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Towards quantifying ‘quality’ in the press

Comparing the stance of UK tabloids and broadsheets towards refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants

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Abstract

This talk reports work on an ongoing project on the representation of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press. Although the project combines approaches within critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics, the aim of this talk is to examine how corpus-based techniques can contribute to CDA (e.g. Baker & McEnery, 2005, Hardt-Mautner, 1995; Orpin, 2005; Sotillo & Wang-Gempp, 2004). The analysis is based on two corpora comprising articles relevant to refugees and asylum seekers from 12 national UK newspapers, spanning the last ten years: six broadsheets (87 million words) and six tabloids (30 million words).

The starting points for the analysis are keywords, key collocations of the terms *refugee(s)*, *asylum seeker(s)*, *immigrant(s), migrants(s)* and *alien(s)*, as well as key n-grams containing these terms and selected key collocates. The study also makes use of the notions of *semantic prosody* (Louw, 1993: 157), and, more significantly, Stubbs' expanded notion of *discourse prosody* (2001: 111-112). Semantic prosodies can help create a *topos* without totally explicit argumentation, in that readers are more likely to attend to the connotational rather than the denotational level of specific frequent collocations (e.g. swarms of refugees) (see also van Dijk, 1991: 228; 2000: 219-220), or, in other words, accept the metaphor rather than engage critically with it. This seems more likely if we consider that the frequency of semantic/discourse prosodies is greater than that of the different collocation patterns (e.g. bogus/fake asylum seekers, illegal immigrants) which embody or give rise to it. For example, the *topoi* of *burdening/weighing down*, *definition*, *aggregation* and *quantification* (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001: 76-78; Sedlak, 2001: 129) can be created or supported/reinforced by the collective use of quantity/mass/group collocates (e.g. *flood/river/tide/wave of refugees*; *hordes/gangs of refugees*), which giver rise to negative semantic prosodies related to the perceived inordinate number or threat of refugees.

The comparison will be based on the examination of …

- keywords in the two corpora when compared to each other;
- collocates of *refugees* related to their perceived inordinate numbers and their reported plight;
- concordances of negative collocates of the groups in question related to the *topoi* of abuse, burden, competition and criminality;
- concordances of collocates related to the plight of the groups in question.

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The corpora

TABLOIDS (29,883,001 words)	**BROADSHEETS** (87,001,072 words)
Express	*Business*
Daily Mail + *Mail on Sunday*	*Guardian* + *Observer*
Daily Mirror + *Sunday Mirror*	*Independent* + *Independent on Sunday*
People	*Telegraph* + *Sunday Telegraph*
Star	*Times* + *Sunday Times*
Sun	

Query

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

Approach

- From ‘big picture’ …
- to close examination …
- to ‘big picture’ (not included)

- Annotation → grouping → quantification

Areas examined

- Key words related to *topoi*
- Collocates of *refugees* related to *topoi*
- *n-grams* containing *illegal, fake*
- Discourse around *suffocated*

Key words

- Statistic: Log Likelihood (LL)
- In all cases, *p<0.00000000001 (1/100 billion)*
- Min. frequency: 5

- Red indicates more frequent in tabloids
- Blue indicates more frequent in broadsheets

Query (and related) terms

Key word	Freq.-T	*T/mil*	Freq.-B	*B/mil*	LL
emigrated	2,952	*98.95*	4,436	*50.99*	733.75
emigrating	723	*24.23*	1,199	*13.78*	135.66
immigrant	4,784	*160.36*	11,016	*126.62*	180.15
immigrants	16,946	*568.02*	25,668	*295.03*	4,126.68
immigration	24,899	*834.60*	44,226	*508.34*	3,710.86
migrants	4,441	*148.86*	8,514	*97.86*	488.70
refugee	10,432	*349.67*	24,011	*275.99*	394.29
refugees	20,270	*679.44*	43,435	*499.25*	1,261.40
claimant	62	*2.08*	825	*9.48*	206.27
emigre	154	*5.16*	1,766	*20.30*	389.41
emigres	85	*2.85*	1,031	*11.85*	238.95
foreign	8,973	*300.77*	38,533	*442.90*	1,178.53

Entry (general)

Key word	Freq.-T	*T/mil*	Freq.-B	*B/mil*	LL
arrivals	1,006	*33.72*	1,774	*20.39*	153.78
arrive	2,211	*74.11*	4,392	*50.48*	206.87
arrived	6,868	*230.21*	14,618	*168.02*	444.89
arriving	2,387	*80.01*	3,967	*45.60*	444.92
passengers	2,211	*74.11*	4,603	*52.91*	162.53

