

INFLUENCE AND AUTHORITY OF INFORMATION SOURCES IN THE HIGHLANDS:  
EXPLORING THE IMMIGRATION DEBATE DURING THE SCOTTISH  
INDEPENDENCE REFERENDUM

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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined  
the dissertation entitled

INFLUENCE AND AUTHORITY OF INFORMATION SOURCES IN THE HIGHLANDS:

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INDEPENDENCE REFERENDUM

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I dedicate this dissertation to my family. Without their support and encouragement, this dissertation would not have been possible. I hope I always make you proud. I love you all very much.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	iv
LIST OF FIGURES .....	ix
LIST OF TABLES.....	x
LIST OF ACRONYMS & ABBREVIATIONS.....	xi
ABSTRACT .....	xii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION .....	1
Background .....	1
Context of this study.....	5
Immigration in Pensions .....	6
General Concerns Regarding Immigration .....	7
Presentation & Identification of Problem .....	7
Significance of the Study.....	8
(1) Construction of Authority .....	8
(2) Larger Democratic Principles .....	9
(3) Need for External Perspective .....	11
(4) Lack of Research on the Topic in the Highlands.....	11
Definition of Basic Terms .....	13
Authority .....	13
Host Community .....	13
Identity .....	14
Immigrant .....	15
Information Literacy .....	16
Mass Media .....	17

Public Opinion.....	18
Research Goals.....	20
Conclusion .....	21
CHAPTER 2: CONTEXT.....	22
Introduction to the United Kingdom.....	23
History of the Union Between Scotland and England.....	23
Government & Politics.....	25
Devolution.....	26
The Scottish Parliament.....	27
Independence Referendum .....	28
Country Profile.....	29
Economy .....	29
Population.....	30
Immigration Policy Contextualized in the UK.....	32
Ethnicity in Scotland.....	35
Highlands of Scotland .....	36
Community Profiles .....	39
Alness.....	39
Fort William .....	40
Inverness .....	41
Conclusion .....	44
CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	45
Informing Opinions.....	45
Information Literacy as a Foundation of Democracy.....	47

Role of Authority in Evaluation .....	48
Mass Media .....	50
Media Influence in the UK.....	51
Media and Immigration Politics .....	52
Identity and the Mass Media.....	53
Perceptions of Immigrants .....	54
Policy Responses.....	55
Conclusion .....	57
CHAPTER 4: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK & METHODOLOGY.....	58
Theoretical Framework.....	58
Critical Discourse Analysis .....	58
Mixed Methods Approach .....	62
Sources of Data .....	64
Unit of Analysis.....	74
Data Analysis .....	74
Stage 1: Description of Texts .....	76
Stage 2: Interpretation .....	79
Stage 3: Explanation .....	80
Procedures.....	81
Reliability and Validity.....	83
Reflexivity .....	84
Conclusion .....	86
CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS .....	87
Newspaper Articles.....	88



Description of Newspaper Texts.....	89
Descriptions of Immigrants.....	90
Descriptions of the Host Community .....	93
Experiential Values in Newspaper Discourse.....	98
Relational Values in Newspaper Discourse.....	102
Interpretation of Newspaper Texts .....	106
Activities in Newspaper Discourse .....	106
Topics and Themes in Newspaper Discourse.....	116
Relationships Between Participants in the Newspaper Discourse .....	121
Connections in Newspaper Discourse .....	126
Interviews.....	133
Interpretation of Interview Texts.....	134
Activities in Interview Discourse .....	135
Topics and Themes in Interview Discourse .....	151
Connections in Interview Discourse.....	159
Interview Discourse Findings.....	159
Conclusion .....	163
<b>CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION &amp; CONCLUDING REMARKS.....</b>	<b>164</b>
Discussion of Findings.....	165
(1) How does the mass media in Scotland present the topic of immigration? .....	166
(2) What information sources inform public opinion on immigration? .....	172
(3) How is authority of information sources established? .....	173
Conclusions .....	176
Implications.....	176

Limitations.....	178
Recommendations.....	179
Future Studies .....	181
Appendix A: Interview Questions.....	183
Appendix B: Newspaper Articles Included in Study.....	184
Appendix C: Themes and Topics in Newspaper Discourse .....	188
Appendix D: Contingency Tables for Independence Referendum by Newspaper .....	189
Appendix E: Contingency Tables for Independence Referendum by Attitude .....	190
Appendix F: Interview Participant Demographics.....	191
Appendix G: Themes and Topics in Interview Discourse.....	192
REFERENCES.....	193
VITA.....	215

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Map of the United Kingdom.....	22
Figure 2: The changing structure of Scotland's population, 2009 - 2014.....	31
Figure 3: Projected population growth of countries in the UK, 2012 - 2037 .....	34
Figure 4: Map of the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland .....	36
Figure 5: Fairclough's elements of discourse and dimensions of discourse.....	75
Figure 6: Hyponymous relations: Immigrants.....	100
Figure 7: Hyponymous relations: Host community.....	102
Figure 8: Contingency tables for Independence Referendum by newspaper .....	129
Figure 9: Types of authority acknowledged by host community members.....	175

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Population by age and country in the UK, mid 2013.....	32
Table 2: Population of the HIE and Scotland, 2001 and 2011.....	37
Table 3: Percentage of population born outside of the UK.....	42
Table 4: Profile of newspapers included in study .....	65
Table 5: Criteria for the three stages of CDA used in this study.....	76
Table 6: Situational context and discourse type .....	79
Table 7: Articles included in study, by data and newspaper .....	89
Table 8: Descriptors of immigrants by type .....	90
Table 9: Descriptors of host community by region and type .....	94
Table 10: Host community descriptors by region, demonym, and newspaper.....	98
Table 11: Relational antonyms.....	103
Table 12: Articles per topic for the theme, Immigrants: Who are they? .....	117
Table 13: Articles per topic for the theme, Immigration Issues.....	119
Table 14: Articles per topic for the theme, Host Communities & Immigration..	120
Table 15: References to the theme, Sources of Information.....	152
Table 16: References to the theme, Establishing Authority.....	155
Table 17: References to the theme, Judgment of the Quality of Sources.....	158

## **LIST OF ACRONYMS & ABBREVIATIONS**

ACRL - Association of College and Research Libraries

BBC - British Broadcasting Corporation

CFMEB - Commission on the Future of Multiethnic Britain

CHI - Crown and Hill of Inverness

CDA - Critical Discourse Analysis

EU – European Union

HIE – Highlands and Islands Enterprise

ICAR - Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees

ICT - Information and Communication Technologies

IL – Information Literacy

LSWR – Lochaber, Skye, and Wester Ross area of the Highlands and Islands

MR – Members’ Resources

MP – Members of Parliament

NHS – National Health Service

SNP - Scottish National Party

UK – United Kingdom

UKIP – UK Independence Party

UN – United Nations

UNESCO - United National Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Influence and Authority of Information Sources in the Highlands:  
Exploring the Immigration Debate During the Scottish Independence  
Referendum

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Dr. John M. Budd, Dissertation Supervisor

**ABSTRACT**

This dissertation examines the role of the mass news media as an influencer of opinions on immigration through an examination of information sources used by host, Highland community members. There is an extensive range of research exploring the experiences of immigrants and policy responses in the UK, but little is known about how host communities process and respond to increasing cultural diversity. Addressing the latter is essential to overcome the assimilation tendencies in discourses about the integration of immigrants. Critical discourse analysis was used to analyze newspapers and interviews in this mixed methods study conducted in the year prior to the Scottish Independence Referendum. Findings of this study revealed the negative and homogenizing portrayal of immigrants in the mass news media, the importance of first and second hand experiences as sources of information on immigration in Scottish Highland communities, and the influence of sociocultural factors on how people establish authority of information sources. Findings suggest the need for stronger institutional infrastructures to address increasing diversity in the UK. Of particular interest is the context of this research, during a time of crisis, which reveals that the act of decision-making is based on the often unconscious, ontological construction of information behaviors through the worldview of participants.

## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

This dissertation seeks an understanding of what elements influence the *host Scottish communities'* opinions on immigration. The aim is to explore and understand how people living in the Highland communities of Scotland access, evaluate, interpret, and use information to inform their opinions on the topic of immigration within their communities and country. An integral part of this investigation includes examining the *construction, role, and context* of authority in the use of information resources.

Chapter 1 begins with a discussion of the role of the mass news media in the construction of public opinion. This is followed by a presentation and identification of the problem and its significance, thus establishing the background and rationale for this study and identifying its main focus. Definitions of terms and their conceptual bases follow. Thereafter, goals of this research are stated.

### **Background**

The past decade has brought unprecedented levels of public concern in the UK regarding immigration. The rapid pace of changes in immigration flows and policies, combined with the ubiquity of mass media dictate that language used to talk about immigration and integration is just as important as immigration itself. Policy makers are tasked with translating and communicating policies to multiple audiences simultaneously. In doing so, the actual policy and its original intentions are often lost; policy is complex, while mass communication takes place in short clips such as sound-bites and headlines. Due to the brevity of the mass media, the broader context of news is often overshadowed. This makes the political rhetoric used to communicate

immigration policy invaluable, as catchwords are often picked up by the media and may be easily used to activate value judgments thus influencing public opinion regarding immigration.

In simple terms, public opinion is “a collection of individual opinions on an issue of public interest...these opinions can exercise influence over individual behavior, group behavior, and government policy” (Davison & Leiserson, 1968, p. 188). In Habermas’ work *Structural Transformation* (1989), he charts the emergence of the public sphere as a place in which citizens could meet and freely participate in public debate. According to Habermas, this is where the notion of public opinion “crystallized around the conception of the common good” (Finlayson, 2005, p. 10) and where the influence and authority of the people spread. In doing so, the public sphere fulfills a democratic function: to check the legitimacy of governmental decisions in order to evaluate whether decisions were made in the common good.

The constructionist view of public opinion acknowledges the complex interplay of both personal experiences and ideological influences that assist in forming opinions (Lewis, 2001). As Crotty (1998) notes, people do not make sense of the world on their own; “meanings are constructed by human beings as they engage with the world they are interpreting” (p. 43). The Habermasian public sphere was to serve as a space where people would meet, discuss, and interpret matters of public concern, which enabled the construction of public opinion.

Although the public sphere was conceived to serve a democratic function, with a free press at its side, as newspapers began to acquire mass circulation they became large capitalist corporations (Laughey, 2007). As the press lost its



autonomy, so did public opinion (Laughey, 2007). Instead of serving as a place in which opinions could be fostered, the public sphere became a space in which public opinion was manipulated by the very force driving its inception, the media.

Today, the mass media plays a crucial role in the construction of public opinion through its influence in what was once the public sphere (Thweatt, 2005). This popular and consumer-oriented press is the principal source of information regarding issues of public concern (McCombs, 2014). As the primary source of information on current events, the mass media is structured by the reports of journalists. Journalists (and perhaps more specifically, large corporate publishers) play a powerful role in focusing our attention and influencing our perceptions of the importance of topics in our daily news through their selection of key issues and topics to report (McCombs, 2014). This is problematic because, as Lewis (2001) notes, the agenda of media has provided an “informational context” (p. 102) for opinions regarding issues of public concern, therefore, when the media agenda shifts, so do opinions.

Research on the effects of media has revealed that there are direct political implications of media discourse, the consequence of which include that “agenda setting in the media is neither an innocent or neutral act” (Lewis, 2001, p. 102).

Opinion is, in short, no longer simply a matter of opinion. If the informational media can influence opinion simply by talking about X rather than Y – without, apparently, needing to express a single opinion – then information itself is deeply implicated in the construction of political ideology (Lewis, 2001, p. 102).

Information or knowledge gained from the media may be helpful to someone in identifying his or her political interests and orientation, but it does not rule out

the possibility that through the act of becoming well informed, individuals construct opinions counter to their own self-interests (Lewis, 2001). This is not intended to fully discount the use of information in the construction of opinions compatible with self-interest, but to acknowledge that being misinformed may be just as harmful as being uninformed.

An informed citizenry is the cornerstone of a healthy democracy; this premise asserts that civic knowledge produces civic responsibilities (Lewis, 2001). Citizens should, and indeed, need to exercise thoughtful, informed judgments about their interests as they relate to issues and policies and “how they are represented in deliberation and decision making” (Warren & Gastil, 2015, p. 562). However, as Warren and Gastil (2015) astutely point out, due to the size, scale, and complexity of government in modern politics even the most “attentive” (p. 572) citizens will not be well-informed enough to engage with the collective decisions which concern them. To be an informed citizen requires a certain amount of cognitive labor, but as Bohman (1999) notes in his critique of pragmatism in political theory, the division of cognitive labor is democratic only when citizens are able to make “well-informed and reflective judgments” (p. 592). According to Bohman (1999), this requires that knowledge must be open and accessible to all and that knowledge be open to the input of the public (all those involved and affected). This requires “cooperation among different social actors” to resolve conflicts by “challenging the legitimacy of underlying norms” (Bohman, 1999, p. 602).

Referendums serve the purpose of giving citizens the opportunity to vote *against* a law. As Tierney (2015) notes, referendums, in general, are met by both criticism and enthusiasm. On one hand, the very essence of a referendum

encapsulates the “ideal of democracy: citizens are given the opportunity to come together as one people in a direct exercise of self-determination, reclaiming power from their elected representatives” (Tierney, 2015, p. 228). On the contrary, referendums have a tarnished reputation, due to their misuse by political parties in the past, and are criticized for being controlled by the elite in a non-deliberative process (Tierney, 2015). Rather than fostering meaningful deliberation on a topic, referendums have a “built-in tendency” to “aggregate preformed opinions” (Tierney, 2015, p. 229). Scotland’s Independence Referendum was met by criticisms and enthusiasm and contributed to feeling of crisis leading up to the actual Referendum. Bossaller (2015) refers to crisis as “a point at which a life, a system, an institution, etc., either falls apart or changes in order to survive” (p. i). Fears regarding the future of Scotland’s relationship with the rest of the UK were multidimensional and included a fear of the unknown political and economic future, as well as concerns regarding personal, regional, and national identities.

### **Context of this study**

The Scottish Independence Referendum provided a unique context for this research. As with any other referendum, the Independence Referendum was initiated by the Scottish Government. The Independence Referendum was part of the Scottish National Party’s (SNP) Manifesto in the 2011 election, in which the SNP won the election and gained a majority (SNP, 2011). Due to the complexity of Scotland’s status as a devolved state (which will be discussed more in-depth throughout Chapter 2), this referendum was able to escape the tendency of being manipulated and controlled by the *sole* political party which organized it (the SNP); thus the Referendum rapidly became the subject of multilateral control

(Tierney, 2015). Tierney (2015) noted the Independence Referendum differed from those of the past (e.g. the 1979 referendums on devolution) in that citizens were given much more information on the topic, due to its prominence in political and media discourse, and a lengthy deliberation process - from January 2012 to September 2014.

The Scottish Independence Referendum was a momentous occasion in Scottish history and citizen engagement, with the highest voter turnout since universal suffrage in the UK in 1928 (Stevenson College, 2003; Tierney, 2015). Immigration, as a reserved power, is an issue on which only the UK Parliament can make laws, and was of great debate throughout the Referendum. In the event of a “Yes” vote for Scottish Independence, Scotland would be granted this power. Immigration played a major role in the Referendum for two primary reasons: the role of immigration in contributing to the pension scheme and general concerns regarding immigration (described further below).

### **Immigration in Pensions**

A poll conducted by the BBC in February 2014, seven months prior to the Referendum, found that fears regarding pensions remained the second most important factor with the economy listed as the most important factor determining votes in the Referendum (Taylor, 2014). Due to the aging population of Scotland and low birth rates, pensions were a main source of discussion throughout the Referendum. As the number of working age people in Scotland is growing at a slower rate than elsewhere in the UK, in part due to lower rates of immigration. To maintain pensions in an Independent Scotland would require either higher taxation or an increase in the number of immigrants of working age to contribute to pensions (Taylor, 2014).

## **General Concerns Regarding Immigration**

General concerns regarding the topic of immigration revolve around demographic, technological, and economic changes in society (Koser, 2007). A study by Page (2009) found that in the (wider) UK context, primary concerns surrounding immigration included heightened concerns regarding defense, the National Health Service (NHS), race, education, and crime. Page also found that the level of concern regarding these issues rose in tandem with immigration rates. Although the media has not fabricated dramatic increases in immigration numbers in the UK, they do fuel concern regarding the issue as their primary focus is on selected, negative aspects of immigration (Page, 2009).

### **Presentation & Identification of Problem**

Immigration policy in the UK is complex and rapidly changing. Although Scotland has historically been a country of emigration, the expansion of the EU in 2004 led to a change in this trend. As of 2014, Scotland reached its highest population in over thirty years, the result of record levels of immigration (National Records of Scotland, 2015). A study published by British Future (2013) found that readers of “tabloid and mid-market newspapers” were more likely to cite immigration as the greatest source of tension on both local and national levels, thus reflecting the dominance of negative political and media discourse regarding the subject. Tensions among host communities and immigrants are a well-documented trend correlated with the mass media (ICAR, 2012; Threadgold, 2009; Rzepnikowska, 2013), and arise from unbalanced and inaccurate reporting in the media, a lack of experience with diversity (ICAR, 2012), and competition for resources (e.g. housing; de Lima, 2015).

There is an extensive range of research exploring the views and experiences of immigrants and policy responses in this context, but little is known about how host communities process and respond to increasing cultural diversity. Addressing the latter is essential to overcome the assimilation tendencies in discourses about the integration of immigrants. Immigration has remained one of the most salient policy debates at a UK level for some time, “dominating media debates and stimulating impassioned exchanges in venues ranging from local pubs to Westminster” (Migration Observatory, 2014, p. 2). While extensive research has been done in the *UK* on public opinion of immigration, much of this research is based in the south of England and on questions regarding immigration to *Britain*, rather than Scotland in particular (Migration Observatory, 2014).

### **Significance of the Study**

This study is significant for four primary reasons: (1) how authority of information sources is constructed; (2) larger democratic principles; (3) the need for external perspective; (4) lack of research on the topic the Highlands, a predominantly rural region.

#### **(1) Construction of Authority**

First, this study is essential to the field of Information Science because it investigates the role of information literacy (IL) in the current information ecosystem in which citizens have a greater role and responsibility in the creation, understanding, and use of information ethically and critically (ACRL, 2016). As discussed previously (and expanded upon in subsequent chapters), an informed citizenry is the premise of a healthy democracy. However, this ideal state requires a certain amount of cognitive labor (Bohman, 1999). The amount

of cognitive labor required to become and remain an informed citizen is exacerbated by the complexity of modern politics in the current information environment (Warren & Gastil, 2015).

Information literacy abilities are a crucial component of becoming an informed citizen as they assist individuals in self-directed learning, the end results of which include heightened technological skills and lifelong learning. As such, IL abilities further the development and accomplishment of personal goals and increase civic engagement (Hakari & Sihvonen, 2006; Julien & Hoffman, 2008). As IL enables critical discernment and reasoning, these skills assist people in identifying and accessing information on issues of public concern as well as making informed decisions on these issues (ACRL, 2000; Hakari & Sihvonen, 2006; Julien & Hoffman, 2008; Williamson, Qayyum, Hider, & Liu, 2012).

Although evaluation may require individuals to make a judgement based on the value of a source in terms of authority, credibility, accuracy, and reliability, there are many elements that may impact the perceived value of a source. These elements include - but are not limited to - exposure to information sources (such as the media), epistemology, prior knowledge, personal experiences, interpersonal behaviour, and context (Christie, 2007; Fitzgerald, 1999).

## **(2) Larger Democratic Principles**

This study also aims to explore the foundation of any strong democracy: an informed citizenry. This is because public opinion is defined from the beginning in relation to the type of “manipulation through which the politically dominant must ever strive” (Habermas, 1989, p. 243). The dominant forces behind this manipulation of public opinion do so through harmonizing the

attitudes of the public with their own political doctrines and structures, which feed further into the agenda of dominant forces, such as the government, organizations, and the media (Habermas, 1989).

Historically, public opinion is something measured through polling; however, widespread critics of these polls (e.g. Blumer, 1948; Habermas, 1979, 1989; Bourdieu, 1979) indicate that such polls are more useful for constructing opinions, rather than measuring them. More specifically, Habermas (1989) argues that public opinion polls and voting have long served as substitutes for, rather than expressions of democratic will (Lewis, 2001). The mixed methods approach used in this research will provide a more thorough evaluation of how public opinion is formed in Highland communities. Through qualitative interviews and an analysis of elements that have the potential to influence public opinion, this research will fill a methodological gap in existing research.

I put forth here that the praiseworthy premise of an informed citizenry is, unfortunately, not wholly plausible, as it clings to the idea that information creates knowledge. As Lewis bluntly states in his discussion on the politics of information, “information that is functional for political elites may be highly deleterious to the interests of people living on limited incomes” (2001, p. 103). The information Lewis speaks of is not and cannot be considered knowledge, unless that information is either: (1) true or (2) suspect by the citizens receiving information – so that falsehoods may be identified rather than internalized (Goldman, 2002). A better understanding of the phenomenon of opinion formation in civic matters and the role of authority in this process will provide deeper insight into the quality of democratic systems and their institutions of decision making.



### **(3) Need for External Perspective**

In the constructionist viewpoint, meaning is not discovered but constructed (Crotty, 1998). In Crotty's (1998) discussion of constructionism, he emphasizes the influence of interactions that occur between humans and their world. Opinions regarding topics of public concern are constructed within these interactions and are thus "developed and transmitted" within an "essentially social context" (Crotty, 1998, p. 42).

This research aims to understand not only how people construct opinions, but also how information informs the opinions of individuals. This requires investigating the information and its context from a critical perspective. Although this does not require an external perspective, it is helpful in identifying elements of manipulation present in discourse. As an outsider, I have not grown up surrounded by the discourse involved in this research. As such, throughout this research I found myself constantly seeking clarification of issues and perspectives, rather than making assumptions based on previous experiences – a common disadvantage associated with conducting research as an insider (Adler & Adler, 1987).

### **(4) Lack of Research on the Topic in the Highlands**

This research was conducted in the Scottish Highlands in the predominantly rural region of the Scottish Highlands and Islands (OECD, 2011). Although the three communities included in this study are not strictly rural, they are embedded in a rural hinterland and face many of the challenges associated with rural areas. The possible exception in this study is Inverness, which despite its status as an urban area, is also not comparable to other cities in Scotland both in terms of population and accessibility.

As noted by de Lima (2012), studies regarding population change in rural regions, such as the Highlands, is not a new area of research; however, research regarding international immigration and minority and ethnic communities in rural settings is a relatively new phenomenon. Such research is concentrated on urban/rural comparisons, in which the latter is perceived as more homogenous, both ethnically and culturally (de Lima, 2012). Two-thirds of EU immigrants and one quarter of non-EU immigrants coming to the UK are doing so for work opportunities (UK net migration, 2015). In the case of Scotland, concerns regarding the declining population and emphasis placed on economic development has led to the facilitation of a more “balanced population across the territory” (de Lima, 2015, p. 157).

Immigrants from EU countries seeking work make up a significant population of the workforce in the Scottish Highlands, which confirms the struggles expressed by Highland employers in trying to fill vacancies with local workers (de Lima, 2015). This increased presence of workers from outside of the UK is contributing to an increasingly diverse population in rural regions of Scotland and has “significant implications” (de Lima, 2015, p. 144) for these regions previously inexperienced with the cultural and ethnic diversity stemming from these changes in demographic trends.

Due to both changes in population and labor trends, this research is crucial in addressing issues of social cohesion in Highland communities. Although there is a demand for labor driving the placement of immigrants in the Highlands, there are also misperceptions regarding this need for labor based on reports from the mass media driven by policy concerns in England. The concerns of England, however, do not accurately reflect the concerns of the entire UK.

Scotland's demographic trends are vastly different from England. Rural regions in Scotland account for 98% of Scotland's total land area, one-fifth of Scotland's population, and is growing at a faster rate than the rest of the country – due entirely to immigration (The Scottish Government, 2015).

### **Definition of Basic Terms**

#### **Authority**

In this research, the term *authority* will be used in reference to the authority of an information source prescribed by an information user. Wilson (1983) made an important distinction between cognitive and administrative authority. Authority is often talked about in terms of a recognized “right” of someone in a position of political power; this is an example of administrative authority. This research study aligns its definition of authority with that of cognitive authority and asserts that people gain knowledge of the world based on their own experiences and through second-hand information. Not all second-hand information sources are viewed equally, however, and thus people may recognize and assign cognitive authority based on a judgment of the quality of an information source's author, publisher, or plausibility of claims (Rieh, 2002).

#### **Host Community**

A host community refers to all “people who inhabit a defined geographical entity . . . . Members of the community have responsibilities that include governing the place and can be regarded as those who have or continue to define its particular cultural identity, lifestyle and diversity” (PICTURE, 2005, para. 18). In the context of this research, the term host community will also refer to the established, *permanent* local population of a given location in the Scottish

Highlands. Members of a host community will have interaction with, or otherwise be impacted by, the immigrants residing in their area (UNHCR, 2011).

## **Identity**

*Identity* is a term covering the names people use to represent and distinguish themselves when interacting with others and in order to orient themselves “to their various social worlds” (Snow, Oselin, & Corrigan-Brown, 2005, p. 390). As Curtain and Gaither (2007) note, identity is perhaps “one of the most contentious words of the new millennium” (p. 167). “Particularly in an age of globalization and the concurrent mixing of peoples and cultures, identities and their attendant meanings and connotations have become contested at levels ranging from individual to international” (Curtain & Gaither, 2007, p. 167).

There are internal, external, and interactional aspects that influence identity formation (McLean & Syed, 2015). Many researchers choose to restrict their analysis of identity to only one of the three aspects of identity formation, depending on their discipline and interests. As McLean and Syed point out, however, to do so substantially limits analysis as the three aspects of identity formation are “inextricably interconnected,” as from birth people function within some “physical, social, and cultural context” (2015, p. 196) with much time spent interacting with others. It is for this reason, that this research takes a constructionist approach towards identity formation, meaning that one’s individual, social, or collective identity is the product of “negotiation, interpretation, and presentation” (Snow, Oselin, & Corrigan-Brown, 2005, p. 392) influenced by internal, external, and interactional elements - rather than something predetermined.

Defining identity as something which is constructed also allows this research to focus on changes in identity which may occur in the “immediate present” (McLean & Syed, 2015, p. 196), a function of interactions during a context at a certain point of time. This assists this research in situating identities during the social and political context in which it was conducted.

### **Immigrant**

The term *immigrant* is perceived and defined (often incorrectly) in many different ways, depending on the source and their objective. Based on an analysis of the literature, no official consensus on one definition of the term has been made; however, immigrants may be defined by a multitude of factors including: country of birth, nationality, and movement to a new country to stay either temporarily or on a long-term basis.

In the UK, the terms immigrant, *migrant*, and *foreigner* are “commonly used interchangeably in public debate and even among research specialists” (Anderson & Blinder, 2015, p. 3). There is also no single definition for the term in UK law; however, key distinctions are made between those who have the right to enter and remain in the UK and those who do not. The lack of clarity in the use of this term leads to confusion as to what an immigrant actually is, and consequently, the term is often “conflated with ethnic or religious minorities and with asylum seekers” (Anderson & Blinder, 2015, p. 4).

As Locke and Johnston (2001) state, accurate definitions of such terms have “important ramifications for the measurement of stereotypes and prejudice” (2001, p. 107). As such, it is crucial that people are able to objectively distinguish between what constitutes an immigrant from pictures in their head (Lippmann, 1922; as cited in Locke and Johnston, 2001). The impact of

stereotypes on the judgment of others calls into question the validity of data, results, and interpretation from public opinion surveys and research if definitions of immigrants are conflated with images of racialized or ethnic identities.

For this research, I have chosen to use an all-encompassing definition for the term immigrant in an attempt to avoid the confusion often associated with ambiguity regarding the definition of the term. During my interviews with participants, this allowed me the opportunity to better understand how participants perceive and define immigrants.

For my own analysis, I have defined immigrants as those perceived by members of the host Scottish community as “non-Scottish” or “others.” This may include migrants, immigrants, foreigners, asylum seekers, and essentially any people coming *into* Scotland and is not in reference to outward migration, in which people leave a specified area. Interestingly, several interview participants referred to UK born individuals (i.e. English and Northern Irish) as immigrants as well. While there are obvious differences between the terms migrant and immigrant, these terms will be considered the same as long as the context indicates the movement of individuals *into* Scotland. The term “migrant” will appear only when people self-identify as such or when used within a direct quote.

### **Information Literacy**

The body of literature on IL is large and complex. This is because IL skills are not bound by context, quite the opposite, in fact, as these skills are shared by all academic disciplines, learning environments, and levels of education (ACRL, 2000). Information literacy is “the set of integrated abilities encompassing the

reflective discovery of information, the understanding of how information is produced and valued, and the use of information in creating new knowledge and participating ethically in communities of learning” (ACRL, 2016, p. 3). This enables individuals to “ask relevant questions about origins, context, and suitability” (ACRL, 2016, p. 4) of information within cultural and societal contexts (IFLA, 2005). IL skills are crucial to the information society where the creation, distribution, and use of information is a vital element of economic, political, and cultural life (Doyle, 1994). The application of IL skills to everyday information use is found not only when accessing information, but also in the critical evaluation of media sources and life choices (Williamson et al., 2012).

Traditionally, media literacy and information literacy are considered separate fields. While the term media literacy could be deemed an appropriate term to use in parts of this research, it would not encompass the variety of contexts that influence how people assign meaning and generate opinions on immigration. Thus, the term media literacy will not be used; information literacy will, however, frequently be referred to within the context of the mass media.

### **Mass Media**

The term mass media is used in reference to the informational media industry that sends “content from a particular source to a wide audience” (Miller, 2003, p. 260). Examples of informational media include print, broadcast, and social media and involve those informational media sources, which have come under corporate control and have thus benefitted from the ability to dominate media either regionally or globally. Increased development of media technologies and the Internet have exacerbated the influence of the mass media on society by assisting in the rapid reproduction and transmission of messages

through communication devices such as mobile devices (e.g. radio, mobile phones, tablets, laptops), computers, and the television.

The effects of mass media are frequently studied on three levels: the atomistic, aggregate, and social. This research focuses primarily on the atomistic and social effects of mass newspaper content. Atomistic effects of the mass news content “involve the cognitive processes and behavioural responses of individuals who make up the various mass audiences” (Engsberg, Lang, & Lang, 2001, p. 1761). The societal effects of the mass media frequently include political, cultural, and institutional changes that “represent cumulative adaptations over time to the dominance of a particular mass medium” (Engsberg, Kurt, & Lang, 2001, p. 1761).

This research study is focused on the effect of mass media content, not the actual mechanisms used to deliver content. Print newspapers were selected as the primary source of data to analyse the content of the mass media, in part, because of how representative newspaper content is of the mass news media. Although news and advertising produced by newspapers is widely consumed on computers, mobile devices, and the television, the content of print newspapers is essentially the same (although print editions may contain more stories than their online counterparts) (Tewksbury & Althaus, 2000; Smith, 2005).

### **Public Opinion**

Lasswell described public opinion through an investigation of who says what to whom through what channel and with what effect (Davison & Leiserson, 1968, Lasswell, 1964). Habermas’ (1989) prehistory of the phrase went a step further and distinguished between the two meanings of “opinion”. The first defined as an “uncertain, not fully demonstrated judgment”; the second with the



added complexity of considering issues such as the reputation of sources and the opinions of the collective. Opinion “in the sense of judgment that lacks certainty...is associated with ‘opinion’ in the sense of a basically suspicious repute among the multitude” (Habermas, 1989, p. 89).

On the concept of public opinion, Habermas is quick to note that public opinion rarely plays a relevant role in the formation of opinions or a consensus in a democracy (1989). He also emphasizes the importance of expanding the field of investigation into public opinion “beyond group dynamics, to institutions of public opinion, that is to the relationship between the mass media and opinion processes” and occurs only through “the recollection of the suppressed relationship to the agencies of political domination” (1989, p. 242).

