

Terézia Rončáková

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4325-2649>

 terezia.roncakova@ku.sk

Catholic University of Ružomberok

 <https://ror.org/05ra6d150>

Lenka Môcová


 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2692-5082>

 lenka.mocova@uniza.sk

University of Žilina

 <https://ror.org/031wwwj55>

**Media image of Slovak migrants
in Great Britain**

 <https://doi.org/10.15633/sce.01102>

Abstract

Media image of Slovak migrants in Great Britain

Central and Eastern European labor migration to the United Kingdom has been one of the major EU phenomena for decades (depending on the time of the accession of specific countries to the European Union). However, the countries of migration origin tend to reflect the experience of migrants rather than the experience and attitude of the hosts. This paper attempts to capture the perspective of the host country through media articles on the topic. It analyses the media image of Slovak migrants, including Slovak Roma, but captures this specific issue only in a given context. It is based on extensive research of the media image of Slovakia in British dailies on a sample of 481 texts from five periodicals (Daily Mirror, Daily Star, The Daily Telegraph, The Guardian, The Financial Times) in 2010–2014. Applying the combined method of quantitative and qualitative analysis, we observe the tonality of the published articles, the present stereotypical depictions and especially specific thematic frameworks of the image of Slovakia (Slovak migrants).

Keywords: media image of a country, Central and Eastern Europe, qualitative analysis, Slovakia

The media image of Slovak migration to Great Britain, with an emphasis on Roma migration, is part of the overall media image of Slovakia in Great Britain. Our paper is based on an extensive study of this media image in 2010–2014. In the given period, the issue of migration and Roma migration proved to be one of the significant ones.

The image of a country abroad is affected by many factors and can be studied from different perspectives. Cultural studies draw mainly from the theory of cultural representation of S. Hall, which is closely connected with cultural identities (Tarasheva, 2014, pp. 7–8). Further studies emphasize the collective cultural memory in the sense that the past of our culture helps us interpret its presence. In this context, D. Berkowitz and Z. Liu (2014) distinguished the so-called *social construction of news* from the *cultural construction of news*. At the same time, they detected the possible influence of media institutions and the system of modern media work in the process. Here, the theory of the narrative construction of reality is particularly beneficial (Bruner, 1991). In its context, creating media texts means retelling the events in a way that resonates with society's values and concepts. The ritual of passing on the story is

currently taking place using modern technology, with the interpretive community playing a key role (Bočák et al., 2010). In the media, we observe the growing popularity of stories, especially *human interest stories*, which can be considered a feature of tabloidisation (Fulton et al., 2005). A specific position is taken by the archetypal mythical narrative (Car, 2019; Lule, 2001), especially the heroic narrative. Booker (2006), under the influence of deep psychology, distinguished the seven basic plots in all stories:

- *Overcoming the Monster*,
- *Rags to Riches*,
- *The Quest*,
- *Voyage and Return*,
- *Comedy*,
- *Tragedy*,
- *Rebirth*.

The image of Slovakia in foreign media is relatively little explored, also because the Slovak Republic was established only recently, in 1993. The only study that deals with the image of Slovakia exclusively in the British media is the work of A. Burgess (1997). His content analysis focuses on the period after the establishment of Slovakia (1993–1994) and identifies the three most frequent topics: the split of Czechoslovakia and its consequences, the problem with the construction of the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros waterworks and the rights of the Hungarian minority. A. Burgess noticed the relatively negative tone of the texts and attributed them to the discourse that developed in the West after the fall of communism, which defined the East by “a proclivity for intolerance, extremism, and ethnic conflict” (Burgess, 1997, p. 679). Similarly, other researchers confirm that in the past Slovakia was unknown to the Western media, almost invisible (Henderson, 2002). K. Henderson noticed that the topic of Slovak nationalism was interesting for foreign media in the early 1990s, exaggerating insignificant demonstrations in Bratislava and leaning to the side of Hungary, considering Slovaks to be “faintly ridiculous extremists” (Henderson, 2002, pp. xv–xvii).

Among domestic researchers, A. Školkaý (2014) studied the topic of Slovakia’s image in foreign media, analyzing the activities of foreign correspondents in our country and highlighting the three most common topics: the Roma minority, the Hungarian and partly Jewish minorities; economic problems and reforms; and population migration. A similar occurrence of topics was reported by A. Salner and M. Beblavý (1999). J. Žilinský (2007)

recorded negative mentions in the three most common areas: the financing of science in Slovakia, discrimination of the Roma and the populism of the government of R. Fico. O. Gyarfášová, M. Bútorá and Z. Bútorová (2012) examined the strengths and weaknesses of the image of the Slovak Republic abroad. They identified a strong story, proximity and potential as its key features and stressed an insufficient country brand. The multi-author study Slovakia—a country with potential (Bán et al., 2012) emphasized the status of Slovakia as a little-known country and the need to disrupt cultural myths and stereotypes by enforcing new attributes such as development, genuineness, innovation, adaptability, creativity, and energy.

