Is There a New Kind of Racism Emerging in the United Kingdom?

Bakonyi, Réka Anikó
International Studies (BA)
European Integration Specialisation
Supervisor: Fekete, Éva
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. **INTRODUCTION** ..................................................................................................................................................4
   1.1 “The Age of Migration” .........................................................................................................................................4
   1.2 Internal migration of A8 migrants within the European Union ..............................................................................5
   1.3 Aim and hypothesis of the dissertation ..................................................................................................................6
   1.4 Structure of the thesis ................................................................................................................................................7

2. **THE CONCEPTUAL SYSTEM OF RACISM AND NEW KIND OF RACISM** .................................................8
   2.1 Changes in the word racism .....................................................................................................................................8
   2.2 The features of the new kind of racism ....................................................................................................................9
   2.3 Further Definitions ..................................................................................................................................................10

3. **MIGRATION ISSUES IN THE EU AND IN THE UNITED KINGDOM** ..............................................................11
   3.1 Migration in the European Union ..........................................................................................................................11
   3.2 UK’s migration traditions before 2004 ....................................................................................................................12
   3.3 Internal migration to the UK after 2004 ..................................................................................................................13
      3.3.1 Positive reactions to the A8 migration in the UK ...........................................................................................13
      3.3.2 Anxieties about the dangers of A8 migration in the UK ..............................................................................14
   3.4 The main characteristics of A8 migrants ................................................................................................................15
      3.4.1 Trends and figures ............................................................................................................................................15
      3.4.2 The dispelling of the migration myth .............................................................................................................17

4. **THE PRINCIPLES OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS** .............................................................................18
   4.1 The origin of CDA ..................................................................................................................................................18
   4.2 Theoretical background ..........................................................................................................................................20
   4.3 Analysing new kind of racism with CDA ..............................................................................................................21

5. **CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF NEW KIND OF RACISM IN THE UK** ...........................................22
   5.1 Media’s influence in shaping public opinions ........................................................................................................22
   5.2 Research principles ..................................................................................................................................................22
   5.3 The description of texts ..........................................................................................................................................23
      5.3.1 Choosing research objects and topic ..............................................................................................................23
      5.3.2 Analysing text properties ................................................................................................................................25
   5.4 Interpretation of the media articles ........................................................................................................................28
   5.5 Explanation of the articles and the proof of an emerging new kind of racism ....................................................29
   5.6 Further implications ...............................................................................................................................................31
6. CONCLUSION

Bibliography

Research Summary in Hungarian
1. INTRODUCTION

This dissertation seeks to focus on a phenomenon which is one of the factors that decisively has been forming the development of the European Union (EU) after the accession of twelve Central and Eastern European countries since 2004. The intensifying internal migration within the EU leads to multinational and multicultural societies. However, this coexistence of different nationalities may also create “cultural gaps” between migrants and host countries’ citizens and lead to negative attitudes and to the appearance of a so-called new kind of racism. Scholars of critical discourse analysis (CDA) – who have grounded their ideas on critical linguistics– claim that the negative attitudes toward migrants are produced by a dominant discourse that shapes the general opinion on migration. In this study, the theoretical framework of Teun A. van Dijk will be explicated, and the method of Norman Fairclough is going to be applied in order to observe whether new kind of racism is emerging in the United Kingdom.

1.1 “The Age of Migration”¹

Global mobility has increased with the advent of the 21st century. One of the reasons for that is “migration is becoming increasingly common as people move in search of security and better livelihood: from villages to towns, from one region to another in their motherland, or between countries and continents” (Castles [2000] p. 269). This process has accelerated with the formation of international and regional organisations within a globalising world, and has fundamentally changed people’s view on the World, prospects and notions.

The right of free movement of citizens² can be seen as one of the biggest achievements of the European Union that gives individuals the opportunity to move, work and reside freely within any Member State. Since its foundation there is a complex body of legislation “to encourage Union citizens to exercise their right to move and reside freely within any Member States, to cut back administrative formalities to the bare essentials, to provide a better definition of the status of family members, to limit the scope for refusing entry or terminating the right of residence and to introduce a new right of permanent residence” (Summary of EU legislations – online resource). Several

---

¹ The title is borrowed from Stephen Castles who has written a book with similar title.
² next to the free movement of goods, services and capital
people take advantage of the free movement right, for economic reasons: they try to fill labour shortages in a host country and escape from local unemployment in their state of origin. Besides the opportunities migrants experience in a host country, at the same time, they might face the social costs of moving as “family reunion, new working patterns, finding adequate housing and schooling as well as language difficulties” (El-Agraa [2004] p. 444).

1.2 Internal migration of A8 migrants within the European Union

Internal migration within the EU became a key issue on the political agenda after the turn of the millennium. The EU enlargement with ten Central and Eastern European countries in 2004 and the following enlargement in 2007 by the accession of Bulgaria and Romania have presented the integration with some very tough challenges in terms of migration. In this thesis the investigation is going to be limited to the so-called A8 countries (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia) that became characterised as the ‘post-Communist’, ‘Eastern European’ new Members States of the EU. One of the main features that distinguishes these countries from the EU15 (Member States of the EU before the enlargement in 2004) is that A8 countries are much poorer. For instance, in Poland the average wages were 25.4% of the EU15 average in 2007, while this number was 18.2% in Latvia (Galgóczi [2011] p. 13). (See Figure 1)

Figure 1 – Key macroeconomic driver sin the three selected sending countries compared to the EU-15, before and after enlargement and before the economic crisis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>GDP/capita, % of EU15</th>
<th>Wages in EUR at exchange rate, % of EU15</th>
<th>Employment rate (%)</th>
<th>Unemployment rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>56.7</td>
<td>58.6</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>31.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>25.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU 15</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was predicted by scientists and politicians examining the foreseeable effects of the enlargement that the A8 migrants are going to exercise their new rights after the accession, and are going to move to the old Member States in order to find better

---

3 This term is going to be explained later.
4 Accession Eight are the countries that joined the EU in 2004.
5 Nationals of Cyprus and Malta have had full free movement rights and rights to work, throughout the EU.
standards of living. It is presumed that migrants will decide to move when the benefits of moving outweigh the costs of it. “The gain from moving will be calculated as the expected income differential between the destination country and the country of origin, which will in turn be determined by the relative probability of getting a job(…)” (Blanchflower [2007] p. 3).

The EU15 have taken precautions that on the one hand migration on a large scale can cause labour market disturbances and put pressure on public services; on the other hand, a less articulated claim was also expressed according to which migration endangers the cohesion of nation states and demolishes traditional national values and the feeling of togetherness within the countries.

At the time of the expansion in 2004, only three countries: Ireland, Sweden and the United Kingdom have fully opened their labour market for the newcomers. The other twelve countries have “applied transitional arrangements to suspend free access from new Member States to their labour market” (Chaloupek [2009] p. 171). The Treaty of Accession of the A8 countries allowed a transitional period of up to seven years during which old Member States could impose restriction on the A8 labour (Currie [2008]). Despite the main voices in British politics saying “there is little to fear – and much to gain – from the extension of freedom of movement rights to the new Member States;” (House of Lords [2005] p. 16) most of the countries and citizens remained sceptical towards new migrants.

1.3 Aim and hypothesis of the dissertation

In this dissertation, I try to show that a new kind of racism is emerging toward the A8 migrants of the EU; and I also aim to highlight the role that language and discourse plays in the reproduction of this attitude.

My hypothesis is that despite of the common cultural, traditional and historical roots of the European countries (and the achievement of free movement of persons within the EU) the internal migrants of the EU are exposed to hostility, xenophobia, discrimination and exclusion by the citizens of their host EU country. This phenomenon can be a result of the so-called dominant discourse that shapes general opinions on

---

6 It was the agreement between the European Union and ten countries (Czech Republic, Estonia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia), concerning these countries' accession into the EU.
7 A particular way of talking about a subject.
political and social issues. My purpose is to draw attention to this phenomenon with the concept of “new kind of racism” (discrimination on the basis of cultural differences). I believe that the novelty of this phenomenon is that the citizens who might practice new kind of racism share common historical and cultural heritage with the migrants (fellow-EU citizens) who are exposed to the negative attitudes. Moreover, they are both parts of a regional organisation, the EU, which tries to encourage the cooperation of citizens, promote mobility, demolish national differences and create a strong feeling of togetherness.

To my research, I apply the ideas of a group of present scholars (led by Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, and Teun A. Van Dijk) who use critical discourse analysis (CDA) in order to explain and understand present conflicts and problems of the society (for instance the racist attitudes toward migrants). It is discussed by Van Dijk (inter alia) [1993] that decades of migration from different parts of the world to Europe has created a racist discourse on migration. This discourse is forming the public opinion and contributes to the (re)production of social inequalities. The issue of discriminative (new kind of racist) attitudes between EU citizens have not been examined by CDA yet (and have not received significant attention in the EU either). However, racist attitudes toward minority groups and also about external migration of the EU, is a very popular topic.

