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**Crisis, Fear, and Immigration:
Securitization Discourse in the pre-Brexit UK**

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1. Immigration, fear, and a referendum

Immigration, migrants, and refugees have always been pressing issues in the era of the nation-state. Outsiders bring with them their culture, worldview, experiences, skills, habits, and history. They also tend to bring their families; if not at first, then often times eventually. There is an inherent distrust built into human beings to people they don't know or are unfamiliar with. Just as you may question who your new next door neighbor is and what they plan to do to their greying front yard, citizens tend to question who immigrants are and what they plan to do to 'our' country. These questions have always persisted in the nation-state era, but they tend to wane in times of economic growth and exuberance while waxing during downturns and bouts of austerity.

In 2016 the United Kingdom voted to embark on their own significant international journey by deciding to leave the interrelated confines of the European Union. This vote was seen as a shock to the rest of the world and a particular danger to the future of the EU. Would other states decide to follow suit? Would the EU decide to undertake radical reform measures? Those answers remain open in the opening half of 2018. The arguments made by those in the UK wishing to leave ranged from a desire to wrestle back sovereignty from Brussels and to retain the millions of pounds invested into the EU annually. The argument rested heavily on economic sovereignty and strength. The UK (and much of the world) are still struggling to reestablish the levels of economic growth seen before the 2008 financial crisis sparked by faulty loan practices in the United States. While most experts agree that leaving the EU will negatively affect the strength of Europe's 2nd largest economy, this hasn't stopped the 'leave' campaigners from claiming victory and standing by their desired outcome from the vote.¹ What this suggests is that there is more to the vote than economic factors. While the majority of the claims made by the 'leave' campaign in regards to economic outcome have been either stretches of the truth or even outright lies, recent polling shows that the 'leave' sentiments have hardly shrunk under all the

¹ International Monetary Fund, World Economic Outlook Database, 2016.

doom and gloom of recent negotiations between the May government the the EU.^{2,3,4} So if not the economy, then there must be other factors that explain the support to leave.

One of the major factors in the vote to leave the EU was a desire to slow the flow of migrants and refugees. Many in the UK felt that they had little control over their borders with the way in which the EU was handling the Syrian refugee crisis which was in full swing during the campaign. While a real concern, the tactics used to argue against immigrants and refugees were often times ugly. The United Kingdom Independence party (UKIP) released advertisements at the tail end of the campaign that were quickly derided as matching the arguments made against out-groups via Nazi propaganda during WWII.⁵ There was also the grisly murder of Labour MP Jo Cox, who was a vocal proponent of both the ‘remain’ campaign as well as immigrants, by a far-right white supremacist who yelled “this is for Britain” according to witnesses.⁶ While both of these examples are extremes, there is no doubt that the ‘leave’ campaign used heavy-handed anti-immigrant messages to drive voters. Immigrants provide for a Schmittian ‘other’ more tangible and threatening than the faceless bureaucracy of the EU. 73% of British citizens who viewed immigration as an important issue voted to leave the EU.⁷ This process towards a vote as norm-breaking as Brexit could be viewed through the lens of securitization as theorized by the Copenhagen School of International Relations. Securitization involves the intensification of a politicized issue to the point of taking extraordinary measures.⁸ This is done through a series of speech acts that claim the issue provides an existential threat to some aspect of the state.

I argue in this paper that the issue of immigration has been securitized in the United Kingdom to the point that citizens are willing to take extraordinary measures to protect against the dangers of immigration. To support this argument I will build a discourse analysis leading up

² Ashley Kirk, “EU referendum: The claims that won it for Brexit, fact checked,” *The Telegraph* (London, UK), Mar. 13, 2017.

³ Centre for European Reform, “The economic consequences of leaving the EU,” Apr. 2016.

⁴ YouGov, “If there was a referendum on whether or not Britain should remain a member of the European Union, how would you vote?,” *National Centre for Social Research*, 68 polls from Feb. 2012- Jan. 2018.

⁵ Heather Stewart and Rowena Mason, “Nigel Farage’s anti-migrant poster reported to police,” *The Guardian* (London, UK) Jun. 16, 2016.

⁶ Ian Cobain, Nazia Parveen and Matthew Taylor, “The slow-burning hatred that led Thomas Mair to murder Jo Cox,” *The Guardian* (London, UK), Nov. 23, 2016.

⁷ John Curtice, *British Social Attitudes* 34, “The Vote to Leave the EU: Litmus test of lightning rod?,” *National Centre for Social Research*, Jun. 28, 2017, 2.

⁸ Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, (Lynne Rienner Publishers: Boulder, CO), 1998.

to the Brexit vote. But at the root of what I would like to discover in this discourse analysis is: **what was the language used to securitize immigration?** Also, where was this language located, and where was it coming from?

2.1 Methodology

In order to answer the question of what language was used in the securitization of immigration in the UK, we need to build a framework from which to work. As mentioned previously, I will be using the securitization theory from the Copenhagen School of International Relations which itself comes out of constructivist and poststructuralist theory. This will require a discourse analysis which I will describe more below. I will also discuss the data of my findings to see if desecuritization is possible, and if so, what are some of the means to enact that process.

Brexit has led to an entire field of social study as to the reasons why it happened, how it happened, and what the results will be when the process is said and done. I am curious to approach the topic of immigration from a securitization theory viewpoint because 1) immigration has been identified as one of the primary reasons for the Brexit vote, thereby begging for more research on the topic, and 2) it has not been applied to this topic in this period. I could have approached Brexit at large rather than only immigration with the securitization theory, but I feel that my discourse analysis would have found many of the same factors that have been put forth from other approaches to the same question. Instead, by approaching immigration in particular, I can use securitization theory to get a better view to the language behind one of the primary factors of the Brexit vote.

The period of time that I have chosen for my analysis is the year prior to, and leading up to, the Brexit vote (June 2015-June 23, 2016). While this period is not representative of the entire debate on immigration and the securitization process, it does have a high concentration of messaging and discourse around immigration. Also, considering my assumption that securitization has already occurred around immigration in the UK, the discourse leading up to the Brexit vote will hopefully provide me with supplementary information on the language being

used in securitization as well as having a larger sampling of immigration discourse. This period also neatly falls immediately after the 2015 parliamentary election in which David Cameron and the Conservative party won outright control of the government.

Securitization theory builds on constructivist theory which will necessarily be used in this analysis as well. Constructivism lends itself well for the broader look at Brexit and immigration sentiments in the UK due to the historical culture of the state. The UK's vast colonial history, as well as its strong view as personal sovereignty, certainly plays a crucial role in British perceptions on immigration as well as the EU. Securitization is also an outgrowth of poststructuralism in that it hinges upon a discursive reality.

Because of the limited scope of my analysis, I have included a short history of immigration and the UK to provide some necessary context. This history will look primarily at events following the year 2000, with a special emphasis on the EU expansion in 2004 which allowed for greater migration from new member eastern European countries to the UK.

2.2 Discourse Analysis Design and Corpus Selection

As my goal is to uncover the discourse used in securitization of immigration in the UK, I will be using a form of qualitative discourse analysis. I will employ the use of a politolinguistic approach as formulated by Ruth Wodak and Martin Reisigl as well as a textual analysis framework designed for security discourse created by Lene Hansen.^{9,10} These approaches are necessary because securitization is a speech act and is thus only accomplished through the use of rhetoric, discourse, and messaging. The politolinguistic approach is useful for this research question due to it being designed directly for nationalist, far-right, nativist, and anti-immigration rhetoric and language. The textual model by Lene Hansen is useful as it was designed to accommodate security-centered research questions. Using the politolinguistic and Hansen's intertextual approach, I have compiled a corpus of discourse from a prominent news media source The Daily Mail, political manifestos from the most influential parties, parliamentary

⁹ Martin Reisigl, "Analysing Political Rhetoric," in *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Studies* ed. Ruth Wodak and Michał Kryżanowski, (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillian, 2008), 97.

¹⁰ Lene Hansen, *Security in Practice: Discourse Analyses and the Bosnian War*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006).

debates relating to bills on immigration, and official announcements from the UK Home Office in charge of immigrant affairs.

I have selected the most read news source to analyse, which messages on immigration was received by the largest segment of Britons.^{11,12} This includes both online traffic and paper sales. I have also taken political lean into account. I have selected the Daily Mail and its associated online and Sunday editions, The Mail on Sunday and MailOnline. The Mail is a conservative-leaning tabloid format news outlet. Selecting a more conservative leaning outlet is necessary as the audience for immigration securitization has generally been more right leaning than left.¹³ If I were to have selected more left-leaning popular news outlets like the The Guardian or The Independent, I would likely not find the messaging that has made securitization of immigration possible. Likewise, the decision to only include one distinct news outlet was due to time and length limitations as well as to limit the amount of media language being analysed and maintaining a balance with the other areas of analysis.

With regards to political manifestos, I have selected the party manifestos of the Labour and Conservative Parties, being the two most significant parties in the UK (Conservatives in government and Labour in opposition in my analysis period), as well as the manifestos for UKIP, who pushed for Brexit as well as tighter borders and more restrictions on immigration, and the Scottish National Party, which secured the third most seats in the 2015 election. While UKIP has never held much political power, their messaging has been both vocal and important to the debate about EU membership and immigration policy. UKIP also managed to receive the third most votes of any party although they only managed to secure a single seat in parliament. The manifestos come from just outside my period of analysis, considering that they were for the 2015 parliamentary election. However, they provide a useful view into the pre-dialogue of Brexit. Moreover, they provide a baseline for the ways in which each party was discussing immigration. I have also selected 22 debates in the parliament that occurred during the analysis period. These debates were selected as they all pertain directly to legislation proposed on immigration law and

¹¹ Dominic Ponsford, "National Press print ABCs for January: Mirror losing ground against cut-price Star ahead of new launch," in *Press Gazette*, Feb. 18 2016.

