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Local Attitudes to Global Issues

A2 Immigration in British Media Discourse

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Local Attitudes to Global Issues: A2 Immigration in British Media Discourse
Monograph

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Introduction

One of the defining features of the new millennium and therefore of the modern age has undeniably been the digitisation of our lives in both a physical and a cultural sense. This is not just a sign of technological evolution but also acts as a driving force behind the ever-changing cultural landscape. Alan Kirby (2006) has even declared the modern age to be the period of digimodernism. His paradigm of digimodernism aims to track and interpret the impact of new technologies and digital media on culture, with a special emphasis on their effect on texts. In Kirby's understanding, new technologies have changed the relationship between authors, texts and readers as new digital media forms have provided readers with the ability to alter the context of texts. One area that has been impacted in a significant way by the advent of digimodernism is the news media. The digital revolution has posed a considerable challenge to newspapers, with titles forced to undergo a necessary transition by establishing an online presence in order to survive. By transitioning to online versions, newspapers have had to adjust to the user interface but they have also gained the ability to adapt their storytelling and to reach a much bigger audience. It is, therefore, possible to argue that newspapers have retained their key role in shaping society and continue to influence local (or national) attitudes to global issues.

In establishing an online presence, digital media (including newspapers) have, in effect, created a new world order as they are no longer limited by national borders which have become blurred through the postmillennial development of globalization. Consequently, (digital) media have become an everyday part of life for citizens of the modern world, a trend which enables media content to be communicated not just to local (or national) audiences but also to global consumers.

It is clear that by creating content, the media, and newspapers in particular, exercise power. Street (2011) places mass media on a par with other influential (political) institutions and outlines the three primary forms of media power: discursive power, access power and resource power. As Street explains:

discursive power refers to the way in which a popular common sense is created, and [...] access power refers to the way in which particular interests or identities are acknowledged or excluded, resource power refers, primarily, to the way in which media conglomerates can affect the actions of governments and states, but also to the distribution of resources *within* media conglomerates and hence who it is that dictates – albeit indirectly – the voices to be heard and discourses to be propagated.

(Street, 2011: 288; original emphasis)

Discursive power thus entails the power to create specific media discourses and through them construct a form of reality which is based on the tendency of people to believe what they read (or see). This process allows the media not only to determine to what is being mediated (in terms of content) but also how this is achieved (through the use of language). Street (2011) shares the opinion of van Dijk (1988b) that media discourse must be analysed in order to reveal the discursive practices which lie behind its creation.

Newspaper discourse constitutes a specific type of media discourse in its own right. Newspapers have long been a staple in people's everyday lives either in their original print format in the past or in their later digital iterations. In general, news stories and news reports remain the most sought-after elements of media discourse. Newspapers exercise a certain degree of power not only through their ability to select which events and issues are newsworthy but also through the language which they use to report them. It has been long been the case that what we refer to as news is actually the product of organizational structures, professional conventions and discursive practices rather than the vents themselves. Moreover, different newspapers approach this process differently, therefore any examination of newspaper discourse requires the investigation of a variety of different newspaper titles.

This monograph draws attention to a specific media discourse – British newspaper media discourse. British national newspapers have a long history and display some highly distinctive characteristics that are not found in the print media of other countries. They play a significant role in constructing the identities and sensibilities of the British people and have inevitably made a significant contribution to the character of the country. In recent decades, British newspaper discourse has been the subject of various studies, especially since the turn of the millennium as the digitisation of the industry has enabled researchers to analyse larger volumes of material.

The monograph links a specific framework that reflects postmillennial sensibilities and contemporary interest in discursive practices to British national newspaper discourse. The framework combines the methodologies of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Corpus Linguistics (CL) and is considered by many scholars to be among the most valuable of recent approaches as it inclines towards multimodal discourse analysis and integrates both quantitative and qualitative analysis. Postmillennial computerisation in general and the digitalisation of media discourse could be credited for the growing awareness of this “natural match” (Mautner, 2009: 33) of CDA and CL. Nonetheless, surprisingly few studies to date have opted to make use of this framework.

For this reason, a conscious decision was made for the purposes of this monograph to examine how such a framework could be employed in the analysis of a specific newspaper discourse. The focus of the study is newspaper discourse, or more specifically digimodernist newspaper discourse as represented in the digital editions of British national newspapers. The main aim of the monograph is to examine how global phenomena are mediated through national discourse. A global phenomenon that has dominated media discourse both in Britain and in other countries in the decades of the new millennium is that of immigration. On this basis, the CDA and CL framework was applied to study the representation of a specific group of people and examine how their identity is constructed by the language which newspapers use to describe them. The study chose to analyse the representation of Bulgarians and Romanians (citizens of A2 countries) in British national newspapers in 2013 and 2014. These specific criteria were chosen because the A2 countries were the last group of countries to join the EU that experienced the imposition of transitional restrictions concerning the entry of their citizens into the labour markets of other EU countries (including the UK). Those restrictions were lifted in 2013 and thus the study focuses on the years immediately preceding and following this point. British national newspapers covered the issue of immigration from A2 countries extensively and therefore helped shape attitudes of the British towards citizens of these countries. The individual chapters of the monograph provide the context and connect the issues necessary for conducting the study, beginning with a discussion of the global phenomenon (immigration), continuing with the national discourse (British national newspapers) and also introducing the framework to be used in the analysis. These issues are consequently integrated in the final chapter that will present the results of the study.

Chapter 1 begins with a discussion of one of the most prominent issues to be debated in British national newspapers in the new millennium – immigration. In order to fully understand the issue, the chapter offers a general overview of immigration to the UK before turning attention to the more focussed issue of immigration since the turn of the new millennium from European Union countries, more specifically from the countries of Bulgaria and Romania whose representation in the British press will form the main subject of the study. The chapter also tackles the relationship between national identity and the perception of immigrants as the Other.

British media discourse and all of the peculiarities connected to it are introduced in Chapter 2. It is simply not possible to analyse British newspaper discourse without a fuller understanding of the specific characteristics of national newspapers in the United Kingdom. As they are a product of the history of the country, a short overview introduces how they acquired their typical divisions and the characteristics for which they are internationally renowned. The main focus of the chapter, however, is the specific language that British newspapers use to describe news events and to

represent groups of people because in doing so, newspapers have the power to form a specific discourse through which various dimensions of national identity can be created and reproduced.

A critical review of various frameworks for analysing media discourse is presented in Chapter 3. It discusses three seminal approaches within Critical Discourse Analysis, namely those of Fairclough, Wodak and van Dijk and elucidates the fact that there is no single uniform method within CDA but rather a plurality of methodologies, a feature of CDA which many consider to be a unique strength of the discipline. The attention is then shifted to a description of a new framework that combines CDA and Corpus Linguistics and an evaluation of the benefits which this combined approach can offer.

The fourth and final chapter connects all of the topics presented in the foregoing chapters in a case study that analyses the representation of immigration from A2 countries in British national newspapers. The study draws inspiration from other seminal studies that have used the new integrated framework of CDA and CL such as that by Baker et al. (2008) and aims to demonstrate to fellow media discourse researchers that this methodological framework can be applicable even when analysing a specific issue in smaller corpora. The chapter discusses the methodological framework of the study and also presents the quantitative results obtained through the CL part of the analysis and the qualitative results obtained through the CDA part of the analysis, specifically referential strategies.

The author is aware of the fact that the limited size of analysed corpus and the number of chosen newspapers may be seen as a potential shortcoming of this study. Nonetheless, we hope that this monograph can serve as a valuable contribution to the field of media studies as it offers an example of how Corpus Linguistics tools can be used to complement the Critical Discourse Analysis framework and encourages further studies.

1 Immigration to the UK

As with many other Western European countries, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (the UK), has long been subject to migration processes. On the one hand, Britain has always been seen as an attractive destination for migrants who wish to settle there to and find work, and for this reason it has lured large numbers of immigrants. On the other hand, many people have chosen to leave Britain and emigrate in order to settle permanently in other countries. However, on balance the UK has experienced a positive net migration rate, more people immigrating to the UK than emigrating from the country.

Migration (which encompasses immigration, emigration and net migration) is subject to monitoring and while statistics are typically produced, there is no single source that is specifically dedicated to measuring migration. Therefore, in the UK, migration statistics are based on data that come from various sources, most typically surveys measuring the so-called stocks and flows:

In migration statistics, stocks refer to the number of migrants usually resident in a country during a particular period, while flows refer to number of people changing their country of usual residence during a particular period.

(Hawkins, 2015: 4)

Stocks are measured by the Annual Population Survey (APS) and the Labour Force Survey (LFS). APS is a combined survey of private households in the UK that deals with social and economic variables and LFS is a survey that measures the characteristics of the UK labour market. In contrast, flows, are measured by the International Passenger Survey (IPS). Gillingham (2010: 6) lists IPS as a ‘key source of data’ on the flow of international migrants to and from the UK for the Office for National Statistics (ONS).

Migration statistics are produced with the aim of measuring the rate of migration. In order to produce correct and valid statistics about migration but also to interpret them correctly, a clear definition of who counts as a migrant needed to be established. However, as Anderson and Blinder have pointed out, “definitions of ‘migrant’ vary among different sources, and between datasets and law” (2015: 2). The United Nations has issued a recommended definition which defines a migrant as “someone who changes their country of usual residence for a period of at least a year, so that the country of destination effectively becomes the country of usual residence” (quoted in Hawkins, 2015: 3), and this has been generally accepted as the is the most typically used definition.

In general, people migrate in different directions for various reasons, the most common of which are personal, contextual and situational factors. These reasons could also be classified as:

- economic (migration to find work),
- social (migration to find better living conditions),
- political (migration to escape political persecution or war),
- environmental (migration to escape natural disasters).

The likelihood among individuals to migrate and the direction of migration are most often driven by so-called push and pull factors. Push factors are those that make people choose to leave a country, whereas pull factors are those that attract them to ‘their’ new country. In the case of, for example, economic migration, the labour market can be both a push and a pull factor, with the labour market in the country of origin serving as a push factor whilst the labour market in the host country represents a pull factor. Different types of migration are mostly affected by various push and pull factors. In recent decades the strongest pull factors for immigration to the UK have been the strength of the UK economy and the relatively low level of unemployment.

A Short Overview of Immigration to the UK

As was indicated above, Britain has a long history of immigration with the result that contemporary Britain is quite frequently described as a truly multicultural and multiethnic country. The British population has been built up through successive waves of immigration from European and non-European countries, and these various immigrant communities have enriched and strengthened British society.

In general terms, we can identify three significant successive waves of mass immigration which occurred prior to the UK’s entry into the European Economic Community in 1973. While these immigration waves were primarily economic in nature, it should be added that there were also other additional factors involved in these trends. As outlined in the extensive study *Immigration and Social Policy in Britain* by Jones (2001), these three waves were from Ireland, from Jewish communities in Eastern Europe, and from New Commonwealth countries, respectively.

The first wave of early Irish immigration (1800 – 1861), was a large-scale economic movement of population from Ireland to Britain. As Jones explains:

Britain was an obvious resort: not simply as a relatively prosperous economy, but by virtue of the fact that politically and physically she was close at hand. A long-standing tradition of casual, seasonal migration between the two islands was not without its significance in preparing the way for large-scale, permanent immigration.

(Jones, 2001: 45)

Irish immigrants settled mostly in England and Scotland, usually on the basis either of the availability of work or the destination of the steamships on which they travelled to the mainland, and thus notable Irish settlement occurred in many centres of industry and manufacturing around the country. Irish immigrants tended to form distinct and tightknit communities either by choice or by necessity and this separation was one factor in the traditional portrayal of Irish immigrants at that time; the Irish community were often perceived by the host population as primarily poor and unskilled, distinctive in their appearance and behaviour and unwilling to mix with local communities. Therefore, it is not surprising, as Jones (2001: 48) notes, that the Irish were considered as “‘less civilized’ outsiders” by contemporary British society.

The outbreak of pogroms and other well documented events in Eastern Europe towards the end of the nineteenth century prompted the second wave of immigration to the UK, the large-scale Jewish migration to the West. The presence of an existing native Jewish community in England and the country’s tradition of asylum could explain why “Britain came in this period to harbour more East European immigrants than any other country except the United States of America” (Jones, 2001: 69). The reaction of the host society towards these immigrants was different than that of the Irish case. As these immigrants were considered as refugees fleeing persecution and anti-Semitism, there was a general willingness in British society to offer them asylum. Unlike the earlier Irish immigration, Jewish immigrants also benefited from the aid provided by the already existing and prosperous Jewish community in the form of the Jewish Board of Guardians. However, as with the Irish case, Jewish migrants also showed a tendency to cluster together and their concentration in the East End of London eventually attracted the attention of the native population which envied their growing prosperity and ambition. It should be pointed out, though, that the differences in religion, language and culture were much more visible in the case of Jewish communities than that of the Irish migrants.

