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After the catastrophe: Political use of
collective trauma of 9/11 and Smoleńsk
2010 in media discourse.

Po katastrofie: Polityczne wykorzystanie
traumy zbiorowej 11 września 2001 i
Smoleńska w dyskursie medialnym.

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Introduction

After a catastrophe, natural or caused by man, people work through the shock and try to make sense of it. Crowds often gather in places of the cityscape they deem relevant in the moment, people discuss, reminisce, produce discourses and artifacts in reference to what has happened. Flowers, photographs and notes pinned to the railings surrounding Ground Zero after the attacks of September 11 in New York may come to mind along with images of mourning crowds flooding the streets days after. With the technology at their disposal news outlets provide detailed coverage on tragic happenings. Events like that shake entire communities, as they strike in shared perceptions of what the world around us is and how it functions.

Traumatic events can leave entire nations in a state of deep shock, as in the case of the attacks of 9/11 or the TU-154M presidential aircraft crash near Smoleńsk, Russia on April 10, 2010. The Smoleńsk plane crash left no survivors, the death toll amounted to 96 victims, which may seem incomparable to the almost 3000 deaths suffered in the attacks of September 11. The crash in Smoleńsk was not an act of deliberate violence, but an accident. However, the events of April 10, 2010 shook the Polish nation as profoundly as those of September 11, 2001 shook America. Poland's head of state and many prominent government officials lost their lives while traveling to Russia to commemorate a past national tragedy. Images of flowers, photographs, notes, candles placed in front of the Presidential Palace in Warsaw, Poland's capital, may come to mind to those who witnessed it. Public discussion of the symbolic significance of the tragedy followed, as the trauma of what happened 70 years earlier in the area near the crash site re-emerged.

Events like this make a community question their own past and demand new interpretations. Collective traumas, whether being a result of violence, accident or natural disaster strike not only survivors or families of victims but also entire collectivities of people, including those who never directly experienced the event, or even generations that never had the chance to witness it. As a social phenomenon trauma seems both disturbing and fascinating as we observe how one event appears to transcend time and space to leave its mark on those who never directly experienced it. Why we collectively perceive certain events as traumatizing is inherently interconnected with how we remember things as a collectivity. Memories we socially form and share as a community are a form of social practice impossible to carry out without discourse. Hence, I have decided to turn to discourse analysis to investigate how and why traumatic status is attributed to events that left tremendous impact on entire collectivities of people.

The general aim of the present dissertation is to explore how collective trauma is constructed through the use of language in media discourse. The study is informed by theories of trauma developed in the fields of psychology and sociology, and uses theories and methods of Critical Discourse Analysis to explore the mechanisms that drive that process. Tracing political forces that shape the discourse in the public sphere are seen as of key importance in gaining a deeper understanding of why some events are attributed traumatic status and how they are represented in media discourse. Hence, the study adheres to a politically and historically oriented paradigm within critical discourse studies, namely that of Discourse Historical Approach.

The data gathered for the analysis comes from national newspapers – the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* for texts focusing on 9/11, and *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Nasz Dziennik* for texts focusing on the Smoleńsk crash. Two sets of specialized corpora containing articles published during the first 8 weeks following each tragedy were created and subject to both quantitative and qualitative analysis.

The research questions (RQ) that guide the present dissertation and constitute the basis for the hypotheses (H) tested in the analytical part of the work can be found below:

RQ1. Are elements of the trauma process differentiated by the social theory of trauma identifiable in media discourse?

- RQ2. What discursive strategies were used in the construction of representations of 9/11 and the Smoleńsk crash as collective traumas?
- RQ3. Can differences be found in the way the same event is represented as a collective trauma in two newspapers of opposing political orientation?
- RQ4. Does the inclusion of a political-historical context into the analysis provide explanation of differences in discursive representations of 9/11 and the Smoleńsk crash as collective traumas?
- H1. The discursive representations of 9/11 as a collective trauma will differ in the *New York Times* and in the *Wall Street Journal*.
- H2. The discursive representations of the Smoleńsk crash as a collective trauma will differ in *Gazeta Wyborcza* and in *Nasz Dziennik*.
- H3. The differences in the way that both 9/11 and the Smoleńsk crash are represented as collective trauma will mirror the political orientation of each news media outlet.

The present dissertation is organized as follows. The first three chapters outline the theoretical foundations of the study. Chapter 1 discusses trauma from both the psychological and sociological perspectives. Next, the notion of collective memory is introduced and discussed in the context of collective trauma. The role of political influence on collective memory and collective trauma is then elaborated on. The chapter closes with a description of how the concept of trauma can be explored in discourse studies. Chapter 2 outlines the origins and theoretical foundations of Critical Discourse Analysis. The definitions of text and discourse are introduced. Lastly, the Discourse Historical Approach is discussed as politically and historically oriented paradigm of critical discourse studies. The following Chapter 3 focuses on the notion of the public sphere and sets 9/11 and the Smoleńsk crash in their respective political-historical contexts. The chapter closes with a discussion on political discourse, which views news

media discourse as its variation. Chapter 4 outlines the methods used in the analytical portion of the study. Qualitative methods of Discourse Historical Analysis are discussed, following with a detailed description of quantitative methods used to supplement in-depth qualitative analysis. These methods include elements of Corpus Linguistics and Text Network Analysis. Lastly, a step-by-step description of procedures used in the study is provided. The results of the analyses and a discussion can be found in Chapter 5. The dissertation closes with Conclusions outlining the general conclusion drawn from the study and their implications for future research.

Chapter 1: Trauma, memory and politics

1.1. Introduction

The concept of trauma is by no means a new one, but it has gained recognition and publicity in the last few decades. In medical science the word trauma refers to a physical wound, a blow damaging tissues of a body and causing shock to the entire system. This notion traversed into the fields of psychiatry and psychology where it stands for a psychological wound caused by a devastating event that leaves a lingering sense of suffering in the victim. While psychological trauma has been defined as early as at the turn of the 20th century, interest in the subject peaked in the years following the War in Vietnam with the American Psychiatric Association including PTSD (Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder) among officially recognized disorders (Caruth 1995: 3). The notion of trauma made its way into sociology and culture studies as the 20th century brought not only some of the most violent events in the history of mankind, but it also had the technological means to show and tell about these events to a mass audience. The advances of the modern age made everything bigger – including the wars, the conflicts, and the news. In order to place the current understanding and interest in trauma we need to trace the notion to its roots.

1.2. Trauma and the individual

We see symptoms of PTSD in war veterans, rape victims, catastrophe survivors, but not only there, on the first line of battle and tragedy. In her work *Trauma: A*

genealogy Ruth Leys offers a retrospective analysis of the evolution of the term. Leys (2000: 3) explains that although there has always existed an intuitive connection in people's minds between being exposed to a very disturbing event and subsequent psychological problems like "troubling memories, arousal, and avoidance", the notion of psychological trauma as understood in the modern sense first appears in the works of John Erichsen. Erichsen studied victims of railway accidents who suffered from emotional distress, which he attributed to damage inflicted on the victim's spine. Leys (2000: 3) further notes Paul Oppenheim, a neurologist originating from Berlin, who coined the term "traumatic neurosis" claiming that the trauma syndrome should be recognized as a separate disease unit. Unlike Erichsen, however, Oppenheim explained that the symptoms of "traumatic neurosis" are caused by undetectable changes in the brain tissue. However, the modern understanding of trauma as a psychological concept concerned with the shattering of one's self due to experiencing a tremendous shock or terror began with the works of some of the founding fathers of modern psychology, among whom Leys enumerates "J. M. Charcot, Pierre Janet, Alfred Binet, Morton Prince, Josef Breuer, Sigmund Freud, and other turn-of-the-century figures" (Leys 2000: 3).

1.2.1. Psychological trauma – early formulation of the notion

Freud, one of the first and most prominent figures that contributed to research on trauma, in his early studies of hysteria sought the root of trauma in childhood sexual abuse, that once repressed and pushed back into the depths of the unconscious caused emotional distress (Smelser 2004: 32-33). Freud later abandoned this route of reasoning in favor of his theory of repressed sexual fantasies and wishes that caused his female patients to form traumatic memories of sexual abuse (Leys 2000: 3). Freud ([1935] 1997: 258) defined psychological trauma as a dissociation of an individual from the present and the future due to influence of a traumatic past experience. Leys explains Freud's understanding of the mechanism of trauma as a "deferred action" ("Nachträglichkeit"), namely by the relation between two events in an individual's life – in the context of child sexual abuse one that "came too early in the child's development to be understood and assimilated, and a second event that also was not inherently

traumatic but that triggered a memory of the first event that only then was given traumatic meaning and hence repressed” (Leys 2000: 20). As Leys follows to explain, according to Freud, none of these events need to be inherently traumatic, but the relation between these experiences, the attribution of meaning of the first event by the context and understanding of the latter one is what causes distress. Freud revisited his claims on trauma in *Moses and monotheism*, where, having observed the impact of World War I on soldiers, he shifted his focus again to the belated experiencing of an event. In *Moses and monotheism*, as Cathy Caruth (1995: 7) puts it, “he compares the history of the Jews with the structure of trauma”, as “Freud seems to describe the trauma as the successive movement from an event to its repression to its return”.

At the beginning stages psychiatry’s interest in trauma, hypnosis was used to retrieve traumatic memories from the unconscious back into the conscious, where they could be expressed through the cathartic power of language. In her genealogy of psychological trauma Ruth Leys (2000) describes two major paradigms that led early theories of psychological trauma – the mimetic and the anti-mimetic theories. The mimetic paradigm dates back to the use of hypnosis in psychiatry, as Leys explains “trauma was defined as a situation of dissociation or ‘absence’ from the self in which the victim unconsciously imitated or identified with the aggressor or traumatic scene in a situation that was likened to a state of heightened suggestibility or hypnotic trance” (Leys 2000: 8-9). What this paradigm implicated was a certain lack of control on the side of the subject (through involuntary repetition of past traumatic events) and thus a threat to the idea of individual autonomy. In the anti-mimetic movement, on the other hand, Leys describes trauma as memories or records of an event that cannot be assimilated into memory. Susannah Radstone explains the fundamental difference in these two approaches as follows: “in the mimetic theory, trauma produces psychical dissociation from the self, in the anti-mimetic theory, it is the record of an unassimilable [sic!] event which is dissociated from memory” (Radstone 2007:14). As Leys highlights, the anti-mimetic movement became more prevailing mainly because it re-established “a strict dichotomy between the autonomous subject and the external trauma” (Leys 2000: 9).

1.2.2. Trauma in the contemporary world

Although the two World Wars revived research on psychological trauma to some degree, Cathy Caruth (1995: 3) points to the years following the Vietnam War as the revival of interest in trauma in the fields of psychiatry and psychoanalysis, as well as sociology. Even though the atrocities of the Holocaust did spawn research on the psychological functioning of camp survivors, as Leys (2000: 4-5) points out, a widespread interest in trauma peeked later on. Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) was only officially recognized and acknowledged by the American Psychiatric Association in 1980, and as Leys notes “it was largely as the result of an essentially political struggle by psychiatrists, social workers, activists and others to acknowledge the post-war sufferings of the Vietnam War veteran” (Leys 2000: 5). Caruth (1995: 3) highlights that official recognition of trauma as a disorder provided a diagnostic tool that could be applied not only to soldiers, but also natural catastrophe survivors, victims of rape, child abuse, or other types of violence. On the other hand, as Caruth points out, the actual explanation of what trauma is remains under debate.

Cathy Caruth (1995) claims that trauma escapes representation, that it is an event so shocking for an individual, that it cannot be experienced at the time of occurrence and integrated into one's own narrative memory. From the perspective of Caruth's trauma theory “the pathology consists, rather, solely in the *structure of its experience* or reception: the event is not assimilated or experienced fully at the time, but only belatedly, in its repeated *possession* of the one who experiences it” (Caruth 1995: 4). What is interesting, in Caruth's theoretical framework of trauma, as Radstone (2007: 17) points out, is that Caruth's trauma theory focuses on the belated memory of the event hunting the victim, while Radstone herself follows Laplanche and Pontalis (1988) and their claim that an event becomes traumatizing only when its memory is attributed traumatic meaning.

The idea that it is the attribution of traumatic meaning and not the belated memory of a traumatic event that constitute trauma is central to Jeffrey Alexander's social theory of trauma (discussed in the next section of this work). The atrocities of recent wars and genocides have shown that trauma can be approached not only from the perspective of an individual, but also from the perspective of societies and cultures. Cathy Caruth also believed trauma can spread to entire collectivities. Following her

Duncan Bell writes that according to Caruth “while trauma cannot be adequately represented, escaping the bounds of intelligibility, it is nevertheless transmissible through society, as if it were an infectious disease. It is capable of being passed on not only between people, but also across generations and cultures” (Bell 2006: 7). However, as Bell (2006: 7) further notes, while the ideas regarding individual trauma may not be fully translatable to the social context, they can facilitate the understanding of the impact that certain devastating events have on societies.

1.3. Trauma and the collective

Approaching trauma as a sociological process, rather than from the perspective of an individual faced with an emotionally devastating event requires a change of perspective. If psychological trauma involves being overcome with emotions, how does that apply to collectivities of people? Collectivities cannot “feel” or “think” in the same sense as individuals do, moreover, how is it possible that atrocities of wars echo in generations that have never experienced them? Can we speak of the trauma of 9/11, if we have only seen the fall of the Twin Tower in television and none of our loved ones died in the attacks? Why does the memory of the Katyń forest massacre still evoke tension? A social theory of trauma explores these issues and tries to provide answers to them.

1.3.1. Trauma as a social phenomenon

Ron Eyerman explains that in the collective context trauma should be understood as a blow to a group’s identity. While psychology often uses the metaphor of trauma as a wound to the psyche, in social science trauma is rather like “a tear in the social fabric” (Eyerman 2001: 2, 2004: 61) or “a blow to the basic tissues of social life” (Erikson 1976: 153). Neil Smelser defines collective trauma (in this section used interchangeably with cultural trauma, as the theoretical distinction between the collective, cultural and national trauma is minimal at this stage) as “a memory accepted and publicly given credence by a relevant membership group and evoking an event or situation which is (a) laden with negative affect, (b) represented as indelible, and (c) regarded as threatening a

society's existence or violating one or more of its fundamental cultural presuppositions" (Smelser 2004: 44). Collective trauma destroys the social bonds that tie a community together and disturbs established meanings. It is not even necessary for all (if any) members of a group to actually experience an event to call it traumatizing, since collective trauma is a process of mediation and representation (Eyerman 2001: 2; 2004: 61).

Jeffrey Alexander (2004: 11-15) in his sociological approach to collective trauma stresses that "trauma is not a result of a group experiencing pain" but rather "the result of this acute discomfort entering into the core of the collectivity's sense of its own identity" (Alexander 2004: 10). As Alexander explains, rather than being experienced, pain is represented as threatening for the community and claims are made regarding its significance for the group's past and future:

Traumatic status is attributed to real or imagine phenomena, not because of their actual harmfulness or their objective abruptness, but because these phenomena are believed to have abruptly, and harmfully, affected collective identity. Individual security is anchored in structures of emotional and cultural expectations that provide a sense of security and capability. These expectations and capabilities, in turn, are rooted in the sturdiness of the collectivities of which individuals are a part. At issue is not the stability of a collectivity in the material or behavioral sense, although this certainly plays a part. What is at stake, rather, is the collectivity's identity, its stability in terms of meaning, not action. (Alexander 2004: 9-10)

As already mentioned, collectivities are not capable of feeling in the same sense individuals experience emotions. Hence, the destructive nature of an event in the material understanding does not play key role in that event becoming collectively traumatic, it is the disruption of a collectivity's sense of identity that is central to collective trauma. Traumatic events are situations where what happens forces a community to face questions concerning who they are and the reality they collectively perceive as true. A shared sense of identity, belonging to a group that is consistent enough to hold the same things as sacred, common and unquestionable needs to be shaken in its foundations to gain traumatic status. In the case of collective trauma we are dealing with what Ron Eyerman (2001: 3; 2004: 62) calls mass-mediated experience. Here, representations of events arise from a socio-cultural process of meaning attribution that Alexander (2012: 16) calls "the trauma process". During that process carrier groups, "that are the collective agents of the trauma process", make

claims regarding the “nature of the pain, the nature of the victim and the attribution of responsibility” (Alexander 2012: 17). Alexander compares the trauma process in its basic structure to performative speech acts (Austin 1962; Alexander, Giesen, and Mast 2006), where the *speaker* translates to the carrier group, the *audience* to the public and the *situation* to the “historical, cultural, and institutional environment” (Alexander 2012: 16) in which the events take place. In the course of the trauma process carrier groups, being articulate and socially prominent enough to gain voice in public discourse, struggle to establish who exactly is to be included as the victim (individuals, collectivities, societies in general) and what is the nature of the victim’s pain. Carrier groups pose claims about what exactly happened to the affected collectivity, was it a natural disaster, a terrorist attack, an accident or shock caused by sudden social change? Similarly, the perpetrator is established and claims to “ideal and material consequences” (Alexander 2012: 26) are made.

With the creation of these representations a narrative of social suffering is created, and depending on the institutional arenas in which the trauma process unfolds its main concerns may be different. Alexander (2004, 2012) explains that whether the trauma process takes place in the religious, aesthetic, legal, scientific, mass media or state bureaucracy arena determines its focus. For example, in the religious context trauma will pose questions of theodicy, while if it enters the arena of state bureaucracy the power over the whole process can be diverted to the government. What Alexander further explains is that “the constraints imposed by institutional arenas are mediated by the uneven distribution of material resources and the social networks that provide different access to them” (Alexander 2004: 21). Consequently, representations of trauma can be generated not by the part of the community stricken by a traumatizing event, but rather by more affluent groups representing their own interests. Moreover, collective trauma, being a social construct, needs to be continuously and actively re-established as traumatic in order not to lose its status (Smelser 2004: 38). Due to the fact that representations, negotiated and delayed in time, are focal to the collective trauma process, experiencing an event is not imperative to becoming traumatized. Collective trauma depends strongly on social contexts and mediation, hence “the means and media of representation are crucial, for they bridge the gap between individuals and between occurrence and its recollection” (Eyerman 2001: 11).

1.3.2. Trauma and imagined communities

As a collective process the phenomenon of trauma concerns groups of people that are relatively coherent and unified. In this sense a group needs to share norms, beliefs, values, and meanings – concepts that we naturally associate with culture, society or nation. Members of a community do not need to know each other personally in order to have a sense of communality. Their connection is imagined, as Benedict Anderson ([1983] 1991) writes in his definition of a nation, and therefore inherently limited and sovereign. It is limited in the sense that it includes only a portion of all human population and sovereign because it is democratic (as in the case of modern nations, no absolute authority governs them, as dynastic monarchies once ruled their people) (Anderson [1983] 1991). Although Anderson talked about imagined communities in the context of nations and nationalism, I take liberty to apply his idea to collectivities such as culture and society in general. Smelser (2004: 37) explains culture as a system, where shared elements, such as norms or meanings, are linked together forming meaningful connections. A community needs to pertain a level of unity and coherence, where unity refers to “the degree, which there is general consensus about the culture in the society” and coherence refers to “the tightness or looseness of the meaningful relations among the elements of the cultural system” (Smelser 2004: 38). Collective trauma disrupts or threatens this social glue that binds people together and makes a collection of individuals a community.

1.3.3. What can become a collective trauma?

A question that arises here is what events can attain the status of collective trauma. Aside from the most intuitive choices, such as natural disasters, catastrophes, wars and genocide research on collective trauma has shown that the social fabric can not only rip due to abrupt blows, but it can tear more slowly. While the Holocaust, 9/11 or the Vietnam War easily come to mind when thinking of collective trauma, social change in post-communist Poland (Sztompka 2004), the Great Depression (Neil 1998), American slavery (Eyerman 2001), and other less obvious events can also become collective traumas, as they equally undermine the basic structures of social functioning

of a given collectivity. However, as Smelser (2004: 42) points out, not all trauma-like events show characteristics of collective trauma. Smelser points to Arthur Neil (1998), claiming that some events that Neil analysed as national traumas do not fully fit the definition of collective trauma. Smelser explains that “in the case of collective trauma, there is often an interest in representing the trauma as indelible (a national shame, a permanent scar, etc.), and if this representation is successfully established, the memory does in fact take on the characteristics of indelibility and unshakeability” (Smelser 2004: 42). The indelible nature of an event keeps it alive in memory and prevents the trauma from being worked through or forgotten.

Literature shows that experiencing an event first hand is not necessary to become traumatized by it (Alexander et al. 2004 is an example of a comprehensive body of literature on the subject). Alexander (2004: 8-9, 2012) explains that trauma can be constructed from imagined events, but he also highlights that the term imagined should not be understood as illusory or nonexistent (although he does not deny that traumas constructed from nonexistent events occur). An imagined event in the context of trauma means that we can imagine an event and experience appropriate affect (Smelser 2004). Imagination is then fundamental to the process of representation, as it gives shape and meaning to events (Alexander 2004: 9). Representations are produced through carrier groups and how these representations are formed depends on the language carrier groups decide to apply. As Eyerman (2001: 3, 2004: 62) highlights “mass-mediated experience always involves selective construction and representation, since what is seen is the result of the actions and decisions of professionals as to what is significant and how it should be presented”. In collective trauma we do not have to experience the event, what we do experience are time-delayed recollections produced by agents of the collective trauma process. “How an event is remembered is intimately entwined with how it is represented” (Eyerman 2001: 11), therefore through analysing media discourse we may gain insight into the trauma process. Jenny Edkins (2006: 101) also claims that through analyzing traumatic collective memories we can see through the political powers that drive and influence the process. The fact that direct experience is not required in the trauma process hints at the mechanisms behind transmission of collective trauma.

Experiences of past generations can echo in the generations of their children and grand children, as in the case of families of Holocaust survivors (footnote about

replacement children) (Schwab 2012) or post-war Germany struggling with responsibility for Nazi crimes (Giesen 2004). Unhealed traumas can continue to haunt cultures or serve as foundation for collective identity construction, as in the United States, where recollections of suffering and humiliation of enslaved ancestors served as a focal point in identity formation of African Americans (Eyerman 2001). Past traumas can fall into depths of non-memory or forceful forgetting, they can be worked through in public discussion, debated, and incorporated into the grand national narrative, marked with memorials and ritualized in acts of commemoration. How collective traumas become incorporated in collective memory or how they are denied recognition calls for a more detailed discussion of collective memory and remembering.

1.4. Collective memory

Collective trauma is often referred to as an event that blurs the boundary between past and present: it is the disappearance and reappearance of memory. Memory is used here in the collective sense, as what haunts a community are recollections its members share. However, mechanisms of shared, or collective memory do not translate perfectly from how individuals remember. The term collective memory can be traced back to Emile Durkheim's ([1912] 2010) work *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, where he wrote on the social role of commemoration rituals and to Durkheim's student, Maurice Halbwachs. Halbwachs (1952: 215-216) in his classic work *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* claims that all memories are formed in a social context and the framework of collective memory binds all memories, since "people always remember a world in which other people also live" (Paez et al. 1997: 152). From the perspective of social psychology, we form perceptions of ourselves not only based on our individual traits, but also based on the collective and historical memory of the social group we belong to.

1.4.1. Memory as a social phenomenon

In Halbwachs' view both individual memory and identity are shaped through social interaction and negotiation with shared memory (Marcel and Mucchielli 2010: 143).

Memory is supra-individual, since as individuals we remember events in relation to our social surrounding, be it ideological, political or other (Eyerman 2001: 6). As we are all derivatives of larger groups, such as families, communities or nationalities that themselves have stories of past to tell, how we form our memories is intertwined with history we grow up in and with (Eyerman 2001: 6). In other words, “history defines us just as we define history” (Pennebaker and Banasik 1997: 18). The notion of collective memory developed by Halbwachs constitutes the theoretical foundation for contemporary studies on the subject (Olick 2010). However, Jan Assmann (2010) offers a distinction between ‘communicative memory’, a and ‘cultural memory’, both of which, according to Jan Assmann, constitute what Halbwachs called ‘collective memory’, and ‘cultural memory’. In Jan Assmann’s view Halbwachs’s notion did not incorporate institutionalised forms of shared memory, meaning memory that is “exteriorized, objectified, and stored away in symbolic forms” (2010: 110). Jeffrey K. Olick proposes yet another interpretation of Halbwachs’s ideas, by suggesting that collective memory can be understood as an array of mnemonic products and practices that take part in the dynamic process of remembering.

Duncan Bell offers a simple, yet comprehensive definition of collective memory in contemporary understanding: these are “widely shared perceptions of the past” that shape “the story that groups of people tell about themselves, linking past, present and future in a simplified narrative” (Bell 2006: 2). In other words, collective memory is the temporal map that guides individuals and societies through the past to the present and it directs where they are heading in the future (Eyerman 2001: 6; Giesen 2004). Memories we share as collectivities are, however, “highly selective images” of events (Bell 2006: 2). How societies remember is a dynamic process that starts at the individual level, where members of a society experience an event and then narrate it in order to assimilate it into their own personal history. As that event is collectively thought through and discussed a shared memory emerges that can be incorporated into a collective narrative (Pennebaker and Banasik 1997: 4). Intuitively, as individuals we should remember events significant for us and for the community we live in.

Thinking about the terrorist attacks of 9/11 most people who witnessed the Twin Towers collapsing on their television screens back in 2001 will probably recall where they were and what they had been doing at the time they learned about the tragedy. Flashbulb memories (Brown and Kulik 1977), vivid and detailed snapshots of the past,

are “a mixture of personal circumstances and historical events” (Pennebaker and Banasik 1997: 5) that let individuals incorporate their own personal memories in a greater historical context. Flashbulb memories seem peculiar in their conception – Neisser and Harsch ([1992] 2006) propose that these memories are formed after the occurrence of an event, not while the event unveils. Neisser and Harsch argue that events such as news of catastrophes covered in media may cause a temporal dislocation of personal memories. Events such as the attacks on 9/11 were laden with affect, but they had no intrinsic connection to what the person learning the news had been doing at that moment. While recollecting what Neisser and Harsch refer to as a recipient event (as opposed to a directly experienced event) people reconstruct (often inaccurately) their own experience that they can connect with the collective memory of the event. Flashbulb memories are moreover interesting, since they are what Jeffrey K. Olick (1999) calls “collected memories” (further discussed later in this chapter) that still are individual, but hint on aspects of collective memory. Memory, both individual and collective is flexible, as Assmann and Shortt argue, “the file of memory is never closed; it can always be reopened and reconstructed in new acts of remembering”(2012: 3). Pennebaker and Banasik highlight the role of language in the process of remembering, especially in the case of traumatic events, as language is “the vehicle for important cognitive and learning processes following an emotional upheaval” (1997: 8). We talk about events to make sense of them, to communicate them to others and to incorporate them into the present cultural and political context. Memory in the social context shifts its focus, as studies in comparative literature, cognitive framing, and linguistic research redirect the search for memory from individual minds to “the discourse of people talking together about the past” (Radley 1990: 46, as cited in: Eyerman 2001: 6).

1.4.2. Collective memory and language

Language is of central importance to studies on collective memory since, as already mentioned, collective memories are constructed through “mediated representations of the past that involve selecting, rearranging, re-describing and simplifying, as well as the deliberate, but also perhaps unintentional, inclusion and exclusion of information” (Assmann and Shortt 2012: 3-4). Through language past events can be recollected and

re-invented, in order to fit political needs of groups prominent enough to communicate them in the public sphere. However, there are mechanisms resisting manipulation of recollections – events leave a trail of artifacts and recordings and therefore “the past cannot be literally constructed, it can only be selectively exploited” (Schwartz 1982: 398, as cited in Eyerman 2001: 7). The term selective exploitation seems most accurate here, as political circumstances play key role in what past events and what aspects of these events are, indeed, exploited in the process of representation. Pennebaker and Banasik argue that “significant historical events form stronger collective memories, and present circumstances affect what events are remembered as significant” (1997: 6). Hence, collective memory needs not be homogenous, as Assmann and Shortt (2012) claim. Political change demands a new narrative and often a re-writing of past events, however this demand may clash with existing collective memories, especially in the case of memories of trauma and violence. Assmann and Shortt (2012: 4) point to memory as not only flexible and dynamic but also a potential force behind change, as through memory and its re-working new approaches to past traumas can emerge. Aleida Assmann provides an example of societies burdened with violent pasts of political conflict, as in these societies “the road to a constitutional state and to social integration today proceeds through the bottleneck of remembering as a first (or second) step in coming to terms with mass murder and similar crimes” (Assmann 2012: 62). Through this process of remembering the victims gain recognition, the guilt is allocated and events can be remembered and institutionalized through political rituals of commemoration. In other words, the trauma process can unfold.

While some events form collective memories through public discourse, other may remain unspoken, yet not forgotten. Pennebaker and Banasik (1997: 10) characterize silent events as ones that are actively not talked about, whether it is due to overwhelming guilt or shame burdening the affected community, or due to political, institutional or religious repressions. The refusal to discuss a traumatic event, Pennebaker and Banasik argue, instead of causing the event to be forgotten may actually prove to be the driving force behind forming collective memories. This was the case of the massacre of Polish officers and civilians by NKVD units in the forests surrounding Katyń (territory of the former Soviet Union) in the early 1940s. The tragedy was silenced for decades to come, but nevertheless formed a strong collective memory and, as shall become apparent later in this work, became engrained in the

Polish collective mind. Another feature of collective memories is that they last – sometimes for years, even generations (Pennebaker and Banasik 1997: 11), or rather generational units, in Mannheim’s (1952: 304) understanding. In order to speak of a generation one cannot just look at people born in the same time span – what needs to be taken into account is their shared experiences – cultural, historical, existential. Some collective memories of events tend to resurface in cyclic intervals of time. Pennebaker and Banasik (1997) argue that these intervals usually amount to 25-30 years, as this is the period throughout which people gain material resources and political power to commemorate an event, and enough time will have passed for a group to distance themselves from that event to the degree it no longer paralyses their actions, but instead pushes them towards commemoration. Ron Eyerman points to this generational shift observed in literature as to a mechanism of temporal structuring of the formation of collective memory, by linking group memory to collective memory. As he explains:

Groups of course, are public, but a particular group’s memory may not necessary be publicly, that is officially, acknowledged or commemorated. If a collective memory is rooted in a potentially traumatic event, which by definition is both painful and open to varying sorts of evaluation, it may take a generation to move from group memory to public memory; sometimes it may take even longer, sometimes it may never happen at all. (Eyerman 2001: 15)

What gains enough audacity to enter the public sphere and traverses from group memory to collective memory depends on the political forces behind it. Not all great upheavals become ingrained in the collective mind, since not all will generate political change, and what events generate change and contribute to the formation and maintenance of collective identity is affected by the groups that struggle to push their representation of events into public discourse. This is a complex process that “is always a fluid negotiation between the desires of the present and the legacies of the past” (Olick 2010: 159). The life of collective trauma in public memory is hence subject to constant discussion and contestation. Which traumas will be successfully worked through in the trauma process, tamed in rituals of commemoration and remembered, but not re-remembered, and which will continue to re-emerge depends on the political potential collective agents see in them. The methodological and theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis adopted in the present dissertation aims at exploring the power struggles that stand behind what transcend into the public sphere and into collective

memory. Discourse, understood as language use as part of social practice (including memory practices), is hence of key importance. The relations between memory, trauma, and discourse is elaborated further in Section 1.6 of this chapter.

1.5. Political uses of memory

Before we move to a discussion on how political powers shape collective memory, another theoretical distinction needs to be introduced. Collective memory discussed thus far referred to shared, negotiated perceptions of the past that act as a binding ingredient that forms and keeps groups of individuals together, serves as a referential frame for individual memory and identity formation. However, as Jeffrey K. Olick (1999) highlights, the term has grown to encompass an array of social phenomena, starting from collective representations, testimonies, acts of commemoration, to myths, traditions and material heritage. Wulf Kansteiner (2002) also suggests that the term collective memory poses several theoretical problems, starting from terminological distinctions made when talking about collective memory and its cognate terms, as well as the need to separate methods used to investigate individual and collective memory. The following sections strive to introduce terminological transparency in reference to the term collective memory and collective trauma as used in this work, as well as point to what informs these choices.

1.5.1. Collective versus collected memory

The main issues in achieving a congruent theoretical approach to collective memory is accurately summed up by the quote from Kansteiner below:

Collective memory is not history, though it is sometimes made from similar material. It is a collective phenomenon but it only manifests itself in the actions and statements of individuals. It can take hold of historically and socially remote events but it often privileges the interest of the contemporary. It is as much a result of conscious manipulation as unconscious absorption and it is always mediated. And it can only be observed in roundabout ways, more through its effects than its characteristics. (Kansteiner 2002: 180)

The problematic nature of collective memory arises from the fact that it is a phenomenon accessible through mediated representations of events with a contemporary bias. Moreover, as Kansteiner highlights, it is accessible through products of individuals and is often approached through methods and language applicable to individual memory, where terms such as “remembering”, “forgetting” or “feeling” should be treated metaphorically, since collectivities do not have the capacity to remember, forget or feel. Moreover, methods developed through psychoanalysis and psychology, though applicable in investigating individual memory and trauma do not translate well to collective practices. As Olick states “since social action and social production takes place with capacities and materials handed down from the past, collective memory becomes synonymous with pattern-maintenance per se” (Olick 1999: 336), including patterns that are individualistic in nature. Although the individualistic and the collective approaches are not antagonistic, since collective memory can be understood as “*a variety of products and practices*” (Olick 2010: 158), the collective perspective on memory and the individualistic one introduce a fundamental difference in the understanding of culture (Olick 1999). Olick differentiates between two understandings of culture in collective memory – “one that sees culture as a subjective category of meaning contained in people’s minds” and “one that sees culture as patterns of publicly available symbols objectified in society” (Olick 1999: 336). In the individualistic approach collective memory is an aggregate of individual memories and individuals are central to the process of remembering, as only individuals can form memories. Olick (1999) calls this collected memory, where collective processes are seen as effects of aggregated individual processes. Collective memory, in opposition to collected memory, though not free of aggregated effects, is supra-individual. As Olick claims, the use of language in remembering is one of the most visible indications of the collective nature of memory. Individuals do not only use language to remember by narrating experiences and using linguistic representations of these experiences in recalling memories, but “language itself can be viewed as memory” (Olick 1999: 343). Mikhail Bakhtin (1963; 1986) claims that utterances contain “memory traces”, since every utterance is in a way a response to utterances that came before it, and therefore “is a link in a chain of speech communion” (Bakhtin 1986: 93). The concepts introduced by Olick (1999) constitute a guideline for investigating collective memory through methods informed by social, as opposed to psychological, science, though other

attempts on crystalizing the theory of collective memory need to be briefly introduced, as they offer further insight into the field.

Jan Assmann (1995) proposes two separate notions of *communicative memory* and *cultural memory* for types of collective memory, a distinction he introduces in order to separate memory that meets the standards qualifying it to be seen as cultural as opposed to everyday collective memory that, according to Assmann, although collective does not bare cultural characteristics. Assmann proposes the term communicative memory for all kinds of everyday communication, mainly oral and limited in time. He points to studies of oral history to set the temporal limit of communicative memory to around eighty to one hundred years and adds that communicative memory does not have any fixed points of historical reference. In contrast, cultural memory is fixed in time by means of events it relates to, it is maintained through products of culture and institutionalized memory practices. Assmann calls this process of memory maintenance cultural formation, a process in which cultural practices (including festivals, rites, art, etc.) form “islands of time” in the flow of everyday communication, a term he borrows from Aby Warburg. These cultural memories differ from communicative memories in that they do not follow the current of events but are fixed, “suspended in time”, as they have their unchanging referents in history. “In cultural formation”, Assmann (1995: 129) writes, “a collective experience crystallizes, whose meaning, when touched upon, may suddenly become accessible again across millennia”. Although cultural memory is recalled in contexts specific for each era and hence reinterpreted accordingly, it is the objectified forms of culture, the texts, the art works, the architecture and monuments, the rituals and practices gathered and performed by a given society that can be used and reused in the process of formation and stabilization of that society’s self image. Kansteiner (2002) points to another distinction proposed by Assmann as helpful in the investigation of collective memory, mainly by distinguishing between potential and actual cultural memories. Assmann explains potentiality as archival forms of memories, representations stored in resources of the past. These representations pass from the state of potentiality to actuality when they become employed and interpreted in new socio-historical contexts. Kansteiner (2002: 182-183) points out that this distinction proposed by Assmann “suggests that specific representations of the past might traverse the whole spectrum, from the realm of communicative memory to the realm of actual cultural memory and finally potential cultural memory (and vice versa)”. Assmann’s distinction

between communicative memory and cultural memory is useful in the sense, as Kansteiner remarks, that it shows how biased collective memory is towards contemporary event. Collective (or what Assmann would classify as cultural memories) are represented in present contexts and therefore they are interpreted in that socio-political context and they are looked at through the lens of present events.

1.5.2. Collective memory and collective trauma – a unified terminology

The introduction of these theoretical distinctions, especially that between collected and collective memory discussed in the sections above, serve two purposes. Firstly, it points to the understanding of collective memory as “public discourses of the past as wholes or to narratives and images of the past that speak in the name of collectivities” (Olick 1999: 345). Consequently, this supports my use of collective trauma as opposed to cultural or national trauma in the remainder of this work. Although the body of research on trauma as a social phenomenon uses the terms collective, cultural, national or historical trauma (often interchangeably, or to highlight the field that informs the term) in this work a unified term of collective trauma will be used in reference to representations of traumatic events in public discourse and their political use. Secondly, understanding collective memory along the lines proposed by Olick (as opposed to social memory, which he defines as a broader term encompassing eclectic approaches, such as cognitive, neurological, individual or collective) provides a guideline on how to investigate the political dimension of collective memory and collective trauma through public discourse. It is through public discourse that the process of collective trauma unfolds, as the victims and the perpetrators are established, as claims are made and the question of responsibility is discussed. Public discourse, as a form of social practice is hence linked with the distribution of power relations, since in society “there are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterize and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated or implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse” (Foucault 1980: 93). In this understanding discourse is where the power relations reside, hence questions concerning collective memory of traumatic events change from what do we remember as collectivities to why do we remember traumatic

events the way we do. The process of re-working, questioning, contesting and ritualizing collective traumas is a power struggle taking place in the public sphere.

1.5.3. The political backstage of collective trauma

As collective identity is constructed through memory and trauma, so are the power structures in society. Edkins claims that “forms of statehood in contemporary society, as forms of political community, are themselves produced and reproduced through social practices, including practices of trauma and memory” (2003: 11). States form narratives of the past to legitimize and maintain their political systems, and collective traumas that refuse to remain a part of the past and demand re-working in the present can disrupt the sovereign power systems (Edkins 2003: 59). Collective traumas can direct paths taken by societies in the present, they can inhibit – as in the case of Germany’s foreign policy haunted by memories of Nazi crimes (Olick 1999) – or provide support for political action – as in the case of memory practices employed after September 11, 2001 (Edkins 2003: 216-217). Collective memory, as based on representations of the past (not past events as such) has a transformative power, whether through remembering or forgetting (Assmann and Shortt 2012: 4). The trauma process can be seen as key in forming, re-forming and maintaining power structures because it can strengthen them, by rendering violence a justified means in building a collective narrative, identity, birth of a sovereign state or be the justification of change and establishing a new social order (Edkins 2003). Victims of violence are claimed by state narratives to fit into a preferred view of history. As Anderson ([1983] 1991) argues, since states are not born, like humans are, but are formed they cannot construct a complete narrative in the same sense as personal narratives are constructed. The state has no parent, and its death is usually caused through conflict, rather than “natural”. Hence, Anderson claims that narratives of sovereign states are written backwards, as they seek in the past causes and justification of their present nature.

