STUDYING THE IMAGE OF A COUNTRY –
THREE THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Elena TARASHEVA
(New Bulgarian University, Bulgaria)

Резюме. Статията представя преглед на литературата по въпроса за изграждане на образа на дадена страна. Обхващат се теоретичните направления на медийни изследвания, изследвания на културата и анализ на дискурса. Разграничават се подходите, свързани с критично отношение към явления като неравнопоставеност и дискриминация. Търсят се взаимовръзки между богатство, контрол върху информационните потоци и влияние върху широката публика. Стремежът е да се установят подходи, подходящи за анализ на имиджа на нации и държави.

Introduction. When covering Debates at the EU Parliament, the anchor of the BBC programme *The Record Europe*, Shirin Wheeler heard one of her interviewees say that Bulgaria and Romania have met the criteria to join the Schengen zone. With a sour face, she retorted "Yes, but some people have misgivings about these countries" and cut short the turn. The attempt to see more about the incident brought to a BBC page whose content was 'unavailable for your region'. Not only is Bulgaria the object of 'misgivings', but its people are also banned from taking part in the discourses about it. Cases like this are not infrequent, so I decided to launch a study of the image of a country – what theoretical perspectives can shed light on the way a country is presented to the world.

Terminological disambiguation. A query in Google Scholar with search term IMAGE returns about 3,180,000 hits. Most often the term refers to "body image" – mainly associated with adolescents, girls, boys, dieting, masculinity etc. Secondly, IMAGE is associated with tourist destinations. References to 'image' in the sense: 'a mental representation due to any of the senses (not only sight) or to organic sensations' (Oxford English Dictionary 5a) are used in reference to the stature of mentally disturbed people, of various professions and only rarely – to the image of ethnic groups or countries. Whenever the image of a place is researched, more often than not the place is Africa and its inhabitants.

The term REPRESENTATION, for its part, returns fewer hits – 1,460,000. Most of them relate to cultural identity and the most quoted author is Stuart Hall. Not surprisingly, the identity under scrutiny is mainly that of people of colour.

Quite a few authors from sociology, cultural studies and discourse analysis take up Baudrillard's (1994: 11) claim that the dramatic changes in the technology of reproduction have led to the implosion of representation and reality. In-

creasingly representation becomes dominant as "simulacra" are substituted for a reality that has little or no foundation in experience. He draws a contrast between simulation and representation. Whereas representation attempts to absorb simulation by interpreting it as a false image, simulation envelops the whole edifice of representation as a simulacrum. Thus media bombard people with images thereby subconsciously sowing attitudes, while the audience is manipulated to believe these are their own impressions of the real thing.

At the recipient end – decoding the media message, Hall (1982) claims that people are not 'cultural dopes', passively reading texts as the producers intended them to be read. However, educational initiatives (The Media Literacy Online Project, Centre for Media Literacy, to mention but a few) exist to teach members of the public to analyse the concept of representation, to achieve a critical distance from what is shown on TV and what is printed in the media. Therefore, establishing that what people see in the media is, in fact, an image deliberately created for them and not the real thing requires an effort and does not take place automatically.

The process of representing people involves a specific type of re-contextualisation (van Leeuwen, 2009: 148): a social reality is transposed into a discourse constrained by the specific angle of vision of the medium with its political views, economic entanglements etc. These images comply with the policies projected by the broadcaster/publisher and have often been shown to apply semiotic tools of power and domination.

In this study I employ the second meaning of image – a mental picture of a country created through media publications. I consider the term 'image' synonymous to 'representation', although the case can be made that an image is the result of representations. While 'representation' harks to cultures and national identity, my agenda here bears a closer connection with what impressions about a country audiences are left from exposure to media discourses.

A Nation's Image. The oldest line of discourses about public images belongs to Public Relations and Political Science. According to Kunczik (1990: 44) "an image of a nation constitutes the totality of attributes that a person recognises (or imagines) when he contemplates that nation." He goes on to explain that such an image consists of three analytically distinguishable components – a cognitive component relating to what we know, an affective component relating to how we feel about the nation; and an action component that relates to actual behaviour towards the nation.

