“Island Nation Seeks Calmer Currents and Shining Stars”

Immigration Discourse in the British Press during the General Election of 2010

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April 2012

Tutkimus pohjautuu laajalti systeemis-funktionalisen kielitoimin teoriaan ja mediadiskurssin sekä mediassa esiintyvän politiikan seuraamisessa. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on selvittää, mitä aiheista maahanmuuttouutisointi keskustellaan. Tutkimus on käytetty määrällistä sisällön erittelyä ja kriittistä diskurssianalyysin soveltaen siinä systeemis-funktionalista kielitoimia. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on selvittää, kuinka nämä kaksi lehteä eroavat toisistaan ja millaisia toimijoina maahanmuuttajat esitettiin.


Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords: maahanmuuttaja, maahanmuuttouutisointi, maahanmuuttopolitiikka, Iso-Britannia, mediadiskurssi, uutiset, diskurssianalyysi, systeemis-funktionalinen kielitoimi, sisällön erittely

Säilytyspaikka – Förvaringsställe – Where deposited: Keskustakampuksen kirjasto

Muita tietoja – Övriga uppgifter – Additional information
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1 Introduction

“For these dangerous and divisive elements the legislation proposed in the Race Relations Bill is the very pabulum they need to flourish. Here is the means of showing that the immigrant communities can organise to consolidate their members, to agitate and campaign against their fellow citizens, and to overawe and dominate the rest with the legal weapons which the ignorant and the ill-informed have provided. As I look ahead, I am filled with foreboding; like the Roman, I seem to see "the River Tiber foaming with much blood."

That tragic and intractable phenomenon which we watch with horror on the other side of the Atlantic but which there is interwoven with the history and existence of the States itself, is coming upon us here by our own volition and our own neglect. Indeed, it has all but come. In numerical terms, it will be of American proportions long before the end of the century.

Only resolute and urgent action will avert it even now. Whether there will be the public will to demand and obtain that action, I do not know. All I know is that to see, and not to speak, would be the great betrayal.”

Enoch Powell, April 20, 1968

(Reproduced on The Daily Telegraph online November 6, 2007)

For over 40 years ago Enoch Powell gave his infamous speech that later came to be known as the ‘Rivers of Blood’ speech. What made this speech even more controversial and gave it attention is the fact that Enoch Powell was a prominent politician and a Member of Parliament. The time was perhaps not ripe for such rhetoric, however, as the speech resulted in negative consequences in terms of Powell’s own political career in the Conservative Party. However, it managed to raise the issue of immigration to a new level and resulted in it being a disputed issue ever since.

Britain attracted 593,000 immigrants in the year to June 2011 (ONS). Out of these, 242,000 were students, which makes study the most common reason for immigrating to the UK (ONS). These numbers thus tell something of a typical immigrant to the UK: he or she is most likely a student and thus supposedly a younger person. A look
on the Home Office website in turn gives an interesting insight into how immigrants are categorized by the authorities in a bureaucratic discourse. When it comes to working in the UK, the Home Office namely distinguishes between ‘high-value migrants’, ‘skilled workers’, ‘temporary workers’, and ‘other categories’. These labels thus suggest that some immigrants are more preferable than others.

Finland, in turn, attracted only 25,636 immigrants in 2010 (Statistics Finland). However, judging by the current immigration discourse brought up and maintained by True Finns, one could think that immigration to Finland was on a much higher level. And as the success of True Finns, mainly due to their popularization of the issue of immigration, in the parliamentary election of 2011 shows, a significant part of Finns seem to be genuinely concerned over immigration.

Therefore, in part inspired by the current developments in the immigration discourse in Finland, I intend to find out how the issue is dealt with in the country where immigration is no longer a recent phenomenon, that is, the United Kingdom. The study will compare how the conservative and the liberal press in the UK, in this case The Times and The Guardian, talked about immigration during the election campaigns of 2010.

The purpose of the study is thus twofold: to find out which themes were raised in the press when reporting on immigration during parliamentary elections of 2010, and if there was a difference on this between the representatives of the conservative and the liberal press. To do this, following research questions were formulated:

i. What issues concerning immigration are raised in the media during election campaigns? Does the outcome of the election cause an abrupt change in the frequency of specific themes?

ii. As what kind of actors do the media portray immigrants? What kinds of identities are ascribed to them?

iii. Is there a difference between conservative and liberal media in the issues raised and the tone immigrants were discussed in?
I hypothesize that the findings show the news coverage on immigration to be mostly negative during election campaigns. However, I expect the conservative press to be the one with the more explicitly negative attitude towards immigration, while the liberal press more likely will be more neutral and cautious in its judgments.

To arrive at conclusions on these questions, two different analyses will be undertaken. The first method and the one that is set out to answer the first research question is a small-scale content analysis. After the recurring themes in the media coverage have been uncovered, the focus shifts to examining how the immigrants are represented in the press. This is done with the help of two different discourse analytical methods. The first of these, analysis of lexical items, is supposed to reveal the explicit representations. The second of these will help to reveal the more implicit representations in the press applying the transitivity analysis developed by Halliday (see 1994, 2004) in his model of systemic functional grammar. The purpose of this analysis is to show which participant roles immigrants are represented as taking up in the press.

As the issue of immigration discourse in the press during election campaigns is related to many fields, either directly or indirectly, the theoretical background accordingly draws on various social contexts. As the focus is on comparing conservative and liberal newspapers, the study needs to address both the questions of media discourse and the effect of ideology on the press. The political aspects of the immigration discourse will need to be addressed as well, since the study is set in the context of elections. In order to understand all this, general theory on discourse and the analytical framework for doing critical discourse analysis will be provided.
2 Theoretical background

Although the research problem formulated in the Introduction to this paper may seem to have a narrow focus, it does, however, relate to many different fields both in terms of theory and practice. The theoretical background, therefore, will address questions extending from more theoretical notions of discourse to one of the areas where it is most obviously manifest, the media. However, to be able to understand and interpret the findings in a relevant manner, an introduction to the social and cultural context is required. Here understanding the developments in the British press, political debate over immigration, and the history of immigration is of utmost value.

2.1 Theoretical framework

Before any analysis can be undertaken, an introduction to the conceptual and analytical framework is needed. The sections on discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis could as well have been placed in the Methods section in this paper, but as ‘discourse’ is such an important concept in this paper, they were deemed important to discuss before anything else to minimize conceptual confusion. The last subsection in this section of Theoretical framework will review previous work on immigration discourse.

2.1.1 Discourse and Discourse analysis

Media discourse. News discourse. Political discourse. Immigration discourse. As it seems impossible to escape the concept of ‘discourse’ in this study, it is best to confront the inevitable and tackle the issue right at the outset. The terms used to label discourse above suggest that discourse must have something to do with its social context of use, and the study at hand indeed relates to aspects of all the types of discourse mentioned above. The definition of discourse most likely depends on the discipline which the one defining it is a representative of. The most relevant definitions in terms of the study at hand are the ones presented by linguists and social theorists. The linguists would define discourse as “social action and interaction, people interacting together in real social situations” (Fairclough 1995: 18), while social theorists, following the work of Foucault, understand it as “a social construction of
reality, a form of knowledge” (ibid.). In this study ‘discourse’ is understood as a combination of both, since according to Fairclough (ibid. 54), the most prominent advocate of critical discourse analysis in linguistics, discourse is “spoken or written language use” and therefore through the emphasis on use of language in itself “a form of social practice”. When used in plural, on the other hand, discourses are “conventional ways of talking that both create and are created by conventional ways of thinking” (Johnstone 2008: 3). These ways of talking and thinking together form ideologies, which again lead to circulation of power in society (ibid.). Linguistically speaking, discourses in plural constitute conventionalized sets of choices for discourse, or talk (ibid.). In Fairclough’s (1995: 55) account these are called ‘orders of discourse’ that are sets of all possible discursive types in a particular social context.

As the dependence on the respective discipline in defining discourse already suggests, there are as many ways to define what discourse analysis is and how it is carried out as there are disciplines involved in the pursuit of it. In addition to linguistics, Johnstone (2008: 1) mentions communication, psychology, cultural studies, education, and anthropology as possible fields of study where researchers often engage in discourse analysis. The goals of discourse analysis can either be descriptive or critical. A purely descriptive analysis aims at providing a description of a text without an attempt to apply the findings to a specific context (ibid. 28). Johnstone (ibid. 27-28) mentions the work by Halliday and Hasan (1976) on cohesion in English as an example of descriptive discourse analysis. This approach to discourse analysis used to dominate, but the focus has increasingly shifted towards an analysis with critical goals (ibid.). The shift was inspired by researchers in the humanities and social sciences who became doubtful of the possibility of producing one all-encompassing description and at the same time critical of the social status quo that they thought could be changed for the better with the help of their work (ibid. 28). So, this illustrates how discourse analysis came to be linked with the notions of power and inequality. Johnstone (ibid. 30) concludes that, although discourse analysis always results in some kinds of descriptions, for example of the social status quo, the end goal in discourse analysis is often more than that, namely social critique or even intervention. And as the goal of critical discourse analysis in particular is often political with the focus on social justice and social change, it is perhaps self-evident but also worth mentioning that it is often carried out with a leftist agenda in mind (Johnstone 2008: 54).
2.1.2 Critical discourse analysis

Here I will present a framework that Norman Fairclough has developed for analyzing media discourse in critical discourse analysis and present the major differences between it and the socio-cognitive model used by Teun van Dijk. These two models are important, first of all, due to the prominence of Fairclough and van Dijk in critical discourse analysis of the media, and second of all, because of the relevance of these two models to the study at hand. The model introduced by Fairclough provides the analytical framework for the analysis in my own study and understanding how the one developed by Van Dijk differs from it is important, if not methodologically, then due to Van Dijk’s extensive work and influence on the research of the topics this study relates to, namely immigration and ideology in the press.

Fairclough’s approach to critical discourse analysis is three-dimensional and involves the analyses of text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice (1995: 57). These are all incorporated in what he calls the analysis of communicative events. Moreover, one needs to alternate between this analysis of communicative events and that of the order of discourse. So, for example, in the case of media discourse, the analyst has to take into consideration both the particular, e.g. a newspaper article, and the general, that is, the overall structure of the order of discourse (ibid. 56). Fairclough (ibid. 62) himself focuses on the linguistic analysis of texts but emphasizes the importance of maintaining a more “comprehensive orientation to communicative events”.

The analysis of texts constitutes the linguistic part in critical discourse analysis. In analyzing texts Fairclough (1995: 58) applies the model of systemic functional linguistics developed by Halliday (1994, 2004) and accordingly sees texts as consisting of three functions that exist simultaneously in any piece of text, e.g. in a clause: ideational, interpersonal, and textual. These functions allow the analyst to study “particular representations and recontextualizations of social practice” (ideational function) as well as “particular constructions of writer and reader identities” and “a particular construction of the relationship between the writer and reader” (interpersonal function) (ibid. 58). The advantage of this type of analysis in Fairclough’s view is that it reveals the kind of information about a text that is not
found in the text itself (ibid.). This part of the analysis also addresses the definition of discourse that sees language as socially constitutive (ibid. 59).

The analysis of the discourse practice dimension of the communicative event involves analyzing the processes of text production and text consumption (ibid. 58). Discourse practice is also the link between the text and the sociocultural practice, which means that sociocultural practice can only shape texts through shaping the discourse practices involved in producing the texts (ibid. 59-60). Fairclough (ibid. 60) differentiates conventional and creative discourse practice: conventional discourse practice is manifest in texts with a homogenous set of forms and meanings, whereas creative discourse practice is manifest in a text that relies on the use of more varied set of forms and meanings (ibid. 60). He also links these different discourse practices with the stability of the sociocultural practice (ibid. 60). Accordingly, Fairclough (ibid. 61) adds that discourse practices of the media are influenced and determined by the changes that take place in society and culture. In addition to linguistic analysis of texts, Fairclough (ibid. 61) stresses the importance of the intertextual analysis of texts, which is the one linked with the analysis of discourse practice. Moreover, intertextual analysis of texts relies more on the understanding of the social and cultural context, whereas linguistic analysis is concerned with what is on paper (ibid. 61).

The analysis of the sociocultural practice of a communicative event involves analysis of the sociocultural context at one or more levels ranging from the immediate situational context to the wider societal and cultural context (ibid. 62). Critical discourse analysis most commonly focuses on the economic, political, and cultural aspects of sociocultural practice (ibid. 62).

In addition to the analysis of the communicative event, the approach to critical discourse analysis suggested by Fairclough entails analysis of the order of discourse. The focus of this analysis is on “the configuration of genres and discourses which constitute the order of discourse, the shifting relationships between them, and between this order of discourse and other socially adjacent ones” (ibid. 56). As the media order of discourse can well be “examined as a domain of cultural power of hegemony”, its analysis is useful in revealing structures of power (ibid. 67). What defines and shapes the media order of discourse is its relationship to two “contrary poles of attraction for
media discourse”, the public sources of the media, on the one hand, and its private targets, the consumers, on the other (ibid. 63). It follows that the media order of discourse is not necessarily stable but is constantly being reshaped through its interaction with the public and the private (ibid.). Therefore, in analyzing the media order of discourse, the analyst has to examine, first, how unitary or variable media discursive practices are, and second, how stable or changeable they are (ibid. 65).

According to Fairclough (1998: 145), the advantage of his framework is that it elaborates discourse analysis in both linguistics and social sciences by giving more prominence to social aspects in the analysis of language within linguistics and also a more textually oriented focus for the discourse analysis within social sciences.

Fairclough (1995: 29) contrasts his framework of critical discourse analysis with the one adopted by Teun Van Dijk. Although both draw on common ground in that they define discourse as incorporating three dimensions and see discourse practice as the mediating link between textual analysis and sociocultural analysis, there are considerable differences between the two approaches, however (ibid. 29). First of all, while Fairclough’s analysis of practices of news production and comprehension emphasizes the role of drawing on socially available genres and discourses, Van Dijk emphasizes the role of social cognition, that is, how the production and comprehension of news are shaped by cognitive models and schemata. Second, whereas by linking media texts to context Van Dijk aims at showing how routine practices at a micro-level contribute to production and reproduction of social relationships, Fairclough aims at a bigger goal by attempting to show how changing language and discourse practices in the media actually constitute social and cultural change (ibid. 29).

2.1.3 Voices against critical discourse analysis

In addition to being critical itself, critical discourse analysis has also drawn critique towards it. Widdowson (2010: 165), first of all, criticizes systemic functional grammar of its high emphasis on semantic meaning in assigning meaning to texts and the ignorance of pragmatics in this process by arguing that “we do not read possible meanings off from a text; we read plausible meanings into a text, prompted by the purpose and conditioned by the context”. The second point of criticism concerns Fairclough’s restriction to the clause that leads to misrepresentation of “the very nature
of the text” (ibid. 176). In brief, the main point of Widdowson’s criticism of Fairclough’s approach to discourse analysis is that in assigning meaning to texts Fairclough fails to take the question of interpretation into consideration (ibid. 177).

Blommaert (2005: 33-34) sees a lot of potential in CDA, for example due to its 1) “critical language awareness”, 2) “dialogue between linguistic analysis and other social-scientific endeavors”, and 3) “focus on institutional environments as key sites of research into the connections between language, power, and social processes”. He, however, criticizes critical discourse analysis of what he calls deficient notions of context (2005: 37). The first point of criticism that he raises is the linguistic bias in CDA which in his opinion arises from the analysts putting too much emphasis on systemic functional linguistics (SFL) (ibid. 34). This means that although the work within SFL itself is often not critical, many critical discourse analysts such as Fairclough in Blommaert’s view overly emphasize linguistic-textual analysis and consider it a requirement of valid critical discourse analysis (ibid. 34). Moreover, CDA limits the analysis to available discourse, the “textually organized and (explicitly) linguistically encoded discourse”, but does not pay attention to the discourse that has not been put to words on paper which would be equally important when one wishes to analyze inequality through language (ibid. 35). The second point of criticism in Blommaert’s account is the overwhelming focus of research within CDA on First-World countries (ibid. 35). This is a problem, since the First-World countries represent a very marginal share of the world population, and so the discourse in these societies cannot provide a universal account of discourse in contemporary societies (ibid. 36). The third and last point of criticism in Blommaert’s account is the closure of CDA to a particular timeframe (ibid. 37). By this he means the tendency of CDA to ignore historical developments (ibid.).

2.1.4 Discourse on immigration

Discourse on immigration has drawn research from many distinguished linguists such as Teun A. Van Dijk, Ruth Wodak, and Jan Blommaert. Van Dijk’s work is most relevant in the study at hand, since he has studied immigration in the British press from the perspective of race and ideology. Ruth Wodak, in turn has focused on immigration in the Austrian context (e.g. Krzyzanowski & Wodak 2009; Van
Leeuwen & Wodak 1999). Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) in turn deal with immigration in the Belgian context and offer a thorough discussion on the concept of ‘other’ and how the other is conceptualized in the debate over immigration. In addition to different geographical contexts, immigration discourse has also been studied in different domains of discourse such as media discourse (e.g. Van Dijk 1991, 2000) and political discourse (e.g. Chilton 2004; Charteris-Black 2006; Richardson 2008). In the following I will present a short literary review of previous studies on immigration discourse, focusing especially on the British context and the domains of media and political discourse, as the findings of these studies are particularly relevant for the study at hand.

The pioneering work on immigration discourse in the media, at least in the British context, has been carried out by Van Dijk. In a study of the most prominent themes in the coverage of ethnic affairs in the British press in the second half of 1985, Van Dijk found that immigration was one of the most prominent subjects and that the coverage of immigration seemed to “follow some kind of ideologically framed ‘immigration script’” (1991: 95). Under the broader subject of immigration, the most recurrent topics concerning immigration in 1985 were immigration policies, admission and expulsion, and repatriation (ibid.). Immigration policies centered on the conflict between the Tories and Labour on the issue of immigration and especially on stricter visa requirements, more border checks, and conditions on admission (ibid. 95-96). The topic of admission and expulsion represents the more individualistic end of the scripted immigration stories. Here Van Dijk mentions what he calls “‘luxury immigrants’ myth” that at that time seems to have been prominent in the press (ibid. 96). In this case it concerns a family from Nigeria who stay at an expensive hotel and want to fly home in the first class (ibid. 96). This is supposed to show the cost of immigrants to the British taxpayers (ibid. 96). Another frequent topic on immigration in 1985 was repatriation that had become popular thanks to Enoch Powell (ibid. 97). All in all, Van Dijk found that in 1985 the topics of immigration focused on problems and were largely set in a framework of negative associations (ibid. 97).

Van Dijk (2000: 48) also states that the reporting on ethnic affairs typically represents immigrants as breaking the norms and the law and thus as being different, deviant, and a threat to Us, whereas We as a group or nation are represented as victims or as acting
against deviance. These representations are enhanced by the use of metaphors and hyperboles, whereas frequent use of numbers and statistics bring a sense of credibility, facticity, and objectivity to the reports (ibid.). Moreover, Van Dijk (2000: 38) points out that restricting immigration coverage to negative topics such as social problems, threats, and cultural differences eventually also leads to negative images on the minds of the recipients. The prevalence of negative topics on immigration in the press namely does not mean that positive actions by immigrants do not exist (ibid. 38).

In a study of political manifesto leaflets by the BNP and New Labour, John Richardson (2008: 332) set out to study the relationships between national identity and racist exclusion in contemporary British politics. He aimed at showing that in addition to marginal political parties, prejudicial ethnicist discourse was also a part of “the mainstream of British political communications” (ibid. 332). His findings show that as the immigration law does not mention Englishness or English citizens, the parties need to adopt a definition of nationalism that is based on “cultural assumptions about what Englishness is” and not on legal discourse (ibid. 332). He also found that both Labour’s and the BNP’s rhetoric draws on English exceptionalism and “a representation of migrants as things that we have a right and a need to manage in the interests of “Our” nation” (ibid. 332). Third and most importantly, in order to achieve this national unification in rhetoric, the significant class differences that exist in British society need to be eradicated (ibid. 333).

Jonathan Charteris-Black (2006: 563) aimed to find out the role metaphors played in the formation of legitimacy in right-wing political communication on immigration policy in the 2005 British election campaign. He also wanted to know how far and center-right differ in their use of metaphor (ibid. 563). To do this, he created a corpus consisting of written and spoken right-wing political communication including speeches by members of the Conservative Party, party political manifestos of the Conservative Party and the British National Party, and press articles in the Conservative press such as The Daily Mail and The Daily Telegraph (ibid. 567). His findings suggest that two types of metaphor are relevant in the right-wing political discourse on immigration: those related to natural disasters caused by movement of water and those related to containment (ibid. 579). As conceptual metaphors these can be represented as “immigration is a natural disaster” and “Britain is a container” (ibid.
The container metaphor is especially important in terms of British political discourse and right-wing world view, since it merges a time concept with a spatially based concept and the conceptual metaphor “control over social change is control over movement of peoples” suggests that “controlling immigration through maintaining the security of borders (a space-based concept) will ensure control over the rate of social change (a time-based concept)” (ibid. 579). The far-right and center-right discourses on immigration differ from each other in that the far-right discourse sees immigration as a natural disaster, while in the center-right discourse it is the immigration system that is represented as a disaster (ibid. 579). Another feature of the right-wing discourse is that it focuses on the process of immigration instead of the agents themselves (ibid. 568). This again is a grammatical metaphor, in which the activity of immigrating is nominalized into an abstract noun, immigration (ibid. 568). On an interesting note, Charteris-Black (ibid. 568) points out that the center-right talks about immigration while the far-right usually talks about immigrants. The avoidance of the center-right to talk about immigrants has to do with a Court of Appeal decision that ruled that “using ‘immigrant’ can justify treating an assault as racially aggravated” (ibid. 568). The decision was based on a case brought by a doctor who had been referred to by a patient as ‘an immigrant doctor’ (ibid. 569).

