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SHAPED BY THE NEWS: MEDIA DISCOURSES ON
INDIAN MIGRANTS TO THE UNITED KINGDOM,
CANADA AND AUSTRALIA



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Abstract

This thesis explores the media discourses concerning highly-skilled Indian migrants within the United Kingdom, and within Australia and Canada as historically similar migrant-receiving countries; and also within India as a migrant-sending country. The thesis, covering a time of global economic crisis in 2007 – 2012, examines the framing of both the issue of highly-skilled migration and the migrants themselves, through a discourse analysis of online news media articles. Through Google News and Lexis Nexus approximately 500 professional online news articles were collated from the countries studied where they reported on their self-defined concept of ‘Indian high-skilled migrants.’ The results indicate that five main macro-level frames appear throughout the receiving countries: the migrants as an economic positive or negative; as a societal positive or negative; or as an exploited group without reference to social gain or loss. In the sending country, migrants are presented as framed as ‘the norm’, the ‘everyday person’. We see that the media discourse interacts with political discourse and real-world events dynamically, with events such as elections, policy change, the escalating economic crisis and targeted immigrant attacks altering the strength and substance of the frames presented; and that the unique cultural and historical backgrounds of the Anglophone countries means that, despite their similarities, they have noticeable differences in conceptualising and interpreting the issue of highly-skilled Indian migration.

Keywords: *Australia, Canada, Discourse analysis, India, Migration, Media, United Kingdom*

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Contents

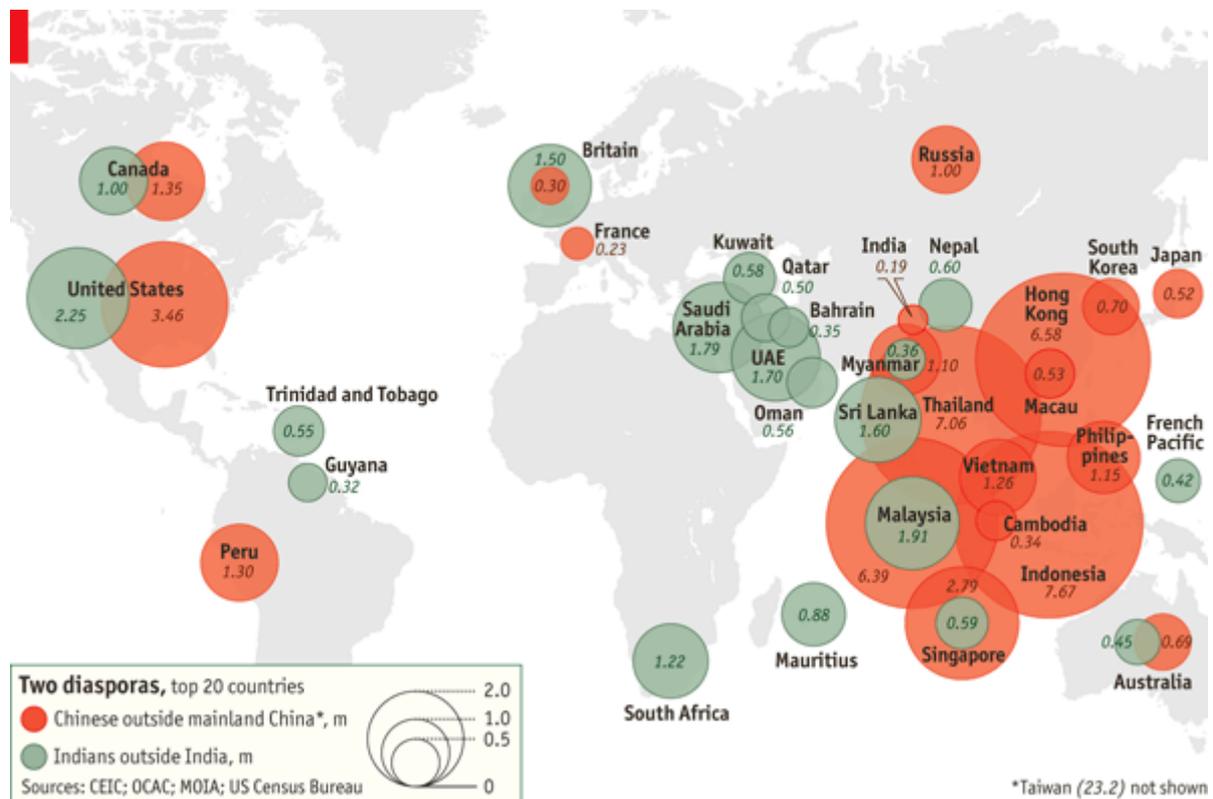
Abstract.....	1
Introduction	4
Background	4
Objectives and Research Questions.....	5
Theories and Literature Review	6
Conceptual Model and Approach	9
Methodology.....	11
Introduction: Concept Definitions and Operationalization	11
Data Requirements	13
Data Collection.....	14
Data Preparation and Analysis.....	14
Results.....	17
Introduction	17
Discourses in Migrant-Receiving Countries	20
Framings of Highly-Skilled Indian Migrants	20
Government Immigration Policy in the Receiving Countries and Reflectivity with Media Discourses	21
Migrants as economic assets: ‘An economic necessity contributing to the nation’	27
Case Study: Healthcare in two discourses	31
Migrants as economic liabilities: ‘An economic drain on the country’	44
Case Study: Highly skilled chefs through a time of discourse change	49
Migrants as social positives: ‘Working family heads’	55
Migrants as socially responsible but misused by others: ‘The exploited’	61
Case Study: Attacks on migrants in Australia.....	69
Migrants as a social negative: ‘A wave of foreigners’	77
Final Remarks.....	87
Discourses in Migrant-Sending Countries.....	89
Migrants as ordinary people: ‘The migrants are us’	89
Final Remarks.....	95
Conclusion.....	97
Bibliography	100
Appendix A: Immigration Policy in Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom	104
Appendix B: News Media Database.....	128

Appendix C: Code List 145
Appendix D: Field Diary..... 157

Introduction

Background

The significant role of migration in the lives of people of all nationalities at the start of the 21st Century cannot be understated. Always a powerful force, immigration has achieved increasing consciousness in the minds of even the most monocultural societies as the ascendance of low-cost air travel, liberalised border controls, globalised trade and constantly improving telecommunications have greatly lowered the barriers to working and living in a country outside one's birthplace. The world's two largest countries, India and China, are developing rapidly, entering a stage economically where they are producing vast numbers of graduates and other skilled young people capable and eager to advance their careers and their futures. The diaspora populations of these countries are vast; if either of the Chinese or Indian overseas populations formed a country, it would be in the top twenty most populous worldwide and larger than France, Argentina or Thailand (The Economist, 17/11/11).



crisis sweep through most of the world. This crisis, also known as the global financial crisis (GFC), or the 'credit crunch', saw many countries enter recession, run into problems with their banking sector and experience high unemployment. This saw a renewal of the debate over what migrants offer as businesses and domestic workers struggled (BBC, 2012; Economist, 2010; Mohapatra & Ratha, 2010).

Despite the relatively skilled nature of many members of these incomers, particularly to many developed countries that legislatively discourage unskilled immigration, it is only relatively recently that research has been undertaken on the impacts on host countries of skilled immigrants. Most works focus on unskilled or semi-skilled migrants, despite increased debate on their benefits and drawbacks at times of economic distress. This study will focus on this relatively unstudied group.

In addition, though much work has been done previously on the attitudes of various general publics as regarding migrants, little has focused on one of their most powerful conversational channels; the mass media. This sector is in the middle of a revolution of its own, undergoing a mass migration away from print into the digital sphere. This provides great opportunities for mass analysis of professional news outlets and what they are writing; the news media can provide a wide array of views on the impact of immigration in a country. In modern, democratic countries, as influential published works, they can direct the way the issue is seen amongst their readership; at the same time they reflect public thinking as they must bow to audience expectations and pre-existing opinions or risk alienating them. They can discuss immigrants in a particular way, constructing an image of them, and placing them in a specific situation and context through their discussion. They become authorities on a given discourse and thus affect the thinking of another public-influenced body: the governments who create policy restricting or freeing migration into a country and the lives of the immigrants once they enter into it. That this process has not in overwhelming detail been studied before leaves it ripe for exploration (see Chapter X: Literature Review)...

The study here looks at the migration of people along a long-standing axis; from India, one of the largest emigration states in the world, to its Commonwealth partners the United Kingdom, Canada and Australia. These countries, with a closely intertwined modern history, have relations continued today by a large flow of people from the subcontinent. The trio of receiving countries remain among the most popular destinations for Indian nationals, drawn by employment opportunities, shared cultural and linguistic heritages, and large existing social networks. There is therefore the opportunity to look at the media discourses concerning this particular group across the three migrant-receiving countries, which share culture, language and legislative and government structures. We will be able to explore what constants emerge over the international borders and how specific local circumstances affect media and policy discourses. This will be achieved by means of a discourse analysis of media publications, in the context of their social and economic situations.

Objectives and Research Questions

The objective of this exploratory research is:

in the context of prevailing local economic, political and social conditions, to gain insight into current news media discourses and reflections of political discourses concerning highly-skilled

Indian migrants in the United Kingdom, and in the comparable legislative states of Australia and Canada, and in India itself.

By examining the output of online newspapers, journals and periodicals, we are able to gain insight into the wide range of political and socio-economic positions that are represented by different outlets; the ways they are constructed and what distinctions occur under different economic and social circumstances depicted by the media. In addition, it is possible to gain insight into how modern media discourses reflect government immigration policy.

This will be achieved through a qualitative discourse analysis of news media reports on both Indian high-skilled migration and government migration policy coupled with a study of actual government policy at that time. By using discourse analysis, we can gather a reflection of how migrants are framed in the context of news outlets and their political leanings and readership. In doing this, we hope to answer the following questions:

- ‘In the context of prevailing economic, political and social conditions, what are the media discourses regarding highly-skilled Indian immigration to the UK?’
- ‘To what extent does government policy in this period reflect this discourse? Is there a link between media output and government policy vis-à-vis highly-skilled migration?’
- ‘How does this compare to similar legislative states [Canada and Australia, both Anglophone parliamentary democracies] and to India?’

These research questions have been defined to achieve an encompassing research that does not neglect any appropriate topic that would affect the media discourses of highly-skilled Indian migrants, using existing theoretical knowledge as a basis.

Theories and Literature Review

The literature on migration experiences is extensive and wide-ranging, and a number of demographers have – thanks to the importance and long history of the migration from the Subcontinent to the Commonwealth partner - looked at Indian migrants to the United Kingdom. A majority of the work focuses on the integration experiences of lower-skilled migrants, as this forms the majority of the population and is more well-established, but the more recent high-skilled migration is beginning to be studied too. This thesis focuses not on the migrants themselves but more on the reactions of the media to higher-skilled migrants: the discourse, or *‘the way of speaking which gives meaning to experiences from a particular perspective’* contributing to the construction of *‘social identities’*, *‘social relations’* and *‘systems of knowledge and meaning’* (Philips & Jorgensen, 2002). Messages, such as text or images, can have meanings inferred from them; they can have more than one as the text is brought into specific contexts of audience, the author, the substance and so on. As Stamou (2009) and Frewin et al (2010) point out, *‘newspaper coverage of events do not mirror reality but construct particular versions of selected reality’*. Discourse on migration at the national level is the product of the interplay of public opinion, government policy and media output

– of which the last two are within the scope of this study - in the context of the socio-demographic, economic and political conditions noted previously.

How the discourse is created itself will be considered through the theoretical concept of ‘framing’ (Gitlin, 1980). Frames are ‘principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters’ (Gitlin, 1980); the creation and use of cues and selected, limited information to represent or interpret an event or process. These can be consciously created, and often – though not always – is, by creators of news media who may know exactly what discourse they wish to produce; a positive framing or a negative one, a frame of conflict or a frame of responsibility (Entman, 2003; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Using Pan and Kosicki’s ‘news media discourse process’ (see ‘Conceptual Model and Approach’, page 11), we see how the discourse is generated and fed by the public and institutions, of which we focus on the most influential in immigration: the government as the arbiter of immigration policy. Repetition of specific conventions and constructions create an overall discourse to be interpreted by audiences; the general public. These frames, especially as created by the news media, feed into and create interpretive schemas for the general public, enabling a classification and interpretation of a topic on a level understandable to the audience, describing and connecting different concepts such as immigration and unemployment, for example. These schemas strongly influence acceptable public behaviour and opinion (Bailey & Hutter, 2006; Pan and Kosicki, 2003). The discourse regarding a subject can of course effect a specific agenda (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). In the case of highly skilled migration, a positive framing of highly skilled Indian migrants would greatly aid integration: Ozdil (2010) shows the example of Arabs in America in the 1910s who were greatly more accepted in society following a purposeful change in framing by national newspapers.

Positioning is an important concept within these discourses; it is *‘the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines. There can be interactive positioning in which what one person says positions another. And there can be reflexive positioning in which one positions oneself’* (Davies & Harre, 2007). News media target a readership and write as a member of them and a representative of them. The audience is an ‘us’. Figures can be made part of the ‘us’, or can be an outside ‘them’. In this situation, positions are created and defined and the relationship between ‘us’ and ‘them’ can be defined, along with different traits assigned to the ‘us’ and to the ‘them’ (Fealy, McNamara, Treacy, & Lyons, 2012; Talbot, 2007; Tirado & Galvez, 2007).

It can be seen through the existing literature that the potential for different framings of immigrants lies in the perceived ‘social cost versus returns’ of the migrants themselves; that is, the areas and means by which the migrants bring value into a country, and the areas from which they draw value away. A simplified description of this dichotomy is that of the ‘social parasite’ versus the ‘social boon’; the former takes welfare from the state, jobs from locals, and neighbourhoods from communities by turning them into ‘othered’ ghettos. The latter is law-abiding and an economic contributor, engaged in careers acceptable to the population at large (either because they are specifically associated with the group – note the image that Carey and Robinson (2002) suggest of the ‘Indian doctor’ as a social and cultural icon as well as an economic one – or they because they are specialised to a degree where they aren’t felt to be ‘stealing’ jobs), and culturally ‘known’ and integrated. Literature suggests that the first wave of Indian immigration to the UK was originally regarded as the former, and was represented as such by the media, and only later moved toward

acceptance (Khadria, 2008). Indeed, in studying the role of the media in the anti-immigration policies of the 1970s in Britain there is evidence of the strong interrelationship between the media, political discourse and widespread public opinion. Unfortunately, as King and Wood (2001) note, there has to date been little academic interest or literature on the interplay between the modern media and migration, despite the media's indisputable role in shaping and reflecting national opinions and public policy and the budding literature on news framing overall (Gerald & Zhongdang, 1993 Entman, 2003). Of that that exists, ter Wal's (2010) study of the Italian newspaper *La Repubblica's* influence in building a public consensus agitating for the eviction of over a thousand Roman immigrants shows the ability of the media to shape government policy, and how this interplay forms and influences discourse about the issue at hand; in this case framing the immigrants negatively and as a problem to be dealt with for the public good (subsequently winning the government popularity). In the opposite direction, the French televisual and cartoon media were able to create public sympathy for undocumented immigrants to France that forced the French government to alter their immigration policy (Hargreaves in King and Wood, 2001). The topic of race and the media has been studied in more detail and shown that the distorting and stereotyping effects of the media influence public opinion greatly (Abbas, 2001; King and Wood, 2001). The power of the media is evidently very important in keeping peaceful relations between communities. It must be remembered even in the comparatively peaceful 2010s, the evidence of the 2000s race riots in northern England show how inter-communal intolerance could easily flare up again. The situation is a nuanced one, though sources certainly agree that inter-ethnic relations are better in the 2010s than in previous decades (Parmar, 2002).

Indeed, it must be remembered there will be differences and divisions between this wave of migration and the previous. High skilled migrants face choices previous generations of Indian migrants didn't have. They are more able to move and live internationally and more in demand – less dispensable – and so are able to integrate into a host society less (Flynn, 2006). At a labour market level, they will be competing with other highly-skilled workers, not unskilled or semi-skilled workers who are more likely to be hostile to immigrants (Ivarsflaten, 2008). Khadria (2006) notes one important facet of the migrant-integration interface that could have an important bearing on this study. To a greater degree than others, high-skilled migrants have a choice of social networks which manifest at two different levels; there is a network centred on the traditional first-wave ethnocentric basis, grounded in the cultural-linguistic community to which they are related; the other is centred on a socioeconomic professional-based level. The former has advantages in helping retain and confirm homeland ties, and easing the transition to the new culture, whereas the latter enables a greater integration into the professional (host) community in which they find themselves. Of course, neither need be necessarily be exclusive of the other, however they are not entirely overlapping and can result in a different form of integration for each of the waves of migration.

Sjaastad (1962) was the first to looking at migration in the theoretical framework of human capital. Migrants move to improve and get the best returns on their human capital. Though some literature suggests that migrants help form equilibrium in the global economy by fulfilling labour demand in host countries (Thranhardt, 1996), this is not a wholly efficient process and is affected by many factors; immigration laws, cultural issues, family ties. This will cause tension where migrants create equilibrium by providing labour at lower cost than locals, as the social cost of increased local un- or under-employment strains community tensions. However, the UK for example currently faces a shortfall of 0.5 million skilled ICT workers, each of whose economic output would be greater than

any unskilled employees. In addition, it faces competition to attract these workers both from other developed countries in the EU (facing a 1.7 million skilled-worker shortfall over the next 10 years) and North America as well as developing countries eager to diversify their economic base. This will only intensify in light of the ageing of European and North American populations and continued developing world growth. In this situation, the value of each individual immigrant would be greater and their cost lower; it should in that case affect public perceptions, media discourse and political activity. Of course, with the advent of the global economic crisis of the late 2000s, unemployment has reached levels not experienced since the 1930s, raising labour competition and so the cost of immigrants to the indigenous workforce (Khadria, 2006; Leyton-Henry, 2004). Recent works by leading economists reinforce this view (Bhagwati et al, 2007).

This study will add to the body of literature on migration by examining the media discourse on migration and reflecting on its relationship with the coexisting political landscape. This is a neglected area in the existing literature, yet an important subject as the need for highly-skilled migrants is certainly not slowing and developed countries will continue to require their expertise as their populations age and labour competition increases. Adapting Sjaastad's paper placing migratory flows in a resource allocation framework as transporters of capital that move economies towards a labour market equilibrium, we can examine whether the noted high demand in the migrant-receiving countries' labour market for highly-skilled workers leads to incoming Indian migrants being highly-valued or whether other factors interfere with this process - and if there are, what they are. The paper will be able to study this in the context of some of the longer-running and larger migration flows in the modern world, taking place between three highly developed and a country that is rapidly developing towards potential superpower status (Lemke, 2004).

Conceptual Model and Approach

We will be conducting this study on the basis of several pieces of existing theoretical work. It is grounded in the context of the interpretivist paradigm; where social reality is constructed through the interplay of different actors and institutions. The 'image' of highly-skilled Indian migrants is not an objective fact but a constructed formation of different ideas and opinions. These are formulated in the public and political spheres and incorporated into the communications between actors in those fields. This is a good opportunity for a qualitative study as the perspectives and opinions of people are paramount; the meanings as given and interpreted by individuals in their natural setting. The study will attempt to achieve an insight into the emic point of view, interpreting selected data to do this (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998).

By answering the research questions we aim to show how the Indian migrant community is represented or 'framed' in the media and what opinion is shared by different groups. Framing is important because as the literature shows, positive or negative framing and the cultural schemas they create – with news media and the government two of the strongest institutions involved in a country's discourse formation - can strongly affect widespread public opinion of a group, acting as a strong enabler or barrier to social cohesion. We will see what particular points are raised by the media discourse, enabling a discussion e.g. on what policy steps, if any, would be needed to manage

that view. We can also see how policy is controlled by the popular context and where it should proceed in future. As it is a qualitative, exploratory study, we do not have any specific hypotheses, though we may expect some negative framing due to the late-2000s recession causing resentment among indigenous workers. Overall this project will aim to address a gap in academic literature; though there is literature on Indian immigration within the UK, there is a gap concerning discourse within the country, and indeed, in many countries at all.

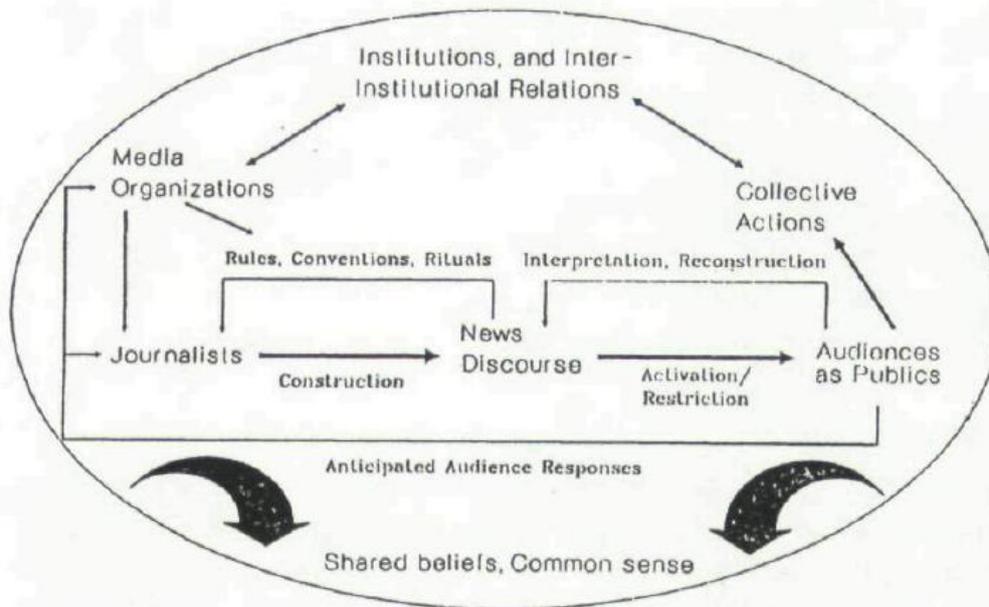


Figure 2: News media discourse process (Pan and Kosicki, 1993)

This study bases its understanding of news media discourse creation on the theoretical work of Pan and Kosicki. In their work, they discuss the framing of discourses in the news as originating from journalists. A story may arise as a result of a current event or for no reason at all; the journalist may have ideas they wish to promote or may simply write about a subject in a particular way as a result of personal preferences and as a reflection of anticipated audience reactions and their media organisation's general culture and beliefs. This results in a subject being promoted in a particular way (for example, a group could be 'vulnerable', 'good', 'selfish' etc.). This is constructed through the conscious and unconscious use of positioning, focus on particular facets of issues, rhetorical devices and language, taking into account anticipated audience responses; the articles would not be likely to break taboos or strongly held beliefs, as it would risk alienating the readership, and they may use known archetypes or stereotypes as a shortcut to shared understanding. Where many journalists are writing for many publications, this can result in an overall news discourse emerging; a way of viewing a subject with known rules and conventions. These news discourses themselves feed back into audience debate, opinions and expectations. As these evolve, they themselves affect future news discourse as well as institutions such as the government. Government policy in democracies (and possibly outside them), being susceptible to public opinion can therefore also be influenced by these discourses; action taken on account of this can then feed back into the news.

Conceptualisation

Some major concepts involved in this study are:

- *Discourse: a particular way of talking about and understanding (an aspect of) the world, or more particularly 'the way of speaking which gives meaning to experiences from a particular perspective', contributing to the construction of 'social identities', 'social relations' and 'systems of knowledge and meaning' (Philips & Jorgensen, 2002)*
 - *News media publications: organisations that publish articles on matters primarily concerning current affairs*
 - *Government policy: the stated intentions and legislative outcomes of the work of the incumbent government*
 - *Highly-skilled Indian migration: the movement of skilled workers, as defined by individual countries (those, under the UN definition, 'having a university degree or extensive/equivalent experience in a given field' (Iredale, 2001 in ILO, 2010)*
 - *Socio-demographic, economic and political context: the totality of local conditions which affect the discourse on Indian highly skilled migration*
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Overall, we see various, constantly changing ideas and images of a subject emerging; these frames are a necessary part of the need to simply outline issues, which in itself is a necessary aspect of a functioning democracy, which must include the acknowledgement of the deliberation of ideas by a participatory public (Pan & Kosicki, 1993; 2003).

Methodology

Introduction: Concept Definitions and Operationalization

The work that will be undertaken in this study is exploratory, seeking to discern the discourse on highly skilled Indian migrants and the relationships between text and context. Firstly, we must define exactly what we are exploring for the purposes of this study; how the concepts as laid out in the conceptual model in the previous section apply in this thesis and are operationalized.

We will primarily be seeking to explore the central plank of the Pan and Kosicki model: the news discourse, as applied to highly-skilled Indian migrants.

The term 'highly-skilled migrant' is slightly nebulous and suffers from a surfeit of definitions not conducive to simple transnational like-for-like comparison and even the simple UN definition – 'having a university degree or extensive/equivalent experience in a given field' (Iredale, 2001 in ILO, 2010) - may be suitable for statistics agencies, but not here. The news media and policymakers can apply the label to whichever people they feel fit; moreover the attributes and identities that conflate with the term are a determinant in the framing of the issue as a whole. We are looking here at the situation and the group as defined by the media and policymakers themselves. We therefore include as highly-skilled migrants any person or group who is described as such in the dataset, either explicitly or through association with relevant legislation or government policy.

We define a news media discourse as a particular way of talking about and understanding (an aspect of) highly-skilled Indian migrants or migration; or, more particularly, the use of reporting, through text and images, 'which gives meaning to experiences from a particular perspective', contributing to the construction of 'social identities', 'social relations' and 'systems of knowledge and meaning' (Philips & Jorgensen, 2002). These come from media organisations and journalists as seen in the conceptual model; in

this study only professionally-produced news publications (with regular updating and a multiple-person, paid staff) will be used as distinguished from personal websites or fringe sites that may not represent a mainstream or verifiable view. We assume that these websites, in being professionally run, will be aiming to attract a consistent and sizeable audience in order to sustainably cover production and personnel costs and therefore reflect a reasonable proportion of regional or national discourses in their country. It would be inappropriate to include publications that do not meet these requirements as they could represent very fringe viewpoints, be unrepresentative of the country, host mirrored (unoriginal) content, or not be news media (e.g. satire sites).

This occurs through an examination of how the discourse(s) is constructed, through the use of rules, conventions and rituals. We operationalize this exploration of discourse by finding if there are repeated patterns of meanings in the text and images which can be seen to form said rules, conventions and rituals. Influenced by the work of Fealy et al (2010) in exploring elderly identity in Ireland, this is seen as involving narratives, assumptions, identities and meanings engendered and produced in the news articles, and in particular repeated patterns of use through multiple articles:

- Are there repeated uses of specific explicit or implicit traits, and how are they represented, through their role in the narrative or through language use (e.g. adjectives, metaphors, imagery)?
- Is there repeated use of specific explicit or implicit role(s) for migrants and other reported parties?
- Are there repeated uses of specific positioning of migrants compared to the audience, either explicitly or
- Is there use of emotive language or moral judgements, whether explicitly or through specific rhetoric and vocabulary use?

As noted in the research aim, this must be contextualised as regards prevailing economic, political and social conditions so that local conditions can be taken into account, and so that we can explore how the production of rules, conventions and rituals relates to local conditions. These contextual factors are seen as being:

- What are the events that make up the article narrative?
- What other events are referred to that relate to in the narrative of the article?
- What institutions, people and groups are referenced in the article and how do patterns of rules, conventions and rituals apply to them? This may be, for example, the use of an interview with a pro- or anti-migration group and how they are represented in an article.
- What are the relevant political discourses i.e. government policy? The government is one of the major institutions that interacts with the media, and in addition has a direct impact on highly-skilled Indian migrants in society through legislation and policy.
- What are the economic factors that would impact on audiences, especially the progression of the global economic crisis? How are these represented in the articles as regards the migrant group?
- What are the article-indicated normative social views? This includes article indications of public opinion, public norms and minority or opposing views of these.

Together, this will allow the oversight of the creation of a coherent news discourse(s) on highly-skilled Indian migrants. Through theoretical understanding, we assume that these discourses and their components are constructed and used consciously and unconsciously to suit the news media's audience as a public, who will then reconstruct them themselves (though their reactions and responses are outside the scope of this thesis. It is assumed that public reactions and responses impact on institutions as per the theoretical model however).

The project utilises discourse analysis. This form of study has a wide range of definitions and means of being carried out, but in general it refers to the 'study of recorded human communications, such as books, websites, paintings and laws' (Babbie, 2008) which makes 'replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use' (Krippendorff, 2004) In this way, we can search within the documents, including for schemas created, positions taken, and the 'symbolic devices' of metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions, and visual images that exemplify the conventions used within news media (Gerald & Zhongdang, 1993). This method allows a sample of news media output - text and pictures - to be analysed for meaning to explore the discourse as per the research questions until a saturation level of information is reached and no new information on discourse can be discovered. If a particular topic is dominant in the media, it can be used as the basis for a case study for a more detailed exploration.

Data Requirements

For the study, I collected both text and images, which were taken from web-based sources. Both of these data-types are freely-available from news media articles published online; and by using electronic sources as opposed to paper-based ones it was possible to benefit in several ways:

- It was possible to quickly and simply collect a high amount of information from a wide range of sources, over a wide geographic area and over specific time periods.
- Data could be that could be scanned and categorised easily through the use of Atlas Ti, a data analysis program
- Data collected are easily portable, storable and transportable, online and offline as it can be accessed from different computers.
- Data could be backed up to protect against loss

Video is not included in the data collected as in the majority of cases it is controlled by Digital Rights Management and in addition is difficult to store and download offline. In the event that an online-only video were taken offline in the middle of analysis, it would no longer be possible to access it, making it useless for future review.

To avoid over-extending the study, articles were only taken from the time-period 2008-2012. This period of time covers that from the start of the late-2000s economic crisis to the time of writing of this thesis. By restricting articles used to this period, it was possible to cover a single period-specific event that affects all of the states in similar ways and the accompanying contemporary national

views. Publications used were based in, or publish a national edition for, the countries studied: the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada and India, to ensure the data reflects the national media discourse of the correct country. Publications used were checked to ensure they were professionally staffed news outlets to ensure they are appropriate for the study, as previously noted. Finally, enough articles were collected to ensure saturation coverage for each country; that is, there should be enough data to cover all the aspects of the discourses found in each country.

Aside from this, of course, it was necessary that supplementary data be collected. The most important of these are national immigration policy documents, which were used to chart the existence and progression of policy through this time. This was collected from the relevant national agencies, mainly the various Parliaments, Citizenship Ministries and Border Agencies.

In addition, contextualising data – for example, newspaper articles - both from the studied countries and third-party groups was collected for use as supplementary data; such as that concerning specific incidents that occurred in the timespan, information about the European Union and its policy in relation to the United Kingdom, and news articles from third-parties about the situation in the studied countries.

Data Collection

Data was collected through the following sources:

- Google News Alert - this includes the use of a database that has been running from 2006-2012 highlighting all articles containing the terms 'Indian high skilled migration'.
- Lexis Nexus – this is an electronic database of many global newspapers which allows searching by keywords, date of publication and publication nationality, among other criteria
- Individual news websites – to extend coverage and reach paywall-protected articles
- Google News – to extend coverage and find articles with expired links
- Individual government and national agency websites - for policy information

Articles were stored as PDF copies and indexed in a Microsoft Access database to allow easy archival and search; see Appendix B: news media database.

Through all this a field diary was kept in which I recorded data that was discarded, to ensure transparency, consistency and accountability. It also allowed some contextual data to be gathered without being included with the other media articles (see Appendix D: field diary).

Data Preparation and Analysis

If we look again at Gitlin's (1980) work, few see an example of framing given in looking at a queue of people by the side of the road. Simple framing comes into play when we decide that they are a bus stop queue. In this study, we too, will see what traits and characteristics – being who, being where,

doing what, with whom? – are assigned to migrants, to see what images conjure the idea of a migrant and vice versa. Is a rich person or a poor person a highly skilled migrant?

To begin the study, policy and other contextual data from the migrant-receiving countries had to be collated into a consistent timeline to produce a background for the news discourses to operate in. A descriptive timeline was constructed showing legislative changes and current events related to skilled immigration from India (see Appendix A). This allows us to analyse reflectivity between policy and news media discourses.

After this, the news media data collected for this study had to be prepared so that it could be analysed in a systemic manner. As it was collected, each article was read and an entry was created in the Microsoft Access news media database. Through this initial reading, it was possible to assign metadata to them, such as country of origin, date of publication, and basic keywords (see Appendix B: news media database). A PDF copy of each news article was linked to the database. Once the Google News Database articles were fully extracted into the database, a rereading of the news media database and the articles within it was undertaken to see where additional data would be useful (for example, where there was an important event). This continued until a data saturation point.

As this occurred, the PDF copies of the articles were coded using the qualitative analysis program Atlas Ti. Coding is the process of assigning categories to data to allow many pieces of data within the same category group to be easily compared and analysed. In this case, the data may be a picture, an in-vivo word or phrase, a sentence, a paragraph or a group of paragraphs, where they were conveying information, either explicitly or implicitly, about or concerning a specific topic or idea. This message concerning a particular topic or idea is their key point of analysis; examples of coded topics related to highly-skilled Indian immigration are 'home', 'wages' and 'age'. A single sentence can contain multiple messages and so we may see a single piece of data be useful in identifying various aspects of migrant framing (Bailey, Hennink and Hutter, 2010). The data was read and scanned for meaning and then text or images were highlighted as appropriate and coded. At first, free coding (creating codes that encompass a meaning or theme emerging from the data) and in-vivo coding (creating codes of specific phrases found within the articles) was used, and from that point further data could be assigned to existing codes. Once the articles had been coded in this way once, they were re-read and checked for meaning again, to ensure consistency and accuracy. The full list of codes can be read in Appendix C: code list.

We are looking primarily through the articles to see what discourses emerge, what various identities are created for highly skilled Indian immigrants and how and where they are constructed. There are many different ideas on how to conduct an effective discourse analysis. Through multiple careful readings of coded data we searched over multiple publications for patterns of reportage; repeated instances of identity construction through positioning, repetitive terminology, emergent grammar, highlighted incidents and subjects (including, for example, quotes from third-party sources within articles which are selected to highlight and reinforce a particular framing) and explicit and implicit suppositions about migrants. I identified the functions of the articles coded data is embedded into and link the form to it. Through these patterns I then wrote a thick description on how a coherent identity (or identities) of highly skilled Indian immigrants is formed, and examined changes in

nuance seen over multiple articles in relation to the various social contexts; the country of origin of the articles and the socio-economic and political context at the time of publication.

These techniques present advantages over other qualitative methods in that they are unobtrusive; unlike, for example, population surveys, the thesis's existence will not affect the data obtained; data will not be affected by the observation of, or the knowledge of the existence of, the researcher. Thanks to the electronic distribution of the data used, it was also easier to obtain data over a historical time-range and from a range of sources. Finally, using this data sourcing is achievable within time and budget constraints, with a majority of news media and political activity freely available.

The main limitations that must be remembered throughout the study is that it is exploratory and may be limited in some areas in uncovering all motives and ideas behind the creation of discourses in every circumstance; though we hopefully explore 'what' the discourse is, we will not always be able to say exactly 'why', though I theorise through previous work as discussed in the literature review. The study of media output is also reliant on news media actually reporting on skilled Indian immigration, and therefore where particular outlets do not report on the issue we have no way to formulate data; we cannot, for example, simply create more data through interviews or focus groups.

Results

Introduction

Within the articles analysed, who are these ‘highly-skilled migrants’ we sought to study? As noted previously, the term can be fuzzily-defined, though the simple UN definition of migrants ‘having a university degree or extensive/equivalent experience in a given field’ is a good starting point (Iredale, 2001 in ILO, 2010) It can take on, through people’s understandings of the group, meanings even beyond that of a dry objective description however. We are looking here at the situation and the group as a discursive whole as defined by the media themselves. I also provide an overview of the political discourses through a timeline of immigration policy and its changes through the period studied in the ‘Policy Timeline’ appendix; this shows the political definitions of ‘highly-skilled Indian migrants’ in the receiving countries and we will examine the interrelationship between these media and political discourses.

Of course, differences both between the countries studied, and between the discourse-creators (both political and media) within those countries, mean that several competing framed identities have been constructed. I shall thus list findings that have been made about the constructions identified through the texts and media, and the nuances and tones that extrude from within the text. Firstly it is important to note that the findings sharply illustrate a different perspective between those countries studied that send migrants (India) and those that receive them (the United Kingdom, Australia and Canada); this appears to be simply because for one author group and its audience, migrants are the newcomers, and for the other migrants are themselves, and for this reason there is an obvious difference in framing of skilled Indian migration. Due to this, findings about discourses are divided according to whether they emanate from the receiving or the sending countries. In the case of the receiving countries, we saw evidence of further subdivisions, which are recorded in that section.

The notion of audience is important to remember throughout this thesis: all the articles studied are of course written for them; the readers. In the main, the news articles studied are written for a mass crowd, either the general public of a particular nation or a subdivision thereof. Examples of subdivisions are geographic, political, or special-interest:

- **Geographic:** the publications may be aimed nationwide or serve particular area such as a city, state, or country. They may also be non-geographic, serving a specific community (for example, a religious group) or be international. As stated previously, for the purposes of this study I included publications run from the target countries and targeted at the study countries populations (and subdivisions of the same), and exclude publications run from other countries and targeting other populations. We are looking for the discourses from within the target countries themselves. We can assume in this case that the discourses will in turn be targeting the general public of that country (or subdivision thereof). As noted in the methodology, articles were collected from each of the three receiving countries Australia, Canada and the UK, and the sending country India:

Country	Number of articles
Australia	62
Canada	28
United Kingdom	120
India	155

As can be seen above, the United Kingdom provided the majority of articles from the receiving countries; this country was the focus of the study with the other two as comparison. The United Kingdom also has larger proportion of Indian migrants than the other countries (as stated previously, it is the 5th largest diaspora country) which may have resulted in a higher number of articles available for collection.

The largest number of articles collected from the news media sources originate from India. The reason for this can be assumed as related to the perceived interests of the readers within the four countries; readers are more likely to want to read articles that affect them or are particularly noteworthy. In particular:

- A) News organisations in India are likely to report incidents that affect its readers in each of Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom. They, meanwhile, are themselves unlikely to report on each other's policies and minor current affairs as un-newsworthy; Indian media in this case will turn up in our study more often.
- B) The issue of immigration in news media is often linked to specific events. For audiences in receiving countries, they are only likely to be reported if they involve uncommon noteworthy events such as major policy change, or events that affect locals, which are relatively uncommon as the readers are not migrants themselves; and so immigration news appears rather intermittently. In contrast even small events can affect (actual or potential) migrants, which is therefore of interest to readers from the migrant-sending country and so is reported more often
- C) News media in the receiving country often has no particular reason to distinguish Indian high-skilled migrants apart from other nationalities. As this study is concerned only with news about Indian migrants, we cannot include articles that do not mention Indian migrants as in that case we can't be sure that the discourse in those articles concerns itself with them. In any case, our data collection is geared towards finding articles that contain the terms 'Indian' and 'India', thus articles that do not single them out will not be included

For this, we have a large number of Indian media articles but from all of the countries we can see what nuances and framing devices occur.