The way in which states incorporate victims into their grand narratives is where the individualistic and collective paths cross. On one hand, as Jay Winter (2010) argues, practices of commemoration let relatives of victims mourn, as monuments bearing the names of the killed constitute their only tombstone. Winter ties public commemoration

with the transmission of memory of war in families of the victims, highlighting the role of familial memory in maintaining public memory. The approach here seems to be bottom up, as Winter suggests that smaller groups such as families maintain the lifespan of sites of memory and therefore the life of collective memory. On the other hand, as George Mosse (1990) claims, commemoration of wars deprives them of traumatic character in the sense that by incorporating individual deaths into a grand narrative commemoration turns victims into sacrifices made in the name of the state. Here, memory of victims serves as a building block for the state in constructing a national narrative and collective identity, a process that is top down oriented. Jenny Edkins writes that “the co-opting of the dead into national narratives sometimes takes a very literal form” (2003: 95), as the bodies of soldiers and the issues of their burial become regulated by the state. A less obvious example of how victims are incorporated in grander representations of events can be found in *Portraits of grief*, a compilation of short notes printed in the *New York Times* on the lives of people killed in the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. These remembrances accompanied by photographs portrayed people of all social stances, made equal in the face of death, and later commemorated on the pages of the *New York Times*. David Simpson writes about the portraits that although their impact on the reader is great, “they seem regimented, even militarized” (2006: 23). Simpson argues that the rigid template of each note (describing people content with life, void of greater flaws) reminds in its democracy of representation the commemoration of military deaths. However, he writes, “those who died on September 11, 2001 were civilians, but civilians who could be and were readily identified with a national cause, victims of an attack on America and on democracy itself, the very medium of the dignity of ordinary life” (Simpson 2006: 34).

Incorporating victims in national narratives and portraying them as victims killed for a greater cause moves them from lives lost due to violence (be it war or terror) to sacrifice made in the name of the state. Jenny Edkins (2003: 99) points to the complexity of the concept of sacrifice, as the life offered in it is treated as “sacred”. The ambiguity of sacredness, as Durkheim ([1912] 2010) explains it, lies in that things deemed sacred demand isolation from the realm of the profane. However, in the fact that what is sacred needs isolation in order to avoid contamination by the profane, sacred things share a common feature with the unholy and impure in that they are untouchable. Similarly, in Giorgio Agamben’s (1998) view the sovereign state produces

“sacred life”, meaning life that can be killed but the killing of which does not constitute murder, and life that cannot be sacrificed in religious rituals. Here, the term sacred shows its isolating nature, as one that is sacred is separate from the surrounding social world. As Agamben explains “*sacer esto* is not the formula of a religious curse sanctioning the *unheimlich*, or the simultaneously august and vile character of a thing: it is instead the originally political formulation of the imposition of the sovereign bond” (1998: 54). In the concept of *homo sacer* Agamben links Aristotle’s and Ardent’s distinctions between biological, or bare life and political life – *homo sacer* is someone deprived of political significance by the sovereign power, whose life is stripped of all civil rights and agency to participate in society. As bare life, *homo sacer* is subject to the sovereign power, being simultaneously deprived of rights and bound by law. Edkins (2003) draws an analogy to how the working classes were treated as outside of the political order, and therefore let to perish in World War I. Consequently, Edkins argues, as the state claims their sacrifice in rituals of commemoration as fallen in war all victims, from servicemen to civilians, become equal in their passivity in the face of death. As she highlights, this passivity reduces the victims to the status of bare life, premising their killing but excluding them as sacrifice and “yet the state claims not only that they were sacrificed, but that this was a self sacrifice” (Edkins 2003:102). Edkins further argues that by doing so the sovereign power conceals its own influence, rendering victims as fallen by their own accord, not led to their deaths.

René Girard (1972) ties the concept of sacrifice to violence through the idea of the surrogate victim, a substitute that can be subjected to violence in lieu of the community that seeks the sacrifice outside its own group. Here the sacrificial process is again not a religious one, it is a method of controlling violence in a community, and while religious rituals can help conceal the nature of the process, divine justification is optional here. Girard argues that the sacrificial mechanism protects the community from its own aggression as it seeks for a substitute victim outside of the group in question. In Girard’s understanding, the sacrifice serves as an outlet for violence and a break in the cycle of violence, since it calls for no revenge. However, according to Girard in modern societies the mechanism of sacrifice has been substituted with the judicial system, in which revenge is executed by authorities mandated by the sovereign state. Jenny Edkins (2003) links Girard’s ideas about the relationship between sacrifice and violence with Agamben’s concept of *homo sacer*, by pointing to how Agamben’s writings on the role

of sovereign state in handling bare life elaborate on concept of sacrificial rites in modern societies. As Agamben writes “contrary to our modern habit of representing the political realm in terms of citizens’ rights, free will, and social contracts, from the point of view of sovereignty only bare life is authentically political” (1998: 64). Hence, it seems that the modern state most visibly shows its power in how it includes bare life in its structures, how in state of exception it decides of one’s life and death, perpetuating or ending the cycle of violence.

1.6. Collective trauma in discourse studies

As Olick emphasizes “collective memory is something – or rather many things – we *do*, not something – or many things – we *have*” (2010: 159). Widely understood commemoration practices engrave and sustain representations of past events in the memory of an entire group, nation or society. However, as Wodak and Richardson (2009) argue rarely can we speak of one past and one narrative. Some representations are silenced, some are forgotten, while others surface when socio-political situation changes and calls for unearthing dormant traumas. As a social process, collective trauma is sensitive to the changes in the socio-political ground due to inherently being subject to mediated representation. Radstone (2007) argues that while events are attributed traumatic status due to being incomprehensible to the point of disturbing our notion of the surrounding world and even of self, but in order to attain traumatic status they paradoxically need to be assigned a particular meaning. Hence, investigation of representations of collective trauma need to be put in historical and political context that offers insight into why and how the traumatic status is attributed to events and how these representations are written into a grander (currently prevailing) historical and political narrative.

As already discussed in Section 1.3 of this chapter collective trauma and collective memory pose several theoretical and methodological problems as both terms stem from the individual perspective and transitioned into social theory. This issue is one of the challenges that researchers working with collective trauma need to address, as Pickering and Keightley emphasize that “conceptual vocabularies devised in the attempt to improve our understanding of psychic damage are ill-suited to the

sociological analysis of collective forms of commemoration, negotiation of pasts poisoned by racist oppression or media reconstructions of controversial historical events and episodes” (2009: 239). The transition from individual and collected to collective calls for a theoretical and methodological approach that offers a much larger perspective. The approach that I propose in the present dissertation is the Discourse Historical Approach (for a detailed discussion this approach see Chapter 2), a politically and historically involved perspective within Critical Discourse Analysis, as a theoretical and methodological framework for investigating collective trauma. I will argue that the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) (Wodak 2001b; Reisigl and Wodak 2001; Reisigl and Wodak 2009; Wodak and Krzyżanowski 2008) bridges the gaps within the social theory of trauma and methods of its investigation by providing a rigid and multilevel framework ideal for identifying and explaining representations of events, actors, values, attitudes, and actions. The categories of analysis used by DHA (discussed in Section 4.2) translate well into investigating the elements of the trauma process. Furthermore, DHA calls for a multidimensional and an interdisciplinary perspective by inclusion of relevant theories from multiple fields of research. Within the context of collective trauma the DHA framework informed by the social theory of trauma and collective memory studies helps to operationalize concepts of social theory through theories and methods of analyzing representations of these phenomena in discourse. Moreover, DHA operates on multiple levels of analysis, starting with the language internal level, expanding the analysis to the intertextual and interdiscursive perspective, following with the extralinguistic level including sociological factors and finally viewing the issue under investigation from a broad sociopolitical and historical perspective (Wodak 2001b). I turn to Critical Discourse Analysis basing on the assumption that language constitutes one of the crucial tools of our meaning-making apparatus. A discourse analytical approach, especially in the DHA variety should therefore be applicable as “the meaning of past experience is only available for scrutiny at the points at which it is communicated and reconstructed through discourse” (Pickering and Kinghtley 2009: 246).

The Critical Discourse Analysis perspective (including DHA) has already been successfully applied in studies on trauma and memory, both collective and individual. Among those is the work by Pickering and Keightley (2009) who investigate accounts of traumatic experiences in in-depth individual interviews and how they differ

linguistically in respect to the discursive construction of those events. They offer a well structured theoretical overview of trauma from both the psychological and the sociological perspective and emphasize the weakness of discursive analysis in dealing with discursive representations of trauma that need to be taken into account. In particular they draw attention to the fact that due to its disrupted nature analyzing discursive representations of trauma need to be tuned not only to what is being said, but also to what is not being said. Moreover, Pickering and Keightley emphasize the importance of viewing personal narratives of traumatic events in the socio-communicative context in order to understand “the communicative limits of traumatic experiences and distinguish them from painful pasts that, despite their subject matter, have been made into effective memory” (2009: 247).

Collective trauma in critical discourse studies often turns to the subjects of racism, anti-Semitism, and nationalism. Wodak and Richardson (2009) apply the DHA framework to unmask the anti-Semitic, nationalistic, fascist roots of nativist job rhetoric in Austria and the UK. The study showcases the usefulness of the DHA approach in gaining a deeper understanding of current public discourse through unearthing the historical and political motivations behind contemporary debates in public discourse. Achugar (2009) investigates the discursive constriction of the shifting identity of the Uruguayan military and the memory of its participation in the dictatorships of the 1970s. Achugar uses Critical Discourse Analysis to deconstruct the process of legitimization of the military in Uruguay “as a lawful state apparatus”. The particular discursive identity construction as well as the discursive construction of a collective memory of the action of Uruguayan Armed Forces in the dictatorship period, as evidenced by Achugar, also serves as a justification of the atrocities of the dictatorship period in debates on human right violation.

Wodak and De Cillia (2007) focus on commemorative events in post-war Austria and the process of coming to terms with the country's Nazi past. Using the DHA approach Wodak and De Cillia investigate in detail a speech delivered by the chancellor of Austria Dr Wolfgang Schüssel in order to identify a hegemonic narrative of Austria's past and the influence of that narrative on the commemorative events of the that year. The analysis reveals a prevailing representation of the traumatic past as focused on victims (including Austria) and absent of perpetrators, a representation that, as Wodak and De Cillia emphasize, met with contesting voices in the commemorations

of 2005. The confrontations of hegemonic representations and revisionist views open past events to new interpretation and political uses. Wodak and De Cillia rightly argue that “as long as traumatic pasts are not explicitly confronted in differentiated ways which would allow for different readings – from various perspectives in non-euphemistic terms and in ways which contextualize perpetrators and victims, and as long as the ‘silence’ remains and is reinforced, unexpected disruptions will always occur” (2007: 336). The study shows how through the application of DHA and the inclusion of a historical and political context into the analysis the method offers a systematic way for deconstructing official discourses on traumatic events.

Similarly to the works discussed above the present dissertation applies the theoretical and methodological approach of Critical Discourse Analysis in the investigation of representations of collective trauma. The current work adheres specifically to the DHA framework, as it has proven successful in past studies in the deconstruction of public discourse concerning traumatic pasts. This choice is dictated by the data gathered for analysis, as both events that the present study focuses on require a multilevel, historically and politically informed perspective.

Chapter 2: Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis

2.1. Introduction

Collective trauma, being a social phenomenon as well as being collective in nature escapes direct methods of analysis. Kansteiner argues that “it is a collective phenomenon but it only manifests itself in the actions and statements of individuals” and “it can only be observed in roundabout ways, more through its effects than its characteristics” (2002: 180). What is accessible for analysis are the elements of the trauma process, the representations of the traumatizing event that we can seek in actions and discourses of the collectivity stricken by it. Discourse, understood as part of social practice (Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Fairclough 2003), allows for analysis of the representations that allow for attribution of collective trauma status to events. Critical Discourse Analysis, defined by Ruth Wodak as a “critical linguistic approach of scholars who find larger discursive units of text to be the basic unit of communication” (2001: 2), offers insight into the social processes of collective trauma construction.

The methodological framework of Critical Discourse Analysis takes as its interest not only texts in themselves but also the context of language use indicating power relations, struggles and conflicts as one of its focal interests (Wodak 2001a). In reference to collective trauma, where power relations are of great importance in steering the trauma process, the perspectives offered by the Critical Discourse Analysis framework prove to be of great use. The insight that the critical approach to discourse offers, especially in respect to analyzing discourse in the public sphere, is of focal importance for the present study. The main participants in public discourse in the

modern world, the politicians, the mass media and the general public represent the social hierarchy of power relations. The politicians and the media are the actors on the public discourse arena who represent those in position of power and shape what is publicly discussed and valued and push their agenda on the more passive general public. I therefore propose the critical analytical approach to language as social practice as means of analysis for this social phenomenon.

My choice of method is dictated by the following arguments:

- as collective trauma is socially constructed (Alexander 2004, 2012) one of the means of its construction is language;
- collective trauma is mediated by carrier groups (Alexander 2004, 2012), which involve structures of power in society;
- the phenomenon of collective trauma is inherently an issue of collective memory, which I argue is discursive in nature;
- Critical Discourse Analysis, especially Historical Discourse Analysis, studies discourse as part of social practice and is focused on the power structures in discursive communities, as well as the socio-political and historical contexts of discourse use;
- as collective trauma is a mass-mediated experience, a study of discourse in the public sphere is appropriate for its examination.

In this chapter I discuss the main theoretical notions concerning Critical Discourse Analysis and the Discourse Historical Approach (Reisigl and Wodak 2009) to analyzing the discursive construction of the collective traumas of 9/11 and the Smoleńsk crash. I have chosen the Discourse Historical Approach among other perspectives in critical discourse studies because of its effectiveness in exploring social issues resulting from struggles of power relations in public discourse. In my analysis, which is both qualitative and quantitative in nature, I have chosen to focus on identifying the discursive representations of elements of the trauma process and tracing their politicized

uses in order to account for the differences and similarities in their construction in news media.

2.2. The analytical approach to discourse

Discourse Analysis (DA), and its later sub-discipline of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), emerged in linguistic research quite recently, along with a shift of interest from basic units of language to regarding language as part of social interaction. As opposed to other branches of linguistics predominant in the early years of DA development, the discourse analytical approach focuses on language beyond the level of words and sentences. In most general terms DA is the study of language use (whether written or spoken) in specific communicative context in order to gain an understanding of how we arrive at and communicate meanings not only through analyzing what we say and how we say it, but also by looking at the context of where, when and why we say it. In this respect DA draws from hermeneutics, as it treats its multilevel analysis of texts and contexts as essential for understanding discourse as a whole, but that understanding can only be achieved through the elements of the whole (Meyer 2001). DA is an eclectic framework of linguistic study and it stems from a multidisciplinary background. Its roots can be traced not only to systemic functional linguistics, text linguistics, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, pragmatics and classical rhetoric, but also to philosophy and other sociologically oriented disciplines (Wodak 2001).

One of the basic premises that sets DA apart from other approaches to linguistic analysis is what Fairclough and Wodak (1997) refer to as the dialectical relationship between language and its social context. In other words, language is both socially shaped, as it shapes the social situations it occurs in. However, Fairclough (2003) also highlights that the shaping potential of texts need not be considered as automatic or simply working along the lines of cause (text) – effect (social change). The way, in which language shapes social reality is rather an irregular, complex process of meaning making and interpretation empowered or disempowered by multifaceted contextual factors. Discourse needs therefore to have the potential to partake in social processes, if the factors and the actors involved in shaping the social context are in place. In the context of social construction of reality language plays a crucial role since, as John R.

Searle (1995) argues language is the medium through which facts of social life are negotiated, established and constructed. Texts produced by a collectivity can be therefore considered not only as a window peering into the inner workings of meaning-making processes, but also as a window exposing the gears that put the machinery of social life in motion.

The main aims of DA consider the interplay of texts, their users and the world that they shape and that is shaped by them. DA considers not only the formal features of language, but seeks to elucidate their relation to the situations they are used in. This may restrict itself to working on levels of genre or text type, but may also extend into the influence of gender, age, race or historical background on discourse, to name just a handful of possible options. It may also extend to a critical perspective and add power relation in society into the mix.

2.2.1. A short sketch of the roots of (C)DA

The earliest traceable influences on the development of DA as an approach to language date back to classical rhetoric and the art of organizing and structuring speech in order to achieve persuasive effects. van Dijk (1985a) highlights classical rhetoric as the predecessor of the stylistic and structural analysis in DA. The main concerns of classical rhetoric were not the formal features of correct language use as in the case of grammar, but the art of planning, structuring and stylizing public speech. However, later developments in the field of language studies lead to a gradual turn from rhetoric as the loci of linguistics to perspectives oriented toward the formal features of language. Historical linguistics and comparative linguistics replaced rhetoric as the dominant trends in the nineteenth century, followed by structuralism in linguistics in the twentieth century.

The emergence of structuralist approach is usually traced to the works of Ferdinand de Saussure. However, van Dijk (1985a) notes Russian formalism and Czech structuralism as its prominent influences. Indeed, the Russian school of structuralism is visible in Lévi-Strauss's (1963) cultural analysis, in particular in inspirations with Propp in the analysis of myths. At the same time as the gradual development of European structuralist theory another interdisciplinary movement came into being, namely what

later became known under the label of semiotics. van Dijk points to the publication of *Communications 4* (1964) and *Communications 8* (1968) as seminal points in the development of the European structuralist approach. Although containing works by authors based in a variety of disciplines these publications constituted what van Dijk calls a first attempt at providing a coherent perspective. Another development parallel to those in Europe is the publication of *Language in Culture and Society* edited by Hymes in the US and the emergence of socially oriented approaches that would later give rise to anthropological perspectives on language as well as sociolinguistics. An interesting remark that van Dijk makes in reference to Hymes's collection is that "the new linguistic paradigm that also came to be established in the mid-1960s, Chomsky's generative—transformational grammar, hardly appears in this book of classics" (1985a: 3). The collection contains, however, a paper by Pike who's tagmemic approach van Dijk highlights as a later influence on the development of discourse analysis.

Systemic functional grammar and text linguistics paved yet another path for the later emergence of discourse analytical theory. As linguistics at the end of the 20th century turned to basic units of language (as in Chomsky's early formulation of his constructivist-generative grammar) the discourse analytical approach widened its research scope to the context (understood both in the narrow and in the wide sense) of those 'basic' units in communication. In modern CDA tools of language analysis based on Halliday's (1978; Mattiessen and Halliday 2004) systemic functional linguistics are still present. Some of those initially working in text linguistics, like van Dijk, developed their stance into a critically oriented discourse analysis (cf. Chilton 2005). Due to these developments I consider it appropriate to at least shortly introduce the linguistic theories (C)DA emerged from.

In Halliday's (1978; Mattiessen and Halliday 2004) systemic functional linguistic model of language all text, written or spoken, is functional in that all its elements are meaningful. It is systemic in nature, as it proposes a paradigmatic ordering in language, meaning that we make linguistic choices (grammatical, lexical, phonetic, etc.) based on sets of available options. Moreover, systemic functional linguistics perceives language as social in nature, as it serves as our way of interacting with the world around us. It is not only our means of communicating with one another, but it also enables us to construct meanings; it partakes in forming of experience; it lets us represent knowledge and gain understanding of the world. It is thus possible to

distinguish three metafunctions of language within systemic functional linguistics. Firstly, language is interpersonal, as it serves for communication among human beings. Secondly, it is ideational, as it allows us to gain understanding of the surrounding world. Thirdly, it is textual, in that we can build and organize discourse into a coherent whole. Halliday's systemic functional grammar offers analytical tools operating on four different levels: context, contents expanded to lexicogrammar and semantics and realization expanded to phonetics, phonology and graphology (Mattiessen and Halliday 2004). The comprehensive model of language proposed by Halliday seems to be especially appealing to DA due to its social orientation and metafunctions. It is especially visible in the works of Fairclough (cf. Meyer 2001), who highlights the value of a systemic functional analysis of language.

Text linguistics, which focused on written language, can also be traced as one of the linguistic approaches that paved the way for DA to emerge (van Dijk 1985a). Developed by de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), text linguistics studies texts as communicative units of discourse. For a text to be classified as a communicative event it should meet seven standards of textuality: *cohesion*, *coherence*, *intentionality*, *acceptability*, *informativity*, *situationality*, and *intertextuality* (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981). The condition of *cohesion* concerns the surface structure of texts and how its elements connect to one another and form a sequence. *Coherence*, on the other hand, refers to how concept and meaning relate to one another in order to form a meaningful whole. *Intentionality* concerns the purpose and intention of the text producer, while *acceptability* requires for the text to be recognized as a text by its receivers. *Informativity* focuses on what information is being conveyed by the text, whether the information is new, redundant, or whether the text is overloaded with information or contains too little of it. *Situationality* is concerned with how the text is relevant to the communicative situation it occurs in. Lastly, *intertextuality* is concerned with how the text relates to another text or texts both in the sense of how it draws on our knowledge of existing texts, as well as how it fits in as a text type. Within the text linguistics theoretical framework these seven standards need to be met in order for communication to successfully take place, and hence the text to be classified as one.

Following Searle (1969) de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) introduce yet another distinction between constructive principles and regulative principles. The seven standards of textuality fall into the category of constitutive principles that define texts.

This means that they are concerned with elements in the text that let us define it as a textual form of communication. Regulative principles on the other hand regulate (as their name suggests) the communicative situation as such. These principles include the principles of text efficiency, effectiveness and appropriateness. Although text linguistics takes into account external factors of the communicative situation, its main focus is the co-text (text-internal factors), rather than context (text-external factors). For Titscher et al. this is what differentiates text linguistics from discourse analysis, as in “approaches which are purely ‘text linguistic’ in orientation the investigation and modeling of cohesion and coherence are predominant, and all text-external factors, in the sense of intervening variables, are in the background” (2000: 24).

Sociolinguistics also contributed to a shift of focus to the cultural context of language use. The problem with context-free transformative grammar where the focus was put on ‘ideal speakers’ and ‘homogenous speech communities’ competence and performance (in which Chomsky, in a sense, followed Saussure’s differentiation of *langue* and *parole*) came to the attention of sociolinguists working with language variation (van Dijk 1985a: 5). Labov’s research on Black English (1972a, 1972b) and his other investigations involving working with real-life language contrasted with the works of constructivists on written language as it involved socio-cultural context as one of its interests.

Within the discipline of linguistics the development of Searle’s (1969) Speech Act Theory, Austin’s (1962) illocutionary act theory and Grice’s (1975) conversational maxims should also be noted. These philosophical and pragmatic ideas introduced a link between utterances as linguistic acts and social actions by looking at speech not only from the perspective of utterances that have an additional meaning or function to them if used in specific context. The illocutionary force of language, the mediation of meaning in speech acts and the contextual relations of conversational maxims of quality, quantity, manner and relation added to linguistic theory what later DA could build on. This approach to language highlights the role of the relations between the speaker and the hearer and introduces intentions, beliefs and attitudes and as van Dijk explains “not only could systematic properties of the context be accounted for, but also the relation between utterances as abstract linguistic objects and utterances taken as a form of social interaction could be explained” (1985: 5).

Another source of influence came from sociology with an increasing interest in analyzing conversations and other forms of communication naturally occurring in everyday life. van Dijk (1985a) notes that in the late 1960s a new microsociological perspective emerged alongside the predominant macrosociological one. This shift in perspective is visible in the works of Goffman, Garfinkel and Sacks. What soon followed was the development of conversation analysis. Studies on natural language use in everyday situations indicated that people possess both implicit grammatical knowledge and implicit knowledge of conversational rules (such as turn taking). As van Dijk highlights, “in this respect, this conversational analysis recalls the early structural and formal approaches to the structures of sentences and provides the first elements of a grammar of verbal interaction” (1985a: 7). The turn of sociology towards linguistics as means of social analysis contributed to treating language as part of social practice, not just as context-free formal structures of language.

Lastly, psychology and studies on artificial intelligence also introduce developments that can be mentioned here. van Dijk (1985a) points to the work of Bartlett (1932) on memory of stories as one influence on the rising interest of psychology in discourse. The question that psychology, and later its related sub-discipline of psycholinguistics, was mostly concerned with were representations in memory and text processing. The development of studies on artificial intelligence that would later lead to the rise of cognitive psychology shared similar interest of representations in memory (van Dijk 1985a).

As van Dijk rightly notes “paradigmatic shifts seldom come alone in a single discipline” (1985a: 6) as was the case with the developments that led to the emergence of discourse studies. The interdisciplinary approach of DA seems to be rooted in the developments that led to the formation of one of its most basic premises, namely the approach to language use as social in nature.

2.2.2. Discourse and text within the (C)DA framework

In my discussion of DA I have so far used the notions of text and discourse quite liberally. In order to progress with the discussion, definitions of these notions (as understood by DA) need to be introduced. Providing a concise definition of text and

discourse can be problematic as these differ not only from author to author, but also sometimes their use within one work seems to refer to slightly different understanding of the notions (Crystal 1987). Although both text and discourse are the most basic terms in discourse analysis, they remain one of the least systematically defined. Wodak and Mayer (2009: 2) go as far as stating that most works on discourse define the term through a spectrum of perspectives and as a result of that discourse has served to refer to a variety of concepts, starting with places of memory, political strategies and policies, and ending on such broad terms as text, talk or even language in general. Similarly, Chilton (2005) also points out the terminological lack in the field.

One of the first questions that come to mind is whether discourse refers to spoken or written language, or maybe it includes both. What follows is the issue of where does that place text. Tracing the notion to Michael Foucault's seminal work *Archeology of knowledge* points to three different uses of the term:

Instead of gradually reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word 'discourse', I believe I have in fact added to its meanings: treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements. (Foucault 1972: 80)

Foucault's uses of the term discourse seem to point to different levels of specificity in considering discourse at a theoretical level. The first use ("the general domain of all statements") seems broadest in nature, which would coincide with the interpretations of Sara Mills (1997: 7). Mills interprets this use of discourse as "all utterances or texts which have meaning and which have some effects in the real world count as discourse" (1997: 7), which seems to resonate with a definition that she refers to later on, namely that of Macdonnell who defines the notion in similar terms: "whatever signifies or has meaning can be considered part of discourse" (1986: 4). Both these interpretation appear to be aimed rather at identifying what qualifies into a broad category of discourse rather than at exploring what this category actually is. The two other uses of the notion that Foucault lists seem to reflect on the nature of discourse itself, meaning the rules that structure discourse into discourses of particular types and the practice that governs their formation.

Wodak and Fairclough define discourse as an integral form of social practice. Fairclough (2003) employs a broad use of the term, meaning that he applies it to both discourse as social practice, and specific thematic types of discourse, as in 'discourse of

x'. Within the discourse historical approach discourse is understood as “a way of signifying a particular domain of social practice from a particular perspective” (Fairclough, 1995: 14, cf. Wodak 2001b: 66), and “a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens, very often as ‘texts’, that belong to specific semiotic types, that is genres” (Wodak 2001b: 66). The quote from Wodak already points to the treatment of the notion of text in the DHA perspective that I shall elaborate on later in the chapter. Before we move with defining text within the framework of (C)DA, one final remark concerning the definition of discourse needs to be made. Theorists working within the field of (C)DA offer more takes on discourse than discussed above. Some follows the Foucauldian tradition, like Siegfried Jäger, who proposes his definition of discourse “as the flow of knowledge and/or all societal knowledge stored throughout all time” (Jäger 1993, 1999, as cited in Jäger 2001: 34). van Dijk (1998) takes yet a different route and distances himself from the Foucauldian definitions of discourse and proposes a cognitive approach. Due to the fact that the present dissertation follows the theoretical approach of DHA I have taken the liberty to only signal these perspectives on discourse, but focus on the one quoted from Wodak (2001b).

The definition of text, although seemingly easier to formulate due to a lesser level of abstractness as opposed to that of discourse, still poses some theoretical problems. While one of the more influential roots of DA, text linguistics considered texts as only written forms of communication that satisfied seven standards of textuality (a more elaborate rundown of text linguistics can be found in the following section) most discourse analysts treat texts as both oral and written communication, as in the case of DHA (Reisigl and Wodak 2001). Wodak refers to Lemke’s (1995) approach to text and defines it as “as materially durable products of linguistic actions” (Wodak 2001b: 66). Texts can therefore be understood as linguistic tokens, however it is not clear whether this refers to text as singular instances (as in a singular news article) or to a gathering of single occurrences. For the purpose of this dissertation I interpret text as a singular linguistic token that can fall into a larger category of discourse type (genre).

The terminological distinctions discussed above serve to sketch the paradigm of use within the present work. As this dissertation follows the DHA framework, the

definitions of the basic terms should be understood as they are defined in adherence to this approach.

2.2.3. The critical framework in discourse analysis

The critical approach to linguistic analysis emerged around the 1970s and aims at investigating texts in a much larger socio-political context, where language choices, structures and strategies reproduce, legitimize or resist the social structures of power and inequality (Kress 1990). The political involvement of CDA reflects the time of its emergence, when social activism such as the civil rights movements in the US and the feminist movement were most active (van Dijk 2007).

The word ‘critical’ in the approach to language in CDA can be summarized as “gaining distance from the data (despite the fact that critique is mostly ‘situated critique’), embedding the data in the social context, clarifying the political positioning of discourse participants, and having a focus on continuous self-reflection while undertaking research” (Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 87). Due to its scope and socio-political involvement the critical approach to language analysis is problem-oriented, as it regards language use as part of social life and as such subject to dynamic social relations. The critical stance asks questions of responsibility, interests and ideology in order to not merely describe but explore social problems (cf. van Dijk 1985b). In the words of Wodak (2001: 10) “one of the aims of CDA is to ‘demystify’ discourses by deciphering ideologies” as ideology is essential for the dynamics of power relations.

Historically, what first emerged basing on the influences of Habermas and Foucault was Critical Linguistics (CL), also known under the name of the East Anglia school. Chilton (2005) enumerates the works of Bakhtin, Habermas to some extent and Foucault to a lesser degree, and George Orwell as sources of inspiration among the main influences on CL. Early transformational grammar (Hodge and Kress 1993 [1979]), later replaced by the systemic functional grammar (Fairclough 1989: 13–14; Fowler 1996: 11) were the linguistic sources for CL’s theory (cf. Chilton 2005). Then came the critical approach (CDA) that turned from the descriptive to the critical orientation of DA.

The main difference between DA and CDA is indeed the latter's critical approach. Fairclough (1995) argues that the predominantly descriptive nature of DA is limiting for the explorative value of study of discourse. The descriptive approach focuses on observation, rather than explanation or, as Fairclough highlights, its explanatory aspect limits itself to the exploration of local goals. The social nature of language use in the descriptive approach to discourse analysis seems to look at social practice as patterns of interaction (Gee 2004: 32), rather than multilevel relations in society. What Fairclough (1995) emphasizes is that while CDA is interested in explaining the effects of texts, DA either stops at describing discourse or only investigates the effects of discourse within the immediate communicative situation. CDA is much more involved in reaching beyond what is said and into the grand socio-political and historical context of discourse.

Although both DA and CDA are said to examine language use in social context, the way these two understand context appears to be quite different. The DA approach to social context seems to be missing what is the most vital component for CDA, namely a model for discussing power relations within society. This would suggest that CDA understands context in much wider terms, adding a political and historical dimension. Indeed, Meyer (2001: 15) argues that CDA takes as one of its basic assumptions that all discourses are historical and their understanding requires consideration of social, political and ideological factors. CDA approaches context in its widest accessible form, as evident in Fairclough (1995) who advocates for three-dimensional approach to analysis which includes a textual level, a level of discursive practice and a level of socio-cultural practice. At the first level the selected texts are analyzed, then the discursive practices including how the text is produced, distributed and consumed are considered. At the last level, discourses are examined as discursive events, as instances of sociocultural practice. In van Dijk (1998) the subjective nature of context is emphasized. In his socio-cognitive approach the context itself does not influence text and talk. What shapes communication are the mental models that participants of discourse store in their minds. In short, "context models, thus, represent how participants in a communicative event see, interpret and mentally represent the properties of the social situation that are now relevant for them" (van Dijk: 1998: 212).

In CDA the notion of critique, as already mentioned, can be traced back to the Frankfurt school of thought, literary criticism and Marx's ideas (Wodak 2001a). In the

case of the perspective within CDA most relevant for this dissertation, Historical Discourse Analysis, the main influences noted by Forchtner (2011) are the Frankfurt school and the ideas of Habermas. Wodak (2001a: 9) refers to Horkheimer's idea of the role of critical theory in developing class consciousness and aiming "to assist to 'remember' a past that was in danger of being forgotten, to struggle for emancipation, to clarify the reasons for such a struggle and to define the nature of critical thinking itself". Moreover, in reference to the interdisciplinary nature of CDA, Wodak highlights that Horkheimer advocated for an interdisciplinary approach suggesting that only the application of several methods of inquiry can lead us to reliable results.

Within the Frankfurt school of critical thought another source of influence that Forchtner (2011: 4) mentions are the dialectics of enlightenment (Horkheimer and Adorno 1973) and Adorno's notion of negative dialectics. Within the ideas of dialectics of enlightenment domination is seen as an inherent part of civilizing rationality. Negative dialectics pushes the idea further with the notion that "identifying thought" always reduces the nature of objects it is trying to grasp and hence "the critical analyst is thus supposed to present ensembles of models" (Forchtner 2011: 5). Habermas presents different ideas through his theory of communication and the relations of domination and language. Wodak quotes Habermas saying "language is also a medium of domination and social force (...) it serves to legitimize relations of organized power" (Habermas, 1977: 259, as quoted in Wodak 2001a: 2) and Forchtner (2010) adds that at the same time Habermas does not reduce language to being a medium of domination. Rather than that Habermas looks at communication as distorted and introduces the Ideal Speech Situation, which serves as a model of communication that is free of domination that 'real-life' discourse fails to meet (Forchtner 2010).

Wodak (2001) highlights that though drawing from ideas of the Frankfurt school and Habermas, the critical approach in CDA should be understood in broader terms, as relating social and political engagement and the constructed nature of society. The critical stance in CDA can be therefore summarized as "making visible the interconnections between things" (Fairclough 1985: 747). Those interconnections between social phenomena may be hidden out of sight and the goal of the critical approach to discourse is to shed light onto these connections. The extent to which critique follows the influences mentioned above depends on the perspective, as CDA is an heterogeneous framework (see below). The perspective applied in the present

dissertation is that of Discourse Historical Analysis, so a further elaboration on the understanding of critique within this particular perspective appears in Section detailing the Discourse Historical Approach.

2.2.4. CDA – aims, perspectives, methods

Since the early stages of the formulation of the main research interests and methods of inquiry the critical approach to discourse has taken on a variety of perspectives. The historical roots of the critical analytical approach as well as the theoretical influences from a plethora of disciplines is mirrored in CDA's heterogeneous nature. As Meyer emphasizes "it is generally agreed that CDA must not be understood as a single method but rather as an approach which constitutes itself at different levels" (2001: 14). The phenomena under investigation, theoretical assumptions and methods differ based on the theoretical background and influences of particular perspectives.

Although all perspectives within the CDA framework have the same general aims of exploring the interrelations of discourse and the dynamics of society, the way they theoretically ground concepts vary with respect to the larger theoretical traditions each perspective adheres to (cf. Meyer 2001). CDA draws from multiple sources in order to construct theoretical and methodological tools of inquiry for the analysis of specific phenomena. This causes the framework to be 'eclectic' and sometimes leads to some concepts or aspects becoming 'fuzzy', at best. Indeed, CDA draws from many theories, including grand social theories, middle range theories, micro-sociological theories, socio-psychological theories, discourse and linguistic theories, to only mention some of those enumerated by Meyer (2001: 19-20). This reflects a particular manner in which CDA 'does' its research and poses its questions. As Wodak notes this is a product of adopting a pragmatically oriented theoretical approach where "the first question we have to address as researchers is not, 'Do we need a grand theory?' but rather, 'What conceptual tools are relevant for this or that problem and for this and that context?'" (2001: 64). Hence, when reviewing most prominent perspectives within the CDA framework distinctions regarding their theoretical orientation need to be made.

The very beginnings of CDA can be traced back to the 1970s to Critical Linguistics (CL), but Wodak (2001a) points to the 1990s as the beginning of CDA as a

distinct group of scholars. In 1991 Ten van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunter Kress, Theo van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak gathered at a symposium held in Amsterdam, each of them holding a distinct perspective on discourse, to discuss theories and methodologies of critical analysis of language. Seminal works that paved the way of CDA's approach have already been published. Wodak enumerates *Language and power* by Fairclough (1989), *Prejudice in discourse* by van Dijk (1984), *Language, power and ideology* by Wodak (1989) as most notable of them. Another landmark on the time map of CDA is the launch of the *Discourse and Society* (1990) journal edited by van Dijk. This exchange of ideas started a movement "bound together more by a research agenda and programme than by some common theory or methodology" (Wodak 2001a: 4) and gave rise to CDA as standalone sub-discipline of linguistics.

The CDA paradigm gathered more and more practitioners of international origin and versatile formation, which is visible in the theoretical and empirical variation within the critical approach to discourse. This variety can be viewed as both a strength of CDA, but also one of its weaknesses. On the one hand, an interdisciplinary, multilevel approach makes it possible to gather methods and theories most suited for analysis of specific phenomena. On the other hand, it opens CDA to criticisms of not having a uniformed theory or method. In a joking manner the CDA framework can be compared to the Pirate Code – it is a set of guidelines, not rules.

As already mentioned, CDA shares its beginnings with CL, a critically oriented approach to linguistics that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s. The label CL is usually associated with a group of linguists with a background in Halliday's systemic functional linguistics at the University of East Anglia who investigated language use in institutions. Wodak (2011) points to the works of Kress and Hodge (1979) and Fowler et al. (1979) as the first in the tradition of working with the assumption that language and its social meanings are interrelated. As CL grew as a field of linguistic study its interests turned to such problems as gender, racism, ethnicity, and more. The term CDA became more prevalent within the critical framework of analysis around the 1990s (Wodak 2001a). The 1990s mark the period when the aims, goal and also general perspectives in CDA crystalized and the term became to be used in reference to a distinctive field of linguistic inquiry.

Although CDA is an approach to language that is eclectic in its theoretical and methodological perspectives, the basic *modus operandi* and general assumptions it

makes are shared by most practitioners. The critical analytical approach generally works in three steps: identify the phenomenon; provide some explanation of the theoretical assumptions; decide on methods that link the theory to the observations (Meyer 2001). This three-step mode of operation sets CDA apart from many other approaches, as instead of being a unified framework of theories and methods it first identifies its interests and sets its theories and methods around a specific problem. It is inherently interdisciplinary, as this often requires constructing a methodology based on many disciplines. However, the basic assumption shared by analysts that CDA makes include:

- language is a social phenomenon;
- not only individuals, but also institutions and social groupings have specific meanings and values, that are expressed in language in systematic ways;
- texts are the relevant units of language in communication;
- readers/hearers are not passive recipients in their relationship to texts;
- there are similarities between the language of science and the language of institutions[...] (Kress, 1989, as quoted in Wodak 2001a: 6)

Whether researchers working within the CDA framework focus specifically on ideology, racism, gender, memory or other phenomena and whatever their perspective may be the basic assumptions enumerated above are said to be common for all. As a distinctive approach CDA also adheres to some general principles that mark its uniqueness in reference to other socially oriented sub-disciplines of linguistics. Wodak (2011: 54) lists the basic aims and principles of CDA that can be summarized as follows:

- the approach is interdisciplinary;
- the approach is problem-oriented, rather than focused on specific linguistic items;
- the theories as well as the methodologies are eclectic;
- the study usually incorporates fieldwork and ethnography to explore the object under investigation (study from the inside) as a precondition for any further analysis and theorizing;
- the approach is adductive: a constant movement back and forth between theory and empirical data is necessary;
- multiple genres and multiple public spaces are studied, and intertextual and inter discursive relationships are investigated; recontextualization is one of the most

important processes in connecting these genres as well as topics and arguments (topoi);

- the historical context should be analyzed ;
- the categories and tools for the analysis are defined in accordance with all these steps and procedures and also with the specific problem under investigation;
- grand Theories might serve as a foundation; in the specific analysis, middle-range theories serve the aims better;
- the approach focuses on both practice and application.

2.3. Criticism of CDA

The heterogeneous, interdisciplinary and multi-method framework of CDA is subject to criticism, mostly in the dimensions of its political involvement, lack of a unified theory and method. The following section focuses on addressing these critiques and answering them in the context of the present dissertation.

