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Perks and Problems of Corpus-Assisted Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis

A Case Study of the Representation of Asians in *TIME Magazine Corpus*

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1. Introduction

Over the past few decades there has been a change in the way questions were tackled in the field of linguistics (Cook 2006: 5). One of the many reasons for this progress is the rise of the Internet and the constant development of technologies in general (Biber and Conrad 2009: 177). Nowadays, this development provides the opportunity for linguists to conduct research with computers. Hence, not only did this development have an impact on the descriptive branch of linguistics, but also on the field of applied linguistics.

The great innovations observed regarding computer technology make it possible to improve and develop new kinds of methods to do research. Moreover, the types of data freely available on the Internet, respectively on the world-wide web, provide a considerable amount of material to work with, as Biber and Conrad (2009: 177) mention:

> E-mail. Instant message. Blog. Cell phone. Text message. It is hard to believe that in the early 1980s, these words meant nothing to most people, and even in the early 1990s, many people were only beginning to be aware of them.

If a bridge can be built across what and how technology contributes to linguistic research, there is a potential for combining different methods in order to solve a linguistic problem. An example of such a combination is called corpus pragmatics. A definition of corpus pragmatics is provided by Romero-Trillo (2017: 1): "the science that describes language use in real contexts through corpora." In other words, corpus pragmatics deals with the use of language, more explicitly, the context in which the language is used by using corpus linguistic methods to analyse it. Partington et al. (2004: 13) observed what follows:

> [f]or some considerable time, then, the dichotomy was virtually complete: corpus linguists were generally unaware that their quantitative techniques could have much to say about discourse, while discourse analysts rarely saw reason to venture forth very far from their qualitative ivory tower. However, over the last decade, a number of developments took place, both technical and philosophical, which gradually made it possible to contemplate the mating of discourse and Corpus Linguistics.

Partington et al. (2004: 13) elaborate on how a qualitative approach, such as an analysis of discourse, can be beneficial to a quantitative approach, embodied by corpus linguistic techniques, and vice versa. Therefore, in this thesis, the focus will mainly lie on researching the methodological advantages and disadvantages of corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis (henceforth CACDA) and critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA). CACDA can bring

some insights into how the media portrays a certain social issue or historical development regarding an ethnicity; however, pre-theoretical observations suggest that there are not many studies providing a critical discussion about how suitable the methods and data used to conduct the analysis are. For instance, some studies have been conducted without taking adequate considerations of the methods (see previous studies in chapter 3 about Partington et al. 2013; Samaie and Malmir 2017; Bishop and Jaworski 2003 and Bradimore and Bauder 2011). An interesting research approach has been conducted by Baker and Levon (2015) in their study about *"Picking the Right Cherries? A Comparison of Corpus-Based and Qualitative Analyses of News Articles about Masculinity"*. Their proposal was to compare the qualitative and quantitative approaches to perform CDA by letting two analysts examine similar newspaper datasets to gain more insights into their research question: *"How are different types of men represented in the British press?"* (Baker and Levon 2015: 221). One analyst worked with a 41.5 million-word corpus, the other with 51 articles he chose from the same corpus. Then, the findings of the two analysts were critically compared to identify the drawbacks and benefits of the two different approaches. Baker and Levon's (2015: 233-234) conclusion suggests using a combination of both approaches, which they describe as a "triangulation". Moreover, among the great amount of data that is available on the world-wide web, the online newspaper database is one of the most accessible ones, since it is designed to be read by the public (de Waal et al. 2005: 44). Joined with the idea of studying language use and the importance of analysing language and how it is represented in the real world, the analysis of online newspaper data is a valid resource for this thesis. Orgad (2012: 8) states that

> we are increasingly dependent, often exclusively, on what we see, read and hear in the news, in our favourite television drama series, in advertisements, radio broadcasts and over the Internet. We rely on media representations to make sense of our lives and our world. They shape, inform and orient the way we see and judge the world, others and ourselves, and how we imagine real and possible lives.

Fowler (2013: 4) explains how it is a journalist's duty to not only collect the facts, but also to report it objectively. Additionally, he mentions how the language of newspaper articles should be unbiased and created to be unambiguous for the audience; otherwise, the journalist would violate professional ethos. Another statement of Fowler (2013: 10) backs up the idea of Orgad (2012: 8) about media representation by taking the role of language into account:

> [i]n fact, what is being claimed about news can equally be claimed about *any* representational discourse. Anything that is said or written about the world is articulated

from a particular ideological position: language is not a clear window but a refracting, structuring medium. If we can acknowledge this as a positive, productive principle, we can go on to show by analysis it operates in texts.

In other words, the way a topic is represented in the media shapes the point of view and ideas of the consumer. Moreover, the use of language might have an influence on how the presented group or topic is then perceived in future news stories (Conboy 2007: 4).

These considerable observations and Baker and Levon's (2015: 234) appeal to researchers to attach more value on researching the methodology, brought the following research question into the picture: '*What are the methodological advantages and disadvantages of conducting CDA and CACDA?*'. By discussing issues and challenges faced while doing CACDA and CDA, this work will give some insights into how useful these methods for analysing language use are.

To tackle the proposed research questions, two different approaches are an integral part of this thesis: One approach is to present and discuss the methodologies used in previous studies of CACDA and CDA. The other approach is to conduct case studies, first performing a CACDA, then a CDA, by formulating a sub-research question: '*How are Asians represented in the Time magazine both linguistically and diachronically*?'. By following these two approaches, the findings of the case studies will serve as illustrations of which challenges and advantages/benefits are faced during the process of the analyses and then will be discussed in comparison to the contributions of previous studies on this topic. The case studies are based on the *TIME Magazine Corpus* built by Mark Davies (2007). The *TIME Magazine Corpus* contains over 100 million words from articles from 1923 until 2006.

The analysis of the data will be conducted with the CACDA and CDA methods. For the CDA analysis, the Discourse Historical Approach is used (see Reisigl and Wodak 2016 and Table 20 in App. I). This approach enables the historical background information to be included into the discourse analysis. In the last few years, there have been some CACDA of news representation of Asians, but they focused on specific countries like North Korea or Hong Kong (Cheng and Lam 2013, Kim 2014). However, in the CACDA case study, the goal is to analyse the representation of Asians as an entity without differentiating among countries in the continent.

By conducting case studies as well as discussing the challenges faced in previous studies about CDA and CACDA, this thesis aims to provide a more in-depth insight into what is of importance for the future when conducting CDA or CACDA. Due to the lack of previous studies concerning the representation of Asians in the media, the by-product of the analysis of

the case studies shall attempt to contribute to the understanding of how Asians are represented in the *Time* magazine.

This thesis is structured as follows: In chapter 2, the theoretical background about corpus linguistics, CDA or more specifically DHA, will be presented. In chapter 3, the methodologies and some results of previous studies of CDA and CACDA are summarized to provide an overview of studies which have been conducted. In chapter 4, the focus will mainly lie on the two case studies which will make an attempt to answer the question about how Asians are represented in the *Time* magazine on a linguistic level and also diachronically. Based on the DHA theory, as well as on further information on the *TIME Magazine Corpus*, historical background information about Asians in the U.S. is presented. Moreover, the collocation and concordance analysis, as well as the findings of the analysis will be discussed. In chapter 5, the findings of the case studies regarding advantages and disadvantages of the method are discussed. Then, in chapter 6, they will be compared to the challenges faced by previous studies described in chapter 3. In chapter 7 there will be a summary of both investigation and findings and an outlook or suggestion for future projects about CACDA and CDA will be offered.

2. Terms and Concepts

In this chapter, I will introduce key concepts. In subchapter 2.1, the CDA is introduced. Subchapter 2.2 is concerned with a basic introduction to the DHA. Triangulation is an especially important concept and will be described in subchapter 2.3. Further important concepts are corpus linguistics (subchapter 2.4), CACDA (subchapter 2.5) and identity construction (subchapter 2.6).

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

The origins of CDA can be found in many different fields, like text linguistics, anthropology, philosophy, social studies and many more (Wodak and Meyer 2016: 2). Wodak and Meyer (2016: 4) explain the CDA framework as follows:

> [i]n general, CDS[1] as a school or paradigm is characterized by a number of principles: for example, all approaches are problem-oriented, and thus necessarily interdisciplinary and eclectic. Moreover, CDS approaches are characterized by the common interests in deconstructing ideologies and power through the systematic and retroductable investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken or visual). CDS researchers also attempt to make their own

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[1] Abbreviation of Critical Discourse Studies

positioning and interests explicit while retaining their respective scientific methodologies and remaining self-reflective of their own research process.

In other words, Wodak and Meyer (2016: 4) point out that the main idea of CDS is to interpret ideology and power in various kinds of available data, whether is it written, spoken or visual. The methods used to perform the analyses are usually problem-oriented and become also interdisciplinary.

2.2 Discourse Historical Approach - DHA

In this thesis, a version of CDA - the Discourse Historical Approach (henceforth DHA) - is the main focus. Therefore, the following part will contribute to give further information about DHA. Before moving ahead with the details of the DHA, the term "discourse" needs to be further explained and it must be specified in which context it will be used in this thesis.

Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 27) recognize discourse as a framework in which "semiotic practices" given in a context are embedded in a situation where social action occurs. Furthermore, discourse stands in relation to a specific topic which Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 27) label as "macro-topic". These topics are then connected to argumentations which can be supported or disapproved by social actors appearing in the discourse. Hence, the aspects of a noticeable topic, multiple perceptiveness and argumentation characterize the discourse overall. Moreover, Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 27) point out that discourses can overlap or be connected to each other.

The DHA has been developed over the last thirty years as one of the main and the most prominent versions of CDS (Reisigl and Wodak 2016: 31). Furthermore, according to Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 31), DHA was first developed by Wodak and her research team at the University of Vienna. The general characteristics and interests of the DHA cover a number of areas, such as discourse and discrimination, discourse and politics or, in regards to the following thesis, also the discourse in media. Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 31) explain at least ten different features that characterize the concept of discourse proposed by the DHA. A few of them are the following:

- the approach is interdisciplinary thus theory, methods, research practices and practical applications are involved;
- the research involves theory but also empirical data. Therefore, the hypotheses that are formed are backed up by the observed data or not;

- furthermore, not only different genres and public spaces but also intertextual and interdiscursive relations are studied;
- in DHA, the historical context is also taken into account;
- by linking texts from different time periods, it is possible to filter out recontextualizations;
- in general, the approach is problem-oriented.

Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 34) provide an eight-step guideline to perform the DHA. First, previous theories and studies about the topic that will be researched are consulted. Afterwards, depending on the newly gathered knowledge of the first step, the collection of data and context information is conducted. Data collection can depend not only on social fields or actors, but also on the research question itself. Then, the data has to be prepared to perform the analysis. This could mean down-sampling or pre-processing the data according to the analysis tools. The next step is to make some specifications of the research questions and formulations based on the information gathered at the beginning. Afterwards, case studies are conducted mostly qualitatively, but also to some extent quantitatively by means of micro-, macro- and context analyses. Finally, the research can be extended by presenting a critical interpretation of the analyses and, if possible, further investigations can be proposed (Reisigl and Wodak 2016: 34).

As mentioned above, DHA considers the concepts of ideology, power and critique and analyses them as well. Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 25) define "ideology" as follows: "a perspective (often one-sided), i.e. a worldview and a system composed of related mental representations, convictions, opinions, attitudes, values and evaluations, which is shared by members of a specific social group." In other words, ideology is a set of assumptions and beliefs. Importantly, it is not an individual property but it is shared.

Furthermore, Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 25) explain that DHA attempts to break down the predominance of specific discourses. This is done by identifying the underlying ideologies.

In addition, the term "power" is not necessarily associated with language when looking at the DHA. Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 26) define power as "an asymmetric relationship among social actors, who belong to different social groups." In other words, power is not defined by a physical force or violence, as Emerson (1962: 32) puts it but in regards to the DHA, power describes a social relation.

Moreover, Wodak and Meyer (2016: 7) also argue that researchers are led by social, economic and political motives, as is the case in other academic research projects, but it is important to remind themselves of this fact and not to put their convictions above the ideology

of society. In other words, the term "critique" is not specifically directed at the approach itself, but at the researcher who is about to carry out the CDA (Wodak and Meyer 2016: 7).

The overall research strategies and theoretical background of CDA can differ. DHA is considered inductive and detailed, whereas for instance the dialectical relational approach (e.g. Fairclough 2005) or the socio-cognitive approach (e.g. van Dijk 1997) are labelled as deductive and general perspectives of CDS (Wodak and Meyer 2016: 18). Moreover, whereas the socio-cognitive approach described by van Dijk (1997) is declared to include a broader linguistic operationalization, the DHA uses a more detailed linguistic operationalization (Wodak and Meyer 2016: 20).

2.3 Triangulation

Senkbeil (2011: 36) explains how the research benefits from using multiple methods, i.e. by combining quantitative and qualitative analyses of language. Newby and Bell (1977: 123) call this combination a triangulation. This term was also used by Baker (2006: 16). The three components of the triangulation are the following: the raw data of the corpus, the researcher and the theories and hypotheses. To be more explicit, the corpus serves as the main source of information; however, in order to attain results, it is the researcher's duty to first collect information about the work that has already been done. This serves as a wider context influencing the way the methods are combined and applied (Senkbeil 2011: 36).

2.4 Corpus Linguistics

In this subsection, background information on corpus linguistics and its contribution to CDA will be provided. According to Fillmore (1992: 35), a corpus linguist is defined as follows:

> [h]e as all of the primary facts that he needs, in the form of a corpus of approximately one zillion running words, and he sees his job as that of deriving secondary facts from his primary facts. At the moment he is busy determining the relative frequencies […].

Fillmore (1992: 35) points out that it is important to use an enormous corpus to determine linguistic patterns. This further leads to the question of how a corpus is defined. According to Lemnitzer and Zinsmeister (2006: 3), a corpus is defined as a collection of written or spoken expressions. The data of the corpus is usually digitalised and the formats of the corpus are mostly texts containing the data itself and/or additional metadata which describe the data in more detail, such as the date or place where the data has been collected. Moreover, some corpora include linguistic annotations which enrich the data. In an earlier definition, McEnery

and Wilson (2001: ii) define corpus linguistics as the study of language based on examples of real life language use. Explaining further that with the digitalisation and the use of computer, the possibilities of doing corpus-assisted research emerged immensely. On this note, Baker (2006: 2) introduces the prospects of combining corpus linguistics with discourse analysis by arguing about how "one way that discourses are constructed is via language" (Baker 2006: 5).

2.5 Corpus-Assisted Critical Discourse Analysis

Concerning the interaction of CDA and CL, Partington (2003: 12) remarks:

> […] at the simplest level, corpus technology helps find other examples of a phenomenon one has already noted. At the other extreme, it reveals patterns of use previously unthought of. In between, it can reinforce, refute or revise a researcher's intuition and show them why and how much their suspicions were grounded.

There are several ways to use corpus linguistic methods to perform an analysis on a given corpus. In this thesis, a collection of *Time* magazine articles is used as the corpus of investigation. However, there are several ways to make use of corpus linguistic methods to perform an analysis on a given corpus. Senkbeil (2011: 48-49) enumerates four corpus linguistic methods to analyse discourse, namely: Concordance, collocation, cluster and keyword analysis. In this thesis, however, the focus will mainly lie on concordance and collocation analyses.

In order to understand what a collocation is, a few terms will be introduced: collocate, node and window (also called "span"). Vechtomova et al. (2003: 1) defines collocates as follows: "Words which co-occur near each other with more than random probability are known as collocates." According to Vechtomova et al. (2003: 2), the collocates occur within a fixed span and "[e]ach window is centred around a *node* term." The size of the span can vary and it depends on the size of the text one wants to investigate. It can be four words to the left and right from the node or it can also be 400 words to the left and right from the node (see Sinclair 1974; Beeferman et al. 1997). Moreover, collocates are calculated by using different algorithms. The most common algorithm used in the linguistic field is the mutual information score (henceforth MI Score), which provides information about the strength and relevance of the collocation in the corpus (Hunston 2002: 73). Low MI scores indicate that collocates are less likely to occur together, whereas high MI scores indicate the opposite and thus underline their significance in the text (Durrant and Schmitt 2009: 172-173). Overall, collocations are useful to investigate and summarize the most relevant relations existing among words (Baker 2006: 118).

The second corpus linguistic method used to analyse discourse is the concordance analysis, which is usually an extended analysis of the collocates. Senkbeil (2011: 48) defines concordances as "a set of examples of a given word or phrase in context." In other words, the given word - the node - and its context will be displayed, whereas the range of the context can vary. The concordances therefore provide a way to investigate the context without having to read an entire article.

2.6 Identity Construction

As this thesis aims to conduct a case study on the representation of Asians in newspaper articles, the aspect of identity construction and its connection to the DHA needs to be elucidated. Furthermore, according to MacLeod (2012: 118), DHA is known to be ideal for analysing social identity construction, more precisely, for coming up with useful approaches to categorise "positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation", namely, the in-group and the out-group. Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 20) specify that this presentation of the in-group is linked to "us" and the negative presentation of the out-group to "them" when the focus lies on discriminatory discourse. This aspect is linked to the case study. In the literature on Asians it is apparent that Asians are depicted as "the other" (Lowe 1996: 71). In subchapter 5.1.1, this will be discussed in more detail.

3. Previous Studies

In this section, a summary of the methodology and results of CACDA and CDA in previous studies are exhibited. To provide information about CACDA and CDA studies which are comparable to the case study conducted in this thesis, the selection process is as follows: The DHA by Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 33) is an approach depicted by researchers from a Western university; therefore, practising Western research. Western research practice is different from non-Western research traditions (Robinson-Pant 2016: 6). Therefore, to choose studies conducted by researchers of Western universities ensures that there is a consensus about the research practice. In the following subchapters, four previous CACDA studies and four CDA studies are introduced.