- Political: it is not uncommon for publications to cast themselves as favouring a particular political ideology. In Britain, for example, the range of competitors position themselves as catering to a particular political position ranging from the Daily Star on the left to the Daily Mail on the right. Of course, these positions are not absolute; some companies use a broad

range of writers writing from a similarly broad range of positions, some attempt to keep political balance either within-story or over a range of stories (e.g. by featuring 'for' and 'against' topic features), and some simply may include individual stories that go against the general editorial line. Some publications, too, may declare themselves apolitical; the accuracy of such self-labelling is often contested, however. In whichever case, political standpoints include views on immigration; typically with socially-leftist media favouring immigration and rightist media being more opposed.

- Special-interest: publications may report in a broad fashion on all aspects of current affairs, or may specialise. In relation to this study, we find several examples of publications focused on the economy, politics or specific communities, such as employment communities. These publications target those with a particular interest in and/or knowledge of their subject greater than that of the 'average' person.

The particular target audience of each publication will therefore influence its output and its influence on the discourse; different audiences will have specific background knowledge, cultural references, prejudices, norms and positions in society.

Discourses in Migrant-Receiving Countries

Framings of Highly-Skilled Indian Migrants

The three receiving countries frame the skilled Indian migrants as a separate group from the host population and as a fairly homogenous group, though publications use several discourses to frame them in particular ways. Through analysis of the coded messages and meanings in the texts, we find five major discourses - five ways of thinking about the migrants – seen through the use of narratives, contexts, terminology, expressions, and ideas that create them; this is addressed in detail in the following section. The five distinct ways in which highly-skilled Indian migrants are framed in the migrant-receiving countries are as follows:

- An economic necessity and boost for the country (economic positive)
- An economic drain on the country and its people (economic negative)
- Socially-responsible, successful and hard-working family people (social positive)
- Socially-responsible, but exploited and pitiable, people (social positive/migrant-centric)
- A wave of socially damaging, un-assimilating, borderline felonious migrants (social negative)

These are all found in each of the receiving countries, however nuances of the framing differ substantially from article to article: Canada, for example, may emphasise a different aspect of skilled immigration than the United Kingdom. As stated, the publication, its political outlook and audience and current local conditions, such as the economic outlook and political situation, shape the output of the authors, which in some cases changes over time.

The framings are relatively independent and self-contained, though they can interact with each other in whole or through specific topics within individual articles to a degree. This is because the discourses reflect each other; we can see that the frames are interlinked either because they are complimentary (i.e. migrants are economic boosts and hardworking, decent folk; or alternatively migrants are faceless hordes taking benefits and destroying social structures and the domestic economy; a good example is the issue of local workers' unemployment caused by immigration. This is a large part of the 'economic drain' discourse but it can be seen referenced in the 'migrants as a social negative/wave of foreigners' discourse which tends to portray migrants as generally damaging to local life), or because they are referenced neutrally or combatively, as the authors demonstrate that the outlines of the various frames are well-understood, as well as who the progenitors of each of them are, and the audiences they are directed at. Within the UK and Australia with a prominent anti-migration platform, for example, there are often examples of authors acknowledging the 'dominant' frame before putting forward a rebuttal. Opposing views of what migrants represent are usually given short shrift; people espousing them are portrayed dismissively or as incorrect (here, the opposing view is 'put aside' quickly):

Myth one is one we always hear that 'Immigrants take our jobs.' This has come to the fore recently in the form of Liberal MP Theresa Gambaro's 'scientific' observation that immigrants

don't know how to queue or use deodorant. Putting the great Rexona question aside, in the labour market the evidence shows that immigrants make a positive contribution to the labour market.

(ABC, Australia, 25/01/2012)

Here for example, a politician speaking against skilled immigration has her remarks dismissed as ridiculous – they are a myth, unscientific, don't stand up to evidence and asinine.

In general, the discourses can be grouped into positive (supporting the migrants or skilled migration) or negative portrayals (disapproving of migrants or skilled migration) and this can be seen in various ways; in negative discourses for example, migrants are often portrayed at the macro-level, whereas in positive discourses they are portrayed more humanly at the individual level. We find through the articles that there is no mixing of pro-migrant and anti-migrant discourses (e.g. discussing migrants as a positive socially but a negative economically) except where articles reference opposing viewpoints. Two positive or negative framings are occasionally used in a complimentary fashion however.

Government Immigration Policy in the Receiving Countries and Reflectivity with Media Discourses

Government policy discourses are seen to be reflective of media discourses throughout the period studied and this results in appropriate nuances. As can be seen through the policy overview and timeline (see Appendix A), the three migrant-receiving countries have different agendas in setting skilled immigration policy. All three seek to attract skilled migrants for the economic benefits they bring. The UK however, focuses immigration policy discourse more on border security and legislation focusing on keeping out 'illegitimate' migrants; Australia focuses on satisfying labour market requirements; and Canada focuses on becoming a leading destination for skilled migrants for nation-building and economic purposes. This appears roughly to continue the historical immigration policies of the countries involved; the UK has used immigration policy as a tool to manage influxes from the Commonwealth countries, whereas Australia and Canada have promoted immigration to boost population size and the skill base (see for example, the 2009 Big Australia concept on the policy timeline).

Immigration policies did change over the study period; a major catalyst for this was the global economic crisis which had massively negative effects on economies worldwide. This is exhibited through the economic indices show; all three studied countries suffered slowdowns in growth between 2007-2012, with the UK and Canada both suffering from recession (two consecutive quarters of negative growth); and all countries suffered increased unemployment.

- The UK, damaged by toxic banks and proximity to the failing Eurozone, suffered badly from the start with a double-dip recession that hadn't ended by the end of the study period. Employment rates were the lowest of the three countries, with no recovery after the slump

in 2007. The economy too remained tepid throughout the study period, with no major recovery after the 2009 collapse in growth.

- Australia did comparatively well, with prudent policy decisions allowing the country to pass through the crisis relatively unscathed. Policymakers were however worried that the effects of the crisis would reach Australian shores, particularly through the impact of cash-strapped customers and their inability to purchase its many resource exports. By the end of 2009 however, with recoveries in most of the affected areas and the worst of the crisis weathered, these fears eased away slightly. Employment rates in the end stayed roughly stable
- Canada had a relatively mixed situation economically; though its proximity and economic interdependence with the USA meant that the crisis hit it quickly, well-managed public finances, banking systems and housing markets meant that the damage was light and the recovery quick. An initial recession in 2009 was followed by restored growth and a recovery in employment rates (Farnsworth & Irving, 2011).

We saw that as the global economic crisis continued it accelerated trends in migration policy in the UK and Canada; the UK considerably tightened its borders against high skilled migrants due to fears of unemployment and the cost burden. Canada did the opposite, pushing its immigration numbers to a historically high level and even expanding its migration schemes further, hoping to run counter to other states' policies worldwide and act as a honeypot for Indian migrants. Australia is the only country of the three to have exercised a truly changing policy; at first it continued its recent historical policy of admitting more skilled migrants as its economy continued to improve. In 2008 and 2009 it began increasing visa demands and then tightening migration caps following slowdowns in the mining sector and fears of oncoming financial trouble, but finally loosened them once more around 2010 as the economy began growing rapidly around the mining sector again.

In turn, media discourses run parallel: for example, a large number of British articles – particularly those from traditionally right-wing publications - and the widely-reported populist opinion of the public have a predisposed view against high levels of immigration; migrants are popularly viewed through the lens of being an 'economic drain' and a 'wave of migrants' (and dissenting views concentrate on rebutting these predominant views rather than setting out their own straightforwardly positive visions such as the celebrations of traditional cultural tolerance and immigrant social input seen in Canadian media). Policy discourse in the United Kingdom in this period highlights two things: immigrants as mostly solely economic entities, generally harmful to the nation in high numbers and at times of economic crisis; and migrants as desperate to get in, potentially violating migration policy and the border. Starting with the Labour government's goal to reverse unpopular immigration policy it had enacted that allowed historically high levels of immigration, policy reacted to public opinion by successively making it harder for skilled migrants to enter and remain in the country, ending the period with Conservative manifesto pledges to reduce net migration to the 'tens of thousands' from than hundreds of thousands. Some backlash to this in more pro-migrant media in the United Kingdom and India reflected damage done to Indo-British relations and was later addressed by PM David Cameron. Emphasis was increasingly put on the potential of India to be a hugely profitable trading partner by publications and that migrants were a link to the country and a way of gaining (or losing favour) with it:

Coalition 'under strain' after David Cameron and Vince Cable clash over migrants cap

The row threatened to overshadow the Prime Minister's trip to India, where he arrived on Tuesday accompanied by a large trade delegation as part of efforts to foster closer links with the economic powerhouse. Mr Cable, who was in the party, warned that the mission would be futile unless the Government scrapped the proposed annual limit on immigration from outside the European Union. The Confederation of Indian Business and some British financial leaders have expressed concern that it would prevent entrepreneurs from coming to Britain. Mr Cable briefed Hindu Business Line that he would fight to have the cap scrapped, saying he wanted as "liberal an immigration policy as it's possible to have".

"We are arguing, within government, about how we create the most flexible regime we can possibly have, but in a way that reassures the British public," he added.

Mr Cable was also understood to be standing firm and hoped to persuade Mr Cameron that it would be "crazy" to impose a blanket ban on highly-skilled professionals.

(The Telegraph, United Kingdom, 22/08/2010)

In Canada, meanwhile, policy has remained relatively consistent, with no major overhaul since 2002. Immigration policy is open in comparison with other developed countries; indeed it is based on the hope that this will allow it to attract more high-skilled migrants:

"While countries such as the United Kingdom and Australia are talking about taking fewer immigrants, our planned numbers for 2009 are on par with last year and are among the highest for this country over the past 15 years," [Immigration] Minister Kenney said. "The numbers reflect a continued commitment to an immigration program that balances Canada's economic, humanitarian and family reunification goals."

(Kenney, 2008)

This is in contrast to reports concerning, for example, the United Kingdom's immigration policies that note their strictness and the difficulty in entering the country:

Unless we are able to bring in world-leading researchers, the extraordinary international quality of UK research will plummet. World-class research requires world-class people, and we simply can't adopt a fortress Britain attitude. In the university world, our competitors are watching and will be ready to attract international staff and students deterred by negative perceptions of the UK visa system. As well as the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, the

developing university systems in Singapore, China and India are competing with us for academic talent. They are not limiting their ability to recruit the top international staff.

(The Guardian, United Kingdom, 12/10/2010)

Canadian policy has the aim of continuing a tradition of skilled migration and has a strong focus on integration and community building. This has remained fairly constant up to the time period studied. We find much discourse is of the 'social positive' variety, emphasising strongly the success stories of Canadian immigrants and their acceptance as part of a Canadian tradition of openness, hospitality and diversity. Indian Canadians are consistently discussed as relatively 'normal' members of society, as opposed to the much more othered view in the United Kingdom. Note here the description of migrants as 'professionals' and 'residents' who are 'welcomed':

Through CIIP [the Canadian Immigration Integration Project], the government of Canada offers overseas orientation sessions to prospective skilled immigrants in India, China, the Philippines and now, the United Kingdom. Over 9,000 professionals have taken part in training sessions on how to have their credentials recognized in Canada. Citizenship and Immigration Canada has in recent years welcomed between 240,000 and 265,000 new permanent residents, annually. In 2010, Canada welcomed the highest number of legal immigrants in more than 50 years, at 280,636 permanent residents. This was done to support Canada's post-recession economy.

(Vancouver Observer, Canada, 18/06/2011)

The United Kingdom meanwhile shows the reflection between discourse and policy through its media's common focus on migrants as an othered group. Whether with a pro- or anti-migrant agenda, articles often acknowledge migrants as an unpopular 'other' and they are rarely portrayed as 'normal members of the community'.

Australia's immigration history is more controversial than Canada's; in attempting to build a nation in the face of perceived Asian rivals, there has been a historical block on non-white immigration; policies focused instead on attracting British and West European emigrants. This 'White Australia' policy ended in the 1970s but is still well-known today and sometimes linked to current racism concerns. Australia's recent troubles with racism and 'foreigner bashing' (attacks), notably in the 2005 Cronulla Beach riots against people of Middle Eastern ethnicity and the 2009/10 attacks on people of Indian ethnicity, have led to links in Australian and foreign media back to old attitudes and policies:

Tim Singh Laurence, a Darebin councillor, says that the combined effect of violence and visa changes has created the impression in India that, "Australia is anti-Indian, that we are drifting back to the White Australia policy"

(The Age, Australia, 18/04/2010)

As can be seen in the case study in the 'exploited' discourse section (see page 69), the 2009/10 attacks had a noticeable impact on media discourse and in turn led to an emphasis in government policy on repairing Indo-Australian relations and reassuring India that policy and official attitudes were not discriminatory .

As regards contemporary policy, Australia's noted policy focus on migrants as a way of skilling the country's economy through its highly-valuable primary and tertiary sector meant that its policy was the most changeable through the economic crisis. Policy change and media discourse can be seen to reflect one another through the time period studied. Emphasis on migrants as part of the community and as a skilled assets in the profitable period up to 2008 was replaced by 2009 to emphasis on migrants as drains on scarce resources. By 2010 the worst economic fears were over and emphasis can be seen on migrants as victims; skilled and valuable but damaged by racist attacks, unfair immigration policy and wasted potential.

Australian headlines in February 2009 with a declining economic outlook; in March 2009 a 14% cut in skilled migrant intake was announced:

Crisis prompts call to cut skilled visas

(WA Today, 23/02/2009)

457 visas 'may cost local-born their jobs'

(The Australian, 20/02/2009)

Slowing economy forces immigration cut

(Sydney Morning Herald, 23/02/2009)

Australian headlines in 2010 around the time of the federal election. The next annual announcement of the Migration Program in 2011 sees a marked rise in immigration places made available:

Migrants necessary for growth:

Emerson

(Nine News, 11/05/2011)

**Put out the welcome mat, our country
needs these people**

(The Australian, 02/10/2010)

**Tough times for young Indians who
dare to dream**

(The Australian, 18/04/2010)

Overall it certainly does seem that skilled immigration policy discourses and media discourses reflect one another. Within the national social, political and economic context, policy and the media pick up on the most popular narratives of the day whether that be fears over unemployment, the desire to create a nation and be seen as 'welcoming' or the need to have workers in key industries. This is unsurprising because both are targeted at an audience; normally the same one, the general public. Issues that are prevalent in the media appear to be popular with politicians seeking to gain approval; in return the actions of ministers are of great interest to the media who can report and comment on them.

Notwithstanding the national differences and influences, we can see five such discourses that, as noted, that occur throughout the study period in all three of the countries to greater or lesser degrees. In the following sections, we will describe them in detail and the components that make up their construction.

Migrants as economic assets: 'An economic necessity contributing to the nation'

In this discourse, we see skilled Indian migrants framed as a group of hard workers that fill gaps in the labour market and help build the economy. They increase the skill base of the economy, increase the efficiency and ability of institutions and are key to building links with India as an emerging economy. They fulfil roles that local workers are unable to and are thus extremely useful. The group are positioned as an elite other compared to the general public; *'talented people with highly specified skills'* (The Herald Scotland, 04/07/2010); they are powerful, autonomous saviours of the economy who therefore need to be treated with respect and reverence. Focus is on their skills, their links to their homeland and the rest of the world, and their value; they are a group of assets to be sought for.

Towards the target audiences –which for most sources here are the general public but can also be businesspeople - we see the use of illustrations within the text linking the migrants with economic benefits that will benefit those people, either generally ('the national economy will be strengthened') or specifically ('healthcare services that you use will be better staffed'). In the more local periodicals, we can see this occurring at more locally-focused levels i.e. the articles specify the benefits to specific local industries and the local economy. In general, as a discourse focusing on economic themes, migrants are focused on as a group more than individually and sometimes technical language and statistics can be seen to impress upon the reader the scale of economic issues (though that's not to say that extreme technical detail is 'common' in articles aimed at a layperson). These articles tend to seek to inform, persuade and reconfirm people to accept skilled migration; they often include interviews and quotes from economists and business groups as they are authoritative sources on economic issues. Social issues are often side-lined or rebutted in favour of economic arguments.

This discourse is seen more commonly in publications (and therefore articles) that tend towards the socially left-wing which generally are more supportive of immigration (such as the UK's Guardian newspaper, which has an irregular dedicated section 'Immigration and Asylum' focused on the issue of migration to the UK), but in particular those that tend towards economically-liberal and business-friendly policies, as skilled migration invokes free flows of highly-valuable labour. This reflects the values of those news organisations and their audiences and confirms those values. Discussions with business leaders and business groups are common due to their general support for increased migration inflows which would allow them cheap, good-quality labour. The opinions of the general public as a whole vary more widely, tending in Australia and Britain more negatively against migrants – even highly skilled ones - on an economic level.

In Canada however, we see this discourse take place in the context of the possibility of increasing the numbers of migrants entering the country. As the global economic crisis progresses and state and national governments have meetings with politicians, businesses and groups from India, reports greatly focus on the trade benefits accrued by having a generous immigration policy and good relations with the Indian diaspora. This reflects immigration policy that has remained consistent through the last two decades reflecting a stated government aim to become an attractive migrant destination and sees the migration lockdown by other countries as an opportunity for itself.

Canadian discourse here is therefore mainly positive, discussing migrants in terms of opportunities for the country at large, and reflects similar government policy, often also enjoining pieces of the 'social positive' discourse. Articles reconfirm economic benefits Canada enjoys, reflecting the policy discourse.

In Britain, on the other hand, the aim of government policy is explicitly stated to be to limit migration, reflecting widely-reported public opposition to most immigration. This is therefore often a negatively-expressed discourse in that it focuses on the migrant as a solely economic asset in opposition to what it accepts as a more dominant anti-migration sentiment represented by the popular 'economic drain' and 'wave of foreigner' discourses. This discourse focuses on establishing 'migrants as economic asset' as a possibility and a reality in the face of economic drain 'myths' such as immigration causing unemployment.

To a lesser extent, this can also be seen in Australia which also sees increasingly tightened immigration policy as the global economic crisis continues and fears of migrants taking skilled jobs increases. Here and in Britain, playing on fears of economic calamity are a weapon against this in this discourse, with national and local issues of economic problems caused by a lack of skilled migrants highlighted for the present and future. Skilled migration is presented as a 'fragile process' that could be damaged or destroyed by incorrect policy choices by government, resulting in members of the workforce leaving, companies unable to hire the employees they need, and customers unable to get the services they require.

The most important aspect of migrants as essential economic requirements is:

Migrants are essential for the labour force and the wider economy as **employees and taxpayers**

Migrant workers are essential to the Northern Ireland economy and enrich life in the region, a public rally against racism was told today.

[...]

"Migrant workers are not taking our jobs. Migrant workers are not taking our benefits. Migrant workers are not taking our social housing. "In fact, migrant workers are filling jobs which need to be done, and paying taxes which pay for public services. They are collecting far fewer benefits than they are entitled to, such as universal child benefit. "Migrant workers are young and highly productive workers and are having children among a general population which is getting older. The children of migrant workers are reversing plans to close schools in certain areas. "The health service could not function without skilled immigrant labour. Our most vulnerable, our aged and our ill, are being cared for by migrants.

"We owe them."

(24 Dash, United Kingdom, 02/07/2009)

Migrants are part of a mutually beneficial arrangement; they are employees, taxpayers and consumers and through all of these activities they positively boost the economy, being presented particularly positively as young, working people with high productivity and earning potential. Migrants are shown to be important as doing vital jobs which locals cannot or will not, keeping wages at a competitive level; they contribute to the tax purse at a very high level; they pay for the privilege of being allowed to enter the country (especially if they are students) Without the migrants, it is reported, the country will fall behind domestically and internationally and living standards will fall, and there may be deleterious effects on the national economy, all of which of course are bad for the reader and the country. Note in this quote how migrants are positioned as an other - the main quote refers to 'us' and 'them' – but as extremely positive, with extremely good behaviour and doing more than 'we' can do; positive economic arguments are made and negative social arguments rebutted. They are an other that needs to be attracted and retained as distinct from the host population. It seems the case throughout the discourses, that in the United Kingdom the accepted dominant view of migrants is of a 'social negative'. In this case, however, they are required beyond what local workers can provide because:

Migrants are **providers of high-value skills** – and therefore products and services - that are needed by the country

The migrants' skills and qualifications come up repeatedly within articles that frame them as economic assets; they are the key identifying characteristic highlighted in this discourse and show the group as professional, useful, valuable and helpful to the country at large. They have abilities beyond that which can be found in the local workforce (articles that discuss increased training for locals still indicate that highly skilled Indian migrants will be needed in the short term at least). It also differentiates them from unskilled migrants and the problems associated with them by the public, and shows that local workers would be unable to fulfil the roles that the migrants do in necessary numbers.

In this discourse, migrants are often associated with an upbeat, praising tone and sometimes large amounts of repetition and superlativism; they are 'highly' skilled', 'irreplaceable', 'needed', an 'elite'. Their ability to 'contribute' is mentioned frequently; their skills make them invaluable economic assets that will help the country prosper:

The truth, however, is that it is now generally only an elite of highly-trained staff that is still eligible to come to Britain from outside the EU purely in order to work. Indian IT workers, for instance, who are shipped in by their firm, or those highly skilled in particular types of medicine or engineering where the UK is short on knowhow. Slamming the door shut – or even leaning on it any further – would do nothing for most unemployed people, who are unable to step into such roles. But it would deter international investment from those Indian firms and could also create recruitment bottlenecks, draining momentum from any recovery.

(The Guardian, United Kingdom, 20/08/2009)

Often, articles use repetitions of known employment groups that Indian migrants are part of to illustrate their utility; in the healthcare sector for example. This leads to the next topic:

Migrants are **doctors, engineers, cooks and scientists**; part of recognisable patterns of employment in specific high-value, high-skilled and labour-deprived sectors:

ABUD: At the moment, chefs top the shortfall list, with only around ninety percent of jobs filled. Yet while chefs have the highest percentage, health professionals are among the highest number, with twenty-one thousand more needed in that sector. Skilled migration has been one pillar of government policy to meet immediate needs.

(ABC, Australia, 04/03/2009)

Specific careers – ‘doctors’, ‘teachers’, ‘IT technicians’, ‘chefs’ and ‘engineers’ in particular - are common in highlighting migrants’ roles in fulfilling specific labour requirements that require skill and provide direct benefits to the audience. They are very common aspects of this discourse, and in particular in regional news media, presumably as they focus more exclusively on specific local employment sectors the group is part of. Healthcare in particular provides an image where migrants fulfil vital roles as doctors and nurses and help in ways that directly impact the audience, fitting well within the positive framing (see Case Study: Healthcare in Two Discourses on page 31).

Case Study: Healthcare in two discourses

Of the specific industries commonly referenced in regard to highly-skilled Indian migrants, the most widely seen is healthcare; articles indicate that it is widely known that Indian migrants make up large and crucial elements of the healthcare sector in each of the receiving countries. Workers are presented with as professional, helpful, irreplaceable and inexpensive, and often the healthcare sector is a touchpoint of articles arguing for relaxed immigration laws. This relationship between medical staff and positive recognition can also be seen in the 'social positive' discourse where, in presenting migrants as friendly, responsible members of the community, healthcare workers are frequently used.

They are, indeed, extremely necessary; the UK had a shortfall of 53,000 health workers and Australia a shortfall of 40,000. In the UK, 30% of doctors and 40% of nurses are born outside the country. It is extremely rare to find negative articles about these professionals; indeed much more common are articles using panic to warn about the lack of migrants leading to a collapse in care.



(BBC, United Kingdom, 30/07/2009)

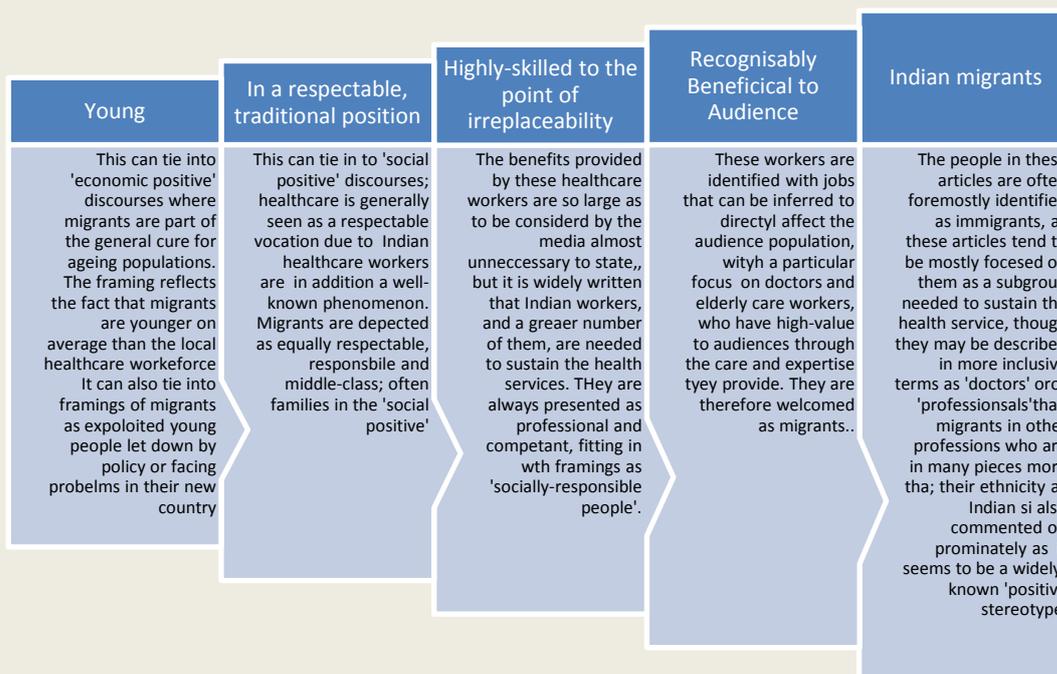


Figure 3: Aspects of framing of Indian healthcare workers from least prominent (left) to most prominent (right)

Example 1: Migrants as socially-well adjusted, well-known as highly-skilled internationally, and successful:

Some western countries with declining native populations have come to view [highly skilled Indian migrants] as a valuable pool of "tried and tested" immigrants with few problems of social adjustment. The strategy has worked for Canada and Australia. Immigrants account for more than one-third of all their doctors, engineers and computer specialists.

(BBC, United Kingdom, 22/01/2009)

Doctors and nurses are framed as socially responsible generally, and this extends to Indian migrants who take up the role. As the Indian doctor stereotype has existed in Anglophone countries for a long period (since the 1960s (The Guardian, 18/06/2012)), it has become part of the mainstream culture, accepted and normal.

Example 2: Migrants as skilled workers highly necessary to the audience (the members of the ‘we’) – necessary to the point of outweighing ethical considerations – as well as successful and professional:

South Australia will suffer more than most places because of our higher median age. There will be more people needing more care in future.

We already are recruiting hundreds of nurses from India, China and the Philippines. We need thousands.

Business SA is a vocal advocate of skilled migration, and skilled migration is a critical piece of SA's future. It is something that needs to be managed carefully.

Research has shown that overseas-trained medical staff - nurses and doctors - are up to scratch, highly educated and well trained.

English competency is sometimes an issue, especially when it comes to culturally specific words or concepts, but this is something that can be learnt and it is rarely something that causes serious problems. A bigger issue is our obligation to the poorer nations we are taking nurses from

(The Advertiser, Australia, 16/11/2009)

Doctors and nurses are so essential to the audience to ensure they are kept healthy and alive that any risk to the healthcare system must be treated as a matter of urgency, even over issues that in other discussions might be considered negatives, such as lack of language proficiency. In Canada and Australia, long experiences with importing skilled workers to fill specific labour gaps are transferred to the healthcare sector.

Example 3: Migrants as mistreated by policy, but professional and necessary to fill labour shortages to the point where the audience is at risk without them:

THE full, devastating impact of new immigration rules on the NHS [National Health Service] in Wales can today be revealed for the first time.

NHS trusts have admitted they are struggling to recruit junior and middle grade doctors because of changes to the visa process. More than 200 medical posts are currently vacant in Wales, with specialities such as paediatrics and anaesthetics suffering the most.

To underline the rule changes' significance, the new figures also show the NHS' staggering reliance on doctors from overseas – more than a third of doctors working in hospitals in many parts of Wales today are from outside the EU.

...

“Many of our doctors come from developing countries – countries which need doctors in many ways more than we do.

“But in the short term, the rules should be relaxed to enable more trained doctors from overseas to work in the NHS. I find it more than ironic that reactionary calls to curb immigration have led

to a situation where we could end up losing valuable NHS services.”

Changes in the immigration rules have added to Wales’ problems recruiting UK doctors – NHS trusts have been reporting that it is common that a large percentage of short-listed candidates will not attend interviews [...]

[...]Dr Stefan Coghlan, chairman of the British Medical Association’s Welsh consultants committee, said: “BMA Cymru Wales is extremely concerned that the Home Office and Border Agency are policing a system that is preventing desperately-needed doctors from being able to patch up our NHS.”

The shortage of middle-grade doctors has already had an impact on patient services, particularly in West Wales. All emergency and complex adult brain surgery has been centralised in Cardiff because just three doctors were available to run the service at Morriston Hospital in Swansea. (Western Mail, United Kingdom, (01/09/2009)

Migrants are easily framed as being mistreated by policy as in the migrant-receiving countries policy reform is often geared towards tightening entry requirements which naturally disadvantages some potential or actual migrants. The combination of this with the absolutely necessity of having sufficient skilled healthcare workers makes a powerful story.

Information Technology (IT) is also often commonly referenced in the UK and Canada, though this is less often presented with such emotive language and IT workers can sometimes be seen as part of the ‘economic drain’ discourse where they are claimed to be depressing wages or usurping local workers. This greater ambiguity can be seen to be evidence that media prefers to use professions such as in healthcare that the audience can emotionally connect with and feel they draw strong, visible, personal benefit from. Highly skilled Indian chefs in Australia provide another example of the importance of public feelings of benefit, though the discourses they are associated with change throughout the time period studied due to changes in policy (see Case Study: Highly-Skilled Chefs through a time of discourse change, page 49)

Migrants are **tools** to fight the economic crisis with

A student migration program would not only help Australia pay off its massive debt incurred as a result of the global economic downturn but would also ensure a steady stream of skilled migrants. “International students represent an outstanding source of skilled migrants - they’re young, educated and keen to become Australians,” Mr Salt said. The reputation of Australia’s \$15.5 billion international education industry was damaged earlier this year following a series of attacks on Indian students in Melbourne. An independent review of the sector is being carried out by former federal Liberal MP Bruce Baird. Mr Salt, who will deliver his message to the Australian International Education Conference in Sydney next week, said the nation needed to lift its game if it was to compete in the highly competitive international student market

(Fox News Australia, Australia, 07/10/2009)

The economic crisis is seen used to project a sense of crisis economically for which every available tool must be used. At a time of bankruptcies, unemployment and national debt, skilled migrants are that tool, necessary to keep the economy growing and strong by enabling companies to continue running through the skilled labour they provide; by creating employment through entrepreneurship or through the aforementioned boost they provide to companies; and by providing taxes. We see use of this trope become common as the economic crisis progresses and becomes a central pillar of economic discussions. In particular, one group stands out: students. In all three countries, students are used for their skills and the tuition fees they bring:

Student migrants are **contributors to the economy** and **future employees**

Indian students are very frequently positioned in media portrayals as highly-skilled migrants despite the fact most 'official' definitions (by which I refer to those of the UN and the national governments) exclude students on the basis they do not possess qualifications. Nevertheless, due the fact they gain qualifications during their stay and the three countries' student policies operate with the hope that highly-skilled workers will be retained (thus, along with the fees they pay, justifying the expenditure on attracting the students in the first place), much of the time international students and international student policy is connected together with migration policy in general, often in the same article. Articles place students within the group 'highly-skilled migrants'. As noted before, for this reason this group is analysed as part of the discourse:

The Federal Government's changes to the skilled migration program will affect thousands of international students. For the industry, the greatest pain will be felt by private colleges. They have boomed because of the present policies and will decline.

While universities may have overloaded on international students in programs such as masters of professional accounting, for example, they do not play in the cookery, hairdressing or mechanics space so will feel only a mild initial impact. If Australia is looking for highly skilled, tertiary-qualified migrants, then universities can only benefit, as will schools and English language providers.

The surge in enrolments at private vocational colleges in recent years has been unprecedented. In 2002, 42 per cent of international students in Australia were enrolled in universities, with just 14 per cent in vocational education offered by private providers. The immigration policies that skewed the industry away from an educational focus towards migration resulted in private vocational enrolments growing to 31 per cent last year, almost equalling higher education's 32 per cent.

Over the long term, we are likely to see a recalibration of international education towards educational outcomes, rather than migration. With only 60,000 former international students lodging successful migration applications each year - from 630,000 now in Australia - the impact of this shift will not be as disastrous as some may think.

The real problem facing international education here is our inability to think and plan strategically for the future of a sector that is Australia's third largest export earner, at \$17 billion, employing more than 100,000 people.

(Sydney Morning Herald, Australia, 10/02/2010)

International students are framed as, at the macro-level, simply wealth-bringers: the (exorbitant) fees they pay contribute well to the national purse. At the micro-level, they tend to be examined more in the context of 'the exploited' discourse, wherein they are portrayed as not well-off - indeed, in need of hard-to-find low-paying, poor condition jobs. The 'economic boon' discourse frames the migrants in a far more positive light, often beyond simple wealth-bringer to a succession of highly-skilled workers who smoothly transition from the university to the labour force, there to provide all the benefits as described elsewhere in the discourse analysis.

In Australia the student issue is especially prominent. Indian students have a large impact on the national economy, and there is general consensus that foreign students are necessary at a certain debated minimum level. The government has made several legislative changes that have affected them, changing between governments and becoming more restrictive as the economic crisis continued; In contrast in Canada, there is a drive to increase student numbers in the wake of increased restrictions in traditional destinations for Indian students; the economic benefits they bring are therefore often discussed in the context of the change in students flows towards Canada. Overall they fit part of the major issues involved in attracting migrants, in that they are replacements for a greying workforce:

Migrants are **young**, in contrast to the host country population which is valuable in the long-run:

B.C.'s minister of advanced education and labour market development told the Straight that accreditation is an issue that his office is working to address.

"I think there has been a real change across the country in views to immigration," Murray Coell said from Victoria. He noted that the entire country is experiencing demographic changes that will inevitably leave many employers looking to immigrants to fill positions in professions and trades.

(Georgia Straight, Canada, 09/04/2009)

The demography of all three receiving countries, like that of most developed countries, is of an aging population. Immigrants in this discourse are framed as a necessity in the long-run to provide young manpower to a greying labour force which will soon be depleted. Positive phrases referring to migrants such as 'energetic' and 'youthful' are common. This is in contrast with the economic situation which is associated with alarming emotive phrases, talking about - to use two very repeated phrases - 'unprecedented' 'pensions time-bombs':

[Increased migration] would enable the NHS and other public services to grow at a faster rate by using cheaper immigrant labour; and it would help Britain to avoid the "pensions time-bomb" created by an ageing population by adding a whole new tier of youthful and energetic workers.

(The Telegraph, United Kingdom, 21/03/2009)

Migrants are a solution to the problem of pension crises, rising retirement ages, and a lack of available labour in certain sectors, such as the healthcare sector, as seen above. Their youthfulness becomes useful in relation to the economic crisis as workers are needed to grow national economies, though this same point of age was noted in the 'economic drain' discourse in the context of rising youth unemployment. Migrants are also useful in the long-term for another reason:

Migrants are important links to India which is a good prospective economic partner; they are a **diplomatic tool**:

B.C. companies are making a passage to India today as they meet 150 Indian business executives and officials at a summit in Vancouver. Economic Development Minister Colin Hansen calls the 'India Calling' Summit an important opportunity to boost B.C.-India trade.

"This is probably one of the most senior delegations that has come into B.C., certainly in the past couple of decades," Hansen said in an interview yesterday.

[...]

B.C. is keen to recruit Indian workers to ease its skills shortage.

"We are very anxious to work with them both in terms of skilled immigrants but also temporary workers," Hansen said.

(The Vancouver Province, Canada, 19/06/2008)

Indian migrants represent diplomatic – and therefore trade – negotiating points with India, linked in a manner in which the happiness, security and ease of entry migrants enjoy (or don't) impacts on the migrant-receiving states' relationships with the Indian community and therefore with the government of India. The increasing importance of India in the world economy, and the need to foster good relations for this reason, is frequently mentioned; migrant positioning flip-flops between being an abstract negotiating tool for trade relations and the usual stronger positioning in this discourse of being valuable workers and entrepreneurs in their own right, the latter serves to present the migrant group in a good light rather than a burden that it might be if only the former positioning existed. Strategic policy decisions are linked with leadership summits, trade deals and bilateral relations, such as the 2011 bilateral meetings between Canada and India or the well-

publicised pre-2012 Olympics ministerial and trade delegation led by UK Prime Minister David Cameron:

Britain is sending "contradictory messages" to India by imposing new immigration restrictions on entrepreneurs just as David Cameron hopes to open up a new chapter in relations by leading the largest ministerial delegation to the sub-continent in recent history.

On the eve of the visit, designed to herald the dawn of a special relationship, a member of the prime minister's delegation warned that the government's cap on non-EU immigration could jeopardise links.

(The Guardian, United Kingdom, 25/07/2010)

As a side note, in a very few publications, there are notes concerning migrants and the 'brain drain' effect; the migrants as human capital are, by being transferred from India to the developed country, causing harm to their home country by depriving it of skilled labour. This is a relatively rare occurrence but where it occurs it advocates training and employing the migrants in the receiving country, before encouraging them to help their home country and setting up intergovernmental schemes to assist with this. In this article concerning South Asian healthcare recruitment, this Australian article discusses it as regards Vietnamese migrants:

Business SA sees nurses as precious resources, which they are, but we do not have the right to just take resources from another country without giving back. The State Government is talking to Vietnam about an "ethical and a morally good way" to recruit nurses. The Government wants to link Vietnamese institutions to SA institutions, and help train the workforce there, then bring some of them here. Similar mutually beneficial programs should be set up in other countries. As the Government tackles this shortage it must make sure no one is left worse off.

(The Advertiser, Australia, 16/11/2009)

Migrants are desirable but **difficult to recruit and deterred** due to policy demands on employers and themselves

Skilled migration is framed as being sought after and necessary for businesses and public services, but at the mercy of immigration policy. In this discourse, prone to favouring economic liberalism and free flows of labour, migrants are framed as enjoying and being attracted to places of progressive policy, but far more often – due to increasingly strict measures in migrant-receiving countries - as strangled by strict rules that hamper efforts to fill vacancies with valuable, desirable workers. This

is one of the most commonly drawn lines in this discourse; articles about migrants' and business difficulties with immigration policy and the problems it brings.

In Australia and the United Kingdom in particular, highly skilled Indian migrants are hamstrung by the requirements they face; unable to enter the country or unwilling to overcome overly long or burdensome entry requirements. Employers too have to keep up with demanding requirements to let them recruit skilled Indian migrants and often are unable to recruit the employees they need, leading to shortfalls in recruitment and problems with competitiveness or even an inability to undertake certain tasks (see for example the Case Study: Healthcare in two discourses on page 31 where recruitment problems lead to loss of healthcare services and panicked rhetoric); skilled migrants are, as noted through the qualities outlined in the other topics of this discourse, the answer. Tightening of policy especially often invokes interviews with business leaders putting forward the case that immigrants are essential for their sector of the national economy to remain competitive in a globalised world; that they are discriminated against; and at a time of economic problems they are especially necessary for the country:

The Law Society argued that, since master's degrees are not typical in the legal sector, the need for highly skilled immigrants to hold a master's degree risked excluding many highly experienced lawyers who could potentially generate large revenues for UK firms. Society president Robert Heslett said: 'Any perception that the domestic legal market is becoming more closed to overseas lawyers and law firms might result in further restrictions on the ability of UK lawyers to do business abroad. There is little doubt that the current system needs to be less restrictive to ensure Britain remains the jurisdiction of choice.'

