trade union'; 'police in Hamburg'; 'officer of Operation New Year'; 'one investigator'.

DISCURSIVE DIMENSION

Integration Vs. deterrence

This articulation between Cologne events and the securitization approach to the refugee crisis was site to the struggle of two main discourses on the issue of migration: integration and deterrence. Despite official proclamations from elite institutions namely the media and public officials, the notions of integration and multiculturalism are still highly contentious and often overlap with other narratives of exclusion and othering in the discursive practice. Nonetheless, this overlap doesn't undermine the ideological conception those discourses conceal. As Foucault (1979) explains in the introduction of The History of Sexuality: 'Discourses are tactical elements or blocks operating in the field of force relations; there can exist different and even contradictory discourses within the same strategy; they can, on the contrary, circulate without changing their form from one strategy to another, opposing strategy' (Ibid: 101-102). Therefore, we note a recurrent discourse of 'failed' integration being emphasized throughout the texts as such: 'the chances of successfully integrating them are next to nil'; 'Mrs. Merkel has embarked on a vast social experiment while displaying reckless disregard for the difficulty of integration'.

On the other hand, media discourses calling for a cap on the number of asylum-seekers from specific nationalities or a certain racial origin fit into a broader discourse of globalized racism which is designed by the supranational bodies and transmitted to member states for inclusion in their domestic immigration laws (Fekete, 2010). Therefore, British media discourse promoted measures of deterring sexual violence against women by limiting the number of refugees' in-take. Conversely, as Chancellor Merkel of Germany rejected propositions to set a cap on the number of asylum seekers accepted 'Angela Merkel … rejected a proposal to cap admission', another contrasting discourse began to emerge. Chronologically, earlier coverage focused on detailing accounts of the attacks. Eventually, subsequent coverage formed a more coherent narrative focusing on 'addressing the refugee crisis' through imposing stricter immigration laws or even, calling the UK to take preventive measures by leaving the EU to stop the eminent threat of refugees.

A European Union which loses control of immigration

Brexit referendum will be swung by the horrific events in Cologne (DM2)

After Cologne, the EU referendum is about nothing less than the safety and security of British women (DM2)

SOCIAL DIMENSIONS

Failure of multiculturalism leading to a securitization approach to migration

We traced a pattern throughout the texts highlighting a failure of multiculturalism, hence perceiving cultural difference as a threat that requires a security approach to deal with. Therefore, we turn to postcolonial studies for better engagement with the conceptual notions of 'new racism' especially those of multiculturalism and integration. Shome and Hegde describe multiculturalism as a front to promote progressive and technocratic governance (2002). However, such multiculturalism abstains from engaging in complex issues of race and difference (Mohanty, 1984). Therefore, they argue that the ultimate goal of multiculturalism and notions of integration is to mask the systemic structures of power that bear the essence of the colonial legacy as well as imposing 'whiteness normativity' (Shome and Hegde: 261-263). Evidently, a study by Ogan and D'Haenens (2012) to examine Turkish migrant women's integration in the Dutch society has found that perceived 'failure of multiculturalism' has results in similar public discourses to enforce tougher immigration laws and mandate language classes for newly coming migrants in effort to adopt 'shared values' of the host country. On the other hand, they also found that failure of multiculturalism is often related to the social exclusion of those ethnic minorities and their inability to access required skills to improve their economic situation. Therefore, it is the structural hierarchy of dominant groups in the society that contradicts their discourses of integration in favour of keeping minority groups of asylum-seekers and refugees subordinated.

