Social Actor Representation in Media Discourse: How Neutral Linguistic Cues Get Endowed with Meaning that Signifies Ethnicity

Sandra Simonsen[2]

Abstract

In media discourse, journalists often need to navigate two professional values when covering migration topics: providing accurate and relevant information to audiences while simultaneously being committed to social justice. To understand how discursive practices have developed in response to this dilemma, I compare migration news discourse from two national environments—Sweden and Denmark—that represent opposite sociopolitical responses to migration. By analyzing the representations of identities of social actors inspired by Van Leeuwen (1996, 2018), the paper shows how migrant's ethnic identities are sometimes omitted and suppressed in news content, and it identifies a range of lexical devices journalists utilize to represent actors in ways that still signify ethnicity while remaining ostensibly neutral. For example, in Denmark, ethnic labels such as "migrant", "migrant gang" and "ghetto" constitute a common pattern, whereas in Sweden, conversely, such terms are substituted by expressions such as "new Swede", "youth gang" and "vulnerable neighborhood". I term this phenomenon semantic ethnification and define it as a process where ethnic identities of social actors are expressed through strategies that rely on implicit and covert connotations that denote ethnicity rather than explicit ethnic cues.

9

Keywords

2 Department of Journalism and Media Studies, Aarhus University, Denmark, E-mail: Ssimonsen@cc.au.dk

"Social Actor Representation in Media Discourse:
How Neutral Linguistic Cues Get Endowed with Meaning
that Signifies Ethnicity"

Introduction

In the field of discourse studies, the topic of migration has received an immense amount of attention, and have been examined from a wide range of perspectives (e.g., racist, xenophobic, legal, political, administrative, media) and with a diverse set of analytical tools (e.g. linguistic approaches, Conversation Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis, and ethnographic approaches. (Fairclough, 1989 & 1995; Van Dijk, 2008; Wodak and Richardson, 2012; Wodak and Meyer, 2015, and for an overview see van Dijk, 2018). In the present study, I focus on the representation of identities (Van Leeuwen, 1996 & 2008) of migrants in media discourse, as that topic has increasingly become a site of intense ideological struggle. Specifically, media institutions covering migration topics are often the targets of public criticism by both politicians and activists from opposing political camps, who either accuse the news discourses of aggravating ethnic resentment or inversely of shying away from addressing important societal issues (Hinde, 2017). Responding to such concerns, journalists have in many societies complemented their commitment to accuracy and objectivity with values such as social responsibility and justice and embraced them as important ideals central to their professional identities[3] (Syvertsen et al., 2014; Ahva et al., 2017). However, the simultaneous endorsement of these values gives rise to ideological tensions, especially concerning the coverage of migration and its social and economic consequences. One key concern that is intensely discussed in both the scholarly literature and public debate is how the identities of migrant actors are represented in the news (Eberl et al., 2018). On the one hand, identifying actors in virtue of their ethnicity is problematized by reference to the potential group stigma and the discrimination that often follow (Boomgaarden, 2007). On the other hand, omitting such references is oftentimes interpreted as depriving the public of relevant information, inviting concerns about the reliability and accuracy of the news. By examining media discourse on migration, and involved social actors (Van Leeuwen, 1996, 2008; Koller, 2012), this paper sheds light on those discursive practices that enable journalists and editors to navigate and balance these opposing demands. Based on a conceptual outline that integrates elements from cultural studies of how context models (van Dijk, 2008) enable audiences to interpret news texts (Barthes, 1966, 1972; Hall, 1980), I compare media discourse from two national environments—Sweden and Denmark—that represent opposite political responses to migration. In Denmark, ethnic information is a key part of public discourse on migration, whereas in Sweden, discussing ethnicity in the context of migration is relatively less pronounced (Hovden, 2020). By analysing and comparing these two environments, I find that journalists and editors continue to denote ethnic and cultural otherness through various "neutral" linguistic devices, even when relying on ethnic identification is less socially acceptable. I identify such linguistic devices utilized to represent social actors, their actions, and geographical locations, that are seemingly neutral with regards to ethnicity but nevertheless express semantic meaning that signifies ethnicity. This practice can be captured by the concept *semantic ethnification*, which I define as a process whereby ethnic identities of social actors have gained salience and are expressed through strategies that rely on implicit and covert lexical connotations rather than explicit cues that denote ethnicity. Semantic ethnification occurs, I argue, when information on the identity of actors is removed from news texts through social conventions but remains relevant as part of the domestic public debate. In such cases, ethnic identities of actors do not disappear or become irrelevant, as might have been intended.

---

[3] This tension between social responsibility and objectivity was originally articulated by Siebert, Peterson, Peterson, & Schramm in 1956.

Rather, linguistic devices, seemingly neutral with regards to the expression of ethnicity, become endowed with ethnic information that audiences can utilize to draw inferences from.

1. Theoretical Framework

1.1 Migration Discourse in Media

Before delving into the main findings from the empirical literature on migration discourse in the media, it is worth outlining some of the inherent media-dynamics that contribute to the characteristics of media discourse on migration. The first is that while journalists commit to professional ideals of objectivity, they must simultaneously respond to the demands of their audience (Boudana, 2011), and audiences, it has been shown, are comparably more interested in and responsive to negative information (Vliegenthart et al., 2011). For that reason, negative media content consistently attracts more readers (Soroka et al., 2019), and so due to the business models of media institutions, this condition is reflected in the type of stories that are prioritized and, ultimately, feature in media discourse overall. Secondly, audiences tend to prefer media content that assumes the perspective of the ethnocentric in-group (Trimithiotis, 2020). Following this negativity- and in-group bias (Knobloch-Westerwick et al., 2017), journalists in national news institutions are more likely to produce discourse that centers around national issues and events and their potential negative consequences for the national in-group (Billig, 1995).

At the same time, however, journalists are members of a professional community united by a shared discourse and collective interpretations of key public events (Zelizer, 1993). Journalists' professional identities are constantly evolving in response to political developments (Tumber and Zelizer, 2019). In migrant recipient countries, particularly in Northern Europe, normative values regarding migration advocacy and advancing social justice, for example by facilitating diversity in society (Masini et al., 2017) – have in recent years become a new form of professional ideology amongst journalists (Syvertsen et al., 2014; Ahva et al., 2017). Several studies have shown that mobilizing the public is an important value amongst journalists in Scandinavia (E.g. Skovsgaard et al., 2012), thereby pointing to the importance of the *critical change agent* role that wants to influence public opinion and advocate for social change. These new professional values, similarly, contribute to certain discursive patterns found in media content on migration, such as humanitarian-based discourse, that can constitute a rhetorical tool to resist discrimination.