2.2 Media discourse

A great deal of accounts of media discourse and its importance as an area of study emphasize the interrelatedness of the media and society. The media themselves are important social institutions, since they participate in the shaping and reflecting of areas such as politics, culture, and social life (Bell 1998: 64). Media discourse thus reveals things about society but also itself “contributes to the character of society” (ibid. 64-65). Due to this significant role of the media in society, linguistic research on media discourse often focuses on issues of power and ideology (ibid. 65).

The purpose of this section is not to provide an exhaustive account of all aspects of media discourse but to introduce the central features that contribute to the production of representation of a certain issue or group of people, for example immigration and immigrants, in the media and especially in the press. Therefore this section will first
address the general practices of news production and the way news are structured in order to emphasize the views of the dominant and make their voices heard while at the same time silencing the minority voices. After these broader aspects of news making and news structures are addressed, the focus will shift to the more linguistic means of contributing to the production of representations. After these structural and linguistic aspects of news stories have been addressed, the questions of ideology and its influence on the press as well as the agenda-setting effects of the media will be discussed.

2.2.1 News discourse

News is often analyzed in terms of its discourse structure and researchers who are especially worth mentioning in this area are Allan Bell and, again, Teun Van Dijk. Bell (1998: 65) argues for the study of discourse structure of news in linguistics by saying that news constitutes, first, a rich register in language and as a result understanding the principles of news structures contributes to the understanding of language use in society. Moreover, studying discourse structures of news proves useful when one wants to reveal differences in discourse structure between different genres within the media, e.g. editorials and news stories, and in different types of news media such as quality and tabloid newspapers (ibid.). And as the news content gets its form in how it is expressed, i.e. in the text, linguistic analysis of the text is a necessary part of unpacking the ideologies underlying the news (ibid. 65).

Bell (1998: 65) approaches news discourse from the perspective of what the news reports tell happened rather than trying to find out if this represents what really happened. He seeks to do this by reconstructing what the story says actually happened through deducing an ‘event structure’ for the story (ibid. 66). In Bell’s framework, a story consists of attribution, an abstract, and the story proper. In Van Dijk’s (1991: 118) terminology, the structure of the news is based on their “superstructures” or “schemata”. Van Dijk (ibid. 118) also states that a news story consists of at least the Summary and one Main Event category. Despite the slightly different terminology used, the frameworks are otherwise so similar that the following discussion will only refer to Bell’s framework. Attribution, if it is made explicit, can include a credit to the
news agency or a journalist’s byline or state time and place (ibid. 65). The abstract in turn consists of the headline and the lead that covers the central event of the story (ibid. 65). The body of the story itself consists of episodes that are further divided into events (ibid. 65). Events describe actors, action as well as time and place, whereas episodes are sets of events that share the same actors and location (ibid. 65). Bell also mentions three other elements of a news story that are background, commentary and follow-up (ibid. 67). Whereas background refers to past events and follow-up to events taking place after the main action described in the story, commentary provides the journalist’s assessment or evaluation on the events (ibid. 67-69). Analyzing what the story says happened also at the same time reveals what it does not say and therefore “makes us aware of the complexity and ambiguity of news” (ibid. 66). A further advantage of the analysis of event structure of news is that it reveals whether the headline actually represents the accompanying story (ibid. 66).

In addition to the overall structures of news, some presences and absences define news discourse as well. First of all, this can be seen in the level of description and amount of detail provided (Van Dijk 2000: 40). If the information contributes to emphasizing Our good properties and deemphasizing Their bad ones, specifications are abundant (ibid.). However, if the information would damage Our image, specifications are scarce (ibid.). Moreover, who gets quoted in news reports and who does not also work to confirm the underlying attitudes about minority groups (ibid. 39). It is not surprising that, unlike the white elites, immigrants are hardly ever quoted (ibid.).

2.2.2 Media language

As the media is such a vast concept, giving a thorough description of the language used in the media is an impossible task to undertake. Therefore, the following will be a short introduction to the most common linguistic means that are used to either foreground or background the experiences of particular groups in the press. Although Fairclough (1995: 112-115) provides a fascinating overview of the linguistic choices made in relation to representation in clauses, using the representation of the poor as an example, the following account is based on Van Dijk (2000), as his work focuses on the representation of immigrants.
As the linguistic features that will be presented show, the use of language in the press often involves some kinds of choices between different options. One of the most obvious areas of choices includes what Van Dijk (2000: 39) calls the local meanings in text. Here, choices in lexicalization are an explicit way to reveal what the author thinks about a specific person, group, or their actions (ibid.). Moreover, the use of ingroup and outgroup designators such as personal pronouns ‘we’ and ‘they’ or possessive pronouns of ‘our’ and ‘their’ are an explicit way of establishing a contrast between Us and Them (ibid. 44). However, choices can also be made at a clause or sentence level, and studying these choices that contribute to sentence meaning are more informative when it comes to revealing which roles participants are represented in, whether it is as agents, targets, or victims of action (ibid.). Van Dijk notes that when it comes to immigrants, they are usually represented in a passive role, as a target of action, unless the action described is negative. Those cases most likely emphasize the active, responsible agency of immigrants (ibid. 40).

The language used in the media also contributes to the representations in many implicit ways. A semantic move that is used to realize attitudes about the ingroup and the outgroup in one sentence is what Van Dijk calls ‘disclaimers’. They are sentences such as “We have nothing against foreigners, but…” which is an example of an Apparent Denial (ibid. 41). According to Van Dijk (ibid.), the advantage of using these disclaimers is that through the positive part they help to avoid “a bad impression with the recipients”.

When it comes to the structure of clauses and sentences and formulation of meaning within them, two linguistic devices, the choice between active and passive voice and nominalization of verbs, become relevant. Active voice is used to emphasize the responsible agency of the subject, whereas passive voice is useful when one wishes to background the agency of an action (ibid.). In turn, verbs usually become nominalized when one wishes to avoid mentioning who, for example, was responsible for discriminating against someone. So to use the word ‘discrimination’ is especially useful when one wants to deemphasize the negative actions by the ingroup (ibid. 41).

As seen in the discussion on immigration discourse, metaphors are a powerful means of representing specific groups in the media. Fairclough (1995: 114) points out that the
poor are normally metaphorized in terms of two extreme categories: silence and natural disaster. The press therefore describes the action of the poor as passivity and silence or an uncontrollable eruption or explosion (ibid.). Immigrants, on the other hand, are also often metaphorized as natural disaster in the form of moving water such as ‘flood’, ‘flow’, or ‘wave’ (see e.g. Charteris-Black). What is perhaps most typical of tabloids and the populist press, immigrants are often metaphorized in terms of military register, as invading a country (Van Dijk 2000: 43).

2.2.3 Ideology and the Press

“Ideologies are propositions that generally figure as implicit assumptions in texts, which contribute to producing or reproducing unequal relations of power, relations of domination.”

(Fairclough 1995: 14)

As the previous sections on news practices and language in the media have showed, ideology may play a role in how immigration, for example, is represented in the press or how the identities of immigrants are constructed. To say may play a role implies that by no means all texts work ideologically (Fairclough 1995: 14). Fairclough (ibid. 14-15) thus warns that bearing this in mind the analyst should, in order to determine if propositions in a text are working ideologically, ask the text, first, what the social origins of the option made are, second, what the motivations behind making this choice are, and third, what the effects, including the ones on the interests of those involved, of this choice are. Fairclough (1995: 15) also reminds that the success of a “taken-for-granted proposition” in producing or reproducing relations of domination has nothing to do with how true or false it may be. This does not mean, however, that the analysis should be ignorant of truth; on the contrary, if a news report omits important parts of what happened in order to serve a certain purpose is one thing, but if it presupposes something that is based on a false ideological assumption, e.g. that a group of people is inferior to another, it is important for the analysis to point this out (ibid. 15).

The only way to reveal the truth, according to Fairclough, is the analysis of representations in the text, since “all representations involve particular points of view, values, and goals” (Fairclough 1995: 46-47). The analysis of representations in news
stories, for example, thus includes comparing and evaluating of inclusion and exclusion in them, what is foregrounded and what is backrounded, as well as the origin and the motivations behind their formulation (ibid. 47). As a result, this is where the ideational metafunction of the model of systemic functional linguistics proves particularly useful.

Van Dijk (1998: 21-22) in turn defines ideology as social cognition: ideologies consist of beliefs and mental representations and are thus to be understood in cognitive terms. On the other hand, ideologies are social in that the ideologies of a newspaper most likely reflect the ideologies of the newspaper, for example, and not those of an individual journalist. In order for ideologies, or beliefs, to be socially shared by groups and their members, they must first be socially relevant for this group (Van Dijk 2011: 382). For ideologies to be socially relevant to a group, they often concern the group’s interpretation of its relations to other social groups (ibid.). Again, in order for the ideology to serve the purpose of defending the interests of a group, they often address the group’s relationships to other groups in terms of control of scarce resources (ibid.). Van Dijk (1998: 28) also stresses that discourse structures and societal structures can only be connected to each other through the minds and mental models of the people in a group. Moreover, these mental models that people construct of the events and communicative events they engage in are in Van Dijk’s theory the missing link between ideologies and their expression in discourse (van Dijk 1998: 27).

Perhaps the best known of Van Dijk’s contributions to the field of ideology in discourse is a strategy that he calls the ‘ideological square’ (Van Dijk 2011: 396-397; Van Dijk 1998: 33). It is based on the idea of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation and is used widely in studies on immigration discourse, for example. Ideological Square is thus a strategy of polarization and employs the following principles:

1. Emphasize our good properties/actions
2. Emphasize their bad properties/actions
3. Mitigate our bad properties/actions

An understanding of how ideologies are expressed in text can be achieved for example through the analysis of lexical items that are usually explicit markers of opinions or
values (ibid. 31). However, ideologies are only rarely explicitly stated in a text, so one should also examine the implicit in the text (Van Dijk 2011: 392). This can be done for example by looking at recurring themes and topics. This will then tell what information is deemed important in the text and is thus supposed to reveal the structures of the underlying mental models and ideologies (ibid. 63).

2.2.4 Agenda setting

Given the position of the current study at the interface of news discourse on a particular issue during an election campaign, one theory focused especially on news coverage and the issues the public holds important cannot escape our attention. The following will therefore be a short introduction to a theory called agenda-setting. The basic idea behind agenda-setting is fairly simple: the issues covered in the media today (the media agenda) will be the issues the public holds important tomorrow (the public agenda) (McCombs 2004: 1-2).

The groundbreaking work on agenda-setting was carried out by two young university professors at the University of North Carolina’s School of Journalism in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, in 1968 (ibid. 4-8). These two professors, Maxwell McCombs and Don Shaw, set out to study the media effects with the new hypothesis that “the mass media set the agenda of issues for a political campaign by influencing the salience of issues among voters” (ibid. 4). They carried out the study among undecided Chapel Hill voters by comparing their agenda, the set of issues that were of the greatest concern to them with the issue agenda of the news media used by those voters (ibid. 4-5). The study included a survey among the voters and a content analysis of the news media they had used (ibid. 4-5). Their findings showed that in most cases it was indeed the agenda of the larger news coverage that determined/correlated with the public agenda and not the coverage of just the party or candidate who these voters thought they preferred which had been the hypothesis of the dominant theory of selective perception (ibid. 7-8).

Agenda-setting operates on two levels: that is, on agenda of objects and agenda of attributes (ibid. 69-70). Attribute agenda-setting focuses on “which aspects of the issue, political candidate or topic are salient for members of the public” (ibid. 70). So
while the object agenda-setting suggests what to think about, through the attribute agenda-setting the media in turn tells us how to think about the objects (ibid. 71). Like any other objects such as political candidates, public issues can also have attributes (ibid. 78). Moreover, McCombs (ibid. 78) emphasizes that these “salient attributes of a particular issue often change over time”.

The agenda set by the media often originates somewhere else. So while the media creates the public agenda, another institution at a higher level usually sets the media agenda itself. McCombs (ibid. 117) lists three factors that set and shape the media agenda: the sources of information, other news organizations, and journalism’s norms and traditions. National leaders and politicians as well as public officers and public relations professionals contribute to and give the starting kick to setting the agenda by providing the information for the news stories (ibid.). It can also be set by other news organizations that have higher status, e.g. *New York Times*, than the one in question, e.g. a local newspaper (ibid.). But, in the end, for the information to become news, it has to undergo the filter of the rules established by the norms of journalism (ibid.). The information that passes this filter then gets published as news.

The importance of agenda-setting lies in not just the effects it has on images created in people’s heads but in the actual action which the attitudes and opinions formed lead to. The salience of public issues and the shifts in it has been proved to have an effect on how well the people think a political leader, for example, has performed in office. Whether the public has any opinion at all on this leader in turn depends on how salient the leader has been in the news (ibid. 133). The salience of certain affective attributes ascribed to these leaders, or issues, again leads to opinion formation and change in accordance with the attribute agenda-setting (ibid.). Eventually these effects of agenda-setting, the realities it creates in people’s minds, may have far-reaching implications for behavior such as voting a particular party or candidate and applying to a specific college (ibid. 133).

### 2.3 Mapping the context

Finally, let us now turn to the social and geographical context of the study and examine the developments that have taken place in Britain over the last decades.
concerning the press and its political affiliations, debate over immigration, as well as the history of immigration itself.

2.3.1 Press in the UK

The following is by no means intended to be an exhaustive account of the print journalism and its respectable history in Britain. In turn, I aim to provide an overview of the interconnectedness of the press and political parties, i.e. of the political bias in the press, and how the allegiances have shifted in accordance with the changes in the political environment. The time period covered will extend from the Thatcher era to present.

The British print journalism has traditionally been characterized by the success of tabloids, i.e. sensational press, and the concentration of ownership in the hands of just a few press barons (McNair 2009: 3-5). In 2008, the 12 “paid-for” daily newspapers in Britain had a combined circulation of about ten million with the tabloid The Sun in the lead, followed by the Daily Mail (ibid. 3, 5). These two papers dominated the market with a share of almost 50% of the entire circulation of British national newspapers (ibid. 3). The most popular quality, or elite, newspaper in June 2008 was the Daily Telegraph with a circulation of over 800,000 (ibid. 5). At this time The Times amounted to a circulation of 576,444, being the second most popular elite paper, while The Guardian had a circulation of about 302,000 (ibid. 3).

Another distinguishing feature of the British press is that its ownership is concentrated in the hands of just a few press barons and corporations (McNair 2009: 6-8). Rupert Murdoch’s News International whose daily and Sunday papers dominated the total UK circulation with shares of 34% and 39.6% respectively in 2008 (ibid.). The daily papers belonging to News International are The Sun and The Times, and their circulation has probably remained at the same level since 2008. One of the Sunday papers, The News of the World, however, was closed as a result of a phone tapping scandal in the summer of 2011, and The Sunday Times alone most likely cannot reach the same level of circulation among Sunday papers. The Guardian and The Observer, the other two papers of special interest in terms of this study, in turn are owned by shareholders through non-profit making Guardian Media Group and the Scott Trust
The arrival of Rupert Murdoch in the UK in late 1960s meant change for the print journalism in the UK. In 1968, he first bought *The News of the World* and the next year he continued with buying *The Sun*. Under his ownership, both papers moved editorially to the political right, started making profit and became the dominant tabloids in Britain (ibid. 87). In 1981, Murdoch completed his empire with the purchase of *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* (ibid. 87).

Exactly how the purchase of *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* happened reveals the role and importance of political bias and allegiances in the British press. This particular purchase has namely been interpreted as “a reward for his tabloids’ loyal support of the government – and Margaret Thatcher in particular – over the years” (ibid. 88). Although the Monopolies and Mergers Commission (MMC) was supposed to prevent an excessive concentration of ownership, the Conservative Party and its leader Margaret Thatcher especially contributed to the creation of few empires by neglecting the use of the MMC (ibid.). In case of Murdoch and *The Times* Murdoch should have had his bid referred to the MMC, as he already owned a paper with a sales of over 500,000 (ibid.). The exception to this rule was a situation in which the paper would go out of business (ibid.). Murdoch claimed that they were (although they were not) and so got hold of the titles, leading him to own 33% of total national circulation by 1985 (ibid.).

During Thatcher era, the political affiliation of the British press was almost entirely pro-Conservative, as ten of all the national daily newspapers openly supported the Tories, *The Guardian* being one of the very few “tentatively backing ‘moderate’ elements in the Labour Party” (ibid. 88). The ‘press deficit’ that the Labour Party suffered from frustrated certain members of the party who considered their victory in general elections practically impossible because of the pro-Tory bias in the 1979-92 period (ibid. 89).

However, perhaps as a sign of the papers’ commercial interest, a shift in allegiances started to take place during the premiership of John Major (ibid. 90). The shift was
seen to result from practically non-existing Labour opposition which meant that the press had to take up that role, the Conservative government’s long period in office, and dissatisfaction with the government, and with Major in particular (ibid. 90). As Tony Blair was elected as the new Labour leader in 1994, ‘New Labour’ gained in popularity, and the traditionally pro-Tory biased press, with Murdoch’s News International in the lead, found themselves declaring support for the Labour Party, perhaps only in the hope of securing the continuation of sales, as they felt the political environment in the country was about to change (ibid. 90-91).

Therefore, the press coverage of the two parties turned upside down in 1997 with the Conservatives now being the ones suffering from press deficit. The pro-Labour bias led Labour to victory both in 2001 and still in 2005 despite the unpopular war in Iraq, but with the election of David Cameron as Tory leader in 2007 the editorial allegiances began turning in favor of the Conservative Party (ibid. 92). *The Times*, for example, again returned to the Conservative camp by declaring its support for the Conservatives come the election of 2010 (BBC). *The Guardian* in turn supported the Liberal Democrats for tactical reasons in the 2010 election (*The Guardian*).

2.3.2 Political parties and the issue of immigration

The main political parties in Britain – Labour, the Conservatives, and the Liberal Democrats – have traditionally been cautious about addressing the issue of immigration due to fears of reactions it might prompt from either the far-right political parties or the immigrants themselves (McCormick 2003: 56). In terms of the far-right, it can capitalize on “the legitimacy granted to anti-immigration discourse via their popularization by mainstream politicians and journalists” (Richardson 2008: 322). However, also the mainstream political parties can take advantage of the success of the far-right parties in attracting votes with this issue by adopting their language and policies (Jiwani & Richardson 2011: 255). In addition to the Conservative Member of Parliament Enoch Powell’s obsession with the topic of immigration and threats he perceived it to pose in the late 1960s, Margaret Thatcher also received attention with her statement on the issue before winning her first General Election in 1979 (ibid.).
She addressed the issue by saying that the projected large numbers of people from the New Commonwealth and Pakistan in Britain contributed to people’s fears that the

“country might be rather swamped by people with a different culture and, you know, the British character has done so much for democracy, for law and done so much throughout the world that if there is any fear that it might be swamped people are going to react and be rather hostile to those coming in” (Margaret Thatcher (1978) in a TV interview for Granada’s World in Action; as quoted in Jiwani & Richardson 2011: 255).

In recent years, immigration has again gained in popularity as an electoral issue. While the issue of immigration barely featured as a theme in the press in 1997, it has slowly become more salient during the 2000s (Richardson 2008: 321). By 2005 it had already become the fourth most frequently reported theme, thus being a greater concern than crime or education, for example (ibid.). Immigration has traditionally been associated with the political right and due to the Conservative Party’s poor performance in elections since 1997, the Conservative Party felt they needed to adopt a political agenda for the election in 2005 that the Labour Party could not as easily capitalize on and immigration was thus an obvious choice (Charteris-Black 2006: 564). However, despite vigorous campaigning against immigration by the Conservative Party with the catchy slogan of “Are you thinking what we are thinking?” in 2005, the answer of the British people to this question was “No”, and so it was the Labour Party that again won the election.

2.3.3 History of immigration to the UK

Before moving on a short introduction is needed to explain how it all started in Britain. To a great extent, Britain has its colonial past to either thank for or to blame for it being the multicultural society of today with all its racial diversity. As the British Empire began to fall with India gaining independence in 1947, Britain stood before new challenges. It had to decide how to deal with an issue that it had probably not taken into consideration during the golden years of colonization: what to do with all the Commonwealth citizens whom it had ruled? Thus under the British Nationality Act of 1948 Commonwealth citizens were considered British subjects and were allowed to settle and work in Britain (McCormick 2003: 54). This was not yet a problem, though, since most migrants at this time were white (ibid.). However, as can be seen from the following account, the issue of race was to define immigration to the UK for the
decades to come, as immigration indeed introduced race and racial diversity into British society.

When workers from the New Commonwealth – mainly India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, West Africa, and Caribbean – started flowing to the UK as a result of deliberate recruitment measures due to labor shortages in the public sector in the 1950s, race differences became more visible and attitudes towards the newcomers began to harden (ibid. 54). This resulted in immigrants from the Commonwealth being required to have work permits under the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act (ibid.). This Act also introduced quotas for these work permits and under a voucher scheme immigrants were assigned to different categories: to “those who had been offered definite jobs” (Category A) and to “those who had certain specific skills that were in short supply in Britain” (Category B) plus to those “who did not qualify under the other two” (Category C) (Childs 1995: 199). The quotas were then further reduced in 1964 by dropping the third category and “in July 1965 the Wilson administration placed a ceiling of 8,500 on the total number of vouchers to be issued” (ibid.). The law was further tightened in 1968 by denying East African Asians who held British passports the automatic right to live in Britain (McCormick 2003: 54). In 1971, a further restriction to the immigration law was made by distinguishing between those born in the UK or those born to UK citizens being allowed to enter and all others needing permission, e.g. a work permit, to do so (ibid.). A more recent policy on immigration, the 2002 Nationality, Immigration, and Asylum Act made immigration easier for those migrants who were considered useful in terms of contributing to the production of surplus value (Richardson 2008: 324).