He added: 'Recruitment of the very best talent from the global market underpins the success of leading international law firms that focus on developing talent to take advantage of opportunities in key emerging markets such as China and India.'

'This strategic imperative means that non-European economic area recruits, with foreign language skills and experience, are a vital component of a firm's ability to remain competitive. The MAC proposals reflect the importance of allowing professionals with such skills to work for British law firms and in turn make a valuable contribution to our economy.'

The MAC report said that 'any arbitrary restrictions [on immigration] could prove detrimental to ensuring that the UK is best placed to emerge successfully from recession.'

(Law Society Gazette, United Kingdom, 10/12/2009)

Highly skilled migration is generally regarded within this discourse as being obstructed and discouraged by the immigration policy of the receiving countries, which is portrayed as increasingly misguided and populist as it becomes progressively tightened:

"What we look for is someone who is hard-working who has worked in a busy Indian restaurant and who understands Indian cuisine - we don't need a chef who is good at office work with excellent English but who is not hands on," [Mr Gupta] said.

Mr Gupta said his plans to open a Nepalese restaurant had been thwarted by the tough new requirements.

(The Advertiser, Australia, 20/04/2009)

The extent to which this is the case depends on the country itself, as set out in Appendix A. For example, Canadian policy can be reflected as relatively positive towards migrants, even sometimes through criticism, though often follows the same nuance of the other countries in implying it is overly strict. In this following article, arguments are made that the migration flow size is correct and policy has the right intentions, but migrants are hindered from being as productive as they could be, hindering the Canadian economy:

"If we want more productivity in this country, if we want to add more value to the economy, then we must make more use of the immigrants that we are getting in," he says.

His ideas include granting Canadian professional designations to immigrants by training them in their home countries or via distance learning and by allowing them to complete short-term qualification programs at universities here.

"It takes a lot of moral courage for the government to force this down," he says. "Otherwise, we have a lopsided immigration (system) that has the right intention but totally wrong results."

(Business Edge, Canada, 20/02/2009)

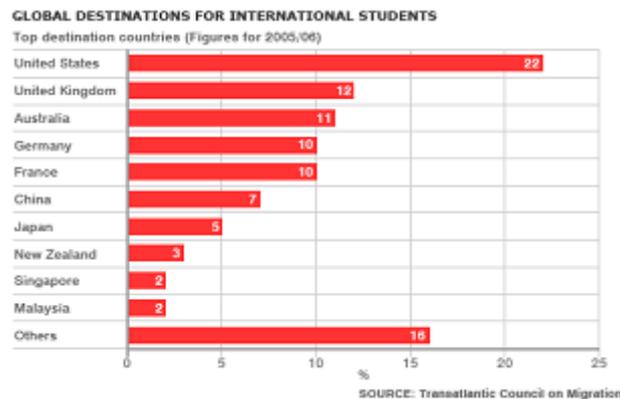
There are, as seen in the Law Society Gazette article above, often calls to reform or change immigration policy to better allow highly-skilled migrants to enter the country and allow these migrants to solve problems vis-à-vis the shortage of skilled workers and the need to boost the economy by boosting the quality and quantity of skilled workers. In publications specialising in economics, economic indices may be used to illustrate this. Examples of how advantageous this will be to citizens are used to make the situation relatable for the average readers of more mass-media publications; for example, additional skilled workers can bring new commerce or improve customer service.

Contrariwise, articles warn in this discourse warned against the changes immigration policy by anti-immigrant policymakers by stating that efforts to lower migration numbers will result in the loss of an unspecified number of skilled migrants with consequent toxic effects on the national economy

Overall the issue of immigration policy and any deleterious effect on migrants is amplified because in a globalised world, with footloose migrants:

Migrants are the **subject of international competition**

The economic crisis is presented as highlighting the need for international competitiveness, especially (in Australia and UK) in regards to ageing local populations, the emergence of new economic powers and existing competition between large economic powers. Emotive, fearful language is used in Britain to warn against the loss of economic power to the United States or, commonly, the BRICs (Brazil, Russia, India and China, all newly advanced economic powers) which are rendered as near-future contenders for the UK's place in the world. Here we see a typical economic discourse use of statistics to support central arguments, coupled with positive photos of smart, professional looking immigrants, in an article discussing fearfully the potential loss of influence of international power. Migrants 'choose' which countries will be prosperous; immigrants are positioned as saviours:



Imagine a future time when Europe is no longer seen as a rich continent, or in the top rank of leaders in technology.



Global competition for top talent is fierce despite the economic downturn

Sheer fantasy? No. [It is an] element of a possible scenario put forward in Brussels on Wednesday by experts and leading public figures from Europe and North America in the Transatlantic Council on Migration, which calls itself an "idea factory" for western governments. One of their key pieces of advice is that Europe should take part more actively in a "global war for talent" - a hunt for people with special skills who will play a key part in deciding which countries stay competitive and prosper.

(BBC, United Kingdom, 22/01/2009)

In a more positive spin on the discourse, countries - Canada in particular – can be part of that international competition, which is rendered with hopeful terms with the idea that the countries can use their natural strengths in assimilating foreigners to their advantage, especially in the economic crisis (which both weathered well during this period and turned them into migrant-magnets). Migrants are desirable for the reasons given elsewhere in this discourse and outshining international competition will allow Canada (and the other countries) to boost their economies and population skills:

Alberta turns to India to help fill labour shortages

CALGARY - The growing need for labour in Alberta is turning many business development trade shows around the world into recruitment fairs as much as investment missions for government and industry leaders, say officials.

[...]

It's becoming a much higher priority. "We're certainly becoming more aggressive," [officials say]

(The Ottawa Citizen, Canada, 04/06/2008)

International policy comparison shows examples of functioning, well-integrated immigrant communities abroad and the advantages of other immigration systems in comparison to the publications' nations' own (indeed, generally the articles seen that praised their own national system fully were outside the scope of this study, American ones suggesting American policy was soon to be copied throughout Europe and Australasia). Australia and Canada very frequently compare with the USA, which is the latter's neighbour and has extremely strong cultural links with the former. Britain has a greater tendency towards Europe, its neighbour. The three also compare themselves with each other sometimes:

The migration agents who only six months ago were recruiting young people to study in Australia are now channelling people to Canada, which has 1.2 million Indians, including four Punjab-born members of parliament. "Go on study visa and get PR of [sic] Canada," shouts one advertisement

(The Age, Australia, 18/04/2010)

Overall this is an important aspect of the discourse, influencing views on policy and the migrants themselves. It is validated by one previously mentioned fact:

Migrants are **extremely mobile and hot-footed**, so they can leave easily

With the growth in awareness of international competition, a fearful and warning tone can be seen in articles conveying that skilled migrants that are vital to the economy may leave if other countries are more attractive:

Economy at risk if migrants go home

(Cambridge News, 25/03/2009)

The common anti-migration argument - that migrants intended to stay for a few years will remain in the country for over-long periods or indefinitely is rebutted, which makes this a useful debating point for more pro-migration agendas:

THOUSANDS of "super-mobile" migrants should be given tax breaks to encourage them to stay in the UK, a report said today. Immigrants who are young, well-educated and skilled are in demand around the world, researchers said.

They should be offered incentives to remain and not move to competing countries where they are needed to fill labour-market gaps, the Institute for Public Policy Research (Ippr) said.

The Ippr, a Labour think tank, said the UK could lose out if highly mobile immigrants "re-migrate" to countries such as China and India.

Its report, Shall we stay or shall we go: Re-migration trends among Britain's immigrants, dismissed fears of population growth.

Tim Finch, head of migration at the institute, said: "The migration debate in the UK is fixated with the idea that immigrants come to settle, and not enough attention has been paid to the fact that more and more immigrants are spending only short periods in the UK.

"Our research shows that many groups of migrants are now increasingly mobile.

"They are coming to the UK to study and work for short periods and then they are moving on.

"As global competition for highly skilled migrants increases in future years, schemes to retain migrants may become as important as attracting them in the first place."

(The Scotsman, United Kingdom, 05/08/2009)

This is part of the positive aspect of migrants in this discourse; they are so valuable and skilled that they can choose anywhere in the world to go to. In this case, the desirable migrants should be attracted through immigration policy to come to the migrant-receiving country, where they can inject value into the economy.

Who is the migrant in this discourse?

The typical immigrant as framed in this discourse is a mid-to-upper-middle class skilled employee with relatively high income and standard of living. They may be an engineer, an IT worker or a doctor; a senior job with responsibilities and a reasonably high standing. They are perhaps 25-35 – typically men but sometimes women - old enough to be contributing to society but young enough to be replacing a greying population. They are often framed in ‘groups’ rather than as individuals, and in a work environment as an employee. They are sensible and intelligent, part of a clique of cosmopolitan, elite workers. They are typically too career-focused and young to have family or strong roots in the host country.

Overall, this discourse is seen fairly regularly through news media in the receiving countries. There are extremely strong and detailed representations of migrants as skilled and as valuable, and in which ways this benefits the country and the audience, often linking a persuasive article to issues of policy that should be changed to become more accommodating to immigrants.

There is also a strong link between migrants’ happiness and immigration policy, and their attraction to countries with welcoming policies; again the audience is invited to care for them as beneficial to their country (and therefore them) and this gives them value; furthermore this caring and investment in their situation (often not entirely positive) further gives them value as social beings. Less strongly are migrants framed as a link to India; this occurs more in Australia (which is in the Pacific region and attempting to refocus its economy there) and in special-interest economic articles where this issue attaches a rarity value and fear they could leave. Possibly it is unseen in the UK and Canada because India is still an emerging economy and the benefits are long-term; the dominant issues there are immediate fears about unemployment and social disruption.

Also less strong is the idea of hot footedness; there is relatively little on retaining migrants. As the ‘length of stay’ issue is so dominant in anti-migrant media this may be a reason; migrants may be popularly framed as overstaying rather than understaying their welcome.

Migrants as economic liabilities: 'An economic drain on the country'

This discourse frames skilled Indian migrants as a drain on the receiving nation's economy, displacing local workers and reducing incomes and quality of life within the state. Public services, already stretched by existing underfunding and the economic crisis are unable to cope with additional burdens. Migrants are positioned as an opportunistic, competitive group of opponents – actually often rather abstractly referred to - to the local population, enemies of the economy sometimes using illegitimate means to enter the country or earn money at the expense of locals. They are frequently associated with the term 'cheap', framing them as second-rate, disposable workers hired by greedy, profiteering company managers for money rather than skills, disadvantaging the hardworking, skilled locals. They are generally not referred to as individuals, which is a framing used in the more pro-migrant discourses as it humanises them, but through the pronoun 'they', as a group. Large, stark superlative language and numbers are used to impress upon the reader the scale of migration and photos of migrants rare. These articles tend to be antagonistic towards migrants, highlighting the difference between groups with a frequent use of 'us' and 'them', highlighting of wrongs committed by the group and are tilted towards language and issues promoting fear; the large scale of numbers is an example. Through this the articles tend to seek a promotion of 'local workers', alienating the immigrants as a reason for problems they are facing (such as unemployment). We sometimes see intertextual referencing between this and the 'social negative' discourse.

We see strong representation from anti-migration pressure groups in this discourse, which are represented as a neutral voice of the general public (and the audience) and discuss topics such as job losses. The migrants are portrayed by these groups and the media as unpopular, especially at a time of economic crisis, where every government resource should be aiming to help domestic workers, not foreigners. This helps to promote this self-same discourse as popular and correct. Emotive phrases tend towards the hostile and critical, especially towards policymakers such as the government (or opposition governments that previously introduced pro-migration legislation, such as the Labour Party in Britain) and the European Union (again, in Britain as the only EU country studied here). Migrants are often referred to by some variant of 'a drain' or 'a burden' on the economy.

Particularly in periodicals that focus on economics but also in more generalist media, there is discussion on the national economy and how it is negatively affected. In the generalist media, where 'lay-people' are the audience, the economic problems caused by migrants are also often linked to topics that directly affect them; for example, job and vacancy losses that may affect them, loss of services due to increased use or cost. We see these articles often in traditionally socially right-wing publications.

In Australia, concerns about the global financial crisis are echoed in the media and in policy; there are widespread fears that the slowdown in the mining and minerals sector will lead to a surplus of skilled workers, and that skilled migrants will dilute the talent pool further. Migrants are framed as

In the UK, similar concerns linked to the rapid rise in unemployment in the country have the same effect but this discourse has a strong traction from the start of 2008; immigrant policy discourse has

always existed on the basis that too many migrants cause economic problems. Both here and Canada, governments passed legislation to limit the number of skilled migrants entering the country as the economic crisis progressed, reflecting media discourse linking it with an increasing inability to afford immigrants. In both countries, occasionally articles can be found that link economic problems emanating from migrants with social problems.

In Canada this discourse is far rarer, which reflects the political climate throughout the studied period and before. Government policy sought to recruit more migrants to help economic growth, and in the media this was reflected along with a more 'social' view of migrants in general coming from long traditions of being an immigration nation (to an extent this is also true in Australia but it was more hamstrung by economic considerations). In this discourse however:

Migrants are **taking jobs** from indigenous workers and **driving down wages**

In this discourse, highly skilled migrants are unnecessary to fill the labour market (pre-empting a common claim in more pro-migrant discourses), but, again, are stealers of jobs from native workers who could fill labour gaps equally well. They are framed as not having skills not available elsewhere and often conflated with unskilled migrants. As noted in the overview of this section, they are hired for cheapness rather than quality or loyalty to local workers:

The Lords' report went through the other claims made for the economic benefits for immigration and dismantled them one by one. "Immigration is unlikely to be an effective tool for reducing labour and skill shortages," the report stated, providing copious evidence for its claim. It stressed that immigrants, although they performed an important role within public services such as the NHS, were not in fact necessary to the functioning of those services: native British labour could have, and still could, perform the same role.

The report pointed out that immigration cannot defuse "the pensions time-bomb", since immigrants themselves grow old and need pensions. And it concluded that there was "no evidence for the argument made by the Government that immigration generates significant economic benefits for the existing UK population".

In fact, there is some evidence that immigration means that the least-educated portion of the workforce is less well-off, since immigration provides a competing supply of labour prepared to do the least pleasant and worst-paid jobs for even less money.

(The Telegraph, United Kingdom, 21/03/2009)

Migrants are **unaffordable and contributors to the effects of the economic crisis**

As the global recession worsens, Professor Birrell said it was time for the Rudd Government to rethink its record high migration intake. He said the tough economic climate would give employers added incentives to employ or retain cheap overseas labour in the place of local workers.

Professor Birrell, a long-time critic of a high migration quota, said the research, which was co-authored by Ernest Healy and 457 visa expert Bob Kinnaird, was in response to Immigration Minister Chris Evans's decision in December to give priority to migrants with a job or with critically needed skills.

(The Australian, Australia, 20/02/2009)

At a time of severe economic hardship migrants are framed as exacerbating the situation for locals already facing harsh economic problems. Note the highlighting, with a term often seen in this discourse, of 'record' migrant levels. These migrants are distinguished from 'local' (often also 'Australian' or 'British' or 'Canadian') workers; there is a high degree of distance between the 'us' and 'them'. The 'us' is a member of this country, excluding those who immigrated). Readers are persuaded immigrants are bad as they are a bad mixture of: deprivers of jobs for locals, depressors of local wages, raisers of house prices, and drains on social programmes such as schooling and healthcare. With unemployment rates rising in all of the receiving countries, bringing in more workers in the form of migrants is presented as damaging to locals' chances of getting a job. The economic crisis and the problems that it causes for readers of the news media are used in a way that stokes concerns about migrants. This can cause scandal where it is thought governments are favouring Indian migrants over local workers; this reflects back into policy discourse leading to British and Australian policy favouring tighter limits for skilled Indian migrants. Scandalised language is used; governments are advised to be patriotic and support their country over the foreigners at a time of difficulty as in the following article. Also note here how the prime minister, is 'boasting' about jobs going primarily to Britons; it is a positive. The failure to achieve that, as this article represents it, is worthy of continued attack shown by the supportive promotion of the latest 'attacker':

Employers are free to bring in foreign workers for thousands more jobs without having to advertise for British workers first.

They write: "We believe that, in a recession, this cannot be allowed to continue.

"We should not be allowing non-EU economic immigrants to come to look for work, or to take up jobs for which the British unemployed have not had the chance to apply. We urge you to review this work permit system so that British unemployed have a first crack at all jobs that become available."

Mr Field's challenge is the latest blow to Mr Brown's boast that he wants "British jobs for British workers".

(The Express, United Kingdom, 12/01/2009)

This particularly occurs in populist publications able to appeal to their audience through localism; there is a definite 'them and us' situation of locals versus migrants fighting each other for jobs.

Migrants are **underskilled and arriving in large numbers** thanks to immigration policy. Immigration policy is brought up regularly as a part of this discourse, with a critical tone which universally regards the policy as too lax. The framing of migrants (which can overlap with the framing of migrants as a 'flood') of whom many are using the highly-skilled migration route in an illegitimate way; for example in the Express quote below, many migrants are at best semi-skilled but abusing loopholes to enter the country and then taking jobs that locals could have used. The 'unfairness' of this towards locals is emphasised, especially through emphatic terminology: locals are 'losing out' on jobs they should've had, which the migrants have 'stolen':

TENS of thousands of British workers are losing out to cheap foreign labour because of a loophole in the immigration laws, it is claimed.

Highly-qualified IT staff say they are being crowded out of the jobs market by firms parachuting cheaper overseas staff into Britain using a controversial scheme. Called the intra-company transfer scheme, critics claim it gives relatively unskilled workers an easy route into Britain.

It follows complaints that migrant workers are also taking jobs in other areas such as in agriculture. Up to 50,000 transfer visas are issued each year, allowing companies to exploit the system and employ cheaper foreigners.

(The Express, United Kingdom, 29/09/2009)

In the United Kingdom and Australia, debates over the total population size fall into this discourse, with fears that the country is being overburdened entirely by migrants who are coming in massive waves:

But critics said the population was still due to hit 70 million in the next 20 years.

Sir Andrew Green, chairman of campaign group Migrationwatch UK said: "Re-migration is the least of our problems.

"The real problem is the absence of any effective limits on immigration, often from countries where wages are a fraction of those in the UK and to which people are unlikely to return. The result is intense public concern about the prospect of 70 million people on this island in the next 20 years.

"Until this is tackled reports of this kind will fall on very stony ground."

(24Dash, United Kingdom, 06/08/2009)

This issue of overburdening is often also seen in a social context, and so there is also overlap with the 'social negative' discourse. The weakness of immigration policy is particularly egregious as migrants are fully willing to exploit them to the fullest extent possible:

Migrants are **opportunistic and exploit** over-generous policies

Publications in this discourse frame immigration policy as lax and overly-welcoming; vulnerable, in other words, to opportunistic migrants:

Word has got out that Britain is more hospitable to immigrants than other European countries – which it is. The legacy of empire means we are more used to receiving them and are more willing to integrate them. One of the great virtues of the British people is their tolerance. Our society is much less closed to outsiders than most countries of continental Europe. It is easier to get a job here – less restrictive employment legislation means it is easier to fire people, so employers are more willing to hire migrants they can pay less in the first place. British employers are less suspicious of foreigners than their counterparts in countries such as Italy or France.

Add the fact that it is easier for immigrants who arrive here to claim benefits, get council housing and access health and education services for themselves and their children and it becomes clear why Britain is a target for migrants.

(The Telegraph, United Kingdom, 21/03/2009)

The overly-lax policies, with high rewards for migrants at little cost, are exploited by unscrupulous migrants. They use 'backdoors' and 'loopholes' to enter the country; they 'target' and 'sponge' in terms framing migrants as parasitic with no reciprocal gain for the host country:

AUSTRALIA'S record intake of temporary skilled migrants during the economic downturn could boost the number of Australian-born unemployed, as research suggests it is being used as a "back door" to permanent entry by low-wage workers.

(The Australian, Australia, 20/02/2009)

Case Study: Highly skilled chefs through a time of discourse change		
Time Period	<i>Before Tightening of Policy: period up to 2009</i>	<i>After Tightening of Policy; period from 2009</i>
Policy	Migrants are able to gain a visa through the points-based system. Cookery is one of the 'migrant occupations in demand' giving 15 extra points towards their points total and part of the Critical Skills List introduced on 01/01/2009 allowing migrants priority visa processing enabling faster entry to the country.	Due to perceptions that the migration levels were too high, that migrants had unneeded skills and that the global economic crisis was going to cause damage to the country, immigration policy was tightened up from 2009; the skilled migration cap was cut by 14% for example. On the 01/07/2010, the new Skilled Occupation List came into effect, intended to ensure the Skilled Migration Program is demand- and not supply-driven. In order to be eligible for independent skilled migration potential migrants must hold relevant qualifications in occupations listed on the SOL. Cooks and chefs are not on the list and numbers of chefs able to enter the country fall significantly
Framing	<p>These migrants are young, not entirely unsympathetic (no articles were found portraying them as 'social negatives'; they were seen to cause economic but not social trouble) but ultimately causing problems, either:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Causing difficulties for Australian chefs by filling job vacancies • Exploiting Australian immigration policy to gain residency by 	Following the significant tightening of rules, cooks have entered the lexicon of the economic positive, providing quality, authentically Indian food for locals at low cost; sustaining local restaurants and in turn being a rare success in local economies; and filling labour market gaps that local Australians did not have the skills to fill. These chefs are represented as older, highly skilled (uniquely skilled where their speciality is Indian food) and as vulnerable to poor, over-

	<p>entering the country as cooks but then having poor qualifications or abandoning the cookery profession, using cookery as an excuse to get in.</p> <p>They were people seeking a better future but doing it in a way that damaged Australia. They are portrayed as a large group and an example of the problem of the laxity of Australian immigration policy, flooding the country with underskilled, burdensome migrants at a time of worsening economic crisis</p>	<p>strict policy. They are represented more as individuals and are more often interviewed directly. Alternatively, restaurant owners are interviewed and discuss their utility.</p>
<p>Example Passages</p>	<p><i>Cooking and hairdressing have been identified by many would-be migrants as the easiest of the listed skills in which to get a formal qualification. Then they make an in-country application to transfer from student visa to residency. Very few of the thousands of new "chefs" and "hairdressers" actually plan to engage in that line of work. Perhaps that's fortunate, because many have been ticked for attendance whether they turn up for class or not, and the 900 hours of work experience they are supposed to clock up over a two-year course is not closely monitored. Nor is their trade competency assessed independently. In short, it's a rort.</i></p> <p><i>The new cooks and hairdressers</i></p>	<p><i>THE city's vibrant food culture is in jeopardy because of immigration changes introduced last week, restaurateurs have warned.</i></p> <p><i>Under the new rules, overseas chefs will face strict English language testing before being granted working visas. Migration agents say the new system will make finding suitably skilled foreign chefs a near impossibility - and will lead to many restaurants closing.</i></p> <p><i>[...] The changes will also affect chefs already working on 457 visas who may find themselves booted out if they cannot meet the new English requirements.</i></p> <p><i>Mr Glazbrook said although the changes had come about as a result of a union push to protect</i></p>

	<p><i>will not fill skill shortages but compete with young Australians for a wide range of jobs. It's one more sign of Canberra's failure to plan development of the Australian workforce. (Sydney Morning Herald, Australia, 29/03/2007)</i></p>	<p><i>Australian jobs, it was likely the legislation would have the opposite effect.</i></p> <p><i>(The Advertiser, Australia, 20/04/2009)</i></p>
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Migrants are **unpopular and controversial** to politicians and the public



Protesters outside Staythorpe power station, near Newark, Nottinghamshire, earlier this month. Photograph: Rui Vieira/PA

It represents a significant tightening of the new Australian-style points-based immigration system only four months after its introduction last November in the face of mounting "British jobs for British workers" protests and fears that the far-right British National Party will win seats for the first time in June's European elections.

(The Guardian, United Kingdom, 22/02/2009)

Immigrants are, in the views of this discourse, collectively unpopular, unwanted and unneeded by locals and so politicians should stop imposing them on the country; if the populace has a democratic will to halt the inflow of migrants that should be respected.

In Canada and Australia, where skilled immigration has always been essential to grow the population, immigrants are less controversial but may be unpopular the feeling is that population

size has grown too high. In particular, the desirable population size and immigration policy in response to the economic crisis can generate debate.

In the United Kingdom there is far greater media antipathy. Articles in many different publications acknowledge the unpopularity of immigrants, and those that use this discourse often criticise the government for high immigration levels; in particular the Blairite (Labour) government policy of high economic immigration led to a claims a 'social experiment' had been carried out on the country. The imposition of rules by the European Union is particularly seized upon due to high levels of 'Euroscepticism'. The body is widely reported in more right-wing news media to be imposing legislation forcing open the country's borders and infringing the country's sovereignty, hostile to the needs of Britons:

Sir Andrew Green, of campaign group Migration Watch, went further.

He said: "The negotiations over a trade agreement between the EU and India are threatening to punch a huge hole in our immigration controls.

"What is the point of the British government limiting economic migration to 20,000 a year and then letting in another 20,000 Indians?

"Cable's Business Department seem to be blind to the impact on British workers.

"With unemployment now close to two and a half million it is shameful that these negotiations should be so shrouded in secrecy.

"The first that British workers will know about them is when tens of thousands of Indian workers arrive here.

"They will then be told that it is all a matter for the European Commission and that, in any case, the Indians will sue the British government for damages if they try to change anything.

"This is not just an open door; it is a door locked open."

(The Express, 20/02/2011)

News media frequently focus on this issue; interviews and stories with at-risk or unemployed workers or with pressure groups can provide highly emotive text on the needs of locals and how they are compromised by overseas workers who, commonly, will 'take their jobs'. This issue is particularly frequently seen around the time of elections, where criticism of an opposing political party can focus on immigration policy.

Migrants are **drains on public services** such as healthcare and benefits

As seen in the Telegraph quote (21/03/2009, page 36) earlier, this is one of the cruxes of the 'economic negativity' of highly skilled migrants highlighted in this discourse. Migrants, regardless of the jobs they do, are still expensive burdens on social services, such as housing provision, healthcare, schooling and welfare, presented as overstretched; migrants are pushing the system beyond the limits of its funding:

"Some smaller communities like Caledon just don't have the resources in place to serve those needs," said Myrie, whose group was formed four years ago by the United Way of Peel to involve community players in immigration and settlement planning.

(Toronto Star, Canada, 20/03/2009)

Often local groups – who know their local system better than the top-down imposing government - are involved and interviewed in the articles. The system is presented as 'stretched', 'strained', and 'under pressure'. Migrants will inevitably have families, retirements and so on and these will collapse the system to the detriment of locals. Even where the immigrants are successful themselves, they will still cause problems for locals. This may take the form of material things such as housing stock:

AUSTRALIAN families are being priced out of the property market by record numbers of highly paid skilled workers arriving from overseas.

Research by The Sunday Telegraph has revealed for the first time how skilled immigrants - predominantly from Britain, India and China - are forcing house prices to some of the highest levels in the world when compared with average incomes.

Almost 115,000 permanent skilled visas were issued last year, compared with just over 40,000 in 1998-99 - an increase of 187 per cent.

(The Sunday Telegraph, Australia, 17/01/2010)

It may also be part of the wider debate over the correct size of the population:

Make skilled migration cut for environment: ACF

The Australian Conservation Foundation (ACF) has urged the Federal Government to make a "substantial reduction" to its skilled migration program in this year's Budget.

In its Budget submission to Treasury, the ACF says that if current migration levels continue they would contribute to a tripling of Australia's population by the end of the century.

The ACF argues that the projected population growth would make it more costly for the country to meet its emissions reduction targets, placing a high burden on "already stretched" urban infrastructure and ecological systems.

(ABC, Australia, 18/01/2009)

Who is the migrant in this discourse?

The typical immigrant as framed in this discourse is a lower-middle class employee with relatively low income and standard of living. They may be a generic office worker; a relatively unimportant job and/or that could be done by local workers. As individuals, they are relatively unnoticed, but they are perhaps 20-30, young people – typically men – starting out on the career ladder in competition with local employees at the same stage. They are often framed in ‘groups’ rather than as individuals, and in a work environment as an employee. They do not have strong roots in the host country; they may be graduates staying on longer than expected.

Overall through their drain on resources and the unemployment caused by highly skilled Indian immigrants we find the strongest elements of this discourse; the arguments that it rests on. This discourse, as commonly found in the UK and to a lesser degree in Australia (more so when coupled with fears of economic crisis), positions migrants as an enemy to local workers and is found in articles that advocate better policy for local workers with it being at the expense of migrants as the problem. As the migrants are generally well-qualified, it emphasizes on their cheapness in wage terms, but this is a weaker aspect of the framing than the costs they incur to the national economy. Their job’s value is however downplayed, and they are made alien through distancing in discourse. It is a relatively commonly seen discourse overall, more so as the economic crisis deepens, though we also see many ‘anti-migration’ publications being part of the emotive ‘migrants as a social negative’ discourse which often focuses more closely at locals’ problems and so may be popular with those audiences.

Migrants as social positives: 'Working family heads'

This discourse frames highly skilled Indian migrants as worthy people; model members of the community adding to the cultural mix as they work; and very often being responsible and supporting their families at the same time. More often focusing at the individual level with case studies and interviews with the migrants themselves, humanising them in the process, it uses empathic, positive emotive language and content to detail the successes they achieve and the tangibles and intangibles they offer in their new country. Very often, this includes 'diversity', 'new ideas' and 'families'; immeasurable but universally popular ideas that allow the pieces to appeal to the audience without needing cold, technical statistics.

In this discourse, the migrants work hard and are high-achievers overall; both they and the country benefit. very frequently family members being supported are part of the discourse (papers regularly use photos of families together, with pictures frequently being part of these articles) and positions migrants as ordinary, responsible people – relatable to the audience - who are part of communities, who have relatively 'normal-for-the-host-population' lives, though shaped by their migration experience and laudable for their successes. The discourse is often seen through human-interest articles and often acts as a human interest story; celebrating the integration of immigrants as a reflection of socially-leftist news media values, often involving praise for the host society (and the audience, who are part of it).

This latter aspect is particularly prevalent in Canada and Australia, for whom a majority of their populations are recently descended from European settlers. Both have large-scale immigration as part of their national identity and history, unlike Britain which has historically been a net emigration state, and this is referred to within articles. New migrants are part of the continuing process of national history, to be, ideally, well-treated and celebrated as one of the nation's own. An example of this can be seen in this Canadian article:

Diversity nurtures pioneer spirit

Mahabadi was offered teaching jobs in Japan and Germany. Yet he was drawn back to Canada with its reputation for tolerance and multiculturalism.

The family rented a room on Charles St. in Toronto and Mahabadi called his academic acquaintances for help. He landed an entry-level research job with Xerox just before their second son was born.

Mahabadi attributes his success to an open-minded employer that didn't turn its back on immigrants – Xerox offered him on-the-job English training – the demand for polymer experts and his own unshaken self-confidence.

He says coming from a different culture is an asset. "When you look at organizations, the more innovative they are, the most successful they are," he said. "Innovations come from a diverse people who have different ideas and ways of thinking. There is so much we can learn from our differences."

(Toronto Star, Canada, 03/03/2009)

The article shows how the framing can be rewarding to the reader; it praises the readers' country's tolerance and multiculturalism, in effect praising the reader, marrying that to the migrant's self-reliance (showing he is not merely sponging off the state) to create a success story. Successful immigration is regarded as part of the countries' strengths. It often intersects with the 'economic boon' discourse, presenting skilled migration as a process beneficial to both the migrants and their hosts: as the audience is the members of the receiving nation the latter view is seen singularly more often than the former. This discourse sees migrants as people more than assets, as a successful coordination between the host and the new initiate, as an intangible good.

To a certain extent, this discourse mirrors the 'exploited migrant' discourse; indeed the main difference is that in this discourse the migrant is successful through their own means, whereas in the other they are unsuccessful through other's hands. This is essentially the optimistic view as opposed to the pessimist. This success, like the lack thereof in the other discourse, can be seen throughout:

Migrants are **normal, active members of the community**

Cultures add to strong nation

THIS is the new face of Victoria. They have come from all quarters of the globe and they add to the rich tapestry that makes our state great.

"Australia Day is a great opportunity for all Australians of all backgrounds to celebrate being a part of Australia," said Sam Afra, head of the Ethnic Communities' Council of Victoria.

"Here in Victoria 43.6 per cent of people were born overseas or have one or more parents born overseas," Mr Afra said.

"We are a diverse, multicultural but united community. Our cultural diversity is our great strength."

Almost five million Australians were born overseas, according to the Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006 census.

While the main countries of birth after Australia were Britain and New Zealand, a large number of Australians list China, Italy, Vietnam, India and the Philippines as their birthplace.

Many of them have Australian-born children, and the melting pot of cultures means the "typical" Australian may no longer be blonde, blue-eyed and bronzed.

"Increasingly, the Australian identity is being broadened and increasingly, there are many different ways of being an Australian," said Prof Desmond Cahill, an expert in inter-cultural studies at RMIT University

(Herald Sun, Australia, 26/01/2008)

Migrants are portrayed as active, valuable, and normal members of the community (though partially othered by the fact that the articles focus specifically upon them, they are generally included as part of the community). They organise activities and take part in cultural events. They are often quoted as saying how much they enjoy the community (or nation), linking them with people from that community (and readers from that nation). Migrants are framed as adders of cultural value through their diversity, enriching the community; they are typically framed as older than in some other discourses, often taking roles of community leaders and often overcoming cultural barriers:

A Muslim group hopes to dispel myths about its culture by holding interfaith seminars across Northeastern Ontario.

"We feel after 9-11 there is a need to go out to the community and meet with them face-to-face and show the beautiful and peaceful face of Islam," Naseer Malik, spokesman with the Toronto-based Ahmadiyya Muslim Jama'at, said during a stop in North Bay Monday. It's important that you meet with the community and you don't live in isolation and expect people to know about you."

The Ahmadiyya is a minority peace-loving Muslim group that rejects Sharia law -- which places women in subservient roles -- and has been persecuted in some countries.

Prime Minister Stephen Harper has praised its leader as a courageous champion of religious freedom and of peace."

Members are contacting churches and public officials to gauge interest in a primer about Islam.

(North Bay Nugget, Canada, 06/08/2009)

This normality can have limits of its own however; we see in the 'exploited' discourse (see section X) that some of the highly skilled migrants have disabilities; all the migrants here are paragons of civic and social virtue, attractive in photos and 'relatable' to the general public audience of the publications this discourse appears in. A larger data pool would be needed to see if abnormality outside of certain social norms prevents migrants appearing in this discourse. Migrants in this discourse are, in fact, overwhelmingly 'positively normal', with nuclear families and respectable jobs:

Migrants are **responsible and relatable**, as shown by their being **caring family providers**



Jyoti Shukla, her lawyer husband, Kamen, and their 12-year-old daughter, Vishwa, were drawn to Mississauga to live their suburban dream – and for its relatively lower costs of living when the family moved here from India in 2004

(Toronto Star, Canada, 20/03/2009)

In this discourse, images and themes of family are very common; humanising the migrants in particular with personal stories. It is actually quite uncommon to see any people in this discourse without at least some family mentioned. We see empathetic human interest stories and we see terms that suggest emotions of:

- Empathy: - with repeated mentions of ‘children’ and ‘partners’ (most often wives, indicating the use of traditional gender roles in the situation whereby husbands have a duty of support), or, less often, other family members (such as parents) in their origin country, either in situations where they need supporting by the focus-person of the story, or where they are separated, allowing readers to relate to the migrants’ situation.
- Admiration: - of migrant successes in successfully changing country, at their skills and at their entrepreneurship). Often included are personal story focusing at the micro-level of migration in contrast to other articles, especially in more anti-migration discourses, that tend to focus at the macro-level. These stories frame migrants as hardworking and overcoming challenges.

These two emotional responses feed into the next issues; their hard-working nature to support their families and their ability to overcome challenges in settling into the country:

Migrants are **driven to work hard** by their responsibilities

According to a new Canadian study to be published in the Ethnicity and Health journal, underemployment and unemployment can be particularly detrimental to the mental and physical well-being of highly educated, skilled immigrants.

The effects are compounded by the stress of the migration and the settlement process, when immigrants are struggling to adjust in a new culture and in some cases are separated from their families who remain at home waiting to be sponsored.

"They have little social support from family members and lack strong social networks in Canada to help them overcome the effects of their employment circumstances," said University of Toronto health geographer Kathi Wilson, a co-author of the study.

(Toronto Star, Canada, 04/08/2009)

Skilled migrants in this discourse are framed as having family members to support so their employment status is a matter of particular concern; without a job, they will not be able to support their family. Linked to this is an implicit direction that these responsible migrants are looking for jobs as efficiently as possible to support their families, and so are a very little drain on welfare systems. This topic links into the favourable view of migrants in this discourse in general; they are responsible for their successes and rewards by their own hands, not that of the state (this also mirrors the situation in the 'exploited migrants' discourse, where the migrants are not responsible for their failures or setbacks, which come from external forces). Where there are problems, it could be expected these migrants could overcome them, as:

Migrants are **challenged by and overcome challenges** in settling into the country

Challenges in settling into a new country, such as immigration policy, are sometimes framed as a barrier overcome by skilled Indian migrants, often in large part by their own hard work and tenacity such as in this Herald Sun article also noted in the overview celebrating a successful immigrant:

"I wasn't thinking of immigration," he said. "I had the best job, the best house. Life was good in Iran."

But that changed with the 1979 revolution, which forced academics into exile. Mahabadi was offered teaching jobs in Japan and Germany. Yet he was drawn back to Canada with its reputation for tolerance and multiculturalism.

The family rented a room on Charles St. in Toronto and Mahabadi called his academic acquaintances for help. He landed an entry-level research job with Xerox just before their second son was born.

Mahabadi attributes his success to an open-minded employer that didn't turn its back on immigrants – Xerox offered him on-the-job English training – the demand for polymer experts and his own unshaken self-confidence.

(Herald Sun, Australia, 26/01/2008)

These barriers have typically been overcome; these migrants are after all framed as successful. This also relates to the fact the people focused on in these articles are often older and looking back at successes. Where barriers continue to exist it is often between extra-national family members and the immigrants, for example where family members are unable to enter the country. However these negative stories are not often mentioned as part of this positive discourse.

Who is the migrant in this discourse?

The typical immigrant as framed in this discourse is a mid- to-upper-middle class person with relatively high income and standard of living. They may be a doctor or teacher; a skilled job with clear social value and community benefits. They are perhaps 30-40, older people – either men or women – with a proven record of success and a comfortable, settled position within society and their field of work. They are often framed as 'individuals' rather than as employees, in a pleasant home with a nuclear family. They are friendly, open people and active members of the community; often they will have careers or hobbies helping others.

Overall this discourse is not especially common, especially outside of Canada, which has the strongest media and policy discourses on migrants as an integrated part of the community. The strongest facet is that of the nuclear family, who are central to theme, and of the community. This use of family as a shortcut to normal, sympathetic concerns about loved ones makes the migrant group more familiar to the audience, less alien. Challenges to the migrant are mentioned infrequently; this discourse celebrates successful migrants and challenges don't fit easily with that. They are successful human interest stories and their feel-good value for the reader (as a member of the good, tolerant society) would be undermined otherwise. Of course, despite the tolerant message, the migrants are still positioned as an 'other' through the very fact the stories focus upon them, though it is less explicit than in more migrant-negative discourses.

