

**Discursive Representations of Migrants
as Victims and Perpetrators in the British Press:
A Corpus-Assisted Discourse Analysis**

by
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Abstract

This study explores the discursive representation of migrants found in British newspaper articles published since the EU accessions of 2004. It investigates how depictions of victims and perpetrators crime are justified, and the extent to which ideologies embedded in news accounts are reflective of the newspapers' political stances. A review of previous literature leads to the adoption of both corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis methodologies to examine 283 newspaper articles. Keyword and concordance analysis revealed strong collocation between migrants and extreme criminal deviance, which often worked to legitimise calls for stronger punitive measures. Romanians in particular were problematised as a threat to personal safety and domestic social order. Liberal titles were generally more favourable than conservative ones, broadly emphasising economic and judicial aspects of the debate.

The discussion examines newspapers' juxtaposition of an accepting, multicultural British community against a destructive migrant 'other'. Exceptions are found in Northern Irish reports nuanced by past ethno-nationalist conflicts, but overall a capricious delimiting of national identity betrays deep anxieties about losing sight of differences between 'them' and 'us'. Contrary to expectations, the results also suggest that political capital is being made in the liberal press by masking increasingly conservative ideologies with seemingly pro-immigration rhetoric. The article concludes by outlining further applications of a multidisciplinary framework in the analysis of immigration-centered journalism.

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Dedication

To my mother, an unfaltering source of love, guidance and encouragement:

“The heights by great men reached and kept...”

To Charlene: my biggest supporter, my best friend, my love.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Dedication	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Tables	iv
1.0 Introduction	5
2.0 Literature Review	7
2.1 Theoretical definition of Critical Discourse Analysis	7
2.2 Criticisms of Critical Discourse Analysis	9
2.3 Theoretical definition of Corpus Linguistics	9
2.4 Criticism of Corpus Linguistics	11
2.5 Theoretical definition of CADS	12
2.6 Evaluation of CDA and CL in combination	13
3.0 Methodology	17
3.1 The study in context	17
3.2 Corpus design	17
3.3 Methodology	18
3.4 Research questions	20
4.0 Analysis	22
4.1 General characteristics	22
4.2 Collocations and co-occurrence	25
4.3 Social actors	26
4.4 Figures	32
4.5 Headlines	33
4.6 Force interaction	35
4.7 Migrants as victims	36
4.8 Nationality, location and community	39
4.9 Figurative representations of migrants	42
4.9.1 Migrants as an uncontrollable natural disaster	43
4.9.2 Migrants as uncivilised and immoral	43
4.9.3 Migrants as subhuman	44
4.9.4 Migrant criminals as the enemy in a war	45
4.9.5 Migrants as fundamentally duplicitous	47
4.9.6 Migrant crime as terrorism	48
5.0 Discussion	50
6.0 Conclusion	55
6.1 Limitations and further implications	56
7.0 References	57

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Articles by newspaper title and political orientation	23
Table 2	Nature of reported offenses by newspaper	24
Table 3	References to nationals/non-nationals as perpetrators	25
Table 4	Breakdown of reported crimes by perpetrator/victim	26
Table 5	Grouping of migrants by co-occurrence	42
Table 6	Common figurative representations of migrants, migrant crime and migration	43

1.0 Introduction

1 January 2004 signalled the start of an eastward enlargement of the European Union that would increase membership from 15 to 27 states over the following three years. For the purposes of work or study, citizens of the ‘A8’ and later ‘A2’ countries were legally granted freedom of entry to the United Kingdom. By 2015, accession-born UK residents numbered 1.5 million, with the increase said to be one of the largest mass movements to the UK (Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich 2006; Vargas-Silva et. al 2015).

The British press have played an integral role in presenting the social, legal and economic ramifications of these changes; public attitudes towards migrants have been informed by reports conflating concerns about labour market competition, rising crime and the abuse of domestic welfare. Likewise, in a period marked by widespread terrorism and the increasing use of criminal legislation in the management of immigration and asylum, newspapers – each with their own agenda – remain instrumental in framing what is now a central theme in mainstream political manifestos (Aliverti 2012).

This study explores how newspapers’ ideological concepts are evidenced in discourse that has the potential to shape ‘public cultures of assumption, disposition and action’ towards migrant communities (Gregory 2004:28). While much research has explored the discursive representation of asylum seekers and refugees (Kaye 2001; Baker et. al 2008; Bradimore and Bauder 2012) and the criminalisation of immigration from a judicial standpoint (Wacquant 2006; Bosworth and Guild 2008; Aliverti 2012), the purpose of this study is to contribute to a growing body literature investigating how different sections of the migrant population – the innocent and the convicted, victims and perpetrators, settled or short term migrants – are presented in the media (Rasinger 2010; Bučar Ručman 2013 amongst others). It is hoped that this will bring a new perspective to the analysis of crime- and immigration-related discourse analysis.

The study is presented over four chapters. Chapter 2 reviews existing corpus linguistics (CL) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) methodologies used to unveil the ideological

stances behind linguistic constructions of social sub-groups. This section critically assesses the validity and suitability of such techniques in fulfilling the objectives of this study. Chapter 3 details the proposed methodology, namely an interdisciplinary procedure incorporating elements of both CL and CDA. The parameters of the corpus are defined, and the objectives stated as research questions. Chapter 4 presents a thorough analysis of the corpus data, beginning with content and collocation analysis before exploring how headlines, social actors, nationality and figurative language are employed to discursively construct migrants. Representations are also compared across newspaper types (broadsheets, mid-markets and tabloids) and political orientation (left- or right-leaning). The findings are compiled and discussed in Chapter 5, with the most salient themes from the analysis explored in detail. Finally, Chapter 6 concludes the study by summarising the main findings of the research. Limitations of the work are identified and suggestions for areas for further research are highlighted.

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Theoretical definition of Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) stems from a critical theory that perceives the use of language as a form of social practice (Fairclough 2003; Fairclough, Mulderrig and Wodak 2013:357). Although the methods and specific areas of investigation in Critical Discourse can vary greatly, analysts are united in their principal task of:

...laying bare... how language and discourse are used to achieve social goals and [affect] social maintenance and change.

Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard (1996:3)

Adopting the model of critical discourse theory established by Norman Fairclough (2003), this approach allows for in-depth analysis of relationships between choices made in grammar and vocabulary, and the wider social and interactional factors that underpin these decisions (Jones 2013). Consequently, themes of dominance, power relations and inequality have become a mainstay in the fields of research explored using CDA. Numerous studies, analysing media discourse in particular, have sought to expose the ways in which powerful public figures and entities manipulate language to enact, reproduce and legitimise their authority (Cheng and Lam 2012:177). Enquiries into issues ranging from human rights and national conflict to social unrest and depictions of race in educational resources have all capitalised on CDA's strength in contrasting competing voices in discourse. In such instances, these texts are depicted as sites of struggle where different ideologies battle to shape opinion and community identity (Wodak 2007), and show the extent to which dominant powers (and the audiences they address) rely on discursive practices as a means of constructing a moral, cultural or social other (Gee 2008; Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard 2003).

CDA came to prominence in the late 1980s and is now firmly established as a field of language study that has helped expand the scope of discourse analysis (Fairclough 1995). It provides a theoretical domain in which the social functions of language and

their effects are perceived as holding great significance. However, the term also encompasses a number of ‘schools’, each with its own approaches that continue to be appraised and developed. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to describe all of these strands in detail, in the context of this study mention should be given to Wodak’s Discourse Historical Analysis (outlined in Wodak 2007), which draws on social and institutional reference points and other relevant historical sources to explicate discursive events and place them within a socio-historical context; and also to Maas (1989, cited in Breeze 2011:494), who underlines the agency of both speakers and listeners in the propagation of a given ideological stance by scrutinising how ‘contradictions in society are inscribed in texts, and the way readers collude in such discourse.’ These methods are of particular interest in this study, as they situate discourse in a wider context that considers the effect of all of the social actors and elucidates what Cable (2015) refers to as their ‘tactical repertoire’: the internal objectives that impact textual substance and message formation, and that ultimately bestow true meaning to discursive practices. While these and other schools differ in their theoretical underpinnings, the many branches of CDA deal with the same micro-elements of discourse: they share a *critical* view of language and its presence in society, and attempt to integrate social theories with linguistic analysis (Kendall 2007).

Much of the research conducted using CDA methods focuses on what Fairclough (2000) sees as its three central tenets. The first explores signifiers of identity that structure society, such as gender in language (Lazar 2007) and social and racial classification (Wodak 2004; Koshravnik 2010). The second area examines how issues of culture society as a whole (Barker 2001; Gavriely-Nuri 2012). The third is discursal function, which sees language as a reproduction of power relations: for example, examining political language in war rhetoric and peace talks (Achugar 2007; De Leonardis 2008). Although chiefly concerned with text and talk, this extends CDA into mixed modes such as image (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996), music/sound (van Leeuwen 1999, 2012) and gesture (Partington 2006). By interpreting language through ‘a lens of political culpability and social justice’ (Owens 2012:6), CDA eschews reductionist or dichotomous depictions of social interaction processes and instead distinguishes the complexities in the workings of power and language, with the aim of bringing contradictions in discourse to the fore.

2.2 Criticisms of Critical Discourse Analysis

Studies by Duguid (2010b:215) and Baker et. al (2008) have raised methodological concerns regarding CDA and its capacity to reflect the ‘finer shades of meaning and nuances in representation’. Criticism has focused on its subjective nature and the potential for small, misleading or under-representative discourse datasets to adversely affect the findings of a study. In such instances, patterns of significance that are apparent only across much larger ranges may not be given due attention if more striking but uncommon linguistic features are interpreted as being genuinely indicative of the wider body of such discourse (Baker et. al 2008:282-3). Similarly, the assessment of CDA made by Zhang and Mihelj (2012:510) is that its methodology tends to be anecdotal rather than systematic and rigorous, thus conclusions drawn may merely bear out the preconceptions of the researcher.

Baker (2006) also points out that the ‘somewhat decontextualized’ nature of a corpora – that is, text detached from any accompanying sources of discourse – may detract from any hypotheses reached and might also call for further and more close examinations of language using a broader perspective; for example, using accompanying images or extra-corpus data to provide a contextual frame of reference. Although there are limitations to CDA’s capabilities, in its object to scrutinise text and analyse the oftentimes-opaque relationships between discursive practice and social structures, the reflective stance of CDA can offer a powerful and context specific critique (Mogashoa 2014).

2.3 Theoretical definition of Corpus Linguistics

Corpus Linguistics (CL) is broadly defined as methodology of linguistic analysis that adopts a principally functional approach to language, in the sense that ‘naturally-occurring’ discourse is meaningful only in its real-world function and context (Vessey 2013:3). The corpus itself is defined as ‘a large collection of authentic texts that have been selected and organised following precise linguistic criteria’ (Leech 1991:8; Sinclair 1996; Williams 2003 amongst others). Hence the structure and contents of a corpus are typically governed by sampling principles, such as the mode of discourse,

subject and variety of language, while its authenticity stems from the vast number of written and/or spoken texts that a corpus samples (Nesselhauf 2011; McEnery and Wilson 1996:87).

Through CL, the salient meanings and effects found in the inclusion – or indeed, the omission – of certain textual features, and similarities and differences in use, can be identified. CL uses empirical evidence found in corpus data as a credible source for the investigation and classification of these linguistic structures, and interprets the observed discourse to find ‘probabilities, trends, co-occurrences or groupings of features’ (Cheng and Lam 2013:175; Nesselhauf 2011). From these findings, the constraints and preferences associated with these words can be evaluated ‘for what they really are’ (Hanks 2012:405).