¹² "News consumption in the UK: 2016," a report by the Office of Communication UK (Ofcom), Jun. 29 2017.

¹³ Tim Vlandas, "Xenophobia Britannica? Anti-immigrant attitudes in the UK are among the strongest in Europe," Special Brexit report from *The London School of Economics and Political Science*, Oct. 21 2016.

ultimately led to the passage of the Immigration Act 2016.¹⁴ Finally, I will look at the language used in official pronouncements from the Home Office in relation to immigration policy to see if, and how, official messaging interacts with securitization. These three areas comprise the three areas of analysis in politolinguistics while they also fall neatly into line with Hansen's security question textual analysis model, which I will explain further in my theory section below.

The goal of the discourse analysis will be to get a better understanding of the arguments and rhetoric used to make immigration a security issue. In order to do that I will employ the use of 'tropoloy' and 'topoi' as provided by Wodak and Reisigl. Wodak and Reisigl have written extensively on discourse analysis outside of politolinguistics, and those writings will be useful in building a more comprehensive picture from the discourse used in my samples. The whole process will refer back to the work done by Buzan and Wæver in regards to the four components of securitization which will be further explained in the theory section coming up soon. Finally, after identifying and determining the rhetoric used in securitization of immigration, I will explore the possibility of desecuritization as laid out by Buzan and Wæver.

3. Theory

3.1 Securitization

Security theory has become a prime topic of scholastic investigation since the collapse of the Eastern bloc and fall of the Soviet Union. The 'triumph' of liberal democracy marked a new era with new reasons for security protection. The threats of the cold war were concrete and easy to understand as Manichean and absolute. This new era would require new means of understanding security within states. What defines a threat? What actions should a state undertake to deal with those threats? Are threats purely from outside actors, or do they appear within the state? Does security extend beyond classic military concerns? Can security be applied to economic or political or even environmental matters? While scholars had been debating these questions prior to, the discussions intensified following the collapse of the Soviet bloc.

¹⁴ Parliament of the United Kingdom, "Immigration Act 2016," signed May 15, 2016.

Much of the debate on security studies following the cold war fell along the lines of ‘wide’ and ‘narrow’ approaches. On one side, many realist scholars and thinkers bristled at the notion of opening up discussions on security to include elements of social and internal security. Instead, they preferred to keep security more as a matter of military power and a question with states firmly as the units. Alternatively, there were constructivist and post-structuralist thinkers arguing that matters of security should be expanded to more units than just the state as well as including a more internal perspective.¹⁵

In their book *Security: A New Framework For Analysis*, Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver and Jaap De Wilde laid out a new means of analyzing security. Securitization is the process by which an issue moves from being politicized into becoming a matter of *existential threat*.¹⁶ *Existential threats* can affect all different arenas, from military/exterior, to political/interior, environmental, economic and societal. *Existential threats* have a necessary *referent object*, or, object which faces destruction from the threat. Because of the possible finality of an *existential threat*, extraordinary or emergence measures become available. These are measures that operate outside the norms of the state and can either flout laws or upset the balance of a society or culture. Securitization lies along a continuum. On one end it is non-politicised (an issue is not debated in the public or political sense), in the middle it is politicised (any issue that is debated in the political and public sphere), and on the other end lies securitization.

In more traditional security theory, the *referent object* of a military threat is often the state facing destruction. However the *referent object* could also be the military itself in which case a state may experience a coup.¹⁷ The *referent object* of the political sector is most often sovereignty, but can also be the ideology or legitimacy of the state or government. Economic securitization is less common and more difficult to define, but can still occur when a state decides that certain elements of a national economy are important to personal security such as bailing out banks and other industries that are ‘too big to fail’ which is what happened in the US after the 2008 financial crisis. The *referent object* in the societal sector is the collective social identity, such as religion, national identity, or cultural tradition. Finally, in the environmental

¹⁵ Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 159-170.

¹⁶ Buzan et. al., “Security,” 23-26.

¹⁷ Buzan et. al., “Security,” 22.

sector the *referent object* ranges from the survival of particular animals (eagles, rhinos, or even humanity) to the survival of various habitats or biomes.¹⁸ So the range of threats can be varied, meaning that the level of ‘emergency’ action can be as well.

However, securitization doesn’t necessarily occur due to only an *existential threat* and a *referent object*; there must first be a move to convince the public of the existential threat and then the public must accept this threat as reality.¹⁹ These two aspects fill out the four objects of securitization. There is the *existential threat*, the *referent object*, the *securitizing actor* (those calling attention to a threat), and the *audience*. The core of the theory of securitization as developed by Wæver and Buzan is the securitizing action or move. Securitization only occurs if the securitizing act (a message made by the securitizing actor about an existential threat to the referent object) convinces enough of the audience to make extraordinary actions justified in the eyes of the audience.

The *securitizing actor* and *audience* are the human elements of securitization theory. The *securitizing actor* could theoretically be anybody pushing a message that there is a greater threat. However in practice the *securitizing actor* tends to be politicians, lobbyists, bureaucrats, governments, and media figures.²⁰ Because the *securitizing actor* tends to come from a political perspective, the motives and true nature of the threat can sometimes be concealed. This makes the analysis of securitization moves important when looking for the actual legitimacy of the threats described. Maybe the most important step is the acceptance of the securitization act by the *audience*. The *audience* is the politically significant public, this could be the voting public in a full free democracy or a majority group in a more stratified society, or the economically elite in an oligarchic government. The securitizing move must make the *audience* believe that an *existential threat* truly exists for the *referent object*, whatever it may be. In this way, for a securitization move to take place, there needs to be something akin to a social contract between the *securitizing actor* and the *audience*. It cannot be denied that moving an issue from being politicised to securitized can be a particularly useful strategy to stifle conversation and solidify

¹⁸ Buzan et. al., “Security,” 22-23.

¹⁹ Buzan et. al., “Security,” 25.

²⁰ Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies*, 214.

public opinion. The movement from politicised to securitized makes the opponents of a particular political concern seem unpatriotic or anti-state, depending on the subject matter.

The Copenhagen School of security studies' securitization is a discursive theory which does not provide a framework of understanding the actions taken after the securitization act has been accepted by its audience. This has generated a fair deal of criticism. Much of the criticism is built around the European-centric development of the theory and of the matters which are either left out or unexplained. Balzacq argues that securitization theory does not do enough to explain the prevalence of securitized features where the audience has not had the opportunity to accept the securitization move. He also argues that securitization doesn't necessarily eliminate politics and political dialogue around a securitized issue.²¹ Booth argues that securitization theory only accounts for state-level, elite, and governmental security issues while neglecting more person-to-person occurrences of security.²² Securitization theory has also been criticized for missing the instances of 'silent security'. These are instances in which the action of security are undertaken without the element of discourse, such as the undercover operations of a government or the threats to underrepresented groups such as women.²³

3.2 Immigration in Securitization Theory

In securitization theory, for a threat to be existential it must endanger the very nature of some element of the state. The *referent object* in the security debate around immigration has been in *societal security*. Societal security is a concept developed by Wæver prior to his work on securitization. The idea is that societal security pertains to the collective element of a society and the identity or identities they subscribe to.²⁴ In this way, immigration can act as an *existential threat* to the societal security of a state.

²¹ Thierry Balzacq, "The 'Essence' of securitization: Theory, ideal type, and a sociological science of security," *International Relations* 29, no.1, (Mar. 2015), 108.

²² Ken Booth, "Beyond Critical Security Studies," in *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*, ed. Ken Booth, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner), 271.

²³ Lene Hansen, "The Little Mermaid's Silent Security Dilemma and the Absence of Gender in the Copenhagen School," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 29, no. 2 (2000), 291.

²⁴ Ole Wæver, Barry Buzan, Morten Kelstrup, and Pierre Lemaitre, *Identity, Migration and the New Security Order in Europe*, (London: Pinter, 1993).

Buzan and Wæver view immigration as having three ways in which to be an *existential threat* to societal security. The first is through replacement or dilution of domestic political groups. An incoming group of people are going to either replace the role of the current people or dilute the political influence of the current people. The second way is via cultural replacement. An incoming people will irreversibly change or alter the culture of the current people. The third and final way is via identity realignment. The current people of a state or area will begin to view their identity differently, either in a wider definition (European as opposed to Danish for example) or in a more narrow definition (Northern Jutlandian vs Danish).²⁵ These three views can be, and often are, combined when arguments against immigration are made. Because of the general modern conceptions of identity being built primarily around nationality, race, religion, and ethnicity; the arguments to securitize immigration around societal security are often viewed in a negative light as either racist, xenophobic, or religiophobic.

However, immigration can also be argued to be an existential threat to more than just societal security and it often is due to the pitfalls of the argument around societal security. The *referent object* can also be economic. Such as the strength and health of a welfare state or the labor market. An influx of migrants can either be viewed as a strain on the labor market by ‘taking’ jobs away from citizens or by making a highly competitive labor market even more competitive. On the opposite end of the spectrum is the idea that immigrants are a strain on a state’s welfare system because they are lazy and sponge off the system. These arguments are often made by the same organizations even if they occupy opposite realities in terms of validity.

