



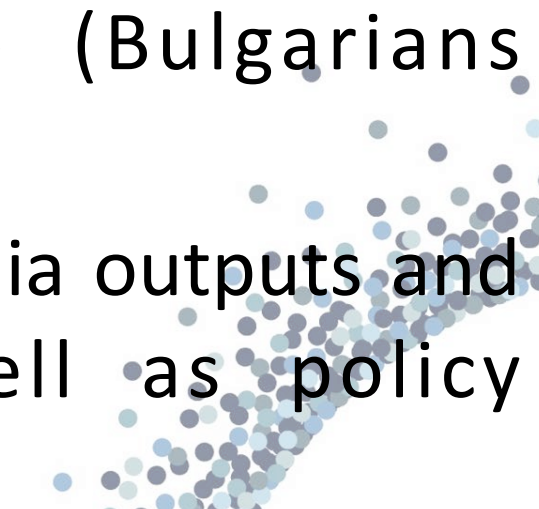
UK National Press Portrayal of Bulgarians and Romanians

1 December 2012—1 December 2013

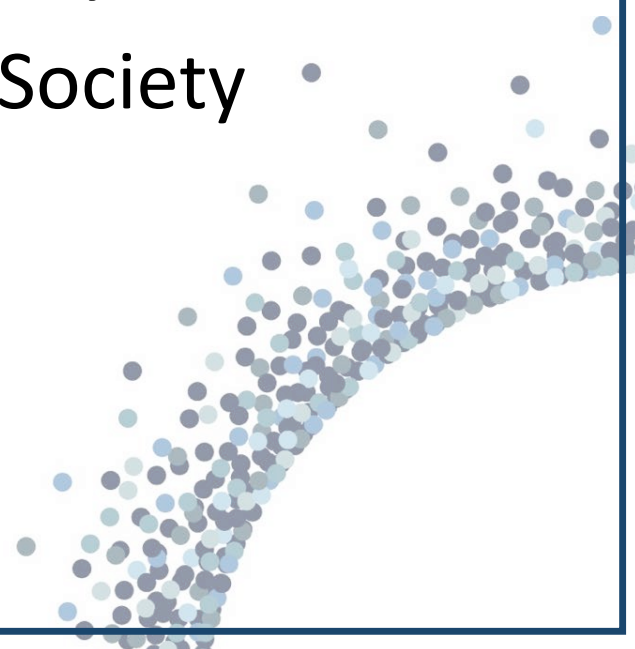
COMPAS Breakfast Briefing
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What Should You Leave With?

- Understand how sections of UK national press portrayed Bulgarians and Romanians during a key time prior to lifting of transitional controls
 - Observe similarities and differences in the portrayals of each group (Bulgarians compared to Romanians)
 - Explore the links between media outputs and public perceptions, as well as policy implications
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Outline


- Context and Questions
 - Portrayal of Bulgarians and Romanians as a Group
 - Portrayal of Each Group Separately
 - Implications for Policy and Civil Society
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Outline

- **Context and Questions**
- Portrayal of Bulgarians and Romanians as a Group
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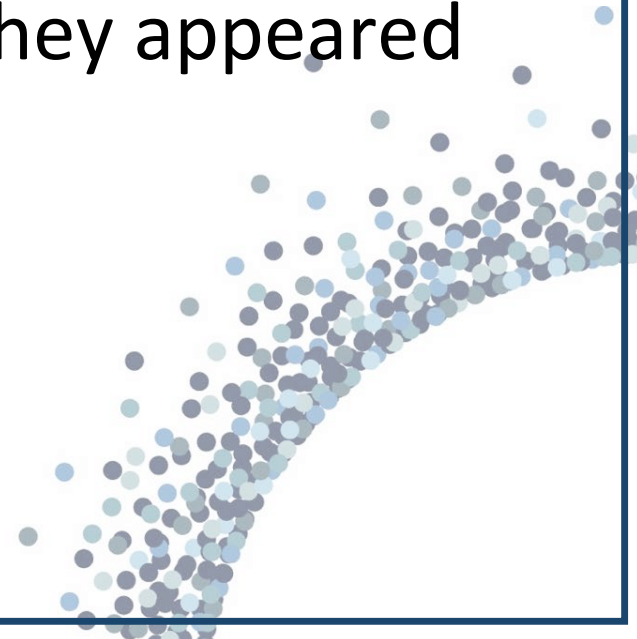