Consequently, the struggling discourses explained above suggest a preferred reading for the media texts. That is, constructing a social representation of a violent other that can only be deterred through exclusion. Therefore, the expected social actions resulting from such discourses lead to perceiving asylum seekers, in future as a suspect group, guilty until proved innocent (Fekete, 2010). These discourses also lead to the fuelling of popular resentment and prejudice sentiments as well as the marginalization of refugees through 'a system of administrative controls designed to act as a cordon sanitaire around mainstream society, as

though seeking asylum was an infectious disease that needed to be quarantined.' (Fekete, 2010, p.31)

Ultimately, Cologne attacks have marked a change of public discourse on migration in the direction of articulating the securitization approach with the refugee crisis in Europe. Furthermore, different discourses around migration, for example: the economic benefits of migrants to the host country's job market or the humanitarian aspect of migration aloowing safe passage to people fleeing war, have somehow ceased to exist in the public discourse and were replaced by the securitization approach to address the perceived threat of migration (Diken, 2002; Toğral 2011). Nonetheless, the securitization approach goes beyond a change of discourse or terminologies when portraying the issue of migration in the public discourse, but rather, it represents a power struggle over the type of voices upstaged as experts to speak of the issue in time of crisis (Foucault, 1989; Toğral, 2011). Therefore, elite voices (official sources cited in the studied media texts) possess double power by the means of discourse and through their ability to reproduce that kind of discourse through social institutions like the media (Van Dijk, 1993; Toğral 2011). This aspect is clearly reflected on a textual level in the discursive practice where all sources quoted by the media texts of the studied sample unanimously represent an authoritative source (police, ministers, mayor...). Eventually, those expert discourses materialize as they inform laws and policies on migration that in turn work on consolidating dominant discourses of the elite groups (Toğral 2011).

> 'In the end I began to understand. There is such a thing as absolute power over narrative. Those who secure this privilege for themselves can arrange stories about others pretty much where, and as, they like. Just as in corrupt, totalitarian regimes, those who exercise power over others can do anything.'

> Chinua Achebe (Nigerian Novelist)

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND THE WAY FORWARD

We learned that racist ideologies within the discursive practice are of a subtle nature. This is in effort to conceal the ideological bias inherent to the media as an elite social institution (Cammaerts, 2015). Nonetheless, racial ideologies in the public discourse abstain from formally declaring the superiority or inferiority of one racial group or the other. This should not be read as impartiality, but rather, it ought to be understood in context of the salient efforts of the dominant elites to normalize such discursive practices as natural and commonsensical (Van Dijk, 2000). Therefore, the media employs a range of discursive and

textual devices to reproduce such racial ideologies through articulating difference as a threat and violence as base of identity of minority groups. Ergo, the critical discourse approach sought by this research was instrumental to operationalize the research question in order to unravel the extent to which those racial ideologies are reflected on textual, discursive and social dimensions of the media text. The results of the CDA explained the extent to which discourses used to portray migrants and refugees perpetuate notions of racism and othering. As an inherent function of CDA, the concept of intertextuality examines the integration of history and social practices on a discursive level in the media texts (Kristeva, 1986). Thus, intertextuality provides a framework to understand how media texts in a hegemonic setting accentuate similar past work and contributes to shaping subsequent texts relevant to the topic of migration (Fairclough, 1995). Therefore, the results of the CDA analysis of the selected media texts can be contextually generalized within the field of British newspapers' discourse on migrants and refugees amid the public debate preceding a major historical event, namely, the UK vote to leave the European Union.

Therefore, we can infer the following conclusions from the previously outlined analysis and interpretation of the results. Firstly, the discourses employed by British newspapers to portray migrants and refugees in the wake of Cologne attacks were racially discriminatory discourses. This has been highlighted through the sample of media texts by focusing on the race and identity of the perpetrators of the Cologne attacks rather than the act of assault on women. It has also been communicated through the generalization of the 'culture of violence' as a base of the identity of the social group of migrants and refugees. Furthermore, media discourses have focused on the racial boundaries defining migrants and refugees as 'others' racially (discourse of whiteness) and culturally (culture of violence) to give way for their marginalization and exclusion. Most importantly, the attempt of the media discourse to shift the focus of these events from being primarily incidents of sexual violence and violation of the bodies of women to a debate around migration is an ideological complicity with patriarchal violence (Nazra for Feminist Studies, 2016). Secondly, we can derive from this analysis that the media as an elite social institution has a structural as well as ideological role in emulating racial discrimination by reproducing discriminatory discourses. Such discriminatory discourses were reflected on a textual level by the means of selective representation, binary opposition (Hall, 1980; 1992), generalizations and stereotypes and on a discursive level (integration vs. deterrence, securitization). Despite proclamations of impartiality, media actively engages with other elite institutions in the society to keep a hierarchical order that enables dominant groups to subordinate minorities by controlling their social representation in the discursive practice (Van Dijk, 1993)