To arrive at such conclusions, corpus linguists typically focus on the study of keywords, collocations and concordances, all of which represent real-world instances of language that can be qualitatively analysed for their semantic and functional, or attitudinal meanings (Sinclair 1996; McEnery and Wilson 1996:87). Thus, CL adopts the position that language is inextricably bound with ideology. Linguistic enquiries made with CL offer a high degree of objectivity, much more so than the level achievable through introspection, intuition and anecdotes (Baker 2006:2-3).

In her analysis of New Labour’s social educational policies, Mullerig (2007) remarks that CL allows for the development of a systematic form of discourse analysis that can be replicated for the purpose of comparative studies. Having carried out a series of investigations on the same topic, Mulderrig finds that CL can be used to reliably ascertain patterns of change in the construing of the educational role of the government over a significant period of time. Thus, through the principled use of CL, corpora can be as ‘repositories of information on particular ways of talking about an issue’. Koteyko et. al (2007) adapt CL techniques in the study of media coverage of the 2005 MRSA outbreak in the UK. Collocation and word lists are employed to limit the effect of subjectivity in analysis, and are coupled with a comparison of the salient terms with articles and related government policy documents to check the accuracy of any intuitions of symbolism in the text. In his study of US media discourse making

reference to North Korea, Kim (2014) remarks that its strong quantitative element makes CL appropriate for establishing statistically supported consensus on systematic patterns of linguistic presentation for a wider body of source texts. In studies of media representations of refugees and asylum seekers (Baker et. al 2008) and Muslims (Baker et. al 2012) in British print media, researchers attest to CL affording a high degree of objectivity; the judicious use of corpora programmes and statistical sampling methods can minimise the effect of any preconceived notions of linguistics or semantic content, and provide a firm foundation on which to conduct focussed linguistic analysis (Baker et. al 2008:277; Čermák 2002:266).

2.4 Criticism of Corpus Linguistics

The use of CL has not been without criticism on a number of methodological issues (Vessey 2013), in particular for a disproportionate focus on quantification, which can abstract texts from the socio-political factors that would otherwise ‘situate’ the discourse. This disregard for the contextual framework of discursive productions has, according to Baker et. al (2008:279), made the sole use of CL unsuitable for investigations with a scope broader than the sampled texts themselves. Baker asserts that because CL essentially produces *decontextualised* language, the textual patterns contained within can only be made relevant in a wider sense if they are positioned in relation to other less mechanical analytical approaches. Research that relies solely on CL, then, is not seen to sufficiently take into account other perspectives that reconstitute and recontextualise the findings. Without any recourse to representative sources, it therefore lacks the real-world dimension that could ground and elucidate patterns in the text.

In spite of the explorative nature of CL, researchers have also made mention of ‘cognitive and confirmation biases’ reflected in the scope of the study and the sampling process, which can be indicative of covert expectations (McEnery and Gabrielatos 2006). For instance, greater credence may be given to data that confirms initial hypotheses, as opposed to equally valuing and being critical of that which contradicts them. In a similar vein, the exclusion of less frequently occurring collocates and keywords may result in a skewed or misrepresentative picture being produced

(Gabrielatos and Duguid 2014). Studies by Taylor (2013) stress the importance of searching for ‘similarity and stasis, as well as difference and change’ when analysing discourse, and of carefully observing the way in which these interact. Such an approach is necessary to achieve a balanced analysis that allows underlying themes in the language to be more accurately perceived.

Baker et. al (2008) also contests that many of the criticisms levelled at CL are in fact the result of restricted conceptions adopted by researchers. Studies that are limited to a descriptive, rather than interpretive application in the analysis of corpora will fail to capitalise on the broad range of linguistic samples that large data sets contain. In her investigation into the associative meanings of the word *elderly*, Mautner (2007) asserts that this charge can only be counteracted by careful consideration and planning at the methodology stage, in order to harness the full value of corpora and ensuring that conclusions are not drawn from imbalanced or ‘cherry-picked’ data that merely reflects the researcher’s own political persuasion. (Baker et. al 2012:258). In doing so this is said to lend greater empirical credence to the subsequent analysis.

2.5 Theoretical definition of CADS

Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (henceforth CADS) is broadly defined by Partington (2008) as a sub-discipline of CL wherein representative CL approaches are integrated in the process of discourse analysis. The earliest developments in CADS can be traced back to the pioneering work of Hardt-Mautner (1995). Her paper, entitled ‘*Only Connect*’: *Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics*, concluded that limitations in the two disciplines called for the development of an alternative analytical procedure employing both qualitative and quantitative approaches in novel ways.

CADS methodology differs from CL and CDA: it is considered more ‘eclectic’ in its approach, and has a remit that is not limited to the analysis of corpus data (Baker 2006). CADS investigates the form and function of communicative language by engaging with the text on a number of levels, extending to the use of extra-corpus data to support interpretation and identify areas for further analysis (Partington et. al 2013; Vessey

2013). As an example, studies conducted by Zhang and Mihelj (2012) into the discursive constructions of Hong Kong identity in print media, specifically its perceived sovereignty in relation to that of China, found that the level of independence attributed to Hong Kong is closely linked to the type of media outlet ownership and the presence of commercial imperatives. While previous research in other territories has presented findings of a similar nature, the study is significant in the ways in which it augments the corpus data to reach its conclusions. For instance, census data and geographical reports outline the patterns of migration and ethnic identity that have helped heighten or diminish a sense of interdependence between the two states; financial and employment-focused analyses were used to illustrate the effect of industrial development and social mobility on the increasingly autonomous tone of language over time; and overviews of historical and political developments highlighted the leanings of successive governments and their policies toward and away from China, as well as the comparative levels of media freedom in the two states.

The extra-corpus data used as part of CADS allows us to engage with ‘the questions of history and context’ (Fowler 1996:9). Zhang and Mihelj (2012) elaborate on the linguistic features captured in the corpus analysis, showing effectively how their evolution and use are informed by a number of extra-textual factors; this in turn allows them to posit more considered theories on the social functions and power vested in discursive practices.

2.6 Evaluation of CDA and CL in combination

The nature of the aforementioned fusion of traditional CL and CDA procedures indicates that in practice CADS it is not merely a simple transferal of one set of practices into another field of study. In fact, such descriptions are said to belie the complexity of the interaction between the two disciplines, and hence undermine the capabilities and applications of CADS in linguistic research (Gabrielatos and Duguid 2014). Although CADS is often highlighted as a nascent field of interdisciplinary study (Baker 2006; Duguid 2010a; Macgilchrist 2013; Flowerdew 2013), Gabrielatos and Duguid (2014) observe that developments in CL and CDA have wrestled with the

tensions between theoretical and methodological concerns, and continue to do so as they inform and interact with the CADS framework.

According to Baker et. al (2008:274) two distinct theoretical frameworks inform CL and CDA, and so whilst their linguistic research has been documented separately, the potential for using them together has not yet been explored in the same level of depth (Cheng and Lam 2013:174). However, there are an increasing number of research studies being undertaken that seek to combine and further develop both methodologies in useful and effective ways (Cheng 2012:2). In particular, the work of Stubbs (1997) and Jaworska and Krishnamurthy (2012) attest to how the use of both an inductive and deductive gaze can enrich the quality of text sampling, and allow for a deeper understanding of specific linguistic features and the social or political positions they uncover.

Though CL and CDA are said to deal largely with quantitative and qualitative analysis respectively, these polar distinctions are not considered helpful in identifying the true functions and applications of each discipline, and hence their role in CADS. It should be pointed out that with corpus data, the researcher uses this to manually sample, interpret and postulate – all *qualitative* processes. Also, because CL and CDA are pluralistic concepts (Gabrielatos and Duguid 2014), approaches from both disciplines can be adopted and adapted according to whether the research seeks to enhance discourse analytical elements or complement and augment corpus linguistics techniques (Vessey 2013). Referring to the conception of language expounded by Fairclough (1992, and cited by Cheng and Lam 2013:174), CADS can support a threefold outlook on discourse analysis. It is suited to close textual and linguistic analysis, analysis of social practice in relation to social structure, and interpretive analysis of that which people produce and make sense of through shared procedures.

Researchers have shown great interest in undertaking CADS-based studies to unearth ideological metaphors and motifs concealed within the calculated semantic preferences and prosodies employed across social domains (Zhang and Mihelj 2012:510). Macgilchrist (2013:341) further notes that combining the analytical procedures of CL and CDA is of particular value when examining the ‘deployment’ of language in

discourse surrounding the politics and presentation of race and identity. In various designs, CADS has been used as part of detailed inquiries into anti-Semitism in political speeches (Wodak 2007, 2014), manifestations of sexism in the choice of pronouns (Stubbs 1992), the use of racial identifiers (Krishnamurthy 1996), collocations of the terms *boy(s)* and *girl(s)* in text (Sigley and Holmes 2002), Western perceptions of Hong Kong (Cheng and Lam 2013), representations of feminism (Jaworska and Krishnamurthy 2012), and the framing of Muslims (Baker et. al 2012) and migrants and refugees in print media (Witteborn 2011; van Gorp 2005).

Morley (2009:10) holds the general view that central to CADS methodology is the notion that combined application of CL and CDA practices increases the researcher's analytical capability 'to an extent greater than would be predicted from the sum of its two methods'. For the subjects in each of the aforementioned studies, the indirectness and intricacies of meaning in the language (Wodak 2007:204, 213-4) has called for an integrative interdisciplinary methodology, where the implied presuppositions that underlie text production and trigger audience consent are revealed through a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches.

The true functionality of CADS is said to be harnessed by a continuous 'shunting' between CDA and CL, which grants a flexibility not afforded to either discipline individually (Luke 2002; Duguid 2008; Marchi 2010). This creates a cyclical process: the research question leads us to critically examine a relevant dataset, and at the same time the scope of analysis is expanded to include longer passages of text and contextual information. The findings of this close reading of discourse *in context* can suggest further avenues for qualitative and quantitative exploration, thereby restarting the procedure with new set of research questions (Partington 2013; Taylor 2013:85). The findings of the aforementioned studies suggest that only by moving between CL and CDA can this be achieved.

Duguid's (2010b) assessment of CADS methodology finds that examining discursive practices using a corpus-assisted analysis can reveal much about social class, power relations and conflicting ideologies, and the opposition that is constructed and embedded in socio-political language. Cheng (2010) expounds on how a mixture of CL

and CDA approaches can yield a contextualised and detailed investigation, citing Baker et. al's (2008) analysis of the discursive presentation of refugees and asylum seekers in the British press as an example. In this study, broad, statistics-based overviews are employed in tandem with close readings of selected stretches of discourse: the study first focuses on identifying and explicating statistically significant lexical patterns in the selected corpus, then employs related extra-corpus information to support and frame the findings from the detailed textual analysis.

Scholars who remain critical of some of the methodological and theoretical strands running through CL and CDA recognise that CADS is a useful framework, in that it addresses many of the apparent weaknesses and exploits the strengths of the two methodologies that constitute it (Vessey 2013:3; Zhang and Mihelj 2012:510). Partington (2008) notes the 'incremental effect' of collecting numerous examples of a discourse construction and examining (in a contextual framework) the non-obvious meaning that these contain or can trigger when shared among a discourse community. The accumulation of information regarding linguistic features, their co-occurrences and context achieved through such use of corpus data can broaden the investigation of language (McEnery and Wilson 1996).