I will focus on my observation to the United Kingdom which seems to be the best example as on the one hand, it receives the highest proportion of A8 migrants in the EU, on the other hand the migration issue is among the “five most important issues facing Britain in 2004” (Duffy and Rowden [2005] p. 2).

1.4 Structure of the thesis

I begin my thesis with the definition of the key notions to avoid misunderstandings and inaccuracy. It is followed by a brief portrayal of the current situation of migration within the UK, which is essential to understand the outlined problem. I will examine the presence of new kind of racism with the approach of critical discourse analysis. The scholars of CDA assume that language and power is entirely linked (Fairclough [2001]). They focus on the power of the elites (politicians, media, etc.) who mainly influence the people’s opinion on migration and also on the adjudication of the European integration by creating and maintaining a dominant
discourse. After the theoretical justification, I will observe the presence of new kind of racism through the analysis of four newspapers’ articles on the topic of lifting restriction on A8 countries after the expiry of the seven year long transitional period. I will rely on the description-interpretation-explanation framework of Fairclough, and on similar text analysis of Mautner and Adeyanju who led research of racist attitudes in newspapers articles by the approach of CDA.

This dissertation has set the target to draw attention to an issue of the EU that can endanger the deepening of the integration. I hope that my ideas contribute to the better understanding of the current difficulties of the Union and can also help solve future problems. Finally, I will conclude that the issues raised here are far too broad to be tackled thoroughly within a single study such as this, so I do not expect to find definitive and exclusive answers to all the questions raised here.

2. THE CONCEPTUAL SYSTEM OF RACISM AND NEW KIND OF RACISM

2.1 Changes in the word racism

The concept of **racism** was created in the 1930s. It had a general meaning of discrimination or prejudice based on **race**. In my thesis, I would like to rely on Miles’ definition of **race** who is one of the most quoted scholars in the field of racism. He says that race originally “referred to a biological hierarchy of fundamentally different groups of people who possess a variable capacity for »civilisation«” (Miles [1993] p. 2). Goldberg continues this idea by claiming that racism is “the irrational (or prejudicial) belief in or practice of differentiating population groups on the basis of their typical phenomenal characteristics” and it also involves “the hierarchical ordering of the racial groups so distinguished as superior or inferior” ([1993] p. 93). These groups often share common language, traditions and culture that also distinguishes them from other groups.

The categorisation by race has lost its credibility after the Second World War, when scholars have declared that there is no relationship between biology and race: “it is an undeniable fact for geneticists and biologists that the concept of race, in reference to human beings, has nothing to do with biology” (e.g. Jacquard in Wodak [1999] p. 176). The term **racism** has changed its content in recent years, but as Michael Head, ex-Chairman of the European Commission on Race and Intolerance puts it: “racism and its expressions, segregation, violence and all such ills continue to be essentially the same
filthy creature in different visible forms. Racism still remains the belief that a person or group are superior to others for reasons of race, language or national identity, etc” (in Waterinckx [2005]). Many experts have also drawn attention to the changes in the word meaning “contemporary forms of racism are different from the old racism of slavery, segregation, apartheid, lynchings, and systematic discrimination, of white superiority feelings, and of explicit derogation in public discourse and everyday conversation” (Van Dijk [2000] p. 34). This idea gives a starting point to my observations.

2.2 The features of the new kind of racism

The conceptual change was also observed by Barker, who introduced “the chronological distinction between »old« and »new« racism” in Britain (in Wodak [1999]). These expressions refer to the continuity of the phenomenon of racism emphasising that contemporary racism does not have the same characteristics as it had before. However, “European racism(s) are deeply embedded in the Western self-identification and self-construction processes” (Özkan [2007] p. iv). The French Taguieff has also identified new racism which “does not speak about hierarchies, but just about differences and the necessity to respect them” (Taguieff in Räthzel [2005] p. 7). In addition, Räthzel highlights that the presence of different kinds of racism makes it “less important to discuss whether there is a new racism or not” ([2002] p. 11).

Nevertheless, in my thesis I would like to apply the wording new kind of racism, borrowed from Gerard Delanty, Professor of Sociology, at the Sussex University. In his book (Identity, Belonging, and Migration) edited in cooperation with Paul Jones and Ruth Wodak, Delanty raises the issue of racism in the context of migration which is the focus of this study as well. He states that new racism could also be called ‘Euro-racism’, ‘symbolic racism’ or ‘cultural racism’; and it “is based to a considerable degree on ethnocentrism and xenophobia (…) and on ignorance and fear of »the other«” (Delanty [2006]). He argues that “racism in Europe is on the rise and that one of its characteristic features is hostility to migrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers” [2008]. Under the term new kind of racism cultural diversity is brought in the middle of his analysis, and he claims that negative, discriminative behaviour based on cultural differences is observed within modern societies.

As Pilkington puts it, ‘cultural racism’ is the name of the new phenomenon where the “dominant theme is not biological heredity but the insurmountability of
cultural differences” ([2003] p. 188). Therefore, in this thesis I would put emphasis on describing discrimination on a cultural basis, which is founded on the belief that there are existing cultural differences between certain ethnic groups. When an ethnic group is in a minority position (as migrants) they are likely to be exposed to the hostility by the host, majority ethnic group due to their different language, culture and traditions. I would not draw the term new kind of racism parallel with biological assumptions; it would only refer to cultural and ethnical differences. I agree with Barton who goes as far as to say that “each human being is »really« a member of one or another »race«,” (in Miles [1993] p. 3) and that races are characterised by different somatic and cultural attributes. This leads me to believe that the word ‘racial’ might have become a synonym for ‘ethnical’ and it had lost its traditional reference to skin colour.

This is a legitimate question if the term racism is suitable for my investigation and if it should not been replaced by another analytical concept for some reason. Snider and Tetlock points out “what is being claimed to be modern and symbolic variants of racism is not racism at all but rather political and ideological conservatism” (in Augoustinos and Every [2007] p. 124). However, I defend this concept with Miles’ words: “the idea of »race« can be regarded as open to conflicting interpretations and uses: it can become an idea offering the potential of liberation because it provides a focus for political organisation and practice against exclusion effected and legitimated through a repressive discourse of »race«” (Miles [1993] p. 3).

2.3 Further Definitions

In this thesis I assume that the new kind of racism phenomenon is the result of the internal migration within the EU that has become widespread with the opening of national borders of the EU countries. I would like to define the word migration by adopting Boyle’s concept, who writes: migration is the activity of “crossing of the boundary of a political or administrative unit for a certain minimum period of time” (in Castles [2000] p. 269).

Migration can take place between culturally similar people and over short distance within a unit which is what we call internal migration. (Note that in this study the term internal migration will not refer to internal migration within a country.) Furthermore, the distinction between internal and external migration is going to be used to emphasize the differences between migration of EU citizens within the Schengen
Area, and migration from third countries to the EU by non-EU citizens. By overviewing the related literature, similar categories were made by Lauren M. McLaren, who argues that this distinction have been made at the elite level by giving individuals from EU countries “special rights and privileges when they migrate within the EU” (McLaren [2001] p. 81).

Nevertheless, Carey and Geddes point out ([2010] p. 851) that “the word »immigrants« does not capture the rights-based dynamic that underpins free movement within the EU.” Although, these people are crossing the boundaries of their country of origin, they cannot be considered as immigrants in a traditional way as they all possess the rights to freely move and take jobs in any Member State. There is a need to consider how this deficiency of termination could be solved, but unfortunately the scope of this study does not allow to extend our topic to this field. In addition, I have the presupposition that migrants moving to another Member State have the intention to work. In my analysis I ignore other purposes in order to avoid any misunderstanding.

When making definitions, the word citizen cannot be ignored which also holds a special meaning in this study. I suggest making a simplification by excluding those people from the word citizen who did not acquire their citizenship by their place of birth (ius soli) or by having parents who are citizens (ius sanguinus). I would like to use the term citizen for those people who are sharing the culture and language of their native state and actually live there. The word ‘national’ is going to be used as a synonym of ‘citizen’. The expression of host country/society refers to the place/community which is the destination of migration, and it is presupposed that this unit shares similar values, culture and language; and consists of citizens.

3. MIGRATION ISSUES IN THE EU AND IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

3.1 Migration in the European Union

“Until 1945 Europe’s migration history was predominantly marked by emigration” (Fassman and Münz [1992] p. 458) the post-war period with the economic boom has changed this pattern and attracted migrants to Western Europe. This trend was also strengthened after the decolonization of third world countries. Since then the

---

8 It is the territory where E25 citizens can travel without internal border controls. (Romania and Bulgaria are not part of the Schengen Area yet, but it is irrelevant in the present study)
number of foreigners have been increasingly growing. In 1959, there were 5 million foreigners residing in present day’s EU and EFTA countries (Fassman and Heinz [1994]) however, according to recent EUROSTAT data it was 32.5 millions in 2010. “The majority of them, 20.2 million, were third-country nationals (i.e. citizens of non-EU countries), while the remaining 12.3 million were citizens of another Member State” (the EU27 population was 501 million on 1 January, 2010). This statistics shows how migration became significant on the agenda in the last half century.