The humanitarian-based discourse in the context of migration in the news, however, is not the most pronounced pattern, judging by the main trends in the empirical literature. on the contrary, it appears that journalists have generally been more influenced by a combination of the negativity and in-group bias in the production of migration discourse. Hence, migration media discourse is predominantly negative and migrants are represented as a threat to native populations (Balch and Balabanova, 2016). Comparing media discourse in 16 Western democracies, Esser and colleagues (2017) demonstrated that 'immigration and integration' was the third most negative topic in political news following governmental dysfunction and crime. Focusing on Swedish news, Strömbäck, Andersson and Nedlund found that the most common discursive pattern is that immigration threatens social cohesion, followed by the representation that immigration is a threat to security and the Swedish economy (Strömbäck et al., 2017).

1. 2 Constructing the immigrant "other"

An influential topic in the study of migration discourse involves examining how members of host communities discursively construct the immigrant "other." Not surprisingly, migrant groups that are culturally close are represented more favorably than those that are culturally remote (Eberl et al., 2018). One key aspect of discursive other-representation is linguistic choices (Pan and Kosicki, 1993), and several studies have confirmed that a common tendency is for journalists to portray groups of migrants as 'masses' or 'hordes', and sometimes by the use of water themed metaphors (El Refaie, 2001) and terms referencing natural disasters (Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008). Such constructions are understood as intrinsically connected to attitudes and beliefs. Thus, they bring in important links between migration discourse and ideology-informed constructs such as racism, nationalism, multiculturalism, or diversity (Guillem, 2015).

Studies in this area have contributed to illuminating instances of "everyday racism" (van Dijk, 1987), where a range of discursive strategies are utilized by speakers as a way of validating prejudiced claims, (e.g. "I'm not racist, but …,"). Such expressions are seen as a strategy of producing and reproducing negative attitudes toward racial and ethnic "others." In Critical Discourse Analysis, topos (that is, the elements of an argument that are an obligatory, either explicit or inferable, premise, according to Reisigl and Wodak (2001, p. 74-75)) of responsibility is identified as a scheme of argumentation aiming to justify the positive or negative attributions of certain actors and thus to reproduce positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001). Within this type of discourse, a similar recurrent strategy involves membership categorization that is utilized to classify the qualities of migrants into, for instance, "good" or "bad," or asylum seekers into "bogus" or "bona fide," and the migrant experience into a "personal choice" versus a "lack of choice,". Through such categorization processes, migrants who are perceived as contributing to the host country are constructed as desirable, and those who do not contribute, as a threat (Boomgarden, 2007). Essentialist appropriations of terms like "culture" and "cultural values" are often articulated, thereby contributing to an overall explanation for the existence of inequalities that minimizes its face-threatening potential (Guillem, 2015, p. 5).

In the context of constructing the migrant "other", a phenomenon that has received very little scholarly attention, is how identities of migrant actors are downplayed in news reports by the use of discursive and linguistic strategies. One noticeable example is Horsti (2013) who analyzed how Finish journalists in a mediatized pro-asylum activist campaign un-marked asylum seekers difference through de-ethnicizing and de-muslimizing them by refraining from explicitly mentioning and overall downplayed religious and ethnic markers and visible signs of difference. Horsti argues that media actors unmarked asylum seekers ethnic differences in order to discursively shift the figure of the 'Muslim other' to the realm of 'us' by dissolving and unmarking their Muslim identities. Besides downplaying religious and ethnic markers, there are a number of discursive strategies for representing and/or erasing ethnic (including religious and cultural) identities of social actors in news content, and those will be outlined in the following section.

1.3 Actor identity representation

Social actors are represented in the news through a number of linguistic (and visual) devices, most commonly through classifications that identify them in terms of geographical location or origin, gender, age, religion or ethnicity (Van Leeuwen, 1996). With regards to migrants, ethnic

cues are commonly used. That is, textual representations of social actors' ethnicity (Sirin et al., 2016, p. 1667), where ethnicity broadly refers to a set of characteristics that individuals and groups identify with and which distinguishes them from other groups such as a collective set of traditions, language, culture, religion and ancestry (Chandra, 2013). Concretely, there are many different ways of marking ethnic otherness. Sometimes overt ethnic labels are used to mark ethnic difference (e.g., Muslim, Arab). In other cases, emphasis is on the movement from one geographical area to another (e.g., migrant, refugee, stranger) that is sometimes passed down the generations (e.g., migrant background, second generation migrant, descendants of migrants). Common to all of the above, however, is that otherness is construed on the basis of archetypical strangeness in the context of domestic society. The distinct otherness of the person's ethnic background is explicated and indicates the phenomenon of not belonging to the local group and not sharing its identity (Wieland-Burston, 2019).

In comparison to other forms of social differentiation (e.g., class, gender) the distance of the stranger has to do with his "origins". Since not sharing collective identity is a prerequisite for identifying and classifying the stranger as such, the importance of collective identity stands out. Centrally, this position is "determined, essentially, by the fact that he has not belonged to it from the beginning, that he imports qualities into it, which do not and cannot stem from the group itself." (Simmel 1908, p. X). Thus, exhibiting qualities that have originated elsewhere is the core of these constructions of strangeness. Identification as migrant or as member of certain ethnicities is thus politicized due to the underlying group mechanisms at work in such classifications (Boomgaarden, 2007). Such classifications have exclusionary potential in that they emphasize fundamental differences between peoples and groups. Furthermore, characteristics associated with the abstract group might be transferred onto a concrete individual, and so he is reduced to a mere group member without individual agency (Simonsen, 2020 & 2022). Lastly, by mentioning ethnicity or migrant status in media discourse, significance and relevance is ascribed to ethnicity. Particularly in cases of crime committed by migrants, ethnic identity is sometimes utilized as a relevant explanatory factor. Cases of rape, for example, are oftentimes presented in media discourse as a cultural clash between sexist Middle Eastern and more egalitarian Western norms (Andreassen, 2005).

