

The Metaphorical Construction of Immigration: Bulgaria's Image in *The Sunday Times* (2004-2015)

Kalina Bratanova*
Rositsa Ishpekova**

Abstract

This paper aims to expose the cognitive and linguistic mechanisms employed by the *The Sunday Times* (ST) in the metaphorical construction of immigration to the UK and its implications for the discursive construction of Bulgaria's image by the newspaper. The object of analysis is the ST's coverage of Bulgaria through the prism of immigration in the period 2004-2015, examined by applying the critical cognitive-pragmatic discourse analysis as a major analytical tool. The major assumption held is that a stereotype of Bulgaria as a threat is reinforced against the background of an overall shift in the UK public and official attitudes toward migration: from tolerant multiculturalism towards a predominantly negative view of migration. The findings in the study largely confirm this thesis.

Keywords: migration, mass media, image, critical metaphor theory, critical discourse analysis

JEL: Z13, Z18

Introduction

This paper **aims** to expose the cognitive and linguistic mechanisms employed by the *The Sunday Times* in the metaphorical construction of immigration to the UK and its implications for the discursive construction of Bulgaria's image by the newspaper. The examined articles are part of a larger corpus investigated in a broader piece of research dedicated to the discursive strategies typical of the ST. The major objective in this study is to analyse the migration-related conceptual metaphors (CM) in the paper's articles on Bulgaria presumably employed as a major framing device in the construction of the country's image. Given the thus formulated research goal, the **object** of analysis is the ST's coverage of Bulgaria through the prism of immigration in the period 2004-2015. The choice of the period is no accident for a number of reasons, which are linked to the topicality of the issue at stake. The **relevance** of the research topic – the ST's contextualization of Bulgaria within immigration, stems from several considerations. Since the start of the 21st century, the broad topic of immigration and asylum has gained robust newspaper coverage in the UK as conflicts in countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia and, more

* Senior lecturer at the Department of Foreign languages and Applied Linguistics, Faculty of International Economics and Politics, University of National and World Economy.

** Associate-professor at the Department of English and American Studies, Sofia University St Kliment Ohridski.

recently Syria, have caused people to flee in record numbers (UNHCR 2014¹). Hence, the ongoing refugee crisis in Europe and across the world, though ebbing away, still rates high on the agenda of European governments and the citizens of united Europe, especially considering the impact of immigration on Brexit. What is more, Bulgaria's image in the English-language print media has not received the due attention on the part of researchers yet, as the literature review elaborated upon herewith will presumably show.

Within this context, the major **research questions** this paper addresses are as follows:

First, how are migration and migrants metaphorically constructed in the *ST*'s narrative about Bulgaria?

Second, how does the cognitive-pragmatic analysis contribute to revealing any dynamics in the UK's immigration policy, especially considering that immigration was a basic factor for Brexit?

Third, what implications do such metaphorical conceptualizations have for Bulgaria's image as discursively constructed in the *ST*'s narrative?

Tolerant multiculturalism as a longstanding value in the English national identity, enshrined in British law, has been coming under criticism for the potential risks migration poses to the United Kingdom (UK) - economic, social and cultural. Furthermore, immigration has demographic effects as it brings about a change in UK's demographic patterns.

This paper is based on the assumption that:

The metaphorical conceptualization of immigration with regard to Bulgaria legitimizes a shift in both public attitudes and government policies in the field of immigration: from tolerant multiculturalism towards a predominantly negative view of migration, increasingly seen

as a threat while its positive effects tend to be downplayed.

Empirical material

The dataset subject to analysis in this paper encompasses a string of articles published in *The Sunday Times* over a period of 11 years. The sample of articles was selected with reference to specific events or time frames, and published in, to our conviction, one of the opinion-leading newspapers in the United Kingdom, a country with a diverse and longstanding history of migration and accordingly, a substantial newspaper coverage of the issue.

This paper's analytical focus is directed not merely at what Bulgaria's image is in the context of immigration, but at the cognitive and linguistic mechanisms employed for its construction.

Situatedness of the research: methodology and method

The proposed method is embedded within a broader methodological framework of social cognition, and of the relation between discourse and politics, incorporating established analytical methods and tools in these areas of scientific enquiry. The applied method of analysis, defined as critical cognitive-pragmatic discourse analysis, selectively borrows some theoretical tenets from framing in media studies, critical discourse analysis, conceptual metaphor theory and critical metaphor analysis, in which linguistics plays a major part.

Scope of the research

There is an extensive literature detailing the situations and experiences of migrants. This includes local and national studies exploring the material conditions and everyday experiences of migrant workers, refugees and

¹ <https://www.unhcr.org/gr14/index.html>

asylum seekers, issues of migrant identity, acculturation and integration, inequalities, and the local impacts of migration on, for example, the labour market and service provision. However, such issues have been excluded from this research and go beyond this paper's scope.

Object of scientific inquiry

The Times and The Sunday Times

In terms of its institutional practices and readership, editorial policy and thematic range, language and style, *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* are among the financially independent, high-quality and high-circulation non-specialized newspapers. More importantly, they are among the print media serving as a source of analyses of international business and world politics.

The original *Times* is one of the oldest newspapers in the UK, and is newspaper of record. It is associated with good reporting, level-headedness, and an almost aristocratic courtesy. It is also famous for its cryptic crosswords and for being the origin of the ubiquitous Times New Roman typeface. It has a neutral-to-conservative bent. Since 1981, following its purchase by the right-wing Rupert Murdoch's News International, it has retained its editorial independence, despite of drifting rightwards².

The Times, "the mid-nineteenth-century newspaper phenomenon, defeating rival London newspapers through its skilful management, advanced technology, greater editorial resources and access to powerful politicians" (Hobbs, 2013, p. 2) has been

chosen as a specific object of analysis for a number of reasons. The quality broadsheet paper "remains centre stage in the historiography of journalism and of nineteenth-century culture more broadly, despite the digitization of provincial and other London papers" (ibid.).

In a comment on the *Times*' political allegiance, in 2009 the BBC³ noted that the paper "supported Labour in 2001 for the first time in its history and did so again in 2005". Yet the BBC goes on to suggest that the paper "backed the Tories at the European elections in June and Boris Johnson for London mayor, both of which may indicate a shift in support", mainly due to the withdrawal of its backing for then Labour Party Chairman Gordon Brown⁴.

The Sunday Times the weekly counterpart of *The Times*, of is no less influential as an agenda setter shaping public opinion in the UK, specifically in the field of domestic policy affairs and the arts⁵. Founded in 1822 as a national newspaper, it "developed a reputation for being dignified, carefully written, and well edited" (Hobbs, 2013, p. 2). The newspaper is a sister paper also owned by Murdoch; although they are essentially grouped together, they were founded independently, only coming under common ownership in 1966. In the late 1950s, it became the first UK newspaper to have more than one section, as well as the first Sunday paper with a colour magazine beginning in 1962. It is a thick broadsheet with several supplements (the daily edition switched to tabloid – "compact" as the *Times* prefers to call it - in 2004). It's most famous for its annual "*Sunday Times* Rich List", a league table of the UK's richest

² <https://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/UsefulNotes/BritishNewspapers>

³ *The Politics of UK newspapers. A day after Gordon Brown did his best to lunch a Labour fightback, the Sun newspaper announced it would not back the party in the next election. Here, paper-by-paper, is a guide to the political leanings of the big daily papers;* retrieved at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/8282189.stm

⁴ ibid.

⁵ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Sunday-Times>

people⁶. According to another authoritative source from Oxford University⁷, the political leaning of the *ST* is center-right (endorsed Labour in 2005, the Conservatives in 2010, and the Conservative-Lib Dem coalition in 2015). As one of the oldest newspapers in Britain, it is “a paper of record, and therefore has a responsibility to be reliable and somewhat politically objective” and “remains one of Britain’s more reliable newspapers”⁸. However, it was bought in 1981, and has been accused of drifting rightwards ever since.

Context

The global refugee crisis

There is no debate that migration is one of the defining issues of the globalized world. In terms of facts and figures, no historical period has ever faced such a huge displacement and replacement of human beings across borders and boundaries as the latest one. The UK is no exception in this respect.

The dimensions and public perceptions of the global migration crisis was confirmed by Eurobarometer poll released in May 2018⁹. The relevance of this political issue becomes evident from the EU’s increased budget for tackling the refugee crisis in the financial framework until 2020. The UN Refugee Agency provides information on a regular basis about the dimensions of the migrant influx across the world. According to its latest report, “an average of 44,000 people were forced to flee their homes every day in 2017”. What is more, “the countries hosting the largest number of refugees are

Turkey, Pakistan, Uganda, Lebanon, Iran and Germany. 85% of the world’s refugees are hosted by developing regions”¹⁰. According to the 2018-2019 UNHCR report,

“Europe is likely to remain a destination for refugees fleeing conflict and persecution in 2018, from situations as far afield as Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Syrian Arab Republic (Syria), as well as from crises within Europe, such as that in Ukraine. From January to August 2017, European countries received some 396,700 asylum applications—down 56 per cent compared to the same period in 2016—with applicants originating mainly from Syria (58,200), Afghanistan (27,800), Nigeria (26,200) and Iraq (25,600). Turkey remains host to the world’s largest refugee population, with 3.4 million refugees and asylum-seekers, the vast majority of whom (3.15 million) originate from Syria”¹¹.