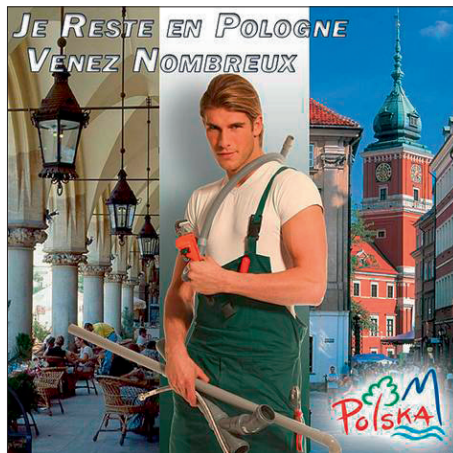
J. Rozenfeld's research (2011) confirmed a markedly negative image of Eastern Europe in the British media. At this point, it is worth recalling that the term "Eastern Europe" is not geographical, but rather historical and socio-political; the countries of Eastern Europe are perceived as countries of the former Eastern bloc (Ostblock). The research of the British press by A. Azarova (2017), for example, demonstrated that in all the articles in her sample, Europe was identified with the European Union before 2004, and Eastern Europe was excluded. The image of Eastern Europe in Western perception faces several stereotypes. Based on the work of N. Kaneva (2012) and R. Saunders (2012), we can identify the following basic ones:

- nationalism,
- mysteriousness and lack of information,
- violence,
- backwardness and poverty,
- migration,
- sexualisation.

As B. Korte (2010) points out that after the fall of communism, Western Europe, including Britain, faced immigration from Eastern Europe, refugees from the Balkans, and economic migrants. Following the great territorial expansion of the EU in 2004, the British press became very concerned about the flood of Eastern Europeans who would "flood cities and steal labor from the locals" (Korte, 2010, p. 2). V. Veličković (2010) observed that the images of flooding and swamping have historically always been very typical of the British public debate on migration. Previously, they were used with African and Asian migrants. Eastern European immigrants are most often depicted as Polish plumbers and masons, confirming the classic stereotype of Eastern European uneducated but hardworking male migrants. A special phenomenon

in this context is the exodus of Eastern European Roma to Great Britain. J. Krokusová (2007) from the Institute of Regional and National Studies of the University of Prešov states that after the year 2000, due to the departure of the Roma, Slovakia was presented as a racist country in many European countries, e.g. Belgium or Finland. Roma migration began spontaneously but grew into organized, economically motivated departures. This has brought about many problems related to the crime — the activities of usurers, forgers, traffickers, etc.

Figure 1. Visual of the Polish campaign to support tourism from 2005



Source: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4115164.stm>

Methodology

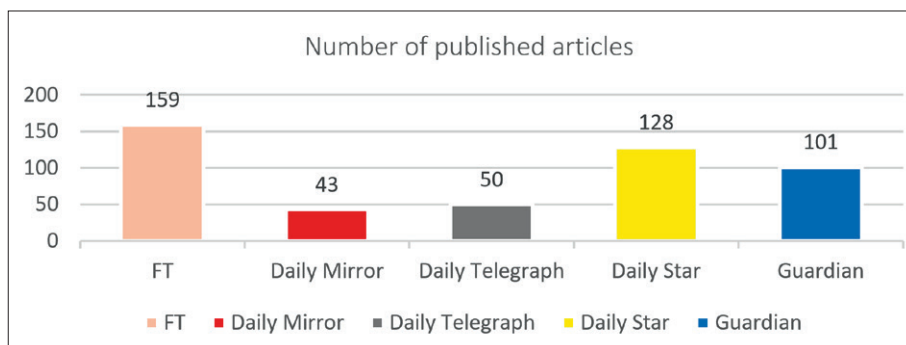
Our paper is based on research into the image of Slovakia in the British media in 2010–2014. 481 media texts from five British periodicals (their online versions) were examined. In accordance with the procedures of C. Newbold et al. (2002, pp. 80–81) the criteria for selecting the periodical were their type diversity (two tabloids and three elite dailies), periodicity (dailies due to the expected higher number of texts) and general availability of data in the given period (e.g. the possibility of searching in the online archive periodicals after purchasing a subscription).

Table 1. Basic information about the researched dailies

Periodical	Year of est.	Orientation	Webpage	Circulation 2014 Mon-Fri	Type
<i>Daily Mirror</i>	1903	leftist, populist	mirror.co.uk	831 052	Tabloid
<i>Daily Star</i>	1978	conservative	dailystar.co.uk	428 036	Tabloid
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	1855	right wing, conservative	telegraph.co.uk	439 098	Elite
<i>The Guardian</i>	1821	center-left, social-liberal	theguardian.com	147 786	Elite
<i>The Financial Times</i>	1888	economically liberal, politically centrist	ft.com	63 279	Elite