Furthermore, the theory of articulation (Hall, 1988) provided a relevant framework to understand the ideological role of media in shaping the debate around the topic of migration within the public discourse. We conclude from the analysis that media as a social institution has linked separate discourses through articulation to convey a specific ideological conception that wouldn't have been read in the text otherwise. Namely, articulating the sex attacks in Cologne with the mass assaults that took place in Egypt years ago to convey an ideological bias, branding 'culture of mass sexual harassment' as a Middle Eastern phenomenon that would spread into Europe through migration. Furthermore, a second articulation emerged in the media texts linking the attacks in Cologne with the UK vote to leave the European Union. Such articulation was biased towards linking the attacks in Cologne with the anti-immigration stances promoted by the 'leave campaign' at that time.

Recommendations and the way forward: Articulation and discursive resistance

This research aimed at examining the articulation functions of media texts normalizing discourses of racism and othering in an analytical rather than a descriptive way. The aim was to produce a more historically and contextually situated knowledge of the discursive practice in hope to deconstruct it and transform it (Hall, 1988) Evidently, re-articulation of the discursive practices is an important part of wider processes of social and cultural change (Fairclough, 1995). Hooks (1995) affirms the need to find a paradigm to tackle the dominant racial ideologies that shape racist structures in order to achieve social change. Ergo, the study of articulated meanings of media texts provides an opportunity to develop discursive resistance to challenge those dominant discourses that texts communicate (Yin, 2005). Hall (1986) stresses that articulations are not absolute, therefore, can be deconstructed and re-articulated in various ways. Since the construction-reconstruction function is inherent to the articulation process, discursive resistance can be attempted by means of human agency intervention to rearticulate such discourses (Hall, 1986; Yin, 2005). Similarly, Giroux (2000) argues that the deconstruction and rearticulation of media texts provide 'pedagogical resources' (ibid: 494) to reproduce counter-hegemonic discourses that challenges the dominant narratives of racial authority. Thus, this research aimed to investigate the ways in which certain articulations normalize racist dominant ideologies through media texts. Nevertheless, there is a strong opportunity to develop this work by investigating the ways in which alternative and counter-hegemonic narratives can be produced through means of reconstruction and re-articulations (Yin, 2005). Further research needs to address the potential of new and alternative media that enables some marginalized groups to seek new roles as producers of their own messages (Georgiou, 2012). Moreover, this work could be further developed to understand the audience interpretation of the racial ideologies

communicated through media discourses as a crucial part of the media messages' 'encoding-decoding process' (Hall, 1980)

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APPENDICES

Appendix A- Research Sample

Article 1:

> Daily Mail
> 12th January, 2016
>
> **The Arabic gang-rape 'Taharrush' phenomenon which sees women surrounded by groups of men in crowds and sexually assaulted... and has now spread to Europe**
>
> BYLINE: Corey Charlton for MailOnline
> SECTION: NEWS
>
> - The Arabic term 'taharrush' roughly translates to 'collective harassment'
> - It refers to sexual assaults carried out by groups of men in public places
> - Surrounded by dozens of attackers, lone women are groped or raped
> - The phenomenon was first seen in 2011 when a reporter was attacked
> - Lara Logan endured an assault while reporting on the protests in Egypt
> - Police say attacks in Cologne marked Europe's first instance of taharrush

Police fear a gang-rape phenomenon known as 'taharrush gamea' in the Arab world and seen in attacks on women across German cities at the New Year has now spread to Europe.