There have been similar problems of migration across other continents – North and South America – as well. In a diachronic perspective, Venezuela is a case in point. As Koch-Kozhuharova justifiably notes, the mass emigration toward Africa from Spain, which was just liberated from the Maurs, has been stimulated by the Spanish kings (Koch-Kozhuharova, 2014, p. 39). What is more, more than 150,000 Jews were forced to emigrate as they were expelled in 1492 by the Catholic kings for refusal to adopt Christianity (Koch-Kozhuharova, 2014, p. 41). In Venezuela, there was mass migration from the countryside to the urban centers as soon as oil reserves were discovered, as a result of which agriculture started its decline (ibid., p. 202).

⁶ *ibid.*

⁷ *Black and White and Read All Over: A Guide to British Newspapers*, 28 March 2016, retrieved at <https://www.oxford-royale.co.uk/articles/a-guide-to-british-newspapers.html>

⁸ *ibid.*

⁹ <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/at-your-service/en/be-heard/eurobarometer/eurobarometer-2018-democracy-on-the-move>

¹⁰ <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/headlines/society/20170629STO78630/eu-migrant-crisis-facts-and-figures>

¹¹ <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/bulletins/annualmidyearpopulationestimates/mid2017>

The researcher touches upon other aspects of immigration in the Latin American country, arguing that there has been social violence against marginalized strata such as drug addicts, homosexuals, immigrants, among other social groups (Koch-Kozhuharova, 2004, p. 53).

UK's immigration policy

British historian Robert Tombs (2015) gives a detailed account of immigration-related issues, interpreting the political phenomenon in a diachronic perspective. In the researcher's view, after 2004 the UK saw the biggest migrant influx in its history, causing the fastest increase in population. In the early 2000s, the new arrivals stood at about 500,000 a year. By 2008 there were over a million immigrant workers from the EU member states and about 2 million from the rest of the world. More importantly, increased immigration was "mostly an English [...] and an urban phenomenon" – more than 90 percent of the newcomers were headed to England, and mainly London (Tombs, 2015, p. 838). From the 18 century until the 1980s, more people had left England than had arrived. Moreover, the immigrants came mainly from the Caribbean and the Indian subcontinents, so they presumably "had historic and cultural connections with Britain—language, sports culture, and for West Indians Christianity", which facilitated integration (ibid, p. 839). Interestingly,

"The middle-class left became instinctive supporters of immigration and multiculturalism. Business agreed. Legal equality was accepted, discrimination was outlawed, and - unlike in France, for example - the standing of minority "communities" and their "leaders" was recognized in a pragmatic attempt to

create what has been called multicultural nationalism based on Britishness" (ibid.).

As Tombs suggests, this paper takes on the assumption that public attitudes and government policies toward migration in the UK has showed a roundabout in the examined period between 2004 and 2015. Tony Blair's immigration policy and the concept of the "Rainbow nation", in the words of Robert Tombs (Tombs, 2015), saw some turnabout in 2012 during the mandate of David Cameron's coalition government. This new approach of the UK policymakers finds its expression in the statement made by the Labour leader, Ed Miliband, who voiced concerns that the party "must change its approach to immigration... we were too dazzled by globalisation and too sanguine about its price" (cited in Tombs, 2015, p. 858).

According to the latest statistics published by the Office for National Statistics¹² (ONS), Britain's net migration for the year ending June 2016 was +335,000 (ONS, 2016). This figure included successful asylum applications, which had undergone their sixth consecutive increase to reach 44,323 (ONS, 2016). British newspapers had begun reporting on the arrival of refugees, asylum seekers and migrants to Europe using the noun phrase "migrant crisis". Britain's political landscape, dominated by the May 2015 general election, increased the already vast number of articles on immigrants in the UK press. Fuelled by the rising popularity of the nationalist United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), all major politicians were engaged in debates about immigration, and right-wing newspapers regularly quoted anti-immigration arguments. In response to UKIP's rhetoric, the Conservative Party promised a referendum on Britain's European Union

¹² <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/bulletins/annualmidyearpopulationestimates/mid2017>

(EU) membership and subsequently won the election.

According to the UK Home Office statistics on immigration in 2018, there were 27,966 asylum applications in the UK from main applicants in the year ending 2018, 4% higher than the previous year, which shows that levels remained lower than those registered in 2015 and 2016 during the European migration crisis¹³.

Literature review

This article seeks to contribute fresh insights to this available literature on the topic by examining how, at a time when most European politicians and media outlets launched a heated debate on the movement of people in and through Europe, migration-related issues pertaining to Bulgaria were framed in terms of a need for their control.

Metaphorical construction of migration

Studying racist practices in western media, van Dijk (1991) acknowledged that minority ethnic groups were frequently depicted as a problem or a threat. Such conceptualizations legitimised the in-group's indignation towards non-western nationals and reinforced social inequality. Negative representations of minority groups were also identified by Reisigl and Wodak (2001), who found a stereotype of immigrants as aggressive, criminal, male foreigners inclined to commit sexual attacks. Building on van Dijk (1991), Wodak (1996) uncovered a racial discourse of difference within which ethnonyms such as 'Syrians' formed the basis of out-group categorisations. As Wodak (2008) explained, the use of an ethnic marker of difference suggests that migrants belong outside of the in-group's country. Seemingly neutral descriptions thus serve the ideological function of reinforcing

social distance. Wodak (2008) argues that migrants are political scapegoats, blamed for citizen dissatisfaction, and theorised that identity categorisations were fluid, with newspapers' constructions of migrant identities changing in response to socio-political contexts, such as ongoing political events.

While uncovering common tropes, researchers have identified the linguistic practices through which discriminatory ideology is disseminated. One recurring framework is van Leeuwen's social action and social actor representation model (1995, 1996), which illustrated how social groups are homogenised and dehumanised to distance them from readers, and how social actors can be denied agency or rendered invisible in representations of social actions. Reisigl and Wodak (2001) illustrated the ideological significance of these linguistic practices when applying them to petition discourse, elucidating their contribution to an underlying anti-immigration ideology. In her Discourse Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Wodak (2001) emphasised the importance of analysing texts through reference to their historical, socio-political and setting-specific contexts. This is particularly crucial in the case of discourse about immigration, which is increasingly a matter of political debate (King and Wood, 2001).

The discourses of criminality and danger that underpin these findings continue to pervade immigration reporting in contemporary media coverage (KhosraviNik, 2009). KhosraviNik (2010) claimed that argumentative structures are equally as important in ideological manipulation as linguistic structures; he highlighted metaphor as a significant tool in producing discursive discrimination. The importance of metaphor

¹³ https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/709106/developments-in-migration-statistics-since-2010.pdf

was illustrated in Reisigl and Wodak's (2001) discussion of collective symbols – metaphors which describe the impact of immigration. They found representations of immigration as a flood, burst containers (Musolff, 2015), and invasion (Goodman and Speer, 2007). While metaphors provide concrete conceptualisations of the movement of vast groups of people, they are also inherently ideological; invasion constructs migration as a threat, while burst containers suggest that the host country is overflowing. Reisigl and Wodak (2001) demonstrated that the arguments implicit in metaphor can be uncovered through topoi analysis. In a study of the visual images of immigration Cisneros (2008) identifies the IMMIGRANT AS POLLUTANT metaphor, which is rife in news media discourse on immigration, warning against the consequences for the public treatment of immigrants. Dervinyte (2009) makes a similar attempt in a contrastive study of the dominant immigration metaphors in the British and the Lithuanian press. The researcher finds the NATURAL FORCE metaphor involving the flow of water as the underlying CM, together with the recurrent MIGRATION IS WAR metaphor. The inability to control and sometimes predict the flow (of water) is utilized in the metaphorical comprehension of migration. The highlighted aspects of migration are its imminence and force, which justifies the view towards migrants as a threat to national security, which requires defensive measures on the part of the nation. Keith Cunningham-Parmeter (2011) explores the prevailing metaphors of immigration law and examines the social and legal consequences of their use. Employing a critical discourse framework, he arrives at three immigration metaphors that dominate Supreme Court texts: IMMIGRANTS ARE ALIENS, IMMIGRATION IS A FLOOD, and IMMIGRATION IS AN INVASION.

Discursive construction of Bulgaria's image in the English-language press

Studies of the image of Bulgaria are limited in number, and none have been so far carried out on the discursive construction of Bulgaria's image in a global media (Bratanova, 2012, 2015; Ishpekova, 2012; Dimitrova, 2015; Tarasheva, 2014). We have the intuitive feeling that Bulgaria has had a negative image in the Anglo-Saxon political debate. The findings of the Bulgarian researchers in the field suggest that Bulgaria's negative image in terms of statehood and nationhood persists in the country's coverage in a wide range of English-language media. In her critical examination of the BBC's representation of Bulgaria, Elena Tarasheva argues that the selection of topics is limited mostly to the country's achievements in sports and to the problems stemming from immigration in the United Kingdom, which distorts the country's public image (Tarasheva, 2014). In her monograph, Kristin Dimitrova makes a detailed content analysis of Bulgaria's coverage in British, American and Canadian newspapers. The researcher finds that, in the studied period between 1980 and 2000, Bulgaria's visibility in the English-language media has improved, but not its perception and identification. The country's image is invariably based on stereotypes and bias (Dimitrova, 2015). Bratanova (2015, 2018) applies the cognitive-pragmatic approach to the analysis of the discursive mechanisms of constructing Bulgaria's image in *The Economist* (2002–2015), finding it as sustainably stereotyped and invariably negative. In a similar research Ishpekova (2012) arrives at the conclusion that Bulgaria's image as framed by *The Financial Times* is one of the naughty newby within the family of EU nations, requiring disciplinary measures from the European Commission.

