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Romanian Migrants in the British Press: a Post-EU Accession Analysis**

Abstract

The paper examines the construction of public knowledge about Romanian migrants in a selected corpus of press articles from the year 2011, within a new social and political context, different from the pre-European Union accession circumstances. This context is defined primarily by the proliferation of transnational networks in the European Union and worldwide, the constant presence of Romanian migrants in British society, and the shift in policy orientation occasioned by the replacement of the New Labour Government with the new Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition. The research questions take into consideration three main aspects that impinge upon the media construction of migrants and the problematization of migration issues: the choice between the national and the transnational angle in the representation of migrants; the use of expert or/and lay sources of knowledge; the potential impact of the newspapers' ideological commitments upon their framing of migration topics. The research objectives are twofold: an exploratory survey of themes and patterns around Romanian migrants (content analysis), followed by a micro- and macro-discursive analysis of social actor/action representation. The findings indicate that, with some exceptions, the British mainstream press continues to abide by a top-down, national(ist), expert and elite knowledge-based approach to Romanian migrants, construed as abstract problems to be tackled at policy level, through the means and in view of the goals proposed by the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition.

Key words: British print media, (critical) discourse analysis, representation/public knowledge construction, policy-making, Romanian migrants

Rezumat

Articolul analizează construcția unui anumit tip de cunoaștere publică despre migrații români într-un corpus de știri din presa scrisă din Marea Britanie în anul 2011. Noul context social și politic diferă fundamental de cel specific perioadei dinaintea aderării României la Uniunea Europeană. Acesta este caracterizat de proliferarea legăturilor transnaționale, atât în Uniunea Europeană, cât și la nivel global, de prezența neîntreruptă a migraților români în societatea britanică (post-aderare), precum și de noua orientare în politicile publice din Marea Britanie, în urma venirii la putere a coaliției dintre Conservatori și Liberal-Democrați, care a înlocuit guvernarea laburistă. Studiul de față ia în considerație trei factori cu impact diferit asupra procesului de construcție și problematizare a migraților în politicile publice: selectarea unei perspective naționale sau transnaționale în reprezentarea migraților; utilizarea în presă a opiniilor experților și/sau ale oamenilor de rând; influența orientării ideologice a ziarelor britanice asupra modalității de încadrare a subiectelor abor-

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date. Cercetarea are două obiective: o trecere în revistă a principalelor teme conturate în legătură cu migrații români (analiză de conținut), urmată de o analiză la nivel micro- și macro-discursiv a reprezentării actorilor sociali/acțiunii sociale. Rezultatele cercetării arată că, exceptând un număr mic de cazuri, presa britanică adoptă în continuare o perspectivă națională(-istă), 'de sus', bazată pe discursul experților și al elitelor politice. Migrații români sunt în general reprezentați sub forma unor probleme abstract definite, care trebuie soluționate la nivel de politici publice prin mijloacele și în vederea obiectivelor propuse de noua coaliție de la guvernare.

Cuvinte-cheie: presa scrisă din Marea Britanie, analiză (critică) de discurs, reprezentare/construcția cunoașterii publice, politici publice, migrații români

1. Introduction

In the spring-summer of 2011, the Romanian Razy Gogonea became one of the favourites to win the final of the widely broadcast *Britain's Got Talent* television show. Once it introduced him as a gifted body-popper, the British popular press moved on to frame the discussion in terms of his right to reside and work in the UK, unemployment and financial hardships, pursuit of personal dreams, British ties through his Manchester fiancée, questions about who should be allowed to participate in the show and the viewers' expectations thereof ('Britain's Got Talent Star Razy is Free to Pop In', *Daily Star*; Helmwood, 2011, *The Sun*; Kinnon, 2011, *The Sun*; McGovern, 2011, *Mirror*). 'He was awesome but why is it *Britain's Got Talent* when every year there are non-Brits allowed in it?', asks a *Sun* reader (in Kinnon, 2011), while the *Mirror* wonders, 'If a Romanian can win BGT why not get someone foreign singing our Eurovision entry? Foreigner, perhaps.' (McGovern, 2011). Even though no references are made to Razy's status as a migrant, his trajectory is traced back to Romania's accession to the European Union and the accompanying entitlement to freedom of movement ('Britain's Got Talent Star Razy is Free to Pop In', *Daily Star*).

The centrality held by the press in the construction of public knowledge and the mediation of situations to be addressed at the level of public policies has long been acknowledged (Beciu, 2007, 2011; Boswell, 2009; Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012; Franklin, 1999a, 1999b). Though atypical because it deals with a migrant celebrity, albeit transient, the Razy Gogonea episode touches upon three major dimensions of the media-constructed knowledge of transnational migrants: the option between a national angle and a transnational approach; the sources of knowledge employed; the existing links between particular evaluations of migrant-related topics and Labour or Conservative ideologies (in the UK). Choices along these three dimensions may conjure up altogether different images of migrants, with different sets of problems to be tackled in immigration policies. In what follows, I develop each of these points in view of the main objectives of the study.

In the analysis of the migrants' situation in contemporary societies, policy-makers, journalists and scholars alike are faced with an option between the modern national(ist) approach, the prevailing paradigm across social spheres of activity, and the recently emerging transnational one, still struggling to find its own vocabulary. According to Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2003, p. 582), the national angle is shaped by four different notions of 'peoplehood' that eventually merge into one single concept: sovereignty, citizenship and the rights derived thereby, solidarity (the extended family-type community), and ethnicity. Thus understood, the nation overlaps with the neatly delineated borders of a territory (see also Faist, 2008). Little

wonder, then, that within the frame of the nation-state migrants are regarded as disruptive, threatening and even inimical in matters of security, welfare, or cultural cohesion, all crucial areas of migration policies (Boswell, 2009, p. 15). The national(ist) approach, naturalized and well-entrenched in modern politics, constitutes migrants as 'foreigners' and gives currency to classic binaries such as 'origin' vs. 'destination', 'emigration' vs. 'immigration', 'in-flow' vs. 'out-flow' (Faist, 2008, p. 38ff.). The 'Us vs. Them' cultural representation, prominent in the depiction of migrants in the mainstream media (see discussions in Cottle, 2000), is deeply rooted in this approach. To return to Razy's portrayal, the 'migrant/native divide' (Glick Schiller, 2010, p. 109) is the first image that strikes the readers of at least two of the newspapers quoted earlier. This tends to be the norm rather than the exception in mainstream newspapers, hence the migrants' orientation towards alternative public spheres and transnational new media networks.