In this light, journalists may include or exclude information regarding the identity of social actors from media discourse (Koller, 2012) for a number of reasons. In some cases, information is left out from news reports because audiences are assumed to know the information already and providing more details would be over-communicative. In other cases, and in line with the above observation, omitting ethnic cues can be a journalistic means to regard the ethnicity of an actor irrelevant to a news story. Likewise, as argued by Horsti (2013), leaving out ethnic information may function as a means in pro-asylum activism campaigns. Indeed, Van Leeuwen (2008, p. 41) argues, that in some cases preventing access to information on actor identity may be normatively motivated, since it is assumed that such information might spark unwanted consequences. In this light, leaving out signifying cues can be seen as concrete manifestations of the newly emerged professional norm of journalists in migrant recipient countries. An example of absence of cues is, for example, when the signifier "Islamist" is left out when referring to violent attacks against civilians committed by self-declared Islamic groups and individuals (Jackson, 2007), which political leaders, e.g. Barack Obama (Diaz, 2016), societal institutions, e.g. the British police force (Kennedy, 2020), and some media institutions have publicly declared the cease of.

However, aside from omitting ethnic cues (Horsti, 2013), there are a number of other discursive strategies that directly or indirectly downplay or erase social actors in news reports. The strategy of passive agent deletion, or *passivization*, is when a news article reports that "rocks were thrown" but not *who* threw them, hence, the social actor is completely erased from the text. Through the strategy of *backgrounding* (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 39), actors are de-

emphasized and pushed into the background by the omission of identifying information rather than completely erased. The social actor is present in the text but only by vague and generalizing linguistic classifications, that nevertheless functions as semantic traces, which enables readers to form questions about actors and events, or to deduce informationor links between information, by a process of inference. In order to understand how audiences are enabled to perform such generalizing inference, I will now outline how signifiers that do not overtly signify ethnicity can also be interpreted as connoting such ethnic meaning in media discourse.

1.4 Interpreting the semantic meaning of linguistic cues

In communicative situations, participants must know how to speak, write and *interpret* text appropriately, and they can only do so by relying on their knowledge on *what is currently relevant in given a situation*, i.e. their personal context model (van Dijk, 2018, p. 233). This context models influence the production of discourse and ensure it is appropriate in the particular situation. News texts, specifically, functions within a set of systematic rules that regulates and differentiates between intended and interpreted meanings (Hall, 1980). By providing audiences with specific linguistic cues, news texts present certain ideas and encourage certain kinds of interpretations (Pan and Kosicki, 1993, p. 55—56). Inclusion in journalistic text entails significance so if significance isn't obvious, it calls for interpretation – which may draw upon denotational, connotational, etymological, and other resources to interpret the meaning of the cue. It is, as such, by virtue of context knowledge and a normative belief system shared by author and audience, that audiences are enabled to interpret those linguistic signs the author has utilized in constructing the text (Barthes, 1966 & 1972).

     An example from the US is the term "inner city" that became popularized through the writings of liberal, White Protestants after World War II, often by contrasting it with the growing affluent suburbs. The sign denoted a bounded geographic construct but came to connote a set of cultural pathologies associated with urban black communities (Cramer, 2016; Ansfield, 2018). Referring to "inner city gangs", thus, comes with a set of racial, cultural connotations from which audiences are able to draw additional inferences – notably, by recognizing how actualizing specific connotations adds explanatory power to the present use of this signifier (Wilson and Sperber, 2012). In spite of the lack of overt ethnic cues in news texts, audiences are still able to draw general inferences regarding the reported events and actors. Such inferential readings between the lines of the news are particularly salient where key bits of information are lacking, or believed lacking, in the original coverage. Whether additional information is still unavailable (e.g., for breaking news), withheld by sources (e.g., for pending investigations) or omitted by the journalist (e.g. because such information is still unverified), deemed irrelevant or considered normatively undesirable to avoid stigmatization or other adverse public responses – subtle cues still satisfy audiences' desires for information and explanation. After having outlined the main ways in which migrants are construed as "The Other" in media discourse, the potential media-immanent factors for what might be the case, and several discursive strategies by which ethnic identities of social actors can be emphasized and downplayed, the following section presents the reasons for analysing and comparing discursive strategies for representing migrant actors in media discourse from Sweden and Denmark.

2. Cases and context

The concept of migration can be broadly defined as the movement of people from one place to another, and those involved in this kind of movement are generally referred to as migrants (United Nations, n.d.). With regards to migration trends, Denmark and Sweden are in many ways representative for those social changes that have taken place in the many European countries over the past three decades. Sweden and Denmark share many cultural, social, political and historical characteristics, and were affected by growing migration in similar ways. This holds also for both countries' overall journalistic culture: the formal ethical guidelines for the mentioning of actors' ethnicity in news reports, for example, are similar in both countries[4]. In both media environments, ethnic backgrounds of actors are mentioned when ethnicity is deemed relevant to the particular story. Relevance is determined ad hoc and from case to case through discussion between journalists and editors. Editors from the studied news outlets clarified this through email correspondences. As such, decisions on the relevance of ethnicity for a news story are based on guidelines that are interpreted and not on a fixed set of explicit rules.

That being said, there are key differences in the way in which migration is made sense of and correspondingly dealt with in Sweden and Denmark, especially in political-normative terms. While both countries originally defined their national identity in cultural and ethnic terms, Swedish political discourse has pushed toward an understanding of national identity that rests on citizenship and residency, thus permitting migrants and their descendants to be defined as Swedes. That is reflected in ideas such as deeming Sweden "exceptionalist" (Dahlstedt and Neergaard, 2019) and Sweden moral superpower due to its generous residency and citizenship policies (Dahl, 2006). Hence, in Sweden, classifying individuals through "us and them" categories is comparably less socially accepted than in Demark, particularly if the classification is based on ethnicity. In Denmark, by contrast, more traditional conceptions persist to the effect that formal citizenship is still seen to fall short of a full membership in the national social group, and it is associated with less stigma to recognize ethnic differences and express those perceptions verbally. In Denmark, migration has been a deeply contested topic for more than three decades. The debate has been characterized by overt anti-Muslim rhetoric where Danish values have been presented as being threatened (Bødker and Ngomba, 2018). As such, these two countries represent two opposite extremes with regard to migration policies and social responses (Hovden, 2020). That, in turn, enables this case design to study social actor representation under similar conditions but with variation in regards to cultural norms and official state ideologies related to the acceptance of migrants.