3.1 Corpus-Assisted Discourse Analysis Studies

Baker et al. (2008: 273) examine the discourse of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press. In order to conduct their research, they suggest possible stages of CACDA (Baker et al. 2008: 295): First, a context-based analysis of the topic needs to be conducted by researching

history, politics, culture or etymology of the topic. Additionally, Baker et al. (2008: 295) recommend identifying the main discourses by reading or making references to other similar CDA studies. Afterwards, hypotheses and research questions can be formulated. Then, a text corpus can be built and analysis of frequencies, clusters and/or keywords can be performed and later combined with what has been observed previously in the literature. Furthermore, as suggested by Baker et al. (2008: 295), a qualitative analysis is conducted on a down-sampled version of the corpus in order to be compared to the large-scale analysis later. Then, there is room to come up with new hypotheses or even new research questions to then do the corpus analysis again based on the newly formed hypotheses in order to obtain more results.

For their actual study, Baker et al.'s (2008: 277) publication comprises of twelve national and three regional newspapers, including the Sunday editions from 1996 to 2005. In order to carry out a diachronic analysis, the corpus was split into sub-corpora which corresponded to each year of publication. The corpus was first built for the *RASIM* (R̲efugees, A̲sylum S̲eekers, I̲m̲migrants) project, which dealt with topics like immigration and asylum and which contains 140 million words. The aim was to analyse the wider context of the terms *refugee*, *asylum seeker*, *immigrant* and *migration*. Those terms were chosen because of the general disagreement in the asylum debate evolving in the country (Baker et al. 2008: 290).

The following results were the output of the collocation analysis: *Entry*, *residence*, *economic burden and threat* and *return/plight*, implying the connection to the migration discourse (Baker et al. 2008: 286). Another interesting factor that was analysed was the verb *pose as*. By doing a concordance analysis of the multi-word expression *pose as*, a more qualitative approach was introduced and further insights were provided. As the comparison took place between tabloid and broadsheet newspapers, the analysis showed that tabloid had a more negative stance towards *RASIM* than the broadsheet newspapers (Baker et al. 2008: 289-290). The important categories here were the actors, the actions that were practised by the actors, the context in which the actor practised the action and finally the general stance (negative, positive or neutral).

Another similar research project of Partington et al. (2013: 283) deals with the comparison over time of social, political and cultural issues. Therefore, the term antisemitism in the UK press was put under the microscope. The goal was to find changes or similarities in the way antisemitism is portrayed in the UK press. Hence, four different datasets of three different years were looked at (i.e. 1993, 2005 and 2010, as well as a fourth one for year 2009). The analysis was mainly carried out by using the *WordSmith* tool developed by Scott (2008). For each year, the process was as follows: First, a concordance with a span of 300 words was prepared by using the terms *anti-semit** and *antisemit**, the text was then saved in a .txt format and

duplicates were removed. The tool produced a wordlist ordered by frequency. Finally, nine lists were outputted for the keyword analysis and comparison. Partington et al. (2013: 300) were able to find out that in 1993, anti-Semitism was mainly related to history, however, it might become a problem once more as Eastern European countries achieve independence. Then, less than ten years later, no difference in the discourse can be found. There are several marks of anti-Semitic movements and acts, especially in 2009, when the majority of incidents registered dealt with vandalism and demonstrations developing into attacks on individuals. Partington et al. (2013: 300) therefore defines anti-Semitism as "back in fashion" in the 2000s in the UK.

Within the same study, another topic was researched, namely girls and boys in the UK press. In order to compare the differences or similarities, a tool called *Sketch Difference* (Kilgarriff et al. 2014) was used. It allowed to analyse not only similarities, but also shared collocates, which then revealed contrast in texts (Partington et al. 2013: 305). Collocates were formed with the following categories: people, age, descriptions (physical, body parts, character, epithet, classifier, functions/occupations), violence, clothing, sex, police activity, school etc. The results of this analysis showed how the oversexualisation of female children is problematic, since a strong association of the word *girl* with *sex* was found in broadsheet newspapers from 1993 to 2010. Another interesting result was that the term *girl* is more often used as the object of some action in contrast to *boy*. Additionally, clusters and n-grams were calculated to analyse the comparison over time. Next to collocation and context analysis, lockwords were analysed as well (Partington et al. 2013: 309). Lockwords are defined as words that are so consistent in their frequencies that they appear to be the opposites of keywords (words which are highly frequent) (Baker 2011: 73). However, in the discourse, lockwords analysis did not yield any useful results.

Senkbeil's (2011: 31) research method differs slightly from the ones that have been described above. To determine the ideology in American sports, namely in American football and baseball, the following steps were followed: The corpus used to perform the analysis contains 3.3 million words of five different newspaper sources, such as *USA Today* or *Washington Post* collected with the help of the search engine *LexisNexis* (Senkbeil 2011: 45). Furthermore, the corpus contains additional information, such as mark-up and tagging, like type of sport, source, sub-genres of journalism (news, games, recaps, interviews, commentaries or mixed), date of appearance and date of download. According to Senkbeil (2011: 46), these pieces of information enable the researcher to find the important information about a certain term. Apart from building a corpus, the decision to use a reference corpus was made. Since the analysis is about sports and its ideology, the reference corpus contained non-sport-related

articles from the same newspapers as the sport related articles, whereas the non-reference corpus consisted of only sport-related articles. Therefore, the reference corpus was larger than the analysis corpus and it represented the language of mainstream online news media. Senkbeil (2011: 52) then used the p-value (probability) to calculate the keywords, which indicates if a result is occurring by chance or not. If the p-value is small, the word is more probable to be a keyword and vice versa. Then, to do the actual analysis, the log-likelihood algorithm was used and four different keyword lists were produced. The following categories were looked at in the analysis: proper names and specific sport terminology; numerals, since sports also deal with numbers as results. For example, Senkbeil (2011: 58) was able to find out that the ordinals 8th and 9th are not found in baseball reports, a fact that is then also confirmed by the rules of baseball games. The terminology of winning and losing was also looked at. After carrying out the linguistic analysis, Senkbeil (2011: 267) concluded that the media dehumanizes players on the market via metaphors and metonymies, since the players' physical skills become the core of what was represented in the media. Furthermore, using CADS led to some "yes-but"-answers to the formulated hypotheses, but the results were all based on empirical research methods and practice (Senkbeil 2011: 271).

The aim of Samaie and Malmir's (2017: 1) research is to use the DHA to analyse the representation of Islam and Muslims in the U.S. media. This study is also used as an inspiration for the case study. The corpus contained articles with a total of 670,000 words from three different newspaper networks from 2001 until 2015, such as *CNN*, the *New York Times* and *Newsweek*. To avoid researcher bias while collecting the data, the political, social or cultural differences were not considered. The following words were used to create the corpus: *Islam*, *Islamic*, *Muslim* and *Muslims*. Furthermore, Samaie and Malmir (2017: 5) note that if more than one of the keywords occurs in the headline of the article, then the article is labelled and put into a special category to avoid having duplicate data. As in other CACDA methods as well, the *WordSmith* tool (Scott 2008) was used to do a concordance and collocation analysis with the difference that the DHA of Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 33) was followed by an analysis of the discursive strategies, such as nomination and predication discourse strategies. Among other findings, Samaie and Malmir (2017: 1) claim that Muslims and Islam are often depicted negatively and occur in connection with violence and religious radicalism.

3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis Studies

Bishop and Jaworski (2003: 243) used CDA to analyse the formulation of nationalism and homogeneity, similar to Senkbeil (2011). To perform their analysis, they chose to take British

press reportages of the England-Germany football match during the UEFA European Championship in 2000. British newspaper articles of the Euro 2000 timeline were collected from 10 June to 2 July 2000, without minding the length of the article. There were six tabloids and six broadsheet papers. However, the main focus of Bishop and Jaworski's article lies on social semiotic analysis and it incorporates relevant historical references to then be able to draw conclusions on how the nation is represented by the British press. By following the CDA method of van Dijk (1998), the following was found: the rhetoric of *us* and *them*. Bishop and Jaworski (2003: 250) argued that the use of pronouns like *we*, *us* and *our* in comparison to *they*, *their* and *them* points out the expression of the social in- and outgroup separation and therefore the existence of an interpersonal distance. Bishop and Jaworski (2003: 251) found out that in tabloids the use of the rhetoric of *us* and *them* in headlines is evident. Furthermore, Bishop and Jaworski (2003:262) argued that by analysing the use of punctuations, lexical qualification and semantic contrast, the de-authentication of football fans can be differentiated in newspaper articles. Bishop and Jaworski give an example: "More than 500 England 'supporters' arrested", where with the word *supporter* in the quotation serves to point out the difference existing between them and the true fans.

The evidence in the articles is then also put into perspective to the historical background which mostly concerned military or nationalism themes. Hence, military metaphors were used in the reports, as well as images underlining its ideology. In connection with nationalism, there is a discourse about *shame* or *blame* was found in several articles as well. However, these occurred in the opinion section of the paper, since every part of the articles was analysed (Bishop and Jaworski 2003: 260).

Bradimore and Bauder (2011: 637) investigate how the Canadian newsprint media portrayed the seventy-six Tamil refugees who arrived in British Columbia in October 2009. The data used to do the analysis were articles of three Canadian newspapers published in October 2009 and January 2010. By using CDA, the focus lies on the framing, the representation and even the identity of Tamil refugees. Bradimore and Bauder (2011: 644) pressed on the fact that there is more than one method for CDA. In their case, they made use of the approach where the context of CDA pays attention to the material context (see Wodak 2001). Since the reportage of the arrival of the Tamil immigrants was followed by legislative action, this indicated an influence of the media discourse on other fields of society such as the government (Bradimore and Bauder 2011: 644). Bradimore and Bauder (2011: 645) only analysed hard copies, which means only written articles. Other contents, like the opinion section or the letter to the author parts were not included. In total, 32 articles were collected using the search engines *LexisNexis* and *ProQuest*

(Bradimore and Bauder 2011: 645). The first step of the analyses was to have an in-depth look at the headlines, which they claimed to be the most important news discourse elements, also according to van Dijk's (1988) approach (Bradimore and Bauder 2011: 646). The articles were printed and then manually highlighted when the following terms were found: *refugee related terms, terrorism, Tamil Tigers, ship/travel, government responses* and *actions*. Then, the data was reorganized and inserted into an excel sheet and coded according to the publication date. The findings of the headline analysis were as the following: The words used in the articles mostly described the event itself and the security risks faced not explicitly by the refugees (Bradimore and Bauder 2011: 646). A small frequency analysis of security or risk related terms was conducted and verbs like *saved*, *jailed* or *arrested* were looked at. Then, according to van Dijk's (1988) approach, the frequency of source quotes like *Immigration and Refugee Board*, *Public Safety* and others were analysed. Bradimore and Bauder (2011: 656) claimed in their conclusion that there was a pattern evolving in regards of the acceptance of the Tamil people. However, they also argued that media and the political process are inseparable and therefore rely on each other's exchange of information and knowledge. Finally, they acknowledged the researcher bias and how the role the media has in silencing voices and omitting facts (Bradimore and Bauder 2011: 657).

Another study related to migration was carried out by Mensing (2016). In her Bachelor thesis, she analysed the othering in the news media. She used the DHA version to find out information about the 2015/2016 European Refugee Crisis in the German print media (*Bild, FAZ, Blick, NZZ, Kronen, Die Presse*). As the analysis focused on migration and refugee themes, the term *Flüchtling* ('refugee' in German) is likely to appear in the headlines of the articles to be analysed. In total, she analysed 150 headlines. Furthermore, Mensing (2016: 14) performed the qualitative analysis with a tool called *ATLAS.ti*[2], which helps organise the data according to the researchers' preferences. Instead of analysing all discursive strategies, as described by Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 33) for the DHA, Mensing (2016: 14) divided the discursive strategies intro three different levels of analysis: content, discursive and linguistic. Afterwards, subcategories were added to all these levels of analysis. For instance, the content analysis included labelling different kinds of othering concepts, such as *criminal other*, where the context was an illegal crossing of the frontiers. Concerning discourse analysis, an attempt was made to answer the nomination and predication strategies' questions. Lastly, for the linguistic analysis, Mensing (2016: 41) took a closer look at conceptual metaphors. Mensing

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[2] http://atlasti.com/

(2016: 28) claimed that the German print media stresses the enforcement of national and external EU boarders, and therefore presents the migrants in a negative stance by labelling them as *unwanted* subjects who do not belong to Europe.

In his doctoral thesis, Pasha (2011) tackled the representation of Muslim Brotherhood in Egyptian newspapers with the help of CDA method. This topic is closely related to migration and to how minorities are represented in the media. Pasha (2011:108) included front page reports of the *al-Ahram* newspaper from the year 2000 until 2005. The tool used to collect the data was the al-Ahram Online Index. The reports were then manually checked to ensure that the topic Muslim Brotherhood was included. To conduct the analysis, he combined two different approaches: first, the Idealised Reader (IR) Framework approach by O'Halloran (2003), which focuses on headlines and front pages; second, he followed the framework provided by Huckin (1997), where "transitivity", "sourcing", "lexical choice" and "presupposition" were analysed. The IR analysis, according to Pasha (2011: 115), was useful since it provided a broad idea of how the average reader approaches the newspaper reports to avoid researcher bias. The following perspectives are important while conducting an IR analysis (directly quoted from Pasha 2011: 116):

1. Super ordinate goal: why did someone do something?
2. Instrument: what did they use?
3. Subordinate goal-action: how was the action achieved?
4. Instantiation: 'filling in' a general category with a more specific category;
5. Casual consequence: what were the results of the action?

When transitivity is analysed, the focus lies mainly on the verbs. In other words, it is important to analyse verbs in connection to the participants and the context. Sourcing is described as an effective tool to position the journalists close or far from what they report. More precisely, the direct and indirect quoting is the main focus here. For instance, the more quotes an article contains, the more trustworthy the article is (Pasha 2011: 120). When dealing with lexical choices, what is analysed are the connotation or denotation of specific terms. Pasha (2011: 123) argued that these types of analyses lead to significant results, since lexical items are value-loaded and ideologically charged. Finally, the presupposition analysis was performed as well (Pasha 2011: 128). According to Kadmon (2001) and Yule (1996: 29), a feature of presupposition is that the presuppositions of the positive sentence and the negated sentence are the same. For instance, in the following sentences: "they are challenging our transparent

democracy/they are not challenging our transparent democracy", the presupposition is unchanged in both sentences, since the negation is noticeable in the word *challenging*. The aim of this analysis is to find out if manipulative language is included. Pasha (2011: 252) concluded that his analysis of the data between 2000 and 2005 revealed mostly negative representations of Muslim Brotherhood. First, the headline analysis underlined the fact of mystification, but the main questions, such as "who did what and why", is fully ignored (Pasha 2011: 252). The transitivity analysis showed how verbal clauses indicated more negative aspects about Muslim Brotherhood. Sourcing brought some insights into who was and who was not talked about in the reports. Pasha (2011: 256) claimed that the absence of certain references was not accidental and therefore indicated a systematic exclusion of Muslim Brotherhood members. Then, concerning the lexical choices, Pasha (2011: 252) concluded that the findings of the lexical choice analysis led to similar findings, as mentioned above. Finally, the presupposition analysis did not yield a significant result.

4. Method and Material of the Case Studies

This section is divided into two parts, the first is concerned with the method and material used for the CACDA case study; the second with the CDA case study.

4.1 CACDA

Despite the fact that in the previous studies elicited in chapter 3, the data was collected by the authors themselves (among others, Baker et al. 2008, Samaie and Malmir 2017, Bradimore and Bauder 2011), I decided to perform my analysis on an already existing corpus, namely the *TIME Magazine Corpus* built by Davies (2007). There are various reasons for this decision: Firstly, the *TIME Magazine Corpus* is freely available and the inbuilt functions, such as collocation and concordance calculators, are convenient and user-friendly. Hence, there is no sense to collect the data using search engines like *LexisNexis* or *ProQuest*, as described by Bradimore and Bauder (2011), for example. Furthermore, there is no need to use additional tools like *WordSmith* (Scott 2008) or *Sketch Difference* (Kilgarriff et al. 2014) (see Partington et al. 2013: 283 and 306) or even a programming script to perform the linguistic analysis, since the *TIME Magazine Corpus* interface carries a built-in function which enables the user to search for collocations or keywords and, beyond that, it displays concordance lists as well. Consequently, the already existing interface of the *TIME Magazine Corpus* is more time-efficient. For instance, collecting data for a larger corpus, such as the corpus *RASIM* which contains 140 million words can become tedious. Gabrielatos (2007: 6) noted that "[…] corpus

building, as well as any mark-up and annotation, can become unduly time consuming." Secondly, the case studies are mainly conducted to give some insights into how well the two different methods work. Therefore, compared to the study scope of the previous studies mentioned in chapter 3, the following case studies will be defined as small scale studies. On this note, Kennedy (2014: 6) defined a corpus containing 300,000 words as a small corpus and Baker et al. (2008: 275) argued that the lower number of words of a small corpus is 25,000 words. Given the *TIME Magazine Corpus* and its diachronic advantage, I decided to loosely follow the methodology described by Samaie and Malmir (2017), where they combine collocation and concordance analyses and the DHA to investigate the representation of Asians in the *Time* magazine. The reason for choosing the DHA approach of Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 34) is the adjustability of the approach to the research question at hand. In other words, by taking the DHA approach, it is possible to conduct an analysis both with the corpus-assisted method and with the traditional CDA method.

Before explaining how the analysis was carried out, the decision on which terms represent the overall topic *Asian people* in the *TIME Magazine Corpus* has to be made. Additionally, I am pointing out that I am following Baker et al.'s (2008: 9) approach of collecting articles containing the node in the entire article rather than only looking for nodes in the headlines, as described by Samaie and Malmir (2017: 5). In order to find the most appropriate term to conduct the analysis, the selection of nodes of previous studies was taken into consideration. The thought process was the following: The research question for the case study in particular requires figuring out how Asians are represented linguistically in the *Time* magazine news articles. The first idea was to follow the method proposed by Baker and Levon (2015: 226), in which the overall theme of masculinity was broken down into its subparts and ethnicity, namely *black men*, *Asian men* and others. Thus, there is a chance of building a relatively large corpus. Additionally, another reason for the rejection of this idea was the fact that the *TIME Magazine Corpus* interface does not allow multiple word queries.

