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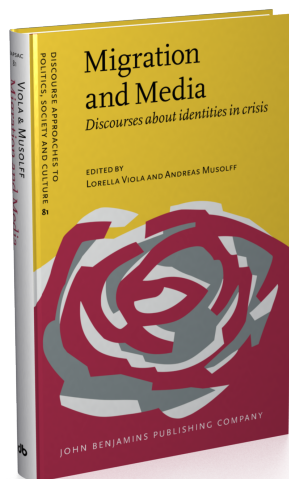
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Featuring immigrants and citizens

A comparison between Spanish and English primary legislation and administration information texts (2007–2011)

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This study highlights the different approaches to the construction of immigrants and citizens that United Kingdom and Spain seem to have favoured in the period 2007–2011. A corpus of legislation (EN-1, SP-1) and another of information texts (EN-3, SP-3) produced by the administrations of both countries were compiled during the period 2007–2011 and the terms “immigrant”, “inmigrante”, “citizen” and “ciudadano” were profiled through collocation analysis. Regarding “immigrant” and “inmigrante”, our results show that while the British administration is interested in control procedures for immigrants, the Spanish one advocates their integration. As for “citizen” and “ciudadano” the first term is related to regulation of entry, registration and naturalization, whereas “ciudadano” appears mainly associated to the EU, residence and access to public services.

Keywords: immigrants, citizens, administration, information texts, corpus linguistics, critical discourse analysis

1. Introduction

Immigration is a constant phenomenon in almost all Member States of the European Union (EU). Europe is a vast, very attractive territory for immigrants, not only for the job opportunities and the prospect of a better life, but also because of the free circulation of people among all the European countries. Important immigration movements in Europe started at the beginning of the past century and have been the focus of several alliances among the states of the union, such as the Treaty of Amsterdam of 1999 which allowed the EU to legislate on immigration and civil procedures in so far as it was necessary to ensure the free movement of persons, which is one of the 4 core freedoms of the EU. This very fact can be the origin of

important changes in the social, economic and even geographic configuration of a new Europe, particularly after the Brexit. National administrations of the different countries have issued laws and published information to regulate and protect immigrants and to make clear to them different aspects related to their life in the country.

In any type of cross-cultural research, the different contexts of production must be considered, and the UK and Spain have very different backgrounds regarding immigration and emigration, although since the 1990s both countries have been under significant migratory pressures.

According to the briefing on Public opinion toward immigration (2016) immigration is unpopular, with approximately three quarters of the British public favouring reduced levels of immigration. In the report published by the migration observatory in November 2016 this topic ranked among the top five issues. In fact, 34% of those surveyed said¹ that it was the most important issue at that moment, followed by the European Union (31%), the economy (30%), National Health Service (30%) housing (22%) and the international terrorism (19%). Immigration consistently ranks among the top five issues in recent history.² In Spain, two thirds of the population consider that there are too many immigrants, many more than can be properly accommodated, and more that 50% of the population agree with allowing immigration only on the basis of a work contract.³

However, the United Kingdom has a long tradition in receiving immigrants. The first immigration controls were introduced in Britain in 1905. Balfour, Prime Minister at that time, justified the issuing of that law because “Without such a law, though the Briton of the future may have the same laws, the same institutions and constitution ... nationality would not be the same and would not be the nationality we would desire to be our heirs through the ages yet to come”.⁴ Two years before, the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration had expressed fears that newcomers were inclined to live ‘according to their traditions, usages and customs’ and that there might be ‘grafted onto the English stock... the debilitated sickly and vicious products of Europe’.

Along a century, things have dramatically changed in Britain and in Europe, so that there are striking differences between the justification of the first immigration Act of 1905 and that of 2009, which reads:

1. migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/up-content/uploads/2016/04/briefing-Public_Opinion_Immigration_Attitudes_concern.pdf

2. <http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/uk-public-opinion-toward-immigration-overall-attitudes-and-level-of-concern/>

3. <http://www.simplelogica.com/iop/iop14006-inmigracion-en-espa%C3%B1a.asp>

4. <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/dec/12/immigration-not-problem-hostility-migrants>

This act amended the rules so people from outside the European Economic Area had to have residential status for eight years before being eligible for naturalisation. Those seeking naturalisation through wedlock had to be married for five years first. The act also allowed immigration and customs officers to perform some of each other's roles and imposed a duty on home secretaries to safeguard children.⁵

Only recently immigration is the core issue for decisions that will affect all the states member of the European Union. David Cameron stated, "I want to see immigration come down. That's why we've taken all the steps that we have. It hasn't worked so far because of the large numbers coming from inside the EU."⁶ English people voted for leaving the EU in 2016, likely to avoid free movement or immigrants accessing the UK from the European Union.

The case of Spain as far as immigration is related is quite different. Spain's migration flows in the 20th century changed radically in two different ways. In the course of the past century, about six million Spaniards left their country of origin, and until the 1930s, 80% chose to go to the Americas. From the 1950s to the mid-1970s, however, 74% chose the countries of Northern Europe. However, in the last third of the 20th century, Spain evolved from its traditional role as a sending country and became a receiving country for foreign labourers, mostly from Northern Africa and Latin America, and for well-to-do immigrants from other EU countries, such as retirees.

The number of foreign residents in Spain increased significantly in the last quarter century. From 1975 to 1985, the increase was a moderate average of 2.2 percent annually. From 1985 to 1991 (which included the enactment of the *Ley de Extranjería*, the national immigration law, and the first extraordinary regularization process) the foreign population rose an average of seven percent annually. Immigration became an important demographic and economic phenomenon since 1990 in Spain. Between 2002 and 2014, Spain received an accumulated immigration inflow of 7.3 million, thus representing the second-largest recipient of immigrants in absolute terms among OECD countries, following the United States. This migration episode was largely concentrated during the first decade of this century, peaking in 2007. Hence, Spain went from having a total foreign population of 2% in 2000 to approximately 12% in 2011. According to Eurostat data, 1 out of 5 migrants that moved to the EU15 during 2002 and 2013 went to Spain.⁷

5. http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2009/11/pdfs/ukpga_20090011_en.pdf

6. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2011/apr/14/david-cameron-immigration-speech-full-text>

7. <http://bruegel.org/2015/12/the-remarkable-case-of-spanish-immigration/>

Even considering that the traditions regarding immigration in Spain and the United Kingdom are very different, the current situation is rather similar as far as the immigration population in both countries; 11.3% in the UK and 12% in Spain.

Two main issues are at the heart of the current debate about immigration: the first is about the facts of immigration, the second about public perception of immigration. This article focusses on the way in which the public administration of the UK and Spain have considered immigrations and the manner immigrants and citizens are represented in legislation and information texts that have been published in both countries.