History professor Petur Angelov critically examines the stereotyped image of the

Bulgarians back in Medieval times. This image is sustainable, and is unlikely to undergo radical transformation, especially in the traditionally conservative medieval society. Interestingly, in medieval times the Bulgarian's outer appearance was deliberately caricatured, and the Bulgarians were typically depicted as wearing the hooded cloak and assigned the role of shepherd (Angelov, 2011, p. 63, translation K. Bratanova). The researcher finds that the Byzantines attempt to depict the Bulgarians as "the other", those "foreign" to the Byzantine intellectual mindset, as the "good disciples" that should be grateful to their spiritual teachers and guardians (ibid., p. 129).

There are some important assumptions in Angelov's book particularly relevant to this piece of research. The first assumption pertains to social cognition: the construction of any stereotype is determined by a number of factors, such as the geopolitical, social, cultural and religious environment as well as the specific aspects of human psychology. Notably, a stereotyped image stems from the interaction (or possibly clash) between two cultures - the one that created the image and the one to which it belongs (ibid, p. 7; translation K. Bratanova). Another assumption is that Bulgaria's image is constructed in a variety of genres such as historical writings, legends and eulogies, letters, speeches, satirical dialogues, among many other genres. This requires that the structural properties of the specific text and its purpose should be considered in the analysis of the written documents related to Bulgaria, as they determine the choice of vocabulary, the stylistic devices and terminology employed (ibid, pp. 8-9; translation K. Bratanova). It is the latter two assumptions that the method suggested in this paper incorporates.

Content analysis of the ST's articles on Bulgaria (see appendix 1, table 1)

Six articles were published on immigration from Bulgaria and Romania in 2006, the last year of the pre-accession period. **ST2** starts with the words that "when a scandal hits the headlines, whether it be the release of foreign criminals, sham weddings or bogus students — it can only rush round with sticking plaster. Even when repeatedly warned about the problems of deportation, by ourselves, the Inspector of Prisons and the National Audit Office, the Home Office has proved incapable of getting a grip of the situation." More challenges lie ahead, it continues. Next January, another 30m people from Romania and Bulgaria may well have the right to seek work here. One estimate is that 48,000 will do so in the first 18 months. The opinions of different readers are quoted. **ST3** discusses EU member states' position on immigration, Bulgaria and Romania mentioned, among others. The taoiseach signalled a shift in the government's position last week when he rebuked other EU leaders for failing to allow open access to their labour markets to the 10 accession states that joined the union in May 2004. "We'll have to eventually look at Bulgaria and Romania but I'd rather see my colleagues being a bit more advanced. France promised to loosen restrictions, but Germany and Austria, Holland, Belgium, Italy, Denmark and Luxembourg retain very tight controls on workers from the mainly east European countries. A government spokesman said it will be decided in the autumn whether labour market access will be granted to Bulgaria and Romania. He emphasised that the decision will be based on a number of factors, such as the labour market situation and the position taken by other member states. Olli Rehn, the EU enlargement commissioner, reported last week that Bulgaria's failure to arrest gangland leaders and control its crime problem had left Bulgaria trailing Romania in the accession stakes. **ST4** discusses the fear of the British

nationals of thousands of immigrants from Romania and Bulgaria entering the UK, who are referred to as “undesirables”. The article quotes a paper circulated in Whitehall, saying that ministers fear their failure to stop these people settling in Britain and claiming state benefits when Romania and Bulgaria join the EU. It further reveals that the government privately estimates between 60,000 and 140,000 Romanians and Bulgarians will arrive in Britain in the first year after accession. As a result, the paper says, ministers are considering refusing Bulgarians and Romanians the right to work in Britain. **ST5** warns against a possible rise of the crime rate upon Bulgaria’s EU accession. It argues EU membership will provide criminals with many new opportunities, who “will expand their empires while corrupt bureaucrats who have been stealing from their people and the EU will have a chance to siphon off even more when billions of dollars in subsidies start flowing in. It quotes the dismay of German police investigator Klaus Jansen, sent to assess Sofia’s battle against crime, who warned of contract killings spreading to other EU states once Bulgaria joins.

ST6 suggests corruption and crime are a part of everyday life in Bulgaria and Romania, which their respective governments have failed to tackle, despite EU’s warnings. The economic conditions there will inevitably lead to a massive flow of population once the borders are open and, with all the main European countries closed to them for work, a high percentage will come to Britain. There is only one sensible solution and that is to follow the example of other leading EU countries and refuse the right to work to those from Romania and Bulgaria. Not to impose restrictions is lunacy. **ST7** quotes Home Secretary John Reid, who will seek to allay fears that Britain has become a “soft touch” for migrants by announcing that there will be

no open door for workers from the Bulgaria and Romania when they join the European Union in 2007. Reid is expected to signal a strategic shift in immigration policy by making Romanians and Bulgarians show that they can fill specific skills gaps before they are allowed to work here. The move reflects a determination by ministers to end low-skilled migration to Britain.

One article was published in 2007. The subheading of **ST8** is “Before Romania and Bulgaria joined the EU, we were warned of a flood of benefit-hungry Balkan immigrants.” The article is mainly on immigrants from Romania, but it starts with the words “The hysteria surrounding the accession of Romania and Bulgaria into the EU in January says far more about our ‘Little Englander’ mentality than the ambitions of those from eastern Europe. Nobody knows how many Romanians and Bulgarians are living in Britain, probably some tens of thousands. But most who want to work have been here for years.”

One article was published in 2009, **ST9**, and it deals with the crackdown on illegal Romanian and Bulgarian workers. It says that Enterprise minister Mary Coughlan has ordered a crackdown on the 5,000 Romanians and Bulgarians suspected of working illegally in Ireland. The east-European countries have been part of the EU since 2007 but the government decided new workers coming to Ireland from Romania and Bulgaria would require employment permits at least until 2011.

Two articles were published on the immigration from Bulgaria and Romania in 2012. The first one, **ST10**, deals with the incumbent home secretary Theresa May’s words that controls should be put on EU migrants. She is concerned that EU expansion and unfettered freedom to travel could lead to big levels of economic migration. Work restrictions on migrants from Romania and Bulgaria are lifted next year (2013), with

experts forecasting an influx of jobseekers. May declined to identify countries, but they are understood to include Romania and Bulgaria. The second article, **ST11**, deals with the topic that controls will end on Bulgarian and Romanian migrants to UK. It says that home secretary Theresa May announced that strict controls preventing Bulgarian and Romanian migrants coming to the UK will not be extended beyond next year. While the government still aims to reduce immigration to tens of thousands, nothing will be able to stop migrants from the two eastern European countries entering Britain after December 2013.

In 2013 nine articles were published. The first one, **ST12**, quotes a Cabinet minister who admitted 'nobody knows' the exact number of Romanians and Bulgarians that could possibly enter the UK when access restrictions are lifted at the end of this year [2013]. Communities Secretary Eric Pickles¹⁴ said that although their precise number is not specified, any influx from the EU states would "cause problems" with public services, particularly piling pressure on housing. **ST13** addresses the same issue, describing these immigrants as bloodsuckers, which add to the enormous number of immigrants already in the UK. **ST14** deals with immigration from Bulgaria and Romania, among other stories, quoting statistics revealing that the arrivals from the two countries have reportedly risen by 26% between April and June. The article says 140,000 Romanians and Bulgarians are now thought to live in the UK. It further quotes Andrew Green, chairman of Migration Watch UK, which favours tighter controls, who claims that 50,000 Bulgarians and Romanians

are expected to arrive every year over the following five years. **ST15** addresses the issue of immigration to the UK in general. Resorting to an expert opinion, the article quotes Paul Collier's¹⁵ book, *Exodus*, which admittedly calls for increasing government controls over British immigration. In much the same vein **ST16** quotes Ryanair CEO O'Leary's attitude to his customers. The author warns that gypsies flooding into Britain from Romania and Bulgaria will not do so exclusively for the benefits on offer but will get involved in begging and in the black market. **ST17** discusses the negative effects of the freedom of movement, quoting the proposals outlined in the leaked open borders review, overseen by Theresa May, the home secretary¹⁶. Bulgaria and Romania are mentioned with regard to "the government is coming under pressure from its backbenchers to take tougher action in the face of a wave of immigration expected next month from Romania and Bulgaria". **ST18** makes mention of Bulgarian and Romanian immigrants among others. The article quotes the opinion of Nick Clegg, who paints an apocalyptic picture of Britain's future if the freedom of movement principle is not upheld, suggesting the National Health Service would "fall over" and the City of London would "grind to a halt". The coalition agreed various curbs on access to social housing and benefits for new arrivals from Bulgaria and Romania next year. Also the opinion of Rosen Plevneliev, the president of Bulgaria, is quoted, who issued a stark warning to Cameron that his immigration policy risked "isolating Britain and damaging Britain's reputation". **ST19** yet again discusses tightening the access of EU migrants to UK benefits. Nick Clegg warns that the lifting

¹⁴ British politician, member of the Conservative Party and MP for Brentwood and Ongar from the 1992 general election to the 2017 one.

