

LIP Special symposium, 9 February 2009

“The politics of exclusion” – investigating issues of racism, anti-Semitism, xenophobia...



Construction of refugees and asylum seekers in British newspapers 1996-2005: a corpus-based approach.

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Main Research Goals

- Over-arching question: how are asylum seekers and refugees constructed in the UK Press between 1996-2005?
- Are there differences over time or between different newspapers?
- How can corpus processes like collocation, keywords and concordance analysis uncover evidence for discursive constructions and/or bias?
- How can CDA and CL aid each other?

Why Newspapers?

- A good (easy) source of corpus data
- British newspapers are politically biased and proud of it.
- Press can influence the public 'social power' (Duffy and Rowden 2005)
- But influence can be bi-directional



Why a corpus study?

1. The incremental effect:

‘A single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader, and so forth’.

Fairclough (1989: 54)

2. Corpus procedures help to reduce researcher bias (“cherry-picking” criticism).

3. Large datasets help us to identify infrequent cases as well as frequent ones

The Corpus

- 140 million words (175,139 articles)
- **6 daily tabloids** (*The Sun, Daily Star, The People, Daily Mirror, Daily Express and The Daily Mail*)
- **4 Sunday tabloids** (*Sunday Express, Mail on Sunday, Sunday Mirror, Sunday Star*)
- **4 daily broadsheets** (*The Business, The Guardian, The Herald, The Independent*)
- **2 Sunday broadsheets** (*The Observer, The Independent on Sunday*)
- **2 regionals** (*The Evening Standard, The Liverpool Echo*).

Search terms

- refugee* OR asylum* OR deport*
OR immigr* OR emigr* OR
migrant* OR illegal alien* or illegal
entry OR leave to remain AND
NOT deportivo AND NOT
deportment

Collocations

- Words which regularly appear together: e.g. *working + mother*
- what types of words consistently collocate with “refugees”, “seekers”, “immigrants” and “migrants” across the 10 years of the corpus?
- To what extent do collocates overlap?

Shared collocates: Proportion

Pairs of terms		% of shared collocates
<i>immigrants</i>	<i>migrants</i>	59.0%
<i>asylum seekers</i>	<i>immigrants</i>	43.0%
<i>refugees</i>	<i>asylum seekers</i>	40.5%
<i>refugees</i>	<i>immigrants</i>	33.5%
<i>asylum seekers</i>	<i>migrants</i>	32.0%
<i>refugees</i>	<i>migrants</i>	28.0%

Shared collocates: Categories

↓	refugees	asylum seekers	immigrants	migrants
refugees		ENTRY NUMBER ECON. BURDEN RETURN	ENTRY RESIDENCE	ENTRY
asylum seekers	ENTRY PLIGHT NUMBER RETURN		ENTRY LEGALITY PTD RESIDENCE	ENTRY
immigrants	ENTRY RESIDENCE PLIGHT NUMBER	ENTRY PLIGHT RESIDENCE LEGALITY		ENTRY ECON. THREAT
migrants	ENTRY RESIDENCE PLIGHT PTD	PLIGHT	PTD ENTRY RESIDENCE ECON. THREAT LEGALITY	

PTD = Provenance, transit, destination

Collocates indexing different categories: The case of *allowed*

Entry	FRANCE finally closed a loophole yesterday which has <i>allowed</i> thousands of <i>illegal immigrants</i> to <i>sneak into</i> Britain on Eurostar trains. (<i>Daily Star</i> , 5 February 2002).
Residence	Jack Straw faced embarrassment last night as it emerged that almost one-third of new <i>asylum seekers</i> have been <i>allowed</i> to <i>remain in Britain</i> . (<i>Daily Mail</i> , 26 November 1998)
Economic burden / threat	<u>Burden</u> : But <i>illegal immigration</i> and <i>bogus asylum seekers</i> have been <i>allowed</i> to <i>pour</i> into Britain to <i>live off</i> our taxes. (<i>The Sun</i> , 21 April 2005). <u>Threat</u> : Job firms in the South have been inundated with pleas for <i>jobs</i> from <i>illegal migrants</i> who are <i>allowed</i> to work. (<i>Sunday Mirror</i> , 16 April 2000)
Return + Plight	Only a small number of refugees have been <i>allowed</i> to <i>return</i> home, and there has been muted progress in merging Serb-controlled areas with those of the Muslim-Croat federation. (<i>The Times</i> , 25 September 1997)

Shared collocates indexing interchangeable use of *RASIM*:

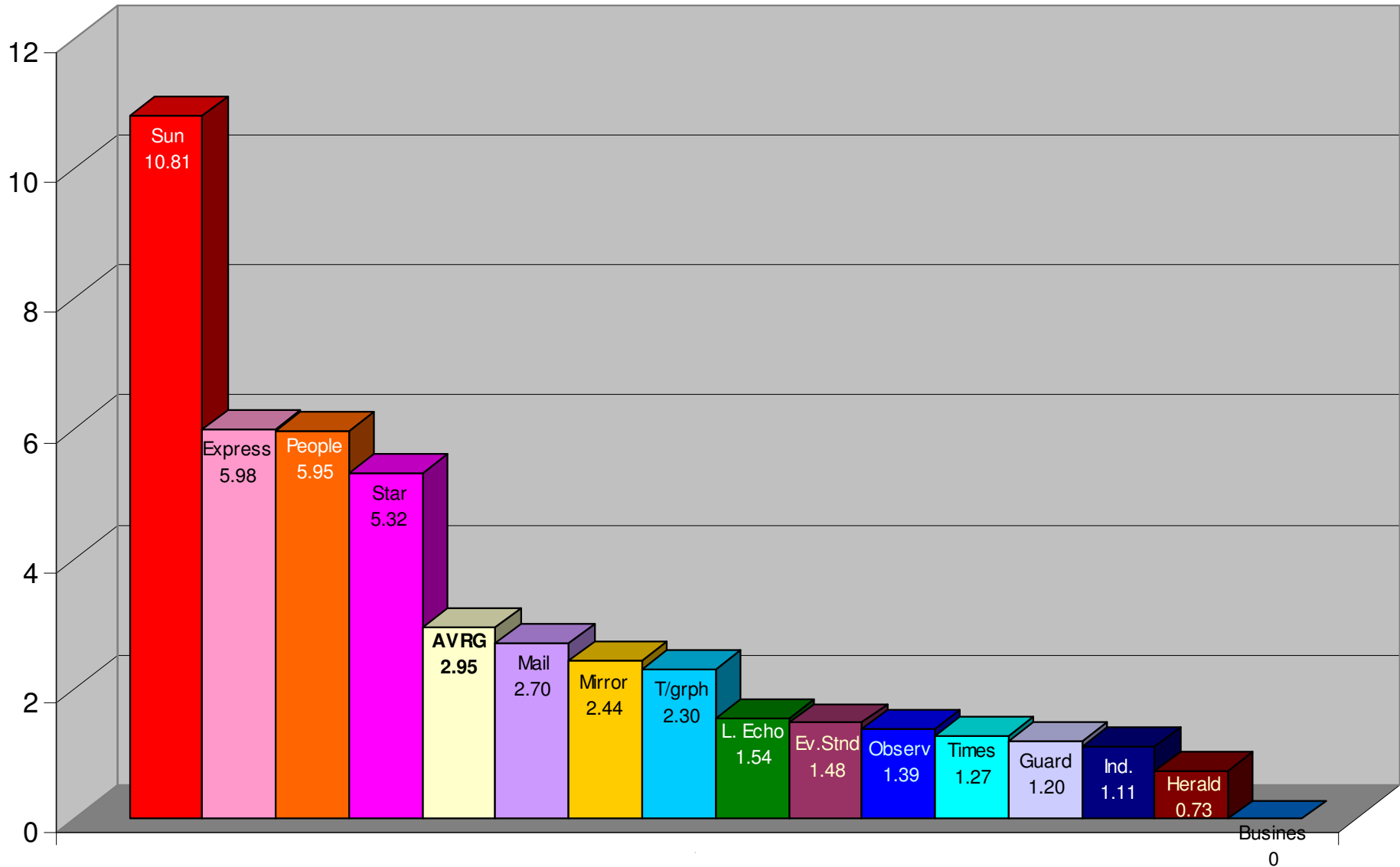
The case of *trying*

- English, Welsh and Scottish Railways (EWS) warned last night that it cannot, and will not, endure another six months of lost revenue – (pounds) 10m so far – arising from security problems caused by *asylum seekers* in France. EWS services to and from Europe have fallen by 60% since November because so many *refugees* are *trying* to board trains bound for Britain via the Channel tunnel. (*The Herald*, 7 May 2002)
- CHANNEL Tunnel security came under scrutiny last night after 44 *illegal immigrants* were intercepted *trying* to reach Dover. The desperate *asylum seekers* walked seven miles in complete darkness before being caught. (*The Mirror*, 31 August 2001)
- All the passengers were *illegal immigrants trying* to make their way to Greece. Survivors identified them as Pakistanis, Moroccans and Bangladeshis. Mr Dokuzoglu said Indian and Afghan *refugees* were also believed to be on board. (*The Guardian*, 2 January 2001)