2. The language to construe the identity of immigrants

The identity of immigrants is construed through the language used to write or inform about immigration. People get their information about immigration through the general media, printed newspapers, information on tv, blogs or websites (van Klingeren et al. 2015). There are numerous studies on the treatment given to immigration in the Spanish and European media. Van Dijk (1997) reports that the media do not describe or register noticeable topics in a passive form, but on the contrary, they construct or reconstruct news actively. Blinder and Allen (2016) suggest that newspapers are important sources of information for the UK public. The construction of social identities, especially in relation with migration processes, is the result of the function of social mediation carried out by media, since they reconstruct the identities of migrants through journalistic discourse.

Numerous studies have been carried out on the treatment of immigration in newspapers in Spain. Igartua, Muñiz and Cheng (2005) and Igartua and Muñiz (2007) report that the treatment given to immigration in Spain in the media is clearly negative, linking immigration to crime or filling informatives on Tv with irregular entry of immigrants in “pateras”. In these cases, most of the negative news on immigrants are not conceptualised. Kressova et al. (2010) state that the most popular topic in the news regarding immigration is the access to borders and control of immigration, followed by crime, work and politics and legislation Pano Alaman (2011) carries out an analysis of the term “immigrant” in the Spanish press and reports that the term “immigrant” has negative connotations and it is associated with problematic situations, highlighting the existence of a clear opposition between them, immigrants, and us, nationals.

In general, the media focus on negative aspects of immigration events so that they do not encourage the peaceful coexistence among people with different cultural backgrounds. (Santamaría 2002a, 2002b; Granados 1998 and 2007; Bañón 2002, 2007; Retis 2006; Martínez Lirola 2013). The main topics associated with

immigration in the media in Spain are those related to violence, crime or prostitution, showing that the press discourse could be reductionist and excluding. According to Retis and García:

Since 1986, when Spain became a member of the EU, Spain inherited from the EU the discourse of exclusion of immigrants from outside the EU. The political and police sources gained prominence in the media discourse, marking the widespread tendency of the media treatment of immigration associated to social conflict and defining in complex ways the narratives about the new “others”.

(Retis and García 2010: 139)

The expectations and attitude of Spanish people towards immigration has significantly changed since the last decade of the past century. Initial data from the “Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas” (CIS, 1996)⁸ indicated that most of the population of Spain saw immigration positively; however, ten years later (CIS, 2005)⁹ the opinions started to change and Spaniards considered immigrants as “too many” (59.6%); consequently, 84.7% of the surveyed also thought that only those with a work contract should be allowed in the country. The 2015 CIS¹⁰ report confirms that the people of Spain has kept and increased this negative perception towards immigration.

Regarding the situation in the UK, immigration is one of the most salient topics in the media. In August 2013, the Migration Observatory quantitatively examined how UK national newspapers portrayed immigrants, migrants, asylum seekers and refugees from 2010 to 2012. Analysis over 58,000 items from 20 newspapers, totalling over 43 million words revealed many interesting patterns, including these. (1) By far, immigrants were most commonly described as ‘illegal’ across tabloids mid-markets and broadsheet newspapers, (2) Asylum-seekers were most commonly described as ‘failed’ across these three publication types and (3) Words focusing on conflict, nationalities, and movement – such as ‘fleeing’ – tended to appear alongside mentions of ‘refugees’ as compared to other groups.

In June 2016 the British decided to leave the EU, mainly due to economic and migratory reasons. According to the 2016 report of the Migration Observatory (<http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk>) immigration, together with economy, is one of the “most important issues” facing the British public, with three quarters favouring reduced levels of immigration, which applies equally to both the EU and

8. www.cis.es/cis/opencm/ES/1_encuestas/estudios/ver.jsp?estudio=1207

9. www.cis.es/cis/opencm/ES/1_encuestas/estudios/ver.jsp?estudio=4696&cuestionario=4949&muestra=9063

10. http://www.cis.es/cis/export/sites/default/-archivos/Marginales/3100_3119/3119/es3119mar_01Andalucia.pdf

non-EU migration. Surprisingly, Spain and the UK show similar levels of concern about EU and non-EU immigration.

In Britain, the term “immigration” or “migration” did not appear in the press very often before 2011. However, when the government introduced some measures in order to keep a balance between the migrants entering and leaving the country, the number of published articles increased since 2012 onward, with the result that in 2014 the amount of articles mentioning immigration doubled those of 2011. The term “immigration” appears in the environment of “mass”, “net” and “illegal”, which agree with Taylor (2014) who reports that some groups of migrants are profiled in the British press as a potential menace for the UK contributor.

The terms “immigration” or “migration” have been not only the subject of articles in the press but also the focus of analysis by researchers in the field of critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics.

3. Critical Discourse Analysis and corpus linguistics

The methodology framework used in this study combines corpus linguistics and discourse analysis. Corpus linguistics is the study of language based on samples of language use. Critical Discourse Analysis provides insights into the relationship of language and ideology. The most consistent results are obtained when critical discourse analysis is combined with large corpora, so that reliable generalisations about language use can be made.

Baker et al. (2008b) examined the representation of asylum seekers, refugees, immigrants and migrants in the British press and they found that these terms were almost synonyms in their corpus; in their study immigrants are associated to entry and economic treat, whereas migrants have a wider range of associations, such as transit, entry, residence or legality; Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery (2013) investigated the representation of Muslims in British newspapers and reported that Muslims were depicted as easily offended, alienated and in conflict with non-Muslims. Taylor (2014) explored the representation of immigrants in both the Italian and the UK press. Baker and Levon (2015) examined newspapers articles and found that Black men are found with some collocates which associate them with crime, whereas Asian men are more often associated to sexual grooming.

As described above, several studies have reported how immigrants are portrayed in the UK press. However, it is the administration that legislates, issues standards, provides texts regulating immigration and informs the immigrant himself on relevant aspects of his life in the host country. Pérez-Paredes, Aguado and Sánchez (2017) examined the collocational profile of “migrant” in the UK legislation and administration informative texts and found that the UK administration avoids an

explicit negative construction of immigrants. However, by ascribing them to tiers as a way of controlling them from a legal perspective, the term migrant “acquires an extremely subtle negative prosody” (ibid: 20).

Building on the findings in Pérez-Paredes et al. (2017), the present paper attempts to explore how immigrant identities are portrayed in the different types of legal and administrative documents issued by the British and Spanish administrations. Hence, we aim at shedding light on the following research questions:

1. How are immigrants represented in the legislation and information texts published in the UK and Spain during 2007–2011, considering a collocational analysis?
2. How are citizens represented in the legislation and information texts published in the UK and Spain during 2007–2011, considering a collocational analysis?
3. What are the main differences, if any, between both administrations?