Migrants as socially responsible but misused by others: 'The exploited'

This discourse frames migrants as exploited members of society, despite their good intentions and hard work. Unlike the mostly positive framing of 'the family provider' who are generally ultimately framed as successful enough to contribute to society, this shows migrants who face hardship that prevents them doing so. Sympathetic stories are the norm, and the discourse involves discussion of Indian migrants at a highly personal level; these often come up in publications that are politically to the left or promote interest in social justice, and are relatively common in all three receiving countries.

Highly skilled Indian migrants are positioned through the articles as good but innocent and helpless people; unfortunate victims deserving of pity from the audience. They are typically presented as incapable of helping themselves and being doomed to continue being discriminated against; they need help, from the authorities or even from the audience: allowing the audience to feel sympathetic, unthreatened and better-off. Terminology reflects this: Indians are typically young, *'lured by the immigration system...fanned by promises...that tantalise with promises of wealth, success and a chance to help to help their parents escape a chance of toil'* (The Age, 18/05/2010); note the use of family, in a mirror-role to the 'successful socially-positive immigrants', these people have concerns about their families' wellbeing, something the audience can relate to.

The group is let down by others; not the audience themselves, but other sections of the public, authorities, and politicians who cause them to be unable to enter the country successfully through no fault of their own, to be forced to leave early or to be deskilled, often breaking promises while doing so. These others are the 'villains' of the piece; policymakers for example can be portrayed as almost antagonistic towards immigrants; this reflects policy discourse in the UK and Australia which become very hostile towards migrants as the global economic crisis progresses and threatens domestic workers and voters. Once they have entered the country, they are *'squeezed till the pips squeak'* (The Guardian, United Kingdom, 08/08/2009) by people and authorities who are *'fail[ing] to act humanely or compassionately'* (The Scotsman, 15/03/2012) through 'arbitrary' rule changes caused by parochial, populist (a widespread phrase being 'Little Australia/Britain/Canada') right-wing policies; where the publications or authors are typically left-wing or liberal, targeting an appropriate audience, this works as an attack at the 'other side' and allows sympathy for the immigrants.

Unlike every other discourse in the migrant-receiving countries this discourse rarely focuses on Indian migrants' effect on their host country, whether positive or negative; instead this is the most 'migrant-centric' discourse. Rather than framing people –sometimes as little more than abstract assets or liabilities - in terms of the way they affect the well-being of the country, this discourse far more often frames the immigrants as merely people; often with stories and interviews about individuals as opposed to the group as a whole. Other common participants are migrant-support groups; these sometimes feature success stories showing that integration is possible. Indeed, in general, as this discourse is sympathetic to the migrants as 'exploited people', and in an additional consequence is typically found in socially-left wing publications, the migrants are archetypally presented as a probable asset were they not hindered by external forces; by their own strengths they would be beneficial to the country economically and socially. The migrants interviewed are typically young, at the beginning of the migration cycle, with little money, and often students; this

helps with their positioning as vulnerable and at risk. Overall these articles tend to have function as human interest stories seeking sympathy from the audience and so the migrant is framed as vulnerably and harmlessly as possible.

In Canada we see this discourse focus on workplace discrimination and instances of immigration policy unfairness rather than the stronger racist attacks seen in the other countries. The UK has a certain amount of this discussion but discussion of racism normally takes place in the context of the long-standing British Indian community rather than to new migrants as such. In both of these there is media pressure for policy change in order to keep immigration fair.

In Australia in contrast, we see particular attention paid to a series of anti-migrant attacks that took place between 2008 and 2010, including several murders. These events are widely documented and used in referencing foreigners in general as 'at risk'; see the Case Study: Attacks on Indian Migrants in Australia on page 70. After these attacks there is strong emphasis on a perceived global image of Australia as 'racist' and the need to correct that.

The issue is set out as follows:

Migrants are **innocent and vulnerable**, at risk of discrimination or attack

The crux of the issue is the focus on the migrants as innocent victims, experiencing a wide range of problems ranging from physical attacks and crime to extortion of money to workplace discrimination to broken promises. These people are presented as being targeted as a result of being outsiders (and so are presented as being outsiders as well; a group to be pitied rather than any competitors); this is a sometime passionately written 'fight' between right and wrong where audiences can easily identify with and root for the 'right' side. Migrants are presented as recurrently at risk from discriminating local people, and incidents of trouble in the past are frequently recounted. This is particularly true in Australia, which experienced repeated incidents of attacks on Indian migrants; Canada and the UK use more isolated incidents of individual problems.

The most 'serious' incidents, which involve public racism, invoke the greatest levels of emotive writing; they are presented as a source of national shame, typically a betrayal of the ideals that Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom countries hold about themselves (often represented through ideas and terms such as 'tolerance', a 'welcoming' nature, and so on). Any politician or other group not strongly condemning of these incidents are portrayed extremely negatively – as betraying these ideals – as well:

THE recent spate of bashings of Indian students in Melbourne is an appalling episode in this nation's history. It is a serious social, educational, diplomatic and probably economic crisis that no one is taking seriously enough. The performance of John Brumby's Victorian Government has been pathetic. It has stumbled from bland denial to belated symbolism, never acknowledging the gravity of the problem or its own culpability and not taking any serious action to confront it.

The Rudd Government's response also has been belated, but there is a better sense in Canberra of the problem's dimensions.

It seems astonishing that you would have to argue with anybody that a big outbreak of racist violence in an Australian capital city is a first-order problem.

Last financial year nearly 1500 assaults and robberies were committed on people of Indian origin in Victoria, up by nearly one-third from the year before. But what has rightly gained international attention is the many assaults on Indian students.

Brumby and his Police Commissioner Simon Overland at first were inclined to deny the problem was racial at all. Eventually they came to admit that some attacks were racial, but still cling to the idiotic defence that most of the crimes are opportunistic, as if it's impossible to be opportunistic and racist.

In making these assertions, Brumby and co must be the only people who believe them. Certainly the victims of the crimes don't.

(The Australian, Australia, 04/06/2009)

To a lesser extent, we see this happen in the other countries and with less extreme discriminatory events as well; in Canada we see issues of name-based recruitment discrimination, in which employers were recruiting less people with 'foreign' names, described in a similarly, though slighter, emotive way. Outside of public discrimination, policymakers and the authorities are commonly-used bodies; Incidents of tightened policy inevitably lead to articles articulating how immigrants are treated unfairly: arriving when politicians needed them and being 'unethically' disposed of later. The audience can sympathise with the ethical side; the articles focus on the effects on the migrants rather than the legislation (mirroring the 'economic negative' discourse) or the local population (mirroring the 'social negative' discourse):

Those minute gains have evaporated now. For all those who arrived here when they were desperately needed and who could have applied for citizenship after working legally for five years, the government wants to slow down their route to citizenship by placing a number of obstacles in their path. It wants to maintain the expendability of the migrant workforce so they can be squeezed till the pips squeak. While some of the required attributes are pragmatic, though unethical, one is a naked attempt at social control – Phil Woolas, the immigration minister, suggested that even if it is legal to protest, it could slow down the path to citizenship: that it was right to set different and higher standards for those aspiring to be British. Hitherto, the problem was that migrants were not British enough in terms of language, culture and liberal values – now docility must be part of the mix.

Social control is also exercised at the other end of the spectrum, where unskilled migrants are doing jobs that locals will not do, but in this case with clear economic gains for profiteering companies. A number of recent workplace victories by the Justice for

Cleaners campaign for the London living wage have been followed up by immigration raids. Cleaners were asked to come in on a false pretext such as training and found immigration officials waiting for them. Some of them were subsequently deported.

(The Guardian, United Kingdom, 08/08/2009)

The economic crisis in particular accelerated anti-immigration policy discourse, increasing the prevalence of policymaker-related discussion here. The crisis increased fears of local unemployment, wage depression and budget cuts, all of which were topics affecting the image of the 'immigrant as an economic drain'; this 'exploited migrant discourse' sees migrants as victimised by proponents of that view.

Aside from direct discrimination in this manner, as a result of being an immigrant or being foreign, there are other forms of exploitation that occur as result of the social status and limited economic means of some immigrants. This is particularly true of young migrants of migrants who, as noted, make up a significant aspect of framing migrants as innocent and helpless; one of their most common problems is at the hands of exploitative landlords, employers and immigration agents as they attempt to find somewhere to live and this is a common issue in all three migrant-receiving countries. In the following article, for example, naive Indian students are duped by immigration agents, and indirectly by Australian colleges, into emigrating to Australia when it is unaffordable, damaging the family (again mirroring the 'socially positive migrant' and their successful, happy family), and potentially reaching the extreme point of destitution, being homeless:

In 2005, students arrived in unprecedented numbers and an entire industry sprang up, fed by education agents in Punjab.

The agents, paid by Australian colleges for every student recruited, spin stories of luxury and success. They talk up the ease of migration and tell prospective students their living costs will be covered by working.

Rarely is this true. Under immigration laws, international students can work only 20 hours a week. Jobs are often hard to find and employers can pay as little as \$3 or \$4 an hour, sometimes nothing.

Usually, the students' parents end up paying the living expenses as well as the college fees. Over the typical two-year duration of a course, this amounts to about \$45,000. Only affluent parents can afford to send their children and, for those from smaller farms, it is big money. Many students arrive with barely adequate funds, are shocked at the cost of living, and find themselves in trouble. The Craigieburn temple serves students in Melbourne's northern and western suburbs, and Grewal hears many stories of hardship. The temple helps students financially, feeds whoever comes, and even gives people a bed if they need one.

(The Age, Australia, 18/04/2010)

Due to these discriminatory issues and exploitative practices, particularly those by policymakers and employers, highly skilled Indian immigrants find themselves having to do poorer jobs than would be expected, at lower wages:

Migrants are **deskilled** by discriminatory policies and attitudes

Due to the problems and exploitations suffered in their new country, immigrants, in this discourse, often need a job urgently, because they are unable to get the one they are qualified for and because they need money. Taking these jobs 'deskills' them; that is, forces them into employment that require little skill, rendering the immigrant underutilised. This is disadvantageous for the immigrant, who loses social status and receives a worse wage and employment prospects than they otherwise would have, and disadvantages the country, which is underutilising a skilled worker. The immigrant is forced to spend time and money trying for a better job, and is left demoralised or even humiliated; this image seeks sympathy from the reader. Note in the article how her time spent finding a job is extremely negative, an 'ordeal', the long time is highlighted and how the many interview in this discourse is with the sympathetic migrant themselves, humanising them. After emphasising the troubles this woman has faced, it then reports how others have even worse experiences:

Shortly after her arrival to Canada, Shrivastava spent over a year meeting with employers in order to understand the credentials and requirements for her occupation. Her ordeal took a toll emotionally and had a considerable cost. As part of her journey to find a job in Canada, Shrivastava returned to India for a month to gather documentation of her education and work experience to demonstrate to Canadian employers. After several unsuccessful years of trying to gain meaningful employment in her field, Shrivastava found a part-time job with Canada Post.

"I felt very stressed and sick. I had to start working part-time," Shrivastava said of her transitional years in Canada.

She was working for Canada Post and has been out of work due to the strike. While she is luckier than some, who have faced long-term unemployment, she was hoping she could make a contribution to Canada that matches her years of education and experience.

(Vancouver Observer, Canada, 18/06/2011)

As seen here, despite the setbacks, the immigrants remain committed to their new country, showing their willingness to integrate and potential social as well as economic value. Indeed according to the Guardian, it is their

Sweat, blood and toil that keep the fat cats fat

(The Guardian, United Kingdom, 08/08/2009)

Clearly, the immigrants are the underdogs against the degenerated 'fat cats'. Overall, their responsible and rectitude ties into their framing as good people:

Migrants are **responsible and supporters of family members**

Highly skilled Indian immigrants are frustrated successful members of the community, unaccepted and frozen out in actuality. Though a lucky few may have succeeded, for the majority of immigrants the role of 'exploited outsider' is all they will be. However in that role they are still responsible; they look after family members, work hard and are keen to join the rest of society. The suffering of the family draws sympathy from the reader:



(24 Dash, United Kingdom, 02/07/2009)

This is the single image used for an article discussing rallies against racism in Belfast, United Kingdom, 'Unions rally in support of migrant workers after Belfast attacks'. It focuses on an unsmiling mother, presumably an immigrant, with her child inside looking through a window on a rainy day, evoking a sense of bleakness that reflects the ill-fated situation she faces. The article continues by listing the benefits immigrants bring in spite of the obstacles in their path through hard work and social value, and that their families keep services running that would otherwise be closed, 'debunking myths'. Equally, in Canada, families are highlighted as priorities for immigrants, at risk of going hungry if the family leaders don't take harmful, low-status jobs. The immigration process is represented as a dishonest arrangement by the state, something to be ashamed of:

Miu Yan, an associate professor at UBC's school of social work, told the Straight that many immigrants end up in low-paying jobs because of prohibitive accreditation processes. "For certain professions" like medical professionals and lawyers, they are almost undoable and can take years to get," he said.

As a result, Yan continued, many skilled immigrants—especially those with families to support—find themselves caught in a Catch-22 situation. Immigrants arrive eager to use their skills and enter the Canadian work force. But their degrees are not recognized and they must go back to school. But if they return to school, they run the risk of burning through their savings and letting their family go hungry. The "solution" is to work in low paying "survival jobs" that provide little money and even less time to attend school and study.

Yan described the whole immigration process in Canada as a "broken contract".

(Georgia Straight, Canada, 09/04/2009)

Migrants are therefore of value, necessary to the country and would be able to effect this value for themselves and the country if not for the external properties limiting their ability to succeed. This potential for integration and exemplary hard-work are most ably demonstrated by the fact they are doing all this to improve their lives, but also to be part of the nation:

Migrants want to be part of the country and **integrate**

Skilled immigrants want to be part of the country and society and so work tirelessly to achieve this. This emphasises their work ethic and their compatibility with the nation.

Kusina and his family landed in Montreal in January 2008. His inability to speak French contributed to his rejection by many postsecondary institutes in Quebec, so the family moved west. But after working as a professor of physiology for 15 years, Kusina found himself rejected by literally every university and college in B.C.

"I had this collection of applications and I just threw them away," he lamented. "They were an insult to look at."

So at the age of 46, Kusina went back to school to write English essays and learn about "Canadian culture". "It was very frustrating, and the quality, as far as I'm concerned, was not worth my time sitting in a classroom," he said. "But I had to do it."

(Georgia Straight, Canada, 09/04/2009)

The man here is going through massive amounts of works simply to gain employment in the country (for very respectable work). He undergoes frustrating and pointless training simply to do what he is already trained to.

This particular article ended with a successful ending for the man interviewed, who eventually gained a job. However, if the exploitation of immigrants continues too far, it leads to one final problem, namely that long-term mistreatment will inevitably lead to their leaving and dissuading others from arriving, damaging the country as it loses these valuable skilled workers:

Migrants are **transmitters of bad experiences** to back home, damaging foreign and trade relations

Just imagine our response if dozens of Australian tourists had been racially selected for bashing in, say, Fiji or Malaysia. Just think of the talkback radio and tabloid reaction we would create. These bashings have been reported all across the world. Al-Jazeera rang me this week to get the phone number of the Indian Students Federation. They have been widely reported in Britain. And in India the Australian Government could not have got a worse result if it had spent a billion dollars on a negative publicity campaign. This column has always

believed that racism is such a serious charge that it should be levelled very carefully and that a lot that is called racism is something else. But there is no doubt that Melbourne has witnessed serious, vicious, violent racism in recent months. It is infinitely more important to deal with the problem than to try to deal with the perception. Solve the problem and the spin will look after itself. Similarly, there is nothing more lame than an Australian defence that points out that racism and policing problems exist in India, too. So what? This is not a point-scoring game. Further, however unjustified or out of date it is, Australia has throughout Asia a longstanding reputation for racism. We may chafe under the unfairness of this reputation, but if we want to deal with reality in Asia we have to understand that it is there. Stories that fit into this stereotype run very strongly.

(The Australian, Australia, 04/06/2009)

This article, using superlative language ('it is infinitely more important', 'there is nothing more lame') is a good example of the use of emotion to attach credibility to the claims of exploitation; there is an implied certainty that this article is factually and morally correct (and other views therefore wrong). It also links sympathy for migrant with empathetic language – 'imagine it was us' - with self-interest. The exploitation of migrants is bad for the country and the audience; it is linked with worsened relations with India and subsequent problems in trade relations and economic issues. As laid out in the 'economic assets' section, India's status as an emerging BRIC makes it attractive to the developed migrant-receiving countries, especially at the onset of the global economic crisis. The Indian diaspora population is a link back to India and so if they are treated poorly, this will lead to problematic relations with the country and likely worse trade relations; for example in this quote in The Age:

The combined effect of violence and visa changes has created the impression in India that, "Australia is anti-Indian, that we are drifting back to the White Australia policy".

(The Age, Australia, 18/04/2010)

This use of a well-known (in Australia) policy provides a shortcut to audience perceptions of the policy and its 'anti-Indian'-ness.

Case Study: Attacks on migrants in Australia

Racist incidents and attacks against Indian migrants in Australia were a large talking point in the period 2008-2010 and over time became an important aspect of discourse throughout the Australian media spectrum, enhancing the positioning of migrants as at-risk victims of the local population and politicians who need help and support. In India, we see migrants continue to be framed as normal people against an increasingly hysterical and racist foreign population.

Chronology

2008

Current Events

- On the 24th March, an Indian student and taxi driver, Jalvinder Singh, is stabbed (and later survives in hospital), leading to 500 Indian taxi drivers to protest for better protection in Melbourne.
- The following month, on the 18th May, a serious assault takes place against Indian taxi driver Balraj Singh in Adelaide, leading to a protest by 50 Indian taxi drivers for better protection. Two months later the government introduces mandatory safety shields for taxis

Media Discourse

In the period approaching 2009, racist crime against Indian migrants was a topic of mild concern for the general public and the media. Though discrimination is condemned as wrong, highly skilled Indian migrants are only peripherally linked with these issues. A pair of attacks on a student and a taxi driver and subsequent protests could even be reported in a humorous way, something not seen later on. This suggests that at this point, the problem is not a serious part of the discourse, migrants as at risk is something that can be laughed off:

Spurred on by the stabbing of 23-year-old Indian student and cab driver Jalvinder Singh, Melbourne's cabbies responded quickly to the call, no really (gratuitous taxi driver joke #1) and began a sit-in protest outside Flinders Street Station late Tuesday night.

Given their customary vampire hours the number of drivers, predominantly Indians, swelled during the night as the mobile phone network spread news of the industrial action. News agencies quoted Jazz Randyboy as the protest's organiser, though it's clear the reporters should have asked him to spell his name.

Randyboy said drivers were outraged at Singh's stabbing and more generally at the lack of protection afforded them. Normally cabbies are protesting they have no change, now they were demanding it (#2).

(The Australian, 05/05/2008)

In contrast, Indian coverage of the events speaks soberly and immediately about the desire for justice the migrants have, following the 'brutal' attack, a theme that will continue throughout the time period:

Taxi drivers, mostly from the subcontinent, are protesting to demand better security and justice following the brutal bashing of cabbie Balraj Singh over the weekend in Adelaide, the capital of South Australia province. The incident comes close on the heels of the stabbing of an Indian student cabbie, Jalvinder Singh, in Melbourne on April 29

[...]

Emotions are running high as cabbies hold rallies in the city and at the airport. Cabbie Amrik Singh Thandi says, "They (taxi drivers) are fearful. It's not only happened to one taxi driver, it's happened to many taxi drivers. But some of them report and some of them don't report it. They're very angry, they're very fearful, especially in the night time."
(Indo-Asian News Service, India, 19/05/2008)

2009

Current Events

- In the last week of April, five Indian students were stabbed and beaten in two unrelated incidents in Melbourne. One week later, Sravan Theerthala was admitted to Melbourne hospital in a critical condition after being stabbed with a screwdriver at a party. In May, an Indian student is beaten and robbed on a train in Melbourne; the police say this is due to opportunism as Indian students are known 'to travel alone late at night to work long hours at part-time jobs and are known to carry valuable items such as laptop computers' (The Scotsman, 31/05/2009); at the same time a petrol bomb is thrown through the window of another student.
- On the 31st May, Indian High Commissioner Sujatha Singh meets with Victorian Premier John Brumby to express concerns over the attacks as 4,000 Indian students protest in Melbourne, and the following day Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh phones Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd to express his concerns
- On the same day, approximately 100 people protested at the Australian High Commission in New Delhi, with effigies of the Australian Prime Minister burnt and warnings of revenge attacks on Australians. Kevin Rudd 'expressed regret' for the attacks and stated that the perpetrators would be brought to justice
- On the 3rd June, marches were held in New Delhi by the All India Students' Federation, calling for action:
"We demand that the Australian Government should take immediate steps to control the racial attacks on Indian students," AISF National Secretary Mahesh Rathi said.
The Left-wing organisation also demanded "stringent action against those behind the brutal attacks on the innocent students"
(The Hindu, 03/06/2009)
Student groups continued to press for official government condemnation of Australia, and for greater protection for students
- On the 9th June Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh was involved in a debate on the attacks in the Indian Parliament and said "I have been appalled by the senseless violence and crime, some of which are racist in nature", that he had spoken to the Australian Prime Minister and "He [Rudd] has assured me that any racist attack against Indian students will be sternly dealt with," but also that there were over 200,000 Indian students in Australia and "the media has to be mindful of this fact and not willy-nilly create a situation that these citizens become targets of racial attacks," (Hindustan Times, 09/06/2009)
- Following continuing attacks and unhappiness over immigration policy and exploitation by landlords, and triggered by an attack on a student by three Lebanese men, on three consecutive nights between the 7th-10th June Indian students marched in protest in Sydney. On the second night Kevin Rudd warned against 'vigilante action'; over 200 protesters were carrying baseball bats and hockey sticks and reprisal attacks took place against three uninvolved Lebanese youths who were mildly injured
- In July, delegations of Australian politicians to India expressed condemnations of the attacks and sought to repair their country's reputation amid a drop in Australian student visa applications
- On the 29th December Ranjodh Singh, a fruit picker and student, was murdered in New

South Wales. In April of the following year, three Indian men were arrested for the murder, which was over a pay dispute

Media Discourse

In this year we see a large shift in discourse as the framing of migrants as exploited, at risk and ill-treated comes to the fore in Australian media. Their concerns are reported more seriously, in-detail, with migrants shown to be eloquent, fighting for justice, exploited and wronged. Crimes are reported in detail and references to Australia itself refer to its 'shame' and how it 'used to be' more tolerant; all indications of the seriousness with which the attacks have affected Australian views of itself and its attitudes towards migrants:

Indian students have rallied in Sydney, protesting against racist attacks and calling on the federal government to stop treating them like "cash cows".

Hundreds of Indian students and supporters rallied at Sydney Town Hall and marched to Hyde Park on Sunday, calling for an end to violence and inequality.

The young Indian men and woman delivered passionate speeches about being bashed and robbed in Sydney, claiming police and other authorities were ignoring their plight.

They also called for Australia's education and immigration policy to be overhauled so overseas students are protected from dodgy landlords and employers and receive the same benefits as domestic students.

The gathering follows a rally in Melbourne in late May of 2,000 demonstrators from the Indian community after a series of recent attacks, including two stabbings.

(Sydney Morning Herald, Australia, 07/06/2009)

However some coverage was less positive, particularly in the early and larger days of protest; discourse shows protestors as violent and a mob. This discourse fades fairly rapidly though as anger continues and it is apparent there are potentially many racist attacks (possibly more than was expected by those involved in forming the 'discourse of 2008):

Hundreds of Indian students protested and launched violent reprisals overnight in Australia's biggest city, in the latest flare-up in racial tensions in recent weeks, police said.

Police said they had to call in the dog squad to control the crowd in west Sydney, where protesters wielding sticks and baseball bats attacked men of "Middle Eastern appearance" in apparent retaliation for an earlier assault.

(AFP, Australia, 08/06/2009)

In India we see migrants framed as a very large community of peaceful 'justice seekers' fighting back against unfairness; ordinary people rightfully angered by wrongs. Most publications discussed racism within Australia, and though different publications of course had different opinions on the actual level of racism that occurred there it is generally implied that there is a certain level (The Times of India, for example, asks its readers, 'Is Oz Government doing enough to stop racial attacks?' implying that there are racist attacks (12/06/2009). In the Hindu for example, a headline reads simply:

AISF takes out candle march to protest racial attacks in Oz
(The Hindu, India, 03/06/2009)

Justice and racism as terms are overall very common in describing the two 'sides' consisting of the Indian community and Australia, a homogenous other entity:

MELBOURNE: Shaken by a wave of racial assaults, thousands of Indian students and supporters rallied here on Sunday, demanding justice for victims of recent attacks as Australia scrambled to contain the rising anger and frustration within the community

The 'peace rally', organized by the Federation of Indian Students in Australia (FISA) and National Union of Students among others, kicked off from outside the Royal Melbourne Hospital, where 25-year-old Shraavan Kumar has been admitted since May 9 when he was stabbed with a screwdriver by a group of teenagers. The protesters had something to cheer about as doctors pronounced Kumar, who had slipped into a coma, "out of danger".

[...]

In a bid to assuage fears, Australia's first Asia-born Cabinet minister said racism in the country was confined to "a minority" with extreme views. "On the whole, I think Australians are tolerant," Malaysia-born Penny Wong, federal climate change minister, said. "It is a minority of people in Australia who hold those sort of extreme and intolerant views."

FISA leader Gupta, however, said the massive rally proved that they were not "soft targets" and the situation might get out of hand if the community was attacked again. He was, however, confident that the Australian government would take action against the perpetrators immediately.

(Times of India, India, 01/06/2009)

Views towards the government begin to change and become more positive as it announces condemnations and measures to deal with the issue (though there are in a few publications some very negative framings). However, the reporting led to some backlash in Australian media over Indian coverage of the events, which is labelled in several cases 'hysterical' or a 'circus', and contributing to protests that are in these publications (particularly the more right-wing ones such as the Herald-Sun or Fox News) framed less positively in than Indian media; they are presented in some cases as forceful, even 'extremist', 'blockades' rather than peace marches:

Indian cable television networks continued to whip up frenzy over the attacks, showing footage of Victorian police dragging away Indian protesters who blockaded Melbourne streets until early yesterday.

(Fox News Australia, 02/06/2009)

2010

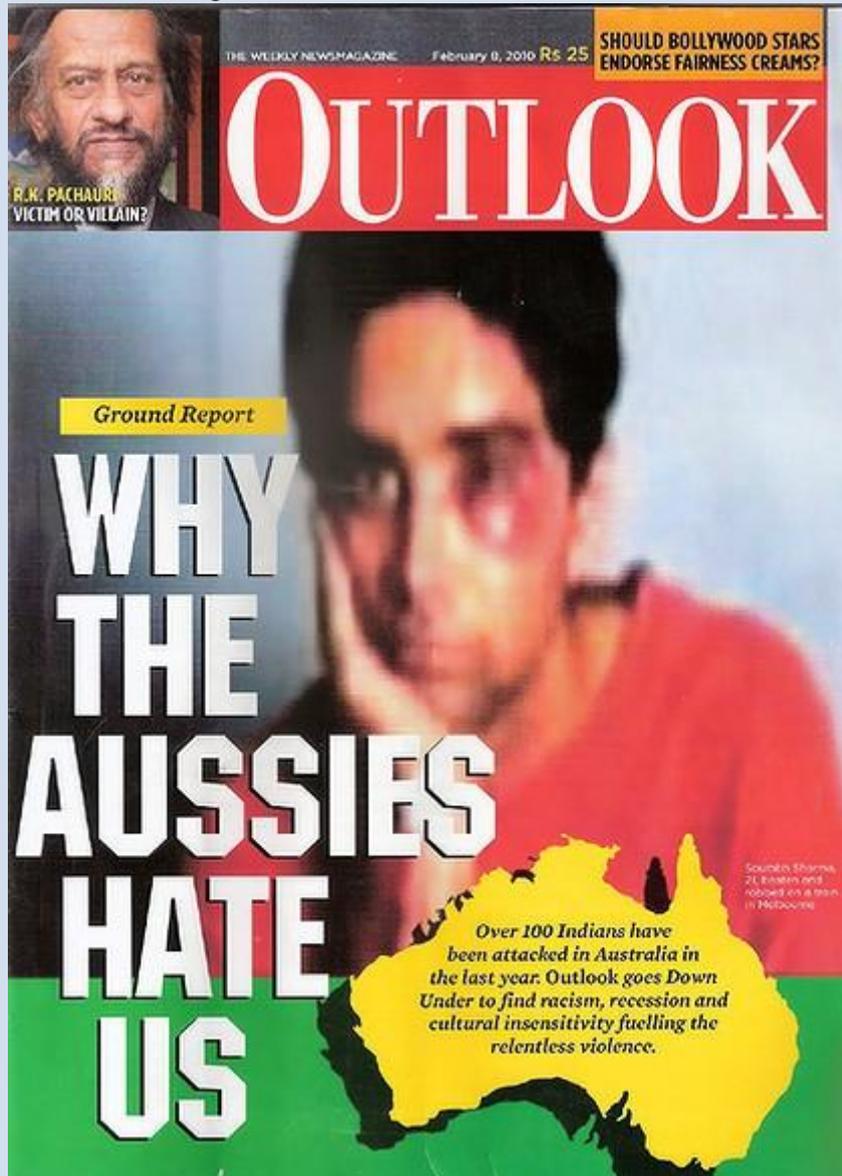
Current Events

- On the 3rd January student Nitin Garg was murdered in Melbourne during a robbery in a car park
- Prime Minister Julia Gillard condemned a cartoon depicting the Victorian police as members of the Ku Klux Klan published in the Indian newspaper Mail Today on the 5th January as 'deeply offensive' (Fox News Australia, 08/01/2010)
- In January, the Indian government issued a travel alert warning about potential violence in Melbourne; the Australian Foreign Minister asked them to 'avoid fuelling hysteria' and that racism was not behind the attacks but opportunistic criminality (BBC, 06/01/2010)
- On the 24th January, an event against attacks called Vindaloo against Violence took place at many Australian Indian restaurants whereby people were encouraged to eat Indian food as a show of solidarity against attacks

Media Discourse

In India this year, the initial shock of the January stabbing leads to a continuation and intensification

of framing last year. In the intermediate aftermath, Australia is characterised as racist and hateful, Indian migrants discriminated against and attacked:



(Outlook, India, 08/02/2010)



[The Victorian State Police drawn as members of the American white-supremacist group, the Ku Klux Klan, an representation of the police's racism and abuse against immigrants] (Mail Today, India, 05/01/2010)

The Australian discourse equally remains as emotive and subjective. As time passes, though discussion of the attacks continues in both countries, it becomes less extremely emotive and there is room for more objective analysis, but media discourse in India still highlights racism against Indian migrants in Australia and goes on to show differences between the reasonable Indian reaction and the slightly-hesitant-to-confirm-racism responses of the Australians; in this article for example, despite the clearing of a majority of attacks of suspicions of racism, the small number - 'only 16 cases' - of arrests is part of the discourse, the shocking nature of racist attacks made clear, and the Australian government is made to look slightly defensive against the issues:

Although the Australian police have confirmed most of the attacks — some were reported by the victims or are eyewitness accounts — they have made arrests in only 16 cases. Investigations are on in a handful of cases while the status is not clear in majority of the incidents.

The incidents of racial abuse were reported from Brisbane, Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria. The report compiled by the Indian High Commission in Brisbane makes it clear that only 23 attacks had racial overtones. In these cases, the attackers hurled racial abuses, made threats and even resorted to anti-India remarks.

While New Delhi said attacks on Indians might impact ties with Australia, Canberra has been maintaining that the assaults were criminal in nature and only a handful were racially motivated. (Indian Express, India, 25/02/2010)

Again, in Australian media there can be backlash against the Indian media and government responses, in which both are framed as more forceful and strongly (even overly-) reacting. The media for example came out strongly against the Mail Today cartoon above, describing it as a 'smear'. In the following quote, we see how, compared to the quote in the Indian Express above, Australian media frames the Indian government as more hostile:

Police smeared in Indian newspaper as Ku Klux Klan

The Indian government has predicted the attack will affect relations between the two countries, and although it has ruled out sanctions, it has once again pressed Australia to ensure the safety of its citizens.

(Fox News Australia, Australia, 08/01/2010)

From this year onwards, migrants tend to be consistently discussed in Australia with positioning primarily as exploited people, much more than the other receiving countries studied, and with awareness of racism as a greater part of the discourse. For example, in this article about migrant experiences in Australia, focus is on the migrants as treated badly; even where racial violence is stated not to be the biggest concern of the interviewees as compared to day-to-day worries, the article begins to describe racist attacks:

The daily conversation at Thomastow[is] missing home, day-to-day struggles, the quality of colleges, the behaviour of employers, the lack of government help in finding jobs, and the lack of public transport concessions. The big one, though, is immigration, not racial violence.

The January 2 stabbing death of Nitin Garg in Cruickshank Park reserve brought world attention to attacks on Indian students, even though it was the 12th assault against Indians in Melbourne since January 2008.

Within a fortnight of arriving in Australia last year, Dharam was working at a car wash when a group of "Aussie" boys and girls mocked his turban, chased him and pushed him, shouting at him in

a language he couldn't understand. He was forced to flee, to seek help from someone at the nearby train station.

Rita says violence does not worry her, but she has heard the bad language and seen the threatening behaviour of teenagers at train stations.

Gill, a Punjabi immigrant resident in Australia since 1983, employs some of the household and rattles off stories about violent incidents against Indians.

"Everyone kicking us like a football, just about everywhere," he says.

(The Age, Australia 18/04/2010)

We see it affect the economic positive framing of migrants as Indian migrants are discussed in these 'exploited' terms rather than, or as well as, the more inhuman 'economic asset' terms seen earlier. This affects, for example, discussions of Indo-Australian trade relations:



[Racism against Indians as the 'elephant in the room'; an obvious issue that cannot be ignored and overshadows all other things]

It is a sad fact of life some young Indians have become targets of random violence because they work hard while studying in tertiary institutions or in their part-time or permanent employment. Some travel late at night, either on public transport or by foot.

The tragedy happened to coincide with a distinct cooling in the relationship between the two nations in the past couple of years. During a visit to India in late 2008 I was surprised to hear strong criticism of Kevin Rudd at the highest levels of the New Delhi administration. India's prime gripe turned on the refusal of the Rudd Government to sell uranium to India, which overturned the intention of John Howard and his senior ministers.

(Sydney Morning Herald, 05/01/2010)

Who is the migrant in this discourse?

The typical immigrant as framed in this discourse is a person with relatively low income and standard of living. As employees, their work is often unnoted, but they may be a generic office worker or otherwise underemployed, perhaps with two jobs to pay for living costs; an unfortunate situation given their potential that is beyond their control. They are perhaps 20-30, young people – either men or women – starting out on the career ladder in competition with local employees at the same stage. They are often framed as 'individuals' rather than as employees, in a poor-quality house (e.g.

a flat share) with friends. They have an unhappy, difficult life through the discriminatory actions of bureaucrats or other members of the public, but are responsible and friendly. They may have family members back in India in poor conditions that need support.

Overall, the general message of many articles using this discourse is that exploiting immigrants is bad for the country as well as bad for them, drawing the audience into it with sympathy and self-interest. There is implicit reference to the 'social negative' migrant discourse which is presented as wrong, immoral and populist. This discourse is a strongly emotive one in each of the countries, urging readers into action. By focusing on migrants as vulnerable, underemployed, young and family-oriented, it maximises the sympathy for them as naïve and at-risk. More often than most other discourses in this study, we see women interviewed; this may reflect cultural views of women. We see the strongest concern in Australia, but it is also common in the other two countries. The least-seen aspect of this discourse is in fact the possibility of success; this detracts from the sympathetic image in some ways and in some cases the issue is framed as so urgent (adding to the emotion) that the focus is wholly on the present, not the future.

Migrants as a social negative: 'A wave of foreigners'

This discourse frames Indian migrants and skilled migration as a vast wave of people threatening to invade and overwhelm the receiving country in the composition of its population, in public services, in cultural terms and in employment; they threaten local society and all in it. Immigrants are positioned as a worrying threat opposed to the general public - the audience – and are at best opportunistically competitive against this group, and at worst actively unethical and felonious. Publications report misdeeds committed by immigrants but more frequently focus on the ways in which locals are affected as individuals; this may be through job losses, community tension, loss of traditional, unaffordable living and overpopulation. This is a highly emotive, sensationalist discourse, with heavy use of short, attention-grabbing and doom-mongering text, pictures of disadvantaged locals and a general agglomeration of all immigrants into one negative group regardless of skill-level. It is typically found with more socially-right publications and authors, which typically are against large-scale immigration.

We see a tendency to focus on the migrants at an impersonal, macro-level scale; they are depicted as a huge group with few, if any, individual characteristics. To illustrate this, there is an extremely frequent use of statistics and large raw numbers, stressing the scale of the migration flow and the population size. Individual stories only take place where they concern wrongdoing by the new arrivals, or they are individual stories of local people emphasising how these individuals have been disadvantaged by migration and migrants. Often used are interviews with authoritative figures and pressure groups opposed to larger immigration levels or with locals who feel immigration has caused them problems. This discourse tends to be found in articles functioning as warnings against problems for the domestic majority population; this group, the targeted audience, is strongly contrasted against the 'others', who are presented as 'they'. They are in groups, increasing their perceivable scale and therefore their fear-factor; stories highlight bad things that these migrants do. Readers are invited to fear them.

Examples of this discourse are common to all three studied migrant-receiving countries, though it is extremely common in Britain and less so in Canada. This reflects policy discourse and apparently popular opinion in both countries: British policy discusses immigrants in terms of limiting their economic damage and extracting the maximum profit, becoming tighter as the economic crisis tightens; Canadian policy discusses immigration in the context of economy, and cultural and social responsibilities and rewards.

In this view, the incumbent government is generally doing too little to cut immigration numbers and, in many cases, is imposing immigrants on the populace despite popular will and despite the problems immigration brings. In Britain, the European Union, a frequent media target for its alleged overriding of British sovereignty, is particularly scorned for compelling the government to accept immigrants (though this rarely happens in practise). Britain's media frequently castigates the government for its 'lax' immigration policy by claiming it has performed, in the popular phrase, a '*vast social experiment*' on the population (The Telegraph, 01/05/2010). More than other countries, British media associates skilled migrants, along with all other migrants, with criminality; for example, it saw a large amount of coverage of a scam perpetuated by migrants selling counterfeit visas to other Indian nationals; this was implicitly linked to a failure of the immigration system.

In Canada and Australia in contrast, this discourse is seen less often. It does follow the same lines as in Britain, though a majority of its concern about immigration is based on issues of sustainability of the nation and the country when faced with a larger population. Again, this follows frequent discussions, as traditionally immigrant-based countries, over the size of population suitable. Migrants are seen as less of a social evil possible because most people in them are related to immigrants, making them less of an unknown other; and the society being based on a melding of immigrant cultures and so less under threat from more people.

This discourse is sometimes seen alongside the framing of migrants as economic drains; this discourse though frames immigrants as an actively hostile threat to individual locals and to society; they are overturning existing solid social order. In the 'economic drain' discourse they are more abstract economic liabilities affecting the national economy. In This discourse can be seen through messages invoking:

Migrants are a **nebulous 'other'**, not part of 'the community', and neither want to be or could be
WHAT ARE THE SOCIAL EFFECTS OF IMMIGRATION?

