Representations of Immigrants in New Zealand Newspapers, 2010 to 2012

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Tämä tutkielma tarkastelee maahanmuuttaja-aiheisia kirjoituksia Uuden-Seelannin sanomalehdissä vuosina 2010-2012. Tavoitteena on selvittää miten maahanmuuttajista kirjoitetaan – mitä diskursiivisia strategioita käytetään ja millaisia asenteita maahanmuuttajia kohtaan teksteistä välittyy. Aiheena maahanmuutto on hyvin ajankohtainen ja maahanmuuttaja-aiheista uutisointia on myös tutkittu melko paljon. Itse halusin rajata tutkimusalueen nimenomaan Uuteen-Seelantiin, koska vastaavanlaista tutkimusta ei tästä maasta löytynyt. Uudessa-Seelannissa maahanmuutto oli 1980-luvulle asti hyvin rajoitettua ja vain tiettyjä maita suosivaa, mikä myöskin tekee siitä kiinnostavan tutkimuskohteen.

Tutkimuksen teoreettinen viitekehys nojaa kriittisen diskurssianalyysin (CDA) näkökulmaan kielestä sosiaalisten identiteettien ja tieto- ja uskomusjärjestelmien rakentajana ja ylläpitäjänä. Kriittiseen diskurssianalyysiin liittyy vahvasti laadullinen tutkimus, sillä johtopäätökset perustuvat aineiston yksityiskohtaiseen analyysiin. Itse yhdistelin laadullista ja määrällistä tutkimusmenetelmää, sillä halusin myös tilastoja erilaisten strategioiden ja asenteiden yleisyydestä. Tutkimuksen aineisto tulee Corpus of New Zealand Newspaper English – korpuksesta, joka pitää sisällään tekstejä kymmenestä Uuden-Seelannin sanomalehdestä vuosilta 2010-2012. Etsin korpuksesta kaikki maininnat maahanmuuttajista ja luokittelin ne niistä välittyvän asenteen mukaan.

Tutkimuksessa selvisi, että Uuden-Seelannin sanomalehdissä käytetään paljon sanaa *laiton* kuvaamaan paperittomia maahanmuuttajia, mikä on yleisesti hyvin tyypillistä maahanmuuttaja-aiheisessa kirjoittelussa. *Laittomista* maahanmuuttajista puhuttaessa sävy on automaattisesti kielteinen ja termi yhdistää maahanmuuttajat rikollisuuteen. Lisäksi maahanmuuttajista kirjoitettaessa tavallista oli mainita heidän määränsä joko konkreettisena numerona tai paljoutta ilmaisevana kielikuvana, kuten *tulva* tai *aalto*. Tämäkin on aiempien tutkimusten valossa ominaista maahanmuuttajista kirjoitettaessa. Yllättävää sen sijaan oli, että maininnat maahanmuuttajista olivat asenteeltaan pääasiassa neutraaleja tai myönteisiä heitä kohtaan. Aiempien tutkimusten perusteella oli odotettavissa, että maahanmuuttajista kirjoitettaessa kielteiset asenteet olisivat vallalla, mutta kielteisiä mainintoja oli koko aineistosta vain viidesosa. Toisaalta on perusteltua väittää, että kielteisten mainintojen määrä oli silti tarpeettoman suuri. Esimerkiksi puhumalla *paperittomista* maahanmuuttajista *laittomien* sijaan, olisi moni kielteinen mielleyhtymä vältettävissä.

Avainsanat: maahanmuuttajat, Uusi-Seelanti, kriittinen diskurssianalyysi, korpuslingvistiikka

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1. Introduction

As the world globalises and it becomes easier and easier to move around, immigration has become a more topical issue than ever and it is interesting to take a closer look into the ways in which newspapers write about it. As McCombs (2004, 1) points out, most of the knowledge people possess about various public affairs comes from journalists' reports about these events. Therefore newspapers have a crucial role in framing the discourse on immigration and, to some extent, influencing public opinion. Fairclough (1989, 54), who is one of the developers of *Critical Discourse Analysis*, notes that "a single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader, and so forth". Studying the language that newspapers use to discuss immigration can make us aware of their role and influence, which is the key if we want to form a more unaffected opinion on the matter.

In my MA thesis I study how immigrants are portrayed in New Zealand newspapers. Since immigrants generally belong to a minority group, it is not uncommon that texts concerning them are studied by using a Critical Discourse Analysis approach. This will be my approach as well, combined with corpus linguistics. By taking a corpus linguistic approach I am be able to find recurring patterns associated with the target word and by using CDA I can then analyse those patterns and scrutinise some example sentences. What makes this study interesting is also the large corpus of New Zealand newspapers that I used as a source of data. Even though there have been many studies with a CDA approach of immigrants, I was unable to find an equivalent study on the New Zealand situation. Data for the study comes from The Corpus of New Zealand Newspaper English (CNZNE), which was released in 2013.

The main research questions of this thesis are the following:

1) What discursive strategies are used when writing about immigrants?

2) What attitudes towards immigrants emerge from the body of New Zealand newspapers?

The structure of the thesis is the following: chapter 2 provides some background information first on immigration in general and then concentrates on immigration and its history in New Zealand. Next, I will discuss news discourse and also say a few words about newspapers in New Zealand, especially the ones used in this study. I then move on to presenting my theoretical approach in chapter 3, first dealing with Critical Discourse Analysis and then corpus linguistics. Chapter 4 introduces my data and methods, and is followed by the results that are presented with plenty of examples and analysis in chapter 5. In chapter 6 I will discuss the results and the process of reaching them and chapter 7 concludes the thesis.

2. Background

In section 2.1 I take a look at immigration in general and then in section 2.2 I focus on immigration in New Zealand. Section 2.3 is dedicated to news discourse and in its subsection 2.3.1 I deal with newspapers in New Zealand.

2.1 Immigration

Immigration is by no means a new phenomenon, but over the last couple of decades globalization has accelerated immigration by increasing communication between different countries and making it easier than ever to move around (Li 2008, 2). Many developed countries have a low fertility rate and their population is aging. For those countries immigration can offer a solution for labour shortages and according to Li (2008, 19) the competition for skilled immigrants will probably increase in the future. However, at the same time countries are likely to actively restrict the entrance of immigrants less "profitable" to them (ibid.). According to Allen and Blinder (2015, 2) "immigration ranks among the most salient political issues in many immigrant-receiving democratic states".

There can be many motives for immigration, varying from economic reasons and relationships to political conflicts and natural catastrophes. Blinder (2015, 81) observes that the public opinion of immigration is often the product of the mental representations of immigrants that are based on direct experiences, social interactions or media, but they always fail to provide a complete depiction of this large-scale phenomenon. For instance, Allen and Blinder (2015, 6) note that most British people think of asylum seekers when asked about immigration on the whole. That suggests that the tendency of the British press to focus disproportionally on "illegal immigrants" and "failed asylum seekers", instead of workers, students and family members who are the majority of immigrants, has an effect on the public's mental representations of immigration in general (Allen and Blinder 2015, 1).

2.2 Immigration in New Zealand

New Zealand has often been described as a nation of immigrants. The indigenous people of the country are the Maori, who originated from Polynesia and arrived in the country around 1300 CE (Masgoret and Ward 2008, 227). Contact between Maori and Europeans began in the late 18th century. After James Cook's exploratory voyages between 1768 and 1779 and the establishment of the British penal colony in New South Wales in 1788, British frontiers of trade and Christianity arrived in New Zealand. This contact was mutually beneficial – Maori wanted trade goods that Europeans had to offer and Europeans needed services and provisions from Maori (Orange 1987, 6-7). The Treaty of Waitangi, which legitimised the British settlement and gave the Crown the sovereignty to govern, was signed in 1840. In return, it guaranteed protection of Maori customs and recognised their ownership of lands, forests and fisheries (Leong and Ward 2011, 48; Orange 1987, 1).

Since then, British citizens had unrestricted access to New Zealand and the immigrant population was chiefly built up by recruiting people from Great Britain (McKinnon 1996, 1). In the 1860s the number of Chinese immigrants started to quickly increase after they were invited to replace the European miners who were deserting Otago's declining goldfields (Trlin 1987, 200). However, fears about the growing number of Chinese in New Zealand led to the first Chinese Immigrants Act in 1881, the purpose of which was to restrict Chinese immigration by a poll tax and a shipping tonnage restriction. Amendments to this Act in 1888 and 1896 made the restrictive measures even more severe (ibid). In 1899 a more comprehensive legislation that aimed at restricting not only Chinese but also other Asian immigration was passed. This Immigration Restriction Act and its later amendments in 1910 and 1920 guaranteed that the proportion of non-white immigrants was kept small in New Zealand (Grbic 2010, 126).

In the late 19th and early 20th century European immigration to New Zealand grew steadily due to widespread labour shortages in the country (Leong and Ward 2011, 47). Because of the unofficial "white New Zealand" policy that was practiced by all governments until 1945, the country had one of the most ethnically homogeneous societies of European settlement at that time (Masgoret and Ward 2008, 228). In the post-war period, however, economic conditions got better in Europe and European immigration to New Zealand decreased (Akbari and MacDonald 2014, 804). After 1945 the Asian population in New Zealand started to increase and it was partly because of a more liberal immigration policy that allowed the entry of refugees and a large number of Asian students (Trlin 1987, 202-203). However, the permanent entry of Chinese and Indians was still very limited, based partly on the fear that they would have problems with assimilation (Trlin 1987, 203).

It was not until the Immigration Policy Review in 1986 and the new Immigration Act in 1987 that the government officially removed the source-country preference policy and opened doors to Asian immigration (Masgoret and Ward 2008, 228). After those changes to immigration policy, permanent residency was granted to immigrants according to their potential contribution to the economy, rather than their country of origin (Leong and Ward 2011, 47). The Immigration Amendment Act of 1991 introduced a points system in which applicants are awarded points for work experience, age, educational qualifications and settlement funds (Butcher 2004, 258). Under this system, applicants must get a certain number of points in order to be eligible for residence (ibid.). Since then, Asian immigration has increased enormously and in the early 1990s Hong Kong, Malaysia and Taiwan were the dominant sources of Asian immigrants (Bedford and Ho 2008, 44). In the 21st century China and India have been the main origin of New Zealand's growing population. In 2001 the ethnic origin of the population was recorded as Figure 1 shows:
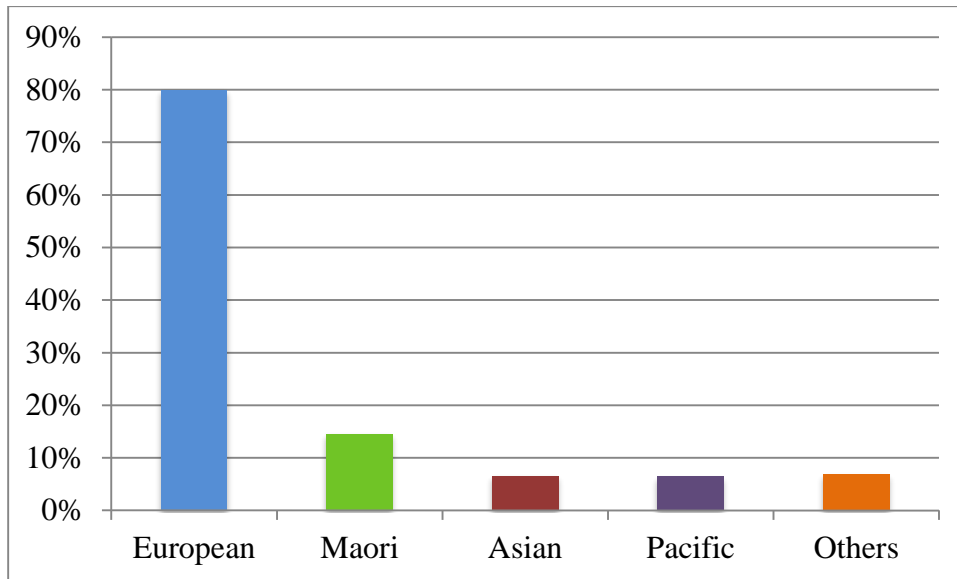
Figure 1. The ethnic origin of the NZ population in 2001. (Masgoret and Ward 2008, 228)

The 1990s was a decade characterised by considerable political debate over immigration (Bedford 2001, 9). The preceding changes in the patterns of immigration were a trigger to a wave of anti-immigration sentiment and led to the rise of an anti-immigration political party, New Zealand First that was founded in 1993 (Grbic 2010, 127). Winston Peters (quoted in Leong and Ward 2011, 48), the leader of New Zealand First, stated that "there is the need to keep a tight lid on immigration if we are to avoid New Zealand's identity, values and heritage from being swamped". While the new patterns of immigration can create issues for all New Zealanders, it has been noted that Maori are more likely to view the country's emerging multiculturalism more negatively (Leong and Ward 2011, 48). In a sense the Treaty of Waitangi was considered as an agreement for a bicultural nation and therefore Maori may feel that their unique status is being threatened especially by the increased Asian immigration (ibid.).

In the 21st century, New Zealand's immigration policy has become even more sensitive to economic outcomes and the policy is being formulated according to the economic impacts of immigration (Akbari and MacDonald 2014, 806-807). Some changes to the policy were introduced in 2002, including three principal immigrant streams. Each stream has a

different approval quota: skilled/business stream comprises 60% of the new immigrants, family sponsored 30%, and international/humanitarian 10% (Butcher 2004, 258). In 2003 the immigration policy was modified towards a more active selection of immigrants who best fulfilled the needs of New Zealand's labour market (Bedford and Spoonley 2014, 894). In order to attract immigrants in areas of skill shortage, applicants could get bonus points for specific skills in demand or for already having a job offer outside Auckland (Butcher 2003, 258).