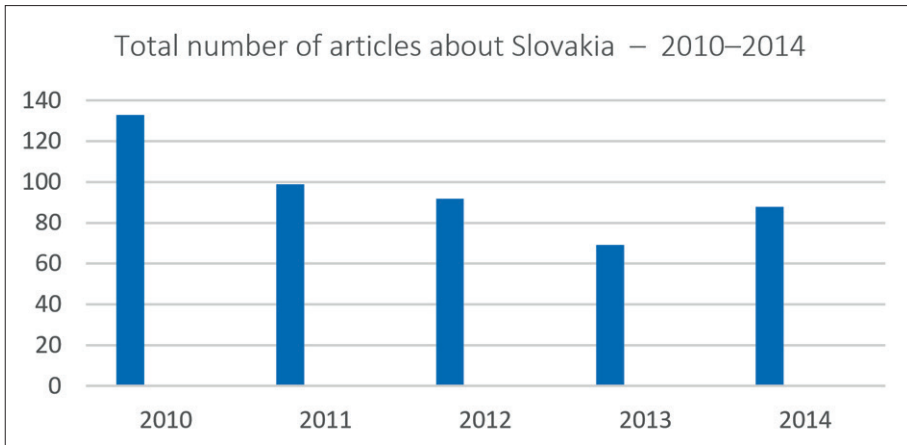
Since our goal was the most comprehensive characteristic of the media image of Slovakia in Great Britain, we decided on the simplest method of choosing a sample, the so-called census (Macnamara, 2011), i.e., the selection of all units in the chosen framework, which in our case was the connection of texts with Slovakia. The selected texts were considered relevant if they contained the following words: Slovak, Slovakia, Slovakian.

Most of the 481 texts were published in *The Financial Times*, the least in *Daily Mirror*.

Figure 2. Number of published articles by periodicals

In terms of time distribution, we noticed a declining trend in the number of texts with a slight increase at the end of the period under review.

Figure 3. Number of published articles by year of publication



We examined the texts included in the sample using the method of content analysis. This method is interdisciplinary and, in addition to the analysis of media content, it is used in the whole spectrum of scientific disciplines from pedagogical sciences through psychology, marketing to mass media communication (Neuendorf, 2002). This method was first applied by H. Lasswell in 1927 to study propaganda and subsequently became very popular in the research of film content and later the mass media, with researchers focusing on violence, racism, and the status of women (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Neuendorf distinguishes four main tasks of content analysis: descriptive, psychometric, deductive and predictive (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 53). We applied descriptive content analysis.

It is important to distinguish between quantitative, qualitative and combined content analysis. Qualitative analysis better covers factors that affect the audience and their beliefs or behavior (Macnamara, 2011, p. 2). In the case of media texts, it makes it possible to better understand their deeper meaning and possible interpretation by the recipients. The key elements that are monitored in such a case include e.g. tone of utterance, point of view, the gender of verbs, metaphors, comparisons, adjectives, etc. (Macnamara, 2011, p. 17).

A possible research method here is to study the media text framing. The theory of framing has been continuously evolving since the 1970s. It is an integral part of the study of cultural and social discourse. As J. N. Capella and K. Jamieson (1997) explained that frameworks enliven the rules and concepts present in culture, creating the context. D. McQuail points out that in media practice, frames are necessary to convert information into a meaningful form in a short time (2009). Z. Pan and G. Kosicki (1993) identified the frame with the central motif of the text (*theme*) while making a special distinction between the *theme* and *topic*. J. Kuypers (2009) understood the frame as the “central organizing idea” of a narrative event. S. Iyengar (1991) distinguished between episodic frames (in the context of an event) and thematic frames (in a more general, abstract context).

According to R. Entman (1993), frames determine the aspects of events and phenomena and their interconnection to promote a certain interpretation, evaluation and/or solution. He explains that their functions are as follows: defining a problem, interpreting causes, expressing a moral attitude, and promising a solution, remedy, or response. Various factors are involved in creating the frames, such as societal norms and values, organizational pressures and constraints, the influence of interest groups, professional routines and procedures, and the ideological and political orientation of journalists. Among these influences, some authors include the cultural context of society. For example, E. Goffman (1974) claims that frames are rooted in cultural reality, and in the case of the dependence of the media frame on culture, it is the so-called cultural resonance.

In our research, we adopted the frame as one of the variables. We determined a total of six variables:

- topic,
- genre,
- tonality (positive, negative, neutral),
- the element of assessment (adjectives and adjective collocations),
- frame,
- mention of Central or Eastern Europe.

When evaluating the text frames, we used pre-identified frames (Lewis & Weaver, 2015):

- *conflict*,
- *attribution of responsibility*,
- *economic consequences*,

- *human interest,*
- *morality,*
- *character,*
- *performance.*

At the same time, we left room for possible new frames.¹ The issue of migration and the Roma were present mainly in connection with the variable topic and frame, partly in connection with the variable element of assessment. Before the research, we identified five hypotheses; migration and the Roma were related to the two of them:

H1: We assume the dominance of topics related to the life of Slovaks in Great Britain, especially the problem of the assimilation of local Slovaks of Roma origin.

The mass departure of Roma to Great Britain was intensely discussed in the Slovak media. A. Mušinka et al. (2014) and K. Matlovičová et al. (2012) estimated the number of Roma citizens in Slovakia to be 350,000 to 400,000, which represents 6–7% of the total Slovak population. The media image of the Roma in the Slovak press is primarily negative. As stated by T. Podolinská (2017, pp. 140–141), Roma are often portrayed as people with a negative attitude to work, abusing the social system, with a high birth rate, inappropriate sexual behavior, poor personal hygiene, low intelligence, high crime rate, etc. As migration is one of the most pressing issues in the UK (Duffy & Rowden, 2005), we anticipated that the issue of Roma immigration and assimilation would receive increased media attention.