On the *TIME Magazine Corpus* interface the description of the search function is as follows: "[f]ind single words like mysterious […]" (Davies 2007). There is the possibility to search for multiple words; however, the interface delivers skewed results, since when searched for *Asian people* the result page shows one instance, but if a collocation of the ratio 0:1 is searched, six results are shown.

The second attempt is fairly similar to the first idea. Instead of searching for gendered terms, I checked which Asian countries are represented the most in the U.S. According to Bouvier and Agresta (1987: 268), in the 1980s the following ethnic groups were known to live in the U.S.:

Japanese, Chinese, Vietnamese, Korean, Filipino and Asian Indian. The plan was to use the option of Part of Speech (henceforth POS), tagger information available on the *TIME Magazine Corpus* interface to find articles relating to the ethnic groups (Davies 2007). This idea, however, proved to be unsuitable for the CACDA case study. There are several points to be taken into consideration. First, by searching for *Chinese* with POS tag nouns, also words such as *Chinese accommodation*, *Chinese ideograms* or cases in which the word *Chinese* was followed by a named entity construction, such as proper names, organisations or locations appeared in the results list page. The same problem occurred for the other ethnic groups as well. This problem is, however, well-known in the computational linguistics field. Since the *TIME Magazine Corpus* interface works with data which is assigned to its POS tag automatically, one has to keep in mind the risk of lower accuracy. After consulting Prof. Dr. Mark Davies[3] and the getting the information about what kind of POS tagger was used, it was possible to research the accuracy of the tagger. The tagger used to pre-process the *Time* magazine data is called the *CLAWS 7* tagger and it attains an accuracy between 96% and 97% (Garside 1987: 30), which means that despite ensuring a high value of accuracy, the individual results have to be approached with caution. Furthermore, it is important to note that the term *Indian* refers to the Asian Indian as well as the Native Americans. Due to the aforementioned reasons, this method of using all the ethnic groups living in the U.S. was dismissed as well.

While checking the various combinations and concepts of the terms, another point of investigation came up. The term *Asian-American* is a widespread term used to identify the Asian immigrants living in the U.S. (Lowe 1996: 4). There are, however, two different reasons why this term had to be dismissed as well: Firstly, as previously mentioned, the interface does not allow multiple words searches; secondly, after testing some terms, there are different ways of spelling Asian American: *Asian-American*, *Asian American* and the plural forms *Asian Americans* and *Asian-Americans*. Since the hyphenated spelling variation is accepted by the *TIME Magazine Corpus* as a single word, there was a possibility of including this term into the analysis process. The disadvantage of doing so, however, was that the amount of the term Asian-Americans was considerably lower than the one of the node *Asians*. Hence, due to spelling inconsistency and lower frequency, I decided to not use a variation of *Asian-American* as a node.

After various tests, the decision was made to choose the plural form *Asians*. Only in this way is it ensured to get the articles representing the Asian people in the *TIME Magazine Corpus* and

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[3] Email conversation

to avoid as many false positives which could occur due to errors of the POS tagger. Furthermore, Egbert and Baker (2016: 205) noted how the selection of terms for the corpus query could carry a broader meaning than what is being researched in a particular study. Hence, the chosen term *Asians* in the *TIME Magazine Corpus* does not comprise all Asians represented in the *TIME Magazine Corpus*. The corpus built for this study will be referred to as the *Asians-*corpus throughout the thesis. As mentioned previously in this chapter, the term does not also cover individual countries or people.

After choosing the node and establishing the data, the time periods to be analysed are the next step of the investigation. According to Davies (2007), the word distribution of the *TIME Magazine Corpus* is different in each decade; therefore, I chose to follow Ristic's (2017: 18) method and led my data selection by frequencies of occurrence. She decided to calculate and list the absolute and normalized frequencies of the node to then decide which decades are suitable for further analysis. By analysing the normalized frequencies, the decision to investigate the time periods 1950-1990 was made, based on which decades exhibit higher frequencies. The normalized frequencies also show that Asians are underrepresented in the time period until 1940, because the first article was published in 1923 (Davies 2007, Sumner 2010: 60). Another reason for choosing to investigate the decades with higher frequencies is that Baker et al. (2008: 7) advise to base the down-sampling process for the traditional CDA on frequency patterns. For these reasons, I decided on the investigation of the decades with the higher frequencies.

Table 1. Absolute and normalized diachronic (1920s until the 2000s) distribution of the node *Asians* in *TIME Magazine Corpus* (per million words).

	1920s	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s
absolute	1	1	3	138	119	143	79	68	35
normalized	0.14	0.08	0.20	**8.49**	**7.60**	**11.42**	**7.15**	**7.21**	5.18

It can be observed in Table 1 that the frequency of occurrence from the 1950s until the 1990s are the highest out of all available decades. The highest frequency is in the 1970s, the lowest out of the five decades is in the 1990s and the frequencies in the 1980s and 1990s only differ slightly. Therefore, the decision was made to investigate the decades with higher frequency, namely, the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and the 1990s (see Table 21 in App. II).

Afterwards, the settings to create a virtual corpus on the *TIME Magazine Corpus* interface was applied as follows: After deciding which time period to analyse, the years 1950 until 1999

are typed. Then, according to the interface rules, the words in text field was completed with the term *Asians*. After submitting the query, a list of articles was then saved. The number of articles, words and occurrence of the node are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Number of articles, words and occurrences of the node *Asians*.

Corpus information	#
Number of articles	388
Number of words	178,500
Number of occurrences of node Asians	547

After establishing the corpus containing the node *Asians*, the first step of the discourse historical analytic approach is to give an overview of the relevant historic events which concerned the Asians as well as an overview of the *Time* magazine format. Afterwards, an investigation of the social actors occurring in the *Time* magazine will follow.

In order to research the most recurring social actors in the *Time* magazine discourse about Asians and their linguistic representation, a wordlist of the corpus with the node *Asians* is produced by using the *TIME Magazine Corpus* interface function list. Since the interface does not allow creating a wordlist of the entire corpus, I decided to use the POS tags _n* for noun and _pp* for personal pronoun to create the list according to the definitions of social actors provided by Fairclough (2003: 145). Fairclough (2003: 145) compiled a list of variables of how social actors, who are "participants in clauses", are represented (more detailed explanation will follow in subchapter 5.2). After selecting the most recurrent social actors, the *TIME Magazine Corpus* interface was used to produce a list of collocations and concordances for the social actors' analysis. At this point, I decided to investigate two different spans of words from the node.

Samaie and Malmir (2017: 6) present the top ten collocates of the words *Islam* and *Muslim* with their frequency of occurrence in the corpus and their frequencies both five words to the left and five words to the right of the node. Considering the size of my corpus (178,500 words) compared to the size of Samaie and Malmir's (2017) corpus (670,000 words), however, I decided to use the 4:4 span length, as Stubbs (2001: 29) suggested. He argued that "significant collocates are found with a span of 4:4." Furthermore, I will also include a bigram collocation analysis (1:1), as according to Pak and Paroubek (2010: 1325) bigrams are able to capture sentiment expressions, especially useful for the predication strategy to label social actors as more or less positive or negative (Reisigl and Wodak 2016: 33). Furthermore, the threshold of

significance of the MI score, as well as the frequency of occurrence, is set at 3. This is in line with standard practise in the literature (e.g. Stubbs 1995; Hunston 2002; Durrant and Schmitt 2009; Granger and Bestgen 2014). Furthermore, the *TIME Magazine Corpus* interface suggests these settings per default, with the explanation regarding the MI score being that it removes words like *the*, *to* or *with*, which usually occur more frequently in texts (Davies 2007).

Moreover, to contribute to a more detailed overview of the results, the collocations were first made with the POS tags _n* (for all nouns), _v* (for all predicates) and * for all available POS tags on the *TIME Magazine Corpus* interface. This decision is further supported by the fact that the nomination and predication strategies described by Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 33) heavily rely on nouns and verbs as linguistic devices. These strategies are part of the DHA (Reisigl and Wodak 2016: 33).

The output of the collocates always consists of a MI score, which provides information about the strength of the collocation to be investigated. The MI score represents the significance or relevance of the collocations (McEnery et al. 2006: 56). Therefore, the top ten collocates, if available, will be displayed first sorted by the MI score and then also by frequency of occurrence since the results sorted by frequency of occurrence might exhibit a different pattern and thus reveal additional information about the discourse. Furthermore, I decided to follow Samaie and Malimir's (2017) decision to only analyse the discursive strategies nomination and predication and not go beyond the scope of this thesis.

Lastly, a concordance analysis will follow, as Baker et al. (2008) discussed the advantages of the investigation of concordances leading to more discourse insights. Therefore, the corpus linguistic approach is followed by a more qualitative analysis of concordance lines, which furthermore shows the triangulation aspect.

4.2 DHA (CDA)

As mentioned in chapter 4.1, the CDA will be performed on down-sampled texts of the *TIME Magazine Corpus* with the node *Asians*. As Baker et al. (2008: 285) suggest, one way of down-sampling is to choose a random sample where the node occurred with the highest frequency. Baker and Levon (2015: 225) also decided to choose the articles with the most references of the nodes. Then, the qualitative analysis was done by first doing a macro-analysis and then a micro-analysis, as suggested by Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 42). The macro-analysis will focus more on the structure and the description on what topic the text is about and then for the micro-analysis the focus will lie on giving answers to the questions given by the DHA framework.

To analyse one article of each decade would go beyond the scope of this study, since the purpose of this analysis is to illustrate the method. Thus, only one every other decade (1950s, 1970s and 1990s) will be examined to still provide diachronic information.

In order to conduct CDA, the texts to be analysed had to be chosen by down-sampling. To avoid "cherry picking" or in other words choosing texts intentionally, as described by Baker and Levon (2015: 222), the down-sampling was based on frequency of occurrence of the word that was used to build the corpus with the node *Asians*. For each decade to be investigated, the year in which the node occurred most frequently was chosen; afterwards, the articles containing the term *Asians* with the highest frequency of occurrence were picked to be analysed. Table 3 provides information about the date, frequency of occurrence per million of *Asians* in the year the article was published, title and URL of the articles to be investigated.

Table 3. Date, frequency of occurrence of the node *Asians* per million words in the year of occurrence, title, author and URL of the article.

Date	Title	Frequency	Nr. of words	Author	URL
July 9th, 1956	CANADA: East Meets West	14.57	300	NI	http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,893467,00.html
August 12th, 1972	UGANDA: The Unwanted	35.13	620	NI	http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,877992,00.html
November 18th, 1993	"The Perils of Success"	16.14	1662	James Walsh	http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,979746,00.html

As depicted in Table 3, the frequencies of occurrence differ in each year. The highest frequency of occurrence of the node occurs in the article from 1972. Furthermore, there is also a difference in the number of words per article. The longest article entitled "The Perils of Success" and published in 1993 is also the only one providing information on who wrote the article. The other two articles do not state the author.

The DHA framework focuses on five discursive strategies which make the analysis more efficient regarding which linguistic devices are used systematically at different levels of linguistic categories and complexities (Reisigl and Wodak 2016: 33). The first strategy described as the nomination strategy addresses the in- and out-group construction with the help of discursive devices like membership categorizations, metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches. The second strategy described as predication proposes to label the social actors as positive or negative by focusing on implicit and explicit predicates in the texts. The third,

argumentation strategy, addresses the positive or negative assignments with the help of topoi used for possible political inclusion or exclusion. The fourth strategy called perspectivization focuses on locating the speaker's opinion towards something. This can be analysed by the discursive devices, such as report, description, narration or quotation of events or utterances. Finally, the fifth strategy, described as intensification, addresses the adjustment of an epistemic status of a message, which is realized through intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of utterance (Reisigl and Wodak 2016: 33; Samaie and Malmir 2017: 4).

The articles will be examined in the order of how they are listed in Table 3. As elucidated in chapter 4.2, there will be a macro-analysis of the article followed by a micro-analysis on which the two first strategies, composed by Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 33), are focused on. The reason why only the first two questions out of five are considered is that the analysis serves an illustrative purpose. Treating all five questions would exceed the scope of the case study. Furthermore, a similar restriction is applied by Samaie and Malmir (2017).

5. Results and Analysis

Results are preceded by background information both on the history of Asians in the U.S. as well as the *Time* magazine (subchapter 5.1). Subsequently, the results of the CACDA are presented and discussed (subchapters 5.2, 5.3, 5.4). And finally, the CDA of three *Time* magazine articles are investigated (subchapter 5.5).

5.1 Background Information on History and the *Time* Magazine

5.1.1 Historical Background

As described in chapter 4, there are several steps to follow in order to be able to conduct a CDA. In this section, tackling the case study research question *How are Asians represented in the TIME Magazine Corpus both linguistically and diachronically?* starts by establishing the socio-political and historical context in which the discursive practices might be embedded (Reisigl and Wodak 2016: 31). Furthermore, the decision was made to analyse the decades 1950-1990; therefore, the historical context information of this time period will be outlined.

Two of the main historical events connecting Asian people with the United States between 1950 until 1990 is the aftermath of World War II (1939-1945) and the ongoing Vietnam war (1959-1975) (Lowe 1996: 3-5). After World War II, Asia was both a source of benefits but also a threat for the U.S.; on the one hand, the immigrants in the U.S. were the main workforce and therefore important for the domestic national force (Lowe 1996: 5). Yet, the Asian states were known as the external rivals in overseas imperial war (Lowe 1996: 5). Even after World War II

ended, the Asians were still depicted as the enemy until 1970 (Lowe 1996: 102). Among other factors, this discourse contributed to the justification of the Cold War (Lowe 1996: 102).

Furthermore, Lowe (1996: 178) described the representation of Asia and Asians in the United States as the U.S. orientalism of the twentieth century, similar to the European orientalism where non-Western characteristics were portrayed as barbaric and incomprehensible. In this period, Asians faced naturalisation laws and exclusion acts, which were only starting to change after the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 causing the exclusion act contracts to be invalidated (Lowe 1996: 7). As a result of this period of exclusion, most Asians in the U.S. are Asian-born rather than a multiple-generation group.

Moreover, the wars from 1950 to 1970 proved to be the base of the U.S. investment and material extraction in Asia. By 1990, the U.S. overstretched their imperial influence which then resulted in the fall of the world economic force and the rise of Japan and Germany (Lowe 1996: 18). Another notable socio-historic context is provided by social movements, such as the civil right movement of Asian people in the U.S., joining other ethnicities such as African Americans, Native Americans and Latinos in the 1960s and 1970s (Lowe 1996: 18).

Ono and Pham (2009) further explained in their book about American Asians and the media that there are historical and mainstream representations of Asians in the U.S. media. They argued that Asians are also striving for independence (Ono and Pham 2009: 168). Especially sub-topics like "yellow peril discourse", gender, sexuality and threat are known to be represented in the media (Ono and Pham 2009: 25, 45, 63).

5.1.2 Background on the *Time* Magazine

After establishing the historical context regarding the topic Asian people in the U.S., historical information about the magazine format of the *Time* itself might provide some insights as well. The *Time* magazine, a magazine that is published weekly, has gone through changes over the years after being founded in 1923 (Sumner 2010: 61). For instance, between 1930 and 1940 the magazine dealt with some competition from the radio and the economy (the Great Depression in 1933), but the magazine was able to not only remain stable but even gain popularity during such times (Sumner 2010: 76). The reason for this development, Sumner (2010: 78) elaborated, lies in how the *Time* magazine reported news and facts in an era where factual and objective information about the economy was needed. In 1960, political and social changes dominated the magazine headlines, due to civil rights and women's movements (Sumner 2010: 139). Then later, in the 1980s and 1990s, with the upcoming of new technology and new media, the magazine format was again facing competition. Unlike the time of

competition from radio and economy in the 1930s, the technological advances caused not only some advantages but also disadvantages when it came to the *Time* magazine. Sumner (2010: 209) described its transformation and struggle. On the one hand, the Internet was an unknown territory for many people; on the other hand, new possibilities emerged such as editor-reader communications. However, Sumner (2010) also noted the change in coverage, where the topics focused on lighter, more entertainment based areas such as pop culture and focused less on one specific area rather than providing facts researched by experts (Sumner 2010: 210-211).

A survey of magazine journalism professors conducted in 2007 listed the *Time* magazine as one in the top five most influential magazines of the 20th century (Sumner 2010:49). Furthermore, it has to be noted how Henry Luce, one of the original founders, is noted to have influenced the political decision makings in 1950 (Baughman 1987: 158). Sumner (2010: 62) described the rhythmic effect as the main linguistic characteristics of the *Time* magazine, a legacy left by one of the co-founder Briton Hadden. The sentences would sometimes start with participles or verbs and end with nouns. They were also known to have created new words, namely: *kudos* and *male chauvinist*. The language used in the magazine was also interpreted as colloquial and highbrow, and therefore of interest for linguists (Sumner 2010: 62, Millar 2009).

5.2 CACDA Social Actors

Social actors, according to Fairclough (2003: 145-146), are "[p]articipants in clauses" and are among other representations realized through the following variables: "inclusion" or "exclusion". The focus is put on the latter describing two kinds of exclusion of social actors, namely suppression and backgrounding. Suppression is realized by not appearing in the text, whereas backgrounding is explained as the social actor "mentioned somewhere in the text, but having to be inferred in one or more places" (Fairclough 2003: 145). Another realization of social actor is if they are embedded in the text as a noun or pronoun, which also leads to the next variable: the grammatical role. The social actor is defined "[…] as a [p]articipant in a clause […] within a [c]ircumstance (e.g. in a preposition phrase […])." Furthermore, the question if the social actor is "[…] the [a]ctor in processes […] or the [a]ffected or [b]eneficiary […]" is another variable of the representation of social actors. Moreover, social actors can be represented impersonally or personally, as for example referring to the *police* as 'the filth' (Fairclough 2003: 146). Social actors can be named or classified and be specific or generic. The more detailed examples and variables are listed in App. III).

The social actors are investigated by using the POS tags _n* (noun) and _pp* (personal pronoun) to create a list (see chapter 4).