Entry (mode)

n-gram	Freq.-T	*T/mil*	Freq.-B	*B/mil*	LL
eurostar	805	*26.98*	905	*10.40*	366.81
ferries	527	*17.66*	532	*6.11*	284.49
ferry	1,745	*58.49*	2,289	*26.31*	595.36
container	707	*23.70*	802	*9.22*	317.28
train	3,844	*128.85*	8,548	*98.25*	187.92
trains	1,833	*61.44*	2,866	*32.94*	409.35
truck	1,409	*47.23*	2,083	*23.94*	365.21
trucker	197	*6.60*	44	*0.51*	334.73
truckers	233	*7.81*	104	*1.20*	280.96
lorries	1,019	*34.16*	1,334	*15.33*	349.11
lorry	2,569	*86.11*	2,616	*30.07*	1,369.18

Entry (place/route)

Key word	Freq.-T	*T/mil*	Freq.-B	*B/mil*	LL
calais	2,310	*77.43*	1,825	*20.98*	1,707.81
channel	4,387	*147.05*	8,227	*94.56*	529.99
chunnel	283	*9.49*	32	*0.37*	584.54
dover	2,171	*72.77*	2,500	*28.74*	949.43
eurotunnel	967	*32.41*	1,128	*12.97*	413.42
heathrow	1,731	*58.02*	2,951	*33.92*	297.19
tunnel	2,379	*79.74*	2,788	*32.05*	1,008.77

Entry (illegal)

Key word	Freq.-T	*T/mil*	Freq.-B	*B/mil*	LL
passport	5,273	*176.75*	7,389	*84.93*	1,555.96
passports	2,850	*095.53*	3,581	*41.16*	1,060.94
smuggle	791	*26.51*	828	*9.52*	404.33
smuggled	1,233	*41.33*	1,458	*16.76*	514.48
smuggling	1,570	*52.63*	2,484	*28.55*	339.08
sneak	682	*22.86*	391	*4.49*	685.03
sneaked	290	*09.72*	175	*2.01*	279.08
sneaking	304	*10.19*	235	*2.70*	230.22
stowaway	270	*09.05*	194	*2.23*	220.83
stowaways	847	*28.39*	420	*4.83*	950.53

Legality

Key word	Freq.-T	*T/mil*	Freq.-B	*B/mil*	LL
bogus	3,836	*128.58*	2,557	*29.39*	3,376.31
failed	7,078	*237.25*	14,136	*162.48*	645.28
fake	1,474	*49.41*	1,619	*18.61*	698.09
false	2,581	*86.51*	4,636	*53.29*	368.99
genuine	2,767	*92.75*	4,826	*55.47*	439.69
illegal	13,637	*457.10*	15,687	*180.31*	5,976.18
illegally	2,392	*80.18*	2,724	*31.31*	1,066.38
illegals	992	*33.25*	380	*4.37*	1,313.36
legal	7,043	*236.08*	15,749	*181.02*	331.13
legally	943	*31.61*	1,675	*19.25*	140.45
posing	599	*20.08*	854	*9.82*	169.71
authentic	176	*5.90*	1,106	*12.71*	107.10
legitimacy	94	*3.15*	767	*8.82*	115.20

Number

Key word	Freq.-T	*T/mil*	Freq.-B	*B/mil*	LL
flood	1,532	*51.35*	2,285	*26.26*	388.22
flooding	598	*20.04*	816	*9.38*	187.39
hundreds	4,671	*156.57*	10,667	*122.61*	187.81
influx	1,378	*46.19*	2,387	*27.44*	224.20
number	12,862	*431.13*	30,061	*345.52*	427.99
numbers	4,709	*157.84*	10,929	*125.62*	166.25
rocketed	196	*6.57*	172	*1.98*	127.96
swamped	501	*16.79*	774	*8.90*	115.65
thousands	8,840	*296.31*	17,508	*201.24*	839.04
dozen	1,021	*34.22*	4,226	*48.57*	108.06

Residence

Key word	Freq.-T	*T/mil*	Freq.-B	*B/mil*	LL
citizenship	2,195	*73.58*	4,554	*52.34*	164.42
claim	6,976	*233.83*	14,358	*165.03*	545.64
claimants	580	*19.44*	983	*11.30*	101.52
claimed	8,071	*270.53*	11,916	*136.96*	2,099.32
claiming	3,256	*109.14*	4,404	*50.62*	1,040.41
claims	8,182	*274.26*	14,108	*162.16*	1,352.47
permit	1,013	*33.96*	1,992	*22.90*	99.42
permits	1,148	*38.48*	1,788	*20.55*	259.16