H2: We assume that the media image of Slovakia in Great Britain will show stereotypical characteristics of the image of Eastern European culture — nationalism; mysteriousness and lack of information, violence; backwardness and poverty; migration; the sexualization of women.

As reported by N. Cingerová and K. Motyková (2017, pp. 117–118), discourse analysis perceives cultural stereotypes as collective symbols that assist in the interpretation of social events. They also include various typical clichés and metaphors. We also tried to identify these stereotypes in our research sample.

.....
 1 Using the *Other* category, we identified another 18 frames in our sample, namely: growth and development, discrimination, David and Goliath, economic advantage, innovation, populism, corruption, threat, change, crime and punishment, cruelty, sadness and loss, outrage, apathy, unknown, evaluation, sustainable development and concern.

Findings

The topic of migration in relation to Slovakia appeared in: *The Financial Times* (n = 2), *The Guardian* (n = 5), *The Daily Telegraph* (n = 3) and *Daily Star* (n = 7).

Table 2. Topic frequency in the examined dailies

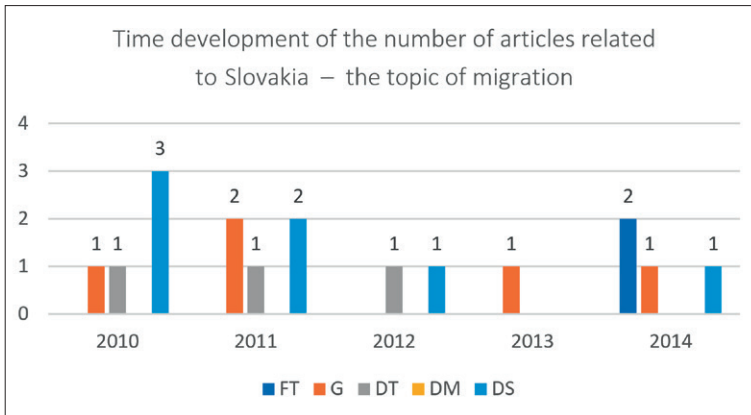
TOPIC	The Finan- cial Times	The Guardian	The Daily Telegraph	Daily Mirror	Daily Star	Totals
EU Economy	69	8	0	0	0	77
SR Economy	7	2	1	0	4	14
Bailout fund	25	4	4	0	0	33
EU Politics	21	6	0	0	0	27
SR Politics	17	4	3	0	0	24
Global politics	0	1	1	0	0	2
Nationalism	5	2	0	0	0	7
Tourism	1	8	6	2	0	17
Migration	2	5	3	0	7	17
Roma	3	2	0	0	4	9
Crime	0	1	11	9	11	32
Sport	3	24	15	29	93	164
Education	1	2	0	0	0	3
Healthcare	0	3	0	0	0	3
Culture	1	5	0	1	4	11
Environment	0	5	0	0	0	5
Other	4	19	6	2	5	36
Totals	159	101	50	43	128	

Migration is a particularly sensitive issue for the British public, with the main source of concern being job losses due to the flooding of the market with cheaper labor from Eastern Europe. Slovaks were described as the “fastest-growing foreign-born group” (Bingham, 2011).

The analysis in *The Daily Telegraph* includes the statement of the leader of the Migration Watch: “The eastern Europeans have been extremely good workers and therefore very welcome to employers.” At the same time, however, he admits that “they have been paid below what a Brit would have been

paid, they have often been on very low wages and accepted difficult working conditions” (Bingham, 2011).

Figure 4. Development of the number of articles on the topic of migration



A similar picture of hard-working and diligent Eastern Europeans is provided in an article in *The Financial Times*, with an explicit headline that states that “Employers like EU migrants for their commitment” (Odell, 2014). In this and a similar article, also in *The Financial Times* (McDermott, 2014), the authors agree that these migrants pay more in taxes than they receive in social benefits and are less likely to receive social benefits than native Britons. The hard work of workers from Eastern Europe is also emphasized again.

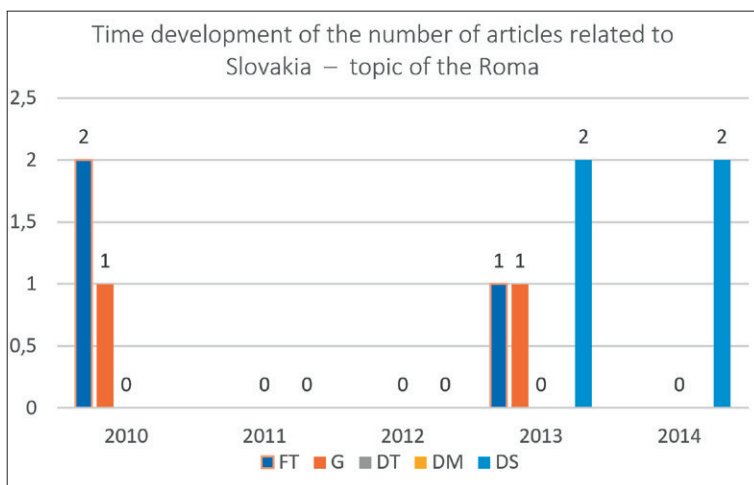
Articles in tabloids are more critical. For example, an article in *Daily Star* warns that after the adoption of new laws, people from the new accession countries, including Slovakia, can claim social benefits after only 12 weeks and not 12 months as before. However, the author also brings the statement of the relevant authority (*Department for Work and Pensions*) that “most migrants do not claim benefits” (Coyle, 2010).