2.3 News Discourse

Most of the knowledge people possess about different public affairs come from news media in its various forms (newspapers, news broadcasting and the Internet) and it is thus likely to have an influence on public opinion (McCombs 2004, 1). As Caldas-Coulthard (2003, 274) points out, people in Western societies are likely to be exposed to news discourse more than any other discourse, simply because of its immense production. Fowler (1991, 13-15) notes that news reports are no different from other discourses in that whatever is presented in them has been selected according to some criteria and values and those are always culturally and socially constructed, supporting a certain interest, rather than being completely "value-free reflection of facts". According to Fairclough (1989, 50) producers use power over consumers by selecting what is included and excluded and by determining how events are portrayed. This remark is related to Critical Discourse Analysis, which will be discussed in the next chapter of the thesis. Bell (1991, 156) likewise states that news values are not neutral, but reflect certain ideologies and priorities found in society. However, news reporting is generally expected to be neutral, even though it sometimes contains editorials where opinions can be expressed explicitly (Kim 2014, 237). The conception of news as free of values can thus reinforce their influence on the readers. The events and stories that journalists regard as

newsworthy are a good indication of the values that lie behind those choices. Typical values are for example proximity (geographical or cultural), negativity (e.g. accidents, disasters, conflicts), eliteness (persons or nations having an elite status) and unexpectedness (a rare or unpredictable event) (Bednarek and Caple 2014, 134; Caldas-Coulthard 2003, 277).

There are many reasons why study news discourse. First of all, news discourse studies can give us information about the news, its role in affecting language and how it influences attitudes in society through the way people and issues are represented (Bell 1991, 2). It is also interesting to investigate what news discourse can reveal about society as a mirror of it (ibid.). In addition, newspapers are very convenient data source – they are easy to access and for studies that require large bodies of data they are quite ideal (Cotter 2005, 423).

News discourse has two key elements – the news text itself (spoken or written) and the process of producing the texts (Cotter 2005, 416). Most studies on news discourse have focused on the element of the text. According to Cotter (2005, 417) there are three main approaches to the study of news discourse and those can be characterised as discourse analytic, sociolinguistic and "nonlinguistic". It is fairly common among news discourse researchers to combine aspects of all three approaches in a single work (ibid.). Typical research topics include the sociolinguistic elements that construct news discourse, the implications of quotation, the exercise of power, bias or ideology, the effects of news in sustaining social imbalance and the role of the audience (Cotter 2005, 419).

The work of British scholars has been prominent in forming the basis of research on news discourse (Cotter 2005, 420). A good example are the "Bad News" studies conducted by the Glasgow University Media Group (1976, 1980, 1982) where the researchers were able to find bias in news programs by analysing lexical choices, quotations and the positioning of information (Cotter 2005, 420). Researchers in other Western Europe countries, especially in

Germany, have also been noteworthy contributors to the study of news discourse (Van Dijk 1988, 13).

One of the main objectives of news discourse analysis has traditionally been the detection of possible exercise of bias or ideology in the press and some critiques have questioned whether language can offer enough evidence for the bias a researcher assumes is there (Cotter 2005, 20). Another main concern is that the focus on bias as a research goal might obscure the potential benefit that a linguistic study could offer (ibid.). Verschueren (1985, vii) criticises the common approaches to news discourse for the "lack of familiarity with the structural and functional properties of the news gathering and reporting process in a free press tradition" and for predictability where, for instance, the fact that news reports typically reflect the dominant views of their target audience is presented time after time as a remarkable finding. He argues that when researchers try to find evidence for ideological bias in the news as a "desired" result, they sometimes demonstrate stronger ideological bias themselves.

2.3.1 Newspapers in New Zealand

In New Zealand there are no actual national newspapers, but regionally based newspapers, some of which have a national scope (Cousins et al. 2013, 51). The majority of these publications are owned by Fairfax Media group, which is a large media company with considerable news media ownership in Australia as well (ibid.). All the papers in this study belong to Fairfax Media group. Lesley Longstaff of Fairfax Media (personal correspondence by Paul Rickman, 21.2.2014) notes that each newspaper has its own preferred style which journalists are expected to follow. For example the Sunday Star-Times does not use honorifics, whereas the Dominion Post does. However, sometime between the mid-90s and the present day Fairfax Media group started sharing articles to a great extent and this has lead

to some styles being mixed up as sub-editors move from one publication to another without referring to the style guide for each newspaper. Therefore there is no use in comparing different newspapers with one another in this study as there is no great variation in their styles and views.

3. Theory

3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

I will approach the corpus data from the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis and this section focuses on its principles. I will also present some typical discursive strategies that often appear in texts concerning immigrants and conclude with a few words on how I plan on combining CDA with corpus linguistics in this study.

According to Van Dijk (2001, 352), a prominent figure in CDA research, the main goal of CDA is to understand, expose and resist social inequality by studying how dominance, inequality and social power abuse are produced by text and talk. Fairclough (1989, 1) states that language is a very effective tool in producing, maintaining and changing social relations of power. Linguists interested in Critical Discourse Analysis consider it to be essential to raise awareness of the way in which language can contribute to the domination of some people by others, because that is the beginning of social change (ibid.). Wodak (2001, 10), who has also made a significant contribution to this field of study, notes that language on its own is not seen as powerful, but the power comes from the use that people in power make of it. This is why CDA usually takes the perspective of minorities or those who are underprivileged and critically analyses how powerful people use the language. After all, they are generally the ones responsible for the existing inequalities and also the ones who are best able to improve conditions (ibid.). Typical research subjects are gender issues, issues of racism, media discourses, political issues and organizational discourses (Weiss and Wodak 2003, 12).

As Weiss and Wodak (2003, 6) point out, there are actually several approaches and theories that can be found in CDA, rather than only one uniform and common theory formation. This is not very surprising, considering that CDA has roots in classical rhetoric, textlinguistics, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics and pragmatics (Wodak 2001, 3). However, there is a high degree of consensus among the CDA representatives that linguistic

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and sociological approaches should be combined in order to get a proper analysis of the interrelations between discourse and society (Weiss and Wodak 2003, 7). Fairclough (1989, 17 and 37) actually defines discourse as "language as social practice determined by social structures", but he also notes that discourse has effects on social structures and can contribute either to social continuity or social change. Fairclough (1989, 24) sees text analysis only as a part of discourse analysis, which should also contain analysis of processes that take place in producing and interpreting a text, such as the production of newspaper texts. According to Fairclough (1995, 9) an important principle for CDA is to avoid artificially isolating analysis of texts from analysis of institutional and discoursal practices in which the texts appear. In my study, when analysing the occurrences of the target word, I took into consideration the text type in which the target word appeared, whether it was a letter to the editor, a book review or something else. I also paid attention to the New Zealand history and current situation with respect to immigration. Weiss and Wodak (2003, 12) also state that the notions of ideology, power, hierarchy and sociological variables are all regarded as relevant when analysing and interpreting a text.

CDA scholars have naturally taken an interest in immigration discourse. There are many discursive strategies that often occur in writings about immigrants. One of the most common strategies is the forming of an ingroup-outgroup polarization. This kind of polarization is common in most power discourses: political speeches and political language, discourses about sexual orientation and race, etc. Van Dijk (1995, 143) states that generally ingroups and their members are described in positive terms, whereas outgroups are described in negative terms. The mental representations of ingroups and outgroups not only influence the choice of the lexical items describing these groups, but they also show in the discursive structures that associate these groups with certain actions, places or events (van Dijk 1995, 143-144). Van Dijk (1995, 145) also notes that language and discourse have a number of

structural possibilities to emphasise and de-emphasise information. For example passive

sentence construction can be used in topicalizing the ingroup as victims. According to van

Dijk (2000, 40) minorities are often represented as having a passive role, unless they are

agents of negative actions, in which case their agency will be emphasised.

In his analysis of a news report on immigration, which was taken from the British

tabloid *The Sun*, van Dijk (2000, 42) found the following strategies: *lexicalization*, *number*

game and *metaphors*. Lexicalization is one way of giving a negative impression of the

outgroup. For example, the mainstream press in most European countries and in North

America typically uses the word *illegal* to describe undocumented immigrants. Van Dijk

(2000, 43-44) notes that such lexicalization automatically associates immigrants with

breaking the law and thus implicitly with crime. This comes very close to the concept of

semantic prosody, meaning that the word can be shown to typically collocate with a particular

word or a set of words (Hunston and Francis, 2000, 137). As Louw (1993, 157) puts it,

semantic prosody is the "consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its

collocates". In this case the word *immigrants* is being imbued with a negative connotation by

its frequent collocate *illegal*. Also, constantly describing immigrants as being *illegal* is a form

of rhetorical repetition that further emphasises that they break the law and are therefore

criminals (Van Dijk 2000, 44).

According to van Dijk (2000, 45) using numbers or as he puts it, "number game", is a

rhetorical device very frequently used when reporting immigration in the media. The use of

numbers suggests objectivity and hence credibility, while the numbers themselves indicate the

size of the threat. Such number games thus aim to associate immigration with problems and

threats, if only by quantity (ibid.).

Hyperbolic use of metaphors is a rhetoric device that is common especially in tabloid

headlines (Van Dijk 2000, 43). An example of such a metaphor is the word *invasion*, which is

a common negative metaphor used for describing immigrants entering a country. Such use of military metaphors associates immigrants with violence and threat that are suggested to be massive and organized instead of occasional violent acts by individuals (ibid.). Another examples are the words *swarm* and *flood,* which associate immigrants with natural disasters: "swarm of locust" and "flood of water".

As there is no single theory provided by CDA, there is also no one methodology that would be very characteristic of it (Weiss and Wodak 2003, 12). On the contrary, there is a wide range of data and methodologies that can be used in studies in CDA and they can derive from very different theoretical backgrounds. There can be small qualitative case studies as well as studies based on large corpora (ibid.). In this study I combine CDA with corpus linguistics in order to find out how immigrants are generally represented in the New Zealand press. As Kennedy (1998, 3) notes, "some of the most revealing insights on language and language use have come from a blend of manual and computer analysis". A quantitative, corpus-based approach serves us best when looking for collocational and other recurring patterns associated with a specific lexical item (in this case *immigrants*) across a whole corpus (Kim 2014, 222). However, a qualitative CDA approach is very useful when analysing the collocates and scrutinising some example sentences.

3.2 Corpus Linguistics

As Leech et al. (2009, 24) put it, corpus linguistics is "the study or analysis of language through the use of (computer) corpora". A corpus, then, is simply "a body of written text or transcribed speech which can serve as a basis for linguistic analysis and description" (Kennedy 1998, 1). The first ever computer corpus was created in 1960s (Meyer 2002, 1) and this can be seen as "the landmark event for the development of corpus linguistics in the modern sense" (Leech et al. 2009, 24).

According to Anderson and Corbett (2009, 4) a corpus ought to represent "naturally occurring language, in electronic form". Kennedy (1998, 3) notes that there are many different types of corpora and the purpose for which a corpus has been compiled greatly affects its design, size and nature. The corpus that I am using, a corpus of New Zealand Newspaper English, was originally compiled in order to get data for an analysis in the complementation patterns of verbs in modern New Zealand English, but it is well suited for examining other linguistic phenomena as well.

Traditionally discourse studies have focused on close reading of individual texts and a lot of emphasis has been placed on careful contextual reading of every sentence of interest. Therefore corpus-linguistic methods have had a comparatively marginal role in discourse studies and it is only recently that researchers interested in discourse have started to apply corpus-linguistic methods more seriously in their studies (Reppen and Ädel 2008, 1-2). Corpus linguistics makes it possible to deal with enormous amounts of data, but even with a smaller amount of data it has clear benefits, such as speed, total accountability, accurate replicability and statistical reliability. The problem with analysing a high volume of texts by hand is the higher probability of making a mistake and being interfered with the researchers' own intuitions. Also, the analysis is much harder to replicate. Working with corpora helps linguists to look for generalizations about language and how it is being used, and it is fair to say that corpus linguists are typically more interested in finding out what structures are likely to appear in language use, rather than only being concerned with what words or uses are possible (Kennedy, 1998, 5-8).

4. Data and methods

The data for this study comes from The Corpus of New Zealand Newspaper English (CNZNE). This corpus was released in 2013 and it was compiled by Paul Rickman from the School of Language, Translation and Literature Studies of the University of Tampere as part of his PhD project. His goal was to create a corpus that would resemble the newspaper sub-section of the British National Corpus. This meant that the material should include a similar proportion of the broadsheet newspaper sub-genres: arts, commerce, editorial, miscellaneous, report, science, social and sports, as well as a small percentage of tabloid material. However, all the service information – that is sports results, TV programs, share prices, weather forecasts, etc. – was excluded from the corpus for the reason that it does not contribute much towards the investigation of New Zealand newspaper English.

The corpus has two sub-periods: 1995-97 and 2010-12, comprising 110 million words altogether. Since one section was large enough for a study of this scale and since I wanted the material to be as recent as possible, I only used the 2010-12 sub-section. That section contains material from ten papers and the word count is 58.4 million words. All the papers belong to Fairfax Media group, which is the largest media company in Australia, with publications and websites throughout New Zealand as well.[1] These papers include eight daily newspapers: Taranaki Daily News, The Dominion Post, Manawatu Standard, The Southland Times, The Nelson Mail, The Press, The Timaru Herald and The Waikato Times. There is also one major weekly paper, Sunday Standard Times, and one weekly tabloid, Sunday News.

When the corpus compiler started to run test concordances with the early version of the corpus, the issue of duplicate texts in the material became apparent. This is due to the fact that publications under the Fairfax group had begun sharing articles to a great extent sometime between the mid-90s and the present day. This meant that the same article, often

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[1] http://www.fairfaxmedia.co.nz/about-us/

with slight modification, appeared in more than one paper, resulting in excessive numbers of duplicate, triplicate and even quadruplicate tokens occurring in search results. In order to eliminate the problem, Rickman ran all 2010-2012 data from publications sharing the same sample year through plagiarism detection software. Around 13,000 articles were found to be more or less copies of other articles and thus were removed from the 2010-2012 section. Despite these procedures, I still found several duplicate texts when I started using the corpus. After detecting a duplicate text in which the target word appeared, I simply left the other occurrence out of the analysis.