According to Castles, migration has two parallel and controversial effects on a society that results in different answers to this process: on the one hand it reinforces the creation of multinational societies; on the other hand it degrades national identities. He summarizes this in the following way: “[m]igration helps to erode traditional boundaries between languages, cultures, ethnic groups and nation states. It therefore challenges cultural traditions, national identity and political institutions, and contributes to a decline in the autonomy of nation-states” ([2000] p. 269). This two-sided effect can also be seen on the development of the European Union. There is an ongoing parallel legislation process nowadays, that on the one hand emphasises the unity of the integration and promotes internal migration, and on the other hand imposes restriction on migrants from third countries.

The Founding Fathers of the EU have founded the integration with the idea in their mind to eliminate conflicts and wars in the continent with creating a Pan-European identity. As Scheuer puts into words: “one of the central aims of the founding fathers of the European Union was to reduce conflict and overcome hostility between European societies by creating a new, superior in-group which eventually would lead to the development of European identifications and we-feelings” (in McLaren [2004] p. 896). They intended to exploit the common history and cultural, religious traditions of European countries in order to overcome language and ethnical boundaries. Meanwhile, they might have failed to put sufficient attention to the pulling powers of migration.

3.2 UK’s migration traditions before 2004

Immigration also has a long history in the United Kingdom what can be explained by the country’s long relationship with its colonies and also by its openness towards asylum seekers and political refugees. Migrants from all around the world have arrived to the UK since the eighteenth century mainly from the Caribbean, South East
Asia, India and Pakistan, from Poland and Russia, and also Jewish people from Central and Eastern Europe, etc. They have contributed to the formation of a multicultural society there.

During the 20th century, Britain has implemented varied forms of immigration and citizenship law (British Nationality Act 1948, Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962, Immigration Act 1971 [see in Modood [2010]]) in order to match the scale of migration with the needs of the economy. Another directive was the “Government’s policy on »managed migration«, which seeks to promote economic migration in order to meet skill gaps in the labour market” (Berkeley et al [2006] p. 13). The detailing of the history of immigration acts and work permit conditions are not strongly related to my study, therefore they are not going to be dealt with. However, the recent legislations and changes in the immigration system show a notable alteration that can be interesting for. A Points Based System was introduced in March 2008, after which numerous modifications were applied in the last three years in order to roll up the employment of low-skilled non-EU migrants, and attract only those migrants who “have the most to contribute to the UK.” (Points Based Visa [2009]) As the scale of EU migration cannot be limited\(^9\), we can state that the new rules closing the borders for non-EU migration have born as a response to the increased migration from other Member States.

3.3 Internal migration to the UK after 2004

3.3.1 Positive reactions to the A8 migration in the UK

The British accession to the EU in 1973 created a new situation for the country in terms of migration as well; especially after 2004 when people from the A8 countries started to migrate to the country in an unprecedented scale.

The United Kingdom’s decision to lift restrictions and let large influx of A8 citizens into its country was part of Tony Blair’s “pro-European policy” (Bulmer [2008] p. 599). He recognized that a deeper engagement with the EU can bring benefits to the country. It is interesting to observe that Britain has never showed strong commitment in the direction of strengthening the EU before. Carey and Geddes have also noticed this change when they claimed that in 1997, when Tony Blair, Labour Party politician came into power, had a “conscious decision to adopt a decidedly liberal approach to labour

\(^9\) The free movement of labour is part of the *acquis communautaire* of the European Union, and can be found in the Treaty of Rome).
migrants into the UK. Other factors, for example English as the official language in the United Kingdom was also mentioned by Barell (et al) [2007] to explain why Britain has experienced the sharpest rise in inflows. Also income level, employment opportunities and the already well-established migration networks (the existence of prior migrants) have encouraged further migration (Galgóczi [2011]).

As part of the positive change in rhetoric, Barbara Roche, Home Office minister concluded the following consequences about the effect of migration four years before the EU enlargement: “[m]any migrants, from all over the world, have been very successful here, bringing economic benefits to Britain as a whole. (…) The evidence shows that economically driven migration can bring substantial overall benefits both for growth and the economy” (Jordan [2003] p. 47). This positive opinion was continuously maintained and migration was endorsed by Home Office publications, such as the economic theory of immigration that states “migration is welfare-improving” and it “is most likely to occur precisely when it is most likely to be welfare enhancing” (Jordan [2003] p. 79). In addition, it claims that the phenomenon of immigration is economic in nature: there are countries which are abundant in labours and others abundant in capital; and according to the rules of supply and demand, workers will move from the former to the latter if legislations allow them. This mobility will lead to an improvement of resource allocation, and is also likely to drive the price of work down. Galgóczi adds that “in receiving countries the additional labour supply will raise potential and actual output, may overcome labour shortages in specific sectors/skill groups, can reduce production costs and thus raise real incomes of consumers ([2009] p. 16).

3.3.2 Anxieties about the dangers of A8 migration in the UK

In spite of the advertising campaign, a widespread fear of being invaded by the flow of incoming migrants has stood behind the fact that the majority of the old Member States have decided to place restriction on A8 entrants and to regulate access to
their labour markets which was agreed for up to seven years in the Treaty of Accession. The British Conservative Party has also taken an opposing position; and by picking up the immigration issue and blowing it into centre stage, “it inspired mainstream political conflicts” (Favell [1998] p. 22) and split public opinion in the UK. The main arguments for opposing A8 migration were that it may “increase pressure on persons already disadvantaged on the labour market, exacerbating trends to greater inequality, undermine working conditions and wages, and increase unemployment if displaced workers are not reabsorbed” (Galgóczi [2009] p. 16). With the election victory of Conservatives in 2010, this tendency kept strengthening.10

The example of the UK shows that the anxieties about the scale of A8 migrants were not unfounded as Sonia McKay highlights: “in the mid to late 1990s around 30,000 migrants a year came to the UK for employment purposes. Since 2004 migration from A8 countries averaged around 200,000 persons a year” (McKay [2009] p. 31). This vast number (that was the largest scale migration in the British history) has caused surprise even among UK ministers, who have underestimated the migration flow and have also faced the problem of not having reliable and precise data about the exact numbers of EU migrants in Britain. With the rights of free movement within the United Kingdom, entrants are not subjected to immigration control anymore that would provide precise information about the nationals of European Economic Area (EEA)11 arriving to the country. In contrary to the supporting political campaign by the Labours, negative opinions and the disapproval of the direction of the British politics has appeared in public, and the government was criticized by its opposition and its citizens.

3.4 The main characteristics of A8 migrants

3.4.1 Trends and figures

The Home Office of the UK introduced a work permit, the Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) in 2004 in order to monitor the scale of A8 migrants who have arrived to the country with the intention to take jobs. Even though the WRS was closed in April 201112, I can use its statistics to get a general overview about the migration trends.

---

10 The views of other British parties, is not going to be observed in this study.
11 Not only nationals of the EU have the rights of free movement within the UK then also the three EEA countries (Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway) are entitled with the addition of Switzerland.
12 Under the Treaty of Accession’s regulations, all restriction on A8 migrants should have been removed till the 30th April 2011, therefore, the WRS has also been repealed.
According to a Home Office publication, “there were 1,134,711 approved applicants for the WRS from A8 nationals between May 2004 and April 2011” (Home Office [2011]) which is a relatively large number compared to the “4.5 million inhabitants of ‘ethnic minority’ background (for a population of around 59 million)” (Modood [2010] p. 7).

However, as the WRS did not record the de-registration of workers, who might have returned to their country of origin, and as the registration required a relatively large fee to be paid, presumably, a proportion of migrants might have chosen not to register.

Equally relevant to my topic is the composition of the A8 migrants. The following figure presents the fact that the vast number of WRS applicants were from Poland (Poland accounted for 66% of the total application between 2004 and 2009), followed by Lithuania and Slovakia with far lower numbers (Home Office [2009]) (See figure 2). It is also important to note that Polish people have been arriving to the United Kingdom since the Second World War. Thus, they have already established migrant networks in the host country that made it easier for later migration waves to settle down in the country.

![Figure 2 – Nationality of approved applicants, May 2004 – March 2009](image)

It can be observed in which sectors these incomers find employment in order to see if A8 migrants fill labour shortage or not. According to the Annual Monitoring Report of the UK “the top five sectors for registered workers, who applied between May 2004 and March 2009, were administration, business and management (40%),
hospitality and catering (19%), agriculture (10%), manufacturing (7%) and food, fish, meat processing (5%).” (Home Office [2009]) (See figure 3)

Figure 3 – Top 5 sectors in which registered workers are employed, by quarter of application, January 2005 – March 2009

3.4.2 The dispelling of the migration myth

A Migration Advisory Committee was set up in order to “advise the Government where in the UK economy there are skilled labour shortages that can be “sensibly” filled by migrant workers” (Lucas and Mansfield [2008] p. 2). According to its research results, there are seven sectors in the UK economy that may experience labour shortage: agriculture, food processing, financial services, construction, hospitality, health care and social care. These results seem to reinforce the statement that migrants have a generally positive effect.