According to Scott (1965: 72) the cognitive component is a person's subjective knowledge about a nation; the affective component is his or her like or dislike, approval or disapproval, or level of hostility toward a nation; and the behavioural component consists of a person's action tendencies towards a nation.

National image, then, is defined as the cognitive representation that a person holds of a given country and its people, what a person believes to be true about a nation. Of special importance to political action is the benevolence or malevolence imputed to other nations in the images, as well as the historical component of the image. Feelings about a country's future are also important (Kunczik 1990: 10).

The important question for this research is how images are produced and broadcast to the world. Kunczik (ibid) further says that neither folk learning nor science can shape adequate images of a nation, in his opinion – because of the complexity of the workings of the international system. By 'adequate' scientists, he claims, mean a realistic image of the nation.

Dutta-Bergman (2006: 104) suggests that images result from a deliberate effort on the part of governmental agencies:

> Public diplomacy involves the communication of a government to the people of another nation with the goal of influencing their image of the sender nation. To the extent that public diplomacy attempts to influence the perceptions and opinions of the members of the target state with respect to the image of the source (nation), it embodies a form of public relations.

Studies of Representations/Images. Over the years, several researchers have sought to study the image of countries, communities or issues, exploring a vast array of methodologies lodged in different research paradigms. Among this rich variety, three strands can be discerned, classified here according to the theoretical frameworks that inform them. Firstly, Media Studies develop elaborate mechanisms which explore several aspects of media coverage: the intentions of the creators; the means they employ to highlight issues; audience response to media coverage of issues, such as ecological problems, negatively represented social groups like immigrants etc. The analytical tools they employ include 'frame analysis', 'priming' and 'agenda setting', which draw attention to the fact that the media use – more or less effectively – techniques to highlight issues and set public agendas in favour of problems they see as important. Media theorists associate images with the power of the media to set the public agenda and throw into the limelight issues for discussion. Predictably, some are connected with electoral campaigns, while others highlight ecological problems, the status of science on the public arena etc. With the enhanced trend of migrations, various migrant groups come under scrutiny for the image they cut in the host society or the image of the host society in relation to their attitudes to the migrants. Yet other researchers seek to contribute to a public policy of creating an image for a community, a professional or ethnic group.

Secondly, Cultural Studies tackle issues of images in relation with what Stuart Hall (1997) calls representations. They are defined as "the way people make

sense of reality". This means that representations are subjective and proceed from identities. Thus, boundaries are drawn in relation to a significant Other, where the representation stands in a meaningful relation to both subject and object of representation. It is important to recognize the power of representations: the ways in which people are represented have real consequences as far as their lives, rights and positions in society are concerned.

Finally, Critical Discourse Analysis construes images from texts, exploiting an array of techniques to collect and analyse data, and to triangulate the findings. In the basis is the complex concept of Discourse and its specific relation to language and social realities. Emphasis is given to qualitative research which analyses phenomena deeply engraved in language but which bear impact on social structures. The researchers focus on media representations of ethnic or professional groups where bias is expected to exist, thus giving the analysis a partisan slant.

Below is a review of each of the three research approaches and the multitude of methods employed by the practitioners.

Media Studies. Weaver (2007: 3) describes frame studies as an area of substantial growth after the year 2000, when researches using this methodology have more than doubled compared to the previous year. Frame analysis is a method borrowed from sociology and psychology to explicate the way we look at reality. This method stems from the work of the social psychologist Goffman (1974: 11), who defines frames as "principles of organisation which govern the subjective meaning we assign to social events".

McQuail (2000) identifies two main meanings attributed to the term "frame". One refers to the way in which news content is typically shaped and contextualised by journalists within some familiar frame of reference and according to some latent structure of meaning. The second sense concerns the effect of framing on the public. The audience is thought to adopt the frames of reference offered by journalists and see the world in a similar way. This process affects agenda setting.

Goffman (ibid. 83) describes frames as comprising three parts:

Primary frameworks – natural or social: guided doings – subject to social appraisal.

Keys and keying – a key transforms one type of meaning into another, e.g. an expression of feeling into sarcasm.