When dealing with my data, I used a program called AntConc, a corpus tool created by Laurence Anthony of Waseda University. AntConc was an ideal choice for this study in that it was easy and free to use. When I got the corpus, the first step was to make separate folders for each newspaper. Originally all the newspapers were in one single folder, but it would have taken far too long to download all the text files at once to AntConc, if it was even possible. In addition, if I needed to do the search again, I would have had to do the same process again, because with AntConc it is not possible leave the files there when you shut down the program. With all the papers in separate folders, I could download all the files of one paper at a time and that made the data management much easier.

After sorting the newspapers into separate folders, I started doing searches. I downloaded all the text files of one newspaper at a time to AntConc and searched all the cases for sentences with the word *immigrants*. I used the word in plural because I wanted to study the way immigrants were portrayed as a group. Baker (2006, 74), who did a similar type of corpus-assisted study on newspapers discourse about refugees, chose to have two target words: *refugee* and *refugees*. However, he used a much smaller corpus and even with two target words, the number of occurrences was only 140. Baker (2006, 77-78) also used a concordancing program (WordSmith Tools), but he decided to sort the concordance

alphabetically, which would enable him to find possible patterns of language use. I did not do

any alphabetical sorting, but in order to make it easier to analyse the occurrences, I divided

them into three categories. The categories were *neutral*, *positive* and *negative*, based on the

attitude towards immigrants that they conveyed.

Before doing the searches, I had to choose the number of text characters to be

outputted on either side of the search term. I chose 100 characters, which meant that the

concordance lines had approximately 30 words. I wanted to keep the lines relatively short in

order to quickly go through the occurrences. Even though in most cases 30 words were

sufficient to get an idea whether the attitude towards immigrants was positive, negative or

neutral, I ultimately ended up reading almost all of the articles in order to be sure of the right

interpretation. For instance the following occurrence appears to be clearly resentful towards

immigrants:

> Anyway, all those jobs have been taken from us by **immigrants** of
> other races. If it wasn't for them, and Maori getting handouts all the
> time, we would be in the money and thriving.
> (tagged_the_press_7_4_2012_119.txt)

However, after reading the whole text, it became apparent that the writer was actually

criticising the racist attitudes of some white people by using sarcasm. There was no question

about the sarcasm after reading remarks like this: "we do not believe in working too hard or

doing lousy jobs which are beneath our whiteness."

5. Results and analysis

In this chapter I present the results of the corpus searches and analyse the occurrences of the target word *immigrants*. First I examine some of the examples that I left out of the analysis and explain why I did that. The remaining occurrences I divided into three categories: neutral, positive and negative. Each category has its own section where I analyse the occurrences belonging to that particular category. One topic had occurrences from all three categories: in section 5.5 I deal with occurrences concerning the pensions of the immigrants in New Zealand. Finally, in section 5.6 I introduce some statistics about the nationalities of the immigrants, about the use of quantification, and about the occurrences only concerning immigrants in New Zealand.

5.1 Occurrences left out of the analysis

There were altogether 544 occurrences of the target word *immigrants* in the corpus. Out of these 544 occurrences I left 36 out of the analysis. 25 of them were cases where the text was completely or nearly identical with another text. As mentioned earlier, these duplicates are caused by the fact that publications under the Fairfax group have been sharing articles. Thus the same article, being maybe slightly paraphrased, can appear in more than one newspaper. Even though the compiler of the corpus tried to remove all duplicates from the corpus by using plagiarism detection software, some of them clearly remained. There are some examples of such cases below. The first one (1) appeared four times in Waikato Times, whereas (2) and (3) are almost identical sentences found in Timaru Herald.

> (1) New Land: Would-be **immigrants** look out from a fishing ship as they arrive at Catania harbour on the southern Island of Sicily.
> (tagged_waikato_times_27_10_2010_89.txt)

> (2) Professor Margaret Mutu said white immigration to New Zealand should be restricted because it posed a threat to race relations due to **immigrants**' "white supermacist" attitudes.
> (timaru_herald_6_9_2011_33.txt)

(3) Professor Mutu said white immigration to New Zealand should be restricted because it posed a threat to race relations due to **immigrants**' "white supermacist" attitudes.
(timaru_herald_7_9_2011_47.txt)

There were also several cases where two different newspapers had identical texts, as (4), (5) and (6) demonstrate. The Press and Southland Times had such instances more than any other two newspapers, with Timaru Herald and Dominion Post coming close to their record.

(4) The 74 illegal **immigrants** – 44 of them children, including 10 less than a year old – were found at a building that formerly housed a day care centre in a poor suburb west of Santo Domingo, Sigfrido Pared, director of the country's migration agency, said yesterday.
(tagged_timaru_herald_25_2_2011_37.txt and tagged_dominion_post_25_2_2011_116.txt)

(5) In an email titled, "Accommodation for Illegal **Immigrants**", M3 Marine Expertise suggested Australia would benefit from a gigantic boat with a restaurant, lounge, numerous games rooms and a gym as a "temporary, cost-effective, accommodation solution".
(tagged_waikato_times_31_3_2010_73.txt and tagged_nelson_mail_31_3_2010_66.txt)

(6) He is the second athlete to be sent home from London after Greek triple jumper Voula Papachristou was expelled for making comments mocking African **immigrants**.
(tagged_the_press_1_8_2012_34.txt and tagged_southland_times_1_8_2012_51.txt)

Eleven of the occurrences that I did not consider in my analysis dealt with a band called The Immigrants. Nine of them appeared in Nelson Mail, which is not surprising as Nelson is the band's hometown, but there were also two occurrences in Sunday news. Here are a few examples:

(7) Nelson indie band The Immigrants are playing at The Free House pub in Collingwood St on Saturday from 8pm.
(tagged_nelson_mail_29_4_2010_92.txt)

(8) That said, The Immigrants' sound and sensibilities are broader than a rock tag might suggest; they know how to bring the noise, but they also bring a whole lot more.
(tagged_nelson_mail_17_7_2010_26.txt)

(9) Local band The Immigrants kicked off and despite the light rain the place filled up and the food stalls outside, selling everything from Thai to Portugese food, did a roaring trade. (tagged_sunday_news_16_1_2011_79.txt)

After eliminating the irrelevant cases, there remained 508 occurrences that were relevant to the study. I divided these 508 occurrences into three categories according to what kind of attitude towards immigrants was being conveyed through them. The categories were *neutral*, *negative* and *positive*. The idea behind this categorisation was to put together occurrences conveying similar attitude towards immigrants in order to make it easier to analyse them. The categorisation was also useful in getting the big picture of the distribution of different attitudes that emerged from all the newspapers. This distribution is shown as a pie chart in Figure 2. In most cases I had to read the whole text in which the word *immigrants* appeared in order to be certain of the right category. Even then it was sometimes difficult to determine the category, but I tried to be as consistent as possible in my categorising.
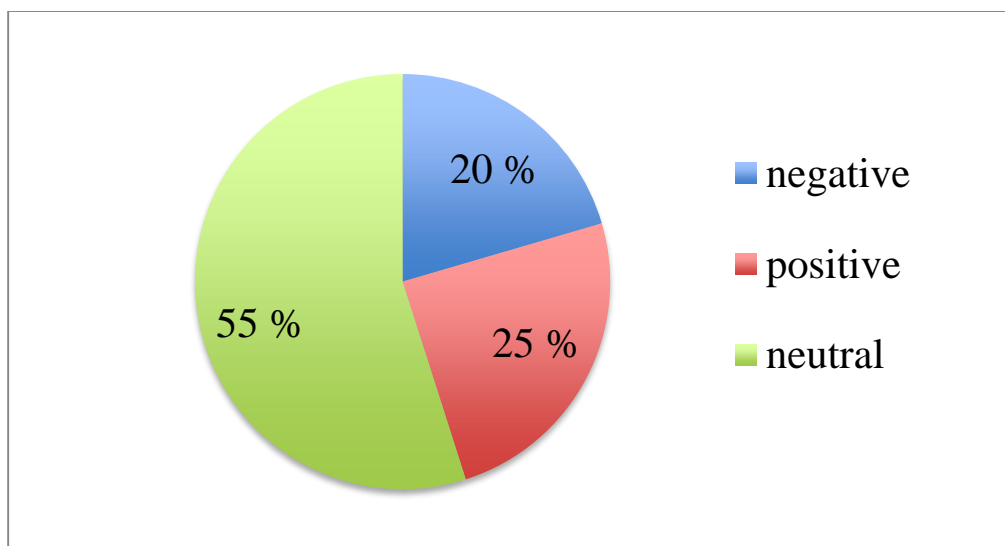

Figure 2. Negative 20 %, Positive 25 %, Neutral 55 %.

5.2 Neutral category

The neutral category consists of cases where I could not detect any real disdain or partiality towards immigrants. It was distinctly the most common category of all three. There were 279 cases categorised as neutral, meaning that 55 % of all the cases were placed in this category, as shown in Figure 2.

In the neutral category, many occurrences of the word *immigrants* were cases where immigrants were not the main subject of the article or even relevant to the story. That is likely to be the explanation for the lack of any apparent attitude towards immigrants in these cases. Here are some examples:

> (10) The club is open Tuesday to Sunday from 3pm, there is a cross-section of members, and they're finding English **immigrants** like the personal nature of the place.
> (tagged_waikato_times_23_10_2010_138.txt)

> (11) Moira is currently single and has no children, but says there are "lots" of Babes further north, where the initial **immigrants** settled.
> (tagged_waikato_times_21_8_2010_82.txt)

> (12) Perhaps the silver fern emblem could be put alongside the Union Jack – we would be recognised as a separate nation by visitors, **immigrants** and ourselves.
> (tagged_waikato_times_19_3_2010_50.txt)

> (13) There can be few things less useful than a World Map of Happiness. If you live in one of the unhappy places, there is little chance that you will be able to move to one of the happy ones – and anyway, there's no way of knowing whether **immigrants** are happy there.
> (tagged_daily_news_7_6_2010_63.txt)

In (10) the main subject is the 105-year-old Cambridge Club and English immigrants are only mentioned because they seem to like the club. Another example is (11), which is an interview with Moira Babe and she only notes that her ancestors initially settled further north, that being the reason why there are more Babes there. In (12) the main subject of the article is the possible new flag for New Zealand, not immigrants who are listed there as a group of people

who would also recognise New Zealand as a separate nation, along with everyone else in the country. Also, in (13) the article is about a World Map of Happiness and the writer points out that the Map does not tell whether immigrants are happy in places labelled as "happy".

Of course there were also many occurrences where immigrants had a more significant role in the text, but the text was still completely neutral. The first one, (14), is simply an advertisement for free English language classes for immigrants. Example (15) deals with Irish immigrants and how the young immigrants have a different mentality – they are not necessary going to stay for decades in New Zealand and therefore are not interested in being on committees or joining organisations like Irish Society. In (16) there is a historical fact of Somes Island being used as a quarantine station for immigrants in the past. In (17) Insights author Tony Alexander tries to explain why New Zealand's economic competitiveness is lacking and points out that recreation in New Zealand is incredibly low in price. That is the reason why many immigrants are moving there. It is very difficult to find any underlying attitudes towards immigrants in these examples and therefore categorising them was fairly simple.

(14) Waikato Ethnic Council offers free life skills and English language classes to new **immigrants** and refugees who are New Zealand residents.
(tagged_waikato_times_26_3_2010_118.txt)

(15) Although the Auckland Irish Society boasts a membership of more than 400, most of the current young Irish **immigrants** aren't joining, instead preferring to immerse themselves in the vibrant Irish pub scene at bars such as the Clare Inn in Sandringham.
(tagged_sunday_star_times_25_3_2012_150.txt)

(16) From the 1870s until World War I, Somes Island was used as a quarantine station for **immigrants** arriving on ships from England.
(tagged_dominion_post_3_2_2011_34.txt)

(17) Likewise, he noted that many New Zealanders who leave, do so to pursue wealth-creation goals, while many **immigrants** come here for lifestyle reasons.
(tagged_the_press_23_4_2012_86.txt)

There were quite a few biographical articles in the corpus containing the word

immigrants. Almost all of them were neutral cases, where the protagonist of the biography

was said to be a son or a daughter of immigrants. The following examples are all such cases:

> (18) Mother Mary, the eldest of eight children, was born in Melbourne in
>   1842 to Scottish **immigrants** Flora and Alexander.
>   (tagged_timaru_herald_9_8_2011_30.txt)

> (19) Her parents Peter, a prominent clothing trade retailer and
>   middleman, and Mary were both the children of 19th-century
>   Lebanese **immigrants** to New Zealand from Becharre, Mt Lebanon.
>   (tagged_dominion_post_12_2_2011_118.txt)

> (20) Hughes grew up in Wainuiomata, the second of five children born
>   to British **immigrants**.
>   (tagged_dominion_post_9_7_2011_48.txt)

There were also reviews of books, films or TV series among the occurrences. Almost

all of those cases were placed in the neutral category. Example (21) is a review of a book by

Ayaan Hirsi Ali, *A Personal Journey Through the Clash of Civilizations*. One might argue

that there is a negative connotation when it comes to challenging "rosy pictures of new

immigrants willingly blending into new surroundings". However, the author being an

immigrant herself, I assumed that in her book, she is merely depicting the challenges a new

immigrant faces in a new country and how it is not easy to adapt to a whole new culture as

opposed to blaming immigrants for not abandoning their own culture. However, this was an

example of an occurrence whose category I could not be absolutely sure of, even after reading

the whole text. In such cases the neutral category was usually the safest choice. The next

example, (22), is from a film review of *The Edge of Heaven* from director Fatih Akin,

whereas (23) is from a review of a TV series called *The Indian Doctor*.

