Immigration Within the Framework of "fear" in English, Macedonian and Turkish Journalistic Discourse

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Abstract

In this paper, we analyze the way the problem of immigration is embedded in English, Macedonian and Turkish journalistic discourse in the framework of "fear". The goal of our investigation is to discover the language strategies employed in the journalistic discourse that exert a negative influence on readers towards immigrants. To reveal the implicit properties of the discourse structures that direct and shape readers’ opinion, first we apply the method of critical discourse analysis. Then, using a comparative method, we establish the similarities and differences in the representation of immigrants in these three discourses taking into consideration that their treatment takes place in different cultural environments. The analysis focuses on identification and comparison of those specially selected lexical devices used in structuring the journalistic text that influence public opinion against immigrants while creating panic and fear among readers. By investigating the language strategies in the text we shed light on the manipulative power of lexical devices used for influencing the reader to take a negative attitude towards the problem of immigration.

The language strategies used in media discourse increase intolerance towards immigrants and draw a boundary between "us" and the "others." Based on the framework of "fear" the analysis shows that the three journalistic discourses use similar linguistic strategies in representation of immigration problems. The results of the analysis should raise readers' awareness of the manipulative power of media and help readers create a defense mechanism against becoming its victim. Knowledge of how to decode the ways in which media construct their reality will help readers recognize and resist the discourse of fear that encourages xenophobia and racism.

Keywords: frame; fear; implicit features; journalistic discourse; linguistic features; critical analysis.

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1. Introduction

Journalistic texts are considered a special type of discourse because their main communicative goal is to inform the reader about an event in a most concise and effective way. Journalistic discourse is typically analyzed within the discipline known as Critical discourse analysis which analyses linguistic features of journalistic and political discourse used as means of expressing power and ideology [1]. The traditional approach to journalistic texts deals with quantitative analysis [2], which includes a detailed description of linguistic properties but without the context. In more recent approaches the text is decentralized to a certain extent and the focus of interest is transferred to the social, cultural and political context [3]. According to van Dijk [4], journalistic reports should be understood as a special type of text and as a specific type of sociocultural phenomenon where the analysis of the journalistic text is not limited to a grammatical description of linguistic structures. In this type of discourse, the reader is directed to take a certain position on an issue or event reported in the particular medium [1]. This function is revealed through a critical approach to the journalistic discourse.

The authors of the journalistic text, not only use the lexical units for informing the reader, they simultaneously employ them to implicitly reflect their views, or rather the views that arise from the editorial policy of the medium to which they belong. That editorial policy actually represents a certain social power. According to van Dijk [5: 354] power and dominance represent a macro level in relation to discourse, verbal interaction and communication, which belong to the micro-level of analysis. For instance, a racist speech in parliament is a discourse at the microlevel of social interaction in the specific situation of a debate, but at the same time may be a constituent part of legislation or the reproduction of racism at macrolevel. The recipient of the message or the reader becomes unconsciously subject to the journalistic discourse by accepting the patterns of macro-level reality constructions that are transmitted through the micro-level journalistic discourse. This is how stereotypes about certain world problems are formed and transferred from English journalism to Macedonian and Turkish journalism via the news from foreign sources. Critical discourse analysis explains how and why the text affects the reader. This is achieved through the analysis of lexical (are more visible) and grammatical devices.

In addition to revealing and analyzing the linguistic devices used to embed the immigration issue in the framework of "fear", in our investigation we try to "help raise awareness about how language contributes to the domination of some people over others, because awareness is the first step towards emancipation" [1: 1]. The results of the research can contribute to those social sciences that examine the role of public opinion and the "hidden ideology" behind it. But most significantly, the investigation is expected to contribute to raising awareness among readers about the manipulative power of the media in all societies and to discover the ways in which the media create reality in different cultures.

1.1. Lexical devices in the function of directing the reader

Apart from its basic function to inform, journalistic texts, via use of various linguistic means, often fulfill other functions, such as directing the reader to take a certain position in relation to the topics the text informs about. For this purpose, journalistic texts are often placed in the framework of "fear" by choosing the appropriate discourse of fear and panic.
Lexical units are mostly used to direct the reader in taking particular stance. They fit into different syntactic structures, they may produce rhetorical devices such as metaphors, personifications and metonymies. They are employed in directing the consumers of the message, which is realized through the use of the implicit properties of lexical units and selection of special grammatical constructions and lexical means. Thus, journalistic discourse units acquire an implicit function. Ideologically colored words can not only influence readers' opinion but also shape their worldview. Behind such manipulation with public opinion stand certain centres of economic and political power that transmit their ideology to society through the media.