A novel paradigm, transnationalism sets out to examine the grassroots interactions of social actors across nation-state borders and from within multiple, intersecting networks, sustained by new social relations and notions of social space, and advanced technologies (see Faist, 2008, 2010, among others). This approach does not completely discredit the nation-state or discard its vocabulary (indeed, many scholars point to the practical obstacles in an undertaking of this type), but transcends it whenever possible and brings into the picture a much wider array of roles fulfilled by migrants. One of the topics traditionally explored by scholars of transnationalism is migrants as an agent of *development* and their controversial participation in boosting economic growth and social solidarity through financial remittances (Faist, 2008, p. 39ff.). Another perspective that is taking hold in the field originates with Nina Glick Schiller (2010), who proposes to look at the migrants' *various* strategies of coping with and integrating into the forces of global (neoliberal) power. From their distinct, even contradictory positions within transnational networks and circuits of global power, migrants come across 'not as foreigners to be differentiated from natives, but as actors that connect local people to global processes' (Glick Schiller, 2010, p. 127). The main advantage of this approach, labelled 'transnational methodology' in the social sciences, lies in the possibility to explore 'a number of migration experiences that could not be addressed during previous periods' (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2003, p. 597). Applied to the European Union, the transnational view grounds European(ized) identities in porous boundaries, mobilities of people and institutions, and the constant transfers among the transnational, the national and the local-regional levels (Triandafyllidou, Gropas & Vogel, 2007, p. 12). Most importantly, it does so from a bottom-up perspective, not just an elite-driven one (see also discussions in Georgiou, 2007; Herrmann, Risse & Brewer, 2004; Triandafyllidou et al., 2007). The journalists' openness to a transnational frame of mind would most likely highlight other aspects of the status of migrant than the ones specific to the national approach and thus alter public perceptions of migration.

Moving on to the next point, the sources of knowledge the press deploys may significantly limit or expand the scope of the issues under discussion. The overreliance on expert knowledge to the detriment of lay understandings often results in a top-down, abstract approach, detached from daily social encounters and experiences. While it circumscribes matters in conformity with the ideals of the technocratic mode of thought, dominant in Western developed societies, such an approach simultaneously excludes voices and worldviews that could unravel new facets of the phenomenon analyzed or supply alternative solutions (see discussions in Fischer, Miller & Sidney, 2007; see also Boswell, 2009, for immigration policies). In this respect, trends are not necessarily set by the media, but by policy-makers and politicians in

general. Boswell (2009, p. 3) comments on the technocratic spin imposed by the New Labour Government in British public policies starting with 1997, which laid undue emphasis on the findings of experts and 'evidence-based policy-making'. Politicians resort to expert knowledge not only in order to tackle a crisis successfully, but also to legitimize the position of their organization or to substantiate their standpoint (Boswell, 2009) by recourse to the prestige and infallibility associated with science (this only becomes problematic when it is decoupled from sound argumentation). When the press adopts a similar strategy and quotes chiefly expert or elite, officially recognized sources, it is liable to overlook lay knowledge and hence construct groups – such as migrants – from a distance, without exploring their beliefs, identities and lives in host societies (see Beciu, 2011, p. 166). Much like politicians, the press may employ expert or elite knowledge to fallaciously gain legitimacy or to oppose political stands that do not coincide with the newspaper's editorial orientation.

Finally, by emphasizing matters of public interest and pinpointing problematic social areas, occasionally even crises (Franklin, 1999a), the press frequently tunes in to political imaginaries inspired by particular sets of values and concerns (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). These often carry ideological associations with either left-centre, liberal worldviews or right-centre, conservative ones. To give an example, the goals of New Labour immigration policies are informed by values different from those nurtured by the recently empowered Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition, distinguishable primarily along the lines of strong support for economic migration versus a marked concern with the protection of British nationals (jobs, social services, welfare). The British media have been traditionally characterized by ideological commitments well-known to the target audiences (for details, see Section 3). If the journalistic ethos of objectivity may itself be considered flawed and overrated, expectations of a professional, well-functioning press point towards the need for a complex, in-depth analysis of the interests and values of every social group affected by a course of political action and of society at large. This presupposes the existence of a deliberative frame that accommodates critical questions, and of a desire to move beyond commonly accepted beliefs, sensationalistic elements, and narrowly defined political allegiances (Labour or Conservative).

The three areas outlined above underlie the research questions of the present study, introduced at the end of Section 3. The first objective is exploratory and descriptive, as it deals with establishing the main themes and patterns around Romanian migrants in a selected media corpus. Starting from these findings, a micro-discursive analysis explores the representation of migrants and the types of identities and actions put forward in the texts. Special emphasis is placed on the angle – national or transnational – and the view taken by the press – top-down, abstract, dominated by particular social classifications, or bottom-up, concerned with the migrants' experiences and correlated with public life in British society and the European Union. At a macro-level, themes are located within discourses, examined in terms of ideological orientation, (un)balanced incorporation/framing of worldviews, and sources of knowledge (expert or lay, or both). Overall, the study aims to discuss the main tendencies that shape the construction of public knowledge about Romanian migrants in the British mainstream press post-Romania's EU accession. In the next section I dwell upon the view of media discourse adopted for these purposes. I then discuss more closely the socio-political context and the British press approach to migrants and immigration policy over the years. The second part of the article presents the case study: corpus, methodology and findings.

2. Media discourse and practices

The definition commonly accepted in (critical) discourse studies regards discourse as language in use, both constituted by and constitutive of social relations, practices and structures (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Accordingly, media discourse is shaped by professional-organizational practices and, on a higher scale, by economic, political and cultural/ideological practices (Fowler, 1991; Fairclough, 1995, 2003; Richardson, 2007). Media texts, as social events, are embedded in discursive practices of text production and consumption, having to do with institutional conceptualizations of audiences (their interests, beliefs, attitudes), news values, journalistic ethics and principles of objectivity (Richardson, 2007), which determine the selection of topics, genres, and registers. The wider economic, socio-political and cultural context adds new features: newspapers as businesses in a constant struggle to secure readerships and make a profit; their engagement with the political body; and their (re)production or transformation of worldviews (see the Introduction on the key points to be considered in this respect). This multilevelled view of media texts (Fairclough, 1995), the one also taken in this article, requires a complex, equally multilayered analysis and interpretation.