> (21) That experience as an immigrant is also detailed here, another
>   fascinating insight as she challenges rosy pictures of new
>   **immigrants** willingly blending into new surroundings.
>   (tagged_daily_news_18_9_2010_63.txt)

> (22) The film follows three stories, intertwined in surprising ways, of

Turkish **immigrants** in Germany, and vice versa.
(tagged_dominion_post_19_11_2011_121.txt)

(23) The first dinner for the **immigrants**, at the colliery owner's home, is beset by worries: would their foreign guests want to sit on the floor, or sort of crouch somewhere.
(tagged_dominion_post_12_10_2011_46.txt)

If there was both something positive and something negative said about immigrants in the same sentence, I decided to place the occurrence in the neutral category. I found several such occurrences, some of which are presented below. In (24) Australian immigrants are said to have a good work ethic, but otherwise they are regarded as "a bit strange and unwilling to integrate into the community". In (25) the writer argues that New Zealand might "urgently need more immigrants" and I regarded all the cases where immigrants were needed as something positive. Being needed makes one valuable. However, the writer also states that immigrants would cost more in taxes and they would be needed only if New Zealand women ceased to have children. The last example, (26), is a case with *illegal* immigrants. Whenever the word *illegal* was used when describing undocumented immigrants, I automatically placed the occurrence in the negative category, simply because of the strong negative connotation the word has. That is of course unless there was something positive said about the immigrants. In (26) an American politician Newt Gingrich is said to have suggested that many of the undocumented immigrants had been hard-working enough to deserve something better than being deported from the country.

(24) The **immigrants** from Down Under will be known for their work ethic but be regarded as a bit strange and unwilling to integrate into the community.
(tagged_the_press_11_2_2012_94.txt)

(25) If women in NZ didn't keep having kids we would urgently need more **immigrants** who would cost even more in taxes.
(tagged_manawatu_standard_10_8_2011_64.txt)

(26) Gingrich declined to follow the party line on deporting illegal **immigrants** and suggested instead that many of them had worked

hard enough to deserve a better fate.
(tagged_timaru_herald_28_11_2011_49.txt)

Some of the occurrences appeared to be negative, but after a closer examination, they clearly belonged to the neutral category. Here are a few examples of such cases:

(27) Anyway, all those jobs have been taken from us by **immigrants** of other races. If it wasn't for them, and Maori getting handouts all the time, we would be in the money and thriving.
(tagged_the_press_7_4_2012_119.txt)

(28) Eduard Bagirov, a prominent writer who campaigned for Putin earlier this year, wrote on Twitter: "Not one normal Russian person would ever support them [Pussy Riot]. Note that only **immigrants**, fags and kikes support them."
(tagged_sunday_star_times_19_8_2012_176.txt)

(29) Professor Mutu made a number of comments which caused concern. First, she indicated that we should be careful about the number of European **immigrants** we allow in, given their racist attitudes.
(tagged_sunday_news_11_9_2011_36.txt)

In (27) the writer is being sarcastic. Of course it would be quite impossible to be sure of the sarcasm by reading only those two sentences, but after reading the whole article, there was no question about it. There were sentences like these: "We do not believe in working too hard or doing lousy jobs which are beneath our whiteness." "Anyway, none of this matters because we have our race, our whiteness, which makes us better." Those extracts show that the writer is criticising the underlying racist attitudes of some people. Even though no one would directly say that some jobs are "beneath our whiteness" and that "our whiteness makes us better", there are certainly people who inwardly think like that. In (28) it is obvious that Eduard Bagirov has anti-immigrant views when he associates immigrants with "fags" and "kikes" which are derogatory expressions for homosexual and Jewish people. However, that being only a quote, it was necessary to read the whole article in order to find out the writer's stance. There was absolutely no indication that the writer of the article would share Bagirov's views as there were also quotes from the supporters of Pussy Riot, which is an anti-Putin

punk band. In (29) it is hard to know the reason why Professor Mutu's comments caused

concern. Is it because she rightfully indicated that the number of European immigrants should

be limited because of their racist attitudes, or is it because she mistakenly regards European

immigrants as racist? After reading the whole article, it became clear that the writer opposes

Professor Mutu's views. He writes: "this [a reverse racist] is exactly what Professor Mutu is

and while she is allowed her views, they are unhelpful and definitely do not represent all

Maori".

    Some of the occurrences could have been argued to be mildly positive towards

immigrants, but without clear indication of that and also if they seemed closer to being neutral

than positive, I put them in the neutral category. Here are some examples:

> (30) Left to their own devices, the various immigrant groups in these
> countries, including the Muslim groups, will assimilate to the
> general society in a couple of generations, as **immigrants** generally
> do.
> (tagged_timaru_herald_12_3_2011_61.txt)

> (31) I have heard some Maori express reservations about the number of
> **immigrants** coming to Aotearoa [New Zealand], but I have heard
> more Maori say that they are happy to open the door to other
> cultures.
> (tagged_timaru_herald_8_9_2011_46.txt)

> (32) It was a pleasant surprise to see flying from the building that was
> once the world-renowned Wellington Maritime Museum the house
> flag of the famous shipping company Shaw Savill and Albion, one
> of the companies whose ships carried many of the **immigrants** that
> founded this country.
> (tagged_dominion_post_17_2_2011_64.txt)

In (30) the writer is criticising the new law in France that forbids Muslim women to wear a

full-face veil in any public place and argues that given time, immigrants will adapt to the

customs of their new country without such laws. This could be interpreted as a positive

occurrence, because the writer is against restricting the freedom of Muslim women, who are

usually immigrants. He also says that immigrants are generally adaptable, which is a positive

trait and makes them less of a "threat". On the other hand the writer clearly thinks that the

Muslim immigrants should eventually stop wearing a full-face veil in order to assimilate and

therefore I thought this belonged more to the neutral than to the positive category. In (31) it is

actually all about Maori's attitude towards immigrants, but the way the writer puts it suggests

that it is something positive to have a welcoming attitude towards immigrants. It could be

argued that, in a sense, he is "defending" Maori by noting that he has heard more Maori to be

accepting of immigrants. "Opening a door to other cultures" sounds like something one

should strive for, because that idiom (opening the door to something) is generally used when

something good is allowed to happen. However, as I already mentioned, this occurrence was

much more about Maori than immigrants and I simply could not find strong enough argument

to put that in the positive category, despite the slight suggestions of the writer's positive

attitude towards immigrants. I considered the last example, (32), to be slightly positive

because the writer was happy to see the flag of the shipping company whose ships had carried

many of the immigrants who had founded New Zealand. Noting that immigrants had founded

the country can be seen as something positive, but it is also a fact and therefore I concluded

that this was also a case closer to the neutral category than the positive.

5.3 Positive category

With 125 occurrences, the positive category was narrowly the second largest of the three

categories, comprising 25 % of all the cases. Analysing the occurrences in this category was

interesting because of the clear division between two types of positive cases. There were

occurrences emphasising the good qualities of immigrants or in some other way portraying

them in a good light. Then there were occurrences showing sympathy or solidarity or both

towards immigrants for example by defending their rights. Even though those occurrences did

not necessary express anything positive about immigrants, I still included them in the positive

category because of the way they either evoked compassion for immigrants in the reader or the way they criticised people against immigrants. The first type of positive cases was slightly more common, as shown in Figure 3. There were 72 such occurrences, whereas occurrences expressing sympathy for immigrants had 53 instances. In section 5.3.1 will examine the occurrences dealing with positive qualities of immigrants and in section 5.3.2 the occurrences expressing sympathy for immigrants.
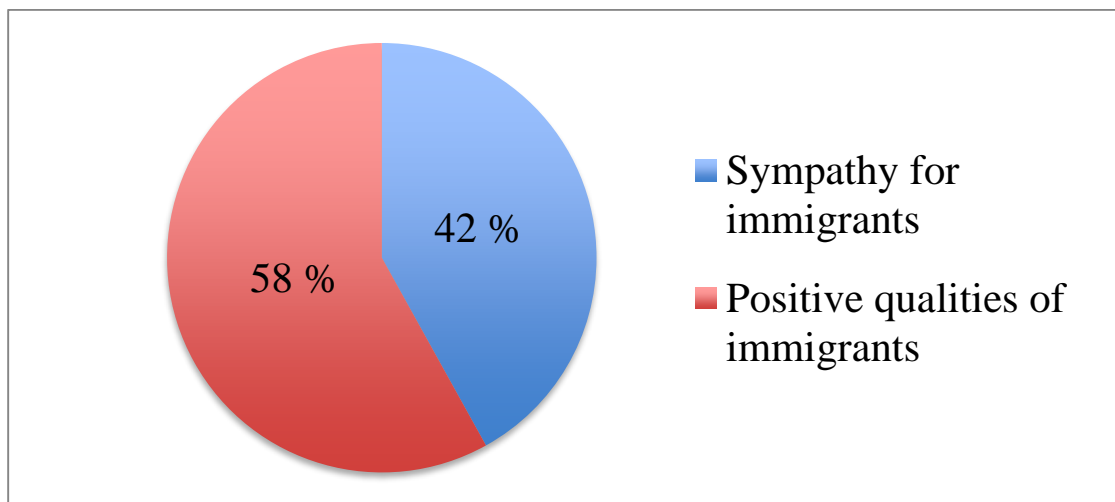

Figure 3. Sympathy for immigrants 42 %, Positive qualities of immigrants 58 %.

5.3.1 Occurrences dealing with positive qualities of immigrants

The occurrences that most clearly belonged to the positive category were probably the ones that expressed admiration for immigrants. In examples (33) and (34) the writers directly say how they admire immigrants for their courage to move to a new country. In (35) the writer argues that people who make this decision to move from far away to a new country usually have "an entrepreneurial spirit" and thus many good qualities.

> (33) One has great admiration for the **immigrants** who have come to Southland from far away and from different cultures.
> (tagged_southland_times_10_5_2012_68.txt)

> (34) I have enormous admiration and sympathy for the courage of **immigrants** and try to support them whatever they're doing, wherever I am.
> (tagged_dominion_post_13_7_2011_53.txt)

> (35) My theory is that having moved their families halfway around the world,

most **immigrants** are already self-selected for an entrepreneurial spirit. They bring us new ideas, energy and hustle – all qualities needed to spot opportunities and start new businesses.
(tagged_nelson_mail_29_5_2010_47.txt)

Quite common occurrences in the positive category were the cases describing the positive effects of having immigrants around. In examples (36) and (37) the benefit of immigrants is simply the enrichment they bring by diversity. Examples (38) and (39) mention more concrete benefits, such as economic growth, boosted innovation as well as capital and brain-gain. The statement in (38) is based on Professor Jackues Poot's (University of Waikato) research on how immigrants contribute to the economic development of a region or country. According to the research, both skilled and unskilled immigrants increased economic growth. Example (40) is a quote from a Maori, David Rankin, who welcomes white immigrants to New Zealand and defends them against the accusations of professor Margaret Mutu who blamed them for racism. Mr Rankin does not see justification for such accusations and also points out that white immigrants are likely to increase employment opportunities in New Zealand. Besides being a social enrichment and advancing economic growth, immigrants were also said to have a positive effect on the New Zealand cuisine, as in example (41). This occurrence is not very clearly positive, as it only states that immigrants have brought new flavour and style to the New Zealand cuisine. However, my interpretation was that the influence of immigrants was considered to be positive, especially when the text continues like this: "Ten years ago you couldn't get good sushi, but now you can get it anywhere."

(36) Most advanced countries, like Australia and the US above all, have been enriched by the acceptance of **immigrants** and refugees.
(tagged_waikato_times_16_9_2010_36.txt)

(37) The diversity of our city dwellers enriches us. Hare mai [=welcome in Maori] i**mmigrants**!
(tagged_manawatu_standard_19_7_2011_75.txt)

(38) Instead of being a drag on economics, both skilled and unskilled **immigrants** accelerated economic growth and boosted innovation. (tagged_waikato_times_8_5_2010_41.txt)

(39) Historically, major immigrant countries, like the US, Canada and Australia, have welcomed a fixed number of **immigrants** not from philanthropy but because **immigrants** are the source of capital and brain-gain. (tagged_the_press_14_7_2012_127.txt)

(40) "As a Maori, I welcome white **immigrants**," Mr Rankin said. "They are the ones most likely to bring employment opportunities for our communities, and we don't see the sort of racism Margaret refers to." (tagged_timaru_herald_6_9_2011_33.txt)

(41) "New **immigrants** have made New Zealand home and introduced new flavours and style into our cuisine" says Janssen. (tagged_waikato_times_17_3_2010_35.txt)

There were also occurrences where not only the benefits of immigrants were emphasised, but the need for them as well. All the five examples below express the need for immigrants, especially in labour market. Only in (42) there is no mention of work, but it is still presumable that the reason why the majority of the respondents of Main Report Group survey believed New Zealand needed more immigrants was labour shortage. Also, all of the following examples deal with New Zealand, except for (43) which mentions countries "who need workers", most likely referring to New Zealand as well. Example (44) is a quote from Immigration Minister Nathan Guy stating the need for immigrants in rebuilding Christchurch after the earthquake in 2011. In (45) immigrants are referred to as "indispensable" to the labour market in New Zealand and in (46) the need for immigrants in the dairy industry is highlighted by a Dairy Insight study.