Designs and fabrications – induce a false sense of reality. "Intentional effort of one or more individuals to manage activity so that a party of one or more others will be induced to have a false belief about what it is that is going on."

Frames are obviously seen as formative factors which shape people's perception of reality. The way they shape media coverage is demonstrated, for instance, in Gamson and Lasch (1983). The authors describe five framing devices:

(1) metaphors, (2) exemplars (i.e., historical examples from which lessons are drawn), (3) catchphrases, (4) depictions, and (5) visual images (e.g., icons). They are complemented with three reasoning devices: (1) roots (i.e., a causal analysis), (2) consequences (i.e., a particular type of effect), and (3) appeals to principle (i.e., a set of moral claims). In addition to those basically linguistic and argumentative features, the authors also study media practices, such as accepting or rejecting comments, using illustration etc., actions by sponsors and the reaction of the audience. Gamson (1989) reviews discourses on nuclear energy by looking at what he calls "media packages", which again include metaphors, catch-phrases and other symbolic devices employed in the discourse about the nuclear energy.

It appears that attitudes to objects are deciphered mainly through the language used to write about them. Avraham and First (2010) suggest that media analysis contributes factors that are mainly quantitative. They collate frame analysis and cultural studies, which they consider complementary. "...One of the theories relies on the discussion of representation (Hall, 1997), while using the ideological and semiotic analysis of the text; the other uses quantitative indicators to measure the representation.... The analysis was undertaken with an understanding of the existence of a dialectical relationship between media frames and mode of representation." The data comprise quantitative analysis of various types of TV coverage, of the voices that the TV channels select to broadcast and a qualitative analysis of identity formation issues and motifs which occur in the coverage. The authors conclude with the methods used for the symbolic extinction of the Other, such as suppressing coverage, including them in roles of Patient to the verbal action, lesser exposure etc.

Fairer representation of poor nations. Within media studies, but with a close relation to International Relations, stands the UNESCO initiative for the New World Information Order (NWICO). It starts with studies of the image of Africa and poses the question about the correlation between wealth and access to public image. Researchers – mainly of African origin – track the image of Africa (Okigbo 1995, Ojo 2002, Salawi 2006). Not surprisingly, they reveal that mainly topics of wars, famine and various other disasters prevail in the coverage of the continent, metaphorically referred to as the Dark Continent. The studies are largely partisan, proceeding from the assumption that Africa tends to be misrepresented, according to the respective researchers.

The initiative New World Information Order (NWICO) (MacBride, Sean et al. 1980) was purportedly aimed at a fairer representation of the developing nations in the media, but developed into a multifaceted theoretical and political movement with serious repercussions on the world at large, such as Britain and the USA leaving the UNESCO. The NWICO debate was in full swing throughout the 1970s and 1980s of the twentieth century and reflected activities of the United

Nations, and particularly – within UNESCO. One of its basic assumptions was a link between economic progress and the availability of information. Brown-Syed (1993) writes:

> ...liberal theorists maintained that national cultures and sovereignty were not threatened by information concentration, while structuralist and socialist analysts argued that they were. In particular, the NWICO proponents, mostly drawn from the ranks of non-aligned nations, claimed that Western ownership and control of both the news media and their distribution channels constituted a form of cultural dominance whose covert goal was capitalist economic expansion. This argument, played out in fora such as the Non-Aligned Movement and Unesco conferences drew support from the Soviet Union, and hostility from Western administrations. It was partly due to fears of the growing "politicization" of Unesco that the United States and Great Britain withdrew from that organisation in the mid 1980s... The NWICO movement began as a protest over the concentration of print and broadcast media ownership among de facto cartels, and developed into an argument about the cultural dominance of poor nations by wealthy ones.

With reference to the current state of the world, Brown-Syed maintains that the problem of uneven world development has not disappeared with the dissolution of the Soviet Union. In his opinion, "indeed, we in the West are provided daily with ample evidence that a whole segment of the globe – Eastern Europe – is almost as badly off as the so-called "developing" nations." Although he does not take the step to say that this translates into a new asymmetry in the spread of information, several arguments in his text lead us to believe so.