On the other hand, the growing racial diversity also resulted in legislation protecting the rights of ethnic minorities by first making discrimination illegal in public places such as hotels, theaters, and public transport under the Race Relations Act of 1965 and then extending this law to cover employment and housing in 1968. Under the Race Relations Act of 1976, a Commission for Racial Equality was established with the aim of improving the status of members of minorities by giving them the right to appeal to a tribunal or court in cases of discrimination (McCormick 2003: 55).
Although the racial tensions have not entirely disappeared, concerns about immigration have now shifted away from race to other issues. The European Union and its policy of free movement now poses challenges for Britain’s immigration controls at the same time when immigration has again increasingly become a matter of concern to the British people due to the flow of economic migrants from Eastern Europe (ibid. 56). It follows that the state of immigration and source of immigrants are now to a great extent determined not by cultural heritage (the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand) or colonial past (former colonies) but by the European Union (ibid. 58). Against this background, it is now time to turn to Britain in the period leading up to the general election of 2010 and to the study of immigration discourse in the press in that particular context.
3 Materials and methods

This section presents my data and the process of collecting it in detail. After presenting the data, I will move on to presenting the methods that I used in analyzing it and in addition to giving an account of the methods will explain how they were applied in the current study.

3.1 Materials

As my data I will use newspaper articles from two different newspapers published in the UK. One of them, The Times, is conservatively biased whereas the other one, The Guardian, is liberally oriented. These two papers were chosen partly for reasons of convenience and accessibility, as both of them were available as print versions at the National Library of Finland on microfilm. As these two papers are only published from Monday to Saturday, The Sunday editions of each, The Observer (The Guardian) and The Sunday Times (The Times) were also included. No matching articles were found in The Observer, however. The Sunday Times, in turn, will from now on only be included in the reference to The Times. The first step in narrowing down the data was to select a time period that would match the purposes of the study. It therefore ended up covering one month prior to and one week after the general election of May 6, 2010. The exact time range of the sample thus extends from April 6, 2010, to May 13, 2010. This time period also proved to be well chosen since it turned out that the parties officially launched their campaigns at that exact time in early April. The next thing to do was to decide which articles qualified as data and which did not. To determine whether an article did was done by searching for the keywords ‘immigrant’ or ‘immigration’ in the titles. If the titles of the articles did include the words ‘immigration’ or ‘immigrant’ or otherwise clearly indicated that the article was about foreigners living or aspiring to live in Britain, the article was included in the data. It needs to be added that the articles had to deal with immigration to the UK and not to some other country. The data was then collected by going through each issue of the two papers published during that time period on microfilm at the National Library of Finland. The data thus ended up consisting of 14 and 17 articles in The Guardian and in The Times respectively. They represent all kinds of genres from typical news articles to columns and opinions. The distribution of these in The Guardian is 13 news
articles and one column, while the 17 articles in *The Times* consist of 9 news articles, one editorial, one column, three opinion articles, two feature stories, and one commentary. These differences in genre will not of course be without effect on the findings.

3.2 Methods

As only one article in the entire data was published between the election day, May 6, 2010, and the last day of the time range set for this study, May 13, 2010, part of the first research question was omitted, as there was no longer a point in examining if there was a change in the coverage of specific themes after the election. So the final research questions were the following

i. What issues concerning immigration are raised in the media during election campaigns?

ii. As what kind of actors do the media portray immigrants? What kinds of identities are ascribed to them?

iii. Is there a difference between conservative and liberal media in the issues raised and the tone immigration and immigrants were discussed in?

I will combine the methods of content analysis and discourse analysis. The first research question will be answered by using content analysis while the second one with the help of discourse analysis. In answering the third research question both methods will be combined by looking into the findings of the first two research questions. In terms of this question I hypothesize that the conservative press will take a more negative stand towards immigrants, whereas the liberal press will be more neutral and perhaps even bring up the positive effects of immigration on the British society.

3.2.1 Content analysis

As with discourse and discourse analysis, the definition of content analysis is dependent on how one understands content. Whereas Berelson (1952: 18) sees content
to be inherent in text and therefore defines content analysis as “a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication”. Krippendorff (2004: 19, 21) understands content to “emerge in the process of a researcher analyzing a text relative to a particular context”. As a result he in turn defines content analysis as a research method for “making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use” (ibid. 18). So instead of seeing content as being inherent in text, Krippendorff’s definition highlights “the process of content analysis and does not ignore the contributions that analysts make to what counts as content” (ibid. 21).

Krippendorff (2004: 18) also finds content analysis to be a scientific tool that is used to gain findings that are replicable. This means that any researcher at any given time or any given circumstances should get the same results when using the same method with the same data. Therefore if the findings are replicable the technique is also reliable. As with any other research method, the results gained by using content analysis should also be valid. As the advantages of content analysis as a research method Krippendorff (2004: 18) mentions its potential to provide new insights, to increase a researcher’s understanding of particular phenomena, or to inform practical actions.

The term content analysis dates back to the 1940s. The first account of it as a method, The Analysis of Communication Content by Berelson and Lazarsfeld, appeared in 1948 (Krippendorff 2004: 8). Berelson published this in 1952 as Content Analysis in Communication Research that served as a guideline to generations of content analysts (ibid.). The roots of content analysis lie in journalism and what was called “quantitative newspaper analysis” (ibid. 5). As the production of newspapers increased in the United States at the turn of the 20th century, journalists became increasingly interested in the coverage in the newspapers (ibid.). So they started measuring volumes of coverage, which meant mere column inches, devoted to particular subject matters in the newspapers (ibid.). Quantitative newspaper analysis started to transform into content analysis when social scientists became interested in the same issues as journalists but approached them from new perspectives and both developed new concepts and employed new statistical tools to the process of investigating the mass media (ibid. 7). Another early application of content analysis includes propaganda analysis that was successfully employed during World War II when the analysts were,
for example, able to predict the date the Nazis would deploy V weapons against Great Britain by analyzing the speeches delivered by Joseph Goebbels (ibid. 9). After World War II and Berelson’s 1952 account of content analysis, the use of content analysis as a method spread to other disciplines including political science, psychology, history, anthropology, and linguistics (ibid. 11-12). This spread resulted in paying attention to the context of communications when drawing inferences about texts and in counting simple frequencies of symbols instead of measuring mere volumes of subject matter (ibid.).

Krippendorff (2004: 29) presents a conceptual framework for content analysis that is fairly simple. It consists of a body of text, a research question, a context, an analytical construct, inferences, and validating evidence. A body of text equals the data of the study. The data used in content analysis studies differ from the data in other research techniques in that it has not been generated solely for the purpose of answering any research questions (ibid. 30). Content analysts usually start the research process with formulating research questions. This makes the pursuit more efficient, as the content analysts read the texts for a predetermined purpose and thus will not as easily be misled by the authors of those texts (ibid. 32). The role of context in content analysis is crucial, since the results come to life/exist only in relation to the specific context of the analyst’s choice. Therefore it is a connecting link between the text and the research questions and needs to be defined carefully, so that the findings are also comprehensible to outsiders and not just to the researcher (ibid. 33-34). Analytical constructs tie the answers to the research questions to what the analyst knows about the context (ibid. 34). Their purpose is to make sure that the analysis stays within the limits imposed by the texts’ context of use (ibid. 34-35). The inferences drawn in content analysis are abductive, which means that they infer one particular thing from another (ibid. 36). Finally, the findings of a content analysis should be validatable in principle (ibid. 39). This means that one should be able to test their validity by applying another method to the inferences drawn to prove that they are accurate (ibid. 39).

The process of content analysis is in principle fairly simple by including only four main stages: 1) formulating a problem 2) deciding on the range and size of a sample 3) counting within that sample and coding the data, and 4) interpreting and writing up the
data (Hesmondhalgh 2006: 142). Krippendorff (2004: 83), however, presents a more detailed step-by-step design for doing content analysis. It consists of six components that are unitizing, sampling, recording/coding, reducing data to manageable representations, abductively inferring contextual phenomena from texts, and narrating the answers to the research questions (ibid. 83). The first four components deal with processing of the data to the point that it is in a representable form.

In the first step, that of unitizing, the researcher needs to systematically break the texts into meaningful segments that are relevant to the analysis and so distinguish and define the units of analysis. For a content analyst it is especially important to justify the method of unitizing by showing that the information needed for the analysis is contained in the units and not in the relationships between the units (Krippendorff 2004: 83).

The next step, that of sampling, limits the observations to a representative but manageable set of units of all possible units. What creates challenges in creating representative samples for content analysis is that texts can be read on various levels, which has to be taken into consideration in the sampling process (Krippendorff 2004: 83).

Recording/coding is perhaps the most important step of all, as the success in doing it determines whether the research can be successfully repeated by other analysts and thus be replicable. It thus “bridges the gap between unitized texts and someone’s reading of them” (Krippendorff 2004: 83). So it a necessary step for two reasons: it creates durable records of otherwise transient phenomena and transforms unedited texts into analyzable representations (ibid.). According to Holsti (1969: 95), categories that are constructed should “reflect the purposes of the research, be exhaustive, be mutually exclusive, independent, and be derived from a single classification principle”. In practice, this means that one recording/coding unit can only be placed in one category (ibid. 99).

The next step, reducing data, means the step of summarizing or simplifying the data by representing it efficiently, preferably in a form of type/token frequencies, and so prepares the data to be analyzed. Abductively inferring contextual phenomena from
texts means interpreting and making sense of the data by it “point(ing) to unobserved phenomena in the context of interest to an analyst” (Krippendorff 2004: 85). The last step, narrating the answers to content analysts’ research questions, is needed to make the researchers’ results comprehensible to others. It is done in the manner relevant to the practices of the analyst’s discipline and often includes, for example, statements of the practical significance of the findings or the contributions they make to the available literature (ibid.).

It is important to make a clear distinction between the different units discussed in the context of content analysis, since they easily can lead to confusion and since understanding and using these terms correctly is of extreme importance in doing content analysis. Krippendorff (2004: 98) distinguishes between three kinds of units: sampling units, recording/coding units, and context units. He (ibid.) defines sampling units as “units that are distinguished for selective inclusion in an analysis” and mentions analyzing a certain number of issues of a newspaper as an example of sampling units. He (ibid. 99) also raises the point that as people tend to create meaningful connections among things, also among the sampling units in a content analysis, it is important to keep in mind that issues of newspapers are not totally independent of each other, since “most news events unfold in time and over several issues, building on what was published previously.” Therefore, he (ibid. 99) emphasizes the importance of defining sampling units so that, first of all, possible “connections across sampling units do not bias the analysis”, and second of all, make sure that either “all relevant information is contained in individual sampling units” or “the omissions do not impoverish the analysis.”

Another unit, and perhaps the most important in terms of the analysis, that needs to be defined is that of a recording/coding unit. Krippendorff (2004: 99) defines recording/coding units as “units that are distinguished for separate description, transcription, recording, or coding.” He (ibid. 99-100) adds that recording units differ from sampling units in that they are the ones that will be separately described or categorized while sampling units are the bigger entities that will either be included in or excluded from the analysis. Although Krippendorff (ibid. 100) too mentions that recording units can often coincide with sampling units, he finds it a good idea to choose recording units that are considerably smaller than sampling units to ensure that
no information would get lost, as sampling units are often too rich in information and “complex to be described reliably.” Defining the recording units as the smallest possible units that contain all the information needed in the analysis ensures that other analysts would agree with the description, which in turn would add to the reliability of the study (ibid. 99-100). The definition and criteria for using one grammatical unit instead of another as the recording unit in content analysis provided by Holsti (1969: 116-117) give some useful insights into how the recording unit should be defined in the current study. He criticizes the use of paragraph as a recording unit, since the paragraph is not precise enough when it comes to precision of measurement and because it usually cannot be classified to just one category (Holsti 1969: 117). Instead, he suggests the use of the theme, a single assertion about some subject, as a recording unit. Holsti (1969: 116) admits, however, that coding themes can be time consuming and difficult, as “its boundaries are not as easily identified as those of the word, paragraph, or item”. As for the current study, the use of the theme as a recording unit seems like a good idea, since it enables the use of paragraphs as the starting point of the analysis by paragraphs usually containing only one theme.

To move to a broader type of unit, Krippendorff (2004: 101) defines context units as “units of textual matter that set limits on the information to be considered in the description of recording units” or as “units that delineate the scope of information that coders need to consult in characterizing the recording units” (ibid. 103). The advantage of larger context units is that they add to the validity of the analysis while smaller context units in turn add to the reliability of the analysis (ibid. 102).

Krippendorff (2004: 103) mentions one more unit that is the unit of enumeration. This is an important term when the content analysis is quantitative. According to the definition of quantity that is relevant in the current study, quantities in this case result from the counting of recording units, especially within the categories to which they are assigned and thus “refer to classes that are formed in the process of analysis and don’t describe units of text” (ibid. 103).

Content analysis as a research technique has both its advantages and disadvantages as all the other research techniques. Krippendorff (2004: 40-43) mentions four features that distinguish content analysis from other methods used in social research. First of
all, it is an unobtrusive technique, which means that subjects of study, who are aware of how and for what purposes they are being examined, do not distort the data and thus the whole validity of the research. This might well happen in research using interviews and surveys as their research methods, for example (ibid. 40). The second advantage of content analysis as a method is that it can cope with unstructured matter as data (ibid. 41). Whereas surveys and structured interviews that are designed to generate data that can easily be processed thus also make analyzing of the data easier and more efficient, content analysis data in all its unstructuredness excels in “preserving the conceptions of the data’s sources” (ibid.). The third advantage of content analysis is that it is context sensitive (ibid.). It means that the texts that are used as the data already as such are meaningful and informative to others while the data generated by context insensitive methods such as surveys is rid of and independent of its original context and therefore makes very little sense to others (ibid. 41-42). Therefore also the results gained by using a context sensitive method are more likely to make sense and be relevant to the users of the analyzed text, for example articles in a newspaper (ibid. 43). The fourth, considerable advantage of content analysis is that it can cope with large volumes of data that have only become larger due to electronic full-text databases (ibid. 42-43). When the data is large it becomes increasingly important to state the coding instructions explicitly so that other coders or computer software can repeat the procedures accurately (ibid. 42).

3.2.2 Content analysis in the current study

In the following, I aim to describe in detail how the method of content analysis was applied in the current study. The first step was to formulate a research problem that in this part of the study was how immigration was thematized in the British press during the general election campaigns of 2010 and whether there were differences on this between the conservative and the liberal press. After this it was time to decide on the range and size of the sample, i.e. the data of the study. In part due to reasons of convenience, I ended up choosing The Guardian as an example of the liberal press and The Times as the representative of the conservative press. By convenience I mean the fact that both papers were readily available and accessible as microfilms in the Finnish National Library, so collecting the data was therefore relatively straightforward. The actual research questions – what issues concerning immigration were raised during
the election campaign, and if there was a change in this immediately after the election – in turn helped narrow down the time frame. As the campaigns of the main parties were officially launched in early April, it was thus reasonable to choose the time period so that it would cover one month before the election and one week after the election. As the election itself was held on May 6, 2010, the range therefore ended up being April 6, 2010, to May 13, 2010.

As a result, the data came to consist of 14 articles in The Guardian and 17 in The Times. After reading through the articles once, it was clear that the articles differed greatly from each other in how much space they devoted to the theme of immigration. Therefore, and also because the entire number of articles was relatively small for a content analysis study, it seemed like a good idea to narrow down the recording unit from coinciding with a whole sampling unit to be a smaller segment of it, either a word, sentence, or a paragraph dealing with the issue of immigration. On the first reading I also made notes on how each of the articles was related to the broader theme of immigration. At this point I also decided that one paragraph would equal a recording unit, as a paragraph in most cases only dealt with one issue, or theme. So, on the second reading, I went through the texts paragraph-by-paragraph and wrote down what each of them was dealing with and how they were related to immigration. After this it was relatively easy to detect patterns in the issues raised and outline potential categories. However, to do a more accurate categorizing required another reading. Finally, after the third reading, I was able to finalize the categories, assign the recording units to them and count the frequencies. At this point I also did some combining of the categories, as some of them were very similar to each other. It is also important to note that some paragraphs ended up containing more than one recording unit, and all of these were assigned to relevant categories. This seemed justified, since in some cases information would otherwise have gone lost. This, however, means that the recording unit needs to be redefined as a theme rather than a paragraph in order to achieve better accuracy of description. So, for example, if the paragraph contained two different themes, they were assigned to two main categories and possibly to all relevant subcategories. When counting the frequencies, only the ones in the main categories were taken into consideration. If, however, the paragraph only contained one recording unit but could be assigned to more than one subcategory, it was assigned to all relevant subcategories. The subcategories would later turn out to be
important when looking for differences between the two newspapers, as they proved to show some differences in how a broader theme was approached.

3.2.3 Systemic functional linguistics in action

“A discourse analysis that is not based on grammar is not an analysis at all, but simply a running commentary on a text.”

Halliday (1994: xvi)

Systemic functional linguistics is “a functional-semantic approach to language which explores both how people use language in different contexts, and how language is structured for use as a semiotic system” (Eggiins 2004: 20-21). Although it draws on common ground with text grammarians and discourse analysts from various perspectives as well as sociolinguists, on the one hand, and semiotic theoreticians and followers of critical discourse analysis, on the other, what is unique to systemic functional linguistics is its aim to “develop both a theory about language as social process and an analytical methodology which permits the detailed and systematic description of language patterns” (ibid. 21). Perhaps the comment by Halliday presented above as an introduction to this section helps explain why the main application of systemic functional linguistics is in the area of critical discourse analysis.

The starting point of analysis in systemic functional linguistics is text. Halliday and Hasan (1976: 1) define text as “any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length, that does form a unified whole”. They add that it is best understood as a semantic unit that does not consist of sentences but is rather encoded in them (ibid. 2). What again distinguishes text from non-text is texture. It is achieved by the interaction of two components, coherence and cohesion (Eggiins 2004: 24). Coherence refers to the relationship between the text and the social and cultural context of its occurrence, whereas cohesion is formed by the elements that bind a text together (Eggiins 2004: 24). Although ‘text’ is in some linguistic approaches restricted to written language, in SFL it is “a technical term for any unified piece of language that has the properties of texture” (ibid.).
What follows is an overview of what is included in the model of grammar called systemic functional linguistics. The analysis is done at a clause level, and, despite its usually small size, a clause seems to be a rather complex unit in systemic functional linguistics. First of all, the overall meaning of a clause comprises of three different strands of meaning (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 58). According to systemic functional linguistics, a clause thus has meanings as a message, as an exchange, and as a representation. As the labels ‘message’, ‘exchange’, and ‘representation’ already suggest, the first sees clause as “a quantum of information”, the second as “a transaction between speaker and listener, and the third as “a representation of some process in ongoing human experience” (ibid. 58-59). So, the three lines of meaning exist simultaneously in the clause and are each further divided into their respective functional configurations, for example that of Actor + Process + Goal, an example that represents the third line of meaning, that of representation (ibid. 58, 60). In functional grammar, a configuration like the one mentioned above is better known as a ‘structure’, which in this case would be the structure of the ‘clause as representation’ (ibid. 60). It follows that as a result of the three lines of meaning, a clause constitutes three such structures simultaneously (ibid. 60). These structures, again, lead to three different meanings in the clause. These meanings are called metafunctions in systemic accounts of grammar (ibid. 60). Halliday adds that they are not just inherent at a clause level but are characteristic of the whole of language (ibid. 60).

Moreover, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 60) argue for the use of the term ‘metafunction’ by saying that “functionality is intrinsic to language,” that the functions of language have shaped it to be what it is. Thus the term ‘metafunction’ emphasizes the central position of function in the theory of systemic functional linguistics (ibid. 60). The three metafunctions found in systemic functional grammar are related to the three lines of meaning presented above. Halliday (ibid. 29) likens language to ‘a theory of human experience’ and names this metafunction the ‘ideational metafunction’, which is divided into two separate components, those of the experiential and the logical. This metafunction is concerned with ‘language as reflection’ (ibid. 29-30). The second metafunction in turn is concerned with the ‘language as action’, i.e. as “enacting our personal and social relationships with the other people around us” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 29). This metafunction Halliday names the ‘interpersonal metafunction’. The third, the textual metafunction,
is concerned with the construction of text and is thus needed for building up of sequences of discourse, organizing the discursive flow as well as creating cohesion and continuity in it (ibid. 30).

The focus of this study, however, will solely be on the third meaning that sees clause as a representation, namely the experiential component of the ideational metafunction. It focuses mainly “on the propositional content of a message rather than the purpose for which the speaker has uttered it” (Thompson 2004: 86). The aim of the current study is namely to find out how immigrants are actually represented in the press and what kinds of identities are ascribed to them and not so much how the journalists intended to represent immigrants, which would be the focus in studies on the interpersonal metafunction. Although this study is indeed concerned with ideology in the press, the hypothesis is that the respective ideologies of the two newspapers, The Guardian and The Times, already show in the choices they have made in representing immigrants in a particular way and are thus already present in the actual representations. Thompson (ibid.) goes on to add that representing the world in one way instead of another is never independent of purpose, though, since when doing this, speakers usually have various alternatives to choose from and preferring one over the other thus almost inevitably serves a certain purpose. In the following, I will therefore look at the transitivity model in more detail.

The tool to analyze the representation of people, things, or events grammatically is provided by the transitivity system that “construes the world of experience into a manageable set of process type” (Halliday 1994: 106). This analysis starts with the identifying and labeling of the processes, i.e. the verbal group, involved in the clause. Only after the type of process is classified, can the participants of the process be labeled. In identifying the different kinds of processes and deciding between them, both common sense and knowledge of grammar is needed: common sense to “distinguish the different kinds of ‘goings-on’ that we can identify, and grammar to confirm that these intuitive differences are reflected in the language and thus to justify the decision to set up a separate category” (Thompson 2004: 89). In accordance with the types of verbs serving purposes of describing action from physical activity to thinking and believing, from communicative action to being and having, and from existing to behaving, six main categories of processes can be distinguished: material,
mental, verbal, relational, existential, and behavioral. The following will set up the main features of each process including their participants respectively. This will then serve as the foundation for the systemic functional analysis applied in this study. All the examples used to illustrate the process types are drawn from the data for this study.