Similar conclusions were made by the Employment in Europe 2008 published by the European Commission, emphasising that migration is generally a positive process, as it “alleviate[s] the effects of population aging, helps deal labour and skill shortages, and more generally it fuels economic growth;” although, it brings challenges as well, “regarding developing appropriate integration policies” ([2008] p. 14). Observing the effects of EU’s enlargement in 2004, the report claims that “it has not lead to serious disturbances on the labour market, even in those Member States that have seen a
relatively large inflow of migrants from new Member States” ([2008] p. 15). Likewise, doubts have been dispelled claiming that “local worker’s wages have continued to rise and unemployment has declined since enlargement” ([2008] p. 16) in both sending and host countries.

Another important characteristic of migration from A8 countries is that people are moving to the UK for a relatively short, terminated period. One study suggests that “half of the people, who moved to Britain from the countries that joined the European Union on 1 May, 2004 have already left the UK” (Pollard et al in Sonia McKay [2009] p. 42).

Considering these arguments, the question emerges why British citizens would be new kind of racist toward internal migrants if it is officially declared that they do not endanger citizens’ employment. This issue is going to be discussed in the following chapter.

4. THE PRINCIPLES OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

4.1 The origin of CDA

Phoenix argues that “over the last twenty years research methodologies that take language as their premier analytic site, have flourished” ([2004] p. 38); and there is a general trend of “turning to language”. In this thesis I employ a research method – the so-called critical discourse analysis – that was also grounded on the study of language. The scholars of discourse studies believe that “language is an ingredient of power processes resulting in, and sustained by, forms of inequality” (Blommaert [2005] p. 2). Therefore, the consideration of language is essential in order to understand present political and social issues. As “language can be used to reproduce existing social inequalities” (Jiwani and Richardson [2011] p. 258), we can suppose that with the analysis of discourses we can reveal the hidden powers that are forming racist attitudes.

I mainly base my study on the works of Teun A. van Dijk, Professor of Pompeu Fabra University in Spain, who provides a wide range of studies about the explanation of critical discourse analysis and about the observation of racist discourses in Europe, in parallel with other scholars, such as Ruth Wodak, Michael Meyer and Norman Fairclough.
CDA was first used by Norman Fairclough, one of the linguists of Lancaster School, who emphasised the importance of the relation between language, power and ideology. According to Cotter, linguists usually consider text from two “vantage points: that of discourse structure or linguistic function, or according to its impact as ideology-bearing discourse” ([2003] p. 417). He claims that critical discourse analysis belongs to the second group and has been developed through “Fairclough’s deployment of social theory and intertextuality in the illumination of discourse practice, Fowler’s critical scan of social practice and language in the news, and van Dijk’s work on the relation of societal structures and discourse structures, particularly as this relation implicates racism” ([2003] p. 417).

Van Dijk [1993] highlights that the roots of CDA can be traced back to the theory of Aristotle, to the philosophers of Enlightenment, to Marx and the Frankfurt School; also Habermas, Gramsci and Stuart Hall has contributed to CDA’s development by their ideas; and the list could go on. Unfortunately, the scope of this thesis does not give us the opportunity to detail the contribution of all these scholars. Nevertheless, I do not intend to present the history and development of linguistics and discourse studies either. Preferably, I would like to highlight the main traits of CDA and lie down some of its assumptions in order to exploit its potential to show the presence of new kind of racism.

Van Dijk does not find it necessary to categorise or make a universal definition of CDA. He emphasises that “CDA is not so much a direction, school, or specialization next to the many other »approaches« in discourse studies. Rather, it aims to offer a different »mode« or »perspective« of theorizing, analysis, and application throughout the whole field.” He continues that in CDA the “distinctions between theory, description and »application« become less relevant;” ([1993] p. 252) what is more important is to invest all the necessary tools to be able to understand a complex social problem. According to The Sage Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods, CDA “is an approach to language analysis that originates within linguistics but is more socially oriented and interdisciplinary than most linguistics” (Lewis-Beck et al [2004] p. 214). Wodak argues that CDA is a Critical Theory that “wants to produce and convey critical knowledge that enables human beings to emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection” ([2009] p. 7). I will employ the versatility of CDA

13 See more in The Sage encyclopedia of social science research methods pp. 214-216.
in this thesis, both its theoretical and methodological side is going to be adopted in order to examine the phenomenon of new kind of racism.

4.2 Theoretical background

CDA aims to discover “what structures, strategies or other properties of text, talk, verbal interaction or communicative events play a role” (van Dijk [1993] p. 250) in the reproduction of dominance discourses within a society. Van Dijk defines dominance as “the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups, that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality” ([1993] p. 249). According to his views, there are dominant discourses in the society which are created and reproduced by powerful and dominant elites. Elites are defined as “some members of dominant groups and organizations” having “a special role in planning, decision-making and control over the relations and processes of the enactment of power” which they can also practice by their “privileged access” (van Dijk [1993] p. 255) to discourses and communication. It is claimed that the elites use dominant discourse in order to manipulate, persuade and manage the mind of the public. Furthermore, the dominant discourse “manufactures consensus, acceptance and legitimacy of dominance” (Herman and Chomsky in van Dijk [1993] p. 255) and also of the power of the elites.

Discourse can be “anything from a historical monument, a lieu de mémoire, a policy, a political strategy, narratives in a restricted or broad sense of the term, text, talk, a speech, topic-related conversations, to language per se” (Wodak and Meyer [2009] p. 3). Critical discourse analysts claim that these discourses are part of our everyday life and most of the time the public accepts them without critical analysis of their hidden meaning.

The task of CDA is to “help increase consciousness of language and power, and particularly of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others” and furthermore to help “to see the extent to which their language does rest upon common-sense assumptions” (Fairclough [2001] p. 3) and how these “common-sense assumptions” are shaped. According to van Dijk, scholars in CDA have the role to facilitate changes through the critical understanding of the society by drawing attention on inequity and dominance. Cotter also argues that the method of CDA is “»critical« in
the sense of revealing societal power operations and evoking a call to social responsibility” ([2003] p. 418).

4.3 Analysing new kind of racism with CDA

Wodak and Reisigl state that “racism, as a social construct, as a social practice, and as an ideology” is “produced and reproduced by means of discourse” ([1999] p. 176) in order to serve the interests of the elite group. They point out that race “has been used as a legitimating ideological tool to suppress and exploit specific social groups and to deny them access to material and cultural resources” ([1999] p. 176). These resources are for example welfare services, housing, political right that are denied from a minority group who are discriminated on cultural base and are pushed in an unequal position.

I suppose that the mentioned statements can be equally true for the new kind of racism phenomenon, and the opinions about A8 migrants might be also influenced and maintained by dominance discourses produced by the media and politicians. This can be the result of that “over the last twenty years racism in dominant discourse has moved from scientific biological arguments toward cultural racism” (Bhavnani [2001] p. 25). Therefore, those who have different cultural attributions as the majority population, can become subject of the new kind of racism phenomenon.

However, the emergence of the phenomenon of new kind of racism is very complex. Consequently it needs a multidisciplinary approach in order to investigate all the possible factors which play a role in its creation. CDA involves a comprehensive research on the field of politics, sociology, linguistics, semiotics, anthropology, history, communication, etc., and that versatility gives it the potential to be suitable to analyse complex phenomena, such as social injustice and inequality.

Even if I accept the role of dominant discourse in this process, I need to illustrate other features that contribute to the establishment of new kind of racism. To take into account all the possible explanations, a much more detailed study would be required. However, only some notions will be presented in the following chapter.
5. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF NEW KIND OF RACISM IN THE UK

5.1 Media’s influence in shaping public opinions

My supposition is that the media have indisputable power in forming the public opinion, as “media discourse is the main source of people’s knowledge, attitudes and ideologies, both of other elites and ordinary citizens” (van Dijk [2000] p. 36). Therefore, with the analysis of representation of A8 migrants in the media, it can be observed if there is a new kind of racist discourse emerging in the society. Our starting point is that the topic of immigration is very often the main issue on the agenda, thus, “the subject of immigration and asylum seekers occupies a prominent place in daily news coverage” (Berkeley et al [2006] p. 24). Duffy and Rowden add that race and migration are those issues, “on that newspapers have the greatest impact”. They also observe that “media coverage on immigration in the last 30 years shifts its attention from »non-white« Commonwealth immigration to the anxiety over asylum seekers and migration from the new member states of the European Union” ([2005] p. 35). If we accept that the internal migrants of the EU have become part of the dominant discourse with the contribution of the media, we can suppose that the picture which is created by the media reflects how the general public perceives internal migrants. It is argued that the media create panic by deploying the “fear over the potential of mass »influx« of Eastern European »Gypsies«” and of “poor white immigrants from the EU” (Berkeley et al [2006] p. 29). This idea goes as far as to say that hostility and new kind of racism is embedded in the media.

5.2 Research principles

I would like to apply critical discourse analysis as a research method; and I implement Fairclough’s way of analysis that consists of three stages: description, interpretation and explanation of a text (Fairclough [2001]) that provides a good basis to build my analysis on.