I have defined public opinion as the communicative process in which people express needs and interests “to form a conception of public good” (Finlayson, 2005). This conception of public opinion assigns meaning, authority, and influence to public opinion as a mechanism to check the legitimacy of government decisions. Public opinion may be greatly influenced depending on sources of information consulted and its prescribed value or authority. Public opinion may also be influenced by the way in which information is communicated. As Papademetrious and Heuser (2009) note, “The right words can shape public opinion, foster support for policy initiative and stave off criticism; whereas the wrong words can inflame and polarize public opinion, amplify existing anxieties and mobilize the opposition” (Papademetrious & Heuser, 2009, p. 20). Ideally, public opinion should be based on conclusions drawn from and purified through critical self-reflection, public discussion, and based on truthful information (Habermas, 1989).

## Research Goals

The purpose of this study is to understand what elements influence the opinions of host members from Highland communities' on the topic of immigration and why. As noted by Rzepnikowska (2013), there is a powerful relationship between society and the media that affect the way host communities view immigrants. At such a pivotal time in Scotland's history, this research is less interested in *how* the media influences opinions in Scotland regarding immigration, but rather, *if* the media is a key influencer of opinions. If the media does not inform opinions, then what does inform them? Why, and how do people become informed?

To investigate this issue, a mixed methodological approach was utilized to answer the following research questions:

- (1) How does the mass media in Scotland present the topic of immigration?
- (2) What information sources inform public opinion on immigration?
- (3) How is authority of information sources established?

The first research question examines how information on the topic of immigration is communicated to the public in Scotland through a critical discourse analysis of Scottish newspapers. The second and third research questions explore how public opinion on immigration is created and influenced within Highland communities. This includes exploring the sources utilized by members of the host community in the Highlands as well as the methods by which they find, evaluate, and interpret information sources on the topic of immigration.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I introduced my study by presenting and identifying this research study, explaining the significance of this research, defining basic terms used in this study, and discussing the overarching goals of this study. In chapter two, the context of this research is discussed. In subsequent chapters I provide a review of relevant literature and describe the research methodology employed in this study.

## CHAPTER 2: CONTEXT

In order to properly understand the context in which this research was conducted, this chapter contains an introduction to the relationship between the UK and Scotland, government and politics in the UK, and a profile of Scotland and the Highlands.

**Figure 1: Map of the United Kingdom**



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*Figure 1.* Map of the United Kingdom. Adapted from Brady, 2005. Copyright 2005 by the Free Software Foundation. Reprinted with permission under the GNU Free Documentation License.

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## **Introduction to the United Kingdom**

The United Kingdom is a sovereign state composed of four countries: England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. Scotland and England have many shared experiences the last 300 years, including a monarch (since 1603), and a parliament (since 1707), providing a degree of administrative stability.

Despite administrative commonalities, historically, Scotland has “been marked by pronounced geographic, linguistic, religious, and social differences” (Houston, 2008, p. 2). Scotland’s differences are particularly extraordinary considering the size of the country (78,772 km<sup>2</sup>), which is roughly the size of the U.S. state of West Virginia (Scotney, 2009).

### **History of the Union Between Scotland and England**

The association between Scotland and England has always been an uneasy one. The relationship between the two countries has maintained a “general degree of political and social stability” (Deacon, 2012, p. 58). However, as Deacon (2012) notes, the two countries have been at odds throughout much of their time both as separate and united kingdoms. Areas of main, historical contention include the Jacobite rebellions and the Highland Clearances.

The Jacobites were supporters of the “ousted” (Deacon, 2012, p. 14) monarch, James VII. The first Jacobite rebellion occurred in 1689, but was quelled by 1691. After this first rebellion, Jacobitism became a more “mainstream but elite political and religious movement” (Deacon, 2012, p. 14-15), based on their close dynastic loyalty and alternative claim to the throne.

The incorporation of Scotland into the Act of Union in 1707 lead to political stability in the UK, with the exception of the Scottish Highlands where the Jacobite rebellion was based (Houston, 2008). Later rebellions by the

Jacobites were spurred on by *The Act of Succession* (passed in 1701), which allowed for the succession of the house of Hanover in the event of Queen Anne's death. When the heirless Queen Anne died in 1714, Jacobite uprisings occurred again, in 1715 and 1745. Although *The Act of Succession* allowed for a new royal line from the house of Hanover (based in London), the previous royal line was, in fact, Scottish through the Stuart (later changed to Stewart) line, which was originally based in Edinburgh (Houston, 2008; Scotney, 2009; Deacon, 2012).

The Battle of Culloden (located just outside of Inverness), was a brief and brutal battle won swiftly by the British government army against the Jacobites in 1746. After Culloden, the British government made further efforts to forcefully integrate the Highlands into the UK through the Highland Clearances. The Highland Clearances were a series of harsh civil penalties aimed at weakening Gaelic culture and the Scottish clan system. Among these penalties included violent, forced displacement from the 1760s through the 1870s, in which thousands of Highland families were simultaneously evicted from their homes - many of which were placed directly on emigration ships en route to Canada (Houston, 2008; Scotney, 2009).

The Highland Clearances transformed the cultural landscape of the Highlands and, quite unintentionally, had a profound effect on national politics. Land reform following the Clearances became an area of national debate within the radical wing of the Liberal Party - then one of the two largest parties in Westminster politics in the mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Noble, 2011, *Highland Radicalism*). Through the aforementioned Clearances, crofters (tenants of small, subsistence based agricultural holdings) in the Highlands aligned themselves with this more radical wing of the Liberal Party. Early leaders in the Independent

Labour Party were those who had split from the Liberal Party over land reform and established the Napier Commission (1884) to hear evidence regarding the Clearances from either those who had been cleared or the descendants of those whom had been cleared (Noble, 2011, Highland Radicalism). The outcome of which were two Crofting Acts in order to give people in the Highlands a level of land protection – but the struggle of the Highlanders had been a long (over 100 years) and bitter one since the inception of Scotland into the union, leaving many psychological and cultural scars (Noble, 2011; Jones, 2012).

### **Government & Politics**

Scotland shared a monarchy with England from 1603 when the English queen, Queen Elizabeth I, died childless. Her nephew, James VI King of Scotland (and son of Mary, Queen of Scots), succeeded her place on the throne becoming the ruler of the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland (Houston, 2008). Although England and Scotland had shared a monarchy for 100 years, they did not share a legislature until Scotland accepted the Treaty of Union on May 1, 1707 during the reign of Queen Anne (great-granddaughter of James VI) thus uniting the two countries under the name the United Kingdom of Great Britain (Houston, 2008).

It is important to note that this was a purely legislative union; unlike the union between England and Wales (which had developed throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century), the union between Scotland and England lacked thorough political, legal, and institutional integration. The parliaments of the two countries were merged during the 1707 union and Scotland was given 45 members of parliament (MPs) in the House of Commons, but was allowed to keep its institutions of education, legal system, and religion (Houston, 2008).

Today, the UK government is a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary system and devolved legislatures. The three major political parties in the UK are the Conservative, Labour, and Liberal Democrats (Norwegian Social Science Data Services, 2015). Current parties represented in the Scottish Parliament include the: Scottish National Party (SNP), Labour Party, Conservative and Unionist Party, Scottish Liberal Democrats, and the Scottish Green Party (Education Scotland, n.d.-a). The Scottish National Party is a social democratic party, which holds the majority in Scotland since 2011 and is committed to Scottish independence (SNP, 2014). Previously, the main political party in Scotland was the Scottish Labour Party, another social democratic party.

### **Devolution**

Devolution is the “process of transferring power from central government to a lower or regional level” (Robertson, 1993, p. 144). The rationale for devolution in the UK was made clear during referendum campaigns for devolution in the UK between 1997 and 2011. Major advantages of devolution included an interest in maintaining the Union, acknowledgement of distinct identities throughout the UK, fairer political representation, importance of regional voices in the EU, and strategic planning (Deacon, 2012). After decades (others may argue centuries) of campaigning and lobbying for Scottish devolution, devolution arrived in Scotland on 11 September 1997. This was due, largely, to the fact that for the first time in history, Conservatives lost every seat in Scotland during the previous spring elections. The loss of pro-union, anti-devolution voices from mainstream politics in Scotland assisted in making the campaign for pro-devolution in Scotland much easier (Deacon, 2012).



Devolution in Scotland created the Scottish Parliament in 1999 and granted Scotland the power to create legislation in various fields, many of which related to social policy (Mooney & Scott, 2005). Later, in 2007, the Scottish Executive was changed informally to the Scottish Government; the legal name change was made in 2012. Scottish devolution allowed for a divergence of policy between Scotland and the rest of the UK. Westminster, however, retained eleven areas of policy making, including employment, social security, immigration, trade and industry, and industrial relations (Mooney & Scott, 2005).

### **The Scottish Parliament**

The Scottish Parliament is located in Edinburgh, the ancient capital of Scotland, often referred to as Holyrood in reference to the Holyrood Palace, located adjacent to the parliament building, opened 9 October 2004 by the Queen (Deacon, 2012). When the Scottish Parliament was first established, it was the only institution outside of Westminster with primary legislative power. Northern Ireland and Wales later gained these powers in 1998 and 2011, respectively (Deacon, 2012).

The Scottish Parliament is made up of 129 members. Schedule 5 of the Scotland Act of 1998 defined the abilities of the Scottish Parliament as the ability to legislate on any (non-reserved power) issue. Within the Scottish Parliament, a committee system was established to “oversee and scrutinise policy development . . . and are assembled to reflect party balance within the parliament” (Deacon, 2012, p. 77).

At the inception of the Scottish Parliament the following issues devolved to Scotland: health; education and training; local government; social work; housing; planning; tourism; law and home affairs (including the court system);

the police and fire services; the environment; natural and built heritage; sports and the arts; agriculture, forestry, and fishing; aspects of transport (including the Scottish road network, ports and harbours; income tax (Deacon, 2012, p. 77).

Powers reserved to the UK Parliament include benefits and social security; immigration; defence; foreign policy; employment; broadcasting; trade and industry; nuclear energy, oil, gas and electricity; consumer rights; data protection; and the uncodified or unwritten constitution (The Scottish Parliament, 2012). Due to the allocation of powers amongst the UK and Scottish Parliaments, immigration issues in Scotland are inextricably linked to Westminster politics.

### **Independence Referendum**

September 18, 2014 was the date of Scotland's Independence Referendum. The purpose of the referendum was to determine whether Scotland should form a government independent from the rest of the UK. The union between Scotland and England is considered one of the reserved powers of Westminster Parliament holds and so the idea of an independence referendum was greatly debated (McLean, Gallagher, & Lodge, 2013, p. 7). The Scottish Government had a different perspective of this law as the Scottish Parliament does have the authority to hold a referendum on extending the powers of Parliament and took the view that this included "extending those powers widely enough so that independence could be enabled" (McLean, Gallagher, & Lodge, 2013, p. 7).

This difference on opinion as to whether the Scottish Parliament had the authority to hold an independence referendum created a legal problem, which had the potential to delay the referendum for years. A solution was offered by

the UK Government and accepted by the Scottish Government proposing a new Order, which would “give additional legislative competence to the Scottish Parliament” (McLean, Gallagher, & Lodge, 2013, p. 7-8). This Order removed any legal doubts and enabled the Scottish Parliament to legislate for an independence referendum with the provision that the referendum would include only one question, answered with a YES for Independence or NO against Independence and be asked before the end of 2014. The turnout of the referendum was unusually high; 84.6% of the voting population participated. The “No” campaign prevailed, with a 55.25% share of the vote, leaving the union intact (Scottish Independence Referendum, 2014).

At present, there is no plan to schedule a second referendum for Scottish Independence. As stated on April 20, 2016 by First Minister Nicola Sturgeon, “setting the date for a referendum before a majority of the Scottish people have been persuaded that independence – and therefore another referendum – is the best future for our country is the wrong way round” (Press Association, 2016).

The Scottish Independence Referendum features prominently within this research. This was not planned, but the Referendum did play into the context of the study due to the timing of this research. The findings were framed by the stimulus, or current event of the Referendum, as both newspaper and interview discourse were often focused on the formation of opinions on the topic of immigration as part of the Referendum.

## **Country Profile**

### **Economy**

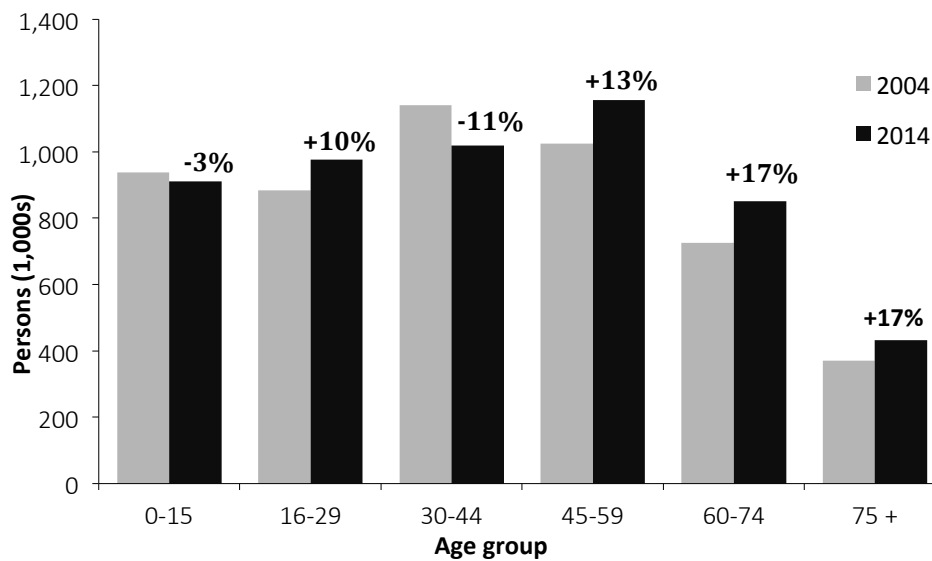
Traditionally, Scotland’s economy has primarily been industrial, focused on shipbuilding, coal mining, and the steel industry; however, since the discovery

of oil in the North Sea in 1965, petroleum-related industries have become important. The primary sector industries of agriculture, forestry, and fishing account for .4% of employment sectors in Scotland, but play a major role in the economy of the Highlands, accounting for 16% of rural remote and 12% of rural accessible employment in the regions of the Highlands and Island (The Scottish Government, 2015). Due to the fact that the Scottish Highlands are the largest landmass in the UK, these industries characterize not only a role in the economy of the Highlands, but also a way of life.

### **Population**

Scotland is two-thirds the size of England, but with only one tenth of its population, estimated at 5,347,600 in 2014 - the highest population in Scottish history and an increase of 19,900 from 2013 (National Records of Scotland, 2014). Although Scotland's population is increasing, it is also aging. This is not a new trend; historically speaking, Scotland's declining population has been a constant concern of policy makers, particularly since *devolution*. As shown in Figure 2 (below), over the past decade, Scotland's population has seen the greatest increases in those aged 60-74 and 75 and older (17% increase each), with an actual decrease (of 3%) in those aged 0-15.

**Figure 2: The changing structure of Scotland's population, 2009 - 2014**



*Figure 2. The changing age structure of Scotland's population, 2004-2014. Retrieved from National Records of Scotland, 2015. Crown Copyright 2015. Reprinted with permission under the Open Government License v3.0.*

Although the 2011 Census and National Records of Scotland (2014) reported record high population counts, the total percentage of children (aged 0-15 years) in Scotland is currently 16%, the lowest percentage of the population since 1911 and half of what was reported in 1911 (32%) (National Records of Scotland, 2014). Current population projections estimate that in the next 25 years the number of people aged 65 and older will rise by 59% (The Scottish Government, 2014a).

The trend of an aging population is not unique to Scotland (as seen in Table 1, below); England, Wales, and Northern Ireland also have aging populations. In comparison to the rest of the UK, Scotland has the lowest population percentage of those aged below 16 and highest population percentage of those between the ages of 16-74 and 65-74.

**Table 1: Population by age and country in the UK, mid 2013**

*Population by age and country in the UK (by percentage), mid 2013*

	<b>Under 16</b>	<b>16-64</b>	<b>65-74</b>	<b>75+</b>
England	19	63.8	9.3	7.9
Wales	18	62.5	10.7	8.8
Scotland	17.1	65.1	9.8	8.0
Northern Ireland	20.9	63.8	8.5	6.8

Source: Office for National Statistics, 2014.  
Population is presented by percentage.

### **Immigration Policy Contextualized in the UK**

Immigration policy in the UK is complex and rapidly changing.

As a devolved state, the Scottish Parliament is located in Edinburgh; the creation and revision of immigration policies are, however, left exclusively to the British Parliament at Westminster, London. While currently the working and retired population in Scotland is similar to that of the rest of the UK, there is one important factor that exacerbates population concerns in Scotland: low net migration (total number of immigrants minus the total number of emigrants).

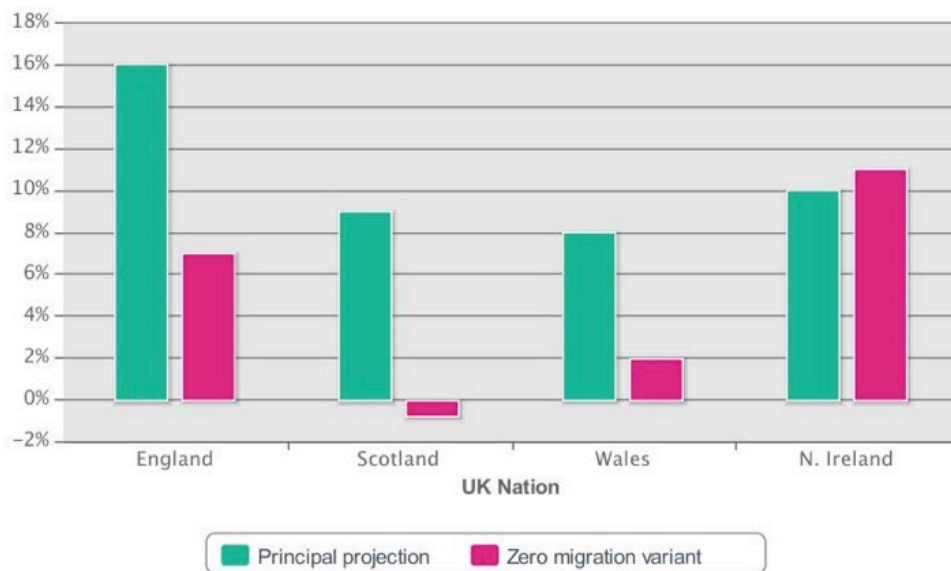
The fiscal stability of an independent Scotland rested on three main assumptions:

- (1) Revenues from the oil industry will remain as they are or increase slightly over the next 30 years;
- (2) Scotland is a net contributor to the UK and this amount of revenue from Scotland is less than Scotland's actual expenditures;
- (3) An independent Scotland would be able to establish policies to address economic and fiscal concerns in Scotland more effectively than the UK Government. More specifically, this includes increasing Scotland's working age population through a mixture of expanding employment and encouraging immigration (The Scotland Institute, 2014, p. 8).

The first two assumptions have been heavily debated, but are supported with evidence independent of the Scottish Government (HM Treasury, 2014; The Scotland Institute, 2014). The third assumption is one The Scotland Institute believes is a policy issue regarding the UK Government, which "the Scottish Government has correctly identified" (2014, p. 9). In order to increase productivity to support an independent Scotland, as the SNP proposed in their third assumption, Scotland would need a sufficient number of people at work to sustain pensions. A demographic analysis conducted by The Scotland Institute found that this would require an additional 10,000 immigrants per year to Scotland equaling 220,000 immigrants by 2035 in addition to the already assumed number of 335,000 immigrants in current calculations by the UK Office of National Statistics (Cangiano, 2016; The Scotland Institute, 2014, p. 11).

Between 1991 and 2012, 54% of the increase in the UK's population was directly due to immigration (Cangiano, 2016). According to immigration estimates, from 2012-2037 immigration will contribute to 43% of the UK's projected population growth, with an additional 17% projected growth of the population attributed to natural change contributions (i.e. births and deaths) of new immigrants. However, these numbers represent the projected growth of the UK; projected population growth from immigration varies considerably throughout the four countries in the UK (Cangiano, 2016).

**Figure 3: Projected population growth of countries in the UK, 2012 - 2037**



*Figure 3. Projected population growth rate of countries in the UK, 2012-2037. Retrieved from The Migration Observatory (Cangiano, 2016). Data from the Office of National Statistics.*

Considerable differences exist in demographic and immigration trends among the four UK countries, and is visible overtime as demonstrated by Figure 3 (above). In the population projection, England has the greatest rate of population growth (16%); Wales has the slowest growth rate (8%). As previously noted, net migration is a major component of projected population growth in England and Wales (59% and 70%, respectively), but the population of



these countries will still increase over time without immigration (as shown in Figure 3) (Cangiano, 2016). The main driver in the projected population growth of Northern Ireland is due to natural change (i.e. births and deaths). Out of the four UK countries, Scotland is the only country in which net migration is the “only determinant of long-term population growth” (Cangiano, 2016, p. 7). Without immigration, over the next 20 years, the population of Scotland will remain stable and then decrease over a longer period of time.

As demonstrated above, although the entire UK shares the same set of immigration policies, the context in which policies are implemented and operate have stark differences. The historic demographic trend in Scotland of an aging and declining population is incompatible with current UK immigration policies that exacerbate issues of population sustainability in Scotland. Policies of the Scottish Government are based on the assumption that population growth contributes to, and is “the consequence of, a more vibrant society and dynamic economy” (de Lima, 2012, p. 98) with immigration seen as being a key contributor to this end (The Scotland Institute, 2014).

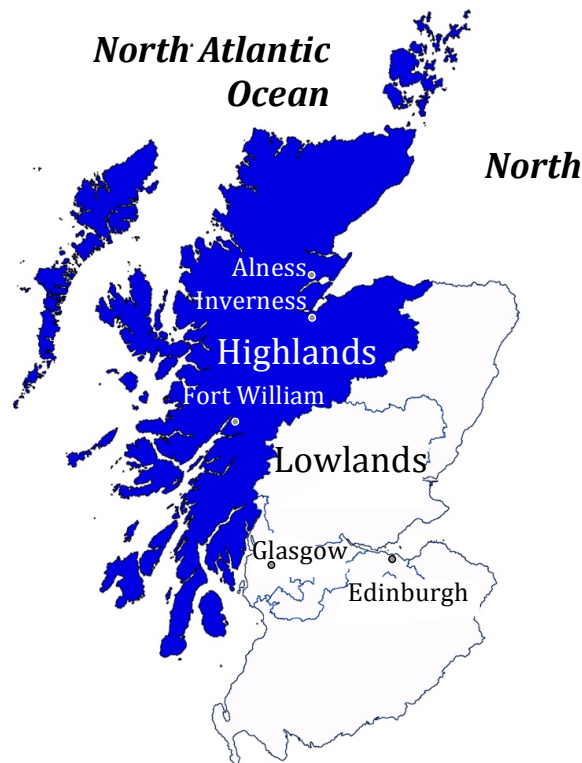
### **Ethnicity in Scotland**

The 2011 Census reported Scotland’s ethnic composition consisting of 84% white Scottish, 7.9% white other British, 1% white Irish, 1.2% white Polish, 2% white other, 2.7 % Asian (or Asian Scottish or British), and 1.3% other ethnicities (National Records of Scotland, 2014). The census uncovered that of the 7% of people residing in Scotland and born outside of the UK, 55% arrived between 2004 and 2011, corresponding with the expansion of the European Union (EU). New arrivals to the UK came primary from Poland, India, and the Republic of Ireland (15, 6.4, and 6.2%, respectively) (National Records of

Scotland, 2015). In addition to the population recorded in the census, seasonal migrant workers account for large increases in the rural population and its workforce.

### Highlands of Scotland

**Figure 4: Map of the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland**



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*Figure 4.* Map of Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland. This map of Scotland is divided into two regions, the Highlands and Islands and the Lowlands. The Highlands and Islands are highlighted (the Shetland Islands have been removed from this image). Glasgow and Edinburgh are included on this map to provide a geographical context for the three Highland communities included in this study. Adapted from Barryob, 2007. Copyright 2007 by the Free Software Foundation. Reprinted with permission under the GNU Free Documentation License.

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The Scottish Highlands are located in the far North of the UK (See Figure 4). The Highlands account for one-third of Scotland’s total land area (1/12 of the total UK) and include some of the most remote and sparsely populated areas of the UK (The Highland Council, n.d.). Prior to the Highland Clearances (previously

discussed) of the mid 19th and early 20th centuries, the Highlands were much more populated. In fact, it is estimated that in 1755, half of Scotland’s population resided in the Highlands (Houston, 2008). This was primarily due to the availability of land for subsistence agriculture and the use of Kelp (seaweed) as fertilizer and in soap and glass making (Education Scotland, n.d.-b). At present, only one-tenth of Scotland’s population resides in the Highlands (See Table 2).

**Table 2: Population of the HIE and Scotland, 2001 and 2011**

	2001	2011	Percent change
United Kingdom	58,789,194	63,182,000	+7.5
Scotland	5,062,011	5,295,403	+4.6
Highlands and Islands	433,524	466,112	+7.5
Alness	5,314	6,027	+13.4
*(Alness/Invergordon)	9,948	10,871	+9.3
Fort William	9,980	10,437	+4.6
Inverness	57,412	67,230	+17.1

Source: Adapted from ONS, 2002; HIE, 2015; The Highland Council, 2014.

\* Numbers for Alness and the larger Invergordon area were included in this table as the rest of the data regarding Alness is combined with Invergordon.

The de-population of the Highlands cannot, however, be solely attributed to the Clearances. As Houston notes, “conventional understandings of Scottish migration focus on disposed Highlanders... the reality is more complex” (2008, p. 93). As the population of Scotland grew in the Lowlands and throughout the UK, cattle and other large animals were driven south to feed the population. At the time, the economy of the Highlands was simple and comprised largely of farming and fishing. The society itself, however, was much more complex. Individuals in society were defined in terms of the relationships they held to both the land and others. Society was divided into three groups: those who owned the land and had since the Middle Ages; managers of large estates; and crofters (Houston, 2008).

As in the Lowlands, those with land and a title held rights, those without only held land in tenancy with unwritten obligations between steward and tenant.

Major changes to the economy and landowner priorities in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, lead to mass evictions, a move from mixed farming to the more profitable sheep-farming, and unsustainable industrial ventures (e.g. harvesting kelp for fertilizer) in the Highlands (Education Scotland, n.d.-c). Crofters had virtually no protection under the law and, consequently, many were forced from their homes and family farms. In addition to the forced relocation of Highlanders, many young Highlanders left in order to seek a different life, outside the “exploitation of the family farm” (Houston, 2008, p. 98). The mass, forced emigration of Highlanders to areas outside of the Highlands and the UK lead to large social upheavals in the Highlands. At that time, many Lowlanders held disdain for Highlanders and Gaelic culture, and viewed the social upheavals of the 18th and 19th century as acts of “barbarism and backwardness” (Houston, 2008, p. 94).

The distinction made between the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland is one based on historic and cultural (Gaelic vs. Anglo Saxon) differences. Although the Highland way of life is now romanticized in Scotland’s tourism industry, the Highland way of life was not easy then, nor is it now. The population of the Highlands is growing at a higher rate than the rest of Scotland (and at the same rate as the larger UK); however, the economy of the Highlands is growing at a much slower rate than Scotland’s urban economy. An example of this is the rural business base of the Highlands, which between 2010 and 2014 increased by 5.4% compared to the urban business base which experienced a 30% increase during the same time period (Freeman, 2015).

Due to the size of the Highlands, it has the potential to contribute more than oil to the economy, but due to its low-wage economy it's hard to attract and retain people of working age. Additionally, as a rural region, the Highlands face greater institutional (e.g. planning regulations) and infrastructural (i.e. transport, housing, and broadband) barriers to economic development and growth (Wilson & Edwards, 2008). The Scottish Government aims to have broadband throughout the entire country by 2020, but at present only 20% of the Highland's population has access to broadband (Freeman, 2015). The Highlands stagger behind the rest of the UK in broadband connectivity; broadband penetration in Scotland is 73%, 77% in Northern Ireland, 79% in Wales, and 83% in England (Anthony, 2015).

### **Community Profiles**

This section presents a general overview of the three communities included in this study. This includes an overview of data from the 2011 Census to set the context in which the second phase of this study took place.

The Highland communities selected for inclusion in this study are: Alness, Fort William, and Inverness. These communities were selected as they represent different facets of the economy and way of life in the Highlands.

#### **Alness**

Alness is a Highland town with a population reported by the 2011 census to be 6,027 (The Highland Council, 2014). This is a 13.4% increase from the 2001 Census (see Table 2). Alness is located three miles from the town and port of Invergordon, which is known for its connections to the oil industry through its oil rig service base used by major drilling contractors working in the North Sea and West of Shetland. As shown in Table 3, 98.8% of the population of the

Invergordon/Alness area is white, in line with the Highlands and Islands (98.8%) but higher than Scotland's national average (96%). Of the white population, 86.2% identified as "white Scottish," in comparison with the regional average in the Highlands of 80%. Only 5% of the Invergordon/Alness population was born outside of the UK, in line with the Highlands and Islands and lower than the national average in Scotland of 7% (HIE, 2014a).

As a result of Alness' proximity to Invergordon, many members of the community have connections to the oil rigs reaching back towards the 1970s when workers were brought from the Central Belt of Scotland to work in the oil rig fabrication and aluminum smelting industries. Today, Alness' major industries are related to the oil industry, which operates off the docks of Invergordon, and consist of manufacturing, construction, wholesale, and retail. Relative to the Highlands and Islands, this area has a higher share of employment in caring, leisure and other services, sales and customer services, process, plant and machine operative, and elementary occupations. Unsurprisingly, employment in skilled trades accounts for the largest percentage of occupations in the area (HIE, 2014a).

Unemployment rates are higher in this area than across the Highlands and Scotland, with an unemployment level of 4%. A larger proportion of the adult population in this area is without a high school diploma and there are fewer that have earned university degrees than in the Highlands and Scotland (HIE, 2014a).

### **Fort William**

Fort William is the second largest town in the Highlands and Islands and is a part of the Lochaber, Skye, and Wester Ross (LSWR) area. The population of

Fort William was reported by the 2011 census to be 10,437 a 4.6% increase since 2001 (see Table 2). Population increases in the area are credited to immigration, particularly to those moving from England to retire in the area. As shown in Table 3, Fort William has a white population of 98.8%, identical to that of the Highlands and Islands but above Scotland's national percentage (96%). Of the white population, 85% identified as "white Scottish", higher than that in LSWR (76.5%) and Highlands and Islands (81%). Although the "white Scottish" population was reported as being higher in this area, there was also a higher population of people living in Fort William that were born outside of the UK (6.8%) than in LSWR and in the Highlands and Islands (HIE, 2014b).

The largest industries in the area include agriculture, forestry and fishing, transport and storage, and accommodation and food services. Relative to the Highlands and Islands and Scotland, by occupation, Fort William has a higher share of employment in managers, directors and senior officials, process, plant and machine operatives, and elementary occupations (HIE, 2014b). Although Fort William is considered a major center of tourism, data on employment is reflective of the importance of forestry and fishing in the area.

Unemployment rates are in line with those in the Highlands and Islands (2.4%), with the claimant count rate of jobseekers allowance at 2.9%. Education and qualification levels in this area are above the national level, but below the level in the Highlands and Islands (HIE, 2014b).

### **Inverness**

Inverness is the administrative center for the Highland council area, the capital and largest city of the Highlands with a population reported in the 2011 census as being 67,230, a 17.1% increase since 2001 (see Table 2). As shown in

Table 3, Inverness has a white population of 97.8%, lower than in the Highlands and Islands (98.8%), but higher than the national average in Scotland (96%). Of the white population, 84.9% identified as “white Scottish”, higher than in the Highlands and Islands (81%). Those born outside of the UK living in Inverness was 7.7%, a higher proportion than in the Highlands and Islands (5.2%) and Scotland as a whole (7%) (HIE, 2014c).