4. Methodology

The data presented in this paper are part of a larger project on immigration and administrative language, LADEX, which involved the compilation of texts produced by the different administrations of four European countries (France, the United Kingdom, Spain and Italy), where immigration started to be considered as a problem. Integration, considered a key matter by the EU institutions, was therefore at risk. The main goal of LADEX was the compilation of corpora to explore terminology and discourse analysis in four languages (English, French, Italian and Spanish).

For the compilation of the different corpora in the four languages involved in the project a textual taxonomy was developed by the LADEX team after a previous and vast analysis of the Spanish administrative language. The corpus of every language of the project comprises texts from five different fields and is organised as follows: EN-1 and SP-1 (national immigration law), EN-2 and SP-2 (instruments such as letters, delivered by the Administration and addressed to individual citizens), EN-3 and SP-3 (information texts on immigration and immigration related procedures produced by the Administration), EN-4 and SP4 (documents produced by the Administration and submitted to administrative bodies and institutions) and EN-5 and SP-5 (documents, such as applications or claim forms, submitted by the citizen to the administration) (http://www.um.es/ladex/?page_id=151).

In this paper, we analyse the construction of immigrants and citizens in the UK and Spain in two of the sub corpora indicated above: laws on immigrations (LADEX EN-1 and SP-1) and the information texts (LADEX EN-3 and SP-3). The two datasets vary considerably in scope and size as shown on Table 1.

Table 1. Main components of the English and Spanish corpora under study

Components	Corpus Id	Number of words
UK immigration law and statutes	EN-1	392,180
Spanish immigration law and statutes	SP-1	1,222,172
Information texts produced by the UK Administration on immigration and immigration-related procedures	EN-3	1,151,884
Information texts produced by the Spanish Administration on immigration and immigration-related procedures	SP-3	343,599

Corpora EN-1 and SP-1 include all the legislation on immigration passed by the UK and Spanish parliaments from 2007 to 2011. As for corpora EN-3 and SP-3 they contain the information available on official websites of immigration published by official immigration-related agencies both in the United Kingdom and Spain during the same period (2007–2011).

For the analysis of the four corpora selected the methodology of Baker et al. (2008a), Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery (2008b) and Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery (2013) was applied. We used the English lemmas “immigrant”, “migrant” and “citizen” and their equivalents in Spanish, “inmigrante”, “migrante”, and “ciudadano”. The terms “citizen” and “ciudadano” have been selected to be analysed in the understanding that could be used by the Administration as a more neutral term to refer to immigrants. A combination of corpus-driven and qualitative methods (Baker et al. 2008a) has been used to gain insights on how immigrants and citizens are depicted in the texts analysed. In our case the qualitative methods applied involve the analysis of concordance lines and the identification of categorized collocates and themes.

The lemmas mentioned above were searched in the four corpora and Sketch Engine (Kilgarriif et al. 2014) was used to carry out both a preliminary collocational analysis and the generation of the word sketches (automatic, corpus-derived summary of a word’s grammatical and collocational behaviour), allowing us to capture the grammar relationship that a word or lemma exhibits in a corpus. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was used to better understand the uses of the lemmas “immigrant/migrant/citizen” in English and “Inmigrante/migrante/ciudadano” in Spanish exploring the ways in which other-presentation is manifested through the use of linguistic indicators, as stated by Baker et al. (2008a).

5. Results

The results of the analysis of the lemmas under study both in the UK and Spanish corpora will be detailed together with an analysis of the collocational and grammatical profiles of the lemmas “Immigrant/migrant/citizen” in English and “Inmigrante/migrante/ciudadano” in Spanish.

The raw results and normalized data for the lemmas “immigrant”, “citizen”, “inmigrante”, and “ciudadano” in UK and Spanish laws and informative corpora are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Frequencies of the terms searched in the EN-1, EN-3 and SP-1 and SP-3 corpora

Lemma	LADEX English (EN-1)	LADEX English (EN-3)	LADEX Spanish (SP-1)	LADEX Spanish (SP-3)
Immigrant	0 (0/M)	18 (8/M)		
Immigrants	0 (0/M)	14 (6/M)		
Migrant	1232 (1,232/M)	2742 (1170/M)		
Migrants	318 (272/M)	556 (237/M)		
Citizen	524 (448.2/M)	3272 (1397.1/M)		
Citizens	70 (59.9/M)	664 (-0.4/M)		
Inmigrante (Immigrant)			280 (199,3/M)	298 (728,4/M)
Inmigrantes (Immigrants)			430	322
Migrante (Migrant)			0 (0/M)	0 (0/M)
Migrantes (Migrants)			0 (0/M)	0 (0/M)
Ciudadano (Citizen)			564 (401,5/M)	300 (733,3/M)
Ciudadanos (Citizens)			436 (310,4/M)	222 (542,6/M)
Ciudadana (Citizen female)			48 (34,2/M)	4 (9,8/M)
Ciudadanas (Citizen females)			0 (0/M)	2 (4,9 M)

One salient feature of the results reported in Table 2 is the fact that there are not “immigrant(s)” in the UK laws (EN-1) and a very low number of occurrences of this lemma in the UK information texts (EN-3), whereas no occurrences of the lemma “migrant” appears in none of the two Spanish corpora under study. The over presence of “migrant” in the UK corpora and the absence of its equivalent in Spanish is a prominent peculiarity of both corpora (Pérez-Paredes et al. 2017). We will compare next the results of the lemma “migrant” in English and “inmigrante” in Spanish.

5.1 Collocations of “migrants” in UK legislation and information texts

The most frequent collocates of the lemma “migrant” of the LADEX EN-1 and EN-3 corpora ordered according to the logDice statistic are shown in Table 3. Only those collocates with a logDice of 9 or above have been included (Pérez-Paredes et al. 2017: 11).