1.2. Creation and representation of myths through lexical units

Myths are stories that provide explanations for various events, thus representing a common way of conveying ideology. An example of a political myth is the immigration myth that the number of immigrants will exceed the number of natives who will be absorbed by the first ones [6: 22-23]. Such and similar myths are also created through the use of specific lexical units that implicitly express the attitude towards this problem.

1.2.1. The myth of immigration presented through lexical structures in the journalistic discourse of the English, Macedonian and Turkish media

Immigration as a global problem is usually treated negatively in the media and an unfavourable image of the "other" is created for this burning problem through the use of pejorative expressions, comparisons, hyperboles and lexical units intensifying noun phrases such as: even, more than, as much as with which a discriminatory, even racist attitude towards "the other" is presented. In (1), the following devices are used: the quantitative determiner more than which serves to increase the effect of the number after which it is used in the sentence; the restrictive adverb just emphasizes the short time interval; the rounded figure half a million combined with the expression to set sail implies impending danger that "arrives" by sea. They are implicitly given a negative connotation to the event and direct the reader to take a negative attitude.

(1) More than **4,000 migrants arrive in Europe by boat in just two days as Italy says** half a million are **preparing** to set sail from Africa. (*The Daily Mail*, 09.04.2014)

Certain lexical items in collocation with noun phrases can modify the meaning of the expression. The example (2) can serve as an illustration: **half a million migrants, more than half a million immigrants, equivalent of, the size of**. The text includes a quote from a government statement that qualifies the "immigrant crisis" as a growing problem.

Quantitative expressions in next five years, every four years and the comparison made through the phrase equivalent of the population by the size of Manchester in (2) reinforce the importance of the complexity of the issue of immigration and the need to take measures against the mass influx of immigrants. The noun phrase massive influx highlights the dimension and danger of the problem because massive intensifies the strong meaning of influx which already contains the meaning of "mass influx".
HALF A MILLION MIGRANTS TO COME FROM EU IN NEXT FIVE YEARS: Britain is facing the arrival of more than half a million immigrants from the European Union in just five years. It is the equivalent of the population expanding by the size of Manchester every four years, a report warned last night. Ministers were told that only far tougher curbs on welfare will prevent the massive influx, with a recommendation that new arrivals should not be able to claim benefits for at least five years. (*The Daily Express*, 02.04.2014)

1.3. Hypotheses

Our investigation is based on two hypotheses:

(a) the representation of "immigration" makes use of the discourse of fear and panic which incites fear among readers from all three language areas

(b) the problem of immigration has been exaggerated by its constant repetition and keeping on the media agenda starting from the beginning of the latest Syrian war refugee wave on and that was the reason for spreading fear and panic from immigrants in the society

1.4. The frame of 'fear' and why it is used

Journalistic discourse is "embedded" in a certain ideological framework. One of the most frequently used frames in which certain problems and events in society are placed is the "frame of fear". Fear as a concept in neuroscience has traditionally been qualified as one of the fundamental forces that shape human life [7:813]. Events from the field of infectious diseases like covid-19 [8:329-353], terrorism, various types of crime, immigration, and other current problems, can be incorporated in the frame of fear. According to [9], to frame (embed), means to select certain aspects of the perceived reality and to highlight them in the communication text in such a way that it will promote the definition of the problem, interpret the reason, the moral evaluation and/or will recommend the treatment of the issue being described [9:52]. Media in journalistic reports often manipulate with fear, i.e. they control it. Fear control means that someone in power can recognize the manipulative potential of fear and uses various techniques to create a context of fear in which ordinary individuals can be more easily manipulated and controlled [10:201].

Fear is often used for commercial reasons and is a general framework in which social problems are reported: various types of crime, terrorism, immigrants and epidemics. [11:647-649] argues that fear, widespread in American society, is produced through commercial media.

