

A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Syrian Migration “Crisis” As Presented by Different Newspapers

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Abstract – This study employs the ideational and textual meta-functions within the Systemic Functional Linguistics approach in the investigation of the coverage of the Syrian migration “crisis” in five different newspaper articles. The Critical Discursive analysis of the case shows that all the articles defend the rights of their correspondent countries to protect their borders against any Syrian migration.

Keywords – CDA, SFL, ideational and textual meta-functions, Syrian migration.

I. INTRODUCTION

11 million Syrians approximately have fled their homes after the outbreak of the civil war in March 2011. At this time, 13.5 million need humanitarian support in the country. The majority of those escaping this war have sought protection in neighboring countries or in Syria itself. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 4.8 million have escaped to Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt and Iraq, and 6.6 million are displaced within Syria. In the meantime, about one million have applied for asylum to Europe. Germany, with more than 300,000 cumulated applications, and Sweden with 100,000 are EU's top receiving countries.

News on refugees has dominated different types of media for months since that date. A specific discourse and a way of representing knowledge emerged while reporting this theme. In fact, journalists do not just report. They are also engaged in constituting the social world. An example of this discourse is the fact that the case came to be called a ‘crisis’.

The study of this type of discourse would scrutinize the specific aspects that characterize it and contribute to the assumptions of ‘what there is’ and ‘what can be done’ in the world (Couldry, 2012).

The coverage of this event is described referring to five articles taken from five different top circulating newspapers. These newspapers are: the Syrian ‘Ashark Al.Awsat’, the Russian ‘The Moscow Times’, the American ‘New York Times’, the German ‘Bild’ and the Turkish ‘Milliyet’. The

work envisages depicting the case from different perspectives and studying the aspects that join these articles and those they distinguish them from each other. The selection of the aforementioned list of countries could be explained by the type of relation each country has with the case. Actually, Russia and Syria are directly related to the case as the former constructs an ally with Bashar al Assad in order to exterminate terrorism and extremism spread under the form of revolutionary movements in the region. The American newspaper would present the attitude of the most important power in the world. Turkey is the country that received the greatest number of refugees. Germany, with more than 300,000 cumulated applications, is Europe's top receiving country.

II. METHODOLOGY, THEORETICAL APPROACHES AND DATA

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is the overarching methodological framework for this study. Its focus is addressed basically to the relationship that exists between language and power, firstly, and, secondly, to the criticism and transformation of the role of language and language use in the construction and the upholding of unbalanced social relations.

In Fairclough's 1993 CDA is defined as:

discourse analysis which aims 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. (p. 135)

Critical discourse analysts tend, therefore, to figure out, understand and eventually, defend against social wrongs.

Generally, power, and above all institutionally reproduced power, is fundamental to CDA since it inspects ‘opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language’ (Wodak 1995: 204). In actual fact, it

[CDA] studies real, and often extended, instances of social interaction which take (partially) linguistic form. The critical approach is distinctive in its view of (a) the relationship between language and society, and (b) the relationship between analysis and the practices analyzed. (Wodak, 1997: 173).

As said by Fairclough (2013), language use is a “social practice”, and this entails that it is a type of action (Austin, 1962; Levinson, 1983) that is a socially and historically “shaped” and “shaping” authority. Consequently, Critical Discourse Analysis investigates the tension that is present between the two areas of linguistic use: “the socially shaped and socially shaping ‘constitutive’” (Fairclough, 2013: 92).

The specific type of discourse in this study, namely, media discourse is considered one of the most important types of discourse that are considered from a critical analytical perspective. Indeed, CDA is considered by Henry and Tator (2002) as “a tool for deconstructing the ideologies of the mass media and other elite groups and for identifying and defining social, economic, and historical power relations between dominant and subordinate groups” (p. 72).

In order to accomplish such study CDA has drawn on a diversity of different linguistic theories but the one which has been most comprehensively used is Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) or, as referred to also, ‘Hallidayan’ linguistics after the chief proponent of this theory, Michael Halliday.

SFL is an explicitly functionalist perspective which considers languages as constituting ‘social semiotic’ systems or ‘meaning potentials’ which have appeared to allow human

beings to exchange three elemental types of meaning: the ideational meaning which serves as a representation and identification of people, things and events; the interpersonal meaning which serves the expression of social roles and attitudes; and the textual meaning and which is the synchronization of texts at an internal level and with respect to their contexts of production and comprehension. So,

Language seems to have evolved for three major purposes. These are: 1. to talk about what is happening, what will happen and what has happened, 2. to interact and/or to express a point of view, 3) to turn the output of the previous two functions into coherent whole.” (Butt et al, 2003: 5).

For the application of the SFL approach on the selected discourse, the UAM Corpus Tool software is used. It is the software for text processing which is a statistical-based language processing system that “allows the user to annotate a corpus of text files at a number of linguistic layers, which are defined by the user” (O’Donnell, 2008). Figure 1 represents the scheme that is adopted for the annotation of the set of articles that are introduced before. They form together the annotation ‘project’ and are annotated with the same scheme. This annotation occurs at multiple ‘layers’ for the whole documents. The first two layers stand for the ideational and the textual representation of the discourse. The remaining hierarchically-organized tagging scheme refers to the internal components of these metafunctions as they occurred in Halliday and Matthiessen 2014.

III. IDEATIONAL METAFUNCTION:

The ideational metafunction of language is presented in Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014 as an experiential representation of the world. This experience “consists of a flow of events, or ‘goings-on’ (p. 213). This flow, or as called by Halliday, ‘figure’ represents the type of event itself: doing, happening, saying, sensing, being or having (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999). These figures are constructed by “a process unfolding through time and of participants being directly involved in this process in some way; and in addition there may be circumstances of time, space, cause, manner or one of a few other types” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014: 213). Transitivity is, actually, the grammatical system which provides the lexico-grammatical resources for the construction of a quantum of change in the course of events as a figure that is centered on a process.

In appendix A, the list of processes and participants is included together with the frequency levels of each in the five articles.

3.1. Processes:

In appendix A, the classification of the processes according to their occurrences reflects the perspective/angle that each newspaper adopts vis a vis the case of Syrian migration crisis or movement. In fact, the case is reported

from relational and material considerations by the German and the Turkish newspapers while it is more verbal and relational by the other remaining one namely, American, Syrian and Russian. The following bar chart translates this result.