First of all, on the stage of description, I will examine “the formal properties of text” (Fairclough [2001] p. 21) pointing out its content and function, “starting with an analysis of vocabulary and semantics and the grammar of sentences” (Jiwani and Richardson [2011] p. 242). Four media articles will be analysed relying on Charles T. Adeyanju’s article ‘There Will Be a Next Time: Media Discourse about an
«Apocalyptic» Vision of Immigration, Racial Diversity, and Health Risks’ which is a great critical discourse analysis of Canadian racism. Other guidance is going to be taken from Gerlinde Mautner’s article, the ‘Analyzing Newspapers, Magazines and Other Print Media’, where she greatly summarise the principles of doing research with CDA. Scholars claim that there is no “specific methodology characteristic of research in CDA” (Wodak [2009] p. 5) that deficiency has both its advantages and disadvantages: it gives freedom in research for the researchers, nevertheless, it makes difficult to decide how to approach a social and political problem.

According to Simpson, on the stage of interpretation the focus has to be on “conjecturing the cognition of readers, how they might mentally interact with the texts” ([2011] p.447). I will mention some factors that decisively form how people perceive the analysed articles. However, the emphasis is going to be on the stage of explanation, when I intend to critically explain the connection between texts and discourses, and exceed the limits of text analysis. I will focus on “the wider sociocultural practices which discourse helps (re)produce” (Jiwani and Richardson [2011] p. 242). In this phrase “the researcher draws on social theory in order to reveal the ideological underpinnings of lay interpretive procedures” (Blommaert [2005] p. 30).

5.3 The description of texts

5.3.1 Choosing research objects and topic

I have selected my research objects from a wide range of online articles of British newspaper on a particular topic. In choosing the articles, I relied on a categorization of newspapers in the United Kingdom in order to avoid “cherry picking”\(^{14}\). Although I was trying to make sure that different political camps and opinions are selected, I must admit, that Mautner’s arguments stating “choosing data always involves an element of subjective judgement, and it is precisely because this cannot be completely avoided that subjectivity needs to be counterbalanced by rigour and choices exposed to crucial scrutiny” ([2008] p. 37). When choosing newspapers, I considered the suggestions of Duffy and Rowden claiming “positive stories about economic contributions made by immigrants appear mainly in The Guardian and The Independent” and in contrary “the tabloid press often reacts to positive reports on immigration with attack on credibility of

\(^{14}\) Choosing “texts that support our personal views and ignoring those that do not” (Mautner [2008] p. 37).
such facts…” ([2005] p. 26). I was looking for articles in four selected newspapers: in The Guardian, in The Economist, in the Daily Mail and in The Sun. According to Thompson, The Guardian represents the group of “quality dailies”, although the Daily Mail and The Sun are parts of the “popular daily” newspapers ([1989] p. 269). It is believed that the importance and representation of certain issues differs in between “quality dailies” and “popular dailies. (See figure 4) Although, my articles taken under observation were published on the website of these papers, I suppose this categorisation is also true of them.

Figure 4 – The importance of the issue of Race Relations/Immigration/Immigrants
Source: Duffy and Rowden [2005] p. 12

Race Relations/Immigration/Immigrants

Q What is the most important issue facing Britain/what are the other important issues?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>% saying race/immigration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily Express</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Mail</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Times</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sun</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Mirror</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Star</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GB Average</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Telegraph</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Independent</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: MORI aggregate data c10,000 interviews, Jan-Oct 2004

My chosen articles have a common point, they all respond to a significant event of European migration issues. From 1 May, 2011 all kinds of restrictions on the free movement of workers from A8 countries allowed by the Treaty of Accession have been lifted. With the end of the transitional period\(^{15}\), all Member States (except Romania and Bulgaria) should ensure the “equal treatment (of A8 migrants) as regards public housing, tax advantages and social advantages” (European Commission [2008] p. 112). This change in EU law has significant effect on every Member State, as does on the United Kingdom as well. I suppose that different attitudes can be presented through the articles published in relation to this issue, as it has numerous consequences on both migrants and host societies.

\(^{15}\) By June 2009, all countries but Germany and Austria had fully opened their labour markets to A8 nationals. (Galgóczi [2011] p. 8)
The international political situation at the time of lifting the restriction has to be taken into account as well as when we analyse headlines and articles of a certain period. As a consequence of the Arab Spring in the spring of 2011, the influx of third country nationals were in the middle of political debates and media coverage in April and May, thus, the changes in EU rules have not occupied a prominent place in the news. Furthermore, the current British Prime Minister, David Cameron epoch-making speech on (mainly third country) migration in April has received bigger attention at this time. Although, this situation resulted in not having significant media attention on the change of rights of A8 migrants, I suppose that the chosen articles show the right picture about the dominant discourse on A8 migration.

The following articles have been selected:

- “100,000 Eastern European migrants now free to claim full benefits in Britain worth tens of millions of pounds after EU ruling” by Jack Doyle from the Daily Mail (last updated on 4 March, 2011)
- “Euro dole grab EC rules jobless migrants should get UK benefits” by Emily Ashton from The Sun (last updated on 30 September, 2011)
- “Britain's got (foreign) talent - Opening Britain’s doors to east European workers was the right thing to do” by Bagehot blog from The Economist (last updated on 5 May, 2011)
- “Net migration to UK reaches highest level for the last five years” by Alan Travis from The Guardian (last updated on 26 May, 2011).

5.3.2 Analysing text properties

According to Adeyanju, articles can be divided into hard news and opinion discourses. Hard news is “considered to be fair, balanced and objective, nevertheless, opinion discourses are »overly biased viewpoints«” ([2007] p. 86.) Applying this distinction on the articles, I would claim that all of them portray migrants with a certain opinion; therefore I would not consider them hard news. Looking through the articles, I state that three of them have a more negative and anxious tone, while The Economist’s article has a noticeably positive opinion on internal migrants.

The headlines have an extremely significant role in the newspapers because “most readers do not read the remainder of an article” (van Dijk in Adeyanju [2007] p. 86.)
87). However, they do not clearly communicate the content of the articles. All four of the articles deal with or refer to the end of the transitional period and the effects of A8 migrants, albeit in the headlines there are no clear references. In The Economist, they are called ‘workers,’ while the other three use the term ‘migrants’, what differentiates more local workers and workers from the A8 countries. Another important attribute is that the construction of headline sentences in three cases is very hectic and expresses unrest and uncertainty.

Going more deeply into the text, Mautner applies seven linguistic resources in her qualitative discourse analysis that are also investigated in my study: “lexis, transitivity, modality, source attribution and presence of different ‘voices’ in the text, textual coherence and cohesion, argumentative devices establishing rapport between author and reader, and nonverbal message components” ([2008] p. 34).

On the level of lexis, the choice of words can suggest how the public opinion is tried to be influenced by the media. The expressions which are describing A8 migrants separate them from the local population by emphasising their differences: the Daily Mail uses mostly the pre-1989 division to refer to migrants, as “Eastern European migrants”, “former Eastern Bloc countries”, but also the term “so-called A8 countries” and “people from much poorer states” appears. The Guardian underlines Polish migrants as the largest ethnic minority group of the UK, the expressions do not define who are the other seven countries: “Polish migrants”, “Polish and other workers”, “from Poland and other “A8 eastern European countries”, “poles and others.” The Economist mixes the previous two approaches; numerous terms are used as “Poland and seven other ex-communist countries”, “eastern migrants”, “new migrants”, “east Europeans”, “poorer neighbours.” There are at least three points to highlight from the way A8 migrants are described. Firstly, it is easy to observe that the British press suggests that there is a clear line between the east and west parts of Europe, and those countries consisting of the west, are more similar to each other than to the east. Secondly, a discourse about the underdevelopment of A8 countries is maintained by emphasising their Communist historical part and their poorness. Finally, Poland seems so be the symbolical country of A8 migrants; they are highlighted and used as a key word to identify a group and attitudes toward them.

Figures also have an influential role in convincing people about certain opinions, as they present reliable source of information which is assumed not to be manipulative. Even though, the last statement can be argued, in case of using approximate data and no
references. Numbers are used to make astonishment and raise fears; in our case they are used to refer to the large scale of migration and to the cost of migrants “housing benefit worth hundreds of pounds a week”, “more than a million have joined the scheme”, “net migration to UK reaches highest level”, “An estimated 1.5m eastern migrants”, “cost an extra £2.5billion a year.”

Another tool of convincing readers is the demonstration of official opinions, appraisals and estimations, as “references to elite sources serve a legitimizing function” (van Dijk [1995] p. 11). In these articles, ministers, party leaders and spokespersons, directors of certain organisations are quoted in order to support the authors’ opinion and convince the public. These people constitute those certain elites who have the ability to form and maintain the dominant discourse. In the Daily Mail and The Sun articles, officials confirm anti-migrant opinions by claiming that it was a “huge mistake in allowing people from much poorer states to claim benefits in Britain”; or by calling migration as “benefit tourism.” It is important to observe that these articles do not seek to present different opinions about the topic, only government ministers and the strongly migration opposing Migration Watch’s chairman are quoted. On the other hand, The Economist’s and The Guardian’s articles illustrate the opinion of both camps. The negative government approach of “it is right that we take control of the immigration system” and the opening of the labour market was a “huge mistake” appears here as well. However, critique of the government also takes place here for maintaining an “anti-immigration rhetoric”, and the acknowledgement of “migrants (…) had mostly filled gaps in the labour market” is expressed. The choice of ‘voices’ is more impartial as well: both the Labour and the Conservative Party is represented next to professors of universities and research centres.