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At the root of immigration as a security threat is the implicit idea of *otherness*. The *other* helps to establish a narrative of those who are ‘not us’ and cannot be ‘us’. Carl Schmitt’s concept of *the political* is ingrained in the idea that true politics only occur when you have two competing factions. Friends and enemies make up the nature of the political.²⁷ In certain respects, securitization discourse can share elements of the political. When casting a group of people as

²⁵ Buzan et. al., *Security*, 121.

²⁶ Jef Huysmans, *The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, migration and asylum in the EU*, (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2006), 47.

²⁷ Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political: expanded edition*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007; originally published 1929), 28.

the other it is quite easy to make that other identity out to be an enemy. Not only are they different from ‘us’ but that, in and of itself, could be viewed as an existential threat to ‘our’ identity. William Connolly views the construction of the modern state as an identification of the characteristics that are not the state.²⁸ In this way, a state is built through its identification of *the other*. Lene Hansen uses the example of a cross-state identification with Denmark, Norway, and Swedish politicians constructing the ‘Nordic Identity’ to combat the bipolar antagonisms of the cold war.²⁹ *The other* of security can be more than just an identity group or multi-state arrangement. It can also be a conceptual other, such as Wæver’s designation of the other for the EU as its own violent past.³⁰

3.3 Research Design and Discourse Analysis

A common critique of securitization is that it lacks a methodology from which to build a discourse analysis. Thus, I have chosen to make use of politolinguistics and Hansen’s intertextual model as a means of analysing immigration discourse in the year prior to Brexit. Hansen discusses a detailed road map to security related discourse studies in her book *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis in the Bosnian War*. As mentioned previously, Hansen uses an expanded Schmittian approach in relation to security and security discourse. Her intertextual models build on conversations pertaining to the self or ‘selves’ and the other or ‘others’.³¹ The three intertextual models Hansen proposes are for varying different discourses with multiple separate goals of analysis. For the purpose of my research design I will be primarily using Hansen’s models 1 and 2, intertextual discourse analysis, with a primary focus on model 2. Model 1 analyses official discourse. That is, official statements from ruling parties, statements from the head of state, bureaucratic reports and announcements, as well as statements from international institutions (such as the UN or EU). Model 2 analyzes the discourses of opposition parties, media actors, and corporate institutions.³² This scope ranges from parliamentary debates,

²⁸ Lene Hansen, *Security in Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War*, (Abingdon: Routledge), 38.

²⁹ Lene Hansen, *Security in Practice*, 39.

³⁰ Ole Wæver, ‘European security identities,’ *Journal for Common Market Studies*, 34, no. 1: 103-32.

³¹ Hansen, *Security in Practice*, 76.

³² Hansen, *Security in Practice*, 61

official statements (manifestos, platforms, ect.), to opinion/editorial articles, journalistic reports, through opinions and persuasive advertisements made by corporate institutions (companies, labor associates, human rights groups, etc.) on particular matters. The actors from Hansen's model 2 are considered the 'major players' of policy debate with an explicit connection to political and securitizational discourses. The use of models 1 and 2 can provide greater understanding in the links between official statements and the high level discourses that shape and shift those statements. Hansen's intertextual models are built to analyse foreign policy and security decisions. The use of these models in the matter of immigration in the UK could be contested as being a domestic issue, although I would argue that any discourse on immigration is by definition about foreign policy. Immigrants do not emerge from the ether, and conversations about a national 'self' and immigrant 'other' provides a presupposition that the 'other' comes from countries and regions outside of the state of the 'self.'

Hansen takes a step further in her research design by building a model for research question design. The research design she proposes is comprised of four questions: how many 'selves', which intertextual models, what is the time span of the research, and how many events will be analysed?³³ For the sake of this research design, I have selected the analysis of a single self, British citizens. This designation is a bit difficult to designate as British citizens are obviously not a monolith and not all British citizens identify with each other. However, in the scope of this research design, the discourse comes from actors operating within the legal and civic framework of the UK. The audience, securitizing actors, as well as the referent object(s) all reside within the bounds of the official UK state. I have chosen not to include non-UK citizens/immigrants as a secondary 'self' because the discourses of those communities and institutions do not provide the securitizing statements that are the center of this analysis. As mentioned previously this design will employ the use of intertextual models 1 and 2 due to the nature of the research question as an exploration of the language used for securitization and the relationship between official statements and those of major political actors. The time span of the analysis is one year, thus providing ample examples and enough time to study patterns and discover comparisons and contradictions. Finally, the event that will be loosely used is the Brexit

³³ Hansen, *Security in Practice*, 75

vote. Being that the period of analysis is the year leading up to that choice, the Brexit vote should provide ample examples of securitized discourse.

3.4 Politolinguistics

While Hansen provides a useful means with which to build a research design around a discourse analysis of policy matters, her design does not provide for the actual textual approaches and details needed to dig out meaning from the discourses. Additionally, while securitization provides a framework from which to view speech acts and the actors involved, it does not provide a clear roadmap for analysing discourse. To give a more fine-toothed comb approach to the discourse, I am therefore also using the theory/approach of politolinguistics forwarded by Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak. Reisigl and Wodak are both linguists who led the field in their analysis of the rhetoric and language used by nationalist and far-right groups and political parties. With Reisigl being from Germany and Wodak from Austria, much of their work charts the language of far-right parties like the Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ) and the Alternative for Germany (AfD).^{34,35} The politolinguistic approach is transdisciplinary in that it combines rhetoric, political science, and linguistics.³⁶

Reisigl borrows from Thomas Meyer in giving politolinguistics three different definitions of the political: polity, policy and politics.³⁷ Polity is defined by the formal, structural framework of a political society. Polity encompasses the norms, values, and rules of a political system and culture.³⁸ Polity takes the longest to formulate as it is more entrenched in the fabric of a society, it also makes it the most resistant to change. Reisigl argues that polity builds itself through *logos* and *ethos* with a goal of legitimacy, control, and societal education.³⁹ Policy is the realm of laws, rules, and legal articulations. Policy manifests in all areas of governance and often “relates to the

³⁴ Ruth Wodak, “The Politics of Fear,” (Los Angeles, USA: SAGE Publications: 2015).

³⁵ Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak, “Discourse and Discrimination: Rhetorics of racism and antisemitism,” (London and New York: Routledge, 2001).

³⁶ Martin Reisigl, “Analysing Political Rhetoric,” in *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Studies* ed. Ruth Wodak and Michał Kryżanowski, (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 97.

³⁷ Thomas Meyer, “Was ist Politik?,” (Oladen: Leske & Budrich, 2000), 52-90.

³⁸ Reisigl, “Analysing Political Rhetoric,” 98.

³⁹ Reisigl. “Analysing Political Rhetoric,” 98.

planning and articulation of governmental tasks and programmes.”⁴⁰ Policy rhetoric is often couched as being dry and fact-based with a bureaucratic flavor of language. Politics is “...the articulation of political interests and positions of dissent or consent.”⁴¹ Reisigl argues that political rhetoric is primarily adversarial with the goal of building coalitions of like actors to a particular cause or set of causes. Because it is adversarial, political rhetoric draws distance between those who support and those who dissent (or those who support the opposite goals/aims). In this way, Reisigl’s concepts of polity, policy, and politics all fit well with models 1 and 2 as used by Hansen.

These three categorizations of polity, policy and politics are grouped into separate ‘fields of action.’ These political fields of action are the ways in which a message is spread or disseminated to a wider audience as proposed by the German linguist H. Girnth.⁴²

Reisigl defines eight fields of political action:

1. Law-making procedure (for example relation to the manufacturing of amendment of specific acts),
2. Formation of public attitudes, opinions and will (for example relating to confrontations of political opponents in TV discussions),
3. Party-internal formation of attitudes, opinions and will (for example relation to party conventions),
4. Inter-party formation of attitudes, opinions and will (for example relation to coalition talks),
5. Organization of international and (especially) interstate relations (for example relation to negotiations of state treaties),
6. Political advertising (for example relation to election campaigns),
7. Political administration (for example relation to the implementation of specific acts by civil servants),

⁴⁰ Reisigl. “Analysing Political Rhetoric,” 98.

⁴¹ Reisigl. “Analysing Political Rhetoric,” 98.

⁴² H. Girnth, “Texte im politischen Diskurs. Ein Vorschlag zur diskursorientierten Beschreibung von Textsorten,” *Muttersprache* 1 (1996), 66-80.

8. Political control (for example relation to petitions for a referendum).⁴³

These eight fields of political action are interrelated with messages and rhetoric working across more than one field. A message can start in one field and traverse to several others. If a message manages to operate in all or most of the political fields it is more likely to gain legitimacy with its audience. While these fields relate to the three realms of the political, we can build a reverse motion of change for the three realms. A messages from politics turn into policy which in turn can eventually become polity if left untouched.

My analysis will include a close look at the tropes or topoi of argumentation used in political rhetoric towards immigration. Tropes and topoi are interrelated concepts of speech coming from Greek literary argumentation. A trope is the use of figurative language; a common tactic in political discourse to couch greater meaning or to avoid the pitfalls of blunt language.⁴⁴ A topoi is a rhetorical theme or topic, often times tropes can be placed in various topoi.⁴⁵ In the politolinguistic approach to discourse analysis, topoi are used to group together various messages from across the fields of political action. As such, a message can be analysed for its ‘same’ qualities even as it is purveyed across multiple mediums with occasionally differing language and vocabulary choice. The use of tropes by the speech purveyor can also help to mask the message or deflect blame. If a trope is called out for being offensive or in bad taste, the purveyor can deny responsibility for any inferences an audience may make on account of the trope’s use of indirect language.⁴⁶

Ruth Wodak argues that topoi can be used to solidify opinion based on tropes and logical fallacies. Topoi are shared with what Aristotle labeled *endoxon* or traditional knowledge. A topoi uses partially true logic to draw a definite conclusion. *Endoxon* is seperate from true knowledge, although *endoxon* and topoi share generally accepted conclusions or normally held beliefs to an audience.⁴⁷ Reisigl lays out a similar conception of topoi of tropes with his ‘tropology of the political.’ The tropology of the political is a system of explanation for linguistic and political acts

⁴³ Taken directly from Reisigl, “Analysing Political Rhetoric,” 98-99.