Theorists of media effects have encountered difficulties in demonstrating a direct causal connection between media representation and changes of attitude and opinion in the midst of audiences (see discussions in Bryant & Zillmann, 1994). There is widespread agreement among scholars, though, that journalists take the readers' beliefs and perceptions into account and politicians use the media to test the popularity and public appeal of their intended measures. Commenting on the situation in the UK, Franklin (1999a, 1999b) notes that the New Labour politicians' awareness of their public image guides their decision-making and communication with the media; similarly, Somerville (2007) points out that the press, especially tabloid, flaunts its power to mould public opinion and steer the course of political action. By repeatedly highlighting themes and subjects, the media 'generate an effect of valorization of a particular type of information, and, therefore, of a source of knowledge for the citizens' (Beciu, 2007, p. 30, *my translation*). The journalistic ideal of deliberative communication rests upon the problematization of public issues from a multiplicity of positions, not necessarily implying consensus (Beciu, 2011, p. 216ff.; see also Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). In the context of this study, such problematization would entail bringing together expert and lay worldviews, transcending strictly national symbolic classifications and giving equal weight in discussions to the policy goals of distinct political formations. It is not always the case, however, that the outcome of media practices lives up to this fundamental objective of the profession.

3. The socio-political context: past and present British immigration policies. The British press coverage of EU immigration

Following the general elections held in May, 2010, a new Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government came into power in the UK, under the lead of Prime Minister David Cameron. The moment marked the end of 13 years of New Labour Government (ten under Tony Blair and three under Gordon Brown) and coincided with the worsening of the global recession and its severe societal effects. In their post-election speeches, both PM David Cameron and Immigration Minister Damian Green indicate a clear break with previous immigration policies. Under the motto 'good immigration, not mass immigration', the Prime Min-

ister spells out the coalition's priorities: 'controlling legal immigration', 'clamping down on illegal immigration', 'getting to grips with the asylum system' (Cameron, 2011, April 14, online). Their main policy target is migration from outside the European Economic Area, but 'transitional controls' are announced for future EU enlargement waves, due to the large numbers of CEE migrants after the opening of the British labour market in 2004. Concerns with community cohesion and abuse of the public services, worries about the length of stay and the exploitation of routes such as student visa and family reunion are combined with the need to reform the welfare system radically, so that Britons who have grown dependent on it are reintegrated into the labour force. These lines of policy are reaffirmed in Damian Green's speeches (2011, 2012), which reinforce the notion of 'selective immigration', put in the service of British economy (Green, 2012, online). It must be said that the Liberal Democrats do not fully support the 'selective approach' and the coalition is perceived as being dominated by Conservative views with regard to immigration (see comments in Mulholland and Watt, 2011, the *Guardian*). In keeping with this orientation, and upon the conclusions reached by the Migration Advisory Committee (2011), Britain extended the restrictions it had in place for Bulgarian and Romanian economic migrants.

Upon closer scrutiny, with the exception of a radical stance on the necessity to reduce numbers and select only 'the brightest and the best' (Green, 2011, 2012), the main directions in the present British immigration policy are also to be found in the New Labour approach, largely defined by Tony Blair's vision between 1997 and 2007 (Düvell, 2007; Geddes, 2003, 2004, 2005; Somerville, 2007). His political legacy is bound up with the liberalization of the labour market and the encouragement of international students and skilled migrants to contribute to the growth of the British economy in conditions of global competition. If in the past there was a marked opposition between Labour and Conservative politicians, starting with the mid-1960s, Labour began to fear 'being seen as soft on immigration' (Geddes, 2003, p. 36). This trend has continued and is responsible for the two sides influencing each other's positions and accepting compromises (Fomina & Frelak, 2008, pp. 33-34). As a result, Labour did not step back from 'managing' migration and introducing tough measures to compensate for any pro-economic migration decisions, for example measures against asylum seekers, fraud or 'organized immigration crime' (Somerville, 2007, p. 44; see also Düvell, 2007). Similarly, the Conservatives would not openly contest the notion of economic migration, but advocate the primacy of British workers and the stricter regulation of inflows. Geddes (2005) concludes that, under Tony Blair, Britain aligned itself with the European Union on matters of external borders and migration flows from outside Europe, but *preserved a distinctively national frame for home affairs* (see also Düvell, 2007, on Blair's 'dual' approach). This stance is not dissimilar to the line adopted by the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats at the moment.

At home, British politicians and policy-makers have constantly been confronted with an anti-immigration and Eurosceptic public, as confirmed by Eurobarometers and Ipsos MORI surveys. The negative and even hostile public attitudes towards non-white immigration have oscillated in the case of EU migrants from no concerns about the citizens of equally well-off Western states to deep concerns about CEE migrants (Fomina & Frelak, 2008; see also Somerville, 2007). The British press, both quality and tabloid, displays a right-wing – left-wing divide across the political spectrum of the intended audiences, and a diverse positioning with respect to the European Union and economic migration. The *Guardian*, *Independent*, *Observer* and *The Times* are likely to be favourable to economic migration, whereas the *Daily Telegraph* tends to be negative; the *Daily Mail* is particularly critical, and so are the *Ex-*

press newspapers and *The Sun* (see Boswell, 2009; Düvell, 2007; Somerville, 2007). Some of these newspapers may also be Eurosceptic. Geddes (2004, pp. 218-219) lists *The Sun*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Times* among the strong anti-EU voices. It often happens that newspapers that are both anti-EU and anti-immigration register the highest circulation figures (for example, *The Sun* or the *Daily Mail*). Nevertheless, this classification of the British print media should not lead to ready-made conclusions about the biases in their coverage (Franklin, 1999a; McNair, 2003); in the autumn of 2006, for example, the campaign against Romanian and Bulgarian migrants was generalized across the British press, with the tabloid newspapers setting the tone (Somerville, 2007; see also Mădroane, 2009a, 2009b).

In 2011, the year of my study, the socio-political context in the UK was characterized by the shifts in policy-making under the new coalition and by the economic recession, together with the anxiety and insecurity it bred. Immigration ranked high among British concerns (see Eurobarometer 75, Spring 2011) and continued to remain at the top of the agenda (see Ipsos MORI surveys in 2011), even though outranked by the economy, unemployment and crime/law and order (for example, in August 2011, when the street riots swept across Britain). In view of the above, the research questions underlying my research are aimed at several interrelated areas:

- What are the major themes associated with Romanian migrants in the selected corpus? What dominant patterns emerge? What policy areas do they highlight?

- How are the identities, experiences and practices of Romanian migrants construed in the corpus? How is their involvement in and impact upon British society represented? How is the relationship between Romanian migrants and the British public mediated (national or transnational, top-down or bottom-up view, or elements of both)?

- What discourses do such themes and representations belong to? In what ways do the British mainstream newspapers draw upon them (balanced or one-sided inclusion of viewpoints; sources of knowledge)? How does the media framing of public knowledge about Romanian migrants support particular courses of action in immigration policy?