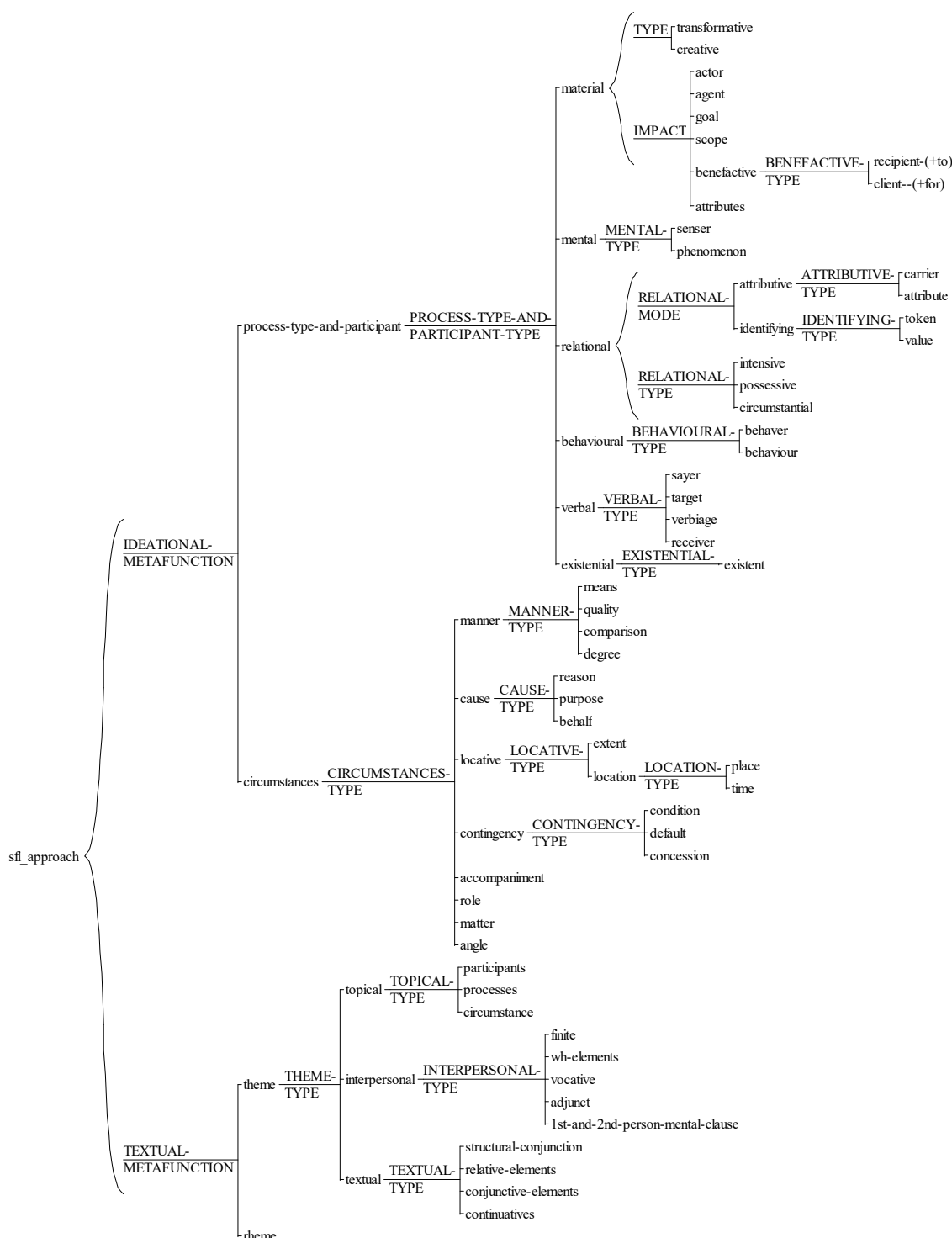


Figure 1: Corpus scheme

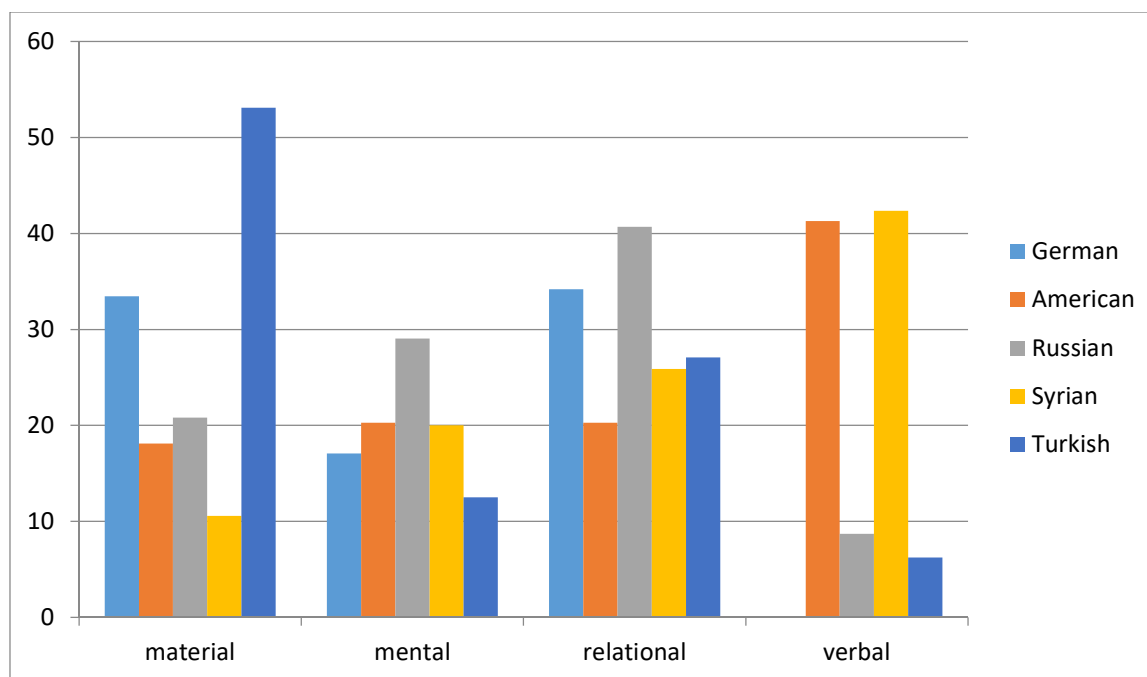


Figure 2: Comparative representation of processes

What is common, however, is the presence of the relational process with almost same frequency levels throughout the articles. It oscillates between 20, 29% and 40, 70% of the discourse. This implies that the world is linked to the case of Syrian migration crisis despite the differences in many parameters. The relations to the case are followed by verbal and mental processes for most articles and by material for the German and Turkish articles. What is also noticeable is that the more the text is material the least is the verbal interaction in the case and the opposite is true.