3. Data and method

To examine a wide range of strategies for representing social actors in media discourse (news, analysis, background, editorials, and letters to the editor) data was collected over an entire decade from October 2009 to October 2019, a period that was characterized by numerous, and very different migration-related events and phases. Opinion-driven discourse was included in the selection as, particularly, the editorial is a distinctive format where the opinions of a paper as an organization are explicitly represented and play a critical role in constructing political

---

[4] See the ethical principles of the Swedish media ombudsman here:
https://medieombudsmannen.se/publicitetsregler/, and of the Danish Press Council here:
https://www.pressenaevnet.dk/press-ethical-rules/

debate in the public sphere as they are utilized to influence politics either indirectly, through reaching public opinion, or directly, by targeting politicians (Firmstone, 2019). Since the aim is to capture a broad spectrum of actor representations, print content is chosen as articles are typically longer and provide more background and analysis.

By utilizing a dictionary-based approach designed for capturing "migration"-related content, the data was extracted from the three most distributed Swedish and Danish newspapers stored in the databases Retriever and Infomedia. The Swedish ones are Dagens Nyheter, Svenska Dagbladet, and Aftonbladet while the Danish ones Berlingske, Politiken, and Ekstra Bladet.. This selection comprises tabloids as well as liberal and conservative broadsheet newspapers (Nohrstedt et al., 2000; Allern and Blach-Ørsten, 2011). The dictionary search yielded 14,873 hits in Swedish newspapers and 20,683 in Danish newspapers, making a total of 35,556 newspaper items. The two country-specific search strings were validated by calculating accuracy (DK = 0.88 and SV = 0.90). Relevant items were finally chosen by constructing artificial news weeks, and so a stratified sample of 200 articles (100 from each country, and 33 articles from each newspaper) was selected for in-depth analysis[5].

The first analytical step was to identify social actors (Koller, 2012; Van Leeuwen, 1996) based on the presence of ethnic cues and general linguistic devices suitable to evoke a specific interpretation signaling cultural, religious or ethnic "otherness". The different strategies for actor representation were then divided into two categories corresponding to the two main foci of the study: the use of overt ethnic cues and ethnic identity omission and backgrounding. In cases of identity omission, I elucidated the implicit inference process necessary for parsing the text based on seminal theories of linguistic interpretation (Barthes, 1966 & 1972; Hall, 1980). Lastly, the findings were compared and, on that basis, the implications for actor representation in migration news content were interpreted. The examples provided in the following section are chosen based on representational relevance. As we shall see, the Danish and Swedish sample varied substantially with regards to the presence and prominence of linguistic references to ethnicity. In the Danish sample, they were considerably more prominent, whereas they were generally absent from the Swedish one. Here it is important to note that since the current literature on migrant representation already has outlined extensively how migrants are represented by negative "other" representation by relying on essentialist, ethnic and cultural stereotypes, the following section that presents findings from Denmark will, consequently, provide relatively fewer examples in order to allocate more focus to the Swedish case.

4. Findings: Actor representation and the use of ethnic cues

4.1 Denmark

The use of explicit ethnic cues

The Danish sample made ample use of ethnic cues[6] while representing social actors with a migrant background and topics related to migration in general. Social actors with a migrant background residing in Denmark are predominantly referred to by virtue of their origins, (e.g. "a migrant", "a Syrian-Danish man", "a man with a Syrian background", "Syrian") or of their

---

[6] The present study adopts a broad definition of "ethnicity" as it appears on p. 7.

religion, (e.g. "Danish Muslim", "Muslim"), as in the following example:

> In recent years, there have been a number of serious terrorist plans in Denmark, which were prevented at the last minute. In the mid-1990s, three Muslims apparently had terrorist plans, […] In the so-called Vollsmose case in 2006, young Muslims inspired by radical imams had terrorist plans in the wake of Jyllands-Posten's cartoons. Nine were arrested. In 2007, Danish police arrested four Muslims on suspicion of planning terrorism in Denmark. […] And in 2008, a number of young Muslims with links to al-Qaeda were arrested in the so-called Glasvej case. In addition to these serious cases, there have been other attempts at terror and assassinations, such as the murder plan against Jyllands-Posten's cartoonist Kurt Westergaard" (Blüdnikow, 2009).

References to ethnicity were prominent, persistent and overt in representations of social actors, and consequently, ethnicity is ascribed significance. In the above example, the ethnic cue comes to function as a framing device: it is provided as a causal explanation for terrorist attacks. In this following example, similarly, the ethnic cue "Muslims" functions as a linguistic device that suffice in framing demographic developments caused by migration as a threat: there is no need for further elaboration on the part of the author on perceived problems associated with Muslims cultural otherness, is an intrinsic threat:

> "How many Muslims will there be in Danish society in two and three generations - and not just in 2060, which is the time horizon on the forecasts? Statistics Denmark does not calculate figures for religious affiliation, but if you want to have an assessment of Islam's influence in Denmark in 75 and 100 years, one must necessarily have an idea of the number of Muslims at that time. […] If forecasts suggest that the ethnic Danish population is at risk of becoming a minority at some point in the future, it is now time to act" (Berlingske, 2019).

With regard to groups, similarly, the Danish sample represented groups through overt ethnic references (e.g. "migrants", "Muslims migrants", "refugee", "descendants of migrants", "second generation migrants"). Particularly during the autumn of 2015, groups of people arriving in Europe in order to settle, terms such as "migrants", "asylum seekers", and "refugees" were all utilized to represent such social actors (Danish: "indvandrere", "asylansøgere", "flygtninge"). Contrary to "refugee", a "migrant" connotes active agency (i.e. actively moving from one place to another). Hence, the term "migrant" casts individuals as agents of their migration who bear responsibility and hence possibly culpability for reported problems.

Geographical areas where individuals born abroad have become the majority of residents and the native population a minority were in the Danish sample presented predominantly by the term "ghetto"[7]. Originally used to refer to the Jewish area of Venice, the term "ghetto" eventually came to signify urban quarters of other minority groups, and has as such overt ethnic connotations (Ravid, 2017)[8]. Groups of social actors residing in such geographical areas who throw rocks at the police, set cars on fire, deal drugs and participate in shootings and other violent crime were in the Danish sample referred to primarily by the term "migrant boys" and "migrant gangs" (Danish: "indvandrerdrenge", "indvandrerbander"). Relying on the prefix "migrant", these terms categorized such groups by reference to the

---

[7] The term ghetto is the officially used term in Danish political discourse. E.g. "the Ghetto List" that refers to a list over geographical areas with a high concentration of migrants and descendants, high unemployment and crime rates. (In Danish: "ghettolisten").