Rationale

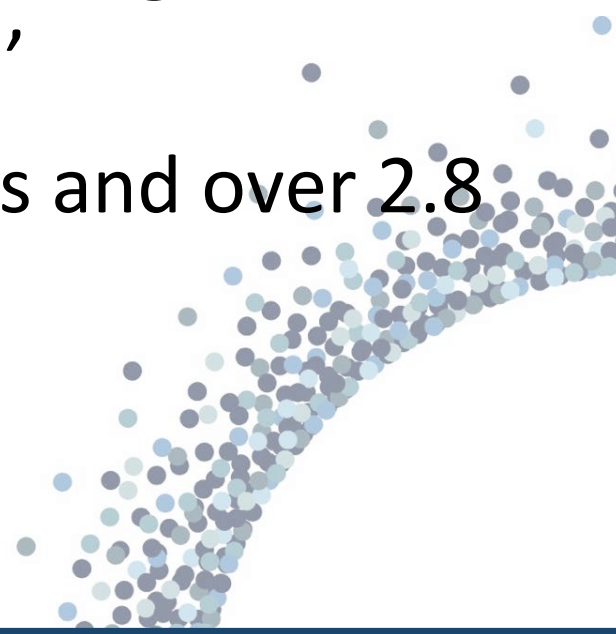
- Despite assertion about press coverage on migration, little systematic evidence shows what kinds of language the press as a whole has actually used over longer periods of time
 - Existing studies are limited in scope (time frame, sample size, methods)
 - Coverage of Bulgarians and Romanians leading up to removal of controls provides a useful example of migration in the news
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Research Questions, Data, Methods (1/3)

- What issues were raised alongside mentions of Bulgarians and Romanians when they appeared together?
- What language was used in connection with mentions of each group when they appeared separately?

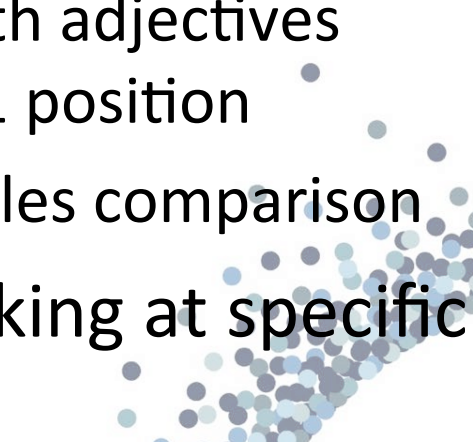


Research Questions, Data, Methods (2/3)

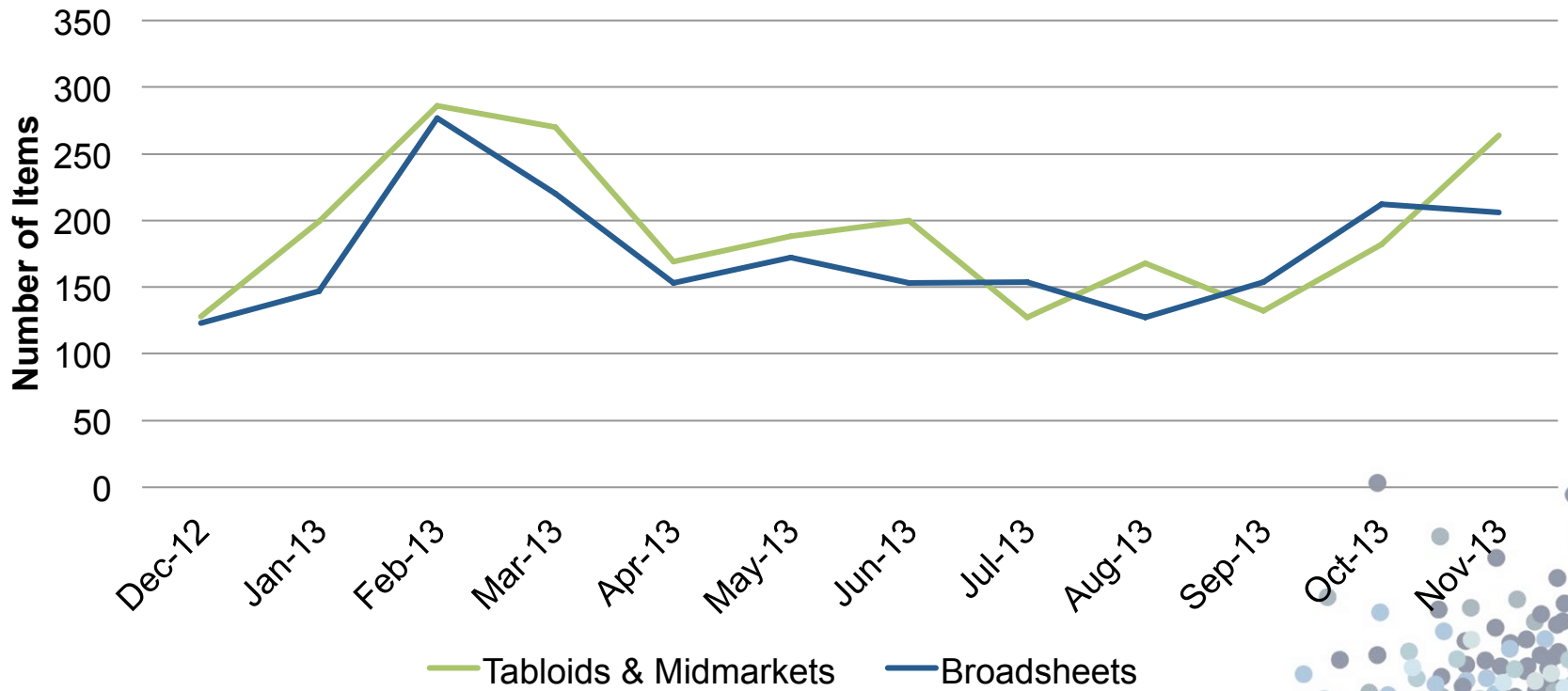
- 19 national British newspapers divided into tabloids and broadsheets
 - 1 December 2012 to 1 December 2013
 - All items mentioning 'Bulgaria', 'Bulgarian(s)', 'Romania', and/or 'Romanian(s)'
 - Dataset ('corpus') of 4,441 items and over 2.8 million words
- 