Table 3. Most frequent collocates of the lemma “migrant” in LADEX EN-1 and EN-3

Corpus EN-1				Corpus EN-3			
Collocation candidate	Frequency	MI	logDice	Collocation candidate	Frequency	MI	logDice
Tier	405	9.551	13.539	illegal	122	8.676	11.58
General	46	8.621	11.25	skilled	94	9.344	11.428
Rule	91	7.043	11.174	worker	158	7.45	11.304
Temporary	35	9.652	11.071	employ	93	7.667	10.987
5	158	6.539	11.031	highly	58	9.361	10.823
Worker	36	8.874	11.01	Tier	169	6.562	10.789
Who	79	6.834	10.966	High-value	48	10.258	10.635
Entrepreneur	28	9.833	10.791	sponsor	110	6.216	10.355
Mean	76	6.438	10.688	mean	46	6.704	9.991
Respect	71	6.261	10.535	practice	33	7.665	9.89
Skilled	20	10.196	10.35	detect	27	9.427	9.805
Highly	20	10.196	10.35	1	124	5.248	9.686
Immigration	91	5.88	10.344	whom	26	8.203	9.666
System	20	9.058	10.283	entrepreneur	28	7.392	9.646
£	45	5.958	10.114	sponsoring	23	10.196	9.609
Study	17	9.891	10.113	granted	23	8.974	9.562
Post	17	9.891	10.113	Knowingly	22	8.673	9.484
dependant	24	6.935	10.109	who	80	5.085	9.42
4	126	5.437	10.051	under	89	4.889	9.303
Fee	61	5.639	10.025	general	30	5.625	9.188
Clearance	24	6.621	10	2	54	4.972	9.182
Investor	15	9.781	9.935	record	23	6.301	9.181
Points-based	15	9.295	9.913	leave	78	4.783	9.179
Make	83	5.277	9.828	investor	19	7.429	9.176
Work	14	8.833	9.791	number	18	7.798	9.148
2	136	4.906	9.585	sponsor	18	7.372	9.101
As	98	4.907	9.54	HSMP	17	7.438	9.036
Under	87	4.792	9.419	find	28	5.384	9.024
Refer	18	5.773	9.408				
1	124	4.657	9.345				
Kingdom	31	4.888	9.214				
application	49	4.571	9.113				

As shown in Table 3 the most common collocate of “migrants” in the UK law corpus is *Tier* followed by the numbers 5, 4, 2, and 1, which also premodifies that term (bold added).

- (1) The Secretary of State has in these Regulations specified fees for the following applications: (1) leave to remain in the United Kingdom as a Tier 5 **migrant** (regulation 4^a as inserted by regulation 2(4)); (EN-1)
- (2) “Tier 4 **migrant**” means a migrant who makes an application of a kind identified in the immigration rules as requiring to be considered under “Tier 4” of the immigration rules (EN-1)

In the case of UK information texts corpus, the most common collocate is *illegal* followed by *worker* in 87% of the cases (Pérez-Paredes et al. 2017).

- (3) Number of illegal **migrant** workers detected on whom the employer conducted no checks. (EN-3)
- (4) Avoid a civil penalty for employing an illegal **migrant** worker, in a way that does not result in unlawful race discrimination. (EN-3)

5.2 Grammatical categorization of “migrants” in UK legislation and information texts

In EN-1 the term “migrant” is the subject of the verbs *make*, *refer* or *mean* and the object of *mean* in 95% of the cases; is premodified by *skilled*, very often in the string *highly skilled migrant*, and post-modified by *under the immigration rules*. (Pérez-Paredes et al. 2017).

- (5) “Tier 1 migrant” means a **migrant** who makes an application of a king identified in the immigration rules as requiring to be considered under “Tier of the ...” (EN-1)
- (6) (regulation 20B, as substituted by regulation 2(9)); © entry clearance as a Tier 2 **migrant** under the immigration rules ... (EN-1)

Regarding EN-3 “migrant” is the subject of *arrive* (in the UK with the objective of enter in 92% of the cases), *work* (associated with illegality in half of the cases), *come*, *settle*, *make* (applications) and *engage* (in highly skilled employment) and the object of *mean*, *sponsor* (the organization that supports their visa application) or *employ* (in the context of illegal immigrant). The term is premodified by *illegal* (87% in the context of work) and post-modified by *sponsors*, *worker*, *employment*, or *application*.

- (7) you will not have an excuse if you knowingly employ an illegal **migrant** worker, regardless of any document ... (EN-3)

- (8) If a UK organisation wants to sponsor a **migrant** under Tier 2, Tier 4 or Tier 5 (Temporary workers), they must apply to us for a sponsor licence. (EN-3)

There are important differences between the collocates and word sketches of “migrant” in EN-1 and EN-3. The most important collocates are *Tier* and *general* in EN-1. As for the word sketches, *mean* is the most prevalent object of “migrant” in the context of making it clear what are we referring to by using the Tier classification of migrants. The use of the terms *skilled*, *highly skilled* and *under the immigration rules* help the administration classify the migrants. The “migrant” portrayed in EN-3, is someone strongly associated to *illegal and skilled* who *arrives* to the UK, *makes* applications, *engages* in employment and can be the object of *sponsors* or *employment*.

5.3 Collocations of “citizens” in UK legislation and information texts

The most common collocates of “citizen” are shown in Table 4. Only those collocates with a logDice of 9 or above have been included.

Table 4. Most frequent collocates of the lemma “citizen” in LADEX EN-1 and EN-3

Corpus EN-1				Corpus EN-3			
Collocation candidate	Frequency	MI	logDice	Collocation candidate	Frequency	MI	logDice
British	525	9.765	13.079	British	3525	8.034	12.967
overseas	88	10.655	12.578	Territories	401	8.777	11.956
territories	58	10.929	12.382	Overseas	1203	7.229	11.495
naturalisation	86	9.332	11.230	Descent	194	9.102	11.396
Commonwealth	51	9.764	11.065	Become	249	8.659	11.268
Citizen	221	7.786	10.565	Commonwealth	182	8.542	10.754
Who	812	6.908	10.400	A	21592	5.358	10.716
union	40	9.377	10.380	As	6524	5.370	10.522
Registration	20	7.517	10.365	Registered	452	7.181	10.496
Citizens	33	9.392	10.152	Citizen	1247	6.65	10.360
right	189	7.137	9.791	Otherwise	240	7.785	10.348
national	240	6.908	9.749	Register	368	7.189	10.268
24	264	6.655	9.565	Was	1548	5.740	10.200
27	334	6.431	9.498	Dependent	83	8.811	9.975
He	684	6.018	9.447	If	4170	4.951	9.954
Under	3647	5.639	9.428	Who	2682	5.119	9.920
Not	1754	5.730	9.420	Became	94	8.573	9.906
Nationals	40	8.377	9.380	United	3255	4.993	9.890
Neither	7	10.629	9.289	By	4828	4.829	9.886
Describing	9	10.266	9.278	Than	1031	5.702	9.839
Enables	12	9.851	9.261	Citizens	284	7.065	9.836

Table 4. (continued)

Corpus EN-1				Corpus EN-3			
Collocation candidate	Frequency	MI	logDice	Collocation candidate	Frequency	MI	logDice
Sections	412	6.013	9.203	Kingdom	3093	4.947	9.821
18	417	5.995	9.193	Settled	319	6.869	9.760
Holder	84	7.307	9.180	Country	1213	5.406	9.679
As	3813	5.347	9.139	Parents	531	6.075	9.565
overseas	107	6.958	9.085	Were	782	5.604	9.488
				Automatically	127	7.723	9.463
				Subject	604	5.730	9.357
				Registration	605	5.694	9.322
				Born	515	5.856	9.313
				Or	15938	3.970	9.294
				I	1004	5.156	9.269
				are	7290	4.005	9.186
				Would	717	5.378	9.179
				Be	9713	3.911	9.156
				1983	264	6.452	9.133
				parent	731	5.314	9.133

As shown in Table 4 the most common collocate of “citizen” in the UK (EN-1) is *British* followed and often premodified by *overseas*, *territories* and *naturalization* in the context of naturalization and regulation of entry in the UK.