[8] The Danish sample did also contain a term stripped from ethnic connotations (i.e. "*udsat område*"). The term will be analysed under findings from the Swedish sample in which it was used far more consistently.

cultural otherness of their group identity, signaling that it exhibits characteristics that originally have emerged elsewhere, and implying that such characteristics are an underlying cause of their behavior

4.2 Sweden:

4.2.1 Supressing identities

In the Swedish sample, on the other hand, information on the identity of social actors were suppressed (Van Leeuwen, 2008), as in the following example:

> "Like a sophisticated serial killer, they trigger other killers—who do not even have to admit to belonging to *any particular ideology*—by explaining in detail how to do it. […] Just two weeks ago, *a man* drove into a crowd at the Westminster Bridge in London. *Four people died* and about *fifty were injured*. At the Christmas market in Berlin, *12 people were killed* and more than 56 injured a few months ago. And last summer, more than *87 people were killed* in Nice, France, when *a truck plowed through* the promenade. Four hundred were injured. And now Sweden, in the middle of Stockholm." [my emphasis] (Nordberg, 2017).

In this quote, representation of social actors happens through a gendered categorization, i.e. "a man". References to any symbolic category of the social actor, e.g. "ideology" is deliberately left out and explicitly rejected as irrelevant. Passive verbs contribute to suppressing information of social actors, such as "people were killed", thereby leaving out an active agent responsible for the killing. In the second last line, "a truck", that is, a physical object with no will and, consequently, responsibility, replaces the social actor. However, attentive readers were arguably still able to infer the likely identity and motive of the attack based on contextual knowledge. As the example illustrates, journalists explicitly linked the other car attacks in Berlin, London and Nice - which were presumably known by the audience to have been Islamist in motivation - and that contributed to the association to Islamic terrorism.

At the same time, since some media outlets and political leaders have officially decided to refrain from utilizing the term "Islamic terrorism", another clue to audiences is the complete absence of references to motives – which would normally be mentioned if attacks were perpetrated by Neo-Nazi extremists or Christian vigilantes. From the symbolic perspective, because the actors involved in these attacks are typically legitimizing violence by reference to ideological and religious values that have originated elsewhere, (i.e. outside of Sweden, Denmark and Europe as such) such types of attacks have come to connote cultural otherness.

4.2.2 Age, Gender, Residency Status, and Socio-economic Identifications

In the Swedish sample, when identities of social actors were present in news content, they were predominantly based on classifications such as age, gender, socio economic status and residency status. Ethnic labels were hardly used, if at all. Yet, the coverage still subtly marks the foreign origin of actors: For instance, a number of news reports eschewed the shorter and simpler term "a Swede", which is commonly used in reference to ethnic Swedes, referring instead to "a Swedish citizen" or "a man with Swedish citizenship" or "residency" – thereby enabling audiences to infer that the social actor holds a Swedish citizenship but may not be ethnically Swedish, as the following examples illustrates:

18

> "Six of the vehicles seized by German police, suspected of having been used for refugee smuggling, are registered in Sweden. […] - We know that eight people "with residence[9] in Sweden" are in custody in Germany in connection with human trafficking, says Kent Öberg at the Foreign Ministry's press office." [Scare quotes in the original] (Ahlborg, 2015)

In April 2017, a rejected asylum seeker drove a truck into a crowd of people on the shopping street Drottninggatan in the Swedish capital Stockholm, killing five and injuring 15. Illustrating a case of *backgrounding* (Van Leeuwen, 2008) the perpetrator was referred to as a "man" and the "hijacker" (Nilsson, 2017) (of a truck)" thereby leaving out further information on the identity or the motive for the terrorist attack that could have provided Swedish audiences with additional background information of the event and the perpetrator. Social actors were replaced with physical objects, thereby toning down human agency and thus responsibility: "*The truck accelerates and continues in high speed down Drottninggatan*" (Nilsson, 2017).

In the Swedish sample, the only overt labels of ethnicity that survive are those that are passive. In the representation of groups, for example, the Swedish sample contained terms drawing on (local) geographical and socio-economic classifications. (e.g. "inhabitants of vulnerable suburbs"), with only relatively weak cues that could connote cultural otherness (e.g. "new Swedes). Being "new" somewhere or to some group usually grants apologetic gestures from established members. Moreover, instead of using the shorter term "Swede", the journalists added "new" to the classification, which not only resulted in a bulkier way of characterizing the actor but it also provided information on and attached meaning to the fact that the individual had origins elsewhere. Moreover, this characterization is not conventionally applied to, for example, Fins, Norwegians or Danes who have migrated and settled in Sweden but exclusively refers to non-Western migrants.

In those cases where ethnic otherness could be explicitly identified in the representation of social actors, this was persistently by the reference "refugee". While both "refugee" and "migrant", that was the predominant term utilized in the Danish sample, signal ethnic otherness and, thus, attach meaning to that the represented group has origins elsewhere, "refugee" connotes vulnerability and passiveness and establish the actor as victimized and, consequently, except the actor from responsibility.

4.2.3 Geographical Areas: Vulnerable Suburbs and No-go Zones

Geographical areas where individuals born abroad have become the majority of residents and the native population a minority were in the Swedish sample presented predominantly by references to socio-economic and socio-geographic characteristics, such as , "suburb", "exposed suburb[10]", "socially exposed area", "outer suburb" (In Swedish: *förorten, utsatta förorten*, *social utsatta områden, ytterförorter*), as in the following example:

> "Terrorism experts believe that the fight against terrorism is being determined in Europe's suburbs. We must win the support of young people for democracy and against extremism. An inclusive society is fundamental to counteracting radicalization. Good opportunities for self-sufficiency and safe environments where people meet are important prerequisites." (Norlén et al., 2015)

While denoting a (socio-economically deprived) geographical area, the labels, "exposed suburb", "socially exposed area", "outer suburb", are regularly associated with "radicalization", "religious extremism" in reports from those areas as exemplified in the quote above. Another term specific to the Swedish sample is "no-go zone":

[9] (In Swedish: *"hemvist"*)
[10] The Swedish term *"utsatta"* can also be translated into "vulnerable".