New Commonwealth immigration in the post-war period represented the third large-scale wave of immigration to the UK. This wave, however, differed from the previous two as it was not only the result of the dismantling of the British Empire but was also actively encouraged by the government which was attempting to deal with labour shortages in the 1950s in the wake of the Second World War. The term ‘New Commonwealth immigrants’ was applied to various groups of immigrants, such as Indians, Pakistanis and West Indians. However, as Jones (2001: 121) points out, that term was based on a rather negative definition according to which New Commonwealth immigrants “embraced all those Commonwealth immigrants who did not hail from the ‘Old Commonwealth’ (i.e. Canada, Australia and New Zealand)”. Jones (2001: 122) divides this wave of immigration into two periods: those preceding and following the implementation of the 1962 *Commonwealth Immigrants Act*. This act represented a landmark, as it not only reduced the number of the New Commonwealth immigrants but it also resulted in a shift in the origin countries of subsequent migrants (with a majority of migrants now coming from Asia rather than the West Indies). Jones provides the following explanation for the shift:

Generally speaking, there are two ways of interpreting the changeover: either West Indian immigration (being first off the mark) had already spent its force by the time that controls happened to be introduced; or else West Indians were simply less adept than either their Indian or Pakistani counterparts in manipulating the controls once these were in operation.

(Jones, 2001: 125)

The first trend to attract attention was West Indian immigration after the Second World War, but from the 1960s and onwards immigration from India and Pakistan became more noticeable. In terms of numbers, Jones writes that “for the years 1955-60 inclusive [...] [there was] a net Caribbean inflow of some 161,450, as compared to 33,070 from India and a mere 17,120 from Pakistan” (2001:123). In comparison, in 1966 there were “267, 910 West Indians [...] as compared to 232,400 Indians [...] and 73,130 [immigrants] from Pakistan [in the UK]” (Jones, 2001:125). It is a widely held view that the New Commonwealth immigration wave was principally an economic movement, as the main aim for immigrants was to search for employment opportunities. Generally, Commonwealth migrants were economically active in semi-skilled and unskilled manual work¹; some specific groups of immigrants even became associated with particular fields of work in different areas (for example, the preponderance of West Indian nurses). Even though New Commonwealth immigrants came from a wide range of ethnic and cultural backgrounds, they were

¹ Black talks about “unattractive spheres of employment, such as transport (especially the buses), foundry work and nursing” (2010: 182).

generally described as poor, unskilled, ‘less civilized’ and non-white by the members of the native population. The stereotyped impressions of newcomers that emerged not only distinguished between specific group characteristics but also pointed out parallels with previous waves of immigration. Therefore, as Jones writes:

West Indians, as supposed cheap casual labour, carefree, low-living, immoral disorderly colonial subjects, seem in many respects to have been perceived as some sort of coloured equivalent of the Irish (who were, after all, still in evidence). Sikhs, Moslems, and Hindus, on the other hand, seem to have been caricatured as a poor, low-living, yet ambitious population; prone to inscrutable underhand dealings; set apart from neighbours or fellow-workers not merely by language but by alien religions, customs, and appearances; and inclined very much to keep themselves to themselves: more reminiscent of the East European Jew, if anything, than of either the Irish or the West Indian.

(Jones, 2001:133-134)

Over the course of the post-war period, the UK became a more multi-ethnic country than ever before as New Commonwealth immigration continued, albeit in lower numbers than before due to the introduction of legislative restrictions.

Immigrant groups of considerable size were liable to be seen and perceived as unfamiliar, unclean, unprincipled and were generally not welcomed as the presence of such a large set of newcomers served in many ways to highlight and intensify existing tensions within the host society. These societal reactions consequently led to the introduction of stricter legislative controls on immigration and changes to social policies. Marwick (2003: 132) infers that class divisions may have played a role in the British reaction to immigration. He identifies the influence of perceptions of Britain’s ‘great imperial heritage’ among ‘governing circles’ and the awareness of the serious labour shortages facing the country which combined to encourage immigration. On the other hand, Marwick notes that that working class and lower middle class communities who actually lived in the poorer areas where immigrants tended to congregate were more aware of everyday disruptions and problems.

The upheaval of the Second World War created huge demand for labour in the UK which was exacerbated by the effects of military conscription, and this resulted in large numbers of refugees coming to the UK. In terms of labour shortages, Black (2010: 181) notes that “Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians and Ukrainians arrived as European Volunteer Workers”. This was just one of a number of schemes introduced by the post-war Labour Government which favoured East European immigration at that time. Black also notes the unlikely example of Poles who came to the UK as political refugees from communism, stating that “the 1951 census recorded 162,376 people

as Polish-born" (*ibid.*). Based on the results of the 1971 census; "those born outside Britain amounted to 6.6 per cent of the total population" (Black, 2010: 182).

The UK joined the European Community in 1973, and its transformation into the European Union and the development of the single market in 1992 resulted in a new type of immigration to the UK – immigration from EU-member countries. As EU citizens are granted free movement within the EU, the UK cannot limit their migration there under EU law. However, the effect of this wave of immigration was not particularly apparent at the beginning in comparison to earlier waves of immigration; only at the turn of the millennium did this trend become much more significant. The reason for this process was quite straightforward. The founding members of the EU were all economically developed and strong countries and therefore large-scale immigration was not associated with them. In May 2004, however, ten new countries joined the EU; Malta, Cyprus and eight East European countries – the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia, countries which are also known as A8 or EU8 countries. The accession of these countries, as Vargas-Silva (2014:2) asserts, resulted in a notable increase in the inflow of the EU citizens to the UK:

Inflows of EU migrants were mainly flat for the 1991-2003 period, averaging close to 61,000 per year. With the inclusion of A8 citizens in the EU estimates in 2004, there was a significant jump in estimated EU migration inflows to the UK and the average annual inflow for the period 2004-2012 was around 170,000 EU migrants. As of 2012, EU inflows account for close to 32% of total migration inflows, a share that has remained relatively stable since 2005.

(Vargas-Silva, 2014:4)

The UK was among the three EU members (together with Sweden and Ireland) that chose to grant A8 migrants a full access to the labour market, with other EU member countries opting to impose some degree of restrictive measures. As Vargas-Silva states, "[t]his was possible because the accession agreements allowed existing member states of the EU to impose restrictions on the immigration of citizens from the new member countries for a maximum of seven years" (2014: 3). On this basis, A8 citizens were entitled take up employment in the UK since May 2004 provided that they registered with the Worker Registration Scheme². However, the UK decided to restrict access to state benefits as a form of 'partial' transitional measure. A8 nationals could claim income related benefits provided that they had been employed for at least one year. However, if they lost employment before having worked for full twelve months, they lost this entitlement. These

² Citizens of A8 countries who wished to work as employees in the UK for a period of at least a month were required to register with the Worker Registration Scheme.

transitional measures expired on 30 April 2011 which coincided with a period of economic recession.

Gillingham (2010: 24-25) summarizes A8 immigration to the UK between years 2004 and 2009 as follows:

Levels of A8 net migration increased in the years immediately following Accession, but have declined in recent years [2008-2009], due to a decline in inflows and increase in outflows. A8 migrants are engaged in the UK labour market and have experienced higher levels of employment in recent years [2008-2009] compared with the UK-born population. However, there has been an overall decline in the number of A8 migrants coming to the UK for the purpose of work, and the age structure of these migrants has shifted towards the older working ages.

As for the reasons for this wave of migration, the initial motives were work-related. Kahanec et al. (2010: 22) argue that “East Europeans were generally found to be unhappy with their lives, dissatisfied with their salaries and working conditions, concerned about the availability of good jobs and insecure about their current jobs”. Although there was a tendency for many to migrate and seek better working and living conditions, other factors also played a role such as later education-related motives and the intention of many to gain valuable English language skills. The fear of so called ‘welfare tourism’, which has become one of the most contentious issues in the UK’s politics, has been proven to be unsubstantiated as there is no specific evidence that A8 nationals migrated to the UK with the aim of exploiting welfare benefits.

In terms of the specific nationalities of A8 countries which dominated migration to the UK, statistics show that during the period from May 2004 to June 2008, “two-thirds [568,195 people] of those who have registered on the WRS [Worker Registration Scheme] came from Poland, followed by Slovakia (10%) [89,265 people] and Lithuania (9%) [78,970 people]” (Blanchflower and Lawton, 2010: 185). Even though A8 countries generally lacked any established ties to the UK prior to their accession to the EU, either cultural or linguistic, the case of Poland was somehow different. A significant number of Polish refugees had settled in the UK in the aftermath the Second World War, a presence which could be seen as a link between the UK and Poland and may explain why the majority of A8 immigrants to the UK have been Polish. To be more precise, “The Polish born population of the UK rose by nearly 550,000 from 95,000 to 643,000 between 2004 and 2011“and thus “Poles accounted for about 60% of A8 migration” (Migration Watch UK, 2013).

The accession of the A8 countries to the EU and the subsequent immigration of their citizens to the UK led to a significant shift in the tone of discussion about EU migration in the UK. Prior to the accession, the then UK (Labour) Government had commissioned a study which was intended to

predict the potential number of A8 immigrants³. The study indicated that the net flows were likely to be small and that “even in the worst-case scenario, migration to the UK as a result of Eastern enlargement of the EU is not likely to be overly large” (Dustmann et al, 2003). On the basis of the findings of this study, the UK government decided to open its labour market to A8 citizens. Needless to say, the sheer size of the inflow of A8 citizens to the UK which took place was thus unexpected, and migration became a salient topic of political debate for the following years. The government was heavily criticized for under-estimating the scope of A8 immigration, especially when it came to the number of Poles. In their article ‘How immigration came to haunt Labour: the inside story’ (2015), Watt and Wintour even argue that the failure of Labour Government to predict the surge in immigration “has spawned the emergence of Ukip and helped create four-or five-party politics in the UK for the first time”. Additionally, the UK Government decided to impose a different approach when it came to the further enlargement of the EU in 2007.

Bulgarian and Romanian (A2) Immigration to the UK

In 2007 two new countries, Bulgaria and Romania (also known as A2 or EU2 countries), joined the EU. This time the UK Government decided against making any official predictions of the potential future inflow of A2 nationals to the UK. Similarly, a different approach to that concerning A8 countries was taken concerning the access of A2 nationals to the British labour market, with the UK Government opting to impose a series of restrictive measures. Initially, the UK Government decided to impose restrictions for a two-year period which would be reviewed on an annual basis. Ultimately, the restrictions remained in force for the entire period of seven years, only finally being lifted on 1 January 2014. The restrictive measures applied to Bulgarians and Romanians in the following manner:

Low-skilled Bulgarian and Romanian nationals [could] only apply to work as seasonal agricultural workers or on sector-based schemes ([at the time] limited to food processing); highly-skilled Bulgarian and Romanian workers and workers with specialist skills are admitted, as previously, on the basis of work permits.

(Bulgarian and Romanian Accession to the EU: Twelve months on, 2008)

³ The report was produced by the Home Office. Due to a lack of data on migration from East European countries because of the Cold War era, the authors used Commonwealth countries as a model for their predictions. It was predicted that ‘between 5,000 to 13,000 net immigrants per year averaged over a ten-year period’ would enter the UK. By contrast, ONS estimated that ‘between 2004 and 2012, the net inflow of immigrants from new members was 423,000’ (Watt and Wintour, 2015).

These restrictions, however, did not apply to self-employed persons. Similarly, as the restrictions were aimed at restricting the migration of workers, they did not apply to students.

Given the earlier experience with A8 nationals, and with Polish migration in particular, politicians were rather unwilling to make any official predictions of the potential numbers of Bulgarian and Romanian migrants likely to come to the UK, although Mark Harper, the then immigration minister, expressed his view by saying that:

[t]here would be no mass migration of Romanians and Bulgarians to Britain when the labour market curbs were lifted in January. He said there would not be repeat of the mass arrival of Poles in 2004 and suggested people were more likely to go to work in Germany, Italy or Spain than come to Britain.

(Travis, 2014)

David Cameron's coalition government ministers wanted to avoid being ridiculed over any inaccurate estimates as had happened previously when Tony Blair's government underestimated immigration from A8 countries in 2004⁴. Moreover, one of the coalition government's manifesto commitments was a plan to cut net migration to the UK to the 'tens of thousands'⁵ as David Cameron himself feared that the level of immigration to the UK was already too high. In order to discourage massive immigration from A2 countries the government focused on reducing the pull factors and thus increased border controls and restricted access to benefits for EU migrants.

Migration Watch UK, an independent and non-political think tank that campaigns for reduced migration to the UK, however, released one of the very few official estimates of the future inflows of Bulgarians and Romanians. The organization said that:

Our view is that they [Bulgarians and Romanians] are likely to add between 30 and 70,000 to our population in each of the next five years of which about half will appear in the immigration statistics. So our central estimate is 50,000 a year or 250,000 in five years.

(Migration Watch UK, 2013)

⁴ Alan Travis (2013b) introduces the view of former home secretary Jack Straw who claimed that a "spectacular mistake" was made in 2004 when academic estimates suggested that only 15,000 Polish and other east European migrants at the time would go to Britain". These academic estimates were produced by University College, London "which calculated that 15,000 Poles and others would arrive each year, was based on an assumption that all the other EU countries would open their borders when former communist states joined in 2004".

⁵ On 25 March 2013 the then Prime Minister David Cameron delivered a speech on immigration in which he said that "[i]mmigration was far too high and badly out of control. Net migration needs to come down radically from hundreds of thousands a year to just tens of thousands ". He also promised to introduce new controls that would restrict migrant's access to healthcare, housing and social benefits. (Immigration speech by the Prime Minister, 2013)

In contrast, a Foreign Office-commissioned study by the National Institute of Economic and Social Research challenged the claims about a potential huge wave of Bulgarian and Romanian immigration. The study instead stated that it was quite unlikely that Britain would be a preferred destination as Spain, Italy and to a lesser extent Germany would be more likely to attract migrants from Bulgaria and Romania. The study also researched the current population of Bulgarian and Romanian citizens in the UK in 2013 and found out the numbers were relatively low: "26,000 Bulgarians and 80,000 Romanians". The population was described as "overwhelmingly aged under 35 and tend to have slightly higher skill levels than similar migrants in the rest of Europe. They tend to work in hospitality, cleaning services and construction" (Travis, 2013a).