The research questions stem from the findings of past research on representations of Romanians in the British press (Mădroane, 2009a, 2009b). Additionally, they reflect broader concerns in the analysis of Eastern European migrants in the British media (Fomina & Frelak, 2008), new points of interest in the media interpretation of transnational actors (Beciu, 2011) and in the role of discourse in policy-making deliberations (Beciu, 2007, 2011; Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). They have been devised along the three dimensions discussed in the Introduction as having a bearing on the construction of public knowledge about migrants (sources of knowledge, (trans)national approach, political allegiances of the British press).

4. Corpus and methodology

4.1. Corpus

The time span of the corpus is January 1, 2011 – August 31, 2011, and the newspapers encompass the main British national broadsheets, mid-markets and tabloids. The corpus consists of articles retrieved from the LexisNexis database by using the keywords 'Romanian' and 'migrants' (also 'immigrants' and 'Romania' for the first search), completed with articles from the online archives of the newspapers under focus. Three searches in the LexisNexis data-

base were conducted, at different points in time and in different versions of the digital archive (LexisNexis – UK and LexisNexis Academic – US), to ensure that a comprehensive sample is obtained. Due to several inconsistencies in the resulting corpora, as well as duplicated content and concerns about false negatives (on the limits of LexisNexis, see Deacon, Pickering, Golding & Murdock, 2007, pp. 135-136), a subsequent search was performed on the online archives of the newspapers, and a small number of articles containing references to Romanian migrants were added to the final corpus, which comprises a total of 32 articles. Only the national editions of the newspapers were considered and those articles that did not include at least one important mention of ‘migrants’ in relation to Romanians were excluded. The texts that refer to the situation of Romanian migrants in other European Union states were retained, as they were deemed relevant in light of implicit comparisons with the UK. The texts that do not focus primarily on Romanians, but other Eastern European migrants, Romanians included, were also retained in the final corpus. A potential skew in the data is acknowledged, since there is a possibility that articles which do not contain the word ‘(im)migrant(s)’, but describe Romanians only as workers or unemployed, for example, fell outside the scope of the search. This should not have a significant impact upon the findings, as the chief objective of the analysis is to establish major (not all) tendencies in the construal of the group specifically identified as migrants (the post-2007 accession wave, generally made up of economic migrants).

4.2. Methodology

For the purposes of this study, I combine quantitative methodology (limited in scope) with qualitative (critical) discourse analysis. Due to space limitations, I only briefly introduce the principal notions and analytic tools I work with. At a micro-level, I employ several of Theo van Leeuwen’s categories for the representation of social actors and action (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 23 ff.): categorization based on socioprofessional, ethnic, national, degree of kinship, etc. indicators (I retain only his broad category of ‘identification’, see also Reisigl & Wodak, 2001); collectivization (description of groups such as the ‘nation’, the ‘community’); appraisal (positive or negative evaluation); and, for social action, abstraction and objectivation. At the macro-level, I look at ‘discourses’, defined as perspectives on the world that are constituted in texts around themes, i.e. ‘the main parts of the world (including areas of social life) which are represented’ (Fairclough, 2003, p. 129). Media texts are ‘interdiscursive’, i.e. draw upon or recontextualize a number of discourses, genres and styles, and, in a narrower sense, ‘intertextual’, i.e. they include a range of voices that weave together diverse, possibly opposing or conflicting worldviews (Fairclough, 2003). Journalists may employ genre conventions to emphasize certain viewpoints to the detriment of others or to create the illusion of objectivity and dialogicality (Fowler, 1991; Fairclough, 1995, 2003; Richardson, 2007). Representations and discourses are also ‘*premises in[to] reasoning about what we should do*’ (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, pp. 86-87), here with regard to immigration policies in Britain.

5. Findings and discussion

5.1. A few quantitative data

Before a thorough discussion of the qualitative data, an overview of the articles and newspapers in the corpus and of the main thematic distribution is necessary in order to provide solid ground for the interpretation of the findings.

Between January 1 and August 31, 2011, the articles that contain at least one important reference to Romanian migrants are spread across the national quality newspapers as follows: the *Daily Telegraph* – 2, the *Sunday Telegraph* – 2, *The Times* – 2, the *Sunday Times* – 1, the *Guardian* – 1, and the *Independent* – 1. This gives a total of 9 articles (news stories, news features and opinion articles), of which two deal exclusively with Romanian migrants in Britain, four with issues concerning CEE migrants (including Romanians) in Britain, two with the restrictions on Romanian economic migrants introduced by Spain (the same story covered by the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Times*), and one with Dutch policies targeted at unemployed Eastern European migrants (mainly Poles). There is a balance in the number of articles in the conservative press (the *Daily* and *Sunday Telegraph*) and the liberal one (the *Guardian*, the *Independent*); *The Times* and *Sunday Times* have a rather mixed orientation, but have been ranked as liberal in matters of economic migration (see Section 3).

For the same period, the mid-market and tabloid newspapers disclose a larger number of articles (news stories, news features and opinion articles), with the following distribution: the *Daily Star* – 5, the *Express* (*Daily* and *Sunday Express*) – 10, the *Daily Mail* – 6, and the *Mirror* – 2. Of the 23 articles, fourteen focus on Romanians in Britain, one focuses on Romanians in France, and eight deal with Eastern European migrants, Romanians included. Several events that have a high degree of newsworthiness are covered in more than one newspaper. According to these figures, the interest of the mid-market and the popular press in Romanian (and Eastern European) migrants exceeds that of the quality press by more than two times. Surprisingly, perhaps, no article has been retrieved from the notorious British tabloid, *The Sun*. Most articles come from the Express Newspapers (the *Daily Star* is owned by the same media conglomerate) and the *Daily Mail*, which traditionally address a right-wing readership and exhibit strong anti-EU and anti-immigrant attitudes (see Section 3). In 2010-2011, the *Daily Express* also set off on a 'crusade' to 'get Britain out of Europe', i.e. the European Union (see its special edition, January 8, 2011). There is therefore an imbalance in the overall corpus between the right-wing and the liberal, centre-left publications.

5.2. Themes and patterns

A survey of the types of themes encountered in the corpus and of their general frequency sheds light on the prominent patterns developed around Romanian migrants, whether they are treated as the main subject of the articles or as part of the larger group of East Europeans. Each theme in the two outlines below has been counted only once per article; by 'major' I understand the themes that are expanded in the text and are usually specified in key positions. The counting was done manually and was not based on detailed coding, so the concept of content analysis applies only in a broad sense.