In order to survive or to be maintained, media are transformed from merely informative to active agents in the sphere of business and politics [10:206]. News organizations earn revenue in two ways; by selling newspapers (news) to readers and by selling space for advertisements aimed for the same readers [12:485]. The system works on the principle: the more fear, the more readers and the more ads. On the other hand, reported events gain more importance if they are supported by official (police and state) sources thereby legitimizing the information.
2. Data and Methods

To investigate how lexical units influence readers’ stance on immigration we analyzed the use of linguistic features in English, Macedonian and Turkish journalistic discourse. The analysis was conducted on 300 news articles of an informative nature published in the leading English (BBC, The Telegraph, the Daily Mail, the Mirror), Macedonian (Makfax, Nova Makedonija, Večer, Utrinski vesnik) and Turkish media (Milliyet, Hürriyet, Cumhuriyet, Radikal, Sözcü). In the analysis we first determined the linguistic mechanisms used in the three languages for directing the reader. Then, these texts were analyzed using the Critical discourse analysis (CDA) method in order to reveal the relationship between language and ideology. To discover the similarities and differences in the way this frame of fear works we also used a comparative analysis of texts from English, Macedonian and Turkish newspapers. The CDA method represents a multidisciplinary approach that requires knowledge of the social context, journalistic techniques and the implicit properties of language. It is mainly based on the ideas of Fairclough [1], Weiss and Wodak [14] and van Dijk [15], although there is no single, homogeneous version of [15:4]. This method offers us the opportunity to discover the deep meaning structures through a critical attitude and analysis of the surface structures of the discourse units. In other words, we discover the implicit properties of certain lexical expressions and grammatical constructions through which stereotypes and their ideological background are promoted. Ideological structures in discourse are exposed through the positive representation of "us" and the negative representation of "others". [17:207-208] lists several techniques for achieving the positive representation of "us" such as: emphasis, confirmation, hyperbole, placing in a prominent position in titles and summaries, detailed description, explicit and direct description with argumentation against the negative representation of "others". The latter is expressed through: lack of emphasis, refutation, underestimation, placement of information in an unimportant position, implicit and indirect presentation without argumentation, etc. This way of presenting the events creates a negative image of the other person. By constantly repeating the same events, an exaggerated image of the problem is created and then through generalization of certain cases, the impression that all immigrants are dangerous and cause of numerous problems in society.

3. Results

3.1. Representation of immigrants in British journalistic discourse

In British journalism we notice a different representation of immigration depending on the profile of the newspaper and its readers. The analysis of examples from the British daily shows that media implicitly or explicitly creates a negative stereotype of immigrants through the use of verbal and visual discourse. For example, fear of immigrants is emphasized in the following example, where condensed expressions and complex noun phrases are used to describe them, such as would-be asylum-seekers who are named as people who are desperate to set foot on British soil. The noun phrase British soil itself emphasises the fear of an invasion of foreigners on the British homeland:

(3) Just a few months ago the four-acre site and giant hanger just a short distance from the ferry port was a makeshift city, home to 2,000 would-be asylum-seekers desperate to set foot on British soil. (The Mirror, 01.04.2015)
Discriminatory attitude can be noticed even in the headlines. In example (4) below, a noun phrase with a negative superlative adjective, the poorest Europeans, is used to describe the immigrants from Romania and Bulgaria, which incites fear and concern. Precise statistics are used to inform the reader: an increase of 576%, 187,370 Romanians and Bulgarians. Using comparisons (as seven times as many migrants) which imply that their number is a threat to society and using dysphemisms (the poorest countries in Europe, the two most deprived countries in the European Union) the paper openly expresses concern and fear that immigrants endanger the country's economy. The news gains legitimacy by stating that it is official data:

(4) IMMIGRATION: 576% RISE IN POOREST EUROPEANS REGISTERING FOR WORK: Official figures show 187,370 Romanians and Bulgarians were given National Insurance numbers over the course of 2014 after immigration rules were relaxed, up from 27,700 during the previous year. Seven times as many migrants from the poorest countries in Europe registered to work in Britain after immigration rules were relaxed last year. (The Telegraph, 07.03.2014)

In most of the articles we analyzed, texts were accompanied by images of large numbers of immigrants, usually taken from the back, shot from the air, shown on ships and boats, in truck trailers, in garbage camps, or during their arrest. Although a large part of the news uses politically correct language and euphemisms, the combination of the correct text with visual dysphemism (photos that show the most negative side of a certain group) contributes to forming a negative image. In (4) we notice a connection between immigrants and illegality, but despite the fact that it is not confirmed, the immigrants are marked as illegal. Below in the news, the frequency of their "capture" by the authorities is highlighted through the time adverbial a week after and their connection to the previously caught 17 illegal immigrants.