In Table 4 the social actors are listed and sorted by frequencies of occurrence in the entire *TIME Magazine Corpus*. Further details are provided on the percentage of the social actors in the *Asians*-corpus based on the word count. I decided to showcase nine social actors, since the lowest percentage of the social actor presented by Samaie and Malmir (2017: 8) was 0.18 indicating that they chose to only list social actors occurring at least more than 10% in their corpus.

Table 4. Rank, word frequency and percentage of social actors in the built the *Asians*-corpus.

Rank	Word	Frequency	Percentage
1	U.S.	741	0.42
2	they	725	0.41
3	Asians	547	0.31
4	we	291	0.16
5	people	269	0.15
6	president	249	0.14
7	government	240	0.13
8	Africa	206	0.12
9	Blacks	171	0.10

Since the case study is conducted mainly for comparison purposes of the method and the main focus is on the representation of Asians in the *TIME Magazine Corpus*, the analysis part of the study will focus in more detail on the social actor *Asians*, whereas the other social actors will be discussed in less detail, not to elongate the thesis but still providing findings for the sake of completeness of the used approach.

As it is illustrated in Table 4, *U.S.* is the most frequent social actor in the *Asians*-corpus, occurring even more often than the term that has been used to build the corpus. The collocation analysis was done as follows: In order to ensure the connection to Asians, first the collocates were built by typing social actor and *Asians*. This produced a list of concordances showing how many times these two terms occur in the span of 4:4. The output of this query were twelve concordance lines with a MI score below zero indicating that this collocate does not have a significant relevance in the corpus.

This finding might be an explanation that although the *U.S.* is mentioned very frequently in the discourse, the collocation analysis indicates that the *U.S.* is the social actor in the background (Fairclough 2003: 145). Furthermore, a collocational analysis was done with the node *U.S.* and all available POS tags of the *TIME Magazine Corpus*. The top 10 collocates within the span of 4:4 are the following: *involvement, withdrawal, prestige, ally, ambassador, diplomats, concerned* and *delegate*. These collocates explain to an extent how the U.S. is

represented as the in-group of the discourse. The collocates might indicate the political involvement of the U.S. with regards to foreigners. The concordance analysis shows for example that *involvement* is mostly linked to the involvement of the U.S. in the Vietnam war and *withdrawal* concerns the withdrawal of the military force of the U.S. in Vietnam, supporting the general role of the U.S. being the active force in the discourse. These findings, furthermore, align with the historic events of the Vietnam war in the 1970s (Lowe 1996: 3).

Samaie and Malmir (2017: 9) argued that Reisigl and Wodak's (2016: 33) DHA is among other devices characterized by the use of the linguistic-discursive device of the first-person pronoun *we* to categorize the inclusion of a social actor in the discourse and the third person pronoun *they* to characterize social actors as the out-group of the discourse. A disadvantage of this assumption, however, is discussed by Mulderrig (2011: 567), explaining that the personal pronoun *we* might be both inclusive and exclusive in the discourse. Therefore, the collocational analysis of the personal pronouns is done by including the node *Asians* within the span of 4:4, as suggested by Samaie and Malmir (2017: 9). The query produced only four collocates with a MI score below zero and it was therefore not possible to perform a concordance analysis and determine if *we* was used for the in-group or the out-group. Since the collocational analysis of *they* also only resulted in 7 hits with a MI score of below zero, the comparison could not be performed.

The social actor *people* and collocational analysis within the span of 4:4 with the node *Asians* did not provide enough hits to generate a cohesive context, since there were only two hits significant to analyse and therefore not enough data to be analysed critically.

Concerning the social actor *president,* the decision was made to follow the same approach as Samaie and Malmir (2017: 9) and treat *president* the same as the social actor *people* since they are also human beings. The collocational analysis of the social actor *president* did not provide information about its influence on the discourse regarding Asians. The query of *president* and *Asians* only provided two hits.

Samaie and Malmir (2017: 9) did not perform a collocation and concordance analysis of the word *government* concerning which country the government refers to and therefore only examine the occurrences rather than the collocates. In the case of the *Asians*-corpus, the following countries were involved: countries in Europe, such as England and France, the United States, Australia as well as several Asian states such as China, India, Japan and South Vietnam. It was not possible to connect the relation of the *government* to the Asians, since there were only four hits. The finding of the different government references indicate that the *Time* magazine was interested in reporting political events in general.

Moreover, the resulting 11 collocates and concordances of the social actor *Africa* and its concordance analysis revealed how in the 1950s and early 1960s the immigration of the Asians into South Africa was reported and then later on in the 1960s and in the 1970s the focus changed on the immigration discourse of Asians in East Africa. This might be another indication about how the *Time* magazine is interested in reporting events occurring in the ex-colonial states.

Last but not least, the social actor *Blacks* will be analysed. The collocates resulting after the query with *Blacks* and *Asians* produced 20 hits and therefore exhibit the highest frequency of occurrence with the word *Asians*. The concordance analysis revealed how the collocate *Blacks* occurs in an enumeration of different ethnic minorities therefore providing more support for the suggestion that *Asians* and in this case *Blacks* as well are the out-group of the discourse (Fairclough 2003: 145).

5.3 CACDA 1:1

5.3.1 CACDA Bigram 1:0

First, the bigram collocates in the span of 1:0 are considered, beginning with nouns, verbs and then all the available POS tags on the *TIME Magazine Corpus* interface. In the following tables, the numbers under the decades correspond to frequency of occurrence of the collocates.

Table 5. Noun collocates with the span 1:0 formed with the node *Asians* sorted by MI score in a descending order.

1:0 noun collocates	Total freq.	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	MI score
neutralist	3	3					6.35
Southeast	7	1	1	2	1	2	4.93

Table 6. Noun collocates with the span 1:0 formed with the node *Asians* sorted by overall frequency of occurrence in a descending order.

1:0 noun collocates	Total freq.	MI score
Southeast	7	4.93
neutralist	3	6.35
East	3	2.73

As is depicted in Table 5, the noun collocate *neutralist* takes the first spot in the list with the highest MI score out of the three collocates, only occurring in the 1950s. The same does not apply when the frequency of occurrence is looked at, in which case the collocate *neutralist* occurs less often than *Southeast*. Historically, the term *neutralist* was used during the Cold War,

describing Asian states' view as neutral since they did not chose neither the side of the U.S. nor that of the Russian and therefore label the *neutralist Asians* as the out-group of the context (Brecher 1962: 232-233). Example (1) describes the debates and political discourse between the U.S. and the Kremlin (Russia) and how *neutralist Asians*, such as India, are depicted as an important factor to be persuaded:

> (1) A lot of talk now could possibly stall or check such positive Western moves as the European Defense Community or increased pressure on the Red Chinese. But the Russian bid for a conference has growing support among West Europeans and neutralist Asians. (*Time*, 1953/05/04, National Affairs: 5,000 Words).

The other collocate in Table 6 belongs to the geographical category. *Southeast* appears both more often and has a higher MI score than *East*. Since *East* has a low frequency as well as a MI score lower than 3 (Ellis and Simpson-Vlach 2009: 65-66), the concordance analysis of the collocate will not be conducted and the result does not appear in Table 5. In the case of *Southeast* Asians (Cambodians, Laotians, Hmong, and Vietnamese according to Goyette and Xie 1999: 26), it has to be noted that the term occurs in every decade but concordance analysis did not yield any findings connecting to the historical events.

The collocates that occurred while analysing the word span length of 1:0 with a verb did not fall into the frequency of occurrence threshold that was set at the beginning of the study (see chapter 4.1). The same occurred when the 0:1-word span was set to analyse the noun and node collocates.

When all available POS tags were tested to build collocates with the node Asians with the span 1:0, some new results were found:

Table 7. Top 10 collocates with the span 1:0 formed with the node *Asians* and all available POS tags (*), sorted by MI score in a descending order.

1:0 collocates	Total freq.	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	MI score
50,000	7			7			6.7
neutralist	3	3					6.35
expelled	3			3			6.23
fellow	4	2	1		1		5.71
central	4				1	3	5.26
Ugandan	3			3			4.98
Southeast	7	1	1	2	1	2	4.93
free	6	6					4.61

many	16	4	4	5	2	1	4.34
other	9		2	5	1	1	3.46

Table 7 shows how in the 1:0 span word length mostly adjectives are appended to the list. The collocate with the highest MI score, however, is a number *50'000* which only occurs in the 1970s. The concordance analysis reveals how the expulsion of 50'000 Asians of British Citizenship in 1972 by Uganda's President Idi Amin at the time is mentioned throughout the 1970s. The concordance analysis of the collocates *expelled* and *Ugandan* have also been connected to the discourse. Overall, the themes of displacement and immigration are reinforced. Furthermore, the collocate *fellow* and its concordance analysis did not match a historic event. The notion of *free* Asians only occurred in the 1950s, which might be connected to the civil rights movement mentioned in subchapter 5.1.1 (Lowe 1996: 18). Nevertheless, there is not enough evidence to support this connection. Moreover, the term *central* Asians is exclusively used in the late 1980s and 1990s. In this case, there is no clear argument as of why it was not tagged as a noun, since in the previous observations geographical terms like *Southeast* and *South* combined with Asians were tagged as nouns. The expression of quantity collocation *many* occurs in each decade, but it was not possible to generalize the context to a common theme. Finally, the collocation *other* also does not provide additional information about the discourse, but it is an indication of the concept of out-group (see subchapter 2.6).

Table 8. Top 10 collocates with the span 1:0 formed with the node *Asians* and all available POS tags (*), sorted by frequency of occurrence in a descending order.

1:0 collocates	Total freq.	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	MI score
the	73	17	20	22	9	5	1.09
and	69	14	22	8	17	8	2.41
,	38	6	6	7	6	13	0.25
of	34	10	4	11	4	5	0.96
many	16	4	4	5	2	1	4.34
to	15	4	2	4	4	1	0.15
.	11	5	1	1	1	3	-1.21
by	10	2	4	3	1		1.64
other	9		2	5	1	1	3.46
that	9	5	2		1	1	0.59

Out of the terms in Table 8, only *many* and *other* show MI scores which exceed the threshold of significance. However, due to the high frequency of occurrence it might still be worthwhile to take a closer look at all of these terms which have not been discussed yet.

According to Biber et al. (1998: 29 and 52), it is common that general function words such as *the* and *and* occur with a very high frequency. Furthermore, Rapp (1999: 521) argued that "[f]unction words are often highly ambiguous and their co-occurrences are mostly based on syntactic instead of semantic patterns."

A similar characteristic is also observed with punctuation marks such as period '.' and comma ','. The high frequencies of occurrence in this case, however, is a product of the pre-processing step called "tokenization", in which a text is cut up into tokens by "locating word boundaries" (Palmer 2000: 11). Nevertheless, the frequencies of occurrence of punctuation marks can be used to predict text genres and may contain useful stylistic information (Stamatos et al. 2000: 808-809). But since it is not possible to compare the frequencies of occurrence with another corpus, it is difficult to analyse this aspect in more detail.

The general function word collocate *of* is preceded by an expression of quantity 15 out of 34 times. It is not possible to generalize the context in which *of Asians* occurs. Further concordance analysis of the collocate *to* did not lead to any general theme related to Asians, while the same applies to the collocate *by*.

Concordance analysis of the collocate *that* indicates how *that Asians* is followed by modal verbs, such as *must* (2x) and *should* (2x) (4 times out of 9 times). However, these frequencies only describe the discourse to a certain extent and cannot be generalized for the entire corpus.

In general, in Table 8 it is also apparent how low the MI scores are for the general function words. This underlines their relevance within the span lengths and corpus size and therefore indicates how these words might not reveal much information about the discourse in the texts. For example, the MI score for the punctuation mark is below zero, which indicates that the word *Asians* does not often occur at the beginning of a sentence.

5.3.2 CACDA Bigram 0:1

Table 9. Verb collocates with the span 0:1 formed with the node *Asians* sorted by MI score in a descending order.

0:1 verb collocates	Total freq.	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	MI Score
think	3	1	1			1	4.81
fighting	3			3			4.81
are	28	2	8	8	1	9	3.43
must	3	1	2				3.29
do	5		2	2	1		3.1

As is shown in Table 9, the collocates *think* and *fighting* occur with the highest MI score, therefore indicating their relevance in the corpus in a span of 0:1, occurring once in three different decades. Due to the low frequency of occurrence of the verb *think*, it was not possible to connect and summarize the content into a single broader context, as it was the case for the collocate *neutralist*-Asians another low frequency occurrence in the 1:0 span with nouns. On the other hand, *fighting* occurs only in the 1970s. Concordance analysis revealed that the verb only occurred 3 times in one article. Consequently, it was not possible to detect a general theme.

The collocate *are* taking the second place in the list regarding the MI score while occurring in each decade to be analysed, is taken into the further concordance analysis. The analysis revealed that *are* is used in the active voice 24 times out of 28 times, therefore indicating that Asians are active agents in the discourse. The case of the collocate *must* shows the connection to the collocate *that* listed in Table 8, indicating the relevance of Asians being obliged to act in a certain way, as it is shown in example (2):

(2) As a result, Western Australia's state legislature last week repealed the law, but virtually negated its action by adopting an amendment specifying that <u>Asians must</u> still get government permits to work in the mines. (*Time*, 1963/12/20, Asians, Keep Out!).

The collocate *do* did not yield any results that provide further insights into how the discourse is progressed in the corpus.

Table 10. Top 10 verb collocates with the span 0:1 formed with the node *Asians* sorted by frequency of occurrence in a descending order.

0:1 verb collocates	Total freq.	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	MI Score
are	28	2	8	8	1	9	3.43
have	18	5	3	2	2	6	2.98
were	9	1	2	4	1	1	2.48
will	7	1	1	2	3		2.33
do	5		2	2	1		3.1
would	5		1	2	2		2.18
think	3	1	1			1	4.81
fighting	3			3			4.81
must	3	1	2				3.29
can	3	2		1			1.91

In Table 10, the verb collocates are sorted by frequencies of occurrences, revealing some new collocates that have not been analysed in Table 6. A closer look at the collocate *have* shows

that it occurs 18 times in the corpus but has a slightly lower MI score than the minimum MI score threshold. Similar to the collocate *are*, the auxiliary verb *have* occurs in each decade and is used in active voice 16 times out of 18 times, therefore indicating that Asians are active agents in the discourse but it was not possible to connect the occurrences to a general historic event. The collocate *were* occurs in every decade. The concordance analysis of *were* revealed that 7 times out of 9 the auxiliary verb is used in the passive voice. Overall, it is showcased that the auxiliary verbs are used more often in the active voice than in the passive voice. This result might also be an indicator regarding the style of the writer. According to Henley et al. (1995: 64), in journalism the use of the active voice is preferred to the use of the passive voice. Additionally, there are modal verbs such as *will*, *can* and *would*, with an occurrence frequency between 7 and 3. A more detailed concordance analysis of these modal verbs together did not yield any significant result. Nevertheless, there are indications of how these modal verbs are used in the context of Asians getting granted more political and social rights and therefore also attributes to the depiction of Asians as out-group (Lowe 1996: 71).

Table 11. 7 collocates with the span 0:1 formed with the node *Asians* and all available POS tags (*), sorted by MI score in a descending order.

0:1 collocates	Total freq.	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	MI score
think	3	1	1			1	4.81
fighting	3			3			4.81
are	28	2	8	8	1	9	3.43
who	18	3	2	8	1	4	3.33
must	3	1	2				3.29
do	5		2	2	1		3.1
still	4		2	1	1		3.03

In Table 11, the only collocates not analysed in detail are *who* and *still*, as the other collocates have already been analysed. The collocate *who* occurs throughout the decades and is mostly used in a sentence concerned with the immigration process. The concordance analysis showcased that 9 times out of 18 times the verbs following *Asians who* were *evacuated*, *flew* or *migrated*. This indicates how Asians are again displayed as migrants or displaced people. The collocate *still* which is assigned the lowest MI score is used in the sentences to describe the unchanged state of the Asians' situation.

Table 12. Top 10 collocates with the span 0:1 formed with the node *Asians* and all available POS tags (*) sorted by frequency of occurrence in a descending order.

0:1 collocates	Total freq.	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	MI score
,	71	13	20	20	11	7	1.15
.	62	19	15	15	9	4	1.29
and	61	11	13	12	15	10	2.23
are	28	2	8	8	1	9	3.43
in	23	4	6	8		5	0.94
who	18	3	2	8	1	4	3.33
have	18	5	3	2	2	6	2.98
to	16	3	2	6	4	1	0.24
were	9	1	2	4	1	1	2.48
as	9	3	2	2	1	1	1.25

The remaining two collocates are *in* and *as*, as depicted in Table 12. The general function word *in* is mostly used to indicate in which geographic place the Asians are located. In 13 out of 23 instances, *in* is followed by geographical denominations, such as Kenya, Uganda or Africa. This hints to how Asians are represented as migrants to the readers of the *Time* magazine. Furthermore, *as* is used in different ways in the sentences; therefore, it was not possible to find a common statement.

5.4 CACDA 4:4

In this subsection, the results of the 4:4 span collocations will be showcased and analysed. In contrast to subchapter 5.3, the analysis will not differentiate between left-hand span and right-hand span. With a greater span, the actual context, such as sentence boundaries, gets blurred and thus there is no need for such a high level of detail.

Table 13. 9 noun collocates with the span 4:4 formed with the node *Asians* sorted by MI score in a descending order.

4:4 noun collocates	Total freq.	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	MI score
Hispanics	14			1	7	6	4.7
Arabs	13	6	5	1		1	4.66
Coloreds	26		3	8	15		4.59
Europeans	24	9	8	3	3	1	4.18
Negroes	4	2	2				3.77
citizenship	5			5			3.35
neutralist	3	3					3.35

Africans	28	5	18	3	1	1	3.3
influx	3				3		3.23

The collocates *Hispanics*, *Arabs*, *Coloreds*, *Europeans*, *Negroes* and *Africans* in Table 13 all occur as an item of a list of ethnic groups. It is interesting, however, to analyse in which decade the groups occur. The collocate *Hispanics* occurs only after the 1970s, indicating a connection to the abolition of the exclusion, as mentioned in subchapter 5.1.1. On the other hand, *Arabs* occurred more often earlier in the century. However, concordance analyses did not yield any results pointing out a historic event or connection to the overall discourse in which the other collocates occurred. *Coloreds* occurs in three decades, with the highest occurrence in the 1980s. According to Thornton et al. (2000: 151), "[s]ome of these publications viewed "colored" as credible but thought it did not distinguish former slaves from Indians and Asians who entered later in the century" pointing out the fact that there was a need to distinguish other ethnic groups.