5.2.1. The major themes and sub-themes encountered in the quality press

Crime (2 occurrences):

- Migrants as criminals: a large number of crimes committed, human trafficking – 2 occurrences (*Daily Telegraph, The Times*)

Economy and society (26 occurrences):

- Push factors for Romanian migrants: poverty – 2 occurrences (*Guardian, Sunday Telegraph*)
- Migrants as competition/disadvantage to the British poor and unemployed – 1 occurrence (*Sunday Telegraph*)
- Migrants as advantage to the British economy – 1 occurrence (*Independent*)
- Work conditions for migrants are exploitative, housing is poor, and payment bad (in Britain, Holland) – 3 occurrences (*Guardian, Sunday Telegraph, The Times*)
- British employers hire migrants because they are hard-working, motivated and compliant with bad conditions – 1 occurrence (*Independent*)
- British workers prefer life on benefits to work/work in poor conditions – 1 occurrence (*The Times*)
- Abuse of the British benefits system/welfare state (8 occurrences): loopholes (e.g. the status of ‘self-employed’), the burden of unemployed migrants on the British taxpayer – 3 occurrences (*Guardian, Sunday Telegraph, Sunday Times*); housing support/scarcie housing: 3 occurrences (*Daily Telegraph, Guardian, Independent*); extension of benefits to family members – 2 occurrences (*Guardian, Sunday Telegraph*)
- Community integration (9 occurrences): efforts made for and progress registered in the cultural and economic integration of migrants (Romanian Roma, seasonal workers) – 2 occurrences (*Guardian, The Times*); both good and tense relationships with British/Dutch communities – 3 occurrences (*Guardian, The Times, Sunday Telegraph*); language issues – 3 occurrences (*Sunday Telegraph, Daily Telegraph, Guardian*); cuts jeopardize efforts to integrate the Roma – 1 occurrence (*Guardian*)

Politics (EU freedom of movement – 20 occurrences; policy commitments – 4 occurrences):

- EU rules on freedom of movement: act against Britain’s best interests – 2 occurrences (*Daily Telegraph, Sunday Telegraph*); other EU states impose restrictions due to economic recession (Spain) or cases of prolonged unemployment and integration problems (Holland) – 3 occurrences (*Daily Telegraph, Sunday Telegraph, The Times*); Schengen Agreement/Zone: 2 occurrences (*Daily Telegraph, The Times*); a cap on intra-EU migration is limited to seven years (transition period) – 5 occurrences (*Daily Telegraph, Independent, The Times*; positive view in the *Independent*); EU enlargement in 2004 and 2007: 8 occurrences (*Guardian, Daily Telegraph, Sunday Telegraph, The Times*)
- Home Office commitments: deportation of ‘foreign criminals’ – 1 occurrence (*Daily Telegraph*); prioritization of British workers over migrants – 1 occurrence (*Times*); protection of the British taxpayer and the British benefits system – 1 occurrence (*Sunday Telegraph*); fighting human trafficking – 1 occurrence (*Sunday Times*)

The themes in the quality press voice concerns about Romanian and CEE migrants with respect to crime, impact on the British economy and British workers (the recession topic emerges in connection to unemployment), social and cultural integration in British communities, burden on the welfare state and the (dis)advantages of EU legislation to British polit-

ical sovereignty. It can be noticed that the *Independent* and the *Guardian* include positive appraisals of economic migrants in their coverage, in keeping with their liberal, centre-left orientation. The *Guardian* in particular discusses community issues and the progress made towards the integration of the Romanian Roma (threatened by funding cuts). The preoccupation with the constraints on state sovereignty generated by EU membership, especially by free movement legislation, is central in the quality press, providing a link with past framings of the EU expansion towards CEE countries.

5.2.2. *The major themes and sub-themes encountered in the mid-market and popular press*

Crime (14 occurrences):

- Migrants as criminals: a large number of crimes committed/increase in crime – 3 occurrences (*Express*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Star*); human trafficking and violence against victims (traffickers and victims from Romania) – 2 occurrences (*Daily Star*, *Mirror*); exploitation of women and children, especially Roma (benefit fraud) – 2 occurrences (*Daily Mail*); types of crime (begging, stealing, abusive squatting) – 5 occurrences (*Express*, *Mirror*); Romania not allowed to join Schengen Space because of crime-related fears – 2 occurrences (*Daily Mail*)

Economy and society (48 occurrences):

- Push factors for Romanian migrants: poverty, low benefits, low salaries and living standards, discrimination, economic recession – 8 occurrences (*Express*, *Daily Mail*)
- Britain as the most popular destination for Romanian migrants; increase in the number of Romanian (and Eastern European) migrants – 7 occurrences (*Express*, *Daily Mail*)
- Migrants as an advantage to the British economy – 1 occurrence (*Daily Mail*)
- Migrants as competition/disadvantage to the British poor and unemployed – 1 occurrence (*Daily Mail*)
- British employers hire migrants because they are hard-working and compliant with bad conditions (as opposed to young Britons)/are skilled – 1 occurrence (*Daily Mail*)
- British workers prefer life on benefits to work/do not have the skills required by British employers – 1 occurrence (*Daily Mail*)
- Work conditions for migrants are exploitative, housing is poor, and payment bad – 1 occurrence (*Express*)
- Losses incurred by the British economy due to illegal work by CEE migrants (Romanian prostitutes in Manchester, illegal ‘Capsunari’), scams to avoid paying car insurance (Romanian drivers), the migrants’ contribution to the black market of alcohol and tobacco – 4 occurrences (*Express*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Star*)
- Losses incurred by the British economy due to high remittances by Polish, Romanian and other Eastern European migrants: 9 occurrences (*Express*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Star*, *Mirror*)
- Abuse of the benefits system/welfare state: loopholes (e.g. the status of ‘self-employed’) – 4 occurrences (*Express*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Star*); the burden of the unemployed on the British taxpayer (e.g. housing support/scarce housing) – 4 occurrences (*Express*, *Daily Mail*, *Mirror*); extension of benefits to family members – 3 occurrences (*Express*, *Daily Mail*)
- Community integration: language barriers/cost of interpreters to police: 4 occurrences (*Express*, *Daily Star*)

Politics (EU policies – 17 occurrences; policy objectives – 7 occurrences):

– EU rules on freedom of movement: act against Britain's best interests (forces Britain to facilitate the migrants' access to full benefits, prevents Britain from deporting lawbreakers, burdens tax payers) – 4 occurrences (*Express*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Star*); other EU states are committed to reducing immigration and imposing restrictions (France) – 1 occurrence (*Daily Mail*); a cap on intra-EU migration is limited to seven years (transition period)/considerations of a further extension of restrictions on A2 migrants by Britain – 4 occurrences (*Daily Mail*); EU enlargement in 2004 and 2007 – 8 occurrences (*Express*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Star*)