Since government officials were reluctant to provide estimates, the media and the national press in particular, readily filled in the gap and started to predict large numbers of migrants, claims which prompted a heated public debate. Newspaper editorials warned that Bulgarians and Romanians would come in a "flood" of hundreds of thousands and would strain the British welfare system and public services once the restrictions were lifted (Easton, 2014). It has been argued that part of the public debate was also politically motivated as UKIP (The UK Independence Party) very publicly voiced its agenda on greater restrictions on immigration and their call for British withdrawal from the EU. The "hysteria" surrounding the immigration debate peaked in 2013, the year in the run-up to transitional controls being lifted. The public was anxious about fears of a possible large influx of immigrants who would potentially take up the jobs of British people and abuse the welfare system. In their study on the British national press and coverage of the issue of migration, Vicol and Allen (2014: 2) found that "[f]rom 1 December 2012 to 1 December 2013 [...] Britain's 19 main national newspapers [...] published more than 4,000 articles, letters, comment pieces and other items mentioning Romanians or Bulgarians". Even though some of those newspaper items reported news stories unrelated to migration, the majority of their coverage was related to migration issues. The media reported that "large numbers [of immigrants] from these countries will be a 'catastrophe' for British citizens and that a 'crusade' should be launched to prevent new migration flows" (Glennie and Pennington, 2013:6). One view on how to prevent these flows which was presented in the media was the option to retain the controls on the number of immigrants that could settle in the UK, but it was stressed, that this would not have been legally possible. Another alternative was to limit migrants' access to welfare benefits to ensure that the welfare system would no longer constitute a pull factor. The negative media reporting on the possible surge of Bulgarians and Romanians in 2014 did not go unnoticed by the governments of these two countries. Their representatives in the UK issued statements concerning the issue, with Konstantin Dimitrov, the Bulgarian ambassador, predicting that only between 8,000 and 10,000

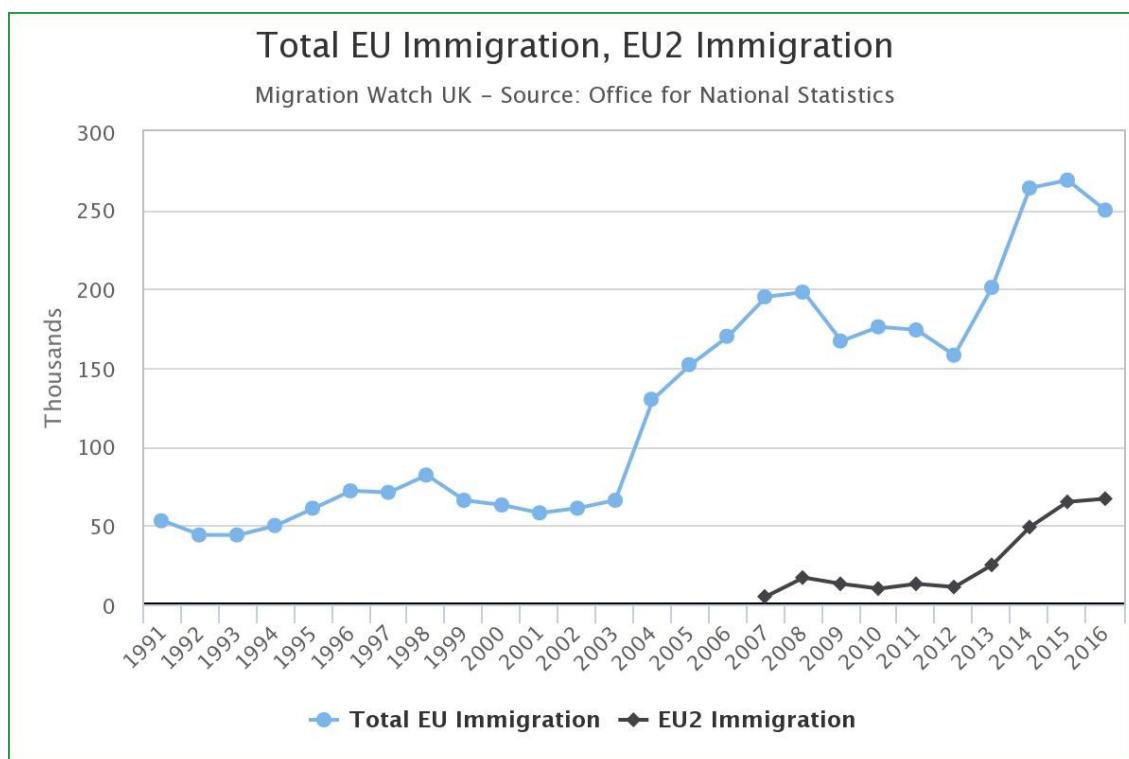
Bulgarians would come to Britain and criticising the ‘bombastic’ predictions reported in the press. In contrast, Ion Jinga, the Romanian ambassador, estimated that between 15,000 and 25,000 people could arrive in the UK from Romania⁶.

As Figure 1 shows, the imposed restrictions, however, resulted in much lower numbers of migrants from these two countries than had been predicted in the media. The ‘flood’ of migrants that scaremongering newspapers had predicted failed to materialize. Travis (2014) also confirms the low figures, stating that:

The labour force survey figures show that there were 122,000 Romanian and Bulgarian nationals working in Britain in March this year [2014] – a fall from 125,000 in December [2013], just before the last of the seven-year transitional controls were lifted on the new EU members on 1 January.

This could be explained by the fact that the range of possible destinations for Bulgarians and Romanians in 2014 was different than that which was available to A8 nationals in 2004. Only three countries – the UK, Ireland and Sweden – opened their labour markets to A8 nationals in 2004, whereas in 2014 a number of other EU countries (for example Germany, France or the Netherlands) had lifted their restrictions. Moreover, several EU countries including Spain and Italy had opened up their labour markets prior to 2014.

Figure 1: Total EU Immigration and EU2 (A2) Immigration to the UK



Source: Migration Watch UK, Office for National Statistics

⁶ ‘Diplomats: Up to 35,000 Bulgarians and Romanians will come to UK’ BBC, 23 April 2013

The number of A2 immigrants to the UK appears to have continued to grow at a steady pace since the accession in 2007 (see Figure 1). A notable growth took place in 2014 when the restrictions were lifted, but it was not as dramatic as had been predicted and that continues to be the case. As of September 2014, 37,000 Bulgarian and Romanian citizens were estimated to have migrated to the UK (Migration Statistics Quarterly Report, May 2015). In the year ending September 2015, the level of A2 immigration had increased to 55,000 (Migration Statistics Quarterly Report, May 2016).

Since there are still differences in job opportunities between the UK and the new EU member countries, it is only reasonable to expect that immigration from EU countries will continue to be significant. In fact, migration from EU countries to the UK may equal that of non-EU immigration for the first time if the current trend continues.

The differences in migration trends between EU and non-EU citizens reflect the different rules in place regarding their right to immigrate to the UK. These rights are specified in immigration laws which have become much tighter in order to prevent mass migration. Needless to say, this is the result of previous experiences of mass migration to the UK which had led to the creation of a multi-ethnic society in the UK.

Immigration, National Identity and the Other

It has been commonly assumed that the migratory movement of people who have entered the territory of a host country either legally or illegally may result in ethnic and cultural diversity and also potentially challenge the national order within the host country. The inflow of immigrants may challenge a nation to redefine or reinforce its own sense of national identity and clearly define and distinguish the ingroup (the members of the nation) from the Other (in this case, foreigners). As Triandafyllidou (2001: 3) explains:

The coexistence of different nations or ethnic groups on the same territory requires the identity of each group to be constantly negotiated and reaffirmed if the sense of belonging to the group is to survive. It requires a constant redefinition of the ingroup that must be distinguished from Others who might be geographically, and also culturally, close.

It is through this type of development that national identity can undergo the process of change. However, the main capacity of this line of thinking – to define who is a member of the community (and therefore the part of ‘We’ or ingroup) and who is excluded (as a foreigner and therefore part of ‘They’ or the Other) – endures.

As the concept of national identity implies the existence (or presence) of the Other, the existence of each nation then presupposes the existence of some Other nation, from which it needs to distinguish itself. Triandafyllidou (2001: 26) argues that national identity constitutes a “double-edged relationship”. On the one hand, it implies “commonality within the group” as it joins together the members of the nation according to common characteristics. On the other hand, it also implies difference as it needs to distinguish itself from the presupposed Other (a different nation). It is therefore possible to state that a nation could be defined both internally and externally. In this sense, a nation should also be defined in contrast to other national communities therefore in an external sense (Triandafyllidou, 2001: 32).

Each nation has encountered the presence of at least one more nation or ethnic group over the course of its history. Triandafyllidou refers to such groups as to Significant Others which she defines as “other groups that have influenced the development of a nation’s identity through their ‘inspiring’ or ‘threatening’ presence” (*ibid.*). The ‘inspiring’ presence is manifested when Significant Others are perceived as an object of esteem and admiration, and therefore become the target of imitation by the nation. On the other hand, the ‘threatening’ presence of Significant Others poses a danger or a threat to the nation and is therefore despised and rejected by the nation. In this way Significant Others can pose a challenge to the culture, self-determination and even possibly territory of a nation (or ingroup). Triandafyllidou (2001: 34) distinguishes between two types of Significant Others – internal and external. The former is represented by those who share the same political entity as the ingroup and the latter by those who form a separate political unit. These types of Significant Others could be perceived as either inspiring or threatening to a nation, but it should be also taken into consideration that a nation itself could either form part of a larger multinational political unit or could be organized in a nation-state.

Regardless of the nature of the political unit (whether it be a national or a multinational state), ethnic minorities hardly ever form inspiring Significant Others as ethnicity as such is traditionally considered to be a lesser type of identity in comparison to a national identity. The second type of internal Significant Other is that constituted by immigrant communities. As was mentioned above, immigrants may pose a threat to the national identity of a host country which can lead the nation to subsequently undergo the process of redefinition. Triandafyllidou (2001: 36) postulates that “[t]he negative and threatening representation of the immigrant seems to be an

intrinsic feature of the host – immigrant relationship, and this derives, in part, from the fact that the immigrant's presence defies the social and political order of the nation”.

In order to understand the role of the immigrant as a threatening Significant Other, the dynamics between a host nation and its immigrants need to be examined. This could be done by detecting the changes in immigration legislation and the notion of citizenship. Immigrants are not citizens of the host country and are thus perceived as foreigners, or Others. However, acquiring the status of citizenship is not always a sufficient guarantee of the social integration of immigrants, and it may be considered necessary to integrate them to the national narrative of the host country. Even though there are some countries where immigrant communities have been integrated into the national history, it is not unusual for these communities continue to suffer discrimination. One example of such a country is the UK, where citizens of former colonies were granted British citizenship (under certain circumstances) based on the links between the UK (the ‘mother country’) and its former colonies (Commonwealth countries).

The post-war period saw the UK being forced to deal with two phenomena – the transformation from an imperial power to a multinational state and large-scale immigration from New Commonwealth countries and other European countries. The influx of former colonial subjects resulted in a revival of the debate over British national identity. Given the fact that British identity was strongly tied to the Empire; “the post-war era is characterised by a vacuum of identification for the British” (Triandafyllidou, 2001: 63). This conception therefore needed to be reconstructed and the immigration debate became a key issue in this respect. As Triandafyllidou (2001: 64) specifies:

Two main discourses were confronted in the effort to create a sense of national identity out of dismantling of the Empire: on the one hand, a Commonwealth inclusion discourse, and, on the other hand, a nationalist anti-immigrant exclusion discourse. [...] Quite interestingly, both the Labour and Conservative parties participated in either discourse.

In that way, as the Empire with all its colonies ceased to exist, Britishness was reduced to white Britishness linked to common descent⁷. As was argued by Enoch Powell in a speech in 1968, “the West Indian does not by being born in England become an Englishman” (speech at Eastbourne, 16 November 1968, quoted in Gilroy, 1987: 46). Even though Powell’s views on race had negative consequences for his career, we can see reflected here some of the general attitudes towards

⁷ Triandafyllidou distinguishes between ‘imperial Britishness’ which she sees as reaching out and incorporating other cultures and nations of the Commonwealth and ‘national Britishness’ which, on the other hand, she sees as needing protection from ‘contamination’ from alien cultures (2001: 65).

immigrants who were stigmatized by society as Others. Cesarani (1996: 64) illustrates the notion of white British identity on a dual approach to two different groups of immigrants: during the period of 1947 – 1951 over 200,000 East Europeans settled in the UK and as they were “deemed to be ‘assimilable’, they were given ready access to British nationality by means of naturalization”. However, in contrast, a group of West Indians seeking work in Britain were considered “problematic” and therefore encountered difficulties in assimilating based on being branded as too different by the dominant population in the UK. “So non-white people who were British subjects with a perfect right to enter Britain were constructed differently to white people who were technically alien, but whose Otherness was less threatening” (*ibid.*) As Cesarani aptly notes, “contrary to popular belief, the potential of immigration to expose the nerve of national identity and raise questions about nationality is deeply rooted in British history” (Cesarani, 1996: 60).