Research Questions, Data, Methods (3/3)

... L5 L4 L3 L2 L1 'Bulgarian and Romanian' R1 R2 R3 R4 R5...

- Collocation analysis looks for patterns of words that are statistically or grammatically related
 - BULGARIAN and ROMANIAN are both adjectives describing a noun, possibly in the R1 position
 - Frequency per 1,000 instances enables comparison
 - Concordance analysis enables looking at specific examples of a collocation
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Coverage Over The Study Period



Outline

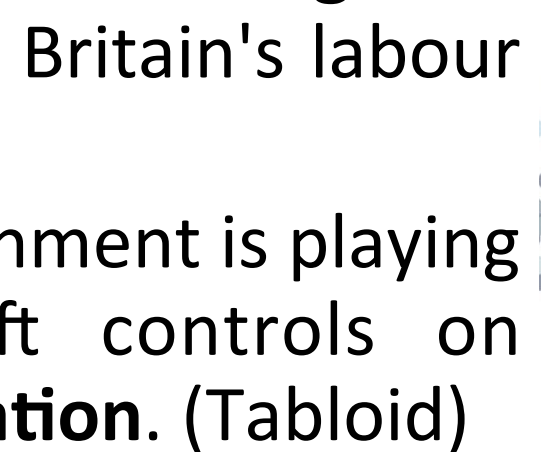
- Context and Questions
- **Portrayal of Bulgarians and Romanians as a Group**
- Portrayal of Each Group Separately
- Implications for Policy and Civil Society



Nouns Associated with 'Bulgarian' and 'Romanian'

<u>Tabloids</u>			<u>Broadsheets</u>		
Noun	Raw Frequency	Normalised	Noun	Raw Frequency	Normalised
migrant	35	15.05	migrant	48	22.70
immigrant	34	14.62	worker	32	15.13
worker	26	11.18	immigrant	31	14.66
immigration	21	9.03	citizen	23	10.87
citizen	16	6.88	immigration	11	5.20
student	4	1.72	migration	4	1.89
migration	4	1.72	economic	4	1.89
national	4	1.72			
January	4	1.72			
seasonal	3	1.29			
influx	3	1.29			


Examples from the Dataset

- But what we don't have are any measures on **Romanian and Bulgarian migrants**, which is what people mention if you ask them about immigration. (Tabloid)
 - From Jan 1, 2014 **Romanian and Bulgarian migrants** will have free access to Britain's labour market. (Broadsheet)
 - He knows full well that the Government is playing with fire by proposing to lift controls on **Romanian and Bulgarian immigration**. (Tabloid)
- 

Verbs Following 'Bulgarian' and 'Romanian'

Verb	Tabloids		Verb	Broadsheets	
	Raw Frequency	Normalised		Raw Frequency	Normalised
will	115	49.44	come	71	33.57
come	88	37.83	will	69	32.62
arrive	39	16.77	work	47	22.22
live	30	12.90	live	27	12.77
move	27	11.61	could	23	10.87
access	23	9.89	gain	18	8.51
lift	20	8.60	arrive	18	8.51
expect	19	8.17	move	14	6.62
gain	17	7.31	travel	11	5.20
head	16	6.88	lift	9	4.26
flock	15	6.45	allow	8	3.78
allow	12	5.16	head	8	3.78
flood	11	4.73	settle	6	2.84
settle	11	4.73	enter	6	2.84
enter	8	3.44	expect	6	2.84