Firstly, CDA is criticized for being too politically involved and, as Rogers (2004) puts it, projecting ideology onto the data rather than decoding it from discourse. One of Widdowson's main arguments against CDA is the claim that rather than being a systematic analysis of power relations CDA is "a record of whatever partial interpretation suits your own agenda" (Widdowson 1998: 149). Another critical argument connected to this is that CDA cherry picks data in order to fit it to its assumptions (Widdowson, 2000, 2004). These challenges to the critical analytical framework can be overcome by what DHA strongly advocates for, mainly transparency of study design and adherence to the principle of triangulation (cf. Section 2.4). Each choice in theory, methodology and interpretation should and will be justified in order to avoid a biased reading of the data. Furthermore, in order to ensure that texts chosen for analysis have not been picked out to fit any a priori hypotheses, the procedure of data gathering and analysis should be transparent and documented. Moreover, in line with the spirit of CDA the present study is multi-methodological, meaning that with respect to qualitative analysis it incorporates methods from CDA (discussed in detail in Section 4.2) but also incorporates quantitative methods from Corpus Linguistics as well as Text Network Analysis (these are discussed in Sections 4.3 and 4.4). Hence, interpretations

arising from qualitative analysis can be compared with and validated by quantitative results. All these steps are aimed at overcoming a possible bias on the side of the analyst.

The criticism concerning lack of a homogenous theoretical and methodological framework in CDA should be addressed in two points. Firstly, the problem that the present thesis focuses on (representations of collective trauma) requires an interdisciplinary approach and an eclectic theory and method due to the nature of the investigated phenomenon. Collective trauma is a sociological phenomenon and will be investigated as such in the present study. It also has a psychological dimension, which, however, is outside the scope of the present work. Secondly, following the DHA framework I hope to provide an exhaustive and unified paradigm within this particular perspective of CDA. Chapters 1, 2 and 3 contain a discussion of the theories that inform my research, while Chapter 4 provides a detailed outline of my methods. Within this work I try to consequently follow the DHA paradigm in order to obtain theoretical and analytical clarity.

Another source of criticism of CDA comes from the side of Conversational Analysis (CA), which although it shares some basic assumptions with CDA, differs in those most notable ones (cf. Schegloff 1997; Billig 1999). CA, being a bottom-up oriented paradigm of linguistic analysis works with the assumption that all the context that is needed for analyzing texts is already embedded in the data and hence there is no need for a wider social, political and historical context. In this respect CA can be said to be non-problematic, while CDA aims at placing what can be found in a micro-scale CA analysis in a wide social context (cf. Billig 1999). In reference to the focal issue of the current dissertation, namely collective trauma the grand theory regarding the social construction of collective trauma requires the incorporation of a macro-scale analysis. Hence, being heavily grounded in the theory of collective trauma and collective memory this specific problem inherently requires including the socio-historical context in the analysis.

2.4. Various approaches within CDA

The CDA framework encompasses several perspectives. The prevailing perspectives in discourse analysis can be generally categorized into the social semiotic approach, the Duisburg School, Fairclough's dialectical-relational approach, van Dijk's cognitive approach, and the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA). As the present study adheres to DHA, this perspective will be discussed in detail at the end of the chapter. The remaining perspectives within CDA are briefly discussed in the following sections.

2.4.1. The social semiotic perspective

Social semiotics is oriented towards the analysis of different semiotic modes of representation and their functioning in specific social surroundings. The perspective often works with CDA for analyzing verbal modes of representation and extends its methods to other semiotic modes. Multimodal analysis considers visual elements as part of discourse. Wodak (2011) highlights several works within this paradigm, some of which I will briefly summarize. In his earlier works Gunther Kress (1993) explored language as a semiotic system that forms meanings independently of their linguistic form. Hence, his paradigm of discourse analysis considered also non-verbal aspects of communication. Along with Theo van Leeuwen (1996) they developed the approach further in analyzing mass media, including television and newspaper reporting. In his later works van Leeuwen shifts his focus more to visual analysis and semiotic practices of production and consumption of representations. Van Leeuwen's (Caldas-Coulthard and van Leeuwen 2002) research stresses the role of providing semiotic models appropriate to the specific semiotic practices they refer to. Ron Scollon's Mediated Discourse Analysis (MDA) is yet another approach that can be placed within this perspective. MDA adheres to most of CDA's goals, but instead of being interested in the discourse of social issues MDA channels its attention towards social actions "through which social actors produce the histories and habitus of their daily lives which is the ground in which society is produced and reproduced" (Scollon 2001: 140). Although the present dissertation focuses only on written texts in media discourse, it seem appropriate to mention social semiotics and multimodal analysis as a perspective

that enables the analysis of both verbal and non-verbal elements of communication, especially in the context of mass-media.

2.4.2. The Duisburg School

The Duisburg School is usually associated with the works of Siegfried Jäger (1993, 1999, 2001). Drawing from the Foucauldian tradition as well as the works of Jürgen Link, Jäger focuses on the concept of power and knowledge in investigating the iconic character of discourse and the cultural stereotypes (topoi) that function through it. Jäger sees discourse as “material realities *sui generis*” (2001: 34), in other words as texts placed in time and space and having historical and intertextual background. The Duisburg School of CDA considers discourse as exercising power through the flow of knowledge that constitutes the basis of the formation of collective and individual identities. This perspective on CDA shares many of its views with DHA, as evident by the use of topoi as an analytical category in both approaches.

2.4.3. The dialectical-relational approach

The approach to CDA in the works of Fairclough is said to reflect ideas of Foucauldian poststructuralism. The main interest of Fairclough is the study of power and ideology in institutional discourse (cf. Wodak 2011). In his earlier works Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995) provides the theoretical basis for the sociological perspective of CDA, as well as elaborates research on the role of the media in the power struggles within social hierarchies. Fairclough's (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999; Fairclough 2003, 2009, 2012) dialectical-relational approach focuses on discourse as a part of the social process and the dialectical relations between social structures, (including social practices that mediate the relationship between structures and events) and social events within that process. Language is involved in all these levels of the social process and can be studied through the following analytical categories: genre in social practice, discourse (and style) in social structure and text (written, spoken or non-verbal) in social events (Fairclough 2012).

Fairclough (2012: 11) explains genre (or orders of discourse) as “semiotic ways of acting and interacting”, while 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”. In line with this definition genre can be understood as “ways of acting”, meaning a set of conventionalized characteristics of particular discourse linked to a particular activity. Discourse, on the other hand, is “ways of construing”, meaning the representations of the world (or aspects of it) where perspectives of different groups or social actors can be identified. Lastly, styles are defined by Fairclough (2012: 11) as “ways of being”, meaning that styles are means through which identity is expressed. These distinctions are of great value in CDA as they help to link elements of the social process to analytical categories just as the next perspective in CDA, the socio-cognitive model, provides a theory of the cognitive side of discourse production and interpretation as well as theoretical explanations of the concept of ideology.

2.4.4. The socio-cognitive model

Teun Van Dijk (1984, 1987, 1991, 1998) and his research on ideology, racism and discrimination fall within the category of the socio-cognitive approach to CDA. Van Dijk (2006) advocates for the triangulation of discourse, cognition and society within CDA research and proposes a theory of cognitive processing involved in the production and interpretation of discourses, basing his model partly on assumptions taken from contemporary cognitive psychology. Firstly, one of the basic assumptions of Van Dijk’s theory is that since language comprehension and production depend on contextual factors (properties of the communicative situation) how we produce and interpret discourse is shaped by context models stored in episodic memory. These context models can be ideologically biased and as a result they can produce (or interpret) biased discourses. Hence, how individuals interact with members of groups, they have an ideologically biased representation of, may determine the way they speak to or about them or the way they interpret discourse produced by them. Similarly to context models, Van Dijk discusses mental models that he defines as “subjective interpretations of language users of the situation or events that the discourse is about” (2006: 121). As in

the case of context models, mental models of events (event models) can also be ideologically biased and therefore produce biased discourses.

The first two models discussed above are subjective and individualistic in nature. General knowledge and other kinds of socially shared beliefs are acquired and disseminated by members of a collectivity on a supra-individual level. Van Dijk explains that these kinds of socially shared beliefs, due to being commonly shared by all competent members of the community, are at large presupposed and make communication possible. Due to the fact that the level of expertise in said general knowledge may differ across members of the community, and that what a community takes for granted as general knowledge may differ across time or in contrast with other communities Van Dijk proposes to define knowledge as “beliefs of a community that are presupposed in its public discourse directed at the community at large, as is the case for most discourse of the mass media” (2006: 123). Group beliefs, in contrast to general knowledge and beliefs shared by the communities, are ideologically biased, even though group members may take them as presupposed and general in nature. As Van Dijk points out, these beliefs are indeed controlled and governed by the ideologically biased models, and hence produce ideologically marked discourses and although ideological groups and the functions of the discourses they produce may differ, Van Dijk proposes a general theory of ideology that can be applied to all these instances.

According to Van Dijk’s (2006) theory, mental models that are ideologically biased and socially shared beliefs are the basis of strategic decisions in discourse production and understanding, linking both cognitive and social processes with discourse and ideology. Van Dijk lists such discursive strategies that can serve as indexes of ideology as “intonation, pronouns, nominalizations, topic choice and change, level of specificity of action or actor description, implicitness, turn taking, interruptions, politeness, arguments and fallacies, narrative structures, style or rhetorical figures, among a host of other discourse structures” (2006: 123), but at the same time he stresses that indexed structures are only the context-variable ones. These ideological indexes become especially visible in what Van Dijk calls in-group-out-group polarization, when one group ideologically clashes with another, when there is a “we”, and a “they” that can be assessed and judged. Here, what is expected, is a strategic positive representation of the in-group and negative representation of the out-group. The way, events, action, actors are represented in discourse, whether their achievements are diminished or

emphasized, whether they are passive, active or omitted from the text at all enable us to decode the ideological structures that underlie the discourse. Van Dijk's approach to discourse analysis and especially to investigating ideologically biased discourse provides a useful theory that connects the cognitive and the social levels in the interrelation of discourse and society.

2.5. Discourse Historical Approach

The Discourse Historical Approach is a perspective within the CDA paradigm that offers a multidimensional, politically oriented framework for analysis of texts. Developed by Reisigl and Wodak (2001, 2009; Wodak 2001b; Wodak and Krzyżanowski 2008) the discourse historical approach aims at 'demystifying' discourse through tracing ideologies that (re)produce or challenge the dominating powers in social structures. DHA sees language as empowered by the people who make use of it. In reference to critical theory DHA follows the socio-philosophical orientation. The concept of social critique in the discourse historical approach is therefore complex and includes three interrelated aspects:

1. Text or discourse-immanent critique aims at discovering inconsistencies, self-contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in the text-internal or discourse-internal structures.
2. Socio-diagnostic critique is concerned with demystifying the – manifest or latent – persuasive or 'manipulative' character of discursive practices. Here, we make use of our contextual knowledge and draw on social theories as well as other theoretical models from various disciplines to interpret the discursive events.
3. Future-related prospective critique seeks to contribute to the improvement of communication (for example, by elaborating guidelines against sexist language use or by reducing 'language barriers' in hospitals, schools and so forth). (Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 88)

The model of critique quoted above implies a transparency of analysis, meaning that choices and interpretations should be theoretically justified (Wodak 2001b). Moreover, in accordance with the principle of triangulation DHA is multi-theoretical and multi-methodological, it takes under consideration a variety of empirical observations and background information. Exploring complex social phenomena with use of more than just linguistic analysis, but also other theories and concepts (often taken from multiple disciplines) it strives to avoid possible biased interpretations of data.

Within the discourse historical approach the concept of discourse is understood as “a cluster of context-dependent semiotic practices that are situated within specific fields of social action” (Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 89). Discourse is both socially constituted, as well as socially constitutive. It is characterized by macro-topic relatedness, multiple perspectives and argumentations about validity claims of social actors with different sets of truths and values. Moreover, discourse in the understanding of DHA is not closed, as the borders between discourses are seen as fluid and dependent on the perspective of the analyst.

Texts are considered as “materially durable forms of linguistic action” (Wodak 2001b: 66), which are the constitutive parts of discourse. Basing on the properties of texts they can be assigned to specific genres, which can be defined as conventionalized ways of using language that can be connected to specific kinds of social activity. These conventions imply the use of textual devices specific for specific genres. Discourses on specific topics can be realized through a variety of genres and texts. In line with the understanding of text in DHA in the case of the present dissertation each newspaper article will be treated as a separate text.

Reisigl and Wodak define field of action following Girth (1996) as “segments of the respective societal ‘reality’, which contribute to constituting and shaping the ‘frame’ of discourse” (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 66). Discourses can spread through different fields of action and overlap, while differentiating between these fields can point to socially institutionalized discourse practices.

The concept of context in the discourse historical approach is complex and multilevel in order to account for as much interconnected elements as possible. These levels include:

1. the immediate, language or text internal co-text;
2. the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses;
3. the extralinguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific ‘context of situation’ (middle range theories);
4. the broader sociopolitical and historical contexts, which the discursive practices are embedded in and related to (‘grand’ theories) (Wodak 2001b: 67)

The DHA approach is hence intertextual and interdiscursive, in that it investigates not only texts as such but also their synchronic and diachronic relations. The intertextuality of texts is traced through how they relate to other texts or their elements and how these

elements are recontextualized. Their interdiscursivity manifests itself on the macro-level, as discourses on one topic relate to those on another. What is more, DHA focuses not only on the discourse on the micro-level (when we look at texts from the perspective of their topics, intertextual and interdiscursive perspectives, and linguistic realizations), but also on the social situations within which the discourse functions. Lastly, DHA offers a wide, macro-level perspective on the historical, social and political context, which provides further insight into what shapes and influences discourse, especially in the public sphere. The concept of public discourse and public sphere is the subject matter of the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Trauma in the news – news coverage of 9/11 and the Smoleńsk crash as part of public discourse

3.1. Discourse and the public sphere

The phenomenon of collective trauma cannot be fully explored without a discussion of the notion of the public sphere and the public sphere cannot be discussed without keeping discourse in sight. As Scott Wright emphasizes “if people do not communicate, or could not communicate because they were linguistically incomprehensible, a public sphere cannot be said to exist” (2008: 21).

The public sphere, as will become evident later in this section, is a specific arena where communication should be viewed from multiple perspectives. The questions that arise in theorizing if the public sphere are not only those of the qualities a public sphere bears, but also of who can be its participant and is this participation conditioned in any way? What should discussions in the public sphere be about and what effect should they bring? The term itself is widely used in critical studies of media discourse, but often it is tackled from different perspectives and with varying assumptions, especially in the age of thriving technology and mass media becoming more mass(ive) than ever. Hence, a discussion of the notion of public sphere, as well as of media discourse seems necessary.

The following chapter starts with a discussion of four models of the public sphere as differentiated by Ferree et al. (2002). The chapter then focuses on a discussion of two events - the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York in 2001 and the TU-154M presidential aircraft crash in Smoleńsk in 2010. Both these events are viewed in their respective historical and political contexts in order to gain a deeper

understanding of their representations in public discourse. Lastly, the notions of political discourse and media discourse are elaborated on.

3.2. Four models of the public sphere

In their insightful review Ferree et al. (2002) propose four models of the public sphere they base on traditions of democratic theory. These models encompass a variety of theories and theorists that though they may sometimes differ to the extent assumptions are abided, but nevertheless stand for the same general ideas.

These traditions include Discursive theory, Constructivist theory, Representative Liberal theory, and Participatory Liberal theory. They organize their models basing on a set of questions problematizing the public sphere, namely who should speak, what is being said, how it is being said, and what is the outcome (how discourse and action interrelate). As the Discursive tradition seems to be most informed by the ideas of Habermas the section opens with an overview of this particular approach.

3.2.1. The discursive theory of the public sphere

The discursive model is based mostly on the writings of one of the most prominent scholars in the field, namely Jürgen Habermas. In order to adequately represent the main assumptions of the discursive model a discussion of Habermas's concept of the bourgeois public sphere calls for a more detailed discussion. Although not all traditions adhere to the ideas presented by Habermas, his writings often serve as either a point of critique and opposition, or in some way are reflected in aspect of theorization. The following sections outline the ideas of Habermas, most notable critiques of his theory and how these ideas inform the contemporary discursive theory of the public sphere.

3.2.1.1. Habermas and the bourgeois public sphere

In his seminal work Habermas ([1989] 1991) points to the late 18th century and the rise of nation states as the birth of the public sphere. The decoupling of state from the church, centralization of power, military developments, the growth of a privatized bourgeoisie, the technological advances in information spread and the emergence of public spaces for discussion (cf. Wright 2008). The public sphere as defined by Habermas was a rather idealistic concept. He conceptualized the public sphere as a space of mediation and communication between private individuals and the state, a space accessible to all its participants where opinions are formed, affirmed or challenged, a space where needs are communicated and suitable action of the state can follow (Habermas [1989] 1991). Rutherford emphasizes that in Habermas's view the individuals participating in public communication should be regarded as active participants. As he writes: "these private persons were citizens, not subject, whose act of assembly and act of discussion generated views which served to check and guide the state" ([2000] 2004: 18).

The bourgeois public sphere model, according to Habermas, was later challenged by sociopolitical and economic changes. Whether the public sphere could function in its ideal form conceived by Habermas depended on the following conditions: universal (or as open as possible) access; autonomy and, related to it, lack of coercion and private interests; rejection of a hierarchical structure and participation as equals; abidance to the law (including the state); and commitment to rational and critical debate (Rutherford [2000] 2004: 18-20). The effect of public communication and debate performed in accord with the above-mentioned conditions would be communication of needs and formation of public opinion. These characteristics are both attractive in their idealistic assumptions and vulnerable to critique in confrontation with the contemporary world. Wright (2008) point to several problems Habermas focused on in theorizing about the demise of public sphere. A turn from absolute monarchies to democratically oriented models of statehood, emergence of places of discussion and debate (such as coffee houses, literary societies and associations), and the development of the press gave rise (and strength) to public opinion. Rutherford ([2000] 2004) remarks that while the political and social developments of the 19th and 20th century brought the public sphere closer to the ideal of unrestrained accessibility by the rejection of class and gender restrictions, in the view of Habermas, this is when the public sphere began its demise.

The change of the dynamics between the individual and the state (specifically of welfare states) into a supplier-consumer orientation is among the indicators of demise. Firstly, Habermas pointed to the dependency on welfare states as causative of the shift in communication in the public sphere to what Wright (2008: 29) summarizes as “bartering over who gets what from the state, and not what the state should do”. Another issue that Habermas found threatening to the concept of the public sphere was its gradual commercialization and consequently the loss of the fundamental separation of the private and the public. Habermas argued that “the public sphere assumes advertising functions. The more it can be deployed as a vehicle for political and economic propaganda, the more it becomes unpolitical as a whole and pseudo-privatized” ([1989] 1991: 175). The invasion of the public sphere by commercial interests was, in Habermas’s view, highly destructive to the mediative nature of public discourse. As Rutherford points out “he was a great fan of binary logic: the citizens became the client, culture was reduced to entertainment, popular participation gave way to mass consumption, public debate was replaced by élite negotiation, public opinion lost out to ‘nonpublic opinion’” ([2000] 2004: 19-20). Habermas was most critical of publicity, as he perceived the developments of the early 20th century as distorting to the critical publicity he defined as a “rational-critical public debate” that ensured a dialogue between the state and its citizens, legitimated positions of power and regulated their execution ([1989] 1991: 178). He argued that publicity lost its critical character to manipulation and domination. Habermas found the political and economic influences as especially problematic due to his assumption that they distorted public discourse from unifying and problem-solving to biased and driven by interest groups.

3.2.1.2. Critique of Habermas

The ideas of Habermas have been subject to much debate and critique in theorizing of the public sphere. While for some scholars Habermas’s theory served as a point of reference in formulation of their own ideas through revisions and reformulations, others contrasted their views with those of Habermas.

One of the major criticisms of the bourgeois model is that while it assumed free and universal access, at the same time Habermas focused on just one of the publics

present in social life during the emergence of the public sphere. Nancy Fraser (1992) argues that Habermas neglected a crucial force in public debate, namely class struggles and gender based exclusion. Fraser rightly remarks on the irony of Habermas's views on the emergence of public discourse characterized by accessibility, rationality and status equality in societies dominated by one, exclusionary class. Keith Baker claims that when writing about the emergence of the bourgeois public sphere Habermas does so simultaneously in two manners: "as the emergence of a normative ideal of rational public discussion from within the distinctive social formation of bourgeois civil society and as the realization, or rather the fleeting, partial realization, of this ideal within that society" (1992: 183). Habermas presents the bourgeois critical publicity as foundational of the public sphere, however Baker argues that the discourse of working-class also contributed to its development. According to Luke Goode the problem with Habermas's focus on the bourgeois does not lie in that he denies other influences, but "rather that he portrays these values as if they were simply derivative of a bourgeois tradition that was the true birthplace of critical publicity" (2005: 31).

The problem of exclusion in Habermas's model is also criticized from the perspective of gender, as evident in the works of Eley (1992) and Landes (1988) (and, similarly, Fraser). Goode (2005) argues that as with the negligence of the working class in the emergence of the public sphere the issue lies "not so much in Habermas underestimating the forces of exclusion at play within the bourgeois public sphere but in the concept of 'exclusion' itself" (2005: 31). The lack of women's presence in the public sphere has ideological underlining, as Fraser (1992) argues. She points to Landes's (1988) works on the emerging republican public sphere in France. Landes argues that the newly formed public sphere demanded a new "manly" language created as an opposition to a "feminine" salon culture (cf. Fraser 1992). Some revisionist historiographers argue that the exclusion of women in Habermas's writings occurs "in quasi-natural terms" (Goode 2005: 32), following the association of femininity with the private, domestic sphere, as opposed to public. As Goode accurately notes, the exclusion of women from the concept of the public sphere in its mere assumptions, combined with patriarchal structure of social and economic domination, made the struggle for a female voice in public debate even harder. The male-oriented model of Habermas seems to ignore this problem whatsoever. Fraser (1992) accurately articulates another limitation concerning free participation in the public sphere rooted in stratified

society. She emphasizes that while in the idealized model proposed by Habermas citizens in discussion should participate as social and economic peers, this assumption fails to be realized due to the fact that instead of overcoming social differences these inequalities of status are only bracketed.

Even without the limitation to popular access in the form of formal exclusion, informal exclusion based on the preferred style and decorum of bourgeois public discourse “were themselves correlates and markers of inequality” (Fraser 1992: 119). Hence, while theoretically, participation in public discourse in the bourgeois public sphere had no formal prerequisites, the informal limitations imposed by the rhetoric protocols excluded all that were not able to meet standards set by the dominant group that put them in place. Fraser also points to the material impediments challenging popular access as the media that are the main mean of information circulation in the public sphere are privately owned and profit oriented. Hence, marginalized (or as Fraser puts it subordinated) groups “usually lack equal access to there material means of equal participation” (Fraser 1992: 120). Moreover, Fraser argues that the notion of the public sphere proposed by Habermas is based on the idea of a single public sphere where all social matters are handled. In reality, however, within the democratic systems there exist “subaltern counterpublics” that serve as parallel planes of discussion and expression of needs and interests of minorities excluded from the dominant discourse (Frases 1992: 123).

The last critique that I feel needs to be addressed is that of the exclusion of private interests from public discourse and the assumed focus only on issues that are of public (and hence of common) importance. Fraser argues that the decision about what counts as of ‘common interests’ and is subsequently open to debate is decided by the participants in the public sphere themselves. This, however, is problematic as the dominant groups can easily dismiss some issues as private and distinctions between private and public interests can be unclear. As Fraser rightly points out “there are no naturally given, a priori boundaries here. What will count as a matter of common concern will be decided precisely through discursive contestation” (1992: 129). Goode asks an insightful question that I find underlies most of the critique of Habermas, namely: “Was the bourgeois public sphere ideological simply because it was blind to its own contradictions or was it, in fact, more overtly riddled with manifest conflicts, power games and strategic thinking than Habermas allows for? Feminist historiography,

at least, makes the latter more plausible” (Goode 2005: 32). Fraser (1992) adds that for the public sphere to adhere to Habermas’s idea of rational and democratic debate, social structures and power relations need to be accounted for.

3.2.1.3. The contemporary model of a discursive public sphere

In the discursive approach to the public sphere universal access of citizens to public discussion is of central importance. The discursive approach seems in consensus with the theories of deliberate democracy where “democratic politics involves *public deliberation focused on the common good*, requires some form of *manifest equality* among citizens, and *shapes the identity and interests* of citizens in ways that contribute to the formation of a public conception of common good” (Cohen 1989: 19). Free access to participation in public debate is therefore desirable as it contributes to the process of public deliberation (Ferree et al. 2002).

In reference to Habermas’s views on the public sphere it seems acceptable that routine decisions concerning public affairs are made by designated institutions without much of an open discussion (cf. Ferree et al. 2002). However, when normative questions important for the society are raised the discussion should include not only the actors from the center of the political stage, but also from the periphery. The discursive approach (following Habermas) further divides the periphery into “autonomous (*autochtone*) actors, characterized by a mode of association tied to the “life-world” of citizens, and power-regulated (*vermachtete*) actors, characterized by formal bureaucratic relations of hierarchy” (Ferree et al. 2002: 300). In tackling issues that are novel and normatively important participation in public discussion needs to be extended from political parties to civil society actors and grassroots organizations. Autonomous actors play a crucial role in the public communicative process due to their less centralized and bureaucratic form of organization and the style of communication that follows from a perspective that is less burdened with the decision making process as compared to other actors in the public arena. According to Ferree et al. (2002) the specific form of organization, responsibility and involvement of autonomous actors serve as pathways connecting publics and offering a perspective that is closer to the real-life experience of citizens than that of central political actors.

What is discussed in the public sphere and how it is discussed is of crucial importance within the discursive mode. As Ferree et al. (2002) emphasize arguments discussed in the public sphere should be judged by their persuasive strength, not the strength of the actors that argue in their favor. In order to achieve this ideal situation in which decisive arguments are being chosen due to their argumentative strength all participants should stand on equal ground and any differences in status should be bracketed. As evident from extensive critique of bracketing of external power relations in Habermas's theory the situation in which all differences are successfully bracketed is the ideal that all sides should pursue. Mutual respect preferred in public discussion is also reflected in the preferred style of conversation, as "standards of discursive democratic theory share an underlying assumption – that the participants are part of the same moral community, sharing basic values" (Ferree et al. 2002: 303). Similarly to the representative liberal tradition (discussed later in this chapter) civility and mutual respect are therefore preferred.

Ferre et al. argue that when highly emotional issues are at stake what often becomes most important is the expression of readiness for dialogue. James Hunter (1994, cf. Ferree et al. 2002) points to the responsibility of participants in public discourse to listen and understand the arguments of other parties of the conversation before criticizing, and when criticizing not to inflame the debate but rather apply reasonable arguments in order to persuade. However, Gutmann and Thompson (1996) argue that impassioned, non-deliberative speech is not always the most efficient style as "dispassionate argument that minimizes conflict is not always the best means of deliberation. Matching reason to passion can often be a more effective way of representing one's constituents, taking account of their well-being, and encouraging other representatives to do the same" (Gutmann and Thompson 1996: 136). Ferree et al. (2002) point to the discursive tradition as influential in American civic and public journalism as evident in the writings of Edmund Lambeth and Tenni Haas who both refer to Habermas's idea of the public sphere in their discussions of public journalism and its role in the public sphere.

The discursive model of the public sphere assumes that achieving the ideal situation should result in conflict solving and gradual closure of resolved issues. However, realistically if a consensus cannot be reached, than what should be pursued is

a working compromise that allows for moving on with public debate and the decision making process (Ferree et al. 2002).

3.2.2. The representative liberal model of the public sphere

The first theory that Ferree et al. (2002) propose is ground in the representative liberal tradition. Ferry et al. point to the works of such theorists as John Stuart Mill, Edmund Burke, Joseph Schumpeter, Anthony Downs or William Kornhauser as representative of this tradition. The general assumption of the representative liberal model centers on a restricted participation of common citizens in public debate. An emphasis is put on the wide scope of perspectives with regard to the elitist nature of public debate, ranging from conservative fear of letting common citizens engage in debate, to more liberal ones that view the strength of the public sphere in its formal structure.

The main assumptions of the model discussed by Ferree et al. can be summarized as follows: firstly, the citizens have the ultimate authority in society that they execute through their choice of representative policy makes, but do not directly partake in public debate (or do so to a minimal extent). The representatives they chose are accountable to the citizens, but at the same time the representatives are regarded as much more informed and competent *experts* better suited for political participation. Ferree et al. emphasize that “representative liberals thus place particular weight on political parties as barriers of public discourse” (2002: 291). Within this model the notion of *transparency* of the workings of political representative is of key importance, as citizens rather than communicate their needs adhere to transparent programs of particular political representatives. Therefore, as Ferree et al. highlight “inclusion [in public discourse] should depend on having a legitimate representative to articulate one’s preferred frame in public form” (2002: 291). Hence, participation of common citizens in public discourse is based on selecting competent representatives whose political agenda agrees with that of a particular individual.

Ferree et al. propose that in this perspective *elite dominance* in the public sphere should reflect the stand of a large part of the population. According to Ferree et al. media can help to sustain transparency in the public sphere by providing the citizenship with reliable information concerning the political scene as well as exposing corruption

and deceit. Furthermore, the media should also have an informative role by educating the generally uninformed public. Within the representative liberal model the majority of citizens are assumed unsuited for participation in public discussion and make competent decisions, with one exception – that of politically neutral experts that assist and advise in situations of conflict. Ferree et al. point to journalists as those in the role of neutral experts in some versions of representative liberal theories. This follows from the assumptions that journalists possess expert knowledge concerning the political and social issues they observe and report, and hence “as advisors to decision-makers in their commentary, journalists are expected to take a position on the issues at stake and so guide officials toward more knowledgeable choices” (Ferree et al. 2002: 293).

With respect to what should be said in the representative liberal model of the public sphere Ferree et al. (2002: 293) propose the metaphor of “a free marketplace of ideas”, meaning that while inclusion of all issues is fair game in discussion, what is actually discussed is a matter of proportionality of the interested parties. Consequently, the issues covered most widely will be those of the majority, not by means of content restrictions, but rather by means of proportionate interest. Despite this theoretical openness to all subjects of discussion Ferree et al. point to an interesting issue, namely that formal or informal exclusion of ideas based on substantive grounds in present democratic societies does happen. One example presented by Ferree et al. (2002: 293) is the legal exclusion from the public sphere of such topics as Holocaust denial, use of Nazi symbolism and propagation of Nazi ideas, as well as ideas deemed as *verfassungsfeindlich* (“hostile to the constitution”) in Germany. Another example points to the United States and hostile treatment of expressions of socialist ideas in public discourse.

With respect to what is being said the representative liberal model assumes an open range of topics, however with respect to how ideas are expressed it assumes a preference for detachment and civility. By detachment Ferree et al. mean an emotionally detached style of communication that does not signal one's own emotional relation to the issue at hand. As Ferree et al. emphasize emotions are hence perceived as inherently the polar opposite of reason. They explain civility as “a way of speaking politically that does not inflame passion or permit *ad hominem* attacks upon other speakers” (Ferree 2002: 294). In other words, civility denotes communication that does not signal one's emotional relation to other participants of public discourse and their

ideas. The preferred style of communication in this model of the public sphere allows respectful disagreement and it is oriented towards closure of issues already decided on and moving on to the next presently relevant one. As a result, closed issues as well as those that could render discussion fruitless are not allowed to linger endlessly in the public sphere.

In conclusion, the representative liberal model of the public sphere assumes elite dominance in public discourse that is based on transparency and proportionality with respect to issues permitted for discussion in free exchange of ideas. The style endorsed in the debate abides by the rules of detachment and civility, and is aimed at effective decision-making.

3.2.3. The participatory liberal model of the public sphere

The third model discussed by Ferree et al. is one stemming from the participatory liberal theories. Unlike the representative liberal approach, the participatory liberal tradition focuses on maximal participation of citizens in public debate and decision making.

Ferree et al. point to Rousseau's works on the advantages of direct democracy over structures of representatives that mediate between the people and the governing state as the roots of this approach. While Hirst (1994: 19) proposes the notion of associative democracy as an "extensive supplement to liberal representative democracy", Barber (2003) claims that participatory democracy is a model of strong democracy. Barber argues that a strong model of democracy (and hence of the public sphere) is characterized by self-government performed by citizens through institutions that facilitate active participation in the processes of public debates, agenda setting, decision making and policy implementation. In Barber's view the majority of ordinary citizens can collectively be as competent (if not more competent) in decision making than a small group of politicians aiming to govern them. Hence, as Ferree et al. (2002) emphasize, the participatory liberal model strays away from the notion of experts and expertise prevalent in the representative liberal model. This active participatory idea does not however mean that all citizens need to be willing to participate in public debate and hence "inevitably, there must be delegation to mediators who aggregate and

articulate one's discursive interests in the public sphere" (Ferree et al. 2002: 295). The inclusion of mediators into the participatory liberal model calls for a certain degree of centralization and bureaucratization in order to make the process more effective, especially that the active participation is an ongoing process rather than one that peaks at particular times in political life (such as elections). Ferree et al. argue that the centralization and bureaucratization of institutions adds to the degree of their accountability as well as "serve the wider goal of effectively mobilizing large numbers of citizens to act politically on their own behalf, rather than merely delegating their political interests to others" (2002: 296). The mobilization and continuous participation in the public sphere is what turns individuals into public citizens – active actors in the political process. According to Barber (2003), this means that rather than having a priori political interests citizens develop them in the process of solving problems relevant to their community.

The media play a particular role in the participatory model, as is emphasized by Dahlgren, Curran or Carrey (cf. Ferree et al. 2002). In order to meet the criterion of popular inclusion the media should have empowering quality in the facilitation of active citizen participation in the public sphere. As Ferree et al. explain:

Popular inclusion does not simply demand a passive non-exclusion nor encourage only a top-down transparency for governmental action. It places narrative demands on media to seek out and actively facilitate the inclusion of diverse speakers and interests. In addition to the voices of member-driven organizations, the voices of ordinary citizens ought to be present. (Ferree et al. 2002: 297)

Within participatory liberalism the media aim at tackling one of the biggest impediments to active political participation, namely, concealing social conflicts and discouragement of civic engagement. As Ferree et al. explain, the participatory liberal approach is therefore rooted in theories of social and political conflict as well. The model assumes that in order to challenge the reproduction of social inequalities people need to be actively involved in representing their own interests, social movements being one of the ways in which individuals are motivated to partake in the political process. Media discourse is seen as facilitating citizen mobilization, however, Ferree et al. emphasize that the preferred style of rhetoric differs from author to author. Some, like Kennedy (cf. Ferree et al. 2002), advocate for the polemical speech that defies civility preferred by the representative liberal stance. The rejection of civility in public

discourse is seen here as means of empowerment and mobilization. Others, like Barber (2003) argue that a more deliberative style is needed. Ferree et al. (2002) highlight that participatory liberalism accepts a range of communicative styles in public discourse, as long as they contribute in the process of challenging established, taken-for-granted frames or viewpoints. As they accurately summarize “appropriate forms of discourse do not preclude civility and deliberativeness, but do not necessarily require it” (Ferree et al. 2002: 299).

While the representative liberal model strived for closure, the participatory perspective is suspicious of closure treating it as a tool of exclusion of conflicts and problems from the public sphere. As Ferree et al. emphasize this suspicion stems from the assumption that social inequality in an ongoing issue and hence premature closure should be avoided. Mansbridge (1996) claims that failure to resolve conflict results in two options – remaining at the status quo or taking further action, and she advocates for taking the latter step. This is how in the participatory liberal model of the public sphere the interests of majority should not dominate the public sphere and voices of minorities and oppositions should be a part of public discourse.

3.2.4. The constructivist model

The constructivist approach to the public sphere has much in common with the discursive approach in searching for social inequalities hidden in the way public discourse is constructed. Ferree et al. (2002) point to Foucault’s writings on the relations of discourse and power in society as underlying the constructivist theory. Some of the most active representatives of constructivism, such as Nancy Fraser, Seyla Benhabib, and Iris Marion Young tackle the issues of marginalization of women in politics and focus on the exclusionary nature of the public sphere understood as a separation of the masculine public sphere from the feminine private sphere (cf. Ferree et al. 2002: 307).

From the perspective of who can participate in public debate popular, inclusion is of crucial importance as it answers the challenges of exclusion based on such criteria as gender, class or ethnicity. Moreover, Ferree et al. (2002) argue that the constructivist approach rejects the representative liberal concept of expertise and instead focuses on

individuals who, through their own viewpoint, represent to others the influence of political decisions on their lives. What is more, inclusion also contributes to recognition of the standpoints of other actors. Ferree et al. point to Gurevitch's (1988) concept of "making strange" as one technique aimed at grasping perspectives that differ from those taken for granted as central to a given community. It consists in foregrounding the strangeness of a particular group and exposing how it differs from the prevailing majority. However, exposing a group's strangeness carries with it the danger of evoking negative attitudes towards the strange other. Diversity is highly desired, as it allows for consideration of many diverse options and implications in political decision making (Ferree et al. 2002). Popular inclusion hence empowers marginalized voices by recognizing them and how they differ from mainstream interests. What sets the constructivist approach to the public sphere apart from other perspectives is that it "sees the political as spilling across the artificial boundary between public and private" (Ferree et al. 2002: 310). This claim assumes that all citizens can actively participate in public discourse as their private lives are interconnected with the political sphere in a variety of aspects. The role of the media in the constructivist tradition also differs from the other approaches, as "the constructivist tradition wants the media to step out of its routines for dealing with the powerful and actively seek out other perspectives at the grassroots" (Ferree et al. 2002: 310).

With regards to the preferred style of public discourse, the constructivist model is partial to that of narrative, non-expert form of expression based on one's own experience. Ferree et al. emphasize that the narrative style should be viewed as an alternative style that in models preferring argumentative forms of expression would be devalued and excluded. Placing narrative creativity as the preferred style of expression does not aim at devaluing deliberative styles. Rather it aims at ensuring that voices of groups that would normally be excluded due to formal criteria of their style of expression can be heard and responded to. Public communication in the constructivist approach is seen as devoid of restrictions imposed in other models of the public sphere. Ferree et al. highlight that while the division into public and private is socially constructed these categories are often assumed as natural categories and implicitly exclude certain groups, styles and practices that are normatively seen as bound to the private sphere, out of public discussion. The idea of a democracy based on dialogue as advocated by the deliberative approach is close to that desired in the constructivist

model, however, Young (1996) levels critique on deliberative democracy as exclusionary due to the restrictions of who is granted participation on the basis of preferred style and rhetoric modes of expression. Young argues that the deliberative model assumes neutrality and universality of deliberation and fails to attend to the cultural aspects of deliberative practice that should be accounted for in an inclusive theory of the public sphere. Viewing public discourse in specific local cultural context is hence crucial. Ferree et al. rightly emphasize that constructivist theories of the public sphere “remind us that in identifying normative criteria about deliberative discourse, we must be careful to attend to different dimensions of power, including those that act discursively to restrict content and participation through the limits they place on acceptable style” (2002: 314).

Constructivist theorists are also careful when the issue of closure is concerned, as premature closure and universal rational consensus are seen as a threat to the process of widening popular inclusions (Mouffe 1999). Ferree et al (2002) conclude that consensus in the constructivist approach is not always the goal of communication and is always subject to critical evaluation. The authors also note that the heavy critique against style and conversational constrains of communication in the public sphere open the constructivist model to outside criticism, as while highlighting clearly the imperfections of other traditions, constructivists present their model of communication in rather abstract terms.

In conclusion, the four models of the public sphere presented above represent four different approaches to the questions of who can participate in public discussion, what issues are to be tackled, how is communication to be conducted, and what are the goals that public communication sets to achieve. A summary of the most prominent normative criteria that set apart the four traditions are presented in Table 1 Normative criteria in democratic theory, borrowed from Ferree et al. (2002: 316)below:

Table 1 Normative criteria in democratic theory, borrowed from Ferree et al. (2002: 316)

Theory types	Criteria for a good democratic public discourse			
	<i>Who</i> participates	In <i>what</i> sort of process	<i>How</i> ideas should be presented	<i>Outcome</i> of relation between discourse and decision-making

Representative liberal	<i>Elite dominance Expertise Proportionality</i>	Free market- place of ideas Transparency	Detachment Civility	Closure
Participatory liberal	Popular inclusion	Empowerment	Range of styles	Avoidance of imposed closure
Discursive	Popular inclusion	Deliberative	<i>Dialogue Mutual respect Civility</i>	Avoidance of premature non-consensus-based closure
Constructionist	Popular inclusion	Empowerment Recognition	Narrative creativity	<i>Avoidance of exclusionary closure Expansion of the political community</i>

The following dissertation adheres to the discursive model of the public sphere with a slight modification drawn from the constructivist theory, namely applying a degree of cultural sensitivity to analysis of media texts that I understand as part of public discourse. This theoretical adjustment is dictated by the nature of analyzed data and also strives to answer of the programmatic requirements of the Discourse Historical Approach – that of viewing discourse in a broad socio-historical context.