- (9) An application for registration of an adult or young person as a British **citizen** under Section 1(3), (3A) or (4), 3(1), (2) or must not be granted unless the Secretary of State is satisfied that the adult or young person is of good character (EN-1)

- (10) This fee is to be paid on submission of an application for naturalisation or registration as a British **citizen** or British Overseas Territories **citizen** or (EN-1)

In the case of the information corpus the most common collocate is *British* followed by *territories*, *overseas* and *descent* in the context of registration as a British citizen, and documentation and working in the UK.

- (11) In certain circumstances, your grandchildren would, if they were born stateless, also have an entitlement to registration as British Overseas **citizens** (normally within 12 months of their birth (EN-3)
- (12) Can an adopted person, who is a British **citizen** and who does not have a full birth certificate, prove their eligibility to work in the UK with their adoption certificate? (EN-3)

5.4 Grammatical categorization of “citizens” in UK legislation and information texts

Considering the word sketches of the lemma “citizen” in EN-1 is the subject of *have* and *be*, the object of *become* and *be*, pre-modified by *British*, *overseas*, *territories*, *union* and postmodified by *British*, *United Kingdom*.

- (13) This fee is to be paid on submission of an application for naturalisation or registration as a British **citizen** or British overseas territories **citizen** or for registration as a British overseas **citizen** or British subject, ... (EN-1)
- (14) This subsection applied to – (a) a British **citizen**, (b) a British overseas territories **citizen**, (c) a British National (Overseas), (d) a British overseas **citizen**, (e) a person who is a British subject under the British Nationality Act, 1981 ... (EN-1)

In EN-3 the lemma “citizen” is the subject of *be*, *have*, the object of *be*, *become*, premodified by *British*, *overseas*, *territories*, *Commonwealth*, and post modified by the *United Kingdom*, *British*, or *passport*.

- (15) Customs and travel. This explains how you can register as a British **citizen**, British overseas information territories **citizen**, British overseas **citizen**, or British subject if you are currently stateless. (EN-3)
- (16) The other referee must be the holder of a British **citizen** passport and either a professional person or over the age of 25. (EN-3)

In the case of “citizen” there are not important differences between EN-1 and EN-3. Both corpora share the most common collocates: *British*, *territories* and *overseas*; the difference is that in EN-1 one of the most frequent collocates, after those already mentioned, is *naturalization*, whereas in EN-3 one very common collocate is *descent*. *Be*, and *become*, are associated to the idea of being a British citizen or becoming a British citizen either by naturalisation in EN-1 or by descent in EN-3 as suggested by other terms such as *parents*, or *born*. The term *British* prevails in all possible associations and categorizations of “citizen” in both corpora as stated in Excerpts (13), (14), (15) and (16).

5.5 Collocations of “inmigrante” in Spanish legislation and information texts

The most common collocates of “inmigrante” are shown in Table 5 (Both the term in Spanish and the corresponding translation into English are offered). Only those collocates with a logDice of 9 or above have been included.

Table 5. Most frequent collocates of the lemma “inmigrante” in LADEX SP-1 and SP-3

Corpus SP-1				Corpus SP-3			
Collocation candidate	Frequency	MI	logDice	Collocation candidate	Frequency	MI	logDice
Refugiados (refugees)	114	11.460	12.378	Integración (integration)	182	9.201	12.379
Integración (integration)	576	10.123	12.259	Asociaciones (associations)	54	9.475	11.348
Asociaciones (associations)	172	10.451	11.765	Población (Population)	94	8.676	11.193
Social (social)	810	8.988	11.267	Personas (persons)	290	7.243	10.800
Personas (Persons)	822	7.932	10.216	Acceso (access)	146	7.555	10.528
Representen (represent)	20	11.293	10.093	Refuerzo (reinforcement/ support)	24	9.423	10.254
Humanitaria (humanitary)	88	9.418	10.061	Presencia (presence)	24	9.160	9.991
Llegada (arrival)	64	9.615	9.896	Educativo (educational)	92	7.484	9.978
Atención (attention)	286	8.133	9.855	Atención (attention)	98	7.393	9.956
Refuerzo (support)	10	11.971	9.820	Sociales (socials)	108	7.253	9.920
Vulnerabilidad (insecurity/ vulnerability)	18	11.123	9.781	Acogida (reception/ refugees)	118	7.125	9.885
Constituido (Constituted)	24	10.708	9.752	Administración (administration)	212	6.502	9.813
Costas (costs)	36	10.123	9.693	Numero (number)	158	6.704	9.752
Sociedad (society)	116	8.757	9.693	Participación (participation)	86	7.319	9.737
Organizaciones (organizations)	476	7.568	9.603	Solicitantes (applicants)	12	9.838	9.724
Acogida (reception)	246	7.935	9.546	Asilo (asylum)	24	8.838	9.669
Atracción (attraction)	6	12.293	9.425	Alumnado (student body)	36	8.253	9.616
Tripartita (tripartite)	8	11.878	9.415	Social (social)	210	6.294	9.596
Lleguen (arrive)	8	11.878	9.415	Mercado (market)	76	7.175	9.453

(continued)

Table 5. (continued)

Corpus SP-1				Corpus SP-3			
Collocation candidate	Frequency	MI	logDice	Collocation candidate	Frequency	MI	logDice
Asociaciones (asociations)	14	11.070	9.385	Tanto (so)	198	6.116	9.368
Sociales (socials)	214	7.873	9.374	Situación (situation)	208	6.045	9.339
Irregulares (irregulars)	18	10.708	9.366	Autóctonas (native)	6	10.423	9.337
Lucha (fight/struggle)	58	9.020	9.184	Benefician (benefit)	8	10.008	9.328
Ceuta	74	8.668	9.117	Ser (be)	10	9.686	9.318
Melilla	74	8.668	9.117	Continuará (will continue)	10	9.686	9.318
Asilo (asylum)	76	8.630	9.109	Públicos (public)	114	6.590	9.313
				Ciudadanos (citizens)	218	5.977	9.311
				Animo (mood, spirit)	16	9.008	9.290
				Humanitaria (humanitarian)	18	8.838	9.281
				Lucro (profit)	18	8.383	9.281
				Jóvenes (young)	30	8.101	9.227
				Inmigrante (immigrant)	48	7.423	9.150
				Organizaciones (organizations)	50	7.364	9.142
				Irregular (irregular)	52	7.308	9.134
				Base (base)	52	7.308	9.134
				Servicios (services)	174	5.980	9.117
				Siendo (being)	58	7.150	9.109
				Como (as)	694	4.984	9.046

As indicated in Table 5, the most common collocate of “inmigrante” in the Spanish law (SP-1) corpus is *refugiados* (86%) followed by *integración*, *asociaciones*, *social* and *personas*.

