Images of Austerity in the British Press and in Online Media

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Abstract

Using a mixed methods approach, this chapter examines how images function in collaboration with linguistic text to construct the notion of austerity in two British newspapers from the Multimodal Multimedia Austerity Corpus. The approach involves categorising 301 images from *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* newspapers (1 January 2010 – 31 December 2016) into distinct image types (e.g. peaceful protest groups, violent acts, poverty) and classifying the different types of texts in which these images appear (e.g. business/financial news, main news articles, comments and opinion pieces). To facilitate the analysis, the Multimodal Visualisation App (O'Halloran et al. 2017) is used to explore the distribution of different image types across the two newspapers, and the relations between the image categories and the article types in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*. We also explore the visual-verbal relations established between images, captions and article headlines, and where these photographs appear in online media sites, both before and after their publication in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* newspapers. Interpreted from a social semiotic perspective, the results permit us to make informed observations about the functions of the image-article combinations in the Austerity Corpus and how these images are used to reinforce these views in online media platforms over time.

1. Introduction

Austerity has become a buzzword in the context of the so-called European debt crisis that has been a particular political, economic and social challenge over several years, from 2009 onwards. From 2010 on, several austerity measures were put into action with the aim of reducing government budget deficits with severe implications for many EU countries, most prominently in Greece but also in Estonia, Ireland, Spain, Portugal and the UK. As discussed in the introduction of this book, austerity is a complex issue. It is not only about cutting expenses on a macroeconomic level and reducing fiscal debts. Rather, austerity needs to be

understood as a social phenomenon that has implications on many spheres of life, including - of course – politics and economics, but also social (in)equality, health, and everyday life in general (e.g., see Bhattacharyya 2015; Prothero and McDonagh 2014).

Images, and photographs in particular, have always been important components of journalistic coverage. The journalistic image is, in fact, "a crucial resource for the symbolic definition of world events" (Chouliaraki 2009, 520) with particular impact on attitudes and public opinion (e.g., Brantner, Lobinger, and Wetzstein 2011; Messaris and Abraham 2001; Powell et al. 2015; Zelizer 2005). Photographs are perceived very quickly; they create attention for a news piece (Garcia and Stark 1991) and the audience often views them to be authentic and true to reality (Tirohl 2000). Moreover, images have a particular potential to represent and elicit emotions (Müller and Kappas 2010), with important consequences for information processing (Powell et al. 2015). Regarding the journalistic coverage of social problems and crisis, images are also essential for creating visibility and recognition. They are important elements in the struggles for visibility and meaning (Doerr, Mattoni, and Teune 2013; Kalantzis 2016; Neumayer and Rossi 2018), particularly for different actors and individuals. At the same time, visibility achieved through images is not necessarily something positive and desirable. In fact, images can also be used to stigmatize or to expose vulnerable individuals and groups or exercise surveillance and control. It is, hence, very important to carefully consider and examine the visuals used in the coverage of social struggles, as is the case in the austerity crisis.

So far, research on the coverage of austerity and anti-austerity has mostly focused on verbal messages (e.g., Basu 2019; Berry 2016; Mullen 2018) or on practices and professional values of photojournalists (Veneti, Lilleker, and Reilly 2018). In contrast, outside the news domain, visual representations of austerity have been discussed in greater detail. Prothero and McDonagh (2014), for example, have contributed a photo-essay for which they have taken photographs that visually represent austerity and its consequences in Ireland. In their essay, the researchers present photographs that show tangible consequences of austerity (e.g., ghost housing estates, failed commercial property developments, failed businesses) as well as cultural and artistic reflections on austerity (e.g., art forms depicting austerity). Further studies have focused on social media images related to protest activities following the introduction of austerity measures (e.g., Neumayer and Rossi 2018) or have reflected on the role of the visual as field of struggle on a more general level (Kalantzis 2016).

A comprehensive analysis of visual news coverage on austerity is still missing. This paper thus seeks to give a more complete view and focuses on the images in the Multimodal

Multimedia Austerity Corpus[1] (see Griebel, Evert and Heinrich, this volume, Chapter 1). The analysis covers all austerity related visual elements that were published between 2010 and 2016 in the print versions of two national newspapers in the UK: the left-leaning *The Guardian* and the right-leaning *The Daily Telegraph*. Both are considered among the United Kingdom's leading print quality newspapers. In a first step, we examine the visual coverage of this complex socio-economic phenomenon in the two UK newspapers. This is crucial in order to understand how austerity is visually presented and constructed by these media outlets. In a second step, with the help of a reverse image search, we examine where these photographs appear in online media sites, both before and after their publication in the broadsheet version. This analysis expands the focus by going beyond the newspaper coverage. It allows us to acknowledge that pictures are increasingly 'on the move', and are being used and re-used in various online contexts that have an impact on how these images are framed and interpreted by diverse audiences.

As austerity is a complex, abstract and non-visible phenomenon, the choice of visual representations is particularly important for how austerity can be grasped and understood. Journalists can decide to either focus on the actors in involved in decision-making (e.g., politicians, economists), counter voices and protests (e.g., peaceful or violent anti-austerity protests) or on the manifold consequences and everyday implications of austerity measures (e.g. representations of poverty).

In what follows, we first outline the theoretical foundations that underpin our investigations of how image-text combinations function to construct the notion of austerity in the *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*.

2. Theoretical foundations

Our analysis of image-text combinations associated with articles related to the concept of austerity in the two British newspapers is informed by a multimodal mixed methods approach, which integrates qualitative social semiotic theory with quantitative methods of information visualisation, developed by O'Halloran and colleagues for analysing text and image relations in the context of online extremism related communications (e.g., Halloran, Tan, Wignell, and Lange 2017). Social semiotic theory is an approach which studies human signifying processes as social practices, and which is concerned with different sign systems and their integration in texts and social activities, interpreted within the context of the situation and culture (e.g., Halliday 1978; van Leeuwen 2005). The approach draws on the

fundamental principles of Halliday's social semiotic theory, most fully developed for language (e.g.; Halliday 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen 2014). In this model, culture is defined as a network of semiotic systems, that is, "a set of systems of meaning, all of which interrelate", and which "taken all together, constitute human culture" (Halliday and Hasan 1985, 4). Halliday's social semiotics is "a theory of meaning as choice, by which language, or any other any other semiotic system, is interpreted as networks of interlocking options", whereby the particular choices that are made are not to be viewed as the result of conscious decisions but rather as "a set of possible alternatives" (Halliday 1994, xiv-xxvi).

One of the major influences of Halliday's social semiotic theory is the notion that language, or any other kind of semiotic system, is structured in terms of a generic set of social functions that people use to make three types of meanings simultaneously, namely (a) *ideational* meaning, which comprises both an experiential and logical element, for construing our experience of the world, or a version thereof (*experiential* meaning), and for making logical connections in that world (*logical* meaning); (b) *interpersonal* meaning for enacting social relations and expressing attitudes; which expresses the speakers' or writers' role relationship with their audiences, their attitude towards the subject matter, and is thus relevant to the enactment of social relations; and (c) *textual* meaning for organising experiential, logical and interpersonal meanings into coherent messages.

Although Halliday's social semiotic theory was initially developed and applied to language, the multimodal social semiotic approach draws upon other theoretical perspectives and methods, such as anthropology, sociology, critical and pragmatic discourse analysis, and has since been adapted and extended to the study of multimodal texts and discourses to account for the ways in which linguistic and non-linguistic resources combine and interact in communicating meaning (e.g.; see Tan, O'Halloran, and Wignell, 2019 in press, for a detailed discussion of multimodal approaches inspired by social semiotics).

For example, Caple (2013) develops a social semiotic approach to photojournalism, suggesting that the meaning of press photographs should to be examined from three perspectives simultaneously. She argues that a social semiotic perspective allows the analyst to determine the 'what', 'who' and 'how' of the image, that is, how reality is constructed in the image, how the image enacts social relations, and how these meanings are realised in terms of the image's overall organisation, as well as in terms of the intersemiotic relations that are established between images, headings and captions (Caple 2013, 21–22).

In this chapter, the social semiotic model provides the underlying theoretical foundations for investigating the multimodal aspects of how austerity is represented through

images and image-text combinations in the *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*, building upon the social semiotic concepts from Caple (2013) in photojournalism, as well as others (e.g., Royce 2007, 2015; van Leeuwen, 2008).

3. Analysis and discussion

The data set for this study consists of 301 images from 289 multimodal articles in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* (henceforth abbreviation "GU" and "DT" respectively, where appropriate) for the period 2010 to 2016 from the Multimodal Austerity Corpus (see Griebel et al., this volume, Chapter 1, for a detailed description of the multimodal austerity corpus and selection criteria). To facilitate the analysis of the multimodal austerity dataset, we apply an adaptation of the prototype MMA Visualisation app[2], which provides several different visualisations for displaying image and article type relations, and for displaying the results of reverse image searches conducted with TinEye[3] (e.g.; see O'Halloran et al. 2017). Specifically, we explore: (a) the distribution of different image types across the two newspapers; (b) patterns of association between image types and article types in each newspaper; (c) associations between images, captions and article headlines; and (d) where images of austerity from our dataset (re)appear across different online sites over time.

3.1 Image type classification

All 301 images (GU: 150 images; DT: 151 images) were catalogued and classified according to their subject matter and context. The categorisation was based on broad motifs of the type of picture (e.g., protest images, images of poverty, images of political actors and debate), given the actions and scenes depicted in the images. Images were first grouped into superordinate categories and then subcategorised according to various distinguishing motifs, based on the various types of social actors, actions, and portrayed scenes. This resulted in four superordinate image categories and sixteen image subcategories, as displayed in Table 1. Examples of select image types are displayed in Figure 1.