¹⁵ Oxford professor of economics and bestselling author; former advisor of David Cameron

¹⁶ The proposals include: barring EU migrants' access to benefits and tax credits for their first five years here; giving British citizens a "national preference" by explicitly reserving jobs for them; limiting all labour movement from poorer countries who are new EU members until their GDP per capita is 75% of Britain's.

of the transitional controls on Romania and Bulgaria raises public anxieties. **ST20** is wholly devoted to immigration from Bulgaria and Romania and again raises the issue of the possible numbers, saying that yet there is little agreement over how many are likely to join them when the transitional controls are lifted. Resorting to expert opinion, the article quotes the 20,000 a year forecasted by Migration Matters Trust, and 50,000 over the next five years, as expected by MigrationWatch, which has prompted fears of a new mass migration.

In 2014 six articles were published. **ST21** cites Labour leader Miliband about the “understandable anxiety” over the possible effect of immigration from the two countries on jobs after lifting the restrictions as of 1 January 2014. The article argues that immigration is likely to dominate the European elections in May and that UKIP, which wants to “erect a fortress around Britain and hold back the world”, is on course to be the largest UK party in the next European parliament, so Labour and the Conservatives are keen to be seen as “tough” on immigration. **ST22** addresses the issue of Nigel Farage’s opinion on immigration, who for months has been issuing doomsday warnings about the “waves” of Romanian and Bulgarian immigrants poised to flood across the borders when work restrictions were lifted on 1 January 2014. Farage is well aware of the thousands of migrants headed toward the UK, having visited these countries and the “poor bits” of them. **ST23** quotes statistics about the Bulgarian and Romanian immigrants who officially registered in Ireland in 2013 – which was up 95% in 2011. The fact that back in 1999, nine EU countries dropped work restrictions on Romanian and Bulgarian nationals has prompted fears in Britain and Germany of a deluge of immigrants seeking jobs and state benefits. Bulgarian and Romanian politicians

have criticised some media coverage and political comments about the lifting of work and welfare restrictions in Britain and Germany, describing them as xenophobic. **ST24** discusses mainly immigration from Romania, whilst Bulgaria is only mentioned. It says that the previous year VPL Healthcare¹⁷, the recruitment firm “parachuted more than 100 medical professionals from Romania and Bulgaria into jobs in Britain”. A 30-percent increase is expected, considering that the government has lifted restrictions that have kept a lid on immigration since the two joined the European Union in 2007. Dozens of agencies were set up to help Romanians and Bulgarians navigate their way through the complicated rules that were previously in place. **ST25** is among the few articles that views immigration from Bulgaria and Romania from a more positive perspective. The article quotes a study that shows immigrants from the two countries to Ireland are expected to contribute about 30% more to the economy than they consume in the form of benefits and public services, which hence allays public fears that immigration from poorer parts of the EU could lead to benefits tourism. **ST26** discusses the flow of immigrants in more general terms, arguing that plenty of Poles and Bulgarians are around in Rochester. It makes the conclusion that it is “not immediately clear that Rochester has been overrun by east European benefit-seekers”, as everyone has a story about the immigrant flood. Yet, it further says that “too many immigrants have placed too much pressure on health services” and that “the strain of immigration” is arguably the reason for the primary school crush.

One article was published in 2015, **ST27**, the topic of which is that David Cameron’s target to cut immigration is “virtually impossible to achieve” and the measures

¹⁷ Romania-based company that provides assistance and personal recruiting, both in public and private sectors from medical and pharmaceutical industry.

needed to make it possible would end up damaging the economy, according to a report out the same week. The report, written by Robert Rowthorn, a professor of economics at Cambridge University and adviser to the International Monetary Fund, also says that Cameron's much-publicised plans to reduce EU immigrants' access to UK benefits would not dramatically reduce numbers - even if he managed to persuade other countries to accept them. "Although Cameron has been trying for years to clamp down on immigration, the numbers arriving both from outside the EU, which Britain can control, and from other EU countries are climbing steadily, according to the ONS. It recorded a 70% increase in

arrivals from Romania and Bulgaria, whose citizens gained the right to work in Britain in 2014."

Metaphorical construction of immigration: findings

Within this context, asylum seekers have yet again made the headlines in many British newspapers. For the goal of exploring the way in which migrants have been discursively constructed by the ST between 2004 and 2015, 27 articles have been selected for examination within a cognitive-pragmatic methodological framework.

That immigration is a challenge and a controversial issue becomes evident from the examples below.

IMMIGRATION IS A CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE/CHALLENGE

ST4 - §19	MPs will this week <i>fuel the controversy over immigration policy</i> by calling for control over the system to be transferred from the home secretary, John Reid, to a new Cabinet committee.
ST4 - §20	A report by the Commons home affairs select committee claims <i>the entire system suffers from "fragmentation and lack of communication"</i> and recommends the establishment of an independent Immigration Inspectorate to oversee border control.
ST2 - §2	<i>More challenges lie ahead.</i> Next January, another 30m people from Romania and Bulgaria may well have the right to seek work here. One estimate is that 48,000 will do so in the first 18 months.

By far the greatest number of CM is related to IMMIGRATION IS DANGEROUS WATERS/FLOOD/MASS /NUMBERS OF PEOPLE/INVASION WHICH SHOULD BE CONTROLLED/RESTRICTED/WAGED WAR AGAINST (58 examples). Describing immigrants as a flood, flow, influx, wave, deluge, mass population movement is prevalent in the articles. These instantiations can be included in the MOVEMENT scenario of immigration, its most prominent version being that "of a flood, wave or even tsunami, that pours/rushes into the container" (Musolff, 2016; p. 83). As Musolff argues, metaphors are deliberately chosen scenario elements, the latter being "conceptual patterns that emerge in discourse and are made narratively and argumentatively coherent by specific metaphors" (ibid., p. 87). That is, the authors of the articles have deliberately chosen specific metaphorical filling and "their

listeners and readers are conscious of their semantic and pragmatic implications and the registers and ideologies they belong to" (ibid., p. 88). The fact that these metaphors prevail in the ST's discourse on immigration shows that Bulgaria's image is that of an impending danger to the UK. Moreover, as Charteris-Black (2006) argues "Another characteristic of 'flood' metaphors is that they are often used to describe an increase in the rate of migration by conceptualizing immigration in terms of the flow of water" (p. 16). One reason for why these CM occur may be, on the one hand, that many immigrants arrive in Britain by water and on the other, that the sea in British culture and historical identity is very important.

What also emerges is that the influx of the mass of people should be controlled and restricted, the UK and the EU should *retain very tight controls, put controls on, curb, bar*

immigrants from entering the UK, which may otherwise face serious challenges. Immigration is a disaster because it causes change, which is in line with CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS conceptual metaphor that is part of the 'event structure metaphor' (Kovecses 2010). And, as Charteris-Black justifiably observes, "[A]n important corollary of this CM is the entailment LACK OF CONTROL OVER CHANGE IS LACK OF CONTROL OVER MOVEMENT" (2006, p. 20). He further suggests that "'liquid or 'water' metaphors are not so much about controlling the physical movement of people but controlling the level of historical change in a society over time" (ibid.).

This finding is in line with the CM CONTROL IS UP, LACK OF CONTROL IS DOWN. That is, controlling negatively evaluated social changes is good, while not controlling them is bad. Moreover, security from danger is a basic human need, which is closely related to control because dangerous phenomena threaten our security being "out of control". As Charteris-Black reasonably notes, "[T]he concept of loss of control can be equated to the perforation of a container" (ibid., p. 26), which brings us to the conceptualization of THE NATION IS A CONTAINER.

The latter conceptual metaphor is pertinent to the SPACE-CONTAINER scenario proposed by Musolff, according to which "the nation(state) is conceptualized as a *container* with distinct *boundaries*, which separate those *on the outside* from those *inside*; immigrants are thus *outsiders* who want to *come/move into the container*" (Musolff, 2016; p. 82). In our corpus we found instantiations of this metaphorical conceptualization such as the one in the headline of article 15 ***Allowing the right migrants in, keeping the wrong ones out*** or ***Migration is the topic surrounded by keep-out signs*** (ST15 - §4). Moreover, as Musolff further argues, "the *container* is often conceptualized as a *building* that has *doors*

and other openings that can be *closed*, *open* or *half-open*" (ibid., p. 83). There are a number of examples from the linguistic corpus under investigation. For instance, the very headline of ST19 calls for fending off migrants: ***Slam the door*** on EU migrants and it is Britain that will get hurt, Nick Clegg. Other examples in the corpus are:

But for the smaller guys, especially gypsy criminals who before found it difficult to travel easily across Europe, the opening of borders will present a world of opportunities. ***"It's like leaving your house unlocked and hoping thieves won't come to help themselves. Why shouldn't they?"*** ST5-§18,19

and

While poorly controlled immigration won't lead to violence, Collier says, it could easily bring about a reduction of generosity and welfare provision towards the poorest in society, which might prove dangerous. There has to be ***a ceiling on immigration***, he says, but it needs to be properly thought through. ST15 - §5.