The restrictive immigration policies that were introduced in the UK during the post-war era created limitations on the possibility of acquiring the status of a British subject and consequently also contributed to the stigmatization of immigrants as Others, and thus their exclusion from membership of the ingroup. Since the post-war era was dominated by New Commonwealth immigration, which brought in people of different origins, cultures and races⁸, both culture and race constituted significant markers on the basis of which the members of the ingroup (host country’s nation) could easily distinguish themselves from foreigners (Others). In this context, non-white immigrant residents in the UK were assigned the role of an internal Threatening Other. The reasons for this can be explained by the fact that the boundary between Others and the ingroup was easily distinguishable through its sheer ‘visibility’ and also by the colonial legacy that marked the relationships between the home nation of the UK and the New Commonwealth countries. The ‘Othering’ of non-white immigrants marked the redefinition of national identity in the UK in second half of the twentieth century. In the 1990s, however, the focus was placed on a different group of immigrants, those from the European Union member-states. EU immigrants therefore began to be anticipated as a new source of potential Significant Others who seemed poised to threaten the already redefined sense of British identity that was itself largely a product of the contrast with another form of immigrant Other.

National identity in the UK has been redefined through the discourse on immigrants. The media have played a significant role in the discourse on immigrants as they constitute a public arena in which issues concerning society are defined. This is especially true about the newspaper press as it is through the newspaper media discourse on immigration that various dimensions of national

⁸ Race is understood as “a set of phenotypic characteristics that are linked to social, cultural and psychological traits supposedly characterising the members of a community” (Triandafyllidou, 2001: 75).

identity could be elaborated and reproduced. Moreover, the press discourse has helped to create and reproduce ethnic stereotypes which often take the form of a national character. Thus, the representation of immigrants in the press, especially when negative in nature, may be seen as a means of supporting the process of the Othering of immigrants.

2 British Media Discourse

It has become generally acknowledged that the media have developed into substantial social institutions through their power to not only reflect but more importantly to shape culture, politics and social life through the media discourse which they create. This power is usually exercised through the choice of language that is used to report and describe specific events. While this allows the media to interpret and mediate reality, it could also be argued that it even gives them the capability to construct a certain version of reality.

As one of the oldest parts of the media industry, newspapers have retained their dominant role in shaping British society through their readership and they continue make a significant contribution to the formation of the national character. While this is certainly the case, we should also bear in mind that British newspapers are also a product of the history of the country. This can be seen in rather specific peculiarities such as a sharp division of the industry into quality publications or broadsheets and more popular titles known as tabloids, the specific characteristics of the language which British newspapers use and the political orientation of individual titles.

A Short History of British Newspapers

Stokes postulates that “[p]ublishing is the longest lived of the media in Britain, and one of the most influential” (1999: 10). Although originally having been involved in the medium of books, publishing “can be traced to the introduction of the printing press to Britain in 1476 by William Caxton” (*ibid.*). Ever since its introduction, publishing has been a highly influential part of British media, not only in terms of the publication of books but also through issuing of periodicals. Publishing periodicals, which include both magazines and newspapers, dates back to the seventeenth century in Britain (Stokes, 1999).

The long history of publishing newspapers in Britain can be traced back to the so called corantos⁹ of the early seventeenth century which typically consisted of a single sheet printed on both sides and contained news from abroad, especially if a military conflict was involved. However, when talking about early British newspapers it should be borne in mind that not all of these early publications conformed to the definition proposed by Joseph Frank of the newspaper as a document

⁹ The name derives from ‘current’ as of current news.

“being printed, appearing at regular and frequent intervals and concentrating on current events” (quoted in Black, 1987: xiv). The main issues here involve the regularity and frequency of the publications since the very early papers were printed a somewhat occasional basis, often only when a newsworthy event had occurred. However, the growing public interest in news resulted in the publication of new titles, some of which also attempted to cater to the readers’ need for domestic news. As Black summarizes, English newspapers underwent significant changes in the eighteenth century: newspapers began to expand into publications of more pages, and although they were still largely dominated by foreign news, domestic news also began to be included. The improved distribution of newspapers and in particular increase in staff allowed “their greater differentiation in function” (1987: 281), which resulted, for example, in the appearance of Sunday papers. Curran (2002: 5-6) also adds that:

The growth of the press also contributed to the expansion of the political community. As newspapers became established in more places, and increased their circulation and political coverage, so they extended the boundaries of the political nation, both horizontally to include peripheral areas distant from London and vertically to include people lower down the social scale.

Towards the nineteenth century “[i]n Great Britain the struggle for press freedom and for basic democratic rights only narrowly preceded the business roots of international media development” (Chapman, 2005: 23). The interference of the government in the operations of newspapers was quite common, but this was by no means a trait restricted only to Britain at that time. The outbreaks of revolution across Europe in 1848 in particular, underlined the significance of the relationship between the press and politics, with the press having taken a salient role during the tumultuous events of that year. The expected outcome of the press involvement in the events was the granting of press freedom which liberals at the time believed, “would lead to a flowering of political discussion on a variety of ideas” (Chapman, 2005: 45). As Sparks explains “[h]istorically, ‘freedom of the press’ has been one of the key issues around which the struggle for democracy has been fought” (1999: 41). By the end of the nineteenth century:

The [British] press became dependent for its profits upon commercial advertising rather than political subvention or a high cover price, this influenced the presentation of politics and the relationship of editors and proprietors to politicians and parties.

(Chapman, 2005: 49)

British newspapers typically supported one political party or another; however, they readily criticized these same parties when their sense of political morality called for it, a trait which resulted in newspapers retaining some degree of political independence. In addition, after the abolition of the Stamp Act¹⁰, newspapers in Britain underwent a rapid process of industrialization in order to satisfy the rising demand for their product. New technologies such as the rotary press enabled larger print runs which in turn resulted in a reduction in the price of newspapers (Chapman, 2005: 56-65) and increased the significance of profits from advertising. Black (1987: 288) credits advertising revenue with even greater importance, arguing that:

[i]t has been suggested that the growth in the advertising revenue of certain important papers enabled them to become independent of political sponsorship and was the most important factor in enabling the press to emerge as the fourth estate of the realm.

Baldwin even credits the technological innovations of the nineteenth century such as steam engine with enabling “a more efficient method of making paper” and the telegraph as a means of transmitting news more effectively, thereby providing newspapers with the capacity of “for the first time [being] able to truly serve the “mass” audience” (2003: 96).

Earlier trends concerning newspapers in Britain endured into the first half of the twentieth century; namely, the dependency on advertising deepened through further commercialization and the concentration of newspaper ownership into chains and the ownership of multiple titles, creating media moguls or the press barons. These types of “publishing empires” prompted newspapers to become even more independent from political parties, although “this actually had a destabilizing effect on the public sphere” (Chapman, 2005: 162). Chapman enumerates several examples of such destabilization including *The Daily Mail* and its role in the Labour Party’s failure in 1923 and the use of newspapers for propaganda campaigns against the Conservative Party (*ibid.*). Moreover, the position of newspapers weakened in light of the surging popularity of the radio; a process which was especially marked during the period of the two wars when radio became the dominant medium of news reporting mostly due to the shortage of newsprint. As it was to appear later, this was not the first ‘media war’ (Chapman, 2005) that the British newspaper industry appeared to be losing to a new medium.

¹⁰ The Stamp Act of 1712 imposed a tax on publishers of newspapers called “newspaper stamp duty”, which was abolished in 1855 (‘30 June 1855: *Newspaper stamp duty abolished*’).

The second half of the twentieth century saw the newspaper industry entering another ‘media war’ with the growing popularity of the medium of television. Although the decline of the newspaper had been predicted by many, the industry proved to be resilient. Snoddy even labels the supposed collapse of newspapers as a ‘media myth’ and disparaged the ‘precise long-range forecasts’ according to which “newspapers would be gone by the year 2000” with their “potential assassins [...] seen as first radio, later television and later still the internet” (2003: 19). Predictably, however, British papers did in fact suffer a significant decline in circulation but in doing so they only followed a trend which was common to other European countries during that time.

Nevertheless, newspapers maintained their resilience by developing novel ways by which to survive the changing market conditions. Those ways had to be creative given the increasing competition from the wide range of television channels and even radio stations. One such approach was the introduction of free daily newspapers¹¹ which were intended to appeal to younger readers in particular. The rise of the Internet consequently led to the introduction of another inevitable press strategy, the launch of online editions of newspapers (Chapman, 2005: 247). These were actually online versions of the printed newspapers which delivered news digitally and could be accessed via the Internet on a computer and later on mobile devices such as tablets and smartphones. As Curtice and Mair (2008: 165) noted:

In fact, the industry has embraced the internet by developing their own websites, using them to make available not simply an electronic version of their printed pages but also a continuous news service (thereby overcoming one of the disadvantages of newspapers as compared with the broadcast media) together with additional background material for which there is insufficient space in the printed version.

Needless to say, the trend of declining readership appeared to be irreversible. Even though online editions seem to have gained more popularity since their establishment, newspapers have discovered to their dismay that digital versions tend to generate lower profits than printed format and therefore many newspapers struggle to retain as many readers as possible even in the twenty-first century (‘Independent to cease as print edition’). As Baldwin (2003: 98) summarizes:

By the end of the [twentieth] century, competition from the electronic media, increased operating costs, and competitive pressures within the newspaper industry itself had reduced the number of British papers significantly with [...] the popular dailies having the largest circulations.

¹¹ They were distributed free of charge, usually on public transport, hence the name free papers.

Towards the end of the twentieth century and in the 1990s in particular, British newspapers encountered one more significant trend and that is the process of tabloidization in quality papers. McNair describes this trend as the shift of “British journalism away from difficult subject matter, towards material which is easy to make and consume but lacking in social relevance and significance” (2003: 48). It has been argued that this process, also known as ‘dumbing down’, could arguably be seen as a bid to gain a wider readership. McNair (*ibid.*) argues that:

Quality’ journalistic media have been forced to go down market (hence the term ‘tabloidisation’), adopting the structures of news values, marketing techniques and modes of address characteristic of the popular press since its establishment in the late nineteenth century.

In an alternative approach, Coperías-Aguilar and Gómez-Mompart (2013: 241) see the tabloidization in broadsheets more as a reflection of the changes in society. These changes are reflected in the way in which identities are culturally constructed and which results in press models (those of broadsheets and tabloids) becoming dynamic.

The beginning of the twenty-first century was marked by the controversy of a phone hacking scandal which led to a highly publicised trial and “the closure of 168-year-old News of the World tabloid” (‘Phone-hacking trial explained’). Moreover, the scandal damaged the already battered reputation of tabloids and “painted a picture of a press that has slipped out of the gutter and into the sewer” (Freedland, 2012). All of this consequently contributed to the deepening of the decline in readership. However, as Greenslade (2015) stated in his article, “Britain is defined by its tabloid newspapers. It is the only country to have developed a competitive, national, popular press, and in so doing, to have created a nationwide tabloid culture”.

To be fair, it is not just tabloid newspapers but newspapers as a whole have played a key role in the formation of British society and it must be acknowledged that this relationship is in fact reciprocal in nature, as British society has also influenced the content of newspapers.

Characteristics of British National Daily Newspapers

As Sparks points out “[t]he UK press is distinctive in that there is a large group of big-circulation national newspapers that dominate the press scene” (1999: 44). He also lists two possible factors responsible for this distinctiveness, the first being the relatively small geographical area populated by a relatively prosperous and numerous nation, and the second being the fact that political power in Britain is concentrated in London (*ibid.*). Chapman further explains that it was actually during the inter-war period that “Britain developed a stronger national press at the expense of the provincial press, which became a market mainly for evening papers, with national morning papers, supplied by London-dominated chains, as the norm” (2005: 160).

In 2015, there were twelve national daily newspapers¹² published in the UK, but this number has since fallen to eleven following the decision of *The Independent* to end the print edition and to switch to an only online edition paper in March 2016 ('Independent to cease as print edition'). However, it is still the case that this is still a substantial number of titles, meaning that the competition among eleven national newspapers is particularly fierce, with each paper striving to acquire as large a share of the market as possible (Conboy, 2006). Even though this competition might seem straightforward at first glance, when ownership of national newspapers is taken into consideration one realizes that “70% of the UK national market is controlled by just three companies (News UK, Daily Mail and General Trust and Trinity Mirror)” (The Elephant in the Room: a Survey of Media Ownership and Plurality in the United Kingdom). In contrast to their national counterparts, British local newspapers have “grown ever more local; increasingly [becoming] a vehicle whose prime purpose is to deliver classified and retail advertising” (Tunstall, 1996: 60). When referring to local (or as he calls them ‘provincial’) press, Sparks even declares them to be “relatively powerless bodies” (1999: 45). Tunstall (1996: 75) further specifies that:

‘Newspaper’ has come to mean for most British adults either a super-local freesheet or a supernational London tabloid. While the national press has migrated towards East London, the regional press has melted down towards the parish pump and local classified advertising.