(5) 11 'ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS FROM SYRIA' CAUGHT ON M20 IN KENT: Eleven men, all claiming to be Syrian, were arrested on suspicion of immigration offences and have been taken into immigration detention while their cases are dealt with. Their arrest comes a week after 17 illegal immigrants were caught on the M25 motorway in Surrey. (The Telegraph, 31.03.2015)

Analyses of the problem of migration are given with charts containing statistical data on the origin and number of "asylum applicants", the danger of them is examined in developed countries. As we can see in the following example, it is pointed out that developed countries accept more than 80% of the refugees in the world:

(6) It is important to remember that developing countries host more than 80% of the world's refugees. People fleeing conflict or persecution often end up in a neighbouring country - but many do not want to settle there permanently. (BBC, 30.08.2014)

3.2. Representation of immigrants in the Macedonian journalistic discourse in the framework of "fear"

Illegal immigration as part of reality is a constant subject of journalistic reporting in the Macedonian press. Sometimes the text may contain a perfectly correct political discourse, but the combination of that discourse with visual dysphemism - images of detention, in which the refugees are blurred - emphasizes their criminal side. In (6), which is a title, figures are given so that, on the one hand, they emphasize that the crimes committed
by immigrants have doubled and that they have already crossed "our border". Thus, all immigrants are associated with illegality. The phrase "our border" draws the line between "us" and the "others". Here, the news is placed in the frame of "fear" from a large number of illegal immigrants who are all criminally oriented.

(7) Двојно зголемен бројот на кривични дела со мигранти, вкупно 1.750 ја минала нашата гранциа. (Макфакс, 10.03.2015)

‘The number of crimes involving migrants doubled, a total of 1,750 crossed our border.’ (Makfax, 10.03.2015)

The discourse from Western journalism is transmitted in the presentation of the problem of migration. Numbers are used with the usual determiners of positive or negative reinforcement of meaning such as: more than, almost and least. The headlines use emphatic collocations: a record number and dramatic growth for a hyperbolic representation of the problem of immigration.

(8) Во Германија рекорден број доселеници (Макфакс, 19.02.2015)

‘In Germany, a record number of immigrants’ (Makfax, 19.02.2015)

(9) Драматичен раст на бројот косовари кои сакаат илегално да влезат во ЕУ (Макфакс, 07.02.2015)

‘Dramatic growth in the number of Kosovars who want to enter the EU illegally (Makfax, 07.02.2015)!

In (10), the phrase "Macedonian railways” creates a clear distinction between "us" and the "others" and the noun phrase a new wave warns of the danger of an influx of immigrants, recalling similar previous cases. Two frames are being combined: the frame of "us" and the "others" and the frame of "fear".

(10) НОВ БРАН МИГРАНТИ: По подолго време бегалците од Блискиот Исток пак се вратија на македонските пруги, на пат кон ЕУ. (Утрински весник, 22.02.2015)

‘A NEW WAVE OF MIGRANTS: After a long time, the refugees from the Middle East returned to the Macedonian railways, on their way to the EU.’ (Utrinski Vesnik, 22.02.2015)

A negative image of immigrants can also be achieved by highlighting the negative side through verbs with a negative meaning such as steal and draw and by generalizing sporadic cases like in the example by using a noun phrase (mentally ill).

(11) ИМИГРАНТИ КРАДАТ МИЛИОНИ ОД СОЦИЈАЛНИТЕ ФОНДОВИ: Банди внесуваат и психички болни во Британија за со лажни документи да црпат од таможните фондови (Утрински весник, 02.02.2014)

‘IMMIGRANTS STEAL MILLIONS FROM SOCIAL FUNDS: Gangs also bring mentally ill people to Britain in order to draw money from their funds with false documents.’ (Utrinski vesnik, 02.02.2014)
3.3. Immigrants in the frame of "fear" in the Turkish media

In the Turkish media, there are news stories that fuel the discriminatory attitude towards immigrants. The problem of immigration is presented depending on the profile of the media - whether it is close to the government or the opposition. The former emphasize the humanitarian side of the problem or present it through criticism of the discriminatory attitude of neighboring countries (mostly Greece) or the West towards immigrants, and the latter show either hidden or open impatience towards immigrants.