**3.2.3.1 Material processes**

Material processes constitute the most common process type in transitivity. They describe processes of doing and happening. In material processes, the participant performing the action is called the Actor. Even though the Actor may not be explicitly stated in the clause, every material process, however, does have one. Passive clauses, for example, are instances where the Actor does not necessarily appear explicitly but can, however, often be probed with the question ‘Who by?’. The Actor is thus the only obligatory participant in material processes, but they can also contain another direct participant, the Goal. The Goal can be defined as the entity at which the process is directed or as the one affected by the action. In passive clauses the Goal becomes the Subject of the clause but is still coded as the Goal, since its semantic relationship to the process remains intact (Thompson 2004: 92). Both the Actor and the Goal can either be human or an inanimate or abstract entity. Thompson (ibid. 91) also makes a distinction between ‘creative’ and ‘transformative’ material processes: the ones that “bring Goals into existence” and those that “are done to existing Goals”. Material processes can also contain indirect or ‘oblique’ participants. One of these include the Beneficiary, which Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 191) define as “a participant that is benefiting from the performance of the process”. Beneficiary appears either with or without a preposition depending on whether it comes before or after the Goal. Moreover, there are two kinds of Beneficiaries: Recipient that appears with preposition ‘to’ and expresses “the one to whom something is given” and Client with ‘for’, expressing “the one for whom something is done” (Eggins 2004: 220). It is worth mentioning here that Beneficiary can also appear with other process types except for the existential ones. Material processes can also contain an element called the Scope that is only disguised as a participant but strictly speaking is not one. It is an example of the overall category of Range that Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 293) define as “the element that specifies the range or domain of the process”. Range or Scope can be difficult to distinguish from the Goal, but they can be best understood as
working together with the verb to express the process or its extent (Thompson 2004: 107; Eggins 2004: 218). For example, in They were playing a game, a game is a Scope rather than a Goal, since the game does not exist without the playing (Eggins 2004: 218).


Example 2. Although this is disputed, the Trades Union Congress concedes that [Actor] [Goal] 50% of jobs [Process: material] created [Circ.: location, time] since 1997 [Process: material] have probably gone [Beneficiary/Recipient] to non-UK nationals. (T8)

In Example 2, 50% of jobs is both the Actor in the active clause 50% of jobs have gone to non-UK nationals and a Goal in the passive clause 50% of jobs created since 1997.

3.2.3.2 Mental processes

The category of mental processes is needed to describe the processes that are going on in the internal world of the mind. Since the person who is thinking, imagining, wanting, seeing, or hearing is not really acting, the more appropriate name for this participant is the Senser rather than Actor. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 201-208), mental processes differ from material processes in five essential ways. First of all, one of the participants in mental processes, the Senser, is always human. Second of all, the role of the other participant in mental processes, the Phenomenon, is less restricted than the ones in material processes and can, in addition to a person, a concrete object and an abstraction, even be filled with ‘a fact’, that is, for example with a that-clause. Third, mental processes can project, that is, report or quote ideas (Eggins 2004: 236). Fourth, mental processes differ from material ones in tense, which means that instead of the continuous form the most natural tense in mental processes is the simple form. The fifth and the last reason for distinguishing mental processes from the material ones is that they are probed with a different kind of question that in the case of mental processes needs to ask, for example, for a reaction instead of an action. Not all mental processes describe a reaction, though, so they can
be divided into four sub-categories that are: emotion (processes of feeling), cognition (processes of deciding, knowing, understanding), perception (seeing, hearing), and desideration (processes of wanting). Moreover, some types of mental processes are reversible, which means that the Subject role can be filled either by “the human participant in whose mind the process occurs or by the phenomenon which triggers the process” (Thompson 2004: 95).

Example 3. People say bad things when they are under pressure but [Senser] I [Process: mental] think [Projected] [Senser] he [Process: mental] should understand [Phenomenon] that people are worried, like that lady was about things like immigration. (G11)

3.2.3.3 Verbal processes

Verbal processes include all processes expressing verbal action. The most typical example is say. The participant that is always involved in a verbal process is the Sayer, which is usually human but can also be “anything capable of putting out a signal” (Eggins 2004: 235) such as a report. Thompson (2004: 101) adds that although the Sayer is not always explicitly mentioned in the clause, the identity of the Sayer can always be asked for. Another possible participant in a verbal process is the Receiver. It is the participant to whom the saying is addressed and occurs either with or without a preposition depending on its position in the clause (Thompson 2004: 101; Eggins 2004: 235). When the verbal process is directed at someone instead of being addressed to someone, this other participant is called the Target and not the Receiver (Thompson 2004: 101). The Target differs from the Receiver in that it does not need to be human and that it can be a different entity from the one to whom the message is addressed, i.e. the Receiver (ibid.). In addition to the participants doing the ‘talking’, verbal processes can also include another participant, namely the message itself in the form of a nominal group. This participant is called the Verbiage. It may either be a label for the language expressing verbal behavior or a summary of the content of what was said (Thompson 2004: 101-102). Verbal processes also include circumstances and especially the Circumstance of Matter is common in verbal processes (ibid. 102). As the name of the category suggests, this circumstance expresses what the message is about when it appears in a prepositional phrase (ibid.). A distinct feature of the verbal processes is that they project, forming a clause complex by projecting a second clause either through quoting or reporting (Eggin 2004: 236). In analyzing transitivity, what
the analyst has to bear in mind is that the projected clause is not a participant in the
verbal process but has to be analyzed separately from the projecting clause (Thompson


Example 5. Once again it would be perverse [Process: verbal] to blame [Target] migrants [matter] for the hatred they receive. (G8)

Example 6. In his speech, Brown said [Projected] the number of tier 2 workers – those with skills such as IT and engineering – had fallen from 81,000 in 2008 to 63,000 [time] last year. (T14)

Example 7. [Projected] Illegal immigrants are being allowed to stay [place] in the UK because officials do not turn up for hearings, [Projecting] report Chris Hastings and Kevin Dowling. (T11)

3.2.3.4 Behavioral processes
Eggins (2004: 235) defines behavioral processes as “half-way mixes both semantically and grammatically between mental and material processes.” What makes them to resemble these process types is that they are mostly about action expressing physiological or psychological behavior that “has to be experienced by a conscious being” (ibid. 233). Examples of verbs in behavioral processes include smile, laugh, cry, watch, dream, and cough to mention but a few. Behavioral processes usually have only one participant, the Behaver, which is a conscious being. Another possible participant in behavioral processes is the Behavior, which is a restatement of the process (ibid. 234). In case the other participant is not a restatement of the process, then it is called a Phenomenon (ibid.). Typical circumstantial elements occurring in behavioral processes are those of manner and cause (ibid.).

Example 8. The other, known as “J”, was told by the tribunal that [Behaver] he could be expected to tolerate persecution arising from his homosexual relationship, and [Process: behavioral] should behave [Circumstance: manner] discreetly to avoid reprisals. (G14)
3.2.3.5 Relational processes

Let us now turn to processes that describe state of being instead of action. There are two types of processes encoding meanings of ‘being’ and the more frequent of these are relational processes that describe things existing in relation to something else (Eggins 2004: 238). Relational processes consist of two sub-types: the attributive and the identifying relational processes. These are both further divided into three sub-types that are intensive, circumstantial, and possessive, but here I will only make a distinction between the main categories of attributive and identifying relational processes and will not elaborate on the sub-types. In the analysis that follows, relational processes are only coded as attributive or identifying without distinguishing between the sub-types.

In most relational processes, a relationship between two entities is expressed with the verb be or one its synonyms. In addition to ‘being’, relational processes also describe processes of ‘having’ as suggested by the possessive sub-type and are thus realized by the verb have and its synonyms.

The attributive relational processes have two participants, the Carrier and the Attribute. The labels are self-explanatory, so the Carrier is the one that is described or classified as carrying a certain quality or attribute, the Attribute. Whereas a noun or a nominal group always realizes the Carrier, the Attribute can be an adjective or a nominal group that is typically indefinite.

Example 9. Some agreed it [Process: relational, attributive] was becoming [Attribute] increasingly acceptable [Carrier] for Britons to use the kind of racist and inflammatory language about eastern Europeans that they would never direct at black, Asian or Middle Eastern people. (G11)

The identifying relational processes are different from the attributive ones both semantically and grammatically. First of all, they define instead of ascribing or classifying. Second, they involve two participants, the Token and the Value. The Token represents the specific and what is being defined, while the Value represents the general and the entity that defines.
In some cases it may be difficult to distinguish between the two categories of relational processes. However, some differences that occur help determine the process in question. First of all, identifying processes can be reversed and thus form passives, whereas attributives cannot (ibid. 99). Second of all, nominal groups in identifying processes are typically definite, whereas in attributives they are indefinite with no article at all or an indefinite one (ibid. 99-100). According to Thompson (2004: 100), a participant being an embedded clause usually means that the process is identifying. Moreover, the two types of process can be probed with different questions: while ‘what is x like?’ probes for attributive processes, identifying processes can be probed with the question ‘what/who is x?’ (ibid.). However, even though these differences may make it easier to distinguish between the two, Thompson (ibid.) also admits that in some cases the process could be analyzed as either type. There may be overlap which in my own interpretation shows in the fact that although one participant being an adjective must mean that the process is attributive and a participant being an embedded clause must mean that the process is identifying, these features can well co-exist in a clause which in some cases makes deciding on one instead of the other difficult. Example 11 below has been coded as an attributive process due to the adjective tempting. To achieve better reliability, all similar processes have been coded consistently this way.

Example 11. It [Process: relational, attributive] may be [Attribute] tempting [Carrier] to believe that immigration addresses Britain’s problems of ageing and pensions, but it does not. (T15)

An analysis of Values and Tokens is particularly useful in a study like the one at hand, as the Values reveal the concerns and values of the writer and thus also reveal what values he or she attaches to the Tokens he or she is writing about (Thompson 2004: 98). Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 234) mention political discourse as one of the core areas where Token-Value structure is common in the register, so Thompson (2004: 98) suggests that the study of ideological values in this area could thus well be based on the experiential Values found in the identifying relational clauses.
3.2.3.6 Existential processes

Existential processes are easily identified due to the word ‘there’. In these processes, *there* does not have any representational meaning, however, but is only needed as the subject of the clause. When it comes to the Transitivity analysis, this *there* is left unanalyzed (Eggins 2004: 238). In most cases the verb employed in existential processes is *be*, but other possibilities include verbs such as *exist* and *occur*. The only real participant in existential processes is thus the Existent which follows the sequence *there is/*there are* and often describes an event or a phenomenon of any kind (ibid.). Existential processes also contain circumstantial elements of location (ibid.).

Example 12. *In fact there [Process: existential] has been [Existent] relatively little inward migration to Somerset, but there [Process: existential] is certainly [Existent] a feeling that it has been out of control [Circumstance: time] in the Labour years. (T12)*

3.2.4 Discourse analysis in the current study

This part of the study set out to answer the question of *as what kind of actors immigrants were portrayed in the media and what kind of identities were ascribed to them*. The results are also expected to imply what the preferred immigrant would be like and at the same time perhaps also reflect the ideal of a British citizen in the modern society. To answer the research question, some linguistic features – namely, lexicalization and the participant roles immigrants occupied according to the model of systemic functional grammar – were deemed to self-explanatorily be the most relevant in revealing information on the characteristics of immigrants and the roles they were portrayed in and were thus chosen to be the objects of study.

The data for this part of the study consists of representations of immigrants and immigration in the texts. What this means in practice is that the texts were searched for individual words and phrases denoting or clearly connoting a person or a group of people from outside Britain who had already settled in the UK or wished to do so. These were often phrases such as ‘illegal immigrant’ or ‘foreign workers’ but also included longer descriptions, for example in the form of relative clauses, of people wishing to settle or alternatively criteria for determining who would be allowed to enter the country and settle there. It is perhaps a good idea to elaborate here that the
mere occurrence of the word *immigration*, for example, was not enough for the representation to be included in the study. Instead, the representations were included if they fulfilled one or more of the following criteria

a) An evaluation of immigrants/immigration or  
b) Arguments for or against with an explicitly stated reason for support or opposition or  
c) Impact of immigration/immigrants on the UK and  
d) The action taking place in Britain or  
e) Dealing with a relation with the UK.

To summarize, representations were included that described immigration or immigrants as actively being or doing something, or as the target of such action, or as a phenomenon affecting the British people or Britain as a society. It was considered necessary to narrow down the unit of analysis from entire articles to mere representations of immigrants and immigration, as, first of all, the data as a whole would be too large for a systematic analysis of entire articles, and more importantly due to the nature of the research question that has already been narrowed down to focus on the portrayal of immigrants and the construction of their identities. It was consequently considered precise enough to be answered with more focused data.

The representations of immigrants and immigration obtained with the method described above served as data for examining the lexical choices made in describing immigration and immigrants. The analysis of lexical items in news texts is useful and important, as “words convey the imprint of society and of value judgments in particular – they convey connoted as well as denoted meanings” (Richardson 2007: 47). Moreover, the words used to characterize an individual or a group of people “frame the story in direct and unavoidable ways” (ibid. 48). The analysis of lexicalization is in this study mainly qualitative. This means that only the most common and interesting characterizations of immigrants and immigration will be presented in the analysis.

The second stage of processing the data included a thorough grammatical analysis of the extracts drawn from the articles. Here, the framework of functional grammar
provided the analytical tool used for doing this. In the current study it was not considered necessary to apply the entire model of Halliday’s systemic functional grammar to arrive at relevant conclusions but instead only one segment of it, that is, the experiential metafunction. At this stage, sentences in the extracts drawn from the articles were analyzed element by element, identifying and labeling the processes and the roles of the immigrant in them.

This was done by first recognizing the verb in the clause and then labeling the process, as the verb constitutes the most central element of the clause. Only after that could the other elements, including participants, be labeled. Although I first went through the extracts systematically by labeling each process and the participants accordingly, the results only refer to the processes that directly involve immigrants or immigration as participant, circumstance, or as parts thereof. In addition to counting the frequencies of these processes by process types, the distribution of each participant role occupied by immigrants per process type was counted. Therefore the analysis of the participant roles will both be quantitative and qualitative.
4 Results

The data of the study consisted of 14 and 17 articles in *The Guardian* and *The Times* respectively that dealt with the issue of immigration. A quick look at the numbers would suggest that out of the two *The Times* devoted more space to the theme of immigration during election campaigns.

![Figure 1. The number of articles dealing with immigration between April 6, 2010 and May 13, 2010](image)

Looking at the number of paragraphs in the articles gives a clearer idea of the difference between the two newspapers in how much space they devoted to the theme of immigration respectively (see Figure 2). The 14 articles in *The Guardian* contained 191 paragraphs altogether out of which 134 (70.2%) dealt with immigration. The 17 articles in *The Times* in turn contained 261 paragraphs out of which 207 (79.3%) dealt with immigration. Therefore it is safe to say that *The Times* devoted considerably more space to the issue of immigration than did *The Guardian*. 
If the rule that one paragraph would equal one recording unit had been strictly followed, the number of recording units would have been 134 in *The Guardian* and 207 in *The Times*. However, as it seemed justifiable to assign some units of analysis, i.e. paragraphs, in to more than one category in order to not lose information, the number of recording units ended up being 173 in *The Guardian* and 230 in *The Times* (see Figure 3).
4.1 On the agenda today: themes in news coverage on immigration

When coding the data, seven main themes could be distinguished in the debate over immigration. These themes would also form the categories in to which recording units would be assigned. So, as a result the seven categories ended up being *Immigration as an electoral issue*, *Immigration policy*, *Dishonest immigrants*, *Quality of immigration debate*, *Immigrant experience*, *Impact on society*, and *Level of immigration*. The main categories were in most cases also divided into subcategories but those will be discussed in more detail later. As Figure 4 suggests, the 403 recording units concentrated to a large extent on the categories of *Immigration as an electoral issue* and *Immigration policy* as they together included a total of 232 recording units, which is over a half of all the recording units in the study.

![Figure 4. Emerging themes in the articles between April 6, 2010 and May 13, 2010](image)

Measured by pure frequencies, it seems that the two newspapers did not really differ from each other in how much they dealt with these two themes. Therefore to get a
more realistic picture of the similarities and differences, it is necessary to transform
the figures into relative frequencies, that is, to percentages of the entire number of
recording units in each newspaper respectively. This is necessary especially because
the papers differed greatly both in the space devoted to dealing with immigration and
in the number of recording units.

Figure 5 reveals that *Immigration as an electoral issue* and *Immigration policy* were
still by far the most popular out of all the themes. But when looking at the frequencies
of these two themes in the individual papers, the figures now show a considerable
difference in the popularity of these themes between the two papers. While *The Times*
only used 48.5% of its entire space devoted to immigration on these two themes, the
equivalent in *The Guardian* was as high as 70.2%. Accordingly, the space devoted to
immigration in *The Times* was also more evenly distributed between the rest of the
categories.

![Figure 5. Emerging themes in the articles between April 6, 2010 and May 13, 2010](image-url)
4.1.1 Immigration as an electoral issue

*Immigration as an electoral issue* proved to be one of the most popular themes concerning immigration in both of the newspapers in the study. As the name of the category suggests, this category includes all the recording units that dealt with the ongoing election campaigns. This theme was discussed from various perspectives, so the category was divided into five different subcategories that were *Impact of immigration on voting behavior and parties’ success*, *Immigration as a concern of the voters*, *Parties’ stance on immigration and their immigration policy ideas*, *Addressing voter concerns over immigration*, and *Reluctance by the parties and individual politicians to take a stand on immigration*.

Within the subcategories, some were again more popular than others (see Figure 6). Both papers devoted by far the most space to dealing with parties’ stances on immigration and their ideas on improvements or changes to the immigration policy. However, the recording units in *The Times* were more evenly distributed between different subcategories than in *The Guardian*. *The Guardian* wrote on the parties’ stances on immigration in 73.7% of the cases when writing on *Immigration as an electoral issue*. The corresponding figure in *The Times* was 42.9%. Here *The Guardian* focused mainly on the Liberal Democrats, giving some attention to the British National Party while only a little to the two main parties Labour and the Conservatives. *The Times*, on the other hand, was more even in giving attention to the different parties, and also the main parties, especially Labour, got nearly as much attention as Liberal Democrats. This subcategory also included cases in which one or more parties voiced criticism of another party’s immigration policy. In these cases the recording units were assigned to the party that was the one criticizing, as it was itself, in a way, at the same time taking a stand on immigration.

The second most popular subtheme in *The Guardian* was *Impact on voting behavior and party success* with 22.8%, while *The Times* only wrote on this subtheme in 12.7% of the cases. In turn *The Times* focused much more often on immigration as an issue of concern to the voters (20.7%), whereas *The Guardian* barely mentioned this perspective (3.4%). Moreover, there are two subcategories that got no hits when it comes to *The Guardian* but that together covered almost a fourth of all the recording
units in The Times, that is Addressing voter concerns with 6.3% and Reluctance to take a stand with 17.5%.

![Figure 6. Immigration as an electoral issue.](image)

4.1.2 Immigration policy

Immigration policy was the most popular issue concerning immigration that was discussed both in The Guardian and The Times. Its share of the total number of recording units was 29.5%. In The Guardian it was discussed in 36.4% of the recording units, and in The Times its share was 24.3%. The whole category consists of seven subcategories that ended up being Selective immigration, Language and competence skills, The EU, Developments in immigration policy, Refused asylum and deportations, Government action and success in dealing with the issue, and Rights of immigrants.

Selective immigration includes cases that dealt with regulating who would be allowed to enter the country and who would not. In some of these comments, the permission to
enter the country would for example be restricted to skilled workers and only to certain nationalities. This subtheme received nearly the same amount of attention in both papers, although slightly more in *The Guardian* with 14.3% while in *The Times* its share was 10.7%.

The subcategory of *Language and competence skills* deals with issues concerning the role of language and competence skills in hiring foreigners in Britain and the ability to enforce the practice of checking these. It too was more popular in *The Guardian* with a share of 11.1% while the corresponding figure in *The Times* was 5.4%.

The subcategory of *The EU* includes cases that dealt with the impact of the European Union on the immigration policy of the UK by for example limiting its ability to restrict the movement into the country due to the EU principle of freedom of movement within its borders. This subcategory covers 9.5% and 8.9% in *The Guardian* and *The Times* respectively of all the recording units in the whole category of *Immigration policy*.

*Developments in immigration policy* was a relatively popular theme in *The Guardian* (15.9%) but was barely mentioned in *The Times* (1.8%). As the name suggests, it contains cases that deal with history of immigration policy and changes to it through times as well as discussion of potential changes to it. However, it does not include the parties’ ideas on improvements to the immigration policy, as these were related to the ongoing election campaigns and were thus assigned to the category of *Immigration as an electoral issue* and more specifically to the subcategory *Parties’ stance on immigration*.

Another subtheme that was barely mentioned in *The Times* but that ended up being the most popular subtheme in *The Guardian* with a share of 39.7% of all the recording units was *Refused asylum and deportations*. So this subcategory dealt mainly with Britain’s asylum policy as part of the broader immigration policy.

The most popular subtheme in the entire category was, thanks to *The Times*, *Government action and success in dealing with the issue of immigration*. This subtheme dealt with evaluation of the immigration policy that Labour government had
been following. The subtheme was hardly mentioned in *The Guardian* at all but covered as much as 71.4% of all the recording units dealing with immigration policy in *The Times*. What is more, in 75% of these cases it had to do with criticism of Labour government’s handling of immigration.