Even more critical is the *Daily Star* article from 2011, which sees migrant workers as a cause of growing poverty in the UK. It contains a direct statement by Ian Duncan Smith, an MP, who said that “the wave of Eastern Europeans who flooded into the country from 2004 has led to poverty in adults being at its highest levels in 50 years” (Hughes, 2011).

The topic of Slovak Roma was addressed in *The Financial Times* ($n = 3$), *The Guardian* ($n = 2$) and *Daily Star* ($n = 4$). As Figure 5 demonstrates, the highest

number of articles was published in 2013, with three of the four texts being more extensive and addressing the aggravated situation of the coexistence of the British population with Slovak Roma in and in the vicinity of Sheffield.

Figure 5. Development of the number of articles with the topic of Roma



An article by J. Ciensky from *The Financial Times* deals with the segregation of Roma children in Czech schools. Their frequent placement in special schools is criticized here. At the same time, however, Slovakia is explicitly mentioned in a quote by the manager of the Roma Rights Center in Budapest, R. Kushen, who stated that the Roma in Slovakia and elsewhere are also facing this situation (Ciensky, 2010).

T. Nicholson talks about the difficulties that the Roma are experiencing in the labor market. The author attempts to look at the problem from several points of view. He brings the testimony of a university-educated Roma woman, who in the Slovak conditions seems to be a “rarity.” In addition, he admits that Roma children are still sent to *special* schools regardless of their cognitive abilities. However, the innovative strategies of the new Slovak government toward the Roma minority are evaluated positively here (Nicholson, 2010).

The author of a letter from the reader, J. A. Goldston from the *Open Society Justice Initiative*, New York, describes the living conditions of the Roma throughout Europe, including Slovakia, in a similar way. They are portrayed

as “massive unemployment, widespread poverty, separate substandard education,” as well as “outburst of violence” against them (Goldston, 2013).

The Guardian published two articles about the Roma, probably the most critical article ever by S. Drakulić, who also provoked an emotional discussion of readers in the discussion forum (131 posts). Slovakia is mentioned here as one of the countries you are likely to hear about when the Roma have been “stabbed, burned or shot,” the Roma being perceived as the most discriminated and poorest European minority (Drakulić, 2010).

An extensive reportage on Slovak Roma in Sheffield is already very expressive in the headline, see the term “boiling pot ready to explode” (Hall & Pidd, 2013). The main topic here is various problems caused by the “huge influx of Slovakian Roma.” The most prominent are garbage, noise, and street gangs. The article brings colorful testimonies of the affected locals, such as the owner of a bistro to whom a young Roma couple allegedly offered to sell a child for £250. The locals even organized a voluntary neighborhood patrol. There is also a statement by a local MP, who warns against the escalation of the current problems with Slovak Roma. The terms used associate fear and impending danger – *escalating*, *explosion*, etc. According to this article, the local community of Slovak Roma is not making sufficient efforts to integrate into British society. However, the article also acknowledges that crime rates have not increased significantly since Roma immigration, but rather antisocial behavior, such as street rubbish, overcrowded housing, related falling house prices, theft of garden furniture as well as alleged consumption of cats. Local Slovak Roma complain of discrimination and lack of job and other life opportunities in Slovakia and express satisfaction with their life in Britain.

The narrative of the articles in the *Daily Star* is quite explicit: the Roma are abusing the British welfare system. The article by B. Francis (2014) describes Slovak Roma from Sheffield who spend their social benefits playing on slot machines (Francis, 2014). They speak only broken or no English and live in crowded houses. The language used to describe them is sharp: “Some can rake in as much as £23,000 a year with jobseeker’s allowance, housing and child benefits.” The author also compares their living conditions in Slovakia and the United Kingdom: “They love England. In Slovakia, they live in villages and camps with no electricity. Here they have a house and money for nothing.” The article also contains a warning from a member of the British Parliament for Sheffield about the danger of unrest due to the anti-social behavior of Slovak Roma. There is also a statement from a spokesman of the local Roma

community, who claims that the Roma have the right to be here and they like to bet because they are bored.

F. Cross's article from July 2014 offers a very similar picture (Cross, 2014). It describes a Roma family with a woman smoking at a table. The family has 13 members, with only one of them having a job, but they are enjoying a comfortable life thanks to social benefits. The woman sadly describes her life in Slovakia: "We didn't have flats like this council house in Slovakia. "We didn't have electricity or radiators, we didn't have anything." Also: "My country does not have a job, no food, nothing. I'm not going back there, never." The father of the family also compares these conditions with the British ones in broken English: "I like England. England give me a house, give me a doctor, give me a school, benefit. England good, thank you so much England." According to them, the authorities tried to remove their benefits several times, and the mother reacted as follows: "It's not fair to suspend money like this. Every time I go to sign on, they come up with something! I am cross! So cross!" The author of the article cites an official statement from the respective authority, briefly stating that benefits cannot be a "replacement for work."