¹²*The Daily Telegraph, The Times, The Guardian, Financial Times, Daily Mail, Daily Express, The Sun, Daily Mirror, Daily Star, Morning Star, The Independent, and i.*

British national newspapers are internationally known for their somewhat sharp division into two very distinctive groups – quality and popular papers. “The quality – popular distinction was sharply drawn by 1945” (Seymour-Ure, 1991: 32) as the popular papers became even “more entertainment oriented” (Curran, 2002: 67). However, it should be stressed here that the terms ‘quality’ and ‘popular’ are used in this study as synonyms for broadsheets and tabloids as they might, as Jucker (1992: 47) suggests, indicate a particular understanding of the value of these types of newspapers. An overview of British national papers as well as their type, ownership and orientation as to the political spectrum is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: British national newspapers: type, ownership and political orientation

Title	Type	Ownership	Political orientation
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	Quality	Telegraph Media Group	Centre-right
<i>The Times</i>	Quality	News UK	Centre-right
<i>The Guardian</i>	Quality	Scott Trust Limited	Centre-left
<i>Financial Times</i>	Quality	Nikkei Inc.	Centrist
<i>Daily Mail</i>	Popular	Daily Mail and General Trust	Centre-right
<i>Daily Express</i>	Popular	Northern & Shell	Centre-right
<i>The Sun</i>	Popular	News UK	Centre-right
<i>Daily Mirror</i>	Popular	Trinity Mirror	Centre-left
<i>Daily Star</i>	Popular	Northern & Shell	Centre-right
<i>Morning Star</i>	Popular	People's Press Printing Society	Centre-left
<i>i</i>	Popular	Johnston Press	Centrist

Sources: O'Driscoll (2009), The Elephant in the Room: a Survey of Media Ownership and Plurality in the United Kingdom (2014)

It is a truism that this rather specific polarization has generally been based on three main aspects: content, sources of finance and circulation.

In terms of content, the quality or broadsheet papers present themselves as providing predominantly serious news content, often publishing longer stories. They “devote much space to politics” and “cater for the better educated readers” (O’Driscoll, 2009: 153). They are also concerned with economics and sports. Popular or tabloid papers, on the other hand, devote less coverage to politics as they primarily focus on light news, human interest stories and the entertaining touch. They are often characterized as “‘quick read’ material with stories running to less than 400 words” (Tunstall, 1996: 11). However, even popular papers “carry some narrowly political information, particularly at election times. Obviously, sport, scandal and soap have political implications, even within the narrow official definition of politics” (Sparks, 1999: 54). However, it should be pointed out that the distinction between broadsheets and tabloids was originally based on their print format as both these words specify the distinctive size of a newspaper: quality papers were printed on large-size paper known as broadsheet and popular papers were printed on smaller-size paper called tabloid. Today any distinction on the basis of paper size is largely redundant because in 2014 two of the quality papers, *The Times* and *The Independent*, adopted a tabloid format (or compact as they prefer to call it) for their print editions. *The Guardian* followed them in 2005 by adopting the so-called Berliner format¹³, “which is halfway between broadsheet and tabloid” (O’Driscoll, 2009: 153). However, the process of tabloidization in broadsheets, as argued by Coperias-Aguilar and Gomez-Mompart (2013: 236-38), has not only resulted in a change of format but also in a shift in terms of content towards reduction in foreign news and an increasing focus on tabloid-like features. Nevertheless, the distinction between broadsheets and tabloids can currently still be applied to British newspapers content-wise.

In terms of different sources of finance, “the broadsheets rely primarily on advertising revenue, while tabloids rely primarily on sales or circulation revenue” (Tunstall, 1996: 12). This is undoubtedly the effect of the different readerships usually associated with the two types of newspapers. In general, it is assumed that the readership of quality newspapers is predominantly comprised of members of upper and middle class, while the popular papers are more associated with working class readers¹⁴. Therefore, as Sparks states “those newspapers that can show they reach large numbers of rich people are able to command high prices for advertising space” (1999: 52) and can consequently rely on advertising revenue as the main source of finance. Popular papers, on the other hand, “are under market pressure to try to reach the widest possible audiences” (*ibid.*)

¹³ The berliner format is more typical for continental Europe and *The Guardian* was the first British newspaper to use it (O’Driscoll, 2009).

¹⁴ Bednarek states that “[t]he broadsheets draw 80-90 per cent of readers from the middle classes, compared to [...] around 30 per cent with tabloids” (2006: 13).

because the advertising space they provide is less attractive to advertisers given the social makeup of their readerships, and the cost of advertising in tabloids is correspondingly cheaper. Richardson provides the example of expensive car brands such as BMW which would be typically advertised to the rich and contrasts it with the ‘dodgy loan companies’ targeting the economically disadvantaged which fill the pages of most tabloids (2007: 80). As Sparks concludes, “what matters to a newspaper is not the total number of readers it attracts but the social composition of its audience” (1999: 52).

In terms of the circulation of newspapers in the UK, data is collected through a range of different surveys. One of the most prominent of these is the National Readership Survey (NRS) which covers both the print and online readership of British magazines and national and local newspapers¹⁵. Another respected survey is that published by the Audit Bureau of Circulation UK (ABC), a non-profit organization, which among its other activities, also publishes circulation figures of print and online British newspapers¹⁶. In addition, The twenty-fourth British Social Survey, especially the chapter written by Curtice and Mair (2008), provided newspapers readership data focusing on regular readership (their definition being ‘at least three times a week’) for the two categories of quality and popular papers and changes in readership between the years of 1983 and 2006¹⁷. Table 2 shows the percentage of British adult population reading newspapers regularly.

Table 2: Newspapers readership in Britain (1983 – 2006)

(% say read morning papers “at least three days a week”)

	1983	1986	1990	1994	1998	2002	2006
All newspapers ¹⁸	77	73	68	61	57	54	50
Quality	10	11	11	11	11	12	12
Popular	57	50	47	46	42	37	33

Source: Curtice and Mair (2008: 163)

Based on the data in Table 2, we can conclude that: 1) earlier trends in the overall newspaper readership’s decline continued during the years 1983 – 2006, 2) the decrease in the readership of popular papers mirrored the overall trend of declining readership and 3) quality papers retained their

¹⁵ <http://www.nrs.co.uk/>

¹⁶ <http://www.abc.org.uk/>

¹⁷ Curtice and Mair listed *The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *Financial Times* as quality papers and as popular papers they listed *The Daily Mail*, *Daily Mirror*, *Daily Express*, *The Sun*, *Daily Star*, *Morning Star*, *Daily Record*, *Today* (2008: 170).

¹⁸ Local newspapers readership is included in the ‘All newspapers’ category (Curtice and Mair, 2008).

readership even though this is relatively small compared to those of popular papers. The most recently available circulation figures for British national daily newspapers which are presented in Table 3 only corroborate the ongoing trend of declining readership. However, there are some examples of a slight boost in circulation such as in the case of *The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *Daily Star* and *i* but this may be related to the Brexit referendum held on June 23 (Ponsford, 2016).

Table 3: Circulation of national daily papers in the UK: 2014 - 2016

Title	Circulation	Circulation	Circulation
	June 2014	June 2015	June 2016
<i>The Independent</i>	63,505	57,930	---
<i>The Times</i>	393,530	389,409	449,151
<i>The Guardian</i>	185,313	171,218	171,723
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	514,592	489,739	496,286
<i>Financial Times</i>	220,532	214,256	199,359
<i>Daily Mail</i>	1,673,579	1,626,846	1,548,349
<i>Daily Mirror</i>	958,674	855,987	770,714
<i>Daily Express</i>	479,704	432,565	421,057
<i>Daily Star</i>	466,935	416,379	513,452
<i>The Sun</i>	2,033,606	1,818,935	1,755,331
<i>i</i>	286,356	274,556	294,223

Sources: Turvill (2015), ABCs: National daily newspaper circulation June 2014 (2014) and Ponsford (2016)

Hence, in terms of circulation, we can see that the tabloids have retained their supremacy over the broadsheets (ABCs: National daily newspaper circulation January 2014). The British national daily newspapers reach estimated 6.9 million readers every day (Ponsford, 2015). Although the number of readers per day has been decreasing for some time (see Table 2 and Table 3), national daily papers in Britain have maintained their ability to influence and shape British society not only through the stories they choose to publish but also by the language which they use to tell these stories. In summary, these two types of newspaper are, in Bednarek's words, "distinct in selection

¹⁹ Data for *The Independent* in June are not available since the newspaper switched to an online only format in March 2016.

(content) and presentation (language, style)” and also differ in “design, typography, the use of photographs and other visual techniques, and the formality of language” (2006: 13).

A further typical trait of the British national newspapers should certainly be added to the already discussed list and that is their partisanship. Chapman relates media to political change, emphasising the issue of “how far newspapers should be aligned to a political party or how far they should retain their independence” (2005: 104). As Seymour-Ure (1991: 193) has pointed out:

Papers of all kinds – national and local, daily and weekly, newspapers and journals of opinion – have a natural affinity with parties. Politicians and voters have traditionally expected, and often banked on, press partisanship.

However, as Sparks summarizes “[a]lthough newspapers in Britain are obviously and stridently partisan, they are not party newspapers in the formal sense” (1999: 45). In other words, they remain free from the interference of government influence and are often labeled as ‘the fourth estate’²⁰. Nonetheless, it should be borne in mind that the owners of the British national newspapers, almost invariably large organizations such as News International, retain the power to influence the content and editorial perspective of newspapers by, for example nominating key personnel.

Tunstall concludes that “the newspapers are likely to remain the most politically interested, most policy focused, most partisan, and most potent of the mass media” (1996: 427). British daily national newspapers are still considered to exert a remarkable level of influence on British society. They do so primarily through the discourse they create and especially through the language which they use to shape this discourse.

The language of British Newspapers

Bell considers the primary influence on the production of media content to be not only the intended audiences but also “the way in which language is used” (1991: 2). He acknowledges the importance of media language and even provides reasons why it should be studied:

First, [...] the uses to which language is put in the mass media are intrinsically interesting to us as language users and receivers. Secondly, [...] media generate a lot of the language that is heard in society. A third reason for looking at media language is that language is an essential part of the content of what the media purvey to us. Fourth, media language offers the linguist advantages over face-to-face communication.

²⁰ Implicit in this phrase is the suggestion that the press is sometimes in the UK put on a par with The House of Commons, The House of Lords, and the Sovereign.

He further describes the language of media as being “produced by multiple parties [where] journalists, editors, printers [...] are just some of the people who contribute to the publication of a news story” (33). Indeed, there is a general understanding that the role of journalists is not only to collect the facts but also to report them objectively in the form of news (or stories) that are free of bias and provide a fair and balanced account of the reported events; and to do so, in Fowler’s words, using language that is “unambiguous, undistorting and agreeable to the readers” (1991: 1). However, Fowler (1991) demonstrates that, contrary to general public understanding, language in newspapers is by no means neutral but is used instead to form ideas and beliefs, or as he states, it acts as “a highly constructive mediator” (*ibid.*). Behind the use of every expression in a text, especially in its linguistic form, there is a specific reason for that expression to be there. In other words, there are different ways of saying the same thing and the decision to use specific words or expressions in a newspaper is not a random or accidental act. The linguistic structure of the language of newspapers plays a key role in the construction of ideas and is a major concern in Fowler’s work (1991) which identifies the causes of linguistic variation (or linguistic structure) to be social, political or economic. He asserts that “the forms of language encode a socially constructed representation of the world” (Fowler, 1991: 37) and illustrates this interpretation with examples of texts from *The Sun* and *The Independent* which not only use different styles but also cater for their respective socioeconomically distinct readerships.

Further characteristics of news style are offered by Bednarek (2006: 15-16) who discusses its limitations by applying van Dijk’s (1988a) view and thus describes it as:

- a type of written discourse [that] must meet the general constraints of written/printed text
- controlled by the possible topics of news discourse: national politics, international politics, military affairs, social life, violence, disasters, sports, arts, science, human interest
- usually restricted to a formal communication style: colloquial, spoken language is deemed inappropriate, and only admitted within quotations (at least in the broadsheets)
- affected by time and space constraints: deadlines require fast writing and editing
- influenced by the specifics of printing and layout
- mass media outputs [that] appear periodically and accessible to a large audience. (Bednarek, 2006: 15-16)

As Jaworski states, “[i]t is also [an] unquestionable effect of the media to ‘pick up’ certain issues, however small, and turn them into stories” (2007: 272). Through its various iterations, the newspaper has long been “a story-telling medium” (Tunstall, 1996: 197) directly through the efforts of its journalists. Additionally, Bell even pronounces journalists to be “professional story-tellers of our age” (1991: 147). Therefore journalists, who usually tell us factual stories, must always be aware of which specific type of story fits in well with the particular newspaper for which they write, as “each newspaper carries with it a particular prestige, or a stereotyped image” (Bednarek, 2006: 14). This image is a reflection of the fact that both the readers and the ‘story-tellers’ (i.e. the journalists) each work with a stereotyped image of the other. Readers typically view journalists as a mere “institutional voice” (van Dijk 1988a: 75) and they identify the newspaper as the institution which is responsible for what they read. Consequently, a popular paper with mass circulation such as *The Sun* (see Table 2.4), typically covers different stories than quality papers with an elite readership such as *The Times*. However, identifying the appropriate type of a story is not the only priority for journalists; the language they use to write the story is of equal importance. Tunstall emphasizes that “[a]s part of their distinctive voice, particular newspapers each have their own house version of the English language and the British sense of humour” (1996: 197). The use of language specific to particular newspapers is one of the most useful editorial strategies for targeting the right types of readers. Referring to the distinction made earlier, quality papers typically use neutral language, while tabloids are known for their use of ‘emotionally charged’ language (Conboy, 2006: 25). Generally, the language style of popular papers can be described as chatty and colloquial, with frequent use of slang, while quality papers typically favour formal and correct language which makes use of specialist terminology. Bell even talks about a “specific ‘house style’” which he describes as consisting of “the minor style choices by which one news outlet’s finished product is different from another’s. It includes spelling and punctuation policies, and small but salient points of syntax and lexicon” (1991: 82).