Table 1. Image categories and subcategories

Image category	Image subcategory	Description of social actors, actions, and portrayed scenes in images
Protest	Protest without police, violent, mass	Large assembly of demonstrators engaged in violent acts such as burning flags. Police are not present in the image.

	Protest without police, violent, individual/small group	Individual or small group of demonstrators engaged in violent acts such as burning flags or throwing Molotov cocktails. Police are not present in the image.
	Protest without police, non-violent, mass	Large assembly of demonstrators engaged in non-violent protests, often waving flags or holding up placards. Police are not present in the image.
	Protest without police, non-violent, individual/small group	Individual or small group of demonstrators engaged in in non-violent protests, often waving flags or holding up placards. Police are not present in the image.
	Protest with police, violent, mass	Large assembly of demonstrators engaged in violent confrontations with police.
	Protest with police, violent, individual/small group	Individual or small group of demonstrators engaged in violent confrontation with police.
	Protest with police, non-violent, mass	Large assembly of demonstrators, either in stand-off with police, or police as onlookers.
	Protest with police, non-violent, individual/small group	Individual or small group of demonstrators engaged in non-violent protests, with police as onlookers, often attired in riot gear. Includes image of police only.
Political/financial	Political/financial, symbolic	Image contains elements that can be identified as representing or symbolising austerity. Includes images of material goods such as currency or bank notes, or people carrying shopping bags.
	Political/financial, portrait	Close-up portrait of an individual politician or other identifiable fiscal person.
	Political/financial, other	Groups of politicians or other fiscal bodies engaged in parliamentary or televisual debate.
	Political/financial, anti-austerity, portrait	Close-up portrait of identifiable anti-austerity activist.
	Political/financial, anti-austerity, other	Anti-austerity activists at gatherings or meetings, as well as in relation to other events.
Poverty/austerity	Poverty/austerity, person	Individuals suffering from poverty, homelessness, or hunger. Includes images of people queuing at soup kitchens or food banks.
	Poverty/austerity, other (symbolic)	Image contains elements that are symbolic of austerity. Includes images of empty cafes, shops going out of business, or graffiti-marred street fronts.
Miscellaneous	Other	Images unrelated to the context of present-day austerity.

The four superordinate images categories in our corpus are labelled 'protest', 'political/financial', 'poverty/austerity', and 'miscellaneous'. Images of 'protest' were

subcategorised based on the following criteria: (i) whether police were present in the image or not; (ii) whether the image contained violence or not; (ii) whether the image was of a mass demonstration; and (iv) whether the image was focused on an individual or a small group of individuals. This resulted in eight subcategories. Images of a 'political/financial' nature were sub-classified according to (i) whether the image was anti-austerity, or (ii) either pro or not identified as anti-austerity; (iii) whether the image was a portrait of an individual, or whether it showed two or more individuals in situ; and (iv) whether the image was not of a person or people but contained elements which allowed it to be identified as representing or symbolising austerity in one way or another. This resulted in five distinct subcategories. Images assigned to the category 'poverty/austerity', in turn, were subdivided into two distinct subcategories based on the following criteria: (i) whether the image represented austerity, either through an image of a person (or people) presented as suffering due to austerity measures; or (ii) whether the image contained an element (or elements) which are symbolic of austerity. Images which were found to be unrelated to the context of present-day austerity were assigned to superordinate image category labelled 'miscellaneous' with the subcategory 'other'.

Figure 1. Examples of select image types in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*:
(a) protest without police, non-violent, individual small group; (b) protest without police, non-violent, mass; (c) protest with police, non-violent, individual/small group; (d) political/financial, portrait; (e) political/financial, anti-austerity, portrait; (f) poverty/austerity, other (symbolic); (g) poverty/austerity, person

3.2 Image type distribution

However, our investigation shows that not all image types are equally represented in the two newspapers. Figure 2 provides an overview of the overall distribution of the superordinate image categories in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* for the years 2010 to 2016.

Figure 3 provides a breakdown of the distribution of images per subcategory for the two newspapers.
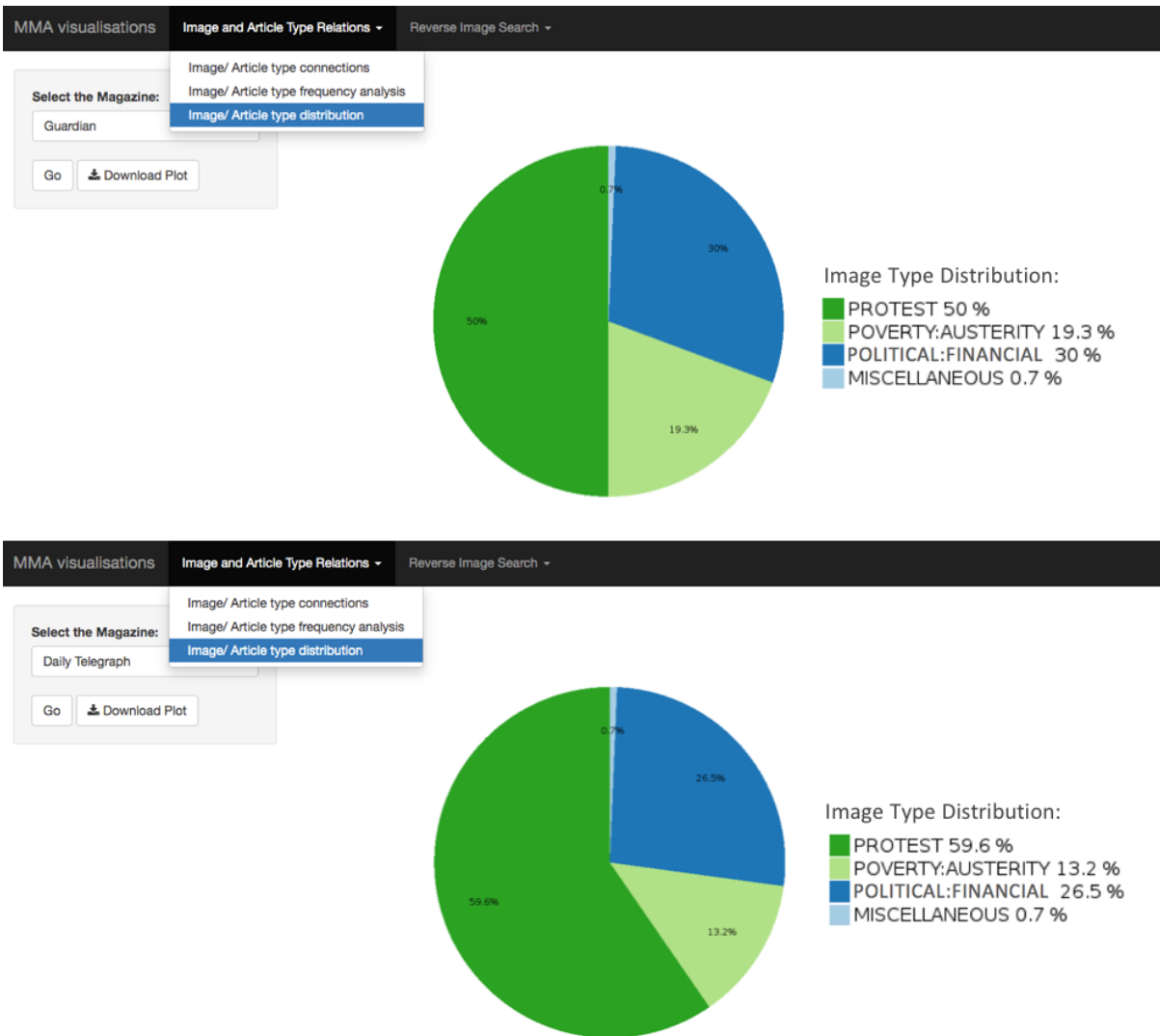
Figure 2. Distribution of image types for the period 2010-2016 for *The Guardian* (top) and *The Daily Telegraph* (bottom)

Image Type Distribution (Subcategory)

(a)
- Protest without police, violent, mass — Guardian: 0, Daily Telegraph: 1
- Protest without police, violent, individual/small group — Guardian: 5, Daily Telegraph: 5
- Protest without police, non-violent, mass — Guardian: 15, Daily Telegraph: 25
- Protest without police, non-violent, individual/small group — Guardian: 32, Daily Telegraph: 28
- Protest with police, violent, mass — Guardian: 3, Daily Telegraph: 5
- Protest with police, violent, individual/small group — Guardian: 11, Daily Telegraph: 16
- Protest with police, non-violent, mass — Guardian: 2, Daily Telegraph: 3
- Protest with police, non-violent, individual/small group — Guardian: 7, Daily Telegraph: 7

(b)
- Political/financial, symbolic — Guardian: 1, Daily Telegraph: 10
- Political/financial, portrait — Guardian: 19, Daily Telegraph: 17
- Political/financial, other — Guardian: 6, Daily Telegraph: 7
- Political/financial, anti-austerity, portrait — Guardian: 17, Daily Telegraph: 4
- Political/financial, anti-austerity, other — Guardian: 2, Daily Telegraph: 2

(c)
- Poverty/austerity, person — Guardian: 14, Daily Telegraph: 4
- Poverty/austerity, other (symbolic) — Guardian: 15, Daily Telegraph: 16