- My own views about waiting for service may be jaundiced by the fact that all my life, given a choice of queues, I have always opted for the wrong one. I find myself at an airport behind an **illegal asylum seeker** with six children, or in a bank behind **a man waiting to rob it**. [*The Daily Mail*, 7 September 2004]
- TONY BLAIR yesterday admitted that his asylum policy was in crisis, confessing that the number of **bogus immigrants** staying in the country was "unacceptable". As public anger grows over the shambles, Mr Blair was forced on the defensive over a range of broken promises to crack down on **asylum seekers**. [*The Express*, 27 January 2003]

rcumstances. People think it will help us stop illegal asylum-seekers from coming here and ripping off lottery money to a campaigning group that helps illegal asylum seekers frustrate the immigration considered and found wanting, but this group helps illegal asylum seekers frustrate the immigration ry and to help operate its own policy of resisting illegal asylum seekers. Geoff Dossetter, Head NNEL NOW. Since the Tunnel opened the flood of illegal asylum seekers has increased massively. NNEL NOW. Since the Tunnel opened the flood of illegal asylum seekers has increased massively. sylum applicants since 1998 and the coast to remove illegal asylum seekers has rocketed by GBP 7milli st predicted by MPs. We may not know the number of illegal asylum-seekers here, but we do know the n to stem the sharp increase in immigration and send illegal asylum seekers home. The new move com he way the Government is pussy-footing around with illegal asylum seekers. "I wonder if Hamza th it to a halt.' Under a new Government crackdown on illegal asylum seekers, immigration officials hav of the Channel last Sunday in a fresh crackdown on illegal asylum seekers. In a ground-breaking deal S WHAT YOU THINK BODY: WHAT do you think about illegal asylum seekers in Britain and what should S HEADLINE: ASYLUM FACTS BODY: THE debate over illegal asylum seekers in this country is far mor de of the Channel tomorrow in a fresh crackdown on illegal asylum seekers. In a ground-breaking out Tony Blair's latest plan to curb the flood of illegal asylum seekers into Britain. The PM f e new fine on lorry-drivers whose vehicles brought illegal asylum-seekers into Britain and added: "T . The same criminals also smuggle thousands of illegal asylum seekers into Britain. These fi s may have been stolen to order by gangs smuggling illegal asylum seekers into Britain, it was feare citizens will demand evidence that the flood of illegal asylum seekers is ebbing. Streets mus . He is apparently convinced that the flood of illegal asylum seekers is a political issue which s HEADLINE: ASYLUM FACTS BODY: THE debate over illegal asylum seekers is far more complicated th s called a racist because he speaks his mind about illegal asylum seekers. It doesn't matter wha SO the Government is finally getting to grips with illegal asylum seekers. It hopes tough measur hat would compromise the Government's crackdown on illegal asylum seekers. It takes some brass n en though the Government is taking a tough line on illegal asylum seekers, its commitment to racial mber of immigration gardai to tackle the influx of illegal asylum seekers. Justice Minister John re now facing a "mini- sangatte" refugee camp. Illegal asylum seekers know that once they set fo with Jeremy Paxman after refusing to say how many illegal asylum seekers live in Britain. Cheri face is now talking about snatch squads to pick up illegal asylum seekers on the streets. Legal advi ity. Nor will their introduction lead to fewer illegal asylum seekers or immigrants coming to Br an to carry out the Government's wishes in keeping illegal asylum seekers out of the country. Tr for claiming to be antiracist while trying to keep illegal asylum seekers out of the UK. Le Pen, keteering that is rife among what we must call the illegal asylum seekers population, frequently aid uation in this country, where tens of thousands of illegal asylum seekers pour in each year, will on ht. It is not racist to be alarmed by the flood of illegal asylum seekers pouring into Britain. arned that EU borders must be strengthened to stop illegal asylum seekers pouring into the continent in No10. He spelled out his ambitions to STOP illegal asylum-seekers, REFORM Brussels and TAKE policy as he concentrates on reducing the number of illegal asylum seekers settling in Britain. M s. Her boss Mr Olaitin said: "We do not employ illegal asylum seekers. She is now here legal ause the Government fails to kick out thousands of illegal asylum seekers. Sir Andrew Green, who

legal/illegal RAS + genuine/bogus IM Frequency per thousand articles



Conclusions

- The large proportion of shared collocates of *RASIM*, and the strong intercollocations of the four terms ...
 - indicate that these terms are used in the same contexts.
 - suggest overlap in their usage, and, in some cases, their use as near synonyms - i.e. no distinction is made between forced and voluntary migration

- The examination of expanded concordances of shared collocates ...
 - revealed further instances of conflation in the use of *RASIM*.
 - established that collocates index largely overlapping attitudes towards *RASIM*.

- Overall, collocates index the treatment of *RASIM* as a problem.

- Discourses related to *RASIM* seem to revolve around a small number of categories, all but one denoting negative stance.