⁴⁴ *Merriam-Webster*, s.v. “trope,” accessed Mar. 22, 2018.

⁴⁵ *Merriam-Webster*, s.v. “topoi,” accessed Mar. 22, 2018.

⁴⁶ Ruth Wodak, “Politics of Fear,” 53-54.

⁴⁷ Wodak, “Politics of Fear,” 54.

within the realms of polity, policy, and politics.⁴⁸ Reisi gl provides three ‘master tropes’ with metaphor, metonymy, and synecdoche. Metaphor encapsulated other tropes and rhetorical devices as personification and allegory, while synecdoche (a part of something used to refer to the whole) includes the trope of antonomasia (title or epitaph used in place of a name).⁴⁹

Metaphor used as a political action is a common means of explanation and persuasion. It could be argued that metaphor is one of the means from which political actors explain or give life to complex policy and political issues. Glenn Hook argues that metaphor is particularly important in how political actors structure political reality.⁵⁰ The types of metaphor used have shifted in political discourse over time with varying subjective comparisons being made depending on the spirit of the times. Hook separates metaphors between organic and mechanistic. Organic has long been the metaphor of choice (growth, roots, ect.) but with greater technological advances and the increased computer culture, mechanistic metaphors are in vogue.⁵¹ Included in the sphere of organic metaphors you have disease metaphors. Describing someone, something, or some association as a cancer invokes a clear and definite negative association. If describing a political organization as a ‘cancer that needs to be cut out,’ the speaker uses imagery that conveys a surgeon at work while advocating for the destruction of a political rival.⁵² In this way metaphor is an incredibly useful tool in conveying not only direct actions but also casting the speaker into a different light (protective, heroic, stable, ect.).

Metonymy and synecdoche both occupy similar roles as ‘replacement’ words. That is, different ways of labeling people, places, or things by their part, attributes, epithets, or adjuncts. They can be used in political discourse to shape the perceptions of the audience by being used to label a person or association. In politics, metonymy and synecdoche can be used to convey a certain importance or weight. Referring to politicians by previously held titles or positions such as the general, madam secretary, or doctor can impart extra reverence. These techniques can also dehumanize or embarrass.

⁴⁸ Martin Reisi gl, “Rhetorical Tropes in Political Discourse,” in the *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics* (Second Edition) ed. Keith Brown, (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2006), 600.

⁴⁹ Reisi gl, “Rhetorical Tropes,” 600.

⁵⁰ Glenn D. Hook, “The Nuclearization of language: Nuclear Allergy as Political Metaphor,” *Journal of Peace Research*, 21, no. 3, (1984), 260.

⁵¹ Hook, “The Nuclearization of language,” 262.

⁵² Hook, “The Nuclearization of language,” 263.

In text related to immigration, the use of metaphor, metonymy, and synecdoche can all be used to either remove humanity or bestow virtues. Referring to refugees as ‘a wave or flood’ can impart particular views of refugees not as a humanitarian issue but as an environmental security issue. The words impart a sense that something needs to be done regardless of the content of the rest of the statement. In my discourse analysis I will look the use of these three ‘master tropes’ and how they are used to impart extra meaning beyond the direct or literal meanings.

4. Abridged History of Immigration in the UK

The United Kingdom has a long and complex history. Politically, the UK runs as a parliamentary monarchy with a long corpus of legal precedent forming their modern day construction. Rising out of a medieval history in which the ises saw a number of invasions and political takeovers, the country elevated to that of a global power in the 16th century. The formation of the United Kingdom would occur out of the inclusion of Ireland under the King of Great Britain (England, Wales, and Scotland) in the year 1801. The UK at the time of its forming was already a global colonial power with holdings on every continent and a royal fleet of ships capable of supplying the world. In the 20th century, the UK would lose or relinquish control over much of its empire. Canada had already devolved into a self-run dominion in the previous century while much of Ireland would break free in 1921 following the Anglo-Irish War. The following year, Egypt would become independent. Following the Second World War, much of the rest of the empire would either declare independence or be granted dominion status. The largest was the independence and partition of India and Pakistan in 1957, followed immediately by the independence in Burma the following year. In the 1960’s, much the UK’s African colonies gained independence. Today the UK is still the head of the Commonwealth of Nations, an intergovernmental organization of former british colonies.

One of the outcomes from several centuries of worldwide imperialism has been a diversifying of the population of the UK. While the UK remains largely ethnically homogenous (around 87% white), the country does host a number of large diasporas.⁵³ The largest of these

⁵³ Office for National Statistics UK, “2011 Census, Ethnic Group 1, local authorities in the United Kingdom”.

communities come from other EU member countries through the freedom of movement for workers. As of December 2015 these include people from Poland (830.000), Republic of Ireland (380.000), Germany (285.000) Romania (220.000), Italy (160.000), France (150.000), Lithuania (150.000), Portugal (140.000), and Spain (125.000). But it also includes people from former imperial holding such as India (800.000), Pakistan (500.000), Bangladesh (210.000), and South Africa (200.000) among others.

Many of the immigrants from former colonies and imperial holding of the UK happened shortly after the establishment of the Commonwealth with the passage of the British Nationality Act of 1948 which designated citizens from former British colonies as UK citizens. This allowed for the free movement between commonwealth countries and the UK.⁵⁴ However, these rights were stripped back in the following two decades with the passage of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962 and the Immigration Act of 1971. These acts made for a greater distinction between a UK citizen and a commonwealth citizen than had been established in the act in 1948.^{55,56} These acts were in large part due to an increase in immigration to the UK from commonwealth countries and the resulting political backlash from UK citizens. The two acts in 1962 and 1971 restricted primary immigration, but still allowed for family based immigration. So, while they slowed the number of commonwealth citizens moving to the UK, they did not stop the movement completely.

In 2004, the EU passed a directive allowing for the freedom of movement between member states for the purpose of employment.⁵⁷ Following the passage of the directive, the number of EU born citizens residing in the UK increased steadily. While the numbers of EU born citizens living inside the UK had held fairly steady at just over one million residents from 1993 to 2004, that number doubled by 2008 and tripled by 2015.⁵⁸ The reason for the dramatic increase in EU born citizens coming to the UK had much to do with the inclusion of the EU8

⁵⁴ Parliament of the United Kingdom, *British Nationality Act 1948*, (enacted 1949), Part 1.1.2.

⁵⁵ Parliament of the United Kingdom, *Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962*.

⁵⁶ Parliament of the United Kingdom, *Immigration Act 1971*.

⁵⁷ European Parliament and Council, *Directive 2004/38/EC*, (29 April, 2004).

⁵⁸ The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford, 'Figure 1 Number of EU-born in the UK, 1993-2017,' (Information obtained from the Office of National Statistics). (Accessed April 2018).

states in the 2004 enlargement of the EU. Those eight countries all came from the former soviet bloc of eastern europe including the Baltic states, Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic.

Asylum seekers and refugees became a political issue in the 1990s following several waves of refugees from the Balkan countries as well as a number of African countries, particularly Somalia. The United Kingdom was one of the original signatories to the 1951 UN Refugee Convention which established a legal precedent protecting those fleeing from war or persecution in their home countries. Asylum applications to the UK rose steadily in the 1990s and early 2000s, peaking in 2002 with a steady drop off since then.⁵⁹ Numbers of asylum applicants have remained fairly steady since 2005, even as the Europe experienced a sharp increase from the Syrian civil war. Since 2005, only around 1/3 of asylum seekers to the UK have obtained asylum status, making for a consistent intake of around 1000 people per year as refugees.

5. Discourse Analysis from 1 June 2015 to 23 June 2016

5.1 Party Manifestos

Party manifestos provide voters with an idea to the policy a particular party wishes to enact should they win enough seats to form a government. They also serve as a view into the most idealistic legislative acts of a party. That is, what a party would enact if they had no opposition to contend with. I have selected the party manifestos of the three largest parties (based on seats won) from the 2015 parliamentary election (Conservative, Labour, and Scottish National Party (SNP)), as well as the manifesto for the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP). While UKIP only secured a single seat in the parliament, they did garner over 12% of the vote, making them the third highest vote getter across the UK above SNP which secured 56 seats with 8% of the vote. UKIP also has the unique distinction of making immigration a core political issue. It is important to note that the 2015 general election came on the heels of 5 years of coalition government between the Conservative Party and the Liberal Democrats. I made the

⁵⁹ The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford, 'Figure 1, Asylum applications and estimated inflows, 1984-2016,' (Information obtained from the UK Home Office) (Accessed April 2018).

decision to leave out an analysis on the Liberal Democrats manifesto given that it talks little about immigration and their political voice was highly diminished following the 2015 election.