**Table 3: Percentage of population born outside of the UK**

	*White		Born outside the UK
		**Scottish	
Scotland	96	84	7.0
Highlands and Islands	98.8	81	5.2
Alness	98.8	86.2	5.0
Fort William	98.8	85.7	6.8
Inverness	97.8	84.9	7.7

Source: Adapted from HIE, 2014a; HIE, 2014b; HIE, 2014c;

\* Ethnicity statistics are broken down by council areas and the nation as a whole; consequently, this table only displays the percentage of the population that identifies as white.

\*\* This is the percentage of the population who identify as both white AND Scottish.

With regard to employment, the largest sectors were wholesale and retail and health and social work. By occupation, Inverness’ employment profile is very similar to that of the whole of Scotland, but different from the rest of the Highlands and Islands with a higher share of employment in professional, associate professional and technical, administrative and secretarial, and sales and customer service occupations. Inverness has a lower share of employment in skilled trades, which characterize employment throughout the rest of the Highlands (HIE, 2014c). Differences visible in the employment sector of Inverness may be explained by its role as a regional center of government, as the headquarters for public bodies within the Highlands.



The rate of unemployment is lower than the national average, with unemployment at 2.6%. In comparison with the population of the Highlands and Scotland, Inverness has a smaller proportion of the adult population with no qualifications and more individuals with degree level qualifications (HIE, 2014c).

As the largest community included in this study, Inverness has a more diverse and educated composition than the other communities. I chose to recruit participants from a particular neighborhood in Inverness, the Crown and Hill of Inverness (CHI). This particular neighborhood was selected because of its demographic composition, which illustrates the contrast between the three communities in this study as well as participant demographics. Data on particular neighborhoods is not included in the reports from which previous demographic data was taken. For this reason, I have separated data from the 2011 Census by zip code to calculate demographics for the CHI.

As demonstrated above, Inverness has a lower white population (97.8%) than the rest of the Highlands and Islands (98.8%), and the CHI has a slightly lower percentage (96.5%). Data regarding self-identification of ethnicity was unavailable for zip codes in Scotland; however, data was available on the birth country of residents. For comparison, 84.9% of Inverness' population identified as "white Scottish" whereas only 79.4% of the CHI was born in Scotland. Those born outside of the UK and living in the CHI accounted for 12.1% of the population, which is higher than the rest of Inverness (7.7%), over double than in the Highlands and Islands (5.2%), and higher than Scotland's national average (7%; Street Check, 2016; HIE, 2014c).

The CHI is composed of residents employed in industries requiring higher levels of skill, with 32.7% of residents employed in higher administrative or

professional positions and 25.1% employed in associate professional and technical positions. These employment trends are more characteristic of Inverness (in general), but vastly different than in the rest of rest of the Highlands (as demonstrated above; HIE, 2014c; Street Check, 2016).

Unsurprisingly, residents of the CHI are well educated, with over one-third of residents holding degree level qualifications (Street Check, 2016).

### **Conclusion**

Although not ethnically diverse (as shown in Table 3), Scotland is marked by pronounced historic, economic, and social differences, particularly in the Highlands and Islands region. As a devolved state, Scotland also has a unique situation in terms of how they oriented within the broader context of UK government and politics. While Scotland may not necessarily be described as a divided country, the Referendum did shed light on many of the key differences between Scotland and the rest of the UK.

In terms of the Highland communities featured in this study, Table 3 shows the homogenous ethnic makeup of Scotland, as well as highlights the prominence of Scotland's national identity over the broader "British" identity.

Chapter three will explore literature relevant to this study and discuss issues such as public opinion, policy, the mass media, identity, and immigration, in general, as well as in the Scottish and UK contexts.

### **CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW**

This chapter presents a review of the literature to contextualize this study and provide a framework for understanding how public opinion is influenced on the topic of immigration. To accomplish this, I have taken an interdisciplinary approach to this research and draw on three broad areas of literature: information science, media and communication, and sociology. More specifically, the literature described in this chapter addresses the role of information literacy in informing opinions, the influence of the mass media in the UK and on the topic of immigration politics, and policy responses towards immigration.

#### **Informing Opinions**

Research into public opinion has been strongly influenced by polling and the technology of voting. This area of research is focused on opinions as they are “the central means of expression in democratic politics – but that is partly because of the way in which we have chosen to define democratic politics” (Lewis, 2001, p. 98). As Lewis asserts (2001), if public opinions are expressed through polling, then democracy is defined by the technology of voting. This conflation of democracy and the technology of voting has some very important consequences, particularly as electoral systems are a limited means of public expression and, as both Lewis (2001) and Habermas (1989) assert, are structured by the economic and political interests of the elite.

Fairclough notes that the relationship between social classes starts in economic production, but extends to “all parts of society” (1989, p. 32). The power of the capitalist class is based on its “ability to control the state” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 32); thus, the state is not a neutral party, but a “key element in maintaining the dominance of the capitalist class and controlling the working

class” (1989, p. 32-33). Powers of the state (i.e. the government) play a decisive role during periods of crisis or “specific moments of political deliberation” (Lewis, 2001, p. 99), such as the Independence Referendum.

The role of state powers is exercised through ideology and perpetuated through a range of social institutions, including the mass media (Fairclough, 1989). This is because the interests of social institutions are tied to the dominant, and often government or capitalist, interests in society and thus perpetuate and “embody assumptions which directly or indirectly legitimize existing power relations” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 33). As such, the media sustains unequal power relations, and holds ideological power, which it exercises in discourse “through winning others’ consent to, or at least acquiescence in, their possession and exercise of power (Fairclough, 1989, p. 33).

As discussed in Chapter 1, opinion does not rise “from mere inclination” (Habermas, 1989, p. 94), but through critical reflection and public discussion. As such, polls of public opinion, which are common during times of political crisis, are not representative of the more substantive and discursive processes through which public opinion is formed. Research of such moments is primarily concerned with the content communicated by the media through the news and political advertisements, without serious consideration for the ideological and discursive consequences of the media context making “knowledge or assumptions unintelligible” (Lewis, 2001, p. 103).

The problem with the role of democracy in this case (and in many other cases) revolves around the politics of information. Much of the research on political information is premised on an ideological view that “civic knowledge will produce civic responsibility” (Lewis, 2001, p. 103). These ideological views,

however, disregard the discursive context (noted above) in which politics occur that make knowledge or assumptions of knowledge obscure.

### **Information Literacy as a Foundation of Democracy**

Information literacy abilities are promoted by the ACRL as integral components needed to flourish in the “dynamic and often uncertain information ecosystem in which all of us work and live” (ACRL, 2016, p. 1). In 1974, Zurkowski wrote, “in our age of information overabundance, being information literate means being able to find what is known or knowable” (p. 23). Although Zurkowski’s conceptions of IL were revolutionary at that time, information literacy has evolved greatly since its conception (1974). The information ecosystem of which Zurkowski spoke was one where the quality of information was controlled through information gatekeepers, who selected information based on quality for formal publication (Zurkowski, 1974).

Today the information ecosystem has transformed and is now a participatory environment, in which the process of information creation and distribution may be done by anyone and instantaneously through mobile devices.

Due to these changes, IL requires a greater understanding of the changing dynamics of information. In order to make informed opinions and decisions, people must be skilled in identifying and accessing information sources, participate in information sharing networks, collect information presenting various viewpoints on a topic, and apply learned knowledge to answer questions but also to develop new ones, which requires critical self-reflection (Mackey & Jacobson, 2014; ACRL, 2016; Morris & Creighton, 2010; Bruce, Hughes, & Sommerville, 2012).

## **Role of Authority in Evaluation**

IL abilities have become increasingly more complicated (and vital) in our connected world where changes in information and communication technologies (ICT) are rapidly occurring. Anyone with an Internet connection can find information on a wealth of topics. While developments in ICTs have made it possible (and relatively easy) to find and retrieve information from around the world, it is important to note that increased access to information does not equate to increased access to knowledge. Simply put, access to more information does not necessarily create a more informed individual.

According to Budd, “information is meaningful communicative action that aims at truth claims and conditions” (Budd, 2011; Budd, 2015, p. 157). From this, we can assert that false information is not genuine information. Floridi (2010) makes a useful distinction between types of false communicative action, misinformation and disinformation. Misinformation is false or inaccurate communicative action, which is *unknowingly* communicated; disinformation is false or inaccurate communicative action that is communicated *intentionally*. Floridi’s distinction (2010) is important as it aids in establishing the intent behind communicative actions.

In order for an individual to be informed on a topic or make an informed opinion or decision, their understanding of a situation must be based or influenced by knowledge (Oxford English Dictionary, 2016). Gettier (1963) and Dretske (1999) note that if knowledge is a form of justified belief, individuals may be justified in believing something that is, in fact, false; “for the truth of what one believes may be quite unrelated to one’s grounds (justification) for believing it” (Dretske, 1999, p. 97). As such, it is possible for an individual to hold justified

beliefs, which are false (and thereby do not qualify as knowledge), because they are based on false truths. Therein lies the problem: with the abundance of information available to people through numerous sources and in a variety of formats and media, comes a plethora of challenges regarding evaluation and understanding of information (Dretske, 1999; ACRL, 2000).

The *Framework for Information Literacy for Higher Education* (ACRL, 2016) emphasizes the importance of evaluating information sources on the authority of a source. The *Framework* (2015) refers to authority as an element of evaluation, which is both “constructed and contextual” in that “various communities may recognize different types of authority” (p. 10) and contextual in that the information need of an individual “may help determine the level of authority required” (p. 12). While it may be true that communities recognize different types of authority (e.g. cognitive, administrative, or personal experience), the statement made by ACRL regarding authority is problematic. If authority is, indeed, subjective to the beliefs of a community, then bias and prejudice may exist regarding the actual authority behind an information source (Stewart & Budd, 2015).

As was previously discussed, in order for one to make an informed opinion, one’s opinion must be justified using knowledge; to do so, requires the use of information literacy abilities in the selection of information sources with cognitive authority. Unfortunately, as Fazio, Brashier, Payne, and Marsh (2015) discovered in their study on illusory truth, “though people can recall and evaluate source information when judging recently acquired information... people rarely engage in source monitoring” (p. 1000). The study also found that even when people have access to knowledge, there is an automatic tendency to

instead rely on repetition-based fluency (Fazio, et al., 2015): “Repetition makes statements easier to process (i.e., fluent) relative to new statements, leading people to the (sometimes) false conclusion that they are more truthful” (p. 993).

Budd’s writing on informational failures demonstrates instances in which “the public good is ignored or violated by the inadvertent or (worse) the deliberate falseness that intentionally misleads people” (2015, p. 157). In this research, informational failures are the product of power relations between class and social groupings as well as economic and social institutions, such as the government and media. Institutions that perpetuate unequal power relations through the distribution of misinformation make it impossible for a society to function democratically as democracy requires an informed citizenry.

### **Mass Media**

The mass media have been roundly criticized on many fronts. Miller (2003) refers to concerns over media sources appealing to popular taste rather than educational needs, as well as the domination of the mass media by a small and select number of individuals and corporations, resulting in conflicts of interest and minimizing the diversity of perspectives represented in the media (Miller, 2003).

Media discourse draws upon what Fairclough refers to as “members’ resources” (1989, p. 24), which are social conditions that shape the way in which texts are produced and interpreted. Members’ resources include languages, representations of the natural and social world, as well as values, beliefs, and assumptions (Fairclough, 1989). Fairclough refers to discourse as the “whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part” (1989, p. 24). This process is one of both text production and interpretation of texts as resources.



Texts, such as the newspaper discourse from the mass media, are a part of social practice, conditioned by “other, non-linguistic, parts of society” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 24).

While there are many elements, which influence how people evaluate information and form opinions, the mass media draws on pre-existing social relations and struggles to create a framework from which people make sense of phenomena in news discourse. This framework, in conjunction with technological advances, has steadily increased our access and reliance on the mass media as a source of information and has established the media as a key influencer of opinions.

### **Media Influence in the UK**

British Future’s publication, *State of the Nation*, reports that immigration is one of the largest areas of *national* concern in the United Kingdom (2015). However, as the 2013 *State of the Nation* reports, people are less concerned about immigration on local levels (British Future, 2013). “The local-national gap may lead some to suggest that immigration anxiety is more about ‘perception’ than ‘reality’. This does reflect the profile and dominance of negative narratives about migration in political and media discourse” (British Future, 2013, p. 10).

Perceptions are shaped by individual experiences and interactions with immigrants, not by statistics; however, the rhetoric used by policy makers and the media to communicate information about immigrants has the potential to change the tone of the debate (Papademetriou & Heuser, 2009; Hajer & Versteeg, 2009). While many individuals have strong opinions on the topic of immigration, due to the homogenous demographics of Scotland, many people have not had the benefit of personal experiences with immigrants. Thus, many people have only

encountered immigrants through the media (Page, 2009). For this reason, language framing is an essential element in communicating information and policy as words and phrases may be given new meanings when taken out of context. As Entman (1993) notes, language framing is not just about the person communicating, it involves “the communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture” (p. 52).

### **Media and Immigration Politics**

Hajer and Versteeg (2009) discuss the use of conflict-ridden rhetoric in the mass media and its power of influence over the public. The exercise of power in the media is by no means new. The complicated interactions described by Hajer and Versteeg (2009) occur among the media, policy makers, and the public in the process of text production and interpretation. It is in this environment that passive citizens can be persuaded to “become suddenly vocal and active when their interests seem threatened, at which point they are drawn to protest parties and suddenly change their political allegiance” (p. 111). Times of crisis require concrete meanings of abstract terms, phrases, and policies; otherwise, language takes on a new role; it begins to not only describe but also create social realities.

Page (2009) discusses the results of a study he conducted on peaks and troughs of concern on the topic of immigration in which he found that concerns appear to be related to print newspaper coverage. Although the media was not guilty of fabricating the rise of immigration in the UK, Page attributed increased concern regarding immigration, particularly in areas with little or no immigration, to the focus of media on only specific, and primarily negative, aspects of immigration. This was further demonstrated in Page’s research (2009)

which found that while 76% of the UK's population sees immigration as an issue in UK, only 18% see it as a problem locally (Page, 2009).

Reports on the value of immigrants in society are unbalanced, with a heavy emphasis on increases in crime and a strain on welfare. Positive contributions to the economy and society are rarely reported or discussed making the mass media, and print media in particular, key sources of negative publicity on the topic of immigration which affects the ways in which immigrants are perceived by the Scottish as well broader UK community.

### **Identity and the Mass Media**

An article by Kiely, McCrone, and Bechhofer (2006) explored the relationship between national identity and news consumption, but found this relationship was assumed and largely untested. In the case of the UK, there is a visible presence of national identity in media sources. Changes in technology and competition have led to increased instances of national media outlets and news source offerings. While there are several online UK-based news sources, which carry minimal content on Scotland, there are many others, which make significant editorial changes such as the *Daily Record* and *Daily Express*, included in this study (Kiely et al., 2006; Rosie, MacInnes, Peterson, Condor, & Kennedy, 2004).

The assumption that there is a relationship between national identity and news consumption is heavily rooted in the earlier work of Habermas on communicative space. The Habermasian theory of communicative space, postulates that the public sphere is heavily tied to national frames (Habermas, 1989; Kiely et al., 2006). Communicative action supports the idea that the information people access, be it on television, via the Internet, or in print, is

influenced by a variety of factors including national, political, and cultural agendas. Based on this assumption, and the context of the Independence Referendum, this makes the case of Scotland unique. The Scottish press is distinct, but is consumed alongside a much more dominant media based in London. While British media may dominate the political discourse on immigration, it cannot be assumed that the impact from British media will be the same on people with different geographical identities and cultures.

### **Perceptions of Immigrants**

Immigration policy has changed rapidly since the 2004 enlargement of the European Union, prior to which only a few changes have been made since 1999. Prior to 1999 no changes had been made for over a decade (Somerville, 2009). While more legislation relating to immigration has been passed than any other area of social policy in the UK, politicians were initially late to respond to public concern. In contrast to the EU's mission of freer movement throughout Europe, the UK has opted for more selective movement, communicated via the media as the strengthening of borders, ensuring fairness, and control (Kiely, McCrone, & Bechhofer, 2006).

In order to reduce undesirable flows of people into the UK, policies were created to assist in the integration of new arrivals into Scottish and British society. The integration agenda was concerned primarily with social cohesion and national identity, and was done through a series of citizenship tests and community engagement requirements (Somerville, 2009). While much attention has focused on assisting and integrating the incoming population of immigrants, little has been done to educate the existing population of Scotland on their new community members and the value of these people to Scottish society. There is

an extensive range of research exploring the views and experiences of immigrants and policy responses worldwide, but little is known about how host communities have responded to increasing cultural diversity. Addressing the latter is essential to overcome the assimilation tendencies in discourse about the so-called integration of migrants.

### **Policy Responses**

In 2000, the Commission on the Future of Multiethnic Britain (CFMEB) published a report highlighting “the need to rethink the British identity and national story and for a focus on common values and the generation of greater ‘social cohesion’” (Focus F.I.R.S.T., 2004, p. 2; Runnymede, 2004). The report is ambitious, containing 130 recommendations in the areas of coordination of the central government; criminal justice system; arts, media and sport; health; employment; immigration and asylum; politics and representation; and religion and belief (Runnymede, 2004). One year later, rioting between the Pakistani-Muslim community, police, and members of British far-right organizations (e.g. British National Party and National Front) broke out in Oldham, Burnley, and Bradford with additional disturbances in Glasgow, prompting the government to focus on an approach to encourage *community cohesion* (Thomas, 2007; McGee, 2006).

These disturbances are now seen as turning points in race and diversity policies in the UK (Thomas, 2007). The underlying causes of these riots have been described as being rooted in poverty, segregation, resentment, and perceived threat of the host community’s ontological security (McGee, 2006). In 2004, CFMEB published a follow up reporting problems with integrating their earlier recommendations. “Many who read the Report were not prepared to

make the effort to enter into the structure...many on the right were obviously unsympathetic to it" (Runnymede, 2004, p. 1).

The Home Office published two papers, "Secure Borders, Safe Haven" and "Strength in Diversity" detailing the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act of 2002 and the UK government's formal position on the topic of integration (Home Office, 2001b, 2004). The integration agenda included the need for increased English skills in immigrant communities, active citizenship, and an understanding of the British way of life. McGhee (2006) critically examines this strategy, referring to it as an:

adoption of what can be described as sensationalist, media-generated 'social problems' associated with the alleged increase (and potential future growth) of political and religious extremism in Britain... At the very heart of this concern are the persistent and seemingly strengthening forces of repulsion and hardening of barriers between ethnic and religious groups, as well as between 'host,' 'new' migrant, and 'established' migrant groups (p. 113).

To date, the CFMEB's original 2000 report is regarded as the most influential document addressing social cohesion, despite the fact that progress has been stunted by a far-right government (McGhee, 2006, Taylor-Gooby & Waite, 2014).

Integration is described as a two-way process by the Home Office, but in practice and policy, appears to be a one-sided integration strategy. It has been over a decade since community cohesion strategies were implemented in the UK and there is still very little empirical evidence to demonstrate that recommendations and policies are understood or practiced (Thomas, 2007). Although active citizenship is a key mechanism in the above reports, the strategies and programs to engage members in active citizenship are focused solely on the immigrant community (McGee, 2006). Legitimate integration

requires the Home Office strike a balance and initiate strategies, which include both immigrants and the host communities.

### **Conclusion**

The literature above demonstrates the complexity of issues that contribute to an understanding of how people's opinions may be influenced in Scotland on the topic of immigration. Central to these issues include the role of authority and the evaluation of information sources. Chapter four describes the theoretical framework and research methodology utilized in this study.

## **CHAPTER 4: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK & METHODOLOGY**

Chapters 2 and 3 discussed the context in which this research was conducted as well as a review of relevant literature. This chapter outlines the theoretical framework and mixed methods design used to investigate issues discussed in previous chapters. More specifically, critical discourse analysis was used to analyze the two strands of data collected in this study in order to examine how opinions and perceptions of host Scottish communities are influenced and created on the topic of immigration. The research questions guiding this study are as follows:

- (1) How does the mass media in Scotland present the topic of immigration?
- (2) What information sources inform public opinion on immigration?
- (3) How is authority of information sources established?

Chapter 2 discussed the Independence Referendum at length. Although none of the primary research questions guiding this study mentioned the Independence Referendum, the Referendum emerged as a prominent topic in newspapers and was noted in interviews in regards to information sources on immigration. Because of the prominent position that this subject played in the discourses analyzed in this study, the Independence Referendum will be revisited at greater length in Chapter 5.

### **Theoretical Framework**

#### **Critical Discourse Analysis**

Discourse analysis is an approach to studying language that treats language used in text as a topic as opposed to merely a source (Bryman, 2012). In discourse analysis, language is depicted “as constituting or producing the social world... not simply as a means of understanding that world” (Bryman,



2012, p. 528). Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a variant of discourse analysis, and is the approach that will be used in this research.

CDA is principally concerned with the “role of language as a power resource that is related to ideology and socio-cultural change” (Bryman, 2012, p. 536). CDA draws on the work of Foucault who sought an understanding of the exercise of power through the representational properties of discourse. Foucault believed that “every mode of thinking involves implicit rules (maybe not even formulable by those following them) that materially restrict the range of thought” (Gutting, 2005, p. 33). Foucault asserted that changes in our thoughts and opinions are the result of social forces and thus emphasized the importance of power behind cognitive authorities (e.g. religion, science, politics), which have the ability to constrain, eliminate, or produce knowledge (Gutting, 2005). As such, social reality is “produced and made real through discourses” (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 3 as quoted in Gutting, 2005).

Teun van Dijk writes that there are a number of requirements that must be satisfied in order for CDA to “effectively realize its aims” (2004, p. 353). These requirements include: (1) a primary focus of CDA on social problems and political issues; (2) multidisciplinary analysis, rather than descriptive of discourse structures; (3) a focus “on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society” (p. 353). Within the above aims, there is no single theoretical framework to follow in CDA.

CDA is multidisciplinary and as such critical discourse analysts have taken different approaches ranging from micro-level theories of language use and communication to macro level social theories of power dominance and

inequality (Budd, 2006; van Dijk, 2004). The approach used in this research will draw from Fairclough, who focused his analysis of texts on the relationships between sociocultural change and discursive change, and the socio-cognitive studies of van Dijk in which he examined the role of media influence in the reproduction of inequality through ideologies (van Dijk, 1997). The implementation of Fairclough's approach in this study will be discussed at further length later in this chapter.

### *Ontological Considerations*

Ontological considerations include those philosophical assumptions concerned with the "nature of reality" (Creswell, 2007, p. 248) or "social entities" (Bryman, 2012, p. 32). The ontological position in this study is social constructionism or, briefly, constructionism (Talja et al., 2005). Constructionism places the primary emphasis on linguistic (as opposed to mental) processes (Talja et al., 2005). In the constructionist viewpoint, "meaning is not discovered, but constructed" (Crotty, 1998, p. 42). As such, language and discourse "replace the concept of cognition with conversations" (Talja et al., 2005, p. 89) and is the method in which people produce and organize social entities. Discourse is viewed as constitutive in the construction of selves and meaning or truth.

Constructionism's main assumption is that knowledge is constructed in systems of dispersion and "produced from limited viewpoints as parts of ongoing conversations and reorients research and knowledge organization strategies for mapping and visualizing" (Talja et al., 2005, p. 90) discourses. Foucault provides a useful description on how individuals construct knowledge through the creation of borders:

A statement always has borders peopled by other statements. These borders are not what is usually meant of 'context' – real or verbal – that is, all the situational or linguistic elements, taken together, that motivate a formulation and determine its meaning. They are distinct from such a 'context' precisely in so far as they make it possible. (Foucault, 1972, p. 97-98)

An understanding of the borders discussed by Foucault is essential to understanding how individuals determine the meaning of statements that, in turn, inform opinions.

Information, information systems, and information needs are all produced through the aforementioned discourses and constructs. Criticisms of constructionism include its neglect of “non-linguistic, non-human and non-social entities” (Talja et al., 2005, p. 91). Examples of this include “the influence of embodied factors and personal-social histories on social situations and individual activity” (Talja et al., 2005, p. 91). This criticism of constructionism may be explained by making the distinction between that of ontological and epistemological constructionism. In ontological constructionism, constructionism is not restricted to language and discourse, but also manifested through interactions in the world (Edwards, 1972; Talja et al., 2005).

Savolainen's work on everyday life information seeking provides a good background for the conceptualization of ontological constructionism as it concentrates on the choices made by individuals in their day-to-day life. These choices entail everyday activities such as going to work and engaging in hobbies and are operationalized by taking into account factors such as time constraints (e.g. proportions of time spent on work, necessary tasks, and hobbies), models of consumption (e.g. money spent on goods or services), and the nature of hobbies (e.g. exercise, watching television, or reading).

The aforementioned factors, which influence individuals' day-to-day life, do not occur automatically and are influenced by culture within a social class, thus providing a model for mastering the maintenance of time, consumption, and hobbies (Savolainen, 2009). When an individual is actively trying to maintain the previously noted factors, their experiences with problem solving generate "feedback on the effectiveness of problem-solving abilities and the sufficiency of the cognitive competence . . . . [and] may affect the information orientation of the individual and lead to certain information-seeking habits" (Savolainen, 2009, p. 264-265). Consequently, day-to-day problem solving is based on the often unconscious, ontological construction of information seeking behaviors through a cultural model.

In this study, "meanings, values, and ethical principles" (Talja, 1999, p. 470) are not considered the creations of individual participants, but entities "that people create together in communication and social action" (Talja, 1999, p. 470). The methodological approach is useful to the present study because many analyses of the mass media contain one only one set of data, media texts. However, this study examines the discourse of the mass media *as well as* the interaction of interview participants with the mass media and their information behaviors.

### **Mixed Methods Approach**

This research was conducted using a mixed methods research design. Mixed methodology is when both quantitative and qualitative approaches to research are used in the collection and analysis of data. Mixed methodological research is a research design that allows "us to participate in dialogue about multiple ways of seeing and hearing" (Greene, 2007, p. 20 as cited in Creswell &

Clark, 2011, p. 272) and allows for the use of multiple processes to make sense of issues for the purposes of creating a better depth of understanding and corroboration.

Creswell and Clark (2011) designate six different types of mixed methods designs: convergent, explanatory, exploratory, embedded, transformative, and multiphase. This study utilized an embedded design for the purposes of complementarity and expansion. In the embedded design, collection of data may be either concurrent or sequential; analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data may occur within the larger quantitative or qualitative design (Creswell & Clark, 2011). Embedding a second strand of data (interviews) in this study enhanced my understanding of how readers interpret messages in the mass news media (complementarity) and assisted me in answering the second and third research questions, which required a different type of data (expansion).

Data gathered from the second, qualitative phase was not expected to necessarily explain the quantitative results, but rather, to enhance and illustrate the (partially) quantitative results (complementarity and expansion) of this study (Creswell & Clark, 2011). Restricting this study to quantifiable results alone would prohibit this research from fully understanding the mass media discourse as well as what elements influence host Scottish communities' opinions on immigration, and the meanings assigned to those elements. This is because human experiences are not something that can be fully examined or measured by quantity, frequency, or intensity (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Denzin and Lincoln note that, unlike physical objects, human behavior cannot be understood "without reference to the meanings and purposes attached by human actors to their activities" (2008, p. 198). It is qualitative data, which

allows for rich insight into human behavior and experience. Although quantitative methods are often statistically significant, they may have no applicability in individual cases. Qualitative data can help avoid such ambiguities (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008).

### **Sources of Data**

There are two sources of data included in this study: (1) texts from mass distributed newspapers; and (2) interviews with individuals from selected Highland communities. Newspapers were collected as a source of data in order to understand how the topic of immigration is represented by the mass media. An initial analysis of newspaper content aided in the creation of interview questions. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with participants in order to understand how public opinion in Highland communities is constructed on the topic of immigration.

#### *Newspapers*

Newspaper articles on immigration published in the *Daily Record*, *Daily Express*, and *The Scotsman* in the year prior to Independence Referendum (September 16, 2013 and September 17, 2014) constituted the first set of data for this study. The rationale for selecting these three newspapers stemmed from their frequency of publication - all three are daily newspapers, their status as a national newspaper, and circulation figures (see Table 4 for a profile of each newspaper). Additionally, each newspaper represented a different quality of newspaper: tabloid, mid-market, and broadsheet. An overview of newspaper data will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

**Table 4: Profile of newspapers included in study**

	<i>Daily Record</i>	<i>Daily Express</i>	<i>The Scotsman</i>
<b>Format</b>	Tabloid	Tabloid (formerly mid-market)	Compact (formerly broadsheet)
<b>Quality</b>	Tabloid	Mid-market	Broadsheet (quality)
<b>Owner(s)</b>	Trinity Mirror	Richard Desmond	Johnston Press
<b>Political orientation</b>	Labour Party	UKIP/Conservatives	Liberal Democrat/New Labour (right leaning)
<b>Established</b>	1895	1900	1817
<b>Headquarters</b>	Glasgow	Glasgow	Edinburgh
<b>*Print circulation (monthly)</b>	1,395,000	3,019,000	350,000
<b>*Online circulation (monthly)</b>	923,000	2,288,000	649,000

Source: Adapted from NRS, 2014; TV Tropes, 2015.

\*Monthly averages for 2014.

The main goal of performing a critical discourse analysis of three daily, national newspapers is to get a general understanding of what the mass news media communicates on the topic of immigration to the public in order to answer the first research question in this study: How does the mass media in Scotland present the topic of immigration?

Daily, national newspapers were selected for inclusion in this study because of their traditional importance as a journalism mass media (Riffe et al., 2014). The three newspapers included in this study communicate with their audiences on a daily basis and communicate information on national and international issues as well as issues of regional importance. Due to the focus on the influence of the mass media in this research, it was important to include national newspapers from Scotland as they are aimed at a larger audience, for

the purposes of mass appeal. This is also why the newspapers selected for inclusion in this study were those with the highest circulation rates in Scotland (within their respective format).

Newspaper formats can be broken down into three distinct classes: tabloid, mid-market, and broadsheet. Although these distinctions were originally developed based on the layout of the newspaper, they eventually became associated with the content and quality of the newspapers (Sterling, 2009). The actual physical format of newspapers has changed due to considerations of cost and reader preferences. Now mid-market newspapers are printed in the tabloid format and broadsheet newspapers are printed in a more compact format. Due to the shift of newspaper formats based upon the aforementioned factors, the distinction between newspapers based on their physical format is now less important as it is no longer necessarily an indication of quality. The terms, however, are still frequently used in reference to the quality of journalism and content contained within a newspaper (despite the fact that they may not actually represent the physical format of the newspaper any longer; as evidenced in the first two lines of Table 4, above).

*Tabloid.* The most popular type of newspaper in the UK is the tabloid. Tabloid newspapers were established in the UK during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, aimed at a mass audience. Tabloid newspapers are characterized by their (1) use of popular speech; (2) physical format (they are about half the size of a broadsheet newspaper and image heavy); and (3) doubts concerning the veracity of their content and journalistic rigor (Sterling, 2009). The tabloid newspaper included in this study is the *Daily Record*.



*Mid-market.* There is much overlap between the traditional tabloid newspaper and mid-market newspapers. They share a similar physical format; however, mid-market newspapers are aimed at a more prosperous (lower middle) class. Like tabloids, mid-market newspapers contain stories regarding scandals and celebrities, but these stories are mixed with more serious news content and commentary. The mid-market newspaper included in this study is the *Daily Express*.

*Broadsheet.* Traditionally, the term broadsheet was in reference to the large sheets of newsprint that came to characterize the newspaper industry. Due to cost and reader preferences, many broadsheet newspapers have shifted to a more compact size. The term broadsheet is still widely used to refer to the content and quality of these newspapers that are regarded as containing a much higher quality of journalism as well as more serious content than mid-market and tabloid newspapers. The broadsheet newspaper included in this study is *The Scotsman*.