The methodologies of those researchers whose interest is Africa are based on frame studies. In one of the recent samples of this strand, Ogunyemi (2011) explores the representation of Africa on a specialised BBC website. He contrasts two paradigms in the representations of Africa according to the attitude: largely negative and mostly positive. By exploring the frames of reference of the users and moderators of the website, the sources of the information and the editorial policies for allowing and rejecting comments, Ogunyemi concludes that the website repeats the frame of reference of 'mainstream media'. He suggests that if the website develops an improved understanding for Africa and its culture, it would be better able to shake off the tendencies suggested by the 'mainstream media'.

The researchers in this vein seem to split the media into two large groups: 'mainstream' – American or European – opposed to 'local', African. Semantically, the antonym of mainstream should be 'peripheral'. But then the concept clashes with the fact that if the object of representation is Africa, then African media would be central, not peripheral. Such discourse, in effect, grants focal status to European and American media, and tacitly endorses the fact of their wider

influence over world audiences, creating the 'mainstream picture' of the world. Brown-Sayed (1992) actually articulates it that being in control of the major international media, the West broadcasts an image of the East – be it the Orient, or Eastern Europe – which reflects its own semiosis of what the East represents. How that fits in with the self-evaluation of the East and what significance it has for the self-definition and progress is the issue at stake for this research. Such type of representing others is in the basis of discrimination and social inequality.

The argument for a much more balanced – and less biased – representation of poor nations was dismissed at the end of last century as an infringement on the freedom of speech of the rich nations. However, my research appears to raise the question again: is it true that a bad image befits a poor country and are richer nations in their right to broadcast negative images of those less affluent than themselves?

Cultural Studies Representations. The second strand of image studies is informed by Cultural Studies and the concept of "representation". The researches present what images come across as a result of media publications about countries, professional and ethnic groups or issues in public life. For example, the Swedish research project on 'Media and European Identity: National or Regional Media Perceptions of the USA?' (Hammarlund and Riegert 2011) traces the discursive image of the USA in the elite media of five European countries: France, Finland, Sweden, Germany and Russia. It studies media publications through the period of the Cold War under President Reagan until six months after the installation of President Obama. The purported aim of the project is to establish a European identity evolving in comparison to a significant Other (America) and as a conscious effort of media organisations. The media are presented as "fodder for identity processes", which plays a key role in the production and circulation of ideas, nurturing local, national and transnational communities' sense of themselves, often through identifying those who they are not. The method is qualitative content analysis, where the textual analysis is based on a schema categorizing various aspects of the journalistic discourse. The researchers look at metaphors used to describe America, such as 'the Space Cowboy', 'the gum chewing American soldier', 'the benign benefactor' etc. Recurring themes are also analysed, such as the cold war, disarmament etc. Additionally, the researchers assess how active or passive the USA appears in various contexts. Predictions and consequences of events America is involved in are also explored. In addition to these – in effect, analyses of mostly linguistic phenomena, analysis of the argumentation schemes is conducted as well. Lines of argument for and against political doctrines, such as multilateralism, multiculturalism are traced in the publications. Public figures such as presidents are analysed, and roles attributed to their actions through different journalistic genres are discussed. The research mechanisms make it pos-

sible to discern the explicit or implicit use of symbols and narratives adopted by writers and political actors to characterise the USA and its presidents. The co-ordinators conclude that "although few clear signs of a common European public sphere are observed and some countries' media are 'more European' than others (Risse 2010; Wessler et al., 2008), taken together, the broad similarities in the paradigms and characteristics used to depict the USA seem to affirm a European identity, but also an image of America which is multifaceted and informed by different beholding eyes". An interesting feature worth mentioning in view of the subject of the current research is the fact that the research on all the countries for the study is conducted by scholars native to the country under scrutiny with the exception of Russia, which is studied by Swedish investigators.

The impression, then, is that the research explores similar – if not identical – language units to frame analysis. Images are seen as projected by the language of the publication, including metaphors and rhetoric. It also seems that the validity of studies of this kind depends on the selection and sampling of the material and on the judgement of the researchers. The closest Cultural Studies research gets to verification is that opinions from two or more raters are compared to get an objective evaluation of a piece of material.