(12) Türk hekimler Suriyeli meslektaşlarını unutmadı. (Radikal, 05.03.2015)

‘Turkish doctors did not forget their Syrian colleagues.’ (Radikal, 05.03.2015)

(13) Yunanistan ölüme terki, Türkiye kurtardı. (Hürriyet, 01.12.2015)

‘Greece left them to die, Turkey saved them.’ (Hürriyet, 01.12.2015)

An analysis by the left-leaning opposition newspaper Cumhuriyet puts an accent on the large number of refugees that exceeds the number of residents of 11 municipalities. Such comparisons of the number of immigrants with the number of city inhabitants are not informative, but are used to represent the seriousness of the problem and implicitly fuel fear and panic. Here, through the syntagm our cities, in which a common attitude with the reader is presented, the line between "we" and the "others" is drawn.

(14) SURIYELİ NÜFUSU 11 İLİMIZI GEÇTI: Dört yıldır süren iç savaştan kaçarak Türkiye’ye sığınanların sayısı 2 milyona dayandı. Suriyelilerin sayısı 11 ilin toplam nüfusunu da geride bıraktı. (Cumhuriyet, 01.03.2015)

‘SYRIAN POPULATION EXCEEDED 11 PROVINCES: The number of people who took refuge in Turkey by escaping the four-year civil war reached 2 million. The number of Syrians surpassed the total population of 11 provinces.’ (Cumhuriyet, 01.03.2015)

The example (15) is embedded in the framework of ‘fear’ by linking immigrants to tuberculosis. Inserted discourse from a competent authority is used to support the view that Syrian immigrants spread the disease. The title itself uses a discourse of panic supported by punctuation elements (exclamation mark) and a paraphrase in quotation marks of an alarming data that indicates an increase after the arrival of new refugees - the Syrians.

(15) İSTANBUL'DA TEHLIKE ÇANLARI!... SON 30 YILDA ILK DEFA ARTTI': Türkiye'de göçmenlerin... son yıllarda Suriyelilerin birinci sırayı aldığı belirtir Prof. Dr. Zeki Kılıçaslan, bu insanların insani yardımı yapılamasını desteklediklerini ancak Suriye'den göçle birlikte Türkiye'de özellikle büyük kentlerde verem hastalığını arttığını kaydetti.

‘DANGER BELLS IN ISTANBUL!... INCREASED FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE LAST 30 YEARS: Stating that immigrants in Turkey... Syrians have taken the first place in recent years, Prof. Dr. Zeki Kılıçaslan
noted that they support humanitarian aid to these people, but that \textit{tuberculosis has increased} in Turkey, especially in big cities, \textit{with the migration from Syria}.' (Milliyet, 04.04.2015)

In (16) two questions are explicitly raised thus drawing a distinction between "us" and the "others". The text uses hyperbolized expressions such as: \textit{with millions, in 81 provinces}. By the restrictive adverb \textit{only (sadece)}, an emphasis is made that only a small number of immigrants are in camps and a large number are well taken care of by the government, which is being criticised. Further in the text, the opposition newspaper implicitly criticizes the government's policy of accepting Syrians into Turkish citizenship. Instead of granting citizenship, the expression \textit{been accepted in the citizenship of the Republic of Turkey} is used, indicating the number of admitted Syrians, which alludes to the danger of changing the country's demographic structure.