#### *Sampling of Newspaper Articles*

Due to the amount of content in daily newspapers, this study utilized an efficient stratified sampling method to select a representative sample of daily newspaper content. In order to infer a year's worth of daily newspaper content, two constructed weeks of news content was used for this study.

Two weeks of news content was constructed by randomly selecting two to three Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursday, Fridays, and Saturdays (each) throughout the year leading up to the Independence Referendum (roughly, every four weeks a different day of the week was selected). The decision to utilize this sampling method was based on several research studies

on newspaper sampling techniques which identified this amount of time (two constructed weeks) as the most efficient sample size and technique to allow for a reliable estimate of a year's worth of daily newspaper issues (Stempel, 1952; Davis & Turner, 1951; Riffe, Aust, & Lacy, 1993; Lacy, Riffe, Stoddard, Martin & Chang, 2000; Riffe, Lacy & Fico, 2014).

This study also took into account the variation in the amount of actual content in daily newspapers. A study by Riffe, Lacy, and Fico (2014) revealed that more advertising is purchased in Sunday papers, thus the amount of content in Sunday papers is far less. For this reason, Sundays were excluded from this study.

After creating a list of randomly selected dates, the online database LexisNexis was used to search for articles about immigration that include variations of the terms, "migrant", "immigrant", "asylum seeker", and "foreigner" (and their verbal counterparts) and were published by the *Daily Express*, *Daily Record*, and *The Scotsman* between September 16, 2013 and September 17, 2014. The amount of newspaper content retrieved during sampling will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

### *Interviews*

I created a list of interview questions to direct semi-structured interviews. Interviews typically lasted from 35 minutes to an hour and were transcribed verbatim. Interview questions were related to the second and third research questions of this study and were composed primarily of questions referring to (1) participant demographics; (2) media and information use; (3) Perceptions of immigrants (See Appendix A for the full list of interview questions). The aim of these questions was to better understand how opinions

on the topic of immigration are created and influenced in the Highlands of Scotland, and whether media use was a factor. Three questions were asked during the interview regarding participant sentiments of the Independence Referendum. The aim of these questions was to investigate whether or not voting preferences were in any way related to participants' perceptions of immigration.

Twenty-one participants were recruited from three Highland communities (seven participants from each community): Alness, Fort William, and Inverness (community profiles are included in Chapter 2). Participation in this study was limited to UK-born members of the community who had resided in the area for at least ten years. Due to the emphasis on belonging and identity in this study, it was necessary that participants had resided in the community for a meaningful period of time.

#### *Sampling of Participants*

Savage, Bagnall, and Longhurst (2005), sampled "four contrasting residential areas...whose residents had different combinations of economic and/or cultural capital" (p. 15). The present study mirrored this style of purposeful sampling by selecting two different levels with which to select study participants. As in the study by Savage et al. (2005), I have purposefully selected participants based on (1) the community in which they reside; as well as (2) their shared identity as a UK-born resident.

Each community included in this study is an archetypal case in its own right due to vast differences in the educational and employment demographics of participants. For example:

- (1) Alness is a town primarily associated with the oil industry in Scotland;
- (2) Fort William is a town characterized by the traditional Highland industries (agriculture, forestry, and fishing), which employs the majority of its population; and
- (3) Inverness is the capital of the Highlands and has a larger share of the population employed in professional and associate professional occupations, due to its administrative role in the Highlands.

See Chapter 2 for additional information on communities or Chapter 5 for participant demographics.

These communities were selected for inclusion in this study to illustrate the different perceptions and experiences of individuals living in Highland communities based on both their heterogeneity (different social and economic mixes within the three areas) and homogeneity (all participants are UK born and reside within the same region of Scotland; Bryman, 2012). My aim was to generate a sample that illustrated both the similarities and differences among participants in a community as well as between each community. The amount of interview data collected, as well as participant demographics, will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

#### *Recruitment and Research Settings*

Participants for this study were recruited through two different methods. Participants from Alness and Fort William were recruited through local, public community centers (public locations where community members may gather for group activities, social support, etc.). I selected community centers as a recruitment location because they are a resource available to all members in a given community, irrespective of age, race, religion, or politics. Community

centers have played a “significant part in the life of many local communities and networks” (Smith, 2002, para. 1) in the UK since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and were influenced by the development of community centers in the United States.

Presumably, those who utilize community centers are also those who have long-standing ties to the community and are thus aware of the services and resources provided by their local community centers. Additionally, these people are more likely to fit the required participant demographics of this study, which required participants had resided in the community for at least 10 years.

Bryman (2012) notes that gaining access to participants in public settings is just as difficult to access in closed settings. A common way of gaining access to research participants is through a *gatekeeper*, “who controls research access” (Jupp, 2006, p. 126) to the community. In Alness and Fort William, I gained access to members of the community through contact with the coordinators at local community centers. This included emails, phone conversations, and travel to the community centers to meet with coordinators to explain my research objectives and gain permission to recruit research participants from residents who used the community center.

Gaining access to users of the community centers was only half the battle. As an American and unfamiliar face in these community centers, I had the challenge of recruiting participants from a community where I was easily identified as an outsider based on my foreign accent. Gatekeepers often take on the role of both research sponsor and gatekeeper (Jupp, 2006); in my case, I was fortunate to have the support of the community center coordinators who vouched for me, thus vetting the research for the participants.

Participants in Inverness were recruited using snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is a technique in which a researcher samples one set of participants who then suggest other participants who either have experiences relevant to the research or have the desired qualifications needed for participation (Bryman, 2012). One of the criticisms of snowball sampling is that it is unlikely to be representative of a population, but is often used when there is no accessible sampling frame for the population (Bryman, 2012; Jupp, 2006). Although snowball sampling is often selected because it is the only feasible approach to use, it did allow me to recruit members who had lived in the CHI community for the required duration of time (at least 10 years). Moreover, since there was no community center present in the CHI, even if I could create a sampling frame of long time community residents, it would almost certainly be inaccurate as communities are shifting populations (Bryman, 2012; Chi & Ventura, 2011). This is particularly true in rural areas where youth are increasingly moving toward more urban areas or places where there are more education and employment opportunities (Rural Services Network, 2014).

### *Alness*

In Alness, recruitment of participants took more than just the support of the community center's coordinator. I spent over two weeks at the community center in Alness volunteering. I helped prepare and serve tea to groups of women who gathered to play Bingo at the community center and served snacks to children during their summer school activities. Bryman (2012) notes that this strategy of merely being present in the research setting is a common approach to gaining access to a group and often proves successful as it allows researchers to gradually join a group. By hanging around the community center in Alness I was

able to gain a level of trust within the community of users at the center. This was a valuable experience because not only was I able to gain the trust of community members, I was also granted the opportunity to understand the context of my research better.

All interviews were conducted in empty rooms in the community center in Alness so that there would be no interruptions or disturbances.

### *Fort William*

In Fort William, the coordinator of the community center introduced me to *Madge* (pseudonym), a widow and retired member of the community who frequently volunteered and coordinated activities at the center. Madge played an important role in the recruitment of participants; she was a well-known and respected member of the community center. Once Madge vouched for the purposes of my research and me, it was easy to recruit participants from the community center in Fort William.

My interviews in Fort William were completed within two days at the community center. All interviews were conducted in empty rooms at the community center so that there would be no interruptions or disturbances.

### *Inverness*

As noted above and in Chapter 2, participants from Inverness were recruited from the CHI. Unlike in Alness and Fort William, there was no community center present in the CHI neighborhood. Consequently, I used snowball sampling to recruit participants from the CHI. Using connections from my established presence in the area (I previously lived in the CHI), I was able to recruit residents from the CHI who were then able to suggest additional participants.

Utilizing different recruitment methods in this study could have lead to bias in the sample. Although my methods of recruiting participants from the CHI were different than in Alness and Fort William, the criteria for eligibility to participate in the study was the same. Additionally, I utilized purposeful sampling in the communities selected for inclusion in the study. Recruiting participants from Alness, Fort William, and the CHI was intentional. I wanted my sample of interview participants to reflect the diversity of experiences in the Highlands, which required that sampling be both purposeful as well as representative of different economic and social demographics within the Highlands.

Interviews were conducted in either the participant's home or a quiet local café that was located in the CHI so that there would be no disturbances or interruptions during interviews.

### **Unit of Analysis**

The unit of analysis in a research study is the primary entity of analysis. CDA is an extension of linguistics that goes beyond the mere description of vocabulary and grammar; it explores the relationships between language, power, and ideology. As such, it was important that the units of analyses in this study were larger than isolated words and sentences (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). The units of analyses used in this study were the texts of individual newspaper articles and interviews of individual participants.

### **Data Analysis**

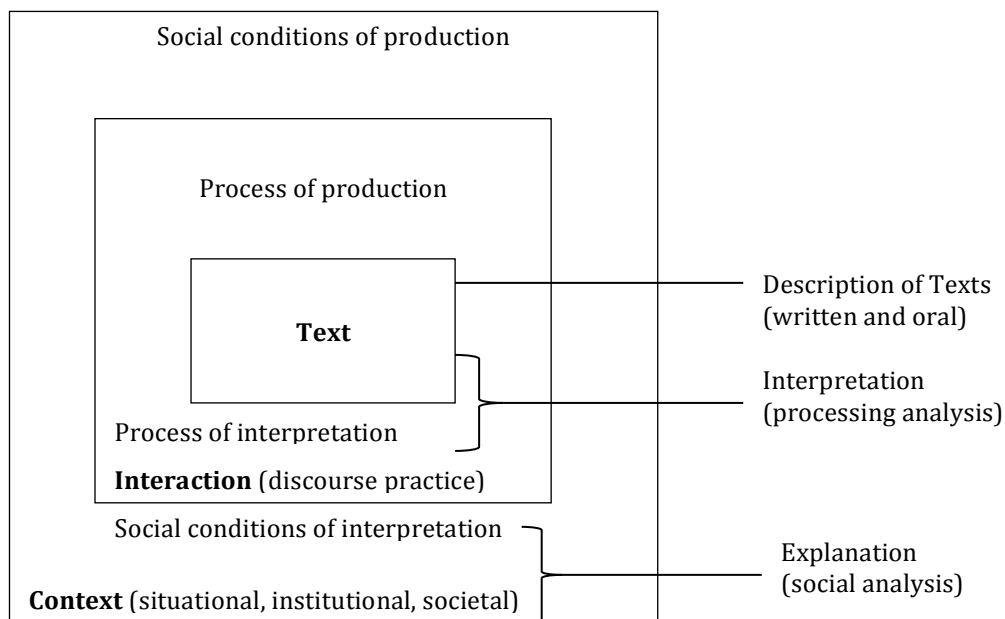
I had two sets of data to analyze in this study. I would like to emphasize that data sets were not mutually exclusive. In addition to analyzing these two



data sets separately, data were interlaced during analysis in order to illustrate how interview participants interacted with the discourse of newspapers.

Fairclough's CDA (2010) provides a three-dimensional method of discourse analysis which was used in this study. It entails the analysis of text, discourse practice, and social practice. Figure 5 illustrates Fairclough's model of analysis, with the three corresponding stages of critical discourse analysis: description of text (written or oral), interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction, and explanation of the relationship between interaction and social context (Fairclough, 1989).

**Figure 5: Fairclough's elements of discourse and dimensions of discourse**




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*Figure 5.* Fairclough's three-dimensional method of discourse analysis. Source: Adapted from Fairclough, 1989, p. 2.

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The selected criteria (described above in Figure 5) for each of the three stages of CDA used in this analysis are summarized in Table 5, with the corresponding source of data used in each stage.

**Table 5: Criteria for the three stages of CDA used in this study**

<b>Stages of CDA</b>	<b>Criteria for Analysis</b>	<b>Sources of Data</b>
<b>Stage 1: Description of Texts</b>	<i>Experiential values</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Synonyms</li> <li>• Hyponyms</li> </ul> <i>Relational values</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Antonyms</li> <li>• Metaphors</li> </ul>	Newspapers
<b>Stage 2: Interpretation of Texts</b>	<i>Contents: What's going on?</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Activity</li> <li>• Topic</li> </ul> <i>Subjects: Who's involved?</i>	Newspapers and Interviews
<b>Stage 3: Explanation of Texts</b>	<i>Social Determinants</i> What power relations at situational, institutional, and societal levels help shape discourse on immigration? <i>Ideologies</i> What elements of interpretive procedures (members' resources), which are drawn upon, have an ideological character? <i>Effects</i> Does discourse contribute to sustaining existing power relations or transforming them?	Newspapers and Interviews

### **Stage 1: Description of Texts**

Fairclough notes that when analyzing texts, one's focus is "constantly alternating between what is 'there' in the text, and the discourse type(s) which the text is drawing upon" (1989, p. 110). The first stage of discourse analysis, description of texts, includes examining formal features of a text, such as vocabulary and grammar. The following formal features of newspaper texts were analyzed: synonyms, hyponyms, antonyms, and metaphors.

Analysis of vocabulary in this study was focused on the experiential and relational value of words as well as the use of metaphors. A further description of these terms and their use in this analysis are detailed below.

### *Experiential Values*

The experiential value of words is how “ideological differences between texts in their representations of the world are coded in their vocabulary” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 112-113). Experiential values are often discovered in the rewording of texts, and thus looking at the differences in negative and positive sentences are an important way of deriving the ideological significance of a text. This is because text may be reworded to include positive or negative connotations, depending on whether the word is oriented towards the ideological framework of the “right” or “left” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 113).

Texts also express experiential value by drawing on pre-existing classification schemes. This is evidenced by overwording in text, which may be evidenced through the inclusion of numerous or overuse of *meaning relations*, such as synonyms. The aspect of experiential values of words was of important interest in this analysis as it illustrates the ideological differences between texts in their representations of immigrants and host community members in their vocabulary, as well as identified types of political discourse.

The experiential value of vocabulary was analyzed in this study through an identification of synonyms and hyponyms. Synonyms are words that have the same meaning as the word they are intended to substitute. It is difficult to find instances of absolute synonyms, so this analysis was done in order to identify whether the use of synonyms had an effect on the meaning of texts. Hyponymy is when the meaning of one word is included within the meaning of another word (e.g. the use of the word furniture for chairs or tables).

### *Relational Values*

Relational values are concerned with how a text's "choice of wordings depends on, and helps create, social relationships between participants" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 116). Words often hold relational values simultaneously with other values. For example, the use of discriminatory vocabulary of a particular ethnic grouping has experiential value in that its use, and the failure to avoid it, may have relational value as it assumes that such ideology is common ground or appropriate vocabulary for the speaker and the participants or readers of the text. Thus, particular attention was paid to ideologically significant meaning relations between words.

Meaning relations between words (i.e. antonyms and metaphors) are important in this study due to the aforementioned emphasis in this study on constructionism. The meanings, values, and ethical principles contained within texts are not constructed by individuals but are developed historically and reflect the ideology of whoever writes or produces the text. Words and phrases have ideological meanings that "position us in relations of power" (Stevenson, 2004).

Antonyms are words whose meanings are in contrast (or incompatible) with the meaning of another (e.g. man or woman). Metaphors are a means of "representing one aspect of experience in terms of another" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 119). This analysis focused on the relationship between metaphors and the different ideological attachments of these metaphors (Fairclough, 1989). Metaphors were used to identify different categories of immigrants and host community members.

## Stage 2: Interpretation

The second stage of discourse analysis is interpretation. This analysis focuses on two main areas: discourse type and presuppositions. Fairclough broke types of discourse down into four situational contexts with questions that relate to the dimension of the situation (shown in Table 6).

**Table 6: Situational context and discourse type**

Situation	Discourse Type
What's going on? (activity, topic, purpose)	Contents
Who's involved?	Subjects
In what relations?	Relations
What's the role of language in what's going on?	Connections

Source: Adapted from Fairclough, 1989, p. 146.

The first question - *What's going on?* - is subdivided into activity, topic, and purpose. These categories allowed me to identify situations within a particular type of discourse and are associated with institutionally recognized purposes (Fairclough, 1989). The second question - *Who's involved?* - is concerned with the positioning of subjects according to the type of situation. Fairclough notes that subject positions are multi-dimensional; the first derives from the type of activity, the second derives from institutionally ascribed social identities, and the third derives from different situations and the positions of the subjects within it. The third question - *In what relations?* - is concerned with subject positions in terms of relationships of power and social distance. The fourth question - *What's the role of language in what's going on?* - is related to the use of language to the situational contexts in which they occur as well as the connections made between parts of a text (Fairclough, 1989).

Fairclough discusses the histories of discourses and texts; interpretation is a matter of deciding what histories belong to a text and “what can be taken as common ground for participants, or presupposed” (1989, p. 152).

Presuppositions are not properties of an actual text, but the interpretations of text producers. “Discourse participants may arrive at roughly the same interpretation or different ones, and the interpretation of the more powerful participant may be imposed upon others. So having power may mean being able to determine presuppositions” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 152). As an example, the producer of a mass media text has no way of knowing what the actual experiences of a reader are, but they may construct what they imagine the experiences of a reader are to manipulate “audiences through attributing to their experience things which they want to get them to accept” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 153).

### **Stage 3: Explanation**

The objective of explanation in CDA is to portray “discourse as part of a social process, as a social practice, showing how it is determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourses can cumulatively have on those structures, sustaining them or changing them” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 163). The social determinations Fairclough (1989) identifies include the effects, which are mediated by members’ resources. Social structures (which are relations of power, social processes, and practices) help shape members’ resources, which in turn shape discourses that may sustain or change structures of social struggles.

Fairclough (1989) asserts that the social effects and social determinants of discourse should be investigated on three levels: societal, institutional, and situational. Fairclough’s (1989) assumption is that any discourse will have

determinants and effects at all three levels, but that societal and institutional levels are only distinct for more institutional types of discourse. Discourse is shaped by institutional and societal power relations as well as contributes to institutional and societal struggles.

## **Procedures**

Fairclough's three-dimensional method of discourse analysis was followed and involved the analysis of text, discourse practice, and social practice.

### *Initial Readings of Texts*

I began data analysis by reading and re-reading the texts. Multiple readings of texts analyzed in this study assisted me in identifying themes and appropriate features to analyze within the texts selected for analysis. All selected texts were sorted by discourse type (i.e. news articles and interviews).

Once I completed an initial reading of the newspaper texts and interviews, I organized the data and recorded identifying characteristics of both data sets. I sorted newspaper articles by their source (newspaper title) and date, and created tallies of the number of newspaper articles, which were relevant to this study. Newspaper articles that were retrieved but removed from the sample (due to their lack of relevancy) were also noted, as well as the topics included in these articles. Interview texts were organized by the community from which they came and demographic data was compiled for each interview participant in order to describe the characteristics of interview participants in each community.

All texts from newspapers and interviews were uploaded into the research software NVivo and identifying characteristics and demographic information were recorded using NVivo's classification nodes and attributes.

This assisted me in identifying connections between texts later on in analysis by both date as well as across discourse type.

### *Qualitative Analysis of Texts*

After an initial reading of texts was completed and the texts were sorted, I began a preliminary identification of segments for analysis within each type of discourse. Particular attention was paid to discourse that described both the host community as well as immigrants. Additionally, due to the timeliness of this research, I also focused on discourse referring to both immigration as well as the Independence Referendum. This procedure was repeated several times throughout analysis of the discourse.

Throughout my readings of the texts, I found it necessary to select new segments and aspects of topics to focus on. This was important because the identification of segments needs to be comprehensive (Thweatt, 2005). The content of texts was analyzed according to both their type of discourse and the meaning of discourse, subjects, relations, and connections between texts (for details see Table 5).

### *Quantitative Analysis of Newspaper Texts*

To understand how the three newspapers in this study presented the topic of immigration, several chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) tests for the independence of categorical variables were applied to the qualitative data described above using the statistical software SPSS. Examples of the categorical (nominal) variables used for analysis in this study include: the title of the newspaper (e.g. *Daily Record*, *Daily Express*, and *The Scotsman* and themes) and topics and themes present in the newspaper discourse.



Chi-square for the independence of categorical variables is a test used to:

(1) describe the differences between at least two categorical variables; (2)

determine the significance between relationships of difference. The

requirements for using a chi-square test are as follows:

(1) The sample must be randomly selected.

(2) The data must be of nominal or ordinal type.

(3) Cell entries must be independent of each other.

(4) Expected frequencies should be large enough (Vaughan, 2008, p. 88).

The above requirements were met by the newspaper data in this study in that:

(1) The data for this study (as previously discussed), were randomly selected;

(2) The categorical variables in this study are nominal, in that they are categories

with qualitative (rather than quantitative) differences (Reagan, 2006); (3) The

tests that were run, were done so intentionally, so that none of the cells were

dependent on each other (e.g. topics and themes were not included in the same

analysis as their cells are related, due to their dependency on each other as a

classification of topics within themes; (4) SPSS runs an initial test of expected

frequencies in a chi-square analysis. Expected frequencies indicate the expected

count of variables if there was no association between the variables being tested.

If the value of expected frequencies is more than 20% then the assumption of a

relationship between variables has been broken and the null hypothesis should

be accepted.

### **Reliability and Validity**

Validity refers to whether an indicator devised to gauge a concept

accurately measures that concept (Bryman, 2012). Although CDA provides a

greater understanding of the power relationships present in discourse,

subjectivity does exist in the approach. As Widdowson notes, analysis of texts gives rise to diverse interpretations depending on contextual and precontextual conditions, it is not only that context is a pre-existing cultural construct to be applied, but also something that is created in the discursive process itself (2004, p. 139). In critical studies, such as this one, there are several levels of interpretation: (1) what is said; (2) what is not said; (3) power relations inherent to participants or subjects of discourse. “What one ‘sees’ in the text, what one regards as worth describing, and what one chooses to emphasize in a description, are all dependent on how one interprets a text” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 27).

This was a mixed methods study that relied on CDA. CDA emphasizes qualitative methods, so this study is not meant to be generalizable. However, the findings from this study do provide insight into the concerns of predominantly rural regions such the Highlands, generally, regarding immigration and increasing cultural diversity.

### **Reflexivity**

Due to the fact that I conducted this research outside of my own cultural context, it was important for me to practice reflexivity (self-awareness) throughout my research. As previously noted, I am American and thus did not have a shared identity with my interview participants. I resided in Scotland for a year and a half over the course of the three years in which I spent performing research activities within the UK context. Although I was in Scotland both during the time in which the Independence Referendum was announced as well as in the year leading up to the actual Referendum, the mass news media discourse of the UK was something I had not experienced fully until living in Scotland.

This study was not an ethnography, per se, but I did conduct fieldwork throughout the course of this study in a context foreign to me. In addition to living in Scotland, I read local newspapers, watched the evening news, and lived my day-to-day life just as any other person living in Scotland. I had friends, paid my council taxes, spent Sundays reading at my local (pub), and became a familiar face both in my neighborhood in Glasgow as well as in Inverness where I had previously resided. These activities, although seemingly mundane, were an important part of my life in the UK and contributed to a better understanding of the context under investigation in this study.

Creswell notes that one of the challenges inherent to conducting fieldwork in an unfamiliar cultural group or system is that the researcher may “go native” and find it hard to engage in day-to-day life without compromising the objectivity of their study (2007, p. 72). Admittedly, this is something I struggled with throughout the course of my study. Not only did I relocate my life to Scotland, but I also spent extensive time researching the issues of this study. I became more informed on politics in Scotland (and the wider UK) than in my home country. Consequently, I found myself constantly seeking clarification of issues and perspectives, rather than making assumptions based on my previous experiences (Adler & Adler, 1987).

Not only did I gain an understanding of the politics and discourse regarding immigration and the Referendum through the reading of texts, I lived them. Although I worked to create a level of separation between my research and myself, I returned from Scotland with a very strong albeit informed opinion of the activities and events occurring within Scotland.

Conducting research in a foreign context also requires the researcher acknowledge their impact on the people and places being studied (Creswell, 2007). This was a challenge most noticeable throughout my interviews. As noted in Chapter 1, there were advantages to conducting this research as an outsider; however, participants quickly identified me as an outsider. This was something I was conscious of throughout the interview process and noted that in most cases participants verbally acknowledged my status as either an outsider or an insider. In a way it benefited my study, as participants often seemed more inclined to explain their responses to my questions more in depth. For example, in Stage 2 of analysis I looked at presuppositions present in texts; interview participants often clearly identified the assumptions upon which they based their opinions due to my status as an outsider. This being stated, my status as an outsider may have also influenced how comfortable participants were with sharing their opinions due to their own perceptions of my status as an outsider.

### **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I discussed the theoretical framework, methodological design, and procedures for gathering data. Analysis of data in this research was based on Fairclough's three stages of CDA. Fairclough's approach to critical discourse analysis was described as well as the criteria used to implement this approach in the present study. Additionally, issues regarding the reliability and validity of the data, reflexivity, and limitations of this study were discussed.

Chapter 5 reviews the research questions guiding this study, describes the data collected from newspapers and interviews, and presents the findings drawn from the methods of analyses detailed in this chapter.

## CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

Chapter 4 described the theoretical framework and methodology guiding this research study. This chapter provides an overview of the newspaper and interview texts in this study and presents the research findings. This is followed by a discussion of the connections between newspaper and interview texts.

I organized findings from the newspaper discourse using the first two steps of Fairclough's approach to CDA, which include the description and interpretation of newspaper texts. The purpose of analyzing newspapers was to answer the first research question in this study:

(1) How does the mass media in Scotland present the topic of immigration? Description of newspaper texts included an analysis of the formal features of language in newspaper discourse. Particular attention was paid to descriptions of immigrants and the host community in newspaper discourse and their ideological representations and relational values. Interpretation of newspaper texts analyzed the situational context of newspaper discourse through an identification of activities and themes present in newspaper discourse. This was done in order to gain an understanding of relationships between participants, themes, and the three newspapers included in this study.

I organized findings from the interview discourse through an interpretation of activities and themes in interview discourse. The purpose of analyzing interviews was to answer the second and third research question in this study:

(2) What information sources inform public opinion on the topic of immigration?

(3) How is authority of information sources established?

Interpretation of interview texts focused primarily on an analysis of activities and themes in interview discourse. Analysis of activities in interview discourse was done in order to understand how interview participants interact with and establish authority of information sources on the topic of immigration. Topical and thematic analysis of interview discourse served the purpose of providing an overview of activities in interview discourse and was done in order to eliminate the overlap between activities discovered in the first round of interview analysis. This allowed me to create mutually exclusive categories to identify sources and methods used to establish authority and denote quality of information sources used by interview participants to inform opinions on immigration.

### **Newspaper Articles**

Two constructed weeks of newspaper articles on immigration published in the *Daily Record*, *Daily Express*, and *The Scotsman* in the year prior to Independence Referendum (September 16, 2013 and September 17, 2014) constituted the first set of data for this study.

A total of 91 articles were retrieved from the three newspapers included in this sample (for a detailed overview of sampling procedures for the selection of articles, please see Chapter 4). Of the 91 articles retrieved, 71 articles were found relevant to this research and were included in the sample for this study. Of the 71 newspaper articles included in this study's sample, 45 (63.4%) were published in the *Daily Express*; 15 (21.1%) were published in *The Scotsman*; and

11 (15.5%) were published in the *Daily Record*. Table 7(below) displays the number of articles retrieved from each newspaper, by date.

**Table 7: Articles included in study, by data and newspaper**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Daily Record (tabloid)</b>	<b>Daily Express (mid-market)</b>	<b>Scotsman (broadsheet)</b>	<b>Total by date</b>
16 September, 2013	0	1	1 (1)	2 (1)
18 October, 2013	3	1	4 (3)	8 (3)
14 November, 2013	0	7	4 (2)	11 (2)
13 December, 2013	0	4 (2)	3 (2)	7 (4)
11 January, 2014	0	4	0	4
3 February, 2014	3	3	6 (3)	12 (3)
4 March, 2014	1	1	1	3
2 April, 2014	0	4	2 (1)	6 (1)
1 May, 2014	0	3 (1)	4 (1)	7 (2)
30 May, 2014	0	5 (1)	1	6 (1)
28 June, 2014	0	2	2	4
28 July, 2014	2 (1)	6 (1)	0	8 (2)
19 August, 2014	0	5	0	5
17 September, 2014	3	5 (1)	0	8 (1)
<b>Articles retrieved by newspaper</b>	12 (1)	51 (6)	28 (13)	91 (20)
<b>*Total</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>71</b>

Numbers noted in parenthesis indicate the number of articles excluded from the study due to a lack of relevancy or duplication of content.

\* Total number of articles included in sample.

Out of the original 91 articles retrieved for this study, 20 were removed from this study's sample due to (1) lack of relevancy or (2) they were a duplicate article. For a list of the newspaper articles in this study, see Appendix B.

### **Description of Newspaper Texts**

This section examines the formal features of language use (vocabulary and grammar) in descriptions of immigrants and host community members in the discourse of newspapers included in this study.

## Descriptions of Immigrants

Four types of lexical descriptors of immigrants were identified in the newspaper discourse: (1) descriptors indicating immigrants origins; (2) descriptors that highlight the amount of time immigrants have spent in the community; (3) descriptors indicating immigrant ethnicities; (4) descriptors that reflect the status and position of immigrants within the community. Table 8 displays the most common descriptors of immigrants by type.

**Table 8: Descriptors of immigrants by type**

<b>*Origin</b>	<b>Time</b>	<b>*Ethnicity</b>	<b>Status/Position</b>
“foreigners”	“new life”	“Roma people”	“stranger”
“from the EU”	“new arrivals”	“tribalism”	“spongers”
“outside the EU”	“newcomers”	“ethnic minorities”	“freeloaders”
“any country in the world”	“new Scots”	“ethnic minority groups”	“illegal migrants”
“migrants from war-torn countries”	“new people”		“minorities”
“immigrants from all over the world - a microcosm of the United Nations”	“new home in Scotland”		“integral part of the community”
	“established Pakistani community”		“explosive issue”
	“home to a large Pakistani community for more than three decades”		“dependent on welfare”
			“foreign influx”
			“foreign criminals”
			“crazy and unsustainable situation”
			“lack the skills to benefit our economy and society”

\* Numerous countries of origin and national ethnic groups were noted in the discourse, but excluded from this chart.



### *(1) Origin of Immigrants*

The first type of descriptor, which indicated the origin of immigrants, appeared in the discourse of all three newspapers. The most prevalent descriptors of immigrant origins in the newspaper discourse were those that indicated the specific home countries or regions of immigrants. Countries of immigrant origin most frequently noted in the discourse were those, which referenced their relationship to the EU (e.g. “EU migrants,” “poorer EU nations,” and “non EU immigration”).

### *(2) Immigrants’ Time in the Community*

The second type of descriptors was primarily composed of adjective phrases, which described immigrants’ time in the community as “new.” Only two articles emphasized the long-term presence of immigrant groups in communities. This was done through the use of:

(1) the adjective “established” in one article. (Article 16)

(2) the comparative adjectives “established” and “fast growing.” (Article 18)

Both of these articles were published in the *Daily Record* and reported “tensions” between the established Pakistani community (Articles 16, 18) and “fast-growing Slovakian Roma group” (Article 18).

### *(3) Immigrant Ethnicities*

The most prevalent descriptors of immigrant ethnicity in the discourse were based on the identification of immigrants’ national experiences (e.g. “Romanians” and “Bulgarians”). The Roma were the most specific ethnic group noted and were only present in the discourse of the *Daily Express*, in which “tensions” highlighting the “antisocial behaviour” of Roma immigrants featured prominently (10 descriptors in five articles).

Broad descriptors of “ethnic groups” were present in all three newspapers (one in each newspaper). One *Daily Record* article used broad descriptors of “ethnic identities” to identify immigrant groups who have lower rates of voter participation. A *Daily Express* article attributed “support for mass immigration” with the “import” of negative (and inaccurate) descriptive nouns to represent ethnic characteristics of immigrants (Article 13.1). An article in *The Scotsman* cited polling data demonstrating the differences between perceptions of immigration in England and Scotland. The article hypothesized that low numbers of “ethnic minorities” in Scotland (compared to “multicultural London”) were correlated with lower concerns regarding race relations and immigration (Article 77).