(42) While more than 50 per cent of the respondents did not support allowing foreign ownership of New Zealand assets, 51.6 per cent believed New Zealand needed more **immigrants**. (tagged_dominion_post_17_10_2011_41.txt)

(43) Countries may start competing for **immigrants**. Vast numbers are already migrating from high-fertility countries to those who need workers. (tagged_sunday_news_6_11_2011_79.txt)

(44) "It's obvious that we will need some **immigrants** to come in and help with the rebuild."
(tagged_the_press_14_3_2012_60.txt)

(45) **Immigrants** have become an indispensable component of the New Zealand labour market. Without them our economy would stall.
(tagged_the_press_23_10_2012_49.txt)

(46) A Dairy Insight study he [University researcher Rupert Tipples] worked on in 2003 highlighted the need for **immigrants** in the New Zealand dairy industry.
(tagged_southland_times_27_4_2012_97.txt)

Some occurrences were quite similar to the examples above in that they also conveyed the idea of New Zealand needing immigrants. However, the difference was that in these occurrences, rather than speaking of immigrants in general, the type of immigrants wanted was somehow defined. Such occurrences gave a positive image of a certain category of immigrants, but they also suggested that other immigrants were not particularly welcome. Nevertheless, I placed these occurrences in the positive category based on the fact that they were favourable to some immigrants and did not directly express anything negative about the others. In (47) it is "wealthy" immigrants who New Zealand and Australia are competing for. In (48) there is no exact definition for "the sort of immigrants New Zealand wants", but it implies that only a certain type of immigrant is truly wanted. According to the writer those immigrants would benefit the country and therefore New Zealand should make a serious effort in order to attract them. In (49) it is "skilled" immigrants who are of interest to Southland employers. In (50) the writer basically states that a careful screening of immigrants ensures that only the "productive" ones are granted the citizenship of New Zealand. He also writes: "Just as we must determine the type of refugee, we should also determine the type of immigrant we welcome as new citizens."

(47) Competition for wealthy **immigrants** is heating up as Australia comes into line with New Zealand in offering expedited immigration to cashed-up investors.
(tagged_sunday_star_times_17_6_2012_122.txt)

(48) The sort of **immigrants** New Zealand wants won't be attracted if we don't put out the welcome mat and provide an economy with opportunities.
(tagged_sunday_star_times_23_12_2012_97.txt)

(49) Southland employers learn how to recruit and employ skilled **immigrants** when Immigration New Zealand visits the city tomorrow.
(tagged_southland_times_29_8_2012_72.txt)

(50) **Immigrants** are carefully screened and can become very productive very quickly.
(tagged_sunday_news_17_7_2011_111.txt)

Another type of positive occurrences was cases dealing with the achievements of immigrants. Accomplishments and success, often after overcoming some difficulties, indicate perseverance and certainly give a positive image of a person. Example (51) tells about a successful business started by South African immigrants, whereas in (52) a family of Dutch immigrants are being awarded for the heroic deed of hiding a Jewish girl during World War II. Examples (53) and (54) do not only point to the achievements and success of immigrants, but also to the failure of New Zealanders in comparison with them. In (53) Russell MacPherson, a Federated Farmers Southland dairy chairman, notes that immigrants have accomplished enough in the dairy industry to make unemployed New Zealanders embarrassed. In (54) the writer is frustrated with Maori, because they claim that their academic failure is due to the fact that New Zealand education system does not suit them. The writer thinks Maori should learn from immigrants who, despite the language barrier, have been successful in New Zealand.

(51) The Schekters, South African **immigrants**, who started out with a sandwich trolley in Brooklyn just over a decade ago, now pride themselves on stocking a huge range of imported meat and cheese – and having the product knowledge to match.
(tagged_dominion_post_22_1_2011_135.txt)

(52) A Kapiti Coast family will this week become the first New Zealanders to be honoured with a righteousness award from Israel after the Dutch **immigrants** risked their lives during World War II by hiding a young Jewish girl in their attic.

(tagged_southland_times_10_9_2012_95.txt)

(53) The achievements by **immigrants** in the dairy industry should make
   unemployed New Zealanders ashamed, he [Federated Farmers Southland
   dairy chairman Russell MacPherson] said.
   (tagged_southland_times_27_4_2012_97.txt)

(54) Maybe Maori need to talk to successful **immigrants** to learn the answer,
   instead of blaming the white man all the time.
   (tagged_dominion_post_19_7_2011_68.txt)

There were a couple of occurrences that I placed in the positive category simply
because immigrants were the ingroup in them. Van Dijk (1995, 143 and 150) states that
ingroups and their members are generally described in positive terms and the distinction
between the ingroup and the outgroup is first of all marked by inclusive and exclusive
personal pronouns, such as *we* and *they*. In (55) a New Zealand actor Rawiri Paratene
describes his teenage years in Auckland in the 1960s. He uses the inclusive pronoun when
saying "*we* were all immigrants", indicating that immigrants are the ingroup. People outside
the ingroup, *they,* are often criticised as in this case when Mr Paratene continues: "*they* forgot
about us". Even though in (56) a New Zealand dancer Tanemahuta Gray does not use the
pronoun *we*, he points out that all New Zealanders are immigrants. In his opinion everyone in
the country belongs to the ingroup and sharing the same background of being immigrants
should unite different people. The last example, (57), is not an example of immigrants
belonging to the ingroup. However, the writer considers it to be very important that the
misunderstanding of him being the same Rex Williams who complained about the growing
number of immigrants should be corrected. He wants to clarify that he has absolutely nothing
against immigrants and is happy to work alongside them.

(55) We were all **immigrants** and they forgot about us – the elders, the
   Government, the people responsible for us being there.
   (tagged_dominion_post_5_11_2011_123.txt)

(56) He feels New Zealanders are connected by the common bond of being
   immigrants.
   (tagged_dominion_post_26_1_2011_100.txt)

(57) I would like to clarify that I am not the Rex Williams who wrote the letter (September 17) lamenting an influx of **immigrants**. I am, however, the Rex Williams who works very happily indeed alongside many lovely people of different cultures in my job as the trolley man at Windsor New World. (tagged_southland_times_21_9_2012_73.txt)

5.3.2 Occurrences expressing sympathy for immigrants

There were two occurrences that did not really express any sympathy for immigrants, but rather aroused it in the reader. They were cases where immigrants were victims of a violent act and the incidents were merely reported in the news without any comments. It could be argued that these occurrences actually belonged to the neutral category, but my reason for placing them in the positive category was specifically the strong compassion they aroused in the reader. Reporters may always choose what information to reveal and by mentioning that the victims were immigrants, they enabled the compassionate feelings for immigrants to develop. In (58) a young boy had died in bombing in Athens and his mother and little sister were injured. In (59) the Italian man who had killed and wounded Senegalese immigrants is said to have "extreme right-wing views", which might explain why his attack was targeted at immigrants.

(58) Police said the victims were Afghan **immigrants**. (tagged_daily_news_30_3_2010_33.txt)

(59) An Italian man with extreme Right-wing views opened fire in an outdoor market in Florence yesterday, killing two vendors from Senegal, then critically wounded three other Senegalese **immigrants** in another Florence market before killing himself, authorities said. (tagged_dominion_post_15_12_2011_87.txt)

Some of the occurrences emphasised the hardships of immigrants. The hardships were often described by the immigrants themselves, as in examples (60) and (61) below. In (60) it is the racial prejudice that Chinese immigrants have had to endure, whereas in (61) the article is about an Indian immigrant who had been working seven days a week in a New Zealand

restaurant, earning only $50 to $100 a week. In (62) it is the Preston Russell Law partner

Mary Jane Thomas who confirms that immigrants are often being exploited by employers.

The last example, (63), is actually a book review, but it also points to the difficulties that

immigrants have had to face.

> (60) Wong's audience was spellbound by the quiet, modest way she retold experiences of early Chinese **immigrants**. "You get prejudice in so many different ways in all societies. There's always suspicion when people are different."
> (tagged_nelson_mail_17_4_2010_52.txt)

> (61) He now owned his own business and was happy, but unfortunately it was not uncommon for Indian **immigrants** to work under substandard conditions when they arrived, he said.
> (tagged_dominion_post_21_10_2011_37.txt)

> (62) "I've seen appalling things, immoral things, by people trying to make a buck, having people working for $5 an hour because they are **immigrants**. I know what happens to **immigrants**, they get take advantage of," Miss Thomas said.
> (tagged_southland_times_10_5_2012_92.txt)

> (63) Yes, life was enormously difficult for the vast majority of **immigrants**, and Hester ably leads us through her everyday life.
> (tagged_dominion_post_30_4_2011_66.txt)

There were a few occurrences where the writer was criticising a single person who

was openly against immigrants. At first, the occurrences in (64) appeared to belong to the

negative category, but after reading the whole text, it became clear that this was not the case.

The apparent negative occurrences were part of a letter from a reader with strong anti-

immigrant views and the letter was only published because the journalist wanted to "let the

bigot's letter speak for itself" and publicly condemn such views. He writes that the letter is

"despicable, and the views expressed in it have no place in this region or anywhere else".

Examples (65) and (66) are cases where the writers criticise well-known politicians for their

anti-immigrant views. In (65) the politician is Winston Peters, the leader of New Zealand

First, whereas (66) deals with Richard Seddon, a former New Zealand prime minister.

(64) When applying for the Un-Employed benefit and looking for work **Immigrants** get priority over natural Kiwis. Benefits – **Immigrants** get SPECIAL Refugee Benefits that are greater then what any natural Kiwi can get on there Unemployed Benefit. At School there kids get all the special needs help and tuition so that my own Kiwi kids get left behind. Why do they get the resources over natural taxpeying NZ'ers? –Do-Gooders give extra help to **Immigrants** then what they do to there own people.
(tagged_manawatu_standard_22_7_2011_62.txt)

(65) Mr Peters' unsavoury attacks on new **immigrants** and the politics of envy and fear he practises, are not compatible with Labour's traditions.
(tagged_dominion_post_16_3_2011_96.txt)

(66) He was a rabid racist, who made sure the odds were stacked against would-be Chinese **immigrants**, and who likened Chinese people to monkeys. He also opposed votes for women, and on both of those counts his nickname, King Dick, was well earned.
(tagged_dominion_post_1_9_2011_113.txt)

However, more common than condemning one person for their anti-immigrant stance was to criticise a group of people for such an attitude. In (67) the writer would like to see immigrants welcomed as family members instead of perpetual visitors – even if they were nicely treated visitors. In (68) the writer criticises Arizona's way of treating undocumented immigrants. In (69) the writer states that racism used to play a role in New Zealand law, as "Chinese immigrants faced legalised discrimination". He also points out that even though there is no more legalised racism in the country, racism has not vanished, but is "merely embedded". In examples (70) and (71) the writers indicate that people should know better than accuse immigrants of stealing jobs or blame them for some riots in Britain.

(67) I am often struck by the way many Europeans use arms-length euphemisms when talking about **immigrants**: They want immigrants to feel welcome or comfortable.
(tagged_daily_news_6_4_2010_62.txt)

(68) Arizona's harsh clampdown on undocumented **immigrants** and its pledge to deny citizenship to their children have made it the darling of the Tea Party Right.
(tagged_timaru_herald_11_1_2011_90.txt)

(69) Once it was even legislated for, as Chinese **immigrants** faced legalised discrimination. Now it's merely embedded.

(70) **Immigrants** stealing jobs is an old complaint in the developed world. (tagged_dominion_post_13_8_2011_92.txt)

(71) It's facile to point an accusing finger at **immigrants** and/or immigration policies when looking for someone to blame for the recent riots in Britain. (tagged_manawatu_standard_19_8_2011_63.txt)

5.4 Negative category

The negative category had altogether 104 occurrences, which is 20 % of all the occurrences. The occurrences labelled negative typically displayed anxiety or resentment towards immigrants and associated them with problems. In altogether 40 of the negative occurrences the target word collocated with the word *illegal*. That is 38% of all the occurrences in the negative category, as shown in Figure 4. In section 5.4.1 I am going to analyse those occurrences, whereas in section 5.4.2 I will deal with the other negative occurrences.
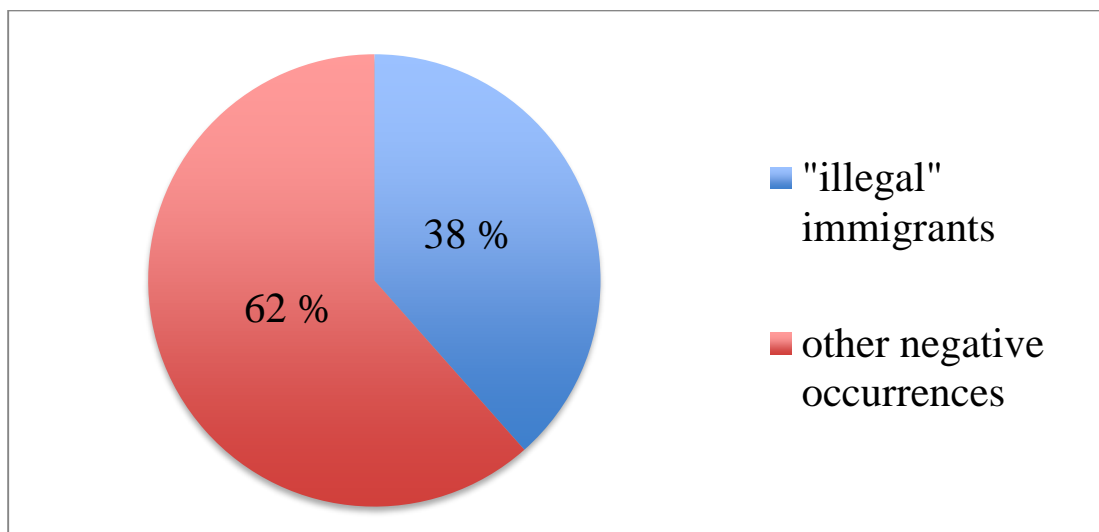

Figure 4. *Illegal* immigrants 38 %, other negative occurrences 62 %.

5.4.1 *Illegal* immigrants

A considerable percentage of the occurrences categorised as negative were cases where the immigrants were labelled *illegal*. In fact with altogether 48 occurrences, *illegal* was the most common L1 collocate for immigrants in the corpus. The mainstream press typically uses this

word to describe undocumented immigrants, but as Van Dijk (2000, 43-44) notes, such

lexicalization automatically associates immigrants with breaking the law and thus implicitly

with crime. Continually describing immigrants as being *illegal* is also a form of rhetorical

repetition that further emphasises that they break the law and are therefore criminals (ibid.).