- (17) dedicado a la recepción e integración de **inmigrantes**, así como al refuerzo educativo de ... (SP-1)
- (18) también ha de considerarse la representatividad en el caso de las asociaciones de **inmigrantes** y refugiados (SP-1)

In the case of the informative corpus (SP-3) *integración* (in almost 50% of the occurrences) is the most common collocate followed by *asociaciones*, *población* and *personas*.

- (19) ... Destinará 1 millón de euros a asociaciones de **inmigrantes** sin ánimo de lucro (SP-3)
- (20) ...en las próximas décadas la integración de **inmigrantes**, una de las prioridades del Gobierno... (SP-3)

5.6 Grammatical categorization of “inmigrante” in Spanish legislation and information texts

In the SP-1 the term “inmigrante” is the subject of *contar*, *corresponder* and *estar* (20% for each of the verbs), is modified by *irregular* in 75% of the cases, and modifies *asociación*, *integración* and *llegada*.

- (21) Proyectos para la integración social de los **inmigrantes**, así como el número de beneficiarios y... (SP-1)
- (22) Abordar la situación creada con la llegada de **inmigrantes** irregulares a las costas españolas... (SP-1)

As for SP-3 “inmigrante” is the object of *continuar* (1/3 of the cases), *venir* y *enviar*, is modified by *residente* in 100% of the cases and modifies *integración* (almost 50%), *asociación* and *presencia*.

- (23) integración y apoyo educativo a los **inmigrantes**. Población extranjera no comunitaria (SP-3)
- (24) comunidad autónoma y el número de alumnado **inmigrante** escolarizado en educación no universitaria (SP-3)

It is noticeable that *refugiados* is associated with “inmigrantes” in SP-1, usually under the expression *inmigrantes y refugiados*. The terms “refugiados” and “inmigrantes” have different statuses; the former is used for people who leave their country for political reasons and the latter when due to economic reasons. In one of the leading Spanish newspapers¹¹ UNHCR claims that the terms *refugiado* and *inmigrante* do not share the same meaning and that both terms should be used correctly. In our corpus, it seems that both groups appear associated in the context of receiving the same Government support as far as social integration, association rights, and representativity are concerned.

11. ABC, 12-9-2015.

Dispositions for the *asociación*, *llegada* and *integración* of immigrants seem to be the object of the Spanish law. Regarding SP-3 it appears that the information provided by official organisms in relation with “inmigrantes” tends to promote integration. Such word strongly collocates with *asociaciones*, *población* and *personas*, in an attempt to “humanize” the term “inmigrante”. In the SP-3 there are other terms that collocate with “inmigrante”, such as *educación*, *estudiantes*, and *social*, what can be interpreted as an additional attempt to integrate immigrants.

5.7 Collocations of “ciudadano” in Spanish legislation and information texts

The most common collocates of “ciudadano” are shown in Table 6 (Both the term in Spanish and its translation into English are offered). Only those collocates with a logDice of 9 or above have been included).

Table 6. Most frequent collocates of the lemma “ciudadano” in LADEX SP-1 and SP-3

Corpus SP-1				Corpus SP-3			
Collocation candidate	Frequency	MI	logDice	Collocation candidate	Frequency	MI	logDice
Estados (States)	462	8.788	11.355	Unión (union)	146	7.393	10.369
Unión (union)	994	8.208	11.277	UE (EU)	112	7.413	10.121
Miembros (members)	640	8.318	11.124	Rumanos (Romanians)	14	9.928	10.027
Electrónico (electronic)	172	9.500	11.120	Familiares (relatives)	194	6.621	9.859
Espanoles (Spaniards)	394	8.660	11.096	Argentino (Argentinian)	82	7.387	9.744
Miembro (member)	548	8.394	11.091	Australiano (Australian)	8	10.413	9.733
Publico (public)	336	8.282	10.579	Todos (all)	166	6.623	9.721
Acceso (access)	586	7.788	10.533	Búlgaros (Bulgarians)	12	9.828	9.715
Familiar (familiar)	838	7.429	10.405	Comunitario (member of the European Union)	36	8.243	9.715
Comunitario (of the European Union)	152	8.619	10.101	Europea (European)	194	6.135	9.374

Table 6. (continued)

Corpus SP-1				Corpus SP-3			
Collocation candidate	Frequency	MI	logDice	Collocation candidate	Frequency	MI	logDice
Familiares (relatives)	530	7.139	9.811	Registro (register)	28	8.191	9.227
Servicios (services)	1134	6.659	9.794	Inmigrantes (immigrants)	250	5.770	9.219
Estrictamente (strictly)	30	10.375	9.794	Residentes (residents)	150	6.185	9.186
Pareja (partner)	224	7.797	9.700	Países (countries)	270	5.658	9.167
Haga (does)	84	8.890	9.660	Asistencia (assistance)	172	5.987	9.117
Estado (state)	2736	6.186	9.634	Comunitarios (members of the European Union)	56	7.191	9.109
Tutela (custody/ protection)	180	7.960	9.631	Certificado (certificate)	64	6.998	9.077
Seguridad (Safety/ certainty)	554	6.869	9.574	Miembro (member)	68	6.911	9.061
Cargo (charge/ position)	510	6.873	9.516	Detenidos (under arrest)	76	6.750	9.030
Residencia (residence)	5872	5.693	9.279				
Institución (institution)	70	8.738	9.277				
Español (Spaniard)	1312	6.012	9.214				
Residentes (residents)	294	6.890	9.063				
Registrada (registered)	54	8.849	9.050				
Requieran (require)	64	8.604	0.27				
Electrónica (electronic)	198	7.238	9.011				

The most common collocate of “ciudadano” in the Spanish law corpus is *Estados* followed by the terms *unión* and *miembros* (which can refer to both the member States of the EU and also to the members of the citizens’ families) which also modifies that term.

- (25) el derecho de residencia de los **ciudadanos** de la Unión y de los miembros de sus familias. (SP-1)
- (26) la libre circulación y residencia en España de los **ciudadanos** de los estados miembros de la Unión Europea (SP-1)

In the case of the informative corpus (SP3) the most common collocate of “ciudadano” is *Unión* followed by *Comunidad Europea*.