In real acts, the German and the Turkish material interventions are manifested under the form of financial support provided for the refugees in the two corresponding countries. The three remaining countries' participations in the case take the form of verbal and mental judgments. Sympathy with refugees is expressed either in a more material way, or a rather more sentimental and judgmental way.

3.2. Participants:

Concerning the participants and their roles in the discourse and as presented in the following figure:

Article Participants	Bild	The New York Times	The Moscow Times	Ashark Al. Awsat	Milliyet
Material	Germany & Syria	The United States	We	none	Turkey
Relational	Syrian refugees	American government	Russia	Irregular immigration to Europe	Syrians

Mental	Most Germany Few Syrians	The American administration	Russia/ans	Turkey and Europe	UNHCR
Verbal	European leaders	Mostly Kerry and senators	Russians	European and chief representatives	UNHCR

Figure 3: participants' distribution

Bild considered “Germany” and “Syria” the basic actors in the material process while “Syrian refugees” are the carriers and tokens in the relational process. The sensors and the sayers in the mental and the verbal processes respectively are “European leaders”.

For the New York Times and Moscow Times “America” and “Russia” are the essential actors. In Ashark AL.Awsat, “Syria” was almost absent in all the processes and therefore, all the participants are either European candidates or Turkish.

The Milliyet reports the case while allocating most material acts to “Turkey”, relational to “Syria” and mental and verbal to “UNCHR” (the United Nations Refugee Agency).

The material and the non-material presence of the participants shows a common conception of the crisis among three out of five articles. The American, Russian and Syrian representation of the case did not account for this humanitarian calamity with a movement of engagements (centrifugal) and feeling of the other, it is rather an engagement with one’s own affairs. No one can deny that refugees represent a threat in the world.

For the German and the Turkish articles, the movement to the case should be centripetal. The material and financial support identifies the kind of relationship that these countries try to establish with the Syrian refugees.

3.3. Circumstances:

Circumstantial references in this discourse, and as presented in appendix A, occupy between 15 to 25% of each article. They are, however, not varied. They are essentially circumstances of location (time and space) in more than half of them and manner and cause circumstances in a percentage that is within 8 and 14, 25%.

All these circumstantials have also a topical function when they are in the theme position, but they occur in the discourse with higher percentages in rheme position: 51% in

Bild, 72% in New York Times, 67% in Moscow, 82% in Ashark AL.Awsat and 68% in Milliyet.

Circumstantials, however, are considered secondary in terms of importance because they occur in rheme position, first, and second, because they are basically related to temporal anchoring for verbal processes in New York Times, Moscow Times and Ashark AL.Awsat and for material processes in *Bild* and Milliyet. Reporting in all these articles relies on the chronological presentation of the processes and, therefore, a temporal documentation.

This aspect reflects a tendency towards objective reporting of events but at the same time a subjective coverage which could be avoided if the texts are framed more by other circumstantial references such as conditions, causes, manners, angles, matters...

To opt for one type of circumstantiation and to place most of the circumstances in rheme position is questionable in this case.

IV. TEXTUAL STRUCTURE AND THEMATIC PROGRESSION

The textual metafunction traces the organization of information in the clause first, and in the whole text, second. The system of Theme belongs to the textual metafunction and is responsible for the organization of the clause as a message within the framework of the text in general.

As a message, the clause is, thus, organized as a Theme and a Rheme. The theme takes the initial position in the clause or “the point of departure of the message” (Halliday, 2004a, p. 64) and the Rheme follows. In fact, the information in the clause is put in order by the system of information first, and the system of Theme second.

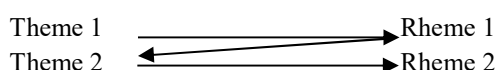
The textual metafunction studies, as well, cohesion in the text. Actually, cohesion “embraces the means by which texts are linguistically connected.” (Carter, 1998: 80). This definition is complemented by Eggins (1994: 94): ‘The cohesive resource of reference refers to how the

writer/speaker introduces participants and then keeps track of them once they are in the text.”

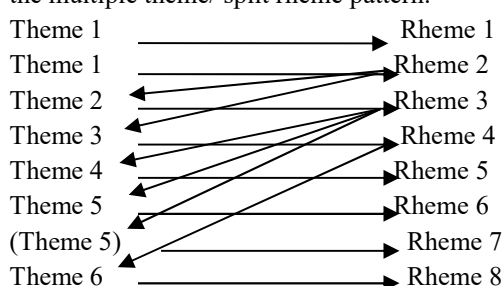
The examination of the thematic progression in this work relies on Paltridge's (2000) classification. As said by him, it is the procedure in which the theme of the clause may pick up or go over a meaning from a preceding theme or rheme. This implies that the thematic progression gives cohesion and afterwards coherence to the text, and conducts the reader in a commonsensical course.