The two events that the present work investigates in order to explore the processes of discursive construction of collective traumas shook two very different societies. One of them is a well-established democracy and one of the most prominent global cultures – the Unites States of America, a hallmark of freedom, democracy and strength. The other one is a young democracy still struggling with its troubled past, times filled with the atrocities of war, brutal occupation, and subsequent communistic regime – a small country in the eastern part of Europe, Poland. These two historically and culturally different nations need to be viewed in their respective socio-historical context in order to account for both the similarities in their representation of the trauma process, as well as the differences in the way they represent events as collectively traumatizing.

3.3. The day the world stood still – The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001

3.3.1. Political situation in the U.S. before 9/11

George W. Bush became the president of the United States on January 20, 2001. He took over the country that was peaceful and prosperous, and in less than a year he found himself ruling in the midst of war and recession (Murphy 2003). As 9/11 was a turning point in the U.S. history, it is important to provide background on what direction the country was heading when Bush took the office. Murphy claims that it is evident that even when Bush started serving his first term, the country was sliding into recession. More than two million jobs had disappeared, and one million workers were out of the labor force. It was also the first time in six years that wage increases fell below the inflation rate for most Americans, as Murphy emphasizes. The stock market also suffered loss in value, which was the biggest loss suffered by any president in the same period of time, including Herbert Hoover. The deficit started rising, while the projected budget surplus was lost. The dollar's value dropped, and the trade deficit started rising. What is clearly evident is that since G.W. Bush took the office the U.S. had grown significantly less prosperous (Murphy 2003). The events of September 11, 2001 is often referred to as the changing point in Bush's presidency, as the terrorist attacks that shook America transformed a president that struggled with finding support during his first year in office into a leader with a clearly stated agenda – the War on Global Terrorism (Renshon 2004)

3.3.2. The timeline of September 11 attacks

On the morning of Tuesday, September 11, 2001, a series of four coordinated terrorist attacks hit the United States. Four passenger planes were hijacked by 19 terrorists, who planned to divert the planes and fly into buildings.

At 8:14 a.m. EDT, American Airlines Flight 11, heading from Boston to Los Angeles carrying 81 passengers and 11 crewmembers, was hijacked 15 minutes into the flight and diverted towards New York City. At 8:42 a.m. terrorists hijacked the United

Airlines Flight 175, heading from Boston to Los Angeles carrying 56 passengers and 9 crewmembers. At 8:46 a.m., Flight 11 crashed into the North Tower (1 WTC) of the World Trade Center in New York City, between floors 93 and 99. At 8:50 a.m., another plane, American Airlines Flight 77, heading from Fairfax and Loudon County, Virginia to Los Angeles carrying 58 passengers and 6 crewmembers, was hijacked by the terrorists. At 9:03 a.m. Flight 175 crashed into the South Tower (2 WTC) of the World Trade Center in New York City, between floors 77 and 85. At 9:28 a.m., the hijackers stormed the cockpit of the United Airlines Flight 93, heading from Newark to San Francisco and carrying 37 passengers and seven crewmembers, and took over the plane. At 9:37 a.m., Flight 77 crashed into the western side of the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. At 9:58 a.m., the South Tower of the World Trade Center collapsed, 56 minutes after the impact by Flight 175. At 10:03 a.m., Flight 93 crashed into the ground near Pittsburgh in Somerset Country, Pennsylvania, following a passenger revolt and fighting in the cockpit. At 10:28 a.m. the North Tower of the World Trade Center collapsed, 1 hour and 42 minutes after the impact.¹

3.3.2.1. Live coverage of 9/11 attacks and the aftermath

The events of September 11 attacks were televised worldwide as they were unfolding just after the first tower of the World Trade Center was hit. Everyone could see the way terrorists disregarded human lives, and used them instrumentally to bring death to many others. In this respect “9/11 truly was a world event, witnessed in real or near-real time all across the world” (Simpson 2006: 31-32). Edkins (2003) speaks of the instrumental use of the people on the hijacked planes as ‘bare life’. The aim of the terrorists was a combination of two goals, one being a spectacular event that was televised worldwide, and the other being the maximum civilian casualties (Edkins 2003). The trauma of that day could not be hidden, as almost every television channel was broadcasting live the events and the aftermath of the attacks. As there was chaos, and confusion, as to what exactly happened, the media were reduced to playing the images over and over again,

¹ The timeline was based on the report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (http://www.9-11commission.gov/report/911Report_Ch1.htm)

without the word of explanation, as there was none at the moment (Edkins 2003). The panic reactions of the government, as the military was put on high alert and the president was transported to a secure location, were covered too, which was rare in the times before the attack (Edkins 2003).

The coverage did not end with the end of the attacks. To the contrary, TV stations started broadcasting the relatives of the missing in the attacks, roaming the streets to gather information. The stories of survivors were relayed, along with the recordings of the dead, calling their loved ones before the collapse. Chaos continued, as the raw images from Ground Zero were transmitted every day. However, Edkins argues that what was missing from the coverage, however, was the most important part – the death itself. Even though thousands lost their lives in the attacks, TV stations did not show the pictures of the bodies falling down from the towers, or the remains that were recovered by the rescue efforts. Edkins (2003) attributes this to two factors, the first of them being censorship. The second one was the fact that the remains were removed discreetly, without the public eye observing the procedure. However, as Edkins (2003) notes, this concealment did not reduce the traumatic impact of the events. What is more, Edkins claims that it increases it, as it is known that relatives need details of what happened to their loved ones. Even if the details are horrific, the imagination can serve even more horrific images.

What was also missing from the coverage of the events of that day were the protests. Right after the attacks, various debates started, as to whether immediate retaliation should be pursued (Edkins 2003). People started gathering on the streets near Ground Zero to mourn and comfort each other, to post flyers with missing people, and to set up shrines in the neighborhood. What is important here, according to Edkins (2003), is that for people involved it was not an attack on America, but rather an attack on the city itself. And for these people, the mayor of New York City was a far more important figure in the immediate aftermath than the President of the United States.

The events of 9/11, according to Edkins (2003), cannot be considered as an attack on the state as such. It is rather an instance of state-like violence, which is considered a reflection of the state. “Like the state they produced life as nothing more than bare life – life that could be taken with impunity” (Edkins 2003: 227). The lives of the victims were disregarded, deemed worthless. But what is more, not only the lives of these people were taken from them. It was also their deaths (Edkins 2003). They did not

die as individuals, but were obliterated. As there were no bodies, these people simply vanished from the face of the earth. They became missing, which could not give closure to the families. The trauma of the event, according to Edkins (2003), did not lay in the fact of the loss itself, but in the manner of this loss. Because the attack was deliberate, it could have been anyone that day. With their attack, the terrorists have stripped the state of their monopoly on violence. Edkins argues that by doing this, they could treat people the same way the state did – as bare life. Even though the bodies of the victims, and thus their deaths, were finally reclaimed, the victims were not reclaimed as people, but as bare life, numbers in statistics.

As in other instances the survivors were the most concerned with not repeating the trauma by inflicting the suffering on others in retaliation the state wanted (Edkins 2003). It seems that the best response to the notion that nobody is ever safe, is to carry on with mundane activities of everyday life. Unfortunately, the proclaimed War on Terror, in which the victims' relatives did not want to take part, took the center stage in the actions of the state.

3.4. The shadows of the Katyń Forest – the 2010 Smoleńsk plane crash in the Polish public sphere

The specific nature of the public sphere in Poland calls for more attention in order to gain a deeper understanding of the public discussion of the traumatic events of April 10th, 2010 when in the early morning hours the Polish presidential plane carrying political representatives of the country crashed in the forests surrounding Smoleńsk in Russia leaving no survivors. The sections below aim at providing the historical and political background required for viewing the representation of the tragedy in Smoleńsk in a wide, informative context. Firstly, a brief discussion of the characteristics of the political situation in Poland is presented, followed by a historical sketch of the tragic events that marked Katyń (and then Smoleńsk) on the traumatic map of Poland's past.

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the social and political impact of the Smoleńsk crash it is necessary to discuss the historical influences that shaped Poland's political sphere and the predominant perspectives in its foreign policy. Reeves (2010) argues that Poland's troubled history – the 1795 partition and the subsequent absorption

of Poland by Prussian, Russian and Habsburg Empires, the struggle for reemergence as a sovereign state, the atrocities of occupation by Nazi Germany and the crimes suffered from the hands of the Soviet Union during the four decades of Stalinization of Poland – underlines the country's political decisions, perceptions and construction of national identity. As a result, no attempt at analyzing Polish-Russian relations can be made without considering their shared history of political tensions. Reeves refers to Prizel (1998) who argues that this turbulent history of being dominated by external political actors is what shaped Poland's preoccupation with the issue of security and perception of other states (especially Germany and Russia) as potential threats to Poland's sovereignty.

The political arena in Poland after 2005 was dominated by two competing political parties – the Civic Platform (Platforma Obywatelska – PO) and Law and Justice (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość – PiS). The division of Polish political scene into two major political actors is a simplification applied for the purpose of the present dissertation based on the focus of media discourse on the PO-PiS divide in public discourse after the Smoleńsk crash. For a detailed and in-depth analysis on the Polish political scene prior to and after the 2010 events see Szczerbiak (2002) and Szczerbiak (2013). The Polish post-1989 political scene has always been characterized by bipolarity (Szczerbiak 2008), which can be observed on the example of the two above-mentioned political parties.

Although both the Civic Platform (PO) and Law and Justice (PiS) can be placed on the rightist side of the political spectrum, the two major parties in power in 2010 are often seen as the stable political divide in the Polish political system (as evident in Szczerbiak 2013). Gwiazda (2015) classifies the Civic Platform (PO) as center-right liberal-conservative party that is supportive of European integration and finds its supporters mainly in the middle-class well educated strata of Polish society.

Gwiazda (2015) characterizes Law and Justice (PiS) as right-wing conservative with an emphasis on strong roots in Catholic values and support in radical Catholic organizations (such as *Radio Maryja* and *TV Trwam*) and support spread mostly through small towns and rural areas. Moreover, Gwiazda classifies Law and Justice (PiS) as soft Eurosceptics. However, De Waele and Paczeński (2012) argue that a clear identification of interests of which social groups political parties in Poland represent is difficult, as the only evident electoral differentiation is based on geographic distinctions

of electoral support. However, the authors seem generally in consensus with Gwiazda (2015) in reference to the main social groups that support each of these two parties. The two most important positions in the state structure of Poland in 2010 were held by representatives of these competing parties, with Lech Kaczyński (Law and Justice – PiS) being the President of Poland (his twin brother, Jarosław Kaczyński, holding the function of PiS leader) and Donald Tusk (Civic Platform – PO) performing the function of Poland’s Prime Minister.

In reference to foreign policy and international relations Reeves (2010) emphasizes a notable change brought about by the accession to office of President Lech Kaczyński in 2005. As Reeves observes “it became clear that the new president, Lech Kaczyński, was determined to extend the influence of his office when it came to the formulation of foreign policy” (2010: 522). The fact that PiS is a political party oriented towards nationalist values with strong ties to the Catholic Church seems to imply an isolationist, rather than an internationalist, tendency in foreign policy. In reference to Polish-Russian relations Zarycki (2004) notes that the general attitude in Polish society has been marked by the historic perception of Russia as a source of repression, the non-Western, culturally different “other”. According to Zarycki, the shadow of past conflicts with Russia and the potential threat of again falling under Russian influence was one of the most notable forces shaping Poland’s foreign policy in the post-communist period. The Polish-Russian relations during the time President Lech Kaczyński spent in office were also marked by tension. Reeves (2010) points to President Kaczyński’s support expressed towards the Orange Revolution in Ukraine as one example. As Reeves emphasizes:

Relations between Russia and Poland had therefore already badly deteriorated even before the PiS government came to power. The leadership of PiS – particularly Jarosław Kaczyński – nonetheless criticized their predecessors for not having done enough to defend Poland’s interests in the face of Russian pressure. (Reeves 2010: 530-531).

The complexity of the Polish-Russian relations prior to the presidential aircraft crash in Smoleńsk in 2010 seems to add to the impact it had on Poland. The traumatic character of the place where the TU-154U crashed further complicates the issue.

The delegation of political representatives that boarded the TU-154M presidential aircraft heading to Katyń (Russia) on the 10th of April 2010 included the President of Poland Lech Kaczyński, his wife the First Lady Maria Kaczyńska, the

former last President of Poland in Exile Ryszard Kaczorowski, military officials, many prominent politicians, public figures as well as descendants of Poles killed in the Katyń Forest Massacre. The plane heading to Katyń to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the Forest Massacre never reached its destination. All 96 passengers perished when the plane crashed while attempting to land in Smoleńsk, Russia. At 8.56 AM the forests surrounding Smoleńsk and Katyń one again became the site of traumatic loss for Polish society. Galbrigh emphasizes the immense symbolic nature of the crash as “Many observers, both inside and outside of Poland, noted uncanny parallels between the massacre of 1940 and the death of the contemporary political elite” (2014: 44). The historical significance of Katyń as a place of collective trauma calls for further discussion.

Katyń or Katyń Forest Massacre “denotes a series of mass executions that occurred in a number of locations in and near the Katyń Forest” (Galbright 2014: 45). Over 20,000 Polish prisoners of war were brutally murdered by the Soviet Army and buried in the area (the exact numbers concerning how many people were killed remain unclear, Kalinowka (2012: 432) refers to circa 21,000 while Galbright (2014: 45) quotes over 20,000 victims). The massacre was silenced and any information concerning the vanished prisoners was held in secrecy until mass graves were discovered by German officers in 1943. The Russian government blamed the crime on Nazi Germany and refused to further investigate it for decades to come. The families of the murdered were not only left without any explanation of what happened to their loved ones but often faced persecutions when trying to speak up about their unspoken tragedy (Kalinowska 2012: 432). The silence surrounding the Katyń Forest Massacre broke in 1990, after Poland’s breake from socialism and transition into a democratic state. It is then that the Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev acknowledged the Soviet Union’s blame for the Katyń murders and the historical records that had so far been classified and kept hidden began surfacing and shedding light onto the long suppressed trauma (Galbright 2014). As Allen Paul (1991: xi) highlights, the painful silence surrounding the Katyń Forest massacre until the final acknowledgement of the crime in 1990 turned Katyń into a “complex symbol of Polish suffering at the hands of Stalin”. Similarly, Niżyńska describes Katyń as “a symbolic national trauma, a center of gravity in the Polish sense of historical injustice that absorbed and conflated other traumas involving Russia and the sanitization of history” (2011: 470). What is more, Galbraight points out that “The

memory of historic events at Katyń has reinscribed national mythological themes of Polish suffering at the hands of deceitful neighbors and sacrifices that have largely gone unrecognized outside of Poland” (2014: 45). Katyń has become a place of collective trauma deeply engraved in Polish martyrology and its symbolism added to the shock caused by the tragic plane crash in Smoleńsk in 2010. The fact that the same location once again became the site of a national tragedy led to inevitable comparisons of the two events. However, Galbright (2014) argues that despite parallels drawn between these two collective traumas the prevailing tendency in public discourse was a future-oriented perspective, as opposed to one that focused on the past. The current dissertation builds one of its hypothesis on Galbright’s observation and tests it against two sets of data gathered from sources associated with two opposing sides of the Polish political scene in order to draw conclusions concerning the politicization of representation of the collective trauma of the Smoleńsk crash.

3.5. Political Discourse

3.5.1. Defining politics

Before we proceed with the topic of political discourse and describe the frameworks of its analysis, it is of importance to give the definition of the field of politics itself. Wodak (2009) speaks of two primary roots for the meaning of politics, namely ethics and morals, as articulated by Aristotle, and violence and hegemony, as propagated by Machiavelli. The Aristotelian approach seeks to find the best form of government, which can benefit the society. Thus, based on the ethics and morals, the society can define values that are good or bad for them. However, Wodak (2009) notes that it is important to remember that the definition of these values will always be dependent on the context of a given society. It means that what might seem as a good system for one society, might be regarded bad by another, e.g. totalitarian vs. democratic. Machiavellian approach, on the other hand, focuses on the quest for power between the ones who want to assert it, and the ones who want to resist it (Chilton 2004). Hence, we may assume that on the one hand, politics is all about the power, and on the other hand,

it is all about the benefits for society that this power can bring. Chilton and Schaffner (2002: 4) also give an example of a definition of politics, which, according to them, “varies according to one’s situations and purposes.”

3.5.1.1. Language and politics

When talking about the link between language and politics, we have to take into consideration that even the recent concern with the topic follows the deep-rooted philosophical traditions of the West (Chilton and Schaffner 2002). Plato spoke of power of language within the ideal state, and the classical tradition of rhetoric dealt with the relationship between persuasion, truth and morality. The recent concern with the power of language shares the ideas and perspectives of these old traditions.

However, these philosophical traditions also give insight into more fundamental view of the relationship between language and politics (Chilton and Schaffner 2002). Aristotle spoke of speech as a human capability to indicate what is just and what is unjust. Of course, as each individual is able to perceive the difference in their own way, there might be many opinions. Aristotle thus claimed that it is the shared view in these opinions that makes a state (Chilton and Schaffner 2002). What can be inferred from all this is that it is the language that serves the function of defining political associations within groups. Even though today we cannot be sure whether language emerged to perform social functions or whether it emerged randomly in human evolution, we know that political activities could not exist without language.

As we talk about opinions, just and unjust, good and bad, we have to note that in politics (and the language in relation to politics) facts and subjective values cannot be really treated separately. Chilton and Schaffner (2002) emphasize that “linguistic and discourse based approaches to politics, like traditional philosophy, similarly veers from normative orientation to the empirical and often blends them” (Chilton and Schaffner 2002: 3). Thus in political theories it is often hard to escape self-interest or ideological bias. It seems rooted in the phenomenon itself, as people who write and talk about politics do it politically, because writing and talking are rooted in social, and political, behavior (Chilton and Schaffner 2002). However, as we assume that politics is mostly

language, we can also assume that linguistic and discourse approaches give us additional empirical evidence to observe and analyze.

3.5.1.2. Language of politics

With the definition of politics and language of politics at hand, we can proceed to a discussion of the framework for the field of language and politics. When speaking of political discourse, we might regard speeches as the most salient genre (Ensink and Sauer 2003; Chilton 2004; Fairclough 2006; Reisigl 2006; Wodak and De Cilla 2007). Even though speeches are usually written by so-called “spin-doctors”, the politicians are the ones who deliver them (Wodak 2009). That is why the audience and the media always associate the speech with the person who performed it, and with their style (Pels and Corner 2003). Also, this is the reason why the audience and the media rarely ask about the author of the speech (Goffman 1981). Nowadays, thanks to technology, politicians rely on more genres of political discourse, which reach us in our everyday lives. Each of these genres, however, will include certain strategies, tactics, and devices, common to political discourse as a whole. That is why it is important to establish a framework for the field of language and politics. Chilton (2004) lists a set of propositions that might constitute such a framework.

The first proposition claims that “political discourse operates indexically” (Chilton 2004: 201). This means that the choice of the language a politician makes always serves to signal a political distinction. This might be manifested in the choice of certain lexical items, forms of addressing, accent and so forth.

The second proposition claims that “political discourse operates as interaction” (Chilton 2004: 201). This proposition assumes that interactions, such as dialog or negotiation, help find common representations of the world and help ground the agreements and disagreements. Further, some features of interaction might be used to indicate hierarchy or rank.

The third proposition claims that “modal properties of language subserve political interaction” (Chilton 2004: 202). What this means is that modal verbs, such as English *can*, *must*, *should*, *could* are used to imply certain statements, such as claims for truth or trust, or to imply vagueness of other statements.

The next proposition assumes that “binary conceptualizations are frequent in political discourse” (Chilton 2004: 202). As most politicians try to present themselves positively and their opposition negatively (van Dijk 1984; Reisigl and Wodak 2001), it leads to creation of binary concepts of “us and them”, which are at the core of persuasive discourse (Wodak 2009). Binary concepts can be also used to ascribe certain characteristics to the concepts of “us and them”, using positive and negative connotations.

The last proposition assumes that “political discourse involves metaphorical reasoning” (Chilton 2004: 203). It implies that metaphors are used as arguments. For example, spatial metaphors are used to indicate the actions and the position of the political group, such as being at crossroads, choosing direction (Mussolf 2006).

Wodak (2009) adds one important notion to Chilton’s framework, i.e. the dimension of persuasion. She claims that political language and discourse is used to convince the addressee of a certain ideological position. Thus, all the genres in political discourse will have persuasive elements, which strengthen the opinions and positions of the speaker or the text producer.

3.6. News media and political discourse

The discourse of mass media is by definition a form of public discourse due to the following reasons: “it is accessible to a general public, including other media, who have the right to comment on it and decontextualize it, thus constructing intertextuality” (Lauerbach and Fetzer 2007: 19, following Fetzer and Weizman 2006; Scannell 1998). Lauerbach and Fetzer (2007: 3) suggest that for most people public discourse is accessible only through media coverage. Hence, the role of the media as a form of public discourse and its relation to political discourse require more attention.

In reference to the role of the media in political discourse Sarcinelli (1987) proposes the term “symbolic politics”, where the dissemination of political discourse by the media plays a crucial role. As Lauerbach and Fetzer explain:

The production of politics for the greatest part takes place behind the scenes, and the public very rarely has access to it (if it does – as is the case e.g. in the case of parliamentary commissions publicly probing into political scandal – this happens only in retrospect and within strict limits). The presentation of politics by contrast takes place on

the public stage that the media provide (televised parliamentary debates would seem to be a complex boundary case). Lauerbach and Fetzer (2007: 5)

Symbolic politics should be understood here as the presentation of politics in the media, however Lauerbach and Fetzer (2007) point to one of the pivotal problems in analyzing political discourse in media texts, namely that although ideally the media should be neutral as the means of dissemination of politics, they are in fact subject to many influence including staging constraints and commercial influence. Hence, rather than being a neutral observer mediating information between the public and the political actors and monitoring the transparency of the decision making process, the media can be in fact accused of falling to both commercial and political influences (Lauerbach and Fetzer 2007). Considering the influence the media have on the general public this issue becomes especially problematic.

van Dijk argues that the power of the media is generally symbolic and persuasive in nature as “the media primarily have the potential to control to some extent the minds of readers or viewers, but not directly their actions” (1995: 10). As just one of the available sources of information the media’s power over individuals and their actions is never complete and it is generally agreed upon that media audience is to varying degrees resistant to manipulation, or what van Dijk (1995) labels as “mind control”. However, van Dijk also notes that the strength of media’s power rests in the way people ““change their minds” of their own free will, as when they accept news reports as true or journalistic opinions as legitimate or correct” (1995: 11). This aspect of media discourse, especially in the context of news media texts seems of great importance in the study of representations of collective trauma due to the potential reading of potentially politicized representation of the trauma process as correct by the media audience.

van Dijk (1995; 2002) provides a useful theory of the way we understand news media discourse, namely that of mental models. Mental models can be defined as “a mental representation of an experience” (van Dijk 1995: 14), including events that we participate in, that we witness or that we learn about from (for example) news media. These mental representations that we construct while reading about an event are subjective in nature, as they may include our opinions and attitudes, they also rely on knowledge and opinions that are socially shared. As van Dijk (1995) highlights,

individual understanding of events portrayed in new media is influenced by the knowledge and opinions of the social group one is part of.

A crucial point concerning mental models that van Dijk (1995) draws attention to is that what models of events we form may be subject to manipulation by the way news reports are structured and what they contain. News reports are constructed depending on specific mental representations of the journalist that author news texts and their goal is for the reader to construct his or her mental representation in accordance with theirs (van Dijk 1995). Hence, van Dijk uses the term “preferred models” that “form the core of processes of persuasion, disinformation, and the media control of the public, especially if they are inconsistent with the best interests of the readers, but consistent with the interests of the elites” (1995: 14). The ways in which a news report can produce a preferred model include the manipulation of information that is foregrounded or backgrounded, what aspects are brought to attention and which are absent or pushed back as less prominent (van Dijk 1995). In the context of representations of collective trauma in news media this notion of preferred models seems of great importance as it sheds light onto the differences in representations depending on the media outlet providing them and the effect of political forces that influence these outlets. Media texts are therefore a valuable source of data as they allow for the analysis of preferred meanings of events present in public discourse.

3.6.1. Approaches to media texts

Since media texts are frequently used as data corpora for linguistic analysis (Wodak and Busch 2004), it is important to look into various approaches to media texts. Even though quantitative media analysis is a popular approach in the media research (McQuail 2000), combining social, cultural, and political perspectives with detailed linguistic information in qualitative approaches might offer deeper insights (Wodak and Busch 2004).

Traditionally, media analysis was based on conversation analysis (CA) (Wodak and Busch 2004). CA studied social interaction, by describing the formal structure of the conversation, and its operation under the institutional boundaries of media (Wodak and Busch 2004). However, CA focuses on detailed linguistic analysis without

considering the context. As studying contexts has become central to recent qualitative approaches to media texts, it is important to also take those into consideration.

Chapter 4: Methods and Procedures

4.1. Towards a synergy of qualitative and quantitative methods

The analytical approach taken in this study is informed by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), in particular by DHA which incorporates several steps in analysis. By tracing discursive representation and their underlying discursive strategies in news coverage of collectively traumatizing events it is possible to identify not only how the trauma process is unfolding, but also how these representations differ depending on the political polarization of the outlets that produce them. The methodology employed in the present dissertation is both qualitative (DHA) and quantitative (corpus based methods and text network analysis) in nature to assure objective interpretation of the data by the researcher. The following sections outline the methods used in the analysis of news coverage of two events of great social impact – the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 and the crash of the TU-154M presidential aircraft in Smoleńsk in 2010. Section 4.2 outlines qualitative methods informed by DHA, then in Section 4.3 quantitative methods of Corpus Linguistics are reviewed. Section 4.4 focuses on the most unorthodox methodology adopted into the eclectic analytical framework of the present dissertation – Text Network Analysis. Lastly data gathering procedures are discussed in detail in Section 4.5.

4.2. Qualitative methods – Discourse Historical Analysis

The approach to analysis in DHA is three-dimensional, as it first identifies specific contents or topics of a specific discourse, secondly it investigates discursive strategies used, and lastly it analyzes the linguistic means (as types) and specific, context-dependent linguistic realizations (as tokens) (cf. Reisigl and Wodak [2001]: 2009: 93). Discursive strategies are understood as intentional plans of practices that are aimed at achieving particular effects (linguistic, political, social, etc.). Furthermore, Reisigl and Wodak (2009: 94) emphasize that “discursive strategies are located at different levels of linguistic organization and complexity”. The operationalization of distinct discursive strategies is guided by five questions:

1. How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically?
 2. What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes?
 3. What arguments are employed in the discourse in question?
 4. From what perspective are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed?
 5. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly; are they intensified or mitigated?
- (Reisigl and Wodak: 2009: 93-94)

On the basis of these questions five types of discursive strategies are distinguished. These include referential or nomination strategies (including metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches), predication strategies (including evaluation and attribution of positive or negative traits to social actors, implicit or explicit), argumentation strategies (focusing on identifying topoi, which justify negative or positive attributions of traits to social actors or events), discourse perspectivization or framing, and lastly, intensification and mitigation strategies (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 44-45).

Referential or nomination strategies are strategies used to construct social actors (those can include individuals, groups, institutions, etc.). Reisigl and Wodak explain that social actors can be represented through a variety of linguistic devices, including “membership categorisation devices, including reference by tropes, biological, naturalising and depersonalising metaphors and metonymies, as well as by synecdoches in the form of a part standing for the whole (*pars pro toto*) or a whole standing for the part (*totum pro parte*)” (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 45). Hence, social actors can be represented through directly naming them (for example in a derogatory way) or by use

of discursive strategies that use an arsenal of sociosemantic categories. Nomination or referential strategies are already predicative in the sense that they include some sort of evaluation. As Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 50) emphasize these strategies select a feature, quality or category of a social actor or group of actors and use it as a “representative depicter” of the individual/group as such. This type of discursive strategy is key interest in investigating the ways in which events are represented as collectively traumatic, as they label actors and event and hence may serve as indexes of attribution of collective trauma status.

Within the nomination or referential discursive strategies Reisigl and Wodak (2001) list several useful analytical categories borrowed from van Leeuwen’s (2008) analysis of social actors, as they are tuned for analyzing more subtle forms of expressions of inequality in discourse. Some of these categories are defined according to van Leeuwen, while some have been redefined within the DHA. The categories of analysis used within the DHA framework include *categorization*, *passivation*, *inclusion*, *exclusion*, *suppression*, *backgrounding*, *specification*, *genericization*, *assimilation*, *collectivization*, *aggregation*, *impersonalization*, *abstraction* and *objectivation* (cf. Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 46-47).

Actors can be *categorized*, meaning that rather than being nominated (being named in a specific way, often through proper nouns) they are described by use of a category of class membership. The category of *passivation* is connected with an allocation of agency. Social actors can be represented as agents in social action or they can be represented as passive. They can be *included* in or *excluded* from discourse, *suppressed* from or *backgrounded* in discourse, depending on the interests of discourse producers.

Other categories of representation proposed by van Leeuwen that I have decided to incorporate include *association*, *indetermination* and *differentiation*. *Association* refers to grouping social actors or groups of social actors without actually labeling them as groups. van Leeuwen explains indetermination as anonymizing of the actor(s), while differentiation is used as when text “explicitly differentiates an individual social actor or group of social actors from a similar actor or group” (2008: 40). I am including them into the categories of analysis for the purpose of completeness, as in the present dissertation the notion of exclusion and inclusion of certain groups into the category of victims or perpetrators could be observed in the news media discourse.

Referential strategies in discourse can be defined as ways in which social actors' relations with others are constructed. Here Reisigl and Wodak (2001) propose the categories of *relationalization* and *sociativisation*. *Relationalization* refers to constructing relationships of kinship, personal or professional in nature. *Sociativisation* on the other hand can be defined "as the specific form of 'relationalisation' that consists in explicitly expressing the relationship by prefixes like 'co-' and 'fellow'" (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 53). Social actors can be referenced to as *generic* or *specific*, *assimilated* or *individualized*, meaning that "they can be represented as classes, or as specific, identifiable individuals" (van Leeuwen 2008: 35). As a category of representation *assimilation* can be further broken down to *collectivization* (individuals are grouped in a more statistical way) and *aggregation* (where individuals are grouped to produce a sense of consensus).

Personalization and its counterpart *impersonalization* refer to representing social actors either as human beings, or on the contrary, using abstract nouns or nouns that do not indicate belonging to the human kind. A form of impersonalization we can distinguish is *abstraction* which can be explained as defining social actors through their qualities (or problems). In terms of representing social actors through their physical characteristics *somatonyms* and *somatization* are used as an analytical category. This is linguistically realized through "synecdochically picking out a part or characteristic of their body: that is to say, by referring to a person on the basis of a meronymic semantic relationship" (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 53). Similarly, *objectivation* refers to representing social actors through places, things or actions closely associated with them. Reisigl and Wodak (2001), however, differentiate between van Leeuwen's objectivation and somatisation, as the first is a metonymical relation while the latter seems to be a meronymical one. Objectivation can be further divided into spatialization (referring to social actors by means of places), utterance autonomization (by means of utterance), instrumentalization (by means of instruments social actors use to carry out an action), and somatization (discussed above).

While nomination or referential strategies construct social actors, events or phenomena, predication strategies focus on attributes that are ascribed to them. This implies valuing and qualification, and as Reisigl and Wodak state predication strategies can include both explicit denotations or implicit (to varying degree) connotations. However, referential strategies also involve valuing and hence Reisigl and Wodak

(2001: 45) consider them a type of predication strategies. These strategies construct polar opposites in discourse, the positive “we” and the negative “them” or “others”. Argumentation strategies focus on justifying claims of the “in-group” and challenging those that contradict its agenda. These strategies often employ topoi as means of justification of claims, exclusion, discrimination. The agenda that guides these strategic uses of language can be traced by investigating strategies of perspectivization, framing or discourse representation. These discursive strategies point to the (socio-political, historical) orientation of discourse producers. Lastly, intensification and mitigation strategies either elaborate or diminish the valuing of focal representations in discourse.

Table 2 Discursive strategies categorized by objective and devices of expression, adapted from Reisigl and Wodak (2009: 95) below (adapted from Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 95) summarizes the 5 discursive strategies discussed above by listing their objectives and ways of their expression:

Table 2 Discursive strategies categorized by objective and devices of expression, adapted from Reisigl and Wodak (2009: 95)

Strategy	Objectives	Devices
nomination	discursive construction of social actors, objects/phenomena/ events and processes/ actions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits (e.g. in the form of adjectives, appositions, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, conjunctive clauses, infinitive clauses and participial clauses) • explicit predicates or predicative nouns/adjectives/pronouns • collocations • explicit comparisons, similes, • metaphors and other rhetorical figures (including metonymies, hyperboles, litotes, euphemisms)

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • allusions, evocations, and presuppositions/implicatures, etc.
argumentation	justification and questioning of claims of truth and normative rightness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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.

The discursive strategies discussed above are used for self-representation and other-representation and are inherently evaluative in nature. In DHA analyses of discrimination in discourse (Reisigl and Wodak 2001; Wodak 2001) the discursive strategies used in representing social actors were employed for positive self representation and derogatory, negative representation of others (as shown in Fig. 1).

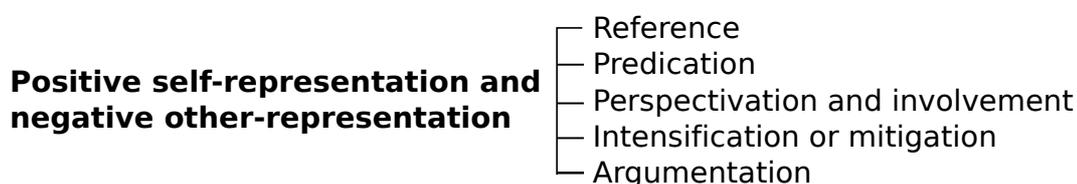


Fig. 1 Strategies of self – and other – presentation, borrowed from Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 46)

The present dissertation adopts these analytical categories as means of investigating the trauma process. Hence, I assume that referential predication, perspectivation, intensification or mitigation and argumentation strategies are employed in discourse for representing the victims (positive representation) and the perpetrators

(negative representation), representing the nature of the event as traumatic, and justifying political implications that follow. The methods proposed by DHA are sensitive to both direct strategies (using “terrorist” in reference to perpetrators, “attack” or “assassination” in lieu of “catastrophe”) and indirect reference (like attribution of agency, topoi, metaphors, interdiscursive and intertextual reference). Moreover, methods of DHA have already been successfully used in research concerning collective memory and collective trauma, as exemplified in Section 1.6).

4.3. Quantitative methods – Corpus Linguistics as a complimentary tool to DHA

As some of the methods associated with CDA rely on the analysis of large collections of naturally occurring texts, there is a growing popularity of using Corpus Linguistics (CL) techniques in the critical approach to discourse analysis (Baker et al. 2008; Baker 2010; Fabiszak 2007; Mautner 2009; Stubbs 1996; Teubert 2001). The general characteristics of CL as a methodology of language study can be summarized as an empirical, computer assisted methodology that analyzes “the actual pattern of use in natural texts” (Biber et al. 1998: 4). There is no one CL method. It is rather a collection of methods that are mainly quantitative and use statistical tests. However, some of them require some amounts of human input and hence are more qualitative in nature (Baker et al. 2008; Baker 2010). Therefore, it is of importance to describe the most popular methods associated with CL, and show how they can be integrated into CDA to create a well-balanced methodology. The sections that follow will attempt at doing so.

With the development of the Internet, it is no longer a hardship to build a corpus of thousands, or even millions, of linguistic examples (Przepiórkowski et al. 2009). As gathered texts are stored in electronic format, they can be properly coded and subjected to statistical analyses using computer software (Baker and Levon 2015). Baker and Levon claim that statistical tests in CL have a number of advantages. The first advantage is the reliability and validity of findings that occur frequently in large datasets. Secondly, there is low possibility of intentionally selecting atypical data to prove a preconceived point. Lastly, the statistical nature of findings, based on frequency, may reveal information about a spectrum of discourses, in society, starting from prevailing discourses to minority discourses. Thus, we can assume that corpus

processes drive the analysis, as the results that are revealed as salient or frequent need to be taken into account in the research (Baker and Levon 2015; Baker 2010).

4.3.1. Choosing the right corpus

One of the main issues in using corpora in CDA is choosing the right corpus, based on its size and specialization. Even though some researchers use general corpora in CDA, it is a rare occurrence (McEnery and Wilson 2001). General corpora might provide a useful insight into the meaning of words and their function in language, but might not be sufficient to derive social or critical conclusions (McEnery and Wilson 2001). That is why most research in CDA is performed on specialized corpora.

Specialized corpora can be divided according to two criteria (McEnery and Wilson 2001). The first one is whether the corpus consists of written or spoken language. The second one is whether the corpus includes the sample of or the whole population. The most commonly used corpora are those of written texts, which constitute a specified sample of all texts, which are deemed relevant to the researched topic (Kamasa 2014). Fewer researchers analyze spoken language, as the preparation of such corpora might be more time-consuming, if for example the audio recordings need a transcription to be prepared beforehand. As for the research on populations, analyses of media coverage from a narrow time-span revolving around a particular event regarded as significant for the researcher can serve as an example (Hardie 2015). Using a whole population of texts ensures a high accuracy of presented findings, but on the other hand, it requires focusing on a narrower topics, the significance of which might be questionable (Kamasa 2014).

The biggest number of studies is based on samples of texts, which are selected from a wider collection. The key issue here is selecting criteria to use in choosing the right sample. According to Kamasa (2014), researchers use a wide range of criteria, among which are: the intuitive belief that some texts are important; the high position of some texts in certain rankings; the inclusion of certain words or topics; a specified time span. Further, the population might be chosen randomly, deliberately or might be based on what is available. Thanks to this variety of criteria, researchers might study a wide

range of topics, mostly based on their social importance, which is in agreement with CDA framework, and not on technical capabilities (Baker 2006).

However, in every corpus study, there is an issue of the size of the corpus, which might influence the extent to which the sample included in the corpus is representative of the whole population. The size of corpora might vary significantly from study to study. Some researchers might use corpora consisting of a few thousand words, while others use corpora consisting of a few million words. The size of the corpus is usually determined by the availability of texts, as well as the techniques used in the analysis (Kamasa 2014), though there is no simple answer to the question of how big the corpus should be. Baker (2008) suggests that the most important criterium in choosing the right size of the corpus should be the aim that the corpus will serve. Ooi (2001) also suggests that the optimal size of the corpus may be achieved, when adding more texts will not give any more information on discourse patterning.

The corpora gathered for the purpose of the present studies are specialized containing a population of texts on a particular topic (9/11 and the Smoleńsk crash) published during a limited period of time in four media outlets. The size of each corpus was dictated by the availability of the texts, as the corpora represent an entire population of discourse on a particular topic. A detailed description of the corpora and the data gathering procedure can be found in Section 4.5.1.

4.3.2. Analytical categories of CL

CL uses a variety of useful analytical measurements, the most prevalent of which will be discussed in the present section. Sections 4.3.2.1, 4.3.2.2, and 4.3.2.3 outline purely qualitative methods, while Section 4.3.2.4 discusses a method that is both quantitative and qualitative in nature.

4.3.2.1. Frequency list

A frequency list is a list of all the words in the corpus, along with the frequency of their occurrence and the percentage contribution to the whole corpus (Baker 2006; Baker

2010). It is the most basic technique used in corpus-assisted CDA (Baker 2010; Kamasa 2014). The list is generated automatically, using specialized computer software, and it gives the information on all the words in the corpus.