![Figure 7. Immigration policy.](image)

A subtheme that did not occur in *The Times* at all but covered 6.3% of the discussion on immigration policy in *The Guardian* is *Rights of immigrants*. The cases in this subcategory for example addressed the problem of banning EU citizens from Eastern Europe entry to Britain, as it would infringe on their right to freedom of movement within the European Union.

### 4.1.3 Dishonest immigrants

The category of *Dishonest immigrants* consisted in its entirety of recording units from articles dealing with a court case of attorney general Lady Baroness of Scotland and
her illegal immigrant cleaner. The attorney general had hired an illegal immigrant from Tonga unaware of her immigration status. The immigrant, named Loloahi Tapui, had overstayed her student visa that had expired four years earlier. The court case and thus also the articles revolved around how the hiring process had progressed and whether proof of right to stay in the country had been provided or not. The articles also raised the point of the employer’s responsibility to check the immigration status of a potential employee and in order to have evidence of this to take copies of the documents aimed at proving the employee had the right to work in the UK. However, the attorney general had failed to do this. This category was further divided into three subcategories that are Illegal immigrants, Proof of right to stay, and Responsibility of the employer. The first subcategory included all the recording units that dealt with the case on a more general level. The recording units that belonged to the subcategory of Proof of right to stay focused on all kinds of documents, including false ones, that Tapui was claimed to possess or that she herself insisted not to possess. The last subcategory, Responsibility of the employer, self-evidently included recording units that dealt with the employer’s responsibility in hiring an illegal immigrant, failure to check the immigration status, and the consequences thereof.

This issue got significantly more publicity in The Times (20.3%) than in The Guardian (12.1%). Out of the subcategories, Proof of right to stay was dealt with the most in both papers, in 47.6% of the cases in The Guardian and in 38.3% in The Times. It was followed by Responsibility of the employer and Illegal immigrants that got 28.6% and 23.8% in The Guardian respectively and correspondingly 34% and 27.7% in The Times.

4.1.4 Quality of immigration debate

Quality of immigration debate turned out to be the smallest individual category in the study. It was, however, considered important to include it as a separate category of its own, as it did not quite fit in any other. It covers discussion on the immigration debate in the United Kingdom and the nature thereof. Some articles for example talked about the immigration debate to be nearly non-existent or at least very careful/cautious in Britain, since the politicians were unwilling to address the issue due to the
consequences it might have on their success in the election. This category covered 4.2% of all the recording units in the study. *The Times* addressed this issue in 5.2% of the cases, which is a bit higher than the total share of the category, whereas the corresponding figure in *The Guardian* was only 2.9%.

### 4.1.5 Immigrant experience

What is special about the category of *Immigrant experience* is that it is the only category that looked at immigration from the perspective of an immigrant. It includes two subcategories, *Reasons for immigration* and *Reactions to immigrants*. The names of the categories are self-explanatory, but *Reasons for immigration* contains recording units that dealt with the driving forces for immigration that in most cases had to do with aspiration and economic factors such as work and studying. Other reasons that were mentioned include admiration of the British welfare and culture as well as historic ties between Britain and the country of origin. These were all examples of voluntary immigration, whereas extreme poverty, wars, and natural disasters served as examples of involuntary immigration. Of the two subcategories, 64.3% of the cases in *The Times* dealt with *Reasons for immigration*. In *The Guardian* the corresponding figure was 42.9%. The other subcategory, *Reactions to immigrants*, included experiences that immigrants had had in Britain. In *The Guardian*, these experiences were in most cases (75%) negative due to racism. In *The Times*, the immigrants had either experienced racism or violence in 20% of the cases. This subcategory also included attitudes of the British people towards immigrants and in 40% of the cases in *The Times* these were positive. It was said that Britain should be proud of the fact that that is where immigrants want to go and that immigration is a natural part of being British, as many British people have roots somewhere else. All in all, this category was relatively small, as it only covered 5.2% of all the recording units and 4% and 6.1% of the ones in *The Guardian* and *The Times* respectively.

### 4.1.6 Impact of immigration on society

The category of *Impact on society* dealt with all the possible ways in which immigration would affect the British society. According to the findings, immigration
would pose challenges and problems from population growth to collapsing border security and community unrest. People also seemed to worry about the possible changes that immigration would bring about. The recording units that were assigned to this category also dealt with the economic impact of immigration on Britain. Britain would benefit from immigration in that it would provide a source of workforce and thus fill some skill shortages. There was, however, a bigger worry that immigration would lead to unemployment and lower wages among the British people and put a pressure on services and schools. Immigrants were also considered an economic burden, as there was a fear of them being free riders and merely taking advantage of the British welfare system. This entire theme was discussed more in *The Times* (13.9%) than in *The Guardian* (6.9%).

### 4.1.7 Level of immigration

The category of *Level of immigration* simply dealt with the scale of immigration and often included a mention of an official number or an estimate of a number of immigrants in the UK. The recording units that belonged to this category either talked about the level of immigrants in general or specifically that of illegal immigrants in Britain. This category covered 5.2% of all the recording units and 4% and 6.1% of the recording units in *The Guardian* and *The Times* respectively. When writing on the level of immigration, both papers were more likely to focus on illegal immigrants. In *The Times* as many as 64.3% of the cases dealt with the level of illegal immigrants while in *The Guardian* this figure was 57.1%.

### 4.1.8 Summary of the results

Both papers showed similar patterns in distribution of space devoted across different categories. *Immigration policy* and *Immigration as an electoral issue* were by far the most recurring themes in the articles in both papers, followed, in this order, by *Dishonest immigrants*, *Impact of immigration on society*, *Immigrant experience*, *Level of immigration*, and *Quality of immigration debate*. The papers, however, displayed considerable differences of emphasis within the individual categories, especially in the two dominant categories of *Immigration policy* and *Immigration as an electoral issue*. 
In the latter, for example, *Parties’ stance on immigration and their immigration policy ideas* was the most recurring subtheme in both papers, having more weight in *The Guardian*, though, whereas the other subthemes reveal more mutual differences. While *The Guardian* often focused on the *impact of immigration on voting behavior*, *The Times* most likely dealt with *immigration as a concern of the voters*, a perspective that *The Guardian* in turn almost entirely ignored. Moreover, while *The Times* dealt with immigration in terms of politicians *addressing voter concerns* and the parties’ *reluctance to take a stand on immigration* in a total of almost 25% of the cases, these subthemes were non-existent in *The Guardian*.

When it comes to the most popular category, *Immigration policy*, differences of emphasis can again be revealed. *The Times* paid most attention to the theme of *Government action and success in dealing with the issue* the coverage of which in 75% of the cases meant criticizing the Labour government and its immigration policies. This theme hardly occurred in *The Guardian*, which most often focused on the theme of *Refused asylum and deportations*. *The Times* in turn hardly mentioned this subtheme. The subthemes of *Selective immigration, Language and competence skills*, and *The EU* were quite evenly distributed between the two papers, whereas *Rights of immigrants* in its entirety and *Developments in immigration policy* apart from very few cases only occurred in *The Guardian*.

Apart from the two most popular main categories, the differences in coverage of specific themes were not remarkable between the papers, although *The Times* did pay more attention to the issue of the impact of immigration on the British society and the case of an illegal immigrant staying and working illegally in the country than what *The Guardian* did.

### 4.2 Illegals or hard-workers – or both in the same package?

Let us now turn to a more microscopic view of how immigration was dealt with in the press. This analysis was done with the analysis of lexical items, which is a more explicit means of conveying messages, and the analysis of the participant roles that
immigrants filled in representations of them. This analysis of participant roles represents a more implicit means of conveying information.

4.2.1 Lexicalization

One apparent and straightforward means of identifying immigrants and construing identities for them in the press is through lexical choices. Therefore, representations of immigrants, here understood as people originally from outside Britain and who wish to come and stay in Britain for whatever reason, were looked for in the news articles.

Despite differences in the tone and emphasis in how immigrants were characterized, what the two newspapers share in common is the pattern that could be detected in the distribution of representations across some recurrent themes. As an interesting point to note, *The Times* talked mostly about immigrants or migrants, in a total of 58 instances, whereas immigration or migration was mentioned in 31 instances. The distribution of these in *The Guardian* in turn was more even with immigration or migration getting 20 and immigrants or migrants 22 hits. In addition to the more neutral representations of migrant(s)/immigrant(s), migration/immigration or the more specific asylum seeker(s), the themes that recurred can be summarized as work-related immigration, origin/race of immigrants, the number discourse, and illegal immigration as well as metaphorical discourse, which was mainly associated with the numbers entering Britain.

Therefore, the discussion greatly revolved around the numbers of immigrants entering Britain and the goal and means of reducing those numbers. Apart from some specific cases discussed in the papers, such as the case of a Tongan migrant who had overstayed her visa and was employed as a cleaner by Lady Scotland (G1, G3, T2, T4, T5), the discussion on the origin of immigrants mainly dealt with Eastern Europeans. Although immigrants were in many cases represented as illegal without being given a permission to stay in the country by the authorities, in most cases they were portrayed, perhaps surprisingly, as workers or students. So, in general, a typical immigrant was from Eastern Europe and came to the UK to work. Although this in itself was not criminal action, the number of immigrants was seen as too high, thus creating problems that had to be dealt with.
In terms of foreign labor, the discussion in *The Guardian* is need-based rather than prejudiced. Overseas staff might, for example, be needed to fill skill shortages even in London, although London was otherwise considered too crowded (G10). However, *foreign skilled labour* (G6) is clearly preferred and would more likely get work permits than low skilled workers. As for the origin of immigrants, the discussion on the real immigration most often mentioned Eastern Europeans. When the focus was on regulating immigration, however, *The Guardian* cited the views of the BNP that stereotypically presented the Polish as plumbers, the Afghans as refugees, and a Japanese as a physicist (G12). Out of these, perhaps unsurprisingly, the Japanese physicist would be the one allowed to enter Britain (G12). Moreover, in the view of the BNP, ‘non-white British people’ were apparently categorized as outsiders and expected to return to their countries of origin no matter how far in history that would extend (G12). In addition to the more common phrase of an ‘illegal immigrant(s)’, people staying in the country illegally were labeled as ‘long-term illegal residents’ (G7), ‘the hundreds of thousands of irregular migrants’ (G7) and ‘the undocumented’ (G8). The amount of immigration to the UK was presented as numbers, e.g. ‘618,000 irregular migrants’ (G6), ‘30,000 failed asylum seekers’ (G7), ‘the arrival of large numbers of people’ (G8), as well as metaphorically with references to water, e.g. ‘a further wave of illegal migrants’ (G7). The representations such as ‘an Iranian civil rights activist’ (G13) and ‘gay and lesbian asylum seekers’ (G14) in turn suggest the reasons for seeking asylum with civil rights activism and homosexuality being prohibited in certain countries.

The language on immigrants was slightly more colorful in *The Times* than in *The Guardian*. The discourse on work-based immigration dominated and the discussion was more selective when it came to the workers needed or preferred. Those preferred were ‘immigrants with the right skills’ (T9), ‘those from outside the EU who have skills that Britain needs’ (T16), ‘the more determined people’ (T9) as well as ‘the skilled and socially useful’ (T15), whereas ‘low-skilled workers’ (T15) were hoped to stay away. One curiosity that emerged in the work-related immigration discourse is that a link between immigrants and public sector workers was created by talking about Labour Party’s plans to extend an English language requirement to ‘all public sector workers’ (T6) and ‘all new applicants for public sector jobs’ (T6) under immigration policy. ‘Job-seeking migrants’ (T9) as well as ‘economic migrants from outside the
EU (ie, including Americans)’ (T9) suggest a driving factor behind immigration to be better economic prospects and employment opportunities, perhaps due to unemployment in the country of origin.

The typical immigrant was an Eastern European. *The Times* elaborated that this was partly due to ‘people from new member states’ (T9) coming in as a result of the expansion of the European Union in 2004. The arrival of large numbers of ‘Polish plumbers’ (T9) and ‘Lithuanian labourers’ (T9) was mentioned as an example of mismanagement of the immigration policy in the aftermath of this expansion.

The discussion greatly revolved around the degree of immigration to the UK and as a result numbers, either figures or verbal descriptions, were a popular way to describe the nature of immigration. Therefore, a lot of representations of immigrants included an evaluation of the current degree of immigration, with or without a growth or fall in it, e.g. ‘the number entering Britain from hundreds of thousands to “tens of thousands”’ (T16), ‘a rise of almost 65,000 in the number of students admitted’ (T14), ‘the number of foreign-born people’ (T8), and ‘106,000 East Europeans’ (T9). The metaphorical characterizations of the numbers of people entering Britain were also stronger in *The Times* than in *The Guardian*. In addition to ‘waves’ (T13), there were now ‘inflows’ (T9; T15: 6x). ‘The influx of Eastern Europeans’ (T8) was also used to describe the degree of immigration from Eastern Europe. Opinions voiced also tended to be slightly more negative towards immigration, as immigrants were seen as ‘enemy hands’ (T8) and experiencing immigration was equalled with experiencing ‘the raw, frightening turbulence of globalization and industrial decline’ (T17).

There were still ‘illegal immigrants’, but *The Times* often elaborated on this by mentioning ‘the number of people who overstay their visas’ (T10) and ‘people staying who had been refused the right to remain’ (T11) – so people who had originally come to the country legally becoming illegal after their visas expired.

### 4.2.2 Representation in clauses: Participant roles

Another means of unveiling identities ascribed to immigrants in the news articles was looking at which semantic role they took up in sentences. This was done by collecting
sentences that included a representation of immigrants or immigration. It should be mentioned that once a representation that denoted an immigrant was identified, all the subsequent representations referring to this entity were included, whether it was he, they, or a person’s last name, e.g. Tapui. To be more specific, what was looked at was how immigrants were represented in sentences. To do this, I used the model of Halliday’s systemic functional grammar, and in particular the metafunction that sees clause as representation. With the help of that model, the participant roles which immigrants took up in clauses could be identified as well as whether they were instead represented as, for example, the circumstance of matter describing what the clause was about. It should be noted that no distinction was made between main and subordinate clauses in the analysis. However, non-finite to-infinitive clauses were analyzed as part of the main verb except when they appeared as an adverbial (see Example 13) or part of an adjective phrase (see Example 14).

Example 13. *The Tories would set an annual limit on economic migrants from outside the EU (ie, including Americans) and would never again allow [Actor] people from new member states [Process: material] to come immediately [Circumstance: purpose] [Process: material] to work [Circumstance: place] in Britain.* (T9)

Example 14. *[Actor] the Irish are part of Britain and are fully entitled [Process: material] to come here.* (G12)

The following findings are the result of an analysis that I have conducted to the best of my knowledge and understanding. It is of course based on theory, but in some cases I have also needed to resort to common sense in deciding for one process type instead of another. I thus recognize that some decisions I have made are open to interpretation, and that someone else might come to a different conclusion with certain processes. The verb *face*, for example, caused some difficulties, and it has in one case been coded as a mental process and in another as a material process. In ‘*...gay and lesbian asylum seekers can be returned to countries where they face persecution...*’ the verb *face* has been coded as a mental process, since persecution was considered to be something that is felt inside one’s mind. However, it could take a physical form and result in violence, too, so it could therefore also be coded as a material process. In the following example, ‘*Activist facing deportation had fled forced marriage*’, the verb *face* is coded
as a material process, since ‘deportation’ means that the action results in something concrete, that is, the person leaving Britain.

As a result of an analysis of the sentences collected in the way mentioned above, a total number of processes identified in The Guardian ended up being 316, whereas the corresponding figure in The Times was 347. Out of these, material processes clearly dominated in both with a share of over 50% of all the processes. The second most recurrent process type in both was relational process that amounted to 22.8% of the processes both in The Guardian and in The Times. Out of these, attributive processes were clearly more common than the identifying ones, with 55 occurrences in both while identifying processes only occurred 17 in The Guardian and 24 times in The Times. The third most popular process type in both was the verbal process with a share of 15.2% in The Guardian and 9.8% in The Times. The mental processes in turn amounted to a share of 9.8% in The Guardian and 10.4% in The Times. Existential processes only occurred a couple of times in both, whereas behavioral processes were practically non-existent.

Table 1. Distribution of process types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Processes</th>
<th>Frequencies of each process type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Guardian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material</td>
<td>162 (51.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental</td>
<td>31 (9.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational</td>
<td>72 (22.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- attributive</td>
<td>55 (76.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- identifying</td>
<td>17 (23.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal</td>
<td>48 (15.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential</td>
<td>2 (0.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavioral</td>
<td>1 (0.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.2.1 Distribution of participant roles in material processes

Both papers showed similar patterns in the distribution of immigrants across different participant roles. In most cases, immigrant took up the role of an ‘Actor’ – out of the total number of 162 material processes in *The Guardian* the immigrant was represented as an Actor in 57.4% of the cases, whereas in *The Times* this figure was 61.5%. I will look at the processes involving a representation of immigrants as Actor in more detail later on. Immigrants were also fairly often portrayed as a Goal in the material processes. The figures for Goal were 25.9% in *The Guardian* and 26.6% in *The Times*. Moreover, immigrants were also portrayed as some sort of a Beneficiary of the action in 10.5% of the cases in *The Guardian* and 5.2% of the cases in *The Times*. In 6.2% of the material processes in *The Guardian* and in 6.8% of the ones in *The Times* immigrants were portrayed as not a participant but as a circumstance of the clause. These circumstances often described the matter of the clause and also included the circumstances of ‘role, guise’ and ‘means’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant roles</th>
<th><em>The Guardian</em></th>
<th><em>The Times</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>93 (57.4%)</td>
<td>118 (61.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal</td>
<td>42 (25.9%)</td>
<td>51 (26.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beneficiary</td>
<td>17 (10.5%)</td>
<td>10 (5.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Client</td>
<td>6 (3.7%)</td>
<td>1 (0.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recipient</td>
<td>3 (1.9%)</td>
<td>5 (2.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumstance</td>
<td>10 (6.2%)</td>
<td>13 (6.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.2.3 Distribution of participant roles in relational processes

Relational processes were the second most common process type in both newspapers, constituting 22.8% of all the processes both in *The Guardian* and *The Times*. Out of these, relational attributive processes dominated both in *The Guardian* and *The Times*, since 76.4% of the relational processes in *The Guardian* were attributive, while in *The Times* this figure was 69.6%. In these, immigrants were most often represented in the
role of ‘Carrier’ with a 76.4% share in *The Guardian* and 72.7% in *The Times*. Therefore, the role of ‘Attribute’ was left with a share of 18.2% in *The Guardian* and 14.5% in *The Times*. Relational identifying processes constituted 23.6% of all the relational processes in *The Guardian* and 30.4% in *The Times*. Here, immigrants were most often represented in the role of ‘Token’ as this was the case in 64.7% of the relational identifying processes in *The Guardian* and 75% of the ones in *The Times*. In 17.6% of the relational identifying processes immigrants were represented as ‘Value’ in *The Guardian*. In *The Times*, this figure was 25%. Immigrants also took up the role of ‘Beneficiary’ or were represented as a circumstance of matter or reason in 11.1% of all the relational processes in *The Guardian*, either as independent clause elements or embedded in ‘Attribute’ or ‘Value’. In *The Times*, these shares were 5.1% for ‘Beneficiary’ and 10.1% for ‘circumstance’. As relational processes were the second most recurrent process type emerging in the data, they will be looked at in more detail later, especially focusing on the ones that had a representation of immigrants in the role of Carrier or Token, since Attribute and Value should reveal evaluations on the immigrants.

**Table 3. Distribution of participant roles in relational processes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant roles</th>
<th><em>The Guardian</em></th>
<th><em>The Times</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carrier</td>
<td>42 (76.4%)</td>
<td>40 (72.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attribute</td>
<td>10 (18.2%)</td>
<td>8 (14.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Token</td>
<td>11 (64.7%)</td>
<td>18 (75%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value</td>
<td>3 (17.6%)</td>
<td>6 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beneficiary</td>
<td>2 (2.8%)</td>
<td>4 (5.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumstance</td>
<td>6 (11.1%)</td>
<td>8 (10.1%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**4.2.2.4 Distribution of participant roles in verbal processes**

The frequency of immigrants in the role of ‘Sayer’ can be explained by the coverage on one particular court case that involved an immigrant. The reporting on this case relied to a great extent on reported speech, and thus also the sayings of the immigrant were often cited. Therefore, 62.5% of the verbal processes in *The Guardian* involved
an immigrant as a ‘Sayer’, while the figure was not much lower in *The Times* with 55.9%. The second most common participant role taken up by immigrants in the verbal processes in *The Guardian* was ‘Receiver’ with a share of 14.6%, but the frequency can also here be explained with the same court case mentioned above. In *The Times*, immigrants only took up the role of ‘Receiver’ twice. The role of ‘Target’ was occupied a couple of times, with shares of 8.3% and 8.8% in *The Guardian* and *The Times* respectively, whereas immigrants hardly ever appeared in the roles of ‘Verbiage’ and ‘Beneficiary’. Immigrants were fairly often mentioned as a circumstance, especially as that of matter, in verbal processes, with a share of 23.5% in *The Times* and 10.4% in *The Guardian*. What is more, a great deal of the entire number of processes in the data was embedded in so called Projected clauses. This means that a lot of the ideas and opinions voiced in the articles were actually attributed to external sources. So, in reporting on immigration, both *The Guardian* and *The Times* seemed to rely on experts at the issue.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant roles</th>
<th><em>The Guardian</em></th>
<th><em>The Times</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sayer</td>
<td>30 (62.5%)</td>
<td>19 (55.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receiver</td>
<td>7 (14.6%)</td>
<td>2 (5.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Target</td>
<td>4 (8.3%)</td>
<td>3 (8.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbiage</td>
<td>1 (2.1%)</td>
<td>2 (5.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beneficiary</td>
<td>1 (2.1%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumstance</td>
<td>5 (10.4%)</td>
<td>8 (23.5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.2.2.2 Distribution of participant roles in mental processes

When it comes to the mental processes, immigrants were more often portrayed as something that was being sensed, i.e. as the ‘Phenomenon’ in 55.0% and 72.2% of the cases in *The Guardian* and *The Times* respectively, than as ‘Senser’ 40% and 27.8%. In most cases the immigrants were part of a Phenomenon that was a *that-embedded* clause. As a result, the ‘Phenomenon’ usually contained other processes that were analyzed separately.
Table 5. Distribution of participant roles in mental processes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant roles</th>
<th>The Guardian</th>
<th>The Times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senser</td>
<td>16 (40%)</td>
<td>10 (27.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phenomenon</td>
<td>22 (55.0%)</td>
<td>26 (72.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beneficiary</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumstance</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.2.5 Distribution of participant roles in existential and behavioral processes

Both the existential and behavioral processes occurred in the data, but so rarely that they will not be discussed in more detail. There was only one occurrence of behavioral processes in the entire data and the existential processes only covered 0.6% of the processes in *The Guardian* and 1.7% of the ones in *The Times*. Moreover, there is only one participant in both of the processes, ‘Existent’ in existential processes and ‘Behaver’ in behavioral processes.