Abuse of system

Key word	Freq.-T	*T/mil*	Freq.-B	*B/mil*	LL
abuse	3,264	*109.42*	6,077	*69.85*	406.09
abused	1,024	*34.32*	1,688	*19.40*	195.77
abusing	427	*14.31*	535	*6.15*	159.83
bride	809	*27.12*	866	*9.95*	399.34
brides	211	*7.07*	226	*2.60*	104.06
cheat	296	*9.92*	288	*3.31*	168.50
cheating	262	*8.78*	292	*3.36*	121.13
cheats	581	*19.47*	224	*2.57*	766.37
marriage	5,597	*187.61*	8,722	*100.25*	1,261.74
marriages	1,207	*40.46*	1,820	*20.92*	297.33
married	7,249	*242.98*	12,830	*147.47*	1,093.84
marry	1,753	*58.76*	2,083	*23.94*	725.06
marrying	594	*19.91*	764	*8.78*	211.04
racket	751	*25.17*	531	*6.10*	624.26
racketeers	224	*7.51*	147	*1.69*	200.04
scam	1,308	*43.84*	695	*7.99*	1,394.93
scams	261	*8.75*	271	*3.11*	135.08
wedding	2,487	*83.36*	2,852	*32.78*	1,095.51
weddings	407	*13.64*	568	*6.53*	121.22

Financial considerations ('their' side)

n-gram	Freq.-T	*T/mil*	Freq.-B	*B/mil*	LL
benefit	3,413	*114.40*	6,425	*73.85*	405.83
benefits	5,431	*182.04*	7,257	*83.41*	1,781.92
handout	174	*5.83*	85	*0.98*	197.35
handouts	828	*27.75*	289	*3.32*	1,153.85
job	9,748	*326.75*	21,071	*242.19*	574.71
jobs	4,294	*143.93*	10,369	*119.18*	105.23
scroungers	301	*10.09*	241	*2.77*	219.20
spongers	145	*4.86*	66	*0.76*	172.61

Financial considerations (‘our’ side)

n-gram	Freq.-T	*T/mil*	Freq.-B	*B/mil*	LL
cost	7,039	*235.94*	12,323	*141.64*	1,104.11
costing	880	*29.50*	767	*8.82*	579.45
expense	996	*33.39*	1,716	*19.72*	165.05
jobless	338	*11.33*	409	*4.70*	135.20
rocketed	196	*6.57*	172	*1.98*	127.96
strain	835	*27.99*	1,448	*16.64*	135.34
taxes	2,139	*71.70*	4,152	*47.72*	222.78
taxpayer	1,409	*47.23*	741	*8.52*	1,514.40
taxpayers	2,555	*85.64*	1,104	*12.69*	3,145.99

Financial considerations (misc)

n-gram	Freq.-T	*T/mil*	Freq.-B	*B/mil*	LL
economic	3,523	*118.09*	18,535	*213.04*	1,172.92
economics	420	*14.08*	2,711	*31.16*	276.93
economists	84	*2.82*	685	*7.87*	102.80

Threat (crime)

Key word	Freq.-T	*T/mil*	Freq.-B	*B/mil*	LL
crime	9,237	*309.62*	18,697	*214.91*	787.92
criminal	4,366	*146.35*	9,781	*112.42*	202.56
criminals	2,575	*86.31*	4,195	*48.22*	510.36
cronies	328	*10.99*	421	*4.84*	117.02
crooks	350	*11.73*	268	*3.08*	267.81
gang	3,401	*114.00*	4,391	*50.47*	1,199.07
gangmasters	371	*12.44*	531	*6.10*	104.14
gangs	2,723	*91.27*	3,944	*45.33*	742.67
gangsters	612	*20.51*	866	*9.95*	176.50
murder	6,225	*208.66*	11,221	*128.98*	878.38
murdered	2,260	*75.75*	4,268	*49.06*	265.19
murderer	574	*19.24*	879	*10.10*	135.71
murderers	554	*18.57*	922	*10.60*	102.80
murdering	577	*19.34*	851	*9.78*	150.45

Threat (terrorism)

Key word	Freq.-T	*T/mil*	Freq.-B	*B/mil*	LL
antiterrorism	76	*2.55*	9	*0.10*	155.38
antiterrorist	176	*5.90*	14	*0.16*	388.82
anthrax	393	*13.17*	391	*4.49*	216.71
extremists	1,313	*44.01*	2,543	*29.23*	138.12
fanatic	358	*12.00*	335	*3.85*	215.04
fanatical	403	*13.51*	478	*5.49*	167.23
fanatics	778	*26.08*	536	*6.16*	663.45