Bignell (2002) also considers the way in which newspapers address their readers to be of significant importance, and he links linguistic signs and their combinations to ‘socially accepted codes’. In his understanding:

‘Popular’ tabloids use an orally-based, restricted set of vocabulary and sentence structures, while ‘quality’ newspapers use a more elaborated and complex set of codes which have more in common with written communication than spoken communication. This does not mean that ‘popular’ newspapers readers cannot write, or that they do not understand long words. The orally-based discourses of ‘popular’ newspapers connote familiarity, camaraderie, and entertainingness, as opposed to the connotations of authority, formality, and seriousness which are present in the discourse of ‘quality’ newspapers.

(Bignell, 2002:89)

Pérez Rodríguez and Prieto Arranz (2006: 176-179) discuss the trademarks of tabloid journalism and they identify the ‘essential features of tabloid writing’ as the use of very short and simple sentences, short paragraphs, the use of so called ‘screaming headlines’²¹, recurring syntactic features “such as the lack of easily retrievable verbs and articles, an overwhelming presence of compounds” (177) and also specific lexical features such as “the general inclusion of abbreviations, acronyms, puns and even words that are either exclusively or preferably found in the journalistic jargon” (*ibid.*).

Richardson further states that “media institutions typically do have explicit policies on at least some aspects of language use [therefore] some textual regularities may be the outcome of explicit style rules” (2007: 96). In other words, when a journalist from, for example, *The Times* or *The Guardian* uses a specific phrase or term, it can frequently be attributed to the language policy of the newspaper they write for rather than to the whims of individual journalists. The language policies of a specific newspaper are usually codified in style guides which provide journalists with the basic principles and rules including banned words, grammar and syntax norms, the correct forms of names and titles and other related issues. *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph* have exceptionally detailed style guides which are even available to the public online²². On the other hand, *The Guardian* decided to publish its style guide in book form in 2004 after it had been available online for some time. Readers had also been encouraged to offer their opinions on the rules and norms of the style guide (Richardson, 2007), with the authors of guide stating that “house style exists to help us communicate with readers” (Marsh and Marshall, 2004: 13). Richardson compares the styles of *The Times* and *The Guardian* briefly and illustrates some differences by providing examples of the choice of words, the use of accents in foreign words and their respective entries on swearing (2007: 96-100). Nonetheless, he also recognizes that style guides “are often changed in response to social circumstances and changing discursive circumstances – that is, changes in the audience or re-branding of the paper” (*Ibid.*: 97).

In summary, the differences in language between quality and popular British national dailies mirror the differences in content and in visual style – they use different layouts, typography, photographs and other visual techniques (Bell, 1991).

²¹ A ‘screaming headline’ is a headline format typical for tabloids, usually “occupying a whole page in order to draw everyone’s attention” (Perez Rodriguez and Prieto Arranz, 2006: 177).

²² For more information go to <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/styleguide/getting-started> and <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/topics/about-us/style-book/>

3 Frameworks for Media Discourse Analysis

Media discourse has been the subject of many critical studies not only within the field of discourse studies but also in various other disciplines. The main attraction for the study of this phenomenon is the unquestionable power which the media has in shaping the society. As van Dijk (1988b: 2) asserts, “[m]edia discourses in general, and news reports in particular should also be accounted for in their own right”. He clarifies his point further by emphasizing that the particular language that is used in newspaper texts could be accounted for as a specific sociocultural practice. Therefore, van Dijk (1988b) proposes that the structure of media discourse should be analysed not only in terms of grammatical, syntactic or semantic structures but also in terms of overall topics and schematic forms (*ibid.*).

Teun van Dijk, together with Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak are generally recognised as scholars who pioneered specific (and at that time entirely novel) approaches to (media) discourse analysis which resulted in a new framework which is now known as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA, from its beginning, has united scholars by offering common topics of analysis, questioning the status quo, and detecting the abuse of power in private and public discourse and through its unwillingness to imply a homogeneous method. Indeed, its lack of a uniform method is generally viewed as a specific strength of CDA, with its plurality of methodology and use various approaches offering researchers distinct advantages.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Blommaert (2005: 22) sheds some light on what makes discourse analysis critical by drawing attention to a group of critical linguists²³ associated with the University of East Anglia in the late 1970's, who:

²³ Critical linguistics developed in the UK in the 1970's and accentuated practical methods of text analysis which are closely associated with 'systemic' linguistic theory. It has been applied to various types of discourse, but its use in the analysis of the discourse of the press has been the most salient one (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 263-4).

turned to issues such as the use of language in social institutions and relations between language, power, and ideology, and who proclaimed a critical (in the sense of left-wing) and emancipatory agenda for linguistic analysis.

Similarly, Fairclough in his book *Language and Power*²⁴ (1989), explains the notion of using the word ‘critical’ as used in the specific sense “of aiming to show up connections which may be hidden from people – such as the connections between language, power and ideology” (5). In his book he interrelates the use of language and the unequal relations of power in Britain by analysing the discourse of Thatcherism. However, it should be noted here that Fairclough calls his approach Critical Language Study (CLS) and not Critical Discourse Analysis in his book, although he does admit that what he calls CLS is actually very close to CDA (*ibid.* p. 11).

Titscher et al. (2000) recognize CDA as ‘critical’ in two senses: the first based on the Frankfurt School (and on the work of Habermas in particular) and the other on critical linguistics. The former reflects Habermas’s view that a critical science not only needs to be self-reflective but must also take into account the interactions and their historical account. The latter refers to a critical direction in linguistics that sees that acknowledges the important relationship between linguistic and social structure and accepts that discourse cannot exist without social meanings.

In O’Halloran’s view, CDA is already internationally established and has emerged as one of the most widely adopted forms of discourse analysis. He sees CDA as “a branch of linguistics that is concerned [...] with highlighting the traces of cultural and ideological meaning in spoken and written texts” (2003: 1). In terms of written texts, O’Halloran acknowledges that news texts have been “a staple in CDA” (2003: 9) mostly because of their significance for modern culture. Moreover, he accentuates the fact that developments in CDA have been based on linguistic analysis having been interconnected with sociocultural analysis.

Weiss and Wodak (2003) in particular emphasize that CDA has never been and has never attempted to be a single uniform methodology of research. On the contrary, they describe CDA as ‘multifarious’ and oriented towards various methodologies (2003: 12). Blommaert, however, recognizes “a tendency within CDA to identify itself as a ‘school’” (2005: 24). This ‘school’ of CDA emerged from the network of scholars which included van Dijk, Fairclough, Kress, van Leeuwen and Wodak who met at a symposium in Amsterdam in 1991 (Wodak, 2001: 4). The symposium served as a forum in which these academics could discuss their different approaches to CDA and expose the “differences and sameness” (*ibid.*) of their views. Norman Fairclough, Ruth

²⁴ This book is generally considered to be a seminal publication in the development of Critical Discourse Analysis.

Wodak and Teun van Dijk happen to be the most referenced scholars within the CDA framework, and therefore it would be useful to discuss and examine their approaches to CDA, in order to provide an accurate overview of the discipline.

Fairclough's Approach to CDA

Fairclough, the first scholar from the 1991 group to be reviewed, focuses on the relationship between language use and social power. He understands CDA to be “as much theory as method” (Fairclough, 2001: 121) and therefore as a means of “bringing together theory and practice” (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999: 17). Fairclough introduces a three-dimensional framework for CDA in which discourse should be analysed as (i) a text (either spoken or written), (ii) a discourse practice (including the processes of text production, distribution and consumption) and (iii) a sociocultural practice. In other words, a three-dimensional ‘reading’ of a social event would consist of description (text), interpretation (discourse practice) and explanation (sociocultural practice). In Fairclough’s view, CDA is thus a kind of analysis (1995: 132-133):

[w]hich aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how much practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggle over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

In their book *Discourse in Late Modernity* (1999), Fairclough and his co-author Chouliaraki, aim to ground CDA by establishing its theoretical bases in two ways. Firstly, they place CDA within the field of critical social science by viewing “social life as ‘social practices’” and discourse as “one of a number of elements of social practices which are in a dialectical relationship” (1). Secondly, they also place CDA within the frame of critical research “on social change in contemporary society” (*ibid.*). However, they also recognize the importance of grounding CDA in linguistics. In addition, Fairclough (1995) and Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) provide an account of advances that occurred within the framework of CDA focusing on its importance and usefulness in uncovering the discursive nature of social and cultural change. They examine the language of the mass media as a site of the struggle for power by demonstrating that the assumptions about the neutrality of the media are mistaken in many examples.

Wodak's Discourse-historical Approach to CDA

Wodak shares Fairclough's view that CDA has a specific interest in the relationship between language and power (Wodak, 2001: 2). In her view, CDA regards "language as social practice" (Wodak, 2001: 1; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258) and aims to investigate, in a critical way, social inequality as it is conveyed, indicated or even legitimized in discourse. For Wodak, one of the main aims of CDA is to "demystify" discourses by deciphering ideologies" (2001: 10). This is due to the fact that, as she acknowledges, language itself is not powerful in its own right but acquires power through the uses which powerful people make of it. Therefore, CDA is interested in the ways linguistic forms can be used to express power manipulations.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271-80)²⁵ also propose eight general principles of CDA as follows:

- (1) **CDA addresses social problems;** that is, it constitutes an analysis of both linguistic and semiotic aspects of social problems and is therefore interdisciplinary in its nature.
- (2) **Power relations are discursive;** that is, they are exercised and negotiated in discourse.
- (3) **Discourse constitutes society and culture;** as discourse is salient in shaping society and culture.
- (4) **Discourse does ideological work;** therefore, texts need not only to be analysed in terms of their interpretation but also in terms of the social effect they may have.
- (5) **Discourse is historical;** therefore, it cannot be comprehended without a wider context.
- (6) **The link between text and society is mediated;** that is, it is seen as rather indirect.
- (7) **Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory;** that is, it can be interpreted in various ways based on audience and the amount of known context.
- (8) **Discourse is a form of social action;** that is, it is given by its main aim to uncover power relationships.

In addition, Wodak (2001) relates to Fairclough through her recognition of the importance of not just studying discourse (i.e. texts, either spoken or written) but also examining the processes connected to its production and ways of creating meanings in order to conduct a complete critical

²⁵ See also Titscher et al. (2000: 146)

account of discourse. She understands these three concepts to be inseparable within the framework of CDA.

Ruth Wodak and her colleagues in Vienna²⁶ have made significant contribution to the field through their development of a new approach within the CDA framework which they have termed the *discourse-historical method*. This approach is distinctive in “its attempt to integrate systematically all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of the many layers of a written or spoken text” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 266). The approach allows an analysis of the ways in which discursive practices change over time and across different genres. The discourse-historical method which they elaborated is intended to identify and also expose, through analysis, implied prejudiced utterances (or allusions) used by text producers in discourse, and is thus commonly used in studies on racism and prejudice (or other forms of racist and prejudiced discourse).

Van Dijk's Sociocognitive approach to CDA

Van Dijk's critical work has also focused on ethnic prejudice and racism and their reproduction in discourse. In his now well-known studies, he provided a critical analysis of news coverage of minorities and refugees (van Dijk, 1985; 1987, 1988b) and also scrutinized the role which the news media play in the reproduction of racism (van Dijk, 1991).

Van Dijk's approach to CDA is known as sociocognitive as he argues that cognition (personal and social) mediates the relationship between discourse and social structures. He elucidates that language users need to share common sociocultural beliefs in order to comprehend a sentence, interpret its subject matter or establish a connection between sentences. Similarly, language users also “express *opinions* and *ideologies*” by their choice of lexis, style and other rhetorical devices and thus “contribute to the construction of new ones or the modification of existing ones with their recipients” (van Dijk, 1997: 17). Therefore, language users (sometimes called ‘social actors’ by van Dijk) not only share knowledge about the rules applicable to grammar and discourse but also the rules social representations (such as opinions) with other members of society. In van Dijk's words, “in addition to individual cognition, discourse especially involves sociocultural cognition” (*ibid.*). According to van Dijk, in many studies in CL and CDA cognition

²⁶ The so called ‘Vienna group’ formed around Ruth Wodak at the University of Vienna and included Wodak’s colleagues and PhD students (e.g. de Cilla, Benke, Reisigl, and others).

is a missing link and therefore they fail to show how discourse structures are influenced by social structures (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 265-6).

In his chapter in *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* van Dijk (2001a: 252) defines CDA as:

a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality.

He does not see CDA as an approach or school in discourse studies but rather as a different ‘perspective’ of analysis in the field. In his view (2001a: 353), CDA research has to fulfill the following requirements in order to achieve its aims:

- it has to be ‘better’ than other research so as to be accepted;
- it should focus primarily on *social problems* and political issues, rather than on current paradigms and fashions;
- it should be *multidisciplinary*;
- it should try to *explain* discourse structures in terms of properties of social interaction and especially social structure;
- it should focus on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of *power* and *dominance* in society.

In addition, van Dijk (2001a) identifies power, especially the social power of groups or institutions, as the central concept in most critical works on discourse. In his understanding “groups have (more or less) power if they are able to (more or less) control the acts and minds of (members of) other groups” (2001a: 355). This power can take different forms as various resources may be employed to exercise it and it could even be integrated in the form of laws, rules, norms or habits. In that case it is typically referred to as “hegemony” (*ibid.*). Moreover, van Dijk perceives access to specific forms of discourse such as media discourse or political discourse as a source of power.