Because of this negative image that the word instantly creates, almost all occurrences

describing immigrants as *illegal* were placed in the negative category. However, two of such

occurrences ended up in the positive category. In (72) the writer clearly wants to defend

immigrants, noting that Arizona state government promotes racial profiling by giving police

the right to demand identification in order to expose undocumented immigrants. Reading the

whole text further confirms that the writer by no means intends to convey anything negative

about immigrants. On the contrary, he regrets that "the Western World is in a process of

widespread xenophobia" and points out that the acceptance of immigrants and refugees has

enriched many countries. In the other positive occurrence, (73), the writer states that there is

an upside to the presence of undocumented immigrants in South Africa, even if the upside

was only that the poor South Africans now direct their anger towards the immigrants, instead

of the South African middle class. Another reason for categorising the occurrence as positive

is the fact that earlier in the article the writer referred to the immigrants as "undocumented

foreigners" and described them as "better educated and more enterprising than the locals".

> (72) A battle is raging in the United States over a law passed by the Arizona state
> government giving police the right to demand identification to detect illegal
> **immigrants**, resulting in racial profiling.
> (tagged_waikato_times_16_9_2010_36.txt)

> (73) That is a high-sounding moral motive that we can all admire, but the
> presence of the illegal **immigrants** also serves to divert the anger and envy
> of poor, black South Africans from the homegrown middle class, black and
> white alike, that has been the real beneficiary of economic growth since
> 1990.
> (tagged_waikato_times_20_2_2010_98.txt)

There were some cases, where there was essentially nothing negative about immigrants, except for the word *illegal*. Example (74) is a book review. The only word defining the immigrants is *illegal* and since there is nothing positive said about them, I classified the occurrence as negative. In (75) it can be argued that the word *suspect* contributes to the negativity of the occurrence, since usually people are suspected of something bad. Therefore there are two words, *illegal* and *suspect,* associating immigrants with crime. In (76) it is explained why there have never been undocumented immigrants arriving in New Zealand by boat. Because of that, the country has been spared from one problem, even though this is not directly stated in the text.

> (74) She believes her child is in Berlin and her journey to find him begins as she joins a group of **il**legal **immigrants** being dropped into the sea in darkness off the shores of Italy.
> (tagged_timaru_herald_29_1_2011_69.txt)

> (75) The Alabama law, considered the country's strictest, includes a provision requiring police carrying out traffic stops to check the residency status of people they suspect of being illegal **immigrants**.
> (tagged_timaru_herald_26_11_2011_64.txt)

> (76) There has never been a landing of illegal **immigrants** in New Zealand by boat, with the journey considered too treacherous and deadly for most people-smuggling operations to attempt.
> (tagged_the_press_1_5_2012_108.txt)

Some occurrences clearly associated undocumented immigrants with problems. In (77) the writer directly states that there is "a huge problem" with undocumented immigrants in France and supports the country's decision to do something about it. Examples (78) and (79) have a list of problems and undocumented immigrants is one of them. In (78) a US politician Terry Jones promises that if he was to enter the white House, he would fix those problems - for undocumented immigrants it would mean deportation. In (79) a Greek taxi driver is going to vote for a neo-Nazi party, because he thinks it would fix the country's problems. In his opinion the greatest problems are increasing crime, unemployment and

undocumented immigrants. In (80) Italian foreign minister Roberto Maroni tries to get rid of

the country's problem, undocumented immigrants, by blackmailing other EU countries to take

them.

> (77) France has had a huge problem with illegal **immigrants** and, rightly so, has
> decided to do something about it.
> (tagged_waikato_times_13_10_2010_48.txt)

> (78) Terry Jones pledged that on entering the white House he would immediately
> stop government overspending, bring all foreign-based troops home, and
> deport all illegal **immigrants**.
> (tagged_dominion_post_29_10_2011_75.txt)

> (79) But he will vote for them anyway when the country goes to the polls next
> Sunday – out of anger over rising crime, unemployment and illegal
> **immigrants**.
> (tagged_the_press_30_4_2012_48.txt)

> (80) "I wonder whether in this situation it makes sense to remain within
> European Union," said Italian foreign minister Roberto Maroni two weeks
> ago, in a crude attempt to blackmail other EU countries into taking more
> Italy's illegal **immigrants**.
> (tagged_manawatu_standard_23_4_2011_30.txt)

There were also a couple of other cases that emphasised the negativity by association.

In (81) the method in question is an identity theft and the writer names groups of people who

have used it. Undocumented immigrants are listed among mercenaries and forgers, two not

very reputable groups of people. In (82) the "nasty illegal immigrants" refer to the Chinese

mitten grab and the European shore grab, both of which could do huge damage to the

environment in New Zealand. Referring to those unwelcome and even somewhat disgusting

creatures as immigrants automatically creates negative association with actual immigrants.

> (81) The method was an open secret among mercenaries, forgers and illegal
> **immigrants** when Forsyth wrote the book in 1972.
> (tagged_waikato_times_22_9_2010_54.txt)

> (82) A survey this week will help to establish if some nasty illegal **immigrants**
> have reached Port Nelson.
> (tagged_nelson_mail_5_11_2010_47.txt)

Many of the occurrences regarding undocumented immigrants contained numbers. According to van Dijk (2000, 45) using numbers is a rhetorical device very often used in immigration discourse. The use of numbers suggests objectivity and hence credibility, while the numbers themselves indicate the size of the threat. Using numbers thus associates immigrants with problems and threats, if only by quantity (ibid.). All the occurrences below demonstrate the use of numbers. In (83) the problem with undocumented immigrants from Mexico is highlighted by noting that for example in Arizona, where there is not even a great demand for farmworkers, there are hundreds of thousands of undocumented immigrants. Basically the writer is communicating that if the numerous immigrants cannot get employed in farming, they will probably not get employed at all and are therefore even a bigger problem. In (84), besides using numbers, the writer uses phrases such as "almost unanswerable question" and "an issue Congress seems unable to address". All this suggests that the estimated 11 million undocumented immigrants in the United States create a problem beyond solving. In (85) the writer regrets the fact that Christians are no more the majority in Ivory Coast, blaming the numerous undocumented immigrants for that. The verb used to describe the immigrants entering the country in the past two decades is "pour". Such a metaphor emphasises the huge number of immigrants and associates them with uncontrollable force. Example (86) does not appear to be as negative as the previous occurrences, since the undocumented immigrants are given a chance to stay and work in the United States. However, they are still associated with problems by mentioning their huge number and by a quote from President Obama later in the article stating that "this is not a path to citizenship, this is not a permanent fix".

> (83) Even in Arizona, where there is not a huge demand for agricultural labour, there are now an estimated 460,000 illegal Mexican **immigrants**. (tagged_waikato_times_1_5_2010_123.txt)

> (84) Her decision, however, does nothing to resolve the almost unanswerable question of what to do with the 11 million illegal **immigrants** believed to be

living in the US, an issue Congress seems unable to address.
(tagged_nelson_mail_26_7_2010_59.txt)

(85) Christians used to be the majority in Ivory Coast, and they would probably still be if not for the estimated four million illegal **immigrants** who have poured into the country in the past two decades.
(tagged_timaru_herald_2_4_2011_32.txt)

(86) US President Barack Obama has eased enforcement of the nation's immigration laws, offering a chance for hundreds of thousands of illegal **immigrants** to stay in the country and work.
(tagged_the_press_18_6_2012_67.txt)

Some occurrences further confirmed the strong negative connotation the term *illegal immigrant* has. Example (87) demonstrates that if someone is considered to be an *illegal immigrant*, it is reason enough to harbour resentment towards him or her. In this case it is the Rohingya community that people in Myanmar regard as *illegal immigrants* from Bangladesh. Examples (88), (89) and (90) discuss the definition of an *illegal immigrant*. In (88) the writer wonders why boat people are regarded as asylum seekers, because in her eyes they are "nothing more than opportunistic, illegal immigrants". In (89) the writer declares that boat people are not "illegal immigrants", but the "overstayers" in New Zealand are. Example (90) states that asylum seekers are not "illegal immigrants", but "people fleeing persecution". As those examples show, people might not have a consensus of the definition of an *illegal immigrant*, but it is generally regarded as an insult to be called one.

(87) There is widespread resentment of the Rohingya community, whom many in Myanmar regard as illegal **immigrants** from Bangladesh.
(tagged_the_press_26_12_2012_44.txt)

(88) Why are the boat people trying to get to Australia constantly referred to as asylum seekers? They are nothing more than opportunistic, illegal **immigrants**.
(tagged_the_press_15_9_2012_144.txt)

(89) The public often wrongly associates boat people with illegal **immigrants**, she says. "We have 20,000 overstayers in New Zealand - they are illegal **immigrants**.
(tagged_the_press_15_9_2012_129.txt)

(90) Amnesty International's advocacy and government relations manager, Chris Kerr, said asylum seekers were not illegal **immigrants**; instead, they were people fleeing persecution and situations where they were at grave risk of human rights abuses.
(tagged_dominion_post_17_6_2011_105.txt)

5.4.2 Other negative occurrences

The other negative occurrences include all the negative occurrences where the target word did not collocate with the word *illegal*. Similarly to those occurrences, several of the other negative occurrences associated immigrants with problems, as the examples below demonstrate. Example (91) is a warning of tuberculosis spreading all over Britain through immigrants unless they are properly screened before letting into the country. Van Dijk (1995, 156) notes that warning is a discursive strategy, the intention of which is to emphasise possible threats caused by the outgroup people and installing fear for them in the minds of the ingroup people. Example (92) is actually an extract from an anti-abortion text, whose writer thinks New Zealand has been corrupted because of abortions. The writer warns that immigrants from certain cultures will increase the corruption of the country, because their "sacred writings encourage killing of all who won't submit to them". In (93) the writer is concerned about the "thousands of immigrants" who have come to rebuild Christchurch after the earthquake in 2011. When there is no more need for extra workers, he fears that those immigrants will be the cause of growing unemployment rates.

(91) Britain will be "swamped" by tuberculosis unless the government updates ancient screening tests for new **immigrants**, experts warn.
(tagged_the_press_8_12_2012_129.txt)

(92) Surely we are self-destructing as a people. Now we add **immigrants** from cultures whose sacred writings encourage killing of all who won't submit to them.
(tagged_waikato_times_29_7_2010_74.txt)

(93) Seems the recruiters are creaming it right now without any consideration as to what happens to these thousands of **immigrants** in the future.
(tagged_the_press_28_12_2012_94.txt)

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A few of the occurrences expressed a fear of immigrants taking up employment opportunities from natives. In (94) the unemployment of numerous Britons is said to be the cause of the public being tired of immigrants, as if immigrants were to blame for their unemployment. It also implies that immigrants do not deserve to have a job as much as the natives do. In (95), according to a study many people in New Zealand believe that immigrants, especially from Asia, are "stealing" jobs from New Zealanders, as if immigrants did not have an equal right to have a job. Also in (96) people opposing multiculturalism is being justified by the claim that immigrants are decreasing employment opportunities.

> (94) In the current climate, where two millions of Britons are jobless, the public is tiring of **immigrants** fast.
> (tagged_timaru_herald_25_10_2011_37.txt)

> (95) Under the auspices of the Asia NZ Foundation, the study concludes that nearly a third of 1000 people surveyed last year believed that Asian **immigrants** were stealing Kiwi jobs.
> (tagged_dominion_post_19_4_2011_106.txt)

> (96) However, it is becoming increasing obvious within Southland that there is growing resentment against the concepts of Invercargill being based on multiculture. An influx of **immigrants** in the past decade has taken place, taking up job opportunities and especially in business.
> (tagged_southland_times_17_9_2012_69.txt)

Some of the occurrences associated immigrants with breaking the law. According to van Dijk (2000, 40) minorities are often represented as having a passive role, unless they are agents of negative actions, in which case their agency will be emphasised. In examples (97) and (98) immigrants are reported to have acted violently. Those acts include rioting, fuelling, smashing shop windows, overturning cars and knifing. In (99) immigrants are found guilty of an immigration fraud, whereas in (100) the writer is frustrated with people who come to New Zealand and stay there without permission. According to him "immigration is not a human right".

> (97) North African **immigrants** rioted in a multi-ethnic district of Milan, smashing shop windows and overturning cars after the knifing death of an

Egyptian by South American **immigrants**. It was the second episode of violence involving **immigrants** this year, following incidents in January in the worst racial clashes in Italy since World War II.
(tagged_waikato_times_20_2_2010_77.txt)

(98) In Spain unemployment has passed 25 per cent, and more than half of the under-25s and half of **immigrants** are jobless, fuelling the rioting.
(tagged_sunday_star_times_30_9_2012_166.txt)

(99) Four Indian **immigrants** caught pretending to be a family may be deported after being sentenced in the Auckland District Court for immigration fraud.
(tagged_manawatu_standard_1_10_2011_69.txt)

(100) Headline: **Immigrants** must respect NZ law.
(tagged_dominion_post_10_1_2011_91.txt)

The following examples are cases that I placed in the negative category because they convey the idea of immigrants being a burden to their new country of residence. In (101) the writer asks whether Europe needs or can even "manage" all the immigrants there. Immigrants should therefore be somehow profitable in order to be welcome. If they fail to do that, they become a burden. Example (102) has the same idea, as the leader of the political party New Zealand First worries that the "quality of immigrants" coming to New Zealand is not good enough. He wants to see a "focused immigration policy" based on the needs of the New Zealand economy. In (103) the writer is reciting how Australia and New Zealand are helping the microstates of Oceania. He notes that on top of covering a considerable share of the expenses of these states, they even accept immigrants from these states. This leads to believe that the immigrants are such a burden that it is a great charity to accept them.