Examples from the Dataset

- The change in rules will allow **Romanians and Bulgarians** to **come** to the UK to seek work without any barriers in place. (Broadsheet)
 - One week it's fears that tens, even hundreds, of thousands of **Bulgarians and Romanians** could **arrive** on our shores thanks to the freedom of movement allowed under EU rules. (Tabloid)
- 

Verbs Prior to 'Bulgarian' and 'Romanian'

<u>Tabloids</u>			<u>Broadsheets</u>		
Word	Raw Frequency	Normalised	Word	Raw Frequency	Normalised
estimate	34	14.62	control	21	9.93
stop	26	11.18	estimate	17	8.04
open	18	7.74	deter	13	6.15
expect	17	7.31	lift	11	5.20
lift	14	6.02	allow	10	4.73
flood	13	5.59	open	10	4.73
control	13	5.59	curb	9	4.26
allow	12	5.16	impose	9	4.26
curb	9	3.87	suggest	8	3.78
predict	6	2.58	try	8	3.78
publish	6	2.58	restrict	6	2.84
surge	5	2.15	rule	5	2.36
exist	5	2.15	forecast	4	1.89
impose	5	2.15	fill	4	1.89
block	5	2.15	predict	4	1.89

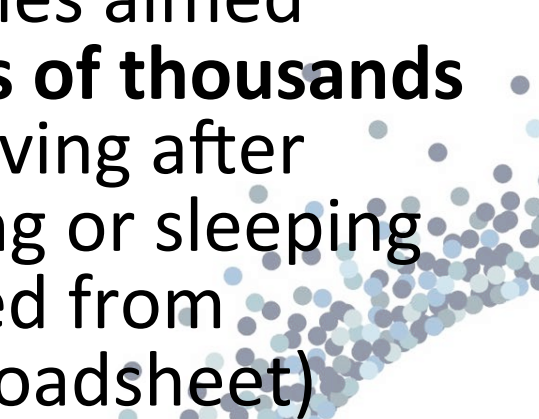
Examples from the Dataset

- The Home Office is aiming to **deter Romanians and Bulgarians** from arriving next year. (Broadsheet)
 - Ministers have made no attempt to **estimate** the number of **Romanians and Bulgarians** who will come to Britain when border controls are scrapped, it emerged last night. (Tabloid)
 - The vast majority in a poll want working restrictions left in place to **stop** an expected stampede of **Romanians and Bulgarians** to Britain in January. (Tabloid)
- 


Numerals Associated with Bulgarians and Romanians

<u>Tabloids</u>			<u>Broadsheets</u>		
Noun	Raw Frequency	Normalised	Noun	Raw Frequency	Normalised
million	69	29.66	million	24	11.35
29	50	21.50	29	13	6.15
thousands	29	12.47	50,000	12	5.67
50,000	20	8.60	21,250	5	2.36
millions	13	5.59	250,000	5	2.36
350,000	8	3.44	26,000	4	1.89
250,000	8	3.44	80,000	4	1.89
70,000	6	2.58	millions	4	1.89
35,000	4	1.72	35,000	3	1.42
13,000	4	1.72	350,000	3	1.42
30,000	3	1.29			
400	3	1.29			

Examples from the Dataset

- Next year **29 million Bulgarians and Romanians** will gain the right to live and work unrestricted in Britain under European "freedom of movement" rules yet ministers refuse to disclose how many may come here. (Tabloid)
 - And in a toughening of existing rules aimed specifically at the prospect of **tens of thousands of Bulgarians and Romanians** arriving after January 1, migrants caught begging or sleeping rough will be deported and banned from returning to Britain for a year. (Broadsheet)
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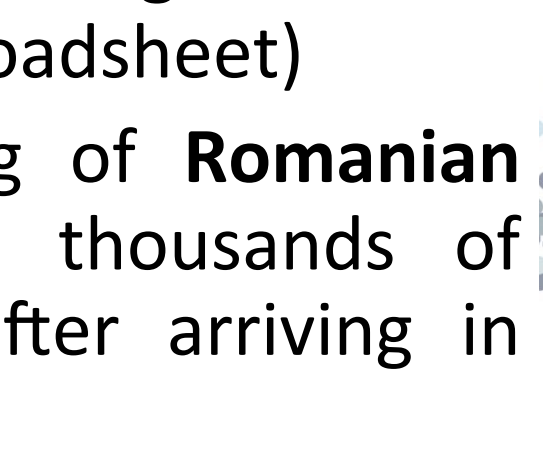
Outline