#### *(4) Status and Position of Immigrants in Communities*

The descriptors emphasizing the status or position in communities was present in the discourse of all three newspapers, but most prominent in the discourse of the *Daily Express*. Of note is that in the discourse of the *Daily Express*, immigrants were portrayed as “illegals” (11 references) and “foreign criminals” (nine references).

Descriptors present in the *Daily Record* and *Daily Express* identified deficiencies of immigrants that impacted their status and position in society; examples include the lack of immigrant “skills” (e.g. ability to work and contribute through taxes) needed to benefit the economy and abilities (e.g. English language competency) to participate in society fully. Immigrant status and position in communities was largely associated with the perception that they were unable to contribute to their local communities and the larger UK, but were reliant on welfare and benefit systems.

Only two articles (one in the *Daily Record* and one in *The Scotsman*) included explicit descriptors acknowledging the contributions of immigrants to communities and the nation. Several pieces of evidence present in the *Daily Record* and *The Scotsman* infer positive contributions of immigrants to communities and the UK, but were not expressed through the use of verbal descriptors.

*The Scotsman* included several articles that hypothesized the *potential* status or position of immigrants in communities. These articles indicated that if immigration policies were more liberal in Scotland, or in the case of an independent Scotland, included initiatives to attract and retain students from abroad as well as young and highly skilled immigrants, that the status and position of immigrants in communities would change. Since these articles were not concentrated on the *actual* (or current) status and position of immigrants in communities, descriptors in these articles only portrayed the anticipated status of immigrants in communities.

### **Descriptions of the Host Community**

Four types of lexical descriptors of host community members were identified in the newspaper discourse: (1) space; (2) time; (3) national/ethnic identity; (4) status or position of host community members. Lexical descriptors of host community members had added levels of complexity due to the Independence Referendum. Several descriptors used to identify members of the host community were region specific; accordingly, distinctions between descriptors of host community members were made by region and type. Table 9 displays descriptors of host community members by region and type; region

specific descriptors are shaded, un-shaded areas of Table 9 indicate descriptors that are not region specific.

**Table 9: Descriptors of host community by region and type**

	Space	*Time	National / Ethnic Identity	*Status / Position
UK	“from within Britain”	“all my life”	“British”	“citizens”
	“born in other parts of the United Kingdom”	“common ties that Scots, English, Welsh and Northern Irish people have developed over centuries”	“Britons” “bona fide British”	“privileged elite” “taxpayers”
England	“English-born” “south of the Border” “English people in Scotland”		“English”	“backbone of our country” “hard-working” “unemployed”
Scotland	“north of the Border”		“Scottish” “Scots suffer from a cultural cringe - a sense of perceived inadequacy”	“villagers” “families” “vigilantes”
N. Ireland			“Northern Irish”	“victims of crime”
Wales			“Welsh”	“powerless”
	“households” “local communities” “native neighbours” “locals” “residents”		“shared identity” “English-speaking people” “raised the Union Jack” “proud to wear the kilt” “no such thing as homogeneous Scottish values or homogeneous English values” “a gathering of countless different races and communities”	“fools” “no control”

Un-shaded areas in the table include descriptors that are not specific to host community members from a specified geographic region.

### *(1) Host Community Spaces*

The first type of descriptor, referred to either where host community members were born or live. This descriptor appeared in the discourse of all three newspapers and was subdivided by UK region; non-region specific descriptors were also noted. Descriptors of host community members in the discourse, by region, indicated that host community members are those born in the UK.

The most prevalent descriptors of host community members by “space,” were those specific to the UK and England. Non-region specific descriptors of host community spaces were rare (eight descriptors in seven articles) and present only in the discourse of the *Daily Record* (one article) and *Daily Express* (six articles).

### *(2) Host Community Members' Time in the Community*

The second type of descriptor was the least prevalent in the discourse (two descriptors in two articles) and only occurred in the discourse of the *Daily Record*. The first article was a letter from a reader that described her frustration regarding recent cuts to their pension, which she had worked to pay into their entire life. The reader attributed pension cuts to “refugees and asylum seekers” (Article 4). The second article refers to the 1603 Union of the Crowns, which united Scotland and England under a British monarchy; the article refers to the development of “ties” between the “Scots, English, Welsh, and Northern Irish people” (Article 10). Although this descriptor of time is different than in the lexical analysis of immigrants, it emphasizes the importance of the interconnectedness between space and time in the social production of membership in host communities. According to this descriptor, it is not the

amount of time that an individual has lived in a community that defines membership, but the value of “cultural and familial ties” in the UK throughout history (Articles 10, 12, 22).

### *(3) National and Ethnic Identity of Host Community Members*

The most common descriptors of host community national and ethnic identity in the discourse were based on the national affiliations of host community members (e.g. “English” and “Scottish”). These types of descriptors are referred to as demonyms and are derived from the names of particular places associated with a given population. The most common demonyms in this study were “British” (used 24 times), “Scottish” (used 19 times), and “English” (used 14 times). Descriptors referring to people from Wales and Northern Irish only occurred once in the discourse (both in a *Daily Record* article).

Other descriptors of the national or ethnic identity of host community members were used to emphasize the existence of the “shared identity” of host community members in view of the impending Independence Referendum. One article in *The Scotsman* challenged “the notion that there are specific English or Scottish values.” An article in the *Scottish Express* dismissed previous claims by a former Labour party foreign secretary that the culture and heritage of the UK was “a gathering of countless different races and communities, the vast majority of which were not even indigenous to these islands.”

The idea that an independent Scotland would bring about a “Scottish cultural renaissance,” was dismissed in the *Daily Record*, stating, “Scots suffer from a cultural cringe” and don’t “need independence order to assert its [sic] distinctive sense of national identity” (Article 10). Letters from members of the host community referred to symbols of a shared UK identity by referencing the

“Union Jack” (the national flag of the UK) and how English and Scottish people wear the kilt, despite its Scottish origins.

#### *(4) Status and Position of Host Community Members*

The most common descriptor used to indicate the status or position of host community members was the noun “citizen” (used 11 times; seven times in *The Scotsman* and four times in the *Daily Express*). Additional descriptors indicating the status or position of host community members focused on the value of host community members’ ability to contribute to pensions and other welfare schemes as “hard-working” “taxpayers.” Unemployed host community members were portrayed as individuals that were unable to compete with “influx” of foreign labor that lead to declining wages.

Host community members were also frequently portrayed as “victims” of crimes attributed to immigrants and “powerless” against ill-conceived immigration policies.

Overall, the most common descriptors of host community members were demonyms. The most common demonyms in this study were “British” (used 24 times), “Scottish” (used 19 times), and “English” (used 14 times); however, particular groups of people may be referred to using multiple demonyms – this is the case in the description of host community members of the UK. When taking into account the multiple demonyms used to refer to people from the UK (British or Britons) and Scotland (Scottish or Scots), the combined totals of these descriptors indicated the most common demonyms referred to members of the host community from Scotland (46 instances). Demonyms referring to host community members from the broader UK region occurred 27 times and 14 times to describe people from England. Table 10 (below) shows the number of

descriptors used to describe host community members by region, demonym, and newspaper. Further analysis of demonyms will occur later in the chapter.

**Table 10: Host community descriptors by region, demonym, and newspaper**

		<i>Daily Record</i>	<i>Daily Express</i>	<i>The Scotsman</i>	Total (by demonym)
<b>UK</b>	British	3	13	8	24
	Britons	0	2	1	3
	<b>Total</b> (by newspaper)	<b>3</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>*27</b>
<b>England</b>	English	8	0	6	14
	<b>Total</b> (by newspaper)	<b>8</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>*14</b>
<b>Scotland</b>	Scottish	6	5	8	19
	Scot(s)	13	4	10	27
	<b>Total</b> (by newspaper)	<b>19</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>*46</b>

Numbers noted in parenthesis indicate the percentage of articles present by topic or theme.

\* Total number of descriptors by region.

## Experiential Values in Newspaper Discourse

The experiential value of words addresses ideological differences between texts and their representations in the world (Fairclough, 1989). The experiential values of words were analyzed through synonyms and hyponyms.

### *Immigrants*

Synonyms are words that have the same meaning as the word they are intended to substitute. The most frequently used synonyms in the newspaper discourse were the descriptors “foreigners” (used 34 times) and “newcomers” (used 11 times). These synonyms identify immigrants based on the origin (foreign born) of immigrants and the amount of time immigrants have resided in the UK. The synonym “newcomers” was localized in the discourse of the *Daily Express*.



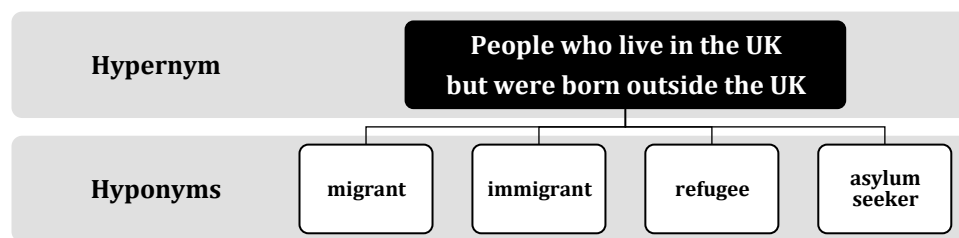
Overall, the most common nouns used to describe immigrants in newspaper discourse were: “migrant” (used 70 times), “immigrant” (used 35 times), “refugee” (15 times), and “asylum seeker” (also includes “seekers;” used 13 times). As noted in Chapter 1, terms used to describe immigrants are “commonly used interchangeably in public debate and even among research specialists” (Anderson & Blinder, 2015, p. 3).

Terms used interchangeably should, theoretically, be synonyms. The analysis of newspaper discourse in this study found the above were used interchangeably, despite the fact that these terms have discernibly different definitions. The lack of consistency and accuracy in how immigrants are defined and described in discourse has “important ramifications for the measurement of stereotypes and prejudice” (Locke & Johnston, 2001, p. 107). Words and phrases used to represent immigrants contain “attributes and traits, both positive and negative, usually ascribed to the group and its members” (Locke & Johnston, 2001, p. 108). This will be explained further (below) in the discussion of hyponyms.

The relations between concepts should not be confused with the relationship between words. Synonyms are interchangeable words in texts and may be easily substituted without impacting the meaning of a text (Fairclough, 1989). The nouns listed above are words whose meanings are included within the meaning of the broad concept, which I’ve chosen to refer to as “immigrants” in this study, but are more specifically individuals who live in the UK but were born elsewhere. As such, the relationship between the above words is not one of synonymy but of hyponymy.

Hyponymy is the case when the meaning of words or phrases is included in the meaning of another (Fairclough, 1989). Hyponymy illustrates the relationship between more general words or concepts (hypernyms) and specific instances of it (hyponyms). Unlike in synonymy, the relations between words in hyponymy are hierarchical. The meanings of the previously stated terms used to describe immigrants share a relationship with the broader concept (hypernym) of people who live in the UK but were born elsewhere. Figure 6(below) illustrates the hyponymous relations between immigrant descriptors in the newspaper discourse.

**Figure 6: Hyponymous relations: Immigrants**




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*Figure 6. Relations between hyponyms and the hypernym People who live in the UK but were born outside of the country.*

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As shown in Figure 6, the terms: migrants, immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers are the primary terms used to refer to immigrants in newspaper discourse. These terms are hyponyms of the broader category (or hypernym), “people who live in the UK but were born outside the UK.” For example: the hyponym “refugee” is a term used in the newspaper discourse to refer to “people who live in the UK but were born outside the UK.”

The relationship between the aforementioned hyponyms and hypernym is asymmetric in that the hyponyms used to refer to different types of immigrants are not necessarily synonyms of each other (although it may be

possible). Hyponyms are often related to each other through their incompatibility. For example: migrants, immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers are co-hyponyms of people who live in the UK but were born outside the UK; however, a migrant is not necessarily an immigrant and an immigrant is not necessarily a refugee or asylum seeker (although this is certainly possible).

### *Host Community*

The most frequently used synonyms to describe the host community include the descriptor “citizens” (used 12 times) and demonyms for the UK and Scotland (See Table 10 for table of most frequently used host community demonyms). Deonym-related synonyms for host community members include: “British” (used 24 times) and “Britons” for people from the larger UK region, and “Scottish” (used 19 times) and “Scot(s)” (used 27 times) for people from Scotland.

As noted above, select demonyms of host community members are synonyms. Although the host community is composed of people from the UK (which includes the nations of England, Wales, Northern Ireland, and Scotland), the deonym “British” (a descriptor frequently used in the discourse to describe people from the UK) is not synonymous with the demonyms used to identify host community members from specific UK regions. Although the deonym “British” and word “UK” were used as qualifiers for the word “citizen,” the discourse also noted that this deonym was not always interchangeable for the demonyms of specific UK regions (and thus not a synonym for people from the UK). An example of this in the discourse is an article in the *Daily Express* (Article 39), which stated “two-thirds of people in Scotland consider themselves ‘Scottish only’ rather than British. A report last year found that less than a fifth of

Scotland's population describe themselves as ‘Scottish and British.’” Figure 7 (below) illustrates the hyponymous relations between host community demonyms in the newspaper discourse.

**Figure 7: Hyponymous relations: Host community**



*Figure 7. Relations between hyponyms and the hypernym *People born in the UK*.*

The relationship between the hypernym “People born in the UK” and hyponyms is asymmetric (as shown above in Figure 7). Although the demonyms British, English, Scottish, Northern Irish, and Welsh are all hyponyms of people born in the UK, someone who identifies as English is not necessarily Scottish, Northern Irish, or Welsh (although it is certainly possible). People born in the UK may identify by both the demonym for their individual country as well as by the demonym “British” (used to identify people from the broader UK region); however, as evidenced in the example from Article 39 (noted above), it is possible for someone to live in the UK but not identify as British.

### **Relational Values in Newspaper Discourse**

The relational value of words is focused on how a “text’s choice of wordings depends on, and helps create, social relationships between participants. Analysis of relational values in this study focused primarily on the use of relational antonyms and metaphors in text.

Antonyms are normally considered an experiential value in CDA (along with synonyms and hyponyms), but Fairclough (1989) suggests that words

frequently hold both relational values simultaneously with other values. Antonyms in this study were used to illustrate the semantic contrast between immigrants and host community members in newspaper discourse. Comparison of antonyms in this study was important for revealing presuppositions in newspaper discourse. Table 11 summarizes the most common descriptors of immigrants and the host community.

**Table 11: Relational antonyms**

<b>Immigrants</b>	<b>Host Community</b>
“stranger”	“local”
“foreign”	“native”
“from war-torn countries”	“from within Britain”
“minority”	“shared identity”
“illegal”	“citizen”
“sponger” “dependent on welfare” “freeloader”	“hardworking” “taxpayers” “unemployed”
“criminals”	“victims”

These antonyms were used for the clear purpose of comparing attributes and traits of immigrants and host communities. The emphasis of these antonyms is on the differences of immigrant origin and status. Immigrants were described as strangers from foreign places of conflict (be it social or economic) with questionable legal status in the UK. While members of the host community were shown to contribute to UK society through their contribution to the welfare system, immigrants were described as those who took advantage of those systems and created conflict in communities.

Two main metaphors were identified in this study, the first “moving waters” referred to immigrants and immigration; the second, referred to host community members as “foreigners” in their own country.

#### *Immigrants and Immigration as Moving Waters*

The metaphor of immigration as moving waters was the most prevalent in the newspaper discourse; the water metaphor appeared in 17 articles (23.9% of newspaper articles), 13 of which (76.5%) were published in the *Daily Express*.

The majority of linguistic realizations of this metaphor represented the impact of immigration as running water; examples of this in the discourse include: “influx,” “flood,” “flow,” “wave,” “surge,” and “watered.” The use of this metaphor corresponded with concerns regarding numbers of immigrants entering the UK in all but one article (Article 64), which referred to “how watered-down” Scottish “national musical institutions” have become with foreigners from EU countries.

Two instances of this metaphor referred to non-running water; the first associated the effect of immigrant labor supply with “stagnant wages” in Britain (Article 27), the second referred to Scotland as a “reservoir of talent for other economies and societies” (Article 81). This article argued that “intelligent immigration policies” were needed in order to attract and retain “talent from abroad.”

#### *Foreigners in Their Own Country*

The metaphor regarding host community members as foreigners in their own country appeared in 10 articles (14.1% of newspaper discourse) and present in the discourse of all three newspapers. The majority of linguistic

realizations of this metaphor referred to members of the host community as “foreigners,” and “fee refugees” (explained further below).

The various descriptors associated with this metaphor were used to illustrate: (1) forecasted outcomes with the impact of an independent Scotland on the identity and relationships between Scotland and the rest of the UK (and their demonyms); (2) comparisons between the rights of host community members and immigrants, resulting from flawed immigration policies.

The most prevalent forecasted outcome of an independent Scotland included the discussion of previous legislation that enabled universities in Scotland to charge tuition fees to students from other parts of the UK. Full-time enrollment in university education in Scotland was previously free, but due to the increases in tuition elsewhere in the UK, Scottish universities were “swamped with fee refugees” from England. This legislation was passed in 2011, but the metaphor was used in association with an independent Scotland, in which tuition fees would be charged to “English foreigners, though not other foreigners . . . by turning them [English students] into a “special category of Europeans.” Along the same lines, an article noted an advertisement by the No campaign addressing the effects of cross-Border healthcare and claimed “sick Scottish children would be forced to get into a queue with foreigners.” Letters in the discourse referred to this metaphor in reference to the effect on identity and belonging amongst members of the host community members from different countries in the UK in the event that Scotland become independent:

I did my National Service in Scotland and have many Scottish friends. Do I have to consider these friends foreigners? (Article 12)

I AM a Londoner and proud of it, but I've lived in Scotland since 1964. I served in the Black Watch and I'm proud to wear the kilt. However if

Scotland does become independent I and my family do not wish to live in a foreign land. (Article 59)

I hope to remain British even if I become a foreigner in my own land. (Article 60)

One article stated, “refugees and asylum seekers are getting what the people in this country should be getting, instead of freezing and going hungry to make ends meet” (Article 4), thus representing the experience of host community members in terms of the perceived experiences (or entitlements) of immigrants. Another article (Article 77) criticized immigration policy in the UK, which required UK citizens with spouses born outside the EU earn higher wages in order to reside in the UK with their foreign spouse. These new restrictions resulted in the “exile” of “UK citizens abroad” and breached “the right to family life for thousands of British citizens.”

### **Interpretation of Newspaper Texts**

To investigate the situational context of newspaper discourse, I created subdivisions in the discourse based on Fairclough’s model of CDA into activities, topics, and purpose (1989). The identification of activities in discourse is the most general subdivision made in CDA. Identification of activities in newspaper discourse allowed me to identify distinctive topics or themes present in newspaper discourse.

#### **Activities in Newspaper Discourse**

##### *Daily Record*

The *Daily Record* featured the smallest number of articles on the topic of immigration in this sample. Eleven articles were published in the *Daily Record* between September 16, 2013 and September 17, 2014. Out of the 11 articles



from the *Daily Record* included in this sample, seven articles (64%) referred to immigration issues related to the Independence Referendum.

Immigration issues related to the Independence Referendum referred to concerns of politicians and political parties in the UK, participation in voting, immigration policies, and culture and identity in Scotland. Additional activities in the discourse of the *Daily Record* include: immigrant related events, personal anecdotes of immigrants, and concerns regarding immigration. Attitudes towards immigration in the *Daily Record* were split; of the 11 articles published on the topic of immigration, three articles portrayed immigration negatively (27.3%) and three articles portrayed immigration positively (27.3%). The remaining five articles (45.6%) portrayed immigration in a neutral manner.

The first article published in 2013, reported on a photography exhibit in Glasgow that “shares the stories of migrants who have brought their talents to our shores” (Article 1). The exhibit “intended to provoke a more positive discussion about migration in the light of so much recent negativity around immigration issues.” The event was organized by the charity, Migrant Voice, in response to the Go Home posters in Glasgow and a new immigration bill that are leading to a “toxic atmosphere and the development of increasing hostility, xenophobia, discrimination and intolerance towards immigrants.”

Three of the articles (Articles 2, 3, and 7) published by the *Daily Record* provided personal stories and anecdotes of immigrants in Scotland. Articles 2 and 3 were short narratives of immigrants living in Glasgow. The primary foci of these articles are the obstacles encountered by these individual immigrants when they first moved to the UK and how they adapted to their “new life as a stranger” in Glasgow (Article 2). Mahdi, a refugee from Iran, talked about how

playing and later coaching football was very “useful” in becoming “very close with that community” (Article 2). Marta, a Polish migrant, works at the University of Glasgow in the geology department. Both articles note the initial language problems encountered. “As a foreigner,” Mahdi couldn’t talk to his teammates because he didn’t know the language. He thought his teammates were yelling at him because they didn’t like him, but they “wanted . . . and needed” him in the game (Article 2). Marta “had a good command of English . . . [but] couldn’t understand anybody. It seemed . . . that people spoke with a Scandinavian accent all the time” (Article 3). One day Marta went to Kelvingrove Art Gallery with her daughter where they were the two-millionth visitors, “we were surrounded by officials and cameras . . . . Since then we have just loved Glasgow.”

The main activity of Article 7 was an announcement of an upcoming football match between Poland and Scotland and featured short interviews with “Polish migrants” who planned to watch the match and concentrated on what team they were planning to cheer on. “I have been in Scotland seven years. I will be on Poland but I wish the very best of luck [to Scotland], too” (Article 7). Quotes from “Scotland’s Polish community” were accompanied with details on the match and statistics regarding “Polish-born people” in Scotland. The Independence Referendum was referenced in relation to the Scottish Government’s pledge to “loosen restrictions on immigration should the country vote in favour of independence.”

Article 4 was a letter submitted to the *Daily Record* from a community member in Cumbernauld, Scotland. The letter expressed concerns over cuts to

pensions, which the author attributed to “Refugees and asylum seekers . . . getting what the people in this country should be getting.”

The rest of the year’s coverage in the *Daily Record* concentrated on the concerns of politicians and political parties in the UK regarding the Independence Referendum in relation to activities such as tuition for English students studying in Scotland, participation in voting, immigration policies, and culture and identity in Scotland.

Two articles (Article 5 and 6) discussed a decision made by Scotland’s Cabinet Secretary for Education (announced in 2011, enacted in 2012) to enable universities in Scotland to charge tuition fees to students from England, Wales, and Northern Ireland. The main activities of the article were centered on how the SNP would continue “discriminating against English students under independence” (Article 5). The article referenced EU law, which makes it “illegal to discriminate against other member states but not against parts of member states.” The articles indicate the SNP independence plan will continue to charge fees to students from England “even though England would be another EU state.” Several references are made to the current SNP Education Secretary, Mike Russell, who “claimed Scotland would be swamped by ‘fee refugees’ if they extended their policy of free university education to the rest of the UK” (Article 6). The dispute in higher education tuition was described by the Deputy Leader of Scottish Liberal Democrats as an attempt to “portray the referendum contest as one ‘between different values in Scotland from England’” (Article 6). The activity is used as an example of “growing concern the independence debate is turning nasty” as the Independence Referendum grows closer (Article 6).

A campaign by the Electoral Commission to encourage people to vote in the Independence Referendum was discussed, in addition to crucial issues tied to the Independence Referendum (Article 9). Statistics describing voters were presented, with an emphasis on “those least likely to vote in referendums” such as the “young, people from poor backgrounds and ethnic minorities” and “EU migrants coming to Scotland . . . who have the right to vote but who often fail to get registered through lack of information” (Article 9). Welfare, health, social care, education, the economy, and immigration were issues noted as important issues in the Independence Referendum (Articles 11, 12).

Concerns regarding culture and identity in the UK were expressed in relation to voting in the Independence Referendum with acknowledgement of the “common ties that Scots, Northern Irish, English, and Welsh people have developed over centuries” (Article 10). Concerns regarding the negative effects of an independent Scotland were raised by the No campaign. Claims included that the referendum is “forcing [people] to choose between their British, and to some, Scottish identities” (Article 10). These concerns were in contrast to quotes from the general public, which focused on voter (from both pro-independence and pro-Union) distrust for the No campaign expressed through statements such as “They have treated Scots as second class citizens as usual” and “Why is it just now that they are making these promises?” (in reference to promises for greater devolution for the Scottish Government; Article 12).

### *Daily Express*

The *Daily Express* featured the largest number of articles published on the topic of immigration in this sample. Forty-five articles were published in the *Daily Express* between September 16, 2013 and September 17, 2014. Out of the

three newspapers included in this sample, the *Daily Express* had the lowest percentage of articles that referred to immigration issues related to the Independence Referendum. Only 20% of articles (nine articles) published in the *Daily Express* included activities in reference to the Independence Referendum.

Most of the activities published in the *Daily Express* revolved around issues regarding immigration policy and the negative impacts of immigration. Concerns regarding immigration largely revolved around pensions, benefits (e.g. child, welfare, disability, etc.), social services, health service, schools, housing, wages and employment (Articles 14, 15, 22, 23, 27, 29, 30, 33, 35, 42, 57). Activities revolved around how the “interests of the British working-class” have been “grievously betrayed” by political parties who have assisted in removing “restrictions on migrants” (Article 15).

The *Daily Express'* coverage continued with reports of crimes and “antisocial behaviour” by immigrants (Article 15). Three of these articles (Articles 16, 17 and 18) reported the details of a case in which “Roma migrants” offered to sell a chip shop owner in Sheffield, England their baby for £250. The incident occurred in a “suburb said to be ‘beyond the breaking point’ following an influx of Roma migrants” (Article 18). Additional crimes reported in the *Daily Record* included reports from “frightened locals” that included “gangs of up to 50 men gather[ing] to drink alcohol and chant vile songs,” prostitution, and drug dealing (Article 18). Two other articles referred to pickpocketing in the London Underground as “Romanian” and “migrant” crime waves (Articles 26 and 28). These articles referenced statistics from the Ministry of Justice and British Transport Police files regarding an increase in pickpocketing and numbers of “jailed Romanians.”

Accusations of fraud were also reported, citing examples such as “bogus benefits scams,” abuse of EU freedom-of-movement rules, and “sham marriages” (Article 31). Articles on criminal activity were centered on the frequency and regularity of crimes attributed to immigrants, and more specifically, immigrants from Eastern European countries.

The issue of immigration resettlement and their adjustment in communities was another activity covered throughout the *Daily Express*. One article included contrasting opinions on the adjustment of “Roma people” who “simply wish to live peaceful and improve their lot;” however, the article also noted that in order to do so “they would have to change their culture . . . and there is precious little evidence of that” (Article 16). The Westminster Communities Secretary, Eric Pickles, criticized local councils for their “waste” of money on the translation of documents into different languages, “giving the impression that there is neither incentive nor urgency to learn English” (Article 20). The inability of immigrants to “speak English properly” was portrayed as a societal problem that leads to a “breaking down” of communities (Article 20). The activity of immigrant resettlement and adjustment was also associated with the identity of host communities. “Mass immigration” and “multi-culturalism” was described as accelerating the loss of national identity (Article 37).

A prominent activity regarding identity in the UK revolved around the Independence Referendum. Two letters expressed concerns that an independent Scotland would affect their identity as a “Brit,” turning them into a “foreigner” in their own land (Articles 59, 60).

*The Scotsman*

Fifteen articles published in the *The Scotsman* between September 16, 2013 and September 17, 2014 are included in this study. Seventy-three percent of the articles (11 articles) from *The Scotsman* included activities in reference to the Independence Referendum. Activities that dominated the discourse of the *The Scotsman* were those concerned with immigration issues as they related to the Independence Referendum. These articles hypothesized the implications of Scottish independence on Scotland and the larger UK and described different approaches and appeals from both the Yes and No campaigns.

Arguments for Scottish independence cited current UK Government immigration policies that “run counter to Scotland’s needs” (Article 81) and emphasized the importance of creating policies that would enable Scotland to not only attract immigrants to the country, but also retain Scots, citing both immigration and emigration statistics for Scotland. “Healthy population growth is vital for our future economic growth and so the continuing increase in these figures is welcome news . . . . We value the contribution migrants make to our economy, our culture and our society” (Article 84). Criticisms regarding the Westminster coalition government’s immigration policy were raised, in reference to their impact on attracting students to Scottish universities from abroad and the inclusion of students in the UK government’s net migration targets (Article 88).

Two political columns drew attention to opinion polls that found “Britons vastly overestimate the scale” and contributed the misrepresentation of immigration concerns to coverage by the “hysterical press” (Article 77). The first column redirected attention to areas of concerns related to Westminster policy regarding the “tens of thousands of bona fide British citizens [that] have been

virtually exiled abroad” due to the fact that they have spouses born outside of the EU. This concern was illustrated using three examples of “talented, hard-working Scots” who do not earn the minimum yearly income threshold of £18,600 pounds (approximately \$25,000 USD) “for any UK citizen trying to return with a foreign spouse” (Article 77). The article details how these couples have opted to either live in separate countries, live outside of the UK and EU, or live in a different EU country in order to stay together. The “crackdown” on non-EU immigration is described as “shamelessly unfair, emotionally cruel and economically pointless” and concludes by asking if an independent Scotland could do better (Article 77). The second political column criticized mainstream UK politicians for failures to “challenge the myths and lies on which negative attitudes to immigration are often based . . . [and failure to] emphasise the huge positive contribution to British society” made by immigrants (Article 87). Particular attention was drawn to the “out of touch” politicians of Westminster that drive voters towards “reactionary forms of popular politics, including the racist and the xenophobic” such as UK Independence (UKIP) politician, Nigel Farage.

Statements by politicians advocating for the Better Together campaign (No campaign) expressed their concerns regarding the implications of independence on the identity of host community members insisting that “English people are not foreigners” (Article 80). The SNP was accused of appealing to a “single Scottish identity” in the referendum campaign, and “poisoning relations in the UK by pretending there are different Scottish and English values” (Article 76).

Arguments from Labour leaders focused on the establishment of border controls between Scotland and England. “It’s certainly the case that we would



have to have a look at the issue of a border if we've got different immigration policies . . . . by saying No in the referendum, the people of Scotland can say Yes to the campaign to change Britain as a whole" (Article 89). The SNP referred to the discussion of border controls as "scaremongering," and a Scottish Government spokesman stated that Scotland would continue to be part of the open-border "common travel area with the rest of the UK," citing the example of the Irish Republic, which has no border checks with Northern Ireland. "The common travel areas already allows for different and independent immigration policies" (Article 89).

One letter and two articles discussed issues relating to diversity and immigration as the focus of art and cultural events in Scotland and shed light on both negative and positive perceptions of immigrations. A letter submitted by a reader, applauds and references an article by Ken Walton, which questions the credibility of "Scotland's cultural identity" in a world where Scotland is an independent nation. The Scottish Opera and Scottish Ballet are criticized for "filling positions with foreigners" while "ignoring musicians from south of the Border" (Article 64). In contrast to the letter, another article applauds *Hyperion*, a show featured in Glasgow that offers "a sense of how Glasgow's culture is being subtly expanded by the many new waves of migrants who have arrived in the last 15 years" (Article 90). Another article discusses political theatre in Edinburgh at Theatre Uncut, which encourages "people to discover their own opinion" by featuring art and plays depicting both negative and positive portrayals of immigration. The co-artistic director of Theatre Uncut, Emma Callandar, emphasizes the role of empathy in theatre and the influence of theatre on people's perceptions of issues such as immigration.

## Topics and Themes in Newspaper Discourse

Topical analysis served the purpose of providing an overview of the activities in discourse. As Thweatt (2004) notes, topics in CDA are individual concepts that stand for complex issues present within articles of a newspaper. “Each article has its own, unique, activities, which do not consist of a single topic but of a more complex structure of concepts” (Thweatt, 2004, p. 73). For example, the topic *Legislation* includes such activities as “To pass the new Habitual Residence Test, migrants will have to answer more individually detailed tailored questions” (Article 22) or “It's certainly the case that we would have to have a look at the issue of a border if we've got different immigration policies” (Article 89). Accordingly, activities always refer to specific events, actions, and people. Similar topics were grouped into themes in order to make connections between activities and topics in newspaper articles as well as the participants in discourse and their relations.