– Home Office commitments: deportation/'removal' of 'foreign criminals' – 2 occurrences (*Daily Star*); prioritization of British workers over migrants – 1 occurrence (*Daily Mail*); protection of the British taxpayer and benefits system/reform welfare – 2 occurrences (*Express*, *Daily Star*); fighting human trafficking – 1 (*Daily Star*); respecting national and EU legislation – 1 occurrence (*Daily Star*)

The mid-market and the tabloid press themes fall largely into the same areas delineated in the quality newspapers, with a number of differences in frequency and emphasis. The involvement of Romanian migrants in crime, both fraud against the British state and international networks of traffickers, becomes one of the chief patterns of migrant identification. Aspects of integration in British communities are quasi-absent, with the exception of language barriers and the costs incurred by the police with interpreters. Significantly more stress than in the quality press is placed upon the losses to the British economy caused by illegal migrant activities, benefit frauds, and remittances to countries of origin. The theme of EU expansion and legal impositions upon the British state attains a similar degree of prominence as in the broadsheets, but is more emphatically associated with crime, exploitation of the welfare state and invasion of the British labour market.

Overall, the frequency and the distribution of themes are a first indicator that the British mainstream press remains faithful to the old agenda for the coverage of economic migrants from the CEE countries, with its focus on immigration-related policies and EU enlargement (see Fomina & Frelak, 2008; Mădroane, 2009a, 2009b). It continues to adhere to the national angle, illustrated in discussions of push and pull factors, constraints on British sovereignty and threats posed by migrants to the rights of British nationals; transnational networks are most obvious in the coverage of international trafficking, but from a top-down perspective. The themes display either a conservative or a liberal slant in spite of ideological crossovers between the two perspectives in the case of immigration policies (see Section 3).

5.3. Findings from the qualitative analysis

5.3.1. Romanian migrants as social actors

The general and neutral identification of Romanians as 'migrants' or 'immigrants' in the corpus occurs in a number of contexts that specify it further, through actions or circumstances of place, endowing it with positive or, predominantly, negative characteristics: 'economic migrants who send most of their hard-earned money back to their families at home' (Graham, 2011, *Express*) or 'illegal immigrants – often from dirt-poor villages in Romania' (Francis, 2011, *Daily Star*). Together with Poles and other citizens of the CEE countries, Romanians are placed in the category of 'EU migrants' or 'EU nationals', which includes only the waves of migrants from A8 and A2 countries, post their accession in 2004 and 2007. Temporal identifications can also be encountered, such as 'many new migrants' (Dawar, 2011a, *Express*) or

‘newly arrived Roma migrants’ (Reid, 2011, *Daily Mail*), evidence that the separation between the old EU member-states and the ones that joined the EU recently is marked in discourse. A relationship of synonymy is set up in texts between the ‘newcomers’ and ‘Eastern European immigrants’, ‘EU migrants’ or ‘EU nationals’. This contributes to a paradoxical dissociation of East Europeans from Britons (or the French and the Dutch), who, when we think of it, are themselves ‘EU nationals’. This manner of representation may simply be intended to tell Romanians and Poles apart from non-EU migrants, just as ‘foreigners’ and ‘non-British nationals’ (Nicks, 2011b, *Daily Star*) describe EU and non-EU migrants put together. In this sense, it may carry no special connotations of the British detachment from the European Union or the CEE migrants. What stands out incontestably, however, is the *national frame* preserved in the mainstream press, only exceptionally contradicted by formulations like ‘fellow members of the EU’ (Govan, 2011, *Daily Telegraph*). Even a term such as ‘immigrants’ is linked with the national angle because it lays emphasis on in-flows and opens up to other classic binaries in migration studies (see Faist, 2008).

Another category of identification is based on occupation or activity (what Van Leeuwen calls ‘functionalizations’, 2008, p. 42). It appears in combination with identifications indicating nationality or ethnicity, with collectivizations, denoting groups, with aggregations, for numbers, and with metaphors that describe the action of migration. The most neutral type is ‘workers’: ‘restrictions on the number of Romanian and Bulgarian workers’ (Hall, 2011, *Express*), ‘inflows of workers’ (Govan, 2011, *Daily Telegraph*). A special interest in low-skilled jobs is manifest, presumably in accordance with public attitudes and concerns (see the Migration Observatory Report, 2011). An *Express* news story, for example, looks at agricultural workers and their contribution to the growth of the black market. Such representations are negatively connoted and correlated with poverty and crime: ‘the army of Capsunari (strawberry pickers)’, ‘the new shabby under-class of workers’, ‘the sleazy world of many migrants’ (Graham, 2011, *Express*). Many of the identifications of Romanian migrants, especially in the tabloid press, depict occupations that are either illegal or on the fringe of social acceptability, and have negative or pejorative overtones: ‘Romanian beggars’ (Alexander & Day, 2011, *Sunday Telegraph*); ‘the worst offenders’ (about Poles and Romanians) (Whitehead, 2011, *Daily Telegraph*); ‘Romanian traffickers’ (Rayment, 2011, *The Sunday Times*); ‘migrant pimp’ (Hughes, 2011a, *Daily Star*); ‘hookers from Eastern Europe’, ‘a Romanian prostitute’ (Francis, 2011, *Daily Star*); ‘Fagins’ (Giannangeli, *Express*); ‘Romanian squatters’ (Dawar, 2011c, *Express*). The line between the Romanian migrants’ occupations and crime is often very thin. Many of the references to illegal activities involve Romanian Roma, generally identified by ethnicity: ‘a gang of Romanian gypsies’ (Reid, 2011, *Daily Mail*).

Great importance is attached to the strain immigrants put on the benefits system and the British welfare state, either by exploiting loopholes or by committing fraud. The fact that Romanian Roma sellers of the *Big Issue*, a magazine created in order to help the British homeless, use this activity to demonstrate their ‘self-employed’ status and thus gain access to benefits, is widely covered in both the quality and the popular press. A new identification emerges, that of abusers of the British social services, many representations pointing to the migrants’ schemes to extend their stay in Britain and take advantage of benefits: ‘migrant scroungers’, ‘vendors of the Big Issue’ (Dawar, 2011a, *Express*); ‘benefit tourists’ (Nicks, 2011a, *Daily Star*); ‘[posing as] holidaymakers’ (Francis, 2011, *Daily Star*). This class of migrants is accompanied by numerous unemployed family members, who end up living off British benefits and depriving ‘genuinely homeless’ Brits (Reid, 2011, *Daily Mail*) of their

right to social housing. The distinctions between 'genuine' and 'bogus' immigrants are a constant preoccupation in the British press and the classifications are not always the result of sound research.