Issues with current system

Key word	Freq.-T	*T/mil*	Freq.-B	*B/mil*	LL
crisis	5,084	*170.41*	12,013	*138.08*	153.53
laws	4,383	*146.92*	7,621	*87.60*	703.98
lax	330	*11.06*	397	*4.56*	133.43
loophole	484	*16.22*	338	*3.89*	407.29
mockery	388	*13.01*	464	*5.33*	158.62
problem	8,224	*275.66*	20,084	*230.85*	179.06

Unwelcome

Key word	Freq.-T	*T/mil*	Freq.-B	*B/mil*	LL
boot	988	*33.12*	1,178	*1354*	406.11
booted	529	*17.73*	169	*1.94*	771.26
crack	1,449	*48.57*	2,293	*26.36*	312.78
crackdown	1,659	*55.61*	1,523	*17.51*	1,022.23
deport	1,750	*58.66*	2,238	*25.72*	628.99
deportation	4,103	*137.53*	5,972	*68.64*	1,105.71
deported	5,360	*179.66*	6,644	*76.37*	2,048.74
deporting	427	*14.31*	590	*6.78*	130.11
kick	1,338	*44.85*	2,015	*23.16*	330.68
kicked	1,558	*52.22*	1,508	*17.33*	893.43
leave	8,524	285.72	20,377	234.22	230.88

Plight / Reasons (T)

n-gram	Freq.-T	*T/mil*	Freq.-B	*B/mil*	LL
desperate	3,577	*119.90*	5,876	*67.54*	691.25
desperately	1,275	*42.74*	2,074	*23.84*	253.85
devastated	985	*33.02*	1,323	*15.21*	319.56
devastating	885	*29.66*	1,631	*18.75*	114.68
horrific	896	*30.03*	1,055	*12.13*	376.74
horrified	682	*22.86*	959	*11.02*	199.61
horror	1,824	*61.14*	3,850	*44.25*	124.05
misery	1,103	*36.97*	2,014	*23.15*	148.19
tragedy	2,387	*80.01*	4,376	*50.30*	315.76
tragic	1,363	*45.69*	2,319	*26.65*	235.55
tragically	293	*9.82*	371	*4.26*	107.42
victim	2,965	*99.38*	4,703	*54.06*	635.77
victims	4,579	*153.49*	10,854	*124.76*	134.33

Plight / Reasons (B-1)

Key word	Freq.-T	*T/mil*	Freq.-B	*B/mil*	LL
airstrikes	56	*1.88*	552	*6.34*	104.62
ceasefire	400	*13.41*	2,801	*32.20*	332.20
conflict	2,113	*70.83*	10,346	*118.92*	526.07
conflicts	245	*8.21*	1,628	*18.71*	175.77
coup	449	*15.05*	2,428	*27.91*	165.64
displaced	418	*14.01*	2,650	*30.46*	261.23
dissident	199	*6.67*	1,303	*14.98*	136.83
dissidents	107	*3.59*	1,046	*12.02*	196.45
earthquake	197	*6.60*	1,199	*13.78*	108.58
exile	562	*18.84*	4,447	*51.11*	639.54
exiles	174	*5.83*	1,451	*16.68*	224.52
genocide	607	*20.35*	4,184	*48.09*	482.78
holocaust	896	*30.03*	5,229	*60.10*	431.16
insurgency	24	*0.80*	469	*5.39*	150.20
massacres	223	*7.47*	1,322	*15.20*	112.98

Plight / Reasons (B-2)

Key word	Freq.-T	*T/mil*	Freq.-B	*B/mil*	LL
militants	568	*19.04*	2,879	*33.09*	163.31
military	5,466	*183.22*	25,578	*294.00*	1,111.73
militia	437	*14.65*	2,684	*30.85*	247.82
militiamen	100	*3.35*	842	*9.68*	131.98
militias	149	*4.99*	1,627	*18.70*	342.59
nationalism	216	*7.24*	1,745	*20.06*	258.48
nationalist	370	*12.40*	2,277	*26.17*	211.12
occupation	574	*19.24*	4,159	*47.80*	522.34
occupied	764	*25.61*	4,674	*53.72*	427.98
rebel	770	*25.81*	4,467	*51.34*	363.25
rebels	809	*27.12*	6,040	*69.42*	795.88
sanctions	396	*13.27*	2,568	*29.52*	264.71
survivors	884	*29.63*	3,772	*43.36*	111.96

Collocates

(node: *refugees)*

- Statistic: Mutual Information (MI)
- In all cases, MI ≥ *3*
- Min. frequency of collocate: 5
- Span: ±5
- Not calculated beyond sentence break