5.1.1 Conservative and Unionist Party (Tories)

The Conservative Manifesto includes immigration as one of its primary party issues. The manifesto makes clear the goal of a Tory government to: “...reduce the number of people coming to our country with tough new welfare conditions and robust enforcement.” In order to: “...put you, your family and the British people first.”⁶⁰ The manifesto proposes reforming welfare rules by restricting benefits available to immigrants of all types in the UK. They also call for enhanced border security, and a stronger push to curb illegal immigration (which manifested in the Immigration Act of 2016, passed just a year after the election and is a key measure in the parliamentary debate below). However the language used is careful to remain respectful to immigrants. The manifesto points out that “Immigration brings real benefits to Britain - to our economy, our culture and our national life.” Rather, the Tory manifesto puts the focus on ‘controlled immigration’ with a particularly strong onus on curbing illegal immigration and the ‘pull factors’ that lead to illegal immigration. The ultimate goal for the Tories was to reduce the inflow of refugees to the ‘tens of thousands, not hundreds of thousands,’ a promise made in the 2010 manifest, but not yet achieved by the time of the 2015 election.

The most questionable position of the Tory manifesto is the measures they wish to implement on EU migration. They call for a renegotiation with the EU on the benefits that EU migrants can receive in the UK. There is also the inclusion of language about EU criminal migrants and the need to be able to decide who is allowed into the UK. However, there is a general disposition in the manifesto that EU migration cannot be cut without a more concrete action (such as leaving the EU). Instead, the Tory manifesto calls for further reduction of non-EU migration in order to hit the numbers they have set for themselves.

While the language used in the manifesto is mostly political, there is an element of securitization being used in regards to matters involving the EU. The idea that the UK can

⁶⁰ Conservative and Unionist Party, “Strong Leadership, a Clear Economic Plan, a Brighter, More secure Future: The Conservative Party Manifesto 2015,” 29.

renegotiate portions of their relationship to the EU is, in a certain respect, an extra-ordinary move. The UK has agreed to the founding principles on the freedom of movement in the EU and the application of benefits to migrants as if they were UK citizens. I would argue that this makes for an extraneous action by breaking a multilateral treaty. However, in order to be securitized the proposed action needs to be accompanied by an existential threat. While the language is careful not to directly label immigration as an existential threat, there is reference to what could be a referent object. The manifesto talks at length about restricting welfare benefits to migrants in the UK with the underlying assumption being that migrants are a threat to the continuation of the UK's welfare system. However, the manifesto does not explicitly make that connection, instead making the argument that a restriction of welfare benefits will make the UK a less desirable location for low-skilled economic migrants (particularly from the EU). Perhaps a debatable technique to reduce migration, but it would be hard to argue that this language is anything beyond politicized language about migration.

There is one particular sentence in the Conservative manifesto section on immigration that stands out as possible partial securitization. The sentence is a quote that has been removed from the text and enlarged and bolded much in the way a magazine will take a particularly interesting quote to highlight it. The sentence is “We will protect British values and our way of life.”⁶¹ This line is particularly interesting because it makes the presumption that British values and the British way of life are somehow in danger or in need of protection. The inclusion of this sentence in their section on immigration would seem to suggest that somehow immigration is a threat to British values and the British way of life. However, this statement has no context as, while it appears in quotation marks, it does not actually appear anywhere in the section on immigration. In fact, the sentence does not appear anywhere in the manifesto outside of the highlighted quotation. Because of the lack of context we, as readers, are left to fill in the blank as to what British values are, as well as what is meant by ‘way of life.’ If this statement is supposed to juxtapose immigration with British values and way of life, then it seems to directly contradict one of the first sentences in the immigration section, which claim that immigration is a ‘real benefit to Britain’ particularly its culture and national life.⁶² The statement is not explicit in what

⁶¹ Conservative Party, “Manifesto 2015,” 31.

⁶² Conservative Party, “Manifesto 2015,” 29.

the existential threat is (although immigration seems to be the presumption based on where the statement is located), however it certainly alludes to a referent object in British values and ‘our way of life.’

5.1.2 Labour Party and Scottish National Party

The Labour Party and Scottish National Party manifesto analysis have been grouped together for their lack of securitizing language and relative lack of discussion on immigration as an issue. The Labour party takes a slightly different tact with immigration than the Conservative Party, but nevertheless manages to agree on a number of policy points. Labour concedes that immigration is an important issue facing the UK, but spend much less time discussing concrete actions that they would take were they to form a government. Although there is a somewhat surprising amount of parroting from the labour party to the Tories on the matter of immigration, the manifesto states that “immigration has made an important contribution to our economic and social life, but needs to be properly controlled.”⁶³ A line that is remarkably similar to the message from the conservative manifesto “Immigration brings real benefits to Britain...we also know that immigration must be controlled.”⁶⁴ Labour even proposes similar ideas as the conservative party such as: a two year freeze on welfare benefits for EU migrants (contrasted with 4 year proposal by the Tories), as well as stipulating that everyone who works in an outward role with public services must be able to speak english. They do stop just short of calling for a law on the matter, however, something that the Tories suggest in their manifesto.

Labour devotes a single page and ten short paragraphs to immigration. Titled ‘Controlling Immigration with Fair Rules’, Labour lays out their ideas towards strengthening immigration controls while treating migrants humanely. The language never veers very close to securitization with the most security-like statement coming as “...people need to feel secure in the strength of our borders, our communities, and in the workplace.”⁶⁵ To do so, Labour makes its most forward policy suggestion of adding 1,000 additional border staff to be paid by adding a

⁶³ Labour Party, “Britain can be better: The Labour Party Manifesto 2015,” 14.

⁶⁴ Conservative Party, “Manifesto 2015,” 29.

⁶⁵ Labour Party, “Manifesto 2015,” 65.

charge on non-visa visitors to the UK. Most of the language used by Labour is praising the positives of immigration while calling for small changes to immigration rules in the hopes of curbing illegal immigration and closing loopholes, as well as punishing employers who abuse migrant workers.⁶⁶ Labour also calls for an end to indefinite detention of failed asylum seekers, the UK being the only European state with indefinite suspension.

The Scottish National Party (SNP) acts as a center-left nationalist third party in the UK parliament with all of their seats coming from Scotland. However, previous to the 2015 general election, SNP controlled only 6 seats. Their resounding sweep of Scottish seats in 2015 (picking up 50 seats to control 56 of 59) makes for a closer analysis of their 2015 manifesto.⁶⁷ The message of the SNP was not only well received, it appears to have been resoundingly popular. Much of their message is a rebuttal to the coalition government of Tories and Liberal Democrats, while very little of their message revolves around immigration. The section on immigration is only two paragraphs with the emphasis on making immigration policy that ‘works for Scotland.’⁶⁸ The only policy position that the SNP takes is a reintroduction of the post study work visa to allow foreign students studying in Scotland to find a job in Scotland after graduation. The SNP uses language about the benefits of immigration to Scotland, primarily, the economic benefits of migrants.

5.1.3 United Kingdom Independence Party

The United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) is not a major party in terms of seated members of parliament, having only ever seated two members at any one time. However, the party is a primary vote getter in European parliamentary elections and has been a loud and influential voice in UK politics, particularly in the last decade. UKIP, as the name implies, is a party built around the goal of leaving the EU. As a result, UKIP has an exceptionally critical view towards immigration, in particular EU free movement. The 2015 general election would see only one UKIP MP seated, but the party did garner the third most votes on any party at just over

⁶⁶ Labour Party, “Manifesto 2015,” 67.

⁶⁷ BBC News, “Election 2015: SNP wins 56 of 59 seats in Scots landslide,” 8 May, 2015.

⁶⁸ Scottish National Party, “Stronger for Scotland: Scottish National Party Manifesto 2015,” 9.

12%, behind the Tories and Labour. Careful attention should be paid to the messaging made by UKIP in its manifesto and beyond. This is especially true in regards to securitization, while UKIP has not held much political power, their vote numbers and the relative reach of their message could mean more inside the bounds of securitization.

The 2015 UKIP manifesto begins its section on immigration much the same as Labour and the Tories: with a reaffirmation of the UK's compassion and openness to migrants from their immigration spokesperson Steven Woolfe.⁶⁹ The section also begins with a large cut-out stating 'Space Not Race' with an explanation that immigration is about the 'broken' system now and not about racial divides. This is an understandable message from a party that has been accused of racism in its messaging in the past.⁷⁰ The header for the section takes a more dramatic turn stating that "The increasing ebb and flow of people across our planet is one of the greatest issues of our time."⁷¹ A bold but not entirely securitizing statement, although the manifesto then turns its eye towards the UK without elaborating further on migration across the planet. The Manifesto calls for "take(ing) back control of our borders," a five year moratorium on unskilled immigration to the UK, a points based immigration system similar to Australia's, and an end to the 'problem' of sham marriages.⁷² The use of 'ebb and flow' is similar to other versions of the flood and water as immigration trope, where people are described as amorphous and uncontrollable.

The manifesto is particularly pointed at the previous two governments of David Cameron's coalition and Gordon Brown's Labour government who "deliberately and recklessly threw open our borders...". Here, UKIP makes a classic argument towards immigration by suggesting that immigration to the UK has driven down wages, led to greater unemployment and put a strain on public services such as the NHS. None of these statements are necessarily correct or incorrect, but there is a particular 'otherising' strain to the language used. For example, in talking about population pressures, the manifesto points out: "The sheer weight of numbers, combined with rising birth rates (particularly to immigrant mothers) and an ageing population, is

⁶⁹ United Kingdom Independence Party, "Believe in Britain: UKIP manifesto 2015," 10.