4.2.2.6 More on material processes

It is clear that the mere percentage for the distribution of each process type is not anything other than that; a percentage telling which process type occurred the most and which the least. Therefore, it is necessary to look at some process types in more detail to find out information that tells something about the processes in which immigrants were involved and their role in them. Due to the frequency of occurrences in the data, two types of processes will be the objects of a closer inspection, namely the material and the relational processes.

In looking at the material processes in more detail, the purpose was to identify, first, the processes in which immigrant or immigration took up the role of Actor, both in active and passive clauses, and second, the processes in which they occurred as Goal. Examining the processes in which immigrants occur as the Actor provide information on what kind of activities they are represented as taking part in as active doers. The processes in which immigrants occur as Goals in turn help us understand what is being done to them by others, i.e. the locals. What follows is not an exhaustive description of
all the processes taking place in the data but is instead based on most frequently occurring categories of doing and happening.

Out of the 93 material processes in *The Guardian* in which the immigrant filled the role of Actor, 89 were active and only 4 passive clauses. In 41 processes immigrants were in turn represented as the Goal. The processes were quite evenly distributed between different types of doing, but some patterns emerged. In 16.9% of the active processes with an immigrant as Actor, the doing expressed some kind of movement in or out of the country, which in two thirds of these cases meant the process of entering the country. The next most popular type of action immigrants were portrayed as being involved in was ‘working’ with a share of 9.0% of all the active processes. In 7.9% of the processes immigrants were portrayed as responsible human beings who either were expected to prove they had a right to stay or that they were competent to exercise a profession. Alternatively, these processes described their failure to do so. In only 5.6% of the processes immigrants were represented as being involved in illegal activities.

Immigrants or immigration were represented in the role of Actor in 106 active processes in *The Times*. *The Times* clearly emphasized different activities from those in *The Guardian*. What they share in common is that, with a share of 17% of the cases, *The Times* also devoted most space to talking about movement in or out of the country, entering the country clearly dominating. Immigrants were fairly often represented as people aspiring to work (8.5%), but even more often (in 11.3% of the cases) as being involved in illegal or dishonest activities. What is interesting is that immigrants were more often (7.5%) represented as having a positive impact on the British society, as contributing, rather than a negative one (3.8%). In 6.6% of the processes immigrants were represented as themselves benefiting from immigration.

Examining the processes that represented immigrants as the Goal also led to interesting findings. In cases where the action was directed at immigrants, in most cases in *The Guardian* (19.5%) it meant getting rid of them in the form of deportation. However, 14.6% of the processes in turn dealt with letting them in or allowing them to stay. In 9.8% they were the ones being employed, whereas 7.3% of the processes dealt with checking their competence.
The differences between *The Guardian* and *The Times* become most evident when we look at the kinds of processes in which *The Times* represented immigrants or immigration in the role of Goal. In as many as 27.7% of the 47 processes in question, the action described in the process dealt with doing something about the number of immigrants already in Britain or controlling the numbers entering. These processes were realized by verbs such as *reduce, cut, curb, and estimate or calculate*. So after adding that, in addition to reducing the numbers, 8.5% of the processes dealt with deporting or sending immigrants back to their countries of origin, it is no longer unclear what *The Times* thought should be done about the issue of immigration. However, *The Times* also represented immigrants as being allowed to stay in or enter the country (10.6%) and as being employed (14.9%). At this point it is at least safe to say that the discourse on immigrants in *The Times* was much more focused on numbers than that in *The Guardian*.

### 4.2.2.7 More on relational processes

In addition to being the second most frequent process type in the data, relational processes were given a closer look due to their nature of ascribing and defining. Therefore, those processes were selected for scrutiny where immigrants or immigration occurred in the role Carrier or Token, as the Attribute would reveal what characteristics were attached to them and the Value would provide a definition for immigrants or the process of immigration.

A total of 32 Attributes in *The Guardian* were included for this part of the study. They ended up revealing quite little about immigration. Some characterizations were more frequent than the others, however, with the focus on the impact of immigration on the UK, whether the immigrants were in the country legally or illegally (3) and were entitled to work (3), and the criteria for determining who would be allowed to stay. Although immigration had had *some negative effects on parts of the UK* (1), it was not *to blame for driving the voters into the arms of the BNP* (3). As for who would be allowed to stay in the country under the Liberal Democrats’ asylum policy, the permission would be granted to people who had been in the UK *for at least five years or 10 years* and had *a clean record or no criminal record*. 
The Attributes found in *The Times* amounted to 30. They did not otherwise differ considerably from *The Guardian*, but emphasized a bit more the selection criteria for determining who would be allowed in or to stay. *The Times* thus portrayed an ideal immigrant as someone who has *skills that Britain needs* or alternatively *capital to invest*.

The study of Values did not result in any remarkable findings, as only 6 Values in *The Guardian* and 10 in *The Times* were identified that directly defined immigrants or immigration. It is worth mentioning here that a lot of the Tokens dealing with immigration were *to-infinitive* or *that-clauses* and were therefore not included in the study of Values, as the Values in these cases would have defined a fact or an opinion on immigration rather than the actual phenomenon.

### 4.2.3 Summary of the results

The most frequent process type involving an immigrant was material process by accounting for 51% of all such processes in *The Guardian* and 56.6% of the ones in *The Times*. Material processes were followed in both by relational processes that accounted for 22.9% of the processes involving an immigrant in *The Guardian* and for 22.1% of those in *The Times*. The next process types by frequency in *The Guardian* were verbal, mental, existential, and behavioral. In *The Times*, mental processes were in turn slightly more frequent than verbal processes that were followed by existential processes.

In 58.1% of the material processes in *The Guardian*, the immigrant was represented as the Actor. In *The Times* this figure was 58.4%. In 26.3% of the material processes in *The Guardian* immigrants were in turn represented as the Goal, whereas in *The Times* this was the case in 25.2% of the material processes. When it comes to the processes involving immigrant as Actor, *The Guardian* most often, in 16.9% of the processes, represented them as either entering or leaving the country. Immigrants were also frequently portrayed as working (9.0%), dealing with bureaucracy (7.9%), or being involved in illegal activities (5.6%). *The Times* also most often represented immigrants in the process of entering or leaving, most likely entering, the country with a share of 17% of all the material processes. In 8.5% of the processes in *The Times*, immigrants
were portrayed as people aspiring to work. *The Times*, however, was more likely (11.3%) to emphasize the immigrants’ involvement in illegal activities. *The Times* also dealt with immigrants as them being contributors to the British society in 7.5% of the time they took up the role of Actor, a perspective which was absent in *The Guardian*. In as few as 3.8% of the material processes their action was mentioned to have a negative impact on society. In 6.6% of the processes immigrants were represented as themselves benefiting from immigration.

When it comes to the processes that represented immigrants in the role of Goal, i.e. the target of the action, the action in *The Guardian* most likely dealt with deportation (19.5%), the decision to allow them to stay (14.6%), employment (9.8%), or checking their professional competence (7.3%). *The Times* in turn most likely focused on processes of reducing or controlling of the numbers entering Britain (27.7%) or deporting the ones already there (8.5%). However, *The Times* also represented immigrants as targets of employment (14.9%) or as being allowed to stay in or enter the country (10.6%).

The closer examination of the relational processes revealed quite little of the differences between the papers. The focus of these processes, however, most often was on characterizing immigrants from the perspective of their impact on the UK, whether they were in the country legally or illegally and were entitled to work, as well as laying out the criteria for determining who would be allowed to stay or enter.

As for the examination of lexical choices made in characterizing immigrants, both papers showed similarities in the distribution of representations across some recurrent themes. These themes could be summarized as *work-based immigration*, *origin/race of immigrants*, *the number discourse*, and *illegal immigration* as well as *metaphorical discourse*, which was mainly associated with the numbers entering Britain.

Therefore, the discussion greatly revolved around the numbers of immigrants entering Britain and the goal and means of reducing those numbers. In general, a typical immigrant was from Eastern Europe and came to the UK to work. Although this in itself was not criminal action, the number of immigrants was seen as too high, thus creating problems that had to be dealt with. In some cases immigrants were
represented as illegal because they were in the country without being given the right to stay. The work-based immigration discourse was more selective in *The Times* than in *The Guardian* and *The Times* also used more metaphors in describing the process of immigrants entering Britain.
5 Discussion

This study set out to find out how the issue of immigration was dealt with and discussed in the British press during the general election of 2010. The aim was also to find out how immigrants were portrayed in the press, whether it was as contributors, beneficiaries, or victims or as a threat. Moreover, by limiting the data to two daily newspapers in the UK, the conservative *The Times* and the liberal *The Guardian*, the study set out to find out whether the papers differed from each other in which issues they raised in the coverage of immigration and how they portrayed immigrants. The purpose was thus twofold: first, to find out what issues concerning immigration the press raised during the election campaigns and immediately thereafter and how immigrants were represented in that coverage, and second, to find out whether there were differences between the two papers in this matter. To do this, following research questions were to be answered:

i. What issues concerning immigration are raised in the media during election campaigns?

ii. As what kind of actors do the media portray immigrants? What kinds of identities are ascribed to them?

iii. Is there a difference between conservative and liberal media in the issues raised and the tone immigration and immigrants were discussed in?

To answer the first research question, a content analysis of the whole data, consisting of 14 articles in *The Guardian* and 17 in *The Times*, was carried out. The second research question was, in turn, answered by applying the model of systemic functional linguistics and its experiential metafunction, in particular, which sees language as representing the world. Finally, the third research question would be answered by comparing the findings of the first two questions in both papers.

The hypothesis was that *The Guardian*, representing the more liberal end of the journalistic spectrum, would be more moderate in its coverage on immigration than *The Times*. 
5.1 Answers to the research questions

The answers to the research questions will be organized in such a manner that I will first provide answers to the first question paper by paper and then address the third question in terms of similarities and differences on the issues raised. Then I will continue by providing an answer to the second question and again address the third research question in terms of similarities and differences in how the papers represented immigrants. Finally, I will tie the answers together with an explanation as for why any differences might occur.

As for the issues concerning immigration that were covered in *The Guardian*, two themes dominated clearly over the others. These were immigration policy and the different aspects to it and immigration as an electoral issue with its subthemes. When it comes to the immigration policy, *The Guardian* discussed it mostly from the perspective of asylum policy and covered especially cases that dealt with refusing asylum and deportations. *The Guardian* also fairly often talked about developments in the immigration policy over the years, covering a longer time period than just the immediate past when Labour held office. This could be interpreted as a sign of *The Guardian* wishing to show that Labour was not the only responsible actor for the current state of immigration. *The Guardian* also occasionally looked at the issue of immigration policy from the perspective of immigrants and mentioned the rights of immigrants as an issue the UK should also respect when regulating immigration. As for immigration as an electoral issue, *The Guardian* mostly focused on presenting what the parties thought about it and what they thought should be done to it. Moreover, *The Guardian* looked at immigration from the perspective of how this single issue would affect the way people vote in the election.

When it comes to *The Times* and its coverage on immigration, the same two themes, immigration policy and immigration as an electoral theme, dominated the coverage as in *The Guardian*, albeit with different emphases. As for immigration policy, *The Times* mainly dealt with it from the perspective of assessing how the Labour government had succeeded in handling the issue. Based on their coverage, the Labour government had not been particularly successful but was rather to blame for the prevailing problems caused by immigration. As for immigration in the election, *The Times* most
often resorted to presenting the views of the different parties. *The Times*, however, also saw immigration as an issue that the voters were concerned about but at the same time also recognized that by taking a clear stand on immigration, the parties might lose votes and were therefore not willing to voice their opinions very often.

The papers were very similar when it comes to the broader issues when reporting on immigration but differed greatly in the approaches they took to these broader issues. As for the coverage of immigration policy, the attention given to the performance of the Labour Government in office on the issue of immigration in *The Times* can be explained by the fact that Labour had held office since 1997, so the developments in the immigration policy during the period of 1997 to 2010 self-evidently provided *The Times* as a supporter of the Conservative Party with a means of criticizing Labour. *The Guardian*, in turn, gave more attention to the cases of individual immigrants when discussing the Home Office decisions to either refuse asylum or deport immigrants and thus somewhat personified the immigrant experiences. As for immigration in the election, both papers devoted most space to presenting the views of the parties on the issue. Except for this subtheme, however, the papers took very different approaches to immigration in the context of election. While *The Guardian* wondered how the question of immigration would impact people’s voting behavior, *The Times* more likely emphasized immigration as a concern of the voters that would therefore need to be addressed by the parties. In a way, highlighting voters as the ones being worried about the issue of immigration could be thought of as giving legitimacy to questioning immigration and thus indirectly promoting the views of the Conservative Party that in general is more critical towards immigration.

As for the second research question, any major differences in how the papers represented immigrants were hard to detect. Therefore I will here directly address the research question with reference to both papers. The papers represented immigrants as a potential source of workforce but with differing views on how preferable immigrants were as workers. *The Guardian* was more open to address the labor shortages with immigrants, whereas *The Times* focused more on the criteria for who would be a preferable immigrant and who not.
The papers also represented immigrants in terms of numbers. This emphasis suggests that immigrants are not regarded as human beings with a will of their own but more as an impersonal mass that can be controlled. Although *The Times* focused more on talking about immigrants than the process or phenomenon of immigration, it also focused more on the processes of reducing the numbers than *The Guardian* did. This was the major difference between the papers when it comes to representation of immigrants and immigration.

These findings thus suggest a deeper concern of the state of immigration in *The Times* than in *The Guardian*. As for the juxtaposition between the conservative and the liberal press, this finding is understandable, as the Conservative Party tends to be more preoccupied with immigration than the more liberal Labour Party. Therefore, the hypothesis of *The Guardian* as a more moderate reporter on immigration was confirmed.

### 5.2 Implications

The findings of the study point to a tendency of immigration discourse to reflect the current societal and economic situation and thus reflect the concerns of the contemporary British society. In 2010, immigration debate in the British press mainly focused on economic issues, and the large numbers of new arrivals as such were seen as a problem, implying a burden in terms of putting pressure on services and taking over jobs rather than a threat to the overall peace and harmony in society. Thus, based on the worldwide economic crisis that started as financial crisis on Wall Street in 2008, the discourse on immigration in the context of Britain in 2010 reflects a time of recession, as much of it was concerned with work-based immigration and controlling the arrival of new workers to the UK. From this perspective, the concern is understandable, since in a time of recession and increasing unemployment new people would indeed mean more competition over a declining number of jobs available. In a time when the economy was booming, the discourse on immigration would perhaps reflect a very different picture of reality and even encourage people to arrive in the UK to work. Moreover, the paradox that seems to emerge in the work-based immigration discourse in any geographical context is that a preference for skilled immigrants is explicitly stated, albeit the actual jobs immigrants are most welcome to do are the ones
that the native people themselves would rather not do, as was the case when immigrants were first recruited in large numbers to Britain in 1950s (Childs 1995: 198).

Another sign of the changing times that can be seen in the findings of this study is the absence of emphasis on the deviance of immigrants in terms of race in particular. This was the concern in the early phases of immigration to Britain and could be seen in Enoch Powell’s threat-laden and xenophobic rhetoric in the late 1960s. At that time, racial diversity and cultural differences were still a relatively recent phenomenon in Britain, so preoccupation with that in discourse was a reflection of the social change that was taking place. However, Britain today, and London especially, has embraced multiculturalism at least to the extent that race cannot be an issue in the sense it used to be. This, however, is not to say that racism would no longer exist; it is just adopting new forms. Here the representation of immigrants as less skilled, for example, provides a more modern means of arguing against them. Moreover, the typical immigrant to Britain today arrives from Eastern Europe and is thus white. It is thus self-evident that opponents of immigration need to argue against immigration with something that has more relevance in contemporary British society than color of skin.

It is important to consider what these different discourses in their respective time-related contexts lead to in practice. According to the agenda-setting theory that was presented in section 2.2.4, representing immigrants as an excessive competition in the job market will most likely not result in native people embracing the idea of open borders, at least not in a time when being able to secure one’s own job is a challenge. On the contrary, it can lead to negative attitudes towards immigrants, which then in some cases could even have negative implications for the way immigrants are treated by the mainstream society.

5.3 Reliability and Validity

How well did this study then succeed in achieving its goals? I would say fairly well, albeit with certain limitations that became visible during the process. First of all, the combination of the two different methods, the more social science based content analysis and the linguistically oriented critical discourse analysis applying the model
of systemic functional linguistics, proved quite successful. They can be explained with comparing them to the situation of taking a picture, for example: content analysis in this case can be seen as the general, broader picture, or as everything that is going on at the moment of shooting, while the critical discourse analysis zooms in to the particular and thus provides more accurate pictures of the general. Therefore they complement each other by respectively taking into consideration what the other fails to see. This can be seen when comparing the findings of the two analyses together; the aspects that seem of the utmost importance in the critical discourse analysis of the texts – work, numbers, country of origin – do appear as themes in the content analysis as well but as part of some broader theme and not as independent issues.

The limitations, in turn, include problems concerning the sample sizes. In terms of the content analysis, 31 articles altogether is quite a small sample size. At the same time, in terms of undertaking a thorough critical discourse analysis they present quite a large sample size. Therefore, the data had to be narrowed down for it to be analyzable with means of discourse analysis. This led to the data consisting of separate sentences, which makes it impossible to analyze the different articles for cohesion, for example. Moreover, the articles represent various news genres from news stories to editorials and commentaries. This is a limitation in that the different genres have different conventions of using language – editorials are more explicit in voicing opinions than news stories, for example – and when the two papers that were the object of study differed greatly in how coverage of immigration was distributed across these different genres, it will inevitably show in the findings as well.

However, both methods succeeded in what they were set out to do. Although the data for the critical discourse analytical part of the study was limited to sentences that contained a representation of immigration or immigrants, the data, however, was relevant and well-defined in terms of answering the particular research question in this study: how were immigrants portrayed in the media? If the model of systemic functional grammar had been applied in its entirety, then this selective data had perhaps not sufficed. When it comes to the newspapers, the differences in distribution of immigration coverage across the different genres was not considered a problem, however, since the articles, whichever genre they represent, are most likely chosen to be published when they contribute to representing the views of the paper.
6 Conclusion

This study has examined immigration discourse in the British press in the context of general election campaigns in 2010. It has given insight into how future research could address the issue of immigration discourse and into how the study at hand could be further developed and extended. As the focus of this study was on news discourse, without specifying on a certain genre of news discourse but including them all as mutually equal, I suggest that future research could focus on a specific genre of news discourse, therefore reducing the effects that conventions of different genres have on the results.

More importantly, as the focus of the study was Britain in 2010, the study could be further developed to incorporate a comparison of Britain with another geographical or societal context, including a historical comparison of Britain in 2010 with the one in 1960s or 1970s, for example, when immigration posed different challenges from the ones it poses today. Historical comparison would be valuable in that it would be the only way to prove that immigration discourse is dependent on its time of occurrence.

Alternatively, comparing and contrasting the immigration discourse of the British press with the one in another country would reveal the similarities and differences between these different countries in how they talk about immigration. Comparison with the United States, for example, would most likely show differences in the issues that these countries are concerned about when it comes to immigration. In the United States, it could be assumed, the drug crime on its southern border would recur in the coverage of immigration. Moreover, the press in the United States would not be concerned about the arrival of Eastern European immigrants but would more likely target Latin Americans, especially Mexicans.