- Red indicates collocation only in tabloids
- Blue indicates collocation only in broadsheets
- Black indicates collocation in both

Number + quantity metaphors

Collocate	MI-T	MI-B
convoy	*4.70*	-----
flock	*5.64*	-----
flocked	-----	*4.84*
flocking	*6.25*	-----
flood	*4.90*	*4.20*
flooded	-----	*4.93*
flooding	*7.64*	*5.20*
freight	-----	*4.27*
herded	*7.02*	-----
load	-----	*3.22*
million	-----	*6.23*
numbering	-----	*6.40*

Collocate	MI-T	MI-B
overcrowded	*4.72*	----
pour	*6.51*	*5.55*
poured	*6.06*	*5.55*
pouring	*6.88*	*5.73*
stormed	*4.47*	-----
stream	*4.67*	-----
streamed	-----	*6.63*
streaming	*8.42*	*7.27*
swamp	*5.58*	-----
swamping	*5.87*	-----
swarmed	*7.13*	-----
swells	-----	*6.56*

- **Word forms**
- 10 unique to the Tabloids
- 8 unique to the Broadsheets
- 6 common to the two corpora

- **Headwords**
- 6 unique to the Tabloids,
- 5 unique to the Broadsheets
- 4 common

- In all cases of common collocates, the MI score is higher in the Tabloids (significant?)

Plight (1)

	MI-T	MI-B
bombed	4.76	3.38
brutality	4.48	----
carnage	4.48	----
cleansed	-----	5.76
crammed	5.90	4.83
despair	3.01	----
desperate	4.33	3.15
destitute	-----	4.26
devastated	3.75	----
dispersed	6.72	4.95
displaced	-----	6.85
drowned	----	3.74
endured	----	3.23
evicted	5.35	----
eviction	4.85	----
exhausted	----	3.15

	MI-T	MI-B
fate	3.18	----
fled	6.07	6.16
flee	6.95	5.97
fleeing	7.93	7.21
forced	4.32	3.65
forcibly	5.23	3.83
freeze	----	3.60
freezing	----	3.69
herded	----	4.41
holed	-----	4.36
homeless	-----	4.55
horrific	4.30	----
hunger	4.64	3.65
hungry	3.51	----
huddled	6.60	4.76
massacred	-----	5.04

Plight (2)

	MI-T	MI-B
ordeal	4.39	----
persecution	5.22	4.15
plight	5.04	4.01
plucked	-----	4.91
prevented	4.57	----
ravaged	5.15	----
scattered	4.50	4.78
scramble	6.05	----
shelled	6.31	-----
shelter	----	4.75
sheltered	----	4.30
sheltering	7.33	6.59
slaughter	4.95	----
slaughtered	4.41	----
squalid	----	4.65

	MI-T	MI-B
squalor	4.97	----
squeezed	-----	4.01
starvation	4.35	4.57
starved	-----	4.05
starving	5.29	3.18
stranded	6.81	6.21
subjected	4.29	-----
suffer	3.55	-----
suffering	3.52	-----
suffocated	5.02	-----
torn	5.43	3.51
tragic	3.11	-----
trapped	5.96	4.20
vanished	4.05	-----
weep	6.20	-----

Plight: Overall picture

	T	B	Both	Total
Word-forms	24 (*38.7%*)	19 (*30.6%*)	19 (*30.6%*)	62
Headwords	18 (*37.5%*)	14 (*29.2%*)	16 (*33.3%*)	48

More frequent in tabloids, but picture seems more or less balanced.

N-grams

- Calculated manually to include modifying adjectives (denoting origin, ethnicity, race, age, religion, type of work) and related terms.
- Method: concordance of target term (*illegal, fake*) in the co-text (±25) of query terms.
- Statistic: Log Likelihood (Paul Rayson's LL calculator)
- Min. LL score: 6.6 ($p \leq 0.01$)

- Red indicates more frequent in tabloids
- Blue indicates more frequent in broadsheets
- **Bold** indicates both singular and plural (only when the two forms are not key in the same corpus)
- Black indicates difference is not statistically significant

Illegal entry

n-gram	Freq.-T	T/mil	Freq.-B	B/mil	LL
illegal arrivals	12	*0.40*	20	*0.23*	2.20
illegal crossing	12	*0.40*	10	*0.11*	8.32
illegal crossings	2	*0.07*	8	*0.09*	0.17
illegal crossing(s)	**14**	***0.47***	**18**	***0.20***	**4.96**
illegal entrant	5	*0.17*	98	*1.13*	31.50
illegal entrants	75	*2.51*	192	*2.21*	0.88
illegal entrant(s)	**80**	***2.68***	**290**	***3.34***	**3.14**
illegal entries	12	*0.40*	10	*0.11*	8.32
illegal entry	227	*7.61*	316	*3.63*	67.71
illegal stowaways	11	*0.37*	9	*0.10*	7.79