As part of the argumentation strategies of the texts, I can observe the distinction in the positive portrayal of “us” and the negative picture of “them”. According to the Daily Mail Britain has “a generous benefit system” that migrants want to “abuse”, and they are also “raising fear” with their invasion. The Guardian argues that as there is “no control over migration from the EU” so the UK government needs to take “drastic measures” to “tightly migration from outside the EU. This argumentation is a less blatant accusation of A8 migrants. The Economist calls Britain as “the rare friend of Poland”, as UK has generously opened its borders for migrants, who have abused the opportunity (and kindness of Britain) by heading in large scale to the country. As a result, some voices say now “Britain should have copied the closed-door policies of
countries like Germany” as the A8 migration led to a catastrophic loss of public confidence in the immigration system.”

5.4 Interpretation of the media articles

After the deep scrutiny of the four newspaper articles on the level of text, I can make some presumptions about how the readership interprets the previous articles. “This stage seeks to show how wider social and cultural contexts and power relations (…) might shape the interpretation” (Simpson [2011] p. 447).

Individuals’ “social cognition” (van Dijk [1995] can shape the way how they perceive the world, how their brains translates ideas, messages and concepts. With Blommaert’s wording “abstract cognitive complexes located in the minds of members of groups, based on accumulated experience and socialisation, and organising the way in which these members think speak and act” ([2005] p. 162). This idea supposes that individuals’ way of thinking is influenced by several factors: their education, socialisation (previous experiences) and also by the discourses that surround their life.

It was also observed by McLaren according to her “individuals with more education seem to understand/believe that excluding certain individuals and groups from participating in the polity is against the norms of democracy” ([2001] p. 99) and she continues: “[i]n countries with longer histories of immigration, there has also been a longer history of debate about the inclusion and exclusion of certain groups, and the better-educated individuals are likely to have followed this debate” and are more critical toward the dominant discourse.

The legislative traditions of a country can also play a role in how public opinion is formed, pointed out by Weldon ([2006] p. 331). “The degree to which dominant ethnic tradition or culture is institutionalised in the laws and policies of a nation state affects citizen tolerance of ethnic minorities”. If the laws, rules and norms created by the state favour to migrants, citizens’ attitude will be more tolerant toward them. Weldon continues that “humans are fundamentally social animals, and as such, our social environment and group membership have a strong influence on how we see ourselves” (Weldon, [2006] p. 332).

A further implication is, as McLaren indicates in discourses, internal and external (third country) migration of the EU is not distinguished properly from each other, and “the vast majority of EU citizens view internal and external migration as
identical” (McLaren [2001] p. 81). To be more precise, it is assumed that there is no clear distinction in the minds of people when they think about a Polish and an Indian migrant. While these nationals are both considered as migrants, their rights and obligations, and also their reception is largely different within the EU. It is a sensitive question if this puzzlement with different migrant types is the effect of a conscious media influence or the result of inadequate EU communication. Nevertheless, this mix-up leads to that citizens will take a similar attitude toward A8 migrants than toward third country migrants.

As a result of longstanding racist discourse toward migrants, it is supposed that people have already established certain behaviours and attitudes towards people arriving to their countries. There may be a stereotypical way of thinking toward migrants overall, and also the word migrant might have gained a negative connotation by government legislations and media. The discourse of political elite seems to be also involved in the analysed articles as well. There is some evidence that these articles are part of a long-established dominant discourse as they have the presupposition that the readers are aware of certain facts about the A8 migration. However, the inaccurate and unclear wording may contribute to the manipulation of opinions and create consensus with representing undisputed facts.

Interpreting the examined texts I argue that they show a negative picture about A8 migrants and seek to convince the readership about dangers and treats of migration. The presence of new kind of racism can be recognised in how A8 migrants are portrayed in these pieces of news. The cultural differences are emphasised within the vocabulary and clear distinction is made between migrants and citizens.

5.5 Explanation of the articles and the proof of an emerging new kind of racism

Considering the features presented in the previous chapters, I will move on to the possible explanation of why A8 migration would be portrayed and perceived adversely in dominant discourses. The emphasis is going to be on the social and political contexts in which the supposed new kind of racist language use occurs (Paltridge [2006]).

Medrano and Koenig highlight that “immigration often leads to social unrest” and the states “chose diverse public policies to confront immigration and integration” ([2005] p. 7). Canoy et al investigate the relation between public perception and policy-
making. As people might start to perceive migration as a cause for concern, policymakers and the media react to this behaviour, and immigration becomes an issue in the political and media discourse. As it happens, more people are likely to begin to see it as a problem – as “tabloids shape perceptions” ([2009] p. 76). Also politicians might respond to the strengthening voices by making anti-migrant policies: they “consider opinion polls and the general current attitudes and then act accordingly”. These two processes take place at the same time and interact with each other.

It is important to observe why migration would lead to social unrest. As Favell argues, “immigration is not necessarily an important or salient political issue” ([2001] p. 22); it needs to be put in the centre for a certain reason. Similar ideas were worded by McLaren, who says that internal migrants are not subjected to hostility as far as their ratio in the population is not perceived critical. “Mainstream politicians have not had much opportunity to debate the issue of internal migration because it is not perceived as a problem” (McLaren [2001] p. 93). She takes the example of Greeks in Germany who are not in the forefront of public debate and discourse – in contrary to Turks – because of their low numbers.

However, after the accession of A8 migrants in 2004, this tendency has changed. Since then, the “mobile A8 nationals are proactively engaging with their newly acquired rights to free movement within the EU” (Dwyer [2010] p. 178). Several concern has intensified in the dominant discourse according to the so-called ‘welfare scroungers’ (Galgóczi [2011] p. 5) or ‘welfare mothers’ (Jiwani and Richardson [2011] p. 243.) i.e. migrant workers from A8 countries put pressure on public services (education, health care, social security, housing, and personal social services); furthermore, they bring down wages and take jobs from citizens of the host country.

Although it is generally accepted that “patterns of migration have been shaped by economic conditions,” (Bhattacharyya [2002] p. 38) the general fear of the public is that migrants can endanger citizens’ jobs, housing and welfare. However, according to the functioning of market economy, it is unlikely that large flows of migration would be experienced if the economy would not be in the need of labour force. However, social unrest and “political problems begin to arise (…) when there is a conjunction of contingent political economic factors” – argues Favell. He mentions the example of an economic crisis that “leads to social competition over work” and also to “the rejection of new immigrants” ([2001] p. 23). Laczko adds that the main cause for concern is that
“migration is seen as a burden on advanced industrialized societies” ([2002] p. 605) and this opinion dominates the discourse on migration.

Other non-economic factors can also influence the way migrants are perceived. “The decline of state, the breaking-up of unified national political culture and the rise of post-national and regional forces” (Favell [2001] can also contribute to the negative formation of mainstream opinion on migration. The process toward post-industrial societies are fundamentally changing people feeling of belonging; and in this insecure situation, the presence of migration is seen as “a fundamental social problem” that threatens with the “loss of national identity” and raises issues as “the dilemmas of cultural pluralism or the problem of a multicultural society” (Favell [2001]).

When individuals try to define themselves, they are likely to see themselves as part of a group which very often means being a citizen of a nation (Weldon [2006]). When individuals with different cultural and language roots emerge in a society (as A8 migrants did after the EU enlargement), nationals tend to create symbolic boundaries and distinctions between ‘them’ and ‘us’. Migrants will be likely distinguished by their most characteristic differences, by language and culture; and perceived as strangers, who are not bearing the same characteristics as the host country – they speak a different language, have distinct traditions and habits and wear different cloths, etc. They often stay outside from the host community and try to preserve their national identity. These factors make a clear line between migrants and inhabitants and create the feeling of estrangement and segregation. This discrimination leads to the emergence of new kind of racism.

The “inclination to preserve national integrity or a fear of foreign influences” (De Master and Le Roy [2000] p. 419) and also the motivation to save the autonomy of the nation-state may initiate the elites to produce and maintain a new kind of racist discourse on migration. I assume that the elites are likely to reject opening their labour markets and fully integrate other member states citizens in the fear of failing to serve the best interests of their own citizens (providing work places, maintaining national values and tradition).

5.6 Further implications

If we accept the emergence of new kind of racism, the following question occurs: why would the media (or generally the elites) produce or support new kind of
racism toward A8 migrants? I presume that there are several factors playing a role in this issue and there is no single answer to this question. However, I will mention some possible explanations.