The name of the practice translates to 'collective harassment' and is carried out by large groups of men who sexually assault lone women, either by groping, or in some instances, raping them.

The men first surround their victim in circles. Some then sexually assault her, while others not directly involved watch or divert outsiders' attention to what is occurring.

Sometimes the terrified victim - in a state of shock and unable to respond - is also robbed during the ordeal.

And the attack usually goes unpunished because the large number of perpetrators and chaos of the attack means authorities are unable to identify those involved.

There remains debate about what defines 'taharrush' - some still insist it is a reference to flirting - though scholars argue its definition changed after the attacks seen in Egypt from 2011 onwards.
German authorities have stated this was the phenomenon seen in Cologne city centre on New Year, when hundreds of women reported they were sexually assaulted.

The practice is only carried out in public and almost always at demonstrations or large public gatherings where the attackers find safety in numbers and disorder.

The Arab phenomenon first came to the attention of the Western world when South African reporter Lara Logan, working for CBS, was set upon by a large group of men while reporting on celebrations in Tahrir Square, Egypt, in 2011.

Logan recounted her ordeal in Egypt several months later on a 60 Minutes broadcast, describing how the baying crowd 'raped me with their hands'.

The 44-year-old revealed terrifying details of the 40 minute-long February attack in Cairo's Tahrir Square, including how she became separated from members of her crew after someone in the frenzied 200-strong crowd shouted 'Let's take her pants off.'

She said: 'Suddenly, before I even know what's happening, I feel hands grabbing my breasts, grabbing my crotch, grabbing me from behind. I mean, and it's not one person and then it stops, it's like one person and another person and another person.

'And I know Ray is right there, and he's grabbing at me and screaming, 'Lara hold onto me, hold onto me'.'

It was revealed that as she was pulled into the frenzy the camera recorded her shouting 'Stop.' It was revealed that someone in the crowd falsely shouted out that she was an Israeli Jew.

Angie Abdelmonem, a doctoral candidate at Arizona State University, recently published a study into the instances of 'taharrush' seen during the Egyptian Revolution.

She said the 'violent nature of sexual harassment and assault in Tahrir Square captured global attention', but many locally initially believed the state was hiring thugs to harass women and stem public protest.

'This [perception] shifted on February 11, the day Mubarak stepped down, with the mob assault and rape of CBS correspondent, Lara Logan,' she wrote.

'Between 2011 and 2013, sexual harassment became common at protests in Tahrir Square, exemplified by a number of highly publicized violent attacks that demonstrate how women's bodies became objectified and dehumanized during the uprising.'

She goes on to conclude the lack of 'conceptual boundaries' of the term further blurred the lines of when acceptable flirtation became harassment.

German police believe it was 'taharrush' committed in Cologne and other cities at New Year by Arab and North African men that led to hundreds of police complaints in the following weeks.

German federal police told Die Welt that crimes are committed by groups of young men during large gatherings of people, such as demonstrations, and range from sexual harassment to rape.

It was the first instance of the phenomenon having reached Europe, and as the scale of the attacks in the city slowly emerged, other centres, such as Zurich and Salzburg, reported similar crimes.

A report from the Interior Ministry in North Rhine-Wesphalia (NRW) state, where Cologne lies, said 516 criminal complaints had been registered, 237 of which were of a sexual nature.

A separate report from the Cologne police gave graphic descriptions of the crimes, listing case after case of women surrounded by gangs of men who put their hands in the victims' pants and skirts, grabbed them between the legs, on the buttocks and the breasts, often while stealing their wallets and cell phones.

A total of 19 suspects have been identified, all foreigners.

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