These are very hard to assess because they are hard to measure. But one result familiar from research into communities in the US that have experienced a sudden influx of large numbers of immigrants has been a diminution of trust. Immigrant communities tend not to mix, either with other immigrants or with residents of the host country. The result is a mosaic of tightly knit groups that do not integrate with each other and do not trust each other. The idea that the nation is a community based on reciprocal obligation suffers.

The texture of communities changes. Some people like those changes. Others do not. The changes are not confined to the appearance of ethnic restaurants or men and women who wear different clothes. An influx of people who are fundamentalist about their religion, for example, can mean that some of them do not accept ideas that mainstream Britain takes for granted: the primacy of secular over divine law; the equality of women with men; and the importance of the freedom to change your religion without persecution. How to ensure that immigrants adopt "British values" is a problem the Government has thought long and hard about – but has not solved.

(The Telegraph, United Kingdom, 21/03/2009)

Migrants are said to disrupt local social networks and communities through their importing of foreign values, languages and cultures. They break down existing social ties and lack cultural knowledge of the country, resulting in a lack of respect for cultural norms. In that they are positioned almost as an enemy of the country, they are all also attributed with stereotypes of being 'bad' in some way; articles emphasise characteristics regarded as undesirable such as religious fundamentalism and sexism in the article above.

A particular concern in terms of society relates to language issues; news media articles invoke the lack of English knowledge of immigrants and their speaking of foreign – and therefore incomprehensible to locals – languages.

In the UK, which historically has had relatively limited promotion of exo-British languages there are stories developing this discourse that focus on the growth in number of foreign languages spoken in specific areas, representing them as a threat to traditional English and English-speaking communities. In particular, stories about the number of languages spoken in schools are reported on with concern. Fear is added to the story and to the framing of immigrants as a threat to the British way of life with an additional threat to readers' families and the nation's children:

English is not the first language of more than half a million pupils in Britain's primary schools. The language spoken at home by 567,888 children aged between four and 11 could be any one of the hundreds of foreign languages now used by migrants from across the globe who have settled in this country.

No one should be surprised by the statistic, because it is a straightforward consequence of the enormous amount of migration into Britain over the past decade: the more foreigners who come here to live, the more of their children will be educated in British schools – and the more our schools will have to deal with pupils whose first language is not English or who do not speak it at all.

(The Telegraph, United Kingdom, 21/03/2009)

Note the use and repetition of large numbers in this article, increasing the perception of size. All foreign language identity is reduced and dismissed to the one large, othered group, 'any one of hundreds of foreign languages. Migrant children speaking non-English languages are a problem; schools 'have to deal' with them. The framing of migrants as a problem is portrayed as obviously correct; it is based on 'straightforward' logic. The 'flood of migrants' are presented as problematic in that they bring in cultures and social mores alien to local residents, causing social friction and representing a threat to the integrity of the local way of life.

Migrants are a **vast swarm** overburdening the social, economic and cultural capital of the country

EVERY day it's in the papers. How our big urban centres just aren't fit to live in any more.

How Melbourne prices make it hard, very hard, for families to buy a decent house any more.

And if we do find one, two hours' travel from the workplace, how hard it is to commute, since petrol costs four times what it cost in 2001.

Population experts are telling us that, at the present rate of migrant intake, our capital cities will burst at the seams.

How there won't be enough water, transport and hospital wards, nurses, teachers and garbage trucks to keep them going any more.

(Herald Sun, Australia, 10/06/2008)

Migration flow sizes are extremely frequently mentioned in articles, with the scale of it being described as extremely high. Raw numbers are used again to impress the scale of the movement onto the reader. The high flow sizes are portrayed in a negative light, due the problems migrants cause economically and socially. Often, the immigrants are relatively young, exacerbating the long-term effect they will have on the population.

A particular focus in the UK, and to a lesser degree in Australia, is in fact the total population size of the country; the country is portrayed as becoming overpopulated with the attendant problems that emerge. In the following article for example, the migration inflow is shown in this light, with the left-wing government having cheated the populace by imposing policy and preventing a discussion on the problems of immigration and now reversing its decision (this appearing in a more right-wing publication, it is a typical right-left confrontation with the right charactering the left as being elitist, closing down arguments with false claims of racism, and unheeding of normal people's problems in dealing with immigration):

In the year before Labour came to power, British citizenship was granted to 37,000 foreign nationals. In the first nine months of this year, 118,000 people born overseas have already been issued with a British passport. Since 1997, more than 1.3 million grants of citizenship have been made. This is the backdrop for Gordon Brown's speech yesterday on immigration, one of the very few he or any other senior minister has made on the subject. With an election approaching, the Government is very keen to raise an issue that it once refused to talk about – and tried to stop others talking about, too. At the last two general elections, any attempt to have a serious debate about immigration was howled down by Labour and its cheerleaders, accompanied by insinuations of racism. Are we now to thank Mr Brown for being open minded enough to discuss it? Immigration, he said, is "not an issue for fringe parties nor a taboo subject". Yet that is precisely what it became, even as the country was experiencing the fastest increase in immigration in its history; and that is why extremists such as the BNP have been able to get a foothold in parts of the country most affected by the changes wrought by Labour's open-door policy. Of course, Mr Brown denies Labour ever had such a policy. Yet one Home Secretary, David Blunkett, said there was "no obvious limit" to the number of immigrants; Alan Johnson, the incumbent, loses no sleep over the consequential rapid population growth. Whatever the motives (and they were political, cultural and economic), the policy has allowed far more people than ever before to come to work in Britain and to remain as citizens. It ill behoves Mr Brown now to try to disavow that approach. If it was the right policy, why does he not defend it more forcefully; if it was wrong, why does he not admit as much? Nothing in his speech addressed the central issue of whether immigration is to be substantially cut back.

(The Telegraph, United Kingdom, 12/11/2009)

Immigrants bring incompatible, alien foreign culture that breaks down the domestic culture and results in a fracturing of society and loss of ownership of the country by local people. The viewing of immigrants as a vast, faceless horde in this discourse means of course that there is no individuality, no individualisation or even categorisation beyond that simply of ‘the migrant’:

All migrants are the same; skilled migrants and unskilled migrants are conflated together

This is a trope that appears in every publication no matter the discourse; high skilled immigrants are represented as a relatively homogenous group whose qualities depend on the frame they are viewed through. In this discourse however, we see this taken to a very high degree as in many cases all immigrants, whether skilled or unskilled and regardless of their reason for entering the country, their roles within the country or their specific circumstances, are simply reduced to one group, with skilled Indian immigrants discussed alongside all other immigrant types of which the most emphasised is typically a maligned one (such as asylum-seekers in the UK, derided for being a drain on the welfare state).

Jenna Hennebry, a sociologist at Wilfrid Laurier University, has researched temporary foreign workers for years. She believes a majority who lose their jobs stay in Canada beyond the time allowed by their work visas.

Some get advice from consultants to apply for refugee status. That clogs up the system but buys them time to stay and work in Canada. Others become undocumented.

(Toronto Star, Canada, 01/11/2009)

We find this very commonly in British publications; it appears less so in Canada and Australia; this may reflect policy discourse which, under the Conservative government, has a stated aim to limit immigration in general regardless of type compared to the more nuanced views in the other countries.

Migrants are stealing jobs and money from locals

Similar to that seen in the ‘economic drain’ discourse, we see this waves of immigrants framed as ‘stealing’ jobs that locals would otherwise have and depressing wages, lowering the overall quality of life of local people whilst improving their own. In that this directly impacts the audience of many publications, we see a fear-mongering tone and a positioning of the immigrants as an opponent of the general public. In the following article, for example, the success of the immigrants is contrasted with the ‘lower quality of living’ of the Britons, with implications that the former causes the latter:



Average migrant worker earns more a year in the UK than British-born - especially if they are childless

Childless couples from beyond Europe enjoy better standard of living than British

The average earnings of many immigrants from outside Europe have overtaken those of people born in Britain. Research shows that among couples or adults without children, those from beyond Europe's borders are enjoying the higher standard of living. Among families with children, migrant incomes still lag behind those of the British-born – although only slightly.

The findings come in the wake of the calculation by advisers to Home Secretary Theresa May that migration has had a serious impact on the lives of hundreds of thousands of people. The Migration Advisory Committee said that 160,000 jobs of British-born workers were 'displaced' because of immigration between 1995 and 2010. The figures showing the economic success of immigrants were gathered by the Office for National Statistics in its large-scale Labour Force Survey.

However, the ONS has chosen not to analyse the information or to publish it. Instead, the material was made available to the EU's statistics arm Eurostat, which used it to prepare an analysis of the economic performance of immigrants across the EU.

(Daily Mail, United Kingdom, 12/01/2012)

Migrants arriving from overseas are stealing jobs from local workers and driving down wages. The In Australia we see more evidence of this discourse visible in publications as the economic crisis threatens the country around 2009, as fears about the local economy increased. Emotive articles such as this frame immigrants as an opportunistic movement exploiting border laws and damaging local employment:

AUSTRALIA'S record intake of temporary skilled migrants during the economic downturn could boost the number of Australian-born unemployed, as research suggests it is being used as a "back door" to permanent entry by low-wage workers. The claim comes from Monash University population expert Bob Birrell, who said more of Australia's permanent skilled migrants were being sourced from the 457 visa program, which was drawing on workers from low-wage countries in increasing numbers.

(The Australian, Australia, 20/02/2009)

We see this characterisation be a large part of the framing of highly skilled Indian immigrants, in fact:

Migrants **opportunistically take advantage** of immigration policies up even to the level of being **criminals**

Due to the attraction of the host country – it is framed (with highly critical language) as providing high quality of life, high wages, overgenerous welfare provisions and weak border security:

The reason why people from developing countries want to live here is obvious: life is better here than in the impoverished countries from which they came. But that is true of all the developed economies of Europe. All are much better places in which to live than the nations of Africa, for instance, or the Indian subcontinent.

So what explains why so many immigrants target Britain, and why there are such queues at the Sangatte centre in France to get across the Channel to England?

Word has got out that Britain is more hospitable to immigrants than other European countries – which it is

[...]

Add the fact that it is easier for immigrants who arrive here to claim benefits, get council housing and access health and education services for themselves and their children and it becomes clear why Britain is a target for migrants.

(The Telegraph, United Kingdom, 21/03/2009)

'Impoverished' immigrants, both skilled and unskilled, are of course drawn to it. In this discourse, they overwhelm the country in part due to an overly-lax, ill-policed, and exploitable immigration policy combined with their own opportunism. Incidents of illegal immigration are immediately and reported as major news:

Three people have been arrested on suspicion of immigration fraud following a Sky News investigation into sham marriages. UK Border Agency police visited an address in Wembley and detained a Home Office licensed immigration adviser and [their partner], while a third person was detained at a separate address.

[X] was first arrested in May 2010 after a Sky report revealed [X] had offered to sell a groom for £12,500 to an undercover reporter who wanted to avoid immigration controls. Information found on [X]'s computer suggested [X] was involved in Tier 1 visa fraud by topping-up applicants' legitimate earnings with bogus salaries.

Tier 1 visas were designed to attract highly-skilled workers from outside the European Union, such as doctors or scientists, who could contribute most to the UK economy. [...]

But low-skilled applicants intent on defrauding the system sometimes used bogus employment histories and payslips issued through fake companies set up by corrupt solicitors and immigration advisers.

(Sky News, United Kingdom, 12/08/2011)

This framing of migrants as criminals, defrauding the system is an extension of them as bad for society and actively immoral in general. They are described in fearful ways, as 'determined', 'unscrupulous', and even 'masterminds' against an incompetent immigration force:

Mr Sheridan said: "The Home Office system was designed to operate with trust.

"The evidence shows it was naive in its conception and a shambles in reality, but it did not justify someone taking full advantage to cheat the system time and time again..."

(Daily Mail, 03/06/2009)

At a lesser scale, immigrant reports focus on overstaying of visas or under-skilled immigrants entering the country. Overall, the general consensus appears to be that a significant proportion of

immigrants are not highly skilled but are merely abusing the opportunity of entering the country as a Highly Skilled Migrant in order to enjoy the benefits of living there.

Migrants are **unpopular with the population** and imposed upon the country by politicians

More viscerally strongly than in the 'economic drain' discourse, we see immigrants framed as unpopular due to the destructive effects they have on host societies; they are a thing imposed upon the immigrants by politicians, against sense or even democratic will:

The immigration experiment shows Labour at its worst

A significant social change was foisted on Britain without our consent, says Alasdair Palmer

Gordon Brown has apologised profusely for calling Gillian Duffy "bigoted" after she asked him what he was going to do about immigration. But for all his very public penitence, Mr Brown's initial reaction reveals what he really thinks of those who are sceptical about immigration's benefits.

The huge increase in immigration has taken place almost without discussion. It was not mentioned in Labour's manifesto in 1997, nor in 2001. In 2005, it rated scarcely more than a few lines. When Michael Howard, the then Conservative leader, tried to make the subject an election issue, he was accused of racism by Labour – and, of course, "bigotry". The charge was effective in closing down the debate.

So Labour has – in an astonishingly cynical subversion of the democratic process – conducted a huge social experiment on the British population without asking us whether we wanted it or agreed to it. Labour has claimed that immigration has enormous economic benefits. Those claims have proved to be largely bogus, but in a sense they are beside the point: the point is that Labour has foisted a very significant social change on the country without asking the people to endorse it first.

(The Telegraph, United Kingdom, 01/05/2010)

Public opinion – against immigration to the host country, typically fitting with the political views of the publication – is frequently noted, working as a legitimiser of the discourse. Politicians working against the views of these articles are described as working against the popular, democratic will; they are made a simple enemy of the proponents of this discourse

As noted in the 'economic drain' discourse, the EU is frequently part of the discourse in more right-wing publications in Britain – which tend to be more Eurosceptic – as a creator of immigration policies that cause the flood of high-skilled migrants causing problems in the UK. Equally we see geographic

distributions of the idea of immigrants being imposed on the country tilted heavily in favour of the UK.

Who is the migrant in this discourse?

The typical immigrant as framed in this discourse is a lower-or-middle class person or employee with relatively low income and education. They may be unemployed, or a generic office worker; taking welfare payments from the country more than they contribute to it. As individuals, they are relatively unnoticed, but they are perhaps 20-30, young people – typically men – unconcerned with gainful employment as much as socialising within their groups. They are often framed in ‘groups’ rather than as individuals, often congregating and socialising together in a residential area or possibly in a generic job. They may have a pre-existing family that demands state support on arrival in the host country. They act in a ‘foreign’ way, and are unsocial and even hostile to the host population; they may be working on ways to break through border controls themselves or for others.

The idea of the imposter migrant, coming from India (or any country) and usurping the native culture with no real benefit provided in return is extremely common in the United Kingdom; far less in Canada. Focusing strongly on migrants’ alien-ness and being an opponent to locals’ livelihood, they are framed as actively bad to create an ‘us and them’ mechanic. Indeed, unlike the ‘exploited migrant’ or ‘social positive’ discourse, there is no mention here of immigrants being ‘part of the nation’; they are enemies of the nation. Their entire framing shows them in a bad light, with few redeeming or sympathetic features. They are in groups as this emphasises their size, making them a more plausible threat.

Final Remarks

As stated at the start of this section, we can see that highly skilled Indian immigrants are discussed as part of specific discourses. They are framed in one of five ways:

- An economic necessity and boost for the country (economic positive). They are framed as an impressive elite, working, labour market force that will help the economy be strengthened, benefitting the general public and the country through the skills and value they possess
- An economic drain on the country and its people (economic negative). They are framed as an national liability worsening the economic situation of the county and of the general population through their lack of value, displacement of local workers and overuse of local resources and welfare
- Socially-responsible, successful and hard-working family people (social positive). They are framed as approachable, active members of society adding to its worth through the cultural capital they bring and their hard-work and responsibility. They, and their family, are positioned to join or be part of the community alongside the reader
- Socially-responsible, but exploited and pitiable, people (social positive/migrant-centric). They are framed as unfortunate people damaged by unethical members of the host country, deserving of a better life and action from civic leaders. They are positioned as people in need of sympathy, or help, from readers
- A wave of socially damaging, un-assimilating, borderline felonious migrants (social negative). They are framed as an opportunistic, unethical group alien to the host country's culture and undermining it and fracturing through their rival beliefs and practises. They are positioned as a hazardous enemy of the nation damaging social institutions

There is a relationship structure between the discourses; some mirror each other's basic framing of discourses, other compliment them (but see the group in a different way):

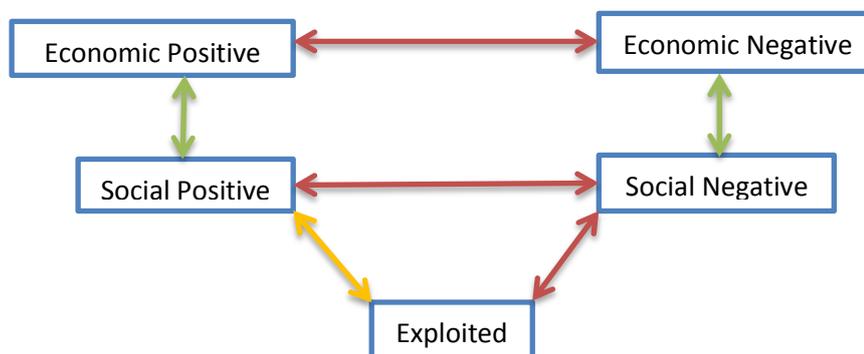


Figure 4: Discourse Relationships - red arrows represent a negatively mirrored relationship, yellow arrows represent a positively mirrored relationship, and green arrows represent a complimentary relationship

Two pairs of the discourses negatively mirror one another; that is, they take completely opposing views on highly skilled Indian immigrants whereby the 'positive' view sees them broadly as an asset for the country for either economic or social reasons, and the 'negative' view sees them as liability for opposing reasons.

Two pairs of the discourses complement each other; within the pairs they both see highly skilled Indian immigrants as either assets or liabilities, but in different ways, seeing them as more economic or social objects as appropriate.

One pair of the discourses positively oppose each other; the 'social positive' and 'exploited' views. By this, it is meant that the two discourses parallel each other in some of their overall framing of highly skilled Indian immigrants –in a sympathetic way, as national assets – but oppose each other in that the former frames them as successful and the latter frames them as failing, with praise and positivity or sympathy and negativity as appropriate.

Altogether we see aspects of these discourses interacting with each other in certain situations:

- rejections of other discourses as unrealistic or wrong either in part or completely (opposing discourses)
- References to complimentary discourses that are fundamentally correct but with the other discourse as a secondary way of regarding the group (or even a wrong way of regarding the group even if the assertions behind the discourse are correct). Occasionally we see aspects of two complimentary discourses in one article but this is rare.

We find that these discourses show reflection with policy discourse and current events; where the benefits of immigration are discussed in policy in purely economic terms, media tend to do this too and vice versa. Where current events involve humanitarian and social issues, media discourse shifts towards the social discourses, as seen in the Australian racism issue; conversely where the economic crisis enters the news, we see a shift towards economic framings. Overall these simplified framings of highly skilled Indian immigrants are found throughout the countries studied, with very similar collective wholes differentiated only in certain constituent parts by certain local issues and nuances. The issues surrounding them are contentious and so there are a range of views, which tend to be found in every country (though possibly may be found in specific countries a greater amount than in others; however that is beyond the scope of this study).

Discourses in Migrant-Sending Countries

In the publications studied, we see a sharp contrast between the migrant-receiving and the migrant-sending country. The reason for this can be surmised as that the audience for the publications studied in India may be emigrants or potential emigrants themselves and so are not the 'other' found in the migrant-receiving countries. They are however still a group and represented as such. Emigrants therefore are framed through the same process they are in the migrant-receiving countries: they tend to be framed as typically one type of person, however due to the fact of the audience this 'one type of person' is rather a blank slate. Instead of several competing discourses, we found one major one; that of the emigrant as an idealised average person, open and non-offensive to everyone in the readership.

Migrants as ordinary people: 'The migrants are us'

Highly skilled Indian emigrants are positioned as typical members of the general public alongside or even including the audience. Migrants are not framed as 'others' as in receiving countries as the audience themselves are potential migrants; rather, they are just a subset of sympathetic 'ordinary people'. As these media organisations are Indian, the use of Indian migrants takes place in a wide array of stories and reports, but typically in reports of policy change or a problem a migrant or migrants have faced. Migration to a highly-developed country for at least a short period of time is presented as a norm, an opportunity for employment. It is common to present interviews with these immigrants; they are very humanised.

Though a norm, migration is also presented as a complex decision with many variables to consider. These are discussed methodically, rationally and at length without overt emotion. Migrants in policy-heavy articles can appear without detail given to them; they are unnecessary as the article is aiming to give simple information and guidance with the audience as the potential migrant. On the other hand, reports on problems (e.g. unemployment or exploitation) certainly do appear with, at times, articles strongly condemnatory or even angry of the cause of these problems and with articles written in a tone of fear for the immigrants. This reflects the aim of these articles to be human-interest stories, to show a problem as a target for anger and the migrant as a target for sympathy.

It is, in these cases and in the discourse generally, receiving countries' governments and entire populations that are presented as the 'other'. Australian, Canadian and British populations are treated as mass homogenous groups in a similar fashion to the treatment of Indian immigrants and the Indian public in those countries' media outlets. In cases where migration policy is being made more restrictive, or in other situations where discourse or public opinion is turning against Indians, both groups are represented as hysterical or aggressive, with accompanying commentary (see the case study "Racist Attacks in Australia, page 70). This stands in contrast to loosening of policy which tend to be covered in comparatively little detail beyond the basic facts of the new rules and how they apply.

Indian government activity relevant to this study is relatively restricted; it does on occasion lobby the migrant-receiving countries to restrict cuts, to accept more entrants or in concern of discrimination but this is relatively uncommon in the time period studied. It does reflect the relatively passive but positive framing of migrants in the media however.

Ultimately the Indian government does not draft the immigration laws of other countries itself and the focus is therefore on the policy discourse of the receiving countries, with the media like the migrants they report on, outside observers. The coverage each country gets reflects immigration trends; the United Kingdom commonly gets entire articles devoted to issues there, Australia less so, and Canada is often mentioned in passing. This reflects migrant flow sizes and diaspora populations in those countries. Canada is however, reported the most positively, as a 'friendly' country more than the other two which tend to have more negative reputations.

We see highly skilled Indian emigrants framed in the following ways in this discourse:

Migrants are good people; responsible family members and providers and hard workers

Migrants are normal people from a non-specific 'average' part of society, commonly so neutral in this discourse that they are almost undescribed. Where they are portrayed, they are almost always represented as sympathetic and humanised; responsible, ambitious, talented and humanised. They are well-skilled and professional, such as this successful, charitable businessman who is portrayed as representative of the Indian community in Scotland:

Apart from redressing the problem of skilled labour shortages, the Indian community has been extremely successful in small-scale retail trading and medical and teaching professions. Dr Charan Gill - one of Scotland's most prominent businessmen who runs four different companies in leisure, investments and property development sectors - has recently decided to give back something of what he has earned to his native state of Punjab.

(Business Standard, India, 19/06/2008)

In addition, there are frequent mentions of family – partners, children or sometimes parents - and often their provision is presented as one of the primary considerations of the emigrants. In a similar manner to the 'social positive' and 'exploited' discourses in the migrant-receiving countries, this presents the immigrants in a humanised manner, and also as sympathetic and, where they look after their family, responsible. In the following article for example, we see the emigrant interviewed and his wife and notably-young son mentioned, portraying them as a normal family in a sympathetic light and unfairly treated – stress is placed on their 'shock' - in an intimidating situation – they 'fear' deportation. The threatening British government is presented as underhand and intimidating 'threatening' and 'dragging its feet' to ensure deportation:

Indians worried as Britain drags its feet on court orders

LONDON: Many of the thousands of Indian workers, who came to Britain under the Highly-Skilled Migrant Programme (HSMP), fear deportation because, they allege, that the government is dragging its feet over implementing court orders exempting them from new immigration rules.

Some are already reported to have been refused further leave to stay in Britain and threatened with deportation. Ashish Vijayan, an orthopaedic surgeon, said his application for visa extension was turned down.

He said he, his wife and their 14-month-old were told that if they did not leave they would be "removed to India."

"Shocked"

The surgeon said he was "shocked" that he had been refused extension despite the recent High Court ruling that it would be "unlawful" to apply the new rules retrospectively.

Last week, the court directed the government to honour its original commitments under the HSMP as, in its opinion, there was not "sufficient public interest" to justify a departure.

The HSMP Forum, which has been campaigning for the rights of Indian immigrants, accused the Home Office of flouting the court orders and said it amounted to contempt.

(The Hindu, India, 18/04/2009)

They are normal people, typically young (representative of the young age of the average migrant); just like the audience may view itself. They also behave rationally:

Migrants are rational people responding to opportunities in immigration policy

Compared to some media of the migrant-receiving countries, which tend to frame Indian migrants as exploitative of policy, taking advantage of laxity and loopholes (see 'economic negative' and 'social negative' discourses), Indian media frames them as rational beings making choices on a competing range of immigration regimes, which often are overly strict. They are attracted by policies through which they will most painlessly be able to enter other countries and find a market for their skills in a mutually beneficial arrangement.

A clear example of the difference between the two can be seen in reports on EU legislation. In the UK, these are mostly reported on with Indian immigrants as a mass flood surely poised to overwhelm the country through the EU, single-mindedly rushing to outmuscle locals to jobs. In this discourse, individuals are weighing up the benefits of a scheme, mindful of their family and only half-sure if the questionable, 'may or may not' be flexible scheme will be beneficial to them while surely being beneficial to the host states. The sovereign states are portrayed as having the power, compared to the EU, and impose a restrictive immigration regime:

The potential potency of the blue card according to Weizsäcker would be the access it could promise a holder to not just a single European country but to the amalgamation of the 27 member states that comprise the EU. "An Indian engineer might not want to go to Vienna even if he were offered a job there because he might not speak German and his family may not like it. But were he to have the ability to move to the UK in the event of things not working out he would probably go ahead and accept the job. The internal mobility within the EU that the blue card would offer would give him an exit strategy."

However, the Blue Card Directive as eventually adopted by the EU's Council following two years of controversy-bogged discussions, does not assure a card holder the right to move from one EU country to another and, in fact, makes it "almost as tough to move within the EU as to reapply from the outside again".

(Business Standard, India, 30/07/2009)

Nevertheless, despite the benefits that Indian emigrants bring, it is common for differences to appear between them and the host population, commonly seen in the rejection of migrants by many policies and groups in those countries. These differences can grow into outright hostility; as a discourse sympathetic to the migrants hostile actions are naturally a highly-commented on situation:

Migrants are **people at risk of discrimination** or attack by foreigners

Emigrants are often framed as discriminated against by their host countries, generally in conjunction with situations that are unfavourable to them. This can be in the case of extreme incidents like the attacks on students in Australia in 2009, which can lead to editorialising on the 'hatred' emigrants face; but also in more mundane ones, such as the case of tightened immigration policy. The framing of the 'normal' migrant against the 'foreign' host country can exacerbate this framing, with sympathetic reports being more emotionally driven than the normal factual reports on immigration policy. Discourses in the migrant-receiving countries are commented upon, and reflect changing attitudes for example the increasing anti-migrant sentiment as the global economic crisis deteriorated (See also the case study: attacks on migrants in Australia, page 70). This is despite the benefits that migrants bring:

I'm revisiting an issue that we've been tracking over the last few weeks. A rising trend of anti-foreigner, anti-immigrant xenophobia that seems to have captured centre stage in the British media and public.

If you read the Daily Telegraph (among others), which claims to represent middle England, you'd think the British public is all set to burn those job-stealing foreigners at the stake.

[...]

The xenophobic brigade argues that while locals are out of jobs, those horrible people from Poland, India, Pakistan, even Italy are swiping their rights. Never mind that all overseas

corporate employees and economic migrants can't access any state benefits, for at least five to seven years, but do pay taxes and contribute to the dole (which they can't repatriate if they leave the country), and are perforce net contributors to the UK economy. More so if they're employed by an overseas company, that's usually eight out of 10 employers here.

Last week, the UK home minister, Jacqui Smith waded into the debate with an announcement made to local press for maximum impact, about a 'severe' crackdown on economic and highly skilled migrants from outside the EU. Statistics are being strewn around like landmines in Sri Lanka, and it takes more than I'm capable of to sort through them to get at real facts. Which is, I've yet to see any figures or evidence that a generation long shortage of high end professional skills has suddenly vanished overnight, even in recession. UK has long been dependent on global talent to fill in its high and low end skills gap. All those American bankers, Indian doctors, Australian professionals, Arab financiers and Polish plumbers. Most of whom are feeling increasingly unwelcome these days. And we're all voters, by the way.

(The Economic Times, India, 02/03/2009)

Note here that the 'us' are the migrants, unlike in migrant-receiving countries' media. Instead, a part of British society with inflated views opposing migration, which are made sardonic fun of and dismissed (as xenophobes) is the wrong, imbalanced other.

There are also many discussions of the discriminatory nature of host-country governments. Very often, migrant support groups such as the HSMP Forum are interviewed to express the reasons for their frequently written-about legal battles and government lobbying in support of immigrants; the debates on immigration policy typically come from their viewpoint:

The HSMP Forum has won two landmark judicial review cases where the Home Office was ordered to honour the original terms of migrants' visas after it tried to alter them retrospectively. The government's legal fees ran into tens of thousands of pounds and analysts say it now faces individuals' compensation claims that could be in millions.

"Yet Ministers Jacqui Smith and Liam Byrne are determined to press ahead with the new Borders, Immigration and Citizenship Bill, which tries the same thing all over again," Amit Kapadia of the campaign group said.

Among many discriminatory provisions, the new bill retrospectively lengthens the waiting period for citizenship to eight years.

"If long-standing, taxpaying, completely legitimate migrants want to make a commitment to citizenship after six years - as originally promised when they came here - they are reduced to the status of criminals by effectively being sentenced to a community service order," Kapadia said.

(Business Standard, India, 15/03/2012)

The framing is of a dishonest government attempting discrimination against hard-working migrants, breaking promises. Overall we tend to see this aspect most commonly in articles related to Australia and the UK, and far less in Canada; naturally there are examples of articles that stray from this framing where immigration policy is favourable to emigrants. Articles are far more positive in tone in these cases, with headlines such as ‘*Scotland rolling red carpet for skilled young Indians*’ (The Economic Times, India, 19/06/2008) and ‘*Canada goes immigrant-friendly with work permit policy*’ (Economic Times, India, 15/03/2008); notably in this time period however, these cases are few and far-between. Nevertheless despite these setbacks, Indian migrants are still presented as pro-active and ready to work hard for success. Unlike the view of ‘exploited migrants’ in receiving countries, Indian media presents the group as far more able to take action themselves – they don’t need to be rescued by others:

Migrants are **determined to succeed**

One important final facet of this discourse is that emigrants are, as a whole, portrayed as extremely determined to succeed in their new countries. This may or may not have happened, though individual interviews tend to be with people who are successful or are fighting to be so, whereas macro level stories tend to be split between the successes and failures. Even where they are having problems, these migrants are framed as having a lot more agency and pro-activity than the framing in the ‘exploited’ discourse of the migrant-receiving countries. Successful diaspora communities, legal challenges and migrant groups are commonly referred to.

Where migrants are successful, it is mutually beneficial to both migrant and host country; opposing views are populist and parochial. Notwithstanding difficulties however, emigrants are skilled and hard-working and diaspora communities are held up as examples of Indian success overseas. As the following article shows, in the face of legislative problems in Britain, emigrants are prepared to move elsewhere for success:

Immigration is a tricky and sensitive issue in Britain. Unable by treaty-law to check immigration from the 27 countries of the European Union, the government has seized on skilled non-European migrants – most of whom come from India – for a placing a limit, currently set at 24,100.

But the Indian view is that the cap, which is up for review in April next year, is a protectionist measure that can deal a blow to plans to increase trade and create growth in Britain. Many British companies are unhappy about the cap, which has restricted their ability to recruit skilled Indian workers in the information technology and financial services sectors.

Companies, who have been given non-EU quotas that are only in their single digits in most cases, are facing a “real challenge” filling positions, a senior executive at a British multinational bank told HT.

“Typically, the Indian worker – because of their qualifications and experience – have an unmatched aptitude and drive to succeed,” the executive said, requesting anonymity. “As high earners and taxpayers, they are worth a lot more to the economy over their lifetime.”

Ironically, the cap comes as the Confederation of British Industries predicts the demand for highly skilled workers to intensify as Britain recovers from the recession. Some small Britain-based Indian companies that are not in manufacturing have already made relocation queries of the inward investment agency in Frankfurt, Germany.

(Hindustan Times, India, 17/11/2010)

Overall then, we see Indian migrants discussed as a determined, hard-working and successful group; they are presented in a sympathetic way and, while they face (sometimes severe) challenges, they use their own initiative in getting past them in all but the most egregious cases.

Who is the migrant in this discourse?

The typical immigrant as framed in this discourse is a middle class person. They may have any number of jobs, or less commonly be unemployed for a specific reason. They are perhaps 20-40 – either men or women - tending towards the younger end of the scale. They are often framed as ‘individuals’ rather than as employees, in a situation fitting the context of the story; but often something relatively medium-to-high status. They often have friends or family with them or that they are responsible for. They are approachable, professional people; in short, there is a relatively broad, though almost always positive, remit.

Final Remarks

This discourse is marked by its generally positive view of highly skilled Indian migrants. As it positions them as amongst the readers, and the authors themselves, articles often take a view ‘looking out’ at the world from the view of the group. For this reason there is a relatively restricted view of the migrants themselves; focus is on the outward view. In general, however, they are presented in a non-offensive, generally positive and aspirational way as hard-working, determined everymen, fighting through the difficulties in the way of their success, thus making them acceptable, positive self-representations to the reader. This framing naturally differs from those in the migrant-receiving countries, though most similar to the more positive discourses: migrants have more agency and therefore provoke empathy rather than pity from the reader, though they are still discriminated against; they provide benefits to the country, though are more human than mere assets; and they are positioned as members of the same group as the audience. This is consistent throughout all the publications seen from India; it seeks to make the migrant a normal, recognisable, pleasing ‘us’.

Looking at the ‘who is the migrant’ section, there is clear difference to that seen in the migrant-receiving countries. This can be linked to the theoretical framework: the discourses come from the

news media and journalists encoding meaning from current events, informed by context, influenced by and influencing other institutions such as government, and in anticipation of an audience interpretation of the encoded narrative. This is clearly different between the migrant-receiving and migrant-sending countries.

In the migrant-receiving countries the audience is taken to be the host population, for whom the Indian immigrants are an other. This informs their positioning away from the audience. Equally, immigration affects this audience, and in the study countries is an active political and audience discussion point. Their roles as either negatives or positives run from anticipated audience appreciation of how immigration affects them, and what aspects of this are important (social, or economic, or self-behaviour leading to exploitation of the other). Either way, traits and roles appropriate to the discourse are embedded consciously or unconsciously into the news articles; we see rules, conventions and rituals emerge over time that mark migrants as being understood in a specific way.

In India, the same process occurs, but under different circumstances. With an audience that is anticipated to be sympathetic to, and to identify with, the emigrants, they are assigned positive traits and roles, and are positioned as an 'us' rather than a 'them'. This also means, as an 'us', that primary focus in news articles is on the things that are affecting 'us', rather than 'ourselves'; the migrants are a more secondary focus.

In either case, the migrants are understood as a group in a way that forms a cohesive discourse, with a coherent set of traits. They are reported on in way that reflects these traits, with language and focus that confirms and reinforces all the assumptions and frames created through the discourse.

Conclusion

From this analysis we can see that the migration of highly skilled Indians to the United Kingdom, Australia and Canada can be read through multiple different media discourses, each framing the issue in different ways. There is a broad split over positioning in the migrant-origin and –destination countries; the former positions migrants as ‘one of our people’ and the latter as ‘one of them’. These discourses can help push forward certain stories and agendas of media outlets.

Receiving countries frame the migrants as a fairly homogenous set of people and the act of migration as a fairly homogenous process (the sending country does the same thing with the process of migration and the groups involved in receiving the migrants). These discourses can have some similarities between each other or mirror aspects of each other. Though immigrants, as seen in the literature review, generally bring value into a country, the issue as written about in the media is more complicated than this. With a generally pro-migrant stance, the ‘economic boon’ discourse provides an economic viewpoint through which to frame the migrants, while the ‘working family’ and ‘exploited’ discourses provides social ones. Conversely, the ‘economic drain’ discourse and ‘wave of foreigners’ discourses do the same but framing migrants in a negative light. These tend to go hand-in-hand with publications that generally have the same views. There is a degree of interaction and intertextuality whereby the discourses are affected by each other, possibly rebutting or referring to each other.

Within the three countries studied, we see very similar framings used overall; however there were national differences. Social context and history played a part; an important aspect of national identity such as Canada’s pride in being an immigrant nation may simply not exist in another, like Britain. This affects framing and positioning of the migrants overall (closer to ‘one of us’ in the former, less so in the latter). The frequency of appearance of each discourse may be affected as well, though that is beyond the scope of this paper.

Equally, local policy discourse and current affairs can intrude on and affect media discourse; descriptions of migrants as purely economic entities, for example, can result in debate more strongly within this context in the media. Media discourses in turn reflect back onto policy discourses. Both evolve throughout the study period, affected in the end both by current affairs and economic realities (Australia’s re-positivity towards migrants as the global economic situation improves and migrants become seen as victims) and long-term social and cultural factors (Canada’s commitment to integration despite economic troubles).

In the migrant-origin country, India, we see emigrants portrayed more heterogeneously, though there are still common threads. Migrants are ‘people like us’ but that does tend to limit them to ‘good people’; often doing good, important things in their careers, the courtrooms or their homes. Real-world events such as legislative changes may alter the framing in certain ways; for example, emigrants in an increasingly strict country may less be discussed as completely successful and more as potentially successful but limited by conditions. This discourse too is sensitive to other discourses; more complimentary discourses used in other countries can stimulate more positive nuances in this one towards migrants and migration in that country.

Overall, these discourses and the framing they engender allow a straightforward, simplified way to view the issue of highly-skilled migration and the people who are part of it. It enables a stereotypical figure to be called up by news media authors, giving audiences easier access to stories. Readers know why a story is happening as they have a recognisable character with a role to drive it. It also allows news media to drive forward a particular point of view and to target certain emotions among its readers. This seems to occur in a roughly similar way in different countries; similar traits are assigned to similar views. They are reflections of expectations of reality.

These common traits, while likely consciously used by many authors and policymakers already, should consciously be the basis of future policy and policymaker discourses. With highly skilled migration, particularly from a large, quickly developing country like India, necessary to many developed and aging countries to ensure future growth, successful presentation of migrants will be essential to facilitate adequate immigration legislation acceptable to the general public. As we saw in the literature review, the media can have strong effect in aiding successful integration. Examples of successful integration – such as in Canada – should be studied to see how migrants are presented. Elements of, for example, the ‘working family head’ framing seemingly common in Canada could be adapted to local circumstances to promote community integration. As news media use framing to promote a particular agenda, governments too must ensure they are able to successfully frame migrants in an appealing way.