Figure 6. Illustrative images for articles about Slovak Roma in *Daily Star* in 2013 and 2014



Two other articles in *Daily Star* from 2013 also describe the anti-social behavior of the Roma (Perkins, 2013; Walker, 2013). They stressed that the anger of the locals intensified after 4,000 Slovak Roma moved into Sheffield's Page Hall district. They warn readers against a flood of Roma people about to move

to the UK. The behavior of the 200,000 Roma already living in Britain is often antisocial and has required e.g. publication of a leaflet on decent behavior. Samples from it can be considered extreme—for example, they warn the Roma that the streets must not be used as a toilet.

We also found minor mentions of the Roma in the topic categories of EU politics and nationalism. The articles on EU politics in the given period were dominated by the so-called bailout fund and the evaluation of the European Commissioners, including the Slovak representative Maroš Šefčovič. His extensive profile stated that he answered the questions competently, but his “Achilles’ heel” was a five-year-old statement “despising the Roma,” which he tried to justify and refute (Pignal, Barber, Chaffin, & Tait, 2010). In connection with nationalism, the Slovak politician Ján Slotka was included in N. Farage’s portrait in *The Guardian*. His well-known statement about Roma who need a “big whip and a small yard” was quoted (Harris, 2012).

Another large category monitored was the adjectives characterizing the people in Slovakia. Slovak Roma were perceived as a “mostly poor Roma minority.” Their integration into society is a “long-running problem.” In terms of education, the Roma children are pushed into an “inferior system.” The characteristics of Slovak Roma in Britain mention “anti-social behavior” (anti-social behavior of 4,000 Roma from Slovakia who flooded into Sheffield’s Page Hall district); the whole situation resembles “a boiling pot ready to explode.” The descriptions include the terms “gambling problem,” “unemployed” — “her husband and 10 of her 11 children are also unemployed,” “huge influx of Slovakian Roma,” “stained mattresses and sofas are piled up in gardens,” “noisy groups congregating outside their houses at 1 am,” “scantily clad teenage girls,” “unsavory claims about cat-eating newcomers.”

In relation to the monitored topics of migration and the Roma, negative tonality prevailed in the monitored texts, especially in the articles on the Roma.

Table 5. Relationship between the topic and tonality

Topic	Tonality		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Migration	2	6	8
Roma	0	8	1

In the articles on the topic of migration, we noticed obvious differences in the assessment of Central and Eastern European migrants between the

elite dailies (2 positive, 2 negative, 2 neutral articles) and tabloids (4 negative, 3 neutral articles). Broadsheets provide a picture of a hard-working migrant who is paid less than a Brit, and in the articles it was possible to identify the frames of economic consequences and populism. The tabloids frame this topic as an economic consequence and threat, there are “water metaphors” as expected, e.g. the “wave of eastern Europeans,” “flooded into the country from 2004” (Hughes, 2011).

Similarly, on the Roma, we noticed a marked difference depending on the specific daily. Articles in *The Financial Times* focused exclusively on coexistence with the Roma minority in Slovakia and were of a critical nature with an emphasis on the discrimination of the Roma in the school environment and the labor market. One of the articles in *The Guardian* was a critical commentary, and a reportage also occurred. The first case was an article that assessed discrimination against the Roma in Central and Eastern Europe, including Slovakia, while Slovakia was portrayed as a country where the Roma were treated cruelly and unfairly. These articles were framed as discriminatory. The second article in *The Guardian* described the tense coexistence of locals and Slovak Roma in and around Sheffield and critically assessed the behavior of Roma immigrants. The narrative in *Daily Star* reportages highlights the abuse of the British social security system by the Roma immigrants. The language used is expressive, the expressions used evoke danger, anger and fear — a bubbling pot ready to explode, escalation, explosion, flood, Roma army, the applied frame is the threat. There are frequent contrasting images of Roma life in Slovakia and Britain, favoring Britain, although there is a clear criticism of Roma behavior and expressed dissatisfaction of the local population. The discourse on the Roma problem contains, in particular, the image of an Eastern European country that discriminates against its fellow Roma citizens.

Conclusion

In our research sample mapping five British dailies over five years, we examined 26 texts on migration (17) and the Roma (9). Here, we applied a qualitative analysis. Out of all our variables defined for broader research, tonality, frames and assessment using adjectives can be considered significant.

One of the basic findings is the obvious difference between elite and tabloid dailies: both in the focus and the framing of the issue. In connection with migration, elite periodicals paid particular attention to the hard work and diligence of Eastern European migrants, as well as their lower salary, and in relation to Roma, their discrimination and segregation in the home country. On the topic of migration, tabloid periodicals emphasized the threat to the British labor market and the abuse of social benefits; which was even more pronounced among the Roma, perceived as antisocial abusers of the social system.

The differences between elite and tabloid periodicals were also reflected in the framing of topics: while in elite dailies the frames of economic consequences, populism or discrimination prevailed, in the tabloid press there was a significant frame of threat. The tabloid means of expression were also more emotional, confirming the occurrence of “water metaphors” (Veličković, 2010) and expressive adjectives.

Our findings correlate with those presented by other authors dealing with the topic of the image of Slovakia in foreign media in the past. We can state that dominant topics are still significantly present, including the topic of Roma and migration (Beblavý & Salner, 1999; Žilinský, 2007; Školkay, 2014).