All linguistic instantiations have been presented in the table in appendix 2.

The second CM in terms of frequency of occurrence is IMMIGRATION EVOKES BAD FEELINGS AMONG THE BRITISH NATIONALS, of which we detected 17 instantiations. As Charteris-Black notes "the symbolism of native people threatened by outsiders creates a powerful political myth evoking cultural-historical fears of 'invasion' by alien 'others'" (2006, p. 6). Immigration is a social problem reinforcing conscious and subliminal fears in British public opinion and fueling public resentment towards it. The linguistic instantiations of this CM are presented in table 2. Various negative emotions have been isolated – be they connected to the protection of family, group, territory or fear of aggression and loss of control.

Table 2. IMMIGRATION EVOKES BAD FEELINGS AMONG THE BRITISH NATIONALS

article	examples
ST3 1 - §9	<i>An official said the social partners would be consulted before a decision on Bulgaria and Romania. "I don't think we are getting very positive vibes among unions and employers at the moment,"</i> he said. "Given the international economic situation, we would have concerns about a possible downturn and people are just cautious at the moment."
ST4 - §5	The Home Office paper, from Joan Ryan, the Home Office minister, reveals deep concerns in government that <i>a new wave of immigration may provoke a public backlash. It warns of EU "enlargement fatigue"</i> and that the "enough is enough" argument is winning.
ST4 - §17	She [Ryan] admits there have been areas of <i>"strain" within communities</i> as a result of east European migrants, particularly over housing.
ST8 - §1	The <i>hysteria</i> surrounding the accession of Romania and Bulgaria into the EU in January says far more about our 'Little Englander' mentality than the ambitions of those from eastern Europe. Nobody knows how many Romanians and Bulgarians are living in Britain, probably some tens of thousands. But most who want to work have been here for years
ST13 - §16	If you're getting <i>agitated</i> about a few thousand Transylvanians coming here, let your mind dwell on the prospect of an open-door policy for Turks. As they say, be careful what you wish for — you may get it. [ST]
ST18 - §17	Criticism of Cameron also came from Laszlo Andor, the EU's employment commissioner, who attacked the prime minister for "echoing" the rhetoric of Nigel Farage, the UKIP leader. He dismissed as <i>"hysteria"</i> fears of a surge in migration when restrictions on Bulgarians and Romanians seeking work in Britain are lifted on January 1.
ST18 - §22	The biggest rise of migration to the UK in the recent period is from Spain and Italy, but there is no hysteria," he said. "So why are there <i>alarm bells</i> about new arrivals from Romania and Bulgaria?"
ST19-§ 3	No wonder, then, that as <i>transitional controls on Romania and Bulgaria are about to be lifted, public anxieties are running high</i>
ST 20 - H and SH	Don't panic! Efforts to deter immigrants from Romania and Bulgaria are not working, so what next, ask Bojan Pancevski and Jack Grimston
ST21 - §2	The Labour leader said there was <i>"understandable anxiety"</i> about the effect of immigration on jobs after restrictions on Bulgarians and Romanian workers coming here were lifted on January 1.
ST22 - §1	Nigel Farage hasn't had a good week — not that he's going to admit it. For months he has been issuing <i>doomsday warnings</i> about the "waves" of Romanian and Bulgarian immigrants poised to flood across our borders when work restrictions were lifted on January 1.
ST23 - §3	Four days ago, on January 1, nine EU countries dropped work restrictions on Romanian and Bulgarian nationals. <i>This has prompted fears</i> in Britain and Germany of a <i>deluge</i> of immigrants seeking jobs and state benefits
ST23 - §11	Bulgarian and Romanian politicians have criticised some media coverage and political comments about the lifting of work and welfare restrictions in Britain and Germany, describing them as <i>xenophobic</i>
ST24 - §13,14	Despite sensational tabloid headlines — often couched in barely disguised xenophobia or racism — warning of hordes of incoming benefit-scrourgers, Miller has witnessed little change since January 1. "The UK needs <i>to take a chill pill</i> on this whole thing," he said.
ST25 - §1,2	ROMANIANS and Bulgarians arriving in Ireland will likely contribute at least 30% more to the economy than they consume in the form of benefits and public services, a new study suggests. The research <i>contradicts fears</i> in some quarters that immigration from poorer parts of the European Union could lead to benefits tourism
ST26 - §12	"We get some Slovaks in here too and they hate the Romanians, <i>because everyone hates the Romanians</i> , so the Romanians pretend to be Slovaks. There are plenty of Poles and Bulgarians around here as well."
ST26 - §25	That was not how it felt to the Muslim newsagent who worried that <i>all this fuss about immigration</i> was not only costing him pre-Christmas business but might also result in a brick being thrown through his window.

Moreover, at the emotional level, fear pertains to terrorist acts or possible involvement in underground activities. Immigration is typically associated with social phenomena such as rising crime, terrorism,

social anarchy and chaos, the breakdown of orderly civil society. We found 7 instantiations of the IMMIGRATION IS AN ILLEGAL PHENOMENON CM as the examples in Table 3 suggest.

TABLE 3. IMMIGRATION IS AN ILLEGAL PHENOMENON

article	examples
ST1 - \$3	Investigations found that thousands of migrants from both countries [Bulgaria and Romania] had arrived as part of immigration racket . Entry clearance officers believed that nine out of ten migrants who claimed that they planned to set up a business in Britain were lying.
ST4 - \$7	The list of “undesirables” was compiled by the Immigration and Nationality Directorate (IND) and other law enforcement agencies from records of Bulgarians and Romanians who entered or tried to enter Britain. It includes individuals who have been flagged because of immigration irregularities, passport fraud and links to crime .
ST4 - \$15	She [Ryan] says migrants from Bulgaria and Romania will be “more visible” than those from other eastern European countries because unlike the Poles, for example, they have less well established communities here. There are also concerns that these migrants could bring with them organised crime and corruption , which is more established in these two countries.
ST9 - \$5	The agency has a list of 2,000 companies suspected of employing illegal Romanian and Bulgarian workers
ST16 - \$19	Gypsies who flood into Britain from Romania and Bulgaria will not do so exclusively for the benefits on offer. Rather, they will mainly occupy themselves by begging and taking part in the black market
ST17 - \$15	The report also quotes police figures showing that of the 292 people arrested in Westminster for begging in 2012, 207 were Romanians . The majority of the 922 cases of rough sleeping in the borough involved non-UK EU nationals. In London in 2010-11, less than half the rough sleepers were thought to be from the UK, with 28% from the 2004 accession countries including Romania and Bulgaria
ST24 - H	Cashing in on the migrant ‘wave’

At times the cause of widespread public resentment is not immigration as such but the British government’s incompetence in tackling the issue. Being ‘soft’ is represented as the real cause of popular discontent. There

were 14 instantiations of the CM THE HOST COUNTRY SHOULD ACCEPT IMMIGRANTS AND SHOW TOLERANCE OR REJECT THEM, which have been summed up in Table 4.

Table 4. THE HOST COUNTRY SHOULD ACCEPT IMMIGRANTS AND SHOW TOLERANCE OR REJECT THEM

ST5 - \$18,19	But for the smaller guys, especially gypsy criminals who before found it difficult to travel easily across Europe, the opening of borders will present a world of opportunities. “It’s like leaving your house unlocked and hoping thieves won’t come to help themselves. Why shouldn’t they?”
ST7 - \$2	John Reid, the home secretary, will seek to allay fears that Britain has become a “soft touch” for migrants by announcing that there will be no open door for workers from the two states when they join the European Union on January 1
ST6 - \$2	There is only one sensible solution and that is to follow the example of other leading EU countries and refuse the right to work to those from Romania and Bulgaria . Not to impose restrictions is lunacy
ST9 - \$6	The east-European countries have been part of the EU since 2007 but the government decided new workers coming to Ireland from Romania and Bulgaria would require employment permits at least until 2011
ST15 - H	Allowing the right migrants in, keeping the wrong ones out
ST15 - \$4	“Migration is the topic surrounded by keep-out signs , it’s a taboo topic . . . After Enoch Powell’s notorious ‘rivers of blood’ speech, intelligent discussion did close down. Although he was pointing to a bogus fear, that was the fear which liberal society internalised.”
ST15 - \$5	While poorly controlled immigration won’t lead to violence, Collier says, it could easily bring about a reduction of generosity and welfare provision towards the poorest in society, which might prove dangerous. There has to be a ceiling on immigration , he says, but it needs to be properly thought through.
ST14 - \$12	The government is considering limiting migrants’ access to benefits, healthcare and housing . The Home Office said: “We are not a soft touch . We are focusing on cutting out the abuse of free movement between EU member states and addressing the pull factors that drive European immigration to Britain.”
ST17 - \$5	Other proposals outlined in the leaked open borders review, overseen by Theresa May, the home secretary , include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Barring EU migrants’ access to benefits and tax credits for their first five years here • Giving British citizens a “national preference” by explicitly reserving jobs for them • Limiting all labour movement from poorer countries who are new EU members until their GDP per capita is 75% of Britain’s.
ST19 - H	Slam the door on EU migrants and it is Britain that will get hurt, Nick Clegg

ST19 - \$15	A strong and leading Britain does not <i>pull up its drawbridge</i> .
ST20 - \$4	Nearly a quarter of a century on, as Britain — along with eight other EU members — <i>scrap[s] the remaining barriers to Bulgarians and Romanians working here from January 1</i> , Cirlan could not be more withering about his country's place within Europe.
ST21 - \$8	Miliband wrote in The Independent on Sunday that UKIP want to <i>"erect a fortress around Britain and hold back the world"</i> .
ST24 - \$2	Last year VPL Healthcare, the recruitment firm he founded, <i>parachuted more than 100 medical professionals from Romania and Bulgaria into jobs in Britain</i> . Porubin-Lazurca expects a 30% increase this year, because four days ago the government lifted restrictions that have <i>kept a lid on immigration</i> since the two joined the European Union in 2007.