Firstly, new kind of racism can serve the elite in order to find scapegoats in migrants; and it can be “used to justify the exclusion of migrants through quasi-rational arguments («they are a burden for the society«, »they are dangerous, a threat«, »they cost too much«, »their culture is too different«, and so forth)” (Jiwani and Richardson [2011] p. 244). Furthermore and parallel with this, it can deflect attention on certain political issues and difficulties blaming migrants “for unemployment or for causing general discontent (with politics, with the European Union, etc.), for abusing social welfare systems” or for being a “threat for »our« culture” (Richardson and Wodak [2009] p. 3).

Secondly, it can also be used as a tool to create in- and out-groups by the distinction of ‘us’ (local citizens) and ‘them’ (migrants). Thereby, togetherness and integrity in the society (or country) can be reached and to support for political actions, initiatives, etc. can be gained. One can also find this idea in studies dealing with the so-called “symbolic boundaries” (Bail [2008]) that is used by the majority population to construct the differentiation between ‘us’ and ‘them’. These distinctions are made to “separate people into groups and generate the feeling of similarity and group membership” (Bail [2008] p. 38) on the one hand, and create exclusion and segregation on the other. This is a way to create inequality in the society by emphasizing mostly “language and culture (…) the two most important symbolic boundaries in Western European countries” (Bail [2008] p. 48). Similar suggestions were made by Kohák about the cultural boundary that is drawn between Europe’s East and West part, where “Central Europe is envisioned as a »bridge« between East and West” (in Kürti [1997] p. 37). However, this is a two-sided idea, as Kohák claims there is a kind of cultural unity on the western part of Europe, “shaped by Latin Christianity, scholasticism, the Renaissance, the struggles of the Reformation and Counter-reformation, the Enlightenment, industrialisation and social democracy” (in Kürti [1997] p. 37). This is an interesting statement in my thesis where I analyse the attitudes toward A8 migrants who are from Central European countries with the same cultural roots as their host country’s nationals (in our cause British people). 16 However, the A8 migrants are often referred as

---

16 It could be another interesting topic to examine if there is new kind of racism within other countries of the EU 15.
“post Communist” and “Eastern European” (Kürti [1997]) countries in order to create symbolic boundaries and emphasise differences.

Thirdly, the negative opinions produced on migrants (and new kind of racism) can be used to shape the audience opinion about EU membership and EU politics as well. I have the presupposition that there is an important relationship between what the general opinion on the European Union and how people appraise internal migration. This seems to confirm the idea that a generally supporting attitude toward the European Union also goes along with a positive opinion on internal migrants and vice versa. As McLaren suggests “those people who generally support the EC/EU should also support this particular element (the internal migration by ed.) of completing the single market” (McLaren [2001] p. 91). De Master and Le Roy complete argument by proposing that “individuals' perceptions of the benefits of membership strongly influence their support” ([2000] p. 420). This issue is considerably significant in the case of UK; according to the latest Eurobarometer survey in 2011 on public opinion in the United Kingdom that is the most pessimistic country within the EU27. 54% says that their country has not benefited from its membership of the EU (versus 35%), (Eurobarometer [2011]) which supposes that they might practice a sceptical attitude toward the issue of internal migration as well. (See figure 5)
In conclusion, I claim that due to its complexity, it is difficult to declare the emergence of new kind of racism after one single study. In this critical discourse analysis, I tried to draw a broad picture on the phenomenon of new kind of racism and involve as many viewpoints as possible, creating a multidisciplinary – but still comprehensive – analysis. The results of this analysis showed that negative opinions, or as I put it, new kind of racism appears in the news and it is part of the dominant discourse as well. Nevertheless, further research is needed to confirm my hypothesis.
6. CONCLUSION

This study intended to observe whether there is a new kind of racism emerging in the United Kingdom and presumably also in the EU.

After implementing a new approach to the investigation of negative attitudes between EU migrants and citizens, I highlighted a matter of concern in the future of EU internal migration. The main characteristics of the new (A8) migrants of the EU and current trends of migration have been presented in this thesis, and also the British reaction on the large scale EU migration has been observed. After that, I moved on to present the theory and methodology of critical discourse analysis that approaches present political and social problems from a new perspective; and seemed very useful to being employed to my topic.

There are some implications that can be drawn from this analysis: the theory of critical discourse analysis has provided a good basis to assure that the assumption about the emergence of new kind of racism is reasonable. After testing our hypothesis with the method of CDA on some newspaper articles, the role of the media discourse in shaping the opinions on A8 migration has been justified. However, the complexity of the observed phenomenon would require a more widespread consideration and analysis.

The ideas of critical discourse analysis provided a possible explanation of the (re)production of new kind of racism and of the role that the media and the politics play in its creation. However, we should bear in mind that other approaches may consider different factors and may lead to different outcomes as well. I would like to emphasise that my intention was not to overwhelm the influence of new kind of racism; I simply aimed to draw attention to its presence in order to contribute to the development of a better, more just and equal society. As other scholars of CDA, I also hope that my analysis contributes to a “change through critical understanding” and raise attention on those who “suffer most from dominance and inequality” (van Dijk [1993] p. 252). I also adopted the idea of van Dijk according to the analysts’ “work is admittedly and ultimately political” ([1993] p. 252). As a student interested in social and political issues, and supporting the deepening of the European integration, I believe that with more consciousness and good political and social education the dangers of the emerging new kind of racism can be dissolved.

I acknowledge that some of my statements can be refuted. There is no doubt that the United Kingdom is one of the most open-minded and tolerant country in terms of
migration. Here is „greater readiness (...) to make symbolic representations of the nation and the national story hospitable to difference; and a greater concern with equality and greater respect for differences than what has been achieved in comparable immigration countries” (Modood [2010] p. 26).

Furthermore, the phenomenon that I call new kind of racism in this thesis is arguably more complex that it is portrayed here. Several factors have been ignored or mentioned partially (because of the scope of this thesis) as the role of education in interpret discourses and critically evaluate mainstream opinions. There is also an influential debate on national identity in the EU that was not dealt with here: some people may argue that the derogation of national culture caused by migration is a negative process, while others support a multicultural and integrated Europe idea. Other factors, as the change in UK migration policy -after the Conservative Party came into power – did not get enough attention either. Furthermore, the phenomenon of new kind of racism might be more understandable if I investigate whether the EU has succeeded to build up a European identity. However, these topics would require a much detailed study and further researches.

I suppose that the issue of negative opinions toward internal migrants (i.e. new kind of racism) could have been examined in any other member states – not only in the UK – and it might have led to similar conclusions. Therefore, I believe that this thesis also has the potential to highlight some pressing problems within the EU that call for attention. If we accept the emergence of new kind of racism, it is interesting to observe that multiculturalism, “an ideology based on the affirmation of differences instead of integration into mainstream society” (Hillebrand [2007] p. 35) might not work in every level of the EU. Pettigrew claims that “without the New World’s immigration traditions, Europeans lack a »melting pot« metaphor and a sense that immigration is »normal«” ([1998] p. 81). This argument supposes that the American “melting pot” model cannot be achieved in the European Union, as the most important integrating factor, the common language is missing. I guess the presence of new kind of racist voices (discourses) will make the EU fragile and obstruct the further development of the integration. In addition, the strengthening of nationalism of the EU member states can intensify the new kind of racism indeed. It is an interesting question if a host country can express “vociferous demands for undivided loyalty and affiliation to national cultures and polities” (Kofman [2005] p. 464) from its migrants. However, it is the task
of further researchers to explore the dangers and prospects of the development of the EU and to find adequate solution to the problems.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources


The Treaty Concerning the Accession of the Czech Republic, the Republic of Estonia, the Republic of Cyprus, the Republic of Latvia, the Republic of Lithuania, the Republic of Hungary, the Republic of Malta, the Republic of Poland, the Republic of Slovenia and the Slovak Republic to the European Union. Available at: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/12003T/htm/L2003236EN.001701.htm [21 September 2011]


Secondary Sources

Books


Journals


**Reports and online resources**


*Analysed newspaper articles:*


BAGEHOT BLOG [2011] *Britain's got (foreign) talent - Opening Britain’s doors to east European workers was the right thing to do*. The Economist. Available at: http://www.economist.com/node/18648783 [18 October 2011]

Létezik-e új típusú rasszizmus az Egyesült Királyságban?
Magyar nyelvű összefoglaló

Bevezetés

Dolgozatomban egy új jelenséget vizsgálok, ami döntően befolyásolhatja az Európai Unió (EU) fejlődését a tizenkét új Közép- és Kelet-Európai ország csatlakozásával. A 21. századot vitathatatlanul erősödő nemzetközi migráció jellemzi, ami multinacionális és –kulturális társadalmakhoz vezet. Ezzel a folyamattal párhuzamosan, fokozódó migráció ellenes hangulatot is megfigyelhetünk, mely a különböző kultúrájú, nyelvű egyének együttélé sének eredménye. Sok esetben a negatív, migráns ellenes magatartás EU állampolgárok között is megjelennek, ezt a jelenséget hívom új típusú rasszizmusnak munkámban.