The collocate *Europeans* occurs in each decade. However, the analysis of the concordances did not yield any information about the context in which Europeans were exactly reported. Nevertheless, the fact that *Europeans* are listed as an ethnic group alongside *Asians* suggests that the *Time* magazine decided to focus on including Europeans in the overall discourse of immigration. The same applies for the collocate *Africans*, since it also occurs in each decade. The collocate *Negroes* only occurs in the 1950s and 1960s and this finding is supported by the fact that according to Thornton et al. (2000: 152) the label *Negros* was first used in the 1950s in newspapers owned by *Whites*. Nevertheless, the occurrence further suggests that Asians are significantly connected to the other out-group which is embodied by the Black/African, coloured people.

The collocate *citizenship* only occurs in the 1970s and the analysis of the concordances revealed that they all occur in the context of Asians' expulsion by the Ugandan president (see Table 7). The collocate with the lowest MI score in Table 13 is *influx*, occurring only in the 1980s, suggesting a migration process to the country that is monitored by the *Time* magazine. This finding adds to the already mentioned aspect of Asians being labelled as the out-group of the discourse.

Table 14. Top 10 noun collocates with the span 4:4 formed with the node *Asians* sorted by frequencies of occurrence in a descending order

4:4 noun collocates	Total freq.	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	MI score
Africans	28	5	18	3	1	1	3.3

	Total freq.	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	MI score
Coloreds	26		3	8	15		4.59
Europeans	24	9	8	3	3	1	4.18
Americans	22	2	3	5	4	8	2.81
Whites	22	4	6	2	3	7	2.79
Blacks	20	1	6	3	8	2	2.25
Hispanics	14			1	7	6	4.7
Arabs	13	6	5	1		1	4.66
U.S.	12	6	2	1	1	2	-0.6
Africa	11	3	5	3			1.12

In Table 14, the collocates sorted by frequency show that the following collocates are added to the list: *Americans*, *Whites*, *Blacks*, *U.S.* and *Africa*. Although their significance according to the MI score is below the threshold, the collocates might give some insights in general. The analysis of the concordances of the collocate *Americans* revealed that 12 times out of 22 times *Americans* used the word *Latin* or *Native*, describing ethnic groups in the discourse of immigration in the *Time* magazine. Furthermore, *Blacks* is another high frequency collocate, but by analysing a similar concordance analysis of the collocates *Negroes* and *Coloreds*, the *Blacks* only occur in listings, suggesting that alongside the label *Negroes* and *Coloreds*, *Time* magazine also used the word *Blacks*. Moreover, the collocate *U.S.* made it to the top 10 list, but it is also one of the collocates with a MI score below zero, indicating that there is no relevant significance of *U.S.* occurring with Asians in a word span of 4:4. *Africa* mostly occurred as *South* or *East Africa*, suggesting that the events in this place concerning Asians were of interest for the *Time* magazine (Lowe 1996: 178).

Table 15. Three verb collocates with the span 4:4 formed with the node *Asians* sorted by MI score in a descending order.

4:4 verb collocates	Total freq.	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	MI score
expelling	4			4			5.35
landed	4			1		3	3.35
expelled	3			3			3.23

Table 15 illustrates the collocates built with the node Asians and the POS tag verb with the span of 4:4. Only three collocates pass the threshold of 3 set in the method subchapter 4.1. While *expelled* has been discussed in Table 7 above, the collocates *expelling* and *landed* are new in the list. A closer look at the concordance lines of the collocate *landed* reveals that the articles in the 1990s are about a special edition providing a table of content of the *Time*

magazine issue and therefore only includes the title "The Asians Have Landed". Therefore, the results do not provide information about the context in which the collocate *landed* appears.

Table 16. Top 10 verb collocates with the span 4:4 formed with the node *Asians* and all available POS tags (*), sorted by frequencies of occurrence in a descending order.

4:4 verb collocates	Total freq.	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	MI score
are	52	5	13	15	5	14	1.32
have	36	8	3	11	4	10	0.98
were	22	5	5	7	4	1	0.77
had	17	5	2	8	2		0.18
be	17	3	5	5	4		-0.05
is	16	6	5	4		1	-1.22
will	13	2	4	3	3	1	0.22
has	13	4	3	3	2	1	-0.44
was	12	6		3	2	1	-1.2
been	10	4		4		2	0

Table 16 reveals the top 10 verbal collocates, whereas the new collocates added are *had*, *be*, *has* and *been*. The collocate *had* is the most frequent and the newest collocate. It occurs in the first four decades investigated. Further analysis of the concordance lines reveals that the occurrences link to what has been documented in relation to Table 11, where sentences like *Asians who had* provided information about how Asians appeared in the context of immigration. This might suggest that the *Time* magazine is focusing on providing background information about the development of immigration to the readers. The other collocates will not be discussed further, since the MI score are equal or below zero and therefore of no significance to the discourse.

Table 17. Top 10 collocates with the span 4:4 formed with the node *Asians* and all available POS tags (*), sorted by MI score in a descending order.

4:4 collocates	Total freq.	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	MI score
expelling	4			4			5.35
mixed-race	3			1	2		4.94
Hispanics	14			1	7	6	4.7
Arabs	13	6	5	1		1	4.66
mixed-blood	3	1	1	1			4.61
Coloreds	26		3	8	15		4.59
expelled	6			6			4.23

Europeans	24	9	8	3	3	1	4.18
50,000	8			8			3.89
Negroes	4	2	2				3.77

Table 18. Top 10 collocates with the span 4:4 formed with the node *Asians* and all available POS tags (*), sorted by frequency of occurrence in a descending order.

4:4 collocates	Total freq.	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	MI score
,	277	57	67	65	47	41	0.11
the	232	65	47	67	31	22	-0.24
and	207	53	49	37	43	25	0.99
.	175	46	35	49	25	20	-0.22
of	134	34	23	45	18	14	-0.06
to	115	28	22	29	25	11	0.08
"	75	26	12	19	12	6	-0.27
in	63	14	14	19	6	10	-0.6
a	58	14	18	13	8	5	-0.77
for	56	13	15	14	7	7	0.47

When all available POS tags are used to build collocates with the node, only two new collocates were appended to the list. In Table 17, the collocate with a MI score of 4.94 is *mixed-race* occurring in the 1970s and 1980s with a total occurrence frequency of 3. Concordance analyses led to the conclusion that the collocate *mixed-raced* was always followed by *Colored*s. The same construct applies also to the collocate *mixed-blood*, although it occurs in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. This correlates with the frequencies of occurrence of the *Coloreds*, and indicates that these adjectives are of relevance since they provide more detailed information about *Coloreds*. This finding suggests that the *Time* magazine might have an interest in using labels that characterize the ethnic groups more properly. Table *18* again shows how frequent punctuation marks like commas, periods and quotation marks are. However, the MI scores are quite low, in case of the quotation mark even below zero, therefore of no relevance. *A* and *for* are new instances appended to the list; however, the further concordance analysis did not yield any common conclusion.

5.5 CDA

The articles will be examined in the order shown in Table 3. As elucidated in subchapter 4.2, there will be a macro-analysis of the article followed by a micro-analysis where the focus lies on the two first questions – nomination and predication – explained in subchapter 4.1 and formulated by Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 33). The other three discursive strategies –

argumentation, perspectivization and intensification or mitigation – will only be touched upon implicitly.

5.5.1 Analysis of the Article of 1956

The first step of the macro-analysis is to summarize the topics within the articles to give an overview. The article "CANADA: East Meets West" from 1956 deals with the following topics (see in the App. IV for all articles):

- highlights of Canada's and India's standpoint at the British Commonwealth conference which was held a week prior to the article's publication;
- the relation of the commonwealth nations (Canada and India) with the communist bloc (Russia);
- Asians argue for softer policy and suggest the discussion of politically sensitive topics;
- Canada persisting on stricter policy and their ambition to represent North America's and therefore the Western policy in the political discourse.

It is apparent in the article that not only the Asians', but also Canada's viewpoint is reported, even though the title of the article "CANADA: East Meets West" might mislead the reader to believe that the article is centred around Canada's viewpoint only.

The next step in the macro-analysis is to investigate the generic structure of the article. According to Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 45), the macrostructure of an article may be explanative, argumentative or descriptive. I am categorizing this article as a combination of all three attributes, since the article explains the role of Canada and India in the Commonwealth conference. It describes Canada's and India's political viewpoints and argues how Canada's viewpoint is different from what was known in the past. All of these points are presented in a concise fashion. This supports the *Time* magazine's aim to report facts which are quick to read (Sumner 2010: 61). Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 44) furthermore classify articles based on what its purpose is within a certain field. Therefore, I classify this article as "within the field of formation of public attitudes, opinion and will" (Reisigl and Wodak 2016: 44), since the article is set in a time when many different opinions and attitudes are expressed in general.

The format structure of the article is as follows:

- bipartite title *CANADA: East Meets West* and *CANADA* and date of publication;
- no identification of an author;

–   the article consists of 16 sentences and 2 paragraphs under the world section, "The Hemisphere".

Furthermore, there are in total three direct quotes citing the Canadians, whereas what the Indians said was written using reported speech. In general, according to Keeble and Reeves (2014: 202), reports make use of direct and reported speech. Nevertheless, if an article is using reported speech extensively, it might lack "immediacy and colour" (Lee-Potter 2017: 170). On the other hand, if an article is overloaded with direct quotations it might lead the reader to think that the author "surrendered their role of selection and interpretation to the source" (Lee-Potter 2017: 170). Therefore, the *Time* magazine might make the effort to use direct and indirect speech. However, it appears to be quite striking that the author chooses to use direct quotes exclusively for the Canadians. At this point and within the scope of this study, no clear explanation emerges. In my opinion, the reason might be to construct a sensation of alignment and closeness to the Canadians – as they are also presented as representing the opinion of North America as a whole. Nonetheless, this remains pure speculation at this point, but it deserves closer inspection in future research.

The micro-analysis will focus on both paragraphs of the article, since in both *Asians* (3x) are mentioned. In the first paragraph, it is evident how the author illustrates the Canadians', and therefore the Western viewpoints regarding the political situation at the time. In regards to the nomination strategy, the social actors in this paragraph are: *Canada*, *India*, and indirectly *neutralist Asia* and *North America*. The social actor *Canada* is being specified by naming the Prime Minister and External Affair Chief explicitly (Fairclough 2003: 145). *India* is also represented by its Prime Minister. Regarding the predication strategy, the first paragraph only deals with one social actor, namely the Canadians. The predicates *close contact*, *franc talk*, *strove to explain* used in the active voice are mostly mentioned in connection with Asians, indicating their effort and willingness to connect with the Asians, and therefore painting a more positive picture of themselves.

The second paragraph does not introduce more social actors. However, there are characteristics attributed to the Asians as social actors. The Prime Minister of India *argued* (2x) for a softer policy, whereas Canada's and North America's representatives *bluntly opposed it* and *warned*, indicating the lack of consensus. Therefore, the Asians are labelled as the out-group and framed more negatively as Baker et al. (2008: 294) state.

Furthermore, the expression of the author: *seemed almost out of character* (see paragraph 2 in App. IV.I) might suggest that the Canadians usually handle negotiations differently.

Additionally, this finding supports the indication made above, suggesting that *North America's* opinion is represented in the article as well.

Overall, these findings seem to be connected to what has been discussed in subchapter 5.3. Words like *neutralist Asians* and discourse about the communist bloc was mentioned but since the predications mentioned in the micro-analysis do not occur in the CACDA case study, it is difficult to draw a conclusion about how this specific article is linked to the entire corpus.

In summary, on the one hand, the macro-analysis indicates that the body of the article seems to be descriptive, argumentative and explanatory; on the other hand, the micro-analysis revealed how the social actors have a disagreement regarding a political matter. By using strong predicates such as *warned* and *is bluntly opposed to* plus the Canadians being preferred to be directly quoted, it is suggested that the *Time* magazine represents the Canadians and therefore label *North America* as an in-group social actor of the discourse.

5.5.2 Analysis of the Article of 1972

The main topics of the second article of the year 1972 "UGANDA: The Unwanted" are the following:

- Uganda's President's decree to expel Asians holding a British passport from Uganda within 90 days;
- the President's reasons for expelling and threatening Asians with negative consequences;
- Asians are depicted as the "economic saboteurs" of Uganda, but also as having a better education and more enterprises;
- background information about why Asians are in Uganda;
- reference to past differences between the East African Blacks and the Asians;
- Britain's concern about the quota system[4] and not wanting to support the expelled Asians;
- Uganda's President's slight pull back after talks with the British representatives;
- Asians misery of not being accepted anywhere even though they hold a British passport;
- Uganda's President's confidence to rule the country without help of both the Asians and the British.

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[4] quota of how many immigrants are allowed to get accepted in a country (OECD 2006: 113).

Concerning the content, the first article from 1956 "CANADA: East Meets West" does not stand in relation to what has been discussed in this article. Therefore, there is no intertextuality or interrelation, as described by Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 28). In the first article, the Asians were represented as members of an organization and were treated as equals of other social actors. In this article, the topics are mainly focused on the relation between Uganda and the British, in which the Asians are the theme of conversation. Nevertheless, due to a high frequency of occurrence of the node *Asians* and other collocates, such as *expelled* and *Ugandan*, this article made an impact in the CACDA case study. These findings suggest that overall, the *Time* magazine is interested in reporting what is happening in the world and might be interested in monitoring the events especially concerning the ex-colonial states in Africa and Asia.

A similarity to the previous article, however, is the function of the article that is descriptive, argumentative and explanatory, as described by Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 45). The article describes and explains the situation of the three participants in the discourse: The British government (indirectly), the President of Uganda and the Asians. There is also an argumentative characteristic in the article, since the decision made by Uganda's President is called into question by the author, as witnessed by the following expression: *Amin's rather wild-eyed proclamation* (see paragraph 3 in App. IV.II). Moreover, I categorize this article's function "within the field of the formation of public attitudes, opinion and will" (Reisigl and Wodak 2016: 44).

The macro-structure of the article differs only in the size and number of paragraphs compared to the first article:

- bipartite three-word title *UGANDA: The Unwanted* and *UGANDA* and date of publication;
- no identification of the author;
- the article consists of 27 sentences, 6 paragraphs and is published in the "World" section.

Moreover, the total number of quotations also differs. There are five direct quotations of the President Idi Amin (Uganda), two direct quotations of British representatives, four instances of reported speech by President Idi Amin and one by the Brussels police.

These findings show how none of these quotations were from Asian people's point of view, therefore supporting the idea of how Asians were the topic of the conversation between Uganda and the British. It was not possible to differentiate the use of direct quotations and reported speech by President Amin, since the direct quotations were used to emphasize his decree and

the consequences if the Asians failed to follow the order and then also his standpoint towards the British. Reported speech was used to explain what the decree was about. The two direct quotations by the British representatives might have been used to point out how the British are involved directly in the discourse and therefore depict their standpoint. The reported speech used to show Brussels police's standpoint might have been used to represent the view of Europe in general and therefore imply how unwanted the Asians really are. Overall, as mentioned already in the macro-analysis of the first article, the use of reported speech and direct quotation is evident in newspapers, and therefore also in the *Time* magazine.

The micro analysis will focus on all 6 paragraphs together to ensure an overall picture of the article and because the social actors are mentioned throughout. Regarding the nomination strategy, there are five different social actors: Uganda's *President General Idi 'Big Daddy' Amin*, the *Asians*, the *British*, the *Europeans* and the *Africans*. In the article, Uganda's President's name is firstly introduced in its full form, including his title as well as his nickname. The nickname *Big Daddy* in quotation marks might be linked to a possible recognition factor and might therefore indicate how the *Time* magazine had or may keep up with the evolving story. In the rest of the article, after introducing this social actor, only his last name is used. The Asians are referred to as Asians or Asians holding a British Passport, or Indian. The *British* are represented by the Foreign Secretary Sir Alec Douglas-Home and M.P. Ronald Bell, and therefore are personified. In the case of the *Europeans*, the Brussels police is mentioned as representative. Lastly, the *Africans* are also further specified as the *Blacks* of East Africa. It can be assumed that this refers generally to the Ugandan Blacks even though the Kenyans are mentioned as well.

Following the predication strategy, the characterizations of the social actors will give some more insights into the discourse. Some of the predications that the Ugandan President uses towards the *Asians* are *decreed, warned, declared, must quit* and *charged*, which are used in the active voice and therefore imply a threat and having more power than the Asians (Reisigl and Wodak 2016: 26). Furthermore, the predicates to describe communication with the *British* are the following: *explained, softened* and *declared*, implying a reduced level of power (Reisigl and Wodak 2016: 26).

Furthermore, the metaphors *be sitting in the fire* and *they only milked the cow; they did not feed it* (see paragraph 2 in App. IV.II) are also reproachful and threatening towards the Asians. The adjectives *mercurial, draconian* and *wide-eyed* used to describe the President, in addition to the other characterizations, imply how the article draws a more negative picture of the President. Overall, Asians are the out-group of the discourse no matter what context is

considered. In Uganda, Asians are not welcomed, and therefore they are the out-group and the British do welcome them even though they hold the British passport.

Predications used to characterize Asians vary from positive to negative. On the one hand, Asians are depicted as well- or even better educated and having more enterprises than the Africans. On the other hand, they are also accused of being *saboteurs* and *encouraging corruption*, or associated with predicates such as *sent back*, *must quit* and *driven out* indicating that within Uganda they are the minority dominating the economy and therefore limiting the possibilities for other Ugandans. From an outside point of view, however, Asians are the victims of exclusion. These findings support the theory of Asians being the out-group in the *TIME Magazine Corpus*. It is difficult to determine if the Asians are depicted negatively or positively in the discourse because they are represented as the victims and also as the aggressors.