- Context and Questions
 - Portrayal of Bulgarians and Romanians as a Group
 - **Portrayal of Each Group Separately**
 - Implications for Policy and Civil Society
- 

Nouns Described as 'Romanian'

<u>Tabloids</u>			<u>Broadsheets</u>		
Noun	Raw Frequency	Normalised	Noun	Raw Frequency	Normalised
side	21	9.03	abattoir	26	12.29
gang	19	8.17	migrant	16	7.57
abattoir	17	7.31	ambassador	13	6.15
criminal	13	5.59	gang	13	6.15
woman	13	5.59	immigrant	13	6.15
immigrant	13	5.59	authority	12	5.67
passport	11	4.73	woman	11	5.20
gypsy	11	4.73	beggar	9	4.26
beggar	10	4.30	horse	9	4.26
defender	10	4.30	orphanage	8	3.78
national	10	4.30	capital	8	3.78
slaughterhouse	8	3.44	supplier	7	3.31
ambassador	8	3.44	horsemeat	7	3.31
thief	8	3.44	citizen	7	3.31
authority	8	3.44	leu	6	2.84
minnow	7	3.01	girl	6	2.84
squatter	7	3.01	dictator	5	2.36
capital	7	3.01	parliament	5	2.36
keeper	7	3.01	soprano	4	1.89
stopper	5	2.15	slaughterhouse	4	1.89


Examples from the Dataset

- **Romanian gangs** are already thought to be responsible for most cashpoint fraud as well as a lot of pickpocketing and shoplifting. (Tabloids)
 - The Home Office insists that paying for flights and coaches is a cheap way of ridding London's streets of **Romanian beggars**. (Broadsheet)
 - A furious judge blasted a gang of **Romanian thieves** who began shoplifting thousands of pounds of goods just weeks after arriving in Britain. (Tabloid)
- 

Nouns Described as 'Bulgarian'

<u>Tabloids</u>			<u>Broadsheets</u>		
Noun	Raw Frequency	Normalised	Noun	Raw Frequency	Normalised
woman	13	5.59	woman	17	8.04
midfielder	7	3.01	town	10	4.73
capital	7	3.01	Roma	10	4.73
couple	6	2.58	mother	9	4.26
star	5	2.15	couple	9	4.26
immigrant	5	2.15	nurse	8	3.78
dissident	4	1.72	capital	8	3.78
ambassador	4	1.72	ambassador	7	3.31
ace	4	1.72	driver	6	2.84
winger	4	1.72	immigrant	6	2.84
resort	4	1.72	politics	5	2.36
Gypsy	4	1.72	authority	5	2.36
striker	4	1.72	soprano	4	1.89
wine	4	1.72	interior	4	1.89
official	4	1.72	investigation	4	1.89
foreign	4	1.72	wine	4	1.89
open	4	1.72	citizen	4	1.89
millionaire	3	1.29	dissident	3	1.42
drug	3	1.29	actress	3	1.42
international	3	1.29	singer	3	1.42

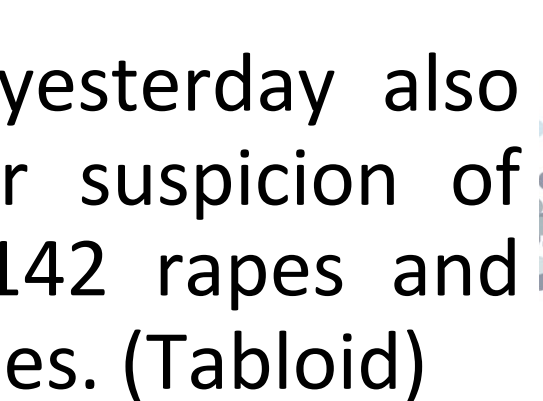
Examples from the Dataset

- They insist they were given the child by a **Bulgarian woman**, who was unable to look after her. (Tabloid)
 - The real parents of a girl known only as Maria were finally identified last night as an impoverished **Bulgarian couple** who abandoned her in Greece, triggering a legal row over the child's future custody. (Broadsheet)
 - The **Bulgarian midfielder** retired as a player earlier this month after a successful battle against leukaemia. (Tabloid)
- 

Verbs Associated with 'Romanian'