Paltridge advocates three kinds of thematic progression patterns:

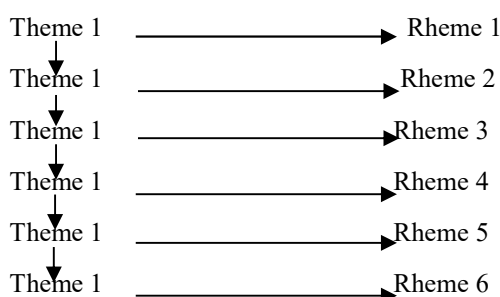
The zigzag/ linear theme pattern which is presented as follows:



the multiple theme/ split rheme pattern:



And the theme reiteration/ constant theme pattern:



The thematic progression in this particular discourse can be described with reference to one particular manner. Most parts of the corpus follow the multiple theme/ split rheme pattern. The following sequence is a case in point:

According to data from the Disaster and Emergency Management Authority (AFAD) of the Turkish Prime Ministry and a number of international organizations, a total of 12 million Syrians have been displaced since the onset of the Syrian civil war. Some 8 million of them moved to

other parts of Syria and the remaining 4.2 million left their own country. Over half of these 4.2 million Syrians flocked into Turkey. (Milliyet article, appendix B).

This specific type of thematic progression in the discourse, together with limited occurrences of the other types, allows the text to be enriched with a varied range of information that belong to the same field. This process allows the expansion of the idea and the comprehensive presentation of the related details.

In fact, all the ideas that are analysed in the five articles show anxiety of their respective countries towards their internal affairs regarding the Syrian refugees' crisis. Milliyet, for example describes the Turkish material participation in the case; Moscow Times points to the policy that is followed by Russia towards the case, especially that it is not open to the world; the New York Times, as well, presents excuses for the reluctance of the USA to be active towards the case of Syrian refugees. Immigration to the USA is legally framed and access should be preceded by congressional legislations which, forcibly, would take some months before emission; Ashark Al.Awsat reports the relation between Turkey and Greece and criticizes its attitudes towards the European agreements; and Bild reports movements of Syrian refugees in Turkey and the threat they represent to the European countries who would suffer from their arrivals especially because Turkey eases their movement from Syria to other places in Europe.

All these ideas were conveyed through the multiple theme structure. It advocates variation of ideas within a topic that unites them all. These ideas, as alluded to by their titles and the common date of their publication (period that follows the December, 2015 Syrian refugees' crisis) are supposed to cover the issue and at least to allocate a part of the text to depict the refugees' new life and their experience with migration. However, they all support the same topic: how to protect one's country against the flood of Syrian migration. Turkey suggests that the material support can solve Syrian refugees' problems; Russia exposes 'isolation' as the best policy to follow in this case; for the USA, the case should be considered legally and limitations are congressional; according to Syria, European agreements should not be transgressed if borders are to remain safe; and for Germany, Syrian refugees should not have access to any European country because they are a threat at all levels.

V. CONCLUSION

After the application of the SFL approach on the corpus, namely its ideational and textual metafunctions, and within

the CDA framework, the study culminates with a range of results. Processes and participants could be categorized as primarily material relational or verbal relational. The articles that resort to the material representation of the world namely, the Turkish and the German, deal with the case as being disturbing because of its impact on the financial state of the corresponding countries. The type of relation that is construed, therefore, is tightly related to changes in figures, numbers and budgets. The remaining articles namely, American, Syrian and Russian consider that the case is dangerous as most spokesmen in their corresponding countries admit especially if it is assessed from a mental and logical point of view. For this reason any step towards a relational process should be preceded by a deep mental perception.

The analysis of the circumstantials in the articles also leads to the result that the reports tend to opt for a specific type of them at the expense of others. Selectivity is manifested in the inclination towards the use of circumstances of time over other types and in the synchronization of events. This aspect is characteristic of press reports in general. What might be specific would, rather, be related to the inclusion of more other circumstantial references.

Another finding is related to the textual analysis of the text. Actually, most themes are topical and unmarked. The aspects give usuality to this case and obliterate the real meaning of the term ‘crisis’ that is adjoined to the Syrian refugees’ movement. The thematic progression in this discourse reveals another purpose behind the envisaged existing one. These texts do not cover the state of refugees in their camps, in the borders, in their journey, nor their psychological pains and physical sufferings. Most themes in the corpus highlight critical internal or national issues related to this type of movement. As a matter of fact, any Syrian refugee’s transition or even application for asylum represents a threat to these countries which prefer to be protected and not to help in this humanitarian affair.

As such, this case moves with the reader to a direction which is not estimated as is the case for most types of texts if considered from a critical analytical perspective. CDA, therefore, allows the demystification the basic ideological thinking behind a discourse and the externalization of internal meanings first, and, consequently, internal powers.

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Appendix A: ideational and textual representation of the corpus

	Germany 'Bild'		America 'The New York Times'		Russia 'The Moscow Times'		Syria 'Ashark Al-Awsat'		Turkey 'Milliyet'	
Feature	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Ideational-Metafunction	N=347		N=163		N=218		N=102		N=131	
Process-Type-And-Participant	275	79.25%	138	84.66%	172	78.90%	85	83.33%	96	73.28%
Circumstances	72	20.75%	25	15.34%	46	21.10%	17	16.67%	35	26.72%
Process-Type-And-Participant-Type	N=275		N=138		N=172		N=85		N=96	
Material	92	33.45%	25	18.12%	36	20.93%	9	10.59%	51	53.12%
Mental	47	17.09%	28	20.29%	50	29.07%	17	20.00%	12	12.50%
Relational	94	34.18%	28	20.29%	70	40.70%	22	25.88%	26	27.08%
Behavioural	1	0.36%	0	0.00%	1	0.58%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Verbal	40	14.55%	57	41.30%	15	8.72%	36	42.35%	6	6.25%
Existential	1	0.36%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	1.18%	1	1.04%
Type	N=92		N=25		N=36		N=9		N=51	
Transformative	80	86.96%	20	80.00%	31	86.11%	9	100.00%	48	94.12%
Creative	12	13.04%	5	20.00%	5	13.89%	0	0.00%	3	5.88%
Impact	N=92		N=25		N=36		N=9		N=51	
Actor	31	33.70%	10	40.00%	11	30.56%	2	22.22%	16	31.37%
Agent	12	13.04%	2	8.00%	5	13.89%	0	0.00%	4	7.84%
Goal	22	23.91%	6	24.00%	10	27.78%	4	44.44%	14	27.45%
Scope	25	27.17%	7	28.00%	8	22.22%	3	33.33%	12	23.53%
Benefactive	2	2.17%	0	0.00%	1	2.78%	0	0.00%	5	9.80%
Attributes	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	2.78%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Benefactive-Type	N=2		N=0		N=1		N=0		N=5	
Recipient-(+To)	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	40.00%
Client--(+For)	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	3	60.00%
Mental-Type	N=47		N=28		N=50		N=17		N=12	
Senser	22	46.81%	13	46.43%	25	50.00%	8	47.06%	5	41.67%
Phenomenon	25	53.19%	15	53.57%	25	50.00%	9	52.94%	7	58.33%
Relational-Mode	N=94		N=28		N=70		N=22		N=26	
Attributive	60	63.83%	22	78.57%	62	88.57%	14	63.64%	16	61.54%
Identifying	34	36.17%	6	21.43%	8	11.43%	8	36.36%	10	38.46%
Attributive-Type	N=60		N=22		N=62		N=14		N=16	
Carrier	31	51.67%	11	50.00%	32	51.61%	7	50.00%	8	50.00%