Furthermore, the *British* are labelled as the in-group in this article, since they *imposed* a *quota system* and *prodding* the President of Uganda. Additionally, the noun *threat* underlines furthermore how Uganda is still financially dependent on the British, as witnessed by this expression: *withdraw its economic aid —$10 million a year* (see paragraph 6 in App. IV.II).

Europeans and *Africans* (*Blacks*) are represented as out-group as well, since in the case of the *Blacks* they are agreeing with their President (i.e. *resent* the Asians) and if the *Europeans* are opposed to taking in the *expelled Asians*. This is illustrated by the direct quote of the M.P. Ronald Bell, saying that *"these so-called British Asiatics are no more and no less British than any Indian in the bazaars of Bombay."* (see paragraph 4 in App. IV.II), whereas the statement by the foreign secretary is appealing to Britain's *special obligation* towards the Asians holding a British passport. The article is written from an outside perspective, nevertheless it seems as if the author judges the decision of the Ugandan President and therefore takes a similar standpoint as the British, as the use of adjectives *mercurial*, *draconian*, *wide-eyed* show.

To summarize, in the article it was clear that the focus is on the events in Uganda. Furthermore, the article seems to be similar to the first in the sense that it is descriptive, explanatory, and argumentative and it also includes viewpoints of almost all the social actors mentioned in the article, except the one of the Asians. The article also shows how the President Idi Amin is the main actor and therefore is monitored by the British, whereas the Asians on the other hand are the victims in the discourse. Additionally, this article was also featured in the CACDA part due to high frequency of occurrence of the node Asians.

5.5.3 Analysis of the Article of 1993

The third and last article "The Perils of Success" written by James Walsh in 1993 provides information about the following topics:

–   American promise (introduction of *Took Took Thongthiraj*, an Asian American);

–   demographic background and history of Asian Americans;

–   stereotypical representation of Asians Americans in the media as well-educated;

–   success stories as well as Asians misfortune;

–   racism as a reason for no social but economic integration of the Asians in America;

–   university organisations which support students with different ethnic backgrounds;

–   the development of the acceptance of Asian Americans in the political field;

–   resentment and jealousy of other ethnicities towards Asians;

–   Asians education (especially focused on higher level education);

–   disadvantages of Asians in the job market;

–   efforts to create a new Asian identity within the American society.

The topics enumerated above are related to the articles investigated previously in this thesis only to some extent. This article, in contrast to the others, focuses on Asian Americans and their ambition to build a new identity within the U.S., whereas in the two articles *"UGANDA: The Unwanted"* in 1972 and *"CANADA: East Meets West"* in 1956, Asians were not the main focus. There is no difference, however, in the categorization of this article as descriptive, explanatory and argumentative as a way of describing the macro-structure of the text (Reisigl and Wodak 2016: 45). In addition, the intertextuality is ensured to some extent, since the article deals with topics such as immigration history and discrepancies with other ethnic groups on a general level (Blacks, Latinos, immigration laws). These themes are also present in the previous article "UGANDA: The Unwanted".

The article describes different Asian Americans' situations, providing explanations with the help of direct quotations and arguments on how certain situations are a product of historic events.

Furthermore, I am locating the function of this article "within the field of the formation of public attitudes, opinion and will" (Reisigl and Wodak 2016: 44). The reason being that by proving explanations, viewpoints and arguments, the reader can draw conclusions from what they read.

The macro-structure of the article is listed below:

- title *The Perils of Success* and subheading *Asians have become exemplary immigrants, but at a price*;

- identification of the author by his full name and date of publication;

- consists of 59 sentences and is segmented into 18 paragraphs.

Furthermore, the article counts several instances of reported speech and direct quotations which will be discussed in more detail in the micro-analysis part due to the high number of social actors.

There are three instances where direct quotations are introduced by starting with the predicate *Says*. This might indicate that the following direct quotations have more weight or alternatively that the author wants to distance himself or herself from the content. However, this word order is known to be part of the *Time* magazine style (Sumner 2010: 62). Therefore, the word order might not have any impact.

In order to draw more elaborate conclusions, the micro-analysis is conducted: in contrast to the articles analysed previously, the title *The Perils of Success* suggests that *Asians have become exemplary immigrants, but at a price*. This already paints the picture of the entire article, whereas the other titles indicated the location where the news took place.

Regarding the nomination and the referential strategies, there are overall five social actors to distinguish, if considered on a general level: the *Asians*, including the *young Asian Americans*, the *Jews*, the *Blacks*, the *Latinos* and the *white Americans*. What is evident in this article, however, is the detailed personification of Asians. In order to provide an overview, I will enumerate the 24 Asian social actors grouped on the basis of their background information and profession provided by the article. Furthermore, the number of direct quotations and reported speech instances are indicated as well.

Table 19. Compilation of the social actors of the article "The Perils of Success" from 1993.

Group	Social actors	Profession	Ethnicity	Directly quoted	Indirectly quoted
Success Stories	*Yo-Yo Ma*	Cellist	NI		
	Midori	Violinist	NI		
	Amy Tan	Writer	NI		
	Maxine Hong Kingston	Writer	NI		
	Sonny Mehta	Editor	NI		
	Wayne Wang	Filmmaker	NI		
	Chang- Lin Tien	Chancellor	Chinese	2x	
	Paul Terasaki	Professor	NI		

	Connie Chung	Newsreader	NI		
Social group depicted as *impoverished*	*Vietnamese refugees*	NI	Vietnamese		
University Background:	*Took Took Thongthiraj*	Student	Thai	4x	
	Douglas Kwon	Graduate	Korean	1x	
	Elaine Kim	Professor	NI	1x	
	Paul Ong	Professor and author	NI		1x
	Stephen Chen	Liberal Arts Major	NI	1x	
	Vinod Khosla	Engineer	Indian	1x	
Politicians:	*Michael Woo*	Politician	NI		
	Robert Matsui Sacramento	U.S. Congress Member	NI		
	Norman Mineta San Jose	U.S. Congress Member	NI		
	Jay Kim Diamond Bar	U.S. Congress Member	NI		
Member, director or President of Asian American organisations:	*Grace Yun*	Director	NI	2x	
	Peter Son	Member	Korean	1x	1x
	J.D. Hokoyama	President	NI	1x	
	Nghia Tran	President	Vietnamese	1x	
Total				**14**	**2**

As Table 19 illustrates, *Took Took Thongthiraj*, categorized into the university background group, is directly quoted four times in the article. Regarding predication strategies, she *radiates, declares, is helping, hopes* and *acknowledges*. Besides being the first Asian American person introduced at the beginning of the article, she is also depicted as the *American promise*, drawing a positive picture of Asian Americans and therefore Asians.

Furthermore, a director of an Asian American organization, *Grace Yun*, is directly quoted twice in the context of the presence of a skewed depiction of Asian Americans in the U.S. On the one hand, the Vietnamese-Americans are *impoverished*; on the other hand, there are *computers being advertised by little Asian geniuses* (see paragraph 4 in App. IV.II). This finding is further underlined with the argument provided by the author of the article, indicating that due

to unfair treatment of the Asians regarding immigration and citizenship, they were *encouraged* to move forward economically rather than socially.

In paragraph 5 (see App. IV.II), the metaphor *the nail that sticks out gets hammered down*, as mentioned in the article, illustrates the struggle for integration, which also refers to the article "UGANDA: The Unwanted" analysed previously, indicating how the Asians were not accepted (Lowe 1996: 7).

Within the Asian social actors, the only social group that was depicted in a rather negative light were Vietnamese refugees. They were associated with predicates like *impoverished*, *are crammed* and *getting involved in gangs* (paragraph 15 in App. IV.II), showing the drastic difference existing with the Asian Americans who were depicted as *all the children are above average* (paragraph 2 in App. IV.II). This finding might be an indication of how the Vietnam war created this situation (Lowe 1996: 5).

When the group *success stories* is analysed, it is apparent how they are listed to provide examples of great achievements among Asians Americans, again labelling success as a positive trade. Only one of the social actors, *Chang-Lin Tien,* was quoted directly (see paragraph 18 in App. IV.II), regarding how any success will not overcome or protect one from offensive comments, keeping them from forming a different identity. On the same note, *Douglas Kwon concludes* how *"everyone is racist; everyone carries certain stereotypes around with them"* (see paragraph 10 in App. IV.II), underlining the issue of racism again.

This article provides a summary of the history of Asian immigrants. The author claims that they are now trying to create a new identity of their own. Therefore, this article stands out from the two articles analysed previously where Asians are generally depicted in a negative light.

Asians are compared to the Jews in a positive manner, because of traits like *hard work* and *emphases on education*. As a contrast, the Blacks and Latinos are mentioned in the context of how there are discrepancies between other ethnic groups, illuminating the Blacks and Latinos in a more negative light. Nevertheless, the reported speech used to describe the *intellectual* Blacks' argument (paragraph 13 in App. IV.II) in favour of Asian Americans points out how the representation of the Blacks gets mitigated.

The politicians mentioned in the article are slowly starting to gain support and this leads the author of the article to claim that identity is evolving using the following metaphor: *Like a slowly developing photo* (paragraph 12 in App. IV.II), again mentioning how this was not the case in the past. There are in total 14 direct quotes, and according to Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 45), this might be an indication of how this "serves to legitimize the content of the text by scientific authority", i.e. the Asian social actors.

In the article, there is a notion of differentiating the Asian Americans from the Asian immigrants. The Asian American are characterized as *well educated*, *successful* and *young*, whereas the Asians immigrants (the *Vietnamese refugees*) are depicted as *impoverished* and related to gang crime. This strong distinction is symptomatic of the identity construction of the Asian Americans as they no longer see themselves as foreigners. Therefore, the Asian immigrants are considered as an out-group.

In addition, the social actors *white Americans*, *Blacks* and *Latinos* are even more strongly depicted as the out-group. They are implicitly held responsible for the situation of the Asian immigrants as there is a lack of resources to help them. This is illustrated as follows in example (3):

> (3) Says Nghia Tran, 30, executive director of the Vietnamese Community of Orange County: "As refugees, this population represents a special set of needs, and sometimes they are not met. This is where we get our delinquency problems, with Vietnamese youths getting involved in gangs." (see paragraph 15 in App. IV.II).

6. Discussion

In this chapter, the overall research question: '*What are the methodological advantages and disadvantages of CACDA and CDA?*' will be discussed and elaborated. In order to do so, the results and analyses of the case studies in subchapter 5.2 and 5.5 will be compared to what has been introduced in the previous studies in chapter 3. In the first two subsections, the focus will be on general disadvantages and advantages of the CACDA and CDA method used in the case studies. In subsections 6.3 and 6.4, specific disadvantages and advantages are discussed compared to the previous studies. In subsection 6.5, more general observations concerning both approaches are presented.

6.1 Based on the CACDA Case Study

As the results of the case study using corpus linguistic methods showed, there are a number of factors to take into consideration. The CACDA is a quantitative approach that uses a large amount of data, compared to the CDA, where the focus is more on down-sampled data of the corpus (Baker and Levon 2015: 221). Researchers such as Baker and Levon (2015: 230) explained how working with large corpora is beneficial if the aim is to conduct research which are as objective as possible. The same holds true if the "underlying regularities have a better chance of showing through the superficial variations" as Sinclair (2004: 189) explained. Sinclair (2004: 189) referred to how the analysis of linguistic patterns with the help of large

corpus might display those more clearly. Even though in the case study of the *TIME Magazine Corpus* (100 million words) a large corpus was chosen, the sub-corpus built to conduct the analysis, however, proved to be smaller (178,500 words), and therefore might have had an impact on displaying the linguistic patterns. More precisely, the collocates formed with the node provided some insights into how Asians were represented linguistically in the *Time* magazine. Nevertheless, some collocates with a high MI score but a low frequency of occurrence did not provide enough evidence to then make a statement about the linguistic representation (see Table 9).

Furthermore, there is no indication in previous studies about what corpus size is suitable for a CACDA; therefore, the corpus size of this case study could not be judged as too small from the beginning. Although the corpus was labelled as small in subchapter 4.1, before conducting the case study the results produced by using the corpus revealed how the size of the corpus has an influence. In a small corpus, the chances of finding recurring linguistic patterns are smaller and even if the patterns occur a certain amount of times, there is no indication of significance as the number will still be small. On the basis of these considerations there is a need for further research on corpus size requirements and topic dependency.

As concerns the DHA chosen for the CACDA, the advantages reflect how it was possible to use the *TIME Magazine Corpus* interface to calculate the collocates with the help of POS tags. Thus, the detection of the linguistic devices for some discourse strategies described by Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 33) was achievable. On the same note, however, one can argue how the corpus-assisted method is not able to analyse every single discourse strategy posited by Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 33). For instance, the disclosure of metaphors is difficult with corpus linguistic methods and given the *TIME Magazine Corpus*, it was even more difficult since the query was restricted to a single word. Deignan (2005: 41) suggested establishing specific lexical items using intuition, dictionaries and collocational information after concordance analysis. Nevertheless, to use intuition and dictionaries plays into the argument by Baker and Levon (2015: 222, "cherry picking") how the analysis then turns out to be less objective and not general enough, since there is a chance of picking the term subjectively.

Furthermore, another disadvantage found during the CACDA was the diachronic analysis of the data. Despite being able to display linguistic devices to analyse discursive strategies in a diachronic order and make some connections (*neutralist*, *Ugandan* etc.), it was not possible to see a diachronic change overall. This might be due to the smaller size of the corpus as well, as discussed above.

In addition, the case study backs the suggestion to make use of the principle of triangulation (see Egbert and Baker 2016: 202-203; Reisigl and Wodak 2016: 26; Senkbeil 2011: 36), which consists in using multiple methodologies and/or datasets to tackle the research questions. The triangulation of the methods was evident in the CACDA case study when the collocates were further investigated using concordance lines (see subchapter 5.3.1, Table 7) to label the social actors more negatively or positively. In the process of performing the concordance analysis, however, the size of the corpus seems to be again the reason for the lack of suitable numbers of analysable data. In Table 1, for instance, the MI scores are again high, but there are only three occurrences and therefore it is not possible to draw conclusions after analysing the two concordance lines and label the social actor Asians positively or negatively on a linguistic level.

Another point of discussion was the collocation analysis, specifically, the consequences of the word span length chosen to determine the results. For the CACDA case study, the decision was made to use the word span length of 1:1 and 4:4, the reason being that the bigram (1:1) analysis can help pointing out sentiment expressions, which in turn can help labelling the representation of Asians as positive or negative (Pak and Paroubek 2010: 1325). Moreover, the bigram analysis enables the researcher to perform the analysis faster than compared to the more qualitative concordance analysis. The 4:4-word span length is chosen because 4:4 is the common length used to analyse collocations (Stubbs 2001: 29). As the results of the CACDA study showed, both the bigram and the 4:4-word span length provided some insights into how Asians were represented between the 1950s and 1990s, and the results of the bigram analyses overlapped with the ones produced with a wider word span length (see Table 9) *fight* and *think*. When the correlation of the corpus size with the collocational window is looked at, McEnery et al. (2006: 56) claimed that in general the corpus size is crucial when it comes to determining how convincing the collocation is. However, the MI score is described as not being as reliant on the size of the corpus as other algorithms which measure the certainty of collocations. Therefore, collocations with a high MI score might include terms with lower frequency. As discussed above, in the CACDA case study, collocations with a high MI score and low frequency of occurrence occurred, hence a different corpus size might have produced a different outcome.

6.2 Based on the CDA Case Study

Moving to the discussion regarding the CDA method used in the case study: Compared to the CACDA study which was more quantitative, the CDA method is described to be more qualitative (Senkbeil 2011: 32). The aim of conducting the CDA case study was to disclose

advantages and disadvantages of the method and how well the method works on the available data. If the results of the CDA case study are inspected, the main advantage appears to be the possibility to conduct the study as in-depth as possible. This is ensured by the down-sampling of the corpus to only three articles and then performing the analysis on a smaller dataset, so as to be able to analyse the context within a full article. This stands in contrast to the quantitative approach used in the CACDA. Concordance analysis, as Stubbs (2001: 9-10) argued, is helpful when it comes to providing a wider context around a collocation. Nevertheless, there is still a chance that not having the full article lead to overseeing implied contexts.

Furthermore, if the DHA is taken into consideration, one of the advantages is the labelling of social actors as in-group or out-group by using several linguistic devices which were described by Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 33). In addition, a general benefit of the DHA is its adjustability to the research questions at hand (Reisigl and Wodak 2016: 34). The method can be modified to fit the researcher's focus. In other words, only relevant strategies need to be applied and redundant or unrelated considerations can be minimized.

This points to the first disadvantage of DHA within CDA in general: subjectivity. Baker and Levon (2015: 232) elaborate on this topic, arguing that in comparison to the corpus-assisted method, CDA, the more qualitative method, might become more susceptible to subjective decisions or analysis, since the identification of the patterns rely more on the researcher's own perspective and therefore are more at risk to analyse less objectively. In the CDA case study, this might have been the case when, for example, the decision was made to only summarize the findings rather than answering the five discursive strategy questions provided by Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 33). Regarding both the CDA and CACDA methods, Baker and Levon (2015: 232) argue that there is a potential risk of the analyst only including results based on their personal interests to avoid the "so-what?"-findings often produced by CACDA and CDA. To minimize researcher bias, precautionary measures were taken, such as down-sampling the corpus based on frequency patterns and sorting the MI scores of the collocates in a descending order.

Furthermore, the strategies described by Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 33) are not always suitable for written texts, as there are rarely linguistic devices like hesitations or tag questions (Fox 2007: 314). These devices might be more suitable if spoken data is under investigation.