Az új típusú rasszizmus erősödését, egy Magyarországon kevésbé elterjedt módszerrel az úgynevezett kritikai diskurzuselemzéssel (Critical Discourse Analysis–CDA) szeretném megvizsgálni, mely Norman Fairclough tanain alapszik, és a kritikai nyelvészetből nőtte ki magát. Az elmélet megalkotói vallják, hogy a nyelv (diskurzus) kritikai vizsgálatával rávilágíthatunk a társadalmi egyenlőtlenségekre; emellett a kutatók munkájukkal változást is szeretnének foganatosítani egy igazságosabb és egyenlőbb társadalom felé.

A hipotézisem szerint az EU belső migránsait (azon EU állampolgárokat, akik egy másik EU tagállamba vándoroltak) a fogadó ország állampolgárai sok esetben megkülönböztetik, kirekesztik és ellenségesen kezelik, mely magatartás az egymás közötti kulturális, nyelvi és tradicionális különbségek felismeréséből fakad. Vizsgálataimat az Egyesült Királyságra korlátozom a dolgozat terjedelmi korlátai miatt.

Új migránsok hatása az Egyesült Királyságra

A nagy hullámban történő A8-as migráció elkerülése érdekében az Európai Unió a Csatlakozási Szerződésben lehetővé tette, hogy a régi tagállamok átmeneti intézkedéseket alkalmazzanak az újonnan érkezőkre vonatkozóan, és maximum hét éven keresztül korlátozva tegyék elérhetővé munkaerő piacukat számukra. Az Egyesült Királyság (Svédország és Írország mellett) úgy döntött, hogy korlátozások nélkül megnyitja munkaerő piacát az új tagállamok számára, egyedül egy munkavállalási engedély, az úgynevezett, Worker Registration Scheme igénylését írta elő az országba érkező munkavállalóknak.

Számos pozitív és negatív vélemény jelent meg a hivatalos fórumokon az új migránsok munkaerő piacra, szociális ellátórendszerre és társadalomra gyakorolt hatásáról, ám Nagy Britanniában a pozitív megnyilvánulások domináltak, mely a munkáspárti kormány politikájának is betudható. A statisztikákából kitűnik, hogy Nagy Britannia nyitottsága nagyszámú EU-n belüli migrációt eredményezett, 2004 májusa és 2011 áprilisa között 1,134,711 (Home Office [2011] munkavállalói engedély kérelmet írta elő az országba érkező munkavállalóknak.

Új típusú rasszizmus

A dolgozatban használt új típusú rasszizmus eltér a hagyományos biológiai értelemben vett rasszizmustól, mely a különböző embercsoportok faji alapú megkülönböztetésén alapszik. (Miles [1993]). Először Barker [1999] állapította meg a különbséget, a „régi” és „új” rasszizmus között, aki szerint az „új” rasszizmus nem bőrszínre, faji alapra eső, hanem az egyes csoportok közötti kulturális, nyelvi tradicionális különbségek kidomborításán. Én is hasonló értelemben szándékozom az új típusú rasszizmus fogalmat alkalmazni, egy speciális feltétellel: azt vizsgálok, hogy az Európai Unió tagországok állampolgárai között miként jelenik meg ez a kulturális, nyelvi, tradicionális alapon való megkülönböztetés. Noha az EU állampolgárait azonos jogok illetik meg bármely tagállamban, és a Római Szerződésben lefektetett joguk a szabad lettelepedés és munkavállalás, mégis úgy vélem, hogy az új A8 országok állampolgárai új típusú
rasszista attitűdnek vannak kitéve a fogadó országaiban. Ez a jelenség különösen érdekes, hogy ha hozzátesszük, hogy az európai kontinens országai hasonló történelmi gyökerekkel, vallással és valamilyen mértékben– hasonló kultúrával rendelkeznek (Kohák in Kürti [1997]). Ezt az ellentmondást próbálom elemezni az elméletemmel

**Kritikai diskurzuselemzés**


Teun A. Van Dijk, Ruth Wodak és Norman Fairclough elméletét és metódusát szeretném alkalmazni munkámban, akik talán a legjelentősebben járultak hozzá a kritikai diskurzuselemzés (CDA) területének fejlődéséhez.


**Az új típusú rasszizmus jelenségének kritikai diskurzuselemzése az Egyesült Királyságban**
Norman Fairclough három lépcsős diskurzuselemzési módszerét felhasználva négy brit újságcikken keresztül próbáltam bebizonyítani az új típusú rasszizmus jelenlétét a médiában. Fairclough szerint egy szöveget három szinten kell vizsgálni: először is a szöveg leíró vizsgálatán keresztül a lexikai, nyelvtani, mondattani (stb.) elemeket kell megfigyelnünk, majd a diszkurzív gyakorlatokat irányító szabályokat, amelyek az egyén szövegértelmezését befolyásolják. A harmadik szinten elemezzük, hogy a diszkurzív gyakorlatok milyen szerepet játszanak a politikai és szociális életben, miként befolyásolják az egyént.

Az elemzett új típusú rasszizmust négy, különböző újságcikkbken figyeltem meg, melyek közös témában, a Csatlakozási Szerződésben rögzített átmeneti intézkedések határidejének lejártával foglalkoznak. A cikkek a 'The Sun', a 'Daily Mail', a 'The Guardian' és a 'The Economist' újságok online felületéről kerültek letöltésre. A szövegek szókincsének, címének, mondattanának, érveléstechnikájának megvizsgálása után, következtetéseket vontam le arról, hogy milyen tényezők befolyásolják az egyén kognitív szövegértelmezését. A szocializáció, iskolázottság, az állam kisebbségekhez való viszonyulása törvénykezéseken, illetve a fogalmak inkonzekvens használata is közrejátszik az említett folyamatban. Mindamellett az uralkodó elit (média) véleményformáló hatása kiemelkedő szerepet kapott a felsorolásban.


Favell [2001] a gazdasági helyzet bizonytalanságát, a válság hatásait említi, mint a migránsokat elutasító magatartás egyik indokát. Ezzel párhuzamosa a nemzetállami keret gyengülése, és az egyének identitás keresése is hozzájárul szerinte a migránsok megkülönböztetéséhez a fogadó államon belül. De Master és Le Roy [2000] ezt a gondolatot viszi tovább, érvelésük szerint a nemzeti összetartás megőrzése, illetve a félelem az idegen befolyástól azok a tényezők, amik előidézhetik az új típusú rasszizmust.
Munkám utolsó részében arra a kérdésre próbálok választ találni, hogy milyen indokok miatt támogatná a média (illetve az elit) az új típusú rasszizmust az EU migránsokkal szemben. Három lehetséges magyarázatot szemléltetek: a migránsokat gyakran teszik felelőssé egyes szociális és társadalmi problémák okozásáért: nyomást gyakorolnak a bérekre, munkanélküliséget idéznek elő, rontják a szociális ellátás színvonalát, stb. Más megközelítés szerint az „ők” és „mi” csoportok elkülönítésével könnyebben elérhető a csoporton belüli összetartás a hasonlóságok csoporton belüliekkel, és a különbségek csoporton kívüliekkel való hangsúlyozásával (Bail [2008]). Az összetarozás csoporton (nemzeten) belüli erősítésével az elit könnyebben tud támogatást nyerni intézkedéseinehez, mely a csoport érdekeit szolgálják (a csoporton kívüliekkel szemben). Harmadik indokként jelenik meg az új típusú rasszizmus és az EU támogatásának kapcsolata. McLaren [2001] szerint azok, akik általában támogatják az Európai Uniót, valószínűsíthetően nem pozitívan állnak az EU-n belüli migránsokhoz is. Én a jelenség fordítottját is állítom: az, hogy milyen vélemény alakul ki az EU-n belüli migránsokról, döntően befolyásolhatja, hogy az egyének hogyan viszonyulnak az EU egészéhez. Tehát az új típusú rasszizmus táplálásával az EU-ról való vélekedés is befolyásolható.

Befejezés

Munkámban az új típusú rasszizmus komplexitása miatt, sajnos nem tudtam minden lehetséges megközelítést és tényezőt reprezentálni, melyek formálhatják a jelenség alakulását. Úgy vélem azonban, hogy sikerült megmutatnom, hogy létezik egy új típusú rasszista diskurzus a társadalomban, és bár csak az Egyesült Királyságra fókuszáltak megfigyeléseim, úgy vélem, hogy azok a többi tagállamra is igazak lehetnek. Mint a legtöbb kutató, aki kritikai diskurzuselemzést végez, remélem, hogy munkám hozzájárul a társadalmi egyenlőtlenségek és igazságtalanságok felderítéséhez, és további vizsgálatok alapjául szolgálhat. Mindamellett, szeretném felhívni a figyelmet az új típusú rasszizmus EU-t formáló hatására is. Bár az EU alapító atyái meggyőződésesen hittek egy nemzetek feletti közösség létrehozásában (Scheurer in McLaren [2004]), a kulturális és nyelvi különbségek okozta feszültségek vitathatatlanul e folyamat kerékkötőként szolgálnak. Ezen téma kifejtése bár már nem része szak dolgozatomnak, remélem, hogy nem kerüli el az EU döntéshozók figyelmét.

49