Presumably, the identified linguistic instantiations fall into Musolff's ACTION scenario (2016; p. 83). As the author argues, there are "politicians and social groups that are viewed as (and mostly condemned for)

inviting, letting, allowing, bringing immigrants into the country" (ibid., p. 83).

In the analyzed corpus, immigrants were found to be metaphorically conceptualized as harmful creatures, as the examples in Table 5 suggest.

Table 5. IMMIGRANTS ARE UNWANTED/HARMFUL CREATURES

ST4 - H	Migrant fear over 45,000 'undesirables'
ST4 - \$2	According to a paper circulated in Whitehall last week, ministers fear they may be unable to stop <i>these people</i> settling in Britain and claiming state benefits when Romania and Bulgaria join the EU [ST]
ST4 - \$9	Once Bulgaria and Romania, known as the A2, join the EU, Ryan said it would be harder to expel such <i>undesirables</i> or stop them entering Britain.
ST13 - \$6	The government is, in fact, wilfully missing the point by depicting Romanians as Balkan <i>bloodsuckers</i> I assume, myself, that most Romanians and Bulgarians who come here, as opposed to going to Italy and Spain where the weather is better, actually want to work. There are quite a few already here, about 141,000, and they do sterling work picking strawberries and doing things in the National Health Service and catering.
ST13 - \$7	The government is, in fact, wilfully missing the point by <i>depicting Romanians and Bulgarians as Transylvanian/Balkan bloodsuckers</i> .

Furthermore, immigrants are a burden to Britain's welfare system. These conceptualizations fall within Musolff's EFFECT SCENARIO, which has three sub-scenarios: MIX, GAIN and SCROUNGE.

(ibid., p. 83). We can add a BURDEN ON THE WELFARE SYSTEM sub-scenario, of which we found 14 instantiations. The linguistic instantiations have been presented in Table 6.

Table 6. IMMIGRANTS ARE A BURDEN ON THE WELFARE SYSTEM

ST12 - \$10	Mr Pickles continued: "Given that we've got a housing shortage, <i>any influx from Romania and Bulgaria is going to cause problems and it's going to cause problems not just in terms of the housing market, but also on social housing markets</i>
ST15 - \$9	"The dependants of immigrants are not what you want. They don't come with skills and because they're dependants <i>they do increase demands on social services and on social housing</i> . That has to be limited if we want to avoid competition for jobs and social housing between immigrants and our own poor."
ST17 - \$8	It says unfettered freedom of movement has <i>encouraged benefits tourism, stretched public services and created a "build-up of social tensions" in communities</i>
ST - \$17	The review says there is "widespread public concern" about the effect of freedom of movement which: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>encourages benefits tourism</i> (it reveals that 121,000 people from elsewhere in the EU are claiming benefits) ; • <i>has "negative impact" on public services, straining overstretched council services</i> and creating "a build-up of tensions" in some places, such as Slough, Berkshire • <i>damages public confidence in immigration controls</i>.
ST18 - \$7	In his article, Clegg paints an apocalyptic picture of Britain's future if the freedom of movement principle is not upheld, suggesting <i>the National Health Service would "fall over" and the City of London would "grind to a halt"</i> .

ST19 - \$2	More specifically, we do so because this is the surest way <i>to protect an open European single market</i> , which will be critical for the UK's prosperity and growth
ST22 - \$6	What does he make of David Cameron's last-minute decision <i>to limit access to welfare payments and the NHS</i> for new migrants?
ST24 - \$14	Despite sensational tabloid headlines — often couched in barely disguised xenophobia or racism — warning of hordes of <i>incoming benefit-scrourgers</i> , Miller has witnessed little change since January
ST25 - \$5	A furore over EU migration has erupted in the UK amid <i>warnings that Romanians and Bulgarians will flood into the country this year and dampen economic growth by creating a burden on the British welfare system</i>
ST26 - \$14	It is not immediately clear that Rochester has been overrun by <i>east European benefit- seekers</i> .
ST26 - \$17	It came up time and again at the Farage meeting. <i>The reason for the hospital's problems is that too many immigrants have placed too much pressure on health services. The reason for the primary school crush is "the strain of immigration", Reckless told the audience.</i>
ST26 - \$18	<i>Then there is the housing crisis. Farage said: "We have to build a new house every seven minutes in this country just to cope with immigration."</i>
ST7 - \$10	"They are clearly willing workers who are valuable to individual employers but <i>the idea that they are a major boon to our economy as a whole does not survive examination.</i> "
ST27 - H	Hitting PM's migration target ' <i>would harm economy</i> '

Much in line with Musolff's findings, immigrants are depicted as hordes of *incoming benefit-scrourgers* and *east European benefit-seekers*, thus falling into Musolff's SCROUNGE sub-scenario, which is rife in the studied corpus as table 5 suggests. Although immigrants are not referred as parasites, which is evidently too strongly

ideologically loaded to be used uncritically in the mainstream press, they are called *bloodsuckers*.

There is little evidence of positive evaluation of immigration in the literature. Yet surprisingly there were a few instances in our corpus. One of them is IMMIGRATION IS VITAL TO ECONOMIC GROWTH:

Table 7. IMMIGRATION IS VITAL TO ECONOMIC GROWTH

ST20 - \$34	There were accusations of British " <i>scaremongering</i> " from the Hungarian Laszlo Andor, the EU's employment commissioner. <i>The move would also be bitterly opposed by employers in Britain and others who see immigration as vital to fuelling economic growth.</i>
ST20 - \$35	Curb migration and taxes will go up, warn economists. The political debate about immigration is increasingly polarised, but most economists think <i>migrants have a largely positive impact on Britain</i>
ST20 - \$38	<i>A study by Citi, the American investment bank, found that migrants had contributed about a third of the economic growth in Britain, America and the eurozone over the past 10 years.</i> They tend to be better educated, more productive and better paid than the native population and therefore have a positive impact on a nation's wealth.
ST25 - H	Latest influx of migrants 'will boost economy'
ST25 -SH +\$1	<i>ROMANIANS and Bulgarians arriving in Ireland will likely contribute at least 30% more to the economy than they consume in the form of benefits and public services</i> , a new study suggests. <i>The research contradicts fears in some quarters that immigration from poorer parts of the European Union could lead to benefits tourism</i>

These instances recognize the positive contribution of immigration as a source of socially useful labor. They highlight the economic benefit 'good' immigrants bring to Britain. These presumably fall within the GAIN sub-scenario of the EFFECT scenario proposed by Musolff (2016; p. 83). As the author argues, these are related to

"immigrants that are among the *best and brightest* of their respective home countries and provide an economic benefit to Britain: it is mostly used in arguments made in defence of continued immigration of certain elite groups (e.g. foreign students, skilled workers, business people" (ibid., p. 83).

We will end in a positive note, saying that there are instances in which the host country is depicted as attractive to the immigrants, as table 8 shows. As the examples reveal, there are various *pull factors* such as the benefits,

national health systems and housing. Here we see an interesting conceptualization, on the basis of which we can formulate the CM ATTRACTING IS PULLING.

Table 8. *THE HOST COUNTRY IS ATTRACTIVE*

ST11 - §3	May will now instruct ministers to look to so-called " <i>pull factors</i> ", <i>such as the benefits and national health systems</i> , to see if changes can be made <i>to temper a potential influx</i> .
ST11 - §6	"Transitional controls end in December 2013 but that is where the importance of looking at what it is that is <i>attracting</i> people to come here, in terms of things <i>like our benefits system, and access to the National Health Service, are so important</i> ."
ST11 - §9	I will be looking at transitional controls on Romania and Bulgaria at the end of December 2013. I will be looking at what we call <i>the pull factors</i> . <i>What is it that attracts people sometimes to come over here to the United Kingdom?</i> Looking at issues such as benefits and access to the health service and things like that."
ST14 - §8	<i>The government is considering limiting migrants' access to benefits, healthcare and housing</i> . The Home Office said: " <i>We are not a soft touch</i> . We are focusing on cutting out the abuse of free movement between EU member states and addressing <i>the pull factors</i> that drive European immigration to Britain."
ST20 - §46	Another popular argument is that <i>immigrants are attracted to Britain by our generous welfare system</i> , but a study by the Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration at University College London found that between 1995 and 2011, immigrants from the European economic area contributed £8.8bn more to the economy than they received in benefits.
ST27 - §10	Rowthorn also says migration to the UK from within the EU is not driven by <i>the perceived attraction of the welfare state but by the economy's success in comparison with eastern and southern Europe</i> .