Out of the two hypotheses related to the topic of migration and the Roma, none was confirmed. H1 assumed the dominance of topics related to the life of Slovaks in Great Britain, especially the problem of assimilation of the local Roma. This hypothesis was not confirmed, as the articles on migration and the Roma were rather marginal in number. H2 assumed the presence of Eastern European stereotypes in the British media image of Slovakia. This hypothesis was only partially confirmed. In connection with the topic of our study, it is necessary to mention the stereotype of migration, or frequent migration. This topic was present in our research sample, but not significantly and not identically in various types of media. We noted a significant difference between the image of a migrant abusing the British social security system in tabloids and the image of a hard-working Eastern European migrant in elite dailies. The topic of migration also touched on the problem of Roma and Roma migration, where Slovakia was portrayed significantly negatively, articles in the research sample provided images of a country that discriminates its fellow Roma citizens, and Roma living in the UK were depicted as people who demonstrate anti-social behavior and sometimes abuse social benefits.

Sources

- Bingham, J. (2011, June 12). One per cent of entire Slovakian population living in Britain. *Daily Telegraph*.
- Coyle, H. (2010, March 8). Millions more for migrants! *Daily Star*.
- Cross, F. (2014). Slovak mum of 11: 'Why should I work when I get £430-a-week in benefits'. *Daily Star*.
- Drakulić, S. (2010, March 21). Anti-Roma prejudice not demolished in a day. *The Guardian*.
- Francis, B. (2014, June 15). EXCLUSIVE: Migrants £23K benefit JACKPOT: Slovaks spend handout money on gambling machines. *Daily Star*.
- Goldston, J. (2013, October 28). Feeding prejudice against the Roma. *Financial Times*.
- Hall, P., & Pidd, H. (2013, November 15). This is a boiling pot ready to explode. *The Guardian*.
- Harris, J. (2012, November 26). UKIP: the party that's coming in from the cold. *The Guardian*.
- Hughes, S. (2011, May 14). Mass migration hit poor. *Daily Star*.
- McDermott, J. (2014, November 12). The truth about EU migration and welfare. *Financial Times*.
- Nicholson, T. (2010, November 29). Social affairs: Roma face a rough ride in the jobs market. *Financial Times*.
- Odell, M. (2014, September 30). The Survey finds employers like EU migrants for their commitment. *Financial Times*.
- Perkins, H. (2013, November 1). Roma army: 200,000 are already here with MORE on the way. *Daily Star*.
- Pignal, S., Barber, T., Chaffin, J., & Tait, N. (2010, January 10). FT rating of the EU's commissioners-designate. *Financial Times*.
- Walker, M. (2013, November 21). Roma guide to Britain: Please don't use our streets as a toilet. *Daily Star*.

References

- Azarova, A. (2017). Eastern Europe according to the British media: More likely to go to Italy for cappuccinos than joining an ethnic fight in Kosovo. *Krytyka*

- Polityczna & European Alternatives*. <http://politicalcritique.org/cee/2017/azarova-uk-media-eastern-europe-western-representation/>
- Bán, A. et al. (2012). *Slovensko-krajina s potenciálom. Ideový koncept prezentácie Slovenska*. Ministerstvo zahraničia SR. [http://www.mzv.sk/App/wcm/media.nsf/vw_ByID/ID_BD82C7173CD03576C1257BoBoo42923A_SK/\\$File/Slovensko_krajina_s_potencialom_DEF.pdf](http://www.mzv.sk/App/wcm/media.nsf/vw_ByID/ID_BD82C7173CD03576C1257BoBoo42923A_SK/$File/Slovensko_krajina_s_potencialom_DEF.pdf)
- Bebľavý, M., & Salner, A. (1999). *Tvorcovia obrazu a obraz tvorcov: vnímanie Slovenska v západných krajinách 1989–1999* (1st ed.). Centrum pre spoločenskú a mediálnu analýzu.
- Berkowitz, D., & Liu, Z. (2014). The Social–Cultural Construction of News: From Doing Work to Making Meanings. In *The Handbook of Media and Mass Communication Theory*. John Wiley and Sons.
- Bočák, M. et al. (2010). *Texty elektronických médií. Stručný výkladový slovník*. <http://obornik.sk/images/Slovník.pdf>.
- Booker, Ch. (2006). *The Seven Basic Plots*. Continuum.
- Bruner, J. (1991). Narrative Construction of Reality. *Critical Inquiry*, 18(1), 1–21.
- Burgess, A. (1997). Writing off Slovakia to the “East.” Examining Charges of Bias in British Press Reporting of Slovakia, 1993–1994. *Nationalities Papers*, 25(4).
- Capella, J., & Jamieson, K. (1997). *The spiral of cynicism: The press and the public good*. Oxford University Press.
- Car, V. (2008). Myths in Media Texts. How Media in Croatia Treats Veterans and Tycoons. *Medianali*, 2(4), 145–164. <https://hrcak.srce.hr/39352>.
- Cingerová, N., & Motyková, K. (2014). *Úvod do diskurznej analýzy*. Vysokoškolská učebnica. Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave.
- Duffy, B., & Rowden, L. (2005). *You are what you read*. MORI Social Research Institute. https://www.ipsosmori.com/DownloadPublication/240_sri_you_are_what_you_read_042005.pdf
- Entman, R. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58.
- Fulton, H., Huisman, R., Murphet, J., Dunn, A. (2005). *Narrative and Media*. Cambridge University Press.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Harvard University Press.
- Gyarfášová, O., Bútora, M., & Bútorová, Z. (2012). *Imidž Slovenska z pohľadu zahraničia*. Analytická správa vypracovaná pre Ministerstvo zahraničia SR. Ústav európskych štúdií a medzinárodných vzťahov FSEV UK. <https://www.mzv.sk/>