### *Themes and Topics*

The analysis of news content resulted in three themes that encircled 11 topics. The themes were as follows: (1) Immigrants: Who are they? (2) Immigration Issues; (3) Host Communities and Immigration. Each theme consisted of several topics. Topics discussed in relation to the Independence Referendum were noted. Only one theme included a topic specifically concerned with the referendum (Voting and the Referendum, under the theme *Host Communities and Immigration*).

The theme *Immigrants: Who are they?* is organized around four topics that dealt with the portrayal of immigrant identities and character. These topics include: (1) Testimonials (narrative pieces from the perspectives of immigrants);

(2) Information on countries from which immigrants are coming and/or reasons immigrants were coming to the UK; (3) Categories of immigrants (differentiations made between *types* of immigrants, e.g. illegal immigrants, asylum seekers, migrants, etc.); and (4) Value of immigrants.

A total of 18 articles (25.4% of the total number of articles included in this study) were classified under the theme *Immigrants: Who are they?* The *Daily Express* had the greatest number of articles included in this theme, with a total of ten articles (55.6% of the total articles within this theme); four articles (22.2%) in this theme were published by the *Daily Record*, and four articles (22.2%) were published in *The Scotsman*. The breakdown of articles by topic within the theme are displayed in Table 12 (below).

**Table 12: Articles per topic for the theme, Immigrants: Who are they?**

Topics		<i>Daily Record</i>	<i>Daily Express</i>	<i>The Scotsman</i>	Total by topic
Topic 1		3 (100)	0	0	3 (16.7)
Topic 2		0	5 (100)	0	5 (27.8)
Topic 3		0	1 (100)	0	1 (5.6)
Topic 4	Negative	0	4 (44.45)	0	9 (50.0)
	Positive	1 (11.1)	0	4 (44.45)	
<b>*Total</b>		4 (22.2)	10 (55.6)	4 (22.2)	<b>18 (100)</b>

Numbers noted in parenthesis indicate the percentage of articles by topic or theme.

\* Total number of articles by newspaper as percentage of total theme.

Articles on the topic of narrative pieces from the perspectives of immigrants were only present in the *Daily Record*, accounting for 16.7% of the total articles for this theme. Topics 2 and 3 communicated information on the countries from which immigrants were coming, the reasons they were moving to the UK, and descriptions of different categories of immigrants (e.g. refugees,

asylum seekers, migrants, etc.). There were five articles (27.8% of the articles in this theme) on Topic 2, which was present only in the discourse of the *Daily Express*; Topic 3 was the main topic of only one article (5.6%), published in the *Daily Record*. Topic 4 was the most prominent topic within this theme and concerned with the value made by immigrants. This topic included nine articles (50% of this theme's discourse) and was the only topic in this theme where articles from all three newspapers were present. Topic 4 was subdivided by negative and positive contributions of immigrants. Out of the nine articles within this topic, four portrayed the contributions of immigrants as negative; all four of these articles were published in the *Daily Express*. The remaining five articles in this topic were positive; one was published in the *Daily Record* and the additional four were published in *The Scotsman*.

Only three articles out of the 18 published (16.7%) under the theme *Immigrants: Who are they?* referenced the Independence Referendum. One of these articles was published in the *Daily Record* (under the topic *Testimonials*) and the other two were published in *The Scotsman* (under the topic *Value of immigrants*).

The theme *Immigration Issues* is organized around three topics that discussed legal issues regarding immigration. These topics include: (5) Legislation; (6) Welfare and employment; and (7) Political ideology.

A total of 25 articles (35.2% of the total number of articles included in this study) were published under the theme *Immigration Issues*. The *Daily Express* had the greatest number of articles published under this theme, with a total of 20 articles (80% of the total articles within this theme); four articles (16%) were published by *The Scotsman* under this theme, and one (4%) in the *Daily Record*.

The breakdown of articles by topic within the theme are displayed in Table 13 (below).

**Table 13: Articles per topic for the theme, Immigration Issues**

<b>Topic</b>	<b>Daily Record</b>	<b>Daily Express</b>	<b>The Scotsman</b>	<b>Total by topic</b>
Topic 5	0	8 (80)	2 (20)	10 (40)
Topic 6	1 (9.1)	10 (90.9)	0	11 (44)
Topic 7	0	2 (50)	2 (50)	4 (16)
<b>*Total</b>	<b>1 (4)</b>	<b>20 (80)</b>	<b>4 (16)</b>	<b>25 (100)</b>

Numbers noted in parenthesis indicate the percentage of articles by topic or theme.  
 \* Total number of articles by newspaper as percentage of total theme.

Ten articles were published on the topic of legislation (40% of the articles within this theme); eight of these articles were published in the *Daily Express*, and two in *The Scotsman*. The largest percentage of articles (44%) within this theme was attributed to Topic 6, regarding the impact of immigration on welfare and employment. Of the 11 articles published under this topic, one was published in the *Daily Record* and 10 in the *Daily Express*. Topic 7 included the least number of articles in this theme; two were published in the *Daily Express* and two were published in *The Scotsman*.

Five out of the 25 articles published (20%) under the theme *Immigrant Issues* referenced the Independence Referendum. Two of these articles were published in the *Daily Express* (under the topics *Legislation* and *Welfare and employment*); the remaining three were published in *The Scotsman* (two under the topic *Legislation* and one under the topic *Political Ideology*).

The theme *Host Communities and Immigration* is organized around four topics; these topics include: (8) Support from host communities; (9) Host

community identity; (10) Attitudes towards changing demographics; and (11) Voting and the Referendum.

The theme, *Host Communities and Immigration*, included the largest number of articles (28, 39.4% of the total articles) in this study. The *Daily Express* had the greatest number of articles published under this theme, with a total of 15 articles (53.6% of the total articles within this theme); seven articles (25%) were published in *The Scotsman* under this theme, and six articles (21.4%) were published in the *Daily Record*. The breakdown of articles by topic within this theme are displayed in (Table 14, below).

**Table 14: Articles per topic for the theme, Host Communities & Immigration**

Topic	<i>Daily Record</i>	<i>Daily Express</i>	<i>The Scotsman</i>	Total by topic
Topic 8	0	0	1 (14.25)	1 (3.6)
Topic 9	4 (66.7)	4 (26.7)	3 (42.9)	11 (39.25)
Topic 10	0	9 (60)	2 (28.6)	11 (39.25)
Topic 11	2 (33.3)	2 (13.3)	1 (14.25)	5 (17.9)
<b>*Total</b>	6 (21.4)	15 (53.6)	7 (25)	<b>28 (100)</b>

Numbers noted in parenthesis indicate the percentage of articles present by topic or theme.  
 \* Total number of articles by topic, percentage of articles included in theme.

One article was published in *The Scotsman* on the topic of support from the host community (3.6% of the articles within this theme). The largest percentages of articles were published on Topics 9 (host community identity) and 10 (attitudes towards changing demographics; 39.25% each) within this theme. Five articles were published on Topic 11, voting in the Referendum (17.9% of the articles within this theme).

In addition to the five articles published on the topic of voting in the Referendum, an additional 15 articles (from the 28 included in this theme) referenced the Independence Referendum. In total, 71.4% of articles included in

the theme *Host Communities and Immigration* were related to the Independence Referendum. Four of these articles were published in the *Daily Record* (under Topic 9); six were published in the *Daily Express* (three each under Topics 9 and 10), and five in *The Scotsman* (one each in Topics 8 and 10, and three under Topic 9). The themes and topics of the newspaper discourse are summarized in Appendix C.

### **Relationships Between Participants in the Newspaper Discourse**

Four main groups of participants were represented in discourse of newspapers: (1) immigrants; (2) non-political organizations; (3) political entities/individuals; (4) host community members. Identification of participants in the newspaper discourse was important as it assisted me in better understanding the relationships between discourse participants. Although four groups of participants were identified in the newspaper discourse, analyses focused primarily on the relationship between immigrants and the host community.

The first group, immigrants, was comprised of ethnic and cultural groups of immigrants described in the discourse. The second group, non-political organizations (such as charities, systems, and companies), refers to officials/administrators from both government and non-government affiliated organizations without specified political orientations. Within this group, non-government organizations included: Migrant Voice, TaxPayers' Alliance, Migration Watch, Civitas, Scottish Ballet, and Scottish Opera, Theatre Uncut, and IPSOS Mori. Government organizations included: job centers, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), and the National Health Service (NHS). The third group, political parties/individuals, included representatives from political

parties (e.g. Tony Blair and Gordon Brown) and individuals from both sides of the Independence Referendum campaigns (e.g. Yes campaign and Better Together). The fourth group includes individuals from the host community.

Relations among the discourse participants were complex. For the purposes of this study, analysis concentrated on the description of relationships between discourse participants and immigrants/immigration.

### *Immigrants in Newspaper Discourse*

Immigrants accounted for the smallest group of participants in the discourse of newspapers. Only four articles in the discourse included immigrant participation. Three of these were published in the *Daily Record*, and one was published in the *Daily Express*. Immigrant participation in the *Daily Record* concentrated on the positive relationship between immigrants and host community members. In one article, an immigrant participant noted the similarities between the “Polish and the Scots” (Article 7); however, despite the fact that immigrants in the discourse felt “very close” with the host community (Article 2) and “proud” (Article 3) of their contributions to Scottish society, the participants did not consider themselves (even as long-term residents), part of the community. The relationship in this discourse demonstrated strong social ties, but included a slight degree of distance.

The fourth article featuring the participation of an immigrant in the discourse was published in the *Daily Express* and described the relationship between an immigrant, Nicola (who had resided in the UK for ten years), and new immigrants present in her neighborhood. Originally from Sri Lanka, Nicola was married to an English man. Although the article referred to Nicola and her husband as “locals,” I made the conscious decision during analysis to include



Nicola as an example of immigrant participation in the discourse. This is because despite the reference to her status as a “local” in the article, her origin and duration of time in the UK was still noted. Additionally, Nicola did not use language indicating that she, herself, identified as a part of the host community.

Nicola described a negative relationship between herself and the immigrants present in her neighborhood. “This is nothing like the England I had read about. These people [the Romas] are just so rude, they make no effort to integrate and don't even learn basic words like please and thank you” (Article 18).

#### *Immigrants and Non-Political Organizations in Newspaper Discourse*

Non-political organizations participated in the discourse of the *Daily Express* (five articles) and *The Scotsman* (one article). In the discourse, immigrants were engaged in two different types of relationships with non-political organizations, (1) as the voice of immigrants; as well as (2) an intermediary between immigrants and government policies. Both of these relationships may be classified as relationships of dependency.

Non-political organizations such as Migrant Voice, Theatre Uncut, IPSOS Mori, and the BBC were portrayed as both advocates and “support networks” (Article 47) that justified the presence of immigrants and/or challenged government policies on behalf of immigrant contribution and welfare. Non-political organizations also played an intermediary between political agencies/individuals and immigrants by assisting immigrants with benefit claims as well as job hunting. This relationship was portrayed in two different ways, as a responsibility of non-governmental organizations to assist the

government in hitting immigration targets and enabling government policy or as an obstacle that hinders the government from accomplishing its objectives.

### *Immigrants and Political Parties in Newspaper Discourse*

Political parties participated in the discourse of three articles in the *Daily Record*, 30 articles in the *Daily Express*, and six articles in the *The Scotsman*. The relationship between political parties and immigrants were described in two different ways, according to the (1) conservative or liberal orientation of a political party and its relationship to immigration policy or support for immigration-related services; and (2) whether or not these political parties were affiliated with the Yes or No campaign for Scottish Independence. The relationships between immigrants and political parties and party affiliations to the Independence Referendum could be described as tense.

Former Labour Party politicians described a positive relationship between the Scottish National, Liberal Democrat, and Labour parties and immigration policy. Although the relationship was described through a positive association between the parties and immigration, this relationship was portrayed negatively in much of the discourse. Former and current approaches to immigration by these parties made the UK an “easy option” and “magnet for foreign freeloaders” (Article 15). Primary tensions in the discourse revolved around the relationship of political parties that had supported immigration policies. These tensions portrayed the relationship between immigrants and the UK government as “abusive” (Articles 28, 31) and revolved around disagreements regarding policies and their implications for the UK Government versus Scotland. Immigrants took advantage of the “labour market” (Article 31) through “relaxed rules” (Article 10).

These tense relations were also visible between the UK Government and the EU. Support for the EU was illustrated as being in conflict with the UK Government, whose plans “for cutting annual net immigration” were unachievable “without doing away with European Union laws” (Article 47). “Abuse of EU free movement” (Article 31) had “driven policy off course” in the UK (Article 36).

Although the Labour Party was affiliated with immigration “problems” stemming from previous party policies and actions, the party’s association with the Better Together campaign appeared to lessen tensions in the discourse between the Labour Party and UK Government. This was particularly visible in articles that referred to the Labour Party’s support for “stricter” approaches to border control, in the event of a “Yes vote” (Article 89). As the political party associated with the Yes campaign, the SNP was associated with relaxed rules and policies for immigration that were aimed at “attracting immigrants to pay pensions” (Article 10) and support the “particular needs” of Scotland (Article 88). Party affiliation with the Yes and No campaigns were illustrated through the impact of an independent Scotland on the UK Government and host communities.

#### *Immigrants and Host Communities in Newspaper Discourse*

The relationship between host community participants in the discourse and immigrants was the most prominent in this study. Host community members participated in the discourse of five articles in the *Daily Record*, 30 articles in the *Daily Express*, and 11 articles in the *The Scotsman*. Members of the host community participated in the discourse by writing letters to the editor, editorials, and commentaries. Individual members of the host community were

also interviewed in several articles regarding crimes attributed to immigrants and issues regarding voting in the Independence Referendum. With the exception of two articles in the discourse, relations between the host community and immigrants were strained.

Immigrants were portrayed as dependent on the resources of host community members and had “stepped in to take jobs” (Article 30) and benefits that “the people in this country should be getting” (Article 4). Another source of tension among immigrants and host community members was crime, which portrayed host community members “at the hands of a particular group” (Article 28).

The two articles in the discourse, which featured host community participation that did not express tension, related to host community participation in the arts. The first, included a statement from a photographer who participated in an art exhibit highlighting the role of immigrants “as an integral part of the community” and applauded the “contribution to life” immigrants have made to their “new home in Scotland” (Article 1). The second article reviewed a play that offers “a sense of how Glasgow's culture is being subtly expanded by the many new waves of migrants who have arrived in the last 15 years” (Article 90). These articles, although sparse, portrayed the relationship between individuals of the host community and immigrants as one of perceived unity.

### **Connections in Newspaper Discourse**

The only statistically significant relationships discovered in the newspaper discourse involved the variable, Independence Referendum. Statistically significant relationships in the discourse of newspapers include

relationships between references to the Independence Referendum and: (1) the newspaper, (2) newspaper themes, and (3) attitudes towards immigration.

#### *Independence Referendum and Newspaper*

The relationship between newspapers and the Independence Referendum was tested through a 2 (articles that referenced the Independence Referendum in relation to immigration issues: yes – the article made this reference or no – the Independence Referendum was not referenced in relation to immigration issues) X 3 (newspaper: *Daily Record*, *Daily Express*, and *The Scotsman*) design. The following hypothesis were tested:

(1)  $H_0$  (Null): No association between the newspaper and their references to the Independence Referendum.

(2)  $H_1$  (Alternate): There is an association. Articles that referenced the Independence Referendum in relation to immigration issues depends on the newspaper.

As previously stated in Chapter 4, one of the requirements necessary in order to conduct a chi-square test is that the expected frequencies of a variable be large enough to conduct the test. The initial test revealed that only one of the cells (16.7% of the total cells) had less than five as an expected frequency and was thus eligible for a chi-square test.

As shown in Figure 8 (below), the chi-square value ( $\chi^2$ ) is 15.496, with two degrees of freedom (= [number of columns – 1][number of rows-1]; df). The p-value (probability that the chi-square statistic having two degrees of freedom is more extreme than 15.496) is .000.

Since the p-value ( $\chi^2 > 15.496$ ) = .000 is less than the significance level of .05, I could not accept the null hypothesis; there is a statistically significant

association between the two variables. Articles that reference the Independence Referendum in relation to immigration issues are more likely to be in some newspapers than others. In addition to observing a relationship between these two values, the strength of this significance was also investigated. This was done by looking at Cramer's  $V = .467$  (with two df and a significance level of less than .05), which indicates a strong relationship.

**Figure 8: Contingency tables for Independence Referendum by newspaper**

**Case Processing Summary**

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Referendum * Newspaper	71	100.0%	0	0.0%	71	100.0%

**Referendum \* Newspaper Crosstabulation**

			Newspaper			Total
			Daily Record	Daily Express	The Scotsman	
Referendum	No	Count	4	35	4	43
		Expected Count	6.7	27.3	9.1	43.0
	Yes	Count	7	10	11	28
		Expected Count	4.3	17.7	5.9	28.0
Total		Count	11	45	15	71
		Expected Count	11.0	45.0	15.0	71.0

**Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	p-value
Pearson Chi-Square	15.496 <sup>a</sup>	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	15.742	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	.940	1	.332
N of Valid Cases	71		

Number used to interpret Chi-Square values for information about chi-square

- a. 1 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.34.

**Symmetric Measures**

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.467	.000
	Cramer's V	.467	.000
N of Valid Cases		71	

Shows the strength of the relationship between the variables

Shows the level of statistical significance of the computed value of Cramer's V

The most dramatic differences between the expected and actual frequencies of articles that referenced the Independence Referendum were visible in the discourse in the *Daily Express*. Based on the fact that the *Daily Express* included the largest number of newspapers in the study, if there were no relationship between the two variables in this study, the actual number of articles related to the Independence Referendum (in relation to immigration issues) would occur more frequently. In contrast, the observed crosstab frequencies of the two variables were much higher in the *Daily Record* and *The Scotsman*, despite the lower number of articles. Immigration issues were more likely to be referred to in reference to the Independence Referendum in the *Daily Record* and *The Scotsman* than in the *Daily Express*. These results are meaningful to this study because they indicate that immigration issues in the *Daily Express*, were referred to in a more general context, rather than in the context of a political event, with significant implications for Scotland and the UK.

#### *Independence Referendum and Themes Present in Newspaper Discourse*

The relationship between themes in the newspaper discourse and the Independence Referendum was tested through a 2 (articles that referenced the Independence Referendum in relation to immigration issues: yes – the article made this reference or no – the Independence Referendum was not referenced in relation to immigration issues) X 3 (theme: Immigrants: Who are they? Immigration Issues; Host Community and Immigration) design. The following hypotheses were tested:



(1)  $H_0$  (Null): There is no association between the theme of newspaper articles and their references to the Independence Referendum.

(2)  $H_1$  (Alternate): There is an association. Articles that referenced the Independence Referendum in relation to immigration issues are dependent on the primary theme expressed in a newspaper article.

Chi-square value ( $\chi^2$ ) is 19.860, with two df; the p-value is .000 (See Appendix D for contingency tables for articles that referenced the Independence Referendum in relation to themes present in newspaper discourse).

Since the p-value ( $\chi^2 > 19.860$ ) = .000 is less than the significance level of .05, I could not accept the null hypothesis; there is a statistically significant association between the two variables. Articles that reference the Independence Referendum in relation to immigration issues are more likely to occur in the theme Host Community and Immigration. In addition to observing a relationship between these two values, the strength of this significance was also investigated. This was done by looking at Cramer's  $V = .529$ , which indicates a very strong relationship.

The most dramatic differences between the expected and actual frequencies of articles that referenced the Independence Referendum were visible in discourse under the theme: Host Community and Immigration. These results are meaningful to this study because they explain how immigration issues are being discussed in relation to the Independence Referendum. The theme Host Communities and Immigration included the largest numbers of articles (28) and were concerned primarily with the identity of host community members and attitudes towards changing demographics.

*Independence Referendum and Themes Present in Newspaper Discourse*

The relationship between attitudes towards immigrants and immigration in the newspaper discourse and the Independence Referendum was tested through a 2 (articles that referenced the Independence Referendum in relation to immigration issues: yes – the article made this reference or no – the Independence Referendum was not referenced in relation to immigration issues) X 3 (attitudes: negative, positive, and neutral) design. The following hypotheses were tested:

(1)  $H_0$  (Null): There is no association between the attitude towards immigration in newspaper articles and references to the Independence Referendum.

(2)  $H_1$  (Alternate): There is an association. Articles that referenced the Independence Referendum in relation to immigration issues are dependent on attitudes towards immigration expressed in newspaper discourse.

Chi-square value ( $\chi^2$ ) is 19.860, with two df; the p-value is .000 (See Appendix D for contingency tables for articles that referenced the Independence Referendum in relation to themes present in newspaper discourse).

Since the p-value ( $\chi^2 > 16.317$ ) = .000 is less than the significance level of .05, I could not accept the null hypothesis; there is a statistically significant association between the two variables. Articles that do *not* reference the Independence Referendum in relation to immigration issues are more likely to contain *negative* attitudes regarding immigration. Articles with positive or neutral attitudes regarding immigration referenced the Independence Referendum. In addition to observing a relationship between these two values (attitudes and Independence Referendum), the strength of this significance was

also investigated. This was done by looking at Cramer's  $V = .479$ , which indicates a strong relationship.

### *Summary*

Strong relationships were found between articles that referenced the Independence Referendum and the newspaper, themes in newspaper articles, and attitudes toward immigration. Although these were the only three testable relationships in the newspaper discourse, from these findings it is discernable that articles referring to immigration issues in the context of the Independence Referendum were strongly associated with positive or neutral attitudes towards immigration and were discussed in relation to the impacts of immigration on the host community. Conversely, negative attitudes regarding immigration were discussed outside of the Independence Referendum.

There was a strong relationship between articles that referred to the Independence Referendum in the discourse of the *Daily Record* and *The Scotsman*. Since references to the Referendum were associated with positive or neutral attitudes towards immigration, it may be ascertained that negative perceptions of immigration were most prevalent in the discourse of the *Daily Express*, which had lower frequencies of articles related to the Referendum.

### **Interviews**

Twenty-one face-to-face interviews with individuals from Alness, Fort William, and Inverness (for community profiles, see Chapter 2) throughout Summer 2014 constituted the second set of data for this study. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. In total, over nine hours worth of interview data was collected. As stated in Chapter 4, participation was limited to UK-born members of the community who had resided in the area for at least 10

years (for information on the recruitment of interview participants, see Chapter 4).

Participants ranged in age from 19 to 87 and lived within their respective communities for 10 to 70 years. The large age range of interview participants is reflective of both the methods used to recruit participants as well as the demographics of their respective communities. Of the 21 participants interviewed in this study, three men and four women were recruited from Fort William and Inverness; two men and five women were recruited from Alness (for a total of seven participants from each community; see Appendix F for participant demographics by community).

Sixteen interview participants identified as Scottish in study, four as British (two each in Alness and Fort William), and one as Northern Irish (in Alness). Five out of the seven participants recruited in both Alness and Fort William (10 out of 14), were married or widowed. In contrast, only two out of the seven participants recruited in Inverness were married; another two participants identified as being a member of an unmarried couple. Over half of interview participants (13 total) reported having children.

### **Interpretation of Interview Texts**

As previously discussed in Chapters 3 and 5, interpretation of a text is generated through “a combination of what is in the text and what is ‘in’ the interpreter, in the sense of members’ resources (MR)” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 141). Fairclough described MR as procedures that help generate interpretations. Fairclough was quick to note, however, that “common-sense assumptions” are ideological, and as such the use of the term “background knowledge” to describe these procedures is somewhat misleading (or, at least, restrictive; 1989, p. 142).

The interpretation of texts in this study began previously in this chapter with the use of newspaper discourse in order to understand what is said in the newspaper discourse regarding the topic of immigration. An analysis of interview texts was performed to complement the analysis of newspaper texts to provide a greater understanding of what sources inform and shape participants' opinions on the topic of immigration and how authority of information sources is established by individuals. The purpose of which is to understand the underlying assumptions participants hold on the topic of immigration, how opinions are influenced, and the value attributed to different types of information sources.

### **Activities in Interview Discourse**

An analysis of activities in interview discourse was done in order to understand how interview participants interact with sources of information that may influence or inform their opinions on immigrants and immigration.

Activities present in the discourse of interview participants include:

- (1) Interactions with fellow members of the host community, immigrants, and media resources;
- (2) Reflections on sources of information and assumptions of immigration (based on their understanding of familial and regional history or personal experiences);
- (3) Questioning and/or evaluating information encountered (through the media as well as through their interactions with individuals). Activities present in the discourse of interview participants were broken down by community, in order to compare differences and similarities in the sources of information used by Highland communities in this study.

## *Alness*

In the interview discourse of participants in Alness, there were 85 references to activities regarding the use of information sources on the topic of immigrants and immigration.

*Interactions with members of the host community, immigrants, and media resources.* Interactions as a form of activity, accounted for the largest number of references to information sources in interviews with participants in Alness. Out of the 46 references to interactions between interview participants and sources of information in Alness, 12 were with other members of the host community, 25 were with immigrants, and nine were with media sources.

Twelve references were made by interview participants to conversations they had with other host community members. Of these 12 references, the following trends were identified:

- (1) Four references noted that their conversations took place with family members in the community.
- (2) Four references included claims by host community members that immigrants have “come here and taken our jobs” (Participant 4). Two of these four references included statements indicating that the interview participant disagreed with comments made by fellow members of the host community. For example, Participant 5 noted, “If local people would get off their backsides and do things, they would be able to have these jobs.”

Interactions with immigrants accounted for the largest number of interactions noted by interview participants. Twenty-five references were made to interactions with immigrants. Of the 25 interactions, interview participants in Alness interacted with immigrants most frequently by seeing or noticing them

“on the street” (Participant 4; twelve references) and in their neighborhoods (five references). Interactions between interview participants and immigrants also occurred in “shops” (three references), at work (three references), and through their children who go to school with children of immigrants (two references). The majority of interactions between interview participants and immigrants were described in a neutral manner. Of the 25 interactions between participants and immigrants, seven were described in a positive way; for example, Participant 2 stated, “There’s this really nice lady that has a shop on the street. She’s Polish and her husband is Bulgarian, I think. She’s absolutely lovely; she’s a really nice lady. She has her own wee shop.” Five interactions were described as negative, an example of a negative interaction was provided by Participant 7:

Within the last - I'd say three years - they've bought over a lot of the places, like a lot of the shops and that. There's one shop, it used to be a local shop for years, and now I will not use it because the guy is very, he wants to know all your business, do you know what I mean?

Activities regarding the use of media sources to inform opinions on immigration accounted for the smallest number of references in interviews in Alness, with only nine references (total) made to the media in four of the interviews. Participants that noted media sources indicated they read newspapers, listen to the radio, and watch television. Two participants referred to information on immigration from the media in the context of the Independence Referendum. Participant 3 noted the negative nature of the media and its conflict with his attitudes on immigration:

I think [the media] can be quite negative just now because of this Referendum and everything. You know, its more you know, the country will definitely you know improve with different people you know, but its, I don't think they're promoting it right just now.

*Reflections on sources of information and assumptions of immigration based on their understanding of familial and regional history.* There were 26 references to activities regarding reflections and assumptions. Reflections as sources of information on immigration were concerned with previous generations of immigrants in the area (16 references), what it means to “belong” in the community (five references), and assumptions based on personal concerns regarding competition for local resources (i.e. housing and employment; 5 references).

Experiences with previous generations of immigrants in the community provided the largest amount of references to reflections as a source of information. These references referred to the integration of immigrants in the past as well as the need for immigrants in the past. As an example, Participant 4 noted:

During the war there were a lot of people who came and stayed here and married here and there was always a... well they integrated and worked far better. They were locals by the time we grew up. They say hello.

Participant 5, referenced both the history of the country and their own ancestors from the Islands of Scotland:

It's [my opinion] also colored a bit by being [older] and having lived through times when Britain would have really struggled without people coming in from the West Indies to nurse... while our own folk went abroad to a large extent. But my views are colored by that time when we had to have people from other countries come and work for us. I'm quite... maybe I've been made more open minded about it. . . . In fact, if Lewis and Harris were to - if all the people had stayed there who have emigrated over the [years], it would have sunk under the weight of them and the weight of their brains, because some brilliant people have come from there.



Two participants made reference to their own experiences and sense of belonging in the community as a source of information that has influenced their opinions. For example, despite having lived in Alness for 20 years, stated:

I am not a local and I have lived abroad so I'm kind of seeing it from both sides . . . My opinion is, by and large, based on personal experience and my belief, I suppose, in humanity and in diversity and, you know, that there's a place for everybody, regardless of where they come from or what their beliefs are.

Participant 5 noted the experiences of her mother as "Kenneth Murphy's [a pseudonym] English wife" as an influencer of her opinions on immigration. "I think we need to have other people here just to keep all the different views going as well as the changes of blood."

There were five references to competition for local resources, Participant 2, for example, noted:

I know local people that can't get homes. That's not purely down to polish people, its purely down to the fact that we have not got enough houses for our people and to me it seems to me that I don't see why we should have to give asylum seekers a home in our community if our own people have to go without.

Although Participant 2 didn't blame immigrants solely for competition for local resources, she held negative assumptions of immigration based on her experiences over the years. Similarly, Participant 7 associated immigration with his own struggles

[They've] stolen jobs and actually houses as well. I mean, as I said, if they need houses they'll get a house like that. A year ago I landed unemployed after being 16 years with the same company. My sister is totally deaf in her two ears and she was going to hospital and I phoned them up for transport. [The hospital asked] 'How does she normally get about?' I said the bus. 'She'll just have to take the bus.' To me, that's wrong.

Although there was no clear association between his unemployment and his sister's transport issues with the hospital and immigration, Participant 7 associated his negative life experiences with immigration.

*Questioning and/or evaluating information encountered.* There were 12 references by participants in Alness, which noted evaluating information and questioning information received from media sources on the topic of immigration. As an example, Participant 1 noted, "I think you have to filter through that and come to your own conclusion at the end of the day." More specific to the media, Participant 5 noted:

A lot of personal experiences [inform my opinions], more so I would say than the media unless - again going back to Eastern European - and some of the people who have been allowed to come into the country, that their own countries didn't want - the criminal types. We've got quite a lot of our own without importing them. But I try to think fairly. It depends which newspaper you're reading, how fair it is.

#### *Fort William*

In the interview discourse of participants in Fort William, there were 44 references to activities regarding the use of information sources on the topic of immigrants and immigration.

*Interactions with members of the host community, immigrants, and media resources.* Interactions as a form of activity, accounted for the largest number of references to information sources in interviews with participants in Alness. Out of the 25 references to interactions between interview participants and sources of information in Fort William, nine were with other members of the host community, 14 were with immigrants, and two were with media sources.

Nine references were made by interview participants to conversations they had with other host community members. Of these nine references to

interactions with the host community, only one participant noted a family member as a source of information (as opposed to four in Alness), five references were made to work/job related concerns of host community members, and three noted conversations with host community members that took place in pubs. Host community interactions in Fort William revolved primarily around concerns regarding jobs. Three out of the five references indicated that participants disagreed with concerns voiced by host community members. Concerns regarding jobs in Fort William included the perception that immigrants were taking jobs or working for far less than host community members would work, although Participant 8 (who works in fisheries) noted that immigrants were not to fault for these perceived issues:

They [immigrants] don't get paid much less. It's not like they're working for a third of their wages or whatever. That's garbage. I know what they get paid. . . There are some unscrupulous employers who are still taking advantage.

Interactions with immigrants accounted for the largest number of interactions noted by interview participants with fourteen references in Fort William's interview discourse. The interaction between host community members and immigrants in Fort William varied greatly by participant. For example, Participant 8 noted:

There's this kind of viewpoint, because quite a few of the Spanish and Portuguese settled and stayed. There's this kind of, 'oh, they're pals.' Their kids have grown up with everybody . . . whereas the Poles are still at the early stages of that. They haven't been integrated so to speak, so there's still this wall that you get with some people.