Attribute	29	48.33%	11	50.00%	30	48.39%	7	50.00%	8	50.00%
Identifying-Type	N=34		N=6		N=8		N=8		N=10	
Token	17	50.00%	3	50.00%	4	50.00%	4	50.00%	5	50.00%
Value	17	50.00%	3	50.00%	4	50.00%	4	50.00%	5	50.00%
Relational-Type	N=94		N=28		N=70		N=22		N=26	
Intensive	80	85.11%	28	100.00%	55	78.57%	14	63.64%	18	69.23%
Possessive	2	2.13%	0	0.00%	9	12.86%	4	18.18%	0	0.00%
Circumstantial	12	12.77%	0	0.00%	6	8.57%	4	18.18%	8	30.77%
Behavioural-Type	N=1		N=0		N=1		N=0		N=0	
Behaver	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Behaviour	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Verbal-Type	N=40		N=57		N=15		N=36		N=6	
Sayer	17	42.50%	25	43.86%	6	40.00%	17	47.22%	3	50.00%
Target	3	7.50%	2	3.51%	2	13.33%	1	2.78%	0	0.00%
Verbiage	16	40.00%	24	42.11%	5	33.33%	17	47.22%	3	50.00%
Receiver	4	10.00%	6	10.53%	2	13.33%	1	2.78%	0	0.00%
Existential-Type	N=1		N=0		N=0		N=1		N=1	
Existent	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	1	100.00%
Circumstances-Type	N=72		N=25		N=46		N=17		N=35	
Manner	14	19.44%	0	0.00%	8	17.39%	2	11.76%	5	14.29%
Cause	4	5.56%	2	8.00%	5	10.87%	3	17.65%	4	11.43%
Locative	44	61.11%	18	72.00%	25	54.35%	9	52.94%	19	54.29%
Contingency	0	0.00%	1	4.00%	6	13.04%	1	5.88%	0	0.00%
Accompaniment	1	1.39%	2	8.00%	1	2.17%	1	5.88%	1	2.86%
Role	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Matter	2	2.78%	1	4.00%	1	2.17%	1	5.88%	2	5.71%
Angle	7	9.72%	1	4.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	11.43%
Manner-Type	N=14		N=0		N=8		N=2		N=5	
Means	5	35.71%	0	0.00%	4	50.00%	0	0.00%	3	60.00%
Quality	7	50.00%	0	0.00%	4	50.00%	2	100.00%	2	40.00%
Comparison	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Degree	2	14.29%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Cause-Type	N=4		N=2		N=5		N=3		N=4	
Reason	2	50.00%	1	50.00%	5	100.00%	1	33.33%	1	25.00%
Purpose	0	0.00%	1	50.00%	0	0.00%	2	66.67%	3	75.00%
Behalf	2	50.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Locative-Type	N=44		N=18		N=25		N=9		N=19	
Extent	10	22.73%	3	16.67%	7	28.00%	0	0.00%	5	26.32%
Location	34	77.27%	15	83.33%	18	72.00%	9	100.00%	14	73.68%
Location-Type	N=34		N=15		N=18		N=9		N=14	
Place	12	35.29%	1	6.67%	5	27.78%	3	33.33%	2	14.29%

Time	22	64.71%	14	93.33%	13	72.22%	6	66.67%	1 2	85.71%
Contingency-Type	N=0		N=1		N=6		N=1		N=0	
Condition	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	66.67%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%
Default	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Concession	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	2	33.33%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Textual-Metafunction	N=371		N=184		N=247		N=113		N=134	
Theme	205	55.26%	104	56.52%	127	51.42%	54	47.79%	61	45.52%
Rheme	166	44.74%	80	43.48%	120	48.58%	59	52.21%	73	54.48%
Theme-Type	N=205		N=104		N=127		N=54		N=61	
Topical	181	88.29%	83	79.81%	98	77.17%	43	79.63%	58	95.08%
Interpersonal	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	1.57%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Textual	24	11.71%	21	20.19%	27	21.26%	11	20.37%	3	4.92%
Topical-Type	N=181		N=83		N=98		N=43		N=58	
Participants	14 5	80.11%	76	91.57%	83	84.69%	40	93.02%	4 7	81.03%
Processes	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Circumstance	36	19.89%	7	8.43%	15	15.31%	3	6.98%	1 1	18.97%
Interpersonal-Type	N=0		N=0		N=2		N=0		N=0	
Finite	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	50.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Wh-Elements	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Vocative	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Adjunct	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	50.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
1st-And-2nd-Person-Mental-Clause	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Textual-Type	N=24		N=21		N=27		N=11		N=3	
Structural-Conjunction	4	16.67%	2	9.52%	0	0.00%	1	9.09%	1	33.33%
Relative-Elements	1	4.17%	8	38.10%	11	40.74%	5	45.45%	1	33.33%
Conjunctive-Elements	16	66.67%	10	47.62%	15	55.56%	4	36.36%	1	33.33%
Continuatives	3	12.50%	1	4.76%	1	3.70%	1	9.09%	0	0.00%

Appendix B: the corpus for the study

1- Ashark Al-awsat (Syria)

“Turkey, EU Agree Outline of ‘One In, One Out’ Deal over Syrian Refugee Crisis”

By Abdullah Mustafa and Abdul Sattar Barakat March 9, 2016, 1:03 pm

Refugees in one of the camps at Greece Borders

Brussels, Athens-The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Filippo Grandi, expressed his deep concern about the EU-Turkey deal, saying “As a first reaction, I am deeply concerned about any arrangement that would involve the blanket return of anyone from one country to another without spelling out the refugee protection safeguards under international law.”