(101) Does Europe need – can it manage – so many **immigrants**?
(tagged_dominion_post_13_10_2011_99.txt)

(102) Peters said New Zealand was continuing its policy of "mass immigration" and the quality of **immigrants** was not matching that of emigrants.
(tagged_the_press_16_6_2012_164.txt)

(103) Both are already bearing a large part of the cost of keeping these states afloat and are also accepting **immigrants** from these states.
(tagged_dominion_post_29_3_2011_99.txt)

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There were quite a few occurrences that expressed the negative attitudes that Maori have towards immigrants. In most cases Maori felt threaten by them. In (104) the writer specifies reasons why Maori are reluctant to accept many immigrants from all over the world. According to him it would be very naive to expect Maori to gladly welcome a "flood" of immigrants, because of the fear of being outnumbered and not having much influence on the matters concerning the future of New Zealand. By using the word *flood* the writer associates immigrants with a natural disaster and thus emphasises the image of a threat. Also in (105) the writer stands up for Maori and other indigenous people, accusing the immigrants of the 1900th century of "wresting occupancy and ownership from the indigenous people". Example (106) repeats the concerns that a Maori professor has about white immigrants having racist attitudes. According to her the white immigration should therefore be restricted.

> (104) You'd have to be pretty dumb if you thought Maori happily accept the flood of **immigrants** from all over the world who threaten their numerical status and possibly their influence in the future direction of this country. (tagged_timaru_herald_15_9_2011_26.txt)

> (105) That fails to distinguish between two types of historical movement: those who discovered the land and occupied and owned it (Maori in the North, South and Steward Islands and Moriori in the Chatham Islands), and those who, in the 1830s and onward, arrived as **immigrants** to a settled land, and wrested occupancy and ownership from the indigenous people. (tagged_dominion_post_28_7_2011_89.txt)

> (106) Professor Mutu said white immigration to New Zealand should be restricted because it posed a threat to race relations due to **immigrants**' "white supremacist" attitudes. (tagged_timaru_herald_7_9_2011_47.txt)

5.5 Occurrences concerning pensions of immigrants in New Zealand

In this section I will deal with occurrences concerning pensions of immigrants in New Zealand. This is a topic that had occurrences from all three categories. I could have dealt with the occurrences in the sections of their respective categories, but I wanted to have them in the

same section. I thought the issue of pensions was interesting and having all the occurrences in the same section would make it easier to follow the different opinions on the matter.

New Zealand's public pension scheme is called New Zealand Superannuation (NZS) and every citizen or permanent resident aged 65 or over is entitled to that. The beneficiary must, however, have lived in New Zealand for at least ten years since turning 20, five of which spent in the country after turning 50.[2] This means that many of the immigrants are also granted NZS, but it is reduced in relation to the value of their pension payments from abroad. Altogether ten occurrences dealt with this subject, four of which I placed in the positive category and five of which I categorised as negative. Only one occurrence addressed the subject neutrally - in (107) the writer merely states that proposals for changes to the way the pensions of immigrants are taxed have been discussed.

> (107) We have previously discussed proposals put forward by the Government for changes to the way **immigrants** and returning New Zealanders' pensions are taxed, including lump-sum payments and transfers into New Zealand schemes.
> (tagged_southland_times_24_11_2012_60.txt)

All the positive occurrences conveyed the idea that the policy of cutting NZS for immigrants because of the pensions paid to them from overseas is quite unfair. Here are some examples:

> (108) Over the years policy reviews have pointed out the unfairness of this treatment of **immigrants**, but successive governments have chosen not to act.
> (tagged_sunday_star_times_25_3_2012_101.txt)

> (109) Many **immigrants** to New Zealand remain bitter that their foreign pensions are being docked to help pay for NZ Super despite having lived and worked here for decades.
> (tagged_sunday_star_times_23_12_2012_94.txt)

> (110) Ardern is convinced an injustice is being perpetrated on these **immigrants**, who in many cases worked here for many years only to find their NZ Super payments reduced by the value of what are essentially private pensions earned overseas.
> (tagged_sunday_star_times_8_7_2012_119.txt)

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[2] http://www.workandincome.govt.nz/individuals/65-years-or-older/superannuation/superanuation-overview.html

The negative occurrences, on the other hand, considered NZS to be too generous for immigrants. In (111) the writer is primarily objecting to the SuperGold card, which offers free public transport and is automatically sent to everyone receiving NZS. He thinks the card is an additional economic burden, especially when given to immigrants who have not been in the country long enough in order to have their taxes cover the expenses of their card. In (112) there is a quote from Winston Peters, the leader of the New Zealand First party, where he calls the New Zealand pension system the most generous in the world for new immigrants. After reading the whole text it is clear that the writer agrees that the superannuation scheme is overly generous for immigrants. He writes that immigrants will also have access to free healthcare and other welfare entitlements that "New Zealanders work hard for all their lives". In (113) the writer claims that immigrants receiving NZS are "draining the economy". Example (114) does not seem to address the same topic. However, the writer is defending Winston Peters' view that NZS should go to "those who have paid taxes" in New Zealand. He bases his view on the claim that NZS will become too expensive because of the numerous elderly immigrants.

> (111) At least new **immigrants** can be certain of one thing: through their SuperGold card they'll be able to enjoy services their taxes never paid for.
> (tagged_waikato_times_15_3_2010_36.txt)

> (112) Here is what Winston said in that speech: "New Zealand has the most generous superannuation scheme in the world for recently arrived **immigrants**."
> (tagged_the_press_30_6_2012_149.txt)

> (113) 22,000 elderly **immigrants**, most of them Asians, are receiving superannuation, draining the economy and mocking the New Zealand way of life.
> (tagged_southland_times_23_6_2012_84.txt)

> (114) Anthony Hubbard is just another journalist who, whenever anyone mentions **immigrants** – as in the case of Winston Peters at the NZ First conference ("Winston's one-man band", June 17) – screams xenophobia.
> (tagged_sunday_star_times_1_7_2012_126.txt)

5.6 Ethnicity

In 138 of the occurrences the nationality or the ethnic nationality of immigrants was mentioned. That is 27 % of all the occurrences. This is not very surprising as referencing to the origin of immigrants is a common trend when reporting about them (Chen and Igartua 2009, 731). However, Baker and Gabrielatos (2008, 13) point out that "even words that at first glance may appear to be simply descriptive, such as those referring to a person's/group's race, religion, or nationality, can effectively become pejorative if their use is gratuitous or Irrelevant". Figure 5 shows which were the most common nationalities. With 13 occurrences, *Muslim* was the most frequently mentioned nationality, followed by *Chinese* (12) and *Dutch* (10). Most nationalities occurred only once or twice.
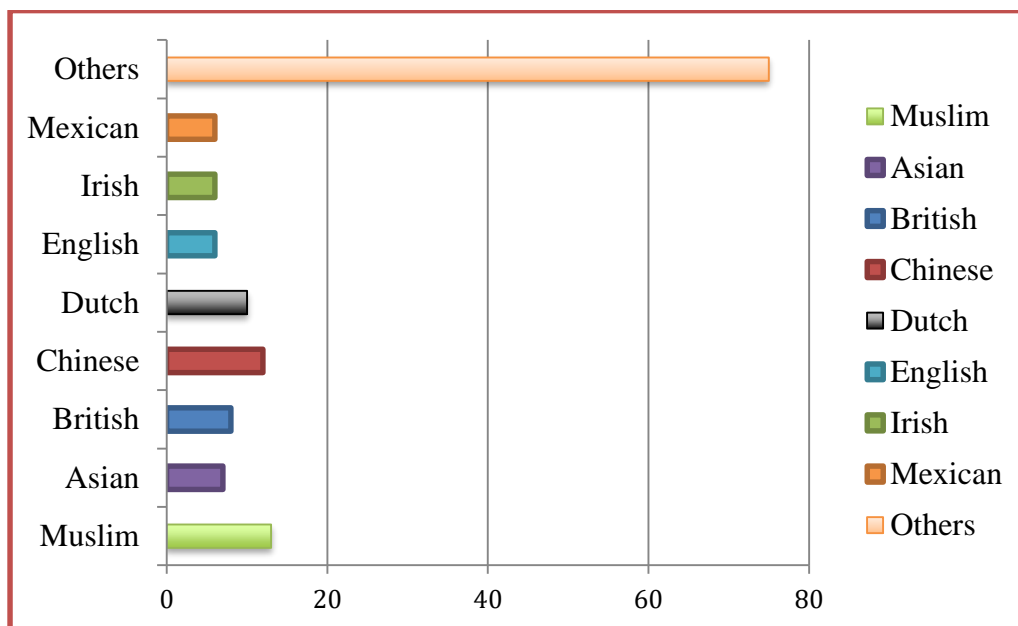

Figure 5.

Most of the occurrences where the nationality was mentioned were neutral. There were 90 (65 %) such cases, whereas only 26 (19 %) ended up in the negative category and only 22 (16 %) were positive. All except for one occurrence concerning Muslim immigrants were categorised

as negative. That means out of the 26 negative occurrences where the nationality of immigrants was mentioned, 46% concerned Muslim immigrants, as shown in Figure 6.
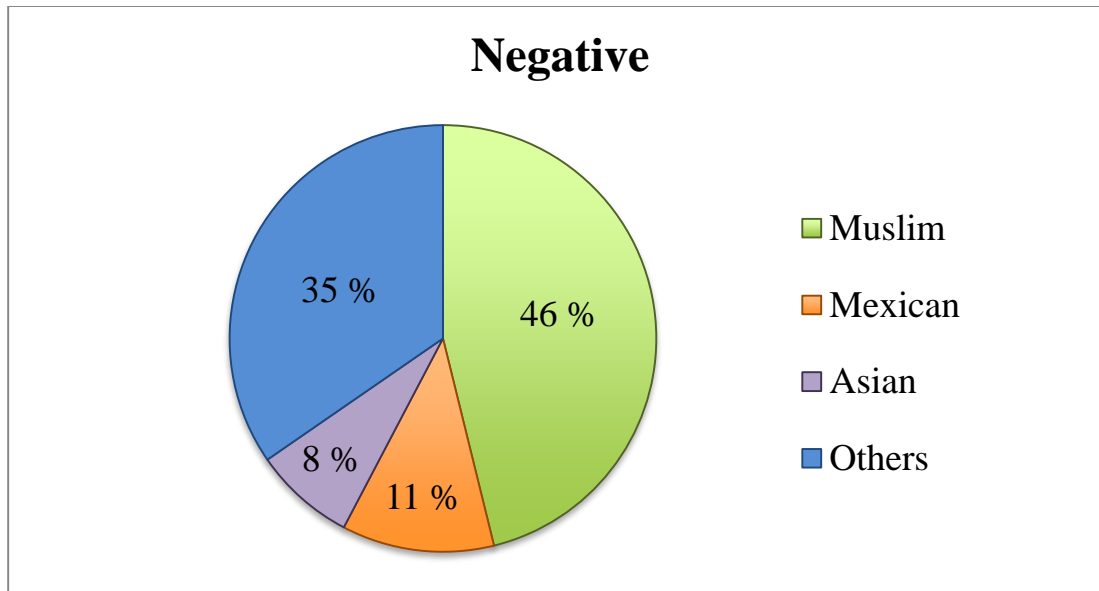

Figure 6.

Here are some examples of occurrences concerning Muslim immigrants:

> (115) Denmark's generous welfare system was being exploited by Muslim **immigrants** to the point of eventually bankrupting the Government. (tagged_daily_news_13_10_2010_68.txt)

> (116) Debate rages over Muslim **immigrants** to France and their controversial and widespread tradition: Polygamy. (tagged_daily_news_5_5_2010_50.txt)

> (117) It is akin to asking the Italians to provide Michelangelo's David with a fig leaf to avoid offending **immigrants** from Muslim countries. (tagged_waikato_times_24_4_2010_72.txt)

In (115) the writer blames Muslim immigrants for bankrupting the Danish Government by "exploiting" the welfare system. In his letter to the editor he states that "Muslim immigrants constitute five per cent of the population but consume upwards of 40 per cent of the welfare spending". Such statistics create an image of credibility while associating Muslim immigrants with problems. In (116) Muslim immigrants are in turn associated with polygamy and thus

with breaking the French law. Example (117) might not be as negative as the two others, but it nevertheless suggests that Muslim immigrants are easily offended.

According to Baker and Gabrielatos (2008, 22) immigrant groups are frequently described in terms of their number. Their quantitative analysis of a 140-million-word corpus of UK news coverage from 1996 to 2005 revealed that 20 % of the occurrences of *refugees* and *asylum seekers* collocated with some form of quantification (ibid.). I identified a similar type of trend concerning *immigrants* in New Zealand newspapers. Altogether 64 out of 508 occurrences of *immigrants* were accompanied either by numbers or metaphors indicating quantity. That is 13 % of all the occurrences. Van Dijk (2000, 45) argues that emphasizing the number of immigrants is a discursive strategy that serves to associate immigrants with threat and problems, because it often suggests that there are too many of them. I also found 26 metaphors that were mainly used in order to describe a number of immigrants entering a country. Almost all of them were water metaphors, such as *wave*, *inflow* and *flood*. Such metaphors can suggest that immigration is some sort of an uncontrollable force and thus reinforce the image of a threat. Baker (2006, 81) also points out that likening refugees, or in this case immigrants, to the moving water is a way of dehumanizing them. Indeed, after taking a closer look at all the 64 occurrences of *immigrants* collocating with a form of quantification, I found out that only 13 % of them belonged to the positive category. However, as Figure 7 shows, the neutral category was still slightly the biggest with 45 % of the occurrences.
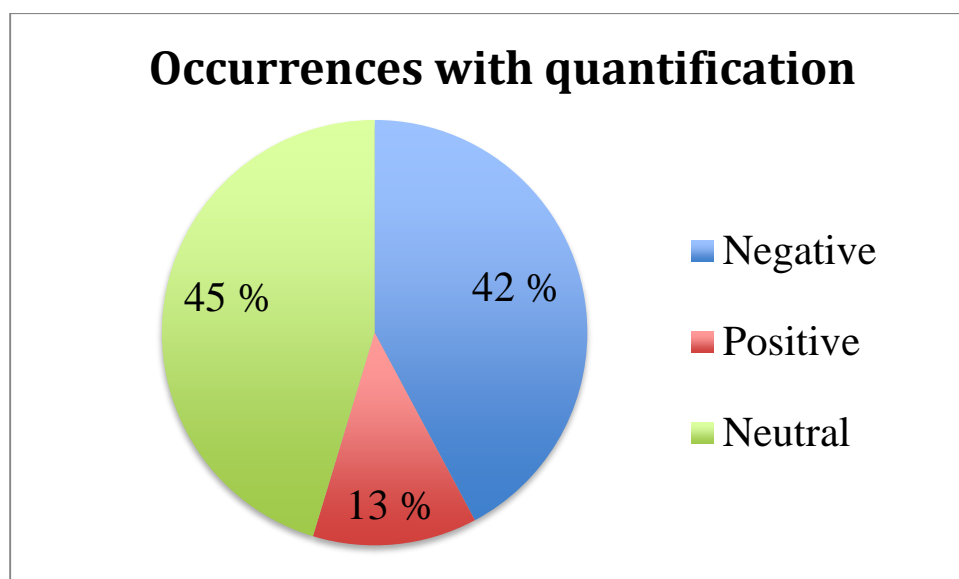
Figure 7.