Although Participant 8 described immigrants as "pals" to the host community, he also differentiated between generations of immigrants (not unlike the interactions described by participants in Alness). Another participant

described a friendship with an immigrant, but also made it clear that her friend, depended on her:

I have a friend who will be in here shortly . . . She is from Nigeria. I found her soaking wet. I discovered her, I found her. Put a jacket on her and got her a job here. (Participant 9)

Despite the fact that Participant 9 described this immigrant as a friend, she also stated, "I've found her. I love her. I've tried to help her . . . I've introduced her because I like her. I don't like what she stands for." Despite the positive association with an immigrant as a friend, throughout the interview with Participant 9, the relationship was described as one of dependency.

One participant noted they had neighbors who were immigrants and another indicated that they worked with immigrants. An additional three references indicated that immigrants were "seen" around the community at nursing homes, shops, and the fish farm in Fort William, but that they had no direct contact with immigrants. Of the 14 interactions, interview participants in Fort William interacted with immigrants most frequently by seeing or noticing them within the community. Of the 14 interactions between participants and immigrants, six were described in a positive way; for example, Participant 13 stated, "Well the ones I've seen, they're all hard working people. They keep themselves to themselves but I think it's working all right as far as I can see." Only one participant described immigrants in a negative manner (Participant 9, quoted above), although her descriptions of immigrants and immigration were negative, she did not describe her actual interactions in a negative manner.

Activities regarding the use of media sources to inform opinions on immigration accounted for the smallest number of references in interviews in Fort William, with only two references (total) made to the media. The two

participants that noted media sources, specifically as a source on immigration indicated they read newspapers.

*Reflections on sources of information and assumptions of immigration based on their understanding of familial and regional history.* There were 15 references to activities regarding reflections and assumptions. Reflections as sources of information on immigration were concerned with previous generations of immigrants in the area (4 references), the value of contributions from immigrants (8 references), and assumptions developed over time in the community (3 references).

Reflections on previous generations of immigrants to the area and their integration were noted in four references by participants. Participant 8 noted the difference between previous and more recent generations of immigrants to the community:

We've had very positive immigration with Poles, the Second World War, Italians and even between the wars. They are full-blooded Scots by all - they'll tell you they are and you believe they are. So I mean, integration into - even Pakistanis and Indians, they're well thought of. That's not what it is. It doesn't seem to have a connotation there. Again it seems now it's the more modern immigration that seems to be, for instance, Caribbean, and African Caribbean's coming and things like that.

Reflections on the value of immigrants were the most prevalent in the discourse of participants in Fort William. Of the eight references in the discourse of Fort William, two of these references were positive, six were negative. An example of potential positive contributions was noted by Participant 12, "I think we want migration, we want immigrants as long as they're prepared to work in this country and learn our language." Despite stating that immigrants were wanted in the area, the statement is conditional. If immigrant's work and can

speak English, they're wanted. There were six references to the negative value of immigrants in the community. These references were primarily concerned with competition for resources, such as health care, jobs, and housing. Examples include:

Immigrant's come in, the next minute they're in there and they get operations. It's not fair. They haven't contributed. (Participant 9)

Well, if they would give the local people their houses when they're wanting them. Instead of that, they give it to the foreigners who come in and that. (Participant 10)

I think they're prepared to work for less money and stop other people getting jobs. (Participant 12)

Reflections on the value of immigrants in Fort William, mirrored assumptions from Alness based on competitions of resources. An additional three references from the interview discourse of Fort William indicated noted their opinions come from personal experiences. Participant 8 noted, "I can only assume that it's something that I've built up over the years, because you're not born with it. You know what I mean?"

*Questioning and/or evaluating information encountered.* Only one participant (Participant 8) in Fort William noted activities, which indicated they questioned or had evaluated sources of information. Participant 8 questioned the influence of the media over his opinions and made five references to questioning information. An example of one of his references, is as follows:

I don't know any asylum seekers. I don't know any illegal immigrants. Therefore I would have to say - in that question - I would have to say that it's whatever's in the media, because I don't have any experience of them at all. So for me to have formed a negative opinion - and I'm just suddenly realizing this - for me to have formed a negative opinion, it had to be put into me as opposed to I built it myself.

Unlike other participants from Fort William, Participant 8 questioned the actual source of his opinions as his experiences were in conflict with the opinions he held on immigration. This was unique as there were several participants (from the study as a whole), whose statements regarding immigration were in conflict with each other; however, Participant 8 is the only interview participant who identified this issue.

### *Inverness*

In the interview discourse of participants in Inverness, there were 85 references to activities regarding the use of information sources on the topic of immigrants and immigration. Fifty-five references to interactions, 27 references to reflections and assumptions on immigration, and three references to questioning and/or evaluating information sources.

*Interactions with members of the host community, immigrants, and media resources.* Interactions as a form of activity, accounted for the largest number of references to information sources in interviews with participants in Inverness. Out of the 55 references to interactions between interview participants and sources of information in Inverness, 11 were with other members of the host community, 27 were with immigrants, and 17 were with media sources.

Eleven references were made by interview participants to conversations they had with other host community members. Interview participants in Inverness noted that interactions with members from the host community as a source of information were with friends and family and things that “locals” say. Five of the interactions with host community members indicated that members from the host community viewed immigration in a negative way. For example, four references included statements that indicated host community members

viewed immigrants as a factor in increased competition for jobs, although interview participants did not necessarily agree with these sources of information. As Participant 16 noted, "The locals' tendency is to go 'they stole our jobs,' which isn't true because they didn't want the job in the first place, because they were sitting on their arses." On a similar note, Participant 17 was employed as a product manager in the fishing industry and indicated that her own experiences were different from those expressed by host community members, with whom she had interacted:

But generally speaking the likes of the fish industry, the jobs they're taking are because the guys didn't turn up and had too much sick time and wouldn't work 12-hour shifts. They only wanted to do eight or whatever. So yeah, they outgrew the job. They were better than the job, so to speak. I would think there are a lot of people that think they're too good for that sort of work nowadays.

Participant 17 attributed concerns by host community members with who she had interacted as motivated by fear because they don't "understand those folk [immigrants]."

One participant referred to "incidents" between members of host community members and immigrants, while Participant 19 noted that members of the host community referenced concerns over the high numbers of immigrants which were seen as "kind of a burden;" although he hadn't heard "many occasions where its actually causing any stress or conflict. It's just the fact that high numbers of them exist." Participant 17 noted, "I think, generally speaking, Scottish people are possibly more welcoming." Participant 16 indicated that from her experience, locals viewed immigrants in a more negative way, but that this view was "more of a racism thing" associated more with the skin color of immigrants.



Although interactions with host community members served as source of information, participants noted in five out of the 11 references that they disagreed with things they had heard from host community members.

Interactions with immigrants accounted for the largest number of interactions noted by interview participants. Twenty-seven references were made to interactions with immigrants. Of the 27 interactions, interview participants in Inverness interacted with immigrants most frequently through work (10 references) and social situations (seven references), and by seeing or hearing them on the street (four references). Three references in interviews indicated participants had neighbors who were immigrants, two participants indicated they had interacted with immigrants through their children in school, and one participant had attended university in Inverness with immigrants.

Out of the 27 references, 11 references indicated positive interactions with immigrants. None of the references by participants in Inverness indicated negative interactions with immigrants. Five of the 27 references to interactions with immigrants referred to the integration of immigrants in the community. An example of integration between the host community and immigrants was noted by Participant 18, who stated:

I've not become pals with any of them, you could maybe say that's my fault; I've not become friends with them. That's the way - you don't sometimes - unless you mix with them. They stick to themselves, but everybody's maybe done that if they moved to a new country, they stick to their own people.

There were 17 references made to activities regarding the use of media sources to inform opinions on immigration. Participants that noted specific forms of media sources that inform their opinions on immigration, indicated they read newspapers (seven references), listen to the radio (one reference), and

watch television (one reference). Eight references were made to the negative portrayal of immigration in the news; two references indicated that the news media portrayed immigration in a positive manner. Three participants noted the difference between the coverage of immigration in Scottish versus UK newspapers. Scottish newspapers were viewed as portraying immigrants in a more positive manner. For example, Participant 15 noted:

Some of the positive aspects are talking about the successful integration of recent immigrants to Scotland, particularly the Polish. Another positive aspect you see a lot is the positive integration of Asian cultures, Pakistani, and Indian people in Scotland that have migrated over long term and have become Scottish Pakistani, for instance. And that tends to be viewed in quite a positive light in most media in Scotland I would think. Migration to the UK in the media - I think present it in, at best, an ambivalent light. And certainly with newspapers is actually seen as being a negative thing.

Participants in Inverness noted that negative portrayals of immigration in the media focused primarily on taking jobs away from members of the host community as well as the numbers of immigrants coming into the country.

Participant 15 indicated, "it's a useful source of complaint, really. It's a peg to hang an anti-immigrant stance upon." Participant 21 noted the media reported on the:

Large volumes [of immigrants] number wise, a lot of negativism as in these awful stories of people stowing away in boats and people dying en route here and, of course, we had the Polish influx where we had thousands coming over and that - so maybe certain countries involved - but probably the numbers more than anything. There seems to be far too many.

*Reflections on sources of information and assumptions of immigration based on their understanding of familial and regional history.* There were 27 references to activities regarding reflections on sources of information and assumptions of immigrants and immigration. Reflections as sources of

information on immigration were concerned with understandings and assumptions of immigration and immigrant demographics in the area (10 references), competition for local resources and the value of immigrant contributions in the community (11 references), and the weight participants attributed to their personal experiences interacting with immigrants (six references).

Understandings and assumptions of immigration and immigrants in the area were heavily influenced by personal experiences. Three references by participants in Inverness indicated that based on their experiences, participants viewed immigrants in Inverness as “mostly Polish” (Participant 16). Regarding the acceptance of immigrants within the community, participant opinions were split; two references indicated immigrants were well integrated into the community, while two other references indicated that they were not. An example of this comes from Participant 16 who stated, “More people from Inverness are retreating into their own little cliques. They’re not accepting migrants and you see... like cliques.” Participant 17 compared the population of immigrants in Scotland and the UK, by stating:

They’re [immigrants] a requirement in Scotland. Scotland is short of people. . . . down South, they’re overflowing. If anything they haven’t got a control - well if the report’s to be believed - they have no control over migration.

One participant’s understandings and assumptions of immigration mirrored those in Alness, not in their opinion, but in how it was formed. Participant 20, for example, referenced the history of the region and how it impacted her own understandings and opinions on the topic:

I can’t bear the talk of caps and capping and preventing it [immigration] because I know historically a lot of people from the

Highlands went in the other direction and they were welcomed and given huge opportunity to start new lives and futures in other countries.

Reflections on sources of information on immigration in Inverness were concerned with the value of immigrants and their contributions in the community. Of the 11 references to the value and contributions of immigration, five were concerned with the labor market in the community. Of these five, two viewed the contributions of immigrant labor as positive, although none of these references were negative, Participant 18 was unsure and indicated it's only negative if immigrants are being selected for jobs if they're willing to work for less, as it drives the wage down. "Say, if you picked him because he's a better worker, that's fair enough. If you picked him because you're going to pay him poor wages, then that's wrong." Contributions of shops and businesses run by immigrants in the community were viewed as positive, "It's been good for this community. Well we've seen Polish restaurants . . . there is still enough contribution being made in the community - to mean - that they've added value to the community" (Participant 20).

Reflections on the value of personal experiences of interview participants indicated that personal experiences were the most important source of information for participants in Inverness. Of the seven participants in Inverness, six indicated that their first-hand experiences had influenced their opinions and assumptions on immigration. Participant 15 indicated that although the media had also contributed to his opinions, he found his personal experiences in conflict with "the views of the national UK media. But, with Scottish media, I find it, more in keeping."

*Questioning and/or evaluating information encountered.* Three

participants noted questioning sources of information. News media sources were questioned due to where they obtained their information and how sources reported information. For example, Participant 15 stated:

If somebody from say, Glasgow University or Edinburgh University were to come out and say 'migration is having X,Y, Z effect on Scotland or the United Kingdom, I would tend to view that with more trust than if someone from a party, for example, the United Kingdom Independence Party or a pressure group like the Taxpayers Alliance comes forward and presented arguments.

Participant 16 questioned arguments presented by host community members and how the media presents information:

You do sometimes get 'those three polish boys are fighting.' But equally, that only hits the news because they're Polish; whereas if it had been three Invernesians fighting, that wouldn't have been in the news.

Participant 17 noted the importance of obtaining multiple perspectives on topics, "it [multiple sources] would help to make up your own opinion on things, because you can't just - your opinion isn't the only one."

### **Topics and Themes in Interview Discourse**

Topical analysis of interview discourse served the purpose of providing an overview of the activities in interview discourse. Topics and themes present in the discourse of interview participants were identified through the previous analysis of activities present in interview discourse. In the previous analysis of activities in the interview discourse, there was overlap between activities. For example, the activity *interactions with the media* often overlapped with *reflections* on the impact of media sources on opinions and assumptions of immigration, as well as in *questioning* or evaluating media sources. The analysis

of activities in discourse did not overlap; that is, themes and topics present in the discourse were mutually exclusive.

The analysis of interview texts resulted in three themes that encircled 8 topics. The themes are as follows: (1) Sources of Information; (2) Establishing Cognitive Authority; (3) Judgment of the Quality of Sources. Each theme consisted of several topics. Topics with references to the Independence Referendum were noted.

The theme *Sources of Information* was organized around two topics that dealt with the sources of information that influence and inform the opinions of interview participants on the topic of immigration. These topics include:

- (1) Experiences (both first and second hand experiences);
- (2) Media sources (i.e. Internet, news, newspapers, radio, and television).

From the 21 interviews conducted with participants, there were 195 references to information sources. The breakdown of references to sources of information used by participants is displayed below in Table 15.

**Table 15: References to the theme, Sources of Information**

	Topics	<i>Alness</i>	<i>Fort William</i>	<i>Inverness</i>	Total by topic
<b>Topic 1</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> Hand	50 (42.4)	23 (19.5)	45 (38.1)	118 (60.5)
	2 <sup>nd</sup> Hand	24 (41.4)	15 (25.9)	19 (32.8)	58 (29.7)
	Internet	0	0	1 (5.3)	
	News	4 (21)	0	0	
<b>Topic 2</b>	Newspapers	2 (10.5)	1 (5.3)	2 (10.5)	19 (9.7)
	Radio	2 (10.5)	0	2 (10.5)	
	Television	3 (15.8)	0	2 (10.5)	
<b>*Total</b>		85 (43.6)	39 (20)	71 (36.4)	<b>195 (100)</b>

Numbers noted in parenthesis indicate the percentage of references by topic.  
 \* Total number of references by community as percentage of total theme.

The greatest number of references to information sources were from interview participants in Alness, with a total of 85 references to information sources (43.6% of total references to information sources); 39 references to information sources were present in the discourse of participants in Fort William (20% of total references to information sources); and 71 references to information sources were present in the discourse of participants in Inverness (36.4%).

As shown in Table 15, Topic 1 (experiences) were, by far, the most common sources of information noted by participants to inform opinions on immigration. First hand experiences accounted for 60.5% of total information sources used by interview participants and 29.7% of total information sources used by interview participants were second hand experiences relayed to interview participants. Of the 85 references to information sources in Alness, 58.8% of participants noted their personal experiences as a source of information on immigration; in Fort William, 46.9% of participants noted their personal experiences as a source of information on immigration; in Inverness, 63.4% of participants noted their personal experiences as a source of information on immigration. Second-hand experiences accounted for 28.2, 38.5, and 26.8 percent of information sources in Alness, Fort William, and Inverness (respectively).

During interviews with participants, news sources used by participants were noted; however, they were excluded from this analysis as they were not relevant to the research questions in this study, as participants did not refer to these sources when discussing the topic of immigration. As shown in Table 15, only 9.7% of references to information sources were attributed to the media.

Media categories, displayed in Table 15, were identified through interviews with participants. Although it is possible (and, indeed, likely) that the media served as an influencer of interview participants' opinions, the media was not mentioned as a key source of information used to inform opinions on the topic of immigration.

The theme *Establishing Cognitive Authority* was organized around four topics that indicate how interview participants establish authority of information sources. As stated in Chapter 1, the definition of authority in this study is aligned with that of cognitive authority (as opposed to administrative authority). As noted in the analysis of the first theme, interview participants gained knowledge of immigration primarily through first and second-hand experiences; however, as Rieh (2002) notes, not all sources of information are viewed equally. The list of four topics for this theme was generated through interviews with participants and served as a way of better understanding how interview participants assign cognitive authority of information sources on the topic of immigration.

Topics within this theme include:

- (3) Authorship/Publisher;
- (4) Cultural/Spatial (i.e. based on the shared beliefs, behaviors, and symbols of a group of people);
- (5) Social/Familial (i.e. social or moral values based on social or familial ties);
- (6) Personal Values and Attitudes (i.e. values and attitudes that a person holds as being true).



There were 43 references to cognitive authority in the discourse of interview participants. The breakdown of references to ways that interview participants establish authority of sources is displayed below in Table 16.

**Table 16: References to the theme, Establishing Authority**

<b>Community</b>	<b>Topic 3</b>	<b>Topic 4</b>	<b>Topic 5</b>	<b>Topic 6</b>	<b>Total</b>
Alness	0	4 (17.4)	13 (56.5)	6 (26.1)	23
Fort William	0	2 (28.6)	3 (42.9)	2 (28.6)	7
Inverness	1 (7.7)	4 (30.8)	4 (30.8)	4 (30.8)	13
<b>*Total</b>	1 (2.3)	10 (23.3)	20 (46.5)	12 (27.9)	<b>43 (100)</b>

Numbers noted in parenthesis indicate the percentage of references by community and topic.  
 \*Total number of references by topic as percentage of total theme.

Topic 3, authorship/publisher of information sources included only one appeal to the authority of an author/publisher. This reference was made by Participant 15 in Inverness who stated:

If somebody from say, Glasgow University or Edinburgh University were to come out and say ‘migration is having X, Y, Z effect on Scotland or the United Kingdom, I would tend to view that with more trust than if someone from a party, for example, the United Kingdom Independence Party or a pressure group like the Taxpayers Alliance comes forward and presented arguments possibly using, I wouldn’t say manufactured statistics, but statistics gained from a way of... in a way that isn’t rigorous.

Although there was only one reference to authority based on the author or publisher of information, I chose to include this as a topic due to its status in information literacy as a traditional means with which to establish authority and evaluate information sources.

Topic 4 refers to authority based on either cultural or spatial elements. Cultural and spatial authority is a form of authority based on the shared beliefs, behaviors, and symbols of a group of people. Cultural and spatial elements were grouped due to the nature of the host community in Scotland where groups of

people may have shared identities based on a variety of features, including culture and geography. Examples of appeals to cultural or spatial authority in the interview discourse include:

It's the folk who are more Unionist tend to be – and I think this is what it goes back to, the British viewpoint rather than the Scottish viewpoint.  
(Participant 8, Fort William)

I'm not saying there isn't a Scottish newspaper - well there's the Herald - but it's probably not owned by any Scottish people.  
(Participant 18, Inverness)

Although both references refer to Scottish people, as discussed earlier in this chapter, the demonyms British, English, Scottish, Northern Irish, and Welsh are all hyponyms of people born in the UK; however, someone who identifies as English is not necessarily Scottish, Northern Irish, or Welsh. Thus, the first reference to cultural and spatial authority refers to more than just spatial elements; it also refers to a cultural form of authority.

There are 10 references to cultural and/or spatial authority in the discourse of interview participants, which accounts for 23.3% of the total references to cognitive authority. There were four references each in the discourse of Alness and Inverness, accounting for 17.4 and 30.8% of the discourse in each community, respectively. Two references (28.6%) were made to cultural and or spatial authority in the discourse of Fort William.

Topic 5 refers to authority based on social and familial relationships. Social or familial authority is based on the “loyalties and moral imperatives” which may be fostered within a family or community (Elshtain, 1991, p. 26). With 20 references total, this accounts for 46.5% of total references to authority in the interview discourse. This topic was the most prevalent form of authority referred to in the discourse of interview participants. There were 13 references

to this form of authority in the discourse of participants in Alness, 3 references in the discourse of Fort William participants, and 4 references in the discourse of participants in Inverness.

References to social or familial authority in the discourse were those which established authority of an information sources based on the second hand experiences of a social or familial relationship or social or familial ties to an information source. Examples of appeals to the authority of social or familial relationships in the interview discourse include:

Certain things that I read in the newspapers, certain TV shows that I've watched and also family members. We discuss things that we see on TV and I do think that opinion on that is formed at a young age, I think. From how you're brought up and what you are exposed to on TV and in the papers. (Participant 2, Alness)

My grandson, John, he had to move to Inverness with his wife. They'd put off having a family until they got on their feet. They have two lovely little boys and that sort of thing. They couldn't get a house here because the Poles were getting all the houses. He was born here. Generations. (Participant 9, Fort William)

I mean, obviously you're hearing things from other people, your friends, family, stories, whatever. (Participant 17, Inverness)

Topic 6 refers to authority based on values and attitudes that a person holds as being true. Values and attitudes come from many different sources, including first or second hand experiences and cultural and societal norms. With 12 references total in the discourse of interview participants, this topic accounts for 27.9% of total references to authority in the interview discourse. There were six references to this form of authority in the discourse of participants in Alness, two references in the discourse of Fort William participants, and four references in the discourse of participants in Inverness. Eleven out of the 12 references to

this form of authority were concerned with the work ethic of locals. Examples of appeals to the authority values and attitudes in the interview discourse include:

Most people in the pub know that they were never going to work anyway.  
(Participant 8, Fort William)

I suppose what I mean is a lot of the immigrants would perhaps take jobs that the locals weren't prepared to take anyway. (Participant 21, Inverness)

Only one reference in the interview discourse attributed to authority based on values and attitudes, related to a subject other than the work ethic of locals. This reference (below) noted the *lack* of authority of a source, based on the source's political affiliation with the SNP:

But then I have a family member who works for SNP and it seems as though about 50 or 60 of them have all been brainwashed.  
(Participant 5, Alness)

The theme *Judgment of the Quality of Sources* was organized around two topics: (1) Distrust; and (2) Trust. As Rieh (2012) notes, not all second-hand sources of information are viewed equally and thus individuals often judge the quality of a source based on the plausibility of claims. There were 21 references to trust or distrust of information sources in the discourse of interview participants. The breakdown of references to trust of information sources by interview participants is displayed in Table 17 (below).

**Table 17: References to the theme, Judgment of the Quality of Sources**

<b>Community</b>	<b>Topic 7 (Distrust)</b>	<b>Topic 8 (Trust)</b>	<b>Total</b>
Alness	7 (87.5)	1 (12.5)	8
Fort William	2 (66.7)	1 (33.3)	3
Inverness	7 (70)	3 (30)	10
<b>*Total</b>	16 (76.2)	5 (23.8)	21

Numbers noted in parenthesis indicate the percentage of references by community and topic.  
\*Total number of references by topic as percentage of total theme.

As shown in Table 17, references to distrust or trust of information sources was most prevalent in the interview discourse of participants in Alness and Inverness.

Both distrust and trust of information sources was most frequently associated with media resources. Of the 21 references within the theme, judgement of the quality of information sources, 15 references (71.4% of total references in the theme) indicated distrust of media sources and 5 references (23.8% of total references in the theme) indicated trust of media resources. An example of distrust of a media sources was given by Participant 7 (in Alness), "They're [the media] just taking a number and they're saying, this is what we think has come in and to me there's a lot more." An example of trust in media sources was given by Participant 18 (in Inverness), "The BBC's very good at getting information out. They can be very good."

### **Connections in Interview Discourse**

The purpose of conducting a topical analysis of interview discourse was to answer the following questions: (2) What sources inform public opinion on immigration in the Highlands? (3) How do host community members in Highland communities establish authority of information sources?

### **Interview Discourse Findings**

The topical analysis of interview discourse revealed that interview participants in all three communities ascribed great value to their first-hand experiences with immigrants, which they credited as a key source of information that contributed to their knowledge on the topic of immigration. Although first-

hand experiences with the immigrant population were the most prevalent source of information used in inform opinions of host community members in this study, actual contact with immigrants within the respective communities of interview participants differed greatly.

In Alness, interview participants interacted with immigrants most frequently by “seeing them” within the community; however, throughout interviews, it became clear that participants had far more interaction with immigrants than they had previously acknowledged, whether it be through work, as neighbors, or through their children whose classmates and friends are the children of immigrants. Interactions with immigrants were, in general, described in a positive or neutral manner; however, the competition for resources such as housing and employment was a serious area of contention within the community. This contention revolving around competition for local resources lead to a conflict between the positive and neutral interactions description by interview participants and the opinions they expressed regarding immigrants and immigration.

In Fort William, interactions with immigrants were described in a similar manner to that in Alness, however, unlike in Alness – where participants appeared to have far more contact with immigrants than they previously stated – only two participants noted having any regular interaction with immigrants. These two participants both referred to immigrants as friends, however, one of the participants held unmasked resentment of this friend and what “she stands for” (Participant 9). As in Alness, conflicts regarding the impact of immigration on the area were stated, although one participant (Participant 8) indicated that his opinions regarding immigration must be influenced by some external source

as he held negative views of immigration that were not confirmed by his own personal experiences.

Participants in Inverness had perhaps some of the most regular contact with immigrants, although many participants initially noted they had no contact with immigrants. This was in contrast to the interview discourse in Alness and Fort William, where immigrants were regularly “seen” everywhere. Participants in Inverness noted interactions with immigrants as neighbors, caregivers to family members, through work, and in social situation (e.g. the pub and sports club). Although conflicts were noted as in the other two communities, participants in Inverness expressed more skepticism towards these conflicts, which they referred to as things they had heard or talked about with secondary sources – as opposed to experiencing first hand.

Although all three communities referred to first-hand experiences as the primary source of information used to inform their opinions of immigration, the actual depth of interaction varied greatly by community. This may be explained, in part, by the demographics of communities and participants in this study. As noted in Chapter 2, Alness has a rate of unemployment higher than both the average in the Highlands and Scotland; thus competition for resources such as jobs and housing in the community was a common concern in the discourse of Alness. Participants in Fort William were, on average, much older than the participants in Alness or Inverness. Due to this fact, it is possible that concerns regarding social benefits were exacerbated due to the personal concerns (e.g. pensions) and needs (e.g. more regular healthcare) of interview participants.

The most prevalent method of establishing authority of information sources on the topic of immigration was through social and familial

relationships. Authority based on social and familial relationships accounted for 20 out of the 43 references (46.5%) to authority in interview discourse. Reih (2002) notes that people recognize cognitive authority when a source of information is deemed to be credible and worthy of belief. Authority based on social and familial relationships was the most prevalent form of authority referenced by participants in Alness (56.5%) and Fort William (42.9%).

The most common references to authority in Inverness were split evenly between cultural/spatial authority, social/familial relationships, and values and attitudes (four references each or 30.8%). These three types of authority, although distinguishable in the discourse of interview participants, all appeal to a sense of authority based on some form of relationship, whether it be a personal relationship to the sources of information (i.e. social or familial), a shared identity with an information sources (i.e. cultural or geographic), or shared viewpoints or perspectives on a topic (i.e. values and attitudes).

In addition to indicating how authority of information sources on the topic of immigration is established, quality of information sources was also noted in the discourse of interview participants through a judgment of distrust or trust in the claims of an information source. Although only 21 references were made to the judgment of an information source's quality, these findings were useful as 20 out of the 21 references to quality of sources referred to media sources. Although references to media sources accounted for the smallest percentage of information sources used to inform opinions on immigration (less than 10%), participants indicated they were not only using media sources, but were concerned with the quality of media sources. Of the 20 references to the judgment of quality of media sources, 15 indicated participants distrust media



sources. Taylor (1986) stated that information quality is based on an assumption that judgments made by individuals to use particular information sources over others is made by ascribing value to certain information sources over others. From this, it follows that individuals make judgments on the quality of information sources, but continuously monitoring or simultaneously using other information sources and extracting information that seems to be of value.

Although interview participants did not identify media sources as a primary source of information on immigration, participants' judgment of the quality of media sources indicates that they are still monitoring or using media sources, whether consciously or unconsciously. This may also explain contradictions in the statements of interview participants on immigration.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter provided an overview of the newspaper and interview texts and presented findings from the analyses of newspapers and interviews. Analysis of newspaper texts provided an overview of how the topic of immigration was portrayed in the mass news media and interviews provided insight in how opinions on the topic of immigration are influenced and formed.

Chapter 6 presents a discussion of the findings of these studies and revisits the research questions guiding this study. This is followed by a discussion of the implications and limitations of this research. Recommendations based on the findings from this research are presented in addition to areas of further research, which should be explored.

## CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION & CONCLUDING REMARKS

The goal of this research was to understand what elements influence host community members' opinions in the Highlands on the topic of immigration. This was accomplished by investigating how the mass media portrays immigrants in newspapers as well as exploring information sources used by members of the host community to inform themselves on the topic of immigration. Particular attention was paid to how host members of Highland communities establish authority of information sources and the value individuals place on sources of information.

Previous research by Lipset (1953) discussed the influence of what he referred to as a "crisis situation" (p. 20) on the formation of opinions. Due to the time period in which data was collected, the Independence Referendum featured prominently in newspaper discourse. This research acknowledges that the Referendum may have potentially influenced participants' opinions on immigration. The potential influence of the Referendum on opinions of immigration was not easily identified in interview discourse, but provided the context for the findings of this study. The Referendum was an event that forced individuals to make a decision on an issue that had not existed since the formation of the Union – whether Scotland should be Independent from the UK. Both the discourse of the media and interviews questioned the future of an Independent Scotland and the potential implications for individual and collective identities throughout the UK.

Since this research was conducted during such a pivotal time in Scotland's history, it was less concerned with *how* the media influences opinions in

Scotland regarding immigration, but rather *if* the media is a key influencer of opinions.

To investigate this issue, a mixed methods approach was utilized to answer the following research questions:

- (1) How does the mass media in Scotland present the topic of immigration?
- (2) What information sources inform public opinion on immigration?
- (3) How is authority of information sources established?

### **Discussion of Findings**

Description of newspaper texts included an analysis of the formal features of language in newspaper discourse. Particular attention was paid to descriptions of immigrants and the host community in newspaper discourse and their ideological representations and relational values. Analyses of newspaper texts in this study focused on the situational context of newspaper discourse through an identification of activities and themes. This was done in order to gain an understanding of relationships between participants, themes, and the three newspapers included in this study. The defined relations between immigrants and host community members in newspaper discourse highlighted the way identities of these two groups are constructed and reinforced within the newspaper discourse. These implications of these findings include an articulation of where to place blame for societal and national issues in Scotland and the UK. As such, the onus of blame is placed on immigrants for societal issues that are portrayed as impacting host community members.

Analyses of interview texts focused primarily on activities and themes in interview discourse. Analysis of activities in interview discourse was done in order to understand how interview participants interact with and establish

authority of information sources on the topic of immigration. Analysis of themes in interview discourse served the purpose of providing an overview of activities in interview discourse and was done in order to eliminate the overlap between activities discovered in the first round of interview analysis. These themes were guided by the second and third research questions in this study. This assisted in creating mutually exclusive categories to identify sources and methods used to establish authority and denote quality of information sources used by interview participants to inform opinions on immigration.

**(1) How does the mass media in Scotland present the topic of immigration?**

In order to understand the representation of immigration and immigrants in newspaper discourse, it was important to understand not only how the mass media presented immigrants in discourse, but also how it presented the host community. This was visible during both the lexical and topical analysis of newspaper discourse in which the topic of immigration was frequently discussed in reference to its impact on the host community. Similarly, immigrants were described based on similarities or differences from the host community.

Immigrants were portrayed in the newspaper discourse in three primary three ways, as: (1) homogenous; (2) “foreign”; and (3) dependent on the host community and its resources.