⁷⁰ Patrick Wintour, Nicholas Watt, & Severin Carrell, "Ukip condemned by cross-party group for running 'racist' campaign," *The Guardian*, 28 April 2014.

⁷¹ UKIP, "manifesto 2015," 11.

⁷² UKIP, "manifesto 2015," 11.

pushing public services to to breaking point.”⁷³ The inclusion of the parenthetical on immigrant mothers is particularly insidious. While the overall point on numbers and strain is nothing more than a standard political statement, the inclusion of the parenthetical makes for a statement that implies at most a ‘take-over’ by migrants and at least a view that migrants are parasitic in some way. This statement labels overpopulation an existential threat to the welfare system of the UK, with a particular aside that immigrants may be a significant part of the overpopulation problem.

UKIP as a party could be argued as a securitizing party based on its primary policy objective. The exit from the EU is in many ways an extraordinary move in order to protect/regain British sovereignty. With this in mind, much of the manifesto could be labeled securitization. This is from the overall call to leave the EU to calls to withhold welfare benefits from EU citizens. However, we must bear in mind that the latter idea was also suggested by both Labour and the Conservatives in their respective manifestos.

5.1.4 On Manifestos and Immigration

In all four of the manifestos used in this analysis, immigration has been discussed in some form or fashion. The Conservatives, Labour, and UKIP frame the discussion in similar tones with a goal towards controlled immigration. However, they all give varying degrees of policy suggestions to satisfy that goal. SNP rides a different tact altogether, calling for greater immigration to Scotland. All four manifestos were very careful in considering terrorism (particularly Islamic extremism) as being very far removed from their policy on immigration. In this way, they avoided the most obvious space for securitizing immigration. The elements of securitization were either more subtle or non-existent. The desire to either leave the EU or break its rules on immigration were a part of the Conservatives, Labour, and UKIP manifestos, but this could also just be argued as a political stance and the prerogative of an independent member in the Union. While pure securitization language was lacking in the manifestos, there were a number of possibilities for it based on the number of referent objects listed. Culture, values, welfare system, employment, economy and even environment were all brought up as objects that

⁷³ UKIP, “manifesto 2015,” 11.

were potentially under some level of threat from immigration. However, only the Conservatives made a direct discursive statement about the need to protect any of those objects.

5.2 Debates in Parliament

The chosen period of analysis comes immediately after the election of an outright Conservative government under the lead of Prime Minister David Cameron. As a result, much of the policy goals listed in the Tory manifesto in relation to immigration were almost immediately started in parliament. The biggest bit of policy comes in the form of an immigration act aimed at curbing illegal immigration and finding illegal immigrants in the UK. The bill would become known as the Immigration Act 2016, passed on 12 May 2016.⁷⁴ Much of the parliamentary debate during this period is thus debate on the eventual act. In total, this analysis looked at 24 separate debates, split between the House of Commons and a public bill committee for the immigration act. While there may be discussions of immigration or comments in other debates unrelated to the immigration issue itself, during this time I made the choice to keep the analysis ultimately centered on the debates specifically about immigration.

While the overall tone of debate and language used in the discussion of the eventual Immigration Act 2016 was courteous and temperate, there are several examples of language resembling securitization. The first example I found was in the introductory debate for this bill. Conservative MP Andrew Turner (Isle of Wight), in introducing the bill, refers to immigration via an allegory to a boiling frog. Turner describes how a frog dropped into a pot of boiling water will jump out immediately, recognizing the threat to its life. However, the frog placed in a pot that gradually heats up to boiling will remain and eventually boil to death. Turner explains that the situation is akin to what the UK is experiencing via immigration.⁷⁵ Turner does offer an aside at the end of his statement that he supports controlled immigration and mentions his belief that immigrants are hard working and vitally important to the UK. However, the use of an allegory that includes a slow death does warrant a closer look. From a securitization standpoint, using

⁷⁴ United Kingdom, "Immigration Act 2016," 12 May 2016.

⁷⁵ United Kingdom, House of Commons, "Immigration 09 July 2015," *Hansard Online*, v. 598, Column 191WH.

death, even allegorically, is relating to an existential threat. The slowly boiling water is an insidious threat; it does not appear as threatening at first, but if unchecked, it will kill the frog. If the UK is the frog and immigration is the water, Turner is suggesting that immigration is going to kill the UK. This may just be hyperbole of analysis, but the fact remains that Turner makes the connection to an existential threat. What is more, this plays into the trope of migrants as water. He also outlines two more specific referent objects than just the UK at large. He mentions space as limited with a shortage in housing exacerbated by migrants and the growth of ‘health tourism’ from other EU countries to the UK.

At the root of Turner's argument is an inability for the UK to regulate EU migration. This is a message echoed by many MPs during the course of debate and will be a prime focus of this analysis. Other themes found in debate include allusion to crisis or imminent threat, concerns by opposition at violations of EU and UN human rights treaties via the legislation, and language that paint immigrants as outsiders, others, and threats.

5.2.1 European Union and the Freedom of Movement

The European Union is at the heart of much of the parliamentary debate during this time period. The referendum had been officially initiated via the European Union Referendum Act 2015, but the official date had not yet been selected and so MPs were oftentimes simply forming their opinions on the matter. There were, however, several MPs who expressed deep concerns about the lack of sovereignty the UK held due to its inclusion in the EU. This is especially true on matters of immigration where many MPs felt the UK was being held hostage on immigration levels due to the EU freedom of movement. Leaving the European Union could be argued to be a securitizing action. This all depends on how the message of ‘leave’ is devised, and whether the reasoning for leaving is due to existential threat.

Immigration and the EU come up often in debate. It is the heart of debate for immigration hardliners in the course of my analysis period. The Tories in the previous coalition government had done a fair bit to stifle non-EU immigration as a means of hitting their target of ‘tens-of-thousands not hundreds-of-thousands’ as in their manifesto, but that technique had not

hit their immigration goal. This led to a great deal of resentment at the inability of the UK to put limitations on EU migrants coming into the country. In an October 13th 2015 debate, Tory Stewart Jackson (Peterborough) strikes at the heart of Conservative concerns: “The Bill also specifically establishes the common sense premise that it is we--this sovereign Parliament--that should ultimately be responsible for who comes to our country, not some supranational body such as the European Union.”⁷⁶ Since the EU referendum has not yet occurred, this call to supercede international obligations is an extra-ordinary action. Jackson makes this clear by referencing Germany ‘disregarding’ the Schengen Agreement “in an emergency” and that the UK should be able to do the same for its own national interest. He lists multiple referent objects for the need to either renegotiate or abrogate EU commitments: work for unskilled Britons, wages, school costs with english-as-a-second-language students, and culture. Here, he states that people may feel “an irrevocable culture change in their country that they can do nothing about...”⁷⁷ The fear of cultural extinction is echoed by fellow Tory David T.C. Davies (Monmouth), who argues that any migrant coming to the UK should not only respect existing British culture but also assimilate to it and leave their own cultural values behind.⁷⁸

In a July 9, 2015, debate Conservative Mark Fields (Cities of London and Westminster) makes an argument that the EU freedom of movement allows petty vandals and hardened criminals to come into and stay in the UK. His argument hedges on the need for due process to deport EU criminals in the UK, calling for use of the ‘deport now, appeal later’ procedure in place for failed asylum seekers on any EU migrant accused of a crime.⁷⁹ Fields argues that EU migrants and visitors are a public disturbance in his constituency, exhibiting anti-social behavior so that the police cannot build a deportable case against them for “aggressively begging, littering, defecating and urination in public, and sleeping rough on the streets...”⁸⁰ He goes as far to suggest that this behavior is devised by ‘lucrative organised criminal gangs from eastern Europe.’ However, it is a strong bit of language separating ‘us’ from ‘them.’ They, *non-UK citizens*, are petty and organized criminals that we can do nothing about because the EU (another

⁷⁶ United Kingdom, House of Commons, “Immigration Bill” 13 October 2015, v. 600, 214.

⁷⁷ UK, House of Commons, “Immigration Bill” 13 Oct. 2015, 217.

⁷⁸ UK, House of Commons, “Immigration Bill” 13 Oct. 2015, 240.

⁷⁹ UK, House of Commons, “Immigration Bill,” 9 July 2015, 200WH.

⁸⁰ UK, House of Commons, “Immigration Bill,” 9 July 2015, 201WH.

outsider) will not let us control our own borders. None of this is necessarily securitizing, except for the call for abrogation of due process in the ‘deport now, appeal later’ procedure. In this line, all the arguments are used to justify further departure from due process for migrants, particularly those from the EU.

In debates closer to the referendum, the language becomes much more pointed against the EU. Conservative Philip Hollobone (Kettering) calls for a special debate on just the matter of EU immigration (on May 5th 2016, after the passage of the Immigration Act). Hollobone calls into question the official statistics of EU migration to the UK by bringing up numbers from the anti-immigration organization Migrant Watch UK.⁸¹ He then makes a list of reasons why EU migration is not only not desirable, but a threat to all different aspects of the UK. He makes particular note that Turkey may join the EU and that “most of them are muslim and have a different culture.”⁸² Hollobone fears that should Turkey join the EU, the UK would be flooded by Turkish job seekers. The inclusion of rhetoric on muslims is directed at protecting the UK’s culture and is another example of otherization of particular immigrant groups. Hollobone also has issue with the amount of money the UK provides to the accession fund for the EU (fund to help countries join the union). He notes that the amount given could provide for X number of benefits for children and X number of state pensions, making a connection that EU funding is ‘taking away’ and thus damaging British citizens. His concerns are elevated by Albanian desire to fully enter the EU. Hollobone notes that “Albania has some of the nastiest criminals in the whole European Union,” at once otherizing an entire population as well as casting the freedom of movement as a security issue.⁸³ This is a matter he mentions several times, asking the Immigration minister later in the debate what he is going to do about the “Albanian and Turkish criminality problem should those countries join.”⁸⁴ Hollobone is also the only MP to allude to terrorism in discussions of immigration, noting that the Schengen agreement is a “welcome sign to terrorism.”⁸⁵ He thus makes a vivid connection between the EU and imminent danger to the UK’s security. Hollobone’s speech is perhaps the most securitizing language used in any of the

⁸¹ United Kingdom, House of Commons, “EU Immigration” 5 May 2016, v. 609. 166.