<u>Tabloids</u>			<u>Broadsheets</u>		
Verb	Raw Frequency	Normalised	Verb	Raw Frequency	Normalised
live	16	6.88	come	28	13.24
move	11	4.73	live	14	6.62
arrest	8	3.44	seek	8	3.78
sleep	5	2.15	arrest	7	3.31
rank	3	1.29	dress	3	1.42
			list	3	1.42
			stay	3	1.42

Examples from the Dataset

- A **Romanian arrested** for shoplifting was shown to be wanted for more than 60 serious offences including robbery, grievous bodily harm and kidnapping in Eastern Europe. (Broadsheet)
 - The police figures published yesterday also show **Romanians arrested** for suspicion of involvement in 10 murders, 142 rapes and thousands of other serious crimes. (Tabloid)
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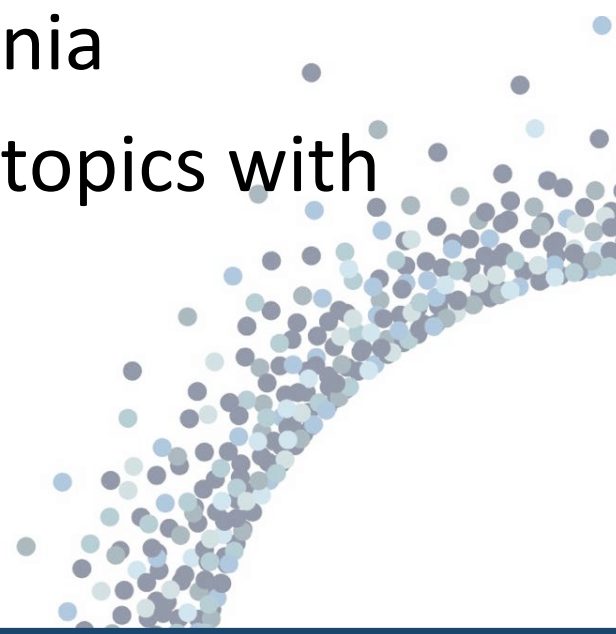
Verbs Associated with 'Bulgarian'

<u>Tabloids</u>			<u>Broadsheets</u>		
Verb	Raw Frequency	Normalised	Verb	Raw Frequency	Normalised
move	10	4.30	kill	4	1.89
sell	7	3.01	deny	3	1.42
plan	7	3.01	receive	3	1.42
consider	6	2.58			
arrive	6	2.58			
head	5	2.15			
emigrate	3	1.29			
migrate	3	1.29			
flood	3	1.29			
pull	3	1.29			
accuse	3	1.29			