Ultimately, the judicious use of CADS is an opportunity to contribute to a methodological synergy between CL and CDA (Baker et. al 2008:274). Within such studies, it is possible to bolster the quantitative capabilities of corpus methodology, thereby reinforcing the assertions put forward through CDA with reliable empirical evidence (Cheng 2010). By taking advantage of the overlapping and complementary methods unique to each of the two disciplines it is hoped that this interaction can deliver advantages to the study, grounding it in more robust explanations so that new and deeper levels of analysis can be added to the research.

3.0 Methodology

3.1 The Study in Context

Studies by Khosravnik et. al (2012) show that as the dynamic and contrast in political debate increases, so does the intensity of the discourse in society and media spheres. In this study the quantitative component of the analysis considers new stories published from 2004 onwards. This period is striking in that it is marked by a sharp upturn in the level of political and public debate around immigration issues – and subsequently in the amount of media coverage – due in no small part to the accession of 10 new member states to the European Union on 1 May 2004, and a further two on 1 January 2007, both as part of its eastward enlargement. Previous British governments that had favoured stronger laws and sentencing for criminals also brought concerns about criminality and punitive justice to the fore, and in the run up to the 2005 UK General Election these became central themes in both liberal and conservative political manifestos, along with intra-EU migration and its possible (largely negative) effect on society and the economy (Charteris-Black 2006). Thus, it was felt that the correlation and apparent spike in the reporting of immigrant-related news events at this time formed a suitable chronological entry point into the investigation.

3.2 Corpus Design

The corpus was compiled in order to gain a balanced and representative picture of the topic and type of discourse over a relevant time span. The linguistic analysis concentrates primarily on keywords and collocations found in British news publications, and is restricted to online and print articles that make reference to crimes, whether alleged or proven, involving migrants. These types of discourse were selected because of the central role newspapers continue to occupy in the mediation of everyday life (Conboy 2006). According to van Dijk (2015:3), the ability to frame communities, identities and related political debate through news coverage makes few discourse types as ‘prevalent, dominant or relevant’ (also Brookes 1999). A broad selection of titles was included on the basis of their large circulation figures and sustained readerships over the

period in question. In addition, the cross section of reader demographics (e.g. broadsheet vs. tabloid, conservative/right- vs. liberal/left-leaning) provides a more comprehensive backdrop for further analysis and allows the ideologies found in contrasting conceptualisations of events and political positions to be made manifest (Richardson 2004; Conboy 2006; Hart 2015).

Specifically, the corpus is based on the texts found in 286 articles taken from national newspapers including *The Times*, *The Telegraph*, *The Mirror* and *The Sun*, based on keyword searches in the *LexisNexis* database. *LexisNexis UK* is a dedicated newspaper database that archives print and online articles from local and national publications. Though it does not feature in-built corpus analytic tools, the information from *LexisNexis* was imported as *.TXT* data into the *CasualConc* software where the computerised aspects of analysis of CL could be performed.

3.3 Methodology

In empirical social research it is necessary to design and implement a methodology suitable for retrieving sufficient amounts of quantitative and qualitative data to be representative, and also that enables detailed analysis to be conducted (Wodak and Meyer 2003; Masso 2009). The methodological procedure in this instance uses the main tenets of CADS – that is, the mutually complementary combination of quantitative techniques from CL and qualitative methods found in CDA – and augments these with elements drawn from contextual analysis tools. In keeping with CADS’ stated objectives, the study seeks to find significance and meaning in discourse through the contrast and comparison of linguistic events and the qualitative study of discourse in context (Kotekyo 2012). In doing so we can ascertain what is expected, and what is unusual or meaningful in the texts.

The initial stages of CADS are concerned with compiling, organising and interrogating a corpus; this exploratory phase follows the methodological recommendations made by Gabrielatos (2007) and Partington (2006). Specifically, it entails the compiling of a suitable corpus, beginning with the query terms *immigrant**, *migrant** and *foreign*

*national**; the former was included due to the frequency of interchange in usage and an apparent overlap in definition between immigrant and migrant (Baker et. al 2008; Anderson & Blinder 2014). In order to focus results on only the most relevant and informative texts, the keywords *crim** and *police* were also used. For the same reason, stories based outside of the UK were removed. This combination of search terms allowed for closer examination of the linguistic associations between criminality and identity, while also presenting the opportunity to understand the effect of *cultural keywords*: words or phrases that ‘express meanings important to a society or culture’ (Mahlberg 2014:221). For instance, it is anticipated that the values that surround *migrant crime* will generate particular socio-cultural perceptions and a field of meaning around those involved (Mahlberg 2009).

Next, basic content analysis will be carried out on the articles to identify the range of topics that the corpus covered. As the significance of linguistic features can often be indicated by frequency and co-occurrence (Koteyko 2012), CL techniques will be then used to identify lexical patterns of interest; at this stage articles and prepositions will be largely ignored, being no more likely to appear in proximity to the keywords than anywhere else in the corpus. Upon detecting such patterns, the examination can be extended to concordance lines or whole texts where necessary (Stubbs 1994). In turn these lines will be used to find patterns of collocation – the frequency with which certain words co-occur with other words – and ascertain what is actually being communicated in these semantic preferences (Partington, Taylor and Duguid 2013).

Because patterns in corpora ‘embody social values and views of the world’ (Stubbs 1996:158), these tendencies for co-occurrence (and also the existence of any notable irregularities) can reveal intentions behind grammatical and lexical choices, and highlight discursive constructions for further investigation.

Although CDA is not said to consistently adopt a single theoretical viewpoint (Wodak and Meyer 2002), the discourse analysis in this study will be conducted in the tradition of Fairclough (1992) and augmented with the discourse-cognition-society triangulation put forward by van Dijk (2012). This qualitative assessment serves three purposes: it links the text to the social beliefs and evaluations involved in the discourse, questions

the motivations of social actors in the presentations of their arguments and identifies the nature and wider implications of the messages embedded therein. New questions that arise from the findings can be addressed either through the re-examination of earlier data or the sampling of relevant new data (Strauss 1987; Mautner 2008).

Van Dijk (2012:98) asserts that ‘the complex real-world problems addressed by CDA require a broader a historical, cultural, socio-economic, philosophical, logical or neurological approach’. To this end, elements of the Discourse Historical Analysis or DHA (Wodak 2009) will be used to situate the discourse in extra-linguistic factors such as historical record, political climate, culture, and society. The text-based news analysis is supported with related information from sources including UK Government and EU reports on migratory patterns, surveys from the National Centre for Social Research, independent research from the Oxford University Migratory Observatory project and relevant crime statistics from the UK Home Office and ACPO. This presents the most complete picture for analysis, so that the significance of given linguistic instruments and markers can be explained in context (Partington, Taylor and Duguid 2013).

This interdisciplinary procedure enhances the textual study by focussing the issues and perceptions surrounding migrant crime (i.e. a social problem) and then expounding on its semiotic meaning. Rather than simply enlisting CL for a surface-level analysis of the news stories that form the corpus, CDA and the elements of DHA contextualize and organize the patterns that emerge from the discourse (Žagar 2010). Finally, comment will be made on whether this combination of research methods is of merit in explaining the legitimation strategies used in the representation of migrants in the British press.

3.4 Research Questions

Having identified the topic for investigation and detailed the available research techniques it is possible the following research questions:

1. How are migrants represented and their identities constructed in crime news reporting?

2. How are representations of migrants in the press legitimised and justified, particularly where they diverge according to the political stance of the publication?

By answering these questions, this study also aims to understand the extent to which the combination of CDA and CL is an effective methodology for revealing the politics of framing within broader discussions around issues of social practice (Koteyko et. al 2013). The study has already reviewed the theoretical strands and approaches to discourse analysis, situating the study within existing literature and assessing the suitability of methodological traditions used to uncover belief systems and power relations embedded in discourse. The methodology described in this chapter will be used to identify how migrants are portrayed in articles taken from a range of British news publications. In addition, the textual representations will be analysed in a wider context to understand the competing frames that are used *between* different newspaper types. This will allow for greater insight into what drives the agendas and values propagated through immigration discourse across the political spectrum. The main findings will then be discussed in order to directly address the research questions and satisfy the aim of the case study.

4.0 Analysis

4.1 General characteristics

The 283 articles that comprise the corpus are taken from 16 national newspapers: 5 tabloids, 4 mid-market papers and 7 broadsheet titles (Table 1). Less than half of the publications are Liberal/left leaning, and the largest number of news reports comes from papers with a Conservative/right orientation, led by *The Daily Mail* and *The Mail on Sunday* (63 in total).

	Title	Political orientation	Number of articles
Tabloids	The Sun	Right	32
	Daily Mirror, Sunday Mirror	Left	24
	Daily Star	Right	15
	Morning Star	Far-left	4
Mid-markets	The Daily Mail, The Mail on Sunday	Right	63
	Daily Express, Sunday Express	Right	35
Broadsheets	The Telegraph, The Sunday Telegraph	Right	35
	The Guardian	Centre-left	34
	The Times, The Sunday Times	Centre right	29
	The Independent	Centre left	11
	The Observer	Centre left	4

Table 1: Articles by newspaper title and political orientation

The content analysis finds that the corpus includes a wide range of criminal offenses, though a small number of crimes feature far more frequently than others. Examining the subject of the lead stories by newspaper type, there was a universal foregrounding of acts of killing, theft and extreme sexual violence. Tabloids focused on financial/deception related crimes such as benefit fraud and sham weddings, while mid-markets accounted for the largest number of murder and robbery reports. Although broadsheets recounted many of the same news events, their coverage of instances of rape and assault was significantly lower. Instead they gave greater emphasis to crimes with a broadly societal element to them – terror offences, mass rioting and looting, and organised crime – in contrast to crimes against individuals, which led the majority of tabloid and mid-market accounts (Table 2).

Nature of Crime	Tabloids	Mid-markets	Broadsheets	Total
Fraudulent activity: benefit frauds, sham weddings, financial scams, false documentation, unpaid taxes, identity theft, selling fake goods	29	23	10	62
Murder, manslaughter	15	19	13	46
Robbery, burglary, theft, pickpocketing, mugging	16	18	9	43
Organised crime: exploitation, prostitution, human trafficking, smuggling	12	12	17	41
Rape	13	12	6	31
Assault and violent crimes	14	13	9	38
Anti-social behaviour, criminal damage, harassment	2	9	5	17
Drug related offenses	6	4	5	15
Rioting, looting	4	3	6	13
Sex offences (excl. rape)	5	5	1	11
Possession of illegal weapons	3	4	3	10
Arson	1	3	3	9
Hate crime	2	3	3	8
Drunk/unlawful driving	3	2	1	8
Terrorist offences	1	1	4	6
Begging	3	3	0	6
Kidnapping	0	2	1	3

**The sum exceeds the total number of articles as some articles conflate different news events. Repetitions are excluded.*

Table 2: Nature of reported offenses by newspaper

Across the entire corpus, very few articles referenced only a single crime. Particularly in accounts where perpetrators were reported to be foreigners, an initial news event was used as an anchor for the documenting of three or four unrelated crimes; a large proportion of these tangential accounts were covered in as great a level of detail as the primary story.

In terms of the roles played by UK nationals and migrants (Tables 3 and 4), the overwhelming majority of articles reported events in which foreign nationals had committed either crimes against UK nationals or ‘victimless’ crimes (i.e. not directly violating or threatening the rights of other individuals). In comparison, there were only 37 cases where victims were migrants and, of these, 28 described offenders as British nationals. In these instances, they were most often accused of assault, arson and hate

crime, and the bulk of these incidents occurred in Northern Ireland. There were 16 reports of crime in which migrants were said to be involved, although exact details of their involvement was unspecified, implied but not fully evidenced, or remained unclear. Twenty-one articles covered crimes in which both perpetrator and victim were reported to be foreign nationals. These stories concentrated on two main areas: violent crimes such as murder and inter-gang feuds, and organised or exploitative crimes including prostitution rackets, gangs using illegal workers and various forms of human trafficking.