Similar to what has been discussed on the topic of corpus size, the amount of texts analysed for the CDA case study also impacts the analysis overall. The main drawback of a smaller set of articles for the analysis is the difficulty to generalize occurring linguistic patterns (Baker and Levon 2015: 233). In the CDA case study, this drawback applied in the sense that despite

finding the silver lining of the representation of Asians in the *Time* magazine, the articles were picked based on the frequency of occurrence of the node and therefore, by chance might have produced a different output if another article occurred with the same or a higher frequency of occurrence of the term Asians. In the historical context, the ex-colonial states (India) and Africa, for example, are being the *neutralist* states in the talks about what the next steps are in cold war (Lowe 1996: 102). The second article "UGANDA: The Unwanted" in 1972 display the Asians as the victims of expulsion by the President of Uganda Idi Amin. Asians experiencing expulsion were described by Lowe (1996: 7) in the historical context subchapter 5.1.1. The last article entitled "The Perils of Success" in 1993, however, stood out from the other two articles since it refers to the past obstacles of Asian representation, but it focused more on the identity building of the new generations which are the Asians' children, the so called *Asian Americans*. Asians still face racism and disadvantages in the U.S. but they are anyway determined to fight against it. This is evident in the representation of Asians in this article as more confident and hopeful. Therefore, the concept given in the DHA shows how intertextuality and also interdiscursivity is given: intertextuality, where the overall topic seems to be the same in the past and the present (Reisigl and Wodak 2016: 28), interdiscursivity as the main discourse and its connections to other related discourses is witnessed in these three articles through de- and recontextualisation. On this note, the down-sampling of the corpus based on frequency of occurrence plays in favour of the thesis, since it reveals these findings, whereas the corpus assisted analysis only scratches the surface of the context and therefore confirm the advantages of the methods triangulation, as suggested by Egbert and Baker (2016: 201-202). In this context, it is also important to remark that the methods are used in a complementary fashion rather than as a blend of methods (Dressman and McCarthey 2011: 461).

6.3 Comparison of the CDA Case Study to the Previous Studies

In order to compare and investigate the previous studies (see chapter 3) to the case studies, a recapitulation of the most important points of each previous study is provided.

Bishop and Jaworski's (2003: 244) aim was to provide further information on how nationalism is depicted in the British press, taking into analysis an international sports event (football). The approaches chosen to do the analysis are social semiotic, social-cognitive and discourse historical, and the strategies are therefore formulated: separation, conflict and typification. Separation in this context is mostly surfaced through the use of the rhetoric *us* and *them*, therefore supporting the labels in- and outgroup (Mautner 2009: 134). Conflict is represented through military metaphors and typification at last is represented by depicting the

nation superior to the people who do not agree with the nation's point of view (Bishop and Jaworski 2003: 267). There was no explicit indication of how many articles were used for the analysis other than the indication that 12 different British newspapers between 10 June and 2 July 2000 were at hand, only mentioning how the articles (written texts) as well as the visual components and the opinion section were part of the analysis. Compared to the CDA case study of this thesis, the similarities concerning the method are the use of different versions of CDA approaches (triangulation), and the use of devices to analyse strategies depending on the topic to be investigated. Differences are that, for instance, most headlines were analysed when the opinion section was also included (Bishop and Jaworski 2003: 260). Moreover, only the advantages of the methodology are mentioned, whereas probable bias or drawbacks regarding method are not discussed. This supports the pre-theoretical observation of how CDA, and therefore more qualitative analysis, lack of objectivity and introspection. Despite being informative regarding the topic, qualitative studies are under the risk of providing information obvious to the readers with general knowledge about the topic ("so-what?" problem, see Baker and Levon 2016: 232).

Moving on to the second CDA publication described in the previous studies chapter 3, where Bradimore and Bauder (2011: 637) analysed the news discourse about Tamil refugees arriving in Canada, using again more than one version of CDA, such as the analysis of metaphorical concepts, repetitive patterns, or pronoun use. In total, 32 articles were analysed using the text databank called *LexisNexis* and *ProQuest* to collect the data. In a first step, the headlines were investigated and in a second step the article itself was analysed by manually checking themes about whether the refugees' voices are heard and how the event itself was "positioned and framed" (Bradimore and Bauder 2011: 645-646). On one hand, the differences to the CDA case study are the number of articles analysed, the analysis of the headlines as a separate part of the analysis and the use of databank tools. On the other hand, similarities are the use of triangulation and both include a frequency analysis to detect terms to perform the analysis. Similar to Bishop and Jaworski (2003), the authors only mentioned that several methods were used to conduct their study, but there is no critical reflection on the method and how the bias could affect the analysis.

Mensing (2016) conducted a CDA on how the concept of the other is used in German newspaper by taking a closer look at the effect of the European Refugee Crisis. She also used the DHA (Reisigl and Wodak 2016: 33) and divided the discursive strategies into content, discursive terms and linguistic terms' instead of answering five questions. Furthermore, 150 articles headlines were analysed from November 2015 to March 2016, since there were

important events regarding the Refugee Crisis. Different from the other two publications, there are remarks of limitations of the methods, such as not being able to fully cover the historical and contextual aspects of the topic. Nevertheless, the study contributes to "the understanding of logics implied in the media when it comes to the depiction of migrants as an out-group" (Mensing 2016: 11). Furthermore, the author states that the study is only focusing on the production of the discourse. The differences of this paper to the case study are again the number of articles analysed, the way the data was collected and the analysis of the headlines instead of the entire article.

Pasha's (2011: iii) research revolved around the representation of Muslim Brotherhood in the Egyptian newspapers. Therefore, two approaches of conducting CDA were applied: the first one being the Idealized Reader (IR) framework (O'Halloran 2003), where the headlines and front pages are skimmed by answering five questions, which serve as a support to approach the articles in an objective manner (Pasha 2011: 16). In a second part, a more detailed linguistic analysis is performed by checking transitivity, sourcing, lexical choice and presupposition. Through this analysis, the results showed how the Muslim Brotherhood is represented in the context of othering and also in connection with violence and chaos. This publication is different from the other previous studies and also from the CDA case study because of the use of an additional framework (IR). Based on this, he analysed 28 headlines and 71 front pages in the years 2000 and 2005. Similarities are the clear methods triangulation and analysis and results concerning othering. In this paper, the possible methodological disadvantages are mentioned and attempted to be avoided by using the IR framework (Pasha 2011: 16). He acknowledged how CDA is in general more subjective and interpretative (Pasha 2011: 42). Only analysing headlines might lead to separation from the wider context (Pasha 2011: 43). In order to prevent subjectivity or possible lack of context references, Pasha (2011: 46) discussed the importance of contributing historical or social background information prior to the CDA, which then can be used to reference back to what the results of the analysis showed. Furthermore, it is also important to be cautious about possible researchers' bias and the possibilities of multiple interpretations. This awareness of the bias and the different outcomes make this publication more objective than the first two research papers of Bishop and Jaworski (2003) and Bradimore and Bauder (2011).

In conclusion, if the challenges are discussed in the previous studies, they are similar. The challenges they discuss are of general concern and not the result of methodological alterations.

6.4 Comparison of the CACDA Case Study to the Previous Studies

Out of the CACDA studies mentioned in the previous studies, Baker et al.'s (2008) publication focused exactly on the benefits and drawbacks of the qualitative and quantitative methods regarding CDA. They elaborate on different discussion points regarding the concerns when combining corpus linguistic methods with the traditional CDA, especially indicating that if there is a combination at hand, the balance was not ensured. With balance, Baker et al. (2008: 275) meant that typically corpus-based approaches tend to only scratch the CDA theory even though they are conducting CDA (e.g. Krishnamurthy 1996). In the other case, when the goal is to provide insights with the help of CDA, corpus linguistics may not be able to identify the patterns needed to perform the analysis, for instance, because of the corpus size (see subchapter 4.1). The use of collocation and concordance analyses with the help of DHA provided by Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 33) is similar to what has been done in the case study conducted in subchapter 5.2. Possibly the most striking difference between the case study and Baker et al.'s (2008) method was the size of the corpus, since Baker et al. (2008: 276) used a corpus of 140 million words, whereas in the case study, the Asians corpus consisted of only 178,500 words. Another issue to be tackled, according to Baker et al. (2008: 297), is the overlap of the findings of the corpus linguistic approach and the CDA.

After discussing several publications, it is more probable that the overlap of the findings is inevitable and further supports the methods triangulation approach, which is quite evident when it comes to CACDA. Furthermore, the tools used were different as well: *WordSmith* tool (Scott 2008) was used to calculate the collocates and display the concordance, which uses a log-likelihood algorithm in contrast to the *TIME Magazine Corpus* interface which uses a mutual information algorithm. The MI score indicates the strength of a collocation and is independent from the size of the corpus whereas the log-likelihood algorithm is described as unreliable when it comes to low frequency words (McEnery 2006: 56).

Partington et al. (2013: 283) focused on researching the diachronic change of the representation of anti-Semitism and the role of boy and girl in the British press. The method used to perform the analysis was collocation, concordance and keyword analysis using *WordSmith* (Scott 2008) for the anti-Semitism topic and additional n-gram and cluster analysis (*Sketch Difference* by Kilgarriff et al. (2014)) to analyse the similarities and differences of *boy* and *girl* in the press. The corpus called *SiBol* contains 650 million words of 14 different newspapers from 1993 till 2013. Only three time periods were analysed for this study: 1993, 2005 and 2010, collected using *LexisNexis* with the terms *anti-Semit** and *antisemit*, but there is no exact number of words mentioned. Partington et al. (2013: 300) found out through

frequency based keyword analysis in what context Jewish people were talked about and how it correlated with the events happening in specific time periods. For instance, in the past anti-Semitic topics only occurred in historic aspects, whereas in the 2000s the topic is back again in the British press. In the case of *boy* and *girl* representation in the UK press, the results showed how girls are represented in a more sexualised manner than boys and are also more often occurring as being the object of an action. This publication is different in the sense of how the keyword list is the main focus of the study and drives the analysis overall. The concordance analysis is context-related and mostly provides information which is then related to historical or social background information. As discussed above, the use of keywords and frequency of occurrences as quantitative approaches ensure the objectivity, but here the problem of subjectivity still has to be considered, since the researchers might still include or withhold information or results if they do not seem relevant to the discourse, according to them. Furthermore, there is no discussion about the advantages or problems using the keyword methods, indicating that their approach is empirical and objective enough.

Senkbeil (2011) focuses on the Ideology in American sports and he analyses the representation of the sports American Football and Baseball in the U.S. Press. Different from all the studies discussed before, some hypotheses in this publication were based on secondary literature dealing with socio-cultural topics concerning sports in America in general. Senkbeil (2011: 31) furthermore addresses how it is of importance to avoid political and ideological prejudice when dealing with CDA. He argues, however, that by implementing CACDA, "the degree of empiricism and objectivity" of the discourse analysis is ensured (Senkbeil 2011: 33). On the same note, he states how even if it is not possible to be fully objective when it comes to perform CACDA or CDA, the self-awareness and checking the used method throughout the analysis is a key to keep the bias of the researcher as small as possible. Senkbeil (2011: 272) also underlined the fact that the keyword lists produced with the help of *WordSmith* (Scott 2008) and further analysis of the collocations indicated a lot of concordance lines, but there was no way to avoid looking at the broader context, supporting the triangulation of methodologies discussed throughout the entire thesis. The analysis was done on a corpus which contained over three million words from three different U.S. newspapers and Internet publications from 2002 until 2007, containing the terms *baseball* and *football*. The differences of this publication to the case study are the different sizes of the corpora and also the CDA version, since Senkbeil (2011: 267) dealt more in detail with socio-cultural aspects rather than with the historical ones. Nevertheless, the collocation analysis and then the broader context analysis using the

concordance lines (Senkbeil 2011: 48) are very similar to what has been done for the CACDA case study.

Lastly, Samaie and Malmir's (2017: 1) analysis of the portrayal of Islam and Muslim in U.S. news media will be discussed, since this publication served as an inspiration for the CACDA case study as well. This study used DHA as described by Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 33), looking at frequency, keyword, collocation and concordance analysis to tackle the research question of how Islam and Muslims are represented. The corpus consisted of 670,000 words from three different U.S. newspapers from 2001 until 2015, making sure to have the keywords *Muslim*, *Muslims*, *Islam* or *Islamic* in the headlines. The results show that there is a negative representation when it comes to represent religious minorities in society in general and how they are depicted as the out-group (Samaie and Malmir 2017: 13). Even if Reisigl and Wodak described five strategies (2016: 33), they only focused on two of them in their study. This occurrence supports the adjustability of the CDA/CACDA method and it also shows how subjectivity occurs, due to the decision made by the researchers to only answer two of the five strategy questions. In the thesis, the CACDA case study was only focusing on the same two strategies as well, due to scope of the paper and its purpose being the illustration of possible findings. Furthermore, another difference to the case study is the occurrence of the keywords in the headlines, whereas in the case study only the occurrence of the node in the entire article was required since otherwise the size of the corpus would have been rather small. Moreover, Samaie and Malmir (2017) did not provide information about any disadvantages or problems regarding the methods used to perform the analysis, further supporting the subjectivity problem of presenting what the researcher prefers to present rather than being aware of the weaknesses of the method (Baker 2006: 11).

Overall, the studies discussed in this section apply different versions of the same approach to critically analyse language use in the news media. Some of them only analyse parts of the text, some of them the whole article.

In the case of Partington et al. (2013) and Samaie and Malmir (2017), there was no discussion about potential bias or drawbacks of the methods, indicating that the researchers assumed that the use of the quantitative approach is sufficient to justify the results, even though historical or socio-cultural background information was provided and referred to.

6.5 Further Observations

A further issue pertaining to both approaches are the so-called "so-what?" results mentioned above (see Baker and Levon 2015). It is not entirely clear how the "so-what?" results can be

identified objectively. Behind a "so-what?" result lies a subjective judgement of merit: while one person might find a result obvious based on their knowledge of the world, another might find it baffling. Furthermore, not all seemingly obvious assumptions hold true when scrutinized, e.g. Asians are perceived as an overachieving minority, but the case study has shown that surprisingly they are depicted as victims in the discourse (see Table 3, "UGANDA: The Unwanted" and "The Perils of Success").

If the researcher knew the results beforehand, there would be no point in starting the research in the first place. This leads to the question: When is a line of inquiry worth pursuing? As long as there is no answer to this question, there will always be "so-what?" results – keeping in mind that otherwise there will not be any surprising results either.

While conducting the CACDA case study, it transpired that there might be issues for comparison of different studies due to the fact that the methodology is rather vague. There are no fixed guidelines for the process of data analysis. For instance, during the collocation analysis there are different ways to approach the data: I decided to look at the noun and verb collocations separately and then to do an overall analysis. However, it would have been equally possible to also look at all the POS separately or to just do an overall analysis. This choice might influence the results. In all of the previous studies in chapter 3, the method does not provide sufficient detail and therefore, comparing the results might not be possible. Hence, there is a high risk of researcher bias (Baker 2006: 11). Due to a lack of restrictions of the method, the researcher is forced to make a choice: it is likely that the researcher will unconsciously pick options which might align with their preconceptions.

In addition, most research is restricted in terms of time and scope. Using two approaches requires more time and discussion space (Egbert and Baker 2016: 204). Therefore, this method triangulation might not always be the best option or even a possibility. Since the aim of this particular thesis was to compare the approaches, it was necessary to perform both analyses.

Lastly, the previous studies were selected based on their origin: the authors had to work either in North America or Europe. This might possibly cause a cultural bias regarding how social actors are conceived and can thus amplify the researcher's bias (Baker et al. 2008: 277).

7. Conclusion

This thesis aimed to give an overview on the methodological advantages and disadvantages of CDA, the qualitative approach, and the CACDA, the mostly quantitative approach. Advantages of the CACDA are especially objectivity and slightly greater sense of empiricism that come with quantitative data analysis. The disadvantages or more precisely the double-

edged sword of this approach is the adjustability of the critical discourse methods which can lead researchers to present only results picked out subjectively or, in some cases, the adjustability might lead to a lack of substance. In other words, the analysis itself can only be done superficially. The advantages of the CDA are the potential of an in-depth analysis of language use and ideologies context-based in newspaper discourse. On the other hand, however, a disadvantage of CDA is the subjectivity not only in choosing the data, but also the analysis itself, and the research bias that follows from it. Two components were needed to investigate the advantages and drawbacks of these methodologies: the analysis of previous studies concerning CDA and CACDA and the conduction of CDA and CACDA case studies answering the question of how Asians are linguistically and diachronically represented in the *Time* magazine from 1950 until 1990. Further insights have been won by comparing the case studies to what has been discussed in the previous studies regarding the advantages and disadvantages of the methods that are gathered and discussed.

The goal of contributing to a more detailed insight into the two methods was attained. There are already papers which discuss these issues. However, by doing the case study and the discussion of the previous studies in combination with the case studies added another layer of evidence. This will be beneficial for the future researcher wishing to conduct CDA or CACDA.

The collocation and concordance analyses of the CACDA case study revealed that Asians are represented as the out-group of the society and mostly occur in the historical context of the cold war during that period of time. This indicates how the *Time* magazine was reporting on Asians as being expelled or in general facing difficulties in regards of immigration policy. By conducting the CDA case study, the out-group labelling was supported by the three articles analysed. A more qualitative analysis showed how Asians were depicted as either the victims or as a social actor who was represented as an equal to another social actor in the discourse. What only came up during the CDA case study is that diachronically, Asians were depicted as the victim and out-group in a broader context, but the article of the 1990s suggests that the focus was no longer on the historical and political aspect, but on identity building. These findings further support the idea that it is possible to uncover connections of a social group to the broader context that is not apparent for everyday readers with a general knowledge of the world (e.g. Asian Americans wishing to build a new identity, see App. IV.II).

Overall, this research also strengthens the idea of methods' triangulation, considering that the use of concordance lines and analysis of broader context is needed to be able to make sense of the quantitative data received by the collocation calculations.

The discussion of the previous studies' methodology issues and advantages while taking the findings of the case studies of CDA and CACDA into account, showed that triangulation is of importance.

Despite giving a broad insight into how CDA and CACDA can be used to analyse language use, there are a few potential areas to improve which could be picked up for future projects regarding CDA and CACDA. One source of weakness in this thesis which could have affected the overall discussion of the two methodologies is the choice of previous studies which are introduced in chapter 3. The previous studies in chapter 3 are all studies that have similar topics and methodologies, but there was no clear common ground when it came to the type of publication (i.e. Bachelor thesis or research paper). Therefore, the discussion might have been different when this distinction of the publication types is taken into consideration, since it was observed that Bachelor or Ph.D. theses are more elaborate and are obliged to present complications or problems of the methods. Furthermore, the small corpus size for the CACDA case study did not lead to significant results, even hindered by further analysis of the concordances. Another weakness of this study is that the analysis of the case studies was not conducted as in-depth as it could have been, due to the risk of exceeding the scope of this thesis. Furthermore, more detailed analysis might have led to more insights into how well the methods apply to the study.