(1) Homogenous: The lexical analysis showed that the origin of immigrants was most frequently noted in reference to its relationship with the EU as either from the EU (e.g. from “poorer EU nations”) or from outside the EU. These descriptors of immigrant origins took on more consequential meaning during the analysis of hyponyms, which assisted in understanding the classification of immigrants in discourse. The terms, migrant, immigrant, refugee, and asylum seeker were used interchangeably, despite the fact that these terms are defined by law and have very specific meanings in relation to the exercise of rights and entitlements. The meanings of these classifications is lost in the tendency to homogenize by the host communities and some media.

(2) “Foreign”: Immigrants were portrayed as being different from the host community. Immigrants were not necessarily defined by their relationships to each other (or similarities), but by their differences from the host community (in origin, time in the community, ethnicity, and status/position).

(3) Dependent on the host community and its resources: immigrants were dependent on the policies of particular political parties (e.g. SNP, Labour Party), immigration legislation enacted by governments, and organizations (both government and otherwise) to assist them in finding jobs and other resources and to act as the voice of immigrants by representing their interests. Immigrants were also portrayed as dependent on resources (primarily financial) of the host community, generated by taxpayer dollars in the form of different welfare and integration services (e.g. language translation).

Descriptors of immigrants in the newspaper discourse were complex as they appeal to stereotypes, which have the power to activate judgments based on group labels. The terms migrant, immigrant, refugee, and asylum seeker were the most frequent group labels used in newspaper discourse but were used interchangeably, further exacerbating confluences of immigrant identities in public mindset. Relations of dependency described in newspaper discourse were particularly problematic as stereotypes, when brought to the mind, can influence behavior and feelings towards groups of people (Locke & Johnson, 2001).

The topical analysis of newspapers revealed the most prevalent aspects of immigration covered in the discourse, these were: attitudes toward changing demographics in communities (11 articles); the impact of immigration on welfare and employment (11 articles); immigration legislation (10 articles); and the value/contributions of immigrants (nine articles). Of the aforementioned aspects, attitudes towards changing demographics, impacts of immigration, and contributions of immigrants were all topics that focused on the relationship between immigration and its effects on the host community. These topics may potentially contribute to a reinforcement of immigrant stereotypes and the prominence (which may be misplaced) of immigration as a topic of public concern. However, the actual implication of the prominence of topics varies based on the attitudes expressed in the newspaper discourse towards immigration.

By newspaper, the most prominent aspects of immigration covered are:

- *Daily Record*: Personal narratives of immigrants (three articles) and descriptions of host community identities in contrast with those of

immigrants (four articles). These topics accounted for 63% of the *Daily Record's* discourse.

- *Daily Express*: Welfare and employment issues related to immigration (10 articles) and attitudes towards changing demographics in communities (nine articles). These topics accounted for 42% of the *Daily Express'* discourse.
- *The Scotsman*: Value/contributions of immigrants (four articles; all four articles reported positive contributions) and descriptions of host community identities in contrast with those of immigrants (3 articles). These topics accounted for 46.7% of *The Scotsman's* discourse.

Attitudes towards immigration were markedly different by newspaper.

Articles in the *Daily Record* and *The Scotsman* portrayed immigration primarily in either a neutral or positive manner (72.7% and 80% of articles, respectively), whereas the *Daily Express* portrayed immigration primarily in a negative manner (84.4% of articles).

Personal narratives in the discourse of the *Daily Record* were positive in the sense that they helped paint a more personalized picture of *who* an immigrant is and the ways they have successfully integrated into Scottish society. However, these narratives also reinforced existing stereotypes of immigrants by emphasizing language difficulties faced by these immigrants upon their arrival in the UK, reasons for their immigration to the UK, and existing loyalties and familial ties to their home countries.

Aspects of immigration emphasized in the discourse of the *Daily Express* correlated with issues of public concern in the UK with immigration. Immigrants were discursively constructed in a negative manner, which was exacerbated

through lexical descriptors (discussed above) used to compare differences between immigrants and host community members. Immigrants were portrayed as those that did not belong in society due to cultural factors (e.g. cultural, linguistic, moral) and issues of legality. In many instances, descriptors were used to insinuate that immigrants were without legal right to reside in the UK – despite contextual information that indicated immigrants were from areas such as the EU with the right to free movement. In the discourse of the *Daily Express* these comparisons were overt and intentional. The frequency of these references in the discourse serves as an example of how the news media uses repetition as a means of establishing the salience of a topic in the public mindset.

The discourse of *The Scotsman* focused primarily on the positive value of immigrants and their contributions to Scotland. Immigrants were associated with healthy population growth in Scotland, vital to economic growth within the country. Distinctions between host community members and immigrants were based on age demographics within the country and did not contribute to a negative perception of immigrants. Scotland's aging population created a demand for young, talented, and childbearing individuals. Immigrants were posed as a solution to issues regarding the sustainability of Scotland's economy. The context used to describe immigrants in *The Scotsman* was important, however, if this context is obscured in other media sources it is unlikely to filter across to the public realm.

Chi square analyses and Cramer's V were used to identify the strength of the relationship between variables and reflects how closely variables in newspaper discourse are related. Statistically significant, strong relationships discovered in the discourse of newspapers include relationships between



references to the Independence Referendum and: (1) the newspaper, (2) newspaper themes, and (3) attitudes towards immigration.

Relations between newspapers, themes, and attitudes towards immigration, indicate that articles referring to immigration issues in the context of the Independence Referendum were strongly associated with positive or neutral attitudes towards immigration and were discussed in relation to the impacts of immigration on the host community. Interestingly, these articles were most prevalent in the discourse of the Tabloid (*Daily Record*) and Broadsheet (*The Scotsman*) quality newspapers. Conversely, negative attitudes regarding immigration were discussed outside of the Independence Referendum and were present in the discourse of the Mid-Market newspaper (*Daily Express*), which also had the lowest frequency of articles related to the Referendum. Although Tabloid newspapers are associated with lower quality of news content and less journalistic rigor, the Tabloid paper in this study presented more diverse topics related to immigration than the Mid-Market newspaper (*Daily Express*).

Based on strong relationships between the Independence Referendum and the newspaper, themes, and attitudes towards immigration, it may be inferred that the context of topics (when provided) impacts the manner in which immigration is framed. The context of the Independence Referendum prompted positive portrayals of immigration. The absence of this context from articles in the *Daily Express* may be indicative of several things, including: (1) how framing of a news topic influences how that topic is discussed; and (2) the agenda of the newspaper, which may select *not* to feature a context in its discourse in order to avoid the perception that the Referendum is an important topic. However, these are mere hypotheses; in order to investigate these issues a broader sampling of

the newspaper discourse is necessary and goes outside the scope of this research study that focused on what the media *is* communicating on the topic of immigration.

In summary, newspapers described immigrants in relation to their similarities or differences from the host community. The most frequently covered aspects of immigration in the news media discourse were: attitudes toward changing demographics in communities, the impact of immigration on welfare and employment, immigration legislation, and the value/contributions of immigrants. However, aspects of immigration highlighted in the discourse and attitudes/viewpoints towards immigration varied greatly by newspaper.

## **(2) What information sources inform public opinion on immigration?**

The sources of information host community members identified as informing their opinions on immigration fell into two broad groups: (1) experiences (both first and second hand) and (2) media sources. Experiences accounted for the largest number of references to information sources on the topic of immigration, with 118 references (60.5% of total references to information sources) to first hand experiences and 58 references (29.7% of total references) to second hand experiences. Interview participants referenced the media as a source of information on the topic of immigration 19 times (9.7% of total references). Participants referred, more specifically, to the use of the following forms of media as information sources on the topic of immigration: Internet (one reference), news (four references), newspapers (five references), radio (four references), and television (five references).

Surprisingly, participants did not credit the media as a primary source of information on the topic of immigration. This does not mean that media sources

do not inform or influence the opinions of host members in Highland communities, but rather that people are not consciously aware of the media's influence on their opinions, which is a well-documented phenomenon in discourse on mass media influence (Fairclough, 1989; Christen & Huberty, 2007; Lewis, 2001; Laughey, 2007). This illuminates the possibility that despite contrasting views of immigration, the discourse of media may have served either as a normative or creative relation to host community members' resources (depending on the experience or worldview of the participant).

In *Constructing Public Opinion* (2001), Lewis alludes to this phenomenon, which he refers to as a "complex interplay of information patterns" (p. 203). Lewis (2001) notes these informational patterns are not something that may be understood through a "straightforward analysis of media content" (p. 203). This is particularly the case with news media, "which most people consume selectively and without a great deal of attention" (p. 203). It is for this reason that analyses in this study was not restricted to newspapers, but paired with a rigorous analysis of sources used to inform opinions on the topic of immigration and an exploration into how authority of information sources is established.

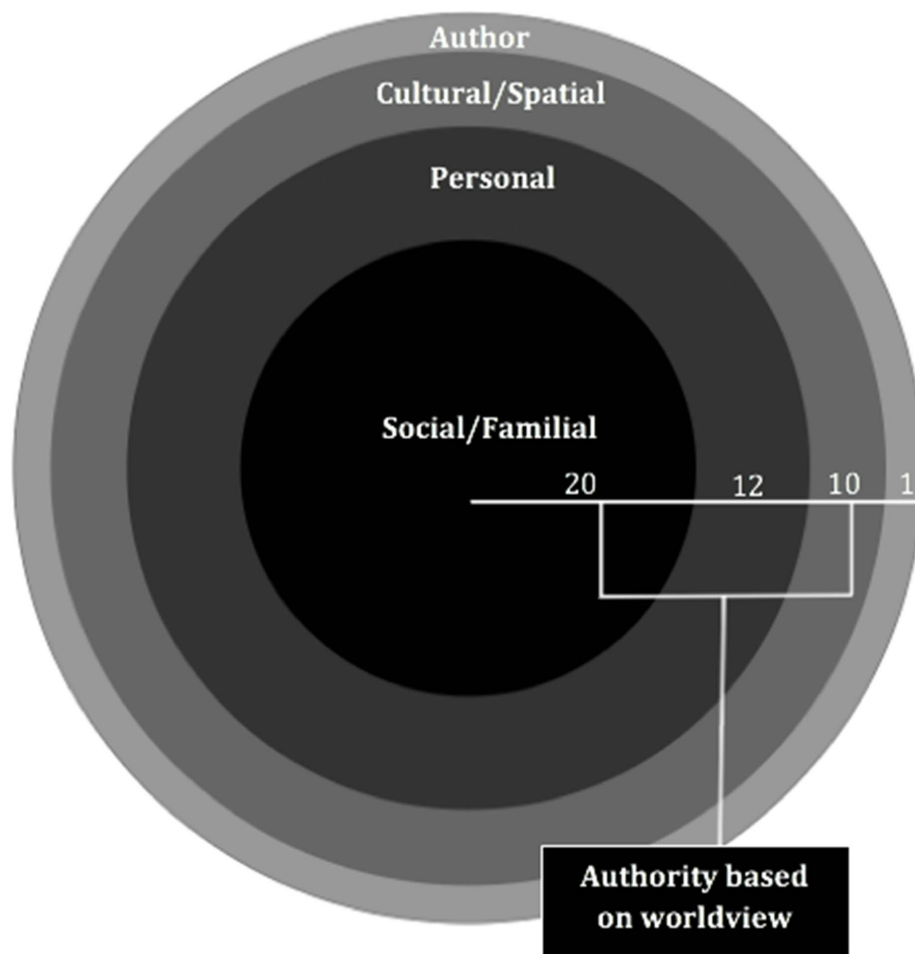
### **(3) How is authority of information sources established?**

A thematic analysis of interview discourse identified four primary types of authority acknowledged by host community members, authority based on: (1) authorship/publisher; (2) cultural/spatial elements (i.e. beliefs, behaviors, and symbols affiliated with a group of people based on a shared culture or space); (3) social/familial relationships (i.e. loyalties to moral principles fostered within a family or community); and (4) personal values and attitudes.

There were 43 references to authority in the discourse of interview participants. Authority based on social/familial relationships accounted for the largest number of references to authority of information sources on the topic of immigration with 20 references (46.5% of total references to authority in interview discourse). Twelve references (27.9% of total references) were made to authority of information sources based on personal values and attitudes; ten references (23.3% of total references) were made to authority based on cultural/spatial elements; and one reference (2.3% of total references) was made to authority based on authorship/publisher.

The four types of authority acknowledged by host community members are distinct categories; however, the three most prevalent types of authority identified in interview discourse were based on interview participants' worldviews influenced by social/familial relationships, personal values and attitudes, and cultural/spatial elements (see Figure 9, below).

**Figure 9: Types of authority acknowledged by host community members**



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**Figure 9.** Types of authority acknowledged by host community members, number of references to each type of authority are noted.

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Types of authority acknowledged by host community members were generated from the interview discourse and were not guided by previously established frameworks. Authority, and subsequently, the meaning or value of information sources was constructed through participants' views of reality. This is in line with constructionism's main assumption that knowledge, or at least perceived knowledge, is constructed in systems of dispersion and "produced from limited viewpoints as parts of ongoing conversations" (Talja et al., 2005, p. 90).

Cognitive authority is assigned based on a judgment of the quality of an information source or the plausibility of a source's claims. There were 15 references in the interview discourse to distrust of information sources on the topic of immigration; all 15 references of distrust were in reference to media sources. However, interview participants' distrust of media sources was not necessarily based on actual knowledge or critical reflection on the topic. An example of this came from Participant 7 in Alness who indicated distrust in the number of immigrants in the country reported by the media, "They're [the media] just taking a number and they're saying, 'this is what we think has come in' and to me there's a lot more." It is possible that this interview participant has more actual interactions with immigrants than he stated throughout his interview, but unlikely due to the particularly low percentage of immigrants in Alness (5%). Misperceptions of immigrant numbers is a trend attributed to the emphasis on numbers of immigrants reported in newspaper discourse as well as the rise of European immigration in the UK, which has led to a conflation of *race* with immigration (Blinder, 2015).

### **Conclusions**

The purpose of this concluding section is to assess the implications and limitations of this study, make recommendations for possible initiatives based on findings from this research, and suggest future research.

### **Implications**

The findings of this study illuminated the negative and homogenizing portrayal of immigrants in the mass news media. Although the media was not a key source of information identified by interview participants on the topic of immigrants, the prevalence of negative attitudes in the media regarding

immigration based on biased or insufficient information is problematic. If an informed citizenry is a premise of democracy, then reliable sources of information are also a critical component of a democratic society. The problem with the role of democracy in this case revolves around the politics of information.

Social determinants present in the discourse of newspapers and interviews revolve around the construction of belonging in communities (in interview discourse) and the broader society of the UK (in newspapers). Stronger institutional infrastructures are needed in order to address increasing diversity in the UK and advocate for fairer representation of immigrants in media discourse. Although there are a number of associations and advocacy groups with this agenda, their voice is not prevalent in the media discourse.

The vast majority of initiatives and research on information literacy is concentrated on the cultivation of information literacy abilities through studies of information literacy in an educational context. While these studies have merit, they are focused on the evaluation of information literacy in an educational context as opposed to the decisions made by individuals in the course of their everyday life, something that distinguishes this research from much of the literature on information literacy. Establishing authority of information sources in the literature is based on more formal, institutionally recognized constructions of authority. This research found that information sources, which participants ascribed authority were largely informal and encountered through individual's day-to-day experiences interacting within their communities.

An analysis of the sources consulted and processes involved in the formation of opinions on the topic of immigration during this pivotal time in

Scotland shed light on external factors included in the evaluation of information sources, namely, how authority of information sources on the topic of immigration is constructed. While the media may potentially be a dominant influence on opinions regarding immigration in Scotland, there are sociocultural elements present due to the timeliness of this research.

Of particular significance, is the context in which this research was conducted - during a time of crisis. The Independence Referendum forced individuals to make a decision on an issue they had not previously faced and, consequently, revealed that the act of decision-making is based on the often unconscious, ontological construction of information behaviors through the worldview of participants. Participants in this study constructed authority of information sources based on a limited version of their worldview. However, whether this was due to the context of the Referendum or the Highlands is something that may be disputed.

### **Limitations**

Limitations of this study include the nature of CDA, my own positioning in this research, and the timeliness of this research. Although this research includes both quantitative and qualitative analyses, as was previously noted, the selection of categories in CDA is very subjective in that categories selected for analysis were based on my own interpretations of texts.

As Corbin Dwyer and Buckle (2009) note, there are as many arguments for conducting research as an outsider as there are against. As an outsider, I did not share an identity, language (Scots dialect or British English), or experiential base with the texts I analyzed (written or spoken). My knowledge as the researcher in this study was based on my positionality. Although my



membership status in relation to participants did not appear to have a negative impact on my interviews, I acknowledge that there are both costs and benefits associated with my status as an outsider in this research.

Finally, this study encapsulates a unique time in contemporary Scotland. Due to the Independence Referendum, there were many concerns and pressures coming to a head in Scotland. It would be impossible to recreate the concerns of interview participants leading up to the Independence Referendum.

### **Recommendations**

In light of the above discussion on an informed citizenry as a premise of democracy, sources of information on topics of public concern should be reliable, locally relevant, as well as readily available in order to facilitate democratic decision-making. Recommendations based on this research include the production and distribution of information and reports created by non-governmental organizations on the value and contributions of immigrants not just at national levels, but also regionally and locally. Although there are numerous immigrant support networks within the UK, their voices are not represented in the mass news discourse and as such are not able to fully advocate for the fairer representation of immigrants.

Research conducted by immigrant support networks is vast, but needs to be readily accessible and easily read by individuals. Reports produced by immigrant support networks may serve greater purposes if their findings are condensed into brief, easily consumed pamphlets distributed widely within communities. Recommendations for the distribution of such informational materials include: leaflets in local newspapers and in public locations where

community members gather for group activities, public information, and other purposes (e.g. community centers, post offices, and public libraries).

Participants in this study expressed a general distrust of the media as a source of information, but only cited first and second hand experiences as additional sources of information on the topic of immigration. Depending on the community of participants in this study, personal experiences with immigrants varied greatly. A recommendation based on this finding include creating opportunities within communities to bridge the gap of interactions between members of the host community and immigrants through involvement in social initiatives such as The Human Library. The Human Library is designed to “build a positive framework for conversations that can challenge stereotypes and prejudices through dialogue” (Human Library, n.d.). “Books” in a Human Library are volunteers, which visitors may “check out” for brief conversations, allowing individuals to ask questions and interact with people of different backgrounds. Organization of Human Library events by local authorities, community centers, and libraries could provide opportunities for awareness and cultural literacy in the Highlands through peer education.

The final recommendation of this study pertains to the aforementioned agenda of information literacy, which is primarily focused on the cultivation of information literacy abilities in an educational context with an emphasis on the evaluation of formal sources of information. Information literacy is a “prerequisite for participating effectively in the Information Society, and is part of the basic human right of life long learning” (Scottish Information Literacy Project, 2013). As such, IL initiatives need to involve a wider community that extends beyond the borders of education to include communities and non-

governmental organizations. The focus of IL initiatives should include areas relevant to the informational needs of Highland communities to address issues of public need (e.g. technology abilities to enhance employment opportunities) and concern (e.g. immigration) to contribute to the ongoing education of community members.

### **Future Studies**

This research has touched on some areas that merit further research. For example, insight into the relationships between immigration related topics and the Independence Referendum might be expanded through broader sampling methods that will allow for a more thorough understanding of the role of agenda setting and framing in the newspaper discourse. Additionally, an analysis of media ownership of the newspapers investigated in this study will contribute to a greater understanding of relations of power and influence in news media discourse.

The analysis of interview data was based on the resources explicitly stated as informing interview participants' opinions on the topic of immigration. Thus, my research was not able to fully comment on the construction of belonging within Highland communities. Additional research that focuses on the sense of belonging in the communities interviewed in this study will contribute an important part of the story, presenting a more holistic picture about the ways that immigrants and host community members are defined within the Highlands. It is also important for understanding levels of belonging amongst members of the host community. Additionally, although participants indicated a more diverse use of information sources for general purposes, on the topic of immigration participants largely acknowledged informal sources and the ascribed authority

of these sources was limited to their direct, informal first and second hand information sources. This leads to a compelling question, which this research cannot answer: why? Is the construction of authority based on personal experiences a phenomenon related to rural areas or context of this research rooted in a moment of crisis? Future research should investigate two issues related to this question: (1) the role of individual opinion leaders within communities, and (2) the role of human behavior in decision-making and the cultivation of information literacy abilities that assist individuals in leveraging their knowledge in such a way that people are able to make better, more-informed decisions.

## Appendix A: Interview Questions

### Demographic Questions

1. Age:
2. Gender:
3. How do you describe yourself? (Please check the one option that best describes you)
  - Scottish
  - English
  - Welsh
  - Northern Irish
  - British
  - Other (please specify):
4. Birthplace:
5. Number of years in area:
6. Highest education level:
7. Occupation:
8. Marital status:
9. Do you have children?

### Perceptions of Immigrants

1. Who do you think of when you hear the term immigrant? (e.g. asylum seekers, labour migrants, students, people from outside of the EU, people from outside of the UK, people from outside of Scotland)
2. What is your opinion on immigration in Scotland based on?
  - What sources have helped you form an opinion on the topic?
  - How did you locate these sources?
  - Did you evaluate these sources? What made these trusted sources for information on the topic of immigration?
  - Have you compared information from multiple sources to form your opinion? Has this information impacted other decisions you make? (i.e. voting)
3. Do you feel that immigration has affected the opportunities for local people in any way?
4. Do you feel that family life is in any way affected by immigration?
5. Do you feel that community life is in any way affected by immigration?
6. Do you feel that any resentment or stress exists between locals (the host community) and immigrants?
7. Do you feel that immigration to your area has had any negative or positive effects on the community?
8. What type of contact do you have with immigrants in your area?
  - Direct Contact
  - Unrelated Business
  - Partial Contact
  - No Contact
9. Do you feel your opinion on immigration has been primarily influenced by the media, your personal experiences, or something else?

## Appendix B: Newspaper Articles Included in Study

### *Daily Record*

<b>Number</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Title</b>
1	October 16, 2013	<i>We used to be strangers...now we're snap happy; Positive look at migrants' roles in photo exhibition</i>
2	October 16, 2013	<i>Mahdi's story</i>
3	October 16, 2013	<i>Marta's story</i>
4	February 3, 2014	<i>Follow the money</i>
5	February 3, 2014	<i>Honest answers are foreign to Yes camp</i>
6	February 3, 2014	<i>Russell fees rant branded disgrace; Carmichael hits back</i>
7	March 4, 2014	<i>Opinion poles say we love the record; #polvsco you can't see Poland v Scotland anywhere else</i>

## **Daily Express**

<b>Number</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Title</b>
13.1	September 16, 2013	<i>Lib Dems are the party of arrogant leftist hypocrites</i>
13.2	October 16, 2013	<i>Finally a minister who tells it like it is on immigration</i>
14	November 14, 2013	<i>Government must take stand now on migrants</i>
15	November 14, 2013	<i>Mass immigration was a 'mistake'? Come off it, Jack</i>
16	November 14, 2013	<i>Harmonious race relations are under growing strain</i>
17	November 14, 2013	<i>Story to shock Britain</i>
18	November 14, 2013	<i>Do you want to buy this? It was a baby...how sick; Say no to new EU migrants</i>
19	November 14, 2013	<i>Do you have a story or photo?</i>
20	November 14, 2013	<i>Language is priority</i>
22	December 13, 2013	<i>'Benefit tourists' must face tough new tests</i>
23	December 13, 2013	<i>Cameron must realise we are running out of space</i>
25	January 11, 2014	<i>BBC1 carpet bombed us [...]</i>
26	January 11, 2014	<i>The need for controls on immigration is so obvious</i>
27	January 11, 2014	<i>'Labour's open door has kept wages low'</i>
28	January 11, 2014	<i>Romanian gangs 'behind half of pickpocketings'</i>
29	February 3, 2014	<i>The public is fed up with greedy welfare abusers</i>
30	February 3, 2014	<i>Benefits blitz on scroungers; Call for crackdown as system branded 'unfit for purpose'</i>
31	February 3, 2014	<i>EU migrant scams cost us millions</i>
32	March 4, 2014	<i>We can't cut immigration while we are in the EU</i>
33	April 2, 2014	<i>Full employment idea will open up a can of worms</i>
34	April 2, 2014	<i>We can't charge the vulnerable for NHS</i>
35	April 2, 2014	<i>Immigration from within EU is now the key issue</i>
36	April 2, 2014	<i>Another flood of migrants on way; Call for 5-year ban on migrant benefits</i>
37	May 1, 2014	<i>Farage's decision on Newark is risky but makes sense</i>
39	May 1, 2014	<i>Scots population at high of 5.3m</i>
40	May 30, 2014	<i>Alarmingly, more of the [...]; Hickey</i>
42	May 30, 2014	<i>More migrants would be a strain on infrastructure</i>
43	May 30, 2014	<i>Hospital objects to advert</i>
44	May 30, 2014	<i>PM told to get tough with EU</i>
45	June 28, 2014	<i>Ed: Vote Yes and get border posts</i>
46	June 28, 2014	<i>Abu Qatada proves our human rights laws are nonsense</i>

47	July 28, 2014	<i>Take back our borders to cut migrant flood</i>
48	July 28, 2014	<i>As long as we're in EU we can't control immigration</i>
49	July 28, 2014	<i>700,000 Scots in exodus if referendum vote is a Yes</i>
50	July 28, 2014	<i>Sort out the spongers from real migrants</i>
52	July 28, 2014	<i>Do you have a story or a photo?</i>
53	August 19, 2014	<i>Migrant camp to be torn down: French pledge to stop thousands reaching UK; camp to be bulldozed to stop migrants sneaking in EXCLUSIVE</i>
54	August 19, 2014	<i>Welcome intervention by French over Calais camp</i>
55	August 19, 2014	<i>Survivors' terror locked in the container for death</i>
56	August 19, 2014	<i>I read that song 'n' [...]; Hickey</i>
57	August 19, 2014	<i>Use your head when you make that crucial vote</i>
58	September 17, 2014	<i>Scotland can't trust this blind optimism</i>
59	September 17, 2014	<i>I won't be a foreigner in place I've made home</i>
60	September 17, 2014	<i>I just want to hold on to my identity as a Brit</i>
61	September 17, 2014	<i>To Sweden, where the [...]; Hickey</i>



## *The Scotsman*

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<b>Number</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Title</b>
64	October 16, 2013	<i>Discordant note</i>
68	November 14, 2013	<i>Theatre Uncut festival poses political questions</i>
69	November 14, 2013	<i>Scottish identity</i>
72	December 13, 2013	<i>Independent Scotland "would have to reapply" to EU</i>
76	February 3, 2014	<i>Carmichael: No such things as Scots values</i>
77	February 3, 2014	<i>Lesley Riddoch: Immigration not the biggest issue</i>
80	February 3, 2014	<i>Scottish independence: Galloway in vote No plea</i>
81	March 4, 2014	<i>Independence: Scots subsidizing English by £30bn</i>
83	April 2, 2015	<i>Allan Massie: Hollande pulls puppet PM's strings</i>
84	May 1, 2014	<i>Scotland's population hits record high</i>
85	May 1, 2014	<i>Dani Alves banana thrower was Villarreal coach</i>
87	May 1, 2014	<i>Joyce McMillan: When fair play is posted missing</i>
88	May 30, 2014	<i>Coalition immigration curbs under fire from own side</i>
89	June 28, 2014	<i>Labour leader warns of Scots border posts</i>
90	June 28, 2014	<i>Review: Hyperion</i>

## Appendix C: Themes and Topics in Newspaper Discourse

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<b>Theme 1: <i>Immigrants: Who are they?</i></b>	
Topic 1	Testimonials
Topic 2	Immigrant home countries and/or conflicts motivating immigrants to move to the UK
Topic 3	Categories of Immigrants
Topic 4	Value of Immigrants <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>a. Negative</li><li>b. Positive</li></ul>

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<b>Theme 2: <i>Immigration Issues</i></b>	
Topic 5	Legislation
Topic 6	Impact of Immigration on Welfare and Employment
Topic 7	Political Ideology

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<b>Theme 3: <i>Host Communities and Immigration</i></b>	
Topic 8	Support from Host Community
Topic 9	Host Community Identity
Topic 10	Diversity and Immigration
Topic 11	Voting and the Referendum

**Appendix D: Contingency Tables for Independence Referendum by  
Newspaper**

**Case Processing Summary**

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Theme * Referendum	71	100.0%	0	0.0%	71	100.0%

**Theme \* Referendum Crosstabulation**

			Referendum		Total
			No	Yes	
Theme	Immigrants: Who are they?	Count	15	3	18
		Expected Count	10.9	7.1	18.0
	Immigration Issues	Count	20	5	25
		Expected Count	15.1	9.9	25.0
	Host Community and Immigration	Count	8	20	28
		Expected Count	17.0	11.0	28.0
Total		Count	43	28	71
		Expected Count	43.0	28.0	71.0

**Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	p-value
Pearson Chi-Square	19.860 <sup>a</sup>	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	20.490	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	15.780	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	71		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7.10.

**Symmetric Measures**

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.529	.000
	Cramer's V	.529	.000
N of Valid Cases		71	

## Appendix E: Contingency Tables for Independence Referendum by Attitude

### Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Referendum * Attitude Towards Immigration	71	100.0%	0	0.0%	71	100.0%

### Referendum \* Attitude Towards Immigration Crosstabulation

			Attitude Towards Immigration			Total
			Negative	Positive	Neutral	
Referendum	No	Count	34	5	4	43
		Expected Count	26.6	5.5	10.9	43.0
	Yes	Count	10	4	14	28
		Expected Count	17.4	3.5	7.1	28.0
Total		Count	44	9	18	71
		Expected Count	44.0	9.0	18.0	71.0

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	p-value
Pearson Chi-Square	16.317 <sup>a</sup>	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	16.635	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	15.980	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	71		

a. 1 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.55.

### Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.479	.000
	Cramer's V	.479	.000
N of Valid Cases		71	

## Appendix F: Interview Participant Demographics

<b>Alness</b>						
Participant	Age	Gender	Identity	Time in Community	Marital Status	Children
1	55	Female	Northern Irish	20	Married	Yes
2	27	Female	Scottish	27	Married	Yes
3	40	Male	Scottish	40	Married	Yes
4	68	Female	British	68	Widowed	Yes
5	70	Female	British	35	Widowed	No
6	19	Female	Scottish	19	Never married	No
7	61	Male	Scottish	61	Never married	No
<b>Fort William</b>						
Participant	Age	Gender	Identity	Time in Community	Marital Status	Children
8	53	Male	Scottish	45	Married	Yes
9	85	Female	British	70	Widowed	Yes
10	84	Female	British	60	Widowed	Yes
11	85	Female	Scottish	40	Widowed	Yes
12	87	Male	Scottish	59	Widowed	Yes
13	68	Male	Scottish	68	Never married	No
14	39	Female	Scottish	30	Never married	No
<b>Inverness</b>						
Participant	Age	Gender	Identity	Time in Community	Marital Status	Children
15	43	Male	Scottish	19	Never married	Yes
16	37	Female	*Scottish	12	Member of an unmarried couple	No
17	50	Female	*Scottish	14	Never married	No
18	60	Male	Scottish	48	Married	Yes
19	30	Male	Scottish	10	Never married	No
20	48	Female	Scottish	26	Member of an unmarried couple	Yes
21	55	Female	Scottish	32	Married	Yes

\*Indicates an interview participant who identified as "Scottish" but was born outside of Scotland

## Appendix G: Themes and Topics in Interview Discourse

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<b>Theme 1: Sources of Information</b>	
Topic 1	Experiences <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>a. 1<sup>st</sup> Hand</li><li>b. 2<sup>nd</sup> Hand</li></ul>
Topic 2	Media <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>a. Internet</li><li>b. News</li><li>c. Newspapers</li><li>d. Radio</li><li>e. Television</li></ul>

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<b>Theme 2: Establishing Cognitive Authority</b>	
Topic 3	Authorship/Publication
Topic 4	Cultural or Spatial
Topic 5	Social Networks
Topic 6	Values and Attitudes

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<b>Theme 3: Judgment of the Quality of Sources</b>	
Topic 7	Distrust
Topic 8	Trust

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## **VITA**

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