(d)
- Other — Guardian: 1, Daily Telegraph: 1
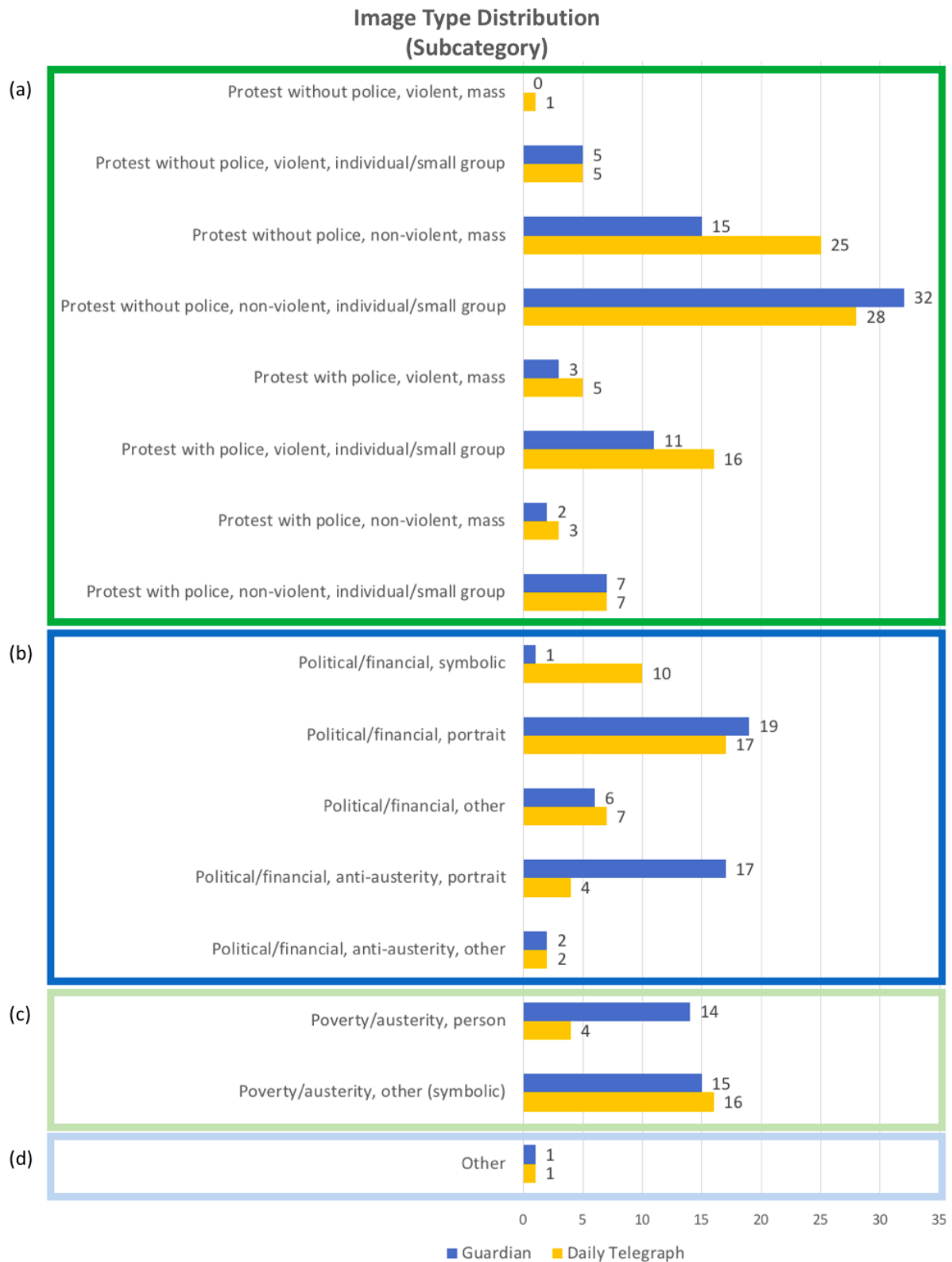
Guardian ■ Daily Telegraph ■

Figure 3. Distribution of image types per subcategory for *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*: (a) protest; (b) political/financial; (c) poverty/austerity; (d) miscellaneous

9

Images which were most prevalent in our corpus were from the superordinate category of 'protest' (GU: 50%; DT: 59.6%). For both newspapers, the majority of these images fall into the subcategory labelled 'protest without police, non-violent, individual small group' (GU: 32 images; DT: 28 images). These images, usually shot or cropped at medium distance, framing the human figure from the waist or chest up, depict either an individual or small group of people participating in non-violent demonstrations, often waving flags or holding up placards. Although the protests appear to be largely of a non-violent nature, the facial expressions and captured actions of the demonstrators (such as open mouths shouting, and fists punching the air) suggest anger and discontent, as illustrated in the examples in Figure 1(a).

The second most prevalent image type in this category (GU: 15 images; DT: 25 images), typically long shots or birds-eye views of large assemblies, was from the subcategory designated 'protest without police, non-violent, mass' (see examples in Figure 1(b)). Another type of image frequently found in both newspapers (GU: 11 images; DT: 16 images) was from the subcategory labelled 'protest with police, non-violent, individual/small group'. A notable difference for this type of image is that while the former two image types place emphasis on the protesters and demonstrators, images in the latter subcategory focus on or foreground the police (see examples in Figure 1(c)).

Other ubiquitous image types in both newspapers display themes of a 'political/financial' nature (GU: 30%; DT: 26.5%). Most images in this category (GU: 19 images; DT: 17 images) are close-up or medium close-up portraits of mainstream politicians and other fiscal persons (e.g.; see examples in Figure 1(d)). Portraits of anti-austerity activists (see example sin Figure 1(e)) were found more frequently in *The Guardian* (17 images) than in *The Daily Telegraph* (4 images).

A similar trend was observed for images assigned to the superordinate category of 'poverty/austerity'. While images which are in one way or another symbolic of austerity (e.g., see example in Figure 1(f)) featured equally frequently in both newspapers (GU: 15 images; DT: 16 images), visual representations of poverty such as homelessness (e.g., see Kalantzis 2016; Ibrahim 2018; Prothero and McDonagh 2014) were less prevalent in our corpus, although some images of individuals suffering poverty or destitution as a result of austerity measures (e.g., see examples in Figure 1(g)) do appear in *The Guardian* (14 images) and, to a lesser extent, in *The Daily Telegraph* (4 images).

The final superordinate image category labelled 'miscellaneous', with the subcategory 'others', contains only two images, one from each newspaper: a historical photograph of an

athlete from the 1948 Olympic Games (*The Guardian*), and a historical photograph in the obituary of an entertainer from the 1940s and 1950s (*The Daily Telegraph*). Both images were not considered relevant to the context of present-day austerity and thus treated as outliers.

3.3 Article types and image-article type combinations

Although news photographs can appear on their own as 'image-nuclear news stories' with an integral heading or short embedded caption (Caple 2008, 2009, 2013), newspaper articles are commonly multimodal ensembles consisting of text-image combinations. For this reason, images of austerity in our corpus are interpreted in relation to the surrounding co-text as represented by article headlines and captions. Both newspapers comprise articles with similar content (e.g. news, finance, comment, opinion). Our classifications of article types are based on the article headline, the article's content focus, and the section in which the article appeared. Table 2 contains a list of all article types identified in the two newspapers. Figure 4 shows the overall distribution of articles types found in association with images of austerity in the corpus.

Table 2. List of article types identified in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*

	Article types	Description
1.	advertisement	An advertisement.
2.	business/financial news	Typical hard news stories which appear in the business and finance sections of the newspaper.
3.	comment and features	Comment/feature article which appears in a section entitled 'Viewpoint'.
4.	comment and opinion	Comments and opinion pieces which appear in the editorial sections of the newspaper.
5.	education	Soft news article/human-interest story which appears in a section entitled 'Education News'.
6.	fashion	Soft news articles which appear in the 'Fashion' pages of the newspaper.
7.	feature article	Articles/background stories which deal in detail with a particular issue or aspect of an issue.
8.	front page	General news articles which appear on the front page of the newspaper.
9.	image-nuclear news story	Image which appears on its own with an integral headline and caption.
10.	jobs	Background story/advertorial which appears in the 'Jobs' section of the newspaper.
11.	news	General news article.
12.	news article	Hard news articles which appear in the general news sections of the newspaper. Includes both domestic and international news.