- (27) certificado de registro o tarjeta de familiar de **ciudadano** de la Unión (SP-3)
- (28) entrada, libre circulación y residencia de los **ciudadanos** de la UE. (SP-3)

5.8 Grammatical categorization of “citizen” in Spanish legislation and information texts

In SP-1 the term “ciudadano” is the subject of *mantener* (80% of the cases), the object of *decir* (also in 80% of the cases) and *suscribir*, modifies *España* (in 1 out of 3 occurrences) as well as *familiar*, and is modified by *unión* (in more than 30% of the cases), *español*, *estados* and *comunitario*.

- (29) derechos y servicios dados a ciudadanos españoles que viven fuera de España, así como ... (SP-1)
- (30) ... competencias en materia de seguridad ciudadana y orden público, contendrá el informe... (SP-1)

In SP-3 “ciudadano” is the subject of *deber*, *ser*, *desear*, *decidir*, and *residir*, (the two first, *deber* and *ser*, with almost 17% of the occurrences), the object of *votar* (50%) modifies *familiar* (21.05%) *registro* (15.79%), *número* (10.52%), *pariente*, *proporción aportación*, *permanencia* and *detención*, (the last five terms with a 5.26%) and is modified mainly by *Unión*, *extranjero* and *UE* and also by *australiano*, *bulgaro*, *comunitario*, *colombiano* and *argentino*.

- (31) es importante recordar que cualquier extranjero, **ciudadano** de un país miembro de la UE (SP-3)
- (32) A estos efectos, el cónyuge del **ciudadano** extranjero, sus hijos y los de su cónyuge... (SP-3)

In the SP-1 the term “ciudadano” is more strongly associated to *Unión* or to *miembros* or *estados*, than to *Español*. From this association emerges the idea that the Spanish law takes into account the fact that being a citizen of the EU, is similar to belonging to a supranation in the sense of transcending the established borders held by separate nations. The term “ciudadano” is also associated to *decir* in SP-1,

supporting the interpretation that gives a voice to the citizen of the member States of the EU. The rights allocated to these citizens are also valid for their families.

In SP-3 a “ciudadano” is given rights: the right of *votar*, *decidir*, *desear* and *residir*, but he also has *deberes*, and they appear in the environment of terms related to family (*familiares*). Other nationalities such as *australiano*, *bulgaro*, or *colombiano* are specifically mentioned. One of the “negative” terms in this corpus is *detención*, possibly linked to crime.

In the samples of text shown above the term “ciudadano” can be synonymous for several terms: in (29) is synonymous for national of Spain, in (31) for national of a State member of the EU, and in (32) for immigrant.

6. Discussion

One major result that attracts our attention from a linguistic point of view is the difference between the findings in the English and Spanish corpora in terms of the presence of immigrants. No migrants are found in the Spanish legislation (SP-1) or the Spanish information texts (SP-3) while there are no immigrants in the English legislation texts (EN-1) or the English information texts (EN-3) as reported in Pérez-Paredes et al. (2017). However, the term “immigration” is a frequent collocate of migrants. There is immigration, but no immigrants in the English legislation and information texts.

The word immigrant is defined in the Oxford dictionary as “A person who comes to live permanently in a foreign country” and migrant as “a person who comes from one place to another, especially in order to find work or better living conditions”. In EN-1 and EN-3 immigration is a fact and migrants are its subject.

Still, the term “immigrant” has a high presence in the UK media as shown in studies exploring the representation of immigrants in the British press (Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery 2008b; KhosraviNik 2010) during the same period in which our corpus was compiled (2007–2011). It thus seems that the media refer to immigrants and the administration to migrants, probably because the latter term has quite a neutral connotation as suggested by Betts,¹² or since the language can be considered a neutral tool to transform problematic social inputs into aseptic institutional outputs (Maryns 2013).

British administration and border control agencies have a longer tradition in legislating and informing on different topics related to immigration than their Spanish counterparts. In this sense, they may go a step forward by using an unbiased

12. <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-34061097>

term. However, in the last three years the term migrant is starting to be used mainly by NGO or academics when dealing with this topic in Spain.

In the next two sections, we will discuss the results obtained considering the research questions posed for this paper.

6.1 Representation of immigrants/migrants and inmigrantes in the British and Spanish legislation and information texts

Migrants in the British legislation texts are found associated to “Tier” in the context of the five Tier visa system to get into the UK. The picture which emerges from this categorization is that migrants should be classified according to whether they are trying to enter the country for different purposes and so concerned with rights, law and order.

- (33) The Secretary of State has in these Regulations specified fees for the following applications: (1) leave to remain in the United Kingdom as a Tier 5 **migrant** (EN-1)

In the case of the information texts, *illegal* is the term most commonly associated to migrant, followed by *worker* and again the term *tier*. Remarkably, the term *illegal* is also the term most frequently found associated to immigrants in the British press according to the Migration Observatory and to Blinder and Allen (2016).

- (34) Number of illegal **migrant** workers detected on whom the employer conducted no checks. (EN-3)

As far as the Spanish legislation corpus is concerned, the term “inmigrante” appears associated mainly with *refugiado*, *integración*, *social*, *personas* and *asociaciones*. So the Spanish law seems to try to promote social integration in a fairly explicit way. As for the use of the term *personas* so highly associated with “inmigrante” both in SP-1 and SP-3, Jones (2016) states that speakers construct their identities by emphasizing their difference to others. In this very case, it could be argued that the Spanish law lays the foundation for constructing the identity of *inmigrantes* by highlighting what they have in common with “us”, their condition of *personas*, in an attempt to soften the ideological boundary between “us” and “them” (Perrino 2015). The usual string *personas inmigrantes*, favours the integration with us, *personas no inmigrantes*. However, “complex integration is then not only facilitated by legal entitlements and services provided by the host societies but also by the sociability of individuals from diverse backgrounds, their encounters in transnational places and their networks of interactions and relationships” (Trenz and Triandafyllidou 2017).

- (35) relacionados con la integración social de los **inmigrantes** y refugiados. (h)
Cooperar con otros órganos (SP-1)

In SP-3, “inmigrantes” are again associated with *integración, asociaciones, personas, población*, and *acceso*. The “inmigrante” portrayed here is someone (workers, students, residents, relatives) who could come to Spain and continue here to be schooled, to work or to find asylum. Again the integration of immigrants appears to be the goal of the texts. This integration takes place when migrants and locals have professional or cultural exchanges and establish interpersonal relationships (Duru and Trenz 2017). Nevertheless, and according to the data provided by the CIS 2015, Spanish people have negative perceptions towards immigration, which will not probably favour the integration fostered by the Spanish law. In this sense, the legislation and information texts issued by the Spanish Administrations could be considered as an attempt on the part of the Administration to counteract these negative views of public opinion.