Discourse Analysis/Studies. Firstly, I discuss semantic threads in the definitions of discourse, all of which feed into a framework of discussing images. One strand (Schiffrin 1994: 41) claims that discourse is a layer in the hierarchic organisation of language activity, with small units like lexemes at the bottom and discourse – at the top. Another semantic thread in the definitions places this basically linguistic phenomenon within several socio-linguistic concepts such as genres, situational contexts, participants and their roles. Thereby discourses present the interplay between linguistic and social features. From the multitude of definitions, Fairclough's is the one embraced by Discourse Analysts (2009: 164): 'Discourses are semiotic ways of construing aspects of the world (physical, social or mental) which can generally be identified with different positions or perspectives of different groups of social actors'.

To a certain point, this reiterates Foucault's (1972: 109) definition – or narrative description – that discourse compounds all the documents in society about a certain topic. This aspect of discourse highlights the fact that to detect attitudes, the researcher needs to collate data from various sources and documents as one instance may be misleading. Reisigl and Wodak (2009: 93) also make the point that different materials need to be analysed in order to shed light on an aspect of social life. Additionally, Wodak places the requirement for different analytical methods to be employed in order to achieve maximal reliability, so as to juxtapose data derived through different analytical procedures. In this way, the data can be used to reinforce or reject the conclusions. Thus discourses are the vehicle

of expressing attitudes and forming images which are analysable through the linguistic shape that carries them.

Fiske (1996:3) points out that discourse analysis differs from linguistic analysis in focusing on what statements are made rather than how they are made. Discursive analyses, therefore, do not trace the regularities and conventions of discourse as a signifying system, but with "analyzing what statements were made and therefore what were not, who made them and who did not, and with studying the role of the technological media by which they were circulated." He suggests that discourse should never be abstracted from the conditions of its production and circulation.

Thus, the various levels of language, combined with the specific context of producing them add up to create a picture of the world encoded in discourses. Discourse analysis then needs to delve into the layers and discover what lies hidden. Wodak (1995:204) claims that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) takes up the task of unravelling 'opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language'. This is the reason why the specific type of discourse analysis dealing with such relationships is part of Critical Science. Social injustice is in the focus of Critical Social Science. It presents social reality as 'conceptually mediated' (Marsden 1999), where the mediation of those less lucky is less favourable than they can expect. Fairclough (2009) specifies that CDA targets social ills such as inequality, manipulation and discrimination. Van Dijk (2006:362) claims that symbolic elites such as politicians, journalists, scholars, teachers and writers are in control of most influential public discourses, that is, play a special role in the reproduction of dominant knowledge and ideologies in society. Prejudice is socially acquired and the symbolic elites promote its acquisition through public discourses, where the source of shared ethnic prejudice and ideologies lies (Van Dijk, 1993). Therefore, CDA is characterised with a specific partisan position – taking the side of those discriminated against, those oppressed and dominated.

But how is language seen to perform ideological, as it were, functions? Firstly, a typical approach to analysing language for the purposes of Discourse Studies comes from Functional Analysis. More often than not CDA analyses the linguistic aspect using Systemic Functional Grammar. Halliday and Matthiessen (1999:1) claim that language seen as meaning and not as knowledge construes human experience as a semantic system 'since language plays the central role not only in storing and exchanging experience but also in construing it.' Halliday's theoretical model through which language represents social reality includes three metafunctions: the ideational, textual and the interpersonal (ibid:8ff). The comparison with Chinese elicits a fourth function – the experiential (ibid.:315), subsumed under the ideational. The ideational metafunction analyses the clause as construing experience by categorising the type of predication and the participants involved in the process. The interpersonal metafunction enacts the relationship

between the speaker and the addressee, as seen with the modalities characterising the situation. Through the textual function the clause is represented as the information contained within as a message – highlighting something as new or old information.