In his critical studies of international and national news Van Dijk (1988b) applies the theory of news discourse (1988a). He proposes that news should be studied as a form of public discourse and considers both the structural analysis of a news report and also its understanding by readers (in terms of social cognition of news participants) to be of crucial importance (1988a). The control of public discourse is in the hands of members of powerful social groups and institutions. One such enactment of this power is the control of the content and structures of the text (either spoken or

written) and thus the control of the topics which are dealt with and the power to change them. In van Dijk's view it is "one of the tasks of CDA to spell out these forms of power" (2001: 356).

On the whole, it is generally understood within the framework of CDA that discourse (either spoken or written) constitutes a form of social practice. Moreover, CDA is said to provide "a general framework for problem-oriented social research. Every text [...] is conceived as a semiotic entity, embedded in an immediate, text-internal co-text as well as intertextual and sociopolitical context" (Baker et al. 2008: 279). Therefore, as van Dijk (2001b: 117) adds, CDA is mainly focused on discourse related to "the reproduction of power and power abuse (dominance) and, hence, particularly interested in the detailed study of the interface between the local and the global, between the structures of the discourse and the structures of the society". Thus, it may be concluded that CDA is concerned with the analysis of discourse as a part of social, political and historical context and the practices reproduced through it.

CDA and CL Framework

With the advance of the new millennium, however, an innovative approach to discourse study is gaining momentum²⁷ as scholars have started to apply methodologies related to corpus linguistics (CL) in order to facilitate both qualitative and quantitative interpretations of data. Since its introduction as a complementary methodology to CDA, CL has already proven itself to be a popular tool in critical approaches to discourse.

Unsurprisingly, Mautner (2009: 33) goes even further by proclaiming CL and CDA "a natural match". Similarly, Koteyko (2006: 145) points out that CL and CDA share some features as they both view language as a social construct and accentuate not only the historical but also the cultural aspects of meaning production in discourse. One well-known example of such a study combining CL and CDA is that published by Baker et al. (2008) and their study of the discourse on refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press. Moreover, Koteyko (2006: 146) emphasizes the significance of data driven research when the relationship between linguistic and social aspects is being studied. Therefore, a corpus linguistics approach is often chosen as a complementary research methodology simply because it "approaches the study of language in use through corpora" (Bennett,

²⁷ It is generally recognised that corpus-based CDA methodology started to be employed in the mid-1990s and Hardt-Mautner (1995) is considered to be a seminal work. However, Baker et al. (2008) are generally understood to popularize the framework.

2010: 2) and it also helps provide answers to the question of identifying common associations of lexis and grammar with specific patterns.

Baker (2006: 10 - 12) further encourages fellow scholars to combine CL and CDA and thus apply corpus linguistics methodologies when analysing discourse by providing following advantages:

- Reduce researcher bias - by using a corpus we should be able to restrict our cognitive biases even though we cannot remove bias completely;
- The incremental effect of discourse – a discourse is circulated and strengthened in society via language use and therefore a corpus may be useful in tracing the evidence of underlying hegemony by finding repeated patterns;
- Resistant and changing discourses – corpus data may reveal the presence of counter-examples (or resistant discourse) and language change analysis may demonstrate that discourses are not static;
- Triangulation – using multiple methods of analysis enables researchers to perform validity checks of hypotheses, secure their findings with more interpretations and explanations, and respond flexibly to unforeseen problems in their research.

Moreover, by using corpus linguistics methods, computer software can be used to analyze large texts (*corpora*) and to document characteristics of words. The most commonly used corpus techniques include wordlists, collocations, clusters, and concordances. A plain corpus analysis, however, has its limitations as it is unable to provide interpretations and explanations. CDA then equips linguists with the techniques and methodology to analyse language in a semiotic action. To put it differently, CDA enables CL to provide answers to socially inspired research questions dealing with issues such as power, inequality or identity.

Consequently, a decision is often made to use a combination of the two approaches (CDA and CL) especially when the aim of the research is to examine language from a social perspective. In such a case the language data are usually provided from a tailored corpus, representing naturally occurring language (for example in the form of newspaper articles), which is later analysed using corpus linguistics processes such as frequency, concordance or collocation. Computational tools, such as AntConc or Sketch Engine, are typically used in order to facilitate the accurate identification of language patterns. In this approach, the data provided by CL become the starting point for a CDA study which then attempts to provide explanations or interpret the collocations and concordances. In summary, the synergy between CDA and CL as highlighted by Baker et al. (2008) has created an integrated approach that has since been replicated and has grown in popularity in the last decade.

4 A2 Immigration in British Media Discourse

It is generally acknowledged that one role which the media actually perform is that of providing their audience with a selective presentation of selective events as they exercise their power to choose what to report (i.e. determining which events are newsworthy) and how to report them (i.e. selecting the type of language used). Therefore, by selecting of both the events to be reported as news and the manner of their presentation, the media constitute their own copy of the real world. Fowler (1991: 12) refers to it as “a world [that is] skewed and judged”. He also understands the selection process to be subjective in terms of content and form. In the case of content, Fowler (1991: 11-12) argues that news media cannot be completely “neutral” and “unbiased” and thus news is inevitably mediated. The reader is required to read the news carefully and comparatively if he wants to “see through the veil of media representation” in order to discount the bias (*ibid.*)

The idea that news is actually a product has also been argued by Bell (1991) who understands it as not just mere facts but rather as an outcome of organizational structures and professional practices. He does not see the news as a solo performance; he considers it to be a typical example of language produced by multiple parties, acknowledging that there usually are a number of people who handle the copy of a news story and who are therefore, in a position to modify the language.

In fact, it is generally agreed that news stories or reports constitute a specific type of media discourse because they contain specific features which together with specific characteristics, make them stand apart from other types of discourse. On this basis therefore, newspaper discourse is certainly worthy of study.

An event only becomes part of news when it is selected to be included in a news report. Different newspapers treat this process of inclusion differently and this consequently leads to diversification in terms of both the form and the content of coverage. Therefore, the events covered and how they are reported is determined by the type of newspaper (either broadsheets or tabloids) and their ideological base (either liberal or conservative). Thus, in order to incorporate possible variations in both the form and content of newspaper coverage for the chosen group of people, four different newspapers were selected for use in this study to ensure that the various types of publication and ideological base were included. The main object of interest in this study is newspaper discourse or, more precisely, newspaper texts in the form of articles.

As any other texts, newspaper texts do not exist in a vacuum but are produced by someone (newspapers or journalists) for someone else (the readers) and they are, therefore, a reflection of a

society and culture. Consequently, they influence our everyday lives as “society is pervaded by media language” (Bell, 1991: 1). Fowler (1991: 1) sees the language used in newspapers as “a highly constructive mediator” as it is used to form ideas and beliefs. The purpose of the presented study is to explore the language used in selected newspapers and to determine more precisely how language is used to construct the representation of a specific group of people.

Representation is understood in this study as the process of producing meaning through linguistic structures in which media, in this case newspapers, are engaged; what is produced is not an exact copy of reality but rather a discursively presented reality. As Hall (1982: 64) puts it:

Representation is a very different notion from that of reflection. It implies the active work of selecting, and presenting, of structuring and shaping; not merely the transmitting of an already existing meaning, but more active labor of making things mean.

Therefore, the media representation of a certain event or a group of people provides a modified copy of reality which is intended to provide an “interpretative framework” for the audience through which they can understand the world (*ibid.*). In this way, the media manifest events in a particular way and it is the role of researchers to identify the patterns used to frame the events in this specific way. An example of such a study is that published by Baker et al (2013) who examined the representation of Islam in the British press. In case of the study presented in present work, the aim is focused on identifying the linguistic patterns that are used in newspaper articles. In more precise terms, the study aims to inspect the language used by selected British national newspapers in connection to mentions of Bulgarians and Romanians. Additionally, it also intends to compare the language used by the newspapers before and after the lifting of the restrictions in 2014 (therefore in years 2013 and 2014).

News or news stories are generally considered to be the most objective sections of newspapers and this media type therefore constitutes only one example of various parts or sections of newspapers. The other sections which will be examined are editorials (usually an article expressing the view of the editor/s on some current issue), columns (usually expressing columnists' views on an issue of the day), feature stories or features (usually human interest stories), extracts from sports (containing news about sports) or business and finance sections (provides information on banking, exchange rates, and related issues) and reader's opinion sections or letters to the editor (sections devoted to reader's opinions, reactions or comments). The corpus that was compiled for the purpose of the presented study contains articles from all of the above-mentioned of newspaper sections.

Methodological Framework of the Study

The main aim of the presented study is to analyse the UK national press representation of Bulgarians and Romanians in the years 2013 and 2014. More precisely, it aims to examine the language used to describe Bulgarians and Romanians (A2 nationals) and therefore corpus linguistics tools were employed in order to perform the quantitative part of the analysis.

Corpus linguistics methods were used to determine the frequency of occurrence of the target phrase (Bulgarian* and Romanian*) in the corpus and consequently reveal which words were most frequently used with mentions of Bulgarians and Romanians, and therefore a general approach which took frequency occurrence as the starting point of the quantitative work was followed. This was enabled through the use of AntConc software which is designed to be used mainly by corpus linguists to detect particular language patterns throughout the corpus. Within the AntConc software, concordance lines were used as these tools are considered useful when examining a corpus (Hunston, 2002).

In order to perform the qualitative part of the analysis, the tools of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) were employed. The CDA approach aims to make sense of the language used in the compiled newspaper discourse as the authors of the texts, in this case journalists, have the power to choose the words they use to name social actors in the stories which they write as newspaper articles. Therefore, the CDA approach used was that of textual analysis with a particular focus placed on the naming and reference of the selected group. This approach was chosen based on Richardson's assumption that the way in which people are referenced to or named in newspaper discourse has a considerable influence on the ways in which they are viewed by audiences (2007: 49). This interpretation is also in accordance with the view of Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 47) who use the term "text referential strategies" when talking about naming options. The authors suggest that the decision to name (or describe) a social actor (either an individual or a group of people) in a certain way "can serve many different psychological, social or political purposes [...] on the side of the speakers or writers".

The application of the CDA approach of textual analysis makes use of CL tools in order to provide a fuller understanding of lexical choices. The tools that were used to analyse the corpus are frequencies (or key word counts), concordances and collocations. Using frequency enabled us to identify how frequently the key words appeared in the corpus and in the respective sub-corpora. In contrast, concordance lines allowed us to view the context of the key words while the use of

collocation tools revealed which words occurred within a certain span of the key words and how frequently they appeared.

Outcomes of the Study

In order to conduct analysis of the representation of Bulgarians and Romanians in the British national press four newspapers were chosen to constitute a representative sample of British national newspapers. Two tabloids (*The Sun* and *The Daily Mirror*) and two broadsheets (*The Times* and *The Guardian*) were chosen to ensure that both different types and ideological leanings of British newspapers were represented in the study. Articles published by these newspapers in the respective time periods (2013 and 2014) were downloaded from Nexis UK and the corpus was compiled on this basis. The corpus used for the analysis consisted of 1969 articles and 1,157,283 words.

The analysis of frequency revealed that tabloids (*The Sun* and *The Daily Mirror*) published more articles which contained a reference to Bulgarian* and Romanian* than broadsheets (*The Times* and *The Guardian*) in both years. This illustrates the common division of the British press in terms of content. Even though immigration typically falls under the category of politics, a content type in which tabloids usually show little interest, the topic of A2 immigration and the removal of restrictions in particular proved to be of specific interest for the selected British tabloids. Given the previous experience with A8 immigration and the fact that the government was reluctant to provide any official estimated numbers, tabloid coverage of the issue focused on the anticipation of a certain magnitude of immigration from A2 countries.

By examining the corpus using Corpus linguistics tools we arrived at the following conclusions concerning the language patterns used in connection with Bulgarians and Romanians. A2 nationals were referenced in the corpus exclusively in the context of migration. The most frequent collocates of Bulgarian and Romanian (and Romanian and Bulgarian respectively) as adjectives were also related to migration in both 2013 and 2014 and in both tabloids and broadsheets ('migrant' and 'worker' being among top three collocates). However, the analysis revealed that while tabloids used the word 'immigrant' as one of the top three collocates, broadsheets used the word 'citizen' more often than 'immigrant'. In 2014 new nouns related to education appeared in the corpus, however, a closer inspection of concordance lines revealed that they were actually related to employment (for example, the case of a British company recruiting seasonal fruit pickers directly from Bulgarian and

Romanian colleges) and benefits for immigrants (for example, Bulgarian and Romanian students in the UK facing more difficult access to benefits).

These identified language patterns were inspected in more detail by examining concordance lines in order to study referential strategies – naming and reference – applied in the selected newspapers. Thus, textual analysis of the articles comprising the corpus used in this part of the research makes use of the language patterns identified by CL tools in order to allow referential strategies for representing social actors, in this case A2 nationals, to be examined and illustrated.

As Richardson (2007) and Reisigl and Wodak (2001) argue, the way in which people are named (or discursively constructed) influences how they are viewed. Therefore, naming choices provide journalists with the ability to highlight or downplay certain aspects. By choosing to name social actors in a certain way, journalists can thus either include them within or exclude from a social group (or category).