Results

All identified CM bring coherence to *ST*'s narrative on Bulgaria and the Bulgarians. On the basis of the CMs used to metaphorically construct Bulgaria's image in *ST*, the following CM have been identified, shown in figure 1.

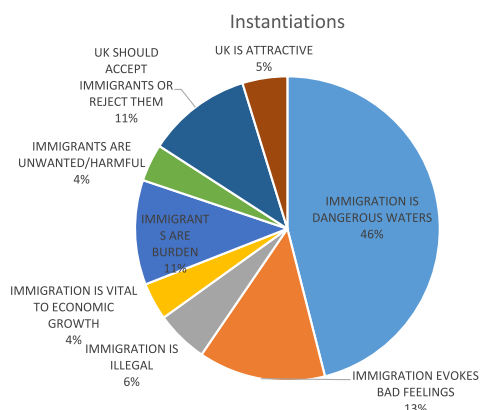


Fig. 1. *Conceptual metaphors by incidence; by the authors*

It has been found that the *ST* has employed a host of metaphors to tell immigration stories.

The prevalence of the CMs of IMMIGRATION IS FLOOD, IMMIGRATION EVOKES BAD FEELINGS and IMMIGRANTS ARE A BURDEN TO THE WELFARE SYSTEM, which go beyond 50% of all isolated metaphors, suggests that immigrants are conceptualized as a potential threat to the UK, as encroaching invaders and as floods overwhelming communities. THE HOST COUNTRY SHOULD ACCEPT OR REJECT THEM. The authorities in the host countries are called upon to adopt a more hostile approach towards immigrants and take measures to crack down on immigration. The dominant CMs suggest a negative interpretation of immigration, ignoring any positive aspects, even though national and racial variety is admittedly an integral part of Britishness. We might imagine a new immigration discourse that "emphasizes cooperation over struggle, contribution over battle, and personhood over alienage" (Cunningham-Parmeter, 2011, p. 1598).

Conclusions

The paper drew attention to what is, to our conviction, an important issue at stake in international affairs – the metaphorical construction of immigration, a public opinion leader in the UK print media market. A major objective was to expose whether there has been a shift in public and government attitudes to immigration. The analysis suggests there has, given the prevalence of CMs of dangerous floods presumably denoting an elemental force beyond human control.

Another major objective of this study was to demonstrate that Bulgaria's image has been negatively framed by the *ST* as it is contextualized within immigration.

Finally, a major objective of this study was to illustrate that CDA, its socio-cognitive variant in particular, provides an appropriate theoretical and methodological framework for the study of the discursive construction of images of nations and identities of influential media as non-governmental actors. It is our conviction that CDA can ensure the useful analytical tools to carry out a follow-up research on Bulgaria's image in all articles published by the *ST*.

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Appendix 1

Table 1. Headlines of ST's articles by date

art	Date	Headline
ST1	31.8.2004	Illegal immigrants will not be barred from future entry to Britain
ST2	30.4.2006	It's time to sort out immigration. Next January, another 30m people from Romania and Bulgaria may well have the right to seek work here. One estimate is that 48,000 will do so in the first 18 months.
ST3	07.5.2006	No work permits for new EU states.
ST4	23.7.2006	Migrant fear over 45,000 'undesirables'
ST5	06.8.2006	Mr Big forecasts a UK crime wave
ST6	13.8.2006	Letters to the Editor: Migrant limits needed
ST7	22.10.2006	Reid to stem flow of low skill immigrants
ST8	25.2.2007	There's no place like home Before Romania and Bulgaria joined the EU, we were warned of a flood of benefit-hungry balkan immigrants. So where are they all, asks Adam Lebor
ST9	14.6.2009	Crackdown on illegal Romanian and Bulgarian workers Nera will be given powers to check up on 5,000 staff at 2,000 Irish companies suspected of not having permits
ST10	07.10.2012	May: put controls on EU migrants
ST11	11.11.2012	Controls to end on Bulgarian and Romanian migrants to UK
ST12	13.1.2013	Number of Romanians and Bulgarians entering UK 'unknown'
ST13	07.4.2013	Oops, we try to outsmart Germany and end up with a wave of Bulgarians
ST14	18.8.2013	Top stories from the UK
ST15	06.10.2013	Allowing the right migrants in, keeping the wrong ones out Unafraid of breaking a taboo, Oxford professor Paul Collier wants quotas and a lottery to control immigration. Here he says how they would work
ST16	10.11.2013	Too late, O'Leary — 'mugs' like me have clipped your wings
ST17	15.12.2013	Theresa May goes to war over EU migrants
ST18	22.12.2013	Clegg blocks more curbs on migrants
ST19	22.12.2013	Slam the door on EU migrants and it is Britain that will get hurt
ST20	29.12.2013	Don't panic! Efforts to deter immigrants from Romania and Bulgaria are not working, so what next, ask Bojan Pancevski and Jack Grimston
ST21	05.1.2014	Miliband to stop cheap foreign workers
ST22	05.1.2014	Farage against the machine: UKIP's got plans for 2014
ST23	05.1.2014	Bulgarian and Romanian migrants to Ireland up 95%
ST24	05.1.2014	Cashing in on the migrant 'wave'
ST25	19.2.2014	Latest influx of migrants 'will boost economy'
ST26	16.11.2014	Purple patch spreads to town migrants built
ST27	29.11.2015	Hitting PM's migration target 'would harm economy'

Appendix 2

Table 9. CM IMMIGRATION IS DANGEROUS WATERS/FLOOD/MASS (NUMBERS) OF PEOPLE

article	examples
ST 5 - H	Mr Big forecasts a UK crime wave
ST6 - § 1	Anyone who has travelled in these countries knows that corruption and crime are a part of everyday life which their respective governments have failed to tackle, despite warnings from the European Union. The economic conditions there will inevitably lead to a massive flow of population once the borders are open and, with all the main European countries closed to them for work, a high percentage will come to Britain
ST7 - H	Reid to stem flow of low skill immigrants
ST7 - § 5	The policy has been held responsible for helping to attract many of the 427,000 migrants who have flocked to Britain from eastern Europe over the past two years
ST8 - SH	Before Romania and Bulgaria joined the EU, we were warned of a flood of benefit-hungry balkan immigrants . So where are they all, asks Adam Lebor
ST9 - H	Crackdown on illegal Romanian and Bulgarian workers
ST9 - §1	Enterprise minister Mary Coughlan has ordered a crackdown on the 5,000 Romanians and Bulgarians suspected of working illegally in Ireland
ST10 - §1	VISA controls to prevent an influx of immigrants from some European Union countries are being considered by the Tories in a move that challenges one of the fundamental tenets of the EU
ST10 - §3	She is concerned that EU expansion and unfettered freedom to travel could lead to big levels of economic migration. Work restrictions on migrants from Romania and Bulgaria are lifted next year, with experts forecasting an influx of jobseekers
ST12 - H	Number of Romanians and Bulgarians entering UK 'unknown' , Alice Hutton
ST12 - §1	A Cabinet minister has admitted 'nobody knows' how many Romanians and Bulgarians could cross Britain's borders when access restrictions are lifted at the end of this year
ST12 - §10	Mr Pickles continued: "Given that we've got a housing shortage, any influx from Romania and Bulgaria is going to cause problems and it's going to cause problems not just in terms of the housing market, but also on social housing markets
ST13 - H	Oops, we try to outsmart Germany and end up with a wave of Bulgarians
ST13 - §4	But even though they're passing on how many people might actually arrive, they're still confident that the effect here will be "modest" – on the basis that the exodus from Romania and Bulgaria, if there is one, could go anywhere.
ST13 - §9	Those are the ones we know about; the number of illegal immigrants is anybody's guess, but there are probably in the region of a million. Getting worked up about this latest wave of migrants seems, in the circumstances, to be missing the point.
ST13 - §12	Admitting countries to the EU, however, means their populations can live and work where they choose inside it. Immigration works like osmosis : people move from countries that pay less to countries that pay more, and who can blame them?
ST16 - §19	Gypsies who flood into Britain from Romania and Bulgaria will not do so exclusively for the benefits on offer. Rather, they will mainly occupy themselves by begging and taking part in the black market
ST 17 - H	Theresa May goes to war over EU migrants
ST17-§ 9	The government is coming under pressure from its backbenchers to take tougher action in the face of a wave of immigration expected next month from Romania and Bulgaria
ST20 - §8	The issue has already created difficulties for David Cameron within the coalition, which is split between Liberal Democrats, who think the influx can be accommodated , and Tory Eurosceptics who fear the social upheaval could mean more voters deserting to UKIP.
ST20 - §14	A joke doing the rounds in the Bulgarian capital, Sofia, maintains that "there are two ways out of Bulgaria's problems : terminal 1 and terminal 2"
ST20-§ 15	Yet there is little agreement over how many are likely to join them after January 1. The Migration Matters Trust believes the number from Bulgaria and Romania will not exceed 20,000 a year. Another think tank, MigrationWatch UK , forecasts an annual average of about 50,000 over the next five years
ST20-§ 33	At a European Union summit this month, Cameron broached the subject of curbing free movement in the future to stop "mass population movements" .