Further work can be done to expand on this initial research:

- We see that a majority of immigrants featured in the stories are younger, often male (especially in unsympathetic cases) and able-bodied (apart from in the ‘exploited’ discourse). To what extent are these reflective of actual migrant flows and to what extent are they symptomatic of cultural biases in the media?
- Britain, Canada and Australia show evidence of differing attitudes towards immigrants. What are the key determinants of these attitudes?
- Canadian and Australian articles repeat cultural tropes based on the countries’ migrant history and majority immigrant background. To what exact extent can this be held responsible for the frequency of ‘social positive’ discourses?
- British publications very frequently, Australia in urban contexts fairly frequently, and Canada infrequently, use discussion of ‘population size’ in the context of a ‘flood of migrants’; does the pre-existing physical distribution of population and land affect popular attitudes within countries and to what extent if so?
- We have seen what is written about – what is included – in the articles. But what is excluded? And exactly how much effect does this have on public opinion on highly skilled Indian migrants.

Some limitations from this study could be ironed out. Firstly, articles included here had to be available online, in English. This naturally rules out many print-only publications, and entirely discounts many French-language articles from Canada and articles in any of the Indian languages. French Canada is less of a problem, in that this study was comparing the three migrant-receiving countries for their similarity in this instance, but by missing out on Indian-language articles we undoubtedly miss much local nuance in discourses there.

James Cox

Of course, further work can be done on discourses concerning Indian, or indeed other migrants, in other countries. In addition, further qualitative work may be able to discern exactly what sentence structures and vocabulary is seen most commonly. There is a lot more that is still to be explored and analysed, and this can be looked at future papers.

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For news media articles, see Appendix B: News Media Database.

Appendix A: Immigration Policy in Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom

This section is a timeline of the period studied. It includes:

- Skilled immigration policy and policy changes in the three countries.
- Changes in government, as these can affect the direction of immigration policy
- Bilateral and multilateral meetings between Indian government officials and officials from the other three governments, and other major events mentioned in the articles studied

Key

Country

Colour

United Kingdom

Australia

Canada

India

Multiple Migrant-Receiving Countries



To place it in economic context, we also include two major relevant economic indices, the growth in Gross Domestic Product per quarter-year and the employment rate, both over the study period and the study period + 5 years for context.

Gross Domestic Product is the total market value of all goods and services produced by a country over a given time period, usually a year. Higher GDP growth generally indicates a better overall performance in the national economy, conversely slow growth, stagnation or decline indicates a problem. Two quarters of negative growth is defined by the UK Treasury as a recession. High employment rates too are a sign of good economic performance, unemployment as a problem (HM Treasury, 2012).

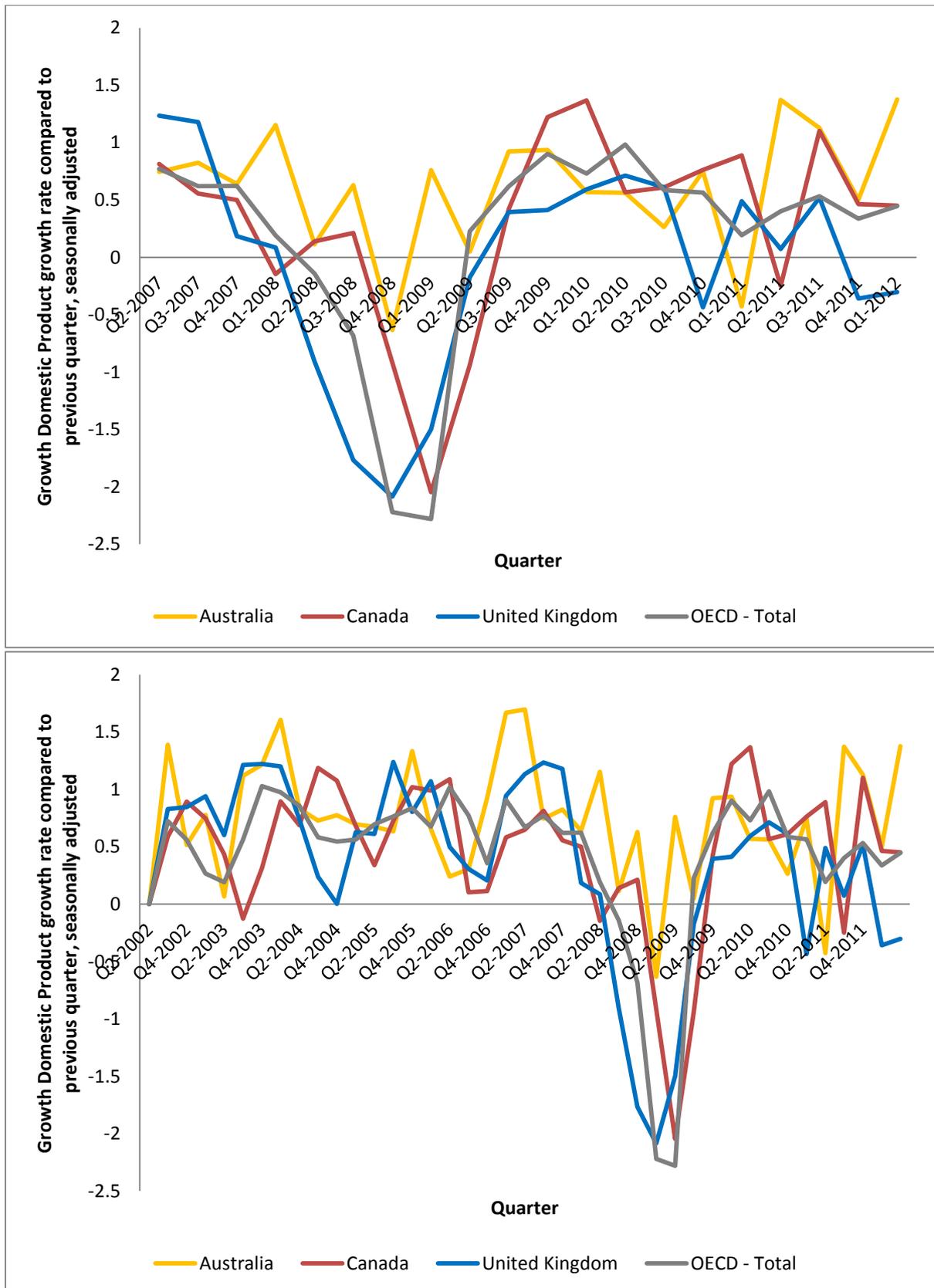


Figure 5: Growth rate compared to previous quarter, seasonally adjusted (source data: OECD, 2012)

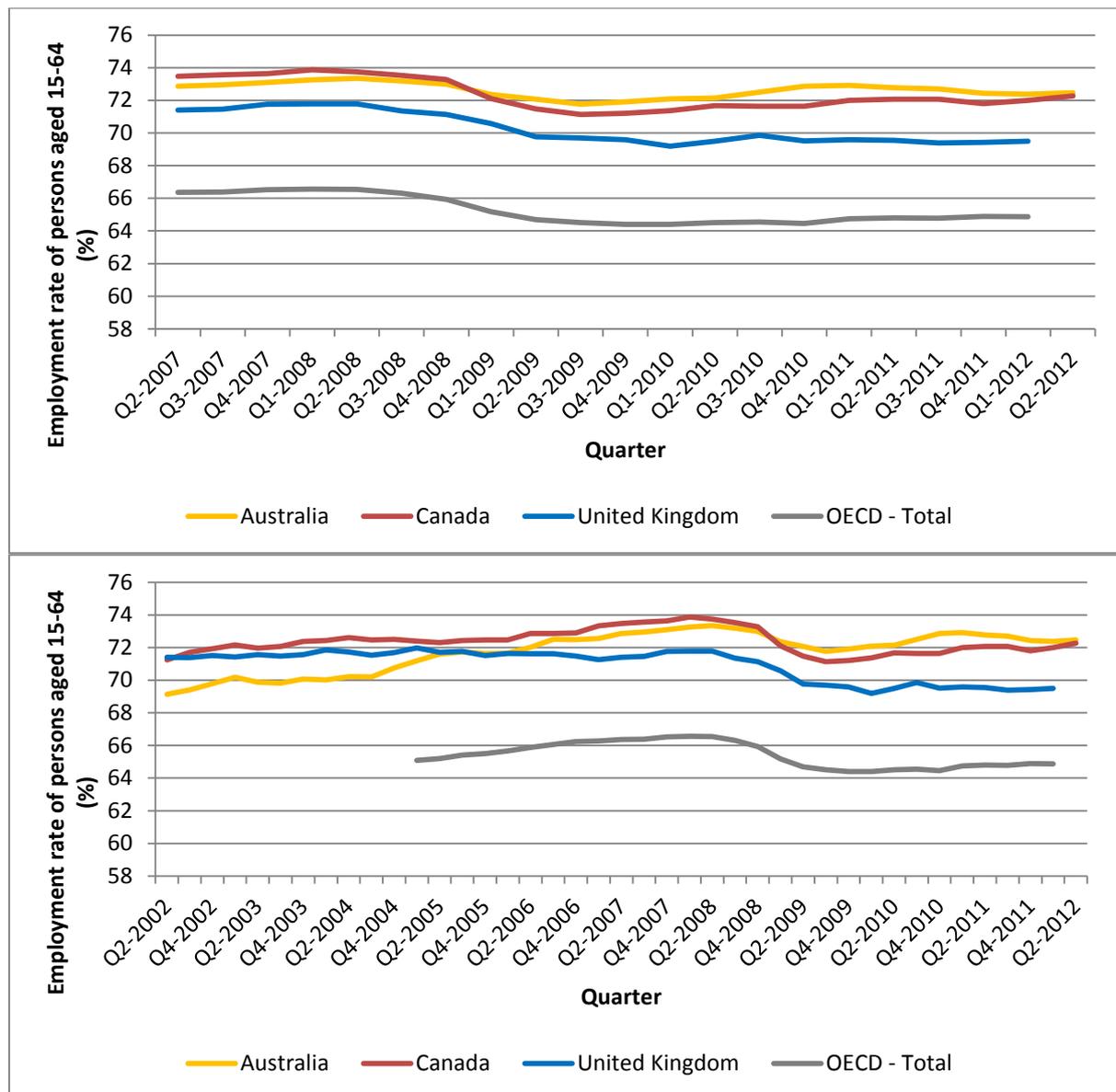


Figure 6: Employment rate, Aged 15-64, all persons (source data: OECD, 2012)

Initial Policy (-2007)

Australia:

After coming to power in 1996, the Liberal/National government under John Howard undertook a gradual increase in the planned migration intake, with immigration seen as being closely tied to economic growth.

According to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (2012), under the main Migration Programme the federal government allocates places each year for people wanting to migrate

permanently to Australia. Four main categories exist under the skilled component of the Migration Program:

- General skilled migration, for skilled workers who do not have an employer sponsoring them. Migrants are selected on the basis of their nominated occupation, age, skills, qualifications, English language ability and employability
- Employer nomination, for those who have an employer willing to sponsor them
- Business skills migration, which encourages successful business people to settle in Australia and develop new business opportunities
- Distinguished talent, a small category for 'distinguished individuals with special or unique talents of benefit to Australia' such as sports people, musicians, artists and designers, who are internationally recognised as outstanding in their field.

Un-sponsored skilled migrants must pass a points test to determine eligibility.

The Regional Sponsored Migration Scheme (RSMS) begun in 1995 is a programme designed to attract migrants to regional areas. Employers in a designated RSMS area can nominate temporary residents already in Australia or applicants from overseas to fill skilled vacancies for a minimum of two years. Successful nominees who are prepared to settle in these regions are able to apply to migrate permanently to Australia.

State and territory governments may also sponsor migrants under various visa categories. For example, sponsorship is possible under the Business Skills visa category, the intention being to encourage business skills entrants to set up businesses in regional, rural or low growth areas of Australia.

The largest categories of temporary migrants coming to Australia in recent years have been overseas students and temporary skilled migrants, in particular those arriving on a (subclass 457) Temporary business (long stay) visa. The 457 visa allows employers to sponsor skilled workers from overseas for a period of between three months and four years. It was introduced by the Howard Government in 1996 as a means of attracting more skilled workers to Australia, and in response to the demand for avenues of temporary entry to Australia amongst overseas workers.

Unlike permanent migration, temporary migration (with the exception of the Working Holiday and Work and Holiday programs) is not subject to caps set by government, but rather fluctuates according to levels of demand, both from those seeking to enter Australia on a temporary basis and employers seeking to sponsor temporary workers.

Canada:

Immigration policy is based on the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act 2001 brought into law by the Liberal government under Paul Martin. It is a primarily focused around a federal points-based

system which stresses education, language, and adaptability. Applicants with trade certificates and second degrees are awarded more points, and experience points are skewed to favour younger workers. There are three main categories of migrant entryways:

- **Economic.** This category represents the largest portion of immigrants each year. Selection is based on a point system that rewards applicants with higher levels of education, job experience, and language skills. With the manufacturing sector in decline and the country shifting toward a more information-based economy, this policy emphasizes flexible, transferable skills over specific occupations.
- **Family reunification.** This class of immigrants includes spouses and children joining family members who are already living in Canada. This is the second-largest group of immigrants admitted on a yearly basis.
- **Refugees.** This is the smallest group of immigrants admitted to Canada every year.

Migrants enter through one of the following schemes:

Federal Skilled Worker Program

The Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP) is responsible for 81 per cent of all economic immigrant admissions and 46 per cent of total admissions. Skilled workers must have at least one year of work experience in professional, managerial, or skilled trade/technical occupations in order to qualify for the program, and are evaluated based on other points-system criteria — education, age, proficiency in English or French, and adaptability.

Temporary Worker Program

originally designed for skilled labour shortages in the oil industry; in 2002 the government expanded the temporary worker program to include hospitality, food, construction, and manufacturing.

Arranged Employer Opinion

The process of an Arranged Employer Opinion (AEO) begins with an employer making a job offer to a foreign worker, at which time the employer requests an AEO from Human Resources and Skills Development Canada. The wages and working conditions of the foreign worker must match those of a Canadian employee in a similar position, though the employer need not conduct a search to determine if a Canadian is available for the job. Having an AEO adds additional points towards the foreign worker's FSWP criteria.

While AEOs operate more like the US system of high-skill immigration and are perceived as a potential solution to the problem of brain waste, the FSWP is more focused on sustainability and long-term integration into Canadian society, and tends to attract immigrants who are more adaptable to the changing labour market.

Provincial Nominee Program

Under the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP), a foreign worker is nominated by a province for a work permit based on criteria set by the province itself. This program aims to distribute the human capital gained through immigration outside of the major migrant hubs of Toronto, Vancouver, and Montréal by addressing labour or skills shortages in individual provinces.

The PNP is designed to act as a compliment to the FSWP, not merely as an immigration mechanism for the provinces. While the FSWP admits long-term highly skilled professionals, the PNP generally admits shorter-term migrants for specific occupations. The FSWP is generally viewed as less responsive to labour market needs than the PNP, as applicants to the FSWP are subject to longer processing times.

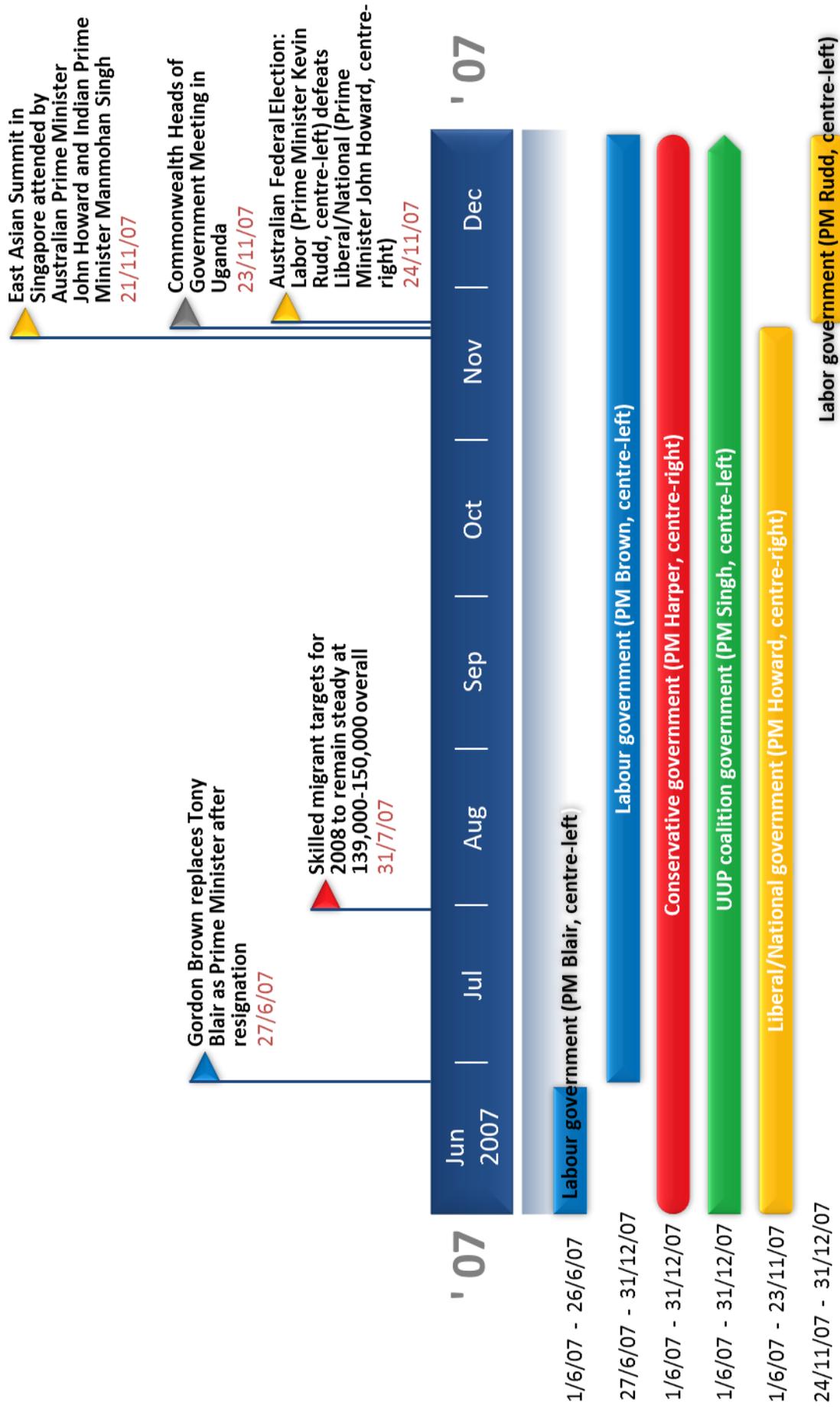
Notably, students do not have the ability to remain in Canada automatically after completing their course, instead having to reapply through one of the routes above.

UK:

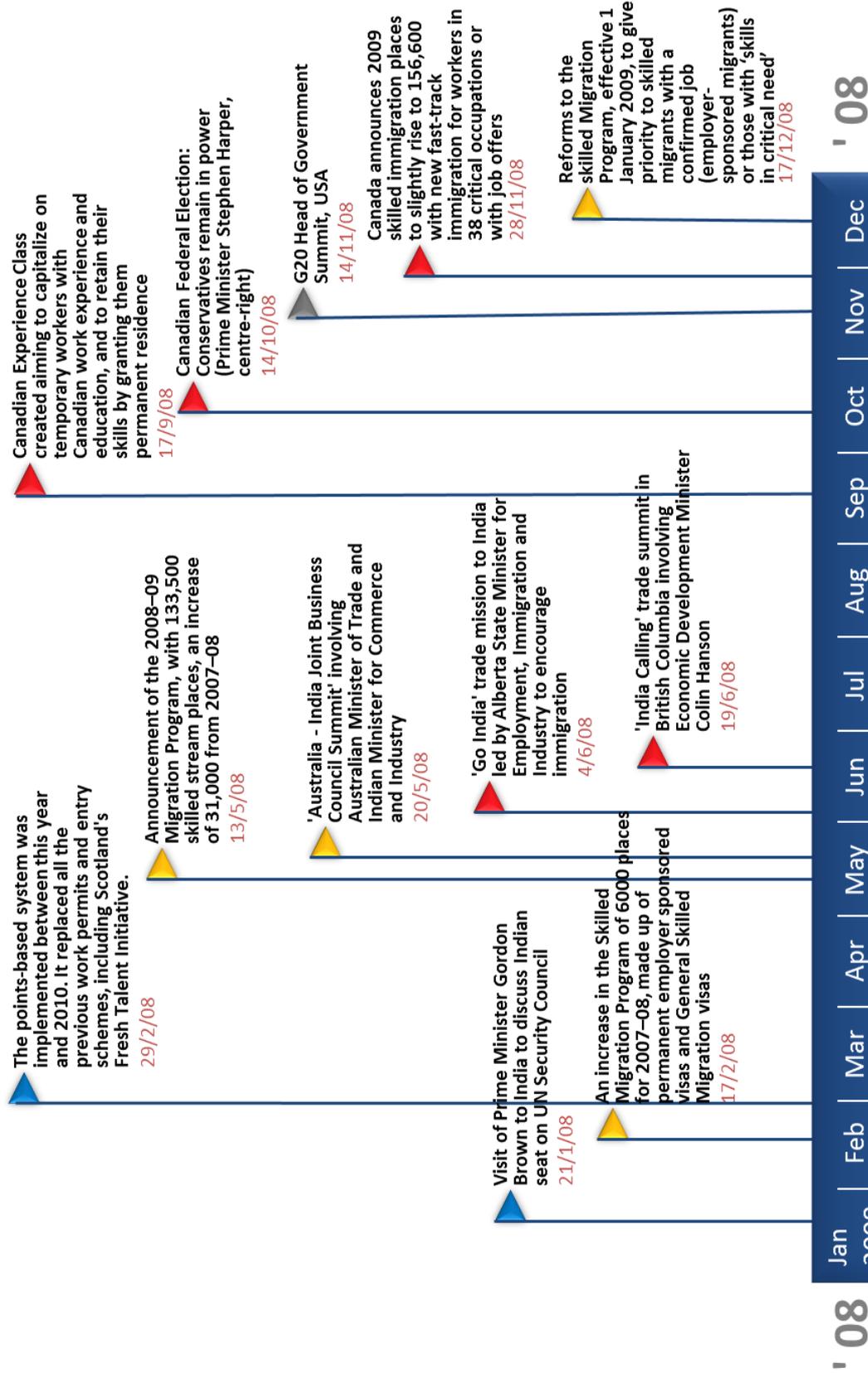
Under the Labour government helmed by Tony Blair, immigration policy took a decisive shift from limiting immigrants to welcoming skilled workers. Legislation focused on increasing skilled migration, reducing discrimination and encouraging integration. In 2002 for the first time, the government introduced visas for highly skilled economic immigrants to come to the United Kingdom without a job offer, but simply on the basis of their skills. In addition, policies encouraged international students and the growth of labour markets including the joining of the European Labour Market.

To enter the country, over 80 different visas and work schemes were in operation with different requirements between many of them. The 2002-2008 Highly-Skilled Migrant Programme (HSMP) was the scheme for skilled migrants to move and settle in Britain. To qualify to settle in the UK under the HSMP, a migrant had to:

- Live in the UK for 5 years
- Have permission to stay there as a highly skilled migrant at the time of application
- Have been in the UK as a highly skilled migrant, work permit holder or innovator throughout the 5 years
- Have maintained and accommodated themselves and any dependants without the use of public funds throughout the 5 years
- Have been employed, self-employed or a combination of both throughout the 5 years
- Have sufficient knowledge of language and life in the UK, tested in a 'Britishness test'
- Have a minimum of 75 points. Points were awarded for educational qualifications (maximum of 50 points); past earnings based on a country banding system (45), age (20) and UK experience (5). Applicants also had to demonstrate English language ability and that they had sufficient funds to maintain themselves in the UK



Milestone(s)	
Date	Description
27/06/2007	Gordon Brown replaces Tony Blair as British Prime Minister after Blair's resignation
31/07/2007	In Canada, the skilled migrant targets for 2008 are to remain steady at 139,000-150,000 overall
21/11/2007	The East Asian Summit in Singapore was attended by Australian Prime Minister John Howard and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh; discussions included the potential creation of a Comprehensive Economic Partnership
23/11/2007	The Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Uganda
24/11/2007	Australian Federal Election: Labor (Prime Minister Kevin Rudd, centre-left) defeat Liberal/National (Prime Minister John Howard, centre-right). Labor announce a continuation of the Liberal/National immigration policies which have seen a slow upward trend in migration, although this year sees a drop in demand for temporary workers which Labor attribute to the global financial crisis



' 08 Jan 2008 Feb Mar Apr May Jun Jul Aug Sep Oct Nov Dec ' 08

- 1/1/08 - 31/12/08
- 1/1/08 - 31/12/08
- 1/1/08 - 31/12/08
- 1/1/08 - 31/12/08

Labour government (PM Brown, centre-left)

Labor government (PM Rudd, centre-left)

Conservative government (PM Harper, centre-right)

UUP coalition government (PM Singh, centre-left)

Milestone(s)	
Date	Description
21/01/2008	Visit of Prime Minister Gordon Brown to India to build diplomatic relations and to discuss Indian seat on UN Security Council
17/02/2008	The Australian government announces that the 2007-2008 Skilled Migration Program will have an immediate increase of 6,000 places for 2007–08, made up of permanent employer sponsored visas and General Skilled Migration visas. In total, 108,500 permanent visas are granted under the Skilled Stream of the Migration Program in 2007-2008
29/02/2008	<p>The UK points-based system (PBS) is implemented between this year and 2010, starting with high-skilled migrants. It replaces over 80 work permits and entry schemes, including regional schemes such as the Scottish Fresh Talent Initiative. Rather than this piecemeal approach, the PBS works by assigning all applicants points based on skills, age, experience, current earnings and employment status. Applicants must have enough points to apply for one of the five tiers of the programme, which each have different requirements.</p> <p>Tier 1 is aimed at the highly skilled and does not require a job offer. Instead, it is based on applicants' skills and characteristics for which points are awarded. Points allocations are skewed towards youth and certificated qualifications. Along with Tier 2 it replaced the HSMP, which was also a points-based system</p> <p>Tier 2 incorporates the main body of the work permit system and offers entry to those with a confirmed job offer in a sector of labour market shortage. Such shortage is designated by an independent, new body — the Migration Advisory Committee — that provides the government with nonbinding advice on areas of labour market shortage.</p> <p>Tier 3, aimed at filling "lower-skill" jobs, is intended as a highly restricted migration route. It was in fact suspended indefinitely because of intra-EU migration.</p> <p>Tier 4 is dedicated to student visas. It differs from the previous system by compelling colleges and universities to act as "sponsors" for which they must undertake obligations, such as checking student attendance.</p> <p>Tier 5 is aimed at a variety of exchange programs including five subcategories under temporary workers and a youth mobility</p>

scheme.

PBS makes the route to permanent settlement open only to those from Tiers 1 and 2.

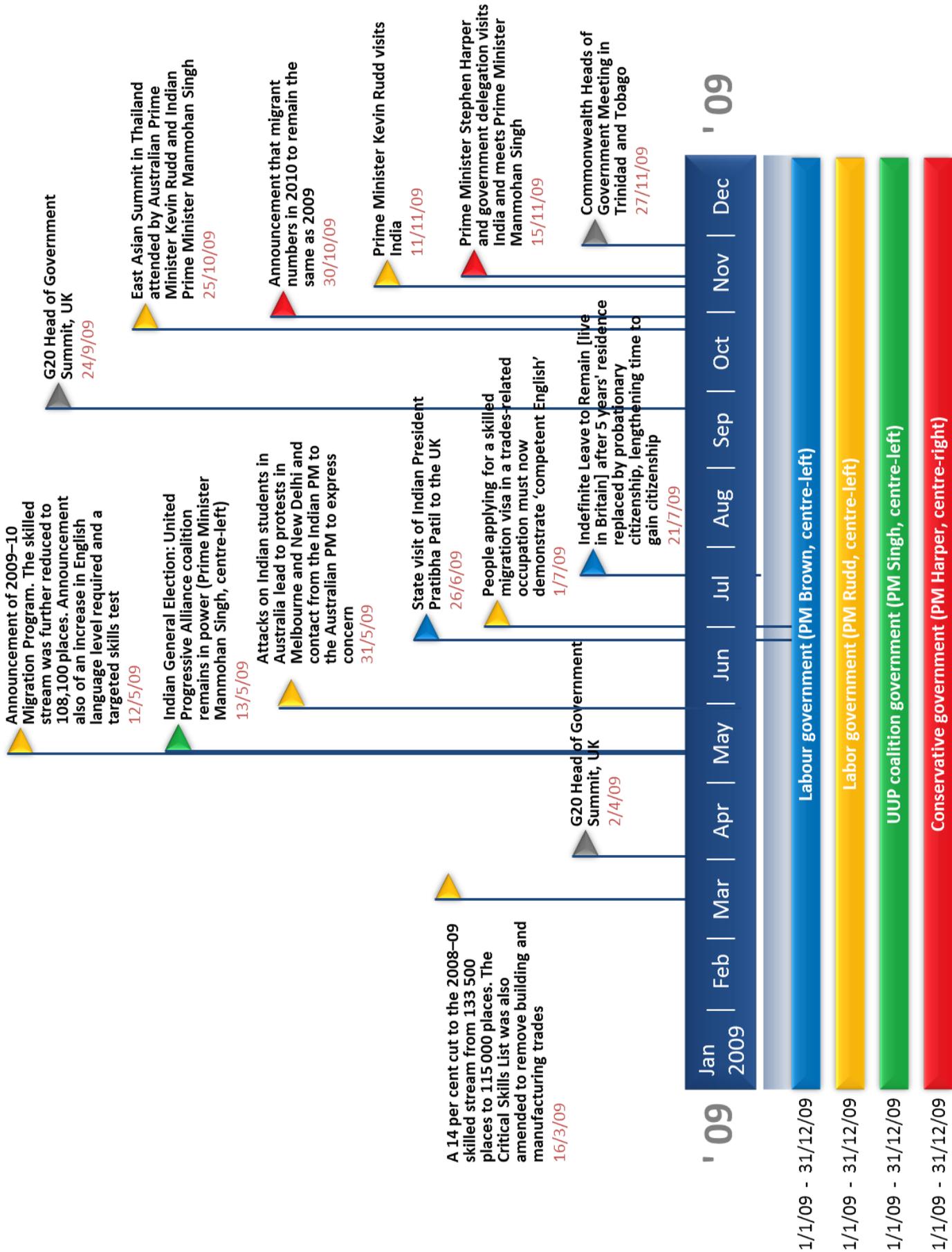
Overall, with its focus on points and sponsors, policy moved away from an employer-led system to one that is increasingly government led and more focused on control. There are no overall caps on migration levels through this scheme, which is intended in part to defend against accusations the Labour party has a too lax migration policy. Home Secretary Charles Clark introduced the system writing:

The UK needs a world class migration system to attract the brightest and the best from across the world, while at the same time being more robust against abuse. We welcome people who come to this country to work and to study but we need to ensure that they come here legitimately. That is why I am so pleased today to be able to publish this points-based system for the UK. It will revolutionise the way in which migration into this country works. By simplifying the current complex system in this way we can ensure that only those who legitimately apply and have the necessary skills can come to this country.

(Clarke, 2006)

13/05/2008	<p>Announcement of the Australian 2008–09 Migration Program which will include 133,500 skilled stream places; an increase of 31,000 from 2007–08. There are also 56,500 family stream places, an increase of 6,500 from 2007–08. According to Immigration and Citizenship Minister Chris Evans:</p> <p><i>'The permanent skilled migration program is a capped scheme that has not been allowed to grow sufficiently in the past to respond to the skills shortages now faced by employers,' Senator Evans said.</i></p> <p><i>'This record increase in the number of places in the permanent skilled migration program, since the introduction of managed migration in 1947, will help ease Australia's skills shortage and help fight inflation.'</i></p> <p>(Evans, 2010)</p>
20/05/2008	<p>'Australia - India Joint Business Council Summit' involving the Australian Minister of Trade and the Indian Minister for Commerce and Industry takes place in Australia</p>
04/06/2008	<p>'Go India' trade mission to India led by Alberta State Minister for Employment, Immigration and Industry to encourage immigration</p>

19/06/2008	'India Calling' trade summit in British Columbia involving Economic Development Minister Colin Hanson
17/09/2008	<p>Canadian Experience Class created aiming to capitalize on temporary workers with Canadian work experience and education, and to retain their skills by granting them permanent residence.</p> <p>Both temporary workers and graduates of Canadian universities are eligible to transition to permanent status through this program as long as they live outside of Quebec (due to the provisions of the Canada-Quebec Agreement) and work in a managerial, professional, or technical/skilled trade occupation.</p>
14/10/2008	Canadian Federal Election: Conservatives remain in power (Prime Minister Stephen Harper, centre-right)
14/11/2008	G20 Head of Government Summit, USA
28/11/2008	<p>Canada announces that 2009 skilled immigration places are to slightly rise to 156,600 with new fast-track immigration for workers in 38 critical occupations or with job offers. Immigration Minister Jason Kelly stated:</p> <p><i>“While countries such as the United Kingdom and Australia are talking about taking fewer immigrants, our planned numbers for 2009 are on par with last year and are among the highest for this country over the past 15 years,” Minister Kenney said. “The numbers reflect a continued commitment to an immigration program that balances Canada’s economic, humanitarian and family reunification goals.”</i></p> <p>(Kenney, 2008)</p>
17/12/2008	<p>Reforms to the Australian Migration Program announced, effective 1 January 2009, to give priority to skilled migrants with a confirmed job (employer- sponsored migrants) or those with ‘skills in critical need’. This Critical Skills List (CSL) focuses on medical and key IT professionals, engineers and construction trades.</p>



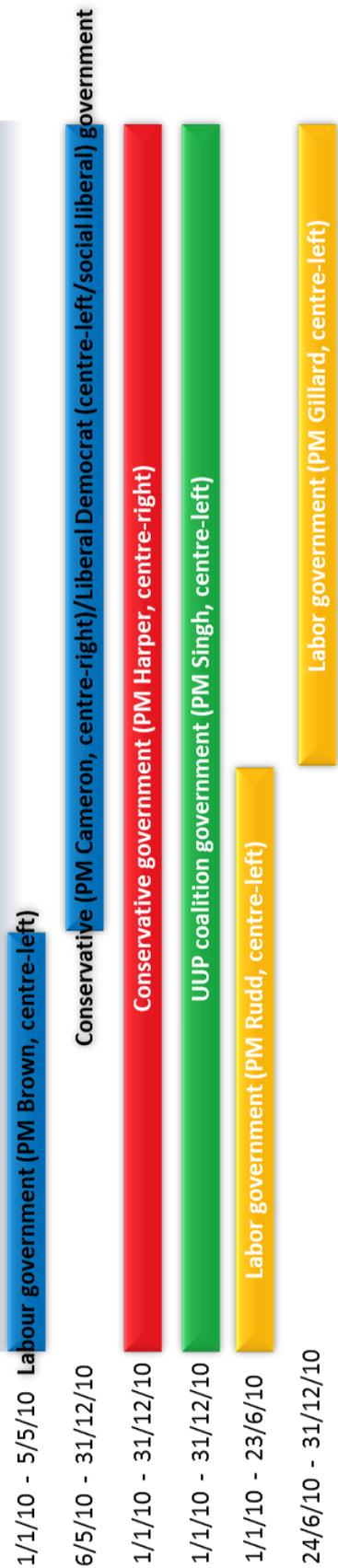
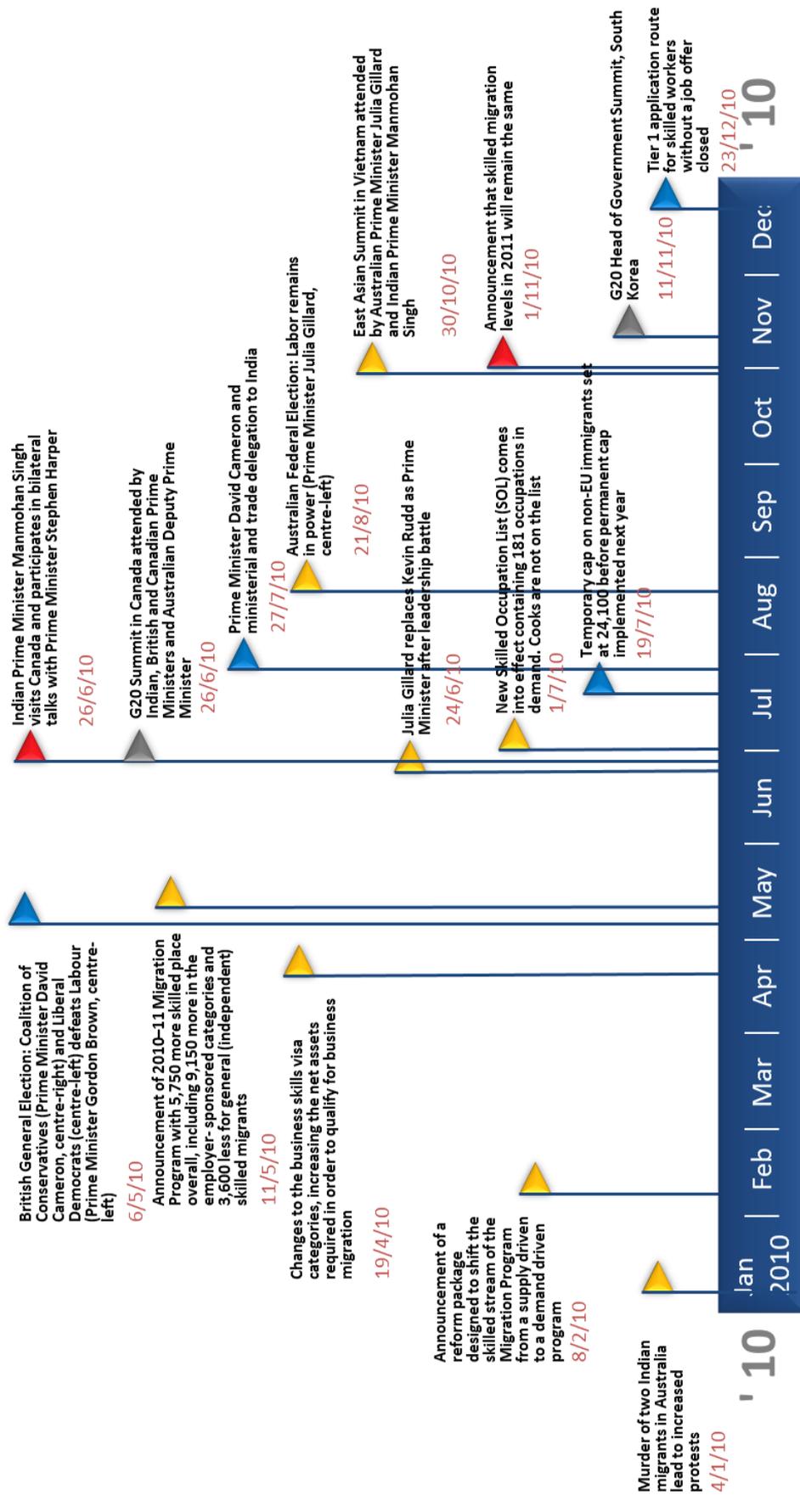
Milestone(s)	
Date	Description
16/03/2009	The Australian government announces a 14 per cent cut to the 2008–09 skilled stream from 133,500 places to 115,000 places. The Critical Skills List was also amended to remove building and manufacturing trades. This is related by government officials to reduced demand for skilled migrants
02/04/2009	G20 Head of Government Summit, UK
12/05/2009	Announcement of the Australian 2009–10 Migration Program. The skilled stream was further reduced to 108,100 places. There will also be an increase in the English language level required and a targeted skills test to 'ensure that migrants have both the language and skills needed to participate in the labour market'
13/05/2009	Indian General Election: United Progressive Alliance coalition remains in power (Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, centre-left)
31/05/2009	Attacks on Indian students in Melbourne lead to protests both in Australia and India. Indian PM Singh contacts Australian PM Gillard to express concern about a rise in racism against Indian migrants
26/06/2009	State visit of Indian President Pratibha Patil to the UK
01/07/2009	The commencement in Australia of the requirement for people applying for a skilled migration visa in a trades-related occupation to demonstrate 'competent English' rather than the former requirement of 'vocational English' in line with the rest of the Skilled Occupation List.
21/07/2009	Indefinite Leave to Remain to live in Britain after 5 years' residence is replaced by probationary citizenship, lengthening the time required to gain full citizenship and the associated rights
24/09/2009	G20 Head of Government Summit, UK
25/10/2009	East Asian Summit in Thailand attended by Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh At this time, Kevin Rudd promotes the Big Australia concept; the idea that immigration could be used to boost Australia's population to over 35 million by 2050 to improve national security and sustainability.
30/10/2009	Announcement that Canadian skilled migrant numbers in 2010 are

targeted to remain the same as in 2009

11/11/2009 Prime Minister Kevin Rudd visits India

15/11/2009 Prime Minister Stephen Harper and government delegation visits India and meets Prime Minister Manmohan Singh as well as the President, Vice President, External Affairs Minister and the Leader of the Opposition, discussing in particular a potential Canada-India Free Trade Area