Illegally in country (1)

n-gram	Freq.-T	*T/mil*	Freq.-B	*B/mil*	LL
illegal [adjective] immigrant(s)	141	*4.72*	217	*2.49*	32.73
illegal [adjective] refugee(s)	2	*0.07*	1	*0.01*	2.23
illegal [adjective] asylum seeker(s)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
illegal [adjective] migrant(s)	2	*0.07*	21	*0.24*	4.27
illegal alien	29	*0.97*	63	*0.72*	1.67
illegal aliens	64	*2.15*	142	*1.63*	3.14
illegal emigrants	5	*0.17*	9	*0.10*	0.70
illegal emigration	4	*0.13*	19	*0.22*	0.88
illegal foreigners	6	*0.20*	8	*0.09*	1.97
illegal immigrant	1530	*51.28*	1109	*12.75*	1237.42
illegal immigrants	6862	*230.01*	5558	*63.88*	4919.59
illegal immigration	1402	*46.49*	1680	*19.31*	568.99

Illegally in country (2)

illegal migrant	41	*1.37*	78	*0.90*	4.63
illegal migrants	224	*7.51*	545	*6.26*	4.98
illegal migration	30	*1.01*	98	*1.13*	0.31
illegal overstayer	5	*0.17*	11	*0.13*	0.26
illegal overstayers	2	*0.07*	-----	-----	5.46
illegal refugee	10	*0.34*	3	*0.03*	15.00
illegal refugees	41	*1.37*	30	*0.34*	32.84
illegal residence	2	*0.07*	5	*0.06*	0.03
illegal residents	2	*0.07*	22	*0.25*	4.68
illegal asylum seeker	10	*0.34*	18	*0.21*	1.41
illegal asylum seekers	121	*4.06*	83	*0.95*	103.39
illegal immigrant population	8	*0.27*	4	*0.04*	8.91

Illegal means to stay

n-gram	Freq.-T	*T/mil*	Freq.-B	*B/mil*	LL
illegal documents	5	*0.17*	3		4.83
illegal marriages	5	*0.17*	-----	-----	13.64
illegal passport	4	*0.13*	-----	-----	10.91
illegal passports	3	*0.10*	6	*0.07*	0.27

Next slide: Illegal work

n-gram	Freq.-T	T/mil	Freq.-B	B/mil	LL
illegal economic migrants	7	*0.23*	13	*0.15*	0.87
illegal economic migration	1	*0.04*	5	*0.06*	0.27
illegal employment	20	*0.67*	25	*0.29*	7.49
illegal job	8	*0.27*	6	*0.07*	6.24
illegal labour	39	*1.31*	48	*0.55*	15.05
illegal migrant labour	3	*0.10*	8	*0.09*	0.02
illegal labourers	3	*0.10*	8	*0.09*	0.02
illegal work	19	*0.64*	28	*0.32*	4.94
illegal worker	31	*1.04*	46	*0.53*	7.92
illegal workers	283	*9.49*	316	*3.63*	130.00
illegal workforce	4	*0.14*	7	*0.08*	0.62
illegal working	100	*3.35*	169	*1.94*	17.56
illegal foreign workers	12	*0.40*	19	*0.22*	2.57
illegal immigrant workers	22	*0.74*	20	*0.23*	13.69
illegal migrant workers	4	*0.14*	24	*0.28*	2.12
illegal [ADJ] worker	1	*0.04*	2	*0.02*	0.09
illegal [ADJ] workers	10	*0.34*	27	*0.31*	0.04

Problem

n-gram	Freq.-T	T/mil	Freq.-B	B/mil	LL
illegal immigrant problem	17	*0.57*	1	*0.01*	39.24
illegal immigration problem	8	*0.27*	8	*0.09*	4.37
illegal immigration crisis	6	*0.20*	-----	-----	16.37
illegal immigration racket	10	*0.34*	5	*0.06*	11.14
illegal immigration rackets	12	*0.40*	17	*0.20*	3.44
illegal immigrant racket	7	*0.23*	2	*0.02*	10.74
illegal immigration reform	----	----	5	*0.06*	2.95

and

n-gram	Freq.-T	*T/mil*	Freq.-B	*B/mil*	LL
illegal immigration and crime	14	*0.47*	12	*0.14*	9.39
illegal immigrants and criminals	16	*0.54*	3	*0.03*	28.84
illegal immigration and fraud	11	*0.37*	1	*0.01*	23.71
illegal immigration and smuggling	----	----	7	*0.08*	4.13
illegal immigrants and terrorists	14	*0.47*	4	*0.05*	21.48
illegal immigration and terrorism	13	*0.44*	11	*0.13*	8.85