Nature of Crime	Foreign national named as perpetrator/suspect	British national named as perpetrator/suspect	Total
Fraudulent activity: benefit frauds, sham weddings, financial scams, false documentation, unpaid taxes, identity theft, selling fake goods	42	20	62
Murder, manslaughter	41	5	46
Robbery, burglary, theft, pickpocketing, mugging	39	2	41
Organised crime: exploitation, prostitution, human trafficking, smuggling	26	15	41
Rape	30	1	31
Assault and violent crimes	19	19	38
Anti-social behaviour, criminal damage, harassment	9	8	17
Drug related offenses	15	0	15
Rioting, looting	8	5	13
Sex offences (excl. rape)	11	0	11
Possession of illegal weapons	9	1	10
Arson	1	8	9
Hate crime	0	8	8
Drunk/unlawful driving	8	0	8
Terrorist offences	2	4	6
Begging	6	0	6
Kidnapping	2	1	3

**The sum exceeds the total number of articles as some articles conflate different news events. Repetitions are excluded.*

Table 3: References to nationals/non-nationals as perpetrators

Roles of primary social actors	Number of articles*
Migrant as perpetrator, national as victim/‘victimless’ crime	216
Migrant as perpetrator, migrant as victim	21
Migrant as perpetrator, victim undetermined	1
National as perpetrator, migrant involvement	3
National as perpetrator, migrant as victim	28
Migrant as victim, perpetrator undetermined	9
Migrant involvement, specifics unknown	16
Other	8

*The sum exceeds the total number of articles as some articles conflate different news events.

Table 4: Breakdown of reported crimes by perpetrator/victim

4.2 Collocations and co-occurrence

A cursory glance at the corpus finds that in terms of the raw frequency of occurrence, *immigrant** appears in 115 of the articles, *migrant** in 180, *foreign national* in 88 and *crime* in 167. Examining collocates of the main keywords gives an indication of the types of discursive representation employed in news media. Particular collocations worked to frame both the event and the people involved within a discourse of security and crime. *Crime* is pre/post-modified either to pronounce its ‘foreignness’ (*foreign/organised/immigration crime*) or, in the case of *crime epidemic*, *crime league* and *crime wave*, to put migrants at the centre of a wider moral panic. Positioning evaluative words at the beginning of phrases in this way also makes them more difficult to challenge: through continuous repetition, implicit associations and assumptions can be made in the mind of the reader. For this reason, the term *crime* is also found in many headlines, nested in phrases that tie key words together in a way that casts a negative light over non-natives (‘*Does immigration bring crime to the UK?*’, ‘*Migrant surge ‘led to disorder and crime*’). Such emotive language is a powerful tool with which to generate consensus for solving social problems (Maneri and ter Wal 2005).

Immigrant and *migrant* appear to function differently throughout the corpus. Across all three newspaper types, the status of *immigrant* has a stronger relationship with criminality. Disregarding determiners and prepositions, *immigrant* collocated most strongly with *illegal* (22 instances), all of which were placed one lemma to the left (the

L1 position) as a direct pre-modifier. The frequency of this pairing is of interest, as it comes in spite of continued controversy stemming from the erroneous equation of illegal immigrants with asylum seekers. In relation to *migrant*, workers collocated most strongly (69 instances in the L5-R5 range); although *crime* and *police* were the two next strongest collocate nouns, they appear much less often (17 and 11 instances respectively). Using the MI score it was found that *bogus* and *suspected* were noteworthy collocates, underlining a suspicion of the credentials and actions of foreign nationals. It should be noted that although articles and prepositions were prevalent, they were largely ignored as collocates because they are no more likely to appear immediately before the keywords than anywhere else in the corpus (Blinder and Allen 2015).

Foreign national has similarly negative connotations: *prisoners*, *offenders*, and *criminals* are the strongest collocate nouns, and *remove* and *deport* are the most common verbs. In contrast, *migrants* are likely to be constructed as having good reason to be in the UK or being of value: strong collocates include *workers* and *economic*. Also, migrants' provenance is foregrounded, with *eastern*, *European*, *EU* and *Romanian* frequently found in close proximity.

4.3 Social actors

Close analysis of the corpus revealed the ways in which selected social actors are used to give voice, authenticity and authority to reported events. Piazza (2009) remarks that news reporting involves the routine portrayal of heroes and villains; thus, crime and immigration, with its underlying themes of good/evil and them/us, is a highly charged sphere of discourse that employs and exploits its commentators to this end. In this way they are able to add dramatic interest at the same time as 'creating, silencing and reifying' given subjects. They are thereby able to determine the public's stance towards them (Mahalingam and Rabelo 2013:26).

Throughout the corpus, officials such as MPs and the police are the dominant social actors, and usually the first source to be quoted or paraphrased. The police are

privileged in crime discourse in that they are able to represent themselves and usually do so without a great deal of scrutiny by the reader (Mayr and Machin 2012); as a result, news reporters often enlist them to ratify their own agenda. It is interesting that although security forces are generally presented as beleaguered and overstretched, the reasons for this vary across newspaper titles. Tabloid and mid-market titles tend to cite the sheer volume of migrants (and their 'consequent' crimes), harnessing the presence of authority (and for local councillors, the sense of proximity and relationship) to reinforce this belief:

Migrants influx pushes us all to the limit, say police chiefs

Migration ruining our peaceful city, say councillors

Broadsheets make equal mention of the burden placed on the police, but give voice to figures of authority wishing to open debate on the causes of crime, elucidating the effects of migration on the police force and attempting to deflate the rhetoric around migrant criminality. Articles referred directly to reports from the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO), which recorded localised rises in specific crimes around the A8 accessions proportional to the number of new residents, and an overall decrease in crime since 2004 (Bell, Machin and Fasani 2010; Canton & Hammond 2012; Jaitman & Machin 2013). In these and other instances, authorities are nominised and functionalised by their positional titles to project an air of facticity:

The Metropolitan Police say that part of [their] increased burden... is a significant rise in the budget for interpreters, not because the eastern Europeans are all offenders but because they are also victims and witnesses of crime.

Peter Fahy, ACPO's spokesman on race, said: "... as with any community, there is a criminal element but Eastern Europeans have proved on the whole to be very law-abiding."

The ACPO report by Grahame Maxwell, chief constable of North Yorkshire, and Peter Fahy, who leads the Cheshire force, says that any rise in crime has been broadly proportionate to the number of people from those communities coming into this country.

Representations of the public come in the form of taxpayers, whose voices are enlisted to express outrage over the apparent misuse of hard-earned money. The Taxpayers

Alliance, a pressure group in favour of a low-tax economy, are also called upon to portray a charitable public being *burdened, frustrated and swindled*:

"[We] pay our taxes and expect the system to work on our behalf."

"...it's important [migrants] aren't free to inflict further crimes... and further bills on British taxpayers."

The articulation implies that 'the taxpayer' is a symbol of British identity – only the indigenous population pay taxes and are worthy of any kind of voice or presence, and as taxpayers they must share and support the 'nativist' views adopted by the newspaper.

Other striking features in the corpus include (a) the omission of agents, (b) the use of abstract nouns as agents in the recollection of events, and (c) the (re)direction of force in criminal acts towards objects instead of people. These exclusions appear to mitigate crimes against migrants in comparison to those committed against British nationals. For similar reasons, passive agents are removed to legitimise events without ever identifying those responsible for realising them (d), with nouns such as *concerns, controversy, fear* and *anger* eliciting feelings of anxiety or indignation.

(a) Windows in the houses were smashed, a car was damaged and threatening notes ordering the families out of the area were posted through the doors.

(b) Violence drove more than 100 Romanians from their homes in Belfast last month.

(c) MASKED men ...attacked the Northern Ireland home of six workers from East Timor yesterday.

(d) Concerns have also been raised about increased crime when restrictions on Romanians and Bulgarians entering Britain are lifted in January...

In Conservative-leaning publications, politicians appear to give voice to a wider ideology that condemns the interference of the European Union in British affairs. They express frustration over the Free Movement of Citizens Directive 2004 (which allows citizens of EU countries freedom of movement to work and study), the effect of EU enlargement on the economic prospects of natives, and the abrogation of legislation streamlining the asylum process (the Asylum and Immigration Act 2004) by the European Court of Human Rights. These issues were conflated into the public discourse

on migration and became key political vehicles in the 2005 and 2010 UK General Elections. In *The Express*, local MPs claim ‘deference’ to these laws ‘definitely aids crime’; they are deemed ‘toxic’ and responsible for having ‘warped all common sense’.

However, the most emphatic remarks come from political opponent and Conservative Home Secretary David Davis (2003-8). In stark contrast to the characterisations of the Home Office as lax, bureaucratic and short-sighted, Davis is given a great deal of credence, with tabloid and mid-market titles in particular keen to portray him as a fighter, victor and spokesperson for the people, able to intimidate the Labour Government into affirmative action against migrants.

This tacit support of Conservative immigration policies is also reflected in the positioning of Davis, with his markedly decisive and tough tone, as the primary speaker in news stories – ahead of, and sometimes in place of, a direct quotation from Home Office ministers.

"...Labour must adopt our policy of controlling immigration."

"[The Conservatives] have been telling the [Labour] home secretary to use the powers available to him to exclude or deport non-UK citizens whose presence is not conducive to the public good, and we are glad that he has done so," Mr Davis added.

The shadow home secretary, David Davis, owner of many previous Home Office ministerial scalps, attacked [Home Secretary Jacqui] Smith...

David Davis said the "whole country" would welcome the decision to ban Mr Bakri from returning to Britain.

Mid-market titles in particular augment this vocal opposition by levelling accusations of botched responses and an unwillingness to join the ‘fight’ against migrants at the Government, border control agencies and judicial system. Quotes from the shadow cabinet are interweaved with criticisms of *weak-minded* politicization, a *powerless* border agency *turning a blind eye*, and a judicial system that has become a *joke* and a *soft touch*. Home Secretary Jacqui Smith is also seized on as prevaricative (*[she] was forced to admit...[the presence of] 10,000 illegal immigrants*) and being at the helm of a Home Office mired in crisis. While the broadsheets still employ political social actors to highlight perceived failings in the handling of migrant criminals, their view is

generally less confrontational and less focused on penal populism; comments from politicians are tempered with the words of migrant community leaders, judiciaries and prison authorities to provide more nuanced coverage of the situation.

In keeping with the findings of Busch and Krzyżanowski (2012:280), many of the representations of migrants in the corpus exclude their voices from discourse. By largely denying migrants agency, narratives are advanced through the voices of others in accordance with their own interests. There are a narrow band of responsibilities given to migrants as social actors: second-generation immigrants are legitimised in order to apportion blame on certain groups of ‘new’ migrants (a, b) – as the aforementioned collocation patterns revealed, newspapers are most vocal about Romanians and East Europeans for migrant crimes. Conversely, in accounts of race and exploitation crimes *against* migrants, the very same group are used to reinforce the nation’s positive self-image and frame the incidents as rare and deviant (c). In both cases, the inclusion of statements from eyewitnesses and members of the general public lends the news story a critical and true-to-life quality. Utterances of this nature comprise the majority of contributions made by the otherwise under-represented non-native social actors.

(a) Shabir Khan has observed a general decline in morality...since he arrived [in Slough from Pakistan] in 1969 at the age of 11... "Petty theft, drug-related crimes, a huge amount of prostitution, not just in the evening but in the day as well. It's happened since [Eastern Europeans] have been in this country."