The frequency of each word might not be very informative on its own, but it is useful when compared with those of other words (Cameron and Panović 2014). Baker (2010) argues that frequency can serve as an indicator of markedness that can help explore biases or foci in corpora. We can compare the frequencies of expressions which might have the same meaning but belong to different discourse, thus gaining insight into which discourse is more dominant in the corpus (Cameron and Panović 2014). Also, important themes and concepts might be derived from the frequencies, though we have to remember that relative frequency does not determine the importance of the word. It is rather the question of whether the frequency is higher than it would normally be (Cameron and Panović 2014). Kamasa (2014) also notices that while the list is generated automatically, it is the researcher who chooses which words to pursue in the interpretation of the results.

4.3.2.2. Keywords

There are two definitions of a keyword that might be used when choosing the words for further analysis. The first one defines keywords as the “items which are significantly more frequent in your sample, than in a sample you are comparing it with” (Cameron and Panović 2014: 84). The second one is more researcher-centered, and states that keywords are the words, which are chosen by the researcher for further analysis, based on his or her knowledge of the subject at hand (Baker 2010).

In order to look for keywords defined by the first definition, there is a need for a reference corpus. After the creation of frequency lists from both (our and the reference) corpora, we can produce a keyness score for each word, using statistical tests (for example chi-squared or log-likelihood), which would point to the words that are significantly more frequent in the studied corpus (Baker 2010). The results will be influenced by the choice of the reference corpus, which is why it is important to know what type of a reference corpus to use (Scott 2009). General reference corpora for a given language are commonly used in keyword analysis, however studies using

reference corpora gathered for the purpose of particular study can also be found (Baker 2010). Baker points out that an ideal reference corpus is hard (if not impossible) to find, as even the popular large corpora used as general reference corpora (such as the BNC or the Brigham Young University Corpus of American English) can be in fact perceived as specialized.

As in the case of frequency lists, keywords are not much informative on their own. However, Kamasa (2014) suggests they are rather a point of entrance to collected data. In the present study keywords were used in order to select texts for qualitative analysis.

4.3.2.3. Collocations

Another statistical pattern that can be derived from the corpus is the relationship between. One type of a relationship between words that is often investigated is collocation, which is a sequence of words that co-occur the most frequently (Stubbs 2001). The proximity of the words in the sequence, called span can be defined by the researcher and input into a computer program that, using statistical measures, can produce a list of words that occur significantly more frequently in the proximity of the defined word (Kamasa 2014).

After such a list is produced, researchers may turn to a more qualitative analysis that is focused more on the meaning. Kamasa (2014) gives two approaches for further treatment of collocations. The first one suggests focusing only on collocations, where the words from the list are gathered in thematic groups. This helps identify the domains that are associated with the words and point to the function of the words in the discourse. The second one suggests a contextual analysis of the resulting collocations, by creating the lists of all occurrences of the words in the context in order to find contextual patterns.

However, again there is an issue of the choice of the words to research collocations. There are a few approaches to take. Kamasa (2014) gives examples of three. The first one suggests using keywords. It helps focus on the structure of expressions that are characteristic of a given discourse. The second one suggests using lexicographic sources (such as dictionaries) to find words characteristic of a given topic.

The last one gives the researcher freedom to choose words, based on their expertise and knowledge of the subject to create collocational profiles. The collocational profiles that are generated by the computer software are further used to identify the discursive structures (Kamasa 2014). They can also be used to see how a given word and its concept functions socially.

4.3.2.4. Concordance analysis

Even though the techniques described in the previous subsection might help direct the qualitative analysis in a way that they suggest where to start, they are in nature quantitative. However, there is one technique in corpus linguistics, i.e. concordance analysis, that allows the researcher to perform analysis of specific examples in greater detail (Baker 2010).

A concordance is a list of every occurrence of a word the researcher is interested in with its context (Cameron and Panović 2014). Computer software used for concordance analysis typically produces a list known as KWIC, which is key word in context. In each line, there is one occurrence of the word we are interested in, with the word in the middle, and preceding and following text on either side. This helps with identification of meaning in context. The number of words on each side can be altered by the researcher, and even expanded to the whole text. All the lines can also be sorted in many ways to help the researcher investigate different patterns of the same word (Baker et al. 2008). Even though the creation of the list is a mechanical process, the identification of the contexts is an interpretive one (Cameron and Panović 2014). As the contexts allow for reconstruction of discourse, the analysis is used in most corpus-assisted CDA studies (Kamasa 2014).

Kamasa (2014) states that the advantage of this technique is that it ensures the researcher that even in a big corpus, all the occurrences of the word will be listed, without the fear of omitting some of them in the analysis. As the list is generated automatically, it also shortens the time it takes to analyze all the occurrences. Further, it allows for easy replication, as different researchers will always end up with the same number of concordances, while using the same corpus. On the other hand, Baker (2010)

points out that concordance analysis performed on large corpora can also be difficult due to the sheer number of concordance lines to investigate in detail.

4.3.3. Advantages and disadvantages of using CL methods in CDA

As the techniques associated with CL are getting more and more popular in the field of CDA, they contributed to positive changes in CDA, but also came at a cost (Kamasa 2014). According to Mautner (2009), the most important advantages of CL in CDA include a bigger amount of data that is analyzed, the more transparent research procedures, and the focus on quantitative patterns.

Thanks to the increase in the amount of data, the accuracy of the results also increases. The studies that analyze thousands of words derived from texts can more accurately answer the research questions than the analysis of a couple of articles. Also, the bigger the collection of texts, the more evenly distributed it is, as the researchers do not need to limit what they want to include. This is of great importance, as it minimizes the bias that comes with selecting materials based on researcher's intuition (Baker 2006). CDA has been criticized for analyzing texts that are not representative (Stubbs 1996), or are chosen on the basis of personal bias (Breeze 2011). Using CL techniques help minimize these issues. The research procedures become more transparent, which also facilitates replicating studies with greater ease. Transparent procedures might help applying the methods that are successful in one language into other languages, which serves the comparative purposes (Kamasa 2014). Further, the clear and transparent procedures might increase the credibility of findings, which might be criticized otherwise. As already mentioned above, the criticism of bias in choosing the texts for CDA can be refuted by including quantitative methods that minimize this issue as it is no longer the intuition of the researcher that drives the analysis and the choice of words that are analyzed (Mautner 2008). The words and concepts that are revealed to be statistically significant in frequency point the researcher into the right direction, and ensure that the results reflect the text, and not only the intuition or the knowledge of the researcher (Kamasa 2014). Furthermore, quantitative results might reveal patterns or trends that might pass unnoticed by the researcher otherwise.

Even though it is clearly visible that using CL techniques in CDA has its advantages, there are some criticisms that need to be addressed here. These are, according to Kamasa (2014), the focus on the texts that are easily available, over-relying on statistics, and omitting the methods that are not inherently corpus-driven in interpretation of the results. Since it is easy to gather a large collection of texts in a digital format, researchers might direct their attention to these only, avoiding the materials that are hard to obtain. This is problematic, as it turns out that the availability of large collections of digital texts may also limit the potential topics that will be researched. Kamasa (2014) gives an example of the rising number of studies, based on newspaper articles that are easy to gather, and limited number of studies on the discourse that comes from other media, which are problematic to obtain. This shows the trend of focusing on only certain types of mainstream discourses, while other types that constitute significant sources of data get omitted.

Another problem is that the quantitative approach to CDA might actually limit the interpretation of the results. Baker (2006) emphasizes that the most frequent elements in the discourse do not necessarily mean they are the most important elements that shape the social and individual representations of certain concepts. Although all texts in the corpus are treated as equally important, it might not translate to the structures of the social sphere, as some authors or titles might be regarded to be of higher importance in the shaping of discursive structures among readers (Kamasa 2014). Thus, there is a fear that this discrepancy might be lost in statistical measurements. What is more, CL methods seem to be better suited for analyzing “what has been explicitly written, rather than what could have been written but was not, or what is implied, inferred, insinuated or latently hinted at” (Baker et al. 2008). Hence, more subtle strategic uses of language can be overlooked in the analysis (Baker and Levan 2015). Lastly, the CL techniques direct the attention of the researcher to the interpretations that come from the corpus-driven assumptions, thus avoiding other possible views on the data and the results. For example, researchers relying on the differences and not similarities in frequencies between the corpora, or viewing the immediate context as the most important, might introduce bias in the results (Kamasa 2014).

It seems that most of these problems might be avoided by carefully constructing the corpus, and including a variety of possible limitations to the interpretation of the

results. If the researcher is aware of the fact that more data does not simply mean better results, and that statistical methods should not wholly substitute the expertise of the researcher, such issues as these described above might be avoided and the quality of the results might still be ensured. In the context of the present dissertation these criticisms are addressed by means of careful and transparent corpora creation. The interpretation of quantitative results obtained with the use of methods of CL is also confronted with results of another quantitative method – that of text network analysis (discussed in Section 4.4 of this chapter). Qualitative DHA analysis is conducted and juxtaposed with the quantitative results.

4.3.4. The synergy of CL and CDA

As both classical qualitative CDA and quantitative CL have their strengths and weaknesses, it would seem advisable to use both of them complementary to reveal the common findings by both methods, as well as the findings that would not be revealed by using just one approach. Baker et al. (2008) and Baker and Levon (2015) are two test studies in which CL and CDA are applied independently to refugee and immigrant discourse and masculinity discourse, respectively. They suggest that both approaches can function well as separate components, but the additional stage of consolidation and comparison of the results might contribute to both. The shared findings, the lack of contradictory findings, and the reasonable set of complimentary findings suggest that taking an interdisciplinary approach might in fact be beneficial to the research being conducted.

4.4. Text Network Analysis - adopting graph-based methods to aid CDA

It has been shown in the previous section that quantitative CL methods can be effectively used in CDA. However, simple statistical techniques mentioned earlier are not sufficient to identify the full relationship between the words and their context, thus not revealing the entire structure of the investigated narratives. Collocations show us the most important direct co-occurrences, but fail to grasp the relation with other indirectly

surrounding words. Concordance analysis reveals the contexts, but every line has to be analyzed by hand, and it is nearly impossible to analyze concordances of all words to establish which ones are important for the whole narrative. There is, however, a statistical method of corpus analysis that takes into consideration the relationship between all the words and help visualize the entire narrative.

The method called text-network analysis (TNA, Paranyushkin 2011) employs graph theory to reveal the elements in texts that are key to their narrative. In contrast to frequency-based keywords, these important elements are not the most frequent words, but the words which function as “junctions” in the pathways of meaning circulation. The result of the TNA is a visualized network of words that can be used for inferring topics and contexts included in the text. The method also produces other statistical measures as byproducts, such as frequencies and collocations. That is why it can be used on its own to speed up the process of CDA. The advantage of using this method is the validation that it can bring to the results of quantitative CL and qualitative CDA, using interdisciplinary measures.

Even though the graph theory has been employed in text analysis, most of the studies introduce subjective bias, as the graphs created in those studies rely on relationships between concepts based on casual relations (Bruce and Newman 1978), affective affinity (Lehrnert 1981; Dyer 1983), semantic relations (Atteveldt 2008), or chronological sequence (Loewe 2009). In order to avoid such biases, the most objective way is to use words’ proximity as a base for the relationship between words, which is a novel concept (Paranyushkin 2011) that is practically non-existent in CDA literature. To date, only two articles that used word-proximity-based TNA in CDA have been published (cf. Paranyushkin 2012; Gruszecka and Pikusa 2014). Networks have been used to reveal the narrative in news articles before (Sudhahar et al. 2011), but the quantitative narrative analysis, on which most of the works were based, required a grammatical analysis, since the method used subject-verb-object triplets to reveal the narrative. As such, TNA seems to have an advantage, as it is the least biased and the most universal, as it can be used on any written language, without prior knowledge of its structure. Since various methods of network analysis have been successfully used in different branches of humanities, it seems that the network science is on the rise (Bomba 2015).

4.4.1. Building the text network

In order to build a network out of the words in the corpus, the corpus has to be first normalized, which means that it has to be converted into a continuous series of words. An algorithm, specially devised for such a task, then scans the text from the beginning using a 2-word gap. During the scan, each word, if it appears for the first time in the text, is recorded as a new node in the network. When two words appear within the gap, an edge is established between them with an established weight. If the edge already exists, the weight of the edge is incremented. This way, each edge is based on the words' proximity to each other. After the scanning, a network is built, with words as nodes, and connections between them as edges with assigned weights.

Now, in order to discover the most important nodes in the network, and to help visualize the network, statistical measures have to be calculated on the network data. One of the measures is “betweenness centrality”, which is a measure of how often a certain node lies between two random nodes in the network. The higher it is, the more influential the node is in the network, as it functions as a junction for communication in the network (Brandes 2001). This way, betweenness shows us the variety of contexts where the word appears, as the words with the highest measure of betweenness are the most important junctions for meaning circulation (Paranyushkin 2011).

Further, community detection mechanisms (Fortunato 2010) are applied to make contextual clusters more visible by putting the words that are more densely connected with each other than with the rest of the network into the same community. Thanks to this, a list of words that belong to the same context can be easily inferred and compared with that of other communities. Finally, a degree calculation is devised to simply calculate the number of edges connected to a node, which could be translated into a frequency of the word in the corpus. The advantage of having both betweenness and degree values for each word is that they can be correlated to see whether the words with high betweenness are important globally (positive correlation) in that they merge the contexts, or locally (negative correlation) in that they create contexts around them, shedding more light on the narrative structure.

4.4.2. Visualizing and interpreting the text network

As all the quantitative results from the analysis can be used to drive further analysis, the most important aspect of the TNA is that it can be easily visualized to speed up the interpretation done by the researcher. After calculating betweenness, community, and degree measures, all of them can be used in graph visualization software to create a readable graph. As the network usually consists of thousands of words, most of them have to be filtered out, leaving only those with highest betweenness. Then, the size of the words on the visualization can be set to be proportional to their betweenness, easily identifying the most important among them. Hence, when looking at a graph we can read the biggest nodes as the most prominent in the text. Colors can be applied to communities, which draws the words from the same community using the same color. Degree can also be easily represented in the graph, as the thickness of the edges drawn is proportional to the degree.

This way we arrive at a single graph that contains all the information we need for a speed analysis. The most important meaning junctions are the biggest words, colors depict different contexts, and the thickness depicts the strongest collocations. A sample graph created using this method is presented in Fig. 2:

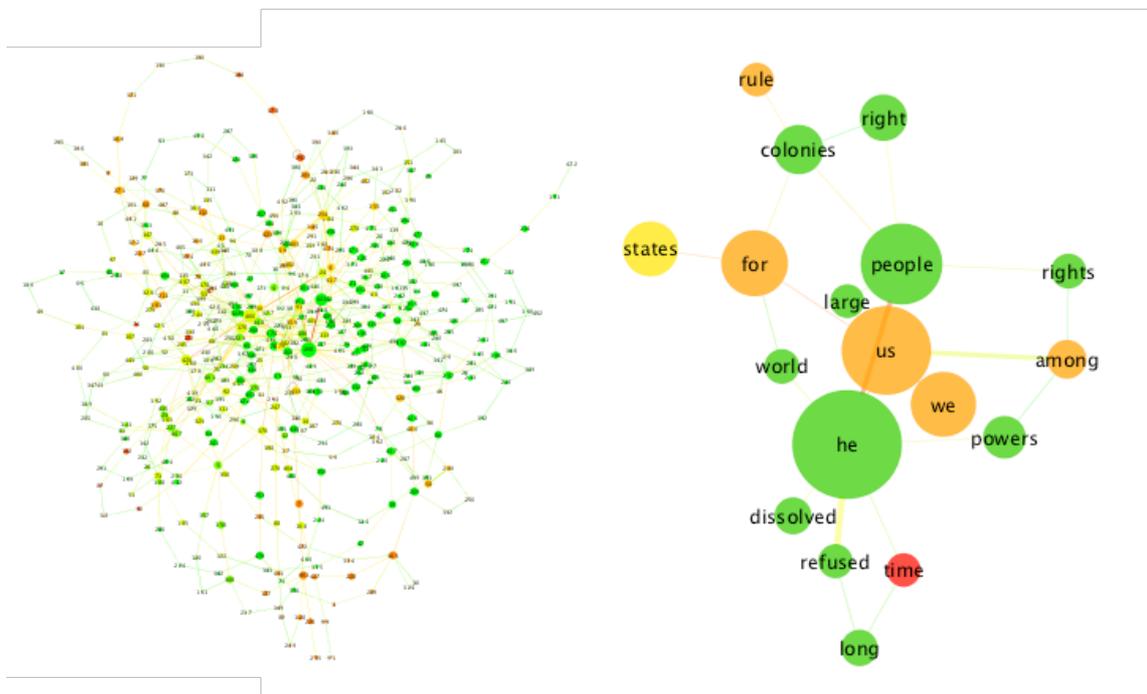


Fig. 2 A sample text network created from the text of The Declaration of Independence. An unfiltered network showing all nodes and edges is presented on the left. On the right, a filtered network is presented, showing only the most important nodes.

It is clearly visible that TNA can act as an additional method to validate the results obtained using CL and CDA, and can constitute an interesting addition to visually present the results of often complex studies that otherwise require lengthy tables of different measures. However, as it is a novel approach to CDA, the interpretations derived from the method should be approached with caution, as in the end they still rely on the expertise of the researcher, who based on single words and their connections infer the information on the wider context. However, as in the case of combining CL and CDA, incorporating TNA into discourse analysis can prove beneficial.

4.5. Procedures

4.5.1. Data gathering and text selection procedures

The data gathered for the current study is composed of four specialized corpora of news discourse. Two of the corpora focus on the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001 in New York. The other two corpora focus on the TU-154M presidential aircraft crash in Smoleńsk, April 10th, 2010. The 9/11 corpora were gathered from the Internet archives of two American newspaper titles of national reach – the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*. In the case of the Smoleńsk corpora the materials selected for analysis were gathered from the Internet archives of two Polish newspaper titles of national circulation – *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Nasz Dziennik*. The choice of these particular titles and the timeframe of article publication will be justified in the following sections.

4.5.1.1. The 9/11 relates specialized corpora

The two English language corpora focusing on the terrorist attacks of September 11 are composed of 9/11 related articles that were published during the first 8 weeks following the attacks in the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*.

The *New York Times* is the second largest national newspaper in the US, with a weekly circulation of 1,865,318 copies². Baranowski (2013) characterizes the *New York Times* as having a liberal bias. The *Wall Street Journal* is the largest national newspaper in the US basing on its weekly circulation, which is estimated at 2,378,827 copies. In terms of political bias Baranowski (2013) argues that the *Wall Street Journal* shows a tendency towards conservative views. Both newspapers have their online editions and online archives available through paid subscription services. The titles were chosen for two reasons. Firstly, both newspapers are based in New York, where the terrorist attacks of 9/11 occurred. Secondly, they are the two largest news outlets in the US and they differ in their political orientation.

The articles selected for the corpora were chosen in a two-step procedure. Firstly, the Internet archive of the US edition of the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* were searched using the terms WORLD TRADE CENTER, SEPT. 11|SEPTEMBER 11 and 9/11 that were published during the first 8 weeks after the attacks on September 11, 2001 in the general news section of each newspaper. The *New York Times* corpus was gathered in January of 2015, the *Wall Street Journal* was gathered in January and February of 2015, prior to the website's archive browser update. To the knowledge of the author of the current dissertation access to articles published in the *Wall Street Journal* in 2001 is currently only available through third party libraries.

The articles gathered in the first stage of the procedure were then read and assessed as 9/11 related or not. Those assessed as not related to the subject of the 9/11 attacks were excluded from the corpus. As already mentioned, the articles were taken from the general news section of each paper, unless appearing in a 9/11 related section or if the section was not indicated. In the case of a lack of explicit labeling of the section the inclusion of the article was based on the researcher's judgment.

The two-step data gathering procedure produced two specialized corpora focusing on the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 – the *New York Time* (NYT) corpus composed of 537380 word tokens and the *Wall Street Journal* (WSJ) corpus composed of 198776 word tokens.

² Information concerning circulation were taken from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/05/01/newspaper-circulation-top-10_n_3188612.html (date of access 25 June 2015)

4.5.1.2. The Smoleńsk related specialized corpora

The two Polish corpora focusing on the 2010 plane crash in Smoleńsk were gathered from two national newspapers, *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Nasz Dziennik*. The first of these titles, *Gazeta Wyborcza* is one of the largest national newspaper in Poland with an average circulation estimated at 292,000 copies³. In comparison to *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Nasz Dziennik* has a much smaller reach, although exact numbers are hard to assess. Pokorna-Ignatowicz (2012) points out that the initial circulation of *Nasz Dziennik* was as high as 300,000 copies, but that number has gradually fallen and remains uneasy to ascertain with any certainty. This seems to resonate with Filas and Płaneta (2009), who estimate *Nasz Dziennik*'s circulation at roughly 90,000 copies.

The main criterium of choice in the case of the Polish newspapers was their political bias. *Gazeta Wyborcza* is usually categorized as sympathizing more with left-wing liberal views (Filas and Płaneta 2009). *Nasz Dziennik*, on the other hand, is described as nationalistic, conservative right-wing oriented, with a strong bias towards the Catholic Church (Starnawski 2003). Both newspapers have their online websites and electronic archives of texts published in their printed editions. In the case of *Nasz Dziennik* there are two versions of the archive, one available through the current website and an old version available through stary.naszdziennik.pl. Access to the old digital archive of *Nasz Dziennik* is free of charge, while the digital archive of *Gazeta Wyborcza* is available through a paid subscription service. The timeframe of publication of the Smoleńsk crash related articles that were gathered for the corpus was identical to that used in the case of the 9/11 corpora, namely 8 weeks following the TU-154M crash in Smoleńsk.

The *Gazeta Wyborcza* corpus was completed in December 2014 and January 2015 through the Internet archive of the printed edition of *Gazeta Wyborcza* (<http://www.archiwum.wyborcza.pl>). The corpus composed of articles from *Nasz Dziennik* was also gathered during the same time period through the old version of the Internet archive of the newspaper (<http://stary.naszdziennik.pl>). The process of data

³ Information taken from *Gazeta Wyborcza*'s website http://wyborcza.pl/centrumpomocygw/1,134955,14950114,Historia_Gazety_Wyborczej_w_liczbach__IN_FOGRAFIKA_.html?bo=1 (date of access 22 June 2015)

collection and selection proceeded according to the same steps as the 9/11 corpora. The Internet archives were first searched using selected key words. The articles were selected based on the inclusion of the following key words – TU-154M or the words KATASTROFA (‘catastrophe’) or TRAGEDIA (‘tragedy’) in collocation with SMOLEŃSK or KATYŃ. The articles were selected from the general news sections, unless they appeared in special sections or issues devoted to the Smoleńsk tragedy. If the section was not indicated the inclusion was based on the researcher’s judgement. The texts gathered were then read and if they were evaluated as Smoleńsk-focused, they were included into the corpus.

The two-step data gathering procedure produced two specialized corpora focusing on the TU-154M presidential aircraft crash in Smoleńsk in 2010 – the *Gazeta Wyborcza* (GW) corpus composed of 269,152 word tokens and the *Nasz Dziennik* (ND) corpus composed of 320,776 word tokens.

4.5.1.3. Setting the timeframe – stages of collective coping

The timeframe of 8 weeks following each of the tragic events was chosen based on the social stage model of collective coping (Pennebaker and Harber 1993). The model was originally empirically derived by Pennebaker and Harber through analyzing series of telephone and individual interviews with people performed through a period of time after an upheaval (the Loma Prieta Earthquake and the Persian Gulf War). The studies performed by Pennebaker and Harber showed a regularity in the intensity of the need to think, speak and dream about an upheaval. As a result, “a social stage model assumes that one’s social network undergoes predictable changes as a collective upheaval unfolds” (Gortner and Pennebaker 2003: 582).

A similar study conducted by Gortner and Pennebaker (2003) investigates stages of collective coping observed through an analysis of newspaper articles. The study focused on articles concerning the death of 12 students during preparation for a traditional Texas A&M annual bonfire in 1998. The researchers look upon collective trauma represented in news media as “a mirror of how such traumatic experiences are “worked through” and resolved on a collective and cultural level” (Gortner and Pennebaker 2003: 583). In the study two local newspaper titles were examined – the

Battalion (the Texas A&M student newspaper) and *The Daily Texan* (the University of Texas at Austin student newspaper). Articles relating to the Texas A&M bonfire accident were collected from both newspapers and examined in order to test the social stages of coping and establish patterns in use of language and relationship with the community's physical health.

The three stages of collective coping found by Gortner and Pennebaker (2003) include three time periods, namely Period 0 referring to one week after the bonfire accident, Period 1 referring to week two to four, and Period 2 including weeks nine to thirteen (with the addition of Period -1 as a control period). The breaks of continuity between Period 1 and Period 2 was dictated by the Thanksgiving and Christmas Breaks, over which no student newspapers were published. These three periods seem to fit the three stages of collective coping – emergency, inhibition and adaptation (Pennebaker and Harber 1993; Stone and Pennebaker 2002). The emergency phase arises in the first seven days from the event and lasts approximately one week during which intense talking and thinking about a traumatizing event is notable. The inhibition stage emerges through week two to four when people still think about the event but do not talk about. The inhibition stage is also characterized by possible outbreaks of social conflicts or problems. Lastly, the adaptation stage should emerge between weeks six to twelve and it marks the period when people begin to adapt to the new situation and rumination about the event lowers (Stone and Pennebaker 2002).

The data gathered for the purpose of the present dissertation were analyzed in the following manner to differentiate the three stages of collective coping. Firstly, the number of articles per each day from all four corpora (the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* for the 9/11 corpora and *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Nasz Dziennik* for the Smoleńsk corpora) was counted. Three stages that generally fit the stages of collective coping were differentiated, with the emergency stage closing at week 1, the inhibition stage lasting approximately through weeks two to four, and the inhibition stage following the start of week four to week eight. The cutoff point was set at week eight as it marked exactly two months from the event and displayed all three stages of collective coping. A detailed description of the process can be found in Section 5.2.

4.5.1.4. Selection of articles for qualitative analysis

The texts selected for qualitative analysis from the corpora were chosen using the ProtAnt 1.0.0 analytic tool (Anthony and Baker 2015a). ProtAnt is a freeware, portable software that can be used to profile texts in a corpus from the perspective of how prototypical they are of the corpus as a whole based on keywords they contain (Anthony and Baker 2015b). Anthony and Baker base the concept of prototypicality of texts on keywords, as they “hypothesise that a text which contains a greater number of keywords from the corpus as a whole is also likely to be a more central or typical text in that corpus” (2015: 277b). The ProtAnt tool calculates keywords for the entire target corpus by comparing frequencies of words in the target corpus with a general reference. Then, the ProtAnt software calculates how many of these keywords can be found in each individual text in the target corpus. Next, the texts are ranked based on how many keywords they contain. Tables containing ranking lists of keywords, prototypical texts and the set of keywords they contain are then generated (cf. Anthony and Baker 2015b).

For the purpose of the present dissertation all four corpora were analyzed using the ProtAnt tool in order to determine the sample of texts for qualitative DHA analysis. For each of the corpora all text (in plain text format using UTF-8 coding) were loaded into ProtAnt. The reference corpora used were both general corpora of the Polish and English language (for the Polish language and English Language data, respectively) available for download from their respective project site. The 1 million word sub-corpus of the National Corpus of Polish (cf. <http://nkjp.pl/index.php?page=14&lang=1>) was used for the *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Nasz Dziennik* corpora. For the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* the 15 million word Open American National Corpus (OANC) (cf. <http://www.anc.org/OANC>) was used. Log likelihood was chosen as the keyness statistical measure and the statistical threshold value was set at $p < 0.05$. For each of the corpora 20 texts ranked as most prototypical were included in the qualitative analysis. A list of these texts can be found in Appendix A and Appendix B for the 9/11 corpora and the Smoleńsk crash corpora, respectively.

4.5.2. Text-network analysis procedures

The following section describes the procedures applied in order to create graphs for the text-network analysis. The same procedures were used to create graphs from all four corpora, with small language-related differences noted in the following subsections.

4.5.2.1. Preprocessing

In order to create a graph from the corpus, first the text normalization steps had to be applied. As the network is built from the continuous series of words, the corpus had to be transformed into such series. Hence, the first step was to remove all the unnecessary characters from the corpus, such as punctuation, symbols, numbers, and unnecessary spaces. Since the phrases “9/11” and “September 11” were deemed important to the analysis, they were left intact in the English corpora, without removing the numbers and symbols in them.

Then, all the words were transformed into lowercase, in order to avoid the identification of two different occurrences of the same word as two different words. Also, all the stopwords, which are the most frequently used function words in the language that do not contribute to the meaning, were removed from the corpus. This helped reduce the noise in the corpus, and made the detection of abnormal distribution easier, as the text no longer followed the Zipf’s power law (cf. Zipf 1935).

Since Polish is a highly inflectional language, the last step, i.e. lemmatization, was applied only to the Polish corpora. As different inflected forms can be grouped together through the lemmatization step, it reduces the complexity of the network. Lemmatization was done using PSI-Toolkit pipeline (Graliński et al. 2012).

4.5.2.2. Creation of the graphs

In order to create the graphs from the corpora, a specialized algorithm was devised, in order to convert the text into network files readable by the graph visualization and analysis software Cytoscape (Shannon et al. 2003). The text was scanned using a 2-

word gap. Each of the words, if it appeared for the first time, was recorded as a new node in the network. When the two words appeared within the gap, the algorithm checked whether the pair of these words already existed in the network. If not, an edge (connection) was established in the network between these two words with a weight of 1. If the edge already existed in the network, the weight was incremented by 1. After the scanning, the files containing the nodes, edges, and weights were created in order to be fed to Cytoscape.

4.5.2.3. Visualization of the graphs

After loading the files into Cytoscape, the software randomly aligns the nodes in two-dimensional space. As this representation does not give any clear information on the structure of the network, a Force-Atlas layout algorithm (Jacomy 2009) was applied. Force-Atlas pushes the most connected nodes (hubs) away from each other, and aligns the nodes connected to those hubs around them. This helps create a more readable structure.

After the layout was done, statistical calculations had to be performed to identify the most important elements in the network. In order to do that, betweenness centrality (Brandes 2001) was calculated first. It measures how often each node lies on the shortest path between two random nodes in the network, thus showing the most influential nodes that function as junctions for the communication within the network (Brandes 2001). Along with betweenness centrality, a degree measure was also calculated. It gives a number of connections to each node in the network. Apart from the overall degree, the measure of in- and out- degree was also calculated, showing the number of times the word follows or is followed by other words. Betweenness and degree values were later correlated using Pearson's r correlation coefficient, in order to check whether the words with high betweenness are important to local or global structure of the narrative. Finally, a community detection mechanism (Cumbo 2014) was applied to group together the words that are more densely connected to one another than to the rest of the network, and assign them to contextual communities.

After the calculation of the statistical measures, the graph required a few more steps to give a clear visualization for the further analysis. As at this point the graph

contained thousands of nodes, most of them had to be filtered out, leaving only the words with the highest betweenness values. The number of words that were left was set to 40 in each graph, in order to make the visualization clearer. Further, random colors were assigned to each community, which helped identify the nodes that belong to the same community. Each node was also resized accordingly to its betweenness value, making the more important nodes bigger in the graph. Finally, the thickness of the edges was set to reflect the weights, which means that the thicker the edge between two words, the more frequent the direct connection between them in the text.

Chapter 5: Results and Discussion

5.1. Outline of the analytical chapter

The first step of the analysis consists of testing the social stage coping theory on the corpora gathered for the purpose of the current study. Four corpora were investigated – the *New York Times* (NYT) corpus and the *Wall Street Journal* (WSJ) corpus for analyzing the representations of the terrorist attack on September 11 2001 and the *Gazeta Wyborcza* (GW) corpus and the *Nasz Dziennik* (ND) corpus for analyzing the representations of the TU-154U crash in Smoleńsk (for a detailed description of the data see Section 4.5.1).

The corpora were first tested against the stage model of collective coping in order to establish any patterns in the frequency of publication of texts concerning the two traumatic events under investigation. Secondly, the texts were analyzed using text network analysis in order to establish the most prominent words used in the texts over the three time periods. Next, a sample of 20 texts selected as most prototypical for each corpus using the ProtAnt 1.0 software were analyzed qualitatively in accordance with the Discourse Historical Analysis framework. The focus of the qualitative analysis was put on the following analytical categories: nomination and referential strategies, predication strategies, and argumentation strategies. These were used in order to identify the representations of the elements of the trauma process – the victims, the perpetrators, the event itself, and the political implications of the event. These categories are slight modifications of those found in Alexander's social theory of trauma (cf. Section 1.3.1). The representations of the elements of the trauma process were identified in order to establish the way in which each event was discursively

constructed as collectively traumatizing. The qualitative analysis was also supported by ad hoc corpus linguistics analyses, using such categories as word frequencies for comparison between pairs of corpora. The analytical portion of this study starts with the more objective quantitative analyses (stages of coping and TNA), and then proceeds to the researcher-led DHA qualitative analysis. This order aims at ensuring that the qualitative analysis is led by the more objective, researcher-independent methods.

5.2. Stages of collective coping

In the present section the corpora will be tested with a number of statistical tests, which will measure the tendencies across the corpora. First the results of the tests will be presented. Then they will be analyzed and interpreted. In order to test whether the average number of articles in the eight-week period differed across the newspapers, a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed on the means, followed by the ad-hoc Tukey's Honest-Significant-Difference test, which shows the significant differences in the means between each pair of means and takes into consideration the correction for multiple comparisons. The results of ANOVA ($F=4.97$; $p=.0023$) showed that there was a significant difference across the means, and the results of Tukey's HSD revealed two pairs, namely WSJ-ND ($p < .001$, corrected) and WSJ-NYT ($p < 0.001$, corrected). Thus, we may assume that these newspapers did differ significantly in the number of articles in the 8-week period.

In order to test whether the trends in the time-series correlated significantly across the newspapers in the 8-week period, a Pearson's correlation coefficient was calculated for each pair of newspapers. The results have revealed a number of statistically significant correlations. GW significantly correlated positively with ND ($r=.58$, $p < .0001$), NYT ($r=.46$, $p < .001$), and with WSJ ($r=.50$, $p < .001$). NYT also significantly correlated positively with ND ($r=.39$, $p < .01$) and WSJ ($r=.34$, $p < .01$). However, there was no significant correlation between ND and WSJ ($r=.031$, $p > .02$), which shows that these two newspapers did not show the same trends in the time-series. Hence, the analysis revealed that all four newspapers displayed the same tendency, however ND and WSJ deviated from one another the most. The time-series are presented in Fig. 3.

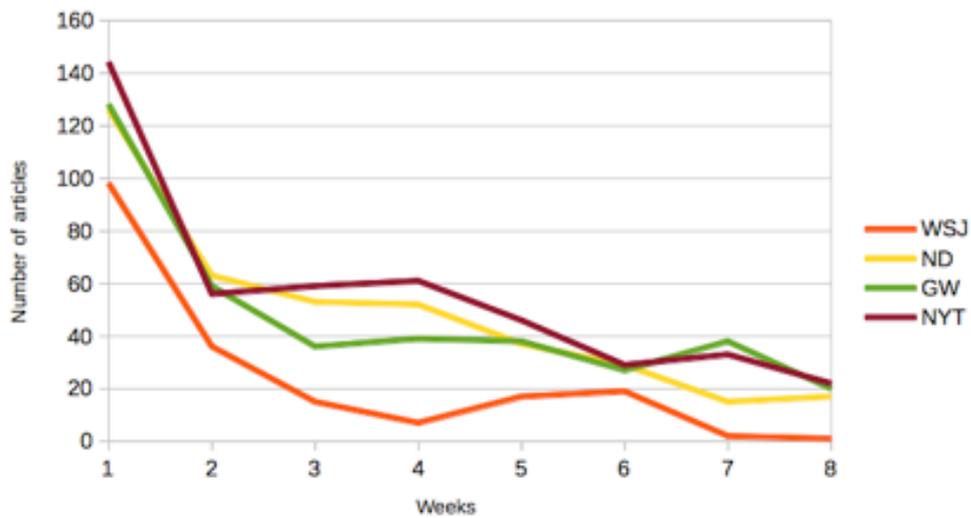


Fig. 3 A time series plot showing the number of articles in each newspaper against the number of days after the incident, over the span of 8 weeks.

What is more, in order to test the hypothesis that there is in fact a decrease in the number of articles along the 8-week period, a Pearson’s correlation coefficient was calculated for the correlations between the number of articles of each newspaper, and the number of days after the incident. The results have revealed that all 4 newspapers correlated significantly with the negative trend (ND: -.41; GW: -.44; NYT: -.49; WSJ: -.51; at $p < .001$), indicating that the number of articles in each newspaper did in fact decrease with the number of days following the incident.

The results presented above suggest that in respect to the number of articles published during the 8-week period from the day of each event differed significantly between the titles selected for analysis.

Firstly, the results of Tukey’s HSD suggest a difference in the number of texts concerning the 9/11 attacks in New York published in NYT and WSJ during the 8 week period. A possible interpretation of this result is that the NYT devoted much more attention to the event than the WSJ. One possible explanation of this result are the profiles of the two newspapers, with the WSJ being more business oriented and the NYT focusing more on local New York City issues. The second pair revealed by Tukey’s HSD, that of WSJ-ND seems insignificant due to the fact that these two corpora concern different events and in this respect are not subject to comparison in later analysis.

A second interesting result is the correlation between the trends in the analyzed time period. The correlations revealed that while the general trend in the frequency of published texts correlated positively between the titles, some differences also emerged, namely between ND and WSJ. Although these two corpora focus on two different events, the difference in the general tendency of publication frequency over time may suggest that out of all corpora these two were most notably different. As can be seen in Fig. 3 WSJ and ND do show a deviation in comparison to the other two titles. What seems most interesting here is that Fig. 3 seems to suggest that while all four corpora display tendencies fitting the stages of collective coping, they also differ in respect to the exact length of the three periods. The WSJ corpus fits the stage model of coping most by noting a decline in frequency of published articles in weeks 2-3 (reflecting the retention stage) followed by a rise in the weeks following week 3 (fitting into the adaptation stage). In comparison, the NYT notes a slight rise in frequency of published texts following week two, suggesting that retention stage is either delayed in this case or is characterized less typically in comparison to the other newspaper titles included into the analysis. In the latter case a possible interpretation could imply that despite entering the retention stage the newspaper remained active in publishing event-related articles. Similarly, ND also seems to note a slightly higher number of texts published during the retention stage of collective coping. In order to further investigate possible explanations of these differences a more in-depth analysis is needed.

5.3. Text network analysis of trauma related corpora

5.3.1. Representations of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 – a Text Network Analysis

The cluster of nodes on the right-side of the graph, on the other hand, seems to be focused around the representations of the perpetrators of the attacks. The node *Taliban*, *anarchist* and *militant* appear already in the first week following the attacks. Moreover, the clustering of nodes into two separate parts of the network with only a handful of edges between them may imply that the represented sides involved in the events of 9/11 were clearly differentiated.