⁸² UK, House of Commons, “EU Immigration,” 168.

⁸³ UK, House of Commons, “EU Immigration,” 170.

⁸⁴ UK, House of Commons, “EU Immigration,” 182.

⁸⁵ UK, House of Commons, “EU Immigration,” 170.5.

debates in my analysis period. He creates stark divisions between *us*, British citizens, and *them*, eastern Europeans and Turks, by painting *them* as criminals we cannot control. He offers *them* as the existential threat to the referent object of British culture, welfare, and by extension, *us*. And he has an audience given that he secured the debate specifically for the purpose of talking about EU migration and to endorse the ‘leave’ campaign. And yet, does he call for actions outside the realm of what is considered normal political behavior?

At the root of the discussion on immigration securitization and the EU is the extra-ordinary nature of either leaving the EU or abrogating established treaties with the EU. Deciding to leave the EU is certainly a big step, but is it outside the realm of reality, or does it go so far as to be an action outside the realm of political normality?

Obviously, the answer to the first question is no; the UK is currently negotiating their release from the EU. As to the second question, it could be argued that leaving the EU is not extra-ordinary. While it hasn’t been done by any other country, there are legal means of leaving the Union as written into article 50 of the Lisbon treaty. But one could also make the argument that leaving the EU, while legal and allowable, is outside normal political procedure. Especially when the primary reasoning is to prevent migration from other EU countries to the UK. This could be a ‘throwing the baby out with the bathwater’ sort of argument. Proponents of leaving/greater EU migrant restrictions argued for the defense of welfare benefits, culture, and sovereignty. However, there is evidence that leaving the EU may actually do more harm than good to the funding for social services. Limiting immigration may in fact hurt sectors such as the NHS which relies on foreign workers at all levels.⁸⁶ If the action is leaving the EU to restrict immigration for the reasons of protecting or saving the welfare state, culture, and national sovereignty, then the decision to leave does fall under securitization. MP Hollobone argued strongly in favor of leaving and made his reasoning quite clear: protect Britain from outsiders who may change our culture or ruin our entitlement programs. Other MPs tiptoe lighter around the issue, but still offer the same solution to the problem of EU immigration. It is either leave the union, or renegotiate the terms of inclusion.

⁸⁶ Mark Exworthy, “The NHS and Brexit,” *University of Birmingham*, 16 June. 2016.

5.2.2 Human Rights and the International Treaty Regime

In the course of these debates, the opposition, led by Labour and SNP, make frequent mention of their concern that the immigration act will violate international human rights agreements. The agreements referred to are both the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights as well as the EU's European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.^{87,88} The arguments come from several aspects of the bill, including: making it mandatory that landlords check if tenants have the right to live in the UK, turning the status of some migrant children into the same status as adult migrants and thus eligible to the same treatment, the continuation of indefinite detentions, and the removal of the appeal process for asylum seekers. The Minister for Immigration, James Brokenshire (Con), defends all aspects of the act as entirely necessary and receives criticism from the opposition. If these aspects of the bill do violate international treaties, then there may be some language used that falls into securitizing speech.

While the opposition brings up their fears that the act could be outside of international agreements, the Tories insist that the measures are both legal and necessary. During the witness phase, when MPs call in experts and advocacy groups to speak on the language of the bill, there is testimony from Colin Yeo, barrister specializing in immigration law. Yeo details the case of a man in his 30s, who had lived in the UK since he was 6, committed a crime, served time in jail, was then automatically deported while he waited for appeal on his immigration case. This is possible through the use of 'deport first, appeal later.' That regime has been criticized as abrogating a migrant's right to due process and was later declared illegal by supreme court decision.⁸⁹ Conservative MP Simon Hoare (North Dorset) responds that the individual was a criminal and thus a threat to British citizens, arguing that the deportation was necessary.⁹⁰ Painting the deportee as a criminal threat to British citizens may have some validity depending

⁸⁷ United Nations, *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, 10 Dec. 1948.

⁸⁸ European Union(Council of Europe) , *European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*, 3 Sept. 1953.

⁸⁹ Clive Coleman, "Deport first, appeal later' policy ruled unlawful," *BBC News*. 14 June 2017.

⁹⁰ United Kingdom, Public Bill Committee, "Immigration Bill (Third sitting)," *Hansard Online*, 22 Oct. 2015. 95-96.

on the severity of the crime. However, this language is also used to portray someone who had lived the vast majority of his life in the UK as distinctly dangerous to British citizens. This argument is used to justify the abrogation of due process rights and a system that was ruled illegal less than two years later.

In another exchange MP Hoare is discussing failed asylum seekers and children status with David Simmonds a Councillor for the London borough of Hillingdon. Local communities are responsible for unaccompanied minors who appear first in those communities under two acts of parliament.⁹¹⁹² Councillor Simmonds raises concern that there is not enough funding for local communities when it comes to providing children migrants the rights afforded them by those two acts. He also iterates his fear that the immigration act being debated will instead view migrant children as adults as opposed to fixing the financial scheme. Hoare has no response to the concerns and the debate moves on. No securitization speech used here, instead a lack of justification is used.

One of the most contentious issues revolves around landlords being required to validate their tenant's right to live in the UK. The opposition MPs point out repeatedly that this could lead to unintended discrimination on the part of landlords as they seek to protect themselves from accidentally renting to someone who does not have legal right to live the UK. These concerns are also raised by various advocacy groups, including landlord and tenant groups. The Minister for Immigration argues that the measure is wholly necessary and that no discrimination will take place. This matter does not extend into securitization on a language-only view, although the measure arguably takes extraneous steps to route-out illegal residents.

The bill also enables the ability for immigration agents to enact search and seizure in civil cases if they think there may be an immigration violation. This is both against standard practice in the UK (being used only in criminal cases) as well as the EU convention on human rights.⁹³ However, the Solicitor General of the UK (Robert Buckland (Con)) argues the measure is within standard practice of the UK as well as complying with the convention on human rights. He also argues that this measure is to lessen the burden on the criminal justice system and to,

⁹¹ United Kingdom, "Children Act 1989," 16 Nov. 1989.

⁹² United Kingdom, "Children (Leaving Care) Act 2000," 1 Dec. 2000.

⁹³ EU, "Convention on Human Rights," Article 5&8.

confusingly, limit state power.⁹⁴ Again, a case in which an extra-ordinary measure is being implemented, but with a lack of true securitization language.

The abrogation of human rights should be considered a serious and extra-ordinary measure for a government to take. Yet, several measures of the 2016 immigration act arguably do just that. However, the language used to pass the bill was tempered and calm. Rather than demanding that the measures must be taken to save the UK, conservative MPs instead argue that the bill will fix the issues with the immigration system as it was and that the concerns that it will violate human rights are overblown and inaccurate. So while the actions taken by the government could be considered outside the realm of standard political practice, the justifications for these actions is very much within the realm of standard political discourse. There are a few referent objects referred to, but the existential threat is not fully flushed by any MP arguing for the bill. This has some elements to securitization, critically including measures that go outside the realm of political normality, but does not satisfy the full billing of securitization as the language necessary to implement said actions is lacking.

5.2.3 Otherizing in Parliamentary Debate

Much of the debate as to why the Immigration Act was necessary includes language meant to separate and discern migrants from the rest of the UK population. Otherizing language is not necessarily wrong or inappropriate in a policy discussion about immigration. It is true that migrants come from *other* countries and have *other* cultural values and *other* nationalities and citizenships. However, when used excessively or in a matter that diminishes the humanness of the subject, this language can incite tension, resentment, and even foment violence. This type of otherizing language can also be used to push for legislation that violates the human or civil rights of a particular group of people based on their special designation as ‘not of us.’ In the course of debate, there were a number of times in which immigrants were referred to in a manner that either diminished their human value or otherized them sufficiently enough to warrant closer inspection.

⁹⁴ United Kingdom, Public Bill Committee, “Immigration Bill (Tenth sitting),” *Hansard Online*, 3 Nov. 2015.

In an April 2016 debate on reconciling the Immigration Act with the version amended by the House of Lords, Brokenshire makes clear the government's goals of making the UK a less desirable location for immigrants of all types. The opposition supports an amendment designed to allow unaccompanied refugee children, stuck in the camps at Calais and Dunkerque, to come to the UK without delay and be given asylum status. Brokenshire and the Tories argue that this scheme, regardless of its positive effects for the children refugees, should not pass as it would encourage more unaccompanied minors to attempt to come to the UK.⁹⁵ There is much discussion of the amendment as a 'pull factor' to which the opposition counters the 'push factor' of war and conflict. The diminishing of human suffering as a matter less important than strategy on limiting immigration is troublesome. Brokenshire shrugs off the issue by relating that unaccompanied minor asylum seekers are the problem for the countries they are currently in and not explicitly the UK's. All this is consistent with the goals of the then Home Office minister, Theresa May, to make a 'hostile environment' for illegal migrants to the UK.⁹⁶ That policy has fallen under recent scrutiny for its unintended consequences of ensnaring legal migrants and UK citizens alike in deportation cases.⁹⁷ In a later debate on the same subject, Conservative Gerald Howarth (Aldershot) suggests that the children are not the UK's problem and that they are only in a precarious position because of negligence from their parents.⁹⁸ The suggestion is here that these children are not worthy of help because of the misdeeds of their parents. This also paints the parents as somehow neglectful and at fault for the situation of their children. The message is that the UK should not have to make right the mistakes of bad parents, neglecting the real human suffering of the children already unaccompanied and seeking asylum.