19

> "55 "no go"-zones in Sweden. […] areas where "unattended police cars are attacked", where police officers are "attacked" and where it is "common for police officers to be exposed to violence and threats". […] in some areas the residents feel that "the ordinary legal system is to some extent suspended", while the police note that "a large part of the inhabitants turns to the criminal environment for justice". The residents believe "that it is the criminals who govern the areas." (Gudmundson, 2014)

Originally a term used by the US military in reference to areas controlled by rebels, "no-go zone" refers to space in an urban area that some violent group, such as a paramilitary or criminal network, have taken control over, so that the area is no longer controlled by the state authorities (police, military etc.) As such, it denotes an area under insurgency where the state has lost its monopoly on violence and thus its sovereignty (Wadley, 2008). Being linguistically stripped from any reference to ethnicity, the label "no-go zone" is still associated with "radicalization" and "extremism" and has to some extent become popularized as the number of foreign-born residents in the country increased and settled in segregated communities. Linguistic devices such as "exposed suburb", "socially exposed area", "outer suburb" and "no-go zone" are, thus, constructed as liminal spaces at the edge of Swedish society and so still connote cultural otherness indirectly.

By virtue of second-hand associations and to some extent prior knowledge, audiences are able to infer ethnicity from these linguistic devices. Social actors residing in such geographical areas who throw rocks at the police, set cars on fire, deal drugs and participate in shootings and other violent crime were in the Swedish sample represented by reference to geographical location, age or group structure e.g. "residents of exposed surburbs", "youth", "gangs" (In Swedish: "invånare i utsatta förorten", "ungdomar", "gäng")[11]. Describing actors committing crime by reference to their geographical location, audiences are provided with a clue that enables them to speculate, generalize and ultimately draw inferences about the perpetrator based on the characteristics of that geographical location. Thus, since "exposed suburb" has become semantically ethnified, so has the term "youth gang" (Swedish: "ungdomsgäng") when combined with the latter. Table 1 summarizes the key differences in the observed uses of ethnic cues.

---

[11] Recently, in the Autumn of 2020, this practice has started to change in the Swedish news landscape after a representative of the Swedish police publically spoke out about the problems with organized crime committed by clans. Given that the term "clan" has overt ethnic connotations, that immediately sparked public discussion as to whether the term "family based criminal networks" (*Swedish: kriminella släktnätverk*) was more appropriate since that term is de-ethnified.

Table 1. The use of linguistic devices in Danish and Swedish news 2009-2019

linguistic device	Denmark	Sweden
social actor	Danish Muslim Muslim man Migrant man with Muslim background Syrian man / Danish-Syrian man man with Syrian background man with another ethnic background than Danish	man Swedish citizen man with Swedish citizenship 36-year-old new Swede
	migrant asylum-seeker "+{descendants of migrants second generation migrants third generations migrants	refugee(s)
	migrant boys migrant gang	youth youth gang inhabitants of vulnerable suburbs inhabitants of exposed suburbs
	Muslim terrorist Islamist terrorist	a 36-year-old a man a truck

Conclusion

This paper has analysed discursive strategies for representing the various identities of the migrant "other" by comparing news discourse from two countries with opposite responses to migration. It found two context specific patterns in discursive strategies for representing social actors with a migrant background. In Denmark, overt ethnic cues were utilized to represent the identities of migrant actors. The opposite was the case in Sweden, where media institutions—abiding with social norms that restrict the use of ethnic categorization—refrained from representing actors by explicit references to ethnicity. As such, ethnic otherness was either directly marked (e.g. "ghetto") or expressed within the constraints presented by norms for socially inclusive speech that prohibited reference to ethnicity (e.g. "vulnerable suburb"). As demonstrated, however, specific linguistic devices were nevertheless present in the content, which enabled audiences to infer that certain social actors had ethnic identities other than Swedish. When journalists covered a crime and omitted information on the identity of the perpetrator but mentioned that the police raided a specific neighborhood in response to the crime, audiences were provided with a clue that enabled them to speculate about the perpetrator based on the characteristics of that neighborhood and its inhabitants. Hence, journalists and editors drew on a range of discursive strategies. and provided subtle cues that enabled audience to "read between the lines" by drawing on an accumulated stock of knowledge in a process of inference (Pan and Kosicki, 1993; van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983).

Linguistic devices seemingly neutral with regards to ethnicity were infused with ethnic information. Signifiers such as "new Swede", "man with Swedish residency", "no-go zone", "youth gang", constituted cues from which ethnic information of actor identity could be inferred. The denotations of those linguistic devices were seemingly neutral with regards to ethnicity. However, their connotations involved ethnic otherness. Thus, omitting ethnic identity cues, I argue, resulted in shifts of semantic meaning: a process I term *semantic ethnification.* Commonly understood as the substitution of an offensive expression with an inoffensive one or a euphemisms (Simonsen, 2022), were central to this representation strategy as in the case of the term "inner city" (Cramer, 2016; Ansfield, 2018). In Sweden, arguably, the term "suburb" has become similar to "inner city" in the sense that the expression has come to denote a geographical area inhabited by ethnic and racial minorities, that are different from the majority population. The findings imply that even in the most progressive media environments (represented by the case of Sweden) the relevance of ethnicity still creeps in. In spite of social norms that restrict ethnic labels, ethnic meaning persists, as it is transferred onto other linguistic devices in order to comply with social norms. Hence, semantic ethnicification is a discursive practice that enables the omission of overt ethnic labels, thereby conforming to social norms, while still marking ethnic differences between peoples as relevant factors for understanding social developments, and events, thus avoiding social sanctions. These findings contribute to the existing literature by, first, expanding on the strategies by which migrants are "de-ethnified" and "de-muslimized" in media discourses, as first pointed out by Horsti (2013), and second, by offering a concept by which we can identify and understand shifts in the semantic meanings of linguistics devices (e.g. from "migrant gang" to youth gang") in the context of discursive "other" representation (Van Leeuwen, 1996 & 2008; Koller, 2012).