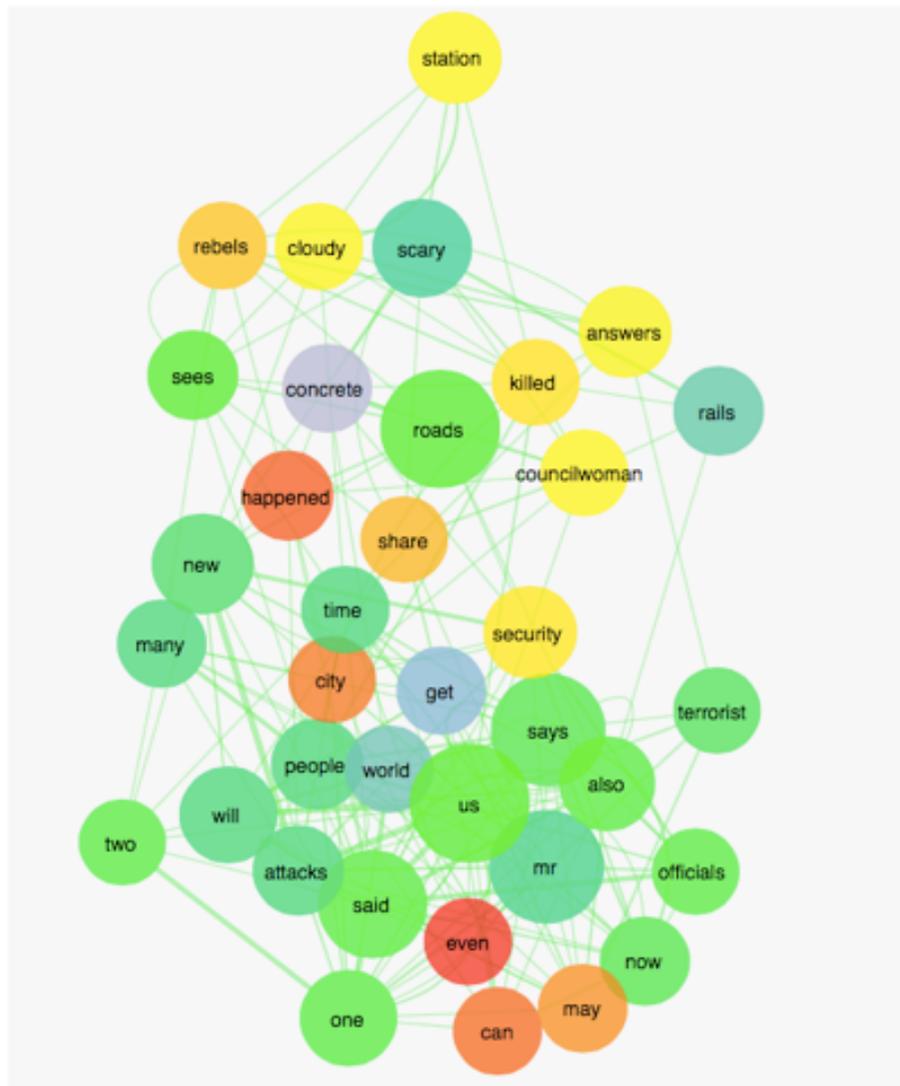


Fig. 8 Text Network Analysis: A graph calculated for texts published in the WSJ during weeks 2-3 following the 9/11 terrorist attacks

The third graph calculated for texts published in the WSJ during weeks 4-8 visible in Fig. 9 seems to be most focused on the political impact of the attacks of 9/11. The appearance of such nodes as *anthrax*, *terrorism*, *military*, *war*, *government*, *security*, as well as a strong edge between the nodes *president* and *terrorists* suggest a focus on military rhetoric. The events of Sep. 11 (also appearing as a node in this time period) are represented as part of a conflict, political and military in nature. Unlike in the case of NYT the representations shift from the impact of the attack on the city of New York and enter the international arena. The prominent nodes *said*, *says*, *mr* or the unspecific *us* suggest that the texts in this period were stylistically oriented towards reporting.

It is important to note here that text network analysis calculates relative prominence of the words in the group of texts. It does not mean that words like *terrorists* or *president* did not appear in the NYT at all, but rather that their statistical significance was much smaller in NYT than it was in WSJ.

5.3.2. The representations of the TU-154U crash in Smoleńsk – a Text Network Analysis

The graphs presented below were calculated for three time-periods for both Polish corpora selected for the purpose of the present study. As in the case of the NYT and the WSJ corpora the timeframe used for the selection of the three groups of texts was 0-7 days following the event for the first graph, followed by a graph calculated for weeks 2-3 and then for weeks 4-8. Figures 10-12 present graphs calculated for the GW corpus, while Figures 12-15 present graphs calculated for the ND corpus.

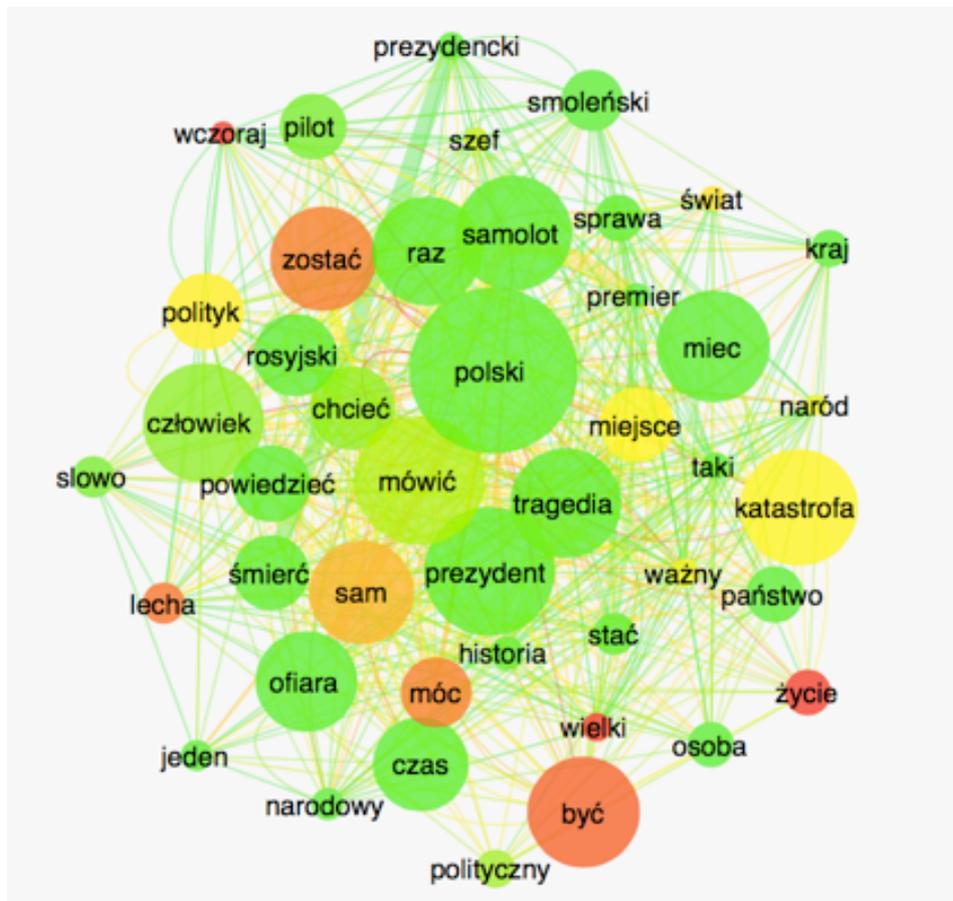


Fig. 10 Text Network Analysis: A graph calculated for texts published in GW during the first 7 days following the TU-154U crash in Smoleńsk.

The graph calculated for the emergency stage visible in Fig. 10 above reveals a predominant modularity group that contains a large number of the most prominent nodes. These include the nodes *polski* (Polish), *samolot* (airplane), *tragedia* (tragedy), *prezydent* (president), *smoleński* (Smoleńsk – adjective), *ofiara* (casualty), *śmierć* (death), *czas* (time), *historia* (history), *narodowy* (national), *premier* (Prime Minister), *państwo* (state), *kraj* (country), *prezydencki* (presidential), and *rosyjski* (Russian). The presence and prominence of such nodes as *polski* (Polish), *państwo* (state), *kraj* (country), *narodowy* (national) or *premier* (prime minister) suggest that the crash in Smoleńsk was represented in GW during the first week after the tragedy as a national and political tragedy. The political impact of the event is further implied by the presence of the node *polityczny* (political). The fact that the nodes *naród* (nation), *miejsce* (place/site) and *katastrofa* (catastrophe) form one modality group and display an edge between the nodes *miejsce* (place/site) and *naród* (nation), as well as the presence of the node *historia* (history) suggest the emergence of a historical perspective in representing

the plane crash. Although neither the node *Katyń* nor *katyński* (*Katyń* – adjective) are present in the graph, the appearance of the nodes enumerated above allows to assume that historical reference to the significance of Smoleńsk as a place of past trauma was one of the more prominent focal points of the representations. The presence of the node *rosyjski* (*Russian*) within the same modularity group as *polski* (*Polish*) and their closeness in the network may be indicative of the inclusion of Polish-Russian relations in the texts, as well as the edge connecting the nodes *rosyjski* (*Russian*) and *premier* (*prime minister*) and between *polski* (*Polish*) and *premier* (*prime minister*).

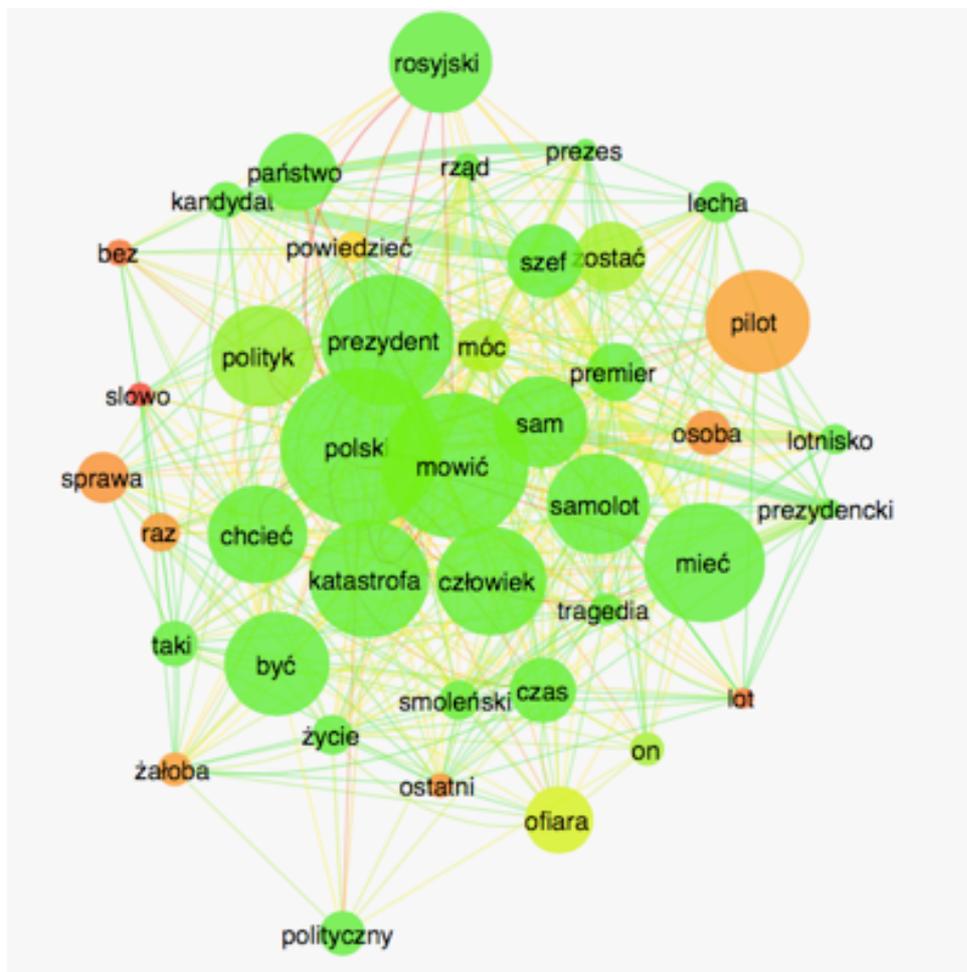


Fig. 11 Text Network Analysis: A graph calculated for texts published in GW during weeks 2-3 following the TU-154U crash in Smoleńsk.

The second graph calculated for weeks 2-3 presented in Fig. 11 above although similar to the one in Fig. 10 with respect to the most prominent and central nodes (such as *polski* (*Polish*), *prezydent* (*president*), *katastrofa* (*catasrophe*), or *rosyjski* (*Russian*)),

several new ones suggesting a more political take on the representations of the tragedy appear. Firstly, the nodes *kandydat* (candidate) and *szeŕ* (head/leader) and the strong edge between them, as well as the nodes *państwo* (state) and *prezes* (head of party) and the thick edge connecting them seem to imply that already within weeks 2-3 following the death of the president of Poland the focus in the texts shifted to the political consequences of the crash including discussing possible candidates for the late President's replacement in the next elections. Interestingly, the node *żałoba* (mourning) is also present among the 40 most prominent nodes in the network, suggesting that the topic of the forthcoming elections was present along with the topic of mourning after the loss of the head of state and other governmental officials.

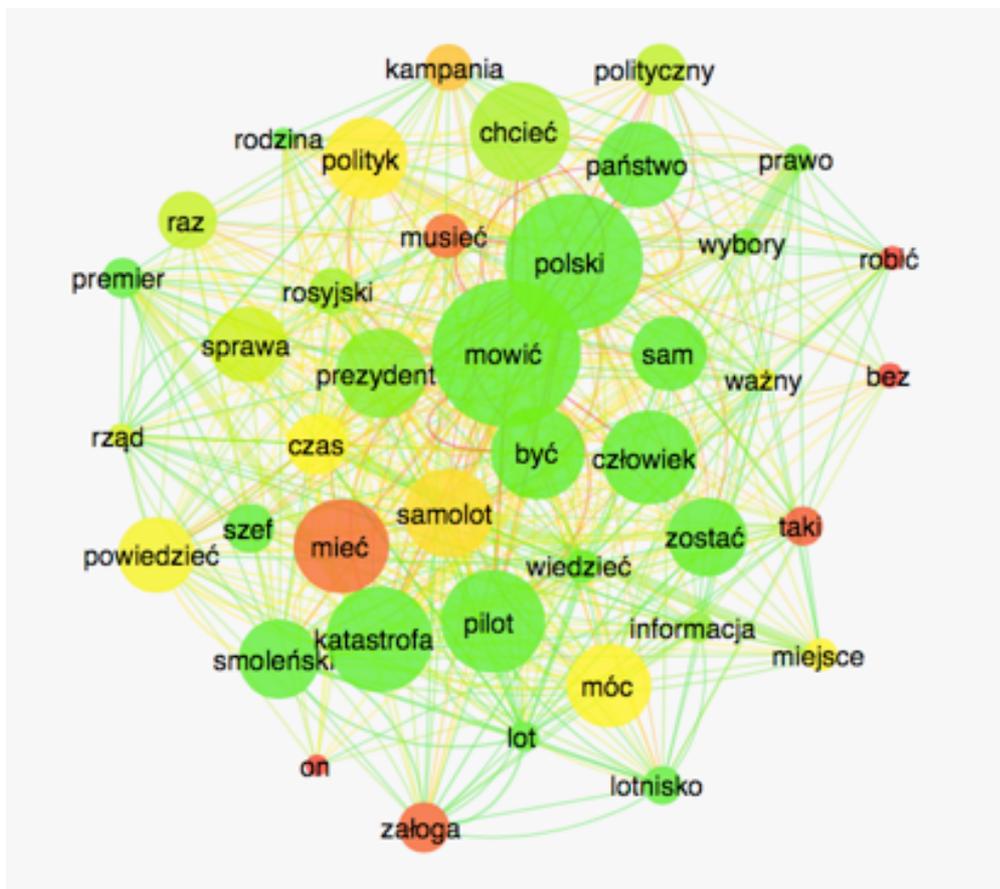


Fig. 12 Text Network Analysis: A graph calculated for texts published in GW during weeks 4-8 following the TU-154U crash in Smoleńsk.

The last graph calculated for the GW corpus presented in Fig. 12 above seems to reveal an even greater focus on the impact and consequence of the crash in Smoleńsk on the

that share the same modularity groups we can find the nodes *polski* (*Polish*), *prezydent* (*president*), *tragedia* (*tragedy*) or *ofiara* (*casualty*). The node *uroczystości* (*celebrations/ceremonials*) seem to refer to the historical context of the event, as it refers to the commemorative ceremonial that the Polish delegation was to attend. An interesting difference in comparison to the nodes appearing in Fig. 10 can be observed here, namely that while in Fig. 10 the nodes suggesting a historical perspective were *historia* (*history*), the node in Fig. 13 *uroczystości* (*celebrations/ceremonials*) appear to refer more to memory, as opposed to history. However, this observation requires validation using qualitative analysis. Another difference can be observed in reference to the number of nodes connected with Poland and the Polish people (*polski* (*Polish*), *Polacy* (*Poles*), *Polaków* (*of Polish people*), *polskiego* (*Polish – adjective*), *Polska* (*Poland*)). There are two possible explanations of this result. Firstly, the high number of nodes may be an error of automated lemmatisation. A second explanation could imply a strong focus on the national aspect of the Smoleńsk tragedy. The appearance of the node *Rosja* (*Russia*) also seems interesting, as in contrast to the node *rosyjski* (*Russina*) in Fig. 10, in ND the node suggest a metonymic use of Russia as referring to the state and people as a whole. Such metonymic use may also suggest personification and allocation of agency, although these observations require an in-depth analysis of texts.

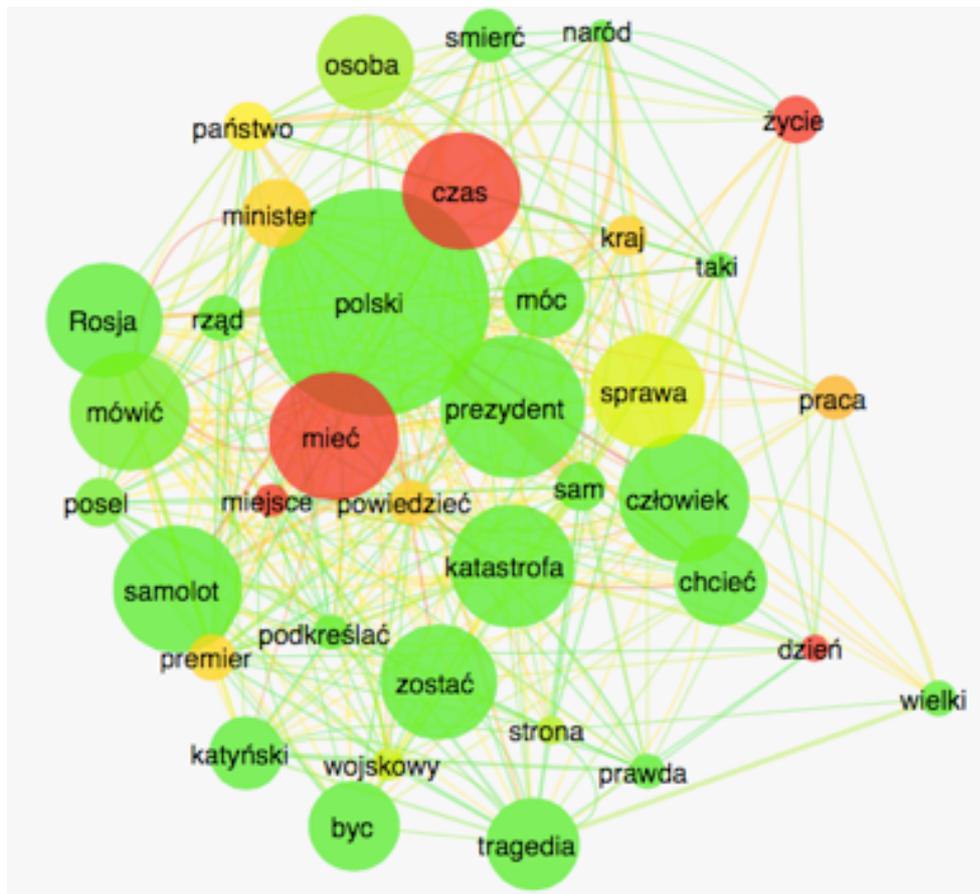


Fig. 14 Text Network Analysis: A graph calculated for texts published in ND during weeks 2-3 following the TU-154U crash in Smoleńsk.

The graph calculated for weeks 2-3 shown in Fig. 14 above reveals several notable developments in the focus of representations of the Smoleńsk tragedy. The most striking result is the appearance of the node *katyński* (Katyń – adjective). This node suggests that the representations of the Smoleńsk crash may have been constructed in connection to the Katyń massacre. The historical context here is evoked through a particular traumatic event inflicted by the Soviets, which may imply mapping one tragedy onto another. Another surprising result is the appearance of the node *prawda* (*truth*), which may refer to the topoi of the Katyń Lie, referring to the prolonged denial of and secrecy surrounding the Katyń massacre. However, a qualitative analysis is required in order to validate this observation. Lastly, the reoccurrence of the node *Rosja* (*Russia*) and the neighboring nodes *rząd* (*government*) and *polski* (*Polish*) can be interpreted as depicting the relations between a metonymically represented Russia and the Polish government.

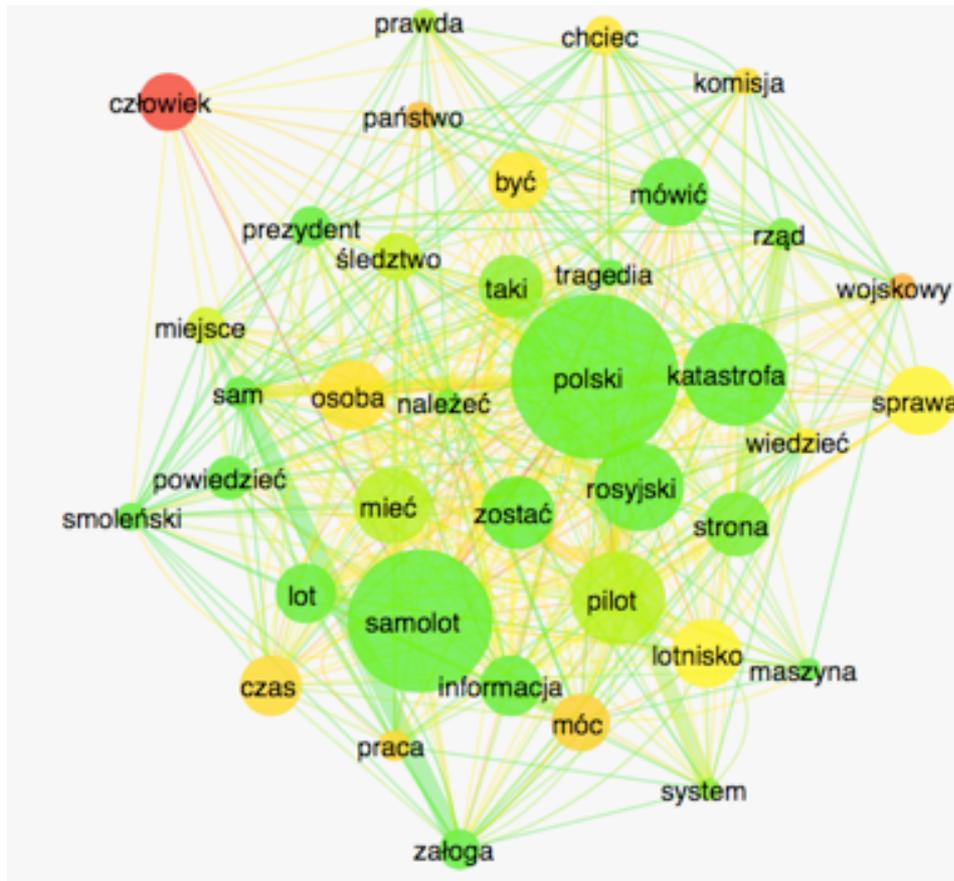


Fig. 15 Text Network Analysis: A graph calculated for texts published in ND during weeks 4-8 following the TU-154U crash in Smoleńsk.

The last graph calculated for the texts published between weeks 4-8 following the Smoleńsk crash in ND (Fig. 15) reveals both similarities to Fig. 12, as well differences. Firstly, the grouping of nodes *samolot* (airplane), *lot* (flight), *czas* (time), *informacja* (information), *móc* (be able to), *załoga* (crew), *pilot* (pilot), *lotnisko* (airport), *maszyna* (machine) and *system* (system) in Fig. 15 seems to suggest a focus on the crash itself. As in the case of a similar grouping of nodes in Fig. 12 here too a possible interpretation could be a preoccupation with investigating the reasons of the crash. What is more, the nodes *śledztwo* (investigation) and *komisja* (commission) are also present and connected though edges with both each other and the node *katastrofa* (catastrophe). The node *prawda* (truth) appears again in the network, connected to the node *katastrofa* (catastrophe) by an average weight edge. The node *Rosja* (Russia) is absent from the network, replaced by the node *rosyjski* (Russian). The nodes *rosyjski* (Russian) and

polski (Polish) occur in close proximity to each other, both of them connecting to the node *strona* (side) located close by in the network. This can be interpreted as representing the Russian and Polish actors in the event as sides in a case. However, in order to establish whether these are two sides in a conflict or in a cooperation an in-depth analysis is needed.

5.4. Representations of collective trauma – a qualitative analysis with elements of corpus analysis of media texts

The results of text network analysis presented in section 5.3 of the present chapter provided some insight into the discursive representations of the two traumatic events under investigation in the present dissertation. However, in order to confirm or contest observations based on the results of the quantitative text network analysis an in-depth qualitative analysis of texts is necessary. The qualitative analysis presented in the sections that follow was performed with additional inclusion of corpus-based methods in order to downsize the data into a manageable sample for critical discourse analysis (for the details of the data selection procedure see Section 4.5.1). As the size of each of the four corpora was fairly big, an insightful analysis still called for a downsizing of data. Using the ProtAnt 1.0 software for identifying texts that are most prototypical for each corpus using keywords provided a reliable solution to this problem and ensured that the texts were chosen basing only on number of top keywords for each of the corpora. The list of articles used in each corpus before and after the downsizing is presented in Appendix A and B respectively. A brief overview of corpus based results will be included in the qualitative analyses of each sample of texts from the four corpora.

5.4.1. The New York Times corpus

The 20 articles selected for a critical discourse analysis were read through in search of nomination and referential strategies depicting the victims, the perpetrators, the event, and the political implications of the event. Predication, mitigation and argumentation

strategies were investigated, including metaphor scenarios as part of the argumentation strategies. The results of the analysis revealed that the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 were represented in the discourse of newspaper articles published in the New York Times as mainly focused on the city and its inhabitants. The following sections outline strategies used in constructing these representations.

5.4.1.1. The victims

The nomination, referential, and predication strategies used in the texts to depict victims can be divided into two categories. The first one are the direct victims, referring to the people who died in the plane crashes, due to the collapse of the World Trade Center towers and the firefighters and police officers working at the site of the catastrophe. The second category that emerged during the analysis is that of extended victims, referring to the survivors who either escaped or were rescued from Ground Zero along with people foregrounded as affected significantly by the tragedy.

Within the first category of victims one subgroup appears to be significantly foregrounded in the discursive representations of 9/11, namely that of the firefighters. A keyword analysis of the corpus seems to support this claim, as “firefighters” appears with a frequency of 291 in the entire NYT corpus, as calculated both in AntConc 3.4.3m (Anthony 2015) and ProtAnt 1.0. The labels and attributes used in the depiction for the firefighters are presented in examples (1) and (2) below:

- (1) the firefighters who died;
the firefighters who were lost;
many of their own;
gone;
unaccounted for;
entire companies we can't find;
those listed as missing or dead;
reported missing or were identified among the dead.

- (2) the chaplain who died;

a father and son;
a chaplain;
a commander;
a rookie;
strangers to most of those they passed;
heroes;
proper names.

The involvement of the firefighters in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center was discussed extensively in the texts, including reference to those who have lost their lives during rescue operations. The firefighters who perished in rescue efforts were referred to both collectively, as in Example (1) and individually, by use of their proper names or functions, as visible in Example (2). What is more, victims among the police force were also mentioned, although less extensively. In the sample selected for analysis they appeared once, as can be seen in Example (3).

(3) officers and detectives remained missing;
missing and presumed dead.

Another subcategory of victims represented in the texts are the civilians who died in the crash and the subsequent collapse of the Twin Towers. In the 20 texts selected for qualitative analysis the victims are referred to using the following terms:

(4) victims of sudden calamity;
airline passengers;
office workers;
missing workers;
those missing and presumed dead;
dead people;
the dead;
people dead or missing;
bodies;
parents;

father;
husbands;
wives;
fathers;
mothers;
sons;
daughters;
friends;
proper names.

As can be seen in Example (4) the direct victims were referred to as people or workers dead or missing, rather than victims of a specific perpetrator. They were commonly referred to as “the people” with accompanying attributes indicating they are either dead or missing. Victims were also referred to by their proper names and/or social roles they had performed in their lives. Interestingly, it appears that they are the victims of a catastrophe, rather than have fallen victim to a particular person or persons.

The second category of victims that I have decided to include is that of extended victims, meaning the parties that were represented in the texts as especially affected by the aftermath of the attacks. The category of extended victims includes (5) *survivors* and (6) *children; wives; family/families; friends*. The category of extended victims is, however, much harder to capture through the strategy of labeling. Rather than being named extended victims are portrayed through the impact that the events of 9/11 had on them. Survivors that safely escaped from the World Trade Center Towers were depicted as overwhelmed with shock, as can be observed in Example (7)

(7) Like many survivors, Mr. Byrne seemed **oblivious to the soot and dust that covered his body**. He **stared blankly** and **spoke haltingly**. “I managed to get out of the building just a few seconds before it collapsed,” he said. “I hugged the wall with a couple of people. We got very lucky. I don't know what happened to the company. Just me and the lieutenant got out.”

(NYT, September 12, 2001)

Portrayals of grieving families, friends or coworkers of the direct victims of the attacks were detailed and emotional. What appears interesting is the reoccurring topos of missing bodies, as can be observed in Examples (8), (9) and (10). The distinction between memorial services and funerals implies that in many cases bodies had not been returned to the families for burial. Instead, the bodies are replaced by objects symbolizing the dead – dirty helmets, a framed picture, a blue shirt. The topos of missing bodies seems to imply the inability to come to terms with the loss for the extended victims, as without a body to bury closure is hard to reach, as can be observed in (10). The lack of bodies seems to imply uncertainty that prevents achieving closure and hence marking those left behind as extended victims of the attacks.

- (8) Nearly every day since the World Trade Center attack, grieving wives and city officials have attended **memorial services, sometimes funerals**, for New York City firefighters lost in the disaster. Red fire engines have blocked the roads in front of suburban churches, orphaned children have fidgeted with plastic fire hats, and **dirty helmets** have been set before altars, **in lieu of coffins**.

(NYT, October 2, 2001)

- (9) **In place of a coffin, a framed picture** of a smiling, bare-chested Officer Danz, the youngest of nine children and the father of three small ones, was placed atop a table. **One of the blue shirts he wore while on duty as an officer** in the Emergency Service Unit's third squad, in the Bronx, **was framed and on display**.

(NYT, October 2, 2001)

- (10) As hard as it was to get the news yesterday that her husband's body had been found, Katie Stern said there was **relief in knowing**. Her husband, Andrew Stern, 41, a broker in the municipal bond department on the 104th floor, lived in Bellmore, N.Y., and was the father of two children, ages 7 and 4. "I am amazed that **he was found**," said Mrs. Stern, who was informed of his death by the Nassau County police. "**I am so happy that I have his body**, and that **we have closure**. I pray to God that he **gives them their loved ones so that they, too, can have closure**."

(NYT, September 16, 2001)

Another group that can be treated as extended victims of the attacks are the children attending schools near Ground Zero due to the vivid descriptions of their reactions to the attacks, as can be seen in Example (11).

- (11) Many of the children were screaming for parents who actually worked in the towers. As one teacher stepped into the street, a small child saw the burning bodies falling from the tower and cried out, “Look, teacher, the birds are on fire!”

(NYT, September 18, 2001)

5.4.1.2. The event – representing 9/11 as a collective trauma

Vivid, detailed and emotionally laden depictions of people's reactions to the attacks and their actions that followed are key in the representation of the attacks as a collective trauma in the analyzed texts. The attribution of traumatic status seems to have been achieved through several strategies of discursive representation. Firstly, the events that occurred on September 11, 2001 were represented through a number of nomination and referential strategies, as presented in Example (12) below. The labels and attributes used here indicate the magnitude of the destruction caused by the attacks. The event is also referred to as a terrorist (or terror) attack implying the intentional and organized action on the part of the perpetrators.

- (12) catastrophic;
a moment of supreme national horror;
tragedy;
disaster;
a life-threatening situation;
the cataclysm;
the calamity;
that horrible day;

the unexplainable;
terror attacks;
terrorist attack.

Secondly, the magnitude of the event is represented through depictions of the heroic efforts of city rescue officers to contain the tragedy, as visible in Example (13).

- (13) That record will show that **at a moment of supreme national horror**, New Yorkers were fortunate to have at the ready **a remarkably brave cadre** of firefighters, police officers, emergency personnel and volunteers from around the country. Pushing aside thoughts about their own personal safety and grief for fallen colleagues, they gave the world **a vision of the valor and selflessness that is the best face of America**.

(NYT, September 15, 2001)

The example in (13) is especially interesting, as it both constructs the attacks as a devastating event of national impact, but at the same time it constructs a line of resistance to it. The extensive depictions of the actions of firefighters and police officers emphasizes the magnitude of the attacks, as through the comparison of rescue officers to soldiers and the situation to war, as in Example (14). Portrayals of firefighters devastated by the tragedy were also prevalently used in sample to depict the impact of the attacks, as further exemplified in (15)

- (14) Like **dazed and bloodied soldiers**, thousands of firefighters and police officers wandered helplessly throughout the afternoon and evening on the West Side Highway, blocked by the danger of further catastrophe from attempting to enter the scene.

(NYT, September 12, 2001)

- (15) By 11 a.m. Eastern time, **hundreds of dazed firefighters** were on the scene. Many were **on their knees**; some were **crying, their heads in their hands**, sitting on piles of debris.

(NYT, September 12, 2001)

The vivid images of rescue workers amid the debris of the fallen towers and depictions of their struggles to contain the situation is covered extensively in the texts analyzed. It can be therefore said that the prevailing representation of the events of September 11, 2001 is constructed from the perspective of the city's rescue forces.

Another strategy used to represent the nature of pain inflicted by the attacks is through a metonymic use of space for the trauma of the attacks. The discursive representations of the site of the attacks suggest that the space itself has become traumatizing and emotionally disturbing for the inhabitants of New York. The trauma of the attacks became synonymous with the part of lower Manhattan covered in debris from the destroyed towers. What is more, it is space that should be reclaimed in order to rid it of its traumatic load. Examples (16) and (17) illustrate this strategy.

(16) Now it's just surreal to look **at that skyline** and to think we used to be in one of those buildings. I started **going back down there** yesterday, but I couldn't do it. **I turned around and walked away.**

(NYT, September 20, 2001)

(17) Some are eager to resume normal lives and **reclaim the neighborhood**. Others, she said, are worried about environmental hazards and **the emotional impact** on their children **of being so close to the disaster site.**

(NYT, November 2, 2001)

Another interesting strategy in the construction of the representation of the attacks of 9/11 as a trauma is the use of synecdoche CITY FOR CITY OFFICIALS (Example (18)) and the personification of the city itself (Example (19)). Examples (18) and (19) were taken from a text discussing preparations for memorial services for the firefighters who lost their lives in the 9/11 attacks. The city is represented here as an autonomous entity that is attributed agency, it not only carries out action but also is attributed the emotional capacity to hope. I have decided to include this strategy into the representation of the nature of the event, as the use of the metaphor CITY IS A PERSON seems to suggest that the trauma of the terrorist attacks of 9/11 was inflicted

to the living tissue of the personified city of New York. It also emphasizes the collective nature of the lived experience of a traumatic event.

- (18) Fire Commissioner Thomas Von Essen said yesterday that **the city and the International Association of Firefighters would stage** a memorial service on Nov. 18 at Madison Square Garden for the 343 firefighters who died in the Sept. 11 attack on the World Trade Center.

(NYT, October 31, 2001)

- (19) At a news conference with Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, Mr. Von Essen said **the city hoped to** accommodate “most of our firefighters” and families of the firefighters who were lost.

(NYT, October 31, 2001)

5.4.1.3. The perpetrators

Another interesting result in the analysis of the NYT corpus was the underrepresentation of the perpetrators of the terrorist attacks of 9/11. Within the sample of texts selected for analysis the perpetrators do not remain unnamed, but are rather referred to as simply (20) *hijackers; terrorists*. The perpetrators are also indirectly implied through the use of such adjective and noun combination such as (21) *the hijacked airplanes* in place of the actor. The use of the modifier and noun combination instead of nouns depicting perpetrators in subject positions indirectly implies the existence of perpetrators, but the texts remain unclear about their details. Hence, nominations and referential terms are used in the corpus in depictions of the perpetrators of the attacks in the texts selected as most prototypical of the corpus they are backgrounded in comparison to the representations of the victims.

The texts gathered in the sample remain vague concerning the exact nature of the perpetrators, however some indirect implications towards Muslims were observed. Surprisingly, the link between the perpetrators and Muslims was constructed in the discourse through depictions of possible backlash on the Muslim inhabitants of New York. One text in the sample focused on this issue, depicting the efforts of New York

teachers to maintain multicultural dialogue in schools in neighborhoods inhabited by Muslim inhabitants. Examples (22), (23) reveal a discursive strategy of inclusion of Muslims into the collectivity affected by the attacks, rather than excluding them basing on their nominal link to the alleged perpetrators. Nominations such as *you and I*, the inclusive use of the adjective *together* or juxtaposing being of Muslim upbringing and committing acts of terror as not synonymous as visible in (22) add to a representation of the affected community of New Yorkers as a unified collectivity equally impacted by the attacks. The traumatic nature of the event is depicted as unifying and resulting in dialogue aimed at mutual understanding rather than confrontation, as exemplified in (23).

(22) Some students read speeches about how they were affected by that horrible day, or what it had made them think about. “What I want to know is, why did it take the loss of thousands of lives to bring this country **together**,” said 11-year-old Nicole Negron, a seventh grader. Or 13-year-old Mohamed Bahader, an eighth grader, who said: “I am a Muslim. These kinds of acts **are not what I’m being taught**.”

(NYT, November 11, 2001)

(23) The **dialogue** has been **instructive** and **never confrontational**, teachers say. But perhaps it is the unplanned remarks that students and teachers exchange that are most **instructive**. For instance, the school's computer technology teacher, Karen Conklin, is Muslim and wears a traditional dark head covering. Ms. Conklin said that one day recently, a third-grade girl approached her and told her she wanted to talk to her alone. “I just want to know,” the girl asked her. “**What side are you on?**” Ms. Conklin said she answered: “**You and I are on the same side**. When the sky falls **on your head** it falls **on my head too**. We’re working **together** for a **common goal** here.”

(NYT, November 11, 2001)

The vague representation of the perpetrators was then investigated through a corpus analysis of the entire NYT corpus. A word frequency analysis of selected keywords usually associated with the attacks on September 11 reveals the appearance of such

labels as *terrorist* (freq. 397), *terrorists* (freq. 255), *hijackers* (freq. 135), Al Qaeda (freq. 86), *bin Laden* (freq. 114), *Taliban* (freq. 221), or *Islamic* (freq. 210). A concordance analysis further determined that in the case of *Taliban* (as an adjective) and *Islamic* they referred to perpetrators or their associates in collocations with specific words. These include government; *alliance*; *fighters*; *leaders*; *regime*; *rulers*; *soldiers*; *troops* for *Taliban* and *extremist** (* indicates search for a lexeme, meaning that multiple word forms were included); *fundamentalist**; *group**; *militant** (noun); *movement*; *organization**; *radical** (noun); *regime*; *warriors* for *Islamic*. In reference to the hijackers of the planes that crashed into the World Trade Center, the Pentagon and in Pennsylvania on September 11 proper names of the hijackers were also used in the corpus.

5.4.1.4. Political implications

It seems from the analysis of the corpus sample that in the case of consequences of the attacks the focus of the texts was put on the impact on the affected community, rather than on claims of consequences that perpetrators should face for the attacks. A concordance analysis of the collocation *war on terror** revealed 17 collocations in the entire corpus, as can be seen in Fig. 16. This expression was, however, absent from the sample of texts selected for qualitative analysis.