\textbf{4. Discussion}

The critical and contrastive analyses of texts from British, Macedonian and Turkish journalistic discourse show that they mainly create a negative image of immigrants. The participants in migration movements are described with the following lexemes: \textit{refugees, migrants, asylum seekers}, and the phrase \textit{illegal immigrants} is widely used. The criminal side of immigration is more represented: news related to illegal crossings, illegal activities and other types of crime are shown more than the human dimension of the phenomenon. The discriminatory attitude is hidden, but implied through the use of linguistic strategies of emphasising large numbers, rounding the digits, placing them in a prominent position, using an active form whose agent is the noun denoting...
immigrants and extracting data from official research that serves to legitimize the news and point out its credibility. This approach of negative portrayal and generalization of immigrants by the media creates a negative stereotype for immigrants: all immigrants are illegal, poor, uneducated, work illegally, and are inclined to crime. Such presentation creates a negative, xenophobic and racist attitude among the readers and is the reason for the spread of fear and panic, with which they are being distanced from society. The results of the analysis proved our first hypothesis: the representation of immigrants makes use of the discourse of fear which incites panic and insecurity among readers from all three language areas. Confirmed was our second hypothesis that the problem of immigration has been exaggerated by its constant repetition in the media agenda from the very beginning of the latest Syrian war on and has thus fueled fear and panic among the readers, despite the fact that it was a complex problem for the authorities to deal with.

In all three discourses, the politicization of immigration news is observed: in British and Turkish journalism, this issue is used to criticize the ruling party, as well as to attack the politics of neighboring countries, the second is also characteristic of Macedonian journalism. We can notice that there is more sensationalism in English and Turkish journalism, which is expressed through bombastic headlines or through the presentation of photographs that portray immigrants negatively.

Macedonian and Turkish journalism, mirrors the models of reporting from Western journalism. In all three discourses, journalistic texts about refugees are combined with images showing immigrants with blurred faces or behind fences, barbed wire, in large crowds, in boats and vehicles and more in scenes where they are shown in conflict with the authorities. These images complement the text and in combination with it convey the desired message to the reader. All this contributes to distancing and non-acceptance of immigrants and refugees from society. This way of representation in journalism contributes to deepening the antagonism between "us" and the "others" and fuels the feeling of fear and panic of immigrants. In the pro-government Turkish media which supports the open door policy of the state, we can notice the human dimension of the problem, shown by the news about immigrants’ misfortunes and humanitarian aid actions of the authorities and various organizations. The opposition newspapers, on the other hand, point out at a greater degree the negative side of immigrants and through a seemingly informative way, a negative image of the "others" is implicitly shaped.

This is achieved via techniques of generalizing individual examples, using punctuation marks (exclamation mark) in the title itself (which is also observed in Macedonian journalism). In the Macedonian media, similarly, the opposition media express a more open negative attitude and fuel fear and panic in the society, those who are closer to the government use a relatively correct political vocabulary, but the combination with the visual discourse does not create a good image for the immigrants.

In Turkish and Macedonian journalistic discourse some cultural peculiarities can be noticed in using some patriotic vocabulary like: our borders, our rails, our cities. In addition, we witness accusations such as immigrants steal and draw money in Macedonian and the use of term Syrians in Turkish as a synonym for Syrian immigrants and representing Syrian immigrants as a cause for many essential problems in the society like unemployment, inflation, education etc.
5. Conclusion

In this paper we researched the linguistic features of journalistic discourse in numerous English, Turkish and Macedonian media. Primarily, we tried to examine whether the discourse in journalistic texts reporting on immigration is employed only in function of informing about the problems related to immigration or via use of different linguistic and journalistic techniques it also contributes to the creation and spread of excessive fear and panic among the perceivers on the news. Our investigation aimed to identify and analyze the lexical units (individual words and phrases) used in the discourse of fear and panic. As the basic unit of the analysis, we used the journalistic text, including the journalistic headlines. Then, we tried to determine the similarities and differences of the linguistic units used in the journalistic text and the way they were applied in the English, Macedonian and Turkish journalistic discourse with the purpose of creating fear and panic. For this purpose, we analysed journalistic texts that were mostly of an informative nature through the use of the qualitative method of critical discourse analysis. The significant benefit of the research is that it tries to reveal the manipulative power of the journalistic discourse in the three language areas. By determining the similarities and differences in strategies for directing readers in the three different cultures, we conclude that those strategies are universal, although some of them depend on the national culture of a particular society. Certain media in the interest of rating, due to concern for their financial survival and obtaining sponsorships and advertisements, do not respect the journalistic code and manipulate the feelings of viewers/readers, creating unnecessary panic and fear and thus moving away from the goals of the profession contribute to shaping the agenda itself. We can conclude that news articles about immigration, in addition to their basic informational function, perform two more functions: commercial-sensationalist and ideological shaping of public opinion.

References