EU leaders have hailed the one-for-one plan as a breakthrough that would deter Syrians from making dangerous journeys across the Aegean Sea.

The agreement could see Turkey and the EU cooperate to end the flow of irregular refugees to Greek islands and start resettling Syrian refugees directly from Turkey to the EU.

Turkey’s Prime minister, Ahmet Davutoğlu, outlined proposals to resettle one Syrian refugee in Europe for every Syrian returned to Turkey from the Greek islands at Brussels’ Summit on Monday.

He told European leaders that Turkey wanted more for its citizens in exchange of helping the EU. He called for visa liberalization for 75 million Turks by 1 June, an advance of the October deadline proposed last year, as well as restarting Turkey’s long-stalled EU accession talks.

In addition, Davutoğlu promised to tackle people smuggling, saying: “With these new proposals, we aim to rescue refugees, discourage those who misuse and exploit their situation and find a new era in Turkey-EU relations.”

“Turkey is ready to work with the EU, and Turkey is ready to be a member of the EU as well,” Davutoglu said before the summit, adding that Turkey is a temporary home to an estimated 2.75 million refugees, many from the conflict in Syria.

Filippo Grandi, who was speaking to the European Parliament in Strasbourg on the occasion of International Women’s Day, stressed that legal safeguards would need to govern any mechanism under which responsibility would be transferred for assessing an asylum claim.

Grandi added that asylum seekers should only be returned to other states if there was a guarantee that they would not then be sent back to the place they had fled. The country of return also had to ensure asylum seekers had access to work, healthcare, education and social assistance, he said.

Following the summit, the European Union chief, Donald Tusk, said: “the days of irregular migration to Europe are over.”

Donald Tusk, the European Council president, said the leaders had made a “breakthrough” that sent “a very clear message that the days of irregular migration to Europe are over.”

Turkey is due to receive \$3.3bn until the end of 2018 to cover the costs of dealing with refugees, but it reportedly asked for double the amount during Monday’s talks, in return for checking the flow of refugees across the Aegean Sea. The

announcement came at the end of a long day of meetings in Brussels.

Human rights groups say returning asylum seekers from Greece to Turkey would be illegal, but the EU is desperate to reduce the flow of migrants and refugees coming to Europe.

2- The Moscow Times

“Russia Should Help Solve the Refugee Crisis”

By Natalia Antonova: Sep 8, 2015 — 17:29

When I was a child, I was once caught up in a brief but terrifying flare-up of unrest by the German border.

My parents and I weren't migrants or refugees. We were simply traveling around Europe by car. At that particular border crossing (I think it was in Poland, but am not entirely sure), we encountered a large group of traders who had goods for sale — and were facing some kind of bureaucratic snag at customs.

Because we weren't selling anything, we were allowed to go ahead, but the border guards had failed to take into account that the sight of a lone car passing through would make a bunch of trapped people angry.

I was asleep in the back of my parents' car. I woke up because of shouting. Peering out, I saw that men whose faces were twisted with rage had surrounded the car. The car was rocking. I couldn't see my parents. Suddenly, I heard my mother screaming in horror. Not understanding anything besides the fact that I was in danger, I began to scream as well.

What I know now is that the men wanted to turn the car over and send it flying into a nearby ditch with me trapped inside. Someone was even talking about setting the car on fire. That's why my mother was screaming. When they heard her — and when they heard me — a miracle happened and they came to their senses. We were lucky to escape unharmed.

I think about that incident often as I see footage of terrified Syrian children being passed over barbed wire fences, being held up in the air at crowded train stations, caught up in tear gas attacks, caught up in anti-refugee violence.

I think about how quickly the world can turn hostile — and how helpless children are in dealing with such hostility. How helpless the adults are too.

As terrifying as it was, I'm grateful for my border experience. I think it ultimately made me more empathetic.

And it made me realize that safety and stability are often a mirage.

Today, empathy and the understanding that any one of us can suddenly find ourselves in a desperate situation seem to be in short supply. And although plenty of blame for not dealing with the refugee crisis has been laid at the collective feet of the European Union, Russia must also consider its role in this mess, particularly when it comes to Syria.

Russia has said, over and over again, that it has the right to defend its strategic interests in the Middle East — which include a naval facility in Syria's Tartus.

That's great, but if one is going to wade into the Syrian conflict on the side of embattled Syrian President Bashar Assad — accused of countless atrocities against his own people, mind you — then perhaps it's time to also consider taking responsibility for the people fleeing the bloodshed.

"It was the U.S. that started meddling in Syria first! Let them deal with it!" is what the average Russian will tell you.

Fine. The U.S. should also reconsider its incredibly meager efforts to help Syrian refugees in particular, and refugees in general. The U.S. is richer and more powerful than Russia (a fact that Russians hate to admit — unless it comes to such issues as an out-of-control refugee crisis).

Still, I can't help but go back to Russia's insistence that the world today needs to be multipolar. That one superpower making all the big decisions — in this case, the U.S. — is simply not enough.

I've said this before, and I will never get tired of saying it — you can't have a multipolar world by being reactive. You must be proactive.

Russia has an opportunity to be proactive on the refugee crisis. It could do wonders for Russia's image abroad — especially considering the millions spent on what appears to be a largely failed international propaganda campaign.

Even if Russia is not prepared to lend a hand in resettling the refugees (don't tell me they only want to go to Germany, some would come to Russia if given a decent incentive), a secondary, humanitarian role could help alleviate the crisis.

You will tell me that Russia doesn't really care about a multipolar world, and that it couldn't possibly help Syrian refugees since it isn't even moved by the human cost of a shadow conflict with Ukraine on its own border.

Yet Russians also know what it's like to be an outsider in the West. And while recent negativity toward Russia is a debacle of Russia's own making, nasty prejudice has played a part in Russians' outsider status in the past. Hatred and fear of refugees should awaken in Russians a sense of solidarity, as opposed to cynical glee.

The refugee crisis has quickly become one of the most pressing issues of our time. The fact that so few are willing to say "Refugees welcome!" is a collective indictment of us all, and Russia is not an exception.