Hit	KWIC
1	world, declare whether they were allies in the war on terrorism. As he rode Marine One from
2	e are beginning to understand, this crusade, this war on terrorism, is going to take a while,
3	W. Bush ad-libbed that "this crusade, this war on terrorism, is going to take a while,"
4	the joint session of Congress calling for a "war on terror," the president said with impressiv
5	Defense." Thus, in the new lexicon of the war on terror, security means "defense"; defense
6	September 24, 2001 War on Terrorism Stirs Memory of Internment By KIL
7	councils, Mr. Rumsfeld argues forcefully that the war on terrorism must span the globe and will
8	e president and the professional military to wage war on terrorism." Democrats, too, are compliment
9	term, on readying the next stage of the war on terror -- fought not just with arms, but
10	States intelligence operations while bringing the war on terrorism dangerously close to home for Ame
11	Ashcroft said. With these weapons, he said, "the war on terrorism is escalated to a degree commensu
12	illy remember that President Bush once called his war on terror a "crusade," a word that conjures
13	. There are no statistics yet on how the war on terror has affected local policing, but som
14	: THE VICE PRESIDENT; In New York, Cheney Says War on Terror Is on Course By MICHAEL COOPER
15	anding ovation. Mr. Cheney portrayed the nation's war on terrorism as having early successes, saying
16	he noted a sobering reason that the current war on terrorism will be different from past wars:
17	States intelligence operations while bringing the war on terrorism dangerously close to home for Ame

Fig. 16 A concordance analysis of the collocation war on terror performed on the NYT corpus.

The absence of the collocation *war on terror* or other indications of political consequence does not mean that political implications of the attacks were not present in the sample. One of the texts indeed focused on the rise in President's George W. Bush's approval rates following the attacks of 9/11. Although direct cause and effect relation between the attacks and the rise in support is not stated, it is implied by juxtaposing the poll results and the September 11, as can be seen in Example (24) below.

(24) The younger Bush had an 86 percent rating in a survey conducted **last week, just after terrorists slammed hijacked airplanes into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in Manhattan and into the Pentagon, outside Washington**, leaving an estimated 6,800 people dead or missing. A fourth hijacked plane crashed in Pennsylvania.

(NYT, September 24, 2001)

(25) President Bush **ended the official mourning period** today, **presiding over a ceremony to hoist the American flag to full staff** for the first time since the attacks.

(NYT, September 24, 2001)

It seems that the political implications represented in the sample texts are mostly concerned with the support of political actors, as in the case of President George W. Bush, as evident in Example (25).

5.4.2. The Wall Street Journal corpus

The sample of 20 articles selected for in-depth analysis using ProtAnt 1.0 were read through in search of the same types of discursive strategies as in the case of the NYT corpus.

5.4.2.1. The victims

The WSJ sample of texts selected for qualitative analysis revealed surprising results with respect to representations of the victims of the September 11 attacks. The texts focused heavily on representing the survivors that managed to escape from the towers and those who have died. Hence, the categories of victims and extended victims applied to the discursive strategies used in the NYT corpus seem equally applicable in the case of WSJ. The extended victims were the focus of the analyzed texts, but both categories of victims were represented. The representations were constructed using a strategy of categorization of employees according to specific companies and through a schematic narration of their escape from the collapsing buildings. The narrative scheme used in order to construct representations of the extended victims usually depicted the actions of employees of particular companies from the moment the planes hit the towers to their evacuation from the buildings. The survivors are referred to by their proper names, ages and professions, often with a following indication of their companies' office details, total number of employees and the number of employees working in the World Trade Center buildings. Exemplary introductions of the survivors can be found in Examples (26), (27) and (28).

(26) Empire has 6,500 employees world-wide, and about 1,914 were based in the World Trade Center. **Julie Anderson, 33 years old, manager of public affairs, was in her office on the 28th floor**, talking with a co-worker, **when they felt the building shake**, then heard a “screechy sound,” presumably of metal grinding.

(WSJ, September 14, 2001)

(27) AON Corp., despite having offices near the top of Tower 2, says the vast majority of the insurance and consulting concern's employees made it out. **Ingrid Arencibia**, who works in marketing, **had just walked up from the 101st floor to the 102nd** of 2 World Trade Center to drop off some papers at a co-worker's desk **when the plane hit the building**.

(WSJ, September 14, 2001)

(28) **Dryw Danielson** was sitting at his desk at Euro Brokers Inc. **on the 84th floor** of World Trade Center 2 when he looked up to see **the tower just outside his window burst into flames.**

(WSJ, September 18, 2001)

The narratives were detailed, the nomination and referential strategies used in reference to survivors of the attacks are presented in Example (29).

(29) the survivors;
surviving employees;
hospitalized employees;
people accounted for;
people confirmed alive;
proper names.

Direct victims of the attacks were often referred to in the schematic narratives as either a number of employees a company couldn't account for or were depicted through relations of those who survived. The discursive strategies used to label the direct victims and their attributes are visible in Example (30). The sample also contained a mention of the passengers of the hijacked planes that crashed into the towers, as evident in the example. In comparison to the NYT corpus, the noun "victim*" appeared with a frequency of 77 per 198776 total word tokens in the entire corpus. In comparison to the NYT the term "victim*" appears with a relative frequency of 0.3 per 1000 words in the NYT and with a slightly higher relative frequency of 0.4 per 1000 words in the WSJ corpus. Although this difference in frequency is minimal, it seems that in the NYT corpus the victims were predominantly referred to as *people* and hence the nomination victim* accounts for only a fraction of total reference to the casualties. However, due to the unspecific nature of *people* in the texts it was impossible to trace all occurrences of the noun used as synonymous to victim. It was thus not amenable to statistical comparisons. Example (31) presents the schematic construction applied to depict the victims of the attacks within the sample texts.

(30) the victims;

employees unaccounted for;
employees missing;
moms and dads;
friends and neighbors;
thousand of lives;
proper names;
passengers and crew.

- (31) Investment-banking boutique Keefe, Bruyette & Woods, which had its headquarters **on the 89th floor of the south tower**, on Wednesday afternoon was **unable to account for about 70 of the 175 employees** who work in that office, including the firm's chairman and co-chief executive, **Joseph J. Berry**, according to **Mitchell Kleinman**, general counsel.

(WSJ, September 14, 2001)

Another strategy in constructing the image of the victims of the attacks consisted of referring to the victims by use of their social roles, as can be observed in Example (32) recalling an excerpt from President's Bush comment on the attacks of September 11 delivered right after the tragedy. These nominations seem especially interesting, as they appear to aim at appealing to the readers' emotions through representing the victims on both a general level of categories of social roles, but at the same time through making them relatable through the universality of those social categories.

- (32) The victims were “**moms and dads, friends and neighbors**, thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil, despicable acts of terror.”

(WSJ, September 12, 2001)

5.4.2.2. The perpetrators

Within the texts selected for qualitative analysis representations of both the victims and the perpetrators can be identified. Two texts were directly concerned with the possible political consequences of the attacks, including dealing with the perpetrators. The category of perpetrators seem to be understood in broad terms, as it referred not only to the hijackers that crashed the planes into the World Trade Center, the Pentagon and in Pennsylvania, but also to the organizations the hijackers were part of and any party involved with these organizations. The labels used in the sample referring to perpetrators can be found in example (33), the strategy of constructing the perpetrators as broad, inclusive group can be observed in Example (34), below.

- (33) terrorists;
those responsible;
those who harbored them;
terrorist groups;
terrorist cell;
individuals and organizations;
the global terror network;
al Qaeda.

- (34) In a speech from the Oval Office Tuesday night President Bush vowed that **those responsible** would be punished. “We will make **no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbored them**,” he said.

(WSJ, September 12, 2001)

A search for the same key words as those investigated in the NYT corpus in relation to the representations of the perpetrators revealed the following results: *terrorist* (freq. 297), *terrorists* (freq. 166), *hijackers* (freq. 86), *Al Qaeda* (freq. 49), *bin Laden* (freq. 297), *Taliban* (freq. 139), or *Islamic* (freq. 113). The last two tokens, *Taliban* (as an adjective) and *Islamic* referred to perpetrators or their associates in collocations with the following words. For the token *Taliban* these included: *groups*; *leader**; *regime*; *ruler**; *supporters*. In the case of the token *Islamic* these collocations were: *aggression*; *extremist**; *fighters*; *fundamentalist**; *group**; *militant** (noun); *movement*; *networks*;

*organization**; *regime*. The results proved to be similar to those obtained from the NYT corpus, suggesting that the representations of the perpetrators constructed through labeling did not differ much in the two corpora.

5.4.2.3. The event – representing 9/11 as a collective trauma

The representations of 9/11 as collectively traumatic in nature in the sample texts is closely connected to the representation of the consequences of the attacks for the US as a nation and as a political state. The events that unfolded on September 11, 2001 were represented as terrorist attacks, as destruction intentionally inflicted onto the US as a state and as a nation. The discursive strategies used to label the attacks in the sample text are presented in Example (35).

- (35) terrorist attacks;
devastating attacks;
evil, despicable acts of terror;
evil;
deliberate and deadly terrorist attacks;
horrific attacks.

What is more, the events of 9/11 were represented in the sample as a direct attack against the US and the values Americans hold as most fundamental, important and constitutive of their sense of security, as can be observed in Examples (36), (37) and (38), all being excerpts from comments delivered by President Bush.

- (36) “Today, our fellow citizens, **our way of life, our very freedom, came under attack** in a series of **deliberate and deadly** terrorist acts,” the president said in a televised address from the White House.

(WSJ, September 12, 2001)

- (37) The horrific attacks, he said, “can **shake** the foundations of our biggest buildings, but **they cannot touch the foundation of America.**”

(WSJ, September 12, 2001)

- (38) The federal government “will be open for business [Wednesday],” Mr. Bush said, seeking to bring some measure of reassurance to citizens whose **sense of security was shattered**.

(WSJ, September 12, 2001)

The metaphoric use of verbs *shake* and *shatter* used in reference to the abstract notions of American values and sense of security seem to represent the traumatic impact of the attacks through embodied experience. A possible metaphoric reading of (36) can therefore be WORLD TRADE CENTER IS THE U.S., where the destruction of the towers translates to the emotional impact on Americans, but the concept of solid building foundation implies the strength of the core values the American society holds as most defining.

5.4.2.4. Political implications

The discursive construction of the attacks of 9/11 as an intentional and disruptive attack on the core values and way of life of the American already seems to imply political impact. Firstly, representing the event as an intentional act of destruction against a particular nation was followed by a call for punishment on the perpetrators, as can be observed in Example (34). Moreover, as can be seen in Example (39) possibility of more terrorist attacks is emphasized, which seems to imply that *those responsible* for the attacks remain hostile and active:

- (39) As the ships steamed up the coastline, F-16 Air Force fighter jets from the Washington Air National Guard buzzed over the Baltimore-Washington region and around New York City **to protect against any further air attacks**, an Air Force spokesman said.

(WSJ, September 12, 2001)

What is more, war rhetoric was identified in sample texts, which implies several political consequences. As can be observed in Example (40) the war rhetoric was used in order to establish plans of future action referred to as a defense against the threat that had attacked the US. A comparison to past conflicts seems to map the scenario of war to the present situation. The use of such words as *enemy* and *defend* in (40) and *protect* and *respond to* in (41) suggest that the US is a victim of hostile attack that is forced to act in defense of itself. The consequent conflict is constructed in discourse as an American answer to violence, rather than portraying the US in the role of the aggressor.

(40) “America **has stood down enemies before**, and **we will do so this time**,” he said. “None of us will ever forget this day, yet **we go forward to defend** freedom and all that is good and just in our world.”

(WSJ, September 12, 2001)

(41) The Pentagon put U.S. forces on highest alert as it scrambled fighter jets and dispatched ships **to protect U.S. citizens** at home and to protect troops abroad. Meanwhile, the question of how the U.S. military will **respond to the attacks** on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon remained unanswered.

(WSJ, September 12, 2001)

An analogous concordance analysis to the one performed for the NYT corpus of the phrase WAR ON TERROR reveals a frequency of 22 (see Fig. 17). Taking into account that the NYT corpus is more than twice as big in terms of word tokens as the WSJ corpus, but noted a frequency of 17 for the collocation war on terror it can be assumed that rhetoric of war resulting from the attacks on September 11 was more prevalent in the WSJ corpus.

Concordance Hits 22	
Hit	KWIC
1	they will kill if not first killed. Our
2	," he said. Mr. Berger argued that such a
3	populations. The Russian experience shows why a
4	linchpin in the first major battle in the
5	President Bush vows to wage an all-out
6	recent days he cautioned that a U.S.
7	President Bush, dictating the terms of his global
8	in his rousing speech before Congress that "our
9	U.S. is willing to push a unified
10	will be likely targets of the administration's
11	a partner in President George W. Bush's
12	taken pains to stress that a U.S.
13	move opened a financial front in the percolating
14	Journal editorial board. A key question for the
15	now, Wall Street seems almost confident about the
16	Assembly in a televised address, referring to the
17	drastic as the two cited above. But the "
18	to three years, illustrating how drawn-out the
19	meet the needs of our military in the
20	magazine on his Web site that links the
21	have partly succeeded. Let's face it: The
22	from cheap shots and help us in this

Fig. 17 Results of a search for the collocation war on terror in the WSJ corpus.

5.4.3. The Gazeta Wyborcza corpus

As in the case of the 9/11 corpora 20 texts were taken from the Polish corpora on the subject of the TU-154M plane crash in Smoleńsk and analyzed using critical discourse analysis. The texts were read through in search of nomination and referential strategies depicting the victims, the perpetrators, the nature of the event, and the political implications. Discursive strategies of representation were investigated. The sections that follow outline the results of the analysis of the GW corpus. All translations of the results and examples were provided by the author of the present dissertation.

5.4.3.1. The victims

The way in which the victims of the tragic plane crash in Smoleńsk were represented in discourse in the sample of texts seems much more straightforward than in the case of the 9/11 corpora. The category of victims seems to only refer to the 96 passengers of the tragic flight to Smoleńsk. The category of extended victims was not identified. The nomination and referential strategies used in the texts in order to depict the victims are visible in Example (42), below.

- (42) ofiary (casualties);
osoby pełniące wysokie funkcje (persons holding high positions);
prezydent (the President);
prezydent Rzeczypospolitej (the President of the Republic);
prezydentowa (the President's wife);
pierwsza dama (the First Lady);
prezydencka para (the presidential couple);
ci ludzie (those people);
niemal setka dostojnych osób (almost a hundred dignified persons);
przedstawiciele politycznych elit (representatives of political elites);
ludzie nauki (academics);
(ludzie sztuki (artists);
przedstawiciele rodzin ofiar poprzedniej masakry (representatives of the families of the victims of the previous massacre);
przedstawiciele Rodzin Katyńskich (representatives of Katyń Families);
zmarli pod Smoleńskiem (the deceased near Smoleńsk);
nowa lista katyńska;
proper names.

What is interesting in (42) is the use of the terms *nowa lista katyńska* (the new Katyń list) and *przedstawiciele rodzin ofiar poprzedniej masakry* (representatives of families of the victims of the previous massacre) instead of *przedstawiciele Rodzin Katyńskich* (representatives of Katyń Families), a term most popularly used in reference to the families of the victims of the Katyń Forest Massacre. Here, instead of the adjective *katyński* (*Katyń* in adjectival form), the expression *poprzedniej masakry* (previous massacre) was used. The adjective *poprzedniej* (previous) modifying the noun *masakry* (massacre) seems to imply that the tragedy in Smoleńsk in 2010 shares the characteristics of a massacre, as the murders in Katyń Forest 70 years prior. It may be interpreted as suggesting that the plane crash was no accident. A closer investigation of the text in which the label appeared reveals that although the two events were indeed compared, but in symbolic dimension. Example (43) presents the immediate textual context of the label.

(43) Tak, to prawda, i należy to raz jeszcze podkreślić, połała sie [krew – my addition MG] **nie z winy jakiegokolwiek wroga**. Ale **symbolicznie**, w **tym właśnie miejscu** prezydent Rzeczypospolitej, przedstawiciele jej politycznych elit i przedstawiciele rodzin ofiar poprzedniej masakry **złożyli** dwadzieścia lat po fakcie **daninę krwi**, którą w Polsce **zawsze trzeba było okupywać wolność**.

(GW, April 15, 2010)

Translation:

Yes, it is true, and it needs to be emphasized once more, it has spilled [the blood – my addition MG] **not by fault of some enemy**. But **symbolically**, **in this very place** the President of the Republic, the representatives of its political elites and the representatives of the families of the previous massacre twenty years after the event **paid a tribute in blood**, that in Poland **has always been necessary in order to regain freedom**.

Example (43) is ambiguous, as it both seems to imply that the crash is a massacre only symbolically, but at the same time refers to the victims of the plane crash as paying a tribute in blood for their countries freedom. Similarly, *the new Katyń list* seems to draw a direct comparison between the two painful events. Viewing the expression in immediate context revealed to types of examples. Firstly, examples drawing a parallel between the two events that seem to suggest literal and symbolic repetition and examples that contest the use of expression, suggesting an emphasis on only symbolic similarities. The argumentative strategy of representing the events as parallel that seems to emerge from (43) calls for an immediate discussion of the representations of the nature of the Smoleńsk plane crash itself.

5.4.3.2. The event – representing the Smoleńsk crash as a collective trauma

As already mention in reference to Example (43) a parallel between the Smoleńsk crash and the Katyń Forest Massacre was observed in the sampled texts. Such a comparison seems to carry serious implications, as it maps the attributes and characteristic of the

source event (a massacre, a mass murder committed by the Soviets and then kept in secrecy) to the target event (a plane crash). Consistent mapping of the attributes of the Katyń massacre would, therefore, presuppose the existence of perpetrators and intentional action. An analysis of the texts sampled revealed that although the scenario is evoked, it is also contested by emphasizing the symbolic nature of the comparison. The analyzed texts revealed several discursive strategies deployed in the process.

The nomination and referential strategies used in the depiction of the event in the sampled texts are presented in Example (44).

- (44) katastrofa (catastrophe);
katastrofa lotnicza (aircraft crash);
katastrofa samolotu prezydenckiego (catastrophe of the presidential aircraft);
katastrofa pod Smoleńskiem (catastrophe near Smoleńsk);
straszna katastrofa (horrible catastrophe);
katastrofa TU154M (crash of TU154M);
tragedia (tragedy);
straszna tragedia (horrible tragedy);
tragedia w Smoleńsku (tragedy in Smoleńsk).

The event seems to be consistently labeled as a catastrophe or tragedy. An analysis of the strategies referring to the place of the catastrophe revealed interesting results, presented in (45). The geographical place of Katyń and its surrounding area (including Smoleńsk) was referred to as *przeklęty* (cursed), which may imply a mystical, symbolic reading of the crash in the historical context of the site of the catastrophe.

- (45) miejsce katastrofy (the site of the catastrophe);
miejsce tragedii (the site of the tragedy);
przeklęte miejsce (a cursed place);
niebo nad przeklętym Katyniem (the sky above the cursed Katyń);
miejsce o randze symbolicznej (a place of symbolic rank);
miejsce, w którym zginęła przedwojenna polska elita (the place where the prewar Polish elites perished).

The use of the term *ofiara* in the Polish texts proved to be especially problematic in investigating how the event was represented due to two possible readings of the term – *ofiara* understood as *victim* and *ofiara* understood as *sacrifice*. While the use of the term in the first understanding does not necessarily carry any connotations of intentionality, the use of the term in the understanding of *sacrifice* does. Sacrifices are inherently intentional, directional and goal oriented. Example (46) below presents the use of the term *ofiara* as *sacrifice*, representing the death of the President as an intentional, sacrificial act made for the country.

(46) Bo jednoczyliśmy się wszak nie wokół jego politycznych osiągnięć, lecz wokół **jego ofiary za Rzeczpospolitą.**

(GW, April 15, 2010)

Translation:

Because we have united not due to his political accomplishments, but due to *his sacrifice for the Republic*.

The possessive pronoun *his* used as a modifier to the phrase *sacrifice for the Republic* further expresses the intentionality of the actor, transforming him from a passive victim into an active hero and the event from an accident to an act of heroism.

(47) Cały dzień spędziliśmy na rozważaniach i dyskusjach - mówił kard. Dziwisz - i ostatecznie zapadła decyzja, by prezydent, **który zginął w wyjątkowych warunkach, po bohatersku** - bo leciał do Katynia, by oddać w imieniu całego społeczeństwa hołd męczennikom - spoczął w miejscu najbardziej godnym, na Wawelu. żeby spoczął tam razem z tymi, którzy **się zasłużyli** dla dobra naszej ojczyzny, od królów po bohaterów i wodzów. W ten sposób rodzina i społeczeństwo chcą go zapisać **wśród wybitnych bohaterów naszego narodu.**

(GW, April 14, 2010)

Translation:

We've spent the entire day pondering and discussing – says Cardinal Dziwisz – and finally the decision was made that the President, **who died in exceptional**

circumstance, in a heroic manner – because he was flying to Katyn in order to pay tribute to the martyrs on behalf of the whole society – is going to rest in the most esteemed place, at Wawel, so that he can rest together with **those who have contributed** to the wellbeing of our motherland, from kings to heroes and leaders. In this way the family and the society want to credit him **among the extraordinary heroes of our nation**.

The referential use of heroic in (47) and placing the passed President in line with figures of national historical importance seems to add a martyrological perspective. Moreover, the president was represented in parallel to figures who contributed to the well being of the country. The verb contribute again seems to imply agency and intentionality, an active role of a contributor rather than a passive role of a victim. A concordance analysis of the entire GW corpus revealed another term that seems to imply intentionality and carries additional martyrological connotations – the lexeme *polegl** (*to fall in battle* treated as a lexeme) in collocation with *w katastrofie* (*in the catastrophe*) occurred 4 times, one time in collocation with *w służbie publicznej* (*in public service*), as presented in Fig. 18, below.

NR	KONC
1	, która wspanogal duch wszystkich Polaków, którzy polegli w Katyniu , wtedy i teraz, wywalczyła sobie
2	Rosji poniedziałek był dnem żałoby narodowej po poległych w katastrofie pod Smolenskiem . Prezydent
3	przypominał widzom, że kraj czci pamięć Polaków poległych w katastrofie w Smolensku . Prowadzcy pr
4	Katedry Niepokalanego Poczęcia na msze w intencji poległych w katastrofie . Był wśród nich Aleksandr
5	był podróżą służbową, można więc powiedzieć, że polegli w służbie publicznej . Ale to mało. Tropę
6	Józefa Bema w Budapeszcie, by uczcić pamięć poległych w katastrofie pod Smolenskiem . Był Mazur
7	do Smolenska dla uczczenia ofiar, w tym poległych w Katyniu adwokatów, był jedną z misji
8	okresu PRL czy w hołdzie dla żołnierzy poległych w czasie wojny . Interesuje mnie teraznie

Fig. 18 Results of a search for the collocations of *polegl** w katastrofie smoleńskiej (= fell in battle in the Smoleńsk crash) in the GW corpus.

However, an additional search for the lexeme *polegl** revealed that the use of the term was also contested. Fig. 19 below presents results of the concordance analysis of *fallen in battle*, translations of the highlighted results marked consecutively as Examples (48), (49) and (50) that referred to the victims of the crash in Smoleńsk are provided underneath the figure.

Hit	KWIC
1	nowi. Polec można w walce. Dziadek nie poległ, bo był jeńcem wojennym. Strzelano mu w
2	młodych ludzi na wpis na długa liście poległych. Bo prawie żaden naród nie wycierpiał od
3	. Zginął, gdy leciał, by oddać tam hold poległym, by przywrócić ich pamięci żyjących. Jego
4	onie takie lekkomyślne określenia, jak "zabici", "polegli", "drugi Katyn", "druga lista katyńska". Z
5	!!! Wieczna pamięć zabitym niewinnie i tragicznie poległym. Edmund z Kalugi. Najbardziej chciałoby s
6	byłyby po prostu ofiary wypadku, a tu "polegli"? I te unoszące się w półoficjalnym obiegu
7	, to współczuć wam i modlić się za poległych. I to robimy. I gdyby można było
8	ow, Ukraińców czy żołnierzy rosyjskich, którzy tu poległ, itd. To rozumiem przez patriotyzm cywiliz
9	w katastrofie samolotowej. Żaden z nich nie poległ jak teraz się mówi. Polec można w
10	te się wpisał. "Panie Majorze, oplakując naszych poległych, jednocześnie wierzymy, że byli pod Pana
11	można zbudować na innych wartościach niż kult poległych. My w Kanadzie jesteśmy np. dumni, że
12	nie wyzwoli się całkowicie z pamięci o poległych. Na czym polega różnica między amerykańsk
13	zawołanie, po czym odczytano nazwiska wszystkich poległych. Po "Ojciec nasz" odwołany po węgiersku
14	wojny w Afganistanie wywozili do domu zwłoki poległych. Rosjanie są mili, bardzo mili. Zachow

Fig. 19 Results of a search for the collocations of poległ* (=fell in battle) in the GW corpus.

- (48) [...] takie lekkomyślne określenia, jak “zabici”, “polegli”, “drugi Katyn”, druga lista katyńska” [...]

Translation:

[...] such reckless terms as “killed”, “fallen in battle”, “second Katyn”, “second Katyn list” [...]

- (49) [...] byłyby po prostu ofiary wypadku, a tu “polegli”? I te unoszące się w półoficjalnym obiegu [...]

Translation:

[...] would be simply victims of an accident, and here “fallen in battle”? And in half-official circulation these floating [...]

- (50) [...] w katastrofie samolotowej. Żaden z nich nie poległ jak teraz się mówi. Polec można w [...]

Translation:

[...] in an airplane catastrophe. None of them has fallen in battle as it is now being said. One can fall in battle [...]

As evident from (48), (49) and (50) the use of fallen in battle is contested in the texts. Example (48) provides and additional nomination in the representation congruent with

the argumentative strategy comparing the events in Smoleńsk and Katyń, namely that of *second Katyń*. The collocation *second Katyń* appeared 13 times in the entire corpus, the frequency of 591 for Katyń* and 1047 Smoleńsk* within the entire corpus. The 13 collocations of *second Katyń* presented in Fig. 20 revealed more strategies arguing against the Smoleńsk crash/Katyń massacre comparison (these are marked in the figure).

Id	KWEC
1	dokonany na polskich oficerach w 1940 r. i drugi Katyniem, który wydarzył się w ostatnio sob
2	na odpowiedzi na to pytanie". Lecz dziś drugi Katyn może przynieść najmniej oczekiwano odp
3	lekkością określenia, jak "zabici", "polegli", " drugi Katyn", "druga lista katyńska". Znajoma Fran
4	zodnej dumy, raczej rozpocz. To nie był drugi Katyn ani Somoiera, ani nawet polski 11 w
5	się prace umysłu, wyciągane są pierwsze wnioski. Drugi Katyn, czyli Ofiara Cierpienie szuka uosobn
6	co jest bliższe prawdy? To nie był drugi Katyn ani Termopile, ani Somoiera, ani now
7	mie to spotkało", "Teraz będzie tak samo". Drugi Katyn? Właśnie. Na poziomie emocji narodo
8	. Sami możemy walczyć się w pierś. Ten " drugi Katyn" pojawił się bardzo często. To zdrowe
9	i politycy i podają takie słowa, jak: " drugi Katyn", "narodowa hekatomba", "znow stracili
10	owe: "Przekleto katyńska ziemia" (to "Gazeta"); " Drugi Katyn"; "Ostatnie ofiary Katynia"; "Klęstwo K
11	z łatwoscia wyodaja z ust slowa o drugi Katyniu i ostatnie patriocie. Ktorzy nadal
12	= Jesli slyszysz, ze Smolensk to drugi Katyn, nam ochote krzyczac RZNIWIATA NALGO
13	się dzieje? Jesli slyszysz, ze Smolensk to drugi Katyn, to nam ochote krzyczac. Dziadek, Boie

Fig. 20 Results of a search for collocations of drugi Katyń (=second Katyń) in the GW corpus.

The Smoleńsk crash/Katyń massacre comparison appears to be both evoked and contested, emphasizing the symbolism of the place rather than comparing the nature of the two traumas. Hence, a reformulation of the argument into Smoleńsk/Katyń is needed, as the mapping appears to be confined to the geographical place where both events took place, rather than the events themselves.

Another argumentative strategy identified in the texts is metaphor TRAUMA IS A JOURNEY, where the Smoleńsk catastrophe seems to be represented as a new step in the ever unfolding relations between Poland and Russia. The words of Polish Cardinal Stanisław Dziwisz presented in Example (51) construct an image of a road to recovery from the unhealed trauma of Katyń.

- (51) Sprawmy, by **katyńska rana** mogła się **wreszcie** w pełni zagoić i zablźnić. Jesteśmy już **na tej drodze**. My, Polacy, doceniamy działania Rosjan z ostatnich lat. Tą **drogą**, która **zbliża nasze narody**, powinniśmy **iść dalej**, **nie zatrzymując się** na niej ani **nie cofając**.

(GW, April 14, 2010)

Translation:

Let's let the Katyń wound **at last** fully heal and scar up. We are already on that road. We, the Polish people, appreciate the actions of Russians in the last years. This is the **road that brings our nations closer**, we should continue to **walk forward, not stop or turn back**.

The metaphor TRAUMA IS A JOURNEY here seems to be oriented at reconciliation with the Russians. It seems that the Smoleńsk crash was depicted as a stimulus to move towards reconciliation and cooperation. Another excerpt from Cardinal Wyszyński visible in Example (52) continues the journey metaphor and intertextuality links the present situation to Poland's past reconciliation with Germany.

- (52) Przed blisko półwieczem biskupi polscy **wykonali prawdziwie proroczy krok w kierunku** Niemców, mówiac do nich w imieniu narodu polskiego: "Wybaczamy i prosimy o wybaczenie!". Musimy dorastać do wypowiedzenia podobnych słów wobec **braci Rosjan**.

(GW, April 14, 2010)

Translation:

Almost half a century ago Polish bishops **made a really prophetic step in the direction of** Germans, telling them on behalf of the Polish nation: "We forgive you and we ask for forgiveness!". We need to mature to saying similar words to **brother Russians**.

5.4.3.3. Political implications

The category of perpetrators seems to be absent from the representation in the sample. In Example (52) the Russians are referred to as *brother Russians*, suggesting that they are represented as an ally rather than an enemy. The representations of Russians and Russia within the sampled texts are consistently positive.

In Example (53) the synecdochical use of Russia as whole for part seems to imply a universal impact of the crash on Russian society. The reference to the airing of

Andrzej Wajda's film *Katyń* (representing the Polish perspective on the massacre), and the actions and gestures of Russia's Prime Minister toward the victims and the Polish Prime Minister construct an image of mutual understanding and empathy. The use of the adjective *national* in reference to mourning, or adverbials *on the most important state television station* and *in prime time*, as well as the predication *we all saw* seem to imply that these actions and gestures are very public.

(53) To, że **Rosja ogłosiła żałobę narodową**, że w **najważniejszej telewizji państwowej** i w **najlepszym czasie antenowym** pokazany został "Katyń" Wajdy, że **wszyscy widzieliśmy** Putina, który żegna się nad ciałami Polaków i obejmuje Tuska - to są gesty o kolosalnym znaczeniu. Ale aż strach myśleć, że **trzeba było takiej tragedii**, żeby dwa bliskie narody mogły się **dogadać na szczeblu politycznym**.

(GW, April 17, 2010)

Translation:

The fact that **Russia announced national mourning**, that Wajda's "Katyń" was aired **on the most important state television station**, that **we all saw** Putin praying over Polish bodies and putting his arm around Tusk – these are gestures of colossal significance. But it's scary to think that **it took a tragedy like this** for two close nations to **communicate on a political level**.

The use of the predication *it took a tragedy like this* in the last sentence in (53) seems to imply a causal relation between the tragedy and the subsequent political dialogue between the two nations. The gestures oriented at reconciliation seem to be represented as public, of political importance. The topos of the Smoleńsk crash as a gateway to reconciliation appears to be realized on two planes. The first one is political, the second one is social. Russian citizens were represented in the sample as emphatic and friendly. Example (54) presents a comment of Joachim Brodziński, a Law and Justice politician who traveled with Jarosław Kaczyński, President Kaczyński's twin brother, to Smoleńsk after the crash. The representation of Russians in the excerpt seems to imply that the development in Polish-Russian relations is not limited to the political level, but transcends to all levels of Russian society, as can be observed in the use of the adjective

simple in reference to the Russian women. The juxtaposition of *this inhuman land* and *human decency* and *brotherhood* appears to further accentuate the change from hostility to empathy.

(54) Następnie pojechaliśmy na parę godzin do hotelu w centrum Smoleńska. Panie, które nas tam przyjęły- **proste rosyjskie kobiety** - były niesamowicie wzruszone, ciepłe. Na tej nieludzkiej ziemi, bo tak przez nas, Polaków, jest postrzegany Katyń, doświadczamy takiej **ludzkiej przyzwoitości, braterstwa**, i to jest też niezwykle cenne. Jestem tym Rosjanom, których tam spotkaliśmy, niesamowicie życzliwym, niesamowicie wdzieczny.

(GW, April 13, 2010)

Translation:

Next we went to a hotel in the center of Smoleńsk for a couple of hours. The ladies who hosted us – **simple Russian women** – were incredibly moved, warm. In this inhuman land, because that is how Katyń is seen by us, Poles, we are experiencing such **human decency, brotherhood**, and this is also incredibly valuable. To these Russians that we've met there, incredibly kind, I am incredibly grateful.

5.4.4. The Nasz Dziennik corpus

The 20 texts selected for qualitative analysis from the ND corpus were read through in search of the same analytical categories as in the case of the other corpora. The results of the analysis suggest that the texts focused predominantly on the representations of the crash itself and its political implications. The following sections outline the results of the analysis.

5.4.4.1. The victims

The nomination and referential strategies used to represent the victims in the sampled texts are visible in Example (55). Representations of the victims seemed to focus mainly on President Lech Kaczyński.

- (55) ofiary (victims);
 prezydent (the President);
 para prezydencka (the presidential couple);
 bliscy (loved ones);
 koleżanki i koledzy (colleagues);
 96 osób (96 people);
 tragicznie zmarli (tragically deceased);
 political functions;
 military ranks;
 proper names.

A concordance analysis of the entire corpus revealed that as in the case of the GW corpus the term *ofiara* understood as sacrifice also appeared. The search turned up 13 results that can be observed in Fig. 21, below.

Concordance Hits 9		
Hit	KWIC	
1	. Zreszta cały obecny Sejm poniosl krowa	ofiare na ziemi rosyjskiej. W pewnym sensie
2	, jako Narodu, uzyteczna, czy wykorzystamy te	ofiare zlozona na oltarzu wczesniejszych ofiar? Cz
3	, ze sam prezydent Kaczynski poniosl taka	ofiare, to faktycznie trzeba miec nadzieje, ze
4	powiedziec, ze Ci, ktorzy zgineli, zlozyli	ofiare dla tej sprawy? - Na pewno wszyscy
5	? - Na pewno wszyscy ci ludzie zlozyli	ofiare swego zycia. Wielu bylo na posterunku
6	ilosierdzie. Do ofiar Starego Testamentu dolaczyl	ofiare z samego Siebie. Byla to smierc
7	czy moralne - zeby im podziekowac za	ofiare zycia i oddac hold. Klaniamy sie
8	wyddobyta z mrokow klanstwa dopiero przez	ofiare zycia jego i tak wielu dobrych
9	wielu. A zatem przez cierpienie, przez	ofiare nastepuje konieczne oczyszczenie przed wejs

Fig. 21 Results of the search for ofiara with the meaning of sacrifice in the ND corpus.

A similar search for the term poległ* revealed 39 results in the entire corpus. After viewing all 39 results in their immediate context 28 of them were determined as referring to the victims of the crash in Smoleńsk.

As already mentioned, the representations seemed to focus on the President of Poland killed in the crash. In example (56) an interesting strategy of representation can

be observed. The fragment of text is a report of how the German newspaper Der Spiegel depicted President Lech Kaczyński.

- (56) “Der Spiegel” w najnowszym wydaniu pisze, że katastrofa pod Smoleńskiem uczyniła z prezydenta Lecha Kaczyńskiego “**narodową ikonę**”. Gazeta zauważa, że przed śmiercią był on przez wiele polskich mediów przedstawiany jako “polityk uparty i nieodnoszący sukcesów”. Niemcy podkreślają jednak, że **sytuacja ta uległa diametralnej zmianie po jego śmierci**.

(ND, April 19, 2010)

Translation:

“Der Spiegel” in the newest issue writes that the catastrophe near Smoleńsk transformed President Lech Kaczyński into “**a national icon**”. The newspaper thinks that prior to his death he was depicted by **many Polish media** as “a stubborn and unsuccessful politician”. The Germans emphasize, however, that **the situation changed radically after his death**.

The excerpt seems interesting for several reasons. Firstly, the framing strategy of reporting and reference to a reputable German newspaper seem to aim at constructing the appearance of objectivity. The source cited is external and therefore seemingly neutral. The opinion of the German newspaper is contrasted with that of *many Polish media*. The adjective many seems to be used in its exclusive sense and refer to media outlets other than *Nasz Dziennik* itself. A similar example can be found in (57). The fragment was taken from a text reporting a Russian journalist from the *Moscow Times* speculating about the involvement of the Russian and Polish Prime Ministers communicating in secrecy from President Lech Kaczyński.

- (57) **Dziennikarka stwierdza**, że wobec tego informacje o **gęstej mgle** mogły być odebrane przez Lecha Kaczyńskiego, jako próba politycznego fortelu z inspiracji Kremla mająca na celu uniemożliwienie mu wzięcia udziału w ceremonii. **Jak zaznacza Łatynina, sprawa nie jest jednoznaczna**.

(ND, April 16, 2010)

Translation:

The journalist claims that as a result, the information about the **heavy fog** could have been interpreted by Lech Kaczyński as an attempt as a political ruse aimed at making it impossible for him to participate in the ceremony. As **Łatynina emphasizes the case is ambiguous.**

President Lech Kaczyński appears to be represented as an object of political intrigues, although this representation is discursively constructed using the strategy of quotation and citation of external news sources - the text itself reports on rather than states or directly poses opinions.

5.4.4.2. The event – representing the Smoleńsk crash as a collective trauma

The nature of the event seems to be the focus of most texts selected for analysis. Nomination and referential strategies used in order to label the events in Smoleńsk in the sampled texts are listed in (58). The event seemed to be consistently labeled within the texts as a tragedy and a catastrophe. The tragedy is being evaluated as *the biggest in the post-war history* of the country. The use of the adverbial in the Katyń Forest with the two initial letters in capitals suggests a direct reference to the Katyń Forest massacre as the expression Katyń Forest is usually associated with the past trauma. What is more, the phrase was used a total of three times within the sample texts, all three times with the initial letters in capitals. An additional concordance analysis of the entire corpus revealed that all instances of the use of the collocation were spelled using two initial letters in capitals.

Example (59) presents the ways that the place of the crash were referred to in the sample texts. The use of the collocation *las smoleński (Smolensk forest)* appears interesting, as it seems analogous to *Katyń Forest*. Lastly, the phrase *sacrifice of life in the name of the Motherland* seems to imply that the lives lost in Smoleńsk on April 10, 2010 were intentional sacrifices in the name of the country. An intertextual link to the martyrological tradition in depicting Polish history may be implied here. Direct reference to Polish martyrology was also noted in the sample texts themselves, as exemplified in (60). A possible implication of such reference in the representation of the victims of the crash is to construct them as synonymous with the heroes, who actively and intentionally contributed to the fight for the nation.

The representations of the event discussed above may suggest that the argumentative strategy of representing the Smoleńsk crash and the Katyń massacre as parallel identified in the GW corpus was also present in the ND corpus. However, the mapping of the source domain onto the target one appears not to be contested in the texts. A search for the analogous terms as in the case of the GW corpus revealed that in ND the collocation drug* Katyń* (second Katyń) occurred with a frequency of only 2 in the entire corpus. However, a search for Katyń* revealed brought 1020 hits, while the search for Smoleńsk* resulted in 951 results. Hence, in a specialized corpus focused on texts related to the crash in Smoleńsk the word Katyń and its derivatives appeared with a higher frequency than Smoleńsk and its derivatives. In comparison to the results of the same search in GW, Katyń* appeared with a frequency of 2.1 per 1000 words in GW and 3.1 per 1000 words in ND while Smoleńsk* appeared with a frequency of 3.8 per 1000 words in GW and 2.9 per 1000 words in ND. These results are surprising, as they suggest that in a specialized corpus focusing on the Smoleńsk crash gathered from ND the theme of Katyń was used more extensively in order to represent the plane crash than in an equivalent corpus gathered from GW.