| 13. | obituaries | An obituary. |
| 14. | society | Articles which deal with social issues and which appear in the 'Society' pages of the newspaper. |
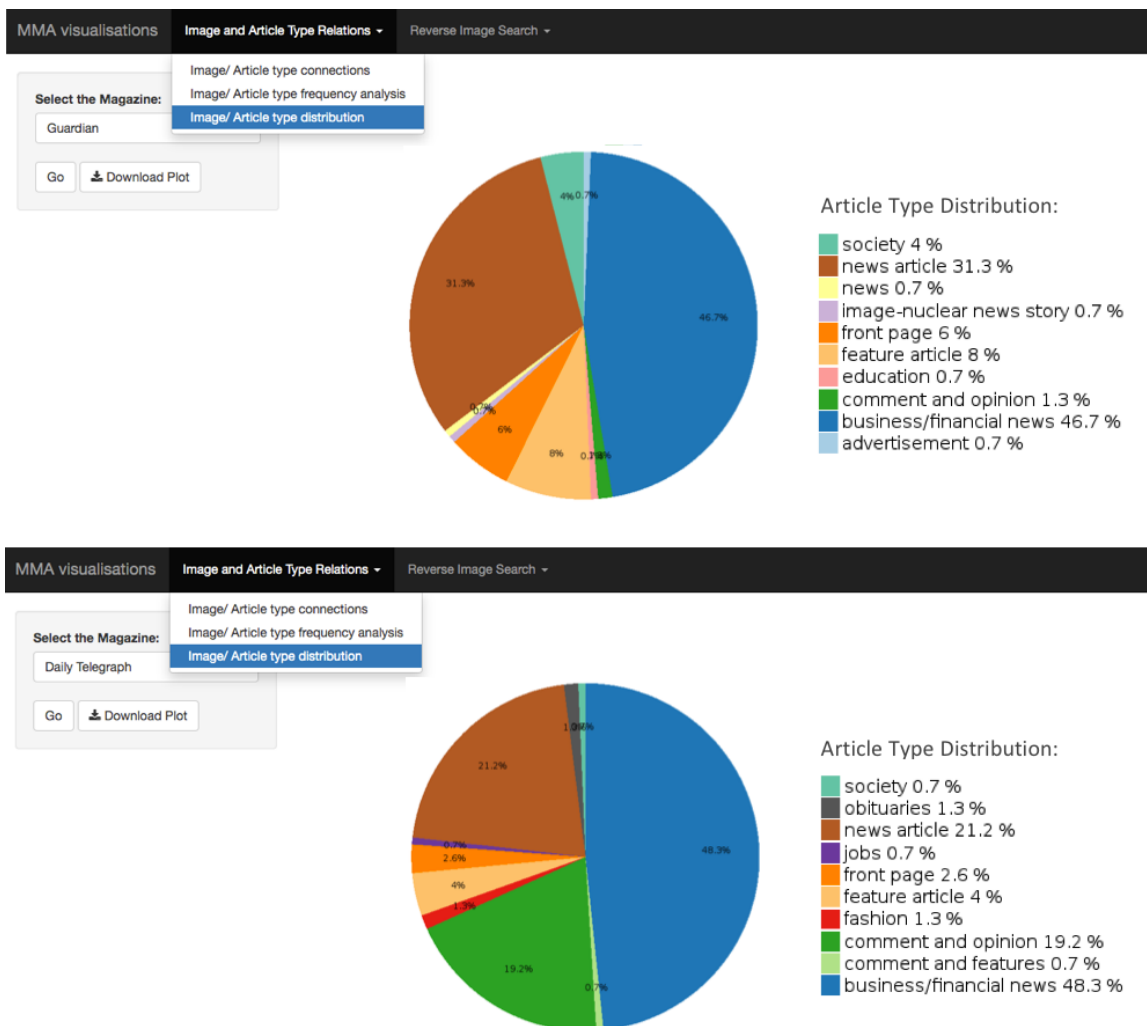
Figure 4. Distribution of articles types with images of austerity for the period 2010-2016 in *The Guardian* (top) and *The Daily Telegraph* (bottom)

Almost half of all images of austerity in our corpus are found embedded in articles in the business and finance sections of both newspapers (GU: 46.7%; DT: 48.3%). The second most prevalent article type with images of austerity is news articles (GU: 31.3%; DT: 21.2%). In *The Daily Telegraph*, images of austerity are also frequently found in combination with comment and opinion pieces (19.2%). Figure 5 provides an overview of image-article type combinations.
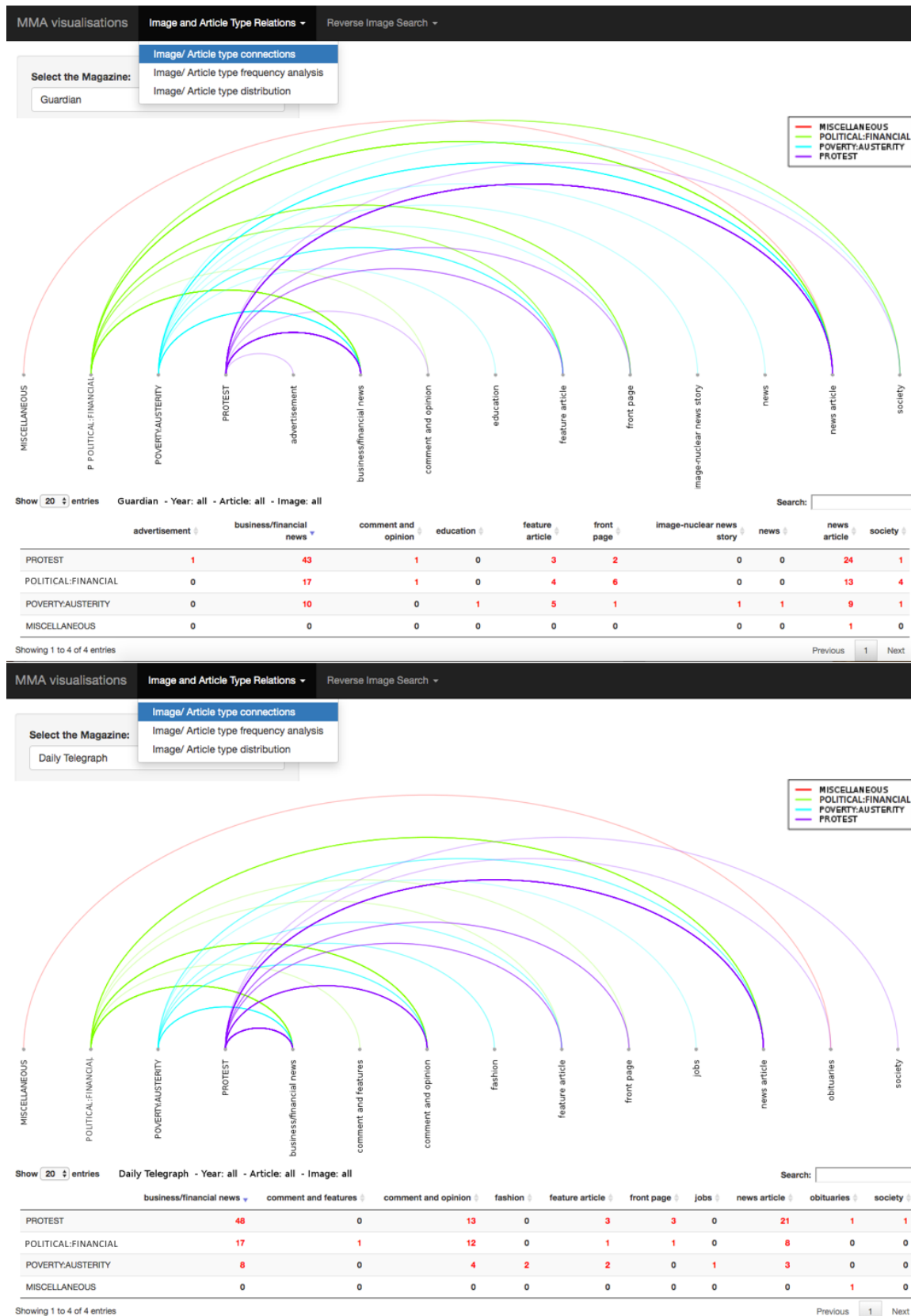
Figure 5. Image-article type combinations – *The Guardian* **(top),** *The Daily Telegraph* **(bottom)**

As illustrated in Figure 5, images of protest are most prevalent in our corpus. Typically, they are found in combination with business/finance news (GU: 43 images; DT: 48 images), news articles (GU: 24 images; DT: 21 images), and comment and opinion pieces (DT: 13 images). Similar patterns hold for images of a political/financial nature, which are likewise found most frequently in combination with business/financial news (GU and DT: 17 images each), news articles (GU: 13 images; DT: 8 images), and comment and opinion pieces (DT: 12 articles).

Although in total ten article types each were identified for each newspaper, our discussion below focuses only on the most predominant image-article type combinations in the corpus. Specifically, we examine how meanings of austerity are constructed through image-text relations for (a) images of non-violent protest without police presence; (b) images of violent protest with police presence; (c) images of a political/financial kind; and (d) images of poverty/austerity, found in combination with business/financial news, news articles and comment and opinion pieces.

3.4 Associations between images, captions and article headlines

As the French philosopher and semiotician Roland Barthes (1977, 39) has argued, the meaning of images on their own is too 'polysemous' and open to a variety of possible meanings. He believed that the meaning of images 'is always related to and, in a sense, dependent on, verbal text' (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006, 18). According to van Leeuwen (2005) the classic semiotic approach for identifying image-text relations is presented by Barthes' concepts of 'anchorage' and 'relay'. Citing Barthes (1977, 40–41), he elucidates that in the case of 'relay', 'text and image stand in a complementary relationship' … 'to which each contributes its own, distinct information', whereas in the case of 'anchorage' it is the text that 'directs the reader through the signifieds of the image, causing him to avoid some and receive others' and 'remote-controls him towards a meaning chosen in advance' (van Leeuwen 2005, 229).

Indeed, in both newspapers, all images are accompanied by image captions that are no doubt designed by photo journalists or copy editors to contextualise the meaning of austerity for their readers. As illustrated by the word clouds in Figure 6, the social actors, social actions and events depicted in images are consistently reinforced in the image captions.