Comparing the immigration discourse of the British press with that of another EU country would in turn reveal how the idea of freedom of movement within the EU borders is embraced in different countries and how it shows in the discussion of their respective immigration policies.
Finally, it would be particularly interesting to compare the immigration discourse in the British press to immigration discourse in Finland and in the Finnish press. This would enhance understanding of how far behind Finland actually might be when it comes to immigration. And not just in terms of figures but also on the level of discourse. As the Finnish population is by most measures very homogenous, it would perhaps not be a surprise if such research showed that the immigration discourse in Finland today corresponded something similar to the one that prevailed in Britain around 1970s and the ideas of Enoch Powell.
References


Van Dijk, Teun A. 2000. ”New(s) racism”. In Cottle, Simon (ed.) Ethnic minorities and the media. 33-49.
APPENDIX A

The data

The code for the article, publication date, title of the article

*The Guardian*

G1 April 7, 2010 “Housekeeper lied about passport, says attorney”
G2 April 8, 2010 “UK must act to save patients from inept foreign doctors, MPs demand”
G3 April 9, 2010 “Attorney General’s cleaner got £95,000 for her story, court told”
G4 April 12, 2010 “Amnesty hits out at UK’s ‘no torture’ deals for deportees”
G5 April 19, 2010 “immigration is not fuel for BNP support – study”
G6 April 20, 2010 “Amnesty for illegal immigrants backed, but possible black hole in tax proposals”
G7 April 24, 2010 “‘Backdoor’ amnesty in place for 20 years”
G8 April 26, 2010 “Yes, we need an honest immigration debate. But this tough talk isn’t it”
G9 April 29, 2010 “Brown ‘penitent’ after bigot gaffe torpedoed campaign”
G10 April 29, 2010 “Outright ban on foreign workers relocating ruled out by Huhne”
G11 April 30, 2010 “‘He should understand people are worried, like that lady was, over immigration’”
G12 April 30, 2010 (BNP:) “£50,000 for non-Whites to leave Britain”
G13 May 5, 2010 “Iranian asylum seeker fears ‘honour killing’”
G14 May 10, 2010 “Gay asylum seekers go to supreme court in fight to remain”

*The Times and The Sunday Times*

T1 April 6, 2010 “Older voters put NHS and immigration at top of agenda”
T2 April 7, 2010 “Cleaner’s lies shocked and hurt me, says law chief”
T3 April 8, 2010 “MPs want foreign doctors vetted for language and skills”
T4 April 8, 2010 “Law chief accused of lying to court about cleaner’s documents”
T5 April 10, 2010 “Illegal migrant found guilty of conning law chief over job”
T6 April 12, 2010 “Labour will force foreign workers to speak English”
T7 April 12, 2010 “National Pride. The debate over immigration should be neither silent nor negative”
T8 April 12, 2010 “The ‘silent’ election issue: two views of Britain seen from the front line”
T9 April 12, 2010 “Talking about it loses votes nationally, but on the doorstep it is vital”
ST10 April 18, 2010 “Immigration. The subject no politician wants to talk about”
T11 April 19, 2010 “Immigration needs a New York state of mind”
ST12 April 25, 2010 “UK home to 1m illegal immigrants”
ST13 April 25, 2010 “Home Office surrenders to migrants”
T14 April 26, 2010 “People want change – but they also fear it”
T15 April 30, 2010 “Gillian, Gordon and the thorny subject of immigration”
ST16 May 2, 2010 “Brown ‘misused’ immigration figures”
"The real impact of immigration"
APPENDIX B

An example of a coded article for content analysis

The following article is here coded paragraph by paragraph so that all the recording units that a paragraph contains are listed after each paragraph.

Talking about it loses votes nationally, but on the doorstep it is vital (T9) (*The Times* April 12, 2010)

Commentary by James Purnell

It was spring 2005. I was driving in my constituency and I saw the words “It’s not racist to impose limits on immigration” on the latest Conservative poster. Maybe — but saying so on posters felt like exploiting race.

Recording unit #1: immigration as an electoral issue

In this election, no one seems to want to talk about immigration. Or at least not in the air war of national broadcasts. The story is different in the trenches of local campaigning. Leaflets are full of the vital benefits of the Tory cap on numbers and the Labour embrace of the Australian points-based system.

Recording unit #2: electoral issue, parties’ reluctance to take a stand

Most stay on the right side of the line. Some don’t. Andrew Rosindell, the Conservative MP for Romford, East London, is busy denying that a “vitiolic” anti-immigration leaflet distributed in his constituency was written by someone in his office.

Recording unit #3: electoral issue, parties’ reluctance to take a stand

Michael Ashcroft taught the Tories this lesson in *Smell the Coffee* — his seminal analysis of why they lost in 2005. Tory policy on immigration was much more popular than Labour’s, but it didn’t shift votes because people thought it mattered for the country but not for their family. Voters who thought both that the Conservatives had the best policy on immigration and that Labour had the best policies on the economy intended to vote Labour by 48 per cent to 16 per cent.

Recording unit #4: electoral issue, impact on voting behavior

Why this difference between national silence and local activity? Because talking about immigration nationally loses votes, but not talking about it locally loses votes.

Recording unit #5: electoral issue, impact on voting behavior
Mr Ashcroft also showed that when the Tories made immigration their main message, their support stayed flat, or even fell in the next few days. People seemed to like the Tories’ policy, but didn’t want to hear them talking about it. This is because immigration is a wedge issue between the two parts of the coalition that any party needs for a majority — not so much working class and middle class, but “welcome change” vs “worried by change”.

Recording units #6 and #7: electoral issue, impact on voting behavior + quality of immigration debate

This wedge used to be a bigger problem for Labour than the Tories. If we talked tough on immigration, we lost Guardian readers. If we defended the economic benefits of migration, we lost Sun voters.

Recording unit #8: quality of immigration debate

This wedge issue wasn’t a problem for Michael Howard in 2005 — he wasn’t the kind of Tory trying to appeal to Polly Toynbee. But it is a problem for David Cameron in 2010, as he tries to straddle The Sun and The Guardian. So, neither party wants to make it a national issue.

Recording unit #9: electoral issue, parties’ reluctance to take a stand

But they worry that if they don’t talk about it at all they create a vacuum for the British National Party to fill. So they distribute questionnaires about immigration and hold public meetings. Nick Griffin came to my constituency once. He stepped out of a white van, surrounded by skinheads in suits. They were trying to look menacing. But they just looked incongruous. Mr Griffin didn’t knock on any doors. I’m sure he worries that the more people see him, the less they like him. The irony is that even he loses votes if he talks about immigration.

Recording units #10 and #11: electoral issue, impact on voting behavior + quality of immigration debate

Is there an alternative to this silence? The best place to look for it is in the speeches of Jon Cruddas, the MP for Dagenham, East London, who neighbours Mr Rosindell, but is as brave about fighting racism as he is about talking about immigration.

Recording unit #12: quality of immigration debate

As Mr Cruddas poetically says, to live in the parts of Britain that have experienced migration is sometimes to feel as if “where there was once a neighbour there is often transience; a sense of people passing through . . . to live here is to experience the raw, frightening turbulence of globalisation and industrial decline”.

Recording unit #13: impact of immigration on society
Politics needs to address this fear of turbulence, not pander to the tiny minority of racists. That means changing our national tune on globalisation — from saying that it's an uncontrollable force that we have to accept, to recognising that it's a force which, on balance, is good for the country but that government and society can shape.

We'd then be better off talking about the rules than the numbers.

That's why politicians are fighting about who first brought in the living wage — to show they understand that the benefits of globalisation can't come at the expense of the lowest paid.

It's also why there will be a growing debate about what new arrivals should contribute before getting access to benefits. People feel the welfare state is a birthright, and politics needs to reflect that.

Gordon Brown recently mentioned IFS research that showed the economic contribution of Eastern Europeans was positive. But with 75 per cent of voters backing a cap on immigration, he's unlikely to be putting that on posters this election. James Purnell was the Labour MP for Stalybridge & Hyde
APPENDIX C

Sentences from the articles with a representation of immigrant or immigration

Representation in **bold print**

The Guardian

G1

**Housekeeper** lied about passport, says attorney

**Tongan migrant** denies having fake document

The attorney general told a court yesterday that she had felt hurt and pain at being tricked into employing **an illegal immigrant as her housekeeper**.

**Loloahi Tapui**, 27, a **Tongan national**, had been in the UK illegally for almost four years when **she** was employed by Lady Scotland, the chief law officer for England, Wales and Northern Ireland, the court heard.

She also insisted that **Tapui** had shown her a passport with a stamp suggesting **she** was in the country legally and could work legally. **Tapui** later claimed that **she** had never shown Scotland a passport or Home Office letter because **she** had lost it.

"It never crossed my mind that a lawyer in this country would be married to an illegal immigrant then pass her off as a cleaner to the attorney general. You would have to be brain-dead to do something like that."

**Tapui** denies one count of possessing a false ID document with intent and one count of fraud.

The court heard that when she pressed the **Tongan** about the documents, including the documents she was shown at the interview, **Tapui** admitted **she** had lied.

Scotland said: "**She** said, 'I lied to you. I told you I hadn't needed a passport and that I had lost the passport'."

G2

UK must act to save patients from inept foreign doctors, MPs demand

The next government must "as a matter of extreme urgency" demand changes to a 2005 EU directive governing the free movement of labour in an effort to prevent more deaths at the hands of incompetent foreign GPs, senior MPs said today.

New ministers should also promise to change UK laws which “goldplated” European rules and prevented medical regulators giving language tests to **European doctors**, according to a critical report on out-of-hours services by the Commons health select committee.

The report criticized NHS bodies for failing to use other vetting powers, noting that no disciplinary action had been taken against an NHS body that did not check the **English**
language skills of Daniel Ubani, a German doctor who unlawfully killed a patient on his first shift in Britain.

The challenge to begin changing the structure for vetting EU doctors before a long-planned Brussels review in 2012 could mean an early clash with EU partners for the new administration.

At present, EU doctors can join the British General Medical Council (GMC) register without undergoing the language and competence tests faced by other doctors from abroad, as long as their own countries’ regulators vouch for their credentials.

The Department of Health in England has already ordered that the NHS implement properly its existing system for safeguarding patients following a series of Guardian revelations and a damning coroner’s verdict on the case of 70-year-old David Gray, who was accidentally given a massive overdose of a painkilling drug by Ubani in 2008.

The GMC told the newspaper last August it could not guarantee the level of patient safety it wanted, and in September the Guardian reported how Ubani had failed in his first attempt to qualify for work in Britain and exploited the different ways local primary care trusts interpreted regulations on ensuring doctors were up to the job.

Although Ubani’s disastrous first shift was in Cambridgeshire, he won his ticket to work in Britain by persuading Cornwall and Isles of Scilly primary care trust to add him to its performers’ list without language checks.

He had withdrawn an application to join a performers' list run by the NHS in Leeds when he failed to score sufficient marks in an English test and did not provide guarantees he would only work locally.

Kevin Barron, the health committee chair, said: “It is tragic that it takes the death of a patient to expose the serious failings now evident in the current system for checking language and competence skills of overseas doctors.”

Niall Dickson, chief executive of the GMC, said: “Doctors from outside the UK make a significant contribution to healthcare in this country but patient safety must always take priority over the free movement of labour.”

G3

Attorney General's illegal cleaner got £95,000 for her story, court told

Tongan denies intending to defraud baroness

An illegal immigrant accused of tricking the attorney general into employing her as a housekeeper was paid £95,000 for her story by a newspaper, a court heard yesterday. Loloahi Tapui, 27, admitted giving Baroness Scotland several documents, including her CV and payslips, aimed at showing she was entitled to work in the UK, when in reality her application to remain had been turned down four years earlier. But she denies deliberately defrauding Scotland, and insisted the minister never asked her about her immigration status.

She insisted that she had not shown her passport or any letter from the Home Office to Scotland but admitted she took her CV.
During cross-examination, Judge Nicholas Loraine-Smith asked Tapui: "You took the documents so that you could show her that you were lawfully in the country and you were entitled to work?" Tapui, a Tongan national, said: "That's correct." But when asked by Duncan Perry, prosecuting, whether she agreed that, if Scotland believed those documents entitled her to work in the UK, the minister would have been misled, Tapui said: "No."

Despite admitting that the documents were intended to show she was entitled to work, Tapui added: "I didn't say that I've got the right to work in the country. She never asked me about my status."

Earlier, Scotland, who was referred to by her married name of Patricia Mawhinney, told Southwark crown court that she had questioned Tapui over her status, that Tapui had shown her a passport and that when her illegal status had been exposed, her former cleaner admitted lying.

Tapui admits possessing a passport with a counterfeit visa stamp between 2006 and 2009, but denies using it to establish facts about herself and earn money. She said she had got the fake stamp from a friend of a former Russian housemate, whom she had paid £180 in cash.

G4

Amnesty hits out at UK’s ‘no torture’ deals for deportees

Britain is singled out in an Amnesty International report today as “the most influential and aggressive” promoter of the policy of seeking unenforceable “diplomatic assurances” that individuals deported on security grounds will not be tortured.

The report says governments are attempting to send foreigners alleged to be security threats to countries where they are at risk of torture or other ill-treatment in exchange for unreliable assurances that they will be treated humanely.

The special immigration appeals commission will tomorrow hear the case of an Ethiopian national threatened with deportation based on a “memorandum of understanding” between the UK and Ethiopia that promises the man will not be tortured upon his return.

G5

Immigration is not fuel for BNP support – study

Higher immigration to an area is not to blame for driving the voters into the arms of the BNP, according to a study exploring the roots of its support published today.

In fact, the analysis by the Institute of Public Policy Research (IPPR) finds that nine out of the top 10 areas for BNP votes actually has a lower than average proportion of recent migrants.

The researchers say that the BNP leader, Nick Griffin, argues that in many working-class and lower middle-class areas immigration has brought in so many people that they “totally swamp the existing people…destroying their communities” and leading them to support his party.
“The findings suggest that areas which have higher levels of recent immigration are not more likely to vote for the BNP,” says the study. “In fact the more immigration an area has experienced, the lower its support for the far right. It seems that direct contact with migrants dissuades people from supporting the BNP. For example, of the 10 local authorities where the BNP gained most support in the 2009 European elections, nine had lower than average immigration,” says the study.

Barking and Dagenham, which has had significantly higher levels of recent migration, is the exception rather than the rule, say the researchers. The study found however that Stoke-on-Trent, Thurrock and Barnsley, which are ranked second, third, and fourth in the list of the top 10 BNP share of the vote areas, all have lower than average immigration.

The study acknowledges that immigration is a matter of concern to the British people and has had some negative effects on parts of the UK but says that where people have had significant direct contact with migrants, most are not concerned enough with immigration to vote for the BNP.

The researchers say isolation and dejection rather than immigration is driving voters into the hands of the BNP and should give politicians the confidence to resist the idea of tougher border controls.

G6

Amnesty for illegal immigrants backed, but possible black hole in tax proposals

London’s mayor, Boris Johnson, provided some backing for Clegg’s immigration policy of “earned citizenship” for those who have been living illegally in Britain for more than 10 years, despite claims by David Cameron that an “amnesty” would trigger a new wave of illegal migrants.

Johnson made clear he opposed an ongoing amnesty for illegal migrants but said a “one-off” would be worth considering if it only applied to people who had been in the UK for at least five years, had no criminal record and could pay their own way.

A London School of Economics study commissioned by the London mayor, which estimated that there could be 618,000 irregular migrants in Britain, rejected the idea that a “route to citizenship” for them would spark a new wave of illegal migration.

The Lib Dems say it would mean work permits for foreign skilled labour and only available for under-populated areas such as Scotland.

G7

Labour and the Conservatives are targeting the Liberal Democrats’ policy of an amnesty for illegal migrants, hoping it will prove the Achilles heel that will lead to Nick Clegg’s downfall.

But both parties have overseen at least four back-door amnesties over the last 20 years and presided over an immigration system that operates a 14-year rule allowing long-term illegal residents to be granted indefinite leave to remain.

Instead, he calls it a “route to citizenship” that would allow people who have been in Britain for 10 years, who speak English, who have a clean record and who want to live here long term to “earn” citizenship.
In this week’s leaders’ debate, Gordon Brown said this would encourage more people to come to Britain illegally while David Cameron predicted it would trigger a big increase in asylum claims. But Clegg bluntly told both that it was simply not credible to deport the hundreds of thousands of irregular migrants who were already here: “You can’t deport 900,000 people. You don’t know where they live,” he said.

When Michael Howard was home secretary, no public announcement was made, but a rapid increase in the number of asylum seekers granted exceptional leave to remain, from 2,000 in 1991 to 14,000 in 1993, strongly suggested a deliberate policy of reducing backlogs by administrative means. In 1996, in a separate backlog-clearance exercise, he allowed thousand more overseas students and marriage applicants to stay “unless there was substantial cause for doubt”.

In 1998, Jack Straw insisted that there was no question of amnesty but he allowed 30,000 failed asylum seekers to be allowed to stay in Britain simply on the basis that they had faced lengthy delays.

In 2003, when David Blunkett was home secretary, 15,000 families of asylum seekers who had waited more than three years for a decision were allowed to stay as a “one-off” exercise.

In addition to these specific occasions, the London School of Economics has estimated that 160,000 irregular migrants were given official status between 2003 and 2007. This was partly as a result of eastern Europeans who had been living illegally in Britain for many years becoming legal when their countries joined the EU. So far, 74,000 have been given permission to stay.

But as well as these organized exercises, the existence of the 14-year rule has seen 2,000 to 3,000 individuals being given the right to stay.

Either way, expecting people to live and work illegally for 10 years is hardly likely to spark a further wave of illegal migrants.

But Nick Clegg says that the regional points system will not operate that way: “We will change the rules so it is easier to get a work permit if you go and live in a part of the country that is short of workers to encourage newcomers to live where they are needed.”

The Institute of Public Policy Research says that while immigration is national, its impact is local.

G8

Back in the mid-1980s, when Britain was contemplating what assurances to give immigrants from Hong Kong after the handover to China, my elderly next door neighbor, Mrs Stilling, expressed her concern.

"We’re only a small island," she said, raising her arm at the elbow like a lever. "We can’t take in all those people or the country would tip up."

She had a clear image in her head that if too many people came to the country the place could be upended, with the south sinking under the pressure as the nation flipped on its axis.
Her views about the existential threat that immigration posed to Britain's geographical bearings were not rooted in racial animus or cultural antipathy.

Let's start with the clear acknowledgement that immigration in this period does pose serious problems. First of all, much of it is not voluntary but forced by extreme poverty, natural disasters and wars.

Even then, when almost half the world's population live on two dollars a day, many will still head to the west not to thrive but to survive.

Others are driven not by desperation but aspiration. Developing nations often invest in the education of their citizens only to see many of the best and brightest cherry-picked by the wealthy. A recent World Bank report revealed that three-quarters of the nurses trained in the English-speaking Caribbean leave to work in the US, Britain and Canada.

It is also true that the arrival of large numbers of people in a short space of time can put pressure on public services and, on occasion, depress wages for the low paid. Home Office studies show that migrants pay more in taxes than they use in public services and lead to better wages for high and medium skilled workers.

Once again it would be perverse to blame migrants for the hatred they receive. An IPPR study earlier this month shows that it is not the presence of migrants that prompts this antagonism but the absence of political alternatives. The survey revealed that nine out of 10 of the local authorities with the highest proportion of BNP votes had lower than average immigration, while areas with lower voter turnout were more likely to have higher proportions voting BNP. "What our findings can finally lay to rest is the mistaken popular belief that it is experiences of immigration which leads to people voting for the BNP," said IPPR co-director Carey Oppenheim.

That's before we get to the cultural and social advantages that come with the constant introduction of new people from around the world.

Nick Clegg's support for an amnesty for the undocumented offered a welcome respite.

"We fingerprint anyone who comes in for over six months. Foreigners now have to carry special national identity cards."

It is not clear how targeting foreigners helps anyone born in Dagenham.

Labour's election campaign was in disarray last night after Gordon Brown was forced to apologise to a pensioner and lifelong party supporter whom he called "a bigoted woman" for questioning him over the scale of immigration from eastern Europe.

Brown had met Duffy, 65, on the streets of Rochdale when she accosted him over a range of issues including the scale of debt, taxes and tuition fees. At one point during the discussion she referred to eastern Europeans "flocking" to Britain.

Outright ban on foreign workers relocating ruled out by Huhne
The party’s home affairs policy adviser said this meant that in regions or travel-to-work areas that are “overcrowded and where public services are overstretched” the qualifying points threshold for a company to employ a skilled worker from outside Europe would be higher than for the rest of the country.

But even under this system it would be possible to fill some skill shortages in London with overseas staff.

The policy stems from a motion passed at last autumn’s Lib Dem conference, which pledged to introduce “a regional points-based work permit system which awards more points to immigrants willing to move to areas where there is the will and the resources to welcome them”.

The regional scheme would apply only to “tier 2” of the current points-based system, which covers skilled workers from outside Europe with an employer sponsor and a job offer. When the job came to an end, as at present, the migrant would be able to apply again under the same criteria, but if they had a job in Scotland they would have to find another Scottish sponsor.

As for David Cameron’s charge that the enforcement would mean motorway border posts, the Lib Dems say that it would be companies who employed staff illegally or exploited migrant workers that would be targeted.

G11

“With the EU it’s a balanced thing; there’s as many going out as coming in. Every job issued to a foreign national has to have been advertised in the Jobcentre for a month. I live in a multicultural community, here in Oldham, and we’ve had our problems. But we’re reconciled and we’re getting on.”

“...People say bad things when they are under pressure but I think he should understand that people are worried, like that lady was about things like immigration.”

Tomas Perek, 52, who came to the UK from Poland in 1980, offered a few crumbs of comfort.

Another Pole, who did not wish to be named, said although Brown had been wrong to dismiss Duffy as a bigot – “she was just concerned about her children and grandchildren” – some English people had no qualms about airing their anti-eastern European prejudices. “People are allowed to say very bad things about us because we’re white,” he said. “If you said the same thing about blacks, you would be called a racist.”

Some agreed it was becoming increasingly acceptable for Britons to use the kind of racist and inflammatory language about eastern Europeans that they would never direct at black, Asian or Middle Eastern people. Others, meanwhile, were sick of being used as whipping boys for fears over immigration.

But Artur Lozinski, 83, who came to the UK in 1947, was philosophical. A lot of people, the retired chartered engineer said, were getting worked up over an unguarded, exhausted moment and an unfortunate choice of words.
(BNP:) £50,000 for non-Whites to leave Britain

The British National Party would offer non-white British people £50,000 to leave "overcrowded" Britain and return to the land of their ancestors, the party’s leader, Nick Griffin, said yesterday.

Griffin said the voluntary programme would be open to about 180,000 people a year who "could go back and help develop their own countries".

He said that Irish people would be allowed in because "as far as we are concerned the Irish are part of Britain and are fully entitled to come here".

Griffin also gave the example of a Japanese physicist needed to help with a fleet of British-built nuclear power stations to be developed under a BNP government. He claimed that French people who came to the country were unlikely to be targeting "soft-touch Britain".