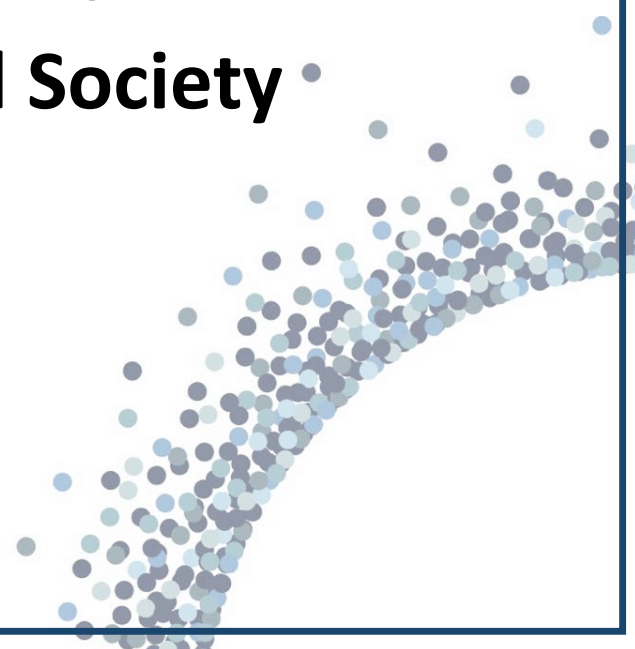
Examples from the Dataset

- Around 400,000 **Bulgarians** plan to **move** West when controls are lifted in less than six months - and the UK is now top of their list. (Tabloid)
 - More than 80,000 **Bulgarians** are likely to **move** to Britain in a new wave of large-scale migration. (Tabloid)
 - Even without new EU rules to make it easy for them, many **Bulgarians** are already **heading** overseas. (Tabloid)
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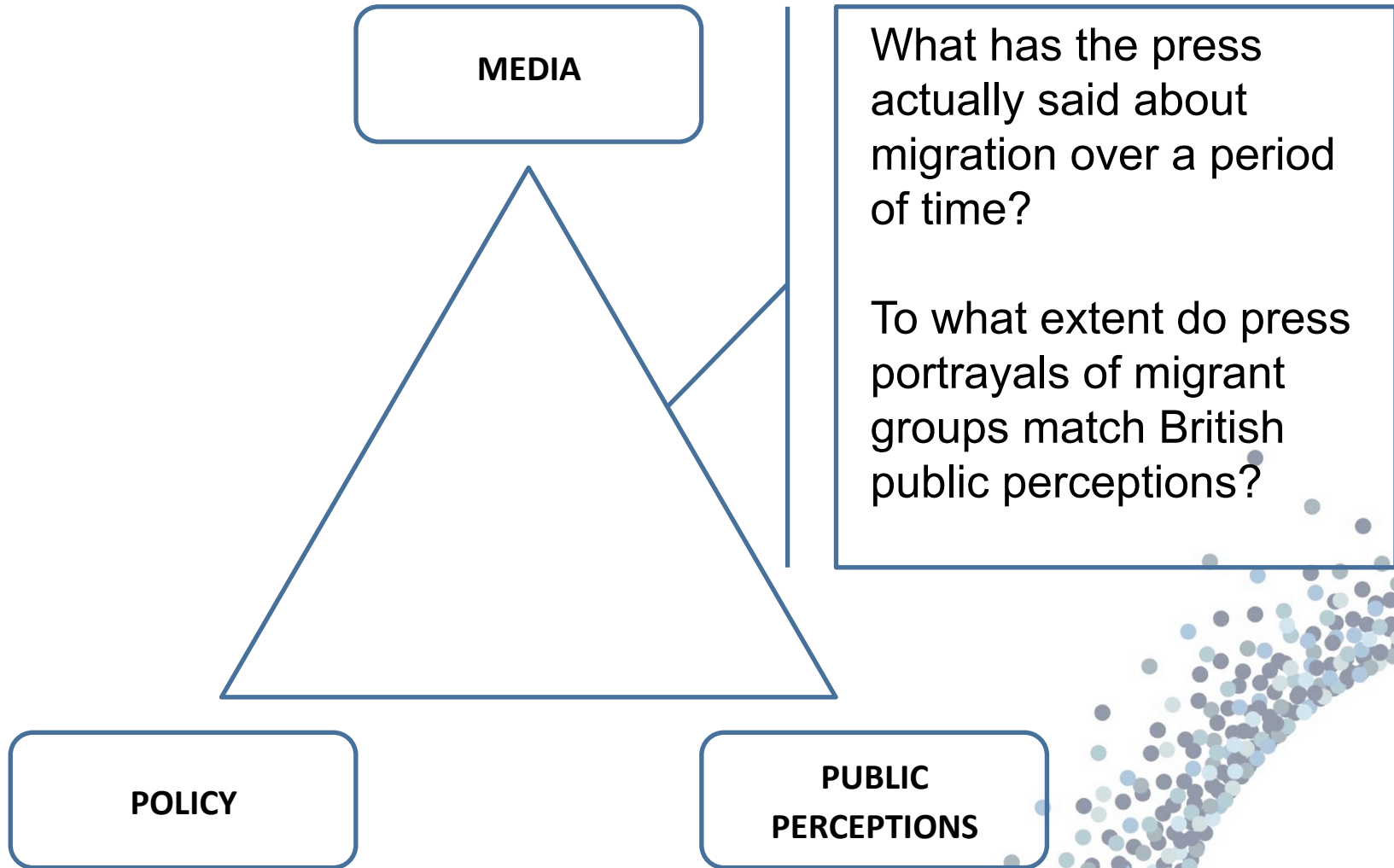
What Does This Analysis Show?

- Similarities and differences in language used in connection with Bulgarians and Romanians
 - Presence of a wide range of figures in public discussion about anticipated numbers of people from Bulgaria and Romania
 - Strong association of migration topics with mentions of these groups
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Media, Migration Policy, Public Perceptions