Articles

ST22 - \$1	Nigel Farage hasn't had a good week — not that he's going to admit it. <i>For months he has been issuing doomsday warnings about the “waves” of Romanian and Bulgarian immigrants poised to flood across our borders when work restrictions were lifted on January 1.</i>
ST22 - \$3	Actually, he corrects himself, the small number of migrants that has arrived so far is “irrelevant” because there is “no doubt” that <i>thousands more are on their way</i> . He knows this because he has visited “poor bits” of Romania and Bulgaria and he knows “what I'd be doing if I were them”.
ST23 - \$3	Four days ago, on January 1, nine EU countries dropped work restrictions on Romanian and Bulgarian nationals. <i>This has prompted fears</i> in Britain and Germany of a <i>deluge</i> of immigrants seeking jobs and state benefits
ST23 - \$5	Statistics compiled by the Department of Social Protection show <i>8,070 Bulgarians and Romanians were issued PPS numbers in 2013, up from 4,122 in 2011</i>
ST23 - \$7	There was a 40% increase in the number of PPS numbers issued to Bulgarians and Romanians in 2012 over 2011 with 5,752 registering in the 12 months after work restrictions were dropped here
ST24 - H	<i>Cashing in on the migrant ‘wave’</i>
ST24 - \$4	<i>Porubin-Lazurca is hoping to cash in on what some predict will be an immigrant wave to rival the influx after Poland was added to the bloc in 2004.</i> Back then more than 200,000 Poles surged into Britain in the first year alone.
ST24 - \$14	Despite sensational tabloid headlines — often couched in barely disguised xenophobia or racism — warning of <i>hordes</i> of incoming benefit-scrungers, Miller has witnessed little change since January 1.
ST24 - \$16	Porubin-Lazurca was equally dismissive of suggestions of an influx of low-skilled migrants
ST24 - \$19	Within 18 months, that figure had grown nearly sevenfold, mainly because of the Polish <i>invasion</i>
ST-24 24,25,26	<i>Yet expectations of a deluge of cheap labour have so far proved unfounded. UCL's Salt pointed out that the number of advance bookings for inbound flights from Bulgaria and Romania was 3% lower than in the same period last year. “That doesn't indicate that a great tide is rushing in,” he said. “The people who want to come are largely already here.” According to the latest official figures, 85,000 Romanians and 42,000 Bulgarians are living in Britain. Before the floodgates opened in 2004, there were fewer than 34,000 Poles here.</i>
ST24 - \$30	January 1 also saw the end of a seasonal agricultural workers programme, targeted at Romanians and Bulgarians, that brought an estimated <i>20,000 people</i> into the country each year to pick fruit and vegetables.
ST25 - H	Latest influx of migrants 'will boost economy'
ST25 - \$5	A furore over EU migration has erupted in the UK amid <i>warnings that Romanians and Bulgarians will flood into the country this year and dampen economic growth by creating a burden on the British welfare system</i>
ST26 - \$13	Yet across the bridge in Strood, where my full English breakfast turned out to have been cooked by a Turk, <i>everyone seems to have a story about the immigrant flood.</i>
ST27 - H	<i>Hitting PM's migration target</i> 'would harm economy'
ST27 - \$5	Although Cameron has been trying for years to <i>clamp down</i> on immigration, the numbers arriving both from outside the EU, which Britain can control, and from other EU countries are climbing steadily, according to the ONS. It recorded a 70% increase in arrivals from Romania and Bulgaria, whose citizens gained the right to work in Britain in 2014.
ST27 - \$8	“Such a huge reduction in the <i>inflow</i> would be virtually impossible to achieve and any serious attempt to do so would cause outrage amongst those affected, both in the UK and abroad,” he says. [ST]
	IMMIGRATION SHOULD BE CONTROLLED AND RESTRICTED
ST3 - \$2	France promised to loosen restrictions, but Germany and Austria, Holland, Belgium, Italy, Denmark and Luxembourg <i>retain very tight controls</i> on workers from the mainly east European countries.
ST7 - \$11	Reid hinted at the new <i>curbs</i> in a speech earlier this month when he said it “isn't fair or sensible” not to consider the impact of new migrants on schools, hospitals and housing.
ST10 - H	Theresa May: <i>put controls</i> on EU migrants
ST11 - H	Controls to end on Bulgarian and Romanian migrants to UK
ST11 - \$1	<i>STRICT controls</i> preventing Bulgarian and Romanian migrants coming to the UK will not be extended beyond next year, home secretary Theresa May announced this morning
ST12 - \$4	The comments came today (Sunday) after the coalition confirmed it would not seek <i>to extend temporary curbs on 29 million Romanian and Bulgarian nationals'</i> right to live and work in Britain, which are due to expire on December 31.
ST12 - \$11	Labour indicated last year that it supported <i>extending restrictions on migrants from the two countries working in the UK.</i>

ST13 - \$1	So, what's your guess of the number of Romanians and Bulgarians who'll be coming to Britain at the end of the year, then? That's when the final restrictions on them working in the European Union are lifted
ST13 - \$10	In fact the government's annoyance at the prospect of new arrivals from the east seems a bit of a nerve. It is as if the problem has been wished on ministers by the EU, like regulations on selling curvy bananas. David Cameron, when he spoke about getting tough on EU welfare migrants two weeks ago, said sorrowfully that Britain could do nothing about these new entrants finally being granted full accession to the EU. But, duh, that is the point of British foreign policy.
ST14 - \$10	Britain has seen a surge in immigrants from Romania and Bulgaria, with arrivals from those countries rising by 26% between April and June. About 140,000 Romanians and Bulgarians are now thought to live here. Sir Andrew Green, chairman of Migration Watch UK, which favours tighter controls , claims 50,000 Bulgarians and Romanians will arrive every year for the next five years. He said: "Still larger numbers will arrive next year when our labour market is fully open to them."
ST14 - \$11	The government is considering limiting migrants' access to benefits, healthcare and housing. The Home Office said: " We are not a soft touch. We are focusing on cutting out the abuse of free movement between EU member states and addressing the pull factors that drive European immigration to Britain."
ST15 - \$1	Paul Collier seems to relish the prospect of breaking one of the last taboos of the academic world. In his new book, Exodus, the Oxford professor of economics and bestselling author, who has also worked as an adviser to David Cameron, tackles the subject of controlling British immigration
ST15 - \$2	His book was published last week just days after Nigel Farage, the UKIP leader, had promised to put the issue at the heart of his party's campaign. Exodus advocates a lottery to limit the number of dependants allowed into Britain with each skilled migrant and argues that quotas should be introduced for Romanians and Bulgarians from January when they gain the right to live, work and claim benefits here.
ST17 - \$5	Other proposals outlined in the leaked open borders review, overseen by Theresa May, the home secretary , include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Barring EU migrants' access to benefits and tax credits for their first five years here • Giving British citizens a "national preference" by explicitly reserving jobs for them • Limiting all labour movement from poorer countries who are new EU members until their GDP per capita is 75% of Britain's.
ST17 - \$8	It says unfettered freedom of movement has encouraged benefits tourism, stretched public services and created a "build-up of social tensions" in communities
ST17 - \$10	The government is coming under pressure from its backbenchers to take tougher action in the face of a wave of immigration expected next month from Romania and Bulgaria
ST17 - \$18	Britain has recently joined Germany, Austria and Holland to campaign for tighter controls on migrants' access to welfare handouts
ST18 - H	Clegg blocks more curbs on migrants
ST18 - \$1	NICK CLEGG has issued a stark warning that he will not tolerate any further curbs on immigration from within the EU while he is in office
ST18 - \$4	Clegg's intervention comes two days after David Cameron told Brussels that Britain will veto any further expansion of the EU unless far tighter controls are placed on the "vast migrations" of workers
ST18 - \$10	The coalition has agreed various curbs on access to social housing and benefits for new arrivals from Bulgaria and Romania next year.
ST19 - \$1	Tightening the access EU migrants have to UK benefits is one of those instances
ST20 - \$31	Nick Clegg warned in The Sunday Times last weekend that, while he supported tightening eligibility for benefits, he would not tolerate further curbs on EU immigration. "This is where we draw the line," he wrote. He has also warned that an idea floated by the Home Office to cap EU migration at 75,000 is "illegal and undeliverable".
ST20 - \$33	At a European Union summit this month, Cameron broached the subject of curbing free movement in the future to stop "mass population movements".
ST20 - \$35	Curb migration and taxes will go up, warn economists. The political debate about immigration is increasingly polarised, but most economists think migrants have a largely positive impact on Britain
ST21 - \$7	Immigration is likely to dominate the European elections in May. UKIP is on course to be the largest UK party in the next European parliament, and Labour and the Conservatives are keen to be seen as "tough" on immigration.
ST25 - \$9	When Romania and Bulgaria joined the EU in 2007, 13 of the 15 oldest EU member states, including Ireland, limited migrants from the lower-income countries from accessing their labour markets and welfare systems. The two exceptions were Sweden and Finland
ST 27 - \$1	DAVID CAMERON'S target to cut immigration is "virtually impossible to achieve" and the measures needed to make it possible would end up damaging the economy, according to a report out this week
ST 27 - \$3	The report, written by Robert Rowthorn, a professor of economics at Cambridge University and adviser to the International Monetary Fund, also says that Cameron's much-publicised plans to reduce EU immigrants' access to UK benefits would not dramatically reduce numbers — even if he managed to persuade other countries to accept them.