The grammatical system includes on the one hand, the syntactic realisation of the respective component – Predicate, Subject, Complements and Circumstances; on the other hand it explores the semantic relation obtaining between the participants (Eggins 1994: 228). Below I exemplify these relations with illustration from corpora comprising texts about Bulgaria on a BBC Website (Tarasheva 2012):

Table 1. Process types

ACTOR	MATERIAL PROCESS	GOAL	CIRCUMSTANCE
Bulgaria and Romania	*Joined*	*the EU*	*in 2007*

SENSER	MENTAL PROCESS	PHENOMENON
Bulgarians and Romanians	*see*	*the government's programme as a fantastic opportunity to cash in on the plentiful supply of work*

VERBAGE	SAYER	VERBAL ACTION
'The amount I earn here on the farm in a week would take me four weeks to earn in Bulgaria'	*she (Marina from Bulgaria- E.T.)*	*Says*

BAHAVER	BEHAVIOURAL PROCESS	PHENOMENON
She	*Reflects*	*on how lucky she feels to be working in the UK*

EXISTENTIAL	EXISTENT
There are	*65, 000 Bulgarians and Romanians*

TOKEN	RELATIONAL PROCESS	VALUE	PHENOMENON
Bulgarian and Romanians	*are*	*free*	*to enter the UK*

VALUE	RELATIONAL PROCESS	TOKEN
One worker who has been granted a work permit	*is*	*Marina Georgieva from Bulgaria*

The analysis of the texts about Bulgaria show that the country is rarely in the role of Agent in the sentences and more often than not – patient or affected participant. Presenting a country predominantly as an Affected Participant downgrades it in the vision of the audiences. Analysing a different text, Fowler (1991:144) writes that "the police and the government are overwhelmingly in the *agent* role in transitivity, while the marginalised and attacked groups are always *affected* or *patient..."* This technique has become known as Agency, where the semantic role Actor associates with authority, while the role of Affected Participant confers lesser importance, or the status of a dominated participant (Conboy 2007:58, among the numerous researchers who have made this observation).

Other authors believe lexis to be revealing about the ideological aspects of language and representations. As a major component of the ideational structure of language, vocabulary amounts to a map of objects, concepts, processes and relations among them, specific for social strata, cultures or professional groups. It is projected in the language of media as semantic groups relating to one sphere of social life or another, but more importantly it has been shown to perform a function called 'over-lexicalisation'. This happens when a text is saturated with quasi-synonymous terms for entities and ideas (Fowler 1991:85). Such proliferation is indicative of a preoccupation with one specific sphere of life. For instance, Bulgarian workers are presented with the following phrases in an article on the BBC Website:

> *to carry out seasonal agricultural work*
> *temporary workers in agriculture*
> *to work in agriculture*
> *migrant labour to harvest seasonal crops*
> *insufficient seasonal labour to pick and harvest crops*

Thus Bulgarians are given the title 'agricultural labourers' through the repetitions of these semi-synonymous terms. Fowler also mentions a process when a new term is introduced as signifying a purportedly new concept in social life. This is known as re-lexicalisation. In one of the articles we see the term "Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme (SAWS)", which is later picked up for reference as the acronym and even changes its morphological class: "the number of SAWS permits". Thus the status of Bulgarian workers in the UK is institutionalised as SAWS workers and it takes some effort to go back to the fact that these are agricultural workers allowed in the country as temporary seasonal workers.

A pioneering work in the ideology of language by Hodge and Kress (1993:26) points to devices which give an ideological perspective to media texts. Among the specific devices are: passives, nominalisations and negative incorporations. The passive transformation is said to have the following effects:

a – it inverts the order of actor and affected – effect: the theme changes from actor to affected;

b – the actor is no longer directly attached to the verb – effect: the link between actor and process is weakened;

c – the verb *be* is introduced and the main verb is changed from a process to a finished result – effect: the process is presented as a state, not action;

d – the actor may be deleted – effect: the cause of the action is hidden

e – the structure is not transactive, but attributive – effect: the sentence functions to classify, not to show action.