27/11/2009 Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Trinidad and Tobago



Milestone(s)	
Date	Description
08/02/2010	<p>Announcement by the Australian government of a reform package designed to shift the skilled stream of the Migration Program from a supply driven to a demand driven program:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All offshore General Skilled Migration applications lodged prior to 1 September 2007 cancelled and a refund given. This limits the ability of migrants with no job offer to enter the country • The Migration Occupations in Demand List (MODL) revoked and replaced with a more targeted Skilled Occupation List. The Critical Skills List introduced in early 2009 to be phased out • The points test used to assess a person's suitability for the skilled Migration Program to be reviewed, with a report to be presented to Government later in 2010 • Amendments to the Migration Act to be introduced to allow the Minister to set a limit on the number of visas to be granted to certain occupations • State and territory-specific migration plans to be developed, allowing states and territories to prioritise skilled migrants of their own choosing
19/04/2010	Changes to Australia's business skills visa categories, increasing the net assets required in order to qualify for business migration. The changes are intended to increase the contribution of business migrants to Australia's economy.
06/05/2010	British General Election: Coalition of Conservatives (Prime Minister David Cameron, centre-right) and Liberal Democrats (centre-left/social-liberal) defeats Labour (Prime Minister Gordon Brown, centre-left)
11/05/2010	Announcement of Australia's 2010–11 Migration Program with 5,750 more skilled places overall, including 9,150 more in the employer-sponsored categories and 3,600 less for general (independent) skilled migrants. The overall capped level of migrants (skilled and unskilled) remains the same
24/06/2010	Julia Gillard replaces Kevin Rudd as Prime Minister after leadership battle
26/06/2010	Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh visits Canada and participates

	in bilateral talks with Prime Minister Stephen Harper concerning security, terrorism, increasing trade to a goal of AU\$15 million per annum, and developing a Comprehensive Economist Partnership Agreement; as well as signing Memoranda of Understanding on higher education and cultural partnerships
26/06/2010	G20 Summit in Canada attended by Indian, British and Canadian Prime Ministers and Australian Deputy Prime Minister
01/07/2010	The new Skilled Occupation List (SOL) comes into effect in Australia. It contains 181 occupations, updated annually, identified as being in demand. This is intended to ensure the Skilled Migration Program is demand- and not supply-driven. In order to be eligible for independent skilled migration potential migrants must hold relevant qualifications in occupations listed on the SOL. Cooks and chefs are not on the list.
19/07/2010	The new Conservative government creates a new temporary cap on non-EU immigrants set at 24,100 for the next year. A permanent cap is planned to be implemented next year and the temporary cap is intended to stop a rush before then
27/07/2010	Prime Minister David Cameron embarks on Britain's largest ever ministerial and trade delegation to India with Foreign Secretary William Hague, Chancellor George Osborne and Business Secretary Vince Cable after his calls for a 'new special relationship' with the country. The Prime Minister hoped to promote trade and British universities
21/08/2010	<p>Australian Federal Election: Labor remains in power (Prime Minister Julia Gillard, centre-left). The build-up includes a large debate on 'sustainable population'. Julia Gillard rejects the 'Big Australia' concept, saying</p> <p><i>"I don't support the idea of a big Australia with arbitrary targets of, say, a 40 million-strong Australia or a 36 million-strong Australia. We need to stop, take a breath and develop policies for a sustainable Australia.</i></p> <p><i>"I support a population that our environment, our water, our soil, our roads and freeways, our busses, our trains and our services can sustain."</i></p> <p><i>But Ms Gillard says that does not mean putting a stop to immigration all together.</i></p> <p><i>"I don't want business to be held back because they couldn't find the</i></p>

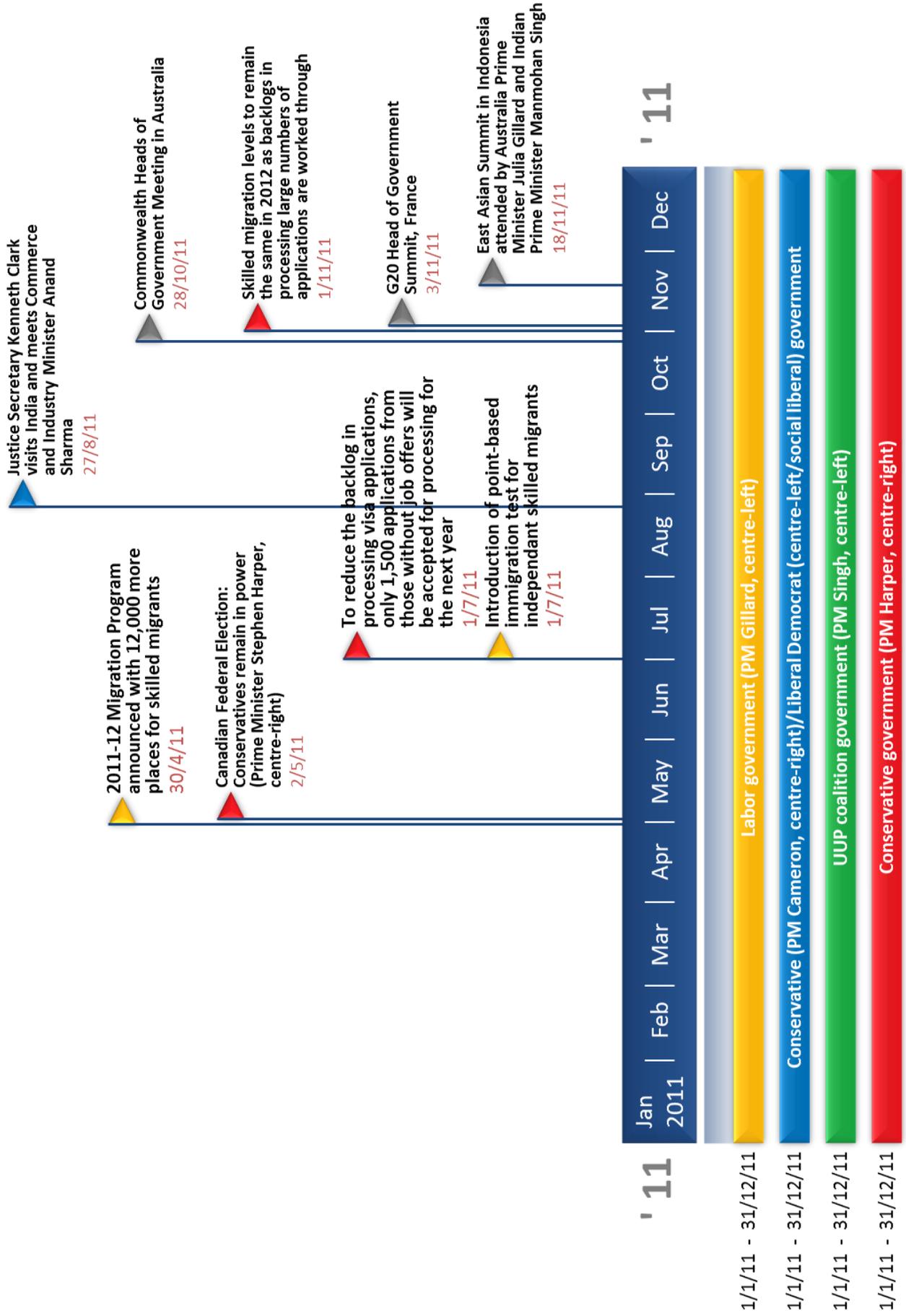
right workers," she said.

"That's why skilled migration is so important. But also I don't want areas of Australia with 25 per cent youth unemployment because there are no jobs," she said

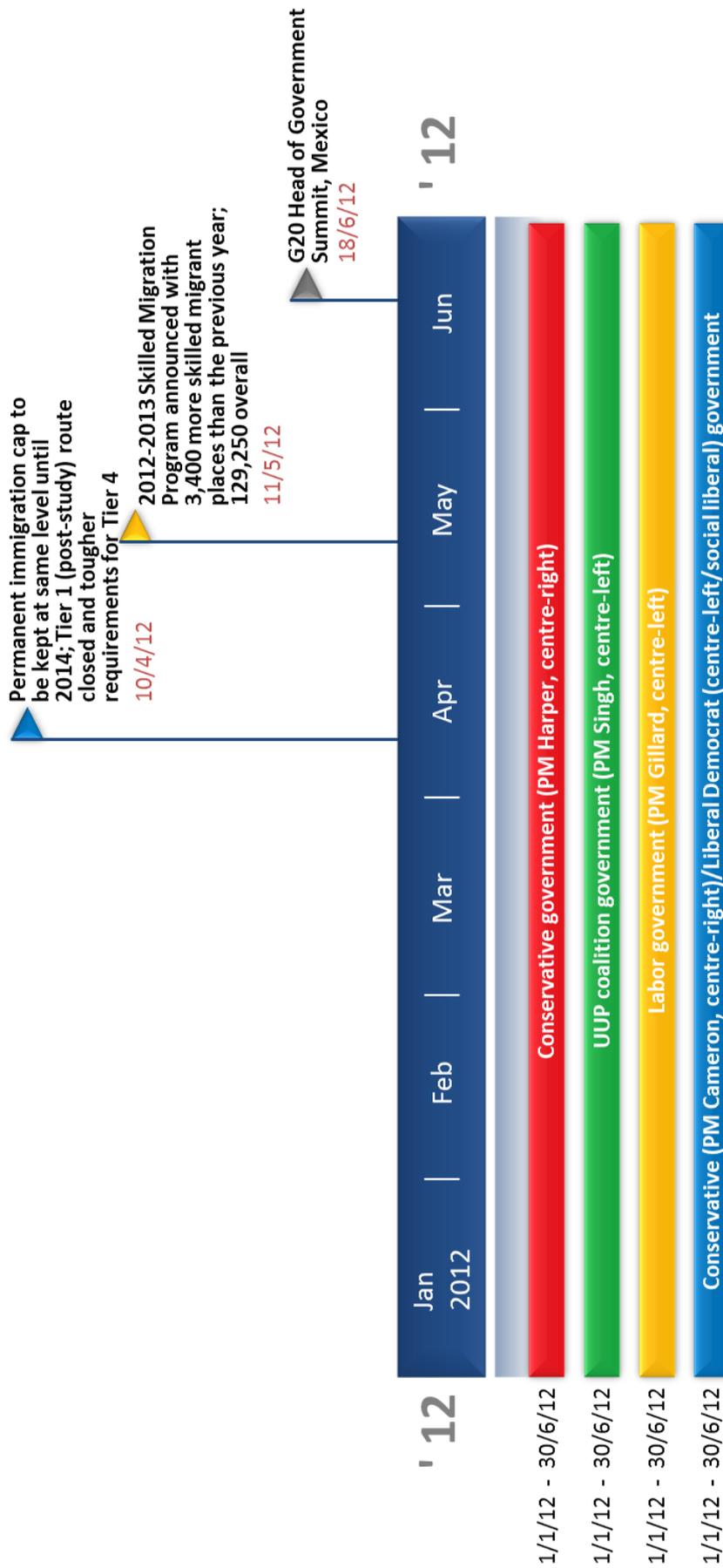
(ABC, Australia, 08/10/2010)

The recent reductions in the Migration Program have been attributed to the impact of the global financial crisis (GFC) on the Australian economy, which led to a decline in the need for additional skilled labour.

30/10/2010	East Asian Summit in Vietnam attended by Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh
01/11/2010	Announcement by the Canadian government that skilled migration levels in 2011 are to remain the same
11/11/2010	G20 Head of Government Summit, South Korea
23/12/2010	In the UK, the Tier 1 application route for skilled workers without a job offer is closed



Milestone(s)	
Date	Description
03/03/2011	The launch of the Year of India in Canada 2011, which aims to highlight India's culture, traditions and diversity and celebrate the contributions of the Indian Diaspora to Canadian society
30/04/2011	2011-12 Australian Migration Program announced with 12,000 more places for skilled migrants. This is due to the fact net migration almost halved since 2008 and an expected increase in demand for skilled migrants given strong recent employment growth
02/05/2011	Canadian Federal Election: Conservatives remain in power (Prime Minister Stephen Harper, centre-right)
01/07/2011	In Canada, to reduce the backlog in processing visa applications, only 1,500 applications from those without job offers will be accepted for processing for the next year
01/07/2011	Introduction of a point-based immigration test for independent skilled migrants in Australia. Migrants will be able to get a visa to enter the country even without a job offer if they have enough points (gained in categories including age, qualifications, employment history and language proficiency). Rather than applying for a skilled migration visa, people will instead first record their details through an online Expression of Interest either in Australia or abroad.
27/08/2011	Justice Secretary Kenneth Clark visits India and meets Commerce and Industry Minister Anand Sharma
28/10/2011	Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Australia. Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh does not attend in protest at Australia's decision not to sell it uranium as India is a non-signatory of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
01/11/2011	Skilled migration levels in Canada are to rise in 2012 as backlogs in processing previous large numbers of applications are worked through ahead of schedule. The Federal Skilled Migrant program is to expand by 10,000 places, up to 55,000–57,000 from 47,000–47,400 in 2011
03/11/2011	G20 Head of Government Summit, France
18/11/2011	East Asian Summit in Indonesia attended by Australia Prime Minister Julia Gillard and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh



Milestone(s)	
Date	Description
10/04/2012	<p>The British permanent immigration cap is to be kept at the same level until 2014.</p> <p>There are also tougher requirements announced for Tier 4 (student) entrants. In particular:</p> <p>Universities must be accredited as Highly Trusted Sponsors to sponsor non-EU students</p> <p>Students must be able to speak at an 'upper-intermediate' rather than 'lower-intermediate' level</p> <p>Students on courses outside publicly-funded education or universities will have no work rights</p> <p>Only post-graduates are allowed to bring dependants</p> <p>Students may only spend 3 years on lower-level (e.g. undergraduate) courses and 5 years on higher-level (e.g. postgraduate) courses</p> <p>In addition, the Tier 1 (post-study) route is closed meaning students may no longer remain in Britain for 2 years after their course to seek work; instead they need to have a job offer to stay. A scheme to allow entrepreneurial students with a business idea to stay in Britain is announced as being planned but is not finalised yet.</p> <p>According to the Home Secretary:</p> <p>'International students not only make a vital contribution to the UK economy but they also help make our education system one of the best in the world.</p> <p>'But it has become very apparent that the old student visa regime failed to control immigration and failed to protect legitimate students from poor-quality colleges.</p> <p>'The changes I am announcing today re-focus the student route as a temporary one, available to only the brightest and best. The new system is designed to ensure students come for a limited period, to study, not work, and make a positive contribution while they are here.</p> <p>'My aim is not to stop genuine students coming here - it is to eliminate abuse within the system. Our stricter accreditation process will see only first-class education providers given licences to sponsor</p>

students.'

11/05/2012	Australia's 2012-2013 Skilled Migration Program is announced with 3,400 more skilled migrant places (out of 5,000 more total places) than the previous year; 129,250 skilled migrants overall
18/06/2012	G20 Head of Government Summit, Mexico

Sources

- The UK Border Agency
- The Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship
- Citizenship and Immigration Canada

Appendix B: News Media Database

Article	News Media	Published	Source Country
Blair assures Indians of fair immigration	Hindustan Times	08-Mar-06	India
Hair in the Soup	Sydney Morning Herald	29-Mar-07	Australia
ACT Government to follow up Indian trip with annual trade mission	Canberra Times	30-Mar-07	Australia
MP caught 'smuggling emigrants'	Times	20-Apr-07	UK
Indian MP charged in bid to smuggle duo to Canada; Woman, boy used his family papers	Ottawa Citizen	20-Apr-07	Canada
Indian MP accused of smuggling to Canada; Woman, son caught with false passports	Calgary Herald	20-Apr-07	Canada
Australia to deport 11 Indian workers	Indo-Asian News Service	28-May-07	India
Brown pledges tough checks to beat threat from Al-Qaeda	Herald Scotland	05-Jul-07	UK
Rule change 'cheats' skilled migrant workers	Times	09-Aug-07	UK
Pasage to Oz	Advertiser	21-Aug-07	Australia
WHAT THE RESTRICTIONS COULD DO ... AND WHAT THEY CAN'T	Daily Telegraph	09-Sep-07	UK
Aussies find love in global market	Herald Sun	11-Sep-07	Australia
Skills shortage gains Momentum	Geelong Advertiser	11-Sep-07	Australia
One in ten workers comes from overseas	Edinburgh Journal	17-Oct-07	UK
EU 'blue card' to lure highly skilled migrants	New York Times	23-Oct-07	USA
520 immigrants every day arrive in Britain	Express	16-Nov-07	UK
Warm welcome; Government	Age	01-Dec-07	Australia
Circulate or integrate?	The Economist	03-Jan-08	UK
Cultures add to strong nation	Herald Sun	26-Jan-08	Australia
BRITAIN HAS HIGHEST 'BRAIN DRAIN' LEVEL - STUDY	Press Association	21-Feb-08	UK
Are we losing our finest minds to lure of a life abroad?	Yorkshire Post	22-Feb-08	UK
Demand the Supply	Hindustan Times	27-Mar-08	India
A community of influence	Vancouver	29-Mar-08	Canada
Ousted Indians to take on UK Govt	Hindustan Times	19-Apr-08	India
Cabbies drive home job's drawbacks	The Australian	05-May-08	Australia

Article	News Media	Published	Source Country
Of stable lads and ballet dancers	The Economist	08-May-08	UK
Canada goes immigrant-friendly with work permit policy	The Economic Times	15-May-08	India
Taxi drivers protest bashing of Indian cabbie in Adelaide	Indo-Asian News Service	19-May-08	India
Hostility to immigrants 'is holding UK back'	The Independent	02-Jun-08	UK
Tip to UK: woo Indian techies	The Telegraph (Calcutta)	02-Jun-08	India
Alberta turns to India to help fill labour shortages	The Ottawa Citizen	04-Jun-08	Canada
Points Tally	The Economic Times	05-Jun-08	India
'Expats remit \$26.5 b, higher than combined FII, FDI flows'	The Hindu	06-Jun-08	India
Time to energise the bush	Herald Sun	10-Jun-08	Australia
Skilled migrant workers	Personnel Today	10-Jun-08	UK
Foreign Students, Scientists and Engineers Help America Keep Global Edge says Rand Corporation	New American Media	16-Jun-08	USA
Building from ground up	The Vancouver Province	19-Jun-08	Canada
Scotland rolling red carpet for skilled young Indians	The Economic Times	19-Jun-08	India
India world's largest remittance recipient	The Times of India	20-Jun-08	India
Beyond brain drain	The Economist	24-Jun-08	UK
Workers of the world on the move	Tehran Times	25-Jun-08	Iran
Business forum: Skills-based immigration brings benefits	Star Tribune	29-Jun-08	USA
Geniuses at the Gate	The Sun (New York)	30-Jun-08	USA
Ebb and flow of talent	The Guardian	01-Jul-08	UK
Indian chefs forced to take English exam	Derry Journal	02-Jul-08	UK
Cricket must not obscure breadth of India-Australia ties	Thaindian News	09-Jul-08	Thailand
A new state arises	The Advertiser	11-Jul-08	Australia
5000 disenfranchised Indians can return to UK	The Times of India	11-Jul-08	India
Skilled Indian migrants can now return to UK	Daily News and Analysis	12-Jul-08	India
Alberta, Canada Welcomes H-1B Visa Holders and Their Families While the U.S. Rejects them	Ponte Al Dia	17-Jul-08	USA
Indian 'faujis' faking their way into UK	The Times of India	18-Jul-08	India
More skilled migrants in Australia	Sydney Morning Herald	22-Jul-08	Australia

Article	News Media	Published	Source Country
Skilled migrant visas up by 24pc	The Australian	23-Jul-08	Australia
UK's decision to allow Indian professionals to return a welcome move	The Economic Times	24-Jul-08	India
Immigrants long to belong	Kingston Whig-Standard	24-Jul-08	Canada
More than just cricket and old ties	Sydney Morning Herald	04-Aug-08	Australia
Indian doctors again clash with British Govt	Hindustan Times	07-Aug-08	India
India's Extended Family: The ever growing warmth	Commodity Online	14-Aug-08	India
Is Australia Asia smart?	ABC	19-Aug-08	Australia
Developing India in the field of innovation and technology	The Economic Times	21-Aug-08	India
Britain's population make-up changing at unprecedented rate	The Telegraph	21-Aug-08	UK
Oz FM optimistic about ties with India	Thaindian News	09-Sep-08	Thailand
Asia's Closed Door to Immigration	Asia Sentinel	16-Sep-08	India
Punjab faces shortage of nurses	The Hindu	19-Sep-08	India
Other side of 'think local'	The Australian	20-Sep-08	Australia
Tough on migrants, tough on our fruit farms	The Herald Scotland	27-Sep-08	UK
UK team to visit India to check new immigration system	Indo-Asian News Service	02-Oct-08	India
Highly skilled migrants must show solid bank balance	NDTV.com	09-Nov-08	India
Britain to allow 14,000 immigrants	Zeenews.com	12-Nov-08	India
Possible blue card migrants have their say	European Parliament	14-Nov-08	Belgium
European blue card scheme likely to become a reality next year	The Economic Times	20-Nov-08	India
Indian migrants in UK win court battle	The Economic Times	10-Dec-08	India
India must frame a clear migration policy: Lawyers	NDTV.com	14-Dec-08	India
Sweden Bucks Trend on Immigrant Labor	Wall Street Journal	15-Dec-08	USA
SCANDAL AS NEW BRITISH JOBS GO TO MIGRANTS	The Express	12-Jan-09	UK
The people crunch	The Economist	15-Jan-09	UK
Make skilled migration cut for environment: ACF	ABC	18-Jan-09	Australia
Just fresh off the boat	Wall Street Journal	18-Jan-09	USA
Europe in fight for top talent	BBC	22-Jan-09	UK

Article	News Media	Published	Source Country
Indian professionals find going tough in recession-hit UK	The Economic Times	11-Feb-09	India
The Answer to America's Economic Woes: Be More Like Canada	Nashville Scene	13-Feb-09	USA
457 visas 'may cost local-born their jobs'	The Australian	20-Feb-09	Australia
Adding value through immigration	Business Edge	20-Feb-09	Canada
Foreign workers could be barred from entering UK	The Guardian	22-Feb-09	UK
New UK visa restrictions on Indian professionals soon	The Economic Times	22-Feb-09	India
Overseas affairs ministry responds cautiously on H1B visa issue	The Economic Times	22-Feb-09	India
Waiting to teach again	Winnipeg Free Press	22-Feb-09	Canada
Slowing economy forces immigration cut	Sydney Morning Herald	23-Feb-09	Australia
Crisis prompts call to cut skilled visas	WA Today	23-Feb-09	Australia
Indian professionals slam new UK visa curbs	The Economic Times	24-Feb-09	India
Indian professionals slam new UK visa curbs	The Times of India	24-Feb-09	India
Immigrants not wanted in Britain	NDTV.com	27-Feb-09	India
For Obama And Brown, Two Directives	Forbes	02-Mar-09	USA
Is Britain slamming its doors on global talent?	The Economic Times	02-Mar-09	India
New British norms make London a distant dream for many Indians	The Economic Times	03-Mar-09	India
Diversity nurtures pioneer spirit	Toronto Star	03-Mar-09	Canada
Skill shortages in Australia	ABC	04-Mar-09	Australia
New UK visa restrictions on Indian professionals soon	Business Standard	14-Mar-09	India
PRESS DIGEST-Australian General News - March 17	Reuters	16-Mar-09	Australia
New Canadians flock to better life in suburbs	Toronto Star	20-Mar-09	Canada
All you need to know about immigration in Britain today	The Telegraph	21-Mar-09	UK
Economy at risk if migrants go home	Cambridge News	25-Mar-09	UK
Keep The Brains Out. What a Dumb Idea!	Huffington Post	31-Mar-09	USA
Too many cooks spoiling the skills shortage broth: report	The Age	01-Apr-09	Australia
U.K. implements new visa rules for students	The Hindu	03-Apr-09	India
HSMP case: UK compensation for Indian migrant professionals	The Economic Times	07-Apr-09	India

Article	News Media	Published	Source Country
Relief for Indian migrants in London	NDTV.com	07-Apr-09	India
Educated immigrants stuck in survival jobs	Georgia Straight	09-Apr-09	Canada
Ethnic Minority Business Service rated excellent by Ofsted	Whitby Gazette	09-Apr-09	UK
Foreign credentials gaining recognition	Montreal Gazette	15-Apr-09	Canada
Indians worried as Britain drags its feet on court orders	The Hindu	18-Apr-09	India
While Adelaide eateries could be short of chefs	The Advertiser	20-Apr-09	Australia
Indian man wins deportation fight	BBC	23-Apr-09	UK
Former St. Andrew's PhD student wins fight against deportation	Edinburgh Journal	27-Apr-09	UK
Indians to challenge new UK immigration law	Business Standard	02-May-09	India
New immigration bill may hit Indian workers	The Hindu	03-May-09	India
Indians On Trial For Running "Visa Factory" In U.K.	RTT News	05-May-09	USA
Trio are accused of masterminding visa scam	Asian Image	06-May-09	UK
'Visa scam gang let in hundreds'	The Sun	06-May-09	UK
Right résumé, wrong name	The Globe and Mail	20-May-09	Canada
Resumes with English names more likely to be noticed	CTV	23-May-09	Canada
Want MBA, won't travel	The Economic Times	29-May-09	UK
Australians protest over racial violence	Scotsman	31-May-09	UK
Thousands rally against racism in Melbourne	Times of India	01-Jun-09	India
Bill sparks fears among migrants	The Hindu	02-Jun-09	India
IT jobs 'lost to cheap labour'	BBC	02-Jun-09	UK
Indian protesters burn Rudd effigies outside embassy	The Australian	02-Jun-09	Australia
Indians in Oz blame media for blowing issue out of proportion	Economic Times	02-Jun-09	India
Three jailed over UK visa fraud	BBC	03-Jun-09	UK
Couple guilty of visa scam	Manchester Evening News	03-Jun-09	UK
The Indian illegal immigrant, his two wives and Britain's biggest ever visa scam	Daily Mail	03-Jun-09	UK
Gang Jailed For UK's Biggest Visa Scam	Sky News	03-Jun-09	UK
AISF takes out candle march to protest racial attacks in Oz	Hindu	03-Jun-09	India

Article	News Media	Published	Source Country
Blind eye to racism	The Australian	04-Jun-09	Australia
Indians protest in Sydney after new attack: police	Press Association	08-Jun-09	Australia
PM 'appalled' at attacks on Indian students in	Hindustan Times	09-Jun-09	India
Indian students stage violent protest over attacks in Australia	Telegraph	09-Jun-09	UK
Indians in Australia say Lebanese youths behind attacks	Times of India	12-Jun-09	India
Voices from down under	The Times of India	22-Jun-09	India
Indian immigrants allege harassment at U.K. airports	The Hindu	23-Jun-09	India
Indian immigrants complain of harassment at British airports	Daily News and Analysis	23-Jun-09	India
Indian immigrants complain of harassment at British airports	The Indian Express	23-Jun-09	India
Indian immigrants complain of harassment at British airports	The Times of India	23-Jun-09	India
Unions rally in support of migrant workers after Belfast attacks	24Dash.com	02-Jul-09	UK
Indian student rally calls for equality	Sydney Morning Herald	07-Jul-09	Australia
More students crossing the Indian shores	The Times of India	13-Jul-09	India
Evans off to India to calm 'hysteria'	The Australian	19-Jul-09	India
Jobs a magnet for skilled migrants	Australian Financial Review	24-Jul-09	Australia
My sham degree from UK 'college'	BBC	29-Jul-09	UK
Rule change plea over doctor jobs	BBC	30-Jul-09	UK
Europe plays 'blue card' to bridge skill gap	Business Standard	31-Jul-09	India
Underworked, unemployed and under the weather	Toronto Star	04-Aug-09	Canada
EU's Blue Card Directive: Can India make the most of the opportunity?	Daily News and Analysis	05-Aug-09	India
Super-mobile migrants 'should get tax breaks'	The Scotsman	05-Aug-09	UK
NOW TAX BREAKS FOR MIGRANTS TO KEEP THEM HERE	The Express	05-Aug-09	UK
Skilled migrant incentives urged	BBC	05-Aug-09	UK
Give skilled UK migrants tax breaks 'to help them stay'	24Dash.com	06-Aug-09	UK
Here today, gone tomorrow: new breed of migrants finds grass greener overseas	The Guardian	06-Aug-09	UK
1 million migrants to quit UK due to eco slowdown: Study	The Economic Times	06-Aug-09	UK
'One million migrants to quit UK due to eco slowdown'	Zeenews.com	06-Aug-09	India

Article	News Media	Published	Source Country
Muslim group plans seminar in city	North Bay Nugget	06-Aug-09	Canada
Migrants' gains evaporate	The Guardian	08-Aug-09	UK
Immigration in the slump: Newcomers still needed	The Guardian	20-Aug-09	UK
Indian professionals protest new proposed UK visa curbs	The Economic Times	20-Aug-09	India
UK mulls stricter immigration rules	The Economic Times	21-Aug-09	India
20,000 Indians migrate to Australia	NDTV.com	31-Aug-09	India
NHS desperate for doctors as visa rule changes bite	Western Mail	01-Sep-09	UK
New immigration rules blamed for starving hospitals of staff	South Wales Echo	01-Sep-09	UK
Global careers: Europe is wooing Indian skilled workers	The Economic Times	13-Sep-09	India
Widow whose daughters were born in Scotland loses residency appeal	The Scotsman	26-Sep-09	UK
SCANDAL OF IMMIGRANTS TAKING OVER OUR IT JOBS	The Express	29-Sep-09	UK
Indian immigrants in UK face discrimination: HSMP	The Economic Times	29-Sep-09	India
International students could pay off Australia's debt, says Bernard Salt	Fox News Australia	07-Oct-09	Australia
Population boom helps avoid bust	Fox News Australia	13-Oct-09	Australia
Skilled immigrants staff Sudbury gem plant	The Globe and Mail	14-Oct-09	Canada
Not allowing dual citizenship unfair: NRIs in UK	The Indian Express	21-Oct-09	India
NRIs say not allowing dual citizenship is unfair	The Economic Times	22-Oct-09	India
How we're creating an illegal workforce	Toronto Star	01-Nov-09	Canada
Gordon Brown offers too little, too late on immigration	The Telegraph	12-Nov-09	UK
Gordon Brown 'launches poll campaign' in Indian-majority constituency	Thaindian News	13-Nov-09	Thailand
Man jailed for stabbing Melbourne cabbie	Nine News	13-Nov-09	Australia
Canada hopes for 'new era of partnership' with India	Express India	15-Nov-09	India
Give and take in nursing workforce	The Advertiser	16-Nov-09	Australia
Indian migrants concerned over new UK laws	The Economic Times	17-Nov-09	India
'British proposals could hit legal migrants in recession'	Thaindian News	18-Nov-09	Thailand
From factories to franchises	The Age	21-Nov-09	Australia
Outdated Visa Rules Don't Support Dual Careers in India	Wall Street Journal	08-Dec-09	USA

Article	News Media	Published	Source Country
Immigration lawyers boost for top firms	Law Society Gazette	10-Dec-09	UK
Attacks Down Under don't deter migrating Indians	Financial Express	13-Dec-09	India
Tributes paid to 'caring' Hindhead crash cyclist	Get Surrey	18-Dec-09	UK
Landmark mobility agreement with Denmark facilitates legal movement	The Economic Times	03-Jan-10	India
Student assaults teach some harsh lessons about racism	Sydney Morning Herald	05-Jan-10	Australia
Australia downplays India student warning	BBC	06-Jan-10	UK
Indian man's burnt remains found on rural Australian road	Guardian	06-Jan-10	UK
Thousands of migrant workers arrive in Lancashire	Lancashire Evening Post	08-Jan-10	UK
Indian 'Ku Klux Klan' cartoon deeply offensive, says Julia Gillard	The Australian	08-Jan-10	Australia
Killing reveals another kind of race problem	Sydney Morning Herald	08-Jan-10	Australia
Our immigrants' success is not down to Labour	The Telegraph	16-Jan-10	UK
Wealthy migrants pricing locals out of Sydney property markets	The Sunday Telegraph	17-Jan-10	Australia
The country Gillard forgot	Business Spectator	21-Jan-10	Australia
Aussies urged to vindaloo against violence	ABC	29-Jan-10	Australia
Indian journal focuses on 'hate'	Age	01-Feb-10	Australia
A Race Of Races	Forbes	02-Feb-10	USA
Australia Tightens Immigration Rules	RTT News	08-Feb-10	USA
Migration shake-up boosts skills	Australian Financial Review	08-Feb-10	Australia
Breaking nexus of greed and need	Sydney Morning Herald	09-Feb-10	Australia
Mumbai to Melbourne	Indian Express	09-Feb-10	India
Hairdressing college fears an unkind	Australian Financial Review	09-Feb-10	Australia
International education needs fixing	Sydney Morning Herald	10-Feb-10	Australia
The politics of violence	Age	13-Feb-10	Australia
The Incredible Shrinking Continent	Newsweek	18-Feb-10	USA
Only 23 of 152 Oz attacks racist, Ministry tells LS	Indian Express	25-Feb-10	India
Unskilled Britain	The Guardian	04-Mar-10	UK
Britain announces new immigration rules	The Hindu	18-Mar-10	India

Article	News Media	Published	Source Country
Britain announces new immigration rules	Daily News and Analysis	18-Mar-10	India
Britain announces new immigration rules	The Indian Express	18-Mar-10	India
Legally blind social worker denied permanent visa	The Age	19-Mar-10	Australia
New UK visa norms to help Indian professionals	The Economic Times	28-Mar-10	India
Forum criticises UK's decision to increase visa fee	The Indian Express	07-Apr-10	India
'Tory plan for cap on immigrants will anger Indians'	Business Standard	14-Apr-10	India
General Election: Immigrants must learn English - Warsi	Yorkshire Evening Post	16-Apr-10	India
Tough times for young Indians who dare to dream	The Age	18-Apr-10	Australia
What is the situation facing immigrants and asylum seekers in Britain?	Zimbabwe Mail	24-Apr-10	Zimbabwe
Talent, skills and immigration	The Economic Times	26-Apr-10	India
The immigration experiment shows Labour at its worst	The Telegraph	01-May-10	UK
Recognise skills or lose top students, UA boss says	The Australian	05-May-10	Australia
Indian migrants in UK to oppose cap on immigration	The Economic Times	12-May-10	India
UK-bound migrants to face torrid time	The Indian Express	12-May-10	India
Tory plan to limit non-EU workers may hit desi cos	The Economic Times	13-May-10	India
Australia shuts the doors on hairdressers, cooks	NDTV.com	17-May-10	India
Aus drop hairdressing, cookery from preferred job skills list	Deccan Herald	17-May-10	India
Cooks, hairdressers not wanted: Oz	The Times of India	18-May-10	India
UK to crack-down on immigration	Express India	20-May-10	India
Plan for cap on immigration	The Hindu	21-May-10	India
UK to impose annual cap on immigrants from non-EU countries	The Economic Times	22-May-10	India
Are the young leaving Britain?	Hindustan Times	25-May-10	India
Skills shortage fears over immigration cap	Birmingham Post	01-Jun-10	UK
Immigrant dreams clash in kitchen	Toronto Star	07-Jun-10	Canada
English test must for migrants willing to join spouses in UK	Zopag	09-Jun-10	India
Read the full transcript of the Gautam Gupta interview	The Age	14-Jun-10	Australia
The price of entry	The Economist	24-Jun-10	UK

Article	News Media	Published	Source Country
BRITAIN TO LIMIT NUMBER OF IMMIGRANT WORKERS	San Francisco Sentinel	25-Jun-10	USA
Skilling time: migrants wait for lucky break	The Age	27-Jun-10	Australia
UK migrants cap may face legal challenge	Daily News and Analysis	27-Jun-10	India
Skilling time: migrants wait for lucky break	Age	27-Jun-10	Australia
Immigration cap and curb on overseas students threaten to divide cabinet	The Guardian	28-Jun-10	UK
Indian professionals to be hit as UK sets annual limit	The Times of India	28-Jun-10	India
Indian professionals to be hit as UK sets annual limit	Deccan Herald	28-Jun-10	India
UK cap on non-EU migrants to hit Indians	CNN	29-Jun-10	India
UK's cap on immigrants worries Indian workers, students	The Economic Times	04-Jul-10	India
Immigration cap 'threatens quality' at Scots universities	The Herald Scotland	04-Jul-10	UK
Indian Forum Slams Delhi's Higher Fee For Surrendering Passports	RTT News	07-Jul-10	India
Indian immigrants in U.K. protest passport 'surrender' fee	The Hindu	08-Jul-10	India
Cap on skilled immigrants may hit recovery, businesses warn	The Guardian	18-Jul-10	UK
David Cameron's India trip may be 'undermined' by immigration policy	The Guardian	25-Jul-10	UK
Coalition 'under strain' after David Cameron and Vince Cable clash over migrants cap	The Telegraph	28-Jul-10	UK
India, Britain and three waves of migration	Hindustan Times	30-Jul-10	India
Record four out of five jobs going to foreigners between May and June	The Telegraph	12-Aug-10	UK
Migrant limits hit child protection department	The Independent	15-Aug-10	UK
Advocacy group: Spouse work mobility key to attracting high-skilled migrants	Euractiv.com	20-Aug-10	Belgium
The cap on immigration cannot hold	The Guardian	22-Aug-10	UK
'Only highly skilled talent can make it to UK'	The Economic Times	22-Aug-10	India
Britain talks tough on abuse of visa rules	Thaindian News	24-Aug-10	Thailand
Britain wants to control immigration, evaluating student visa	MSN News	25-Aug-10	India
UK set to cap migration of skilled workers	The Hindu	25-Aug-10	UK
UK Will be Flexible, Responsive on Immigration: Green	Outlook	25-Aug-10	India
UK wants to control immigration	Daily the Pak B	25-Aug-10	India
India: Minister says UK wants to control migration to maximize benefits	BBC	25-Aug-10	India