N-grams with *illegal*: overall picture

n-gram	Freq.-T	*T/mil*	Freq.-B	*B/mil*	LL
illegal [total]	13637	*457.10*	15687	*180.31*	5954.10
illegally in country	9724	*325.40*	10543	*121.18*	4687.96
illegal entry	356	*11.91*	663	*7.62*	43.92
illegal means to stay	17	*0.57*	9	*0.10*	18.15
work illegally	567	*18.98*	771	*8.85*	178.31

A more complex picture
n-grams with *POSE AS*

	Freq.-T	***T/mil***	**Freq.-B**	***B/mil***	**LL**
POSE AS	*723*	*24.19*	*753*	*8.66*	371.29
POSE AS + RASIM	214 (*29.6%*)	*7.16*	78 (*10.4%*)	*0.89*	290.87

Tabloids use POSE AS more frequently than broadsheets both in general and in relation to RASIM.

***X* pose as *RAS* to gain entry (1)**

Presented as fact, or taken for granted

Stance	T	B	X = …
▪ Positive stance towards 'tougher measures' ▪ (Direct/indirect) negative stance towards RASIM.	110 (51.4%)	46 (58.9%)	▪ foreigners ▪ terrorists ▪ fanatics/militants ▪ gangs/criminals/crooks ▪ spies ▪ beggars

Albanian Plakici, 26, posed as a frightened refugee from war-torn Kosovo when he arrived in Britain seven years ago. He was first granted political asylum and was given a British passport in January 2002. The skilled linguist was so plausible he landed a string of jobs as an interpreter with firms of solicitors specialising in immigration and asylum cases. He even tricked BBC producers into hiring him as an expert for a documentary on the controversial subject. In reality, Plakici was a ruthless trafficker in naive young women from the poverty-stricken former Soviet bloc. He lured them to Britain with promises of work as barmaids or waitresses, only to force them into the vice trade once they arrived.
[*The Express*, December 23, 2003]

Sarajevo has long been condemned by Britain and others as an easy backdoor route to Europe for Islamic terrorists posing as asylum-seekers. Muslims do not need visas for Bosnia and only cursory checks are made on the identities of incoming passengers.
[*The Times*, October 11, 2001]

***X* pose as *RAS* to gain entry (2)**

Reported as the view of politicians etc.

Stance	T	B	X = …
▪ Negative stance towards 'tougher measures' ▪ Neutral/positive stance towards RASIM.	--- (*0%*)	9 (*11.5%*)	▪ foreigners ▪ terrorists ▪ fanatics/militants ▪ gangs/criminals/crooks ▪ spies ▪ beggars

Comfort Afolabi, the head of the DSHU, has been accused in a documentary made by BBC Radio Five Live of putting the reporter - who was posing as an asylum seeker - in touch with an associate who agreed on a fee of pounds 800 for a fake passport and national insurance number. Mrs Afolabi has strongly denied any wrongdoing. The BLF said it would conduct an inquiry to establish whether the lottery funds awarded to the DSHU were used for their intended purpose - to provide support for asylum seekers.
[*The Daily Telegraph*, February 28, 2005]

Immigrants pose as *RAS* to gain entry (3)
Current system forces immigrants to do so

Stance	T	B
• Neutral to positive stance towards RASIM.	--- (*0%*)	1 (*1.3%*)

There might have been an immigration crisis 20 years ago, although that is debatable, but the so-called "system" of immigration that Britain is stuck with serves to deprive our industry of essential talent (much of which has then migrated elsewhere) while effectively obliging some individuals to pose as "bogus" asylum-seekers in an attempt to enter the country.
[*The Times*, September 11, 2005]

X pose as (illegal) *RASIM* to expose problems with asylum system

Stance	T	B	X = …
▪ Positive stance towards practice			
▪ Positive stance towards 'tougher measures'	49 (*22.9%*)	13 (*16.7%*)	▪ reporters ▪ police
▪ Indirectly negative stance towards RASIM.			