In terms of directions for future research, further work could deal with the issue of to what extent the adjustability of the CDA method is affecting the research. For instance, a bigger corpus or several corpora might be of use to uncover the limits of the adjustability. If pushed too far, the adjustability could lead to results which are not comparable anymore. However, the adjustability is one of the main advantages. Therefore, it would be a pity to limit it too rigorously.

This study was another step to make the influences of these methodologies more transparent and thereby might help to make future studies more comparable.

[26,006 words]

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Data

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Appendixes

App. I Discursive Strategies by Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 33)

Table 20. Discursive strategies discourse historical approach (DHA) by Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 33)

Strategy	Objectives	Devices
NOMINATION	discursive construction of social actors, objects/phenomena/ events and processes/ actions	• membership categorization devices, deictics, anthroponyms, etc. • tropes such as metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches (pars pro toto, totum pro parte) • verbs and nouns used to denote processes and actions, etc.
PREDICATION	discursive qualification of social actors, objects, phenomena, events/ processes and actions (more or less positively or negatively)	• stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits (e.g. in the form of adjectives, appositions, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, conjunctional clauses, infinitive clauses and participial clauses or groups) • explicit predicates or predicative nouns/adjectives/pronouns • collocations • explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures (including metonymies, hyperboles, litotes, euphemisms) • allusions, evocations, and presuppositions/implicatures, etc.
ARGUMENTATION	justification and questioning of claims of truth and normative rightness	• topoi (formal or more content-related) • fallacies
PERSPECTIVIZATION, FRAMING OR DISCOURSE REPRESENTATION	positioning speaker's or writer's point of view and expressing involvement or distance	• deictics • direct, indirect or free indirect speech • quotation marks, discourse markers/ particles • metaphors • animating prosody, etc.

INTENSIFICATION, MITIGATION	modifying (intensifying or mitigating) the illocutionary force and thus the epistemic or deontic status of utterances	• diminutives or augmentatives • (modal) particles, tag questions, subjunctive, hesitations, vague expressions, etc. • hyperboles, litotes • indirect speech acts (e.g. question instead of assertion) • verbs of saying, feeling, thinking, etc.

App. II Time Archive Details (Davies 2007)

Table 21. Distribution of texts and words in each decade of the *TIME Magazine Corpus*.

decade	# texts	# words
1920s	24,919	7,404,948
1930s	33,238	12,334,625
1940s	42,206	15,012,019
1950s	42,679	16,260,058
1960s	36,119	15,653,909
1970s	28,123	12,518,793
1980s	26,268	11,053,333
1990s	23,766	9,425,993
2000s	17,958	6,754,797
total	275,276	106,418,475

App. III Social Actors Definition (Fairclough 2003: 145-146).

● *Inclusion/exclusion*

We can distinguish two types of exclusion of social actors

a) suppression – i.e. not in the text at all
b) backgrounding – i.e. mentioned somewhere in the text, but having to be inferred in one or more places

● *Pronoun/noun*

Is the social actor realized as a pronoun ('I', 'he', 'we', 'you', etc.) or as a noun?

● *Grammatical role*

Is the social actor realized as a Participant in a clause (e.g. Actor, Affected), within a Circumstance (e.g. in a preposition phrase, for instance 'She walked towards John'), or as a Possessive noun or pronoun ('Laura's friend', 'our friend')

● *'Activated'/'passivated'*

Is the social actor the Actor in processes (loosely, the one who does things and makes things happen), or the Affected or Beneficiary (loosely, the one affected by processes)?

● *Personal/impersonal*

Social actors can be represented impersonally as well as personally – for instance referring to the police as 'the filth' is impersonalizing them.

● *Named/classified*

Social actors can be represented by name (e.g. 'Fred Smith') or in terms of class or category (e.g. 'the doctor'). If the latter, they can be referred to individually (e.g. 'the doctor') or as a group ('the doctors', 'doctors').

● *Specific/generic*

Where social actors are classified, they can be represented specifically or generically – for instance 'the doctors' may refer to a specific group of doctors (e.g. those who work in a particular hospital), or to the class of doctors in general, all doctors (e.g. 'the doctors see themselves as gods').

App. IV TIME magazine articles for CDA

App. IV.I TIME magazine article from 1956

Monday, Jul. 09, 1956
CANADA: East Meets West

CANADA
1   One of the chief advantages of Canada's membership in the British Commonwealth is the opportunity it affords for close contact and frank talk with India and other distant Commonwealth nations. That advantage was pointed up clearly last week when another Commonwealth conference opened in London. From the outset, Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent and External Affairs Chief Lester Pearson strove to explain Canada's–and North America's–diplomatic viewpoints to India's Prime Minister Nehru and other neutralist Asians.

2   The Canadians' talks with Nehru began the day before the conference opened, when the Indian leader lunched at Canada House. Nehru and St. Laurent, who correspond frequently, have had a high regard for each other ever since St. Laurent's tour of India in 1954. Their table talk ranged over such touchy subjects as disarmament, coexistence, Soviet trade, recognition of Red China. Nehru argued for closer cooperation with the Communists, while St. Laurent and Pearson bluntly opposed it. "Don't be fooled," the Canadians warned the Indians. "There's really no new look there. It's the same old look, and just as dangerous. Don't trust them an inch." At the conference sessions held in the Cabinet room at No. 10 Downing Street, Commonwealth relations with the Communist bloc were the main topic. Again the Asians argued for a softer policy, while the Canadians firmly opposed any letdown. At times the vigor of St. Laurent's and Pearson's objections seemed almost out of character, since at other conferences (particularly with U.S. diplomats) the Canadians have often argued for a more flexible policy toward Russia. But Pearson explained that the Canadians were merely seizing the opportunity to impress the

West's policy on the Asians as forcefully as possible. Said he: "These things must be said–and we Canadians are the only North Americans here to say them."

Monday, Aug. 21, 1972
UGANDA: The Unwanted

UGANDA

1   "The night before my announcement a dream came to me that the Asian problem was becoming extremely explosive, and that God was directing me to act immediately to save the situation." Thus last week Uganda's mercurial President, General Idi ("Big Daddy") Amin, explained his draconian edict: some 60,000 Asians—principally those from the Indian subcontinent who hold British passports—must quit the country within 90 days.

2   The expulsion order came as no great surprise to Uganda's Asians, long the target of Amin's criticism as he sought to win support by stirring up antagonism against them among the country's 9.4 million blacks. Now he charged that the Asians were "economic saboteurs," engaged in smuggling, black marketeering, "encouraging corruption," running monopolies and currency frauds. "They only milked the cow; they did not feed it," he said. He decreed that businesses belonging to the expelled Asians will be turned over to Uganda's black citizens. Any Asians who stay beyond the deadline, Amin said ominously, would "be sitting in the fire."

3   Amin's rather wild-eyed proclamation was the latest explosion of enmity between East Africa's blacks and Asian immigrants, many of whom were similarly driven out of Kenya in 1967. Large numbers of Asians arrived in East Africa at the turn of the century to help build a railway inland from the port of Mombasa. By the time Uganda was granted independence by the British in 1962, the Asians, who were better educated and more enterprising than the majority of the Africans with whom they dealt, ran four out of five businesses in the country, and had monopolized the important coffee and cotton industries. Black Ugandans resented both the Asians' economic dominance and their social exclusiveness. Nonetheless, at least 23,000 of the estimated 90,000 Asians in Uganda in 1962 applied for Ugandan citizenship. Most of the rest retained their British passports.

4   Softened Stand. Amin's sudden decree last week threatened to upset the strict quota system—at present 3,500 household heads, plus their dependents, per year—that Britain in 1968 imposed on East African Asians. Foreign Secretary Sir Alec Douglas-Home conceded Britain's "special obligation" to those who hold British passports, but hoped that London's duty could be fulfilled by an "orderly quota arrangement over the years." Others were unwilling to admit any obligation at all. M.P. Ronald Bell, a member of the Tory right-wing Monday Club, issued a statement declaring that "these so-called British Asiatics are no more and no less British than any Indian in the bazaars of Bombay."

5   Under British prodding, Amin softened his stand somewhat: physicians, dentists, lawyers, teachers and some technicians will be allowed to stay on in Uganda. For the rest, there is no place where they can expect a welcome. India will only take back Asians holding Indian passports. The British use a technique called "shuttlecocking" to keep unwanted Asians out, bouncing those who exceed the quota right back on planes the minute they land. Increasingly, European countries resent having rejected Asians dumped on them; as British-passport holders they are Britain's responsibility. Brussels police announced last week that any Asians sent back to Brussels after being refused entry to Britain would be returned immediately to a British airport.

6   There was little chance that Amin would change his mind, despite Britain's threat to withdraw its economic aid —$10 million a year—if he carries out the expulsion. Amin declared that "Uganda will not stop functioning without British assistance." Perhaps not, but its economy could virtually come to a halt without the Asians. Amin warned his countrymen last week that there will be grave scarcities of goods and other hardships "while Uganda consolidates its position"—which may cancel out any political benefit he gains by expelling the Asian merchants.

App. IV.II TIME magazine article from 1993

Thursday, Dec. 02, 1993
"The Perils of Success"
Asians have become exemplary immigrants, but at a price

By James Walsh

1   In every way that counts, Took Took Thongthiraj is the personification of American promise. Engaging, intelligent and an achiever, the 22-year-old UCLA senior radiates confidence. "I'm 100% American and 100% Asian," she declares. "A lot of Asian Americans feel forced to choose between the two, which is a message they get from their parents. But I've worked hard to create a cultural hybrid for myself."

2   The youngest of six daughters born to a Thai couple who immigrated to Southern California nearly 30 years ago, Thongthiraj has posted a perfect grade-point average of 4.0 at UCLA. She hopes to go on to win a master's degree and a Ph.D., with the eventual aim of teaching women's and Asian- American studies at the university level. Her story sounds like every parent's dream come true, but it is hardly unique. Around the country, young people of Asian descent seem to embody the tongue-in-cheek demographics of Garrison Keillor's Lake Wobegon, where "all the children are above average." Working-world Asians, meanwhile, have produced a veritable galaxy of stellar performers in the U.S., from the arts and sciences to business and finance. Like immigrating Jews of earlier generations, they have parlayed cultural emphases on education and hard work into brilliant attainments.

3   What does make Thongthiraj unusual is her determination to win something more elusive than a career: to fashion a new identity out of the conflicting allegiances and double-edged stereotypes that plague the Asian-American psyche. Material success has bred resentment, envy, even backlashes of violence from such other subnationalities as blacks and Latinos; last year's Los Angeles riot was a vivid reminder of that vulnerability. The image of Asians as immigrant role models has also disguised the enduring poverty of some, as well as the political feebleness of the minority as a whole.

4   Grace Yun, director of the New York City-based Inter-Relations Collaborative, describes this role-model "myth" as a "source of enormous concern." She deplores the idea that Asian Americans don't have any problems: "Thirty-six percent of the Vietnamese-American community in 1990 was below the poverty line. You see computers being advertised by little Asian geniuses. This is very damaging. One of the devastating by-products is anti-Asian violence."

5   The story is not new. From the time Chinese Forty-Niners joined the California Gold Rush, Asians have tended to see America in terms of the old Cantonese name for San Francisco: Gao Gam Saan (Old Gold Mountain), or a land of economic opportunity above all. Nativist harassment of the newcomers, coupled with openly racist citizenship and immigration laws, encouraged the impulse to get ahead financially without bothering

about assimilation into the mainstream society. Politics was something to be avoided. As an old Far Eastern maxim goes, the nail that sticks out gets hammered down.

6   At UCLA, Thongthiraj is helping change that view. She is director of the Asian Pacific Coalition, an umbrella group of 19 ethnic organizations on campus. In promoting cultural awareness and aiding new immigrants, especially hard-luck cases from Indochina, the coalition encourages them to articulate a more assertive political voice and American identity.

7   Like most other younger U.S.-born Asians, Thongthiraj feels at home in American civilization. Even so, she is not willing to forsake her special heritage. "There is something in the Asian family that promotes success," she acknowledges. "Parents feel you have to get established. They push a filial sense of duty and a message to fulfill parental expectations. What I do reflects on my family."

8   As a rule, Asians in America have reflected extremely well, especially those who have drawn from the wellsprings of the older civilizations of India, China, Japan and Korea. Though they make up just 2.9% of the country's population, Asians have produced outstanding success stories: cellist Yo-Yo Ma and violinist Midori; writers Amy Tan (The Joy Luck Club) and Maxine Hong Kingston (China Men); Sonny Mehta, editor of the distinguished Knopf book- publishing house; and filmmaker Wayne Wang (Dim Sum). Consider also: Chang- Lin Tien, the chancellor of the University of California, Berkeley; Paul Terasaki, a UCLA professor of surgery who developed tissue typing for organ transplants; and Vinod Khosla, one of the founding partners of the computer- workstation manufacturer Sun Microsystems.

9   Asian faces are as prominent in the mass media today as they were all but invisible in the past. Besides Connie Chung, who co-anchors the CBS Evening News with Dan Rather, Asian-American journalists seem to be fixtures in almost every big-city local-news telecast. The time is long gone when white Americans would expect visages with a Far Eastern cast to belong to restaurant or laundry operators who confused their rs and ls: younger-generation Asians in California often speak like Valley Girls and hum tunes from the Top 40.

10   Yet a certain image of exoticness lingers. Douglas Kwon, 28, a recent law- school graduate in Atlanta, has views on politics and marriage that differ markedly from those of his Korean parents. But he has also grown cynical about the prospects of truly fitting in. From the taunts he drew as a schoolboy to the persistent query he gets as an adult ("Where are you from -- no, really?"), he concludes, "The bottom line is everyone is racist; everyone carries certain stereotypes around with them, and nothing is ever going to change that." Peter Son, 25, also a member of Atlanta's fast-growing Korean community, says that some semblance of the old-country folkways must be preserved, if only to remain sane: otherwise, he points out, "we will just end up as foreigners in a strange land with no identity."

11   Like a slowly developing photo, however, the outlines of a clearer identity are beginning to emerge. So strong is the presence of Asian Americans on the West Coast that politics can no longer afford to overlook them. Michael Woo, the unsuccessful Democratic candidate for mayor of Los Angeles this year, demonstrated the fund-raising resources of prospering Asians by drumming up campaign contributions across the country. While Woo's defeat was a blow to morale, Asians can boast three members of Congress from California: U.S. Representatives Robert Matsui from Sacramento, Norman Mineta from San Jose and Jay Kim from Diamond Bar, east of Los Angeles.

12   As of three years ago, California was home to 2.85 million Asian Americans, about 38% of the nation's total. Between the 1970 and 1990 censuses, their numbers in Los Angeles County alone increased fivefold. Paul Ong, a UCLA urban-planning professor and author,

predicts that by the year 2020, Asians in California will number 8.5 million, accounting for about 20% of the state's population.

13 They already make up disproportionately large shares of university classes, a development that has stuck a bamboo pole into the affirmative-action machinery. Fully 41% of the entering freshman class at UCLA this autumn consists of students of Asian descent. At Berkeley they total 33.6% of enrollments, which has prompted calls for an admissions policy limiting their numbers. Not all rivals for the fruits of education are convinced that such an invidious system would be fair play. Some black intellectuals who have a stronger faith in self-reliance have argued that competing minorities would be better off raising their own academic standards rather than clamping a lid on Asian-American industriousness.

14 | Stop signs are fairly common in the job market, though. In large corporations, very few Asians have reached senior-executive rank. The reason, in part at least, seems to be a kind of cultural Great Wall that blinds management to what Asians expect in the workplace. Says J.D. Hokoyama, president of the national nonprofit organization known as LEAP (Leadership Education for Asian-Pacifics): "In America a worker comes into my office and asks for a promotion. Asians don't do that."

15 Many, in fact, fail to get ahead in any way. In Westminster, the "Little Saigon" in Southern California's Orange County, 140,000 Vietnamese refugees are crammed into 5 sq. mi. often under deeply impoverished circumstances. Without the resources and planning that other Asian families have used in resettling, many of them work at dead-end jobs or, as a last resort, subsist on government handouts, which profoundly shames them. Says Nghia Tran, 30, executive director of the Vietnamese Community of Orange County: "As refugees, this population represents a special set of needs, and sometimes they are not met. This is where we get our delinquency problems, with Vietnamese youths getting involved in gangs." The loss of the support systems afforded by an extended-family network in the old country also isolates the elderly and leaves them in lonely anguish.

16 A willingness to tackle what must be done helps sustain most newcomers. Sun Microsystems' Khosla, 38, an Indian engineer with an M.B.A., worked through holidays and vacations for two years to build up his company, which sold $4.3 billion worth of computer workstations last year. Quasi-retired as a multimillionaire for eight years now, he remarks, "Growing up in India made your expectations of reward much lower. So, you are prepared to work harder and make more sacrifices."

17 While that ethic does not necessarily resolve identity conflicts, times are changing. Says Stephen Chen, a 20-year-old liberal arts major at Atlanta's Emory College: "When first-generation Asians talk about Caucasians, they tend to say 'Americans.' That leaves the impression that we're foreigners and always will be, and we have to accept that -- which I don't agree with." Elaine Kim, professor of Asian-American studies at Berkeley, comments, "It used to be that you had to be assimilating or foreign. Now we have young Asian-American writers who are refusing that choice. What they are trying to do, and succeeding at it, is to create a new self-defining way of being Asian American."

18 In the meantime, many shining examples of this minority in the golden land try to bear up under the occasional unwitting offense. Says Berkeley chancellor Tien, a first-generation Chinese American: "Just today I was walking on campus when someone saw me and asked, 'Are you from Japan?' I said, 'No, I'm your chancellor.' " With lines like that, the education of America can't be far off.