(a)

Image category: PROTEST (Guardian)   Image category: PROTEST (Daily Telegraph)

(b)

Image category: POLITICAL/FINANCIAL (Guardian)   Image category: POLITICAL/FINANCIAL (Daily Telegraph)

(c)

Image category: POVERTY/AUSTERITY (Guardian)   Image category: POVERTY/AUSTERITY (Daily Telegraph)

Figure 6. Word clouds of key words in image captions associated with images of (a) protest; (b) political/financial; (c) poverty/austerity in *The Guardian* (left) and *The Daily Telegraph* (right) [Note: key words such as 'anti-austerity', 'austerity' and 'austerity measures' were removed from the word cloud corpus of image captions]

For instance, apart from the motif of 'austerity' (which was one of the criteria for image selection; see Griebel et al., this volume, Chapter 1; and which was removed from the word cloud corpus in Figure 6), other prominent key words that appear frequently in captions in association with images of protest in both newspapers are 'protest', 'protester', 'demonstrator', 'demonstration', 'worker', 'police', 'strike', and 'riot' (see Figure 7 for illustration).
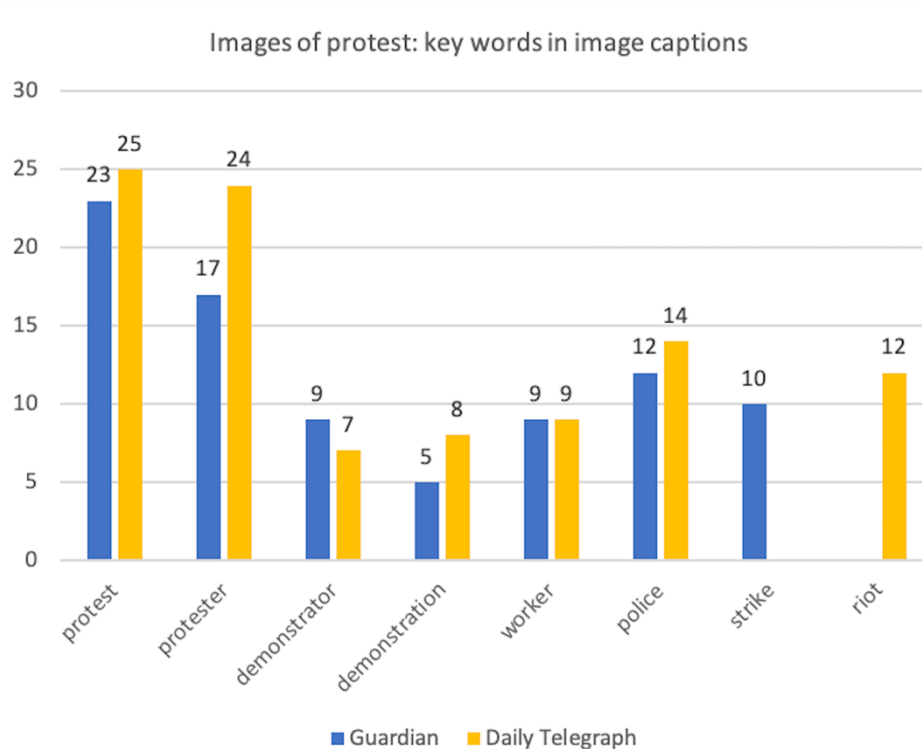
Images of protest: key words in image captions

Figure 7. Key words in image captions associated with images of protest in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*

Royce (2007, 2015) conceptualises this type of collaborative meaning-making where visual and verbal modes semantically reinforce each other as 'intersemiotic complementarity'. According to Royce (2015), accounting for 'ideational' complementarity, for example, that is, the meanings associated with how we construe our experience of the world, involves exploring how participants' identities and activities are constructed in both visual and verbal mode. Specifically, it involves indentifying (a) who or what the represented partipants are; (b) what action is taking place; (c) where, who with, and by what means the activities are being carried out; and (d) what the qualities and characteristics of the participants are. Van Leeuwen (2008), who sees discourse as the recontextualisation of social practice, similarly suggests that texts 'not only represent what is going on, they also evaluate it, ascribe purposes to it, justify it, and so on' (van Leeuwen, 2008: 6). He advocates that 'texts should be studied as representations as well as interactions', whereby particular attention should be paid not just to the represented activities, but also to the represented 'roles', 'settings', and so forth (van Leeuwen, 2008: 4). He proposes comprehensive 'sociosemantic' inventories of categories for investigating how social identities and social actions are constructed in (multimodal) discourse.

16

Interpreted from a social semiotic perspective, we observe that the image-text combinations in our corpus generally tend to portray complementary experiential meanings in both visual and verbal mode. We also note apparent similarities across the two newspapers in the ways in which social actors and social actions are constructed, as elaborated below. Examples of captions accompanying the most prevalent image types found in association with business/financial news, news articles, and comment and opinion pieces in our corpus are illustrated in Table 3 (captions associated with images of non-violent protest without police presence), Table 4 (captions associated with images of violent protest with police presence), Table 5 (captions associated with images of a political/financial nature), and Table 6 (captions associated with images of a poverty/austerity). (Note: principal social actors are double-underlined; action verbs **bolded**; secondary social actors underlined; events bold-underlined, and circumstantial elements *italicised*).

Table 3. Examples of captions accompanying images of non-violent protest without police presence in *The Guardian* (left) and *The Daily Telegraph* (right)

	Image captions (*The Guardian*)		Image captions (*The Daily Telegraph*)
(1)	Anti-austerity protesters in Athens in May	(1)	Demonstrators in Athens **protest** *against government austerity measures*
(2)	Protesters in front of the Greek parliament in Athens *during a global day of protest*. Greece faces further austerity measure this year	(2)	Demonstrators in Lisbon **protest** *against austerity measures*. Portugal's economy is tipping into brutal recession
(3)	Demonstrators in Athens on Sunday, the fifth day of protests against IMF-imposed austerity	(3)	A demonstrator in Madrid **protests** *against austerity measures*. A national strike is due on Thursday
(4)	Greek protesters **demonstrate** *against austerity measures* in Athens. The government has been forced to impose savage cuts as a condition of receiving financial aid	(4)	A civil servant **protests** *against government austerity measures* in Madrid yesterday. The country's central government debt is predicted to top 90pc of GDP
(5)	Home-help workers in Madrid **protest** *at austerity measures* they claim will put vulnerable people at greater risk	(5)	Spaniards **protest** *against the government's austerity cuts* to rein in the massive public deficit
(6)	Civil servants **protested** *against austerity measures* in Madrid yesterday	(6)	Downtown: Italians **protest** *against austerity cuts* on May Day. The country has made marginal progress on labour costs
(7)	Protesters **march** *against austerity measures,* cuts and tax policies in London at the weekend.	(7)	Protesters **march** *against austerity cuts* in Paris last month
(8)	Tens of thousands of workers **took to the streets** of Athens yesterday *as part of the latest strike against austerity measures*	(8)	Greek protesters *against the country's austerity measures* **march** in front of the parliament building in Athens
(9)	Protesters in Dublin **burn** an image of the prime minister, Brian Cowen, *during demonstrations against planned austerity measures*	(9)	Protesters **take to the streets** of Dublin *over austerity cuts*
(10)	Greek demonstrators **burn** an EU flag in Athens *in protest at austerity measures*	(10)	State-employed workers **take to the streets** in Athens yesterday **to protest** *against* the Greek government's *austerity measures*

(11)	A demonstration in Lisbon last week. A series of strikes are planned as Portugal's protest against austerity intensifies	(11)	Fiery mood: public sector workers **burn** their tax notices in Athens *during a protest at austerity steps*
(12)	Official austerity measures **have led to** protests on the streets of Athens. Below, George Papandreou speaks to the media yesterday	(12)	A protester **burns** a Greek flag in Athens *during an anti-austerity demonstration* as lawmakers began debating financial reforms
(13)	The austerity package imposed by international creditors **has led to** angry protests on the streets of Greece	(13)	Anti-austerity protests in Athens yesterday
(14)	Tough austerity measures **have fuelled** anti-government demonstrations in Portugal	(14)	An anti-austerity protest **takes place** in Paris: the French debt-reduction scheme is less credible than the UK's
(15)	Austerity measures **spark** fresh protests outside the Greek parliament in Athens	(15)	A march towards the Athens ministry of labour earlier this month to demand the re-opening of factories closed under austerity

According to van Leeuwen (2008), social actors may either be excluded or included in discourse. If they are included, social actors may, for example, be represented in terms of individual social and personal roles and identities that are constructed for them. In this context, distinctions can be drawn on the basis of whether their identity is specified (that is, determined), or whether they are represented as unanimous groups or collective entities (van Leeuwen 2008, 39-40). In addition, social actors may also be identified in terms of an activity, something that they do, or an occupation, or they may be categorised in terms of what they 'more or less permanently or unavoidably, are' (van Leeuwen 2008, 42).

A close examination of our corpus data shows that in the majority of captions associated with images of protest, most specifically images of a non-violent nature without police presence (see Table 3), the social actors tend to be represented as unanimous groups or collective entities in the text, regardless of whether the image shows an individual or a small group, or a large assembly of people. In the majority of cases, the social actors are categorised in terms of the activity they are shown to be engaged in by being labelled collectively as 'protesters' or 'demonstrators' in the image captions. In a number of cases, they are referred to in terms of their nationality (e.g. 'Greek', 'Italians', 'Spaniards'), and/or their various occupations (e.g. 'workers', 'civil servants').

In terms of the represented social actions, in the majority of cases, the social actors are endowed with an active role in the captions, by being represented as the 'doer' of material, although predominately 'non-transactive', actions (van Leeuwen 2008, 60). For example, in both newspapers, the social actions attributed to social actors in the captions associated with images of protest are invariably 'demonstrate' or 'protest'; or they are shown to 'march' or 'taking to the streets'. Only in a few cases are they shown to be engaged in a

'transactive' action directed at another participant or thing (van Leeuwen 2008, 60), for example, when they are portrayed as 'burning' flags or their tax notices, or in cases where they are construed as the aggressor against the police. This is particularly evident in captions accompanying images of violent protest with police presence, where they are construed as 'attacking' or 'kicking out' at the police or by 'hurling' Molotov cocktails and petrol bombs towards them (e.g.; see examples in Table 4). But in many captions accompanying images of this kind, transactive actions are also attributed to the police who are consistently described as 'arresting', 'detaining' or 'tackling' protesters in both newspapers.