The public worries about the competition for jobs and losses to the British economy (see Section 3) tie in with the emphasis laid by the British press on figures and increases in migration, also conveyed as natural phenomena (metaphors of flow): '100,000 migrants free to start raking in Jobseekers' allowance' (Nicks, 2011a, *Daily Star*); '[t]he number of Romanians seeking jobs in Britain has more than trebled in a year' (Dawar, 2011b, *Express*); '[d]uring 2010, 6,777 Poles and 4,343 Romanians... were convicted in the UK' (Hall, 2011, *Express*); 'a steady stream of migrant agricultural workers' (Graham, 2011, *Express*). A pattern of continuity can be traced between these representations and the aggregations abounding in the 2006 coverage of the debate on whether restrictions for Romanian and Bulgarian migrants should be introduced (Mădroane, 2009a, 2009b). This demonstrates that the same issues – competition for jobs with 'British nationals' and the links between immigration from the CEE countries and crime – remain high on the public agenda, especially in a worsening economic environment. The actions of Romanian migrants also take the form of abstractions and objectifications, in Van Leuven's terminology (2008): 'EU migrant menace', 'the growing menace of migrant crime' (Nicks, 2011b, the *Daily Star*); 'Romanian delinquency' (Allen, 2011, *Daily Mail*); 'illegal immigrant sex' (Francis, 2011, the *Daily Star*). In other words, they acquire the status of phenomena and problems that confront British society.

The identification of Romanian immigrants in the British press is dominated by categorizations that build up a distance between the British public and the newcomers from the CEE states, whether they are depicted as 'migrants', 'workers', 'fraudsters' or 'benefit tourists'. Most categories fall within areas of activity regarded as characteristic of migrants from this EU region, such as agricultural work, begging, or human trafficking and prostitution. If in the case of Poles, Fomina and Frelak (2008) show that life stories are deployed to 'construct the complex perception of Polish migrants in the UK' (p. 41), similar attempts to do so for Romanian migrants are limited in my corpus. Glimpses into the migrants' experiences are not entirely absent, but it is rather difficult to ascertain whether they are used in order to spice up abstract descriptions and statistics or to bring in fresh perspectives on the migrants' life. Nominations may be encountered on occasion: 'Romanian Marius Nejlloveanu, 23, and dad Bogdan, 51, tricked six women into leaving their native country to work in the UK' (Hughes, 2011a, the *Daily Star*). More revealing, however, are the cases where nominations introduce direct quotations containing explanations, perceptions or attitudes (the reflexive angle) towards being a migrant in Britain:

'We all knew England was an easy place to get into, whether we had an EU passport or not,' explains Niculescu who has now returned to his native country.

'The problem was we all had the same dream and most of it was lies. We all thought life would be better for us in England and for some that was true. But for most of us it was as bad as our homeland. We came thinking we'd earn good money for our families and have a better life. The truth is, the money was OK, not as much as we expected, but the life was bad.' (Graham, 2011, *Express*)

A degree of proximity to the Romanian migrants' problems and views of life in Britain is achieved with the help of (infrequent) portrayals such as the one above. They demonstrate a journalistic intent to contextualize and explain why Romanian migrants accept less than satisfactory work conditions or even resort to crime. The representations of social actors at a mi-

cro-textual level, the construction of their identities and practices support the themes and discursive patterns visible at a macro-level, to which I now turn.

5.3.2. Interdiscursivity and intertextuality. The construction of public knowledge about Romanian immigrants in the British press

In this section, I examine the discourses that stand out in the corpus analyzed and the ways in which the press draws upon them. I refer to the prevailing discursive configurations (some exceptions will also be mentioned) and to issues of framing: diversity of viewpoints, or, on the contrary, one-sided approaches; sources of knowledge; ideological biases (New Labour or Conservative); national or transnational conceptualizations of migration. As both the themes and the micro-level analysis of social actor representation are integral components of discourses, some of the principal discursive characteristics have already been foreshadowed.

Most discourses (assessment based on frequency of themes and extent) represent Romanian migrants in problematic circumstances, which, significantly, support Conservative-Liberal Democrat political means and goals in a disproportionate and even uncritical manner. The discourse on crime brings in an array of Romanian criminals against whom immediate action is required, due to their destructive impact on British society. The ensuing social types are already familiar to the public: human traffickers, benefit scroungers, pick-pockets (see the previous subsection). Romanians are the second largest group of criminals after the Poles; nonetheless, Poles come across much better than Romanians and Bulgarians (Fomina & Frellak, 2008, p.10). A related discourse takes shape around the exploitation of social benefits and the plots to bring over all the members of extensive families (in the case of the Romanian Roma), crowd British cities and sustain the black economy. This discursive formation, dominated by an attitude of 'scroungerphobia' (Golding, 1999, p. 147) has a long history in the mainstream British press, going back to the 1970s and persisting throughout the following decades in connection with the welfare state. Remittances are a thorny issue, one strategically used to demonstrate that the British economy does not benefit from migrant work as much as New Labour policies used to imply. Interestingly enough, if scholars of transnationalism look at financial remittances as a means of development and transfer of wealth or as a cog in the global neoliberal governance (Faist, 2008; Glick Schiller, 2010), the British press looks at the topic through a national lens. The money migrants send home every year (and the numbers quoted are high) is money lost to the British economy in a zero-sum game.

A compelling construal of the opposition between 'Us', Britons, and 'Them', Romanian (Polish, Latvian etc.) migrants, cuts across each of these discourses (my emphases in the examples), increasing the 'British/foreigner divide' and overlooking any benefits of the migrants' presence in British society:

'Children as young as five are being bought and sold on *our streets* for £16,000, a shocking report reveals.' (Trafficked Children, *Mirror*, 2011)

'This would mean *British taxpayers* are being forced to pay around GBP 4.5 million in unemployment benefit for migrants.' (Sisodia, 2011, *Express*)

'Benefit Boulevard – Built in Romania – with *Your Money*' (Reid, 2011, *Daily Mail*, Headline)

'The money which the immigrants send home is foreign exchange which *the rest of us* have to earn.' (Hughes, 2011b, *Daily Star*)

'European judges are expected to pass an equality ruling tomorrow that could cost *British taxpayers* almost £1 billion.' (Slack, 2011, *Daily Mail*)

The final example above recontextualizes the familiar Eurosceptic discourse, now linked with recent transformations in British politics and EU dynamics and economy. The impositions on the British sovereign state are persistently stressed, and so are the inconveniences and disadvantages of Britain's membership in the EU. European treaties make it difficult for Britain to deport hardened criminals from Eastern Europe or to place restrictions on economic migration. This discourse is all-pervasive and incorporates comparisons with other EU states that either push the boundaries of EU legislation (France, Holland) or acquire permission from the EU to introduce transitional restrictions against Romanian workers because of the recession (Spain). The examples warn against inherent problems in the status of EU member-state and implicitly suggest that Britain could follow in the footsteps of France or Holland, or, if the situation is not properly managed (the year of 2004 remains a point of reference), face the same consequences as Spain.