(b) "This area has had not only Polish people but Romanian, Lithuanian, Estonian," said Dorothy [a Pole, and a Post Office employee]. "There are big problems with the Romanians. It's very dangerous."

(c) Migrants say that in general most people are welcoming, but a significant minority causes them much trouble.

The case of Sakchai Makao presents a striking exception to the emerging picture of migrants in crime discourse (*I'm a Shetlander, not a Thai', The Sunday Times, 25 June 2006*). Makao, a Thai-born British resident, was detained by police and threatened with deportation, having been sentenced for ‘culpable and reckless fire-raising’ two years prior. His arrest in 2006 was part of a Home Office initiative to remove convicted foreign nationals from the country, introduced after it emerged that 1,000 foreign prisoners had been freed without being considered for deportation.

Makao's is the central voice in the article, which is unique in that it is written in the first person, almost in the style of a diary. He is afforded the opportunity to publicly justify his criminal behaviour, citing terminal illness and bereavement in his family as the catalysts. The penitent tone suggests Makao is keen to show that his time in prison has truly reformed and rehabilitated him:

It was a moment of madness and I feel ashamed looking back on it. It should never have happened. It had been a bad time for me. I had found out my stepdad had cancer, and I had a stillborn child with my girlfriend. I hit the drink, and it didn't go well. I ended up in Aberdeen prison. If I could turn back time, I would. I went in a boy and came out a man. After that I wised up.

The article goes to great lengths to humanise Makao, foregrounding his personality (amiable, responsible, accomplished) and social standing whilst leaving the specific details of his crime undisclosed until the second half of the article. A tailpiece by the columnist uses a political figure to denounce the Government's pursuit of Makao as ill-advised and possibly in breach of the European Human Rights Act. His fight against deportation was supported by a well-publicised campaign by Shetland residents and publicly framed as a part of knee-jerk reaction to the furore over the aforementioned foreign prisoner 'scandal'. The reconstruction of events as a human-interest story is very much at odds with similar accounts involving convicted foreign nationals, even those from the same newspaper. This constant shifting of boundaries for in- and out-groups is symbolic of how degrees of otherness are established in the media to fit certain ideologies and editorial lines, even with the general apprehension found in the dominant narrative.

Finally, in all but a handful of cases taken from broadsheets, a number of voices are entirely suppressed, their views alluded to but altogether excluded from the discourse. They can be broadly classified as dissenters, all of whom stand at variance with the anti-immigration stance maintained in the bulk of accounts. These include legal aid representatives maligned for assisting migrants fighting deportation, those opposed to stronger punitive measures for migrant criminals, and those who brand as racist the people who are fearful of or angered by 'justified' concerns over migrant crime.

4.4 Figures

Numbers are a powerful means of conveying a sense of scale and it is not uncommon in immigration discourse for them to be employed rhetorically to enhance the ‘spectacle’ of the news event and accentuate the level of threat allegedly posed by foreign criminals (Joo 2013). This corpus is no different, with statistics intensifying the level of criminality and positioning individual acts within a spate of crimes overtaking the nation:

Eastern Europeans have carried out at least 1,000 crimes in the past year – SEVEN times more than the year before

Migration Watch UK estimates 250,000 Romanians and Bulgarians will come to Britain in the next five years, though it could hit 350,000

There are 20 million visitors from the EU every year. If 1 per cent had criminal convictions, it would be equal to 200,000 people with suspect backgrounds being waived through border controls.

The last of these examples shows the role statistics play in creating powerful imagery around the ‘facts’. The idea of a body of 200,000 suspicious people coupled with the physicality of the verb ‘to be waived through’ is very evocative, although the figure is ultimately a baseless extrapolation – note the conditional clause in the second sentence. This aggregation is intended to manufacture consensus among readers that the multitudes need to be stopped before they bring their criminal ways into the country. There is also variance between titles, with mid-markets tending to ‘talk up’ figures, and broadsheets attempting to downplay them:

There are 68,000 Romanians living here at present – a figure set to soar when Britain has to open its borders... 29 million Romanians and Bulgarians [i.e. the combined population of the two countries] will gain unrestricted access to the UK. (*The Express*, 27 February 2013)

The cold facts are that... crime has actually fallen in England and Wales by 9 per cent in the past recorded year ...few of the incomers sponge on the state; as many as 97 per cent of registered immigrant workers have full-time jobs; the number on benefits is very low... Inflation and interest rates are kept down. (*The Independent*, 17 April 2008)

Admittedly, there are genuine challenges to measuring migration levels; adopted definitions of ‘migrant’, ‘immigrant’ and ‘foreign national’ vary at national, European

and global levels (as per ONS/NISRA, EU and UN guidelines respectively). Similarly, interpretations of what constitutes a migrant often conflict: among different data sources, between datasets and laws, they may be defined as foreign-born, foreign nationals, or people who have moved to the UK for a year or more (Anderson and Blinder 2011). However, in the public forum these terms are conflated with race, ethnicity and asylum seekers (Baker et. al 2008); the confusion and panic over spiralling numbers is only exacerbated by media outlets who, being aware of these issues, still use these figures to bolster inauspicious and alarmist predictions of the social disruption migration will cause.

4.5 Headlines

The headlines for each of the articles in the corpus offer a discursive departure point from which to interpret the framing of the event and those involved. It is unsurprising given the corpus query terms that crime is commonly attributed to migrants in the headlines. However, the way in which it is used beyond grabbing attention provides immediate evidence of the ideological stances that newspapers wish to lodge or uphold in the minds of the reader (Bell 1991; van Dijk 1998).

Many of the strongest collocations exemplify what van Dijk (2002) refers to as ‘out-group derogation’, whereby a specified ‘other’ is explicitly linked to negative actions or tendencies. While it is to be expected that within the corpus foreign nationals will be identified as perpetrators of crime and as a result depicted unfavourably, this form of metonymy goes a step further and ascribes such behaviour universally and/or exclusively to a wider group:

Immigrants push police to the limit

Romanians carry out 1,000 crimes here in six months

Migrants dodge to stay in UK: 1 out of 5 weddings is a sham

Figures of authority are also enlisted to rationalise fears surrounding the threat posed by foreign nationals as a collective body. This lends the cause credibility and reflects a

kind of emotional solidarity – the notion that if the guardians of the nation’s social framework share these concerns, they must be genuine and thus any resulting emotions or actions are justified.

Find foreign killers on our streets ...before we suffer more tragedies; Ex-cop warns migrant criminal scandal is worse than we know (*Daily Mirror*, 25 October 2014)

'Blame immigrants for surge in crime'; Top cop warns of knife danger (*Daily Star*, 4 June 2008)

The second of these headlines is notable in that the quote is not found in the story itself: rather, it is the editor’s summation of the words of a police chief constable and has apparently been transformed into an imperative directed towards the reader. Upon closer analysis of these articles, it can be seen that the headlines are part of a discourse that aims to mobilise a more authoritative response to crime and deviance through stronger punitive measures such as judicial fast tracks, revisions to the law, ‘one-strike’ deportation, additional police powers and migrant taskforces. This is exemplified in subsequent paragraphs:

We can also learn a lot from the FBI's use of "most wanted" appeals where they regularly go much further than we do in publicising the names of criminals and releasing their pictures... [foreign criminals] should be caught, convicted and sentenced, with your sentence served back in your own country. You should also be banned from ever returning to our shores." (*Daily Mirror*, 25 October 2014)

Shadow home secretary David Davis said: "...we need more effective action to tackle knife possession... This means taking a zero-tolerance approach, including action to confiscate such weapons and punish those carrying them." (*Daily Star*, June 4, 2008)

At its most explicit, the seemingly inextricable link between criminality and foreignness is embedded in wordplay such as portmanteaus, rhymes and puns:

CRIMMIGRANTS!

BANGLADOSH: Migrants claim benefits after flying in for 1 DAY'

BEASTS FROM THE EAST

The use of such language (typically in the form of a compressed nominal phrase) helps the newspaper preserve the boundaries of the in-group of ‘native’ Britons by fusing

identity and behaviour. The choice of ‘foreign’ nouns – *immigrant, Bangladesh, the East* – shapes the group’s attitude to those considered outsiders by presenting the fact accompli of criminality as a fundamentally non-British attribute.

4.6 Force interaction

A notable feature found in the corpus is the interaction between social actors, signified in terms of strength and weakness, force and resistance, motion and inactivity. Codified by Talmy (2000) and Hart (2011), the effect of this force-dynamic system on the readers’ perception of migrants and migrant criminality is illustrated through verb usage in the following examples:

...[Alphonse Semo, a convicted rapist from Congo] was granted permission to marry his German girlfriend and stay [in the UK].

...a judge demanded to know why Lithuanian child-rapist Victor Akulic was let into Britain.

‘We have to look at the rules that allow [migrants] to abuse the British justice system.’

Thousands of convicts have been able to enter because the Government was unaware of their background...

These and similar verbs such as *permit, throw open [the country’s doors]* and *enable* are used to imply a disengagement by those [legal] powers that could or should stop migrants from entering. Even if the power in question is left unnamed, it suggests that a force considered strong enough to prevent migrants realising their apparent desire – that is, to enter and remain in the UK and live a life of crime – has acquiesced or been overridden, thereby removing the final barrier to them manifesting their ‘natural’ or ‘innate’ tendencies (Talmy 2000). So in the first example, Alphonse Semo can now achieve his ‘goal’ of residing in the UK, an outcome that the media generally interprets as an aberration and an attempt to destabilise the British way of life (Nesterova et. al 2015). Of course, these beliefs are based on two assumptions: that all foreign nationals wish to remain in the UK indefinitely, and that their presence, however fleeting, will ultimately be to the detriment of the country: there are only a small number of broadsheet articles that make mention of there being any benefit to economic migration.

In newspapers such as *The Sun* and *The Daily Mail*, this cessation of impingement is frequently latched onto and used to criticise the incumbent government and its policies, the presupposition being that these forces had the potential to ‘combat’ the actions of migrants but did not exercise their power. It denotes a weakness in governance and force of law which is further evidenced in the selection of dissenting voices as primary social actors. Although papers such as *The Independent* and *The Guardian* are often critical of authorities in their handling of foreign nationals, the force interactions more often passivize migrants and ascribe the capacity for motion and strength to native powers:

As many as 200 foreigners are languishing in jail despite having completed their prison sentences. They are still locked up as the Prison Service and immigration officers try to decide what to do with them. While the Government's focus is on trying to trace 1,023 offenders released without deportation hearings, *The Independent* has learnt of a separate group of inmates caught up in the crisis over foreign prisoners.

Here, the duty to act rests firmly with the UK’s prison agencies, who have failed to implement procedures to deal with the release of foreign inmates. The implication that the Government is misguided in being concerned with other affairs rather than the ‘crisis’ involving the migrants’ right to freedom shows how newspapers’ use of force interaction often points towards their regard for different social actors.

4.7 Migrants as victims

Given the emerging picture of newspapers as largely anti-immigration, it is unsurprising that only a small number of news stories portrayed migrants as victims and British nationals as perpetrators. Collins (2007) observes that because debate has traditionally centred on whether people from ethnic minorities are more (or less) likely to commit criminal offences than those of the white majority population, little attention is paid to these types of victims. However, the features of these articles merited further investigation in order to determine the underlying approach to conceptualising situations and actors. The most striking aspect in these news stories is their locality: almost all migrant-as-victim stories originate from Northern Ireland.