- App/wcm/media.nsf/vw_ByID/ID_12041E3733F74113C1257BoBoo4291C1_SK/\$File/Studia_imidz_Gyarfasova_Butora_Butorova.pdf
- Henderson, K. (2002). *Slovakia: The Escape from Invisibility*. Routledge.
- Iyengar, S. (1991). *Is anyone responsible? How television frames political issues*. University of Chicago Press.
- Kaneva, N. (2012). Nation Branding in Post-Communist Europe. In N. Kaneva (Ed.), *Branding Post-Communist Nations: Marketizing National Identities in the "New Europe"* (pp. 3–22). Routledge.
- Korte, B. (2010). Facing the East of Europe in its Western Isles: Charting Backgrounds, Questions and Perspectives. In B. Korte, E. U. Pirker, & S. Hellf (Eds.), *Facing the East in the West* (pp. 1–21). Editions Rodopi.
- Krokusová, J. (2007). Príčiny a dôsledky hromadnej migrácie Rómov do štátov EÚ. ČAS. *Štúdie a články*. Ústav regionálnych a národnostných štúdií, 2007.
- Lewis, N., & Weaver, A. (2015). More Than a Game: Sports Media Framing Effects on Attitudes, Intentions, and Enjoyment. *Communication & Sport*, 3(2), 219–242. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/270671608_More_Than_a_Game_Sports_Media_Framing_Effects_on_Attitudes_Intentions_and_Enjoyment
- Lule, J. (2001). *Daily News, Eternal Stories. The Mythological Role of Journalism*. Guilford Press.
- Macnamara, J. (2011). Media Content Analysis: Its uses, benefits and best practice methodology. *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal*, 6(1), 1–34. <http://amecorg.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/Media-Content-Analysis-Paper.pdf>
- Matlovičová, K., Matlovič, R., Mušínska, A., & Židová, A. (2012). The Roma population in Slovakia. Basic characteristics of the Roma population with emphasis on the spatial aspects of its differentiation. In J. Penczes, & Z. Radics (Eds.), *Roma population on the peripheries of the Visegrad countries. Spatial trends and social challenges* (pp. 77–104). Debrecen.
- McQuail, D. (2009). *Úvod do teorie masové komunikace* (4th ed.). Portál.
- Mušínka, A., Škobla, D., Hurrle, J., Matlovičová, K., & Kling, J. (2014). *Atlas rómskych komunit na Slovensku 2013*. UNDP.
- Neuendorf, K. (2002). *The Content Analysis Guidebook*. Sage Publications.
- Newbold, Ch. et al. (2002). *The Media Book*. Arnold.
- Pan, Z., & Kosicki, G. (1993). Framing analysis: An approach to news discourse. *Political Communication*, 10(1), 55–75. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.1993.9962963>
- Podolinská, T. (2017). Roma in Slovakia: Silent and Invisible Minority (Social Networking and Pastoral Pentecostal Discourse as a case of giving voice and

- positive visibility). *Slovak Ethnology*, 65(2). https://www.sav.sk/journals/uploads/0704111304%20slovensky_narodopis_2_2017_podolinska.pdf
- Rozenfeld, J. (2011). Eastern European stereotypes in the British media. *XLinguae.eu*, 3(2), 36–46.
- Saunders, R. (2012). Brand Interrupted: The Impact of Alternative Narrators on Nation Branding in the Former Second World. In N. Kaneva (Ed.), *Branding Post-Communist Nations: Marketizing National Identities in the “New Europe”* (pp. 49–78). Routledge.
- Schneiderová, S. (2015). *Analýza diskurzu a mediální text*. Karolinum Press.
- Shoemaker, P., & Reese, S. (1996). *Mediating the message: Theories of influences on mass media content*. Longman.
- Školkay, A. (2014). Foreign Correspondents in Slovakia: Economy, Minorities and Sometimes Politics. In G. Terzis (Ed.), *Mapping Foreign Correspondence in Europe*. Routledge.
- Tarasheva, E. (2014). *The Image of a Country created by International Media: The Case of Bulgaria*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Veličković, V. (2010). Balkanism Old and New: The Discourse of Balkanism and Self-Othering in Vesna Goldsworthy’s Chernobyl Strawberries and Inventing Ruritania. In B. Korte, E. U. Pirker, & S. Hellf (Eds.), *Facing the East in the West* (pp. 164–185). Editions Rodopi.
- Žilinský, J. (2007). *Imidž Slovenska v zahraničí*. INEKO. <http://www.ineko.sk/clanky/obraz-slovenska-v-zahranici>