The nominalization transformation, e.g. *Picketing will stop deliveries,* bestows the following characteristics:

a – it deletes participants from the model – effect: the interest is directed from the participants to the process;

b – a new noun is formed – effect: process is substituted for state, activity for object, specific for general, concrete for abstract;

c – nominalizations are not marked to tense or modality – effect: speakers avoid indicating when or how likely an activity is;

d – complex relations are collapsed into simple entities – effect: to hide the complexity of an actual situation;

e – the new nominals acquire their own existence – effect: this further increase the opacity of nominals. Also simple causes are substituted for complex ones;

f – the new nominals may become stable entities and even enter dictionaries – effect: change in the perceptual and cognitive inventory of the language.

Negative incorporation – e.g. *Miners ban overtime* – have the following effects:

a – the negative particle is part of the word – effect: the word is perceived as a single unit, the negation is hidden (compare: Miners do not allow overtime);

b – the word can be part of passive – active transformations – effect: refraining from action is seen in a positive light.

Frame analysis was mentioned above as a typical approach applied by Media Studies. We also showed that Cultural Studies makes use of frames as well. In fact, Discourse Analysis also employs frame analysis to deal with political discourse. Van Dijk (1998) recommends Gamson's (1992) approach, because the media play a central role in framing public issues. Media frames are "largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organise the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports". In effect, frames appear to be analysed via forms that are either linguistic – metaphors, catchphrases etc, or rhetorical – premises and conclusions. That is why the amalgam of media frame analysis and discourse studies is particularly beneficial and practised by a number of researchers and research teams.

Van Dijk (2003) believes that creating images is done through two sets of instruments: techniques for positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. It includes the following components:

Overall interaction strategies

Macro speech acts

Semantic mactro-strucutres – topic selection

Local speech acts: accusations, statements, queries etc.

Local meanings

Give many/few details

Be general/specific

Be vague/precise

Be explicit/implicit

Lexicon:

Select positive words for us

Negative words for them

Local syntax

Active v/s passive sentences – to de-emphasize responsibility

Nominalizations – to de-emphasize agency

Rhetorical figures

Hyperboles

Euphemisms

Metonyms

Metaphors

Sounds and visuals

Van Dijk (2008: 233) exemplifies the overall interaction strategies with the ideological polarisation in Tony Blair's speech, where the politician structures the discourse space into Us –democracies and Them – dictatorships. Formally, social actor representation can be effected through personal pronouns and other deictic devices. In his 'sociosemantic inventory of how social actors can be represented', van Leeuwen (1996: 32) points out that social actors do not necessarily map onto grammatical actors; for instance, impersonalised actors can be non-human entities that are still represented as engaged in particular actions, be it as active actor or as passive goal.

Semantic macro-structures, according to van Dijk (1977: 10) "make explicit the important intuitive notion of topic of discourse: they specify what a discourse, as a whole, is about, in a non-trivial way, i.e. not by a simple enumeration of the meanings of its respective sentences." The topics are evolved through semantic operations such as generalisation, deletion etc.

Another addition to the amalgam of multidisciplinary methods is Historical Discourse Analysis, where media coverage is compared to historical evidence (Reisigl and Wodak 2009). The trustworthiness of the researches is based on the

fact that data from several different sources are analysed, using an eclectic mix of analytical procedures – the discourse in brochures, interviews with participants and witnesses of the processes etc. This approach was first developed in order to trace the constitution of an anti-Semitic stereotyped image, or 'Feindbild' as it emerged in public discourse (particularly press reporting) in the 1986 Austrian presidential campaign of Kurt Waldheim.

> The historical dimension of discursive acts in historical and political topics and texts is addressed in two ways: first, the discourse-historical approach attempts to integrate all available information on the historical background and the original sources in which discursive 'events' are embedded. Second, it explores the ways in which particular types and genres of discourse are subject to diachronic change, as has been shown in a number of previous studies.

In another study Wodak and Meyer (2001: 72) conclude that four types of discursive strategies are associated with nations and national identities: constructive, helping create or consolidate national images; preservative or justificatory strategies; transformative strategies, aiming at changing an existing image; and destructive strategies. Analytically, three interrelated dimensions are explored: (1) contents/topics; (2) strategies; (3) linguistic means and forms of realisation.