Table 4. Examples of captions accompanying images of violent protest with police presence in *The Guardian* (left) and *The Daily Telegraph* (right)

	Image captions (*The Guardian*)		Image captions (*The Daily Telegraph*)
(1)	A demonstrator **kicks out** at riot police in Athens yesterday, where tens of thousands of people **protested** *at austerity measures*	(1)	Austerity anger: unemployed teachers **clash** with police in Athens
(2)	Demonstrators **clash** with riot police yesterday in Athens *during a 24-hours general strike*. Youths **threw** firebombs *at a demonstration against austerity cuts*	(2)	Club Med: rioters **clash** with police *during an anti-government rally* in Athens yesterday. Police fired tear gas into crowds of people demonstrating against the Greek government's proposed austerity measures
(3)	Riot police **clash** with protesters in Syntagma Square, Athens. The prime minister's efforts to pass new austerity measures have met fierce resistance on the streets, and in his own party	(3)	A protester **hurls** a petrol bomb at riot police outside the Greek parliament. Tens of thousands of workers rallied before MPs voted in favour of a further round of austerity measures
(4)	Police **arrest** an anti-austerity demonstrator in Athens yesterday	(4)	Burning anger: anti-austerity protesters **hurl** Molotov cocktails towards police in Athens yesterday
(5)	Police **tackle** a Blockupy protester outside the ECB headquarters in Frankfurt. Anti-austerity protests took place across the city (below)	(5)	Clockwise from left: a police officer in riot gear **tackles** a protester after the parliament passed the unpopular austerity bill; …
(6)	An anti-austerity demonstrator **is removed** by police in Athens yesterday	(6)	The price of austerity: Greek police **detain** a protester in Athens as the country braces for turmoil
(7)	Austerity measures in Greece **have prompted** violent street protests	(7)	Austerity measures **have provoked** riots in Athens: police grappling with a demonstrator near the Greek parliament this week

In some cases, social actors are excluded from, or backgrounded, in the image captions, for instance, when they are referred to obliquely by way of process nouns or nominalisations, such as when represented as 'anti-austerity protests' or as 'a march' (e.g., see Table 3, *The Daily Telegraph*, example 15). In other instances, austerity measures themselves are endowed with an active role, for example, when they are construed as the direct cause or instigator of the protests (e.g., see Table 3, *The Guardian*, examples 12-15). In

most of the captions, however, austerity measures tend to be represented linguistically as a 'circumstance', usually a circumstance of location/time (e.g. 'during') or matter (e.g. 'against') (e.g., see Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 310 ff., for a discussion of circumstantial elements).

The social actors and social actions in captions that accompany images of a political/financial nature, on the other hand, are profoundly different. Firstly, in the sense that the represented social actors, that is, the politicians or fiscal bodies featured in the images, tend to be identified and named explicitly in the captions. Secondly, these types of social actors are consistently endowed with a speaking role in both newspapers, with concepts of 'austerity' and 'austerity measures' attributed in this case to their verbal utterances (e.g.; see examples in Tables 5).

Table 5. Examples of captions accompanying images of a political/financial nature in *The Guardian* (left) and *The Daily Telegraph* (right)

	Image captions (*The Guardian*)		Image captions (*The Daily Telegraph*)
(1)	Austerity measures are a 'desperate . . . attempt to dispel an epoch-making crisis and save the euro', **said** <u>Italian cabinet under-secretary Gianni Letta</u>, below	(1)	Pragmatic: <u>Andrew Witty</u> **says** he has yet to see real evidence of governments' austerity measures
(2)	<u>Spain's new deputy PM, Soraya Saenz de Santamaria</u>, **said** austerity measures would be passed soon	(2)	<u>Ian Livingston</u> **said** BT had yet to suffer from the Government's 'austerity' Budget
(3)	A second round of austerity due to be outlined by George Osborne next month will not reduce debt to 40% of national income **says** <u>the OBR</u>	(3)	<u>François Hollande</u> **said** he wanted to pace change so that the country did not 'fall into austerity'
(4)	<u>Natalie Bennett</u> **says** her party's priorities include ending austerity and scrapping Trident, but has ruled out taking part in a coalition after the election	(4)	<u>Cardinal Keith O'Brien</u> **said** that increasing austerity could lead people to embrace a 'more simple way of life'
(5)	<u>Greece's prime minister, Antonis Samaras</u>, **is pleading** for a further two years to implement the required austerity measures	(5)	<u>Angela Merkel, the German chancellor</u>, **has stressed** that Greece must stick to its austerity measures
(6)	<u>Christine Lagarde</u>, the IMF's managing director, **has called** on governments to think carefully about austerity measures	(6)	Hat trick: Nick Clegg under the lights of a Tesco store in west London yesterday. <u>He</u> **claimed** Britain faced 'indefinite austerity'

Captions that accompany images of austerity/poverty, in contrast, rarely identify or name the social actors and social actions depicted in the images. Only in a few instances do the captions complement the meanings conveyed in the images (see examples in Table 6).

Table 6. Examples of captions accompanying images of a poverty/austerity in *The Guardian* (left) and Daily Telegraph (right)

	Image captions (*The Guardian*)		Image captions (*The Daily Telegraph*)
(1)	<u>Young men</u> **eat** at a soup kitchen in Athens. The number of destitute people in the Greek capital is growing as austerity measures hit the economy	(1)	Down and out: <u>a beggar</u> in Seville, Andalucia. Spain's austerity programme threatens to exacerbate the economic crisis
(2)	<u>People</u> **wait** for a meal at a soup kitchen in Athens as austerity programmes push more below the poverty line	(2)	<u>A street vendor</u> in front of a closed shop in Athens. Greece is being forced to implement a further £11bn of austerity measures

In the same manner, the relations established between images and article headlines in our corpus seem far more ambivalent and less tangible. While the concept of austerity still features prominently in the headlines (more so in *The Daily Telegraph* than in *The Guardian*, as illustrated in the word clouds of headlines associated with images of protest in Figure 8), a closer examination reveals that visual-verbal complementary, where the same or similar experiential meanings are reinforced in both visual and mode, is established in only a few cases (see examples in Table 7).

Article headlines-images of protest (Guardian)   Article headlines-images of protest (Daily Telegraph)

Figure 8. Word clouds of key words in headlines associated with images of protest in *The Guardian* (left) and *The Daily Telegraph* (right)

Table 7. Examples of headlines associated with images of protest in *The Guardian* (left) and *The Daily Telegraph* (right)

	Headlines (*The Guardian*)		Headlines (*The Daily Telegraph*)
(1)	<u>Greek protests</u> send curt message to IMF	(1)	Athens <u>protesters</u> **clash** <u>with police</u> as MPs vote for cuts
(2)	<u>Mass protests</u> in Athens as creditors fly in	(2)	Greek <u>protesters</u> **turn** on each other
(3)	Pain in Spain <u>Public sector strike</u>	(3)	The <u>austerity rebellion</u>
(4)	We won't pay! The people's <u>anti-austerity revolt</u> to take its toll	(4)	<u>War zone</u> Athens as <u>riots</u> mark a dark day for Greece

3.5 Distribution of images of austerity across different online media sites

So far, our analysis has focused on how austerity is presented and constructed through images and image-text combinations in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*. In this section, we

examine where these images appear in online media, both before and after their publication in the two newspapers. Our analysis is informed by reverse image searches conducted with TinEye[2], the results of which are displayed in the MMA Visualisation app.