To put this into context, it should be mentioned that since 2004, around 130,000 international long-term migrants have arrived in Northern Ireland – including a disproportionate number of A8 citizens compared with the rest of the UK (Russell 2012). Prior to this, trends in migration were heavily influenced by the exponential growth of the Irish Republic's GDP in the late 1990s (the Celtic Tiger economy) which created a demand for labour that also yielded higher wages and better job opportunities in a number of employment sectors across the border. Subsequently, net annual migration to Northern Ireland rose significantly, peaking at 70,000 two years after the A8 expansion. Perhaps what might account for this increased sensitivity and resonance in the region to immigrants as victims of crime are the historic ceasefires in 1994 and the Belfast (Good Friday) Agreement in 1998, which effectively marked the end of The Troubles, a 30-year period of sustained ethno-nationalist conflict that claimed over 3,000 lives. The tone of journalists and social actors suggests that Ireland still sees itself and its response to migrants through its recent sectarian past, and that those reverberations can be felt in the current situation:

Authorities fear aggressive racism has become a permanent feature of post-Troubles society...

"People here exhibit as much racism as they do sectarianism."

After the ceasefires [the migrant community] became the next target.

"there were leaflets circulated... claiming the [migrant] threat was worse than 30 years of IRA activity."

In contrast to much of the reporting from England, Scotland and Wales, these articles instead offer more measured accounts of the effect of immigration. Even tabloid titles, which typically lead in the use of inflammatory rhetoric, seem to adopt a more humanitarian approach; victims in accounts of exploitative crime in particular are handled far more sensitively than those from the British mainland. Goodey (2009) notes that among the public the perceived status of foreign victims of exploitation usually falls somewhere between criminal and illegal immigrant; in the articles found in this corpus, prostitutes are identified as 'captive young women', 'cruelly trapped' in the UK and forced into the sex industry. Similarly, accounts of hate crime construct the victims

as ‘migrant workers’ – a term that suggests purpose, deems them worthy of compassion and makes them appear less alien.

Having said that, other descriptions appear to reflect a need to differentiate migrant experiences – both as victims and offenders – from those of the ‘indigenous’ population. Offences committed by nationals against migrants are more likely to be identified as criminal charges, for example murder as opposed to *a killing*. In addition, there is strong collocation and co-occurrence of serious crimes in these reports. Arrangements of the sequence *murder, rape and robbery* frequently appear, which hints at the potential to commit these crimes even when the perpetrator is not directly implicated in them. Frech (2008) observes that footnotes such as these, though somewhat superfluous in the context of the story, are common in migrant discourse.

A Lithuanian burglar recently made headlines after he was released from prison early and deported only to be found living back at his Peterborough home 12 days later... Last year foreign criminals were responsible for 14 per cent of serious crimes such as murders, rapes and robberies – a rate that has jumped 50 per cent since 2008.

There is also a notable shift in the use of language used to describe specific criminal acts. The previously mentioned over-lexicalisations are replaced in *The Telegraph* and *The Guardian* by a more impassive, clinical tone (*serious internal and head injuries, multiple fractures to his skull and face*). Also, with the exception of a small number of headlines that underline the growing problem of anti-immigrant crime (*‘Racism Is The New Terrorism’ As Attacks Rise In Ulster*), broadsheets are seemingly less inclined to use legal terms: instead crimes are broadly described as *attacks* and, more commonly, *incidents*. In its passivity, the latter term fails to specify the criminal act and in no way describes the nature of the interaction between victim and perpetrator. Thus, attempted murders become *violent incidents*; pipe and petrol bombings, which could rightfully be reported as acts of terror, are labelled *serious attacks... with the potential to cause death*.

Attempts are also made to situate crimes by juxtaposing offenses with accounts of anti-immigrant operations by right-wing organisations including hardline Protestants, Irish loyalist paramilitaries, the British National Party, Combat 18 and even the Ku Klux

Klan. While the reports uniformly condemn the involvement of such parties, the contrast also has the effect of distancing the reader from the situation and instilling the idea that culpability lies more with the most extreme and radicalised groups operating on the fringes of society, rather than ‘everyday’ Britons. An awareness of how such negative actions reflect on the positive self-image of the country – as generous, hospitable and accepting of difference – ensures that these are rendered as exceptional, misrepresentative cases. Secondly, the perception of the victimisation of migrants as a widespread occurrence is diminished by social actors, both British and foreign, asserting that ‘most people are welcoming’; that only a small fraction of the population choose to ‘parade their bigotry’; that these are ‘isolated’ incidents ‘without racial motive’ for which ‘locals’ were not responsible. Outside of the reliability of such claims, it is notable that a similar voice is not lent to migrants when the roles of victim and perpetrator are reversed.

4.8 Nationality, location and community

The corpus was examined to identify patterns of co-occurrence with regard to the specific nationalities of foreign nationals. Romanians and Bulgarians appear together (presumably for having two of the largest populations of the 2004/7 accession countries), although it is notable that *Romania* collocates much more strongly when it appears first (43 instances), with *Bulgaria* most often occurring in the R2 position, as in *the massive influx of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants*. In reverse order they are found far less frequently (just 14 instances) and have a lower collocate strength. As an extension of this, *from* is the second strongest collocate and most frequently co-occurring word with *Romania*, e.g. *a Home Office memo revealed anxiety... that 45,000 potential criminals from Romania and Bulgaria...would travel to Britain*. Even though in the period covered by the corpus, neither country has been responsible for the largest prison population of the A8, or the largest number of registered UK residents (Vargas-Silva et. al 2015; Ministry of Justice 2015), both of these findings suggest that Romanians are being scapegoated for both a spate of crime and the country’s present socio-economic ills. This is noteworthy, as previous findings indicate that it is usually the Polish who receive such attention and are used as a discursive vehicle, ‘sacrificed and manipulated’ to fulfil hidden agendas (Hoops et. al 2015:7). Other common

groupings include predominantly black former colonies (Jamaica and Nigeria), Middle Eastern countries (Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan) and the Indian subcontinent (India and Pakistan), although these co-occur with much lower frequencies than European countries.

Geographically speaking, debate surrounding migrants and crime has traditionally been focused on London, which accounts for the largest share of the UK's annual immigration intake and where almost 40% of residents are foreign born (Rienzo and Vargas-Silva 2014). However, it can be observed in the corpus that the impact of migrant crime is being felt in locations once considered to be of no interest to migrants – that is to say, the towns and villages thought to be safe from such 'problems'. The implication is that inner cities represent 'an isolated place alien to the norms and values of the White middle-class' (Maneri and ter Wal 2005:8), a home for foreign nationals and ostensibly a breeding ground for criminality, and that it has not been possible to contain this in the South East of England. This is highlighted by the structural oppositions of bucolic and violent imagery, and the selection of verbs and adjectives that suggest invasion or unfettered growth:

'[a migrant convicted for] rape and drug offenses is living an apparently idyllic country life ...in rural Scotland'

'FOREIGN criminals are expanding into rural towns... [and] have penetrated seaside resorts and previously quiet towns and villages.'

'Racism and xenophobic violence is flourishing in towns and villages across Britain'

'The rural gangland; Foreign drug and sex rings move in on country towns'

'their community had gone from one of "peace and harmony" to a town ravaged by crime'

This atmosphere is reinforced by descriptions of a safe and comfortable existence – one rarely attributed to foreign nationals – that attributes 'our' way of life to an out-group or other. The tone suggests that even in the most remote corners of the country the threat of migrants remains ever-present and migrant criminals are now indistinguishable from the 'indigenous' population, 'virtually unknowable and potentially anywhere' (Manson 2011:17):

'[migrants involved in terrorism] will be apparently ordinary British citizens; young men conservatively and cleanly dressed and probably with some higher education... clever and very sophisticated.'

'...standing chatting at the door of his picturesque Scottish country cottage, he looks very much at home. So-called 'family man' Chan Wright is apparently living an idyllic life...'

Related to this is the idea of community, and how people are grouped and labelled according to the stance the writer wishes to promote. Table 5 shows the themes by which migrants and migrant criminals are grouped across the corpus: Eastern European and Romanian communities are most often cited in relation to crime, but the extent of this unpredictable relabeling across so many areas is indicative of the deep anxieties that the prospect of losing sight of difference could trigger.

Commonality (by co-occurrence)	Modifiers
Origin	Eastern European, Romanian, Lithuanian, Polish etc.
Otherness	Foreign national, migrant, immigrant, ethnic, new, non-UK
UK specific	Tight-knit, local, our, rural, traditional indigenous
Religion and politics	Muslim, former Communist
Race	Asian, black, African-Caribbean
Legality and legitimacy	International criminal, illegal; hard working, decent, settled, legitimate, long-established
Economic standing	Impoverished

Table 5: Grouping of migrants by co-occurrence

Rare, positive representations include the Portuguese, who seem to exist outside of migrant criminality, theirs being a *long-standing* community, and the *close-knit* Shetlanders rallying to fight the deportation of a popular [and convicted] Thai resident. However, these bonds vacillate and are carefully crafted so as to retain strict control over the distance between those who are included and excluded:

'We, the police, haven't yet managed to reach out and engage with the settled community – the hard-working, decent, legitimate community.'

Although, in this news story the police are addressing foreign communities from which criminals have originated, the specificity of lexical choices nevertheless implies a distinction from migrant groups that show themselves to be capable of such behaviour – those that adhere to established norms and are therefore worthy of being addressed.

4.9.0 Figurative representations of migrants

Within the array of linguistic devices used in news discourse, rhetorical patterns of language feature most heavily, confirming and consolidating the perspectives held by the readership as a body. Metaphors in particular can be seen as repositories of cultural understanding: they are able to succinctly create and represent conventional or widely-held beliefs by linking phenomena with familiar cultural assumptions and experiences (Cisneros 2008). Figurative language appears frequently in news discourse and is considered a principal tool by which ideas can be transformed into what is perceived as concrete, familiar, or ‘real’. As Aitchison & Lewis (2003) state, ‘eventually, words can cease to be metaphors and effectively become synonyms, or a shorthand’ tied to a limited set of associations. When analysing the corpus data, a number of symbolic representations were found that could be grouped thematically in terms of the field of language selected and the way in which they were used to frame migrants, migrant crime and migration as a process:

Migrants and Migrant Criminals	Migrant Crime	Migration
An unstoppable natural disaster Subhuman Duplicitous Uncivilised and immoral Innately destructive Burdensome	Terrorism	War Invasion Out of control

Table 6: Common figurative representations of migrants, migrant crime and migration

The overarching themes compiled in Table 6 elucidate how figurative language is instrumental in crafting crisis, and attach a far greater level of risk to those involved in the crimes. At the very least, migrants (as individuals and as a group) are conceptualised as ‘different’ or ‘not like us’, and at their most extreme, ‘threatening and uncontrollable’. Examples found in the corpus showed how the persuasive effect of systematically using such rhetoric contributed to the legitimisation of political agenda advocated or indeed proposed by the media themselves. And while this study is primarily concerned with migrant *criminals*, the way metaphors are employed indicates that the distinction between law-abiding migrants and migrant criminals is far less pronounced than

between their counterparts in the indigenous population. This section will examine some of the main figurative concepts presented in the corpus.