- (36) afirma que la integración de los **inmigrantes** continuará siendo una prioridad durante (SP-3)

The noun with the strongest association with “inmigrante” in SP-1 is *refugees*, which does not appear in EN-1 and EN-3. Also, the term *asylum* also shows a strong association with immigrant in SP-1. In SP-3 *refugees* does not appear, but *asylum* is also a prominent associate. *Asylum seekers, refugees* and *immigrants* have a different status, different motivation for immigrating and are usually subject to different processes for admission in a country. However, research on the social functioning of language in institutional setting (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004) has identified “an institutional drive towards homogeneity that is implemented discursively through standard information processing procedures” (Maryns 2013: 71).

The British administration pictures immigrants as subjected to administration procedures highly controlled (Pérez-Paredes et al. 2017) and informs on working possibilities and social actions, whereas the Spanish administration establishes the procedures for the integration and association of immigrants and informs on their rights, integration, residence and work. It seems that the UK legitimates the control of this group of people (Charteris-Black 2006), while the Spanish law advocates for integration.

6.2 Representation of citizens and ciudadanos in the British and Spanish legislation and information texts

In the UK legislation texts the term “citizen” appears clearly associated to British in most cases, and also to *overseas*, *territories* and *naturalization* in the context of entry in the UK. However, if we look in detail at the word sketches of “citizen” in EN-1, it is observable that in some instances the term British is modified by the string “is not” or “are not” as in.

(37) this Act relating to those who are not British **citizens** (EN-1)

in the context of regulation of entry and stay. Thus, what we have in EN-1 is a clear distinction between the rights given to British citizens and those who are not British, establishing a difference between both situations, and supporting the idea of a linkage between citizenship and belonging, with the consequent associated rights (Bhambra 2016). This distinction between being or not a British citizen is not observable in the rest of the most common collocates of “citizen” in EN-1, such as *oversees*, *territories* or *Commonwealth*.

(38) the Commonwealth **citizens** who have the right of abode in the Isle of Man (EN-1)

Other common collocates of “citizen” are *naturalisation* and *registration* which appear in the context of the legal dispositions for becoming a British “citizen”.

(39) naturalisation as a British **citizen** under the 1981 Act; (EN-1)

Regarding EN-3, *British* is again the most common collocate of “citizen” followed by *territories*, *overseas* and *descent* to the effects of registering as a British citizen (in 80% of the cases), having the rights inherent to this citizenship and for working in the UK.

(40) have become a British **citizen** automatically (EN-3)

(41) for registration as a British **citizen** is contained in leaflet B N12 (EN-3)

The contexts of use of *British* as associated with “citizen”, are, however, different in both corpora (EN-1, EN-3). In EN-1 the association takes place in the context of regulation of entry and stay, and in EN-3 in the context of registration. However, EN-1 and EN-3 have in common that “citizens” are concerned with rights, law and order, as in the case of “migrant”.

We selected the term citizen to be analysed assuming that citizen could potentially be used as a synonym of immigrant, but in the UK legislation corpus this does not appear to be the case. The term citizen is used to specify the opposite, to refer to British, European or national citizens.

In SP-1, the most common collocate of “ciudadano” is *Estados*, followed by *Unión*, *miembros*, and *españoles*, in the sense of giving the same rights to the citizens of states members of the EU and their families as those inherent to Spaniards.

- (42) tarjeta vive a cargo del **ciudadano** de un Estado miembro de la Unión Europea (SP-1)

These rights are given not only to members of the EU but also to their partners.

- (43) Espacio Económico Europeo, con la que el **ciudadano** de la Unión mantiene una relación estable (SP-1)

The term “ciudadano” appears very often modified by *libre circulación y residencia*, *familiar*, etc. Mobility is one of the key principles that allow EU citizens to travel, settle, study or work in any of the member states. The rights to free movement inside the EU make intra EU migrants interconnected so that immigrants have been defined as “mobile citizens” (Recchi and Favell 2009) within the Europe of free movement.

- (44) libre circulación y residencia en España de **ciudadanos** de los Estados miembros de la Unión Europea (SP-1)

This seems to be the idea backing the laws to guarantee the rights of *arrival*, *stay*, *family unit* and *free movement* in Spain for members of the EU.

As for SP-3, “ciudadanos” appear associated to *Unión*, *EU* and *comunitarios* in most cases, in the contexts of the rights given to members of the EU.

- (45) Libre circulación y residencia en España de los **ciudadanos** de los estados miembros de la Unión Europea. (SP-3)

It is also associated to some nationalities, such as Romanians or Bulgarians, to give information on regulations or processes that immigrants from those countries need to know while living in Spain. In this respect, a great flow of irregular immigrant from Romania and Bulgaria took place in the first years of the XXI century which increased over time. In 2008 Romanian immigrants became the most numerous (Viruela 2008), which is probably the reason for specifically addressing these citizens.

- (46) De diciembre afecta exclusivamente a los **ciudadanos** rumanos y búlgaros que deseen tener autorización para (SP-3)

It looks like “ciudadanos” in SP-1 are concerned with the EU and associated to residence and access to public services and in SP-3 with the EU and other nationalities. In contrast, citizen in EN-1 is related to regulation of entry and naturalization and in EN-3 is associated with registration as a British citizen and naturalization.

The main goal when compiling the LADEX corpora was to profile immigrants in the five countries involved in this project. We considered then that the collocates of the term “citizen” should also be explored as a possible synonym for immigrant. We have not been able to discover any synonymy in EN- 1 and EN-3, but we have found that the term “ciudadano” could be used as a synonym for immigrant in some cases in SP-3.

- (47) A estos efectos, el cónyuge del **ciudadano** extranjero, sus hijos y los de su cónyuge... (SP3)

This suggests that the use of “ciudadano extranjero” is more neutral than “immigrant”. The Spanish law and information texts tend to soften the use of the term “inmigrante” by adding words such as *personas* or *population* both in SP-1 and SP-3. In the case of “ciudadano”, with the addition of *extranjero*, it appears to refer to immigrant in a more neutral form. It could be argued that the use of *extranjero* is being used as an antonym of *nacional*, but as we have already seen, in SP-1 and SP-3 “ciudadano” is highly associated to EU member states rather than to Spaniard(s).

Pérez Paredes et al. (2017) profiled the immigrant in the legislative and informative texts produced by the British Administration as someone subjected to control processes. Our study shows that the Spanish administration seems to favour the integration of immigrants.

According to Hoey (2005), it is not possible to fully understand the meaning of a word without considering its collocation priming. We hope that this work represents a contribution to shaping the prosody of the terms investigated in the contexts analysed and therefore to the lexicon of both languages and countries.

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