For the 301 images of austerity in our corpus, TinEye recorded a total of 5,879 reverse image search hits: 2,933 hits for images in *The Guardian*, and 2,946 hits for images in *The Daily Telegraph*. Figure 9 shows the distribution of same or similar images on the internet before and after their publication in the two newspapers.
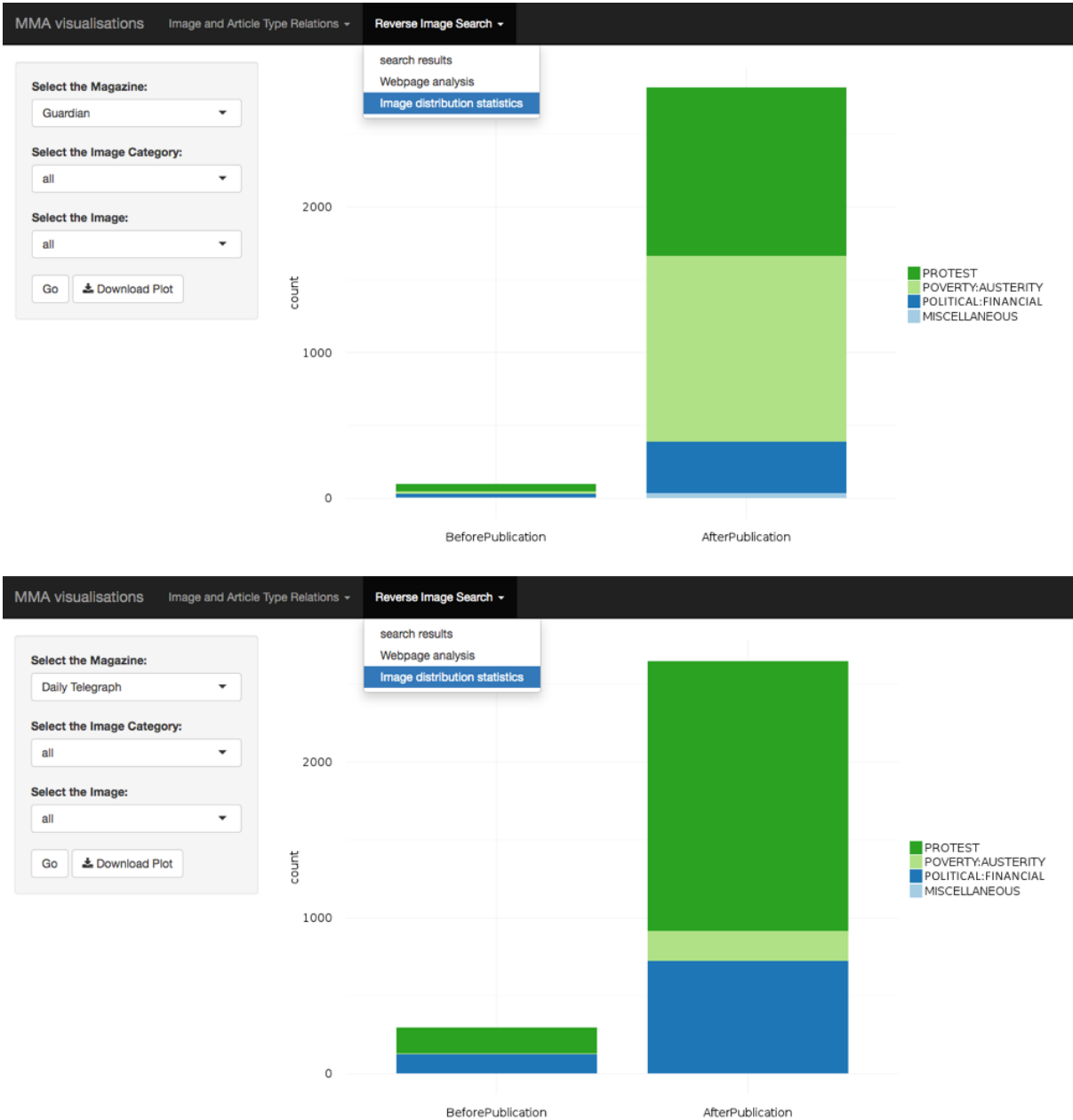

Figure 9. Comparison of distribution of same or similar images on the internet before and after publication in *The Guardian* (top) and *The Daily Telegraph* (bottom)

The charts reflect that images of austerity did not circulate widely on the internet prior to being used in the two newspapers. In total, only 96 reverse image search hits were recorded for images before they appeared in *The Guardian*, as compared to 2,837 hits after their publication in the print circulation. Likewise, 297 reverse image search hits were recorded for images before they appeared in *The Daily Telegraph*, as compared to 2,469 hits after their publication in the newspaper. Perhaps this is due to online media platforms being less prevalent a decade ago, coupled with the fact that motifs of austerity gained in popularity during the ten-year period following the 2008 financial crisis. The charts also indicate that, although images of protest are represented fairly equally in the both print circulations (e.g.; see Figures 1 and 2), images of protest featured in *The Daily Telegraph* re-appear more frequently on online media sites than the images of protest featured in *The Guardian*. This could perhaps be attributed to the wider reach of *The Daily Telegraph* as compared to *The Guardian*[4]. Yet, it does not explain why images of poverty/austerity carried in *The Guardian*, which are only proportionately larger in quantity (e.g. 29 images for *The Guardian* versus 20 images for *The Daily Telegraph*; see also Figure 1), seem far more widespread on the internet than the poverty/austerity related images featured in *The Daily Telegraph*.

As the results in Figure 9 have shown, there is variability in the distribution rates for different types of austerity images, especially before and after their publication in the two newspapers. To complement our analysis, the MMA Visualisation app also provides facilities for interrogating the reverse image search results for individual images. The results provide information about the image category and article type as originally appeared in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*, the number of search hits for each individual image, and a list of URLs of websites on which the image was found. The results of the reverse image search for each individual image are displayed in the form of bar charts which display the distribution patterns over time. Figures 10(a) and 10(b) provide an overview of the most frequently distributed images on the internet (that is, images from our corpus for which more than 100 reverse image search hits were recorded). Note that the red bars in the bar charts mark the publication date when the image was used in the newspaper, whereby the grey bars indicate the frequency of appearances in online media sites over time, in this case, years.
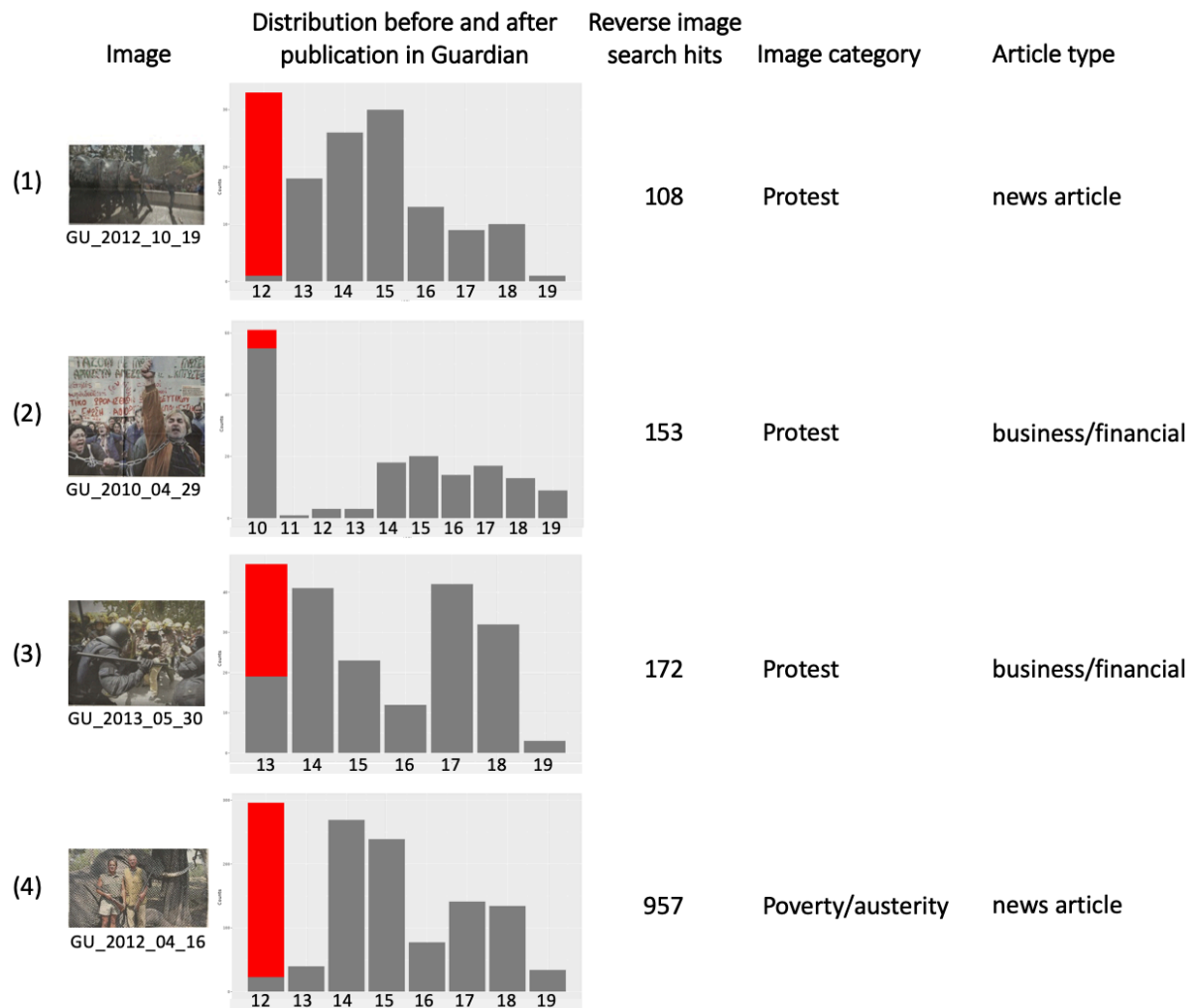
Image	Distribution before and after publication in Guardian	Reverse image search hits	Image category	Article type
(1) GU_2012_10_19		108	Protest	news article
(2) GU_2010_04_29		153	Protest	business/financial
(3) GU_2013_05_30		172	Protest	business/financial
(4) GU_2012_04_16		957	Poverty/austerity	news article

Figure 10(a). Examples of most frequently distributed images on the internet before and after publication in *The Guardian*