In being a qualitative study and examining only a tiny fragment of the highly diverse practices of migrant "other" representation in media discourse, this study is subject to limitations. First, in focusing exclusively on linguistic practices of actor representation, the role played by images and layout in media discourse is a limitation of the study. A multi modal analysis, could effectively compliment the findings of this study. Second, due to the qualitative approach, providing longitudinal insights into the potential changes in discursive actor representation across time was unfeasible. As the paper confines itself to studying media discourse content, more research that takes audiences' processing of text is needed to both substantiate and explicate the semantic ethnification of linguistic devices. Furthermore, the selected Western European news cultures, as well as the focus on national, broadsheet, and tabloid print media, hardly exhaust the spectrum of semantic ethnification processes. Yet, already in this limited, purposive sample, the recurrence of distinctive patterns documents the relevance of the inquiry into the process by which ethnic connotations are transferred onto linguistics devices with denotations that are ethnically neutral. Future research could, integrate the identified strategies into a quantitative research design and investigate the prevalence of these patterns both within and beyond the Swedish context to corroborate processes of sematic ethnification and/or study them in different contexts, e.g. online news discourse, or political discourse, to name a few.

References

Ahva, L., van Dalen, A., Hovden, J. F., Kolbeins, G.H., Löfgren Nilsson, M., Skovsgaard, M., and Väliverronen, J. (2017). "A welfare state of mind?". *Journalism Studies, 18*(5), 595—613. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2016.1249005

Ahlborg, K. (2015, September 22) "Svenskar gripna för människosmuggling". *Aftonbladet*. p. 12.

Allern, S., and Blach-Ørsten, M. (2011). "The news media as a political institution". *Journalism Studies, 12*(1), 92—105. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2010.511958

Ansfield, B. (2018). "Unsettling "inner city": Liberal protestantism and the postwar origins of a keyword in urban studies". *Antipode, 50*(5), 1166—1185.

Andreassen, R. (2005). *Gender, Race, Sexuality and Nationality. An analysis of the Danish media's communication about visible minorities from 1971-2004.* [Doctoral dissertation] University of Toronto.

Balch, A., and Balabanova, E. (2016). "Ethics, politics and migration: Public debates on the free movement of Romanians and Bulgarians in the UK, 2006–2013". *Politics, 36*(1), 19–35. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9256.12082

Barthes, R. (1966). *Introduction to the structural analysis of the narrative.* Discussion Paper. University of Birmingham, UK.

Barthes, R. (1972). *Mythologies*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Berlingske. (2019, August 18). "Debat: Befolkningsfremskrivning". *Berlingske*. Section 1, p. 39.

Billig, M. (1995), *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage.

Blüdnikow, B. (2009, October 15.). De danske terrorister. *Berlingske Tidende*. Section 2, p. 4.

Boomgaarden, H. (2007). *Framing the Others; News and ethnic prejudice*. [Doctoral dissertation, University of Amsterdam].

Boudana, S. (2011). "A definition of journalistic objectivity as a performance". *Media, Culture & Society*, *33*(3), 385–398. https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443710394899

Bødker, H., and Ngomba, T. (2018). "Community repair through truce and contestation: Danish legacy print media and the Copenhagen shootings". *Journalism studies, 19*(4), 579–593. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2017.1386584

Chandra, K. (2013). *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics*. Oxford University Press.

Cramer, K. J. (2016). *The Politics of Resentment: Rural Consciousness in Wisconsin and the Rise of Scott Walker*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dahlstedt, M., and Neergaard, A. (2019). "Crisis of solidarity? Changing welfare and migration regimes in Sweden". *Critical Sociology, 45*(1), 121—135. https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920516675204

Dahl, A. S. (2006). Sweden: "Once a moral superpower, always a moral superpower?". *International Journal, 61*(4), 895—908. https://doi.org/10.2307/40204222

Diaz, D. (2016, September 29) "Obama: Why I won't say 'Islamic terrorism'". *CNN*. https://edition.cnn.com/2016/09/28/politics/obama-radical-islamic-terrorism-cnn-town-hall/index.html

Eberl, J. M., Meltzer, C.E., Heidenreich, T., Herrero, B., Theorin, N., Lind, F., Berganza, R., Boomgaarden, H.G., Schemer, C., and Strömbäck, J. (2018). "The European media discourse on immigration and its effects: A literature review". *Annals of the International Communication Association, 42*(3), 207—223. https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2018.1497452

El Refaie, E. (2001). "Metaphors we discriminate by: Naturalized themes in Austrian newspaper articles about asylum seekers". *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 5*(3), 352–371. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9481.00154

Esser, F., Engesser, S., Matthes, J., and Berganza, R. (2017). "Negativity". In: de Vreese, CH. Esser, F. and Hopmann, D.N. eds 2017. *Comparing Political Journalism*. Oxfordshire: Routledge. Pp. 71–91.

Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. Harlow: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis. The Critical Study of Language*. Harlow: Longman.

Firmstone, J. (2019). "Editorials". In: Vos, T.P. and Hanusch F. eds 2019. *The International Encyclopedia of Journalism Studies*. New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell. Pp. 27—49. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118841570

Gabrielatos, C., and Baker, P. (2008). "Fleeing, sneaking, flooding: A corpus analysis of discursive constructions of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press, 1996–2005". *Journal of English Linguistics, 36*(1), 5–38. https://doi.org/10.1177/0075424207311247

Gudmundson, P. (2014, October 28). 55 "no go"-zoner i Sverige". *Svenska Dagbladet*. p. 4.

23

Guillem, S. M. (2015). "Migration discourse". In: Tracy, K., Ilie, C. and Sandel, T. eds 2015. *The international encyclopedia of language and social interaction.* John Wiley & Sons, Inc. Pp. 1–10 https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118611463/wbielsi100

Hall, S. (1980). "Encoding/decoding". In: Hall, S. Hobson, T.D., Lowe, A. and Willis, P. eds 1980. *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972—1979*. Oxfordshire: Routledge. Pp. 128—138.

Hinde, D. (2017). "In the 'safe' world of Swedish journalism, death threats are an everyday reality". Index on Censorship. Retrieved February 14, 2023, from https://www.indexoncensorship.org/2017/03/safe-world-swedish-journalism-death-threats-everyday-reality/

Horsti, K. (2013). "De-ethnicized victims: Mediatized advocacy for asylum seekers". *Journalism, 14*(1), 78–95. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884912473895

Hovden, J. F. (2020). "From wanderers to strangers. The shifting space of Scandinavian immigration debate 1970–2016". *Communications, 45*(s1), 814–840. https://doi.org/10.1515/commun-2019-0199

Jackson, R. (2007). "Constructing enemies: 'Islamic Terrorism' in political and academic Discourse". *Government and Opposition, 42*(3), 394–426. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2007.00229.x

Kennedy, D. (2020, June 20). "Police may drop 'Islamist' term when describing terror attacks". *The Times*. https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/police-may-drop-term-islamist-when-describing-terror-attacks-7pjsf8pn7

Koller, V. (2012). "How to analyse collective identity in discourse – Textual and contextual parameters". *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines*, 5(2), 19—38.