You can't be a member of the international community only when it suits you.

Neither can you challenge the existing world order by waving nukes about, making angry statements via your foreign minister, and banning French cheese and such.

If Russia really wants to be a global, as opposed to regional, power again, it must learn to walk the walk — and helping solve the refugee crisis would be a good start.

3- The New York Times (America)

“Kerry Favors an American Commitment to Bringing in More Refugees”

By **Michael R. Gordon** Sept. 9, 2015

WASHINGTON — Secretary of State John Kerry told lawmakers in a closed-door session on Wednesday that he favored significantly increasing the number of refugees the United States is willing to accept, possibly to as many as 100,000 next year, according to congressional staff members and Obama administration officials.

The United States set a limit on refugee visas of 70,000 in the 2015 fiscal year, which ends Sept. 30, and the administration has signaled to Congress that it is looking to increase the ceiling next year to 75,000. But the State Department has been re-examining the issue as the migrant crisis has roiled Europe and refugee organizations have appealed for the United States to shoulder more of the burden.

In his public remarks on Wednesday, Mr. Kerry said the administration was prepared to accept more refugees, but he underscored that the final number had yet to be determined.

“We are committed to increasing the number of refugees that we take, and we are looking hard at the number that we can specifically manage with respect to the crisis in Syria and Europe,” Mr. Kerry said after a meeting with Senator Richard J. Durbin, Democrat of Illinois.

The 100,000 figure that Mr. Kerry mentioned in his closed-door meeting with lawmakers from the Senate and House Appropriations Committees was described as notional and still under study. The administration would need to line up congressional support and funding for the increase.

But the figure indicates that some in the administration are coming to the view that 75,000 is not sufficient. And some leading lawmakers have also called for stronger actions.

“For months, I have urged the administration to dramatically increase the number of Syrian refugees it would accept in the face of this crisis,” Senator Patrick J. Leahy of Vermont, the top Democrat on the Senate Appropriations Committee, said after meeting with Mr. Kerry. “We must do more.”

Senator Lindsey Graham, Republican of South Carolina and a presidential candidate, said on Tuesday: “We should take our fair share. We are good people. I don’t think the average American has any idea what it’s like to live in the Mideast right now.”

Sentiment on the issue is mixed in Congress, however, and some lawmakers have said they are worried about absorbing Middle Eastern refugees into their communities. Senator Jeff Sessions, Republican of Alabama, is said to have raised that concern with Mr. Kerry.

Even if the refugee total is increased to 100,000 for 2016, it would hardly resolve the Syrian migrant crisis. Not all of the 30,000 additional refugees would be Syrians. A senior State Department official who briefed reporters on Wednesday on the condition of anonymity said that if the limit was increased, the United States would admit more Africans as well as Syrians.

The United States has accepted 1,500 refugees from Syria since the start of the war there. American procedures for vetting Syrian migrants are slow; the State Department official said the vetting process took 18 to 24 months.

The Global Refugee Crisis, Region by Region

The ultimate solution, administration officials have long stressed, is to find a political solution in Syria. And the more than \$4 billion that the United States has provided in humanitarian assistance for Syrian refugees is more than that given by any other nation.

But with no diplomatic solution to the conflict on the horizon, refugee experts have urged the Obama administration to resettle more Syrians to ease their suffering. David Miliband, the former British foreign secretary, who heads the International Rescue Committee, has called on the

United States to resettle 65,000 Syrians before the end of 2016.

While the Obama administration weighs how many refugees to take, some allies have announced bold steps. Prime Minister Tony Abbott of Australia said Wednesday that his country would take in an additional 12,000 refugees from Iraq and Syria, and would join in an air campaign in Syria against the Islamic State.

Australia will focus on taking in women, children and families who are members of persecuted minorities and who have sought refuge in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey, Mr. Abbott said. It will also pay to support 240,000 people who have fled Iraq and Syria and are now living in neighboring countries, at an expected cost of \$44 million Australian dollars, or \$31 million.

On Sunday, Mr. Abbott said that Australia would help ease the migration crisis, without pledging to take in any more refugees, prompting criticism.

Australia currently resettles about 13,750 people annually under humanitarian visas, a number scheduled to increase to 18,750 by 2018-19. The 12,000 places will be in addition to that quota, Mr. Abbott’s office said.

As a percentage of its population, Australia is the leading nation for resettlement of refugees under the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Mr. Abbott’s office said.

4- Bild :Germany

How politics is failing in the refugee crisis

Over one million refugees and immigrants – in Germany alone. In just one year. The refugee crisis 2015. BILD exposes which signals were overlooked and which warnings were ignored. How one EU country suddenly conned another. How the Chancellor reversed an explosive instruction at the last minute – and how this almost destroyed the government. BILD did research on the Balkans route and in EU capital cities, saw confidential documents, and talked to the most important actors. The result is the never-before-told story of those weeks and months that will change Germany for a long time to come.

It is 1 December 2014, and the press release is just one of many – routine. Ertharin Cousin, Director of the World Food Programme (WFP), a sub-organisation of the UN, issues a warning: 64 million dollars are immediately required, otherwise the refugees from Syria in Jordan and Lebanon will starve during winter.

German media hardly take any notice. The WFP often raises an alarm, somewhere in the world, there’s always an emergency, and the Syrian civil war is entering its fifth year. In the spring and early summer of 2015, the WFP is forced to temporarily cut by half the camp rations for over one million refugees. For several hundred thousands of people, rations even have to be cancelled.

One reason is that EU states such as Latvia, Hungary, Poland, or Austria have stopped transferring money to the WFP. According to information available to BILD, Germany has cut back on one programme, but increased its funds for a different one instead.

The WFP budgets are usually not fully covered, that’s quite common,“ today a leading official of the government tries to explain. „But this time it really was not enough.”

These decisions take place on the level of officials: for smaller donor countries, the issue is several hundred thousand dollars, for bigger countries, several million.

For the Syrian refugees, however, the issue is everything. In a camp like Zaatari, North of the Jordan capital of Amman, they dwell in corrugated-iron shacks behind barbed wire and start to lose their last hope – the hope to survive. They want to get away.