Within our corpus which is representative of the British national press, we identified several language patterns associated with mentions of Bulgarians and Romanians. In order to examine the naming and reference of the given group three aspects were of concern: nouns used after Bulgarian and Romanian (or vice versa), verbs following mentions of Bulgarians and Romanians (or vice versa) and also numerals and specific figures used in connection with A2 nationals. This analysis allowed a complete picture of how this group of people is represented in the British national press to be taken into account.

Interestingly, the analysis of the corpus revealed that British newspapers were not consistent in their use of adjectives referencing A2 nationals. The original search phrase (the node) Bulgarian and Romanian had to be complemented as the corpus revealed that the inverted version (Romanian and Bulgarian) occurred more often in the given discourse. Therefore, both versions were used as a search phrase in further analysis.

An examination of the corpus in order to find out which nouns were used after the adjectives Bulgarian and Romanian (and also Romanian and Bulgarian) revealed that both tabloids and broadsheets discussed this group of people exclusively in the context of immigration in 2013. The most frequent collocates of Bulgarian and Romanian (and also Romanian and Bulgarian) were ‘immigrant’, ‘worker’, ‘migrant’ in tabloids, and ‘worker’, ‘citizen’ and ‘migrant’ in broadsheets. The following concordance lines from the corpus illustrate how these words were used.

- The Government was last night accused of using an expected influx of **Romanian and Bulgarian immigrants** as an excuse to limit benefits for everyone in Britain. (Daily Mirror_2013)
- Many of the 22,000 **Bulgarian and Romanian seasonal workers** will leave as restrictions are lifted this year, the Migration Advisory Committee said. (Sun_2013)
- Meanwhile, an official report on expected **Bulgarian and Romanian migrants** to the UK was branded a “whitewash” by anti-immigration group Migration Watch- for giving no numbers. (Sun_2013)
- Labour has accused David Cameron of panicking over measures to curb benefits for migrants before controls on **Bulgarian and Romanian workers** are lifted in the new year. (Guardian_2013)
- Work has already begun across Whitehall to find ways to make Britain a less attractive destination for some **Bulgarian and Romanian citizens**. (Times_2013)
- From 1 January 2014, **Romanian and Bulgarian migrants** will have free access to the UK’s labour market following the lifting of travel restrictions put in place when the countries joined the EU in 2007. (Guardian_2013)

These examples illustrate how centre-left oriented newspapers (*The Guardian* and *The Daily Mirror*) were critical of the UK Government, most frequently for limiting benefits to migrants and for their apparent inactivity towards a possible influx of A2 immigrants. This type of criticism was not recorded in centre-right newspapers (*The Times* and *The Sun*).

In 2014, most frequent collocates of Bulgarian and Romanian (and Romanian and Bulgarian) were also related to the context of immigration: ‘worker’, ‘migrant’, ‘immigrant’ in tabloids and ‘worker’, ‘migrant’, ‘citizen’ in broadsheets. A certain shift could be identified in the fact that ‘worker’ was the most common collocate in both tabloids and broadsheets in 2014, which suggests that A2 nationals were perceived primarily as economic migrants who were entering the UK in search of work. Another shift could be identified in the new nouns connected to education which appeared in the 2014 sub-corpora adding a new element to the representation of A2 nationals in the press. The following concordance lines illustrate the use of nouns in the 2014 sub-corpora.

- The number of **Romanian and Bulgarian workers** in the UK soared by 40 per cent last year – even BEFORE restriction on them moving here were lifted. (Sun_2014)

- As many as 70 backbenchers have threatened to vote to bring back the restrictions on **Romanian and Bulgarian migrants** that were lifted on New Year's Day. (Daily Mirror_2014)
- It won't be long before the Right-wing press blames the floods on the UK sinking due to the weight of **Romanian and Bulgarian immigrants!** (Daily Mirror_2014)
- It said it is recruiting directly from **Romanian and Bulgarian colleges** because it can't "recruit from the indigenous population". (Sun_2014)
- Mills has revised his original amendment, which would have allowed Britain to maintain "transitional controls" on **Romanian and Bulgarian workers.** (Guardian_2014)
- The number of **Romanian and Bulgarian migrants** working in Britain has fallen since labour market restrictions were lifted at the beginning of this year. (Times_2014)
- The UK government faces a legal challenge over its suspension of financial support for thousands of **Romanian and Bulgarian students** who claim they are being used by ministers desperate to appear tough on immigration. (Guardian_2014)

The most discussed issue in both tabloids and broadsheets in 2014 was that relating to the non-appearance of an influx or flood (words which were used by tabloids especially) of A2 immigrants to the UK. Both tabloids and broadsheets discussed actual numbers of immigrants in comparison to earlier estimates. Centre-left newspapers also dealt with the political agenda of backbenchers who wanted to bring back the restrictions.

The portrayal of Bulgarians and Romanians as a group in the selected British national newspapers exclusively in the context of immigration was found to be reinforced by language patterns connected to the use of verbs associated with mentions of Bulgarians and Romanians (or Romanians and Bulgarians) in the corpus. Three groups of related verbs were identified in both the 2013 and 2014 sub-corpora, with all of them relating to the issue of immigration. The three groups could be labelled as inward movement ('come', 'arrive', 'move'), changing status ('gain', 'lift') and metaphors for water ('flood') and quantity ('flock'). Their specific use is presented in the following concordance lines.

- Campaign group MigrationWatch says 50,000 **Romanians and Bulgarians** could arrive here every year. (Guardian_2013)

- The PM is under growing pressure to limit the number of new migrants coming to the UK when 29 million **Bulgarians and Romanians gain** the right to live and work here. (Daily Mirror_2013)
- The PM hopes the move will prevent **Bulgarians and Romanians flocking** here to take advantage when restrictions are lifted in December. (Daily Mirror_2013)
- A proposed cap on EU migrants will not stop **Romanians and Bulgarians flooding** here, a senior Tory MP warned yesterday. (Sun_2013)
- When the transitional controls were lifted at the beginning of 2014, ministers refused to release any estimates of how many **Romanians and Bulgarians** might **come** to Britain. (Guardian_2014)
- The very modest numbers of **Romanians and Bulgarians coming** to work in Britain this year is in stark contrast to the inflammatory rhetoric of earlier this year. (Times_2014)
- And Westminster was not yesterday in a mood to trouble itself with the actuality, when official statistics revealed that the number of **Romanians and Bulgarians working** in Britain has not risen but fallen since immigration restriction were eased. (Guardian_2014)
- Very few **Romanians and Bulgarians arrived** in Britain after restrictions on them being able to work were lifted and even then, most are coming to work and pay taxes, not simply to claim benefits or use the NHS. (Daily Mirror_2014)
- Half-full planes and coaches arrived in Britain as the predicted tidal wave of **Romanians and Bulgarians flooding** the country turned out to be nothing more than a trickle. (Daily Mirror_2014)

When the two years are compared, however, it is obvious that in 2013 A2 nationals were referenced to predominantly by verbs related to inward movement, whereas in 2014 verbs predominantly related to the changing status and employment.

The use of numerals and specific figures in both tabloids and broadsheets completes the referential strategy of the naming and referencing of A2 nationals in the British press. This specific frame was found to be more frequent in tabloids than broadsheets and was also more prevalent in 2013 when compared to 2014. This arrangement reflects the common division of the British press in terms of content, as tabloids tend to use simplistic yet sensational language and would therefore be more likely to use figures that imply large numbers of immigrants coming to the UK. Similarly, the tendency to quantify immigrants in the press is more understandable in 2013 (prior to the lifting of restrictions) as no official estimates were available. The drive behind this tendency could also be

seen in the earlier experience with A8 immigration when the government underestimated the numbers of immigrants. The numerals and specific figures used in the corpus relate to both estimates and actual numbers associated with A2 nationals. The following concordance lines illustrate their use in the 2013 sub-corpus.

- Poll this week show 40% of voters believe **50,000 Romanians and Bulgarians** will come to the UK in 2014. (*Guardian_2013*)
- And now we receive news that **50,000 Romanians and Bulgarians** have their suitcases packed and will arrive here on January 1. (*Sun_2013*)
- On the day MigrationWatch estimated that **50,000 Romanians and Bulgarians** would soon be coming to Britain yearly, BBC Two put out a documentary that turned the calculation from a threat into a promise. (*Times_2013*)
- More than **385,000 Romanians and Bulgarians** could arrive in Britain over the next five years, a US think tank warned last night. (*Sun_2013*)
- David Cameron wants to prevent **29 million Bulgarians and Romanians** from jumping ahead of the locals in queue for health care, benefits and council housing. (*Daily Mirror_2013*)
- The Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme allows **21,250 Romanians and Bulgarians** a year to come to Britain to pick crops for up to six months. (*Times_2013*)

The first two numerals used in the examples refer to the estimated numbers of A2 immigrants and the latter two to the actual numbers; the former refers to the combined population of A2 countries and the latter to the specific number of migrants permitted under the legislation.

Numbers and specific figures related to estimates were more frequent in 2013 than 2014; actual figures of A2 immigrants available by 2014 and therefore numbers could be used to a greater degree in articles. The following examples from the 2014 sub-corpus illustrate their use.

- Ukip was criticized for saying that **29 million Bulgarians and Romanians** would have the right to live, work and draw benefits in the UK from January. (*Guardian_2014*)
- But figures out this week from Oxford University's Migration Observatory will show an extra **30,000 Bulgarians and Romanians** were here in the first quarter of 2014 compared to the same period in 2013. (*Sun_2014*)

- We were made to think hundreds of **Romanians and Bulgarians** would be at the gates – it's just not the case. (Daily Mirror_2014)
- The Office for National Statistics said there were **153,000 Romanians and Bulgarians** in the UK in the second quarter of the year. (Times_2014)

Overall, the tendency to refer to A2 nationals by numerals was lower in 2014. Centre-right newspapers showed a tendency to use genuine numbers provided by the official authorities, while centre-left newspapers inclined towards criticism of the predicted numbers from 2013, as is illustrated by the examples.

Taking all of the partial results into consideration, a slight shift in the representation of A2 nationals in the corpus could be identified in 2014, and there was a general convergence in how they were portrayed by tabloids and broadsheets in comparison with the representation 2013. Moreover, a shift could also be identified in the fact that even although A2 nationals were still mentioned in the context of migration in 2014, the language related to employment was more prevalent.

The result of our study thus serve as a modest example of how a relatively large media discourse can be analysed using the most recent frameworks in this case, the combination of two approaches of CDA and CL. This framework has proven to be particularly suitable in the analysis of newspaper media discourse in the new millennium, as the vast majority of newspapers both in the UK and abroad now operate in the digital world. Therefore, the CL approach and methods allow scholars to compile large (usually tailored) corpora and analyse large amounts of text in order to provide quantitative data while the CDA approach makes sense of the acquired linguistic data by putting it into context and providing explanations of the collocations and concordances revealed therein. Together with Baker et al. (2008), Mautner (2009), Koteyko (2006), Bednarek and Calpe (2014), and other scholars we would strongly encourage media discourse analysts to consider the use of the CDA and CL framework in their discourse analyses.

Conclusions

When journalists write articles, either in print or digital form, they are required to provide names for the people they write about or for the people who have participated in the events they are describing. This so-called naming entails a direct decision on the part of a journalist. By choosing a name to describe a person or a group of people (social actors), journalists also exercise a certain degree of power. As has been argued by Richardson (2007: 49), “[t]he way that people are named in news discourse can have significant impact on the way in which they are viewed”.

This is also true for British national newspapers which have long been considered to exert a significant influence on the attitudes of society towards the groups of people that are described in the discourse they create. By using specific language, the newspapers help to construct a specific identity that can be replicated further. In that way, newspaper discourse might support or possibly encourage the perception of immigrants, for example, as the Other.

Media discourse is therefore an excellent focus for analysis, in order to decode the discursive practices behind the selection of events to be reported and also the language which is used to report them. Critical Discourse Analysis is already a well-established framework in the study of media discourses, especially on the reflection of power and social issues within the discourse. However, the framework has withstood its fair share of criticism as it does have some limitations. In order to counter these deficiencies, new studies of media discourse have emerged which combine Critical Discourse Analysis with the methodologies of Corpus Linguistics to create a powerful and useful synergy. The seminal study that brought this new framework to a wider academic attention was that published by Baker et al. (2008).

The monograph presents an example of how this new framework could be used to study British national newspapers discourse. It analyses the language used by selected British national newspapers to characterise a specific group of people, in this case Bulgarians and Romanians. The representation of this group of people was selected for study due to the fact that these two countries (Bulgaria and Romania, collectively termed as A2 nations) were the latest group of countries to join the EU and because the immigration of citizens from these countries to the UK was prominently discussed in the British press. The coverage of this topic peaked in 2013 and 2014, as 1 January 2014 was the date when transitional limits on the numbers of migrants from these nations permitted to enter the UK were removed. Chapter 4 provides details of the study from the methodological view and also discusses the results of the study. The foregoing chapters offer context to the fields

related to the study as one simply cannot embark on research without examining all of the associated topics. In the case of this study, particular attention was paid to the peculiarities of the British press and the circumstances related to immigration to the United Kingdom. The monograph also introduces the possible advantages of the new framework, a combination of Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics.

Casting a critical eye over our research we recognize that it does have some limitations; a relatively smaller corpus and only a representative number of selected newspapers which could perhaps have been broader. Nonetheless, we believe that even such a small example of research using the new framework could benefit the field of media studies and possibly encourage fellow academics to study the topic further.

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