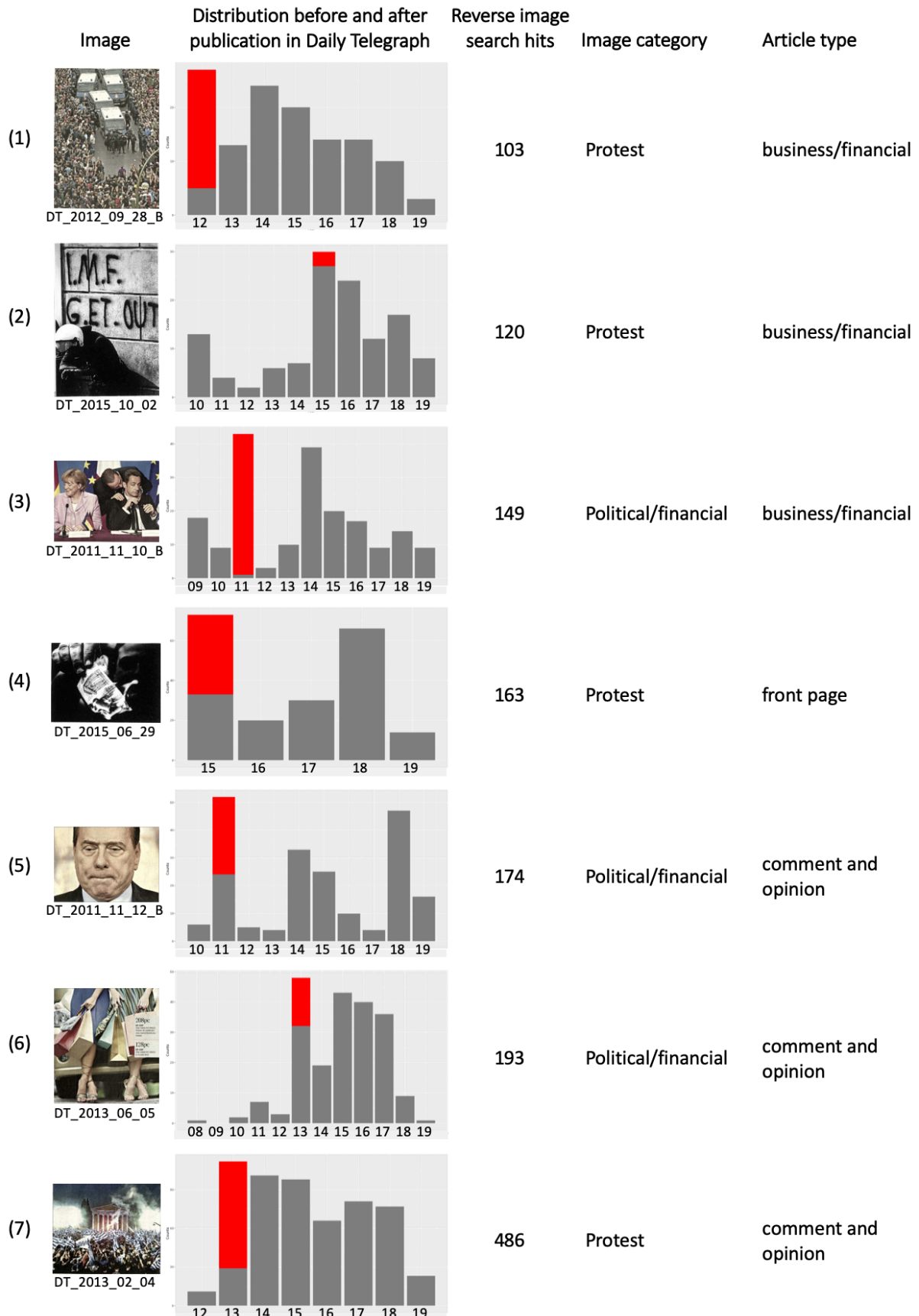| Image	Distribution before and after publication in Daily Telegraph	Reverse image search hits	Image category	Article type
(1) DT_2012_09_28_B		103	Protest	business/financial
(2) DT_2015_10_02		120	Protest	business/financial
(3) DT_2011_11_10_B		149	Political/financial	business/financial
(4) DT_2015_06_29		163	Protest	front page
(5) DT_2011_11_12_B		174	Political/financial	comment and opinion
(6) DT_2013_06_05		193	Political/financial	comment and opinion
(7) DT_2013_02_04		486	Protest	comment and opinion

Figure 10(b). Examples of most frequently distributed images on the internet before and after publication in *The Daily Telegraph*

As shown in Figures 10(a) and 10(b), images of austerity that are most widely distributed on the internet appear to be predominately images of protest, with one image from *The Daily Telegraph* corpus alone reappearing 486 times on online media sites. Although a poverty/austerity related image from our corpus turns out to be the most widely circulated image among the online community with 957 reverse image search hits, the image – which appeared in *The Guardian* on 16 April 2012 in combination with a news article headlined 'Elephant trap Spanish king criticised for hunting trip' – may be construed as a critique on the display of affluence by royalty during times of austerity experienced in their country, rather than representing a motif of austerity per se. Other widely distributed photographs are images of a political/financial nature from *The Daily Telegraph* corpus. The frequent re-use of these images, however, is hardly surprising, as these types of social actor do receive extensive press coverage in the media.

The bar charts also indicate that while images which appear in *The Guardian* do not appear before their year of publication on other online media sites, some of the widely distributed images found in *The Daily Telegraph* have already appeared on other online platforms before being used in the newspaper. In order to determine on which online media sites these images appear, the results of the reverse images search can be further interrogated in the MMA Visualisation app by means an integrated word cloud tool which provides an overview of the URLs of webpages on which same or similar images were found. As indicated by the size of displayed URLs in the word cloud in Figure 11 (top), apart from being found on image banks (e.g., corbisimages.com; gettyimages.com) and other British mainstream news media outlets (e.g.; dailymail.co.uk), images of austerity carried in *The Guardian*'s broadsheet version also appear frequently on its online platform. Again, this does not come as a surprise, considering the greater reach of its multimedia platforms[5].

Figure 11 (bottom), on the other hand, indicates that while *The Daily Telegraph* similarly redeploys images from its broadsheet in its online publication (or vice versa), it also uses images of austerity which appear in *The Guardian* — to a surprisingly large extent.

Figure 11. Word clouds of URLs of webpages with the same or similar images as in *The Guardian* (top) and *The Daily Telegraph* (bottom)

This could mean that *The Guardian* puts particular emphasis on image selection and is particularly quick in presenting key images of austerity that are later also featured by other news media, such as *The Daily Telegraph*, for instance. It could, of course, also mean that the two news media simply tend to (re-)use the same photographs over time, maybe because they had a particularly striking motif. These are assumptions which only a close inspection of each individual webpage on which these images were found (i.e.; homepages, pages with individual news articles) can address, which is beyond the scope of the analysis in this chapter. Nevertheless, a close examination of the austerity corpus does reveal that *The Daily Telegraph* also displays a propensity to re-use the same or similar images again over time in its print circulation. For instance, the image of a female protester with raised fist (e.g., see example on the right in Figure 1(a)) – apparently captured during a protest in Portugal

according to its caption –first appears in combination with a business/financial news article headlined 'Continued EU paralysis drives fresh bond rout' on 10 March 2011. The same image (each time with a different caption) then reappears on 06 June 2012 in combination with a business/financial news article entitled 'Athens should look to those who have shared its economic fall from grace', and is re-used a year later in combination with a comment and opinion piece with the headline 'Europe's crisis states should look after their own interests and form a debtors' cartel' on 23 July 2013.

4. Concluding remarks

As the analysis has shown, both newspapers appear to perpetuate similar concepts of austerity in the visual coverage in their print circulations. Although there is some (minor) variation in terms of the article types in which these images are found, both news outlets appear to favour similar types of images which are paired with similarly worded captions. Images of protest constitute a particularly large share of photographs in the austerity coverage in the two newspapers (e.g., 60 % for *The Daily Telegraph*; 50 % for *The Guardian*). While these are mostly images of peaceful protest, the corpus includes images of violent confrontations, often set amid flames (e.g., see Kalantzis 2016), sometimes observed or controlled by police forces. The use of such visuals to reinforce motifs of austerity can be linked to a long tradition of how protest and social movements are represented visually by the media. Especially in the field of political protest communication, images are described as powerful means to create attention and awareness for certain themes, movements or claims for future political actions and agendas (e.g., see Doerr, Mattoni, and Teune 2013; Mattoni and Teune 2014). Visual representations of protests and protest movements are fundamentally important for how their goals and characteristics are perceived within a broader audience and for creating resonance and for winning support. As Teune (2013, 224) underlined: "the visual realm is a central arena of expression and a source of intuitive categorization that deserves careful attention". Protest movements and manifestations produce and evoke images, and are thus rendered visible in the public sphere, either as a result of a planned, explicit, and strategic effort, or accidentally, in an unintended or undesired manner (Doerr, Mattoni, & Teune, 2013). The visual strategies employed by media outlets have the power to influence how the public perceives and interprets such recontextualisations of social practice. Therefore, it is highly important which visual strategies are employed. Neumayer and Rossi (2018) have found, for example, that visual

social media content related to the Blockupy protest against the opening of the new ECB headquarters in Frankfurt am Main tended to reproduce existing hierarchies instead of challenging them.

Using a social semiotic approach, supported with information visualisations, this chapter has attempted to demonstrate how image-text combinations function to construct the notion of austerity in the print versions of *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* during the period 2010 to 2016. The current research, however, provides only a snapshot of how this phenomenon is understood and recontextualised by these media outlets. More insights could be gained, for instance, by looking at the interconnections between traditional journalistic outlets and online and social media platforms (e.g., Benkler 2006), by comparing the print and online versions of the two newspapers, as well as their social media coverage on Twitter, for example. In this way, one would be able to develop a better understanding of whether there is consistency in the ways austerity is represented and constructed through visual-verbal combinations across different media, or whether these concepts are framed differently so as to appeal to different demographics in an increasingly networked sphere.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1 https://www.studon.fau.de/studon/goto.php?target=fold_2167920

2 http://shiny.computation.org.au/austerity_app/

3 https://www.tineye.com/

4 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_newspapers_in_the_United_Kingdom_by_circulation

5 https://www.newsworks.org.uk/the-guardian

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