Particularly useful is the concept of *topoi*. Topos is a term introduced by Aristotle in his Rhetoric (Roberts 1994). Its translation and definition are a contentious issue because Aristotle never defined it properly. For the purposes of CDA, Wodak and Meyer (2001: 82) use topoi as the premises for arguments, quoting Kienpointner (1997). They claim that the topos of burdening, for instance, can be reduced to a conditional of the type "if a person is burdened by a specific problem, then they should be relieved of them". They use Aristotle's list of topoi to illustrate the image of foreigners in the Austrian press, e.g. foreigners require housing, health care and education but the Austrian State should not be burdened – as seen from the topos above, therefore they are subject to Otherisation and exclusion.

It is often the case that discourse studies incorporate quantitative analyses. Pietikäinen (2003: 8) sounds the alarm that the way news media represent ethnic minorities "is seen to contribute to racism, the fragmentation of society and prevents full participation by citizens from various ethnic groups. Opportunities for dialogue and communality are lost." Her methodology explores the ordering of topics (news values), terms of reference used for the Sami people, quotation patterns and grammatical agency. Quantitatively, she compares the number of stories about the Sami to stories about other ethnic groups to establish a significantly smaller number of news items about the Sami, where the indigenous people are rarely quoted and often named with derogatory terms. At the same time, actor

roles are more often attributed to Finns than to Samis, suggesting that the active role in social life is not always attributed to the Sami.

A study of the image of doctors in Slovenia (Kovaèiè and Erjavec 2011) also enmeshes the qualitative analysis with quantitative techniques. Rather than simply count articles, Kovaèiè and Erjavec split them into three groups: positive, negative and neutral and discuss the prevalence of each type. This, of course, begs the question what if the article develops a balanced argument, including both positive and negative aspects.

Some of the discourse studies are based on corpus research (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008), which allows for a wider scope of material and a principled narrowing down on significant aspects of the language or topics. The synergy between CDA and Corpus Linguistics (CL) is seen as particularly beneficial. Language is studied through structured forms, such as corpora where care is taken to ensure representativeness, size and unbiased essence. The RASIM Project made use of a 140-million-word corpus of articles about refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in the British press over a period of 10 years. Through key words and collocations, the researchers establish what topics are tackled in tabloids and broadsheets concerning the population under scrutiny. The study of collocates yields verbs associated with these people: fleeing, sneaking, flooding – all conveying negative attitudes to the agents of the actions. This research is an example of how CL and CDA join forces to analyse ideologies projected through texts.

Conclusion. From the account above, it becomes obvious that the image of a country is a term clearly defined by International Relations. However, researchers do not aspire to pinpoint how truthful the images created are indeed. Several publications emphasise that governments have a role to play in the process of creating the image of a country. Media studies purportedly employ more quantitative than qualitative data when studying the image of nations or groups of people. They explore the specifics of the media, such as methods of highlighting issues, audience response etc. Language, however, is seen to play a central role in shaping images as the phenomena under investigation are invariably metaphors, sayings, exemplars etc. In its turn, cultural studies view representations as part of the process of identity formation, where the SELF emerges in contrast with the near but different OTHER. There is no denying that within this discipline as well a major factor in image building lies in language. Like Media Studies, Cultural Studies focus on metaphors, rhetoric devices and other language phenomena, which, however, are not seen as the complex system presented elsewhere as discourse. Discourse analysis, for its part, sees media as an arena where identities are shaped and contested. Language is viewed by discourse analysts as a system integrated in a concept of a higher order – discourse. The interplay between social roles and contexts and the language that drapes them is the very essence of

discourse analytical procedures. The wealth of analytical procedures includes the rhetoric, the grammar and the lexicon, as well as quantitative methods, such as content analysis. Critical Discourse Analysis, for its part, sees as its objective to unmask inequality and discrimination vested in media texts. From the New Informational World Order we inherit the concept that the rich countries tend to control information flows and this can be seen as a factor distorting the presentation of poorer nations. The attempt to study the image of a country felt to be underrepresented can draw from frame analysis, identity issues and discourse analytical procedures. The lessons of all the research disciplines reviewed here are that cross-fertilisation of methodologies help establish and verify realistic data.

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