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UK to consider Nasscom inputs on visa issues	The Economic Times	26-Aug-10	India
UK minister in India justifies new cap on immigration	BBC	26-Aug-10	India
People from Indian subcontinent highest immigrants to UK	Zopag	27-Aug-10	India
UK immigration cap is 'stupid', says David Miliband	Hindustan Times	01-Sep-10	India
Cap on non-skilled immigrants comes under scrutiny	London Evening Standard	07-Sep-10	UK
Plans to cap number of skilled workers under scrutiny	The Guardian	07-Sep-10	UK
Canada seeks India's help in checking illegal migration	Indo-Asian News Service	07-Sep-10	India
Bid to reduce immigrants could restrict key workers	The Press and Journal	08-Sep-10	UK
Immigration cap 'puts economic recovery at risk'	Channel 4	09-Sep-10	UK
Boris Johnson says immigration cap risks damaging economy	Channel 4	09-Sep-10	UK
Are migrant parents pushing their kids too hard at school?	Sydney Morning Herald	13-Sep-10	Australia
Lib Dems 'closing in' on concessions from Tories on Trident and migrants	The Independent	23-Sep-10	UK
U.K.'s Immigration Rules Slammed	Wall Street Journal	28-Sep-10	USA
Put out the welcome mat, our country needs these people	The Australian	02-Oct-10	Australia
A service in myth-busting on immigration	The Independent	04-Oct-10	UK
Key staff may be hit in curb on migrants	Yorkshire Post	08-Oct-10	UK
Top Cambridge talent denied visa	Varsity	08-Oct-10	UK
Universities rely on international staff and students	The Independent	12-Oct-10	UK
EU's visa policy may help Indian pros in UK	The Tribune (India)	16-Oct-10	India
Britain shuts out highly skilled migrants as new limit is reached	The Guardian	21-Oct-10	UK
Is David Cameron diluting his pledge to cap immigrants? EU deal with India threatens British jobs	Daily Mail	26-Oct-10	UK
Only highly skilled migrants' land a top job in UK	myBangalore	28-Oct-10	India
UK's 'brightest and best' migrants take unskilled jobs	BBC	31-Oct-10	UK
Suit to soup: Indian MBAs serve as waiters in UK	The Times of India	01-Nov-10	India
UK likely to cap highly skilled student route	The Hindu	01-Nov-10	India
Immigration cap 'may not work', MPs warn	BBC	03-Nov-10	UK
Foreign students must 'benefit the economy'	The Independent	06-Nov-10	UK

Article	News Media	Published	Source Country
Immigration cap to cost UK services of top scientists: Venky	Express India	06-Nov-10	India
UK visa to attract Indian job creators	The Telegraph (Calcutta)	07-Nov-10	India
EU to let in 50,000 workers from India	Daily Mail	08-Nov-10	UK
IT companies get boost as transfers exempt from migrant cap	Computer World	08-Nov-10	UK
New Oz point system to weed out low quality overseas students	The Indian Express	10-Nov-10	India
'Friendly Manitoba' craves immigrants	The Seattle Times	12-Nov-10	USA
David Cameron will bow to business and relax immigration cap	The Telegraph	15-Nov-10	UK
India Inc warns against UK visa cap	Hindustan Times	17-Nov-10	India
Cif readers on ... being a migrant in the UK	The Guardian	19-Nov-10	UK
Government advisors back heavy cut in visa	The Independent	19-Nov-10	UK
U.K. announces cap on non-EU migration	The Hindu	23-Nov-10	India
Colleges warn Theresa May over curb on student visas	The Guardian	23-Nov-10	UK
UK Announces Non-EU Migration Cap Of 21,700	RTT News	24-Nov-10	UK
UK cap to have little impact on IT firms	Wall Street Journal	25-Nov-10	USA
More business, less migrant visas in UK	Hindustan Times	25-Nov-10	India
With 5 mn pounds to invest, make UK your permanent residence	The Economic Times	26-Nov-10	India
4M MIGRANTS WORK IN UK	The Express	28-Nov-10	UK
UK set to limit entry of workers	Manila Bulletin	05-Dec-10	Philippines
Home grown talent could plug skills gap in industry, say recruiters	Big Hospitality	10-Dec-10	UK
Tougher immigration policy ahead	The Hindu	15-Dec-10	India
Introduction of immigration cap deemed 'unlawful'	BBC	17-Dec-10	UK
Court says temporary migration cap is invalid	Reuters	17-Dec-10	UK
U.K. bid to limit immigration suffers setback	The Hindu	19-Dec-10	India
Ed Balls blasts 'reckless' migration cap	BBC	20-Dec-10	UK
EU's jobs-skills dilemma	Business Standard	12-Jan-11	India
Is working in the UK IT profession all stick and no carrot, or is it a myth purveyed by the unskilled?	Computer World	13-Jan-11	UK

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Visa rejection rate is 5%: Belgium home affairs ministry	Hindustan Times	15-Jan-11	India
Employers, unions at odds over international staff transfers	Euractiv.com	17-Jan-11	Belgium
Things much better for Indian students in Australia: Envoy (Interview)	Indo-Asian News Service	18-Jan-11	India
Envoy: Things now better for Indian students in Australia	Daily the Pak Banker	19-Jan-11	India
UK EFFORTS TO MANAGE MIGRATION AS RISING UNEMPLOYMENT LOOMS	The Telegraph	04-Feb-11	UK
UK visa curbs likely to hit Indian students	Wall Street Journal	07-Feb-11	USA
UK visa curbs will hit Indian MBA students	Deccan Herald	07-Feb-11	India
EU at risk if Europe 2020 fails to deliver	Euractiv.com	09-Feb-11	Belgium
BRITAIN TO LET IN 20,000 INDIANS	The Express	20-Feb-11	UK
India "wants" thousands of extra EU visas under trade deal	The Hindu	20-Feb-11	India
UK to let in 20,000 Indians every year: Report	The Tribune (India)	20-Feb-11	India
UK to grant 20,000 visas to Indian workers annually	Samay Live	21-Feb-11	India
Student visa curbs spark fury in UK	Express India	28-Feb-11	India
Immigration rules: British reply shows tough times ahead for Indian jobseekers	The Economic Times	17-Mar-11	India
UK eyes rich foreigners to boost investment	Wall Street Journal	18-Mar-11	USA
Stringent UK visa rules worry Indian companies, skilled workers	The Economic Times	20-Mar-11	India
Pallavi Aiyar: Europe's immigration conundrum	Business Standard	27-Mar-11	India
Student visa cuts 'sheer madness'	The Independent	27-Mar-11	UK
Jobless in UK	The Times of India	28-Mar-11	India
'UK will continue to attract Indian students'	The Times of India	04-Apr-11	India
Home is where the money is	Business Spectator	07-Apr-11	Australia
Britain's changing ethnic map: how suburbia has been transformed	The Guardian	10-Apr-11	UK
David Cameron's immigration speech in full	24Dash.com	14-Apr-11	UK
Three to stand trial over fruit picker's death	Sydney Morning Herald	18-Apr-11	Australia
Digging deep to pay for training	Sydney Morning Herald	27-Apr-11	Australia
No cap or control system will keep determined immigrants out	New Statesman	27-Apr-11	UK
Low labor migration harms economy	Prague Post	04-May-11	Czech Republic

Article	News Media	Published	Source Country
Canada Welcomes the New Wave	Vancouver Province	04-May-11	Canada
Migrants necessary for growth: Emerson	Nine News	11-May-11	Australia
Drain or gain?	The Economist	26-May-11	UK
More labour, less family	The Economist	31-May-11	UK
Hays Report Identifies Skills to See Demand as a Result of Aging Populations Worldwide	Japan Corporate News	07-Jun-11	Japan
UK tightens migrant norms	Daily the Pak Banker	10-Jun-11	India
Come, work and go, UK Govt tells migrants	Asia Tribune	10-Jun-11	India
A community that enriches the Canadian perspective	Globe and Mail	10-Jun-11	Canada
Australia welcomes highly skilled Indians, with Indian degrees	CNN	14-Jun-11	India
Highly educated female immigrants say Canada isn't on their side	Vancouver Observer	18-Jun-11	Canada
Victims of a new Raj	Morning Star	19-Jun-11	UK
Asian-born Australians may soon outnumber European-born counterparts: study	Christian Science Monitor	28-Jun-11	USA
Asian-born Australians may soon outnumber whites: Study	Newstrack India	29-Jun-11	India
Indian community leaders form group to help students in Australia	The Economic Times	07-Jul-11	India
Australia's new immigration rules will benefit Indians in getting fast-track permanent residence	The Economic Times	11-Jul-11	India
Illegal migrants rewrite Europe's values	The Daily Star (Lebanon)	11-Jul-11	Lebanon
Owner of Birmingham restaurant Lasan slams government jobs call	Birmingham Post	14-Jul-11	UK
The pressure to smooth an accent in the workplace	The Globe and Mail	15-Jul-11	Canada
Helping skilled migrants get jobs	The Observer (Gladstone)	15-Jul-11	Australia
Five Reasons to Embrace Migrants	Wall Street Journal	17-Jul-11	USA
Why make paupers and foreigners fight over a crust?	The Guardian	21-Jul-11	UK
Project connects immigrants with small businesses	The Globe and Mail	25-Jul-11	Canada
Student traffic to UK, US may decline	Business Standard	04-Aug-11	India
Germany looks to migrants to fight labor shortage	Reuters	12-Aug-11	UK
Immigration Adviser Held Over Visa Fraud	Sky News	12-Aug-11	UK
German firms face labour shortage	Gulf Times	13-Aug-11	Qatar
Germany's migrant employment rules at odds with shortage of skilled workers	The National	17-Aug-11	U.A.E.

Article	News Media	Published	Source Country
Endless pressure in Britain	Jamaica Observer	20-Aug-11	Jamaica
Indian healthcare: Stop the brain drain of doctors	Economic Times	21-Aug-11	India
Indian healthcare: Stop the brain drain of doctors	Economic Times	21-Aug-11	India
British government blames immigration for job cuts	The Times of India	23-Aug-11	India
India may raise visa issue with UK today	Zeenews.com	26-Aug-11	India
Political Mudslinging	View Magazine	08-Sep-11	Canada
Grit immigrant tax credit draws fire	Toronto Sun	08-Sep-11	Canada
White Wall of Dover	The Economic Times	16-Oct-11	India
United Kingdom cuts more jobs for Indian, other non-EU workers	Daily Bhaskar	01-Nov-11	India
Indian professionals oppose new UK visa move	CNN	07-Nov-11	India
Indian Professionals Oppose New UK Visa Move	Outlook	07-Nov-11	India
Salary rider to new UK visa plan may hit Indians hard	The Times of India	08-Nov-11	India
Mapping migration	Economist	17-Nov-11	UK
Where are the world's labourers migrating for jobs? Think China	The Globe and Mail	30-Dec-11	Canada
Average migrant worker earns more a year in the UK than British-born - especially if they are childless	Daily Mail	12-Jan-12	UK
India eyes EU agreement to capitalise on 'ageing population'	Daily News and Analysis	18-Jan-12	India
Australians once were worriers but there's blue sky ahead	ABC	25-Jan-12	Australia
The Elephant in the Room: Australia-India Relations	The Monthly	01-Feb-12	Australia
Skilled Indian workers homing in on Canada; country ramps up its economy	The Times of India	05-Feb-12	India
Low-paid, skilled Indian migrants likely to be hit by new UK immigration laws	The Economic Times	12-Feb-12	India
Western Australia seeks skilled labour	The Hindu	13-Feb-12	India
Liberal immigration policy: Berlin could soon become more attractive than London for young Indians	The Economic Times	26-Feb-12	India
£35,000 WAGE 'TO SETTLE IN THE UK	Press Association	29-Feb-12	UK
30,000 foreign workers entered Britain under foreign transfer schemes	Daily Telegraph	29-Feb-12	UK
Secret EU deal forces Britain to take in 12,000 Indian workers despite soaring unemployment	Daily Mail	02-Mar-12	UK
EU DEAL SENDS 12,000 INDIAN WORKERS TO UK	Daily Mail	02-Mar-12	UK

Article	News Media	Published	Source Country
Abuses that caused Britain to roll up the welcome mat	Times	20-Mar-12	UK
Tighter borders - but at a price	Times	20-Mar-12	UK
Indian students to retaliate against assault	ABC	09-Jun-12	Australia
UK tightens entry norms for immigrants	Hindustan Times	20-Jul-12	India
Abuse of migrants is 'endemic,' report finds	Toronto Star	17-Sep-12	Canada
Gillard shuts door on 'big Australia	ABC	19-Sep-12	Australia

Appendix C: Code List

These codes are almost universally inductive, with some in-vivo codes taken directly from text, such as Blue Card and integration:

Code	Description	Example
Age	Used for mention of age, youth, or elderliness as a descriptor of a person or group of people	<i>Scotland rolling red carpet for skilled young Indians</i>
Anti-migration advocate	Used for mention or inclusion of any group or individual expressing anti-migration views (i.e. reducing or ceasing migration flows or repatriating migrants, or expressing negative views about migrant groups)	<i>Sir Andrew Green, the chairman of Migrationwatch, which campaigns for tighter immigration controls, said: "It is not surprising that those who have a financial interest in continuing high levels of immigration should oppose the measures necessary to get the totals down but the electorate has spoken. The Government made a commitment and it must be fulfilled in the coming years."</i>
Attraction of country	Used for descriptors of a country's attractiveness for migrants (in general, or for specific traits)	<i>The reason why people from developing countries want to live here is obvious: life is better here than in the impoverished countries from which they came. But that is true of all the developed economies of Europe. All are much better places in which to live than the nations of Africa, for instance, or the Indian subcontinent. So what explains why so many immigrants target Britain, and why there are such queues at the Sangatte centre in France to get across the Channel to England?</i>
Blue Card	Any mention of the European Blue Card	<i>PROPOSED EU BLUE CARD Targeting skilled migrants - rival to US Green Card Would supplement visa regimes in most EU states Three-year work and residency permit, renewable Free movement within EU for holder and family Long-term resident status may be granted after five years Scheme accepted by European Parliament in Nov 2008 - now awaiting final approval by EU leaders</i>
Border security	Often there are references to the border as a concept: the line that separates a country from the rest of the	<i>An Indian solicitor and two women who both claim to be his wives made a mockery of Labour's supposedly tough border controls while taking part</i>

	world. In articles this is the line, complete with border security/agencies, which migrants have to cross. Often there are references to border security – the obstacles to crossing the border freely – such as to border agencies, physical barriers or immigration officials. This code is used for references to the border security in this sense. It is not used for references to immigration policy.	<i>in the biggest visa scam seen in Britain.</i>
Brain transfer	Used for mention of the transfer of human capital from less-developed to more-developed countries or vice-versa (also referenced negatively as ‘brain drain’)	<i>Brain drain fears Immigration is a highly emotive subject and a source of many international tensions. The European Commission acknowledges one of these: the need for "ethical" policies to protect developing countries from "negative brain drain effects" by limiting recruitment from places where it is doing harm.</i>
[Migration] Cap	Used for mention of a cap on migration flows	<i>In a move likely to affect Indian professionals as well as British trade and industry, the David Cameron coalition government has decided to impose an annual cap on the number of immigrants from non-EU countries.</i>
Central government	Particularly in federal countries, there is often distinction between central and regional governments. This code is used where there are references to the central government or its ministers	<i>But despite a campaign for the family to be allowed back to live in Scotland, Home Office minister Phil Woollas has said it will not "waive" the rules. The Singh case is one of series involving immigrants forced to leave Scotland or facing deportation because of a new, Australian-style points system introduced by the Home Office for the whole of the UK. Earlier this month, Scotland on Sunday highlighted the case of acclaimed American playwright Thomas Legendre, who, along with his family, faces deportation because he does not meet strict earnings criteria. The SNP government's culture minister, Mike Russell, has requested a meeting with Woollas, as he believes Scotland is in danger of losing highly qualified immigrants who could benefit the country's economy.</i>
[Host] Community	Articles discuss issues of local social cohesiveness. This code is used for mentions of the terms ‘community’,	<i>The texture of communities changes. Some people like those changes. Others do not. The changes are not confined to the appearance of ethnic</i>

	'neighbourhood', or synonyms thereof	<i>restaurants or men and women who wear different clothes. An influx of people who are fundamentalist about their religion, for example, can mean that some of them do not accept ideas that mainstream Britain takes for granted: the primacy of secular over divine law; the equality of women with men; and the importance of the freedom to change your religion without persecution. How to ensure that immigrants adopt "British values" is a problem the Government has thought long and hard about – but has not solved.</i>
Catering [profession]	Discussion of catering as a profession, including chefs, cooks, restaurant owners etc.	<i>Too many cooks spoiling the skills shortage broth: report</i>
Cost of living	Used for discussion of the cost of living in an area or country (including food, utilities, rent etc.)	<i>EVERY day it's in the papers. How our big urban centres just aren't fit to live in any more. How Melbourne prices make it hard, very hard, for families to buy a decent house any more. And if we do find one, two hours' travel from the workplace, how hard it is to commute, since petrol costs four times what it cost in 2001.</i>
Diaspora	Used for mentions of diasporas or migrant populations. Not used as a synonym for 'community'	<i>The authors argue that at the very least the government needs to find ways of encouraging these migrants to return some time in future or to maintain contact with them in their countries of onward or return migration and treat them as a "secondary diaspora" and an economic and diplomatic asset.</i>
Diplomacy	Used for references to inter-state relations and diplomacy	<i>These bashings also have developed into a foreign policy crisis. This is because of the blanket, at times hysterical, coverage in the Indian media.</i>
Discrimination	Used for mentions of discrimination against migrants or other groups/individuals	
Economic crisis	Used for references to the late-2000s economic crisis, also known as the Global Financial Crisis or the Credit Crunch	
Economic requirements	Articles often discuss economic factors in a country (e.g. productivity, sector diversification, inflation, GDP, or in less technical language 'national prosperity') and future steps to be taken to	

	maintain/improve these factors in ways related to migration. This code is used for instances of this	
Educational facility requirements	[Prospective] students often have to fulfil specific visa and facility-specific requirements to enter and remain in a country and the facilities, usually universities, in return must enforce compliance with these requirements. This code is used for mention of this.	
Election	Used for references to elections	
Employer requirements	In most countries, employers must take steps to ensure immigrant workers are in compliance with immigration policy. This code is used for references to this.	
Engineering [profession]	Used for references to engineering as a profession	
Environment	Used for mention of the natural or urban environment in relation to sustainability or pollution	<p><i>However in December, Immigration Minister Chris Evans announced the Government was revising the skilled migration program for the first half of this year in the wake of the global financial crisis.</i></p> <p><i>"The overwhelming message is that we need to maintain a skilled migration program but one that is more targeted," Mr Evans said.</i></p> <p><i>"The existing 133 500 planning target will remain as a ceiling, with the actual number of visas granted to be kept under review for the remainder of 2008-09."</i></p> <p><i>Mr Evans has also indicated that the Government would take a more longer-term approach to setting Australia's migration levels which would also be more holistic.</i></p> <p><i>The ACF wants the Government to conduct explicit modelling of the impacts of the migration program on carbon pollution in its development of a long-term population policy.</i></p> <p><i>"To ensure that the migration program truly is in Australia's interest, a long-term population policy should be established which stabilises Australia's population in the long term at an ecologically sustainable level," the submission says.</i></p> <p><i>"The policy should be formulated in light of the environmental impacts of</i></p>

		<p><i>increasing population and sustainable development, rather than the current focus on short-term industry and economic objectives."</i></p> <p><i>The submission also calls for the establishment of a sustainability charter and commission and for funds already allocated to saving the Murray-Darling to be fast tracked.</i></p>
European Union	Used for reference to the European Union. Not used for references to non-EU migrants	<p><i>British and European Union policies are headed for a clash over how many Indian professionals should be allowed across the borders. Most Indian professionals, including students, who head for Europe tend to focus on the UK because of the shared history and language.</i></p> <p><i>But the UK government — after a comparatively relaxed attitude towards such Indian visitors in the past few years — has now toughened entry procedures.</i></p> <p><i>Among those hardest hit are students and highly qualified university teachers who are now required to fill in cumbersome visa forms before their application can be considered. A points system is now in place and those who do not have enough points are denied permission to enter.</i></p>
Family	Used for mentions of family or family members	<p><i>Jyoti Shukla, her lawyer husband, Kamen, and their 12-year-old daughter, Vishwa, were drawn to Mississauga to live their suburban dream – and for its relatively lower costs of living when the family moved here from India in 2004</i></p>
Financier [profession]	Used for mentions of careers in finance (including banking, insurance, stockbroking)	<p><i>Kashmira Desai found herself on the other side of the coin when she arrived in Canada almost four years ago with a bachelor's degree in mathematics and a master's of business administration in finance from India.</i></p> <p><i>Despite strong foreign qualifications and two years' experience with a bank in India, the financial institutions she applied to would not recognize her credentials and insisted she take up to 35 small courses - courses typically required of Canadians with only a high school education.</i></p>
Government campaign	Used for references to a government programme designed to promote a message or scheme targeted at migrants or migration	<p><i>Australian universities are to be promoted overseas over the next nine months in a A\$3.5 million campaign to attract foreign students into local higher education institutions. Students from countries including China, South Korea and India will be targeted by the campaign which aims to assist education agents in bringing international students to Australian</i></p>

		<i>institutions. Federal Minister for Education Julia Gillard said yesterday that she wants Australia to be seen by international students as a welcoming place to study.</i>
Healthcare [profession]	Used for mentions of healthcare as a profession (including doctors, nurses)	<i>But the Transatlantic Council says European countries should now make extra efforts to attract people from all around the world who have soft skills (like health care), specific skills (like IT) or "superskills".</i>
High-wealth individuals	Used for reference to migrants as high-wealth individuals	<i>Wealthy migrants pricing locals out of Sydney property market</i>
Home ownership	Used for mentions of home ownership or rental	<i>Mr Allen was commenting after the release the PKF's second annual Business and Population Monitor, which found that Australia's growing population had helped it escape the worst of the global financial crisis. He said the steady stream of migrants had increased the demand for housing, goods and services - everything that was needed for them to start their new lives in Australia - and the sort of things provided, for the most part, by small businesses.</i>
Illegal immigration	Used for mentions of illegal immigration	<i>The concept seems to run against the grain of popular attitudes in hard times like these. As Europe and America plunge into what looks like a deep and prolonged recession, European governments are taking steps to cut immigration and to return more illegal immigrants to their countries of origin.</i>
Immigration policy [domestic]	Used for discussion of domestic immigration policy. Not used for instances of single words or short phrases (e.g. the name of an immigration policy) that are unelaborated on or unexplained	<i>The phased roll-out of the points-based system in the UK is aimed at making the immigration system simpler and will ensure that those who go to the UK match the economic needs of the business community in the country. The independent migration advisory committee and the migration impacts forum will look into the economic and social aspects of the UK's migration policies, including the new points-based system.</i>
Integration	Used for instances of the in-vivo term 'integration' (or derivatives thereof, such as 'integrate') and discussion of [national] social values	<i>Some western countries with declining native populations have come to view these students, most of whom are from China or other parts of Asia, as a valuable pool of "tried and tested" immigrants with few problems of social adjustment. The strategy has worked for Canada and Australia. Immigrants account for more than one-third of all their doctors, engineers and computer specialists.</i>

Internal migration	Used for mentions of migration from one place to another within a single country	<p><i>Recent immigrants in smaller suburban communities are faring better than those setting roots in big cities when it comes to jobs, incomes and homeownership, says a new study that measures newcomers' life quality across Canada.</i></p> <p><i>The report shows immigrants to the Greater Toronto Area are increasingly choosing the 905 regions as their destination over Toronto. Even those initially settling in the city are then moving on to the suburbs. The study, conducted by the Federation of Canadian Municipalities, compared how newcomers who have been in the country for five years or more and living in the suburbs fared against their counterparts in the city.</i></p>
International competition	Articles often discuss the concept of competition between countries, or a 'global choice' for highly-skilled migrants. This code is used for instances of this concept	<p><i>China and India may force HR managers in London and the South East to compete for talented staff as the booming economies seek to plug skills gaps, research has found.</i></p> <p><i>The 'Pole-to-Pole' report, commissioned by the Manufacturing Advisory Service South East, also warned employers that they cannot rely on migrant workers in the long term, and must seek "home-grown solutions".</i></p>
International policy comparison	Used for discussion of immigration policy in countries outside that of the news organisation's	<p><i>If we don't let these people in, other countries will be glad to take them. Cities like Hong Kong, London, Toronto, Vancouver, Frankfurt, Mumbai, are chomping at the bit to lure these educated job creators.</i></p> <p><i>For example, educated and brainy people from all over the world can easily get a Canadian Skilled Worker Visa, which allows them to become perfectly legal "permanent residents" in Canada -- no need for a sponsoring employer, or even a job.</i></p>
IT [profession]	Used for mentions of IT as a profession	<p><i>British IT contractors have lost their jobs to non-EU workers because they were cheaper, the BBC has been told.</i></p> <p><i>An ex contractor at BT's Global Services Unit, said IT contractors laid off recently by BT, were told workers brought from India to the UK cost less.</i></p>
Labour requirements	Articles often discuss the labour market requirements of a country, region or company. This code is used for references to these labour market requirements.	<p><i>Australia's shortfall in skilled workers remained high in the December quarter, but has dropped around nine percent. That's according to the Skills Index put out this week by the Clarius group, which found one hundred and ten thousand skilled positions couldn't be filled by the end</i></p>

		<p><i>of last year.</i></p> <p><i>But even though the demand for skilled labour is still strong, it's expected to fall much further as the global financial crisis bites. Clarius Group Executive General Manager Kim Quick.</i></p>
Language	Used for references to language acquisition or use (i.e. of English or another language)	<p><i>Twenty per cent of the resumés with foreign names even listed fluency in English, French and their mother tongue, but Oreopoulos said "it did not seem to make a difference at all."</i></p>
Legality	Articles sometimes invoke the [il]legality of various concepts, or of legal issues and battles. This code is used for instances of these concepts in the articles	<p><i>In a relief to thousands of Indians in the UK, a court in London has said the British government cannot go back on its commitments to immigrants who came to Britain under the Highly Skilled category. The British government had said immigrants who came to Britain under the HSMP category i.e. the Highly skilled migrant programme would be made permanent residents at the end of four years but later made retrospective changes in the so that it would take five years to apply for permanent residency. The judgment recognises that the British government has not honoured its commitments. This comes as another blow to the British Home office. Just a year ago, a British judge had said retrospective changes to the HSMP were unfair and unlawful.</i></p>
Length of stay	Used for mentions of the length of time migrants remain in a country before leaving (or do not leave and remain indefinitely)	<p><i>AUSTRALIA'S record intake of temporary skilled migrants during the economic downturn could boost the number of Australian-born unemployed, as research suggests it is being used as a "back door" to permanent entry by low-wage workers.</i></p>
Local government	Used for references to local or regional government	<p><i>Toronto city councillor Janet Davis, chair of the city's now-defunct immigration and settlement working group, said Toronto is still the No. 1 recipient of new immigrants, despite its dwindling share</i></p>
Migrant safety	Used for references to migrants' safety or lack thereof. In particular, migrants are in some instances at risk of physical attack from other people or injury	<p><i>But at that time there was no mention of violence of racism. This is something, which has changed, rapidly in the recent year and a half or so. When I visited Australia last summer (Australia's winter) I noticed</i></p>

	from poor workplace practises	<i>how many common Australians were talking about overseas students in terms of them being migrants. In addition, they casually narrated how they felt the trains and buses had gotten so much more crowded. This told me that the situation was becoming dangerous: it is a small step from blaming a group for making public space more crowded to more right wing narratives on: kicking them out, eradicating them, teaching them a lesson and so on. And this is precisely what has now happened.</i>
Migration flow size	Used for references to the size of migration flows (the number of people immigrating, emigrating, or both)	<i>Australia is a nation of immigrants and has been enjoying a boom in new arrivals for the past decade mining boom drove unemployment rates to 30-year lows. But six of Australia's major trading partners are now in recession, economic growth has stalled, and unemployment has started to rise with the government expecting unemployment to hit 7% by mid-2010 from 4.8% currently. "I expect the numbers of our programme to drop next year ... as a reaction to the economic circumstances," "It is fair to say that we expect the demand in the economy for labour to reduce. As it is a program very much linked to the demand we expect to run a smaller program." Australia has been accepting immigrants in record numbers in recent years and set a target for 190,300 immigrants this year, up 20% on the 2007-2008 financial year and higher than the post-world war II record of 185,099 in 1969-70.</i>
Policy reform	Articles sometimes discuss actual or potential changes to immigration programmes.	<i>Lawyers and experts feel that overall, the immigration reforms in UK will, in essence will, allow candidates and businesses similar routes for entry to the UK as before. "The new points based system is expected to simplify existing UK immigration law. So far, there have been a multitude of immigration schemes such as the highly skilled migrant programme (HSMP) and the UK work permits programme, as well as schemes for those wishing to start a business or make significant foreign investment in the country. The new tiered immigration system will make the structure and requirements for immigration much clearer. For example, business</i>

		<i>entrepreneurs, investors, and those coming under the current international graduates scheme will fall under Tier 1 and skilled workers with a job offer will fall under Tier 2, replacing the current UK work permits scheme," says Mona Chawla, solicitor and founding member of Optimus Law Group, a niche, international practice focusing on business immigration and intellectual property matters.</i>
Political consensus	Used for references to cross-party political consensus	<i>Immigration Minister Chris Evans's February announcement of new restrictions to the system has left thousands in limbo. Many already here will be granted another two years' grace to find an employer sponsor. If they can't find one, they will have to go home. Most politicians and commentators hailed the changes as long overdue, but for students they were devastating.</i>
Political controversy	Used for instances of criticism of a politician or political party	<i>A top city restaurateur has slammed Iain Duncan Smith over his call for businesses to employ British people over immigrants – claiming a lack of local skills has stopped his successful business expanding. Jabbar Khan, who owns the acclaimed Lasan restaurant in the Jewellery Quarter and its offshoot Lasan Eatery in Hall Green, hit out at the Work and Pensions Secretary, claiming he was jumping on a political bandwagon and ignoring reality. In a recent speech to the Spanish Foundation for Analysis and Social Studies in Madrid, Mr Duncan Smith highlighted the fact that more than half the jobs filled over the last year were taken by foreign nationals.</i>
Population size	Used for discussion of the total population size of the country of the news organisation	<i>Europe is on track to lose 52 million workers between now and 2050— unless it begins embracing immigrants fast.</i>
Pro-migration advocate	Used for mention or inclusion of any group or individual expressing pro-migration views (i.e. maintaining or increasing migration flows, or expressing positive views about migrant groups)	<i>Unions rally in support of migrant workers after Belfast attacks</i>
Public opinion	Used for mention of the in-vivo term 'public opinion' or synonyms, such as national sentiment, local opinion.	<i>Popular opposition. Anti-immigration movements appear to be on the rise in many parts of Europe. Even "managed" migration carries risks to race relations and social harmony.</i>
Public services	Used for mention of public services and utilities such	<i>Explaining the reasons for the cap, he said immigration into Britain has</i>

	as education, healthcare, electricity provision etc.	<p><i>been "too high in the last 10 years" and that it has put "pressures" on the country's public services.</i></p> <p><i>"Immigration level has been too high over the last 10 years that has put pressures on our public services and some areas of our society...One of the things I am extremely keen is to cut down anything that gives rise to political extremism, anything that gives rise to any kind of racism," he said.</i></p>
Refugees	Used for mention of refugees	<p><i>But settlement agencies are in a bind. The federal government doesn't fund services for guest workers. If agencies help, they're diverting scarce funds from refugees and landed immigrants</i></p>
Remittances	Used for mention of remittances from migrants to relatives or friends outside their host country	<p><i>Increased migration to EU will assist India to sustain the flow of inward remittances, which have been playing a crucial role in financing India's trade deficits. According to the World Bank, India's inward remittances were US\$ 52 billion in 2009, equivalent to 3.3% of its GDP, and 15% of the global total. Greater access to EU's labour market by the Indian manpower will help diversify the source of remittances, and expand the Diaspora network which can help deepen economic and strategic linkages between India and the EU. The role of Indian Diaspora in the US in deepening bilateral linkages is particularly instructive in this regard.</i></p>
Scientist [profession]	Used for mention of science-based professions, such as biologist or physicist	<p><i>THE keenly anticipated new priority skills list must better recognise general skills from commerce, arts and science graduates or high-quality overseas students will avoid Australia, Universities Australia has warned.</i></p>
Skill	Many articles emphasise or explain migrants' skills and the value of them. This code is used for references to migrants' skills. Not used for mention of programmes that include the word 'skilled'	<p><i>Thousands of "super-mobile" migrants should be given tax breaks to encourage them to stay in the UK, a report said today.</i></p> <p><i>Immigrants who are young, well-educated and have much-needed skills are in demand around the world, researchers claimed.</i></p> <p><i>They should be offered incentives to remain and not move to competing countries where they are needed to fill labour-market gaps, the Institute for Public Policy Research (Ippr) said.</i></p>
State of employment	Used for mentions of unemployment or underemployment	<p><i>Miu Yan, an associate professor at UBC's school of social work, told the Straight that many immigrants end up in low-paying jobs because of prohibitive accreditation processes. "For certain professions" like medical professionals and lawyers, they are almost undoable and can take years</i></p>

		<p>to get," he said.</p> <p>As a result, Yan continued, many skilled immigrants—especially those with families to support—find themselves caught in a Catch-22 situation. Immigrants arrive eager to use their skills and enter the Canadian work force. But their degrees are not recognized and they must go back to school. But if they return to school, they run the risk of burning through their savings and letting their family go hungry. The "solution" is to work in low paying "survival jobs" that provide little money and even less time to attend school and study.</p>
Teaching [profession]	Used for mention of teaching as a profession	<p>Celedonia Diaz has a PhD in education and 13 years of teaching senior high school physics and biology -- and she works at Tim Hortons. Deepa Narula has eight years in the classroom and a PhD in Canadian aboriginal literature -- but she's back in school, learning to be a teacher.</p>
Training	Used for references to training of people [to improve or expand skillsets]	<p>Large cities are losing the skilled immigrants their labour markets need while (they are) bearing a disproportionate share of the cost of assisting immigrants with special challenges such as language and skills training needs.</p>
Wages	Used for references to wages or salaries	<p>The nursing workforce is a mature one, with about half the present staff expected to retire in the next decade or so. Not enough new nurses are being trained.</p> <p>Nursing is no longer the attractive vocation it once was. The pay often is not enough to compensate for a difficult job with long, antisocial hours and immense stress.</p> <p>A common misconception is that bringing in skilled migrants takes jobs away from locals. With nursing this is not the case.</p>

Appendix D: Field Diary

29 February 2012

Wrong country focus

- http://www.islandsbusiness.com/islands_business/index_dynamic/containerNameToReplace=MiddleMiddle/focusModuleID=18043/overrideSkinName=issueArticle-full.tpl – Fiji, not India. Does contain Australian policy
- <http://allafrica.com/stories/200805270809.html> - Nigeria, paid link
- <http://www.theepochtimes.com/news/8-6-9/71647.html> - focus on Ireland. Report @
- http://www.immigrantcouncil.ie/images/stories/Publications_-_Getting_On.pdf
- http://www.redorbit.com/news/business/1438408/as_costs_soar_a_china_plus_one_strategy_foreign_investors/ - China
- <http://www.observer.com/2008/07/canadians-among-us/2/> - Canada to USA
- <http://www.concordmonitor.com/article/what-if-the-pilgrims-had-needed-visa?page=0,1&CSAuthResp=1330524644%3AAsunca9ka9ln6bvgvtvea0eqb8n2%3ACSID%7CCSGroupld%3AApproved%3A0FE34A0799AB66C354E83C4043833451&CSUserid=94&CSGroupld=1> – USA, no focus on India
- <http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/africa/quality-of-life-woos-migrants-back-home#page2> – South Africa
- <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/erelease.aspx?relid=41184> – India to Bahrain, Oman
- <http://www.amateureconomists.com/blogs/2008/08/13/why-immigration-laws-dont-stop-illegal-workers-from-entering-us/> - USA
- http://www.globalvisas.com/news/indian_immigration_students_attracted_to_dutch_opportunities403.html - Netherlands
- http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Southeast_Asia/JH21Ae01.html – Singapore
- http://online.barrons.com/article/SB121944469149164937.html?mod=googlenews_barrons – USA
- <http://www.stuff.co.nz/archived-stuff-sections/archived-business-sections/business/features-1864/604101> - New Zealand focus
- <http://www.thestar.com/Opinion/article/488012> - not Indian migration
- http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2008-09-01/india/27915078_1_internal-security-communal-violence-bomb-blasts - Indian terrorism
- http://www.blackagendareport.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=767&Itemid=1 – not migration
- http://www.redorbit.com/news/business/1541665/iploca_faces_up_to_increasing_global_challenges/ - energy
- <http://archive.wfn.org/2008/09/msg00026.html> - religion
- <http://newsblaze.com/story/20080917130840zzzz.nb/topstory.html> - USA
- http://newsweek.washingtonpost.com/postglobal/ali_ettefagh/2008/09/this_is_not_a_world.html - no detail on UK
- http://www.khaleejtimes.com/DisplayArticle.asp?xfile=data/business/2008/September/business_September421.xml§ion=business&col=- Saudi Arabia
- <http://www.thestar.com/FederalElection/article/497188> - no Indian migrants mention
- http://www.globalvisas.com/news/obama_announces_plans_to_streamline_us_visa_processes444.html - USA, not newspaper
- http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2008-09-11/news/28442266_1_green-card-scheme-skilled-indian-professionals-skilled-workers - Germany
- <http://www.saudi Gazette.com.sa/index.cfm?method=home.regcon&contentID=2008090916734> – Saudi Arabia
- <http://www.screenindia.com/news/Swiss--own-Bollywood-film-/358710/> - Switzerland
- http://townhall.com/columnists/cesarconada/2008/09/09/make_immigration_work_for_working_immigrants - USA
- http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/7605455.stm - no mention of India

Not migration

- http://www.telegraphindia.com/1080617/jsp/opinion/story_9419263.jsp - India
- <http://www.mpkapar.com/manikavasagam/posts/malayan-history-to-1963/> - Malaysia
- <http://www.reuters.com/article/2008/06/19/us-gulf-inflation-migrants-idUSL1964001620080619> - UAE
- <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/features/michelle-de-kretser-the-urban-jungle-850806.html> - unrelated book review
- http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2008-06-21/india/27749199_1_india-australia-uranium-sales-australian-foreign-minister - extradition deal
- <http://www.howrah.org/> - car website
- <http://www.ciol.com/Developer/Interviews/Avenues-for-Networking-professionals/6808108716/0/> - Indian IT magazine, interview, not migration (future tech trends)
- <http://www.livemint.com/2008/08/05215630/Liberalization-who-gained-wh.html> - Indian economy, not migration
- <http://socialistworker.org/2008/08/08/revolt-and-repression> - Beijing Olympic dissidents
- http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/the_hasbeen/2008/08/bush_owes_to_china.html - Beijing Olympics
- <http://businessstn.com/content/200711/2007-hot100> - USA companies of the year, not newspaper
- http://online.wsj.com/article/SB121869288776940123.html?mod=googlenews_wsj – Georgian aid
- <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/the-big-question-what-does-it-mean-for-the-us-if-whites-are-no-longer-in-the-majority-897501.html> - US race
- <http://ajax.sys-con.com/node/419518> - web interfaces
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- <http://www.telegram.com/article/20080821/NEWS/808210391/> - US economy
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After this date, specified keyword searches from the non-Google database sources were used, such as Lexis Nexus, to reach data saturation

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