4.9.1 Migrants as an uncontrollable natural disaster

The conceptualisation of migration as analogous with a natural disaster or epidemic is an oft-employed linguistic tool in news discourse (Lakoff and Johnson 1981; Lakoff 2002; Conboy 2006). Frequent collocations in the current corpus show that migrants are constructed as a *rising tide* that needs to be *stemmed*, a relentless *flow* of people that *flood*, *pour into* and *swarm into* the country. The choice of flooding as a disaster is a strategic appropriation of three characteristics of immigration: direction, size, and force (Cunningham-Parameter 2011). The connotations are of something unstoppable and immeasurable, and of events characterised by pressure, penetration, saturation and costly or lasting damage. This directly relates to the notion of the UK as a container whose borders need to remain securely sealed in order to prevent unwanted social change (Charteris-Black 2006). It is clear this field of language is deliberately selected to instigate powerful emotions: fear of a loss of control and the desire for protection.

The over-lexicalisation of the migrants' actions and characteristics stands in direct contrast to a distinct lack of detail about the migrants themselves. They are rarely ascribed names and instead are presented in large menacing groups of inordinate number. Emotionally charged and value-laden quantifiers such as *influx*, *surge*, *hoard* and *gang* are effective in heightening a sense of perceived threat because no distinction is made between individual migrants, or between those who are and are not directly involved in criminal behaviour.

4.9.2 Migrants as uncivilised and immoral

Historically, the alterity of foreign residents has been used to comparatively demonstrate the positive aspects of British life and thereby self-define the nation. Sparks (2000:197) asserts that in news media discourse about crime and punishment, the situation is most easily grasped ethnographically, and so maintaining conceptual

oppositions between what is considered ‘ours’ and ‘theirs’ becomes a fundamental part of the discourse. The objectification and debasement of migrants is significant for the ways in which it presents them as unwilling or unable to assimilate the ‘British way of life’. Fostered by claims regarding the size of the migrant population, this propagates a discourse in which immigrants reflect a less evolved state of civilization (O’Brien 2003). In this corpus, for instance, involvement in crime is viewed as being characteristic of the moral framework within which all migrants operate:

...youngsters who were forced to act violently to survive in their homeland

In some groups, "honour" killings are still a way of life and death

Knife crime exists in Poland where it is not illegal to possess a knife

[teenagers] brought up in countries with an anarchistic warlord culture in which carrying knives and guns is routine

"The attitude of Eastern European drivers to road safety is not as educated as ours."

These depictions indiscriminately categorise whole countries and communities as a primitive and barbarous ‘other’ – societies where constant tumult, animalistic tendencies, and a propensity for wanton violence and lawlessness is innate. Following on from such characterisations, one article reports that ‘differences in moral standards’ led police forces to issue leaflets ‘telling foreigners how to behave in Britain’. The drive to ensure assimilation of British values has the effect of allaying fears that British cultural dominance will be threatened.

4.9.3 Migrants as subhuman

A subtle dehumanisation of migrants is also achieved through the use of verbs more commonly associated with the trading of goods: *exports* (from other countries) and *imports* (to the UK) of criminals, and calls for their prompt *removal*, *disposal* and *return* to their homelands. This rejection of personhood discourages any kind of empathic perspective by treating migrants as objects, rather than as individuals. Extending the idea, the lexical field of commerce also suggests that it should be the importer of the goods (here the British Government and its ‘native’ inhabitants) who

assesses whether they are suitable before agreeing to accept them. This ties in with a common sentiment that, as members of the European Union, the UK is being divested of the power to secure its own borders.

...it is easier for the authorities to dispose of a person [via an immigration tribunal]

'We are determined to remove foreign national criminals from the UK.'

...'it would have been impossible to return him to Somalia'

'We are importing 15, 16, 17 and 18-year-olds [from Somalia with violent tendencies]'

...the export of Bulgarian women [to the UK] for prostitution

These characterisations are of note, as they are used to construct and control a gap between those values that are acceptable, proper and British, and those that are degenerate, alien and represent a risk to the British public. The way discrepancies are pronounced form the core of the 'them and us' narrative that informs much of the discourse on immigration.

4.9.4 Migrant criminals as the enemy in a war

The prevalence of figurative categorisations of immigration as a war presents evidence of an issue of ideological contention – namely that migrants are the enemy and their presence is that of an occupation or invasion of the country. This can be found in the collectivisation of migrants, with criminality often rendered as the activity of a group, even in cases where a single criminal is specified. Analysis of expanded concordances reveal a general pattern of (a) allowing a broad statistical representation of crime to form the lead headline or theme (thereby diminishing personal culpability), before (b) a specific criminal incident, typically relegated to the end of the article, was detailed:

(a) One in five attempts to deport foreign criminals fail, while the number of crimes committed by immigrants has doubled in the past five years, new figures reveal. Last year foreign criminals were responsible for 14 per cent of serious crimes such as murders, rapes and robberies – a rate that has jumped 50 per cent since 2008.

(b) Arnis Zalkalns, 41, convinced officers in Latvia that his wife Rudite had gone missing – when he had actually hit her with a metal bar, stabbed her in the heart and buried her in

a forest... He remains at the centre of an international manhunt after being named as the prime suspect...

For offenses where both perpetrators and victims are migrants (assault, murder and exploitative crimes in particular), words and phrases with undercurrents of gang activity are played upon: these take place in *ganglands* where *turf wars* and *clashes* occur between *mobs* of migrants. Provenance is also used to frame migrants either as a militarised force, guerrilla fighters or rogue military servicemen, wishing to continue their conflicts in the UK:

...the criminals include well-trained and highly dangerous ex-soldiers from former Communist countries and also veterans of the war in Yugoslavia

...murders committed [in the UK] by youngsters from violent countries like Somalia or Kosovo

Over-criminalisation through over-lexicalisation – the excessive use of a narrow set of quasi-synonymous or thematically overlapping descriptive terms – is also employed to wholly persuade the reader of the symbolic importance of the theme from which these words are selected, i.e. the fields of criminality, savagery and war:

HUNDREDS of foreign criminals, many of them members of organised gangs, have set up home in Ireland... a small army of convicted armed robbers, fraudsters, drug dealers, rapists and murderers arrived here in the past few years alone.

[migrant] gang leaders... need to be hounded, humiliated and exposed for the grubby, violent, mindless thugs they are

Finally, with the metaphorical notion of war and invasion comes the need for ‘weapons, fronts, and battle lines’ (Cunningham-Parmeter 2011:1587). These take several forms: the £2 billion spent annually by the UK Border Agency on patrols and detention facilities; the extensive criminalisation of migrants under New Labour, which passed six immigration/asylum acts and created 84 new immigration offences between 1997 and 2009; multilingual police taskforces and ‘strategies’ such as Operation Nexus that aim to reduce the impact of criminal offending by foreign nationals; even vigilante mobs in English towns and cities such as the Friday Night Fighters (*‘Isolated, intimidated and undermined: the immigrants building a new life in the Fens’*, *The Independent*, 22

September 2007). In different ways they all seek to capture and defeat a common adversary, with phrasal verbs from a vocabulary of force (*kick/throw/boot out* and so on) underscoring the desire for a swift and forceful ejection from the country.

4.9.5 Migrants as fundamentally duplicitous

Close analysis also finds that reference is frequently made to the character of migrants using verbs and adjectives from the field of concealment, and these are sometimes foregrounded over the actual offences being reported. Coupled with the emphasis on crimes of deception in large sections of the press, these devices subtly reframe interpretations of criminal behaviour as neutral observations of character, construing migrants as scheming and inherently duplicitous. Hence, outside of the descriptions of their actual crimes, migrants are said to *sneak*, *slip through the net*, and *smuggle* themselves into the UK; they then *hide*, *disappear*, *evaporate* and *vanish* into *transient* and *non-visible* communities. Following on from this, their ‘true’ identities and actions are *exposed*, *discovered* and *revealed*:

POLICE claim to have uncovered a trade in counterfeit goods orchestrated by gangmasters who are flooding Scotland with migrants.

His bid to avoid deportation was thrown out by a judge in 2005 but no effort was made to remove him. It was not until the Mail revealed the truth about Mahmood that he left Scotland.

As in the second example, *exposés* are sometimes attributed to the newspapers themselves, who see it necessary to compensate for the perceived weakness of governmental or judiciary powers by dispensing justice as they see fit. This use of language aims to strike an alliance with its readership in wanting to correct social problems, positioning the paper as champion of the ‘reasonable’ demands of its the readership.

In addition, the sustained emphasis on fraudulent activity supports the self-identification of readers as collective victims of a scheming enemy. The verbs used to detail the actions of migrant criminals have a cumulative effect in making ‘the taxpayer’ feel that they are being preyed on: criminals are said to *rake in*, *sponge off*, *pocket*, *cash in* and

steal. Romanians are singled out for the most audacious attempts at fraud, such as detonating ATM machines. In effect, crimes that can be linked into wider financial issues, notably the 2007/8 economic crisis, become a primary vehicle through which frustrations over the mishandling of public money can be aired. Hence newspapers claiming to ‘reflect and constitute the concerns of working-class Britons’ (Hoops et. al 2015:7) frequently counterpoise the burden of deportation appeals, detention centres and translation services for the unscrupulous migrant against the poor unemployment prospects and rising living costs experienced by ‘natives’, without considering the global movements of capital and labour that lead to economic migration.

4.9.6 Migrant crime as terrorism

In an era marked by unprecedented levels of news coverage intertwining discourses ranging from globalisation to social integration, and from economic migration to national security, evocative language and imagery relating to terror has great resonance. These issues gained political momentum around the world in the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks on New York’s World Trade Center. But perhaps more than this event, the trauma inflicted by the London bombings of July 2005 spoke directly to the *British* experience, redefining the perception and urgency of the threat of terrorism, and shifting the focus of the danger ‘from the outside to the centre’ (Loshitzky 2010:5). The atrocities in London should rightly be situated in a wider context of recent wars, invasions (Kosovo, Iraq, Afghanistan) and acts of terrorism (Bali in 2002, Madrid in 2005), all of which did much to shape public sentiment and foreground tensions surrounding national security and identity. But with the 7/7 terrorist attacks came the realisation of a threat to society coming from ‘the other within’: it forced the recognition that those responsible had ‘evaded the visibility of cultural difference’ (Fortier 2008:43) and were born of the national self that they sought to destroy.

Though most migrant crimes are unconnected to terrorism, Baker, Madoc et. al (2012) point out that journalism expands such associations in the public consciousness to create a new *crime-migration-security* nexus. With this in mind, metaphors meshing concerns about migrant-related crime with terrorism should be considered extremely loaded. The fear of terrorism stems from it being a threat that does not recognise borders and that

appears to be indiscriminate in its choice of victims and locations (Drake 1998). Political debate and sweeping legislation have also cemented the connection between immigration and terrorism, with the far-reaching Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act (2001) and themes of secure borders and legal migration since becoming a cornerstone of manifestos from both the Labour and Conservative parties. Thus, returning to the corpus, it is not a major conceptual shift from linking migrants with criminality, to the belief that migrant communities breed terrorists and from there to issues of national security and the wider War on Terror:

...it has proved relatively easy for terrorists and illegal migrants to go undetected.

...'reasonable grounds to suspect' that foreign nationals have links to terror

...potential terrorists range from "foreign nationals naturalised and resident in the UK..." to "second and third generation British citizens..."

The area, which suffers from high levels of crime, is home to many migrant families and there are fears that extremists in the community have been deliberately targeting what they see as a fertile recruiting ground.

These discursive constructions imply that migrants and migrant crime exist as part of a larger threat to society. Typically, this is expounded on in later parts of the article to push the government, policy makers and citizens towards protective measures in order to expel an apparent threat from within its borders. Most significantly, such language effectively ends debate over whether affirmative action needs to be taken over 'the migrant problem' and whether it is justified (Spencer 2015). When migrant crime is framed in the context of terrorism, the nation is compelled to respond to the 'attack', whether real or imagined.