Here are examples from all three categories where the word *immigrants* collocates with the number *thousands*. Example (118) belongs to the neutral category. It deals with the practice of decorating a Christmas tree and the writer merely states that "thousands of German immigrants" were already familiar with the practice. Even though in (119) the writer is being dismissive towards refugees, he compliments the numerous European immigrants who entered New Zealand in the 1950s for being a great asset to the country. Example (120) expresses negative stance towards immigrants. The writer is concerned about the number of immigrants who have been recruited for rebuilding Christchurch. In his opinion there are far too many of them and this will cause problems in the future when the "workload evens out".

(118) They made a big deal of decorating a tree at Windsor Castle in 1841 and gradually the idea caught on in Britain and the colonies, and subsequently in the United States, where of course there were thousands of German **immigrants** already familiar with the practice. (tagged_daily_news_24_12_2010_68.txt)

(119) Key's mother was a legal immigrant, not a refugee, just like the thousands of healthy, young, unmarried, and hard working European **immigrants** who came here in the 1950s. (tagged_sunday_star_times_20_5_2012_146.txt)

(120) Seems the recruiters are creaming it right now without any consideration as to what happens to these thousands of **immigrants** in the future. (tagged_the_press_28_12_2012_94.txt)

Of all the 508 occurrences, 314 concerned immigrants in New Zealand. It was interesting to see how the relative distribution of the occurrences in the three categories changed when considering only those 314 occurrences. The percentages of neutral and positive categories increased, whereas the percentage of negative occurrences decreased considerably. Figure 8 shows the percentages of negative, positive and neutral occurrences concerning New Zealand. The percentage of negative occurrences decreased from 20 % to 12 %, whereas the percentage of positive occurrences increased from 25 % to 31 %. The percentage of neutral occurrences did not change much - it increased from 55 % to 57 %.
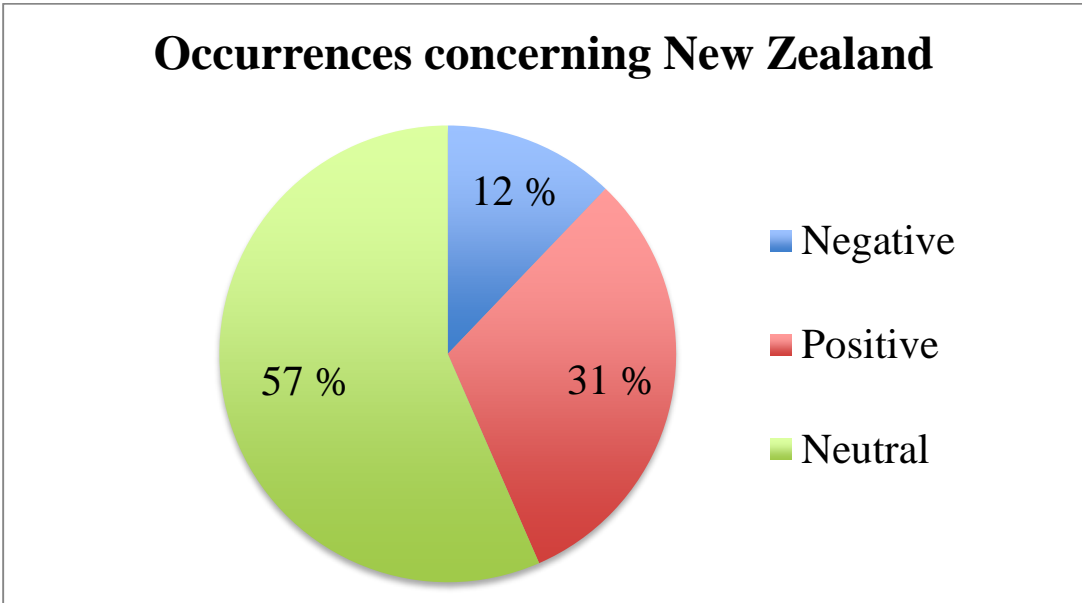

Figure 8. Negative 12 % (-8 %), Positive 31 % (+6 %), Neutral 57 % (+ 2%).

One reason for the decrease of negative occurrences might be the fact that there are not many undocumented immigrants in New Zealand. Since New Zealand is surrounded by ocean, it is very difficult to enter the country unnoticed. Also, almost all the cases with violence and immigrants took place somewhere else than in New Zealand. When it came to positive occurrences, many of them were cases where the need for immigrants in New Zealand was emphasised.

6. Discussion

One issue I had with the CNZNE was the duplicate texts that had to be eliminated from the analysis, but otherwise I am quite pleased with the corpus. After eliminating the irrelevant occurrences of the target word *immigrants*, there remained 508 occurrences. In a corpus of 58.4 million words I think the number of occurrences was surprisingly low. In comparison, Allen and Blinder (2015, 21) conducted a similar type of study on how immigrant groups are portrayed in national British newspapers and in their corpus the frequency of the term *immigrants* per 1 million words was 1300. Of course it has to be taken into account that they specifically compiled a corpus of all the articles mentioning the terms *immigrants*, *migrants, refugees* and *asylum seekers* in the coverage of 20 newspapers from 2010 to 2012 (Allen and Blinder 2015, 7). This resulted in a corpus of 43 million words from more than 58, 000 articles (ibid.). However, even when considering that Allen and Blinder investigated twice as many newspapers, it is still obvious that the number of occurrences of *immigrants* was considerably higher in British newspapers than in New Zealand newspapers in the same three-year time period. The scarcity of the occurrences in the CNZNE suggests that immigration is not as burning an issue in New Zealand as it is for example in the UK. Even though the number of occurrences was not very high, I still think there were enough of them to gain some insight into the way immigrants are being portrayed in New Zealand newspapers.

I found out that in many respects New Zealand newspapers followed the common trend regarding the discursive strategies used when writing about immigrants. Lexicalization was very prominent with the word *illegal* being distinctly the most common L1 collocate for *immigrants*. It was the L1 collocate in 9 % of all the occurrences. Also in Allen and Blinder's (2015, 15) study on British newspapers, *illegal* was found out to be the most common modifier and collocate for *immigrants*. According to them, newspapers tend to focus disproportionately on undocumented immigrants instead of workers, students, and family

members who are the majority of immigrants (Allen and Blinder 2015, 2). Focusing on undocumented immigrants and constantly referring to them as *illegal* constructs an image of immigrants as lawbreakers and illegality becomes "deeply associated with the concept of immigration itself" (Allen and Blinder 2015, 16-17).

Another discursive strategy commonly seen in news texts about immigration is the use of numbers (van Dijk 2000, 45). In New Zealand newspapers numbers were used to describe immigrants in 38 occurrences, which is 7 % of all the cases. In addition to that I found 26 occurrences with metaphors indicating the quantity of immigrants. They were mainly water metaphors, such as *wave*, *inflow* and *flood*. According to van Dijk (2000, 43) this kind of hyperbolic use of metaphors is also a discursive strategy that is often used when describing immigrants entering a country. Both using numbers and using metaphors that indicate that immigrants are some kind of an uncontrollable force because of their number, create an image of immigrants as a threat. When taking both numbers and metaphors into account, it means that in 13 % of the occurrences *immigrants* collocated with some form of quantification. Baker and Gabrielatos (2008, 22) found out in their corpus analysis that in British newspapers *refugees* and *asylum seekers* were described in terms of their quantity in 20 % of their uses.

In order to find out what kind of attitudes towards immigrants emerged from the body of New Zealand newspapers and what their distribution were, I decided to categorise all the occurrences according to the attitudes they expressed. The three categories were neutral, positive and negative. I considered an occurrence to be neutral if I could not detect any partiality towards or against immigrants, positive if the occurrence seemed in favour of immigrants, and negative if the occurrence showed immigrants in a bad light or otherwise associated them with something unfavourable. Those evaluations were mostly quite straightforward to do, but there were also cases where I struggled with determining the right category. Eventually I decided to read almost all the articles where the target word appeared,

instead of only the concordance lines, in order to make the evaluations more reliable. Of course the evaluations could be made even more reliable, if someone else analysed the occurrences as well. However, I am quite positive that it would not have a major impact on the distribution of the three categories.

I categorised 55 % of the occurrences of *immigrants* as neutral. Many of those occurrences were cases where immigrants were not the main subject of the story at all. With 24 % of all the occurrences, the positive category was the second largest category. What was interesting in this category was the clear division between two types of positive cases. The slightly more common type was occurrences focusing on the good qualities of immigrants or in some other way showing them in a good light. The other type was occurrences expressing sympathy or solidarity towards immigrants. Those occurrences either evoked compassion for immigrants or they criticised people who were against immigrants. Surprisingly the negative category was the smallest of the three with only 20 % of the occurrences. Almost 40 % of the negative occurrences were cases where *immigrants* collocated with the word *illegal*. Overall, typical of the occurrences in the negative category was associating immigrants with various problems, such as immigrants taking up employment opportunities from the native people, causing disorder and being an economic burden.

In the light of previous similar studies, the scarcity of the negative occurrences was somewhat surprising. Allen and Blinder's (2015, 20) results show that in the British newspapers "the dominant collocates of immigrants and asylum seekers suggest a negative view of immigration". Also Baker and Gabrielatos (2008, 24) found out that "the vast majority of representations of RASIM [*refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, migrants*] in the UK press referenced mainly negative topoi and stereotypes". Both studies used similar quantitative corpus linguistic methods to identify the recurring discursive patterns used when writing about the immigrant groups (Allen and Blinder 2015, 9; Baker and Gabrielatos 2008,

8). They also used qualitative examinations of the recurring patterns and of a small sample of texts to supplement their quantitative findings (ibid.). Of course the relatively small amount of occurrences in my study enabled me to scrutinise each occurrence and I did not have to rely solely on the dominant collocates or patterns in order to find out what attitudes were most commonly presented. Had I not been able to do that, I might have gotten the impression that there were more negative occurrences than there actually was based on the most common collocates and topics. However, though there were perhaps fewer negative occurrences than anticipated, it can still be argued that it is rather alarming if one in five mentions of *immigrants* is negative. Furthermore, the number of negative associations with immigrants could easily be reduced by, for example, using the word *undocumented* instead of *illegal*.

What was also surprising was the way the relative distribution of the occurrences in the three categories changed when taking only the occurrences concerning immigrants in New Zealand into account. The percentage of neutral and positive categories increased, whereas the percentage of negative occurrences decreased considerably. Baker and Gabrielatos (2008, 18) observed a reverse trend where the British newspapers often take up a neutral or positive attitude towards refugees and asylum seekers in countries other than the UK. Of course it is possible that a similar trend could be detected in New Zealand newspapers if the target words were *refugees* and *asylum seekers*.

7. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to examine how immigrants are portrayed in New Zealand newspapers. I searched for different discursive strategies that were repeatedly used when writing about immigrants. I also wanted to find out what attitudes towards immigrants the newspaper texts conveyed. Immigration is a very topical issue all over the world and there have been many studies on writings about immigrants. Typically the findings have shown that the representation of immigrants in the media has often a negative stance (e.g. Allen and Blinder 2015, 20; Baker and Gabrielatos 2008, 24). Even though immigration discourse has been widely studied I thought it would be interesting to see if New Zealand newspapers followed the same patterns and attitudes that previous studies had shown to be typical of immigration discourse. In the light of this study New Zealand newspapers seem to use many of the commonly found patterns: *illegal* was the most common modifier of *immigrants* and numbers and metaphors indicating the large number of immigrants were quite frequently used. Also, immigrants were relatively often associated with problems. However, the great majority of the uses of *immigrants* demonstrated a neutral or even a positive attitude towards them. The positive attitudes were centred on the need of immigrants in the labour market and how immigrants deserve better treatment from other people.

The present study could be easily expanded by also examining the occurrences of *migrants*, *refugees* and *asylum seekers* in the corpus. This would perhaps increase the relative distribution of negative occurrences, because many of the positive occurrences of *immigrants* emphasised the need for them. It is unlikely that there would be such an emphasis on a need for refugees and asylum seekers, but on the other hand there could very well be more occurrences showing compassion for them. It would also be interesting to study newspapers from different countries and compare their representation of immigrants. For instance a comparison between the newspapers from a popular immigrant-receiving country and from a

more untraditional country for immigration could produce intriguing results. Also,

considering New Zealand's history of immigration, it would be interesting to study if and how

the representation of immigrants in the news has changed over time.

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