Knobloch-Westerwick, S., Mothes, C., and Polavin, N. (2020). "Confirmation bias, ingroup bias, and negativity bias in selective exposure to political information". *Communication Research, 47*(1), 104—124. https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650217719596

Masini, A., Van Aelst, P., Zerback, T., Reinemann, C., Mancini, P., Mazzoni, M., and Coen, S. (2017). "Measuring and explaining the diversity of voices and viewpoints in the news: A comparative study on the determinants of content diversity of immigration news". *Journalism Studies, 19*(15), 2324—2343. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2017.1343650

Nordberg, J. (2017, April 8). "Stockholm drabbat av välkänd terror. *Svenska Dagbladet"*. Section: Sverige Nyheter, p. 9.

Norlén, A., Johnsson, P., Sundin, M., and Skånberg, T. (2015, November 15). "Kampen står om förortens unga". *Svenska Dagbladet*. Section: Debatt, p. 6.

Pan, Z., and Kosicki, M. G. (1993). "Framing analysis: an approach to news discourse". *Political Communication, 10*(1), 55—75.

Ravid, B. (2017). "Ghetto: Etymology, original definition, reality, and diffusion". In: Goldman, W. and Trotter, J eds 2017. *The Ghetto in Global History: 1500 to the Present*. Oxfordshire: Routledge. Pp. 23—39.

Reisigl, M., and Wodak, R. (Eds.). (2000). *The Semiotics of Racism. Approaches in Critical Discourse Analysis*. Ontario: Passagen.

Reisigl, M., and Wodak, R. (Eds.). (2001). *Discourse and Discrimination. Rhetorics of Racism and Antisemitism*. Oxfordshire: Routledge.

Skovsgaard, M., Albæk, E., Bro, P., and de Vreese, C. (2012). "Media professionals or organizational marionettes?". In: Weaver, D.H and Willnat, L. eds 2012. *The Global Journalist in the 21st Century*. Oxfordshire: Routledge. Pp: 155–170.

Simonsen, S. (2020). "Bacteria, garbage, insects and pigs: Conceptual metaphors in the Ultra-Orthodox anti-military "Ḥardakim" propaganda campaign". *Journal of Language and Politics 19*(6), Pp. 937—962.

Simonsen, S. (2022). "Swedish exceptionalism and the Sars-CoV2 pandemic crisis: Representations of crisis and national identity in the public sphere". *Risks Hazards Crisis Public Policy* (13), Pp. 277—295.

Sirin, C. V., Valentino, N. A., and Villalobos, J. D. (2016). "Group empathy in response to nonverbal racial/ethnic cues: A national experiment on immigration policy attitudes". *American Behavioral Scientist, 60*(14), 1676—1697. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764216676246

Simmel, G. (1908). "Sociology: inquiries into the construction of social forms". Vol. 1. In : Blasi, A.J. Jacobs, A.K and Kanjirathinkal M. eds 2009. Leiden: Brill. Pp. 601—605.

Soroka, S., Fournier, P., and Lilach, N. (2019). "Cross-national evidence of a negativity bias in psychophysiological reactions to news". In: Fiske, S.T ed 2019. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America, 116*(38), Pp. 18888—18892.

Strömbäck, J., Andersson, F., and Nedlund, E. (2017). "*Invandring i medierna. Hur rapporterade Svenska tidningar åren 2010–2015?"*. Stockholm: Delegationen för migrationsstudier.

24

Syvertsen, T., Enli, G. S., Mjøs, O. J., and Moe, H. (2014). *The Media Welfare State: Nordic Media in the Digital Era*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.

Trimithiotis, D. (2020). "The Persistence of ethnocentric framing in online news coverage of European politics". *Digital Journalism, 8*(3), 404—421. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2019.1598882

Tumber, H. and Zelizer, B. (2019). "The challenges facing journalism today". *Journalism, 20*(1), 5—7. https://doi.org/10.10.1177/1464884918804736

United Nations. (n.d). "Migrants". Retrieved February 15, 2020, from https://www.un.org/en/fight-racism/vulnerable-groups/migrants#:~:text=The%20UN%20Migration%20Agency%2C%20International,the%20person's%20legal%20status

van Dijk, T. A. and Kintsch, W. (1983). *Strategies of Discourse Comprehension*. Massachusetts: Academic Press.

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

Van Dijk, T. A. (2008). *Discourse and Power*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2018). "Discourse and migration". In: Zapata-Barrero R. and Yalaz E. eds 2018. *Qualitative Research in European Migration Studies* New York: Springer. Pp. 227—245. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-76861-8_13

Van Leeuwen, T. (1996). "The representation of social actors". In: Caldas-Coulthard, C.T and Coulthard, M. eds 1996. *Text and practices: Readings in critical discourse analysis* Oxfordshire: Routledge. Pp. 32—70.

Van Leeuwen, T. (2008). *Discourse and Practice: New tools for Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Vliegenthart, R., Boomgaarden, H. G. and Boumans, J. W. (2011). "Changes in political news coverage: Personalization, conflict and negativity in British and Dutch newspapers". In: Kees, B. and Voltmer, K. eds 2011. *Political Communication in Postmodern Democracy* Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 92–110.

Wadley, D. (2008). "The Garden of Peace". *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 98*(3), 650—685.

Wieland-Burston, J. (2019). *Archetypal and Cultural Perspectives on the Foreigner. Minorities and Monsters*. Oxfordshire: Routledge.

Wilson, D. and Sperber, D. (2012). *Meaning and Relevance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139028370

Wodak, R., and Richardson, J. E. (Eds.). (2012). *Analysing Fascist Discourse. European Fascism in Talk and Text*. Oxfordshire: Routledge.

Wodak, R. (2015). *The Politics of Fear. What Right-wing Discourses Mean*. London: Sage.

Wodak, R. and Meyer, M. (Eds.). (2015). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (3rd ed.). London: Sage.

Zelizer, B. (1993). "Journalists as interpretive communities". *Critical Studies in Mass Communication, 10*(3), 219—237.