Media, Migration Policy, Public Perceptions

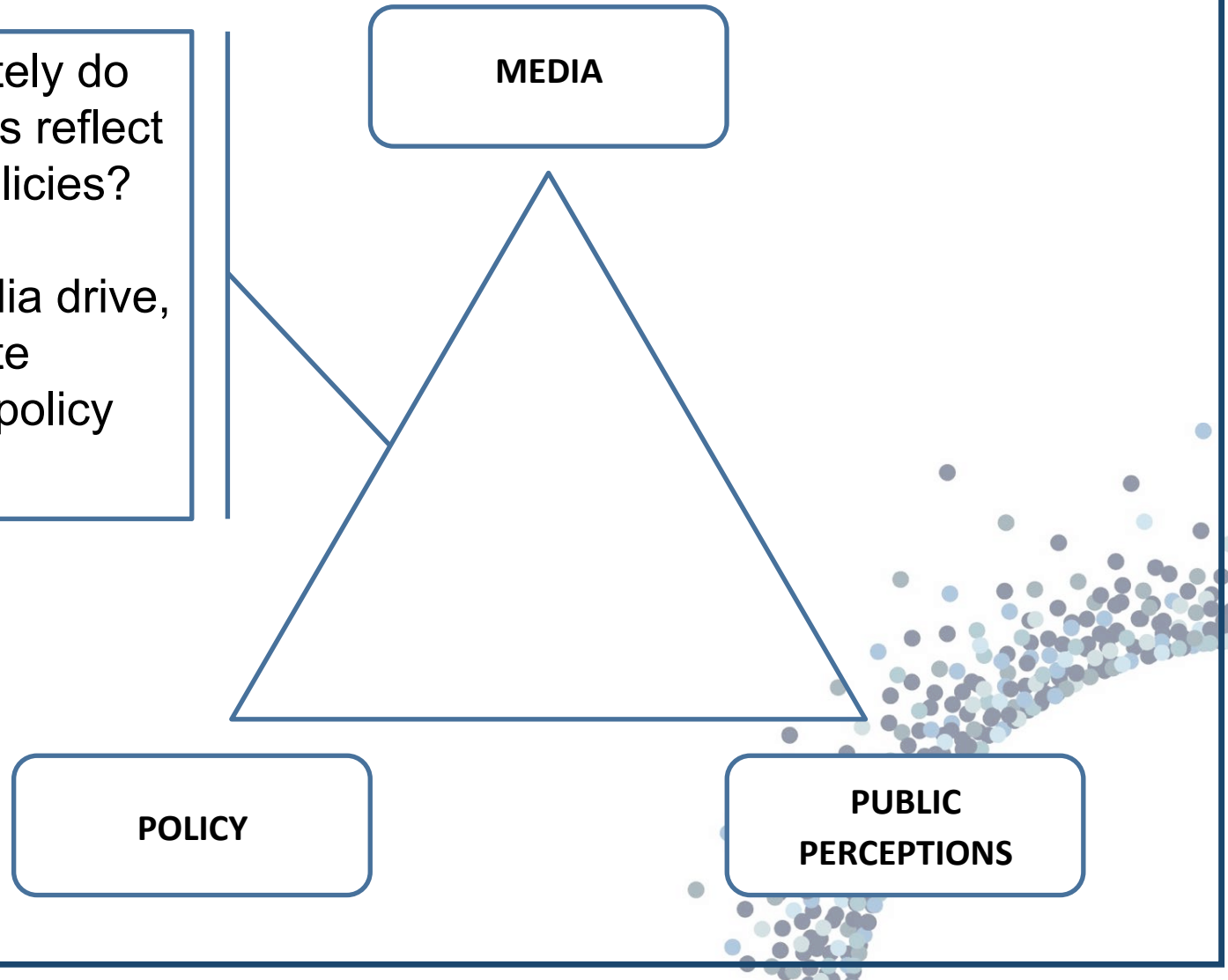
How accurately do media outlets reflect migration policies?

How do media drive, inform, create demand for policy change?

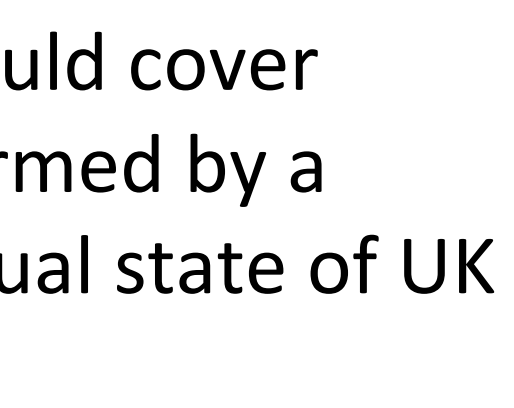
MEDIA

POLICY

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS



Debates About Migration Narratives

- Quantitative approaches to textual analysis provide systematic, comprehensive evidence about the content of newspaper narratives
 - Less reliable for questions of sentiment, tone
 - Assertion about how media should cover migration issues is usefully informed by a better understanding of the actual state of UK press
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Further Reading

- ‘Migration in the Media’ Landing Page
<http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/projects/media>
 - Vicol, Dora-Olivia and William Allen (2014). How Has the UK National Press Described Bulgarians and Romanians? British Politics and Policy: London School of Economics and Political Science.
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