"If you are talking about Polish plumbers or Afghan refugees, the doors are going to be shut because Britain is full," the BNP leader said.

He claimed "British indigenous" people would be in a minority in the UK between 2050 and the end of the century.

Iranian asylum seeker fears 'honour killing'

Activist facing deportation had fled forced marriage

An Iranian civil rights activist who is due to be deported from the UK today could face the death penalty and fears being murdered by her family in an "honour killing" if she is sent back to Iran, according to her British partner.

Bita Ghaedi, 34, fled Iran to the UK in 2005 to escape a forced marriage and in fear of her family discovering she had a secret lover. She is currently in Yarl’s Wood detention centre awaiting deportation, which is scheduled for 7pm tonight following the failure of a fresh asylum claim.

Her partner, Mohsen Zadshir, from Barnet, a member of the Iranian opposition who gained political asylum in 1999, said that if deported, her life is "finished".

Each of these transgressions would be enough to put her life in danger if she is deported, according to Zadshir, a former Iranian politician who is now a British citizen.

Yesterday her lawyer received a letter from the Home Office which states: "We do not accept that your client has provided any evidence to show that her life will be at risk on her return to Iran."

It argues Ghaedi failed to bring up her part in anti-government protests until she was arrested and detained in May 2009, and her lawyers did not provide any evidence to show that Iranian authorities will have any interest in your client on her removal to Iran.
either because of her alleged adulterous relationship or her involvement in anti-regime protest.”

Gay asylum seekers go to supreme court in fight to remain

Appellants from Iran and Cameroon fear reprisals

Laws which mean gay and lesbian asylum seekers can be returned to countries where they face persecution will be challenged today in the UK's highest court.

The supreme court is to start a three-day hearing of two separate cases brought by gay men – one from Cameroon and the other from Iran – who are appealing against previous court decisions that they should not be granted asylum in the UK.

One applicant, known as “T”, is appealing against a tribunal decision that he could return to his native Cameroon, despite the fact that he was attacked by a mob after he was seen kissing a male partner.

The other, known as “J”, was told by the tribunal that he could be expected to tolerate persecution arising from his homosexual relationship, and should behave discreetly to avoid reprisals.

The approach of the Home Office and the courts – which has relied on gay and lesbian asylum seekers hiding details of their sexuality to avoid persecution in countries where homosexuality is illegal or likely to lead to attacks – has been one of the most controversial aspects of UK asylum policy.

But the court of appeal rejected previous attempts by “J” and “T” to remain in the UK, and has continued to interpret the law as sanctioning the return of asylum seekers if they could avoid attacks by acting with “discretion” which they could be reasonably expected to tolerate.

The hearing comes weeks after a new report on the treatment of lesbian and gay claims for asylum found that the refusal rate was 98%, compared with 73% for asylum claims generally.

“It seems that the Home Office are routinely refusing applications on the grounds that lesbians and gay men can go back and be “discreet” or “relocate”,” said Angela Mason, the patron of the UK Lesbian and Gay Immigration Group. “...The result is that lesbian and gay asylum seekers who are already experiencing persecution may also face discrimination in our own country.”

The Home Office said it takes the sexuality of asylum seekers into account, and that each application is decided on its own merits.
The Times

T1

The panel wanted to know that their GP and a hospital bed would be there when they needed it and that the number of Eastern Europeans coming to the UK would be curbed.

T2

The country's most senior law officer has told a court of her bitter regret at being duped into employing an illegal immigrant from Tonga as her cleaner.

Baroness Scotland of Asthal, the Attorney-General, 54, described yesterday how she was tricked by her former housekeeper and dogwalker, Loloahi Tapui.

In fact, the 27-year-old was an “illegal overstayer”, whose right to work here had expired four years before she took up her £6.50 an hour cleaning role at the house in West London in January last year.

At Southwark Crown Court she admitted possessing a passport with a counterfeit visa stamp between June 7, 2006 and September 19, 2009, but denied using it to establish facts about herself and earn money.

In a police interview, said she had got the fake stamp from an unnamed friend of a former Russian housemate called Alex, whom she had paid £180 in cash.

She also denied fraud by dishonestly making a false representation that she was entitled to work in the UK.

She said: “It never crossed my mind that a lawyer in this country would be married to an illegal immigrant and then pass her off as a cleaner to the Attorney-General...”

When Tapui claimed she had lost her passport, immigration officials raided her home, where they found it easily on a bookshelf.

T3

MPs want foreign doctors vetted for language and skills

Urgent changes to the law are required to ensure that foreign doctors are competent in English and safe to treat patients on the NHS, according to MPs (David Rose writes).

The Health Select Committee called for the Government to seek legal advice on a EU directive controlling how foreign GPs are vetted before working in Britain. The General Medical Council, which regulates all doctors practising in Britain, told the committee that there was a gaping hole in the registration system for doctors coming from the European Economic Area, who do not at present have to pass language or proficiency tests.

Mr Gray, 70, was killed by a German doctor, Daniel Ubani, who had given him ten times the normal dose of diamorphine. The MPs’ report says that lives might have been saved had the GMC been able to check the language skills and clinical competence of EEA doctors.
The Attorney-General asked her cleaner, an illegal immigrant, to start immediately on piles of ironing and laundry, without seeing a passport or even asking about her immigration status, a court was told yesterday.

**Tapui, 27**, who is from the Pacific island of Tonga, admits possessing a passport with a counterfeit stamp but denies using it to establish facts about herself.

**Tapui, the daughter of a farmer and mat-weaver**, had overstayed her right to remain in Britain by almost four years before she was hired by the minister in January last year. She told the jury that she was reluctant to return home because she had "a good life" in the UK.

The court was told that, in 2005, **Tapui** paid £180 to a Russian known only as "Alex", who was staying in the same bedsit and who offered to "get her a stamp" from a friend that he claimed to have in the immigration office.

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**Illegal migrant found guilty of conning law chief over job**

**An illegal immigrant** who tricked the Attorney-General into hiring her as a cleaner was found guilty of fraud yesterday. **Loloahi Tapui, 27, a Tongan national**, was convicted by a jury of eight men and four women after less than 90 minutes' deliberation.

Revelations that Lady Scotland had unwittingly employed an illegal immigrant for nine months in her West London home risked ruining a career that, until the Tapui scandal broke last year, was marked only by successes – such as becoming the first black woman to be appointed Queen's Counsel (in 1991), a government minister (1999), and Attorney-General (2007).

She admitted having a passport with a counterfeit visa stamp between June 7, 2006, and September 19, 2009.

The jurors agreed that she knew she had overstayed her student visa, and conned the chief law officer into hiring her as her housekeeper and dogwalker for £6 an hour.

**Tapui** argued that she had never shown Lady Scotland her passport or correct documentation proving her right to remain in the UK, and that the minister had never asked to see it.

**Tapui** will be sentenced on May 7 for fraud, possessing a false identity document and for overstaying her student visa.

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**Labour will force foreign workers to speak English**

All public sector workers will be expected to speak English and failing police chiefs will be easier to sack, under manifesto pledges to be announced by Gordon Brown today.

Addressing voter concern over immigration, the party will pledge to extend the English language requirement to all new applicants for public sector jobs.
And yet, immigration remains an uniquely unusual electoral issue; of enormous power on the doorstep, and all but invisible at a national level. Because of this, Britain is rarely reminded of one unassailable fact – that if we do have a problem with immigration, then this is a wonderful problem for a country to have. Our starting point should not be one of hostility or fear, but of pride that this is where they want to be.

Migrants come to Britain for myriad reasons, probably too many to list. ...Migrants may know of a Britain which we, already here, may sometimes forget.

The British public knows that immigration is not something that is done to us, but something that quietly and comfortably goes to the core of who we already are. Indeed, it makes us proud of the country in which we live. If only our politicians felt the same.

And 76% believe the number of immigrants coming to Britain is “far too high”. Instead, low-paid agricultural and processing work predominates, pulling in thousands of migrants from eastern Europe.

He’s worried about Gordon Brown spraying money all over the place, partly on migrants.

"I'm not opposed to people from abroad. If they come to work here, that's all right," he says. "It's those that come across and sprout at taxpayers expense that are a problem. Why should they be allowed to do that?"

Others suspect the influx of eastern Europeans has depressed wages and snaffled jobs. Are immigrants taking jobs from locals?

"I don't know," says Sandra, 19. "I'm from Lithuania." Turns out she's the receptionist in the employment agency. She works five days a week there, does two days waitressing and studies animation in her spare time. The British, largely unacquainted with pay rates in Vilnius, are not keen to compete.

He’s in little doubt about the impact of migrants: "It's got to affect some people, some jobs. Supply and demand, innit."

The Office for National Statistics projects that the population will go on rising to 70m, with 70% of the increase caused by immigration.

In 2008, for example, many more British citizens emigrated than returned to the UK, and many more EU, Commonwealth and other foreign nationals arrived than left. More than 500,000 arrivals in 2008 were non-British citizens.

For years Labour claimed migrants brought economic benefits.

Even The Economist, a fan of cheap and mobile labour, concluded last week that "there is little sign that wealth per person increased much" as a result of immigration.

The rise in the number of foreign-born people has almost matched the rise in the number of jobs, according to some calculations, leading to claims that 98% of new jobs
have gone to migrants. Although this is disputed, the Trades Union Congress concedes that 50% of jobs created since 1997 have probably gone to non-UK nationals.

Services have also come under pressure in areas with large numbers of new arrivals.

When ill-informed on a topic (not uncommon) his policy was straightforward: repel immigrants. He’d scuttle the country rather than let it fall into enemy hands.

T9

Bureaucratic controls will only deny Britain the benefits it has reaped from foreign workers over the years.

Like New York, London has been culturally and economically enriched by migration, which has made it Europe’s only truly international city.

The Tories say they want to cut immigration to "tens of thousands a year, not hundreds of thousands", taking Britain back to the 1990s – a time when I, then the editor of The Economist, found it damagingly hard to bring talented foreigners to work in London. The Tories would set an annual limit on economic migrants from outside the EU (ie, including Americans) and would never again allow people from new member states to come immediately to work in Britain, as happened with Polish plumbers and Lithuanian labourers in 2004.

The Labour Party claims credit for having slowed the inflow in the past two years. It thinks that its "points-based" system, intended to ensure that only immigrants with the right skills are allowed in, is lent legitimacy by aping Australian practice. The Liberal Democrats are scarcely more liberal, saying that their points-based system would be regional rather than national, "to ensure that migrants can work only where they are needed".

They believe the Daily Mail's claims that almost all the new jobs created under Labour since 1997 have gone to foreigners, and accept the view of the lobby group Migrationwatch that Britain is fast becoming overcrowded thanks to immigration.

Isn't it? Well, no: in net terms, in the past decade, migration has been adding only about 200,000 people a year to our 61 million, according to the Office for National Statistics. Unsurprisingly, immigration boomed in our 13 years of economic expansion, when jobs were plentiful. Today’s higher unemployment and bleaker-economic prospects are likely to deter job-seeking migrants somewhat, reducing the flow in a natural way: only 106,000 East Europeans registered for work in 2009, half the figure for 2007.

As Philippe Legrain wrote in his 2007 book Immigrants – your country needs them, the overwhelming evidence is that immigrants bring economic gains, not burdens. They are chiefly of working age, so do not have to be educated and do pay taxes. They are chiefly enterprising and energetic, so they bring new vigour, as they always have in New York. And there will be entrepreneurs and innovators among them – in America the great technological successes of Intel, Google, Yahoo! and eBay were all started by immigrants.

That fact might seem to endorse the parties’ desire to focus on skilled migrants, using "points-based" selection systems. How do the parties 19 think that they can control the cost of public services or provide “free long-term care for the elderly except by using foreign-born workers?
A liberal society like Britain ought to be proud of its long record of benefiting from immigration.

I would suggest charging a fee for entry visas that is high enough to attract the more determined people, but low enough to underbid the sums paid by illegal migrants to people-smugglers – £300, say. And rather than forcing foreign students at universities to leave Britain at the end of their studies as we do now, making them take their newly formed human capital with them, I would offer them an incentive to stay.

UK home to 1m illegal immigrants

More than 1m illegal immigrants are living in Britain – double the government’s most recent estimate, according to a study.

The report warns that a proposed amnesty for illegal immigrants could add a total of 2.2m to the population because each of the 1.1m “regularized” illegals would be entitled to bring at least one spouse, child or other family member into Britain.

The report is a direct challenge to Nick Clegg, the Liberal Democrat leader, who has proposed an amnesty for long-term illegal residents who have been here for 10 years.

It also challenges the formula for calculating the number of people who overstay their visas every year. The report says that the number of overstayers each year could be as many as 60,000 rather than the 10,000 implied by estimates.

But this weekend independent academics pointed out that the study’s estimate of 1.1m illegals was only 237,000 above the upper estimate 863,000 produced last year by the London School of Economics (LSE) for Boris Johnson, the mayor of London.

David Coleman, professor of demography at Oxford University, who has reviewed the report, said that estimating the number of illegal immigrants was always exceptionally difficult.

Until 2005 the government said it was simply impossible to provide a meaningful figure on illegal immigration because people who were here illegally went to great lengths to conceal their existence from the authorities.

Both the government and independent academics admit that immigration – legal and illegal – has mushroomed since then. It said the number of failed asylum seekers had since risen by 219,000, while an estimated 50,000 more foreign citizens had overstayed their visas.

Phil Woolas, the immigration minister, could not say how many illegal immigrants were in the UK.

Home Office surrenders to migrants

Illegal immigrants are being allowed to stay in the UK because officials do not turn up for hearings, report Chris Hastings and Kevin Dowling.
The government is allowing illegal immigrants and asylum seekers to stay in the country because it fails to send staff to one in five appeal hearings.

Half of these hearings resulted in a victory for the appellant, up from just over a third two years ago. Many led to people staying who had been refused the right to remain.

Grayling said: “It’s absolutely inexcusable for people who are in Britain illegally to avoid deportation simply because of Home Office incompetence. This has really got to be sorted out.”

A judge who was hearing the case at Taylor House of a Nigerian student fighting for the right to stay told her: “It is not my job to step into the shoes of the secretary of state and cross-examine you, but I may now be forced to do that.”

The Home Office also failed to attend an asylum appeal at the tribunal in London brought by the 19-year-old son of a former Iraqi intelligence officer who had worked for Saddam Hussein.

The teenager, who had been in Britain since 2007, claimed his life would be in danger if he had to return to Iraq. This is despite a previous Home Office decision that the children of former Ba’ath party officials were not at risk.

Last week the case of Zulfar Hussain, a paedophile who won the right to stay in Britain after claiming his human rights would be breached if he was deported to his native Pakistan, drew criticism of the immigration appeal system.

The 48-year-old is soon to be freed after completing half of a five-year jail sentence for abducting and sexually exploiting two 15-year-old girls. Hussain plied his victims, who were living in care and described as vulnerable, with drugs and alcohol.

Simon Harding, a barrister with the London chambers of 36 Bedford Row, said: “These are Alice in Wonderland courts and you will rarely see a Home Office officer. In practice what it means is that fewer people are getting deported.

T12

The Martock hustings were indeed very polite; the following week there was another hustings in Wincanton, when things became rather noisier, particularly over the Lib Dem proposal of an amnesty for illegal immigrants.

In fact there has been relatively little inward migration to Somerset, but there is certainly a feeling that it has been out of control in the Labour years.

T13

Failure to distinguish between temporary migrant workers, immigration of family members, illegal immigrants (both those who have outstayed their visas and those who have none) and "genuine" asylum-seekers, blurs the ability to respond to voters’ concerns.

The immigration issues are linked to high unemployment among British people (of all racial origins), and to social housing, where many, who find themselves constantly "bumped" down waiting lists, attribute their plight to immigrant families with young children who tick the right boxes for housing allocation, so getting priority. It is not, of
itself, a racial issue, but it helps to fuel racism when "foreign-looking people" appear to be favoured.

No party – not even the one that has chosen immigration as its main platform – has yet addressed the way in which each category of immigration will be dealt with.

Sir, Gillian Duffy quite rightly wanted to know from the Prime Minister where all the immigrants from East Europe had come from.

Because of these historic links it is not surprising that after Poland’s accession into the EU a new wave of Poles arrived here.

T14

The PM faces an inquiry over his claim of a fall in the number of migrants, writes David Leppard.

Brown boasted that the points-based system had reduced by almost 20,000 the number of skilled IT workers and engineers entering the UK.

But he failed to mention a rise of almost 65,000 in the number of students admitted over the same period.

Last week Brown had a disastrous encounter in Rochdale with a Labour-supporting widow, Gillian Duffy, whom he labelled a “bigot” for raising the subject of eastern European immigration.

In his speech, Brown said the number of tier 2 workers – those with skills such as IT and engineering – had fallen from 81,000 in 2008 to 63,000 last year. He also gave a figure of 30,000 for tier 1, the highest skilled workers such as top scientists, but did not say whether that number had fallen.

He made no mention of tier 4 – student numbers – even though Home Office figures show an increase in the number entering the UK from 208,800 in 2008 to 273,600 last year. Three quarters of applications under the points-based system are from students.

T15

Britain has large inflows and outflows of people each year, and inflows have exceeded those leaving for some time.

Many migrants are young and likely to have children. Immigration, including births to migrants, would account for two thirds of this increase.

An increasing number of immigrants are coming from the Continent. One consequence was that in the recent boom, one in three new migrants to the UK came from the A8. Add in other countries and just under half of new migrants are from Europe.

In future, the UK may be able to control inflows of immigrants only from outside the EU.

It makes sense for people to settle where they can use their skills best. This is as true for immigrants as for those moving within a country. Not all immigrants stay long term – some leave after a few years or during recession. In good times, many countries see
immigration as necessary, but when recession hits and unemployment rises, it can become a political issue.

Now, as then, people can feel threatened by immigration. Yet with the right policy it should be positive for an economy. Ideally, we should recruit immigrants who can fill skill shortages, or ones who have capital to invest. Apart from the small number of asylum-seekers, economic factors drive immigration: looking for work, taking up a specific job, to accompany a partner and studying. Evidence shows that most migrants improve their living standards, establish their families and send money back home. These remittance flows can be a huge help to poor countries.

The arguments put forward by the authorities in favour of immigration have been that it boosts economic growth, that it fills skill shortages and that it boosts tax revenue. But to say that migration boosts the economy overstates the case. The question is: what happens to the standard of living, particularly that of locals? In April 2008 a House of Lords report found “no evidence for the argument that net immigration generates significant economic benefit for the existing UK population”.

As Bob Rowthorn, of the University of Cambridge, said: “Natives gain from the inflow of workers whose characteristics complement their own, but lose from the inflows of workers who are like themselves and against whom they must compete.” Competition from new migrants also squeezes wages, although the offsetting benefits are a boost to productivity and lower prices for consumers.

It may be tempting to believe that immigration addresses Britain’s problems of ageing and pensions, but it does not. The reality is if immigrants stay and retire, there will be the need to have continuous inflows.

The lesson is an open-door policy for professionals but tight controls over low-skilled workers, especially as these are more likely to become dependent on benefits.

We should focus on attracting the skilled and socially useful and encouraging students to remain after their degrees.

T16

Beside a scenic river stand shelters used by itinerants. Tom Baldwin visits a city caught up in a row over migrant labour

Plastic sheets covered makeshift shelters surrounded by litter and burnt-out fires while five East European migrants, clearly drunk on cheap cider, prepared a meal with food they claimed had been retrieved from skips.

Ervin Stanke, from Latvia, said he was in England to work, and apologized for despoiling this beauty spot. “In two or three weeks, I will have a job and we will be gone,” he promised. “We don’t want to live like this.”

There have been widely reported complaints that migrants in riverside camps such as these are eating swans and hunting other wildlife. Mr Stanke, 36, said: “No way is that true. We don’t kill, we don’t do anything like that. We know there is no fishing allowed until June 15.” Both he and another migrant had black eyes that, he said, were the result of an unprovoked attack from local teenagers. “All we do is try to survive,” he said. “We want no trouble.”
Keith Sharp and Charles Swift claimed that Peterborough had been transformed from a community of peace and harmony into one where schools, health services, police, housing and the environment were unable to cope.

Yet in recent months Mr Cameron has devoted only one big speech to immigration, making a vague promise to cut the number entering Britain from hundreds of thousands to “tens of thousands”.

Analysts are uncertain how he would achieve this goal: banning people coming in from other European Union countries would contravene treaty obligations. Reducing the number of skilled workers arriving from outside the EU would risk upsetting the Tories’ new friends in business or damaging public services.

It insists that the Government has got on top of the problem, with better border security reducing the number of asylum seekers, while figures indicate that net migration is also falling – possibly because of the recession and a points system identifying those from outside the EU who have skills that Britain needs. Labour’s manifesto is expected to address concerns that many immigrants are taking Britain for a ride by setting out plans for “earned citizenship”, as well as requiring those employed by the public sector to pass a basic English language test.

In Peterborough the Home Office has begun a project to round up and deport migrant workers who are homeless or cannot support themselves.

This is welcome, if belated, news for Ian Treasure, who struggled for months to remove a Czech immigrant discovered living in his coal shed.

He said that other houses in his street had migrants living in sheds, including one who had been seen defecating in the garden.

Andrew Rosindell, who has held Romford for the Tories since 2001, swiftly dissociated himself from a leaflet issued in his name that accused the Government of having “opened the floodgates” to mass immigration and being responsible for a “population explosion”.

As Mr Cruddas poetically says, to live in the parts of Britain that have experienced migration is sometimes to feel as if “where there was once a neighbour there is often transience; a sense of people passing through...to live here is to experience the raw, frightening turbulence of globalization and industrial decline”.

It’s also why there will be a growing debate about what new arrivals should contribute before getting access to benefits.

Gordon Brown recently mentioned IFS research that showed the economic contribution of Eastern Europeans was positive.