As mentioned above, representations are not merely descriptive and unrelated to social action. I do not engage here with the argumentative structure of the texts, but it is important to bear in mind that all such construals back up a particular worldview and set of values. In this way, they can be seen as parts of premises in arguments that, even though not always fully developed in the articles, draw conclusions in support of a vision of British society tailored according to Conservative-Liberal Democrat immigration policies (see Section 3). Instead of a multitude of positions, voices, or answers to critical questions, most of the articles in my corpus give precedence to one-sided discursive perspectives. By constructing Romanian migrants as problems for British nationals (crime, welfare, jobs) and many of their values as anti-British way of life (Circumstantial premises in Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012), they legitimize courses of action that map closely unto the major goals and imaginaries of the new government, as formulated by David Cameron and Damian Green. Several articles end by pointing to the commitments undertaken by the Home Office. The newspapers themselves may engage in campaigns, such as one led by the *Daily Express*, which attempt to push political action to new frontiers ('Get Britain out of the EU!').

The sources of knowledge framing the representation of Romanian migrants and their relationship to British society are predominantly elite, institutional, expert sources, as was the case in the coverage of the 2002-2004 debate about opening the British labour market (Boswell, 2009). They range from institutions and organizations, to leading politicians and NGO representatives, to business leaders, experts, impersonal research reports, and (more rarely) investigative journalists: Manchester Crown Court, Europol, The Association of Chief Police Officers; the Romanian Central Bank, '[a] study by a Romanian jobs website' (Hughes, 2011b, *Daily Star*); a Home Office spokesman; Sir Andrew Green, Migrationwatch, MEP Nigel Farage of UK Independence Party, Work and Pensions Secretary Iain Duncan Smith, 'former Labour welfare minister Frank Field', 'David Frost, director-general of the British Chambers of Commerce' (Groves, 2011, *Daily Mail*); 'an undercover reporter and photographer', 'a *Daily Star Sunday* reporter' (Francis, 2011, *Daily Star*). The migrants' voices are a marginal source of knowledge and their experiences are not fully developed (see previous section). So are the voices of ordinary British citizens. Many of the sources quoted are common presences in the British press and hold views against immigration. Of the examples listed above, Migrationwatch is one of the fiercest NGO critics of pro-immigration policies (Boswell, 2009; Somerville, 2007), Frank Field supported restriction measures in 2007 (Mădroane 2009a), and the UK Independence Party is located in the populist right-wing spectrum. This rather selective worldview of Romanian migrants shows that the deliberative function of the British

print media is only partly fulfilled. Furthermore, the channelling of the readers' critical thoughts through YES/NO 'interpellation' surveys (Beciu, 2011, p. 271) enhances the national angle and reduces deliberation to a minimum: 'Should migrants get British benefits?' (Dawar, 2011a, *Express*); 'Is Britain just a soft touch for lawless migrants?' (Riches & Russell, 2011, *Express*); 'Should we kick out migrant squatters?' (Dawar 2011b, *Express*).

Finally, a few words should be said about exceptions to this clearly marked tendency in my corpus. The discourses on economic immigration, in the *Independent* (O'Grady, 2011), and community integration of the Romanian Roma in Manchester, in the *Guardian* (Leeming, 2011), paint a multifaceted and positive, even optimistic, picture of immigration from the CEE countries. The *Independent* in particular is openly supportive of Tony Blair's pro-economic migration legacy. *The Times* follows suit with 'A village divided over fruits of migrant labour' (Whipple, 2011), where the tensions and rewards of multicultural communities are coupled with a nuanced analysis of why migrants are needed for seasonal agricultural jobs and how the poor housing and bad payment deter the unemployed Britons from this labour market. The transnational concern with global neoliberal power and the social actors' coping strategies (Glick Schiller, 2010) is partially answered in this article. *The Times* also incorporates the perspectives of immigrants and ordinary British people, which make up the bulk of the text. A reverse self-other presentation can be noticed in the example below, with the positive features ascribed to the immigrants and the negative ones to British workers, even if the barriers between groups are visible:

'Paul Gimlik is rushing to the evening meeting of Marden Parish Council. "We've never had a problem with the foreigners," he says as he passes the village shop, whose owner keeps a Romanian phrase book behind the counter.

He crosses a road, the sort of English country road where every bungalow has a name, preferably painted on a porcelain plaque. The village did have some *British workers* in once, though. "They only lasted a week. They were in our houses, nicking stuff".' (Whipple, 2011, *The Times*, my emphases)

The image of community interactions does take on some darker overtones later in the text, but, importantly, the article is open to a range of views and experiences. The positive appraisals of CEE migrants in my corpus relate almost entirely to these articles. If Fomina and Frelak (2008) conclude that the construal of Poles in the British press is ambiguous, with advantages and shortcomings being brought to the fore, the negative framing of Romanian and other CEE migrants prevails in my analysis.

6. Conclusions

The research questions undergirding this study focused on the dominant themes, patterns, and discourses around Romanian migrants in the mainstream British media, in the new economic, political, and social context of post-accession (for Romania) and Conservative-Liberal Democrat Government (for Britain). I started from the premise that the media participate in the construction of a certain type of public knowledge about migrants, which is also linked with policy-making. As such, the British press is in a position to address a variety of significant issues, analyze a social event or phenomenon from multiple perspectives, quote both expert and lay sources of knowledge, and create a deliberative frame that introduces the migrants'

identities, experiences, and attitudes from a close-up angle. It can similarly blow up the foreigners/migrants – nationals classification of groups and adjust to the transnational mode of thought and methodology. The articles in my corpus, unbalanced in favour of the right-wing, anti-migration, and Eurosceptic newspapers (which demonstrates their interest in the topic) confirm a path dependency on the already established approach: migrants are construed as Others, differentiated from and even pitted against British nationals; Romanian migrants most often represent socio-political and cultural ‘problems’, as defined in the findings of experts, to be addressed by immigration, social and crime policies which maintain ‘transitional restrictions’ and manage latent crises. A few complex discussions about work conditions and community integration are present in the quality liberal papers, opening up (but to what extent?) to the far-reaching implications of mobility in the European Union. The British national press keeps in line with public attitudes of concern about immigration and the impact of EU legislation on state sovereignty. Its representations turn away from transnational dynamics and support, for the most part, Conservative and Liberal-Democrat immigration policies.

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