- (58) tragedia smoleńska (Smoleńsk tragedy);
tragedie ze Smoleńska (tragedies from Smoleńsk);
największa tragedia w powojennej historii Polski (the biggest tragedy in the post-war history of Poland);
katastrofa pod Smoleńskiem (crash near Smoleńsk);
katastrofa lotnicza (aircraft crash);
katastrofa na lotnisku Siewiernyj pod Smoleńskiem (crash at the Siewiernyj airfield near Smoleńsk);
katastrofa prezydenckiego samolotu Tu154 (crash of the presidential plane Tu154)
katastrofa Tu154 (Tu154 crash);
katastrofa w Lesie Katyńskim (crash in the Katyń Forest);
ofiara życia w imię służby Ojczyźnie (sacrifice of life in the service of the Motherland).
- (59) Smoleńsk;
las smoleński (Smoleńsk forest);

Las Katyński (Katyń Forest);

lotnisko Siewiernyj pod Smoleńskiem (the Siewiernyj airfield near Smoleńsk).

- (60) W Smoleńsku zginęli generałowie, najwyżsi przedstawiciele armii, którzy pragnęli pochylić głowy nad mogiłami oficerów pomordowanych w Katyniu przez stalinowski reżim. Ksiądz abp Józef Kowalczyk, nuncjusz apostolski w Polsce, który przewodniczył Mszy św., we wprowadzeniu powiedział o tragicznie zmarłych, że **ich śmierć wpisuje się w martyrologię tych, którzy oddali swe życie w imię prawdy, wolności, obrony godności każdego człowieka.**

(ND, April 12, 2010)

Translation:

In Smoleńsk generals died, the most prominent representatives of the army who wanted to bow their heads before the graves of officers murdered in Katyń by Stalin's regime. Father archbishop Józef Kowalczyk, an Apostolic nuncio in Poland, who presided over the holy mass said in the introduction about the tragically deceased that **their death fits in with the martyrology of those, who gave their lives in the name of truth, freedom, protection of the dignity of every human.**

5.4.4.3. Political implications

The argumentative strategy comparing the Smoleńsk crash and the Katyń massacre seems to remain uncontested in the sampled texts. Although the category of the perpetrator seems to be absent from the sampled texts, the portrayal of the Russian government appears to position Russia as an uncooperative party on the political arena, rather than an ally.

Firstly, a reoccurring theme of Russia failing to deliver documents and evidence necessary for the Polish investigation of the crash was noted among the sampled texts. An example of this type of representation is visible in Example (61) where repeated

negation is used in reference to the materials produced by the Russian side of the investigation. The repeated use of the adverbial of time *yet* appears to emphasize that lack of cooperation was a tendency, rather than a single occurrence.

(61) **Nie ma jeszcze** dokumentacji, która została wytworzona w Rosji **przez tamtejszą prokuraturę, nie ma** ekspertyz komisji ds. wypadków lotniczych w **Rosji**, a to są materiały, które powinny być gromadzone przez polską prokuraturę. Do Polski **nie dotarły** prawdopodobnie **jeszcze** żadne materiały.

(ND, May 19, 2010)

Translation:

There is yet no documentation that has been produced in Russia by the local prosecutor's office, there are no expert reports from the committee of aircraft accidents in Russia and these are materials that should be collected by the Polish prosecutor's office. Probably no materials have as **yet** reached Poland.

Russia seems to be represented predominantly as uncooperative and having their own undisclosed political interests in the Smoleńsk investigation, as can be observed in Example (62). The use of the adjective *convenient* may suggest that rather than prioritizing the truth in the investigation, the Russian side may be more preoccupied with an outcome that it deems more desirable.

(62) W ocenie lotników, obarczenie odpowiedzialnością załogi, której członkowie także ponieśli śmierć w katastrofie i nie mogą się obronić, jest najprostszym, ale równocześnie niedopuszczalnym rozwiązaniem - **wygodnym także dla strony rosyjskiej**.

(ND, May 13, 2010)

Translation:

According to the pilots, imposing responsibility on the crew who's members also suffered death in the crash and cannot defend themselves, is the easiest but at the same time unacceptable solution – **convenient also for the Russian side**.

Moreover, the Polish government also seems to be depicted in a similar manner to the Russian, as insincere and motivated by own interests. The excerpt in (63) refers to the reply of Polish Attorney General Andrzej Seremet to the delays in delivery of the materials crucial for the Polish investigation of the crash. The preposition *despite* used at the beginning of the subordinate clause and the use of the verb *considers* establish contrast between two depictions of one situation. The critique of Seremet's opinion by ND is further emphasized by the inverted commas used with the positive evaluative adverb “perfectly”.

(63) **Pomimo** jednak tych opóźnień Seremet **uważa**, że współpraca z prokuratorami rosyjskimi przebiega “**doskonale**”.

(ND, May 7, 2010)

Translation:

Despite these delays Seremet **considers** the cooperation with the Russian attorneys to be going “**perfectly**”.

Another example of representing the Polish government as motivated by its own agenda is exemplified in Example (64), where an employee at the Presidential Office of Lech Kaczyński expresses concern towards the actions of the Government lead by the opposing party in filling the voids in the political structures of the state caused by the crash.

(64) - Przeżyliśmy wielką tragedię, a odnieśliśmy, **my, pracownicy w Kancelarii Prezydenta Lecha Kaczyńskiego**, takie wrażenie, że ta tragedia stała się **sposobnością do tego, aby w bardzo szybkim tempie zająć** te opróżnione w ten tragiczny sposób **stanowiska** - mówił Sasin.

(ND, 27 April, 2010)

Translation:

- We have experienced a great tragedy, but **we, the employees at the President Office of Lech Kaczynski**, have felt that this tragedy became **an opportunity to quickly fill** those **positions** released in such tragic was – said Sasin.

5.5. Conclusions to the discussion

Both the quantitative text network analysis and the qualitative DHA analysis supplemented with elements of ad hoc corpus analysis revealed the following. The terrorist attacks of 9/11 were represented in the NYT corpus as devastating to the city of New York and its inhabitants; it was depicted as a blow to the very core of the city. The traumatic character of the attacks was constructed in discourse through depictions of how the attacks affected the city and its inhabitants. The metonymic use of the space of lower Manhattan as synonymous to the trauma of the attacks seems to represent the void that the event left in the city's tissue – the events that occurred “down there” devoured the twin towers and covered the area in dust and debris. What would be soon know as Ground 0 was represented as a void that consumed the lives of rescue officers, people of New York, passengers on board of the hijacked planes. The void created in the very heart of the city landscape can be seen as an unhealed wound preventing the city from finding closure. The depictions of personal belongings of those who died put in lieu of coffins during memorial services further deepen the sense of loss. The lack of bodies to put to rest seems to represent the indelibility of the trauma, the lingering uncertainty of what happened to the people who disappeared in underneath the debris of the fallen towers. This observation seems to resonate with Edkins (2012), who theorized this observation in terms of the topos of missing bodies.

The victims and extended victims of the attacks on September 11, 2001 were the focus in the representations of the collective trauma of 9/11 in the New York Times. The depictions of those who perished in the fallen towers published during the initial stages of coping seemed more than listing victims – these appeared as these people's personalized portrayals. The discourse found in the New York Times hence constructs an image of 9/11 as a collective trauma as both destructive to the city landscape and to the living tissue of the city. The publication of portraits of those who died in the collapse of the towers under a special headline “Portraits of Grief” and their later publication in a book form further supports this observation. Although “Portraits of Grief” were excluded from the corpus on the grounds of not being part of the general news section, the discursive representations in the texts included in the corpus also focused on emphasizing the human aspect of the tragedy.

However, unlike Edkins I do not regard the victims of the attacks as represented in the *New York Times* as *homi sacri*, as such a representation would suggest a strong politicization of this discourse. The collective trauma of the attacks of September 11, 2001 was represented in the investigated texts as impacting the local community and removed much of political implications in the background. The focus was put on the victims rather than perpetrators, on coping with the trauma and reclaiming the city rather than pursuing those standing behind the attacks. Thus the representation of trauma in the analysed material was not strategically used to legitimize the political decisions of the national government, but rather to facilitate the healing process of the local community.

The representations observed in the *Wall Street Journal* differed significantly from the perspective taken by the *New York Times*. Much of these differences are due to the profile of the newspaper. The *Wall Street Journal*, although like *New York Times* is based in the New York City, is a newspaper focused on economic issues. Hence, the representations of the events of 9/11 were more concerned with the impact of the attacks on business and economy, rather than on the city itself. The representation of the victims and survivors of the attacks were told from the perspective of the companies they worked for. This approach to depicting the victims as usually people unaccounted for may appear as more objectifying, than people missing or dead. The objectification of the victims and the introduction of war rhetorics during the first 8 weeks following the attacks appears as more in resonance with the Edkins's claim that the victims of 9/11 were quickly incorporated into the political narrative of War on Terror.

Edkins argues, that the government of the US jumped to commemoration as soon as possible in order to politicize the tragedy and claim the victims as sacrifice for the state, a sacrifice that, nevertheless, did not end violence, but served as an excuse to take political and military action. Perhaps the disparity in perspectives taken by the two newspapers analyzed in the present work can be illustrative to Edkins's argument. As the *New York Times* focused on the wounded city, the *Wall Street Journal* shifted attention towards the political consequences of the attacks. While the *New York Times* seemed to continued to foreground efforts in searching for missing bodies in the debris of the towers, the *Wall Street Journal* reported on the progress in searching for the parties responsible for the attacks. The perspective observed in the texts taken from the *Wall Street Journal* appears to be political, concentrating on the President as the figure

guiding the reaction of the state to the events of 9/11. The construction of the attacks as a collective trauma in the *Wall Street Journal* was performed at the national level and emphasize the immense violence intentionally inflicted on the US, as a nation rather than merely on the City of New York. The politicization of discourse seems stronger in the *Wall Street Journal*, as if grounding discourse legitimizing what would soon be the leading agenda of President George W. Bush and the basis of America's foreign policy – the War on Terror. Whether the focus on political implications of the attacks of 9/11 can be attributed solely to *Wall Street Journal's* thematic profile, or whether it can also be explained by the conservative political orientation of the journal remains unclear. The analyzed texts gathered from the *Wall Street Journal* appear to neither criticize nor openly support the political route of President George W. Bush. The more extensive coverage of the consequences of the attacks for subsequent actions in US politics as compared to the *New York Times*, however, may suggest that the perspective taken by the *Wall Street Journal* may indeed be motivated politically, while the focus of discursive representations of 9/11 as a trauma to the local community found in the *New York Times* appear to show little politicization and a focus on human dimension.

The politicization of the representations of the collective trauma seems more evident in the case of representations of the TU-154M Presidential aircraft crash in Smoleńsk. The two analyzed corpora were gathered from two newspapers associated with the two opposing sides of the political spectrum in Poland. *Gazeta Wyborcza* is usually seen as supportive of the Civic Platform, who's representative served as Prime Minister at the time of the crash. *Nasz Dziennik*, on the other hand, is usually seen as supportive of Law and Justice and the late President Lech Kaczyński. The perspectives in representing the crash observed in both titles viewed in this context appear to reflect these political sympathies.

The representations of the Smoleńsk crash found in the texts gathered from *Gazeta Wyborcza* seem to both emphasize the significance of Katyń as a place of unhealed trauma for Poland and the symbolism of the 2010 crash. The forests surrounding Katyń were referred to as cursed by the past trauma, but the perspective does not seem to focus on the past murders. Rather, the crash appears to be an opportunity to move forward towards closure. While the grieving process following the death of President Lech Kaczyński and the Polish delegation can be seen as marked by the never fully processed collective trauma of Katyń, the Katyń massacre does not

overshadow the present tragedy and does not map its implications onto the crash. What the texts seem to represent is not a Second Katyń, but second tragedy in Katyń, much different in nature and political implications. The texts appear to construct an image of a shift in Polish-Russian relations, as Russia joins Poland in mourning.

The perspective seems to be future oriented, as noted by Galbright (2014: 44) in her general observations of the prevailing perspectives on the Smoleńsk crash. The analysis of the *Gazeta Woborcza* corpus seems to support that claim, as Russian involvement in the investigation concerning the causes of the accident and the discussion of the Katyń Forest massacre is represented as open and cooperative. In the historical contexts of the decades of silence surrounding the Katyń Forest massacre the impression of openness of Russian government constructed in the discourse of *Gazeta Wyborcza* could be interpreted as countering the past perspective focused on the suppression of the truth concerning the murders of Polish officers. The way in which the crash in Smoleńsk was represented in *Gazeta Wyborcza* could hence be interpreted as an opportunity to de-traumatize Katyń through an open dialogue of that present trauma of Smoleńsk. The airing of Andrzej Wajda's film *Katyń* in the prime time of one of Russia's biggest television stations or mentions of discussions concerning the Katyń Forest massacre in both Russian and international public discourse can further add to the sense of working through the repressed collective trauma of Katyń through the construction and mitigation of a new collective trauma – that of the crash in Smoleńsk. The attribution of traumatic status to the plane crash in Smoleńsk can therefore be seen as constructed not only through the expression of profound loss of prominent representatives of the public sphere, but also through the emphasis on the political impact of the event viewed in historical context. The shift to working through the Katyń trauma through coming to terms with the crash in Smoleńsk seems to have gone through a process of symbolic representation in the national mythology of the Polish nation, but not without contestation. In a rather bold interpretation, I shall state that the symbolic process of representing the victims of the plane crash as martyrs that sacrificed their lives in the name of the Motherland may indeed resonate with the concept of sacred life. The attribution of the martyrological status to the political figures who perished in the crash may indeed be a symbolic last sacrifice ending the cycle of violence associated with Katyń, and bringing redemption and closure. The consistent emphasis on the

metaphoric nature of that attribution may be seen as further accentuating its symbolic dimension and through this its healing power.

The future-oriented perspective that seems to emerge from the texts gathered from *Gazeta Wyborcza* contrasts with that observed in *Nasz Dziennik*. The representations of the tragedy in Smoleńsk in the texts gathered from the conservative *Nasz Dziennik* appear to narrate a different story of the crash. What appears to be the most striking difference in the representations in comparison to *Gazeta Wyborcza* are the parallels drawn between the new and the past traumas, as well as the representation of both Polish and Russian governments as secretive and driven by their own political agendas. A parallel with the unhealed collective trauma of the Katyń Forest was found not only on the more explicit level of drawing comparisons between the two events and discussions of the Katyń trauma emerging in the discourse on the crash. The tragedy is often referred to as the Katyń crash, or the tragedy in the Katyń Forest, a phrasing that can be interpreted as a repetition, rather than a novel event. The conceptual merging of the two events through discursive representation may be seen as potentially mapping the characteristics of one onto the other. Hence, in contrast to the representations found in the corpus gathered from *Gazeta Wyborcza*, the narration that seems to emerge from the texts in *Nasz Dziennik* is that of a repetition and aggravation of the past trauma, rather than a step towards closure. Hence, the discursive construction of the Smoleńsk crash as a collective trauma seems unfold through a re-attribution of the traumatic status of the Katyń Forest massacre to the tragedy in Smoleńsk.

What is more, I shall argue that the political polarization in the representations of the Smoleńsk crash as a collective trauma is most notable in the discursive delegitimization of the authority of Polish governmental officials in the 8 weeks following the event. After the tragic death of President Lech Kaczyński, the narration that emerges from the texts published in *Nasz Dziennik* doubts the cooperation of the Russian authorities in the Smoleńsk crash investigation, which may be seen as a continuation of the policy of secrecy and denial in reference to the Katyń Forest massacre. The Polish officials remaining in political opposition to the late President, including the Prime Minister at the time – Donald Tusk – are consistently represented as intentionally blind to the actions of the Russian investigators deemed by *Nasz Dziennik* as suspicious. Many of those who perished in the TU-154M crash, including President Lech Kaczyński, were representatives of Law and Justice, leaving the Polish

government structures dominated by members of its opposing party, the Civic Platform. The narration that seems to emerge from the texts gathered from *Nasz Dziennik* is that of a hostile takeover of the state by the political opposition, hasty and secretive. Gestures portrayed in *Gazeta Wyborcza* as expressions of grief and compassion in *Nasz Dziennik* seem to be subjected to doubt and suspected of ulterior motives.

Comparing the two processes of discursive construction of collective trauma, the prevailing perspective observed in the *Gazeta Wyborcza* corpus seems to focus on de-traumatizing Katyń by means of working through the trauma of Smoleńsk. The perspective observed in the *Nasz Dziennik* corpus represents the crash not as a turning point in Polish-Russian relations and an opportunity to heal the old wound, but rather as reliving the past trauma rendering closure impossible. What seems to emerge in lieu of a sense of cooperation promoting coping is a political struggle to exploit the tragedy, rather than investigate its causes.

In conclusion, the analysis of the texts gathered in order to investigate the discursive construction of collective trauma and its political uses in media discourse revealed several ways in which the same events were represented in media discourse. Both the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 and the TU-154M aircraft crash in Smoleńsk on April 10, 2010 were constructed in discourse as collective traumas using different discursive strategies and by applying different perspectives. In the case of the attacks of 9/11 the political use of representations of the event can be seen through the way the events were attributed traumatic status in discourse. This can be observed in the corpus gathered from the *Wall Street Journal*, as the construction of the events of 9/11 as a national trauma, an attack on the state, its citizens and the values that constitute the very core of American society and therefore subsequent political involvement in an international crusade against terrorism seems to be legitimized. The political motivation behind the way in which events are constructed as collective trauma seems most evident in the texts portraying the TU-154M crash in Smoleńsk. Two perspectives, one future-oriented, focusing on de-traumatizing the past event through coping with a contemporary tragedy, the other past-oriented, constructing the contemporary trauma in terms of the unhealable trauma. These two conflicting representations can be clearly attributed to the newspapers' political sympathies. Such an interpretation of the political motivation of the differences in the way events are

represented and discursively constructed as a collective trauma would not be possible without viewing them in a broader historical and political context.

Conclusion

Events that tear through entire collectivities of people are a force to be reckoned with. Such events have the potential to disrupt the status quo, to legitimize or de-legitimize those in power, to empower or disempower the common crowd, to unite or to divide societies. However, that force with does not inherently come from the tragic, or abrupt, or brutal nature of the event in itself. It is a force that is socially constructed through attribution of traumatic status. The present dissertation set out to investigate the process of representing events as collectively traumatic and posed questions concerning the political use of such representations. The present study was guided by the research questions (RQ) and hypotheses (H) visible below:

RQ1. Are elements of the trauma process differentiated by the social theory of trauma identifiable in media discourse?

RQ2. What discursive strategies were used in the construction of representations of 9/11 and the Smoleńsk crash as collective traumas?

RQ3. Can differences be found in the way the same event is represented as a collective trauma in two newspapers of opposing political orientation?

RQ4. Does the inclusion of a political-historical context into the analysis provide explanation of differences in discursive representations of 9/11 and the Smoleńsk crash as collective traumas?

H1. The discursive representations of 9/11 as a collective trauma will differ in the *New York Times* and in the *Wall Street Journal*.

H2. The discursive representations of the Smoleńsk crash as a collective trauma will differ in *Gazeta Wyborcza* and in *Nasz Dziennik*.

H3. The differences in the way that both 9/11 and the Smoleńsk crash are represented as collective trauma will mirror the political orientation of each news media outlet.

The present study explored how events are being discursively constructed as collective traumas and how these constructed representations differ depending on where we search for them. The social theory of trauma (Alexander 2004) provided the theoretical foundations operationalized through methods of DHA, making it possible to investigate the social phenomenon of trauma in media discourse. The analysis proved that the elements of the trauma process are identifiable and expressed through discursive strategies, answering the first research question (RQ1) that guided this thesis

Secondly, the analysis conducted on two sets of corpora revealed that discursive strategies of nomination, predication and argumentation were used to represent the victims, assign traumatic meaning to the event, and legitimize or delegitimize the political implications that should (and would) follow. In the case of legitimization of possible conflicts, an interesting argumentation strategy of intertextual reference to past conflicts was observed. These observations answer research question 2 (RQ2) and showcase the potential of DHA analytical categories in studies of collective trauma.

In reference to the last two research questions guiding the present thesis, two general perspectives in representing events as a collective trauma were observed in the analyzed data. In the case of the 9/11 corpora taken from the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*, a local and global perspective emerged during the analysis, respectively. The local perspective focused on the impact that the attacks had on New York and its inhabitants, while the global perspective observed in the conservative *Wall Street Journal* seemed to resonate with the agenda set by the republican president. Political use of the representations of collective trauma could therefore be interpreted as

a process of discursive legitimization of the war agenda that would soon follow. These findings confirm hypothesis H1.

In the case of the *Gazeta Wyborcza* and the *Nasz Dziennik* corpora the politicization of the representations of collective trauma were more sticking. Here, the polarization of the way the Smoleńsk crash was represented as a collective trauma was expressed in taking on a future- or past- oriented perspective. The more liberal *Gazeta Wyborcza* represented the crash as tragic, but at the same transformative for Polish-Russian relations. The collective trauma of the Smoleńsk crash was constructed as de-traumatizing the past trauma of Katyń, and seemed to resonate with the rhetoric of the Poland's Prime Minister and head of the Civic Platform. *Nasz Dziennik*, a conservative newspaper supportive of the late President Lech Kaczyński and his political affiliation, the Law and Order party, employed a past-oriented perspective. The plane crash in Smoleńsk was represented in discourse as a repetition of the tragic events in Katyń and the actions of both the Polish and Russian governments in leading the Smoleńsk investigation were de-legitimized and viewed as suspicions and secretive. These findings confirm hypothesis H2 as well as (in conjunction with the results that confirm hypothesis H1) hypothesis H3.

Viewing the results in a broad historical and political context for each of the events in question provided an insight into the differences between the ways in which these events were represented as collective traumas. The political orientation of each of the newspapers suggests support for the observed patterns of representations and provide context for further interpretation. These findings address research questions RQ3 and RQ4.

The application of both quantitative, researcher-independent methods as well as the qualitative, researcher-guided methodological framework of Discourse Historical Analysis (DHA) proved to be informative and insightful. The DHA framework made it possible to operationalize the social theory of trauma and make a systematic comparison between representations of particular elements of the trauma process. The interpretations arrived at in the analysis were guided by the quantitative results, but they could not have been as in-depth without a politically and historically sensitive qualitative analysis.

The present study has also faced some challenges and limitations. Firstly, from a technical standpoint the application of the new method of Text Network Analysis

required not only significant preprocessing of the corpora, but also significant processing time in order to generate the networks. The lemmatization process for highly inflectional languages, such as Polish, requires special attention. In the case of the present study these issues were addressed by dividing the corpora into three time periods representing three stages of collective coping. The lemmatization issue was tackled by using the PSI-Toolkit software. However, PSI-Toolkit is using a dictionary, which might be limited and not representative of the whole lexicon. Moreover, the question whether some forms should be left unlemmatized remains open for debate. However, the Text Network Analysis method is still under development in reference to using it in discourse analysis and the present study was one of the first opportunities for testing it.

Another limitation of the study was the sizes of the corpora. None of the two pairs of corpora gathered for investigation were identical in terms of word token count due to the fact that the corpora were specialized and the size of each collection of texts depended on the number of articles published by each newspaper during the allocated time period. This is a common problem with naturalistic data gathered in opportunistic corpora. However, the variation in word count should not be considered as the only measure of comparability of two specialized corpora. The texts selected through a rigorous data gathering procedure, from specific media outlets and in a strict timeframe should indeed be regarded as comparable due to their thematic focus. Variation in word count should be seen here not as a flaw, but a source of additional information – on how much attention particular media outlets pay to topics we want to investigate.

In terms of future research the current study has shown that the synergy of qualitative Discourse Historical Analysis, and quantitative methods, such as Corpus Linguistics and Text Network Analysis, can be applied in investigations of the social phenomenon of collective trauma and exploring the political backbone of the trauma process. Hence, the study points to how to bridge the gap between the social theory of trauma and methods of its exploration in discourse.

SUMMARY

The present dissertation investigates the political uses of representations of collective trauma in news media discourse. The study focuses on two events that impacted two collectivities of people – the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 in New York and the TU-154M presidential aircraft crash in Smoleńsk on April 10, 2010. The dissertation follows a critical approach to discourse analysis in investigating American and Polish news texts.

The present dissertation assumes that events are attributed traumatic status through a process of social construction. The theoretical foundations of this work are based in the social theory of trauma that sees collective trauma as socially constructed, mediated and influenced by political and historical circumstances (Alexander 2004, 2012). The present study follows Wodak i Fairclough (1997) in regarding discourse as part of social practice. Through investigating how events are discursively represented it is possible to gain insight into what these events mean to a given collectivity. In the context of collective trauma, analyzing discourse should shed light on how events regarded as traumatic are recorded in collective memory and what shapes them.

The main analytical framework applied in the study is the Discourse Historical Approach (Reisigl and Wodak 2001; Reisigl and Wodak 2009; Wodak and Krzyżanowski 2008), which is part of the Critical Discourse Analysis framework (Meyer 2001; Wodak 2001a). The choice of the discourse-historical paradigm is motivated by the need for a multilevel analysis conducted on both the micro-level of immediate linguistic context and the macro-level of the political and historical context. The qualitative analysis is further supplemented by quantitative methods of Corpus

Linguistics (Baker 2006) and a new method of Text Network Analysis (Paranyushkin 2011).

The analysis was conducted on four corpora – two English language corpora focusing on the events of 9/11 (gathered from the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*) and two Polish language corpora focusing on the Smoleńsk crash (gathered from *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Nasz Dziennik*). The analysis revealed several perspectives in representing these events as collectively traumatic. In the case of the *New York Times* a local perspective was observed, focusing on the impact of the attack on New York and its inhabitants. In contrast, in the *Wall Street Journal* a global perspective focusing on the political implications and the impact of the attacks on the US was observed. In the case of the Smoleńsk crash, a future-oriented perspective focusing on moving forward from past traumas was observed in the *Gazeta Wyborcza* corpus. In the texts gathered from *Nasz Dziennik*, a past-oriented perspective focusing on reliving the unhealed trauma of Katyń was observed. The inclusion of the broad historical and political context provided insight into the political motivation behind these differences.

The present dissertation aims at providing a systematic set of notions and theories in the field of collective trauma and shows that the Discourse Historical Approach can be successfully used for analyzing trauma as a social phenomenon. Furthermore, the study incorporates a new method of Text Network Analysis into discourse analysis. As a result, the present dissertation offers valuable development in the fields of linguistics and social studies.

STRESZCZENIE

Niniejsza dysertacja podejmuje problem politycznego użycia reprezentacji traumy zbiorowej w dyskursie medialnym. Badanie skupia się na dwóch wydarzeniach, które dotknęły dwa społeczeństwa – na atakach terrorystycznych na wieże World Trade Center w Nowym Jorku 11. września 2001 roku oraz na katastrofie prezydenckiego samolotu TU-154M w Smoleńsku 10. kwietnia 2010 roku. W dysertacji przyjęte zostało krytyczno-analityczne podejście do analizy tekstów w amerykańskiej i polskiej prasie.

W rozprawie zakładam, że poprzez konstruowanie obrazów tych wydarzeń w dyskursie nadawany jest im status traumy zbiorowej. Rozprawa bazuje na teorii traumy jako zjawiska społecznego, która zakłada, iż trauma zbiorowa jest procesem konstruowanym społecznie, negocjowanym oraz zależnym od uwarunkowań politycznych i historycznych (Alexander 2004, 2012). Przyjmuję również za Wodak i Fairclough (1997), że dyskurs jest formą praktyki społecznej, jest zjawiskiem dynamicznym, kształtowanym przez relacje społeczne. Z tego powodu badanie tego jak przedstawiane są zdarzenia pozwala na zrozumienie ich wpływu na i znaczenia dla danych społeczności. W kontekście traumy zbiorowej badanie dyskursu powinno więc pokazać, jak dane wydarzenia zapisują się w pamięci zbiorowej jako traumatyczne oraz jaki wpływ ma sytuacja polityczna na ich kształt.

Za perspektywę badawczą w niniejszej dysertacji przyjęto podejście dyskursywno-historyczne (Discourse Historical Approach – Reisigl and Wodak 2001; Reisigl and Wodak 2009; Wodak and Krzyżanowski 2008) wpisujące się ramy Krytycznej Analizy Dyskursu (Critical Discourse Analysis – Meyer 2001; Wodak 2001a). Wybór dyskursywno-historycznego podejścia badawczego uzasadniony jest potrzebą wielowymiarowej analizy badającej problem zarówno w mikro-skali na

poziomie samych tekstów, jak i w skali makro-kontekstu polityczno-historycznego. Oprócz jakościowej analizy dyskursywno-historycznej zastosowane zostały ilościowe metody badań wywodzące się z językoznawstwa korpusowego (Baker 2006) oraz nowatorska metoda analizy sieci tekstowych (Paranyushkin 2011).

Analizie poddane zostały teksty zebrane w cztery korpusy – dwa korpusy anglojęzyczne zawierające teksty skupiające się na atakach terrorystycznych z 11. września (pochodzące z *The New York Times* oraz *The Wall Street Journal*) oraz dwa korpusy zawierające polskojęzyczne teksty skupiające się na tematyce katastrofy Smoleńskiej (pochodzące z *Gazety Wyborczej* oraz *Naszego Dziennika*). W badaniu zaobserwowano szereg perspektyw w reprezentowaniu wyżej wspomnianych wydarzeń. W odniesieniu do reprezentacji wydarzeń z 11. września 2001 roku zaobserwowano przyjęcie przez *The New York Times* perspektywy lokalnej, skupiającej się na mieście Nowy Jork oraz jego mieszkańcach, podczas gdy w przypadku *The Wall Street Journal* zaobserwowano przyjęcie perspektywy globalnej, zorientowanej na polityczne skutki ataków oraz ich wpływ na Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki. W kontekście katastrofy Smoleńskiej w analizie tekstów z *Gazety Wyborczej* zaobserwowano perspektywę zorientowaną ku przyszłości oraz przepracowaniu traumy katyńskiej, podczas gdy w tekstach pochodzących z *Naszego Dziennika* zaobserwowano przyjęcie perspektywy zorientowanej na przeszłość naznaczoną boleśnie przez niezabliźnioną traumę katyńską. Analiza kontekstu politycznego oraz historycznego pozwoliła wyjaśnić zaobserwowane różnice w reprezentacjach poprzez uwarunkowania polityczne.

Niniejsza dysertacja podejmuje próbę usystematyzowania pojęć oraz teorii z zakresu traumy zbiorowej oraz pokazuje, iż dyskursywno-historyczne podejście do analizy dyskursu stanowi wartościowe narzędzie w badaniu tego zjawiska. Ponadto, w badaniu zastosowano nowatorską metodę analizy sieci tekstowych, metody niestosowanej do tej pory szeroko w badaniach językowych. W związku z tym praca ta wnosi nowe odkrycia do dziedziny językoznawstwa oraz nauk społecznych.

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Appendix A

(1) Articles selected for qualitative analysis from the *New York Times* corpus:

“A snapshot gives Bush 90% approval”, *New York Times*, 24 September 2001.

“Heroes amid the horror”, *New York Times*, 15 September 2001.

“The birds are on fire”, *New York Times*, 18 September 2001.

Donovan, Aaron. 2001. “Help with the bills when the future is uncertain”, *New York Times*, 21 September 2001.

Donovan, Aaron. 2001. “How to help the neediest of cases”, *New York Times*, 13 September 2001.

Flaherty, Julie. 2001. “Helping people meet eye to eye”, *New York Times*, 23 September 2001.

Fritsch, Jane. 2001. “Rescue workers rush in, and many do not return”, *New York Times*, 12 September 2001.

Gootman, Elissa. 2001. “Another series of last rites is under way”, *New York Times*, 6 October 2001.

Hartocollis, Anemona. 2001. “Board to regain use of 2 schools near Ground Zero”, *New York Times* 2 November 2001.

Lueck, Thomas J. 2001. “Tribute for firefighters will have a global reach”, *New York Times*, 31 October 2001.

Mitchell, Alison and Katharine Q. Seelye. 2001. “Horror knows no party as lawmakers huddle”, *New York Times*, 12 September 2001.

Murphy, Dean E. 2001. “39 identified in first official accounting”, *New York Times*, 16 September 2001.

Murphy, Dean E. 2001. "Honoring the rescuers", *New York Times*, 23 September 2001.

Newman, Maria. 2001. "The lessons of terrorism for a school in Jersey City", *New York Times*, 11 November 2001.

Saint Louis, Catherine. 2001. "What they were thinking", *New York Times*, 30 September 2001.

Scott, Janny. 2001. "Families and friends hoping for reassurance find frustration and anguish", *New York Times*, 12 September 2001.

Veale, Scott. 2001. "Voices from above: 'I love you, Mommy, goodbye'", *New York Times*, 16 September 2001.

Walder, Joyce. 2001. "Reports from the notebook, and from the heart", *New York Times*, 16 September 2001.

Wonh, Edward and Jane Fritsch. 2001. "Firefighters dasz into towers; Many do not return", *New York Times*, 21 September 2001.

Worth, Robert. 2001. "In Pelham, Rye and throughout the county, mourning neighbors and friends lost to terrorism", *New York Times*, 23 September 2001.

(2) Articles selected for qualitative analysis from the *Wall Street Journal* corpus:

"Credit Suisse First Boston", *Wall Street Journal*, 14 September 2001.

"Euro Brokers", *Wall Street Journal*, 18 September 2001.

"Genuity", *Wall Street Journal*, 14 September 2001.

"Julien J. Studley Real Estate", *Wall Street Journal*, 18 September 2001.

"Keefe, Bruyette & Woods", *Wall Street Journal* 14 September 2001.

"Kemper Insurance", *Wall Street Journal*, 14 September 2001.

"Sidley Austin Brown & Wood", *Wall Street Journal*, 18 September 2001.

"Tales from the inferno: How tenants of the towers fled the terrorist attacks", *Wall Street Journal*, 14 September 2001.

Aepfel, Timothy. 2001. "Investigators find black box of Flight 93, raising hopes", *Wall Street Journal*, 14 September 2001.

Bank, David. 2001. "Ford foundation promises funds to benefit families of victims", *Wall Street Journal*, 14 September 2001.

Beckett, Paul. 2001. "Money changer in UAE wired \$100,000 to hijacker through bank in Florida", *Wall Street Journal*, 26 October 2001.

- Cowan, Lynn. 2001. "Cantor Fitzgerald says WTC survivors weren't on the firm's 100-level floors", *Wall Street Journal*, 13 September 2001.
- Cummings, Jeanne and Jim Vandehei. 2001. "Bush says 'Our nation saw evil' but isn't frightened into chaos", *Wall Street Journal*, 12 September 2001.
- Greenberger, Robert S. 2001. "Tracking terrorism's reach", *Wall Street Journal*, 26 September 2001.
- Hamburger, Tom. 2001. "Insurance firms are pressing congress for antiterrorism fund", *Wall Street Journal*, 27 September 2001.
- Harris, Gardiner. 2001. "New York offers aid to families filing for a death certificate", *Wall Street Journal*, 14 September 2001.
- Jaffe, Greg. 2001. "U.S. Armed Forces are put on the highest state of alert", *Wall Street Journal*, 12 September 2001.
- Kaminski, Matthew. 2001. "NATO links Bosnia terror suspects with Bin Laden's al Qaeda network", *Wall Street Journal*, 26 October 2001.
- Power, Stephen. 2001. "FAA plans to run background checks on all airline and airport employees", *Wall Street Journal*, 18 October 2001.
- Stern, Gabriella. 2001. "Morgan Stanley has accounted for nearly all of its Trade Center workers", *Wall Street Journal*, 13 September 2001.

Appendix B

(1) Articles selected for qualitative analysis from the *Gazeta Wyborcza* corpus:

“Przy trumnie brata”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 13 April 2010.

“Tajemnica czarnych skrzynek”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 14 April 2010.

“W Sochaczewie msza zamiast meczu”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 12 April 2010.

“Z prasy Rosyjskiej”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 14 April 2010.

Bosacki, Marcin. 2010. “Smutek w Waszyngtonie”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 12 April 2010.

Czuchnowski, Wojciech and Małgorzata Skowrońska. 2010. “Gdzie spocznie Janusz Kurtyka”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 22 April 2010.

Felis, T. Paweł. “Festiwal dedykowany Andrzejowi Kremerowi”. 2010. *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 14 April 2010.

Grochola, Renata. 2010. “Prezydencka para spocznie na Wawelu”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 14 April 2010.

Grochola, Renata. 2010. “Prezydent obok Narutowicza?”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 13 April 2010.

Kobialka, Marcin, Marcin Bosacki, Leszek Baj, Renata Grochal and Judyta Watoła. 2001. “Kto dotrze na pogrzeb?”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 17 April 2010.

Pawlicki, Jacek. “jak Litwa uczciła prezydenta”. 2010. *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 14 April 2010.

Skowrońska, Małgorzata. 2010. “Biskup Krakowa o pojednaniu z Rosjanami”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 14 April 2010.

- Sobolewski, Tadeusz. 2010. "Spadek po prezydencie", *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 13 April 2010.
- Szacki, Wojciech. 2010. "Co powie prezes PiS", *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 24 April 2010.
- Warszawski, Dawid. 2010. "Misterium i gra", *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 15 April 2010.
- Watoła, Justyna. 2010. "Dlaczego identyfikacja ofiar jest tak trudna", *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 16 April 2010.
- Wojciechowski, Marcin. 2010. "Serce Rosjan i wielka szansa", *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 13 April 2010.
- Wróblewski, Bogdan. 2010. "Co ustali nasza prokuratura", *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 14 April 2010.
- Zakowski, Jacek. 2010. "Blizna zostanie na zawsze", *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 12 April 2010.

(2) Articles selected for qualitative analysis from the *Nasz Dziennik* corpus:

- "26. doba po katastrofie Tu-154M. Pytania, na które nadal nie znamy odpowiedzi", *Nasz Dziennik*, 6 May 2010.
- "Katyń "zbrodnią wojenną o charakterze ludobójstwa", *Nasz Dziennik*, 12 May 2010.
- "Lech Kaczyński to narodowa ikona", *Nasz Dziennik*, 19 April 2010.
- "Miesiąc po katastrofie", *Nasz Dziennik*, 7 May 2010.
- "Otrzymaliśmy", *Nasz Dziennik*, 14 April 2010.
- Austyn, Marcin. 2010. "Dlaczego marszałek tak się spieszył", *Nasz Dziennik*, 27 April 2010.
- Austyn, Marcin. 2010. "Podpuszczanie załogi to bajka", *Nasz Dziennik*, 13 May 2010.
- Baranowski, Zenon. 2010. "Chcą patrzeć śledczym na ręce", *Nasz Dziennik*, 4 May 2010.
- Baranowski, Zenon. 2010. "Nie wiadomo, czy Polska otrzyma chociaż kopie czarnych skrzynek", *Nasz Dziennik*, 26 May 2010.
- Baranowski, Zenon. 2010. "Pełnomocnicy muszą poczekać dwa tygodnie", *Nasz Dziennik*, 14 April 2010.
- Baranowski, Zenon. 2010. "Seremet ustali harmonogram", *Nasz Dziennik*, 5 May 2010.
- Dytkowski, Jacek. 2010. "Borusewicz dopuści do debaty?", *Nasz Dziennik*, 15-16 May 2010.
- Dytkowski, Jacek. 2010. "Materiał jest porażający", *Nasz Dziennik*, 13 May 2010.

- Dytkowski, Jacek. 2010. "Oddamy Rosji rejestratory z Jaka-40?", *Nasz Dziennik*, 22-23 May 2010.
- Jędrzejczyk, Małgorzata. 2010. "Ordynariat w żałobie", *Nasz Dziennik*, 12 April 2010.
- Kowalski, Artur. 2010. "Wszyscy czekają na decyzję Kaczyńskiego", *Nasz Dziennik*, 20 April 2010.
- Sianozecki, Łukasz. 2010. "Przed przylotem prezydenta usunięto sprzęt nawigacyjny?", *Nasz Dziennik*, 16 April 2010.
- Tunia, Paweł. 2010. "Rodziny czekają na dostęp do akt", *Nasz Dziennik*, 19 May 2010.
- Tunia, Paweł. 2010. "Seremet nie powiedział nic nowego" *Nasz Dziennik*, 23 April 2010.
- Ziarnik, Marta. 2010. "Obietnica za obietnicą", *Nasz Dziennik*, 7 May 2010.