Our girl investigator posing as an illegal Russian immigrant arranged to meet the crooked secretary who works at the Angel College in Islington which prepares students for entrance to universities as well as teaching them English. College bosses are unaware of her bent sideline. In a hotel lobby, Elena told us she charges between £25 and £75 for each document and said they are foolproof.
[*The People*, June 5, 2005]

Rosseti specialises in what he calls "the Italian package" - a genuine Italian passport which comes complete with driving licence and identity document. Last week a Sunday Times reporter approached Rosseti posing as a Yugoslavian refugee needing a passport to remain in Britain. They met at a coffee bar in Soho, central London. "If you want to sleep easy at night take the Italian Job," said Rosseti. "All the documents are genuine and I can guarantee you will be registered by computer as an Italian citizen."
[*Sunday Times*, September 28, 1997]

RASIM pose as X
to exploit system / ‘citizens’

Stance	T	B	X = …
• Negative stance towards RASIM.	50 (*23.4%*)	--- (*0%*)	▪ doctors ▪ nurses ▪ students ▪ taxi drivers ▪ workers ▪ scientists ▪ sports fans ▪ athletes ▪ artists ▪ EU citizens ▪ tourists

HUNDREDS of asylum seekers are pouring into Britain posing as nurses. They are ruthlessly exploiting a desperate shortage in NHS staff to sneak into the country carrying bogus medical qualifications. Their documents - supplied at a huge price by criminal gangs - trick authorities into believing they are properly trained and ready to work in British hospitals.
[*Daily Star*, December 1, 2002]

Criminals etc. pose as X to exploit / harm RASIM

Stance	T	B	X = …
• Positive stance towards RASIM.	4 (*1.9%*)	--- (*0%*)	▪ aid workers ▪ peacekeepers

Serbian soldiers posed as peacekeepers to capture refugees, a war crimes court heard yesterday at the trial of the commander accused of the 1995 massacre of Moslems at Srebrenica. General Radislav Krstic, the highest-ranking Bosnian Serb officer to face the tribunal, denies command responsibility for genocide in which 7,500 people were killed or are still missing. Prosecutors showed video footage which revealed how Serb troops tricked Moslems with confiscated UN clothing.
[*The Daily mail*, March 15, 2000]

A closer look

Examination of instances of *suffocated*
in relation to RASIM
to establish how their plight is presented

Negative presentation was of two general types

Direct negative presentation

- through **negative attribution** by
  - modification with the adjective *illegal*,;
  - reference to the victims as *illegal cargo*.

In June, 58 **illegal immigrants** from China suffocated in the back of a lorry in Dover, after a journey across Europe" [*The Express*, Nov. 2000].

"A Dutch lorry driver was jailed for 14 years for killing 58 Chinese immigrants who suffocated in his trailer as he tried to smuggle them into Britain. Perry Wacker, 33, closed an air vent during the Channel crossing so that the ferry crew could not hear his **illegal cargo**" [*The Daily Mail*, June 2001].

Indirect negative presentation

- through **framing** the report of the suffocation within
  - references to *illegal immigrants* etc. in general;
  - references to *smuggling, trafficking*, *illegal transport/entry*, and problems with existing system;
  - references to problems with, or laxity of, the existing immigration system

China is among the top four countries whose citizens are **sneaking in.** It does not want a repeat of such tragedies as the drowning last year in Morecambe Bay or in 2000 when 58 Chinese suffocated in the back of a lorry heading for Dover.
[*The Times*, Sept. 2005].

The risks of **trafficking** were highlighted last summer by the deaths of 58 Chinese immigrants found suffocated in a Dutch-owned truck which arrived in Dover from Belgium. **Illegal immigration** is also expected to be high on the agenda of an Anglo-French summit in Cahors, southern France …
[*The Guardian*, Feb. 2001]

Overall picture

	T	B	LL
Freq. of *suffocated*	227	332	65.30
In relation to RASIM	166 (*73.1%*)	168 (*50.6%*)	11.25
Negative attribution [Direct]	47 (*28.3%*)	33 (*19.6%*)	2.63
Negative framing [Indirect]	29 (*17.5%*)	44 (*26.2%*)	2.93
Negative presentation [TOTAL]	76 (*45.8%*)	77 (*45.8%*)	0.00

- There is no significant difference in the proportion of negative presentation of the (near) victims of suffocation, which is very high (almost half of the reports).
- Both broadsheets and tabloids seem to try to project a humane face, while at the same time communicating the notion that, since the victims were party to an illegal act, they were somehow (at least partly) responsible for their death.
- The only difference seem to be that broadsheets seem to prefer to use indirect rather than direct negative presentation - though the statistical significance of the differences is rather low.

Some tentative observations

- Overlap in terms of
  - phraseology re. RASIM
  - stance towards RASIM
- Differences are in terms of degree

- T/B distinction not helpful
- Examination of individual newspapers

- Combination of automated and manual techniques