5.0 Discussion

This study set out to identify and examine the ways in which migrants are discursively represented in accounts of crime in different sections of the British press since the accession of A8 countries to the European Union in 2004. Although previous research has combined corpus linguistics and discourse analysis methodologies to explore media constructions of economic migrants and refugees, fewer studies have coupled a focus on portrayals of migrant perpetrators *and* victims with an identification of the ways in which these representations are legitimised across different sections of print media. As such, the findings of this study align with a growing body of research that draws on CADS methodologies to investigate the characterisation and representation in news discourse of specific sub-groups of modern society who are implicated in wider social or economic issues.

Answering the first research question, the findings of this study show that immigration discourse is loaded with an overtly negative semantic prosody. The cognitive association between immigration and crime is very strong, with migrants relationally positioned alongside murder, fraud, assault and robbery; whether criminals or victims, they are persistently viewed from a place of latent criminal potential. Newspapers frequently neglected the correlation between population and crime rate, as well as the small proportion of crimes committed by migrants compared to the indigenous population and to the size of the UK migrant population as a whole.

There were marked differences in the overall range of crimes covered across newspaper types: these reflected how newspapers wished to elucidate the connection between migrants and their readership. In tabloids such as *The Sun* and *The Mirror*, deception-based crimes feature heavily within frames of security and financial burden. The sense of being exposed to the innate criminality of migrants means that they (and the country's borders) require constant policing, which undermines social order and economic prosperity. Among mid-market publications, *The Daily Mail* positioned migrants as a serious threat to personal safety and collective identity; they cover the largest number of violent crimes, typically committed against individuals. Other mid-markets, with their focus on more ingenious criminal acts and the castigation of border

control agencies, stress the flagrant lawlessness with which they feel migrants behave and, more tellingly, how inadequate intervention effectively *permits* such behaviour. Broadsheet titles, *The Independent* and *The Guardian* in particular, draw attention to crimes with a broadly societal element to them – terror offences, mass rioting and looting, and organised crime – using them as a platform for wider debate.

Tabloid and mid-market depictions of migrants are primarily made through the prism of law enforcement and thus requiring immediate intervention. The frequent invocation of authorities who arrest, detain and expel suggests a yearning for a state in which deportation is the only appropriate response (Sacco 1995:143). It also enforces a tight ideological boundary around the subject; the possibility of closure is carefully controlled by limiting the range of perspectives and alternative resolutions. Broadsheets, meanwhile, are more likely give voice to authorities found later in the judicial system – those that question, consider and, ultimately, *humanise*. Arguments are more nuanced and less consistently restrictionist, positioning migrants within a *value*-based discourse centred on themes of economic merit and multiculturalism. This tendency for broadsheets to record criminal cases in their latter stages illustrates how the content and focus of stories can vary according to the point at which they become news.

Across the corpus, levels of humanity or disdain shown towards migrants fluctuate unpredictably. In exploitative crimes, ambiguous status is given to women (chiefly of Eastern European origin) forced into prostitution; framed as victims and deserving of sympathy yet, through the language of human trafficking and laws governing population movement, placed firmly in a criminalised context. This subtly identifies migrants as an issue of security and punishment, assimilating them into the discursive domain of unauthorised movement and obscuring their vulnerability as individuals. Alliances shift unpredictably in the case of sham weddings: presentations of clergymen and registrars range from subjects of coercion to conscious colluders, and migrants are often cited as the sole culprits, but occasionally as victims. A capricious form of moral gate-keeping appears to be at work, then, with boundaries of otherness established in the media fluctuating to fit different ideologies and editorial lines, even as the dominant narrative of apprehension persists.

Unsurprisingly, criminal potential is classified by nationality. Although statistically Poles are the largest national group among the post-2004 new EU member states, it is Romanians who shoulder the blame for migrant crime. As the latest ‘wave’ of EU migrants the extent of this vilification is unsurprising, but it also suggests either an implicit inclusion of Poles in criminality, or a construction of the Polish as having finally renounced their otherness after over a decade in the UK, making them worthy of recognition for their contributions to the economy and the community: the victims in reports of race crime from Northern Ireland would attest to this. In any case, the underscoring of provenance has the effect of further interlinking culture and ethnicity with criminality. Thus, the discursive positioning of migrants may be less to do with their origins and rooted more in the context of culture and fidelity to the idea of a nation state.

There are a few deviations from the main themes of inclusion and exclusion. In Northern Ireland, there appears to be an increased sensitivity to immigrants as victims, due in part to the continued resonance of the IRA’s 30-year bombing campaign. However, the small intersection between migrants and the indigenous population is best exemplified in the Sakchai Makao case, where acceptance of migrants is possible but only within the narrow confines set out by the media. Makao is portrayed as an individual *only* when his Thai origins are reduced to a distant memory. The disassociation from his migrant past creates a ‘model immigrant’: de-ethnicised and a *victim*. The report is not used to spark debate or reform; rather, Makao’s fight against deportation forms a ‘one man against the system’ narrative, a melodramatic struggle for the recognition of his fundamentally British cultural core (Thorbjørnsrud 2015; Ihlen & Thorbjørnsrud 2014; Beyer & Figenschou 2014). Thus, even with a criminal record, his suppression of otherness makes him well-integrated: he escapes demonization and earns in-group membership. Feeding migrants through ‘a nativist view of what is normal’ both assuages and legitimises the fear of difference (Awad 2012). Rather than dismiss the problemisation of ‘otherness’ outright, it reveals an underlying belief that differences are indeed a problem and must be reduced and removed through assimilation.

Turning to the second research question, qualitative findings show that the main discursive representation of migrants is principally legitimised through a desire to redress the moral and social integrity of the nation state. However, there is divergence between titles and newspaper types in how ‘particular problem definitions, causal interpretations, evaluations and recommendations for treatment’ are justified (Entman 1993:52).

In right-leaning publications, migrants’ involvement in crime is understood as an inevitable consequence of their ‘other’ group membership, which legitimatises the fusion of migration and crime discourses. It is implied that individual culprits should assume collective guilt for entire nations, and even law-abiding foreign nationals are presented in a morally equivocal light. This conflation is indicative of a move towards fortification and exclusion, with newspapers appointing themselves as defenders of the boundaries of belonging and community. Faced with the issues of globalisation, economic insecurity and changing concepts of British cultural identity, the media consider themselves justified in ‘ethnicising criminality and criminalising ethnicity’ in a bid to maintain domestic social justice and social order (Poynting 2000:63). In this light, such accounts can be read as a slightly desperate ‘warning’ to potential immigrants of what journalists *believe* they should expect upon arrival.

In keeping with Ihlen & Thorbjørnsrud (2013), this study finds that conservative news coverage relies more on affective cues, and liberal titles favour cognitive ones. Right-leaning publications tend to compress identity, abstracting migrants from judicial, economical or social factors, and marking crime as simply the result of their foreignness. At the same time, the stylistic adoption of an ‘everyman’ vernacular aims to unite reader and writer in their sceptical view of the establishment; it suggests a frankness largely eschewed by the liberal press who would complicate an apparently binary issue with political correctness and polished-yet-disingenuous rhetoric. It also acts as a form of ideological shorthand, functioning to obscure the motivations of economic migrants and confirm the existence of a national space and identity that excludes them.

In comparison, left-leaning newspapers tend to contextualise migrants within broader social and legal analyses of the country, and employ language in keeping with the fields

of justice and law enforcement with which the stories operate. Though most of the titles fall short of expressly supporting economic migration, they do adopt a more critical posture with respect to police, prison and deportation authorities. While this should not be confused for neutrality, it does suggest that their aim is to provoke thought rather than resolve moral anxieties.

Finally, discursive representations are marked by a plurality of discourse. Newspapers appear to echo the sentiments felt by an existing community, when they are in fact shaping the agenda and attributes of the community itself. Conservative titles have little interest in reconciling the disconnect between public perception and reality, reporting a society ridden with the most virulent strains of crime that needs to be cleansed, whilst also implying that the presence of migrants puts society beyond cure. The liberal press acknowledges many of the same issues, positing 'rational' arguments that diminish the negative effects of migrant crime and stressing the potential economic and cultural benefits of migration. However, the broadsheet article on Sakchai Makao underlines the capricious nature of the press, and how news involving migrants is used to exploit the space and tension between the judiciary and the government for its own political gain (Clayton 2004; also Conboy 2006).

On closer inspection, some left-leaning articles can be read as retellings of conservative accounts, albeit with migrants recast in roles that project a national self-image of an accepting, multicultural society that, at the same time as it dehumanises them, affords a chance of economic prosperity. This apparent duplicity gives the clearest indication that strands of nationalist argument run through even liberal crime and migration discourses. It also suggests that apprehension over the ethical basis of immigration controls is at the heart of newspapers' ideological stance.

6.0 Conclusion

In trying to understand the positioning of migrants in crime reporting, this study has offered a window into how discursive representations are legitimised and naturalised in the press, and what illustration this gives of newspapers' ideological positions. Clearly migration and migrant-related crime continue to be salient topics in both political and public discourse. The results have revealed largely negative perceptions of migrants and migration that attest to the agenda-setting power of the press in news media. Discursive practices included strong collocation with extreme forms of criminal deviance; persistent dichotomies of positive self-image (effectively an absolving of prejudice) and negative 'other' presentation; the construction of 'Britishness' and the maintenance of ever-changing boundaries around this ultimately imagined community, at the expense of migrant victims in particular; and the reduction of migrants to economic pawns or a socially destructive subhuman force.

Across all of the newspaper titles, the approaches to immigration appear to be politically and economically driven. Though there are notable variations in tone, liberal newspapers maintain a less emotionally coloured exterior, but like conservative publications they foster themes of assimilation even as they speak in support of integration. This finding goes against the common perception of immigration as an issue 'owned' by the right (Alonso and Claro da Fonseca 2012), and highlights that distinctions across the political spectrum are not always straightforward. This study contends that in the face of increasingly polarised conservative perspectives on migration and a sustained conflict between desires for socio-cultural enrichment and anxieties over invasion and loss, political capital is being made in the liberal press by masking hardening ideologies with rhetorical differences.

In coming to these conclusions, the potential of integrating CL and CDA practices with socio-historical perspectives has been harnessed in a bid to present a three-dimensional view of the corpus and the ideologies found therein. The study finds that this multi-disciplinary approach – i.e. the complementary use of extra-corpus information to validate and interpret linguistic features – is an effective means of inquiring into and contextualising representations of social subgroups in news discourse.

6.1 Limitations and further implications

Although it is accepted that strict objectivity can never be achieved when conducting studies of this nature (Koteyko 2014), it is necessary to acknowledge the potential for cognitive bias in the analysis of texts. For instance, focusing exclusively on the British press limits the robustness of the findings and the extent to which they can be generally applied. In addition, a larger scale study would have made it possible for a greater number of texts to be analysed in more detail; this would have helped to address a criticism of CDA made in the methodology as only allowing for partial representations of meaning.

The results of this study open up new lines of further research. Given that the starting point of the corpus sample period was the 2004 EU enlargement, subsequent investigations taking a diachronic approach may be of merit in observing whether the prevalence and particular discursal functions of the keywords have changed since that time, and whether this reflects a shift in the left-right classification of immigration issues. Future work could also isolate the representations of migrant *victims*, perhaps as a means of gaining insight into the recent resurgence in nativism and extreme-right xenophobia in several Western European states. In a similar vein, the unexpected findings from the Northern Irish articles in the corpus point to a potentially fruitful area of future study, where a comparative analysis of different regions within a country may reveal area-specific patterns of language and attitudes towards immigration.

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