Late September 2015 – the wave of refugees is nearing its peak – Deputy Chancellor Sigmar Gabriel visits the Zaatari camp. Andrew Harper, a helper, tells him the story of the cut-down rations. Gabriel is shocked: „That’s unbelievable.“

The truth is: many things in the first half of 2015 are unbelievable. But they are happening, and not only in the region surrounding Syria. They are happening in Italy, where thousands of migrants from Africa are stranded, while the rest of the EU is merely shrugging its shoulders. And they are happening in the small state of Kosovo, in the Balkans.

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On 3 February, at 9.31 am, the Deputy German Ambassador in Kosovo, Matthias Kiesler, sends his cable dispatch to the foreign office’s headquarters in Berlin. „re: emigration of Kosovans increases dramatically“. Kiesler warns: Kosovo is about to face a „mass exodus“. Up to 300,000 people could be on their way via Hungary to, predominantly, Germany over the course of one year. The word has spread that „given the social benefits, applying for asylum is worthwhile in any case and provides good income for several months“.

However, under the „importance” heading of his cable, Kriesler writes: „low”. In fact, in the first half of 2015,

almost 45 percent of all refugees and migrants coming to Germany stem from the Western Balkan’s six states.

The German Ambassador in Albania reports: flocks of people flee from poverty and unemployment, often also from discrimination. In technocratic German, they are „economic refugees”. Traffickers promise them well-paid work, a house in Germany, the possibility of continuing to Canada, a pie in the sky. At the bus station of Kosovo’s capital, Pristina, people struggle every day for spaces on the buses going north along the Balkans route.

The current President of Kosovo, Hashim Thaci, says to BILD: „Unfortunately, we only noticed all of this very late.” He is not the only one. It takes until October 2015 for the German Parliament to declare all six Balkan States to be „safe third countries”. The stream of refugees from the region runs dry.

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Many small, individual events add up to what experts on refugees call „push” and „pull”. The war refugees from Syria are pushed out of their camps by the threat of hunger. Along with the economic refugees from Kosovo and Albania, they are being pulled onto the Balkans route – because the latter is becoming more and more interesting.

From the Syrians’ perspective, it is „cheaper and less dangerous” than the route from Libya via the Mediterranean to Italy, according to a report from EU border management agency „Frontex”.

Three additional factors attract the war refugees:

- Turkey is liberalizing its visa regulations for those entering the country from North Africa. Migrants from there swap the lethal Mediterranean for the Balkans route. They enter Turkey via cheap airlines.
- According to „Frontex”, many Syrians and Iraqis know that Hungary wants to toughen its asylum law and to build a metres-high border fence. „Those Syrians living in Turkey, especially, will try to reach the EU (before that happens),” warns „Frontex”.
- Further south along the Balkans route, Macedonia has changed its asylum law. Nobody north of Macedonia takes any notice, but now any refugee can legally stay in the country for 72 hours. That is enough to get from the Greek-Macedonian to the Macedonian-Serbian border. The refugees are also being transported through Macedonia by public buses and trains – this is good business. „For the first time, salaries were paid on time,” German security officials will later sneer. So the way North is free. But everything is still quiet in Berlin.

★★★

In February, the German Federal Office for Migration (BAMF) raises its prognosis concerning the number of refugees for 2015 to 250,000, and in May to 400,000. The government wants to increase the BAMF's personnel by 2,000 employees and ensures the councils that they will receive one billion euros in support. It is not enough, given what is looming on the Balkans route.

It is only Frabrice Leggeri, the head of „Frontex”, who disturbs the peace. On 10 June, he is invited as an expert to the German Parliament's home affairs committee. The protocol will later be declared as a classified document. Leggeri warns „that the irregular border crossings from Turkey to Greece have risen by 550 per cent compared to the previous year” and that, additionally, „500,000 to one million migrants are ready to leave Libya”.

The members of parliament hold their breath. Leggeri's report is forwarded to the Chancellery. Between June and August, Leggeri's number will increase threefold. Is a new migration of the peoples slowly beginning? The Chancellor also becomes increasingly nervous.

During the Wagner Festival at the end of July, she talks to Horst Seehofer. The refugees are already coming over the motorway on foot, Bavaria's governor reports. „It can't go on like this.”

But it does go on like this.

In Berlin, the ministries' state secretaries, who meet once a week, now agree: the prognosis concerning the number of refugees has to be increased drastically. The BAMF's experts have filled seven pages with bad news from Syria, North Africa, Iraq, the Balkans route, and the German borders. But the publication of the report is a top-level issue.

The government allows two weeks to pass in silence before it lets the political bomb explode. On 19 August, the time is right. Interior Minister Thomas de Maizière has to correct the government's official estimates. He does this with a breathy voice: the new number is 800,000.

800,000 refugees and immigrants in 2015 – four times as much as the year before, twice as much as in the previous record year of 1992. The minister speaks of a „drastic and unforeseeable development.” That is an oversimplification.

A „coordination staff” between the federal and county level is being installed – it is a first crisis committee. This committee experiences what happens when globalized media and communication meet the local rumour mill.

De Mazière's statement about 800,000 asylum seekers reaches Afghanistan's capital, Kabul, within a few hours: the rumour spreads that Germany is ready to accept 800,000 Afghans, and people believe it.

The German Embassy soon registers a suddenly increasing number of people willing to emigrate. In the second half of 2015, three times as many Afghans will ask for asylum in Germany than in the first half.

★★★

Something else also happens on this Wednesday, 19 August. Saleh and Rami arrive on Samos. They are both 25 years old. Both have studied in Germany.

At the end of July, they were about to be forced into the ruler Assad's army – and they fled. Rami sold his car, a yellow Saba from Iran. He has more than 3,000 euros in his pocket. Via facebook, from other refugees, he knows how much the traffickers are charging.

In stages, both fly to Izmir in Turkey, then continue on foot along the coast. At 4 am, they enter an overloaded trafficker's boat, merely nine metres long, along with 40 other refugees.

They are very scared. And very lucky.

After an odyssey over the sea, they are apprehended and transported to Athens by Greek soldiers. Several thousand Syrians are stuck there. On facebook, the two read every day about how work on the Hungarian border fence is progressing. Rami says: „We have to hurry up.”