In testimony from Lord Andrew Green of Deddington (chair of MigrationWatch UK) there is use of pure otherizing language. Green makes use of the common otherizing statement of 'these people' in reference to migrants.⁹⁹ On its own 'these people' is a relatively innocuous phrase, but over time it has become charged to directly build separation between groups of

⁹⁵ United Kingdom, House of Commons, "Immigration Bill," 25 April 2016, v. 608.

⁹⁶ Alan Travis, "Immigration bill: Theresa May defends plans to create 'hostile environment'," *The Guardian*, 10 Oct 2013.

⁹⁷ Richard Warren, "'Hostile environment' immigration policy has made Britain a precarious place to call home," *The Conversation*, 25 Apr. 2018.

⁹⁸ United Kingdom, House of Commons, "Immigration bill," 9 May 2016, v. 609. 493.

⁹⁹ United Kingdom, House of Commons, "Immigration Bill (Second sitting)," 20 Oct. 2015. 47.5.

people. Green, puzzlingly, later denies having said the phrase, followed by confusion to the suggestion that he would make that statement in that particular way.¹⁰⁰ Green goes on to suggest that the bill may promote discrimination by landlords via the ‘right-to-rent’ provision, but argues that the benefits outweigh the negatives on this matter.

Simon Hoare makes several remarks that serve to otherize immigrants. He notes that illegal immigrants are not “members of our society” but rather “societies of other countries.”¹⁰¹ In a later debate he argues that taxpayers should not have to pay for immigrants, neglecting that legal migrants also pay taxes.¹⁰² In the same breath, he claims that immigration is an issue in which “political correctness has become just a little too wayward.” Hoare and Green’s statements are not only a separation of ‘us’ and ‘them’; they are also using tactics Wodak has specifically labeled as language of far-right movements.¹⁰³ The use of language followed by denial of that language as well as the call to ‘political correctness’ run amok and both fit the tactics used by far-right groups.

Finally Philip Hollobone in his debate on EU migration uses multiple examples of otherizing language. In regards to Romanian and Bulgarians living in the UK, he makes a clear distinction between people from those two countries and British citizens by saying: “If it is true that we now have 450,000 Romanians and Bulgarians in this country, an apology from Her Majesty’s Government would be most welcome, because those of us who have been trying for some time to alert the government to the dangers of the scale of migration have frankly been ignored.”¹⁰⁴ He goes on to say: “The British people will not put up with this for much longer.” While he does mention that it is the scale of the immigration he has issue with, the tone used in the surrounding language seems more directly aimed at the otherness of Romanians and Bulgarians. Compared with his previous language from this debate on the criminality of Turks and Albanians, these complaints seem even more directed at the people and not the scale of immigration. Hollobone also draws a distinction between western EU citizens and eastern EU citizens. He does not have a problem with people from France or Germany coming to the UK,

¹⁰⁰ UK, House of Commons, “Immigration Bill (Second sitting),” 51.

¹⁰¹ United Kingdom, House of Commons, “Immigration Bill (Fourth sitting), 22 Oct. 2015, 139.5.

¹⁰² United Kingdom, House of Commons, “Immigration Bill (Twelfth sitting), 5 Nov. 2015, 430.

¹⁰³ Wodak, “Politics of Fear,” Chapter 3.

¹⁰⁴ UK, House of Commons, “EU Immigration,” 167WH.

but does make mention of refugees gaining citizenship in places like Germany. He notes that refugees in Germany could be granted citizenship within only five years, which means these people would be able to freely move to the UK as EU citizens.¹⁰⁵ This sort of language attempts to create fear of *other* people, as if somehow for a person from the middle east who has lived and assimilated well enough into Germany to become a citizen is ‘too foreign’ or ‘too different’ if they come to live in the UK.

At the root of otherizing immigrants in the UK is the wish, if one can call it that, to create permanent distinction between born-British citizens and everyone else. Creating distinctions can make it easier to pass legislation that further separates the rights and opportunities afforded to immigrants and asylum seekers in the UK.

5.2.4 Crisis Language and the Use of Metaphor in Debate.

While the debates I analysed were mostly standard political language and parliamentary procedure, there were a few instances of ‘crisis’ language. That is, times in which the issue was raised as a dire threat in need of immediate action. The issue certainly was viewed as a matter needing immediate action, considering the previous immigration bill in the UK was passed just one year prior to the start of debate on the 2016 immigration act.¹⁰⁶ In securitization, an expedited process might be expected on legislative action because the threat, being existential, requires immediate action.

Even members of the opposition were involved in the usage of crisis language. Labour MP David Hanson (Delyn) makes use of the flood metaphor in relation to migration. In relation to a controlled migration system Hanson says “...we cannot flood the United Kingdom with individuals from elsewhere for ever..”¹⁰⁷ This type of language relates back to the metaphor used to begin the debate on the boiling frog. The prevailing attitude of the entire debate is that there is already a crisis and that immediate action is needed. The practical elements of that strategy are not shared by all parties but both the Conservative and Labour MPs generally agree that some

¹⁰⁵ UK, House of Commons, “EU immigration,” 171WH.

¹⁰⁶ United Kingdom, “Immigration Act 2014,” 14 May 2014.

¹⁰⁷ UK, House of Commons, “Immigration bill,” 9 July 2015, 208WH

action is needed. The language suggested that the dire threat had already been established and accepted by the UK's two largest parties. This view was seemingly driven by the feelings of British citizens. At numerous points throughout the debate, MPs from both the conservatives and the Labour party make mention of the seriousness with which their respective constituencies view immigration as a problem in need of fixing. Particular MPs make multiple mention that immigration is the primary concern of their constituency. Perhaps there has been securitizing language from another source outside of parliamentary debate. This would seem to be the case from the urgency with which the government approached the immigration bill along with their insistence on not amending any of the concerns brought forth by the opposition or relevant advocacy organizations, even in relation to aspects of the bill which violated national law and international treaties.

5.3 Official Pronouncements from the Home Office

The Home Office releases hundreds of official reports and documents a year. I narrowed down my analysis to 30 documents released by the Home Office relating directly to immigration and the immigration control system in the UK. These documents consist of official reports, regulations, responses to independent reports and inquiries, data tables on immigration statistics, and several joint statements with France regarding immigration. I have left out the data tables and quarterly immigration statistics from my analysis as there is little language used whatsoever in those reports and thus the likelihood of securitizing language is slim.

One of the most common documents from the Home Office in my period of analysis is the response to independent reports on various aspects of the immigration system. The reports are compiled by the Independent Chief Inspector (ICI) of Borders and Immigration. The ICI acts outside of the government as a public appointee. All reports are given to parliament and responded to by the Home Office. The reports I looked at reviewed visa procedures for family visitors, sponsorship, and the Amman, Jordan office. Almost every recommendation made by the ICI was accepted by the Home Office outside of a recommendation to notify denied visa

applicants of the ‘positives’ on their applications.¹⁰⁸ The responses are carefully worded and respectful of the reports compiled by the ICI. No discernable language towards securitization is used in the responses to the reports and, for the most part, the reports by the ICI are rarely overly critical of the overall structure of immigration practices, instead choosing to focus on the minutiae of enforcement.

The documents also include official rules and instructions for the handling of various situations and people at detention centers and in other departments of the immigration system. This regulation includes the handling of transexual, gay, and lesbian detainees, the procedure for unaccompanied detainees flying domestically, marriage and partnerships formed between detainees in detainment, internet access for detainees, procedure for sharing of medical information of detainees, procedure for deaths in detention centers, and how to remove blades from detainees and detainment centers. These documents are exhaustive as one might expect from an official bureaucratic document. The documents are also uniformly respectful of the autonomy and the human rights of those detained, taking great lengths to make sure that detention centers treat detainees ‘humanely’ and with ‘compassion.’ The type of treatment called for in these documents have not always been enacted at detention centers with controversies surrounding the care and general conditions of UK detention centers.^{109,110} Although, based on the language used in the official procedures, it would be hard to argue that detention agents are making abuses based on direct messaging from the Home Office.

The final type of document I reviewed from the Home Office was two joint statements between the UK and France in relation to the situation of asylum seekers camped in the French towns of Calais and Dunkerque. These two joint statements come from August 2015 and March 2016. The first statement details the situation of asylum seekers on the northern coast of France and attempts to define a renewed effort to slow the illegal movement of people by smugglers. This is especially important to the UK government as they were attempting to slow the tide of

¹⁰⁸ United Kingdom Home Office, “The Home Office response to the Independent Chief Inspector's report: An Inspection of Family Visitor visa applications,” 16 July 2015, 4.

¹⁰⁹ Liam O’Hare, “At least one person a day is self-harming in UK detentions centres,” *The Independent*, 2 April 2018.

¹¹⁰ Lizzie Dearden, “Abuse of migrants at detentions centre could be repeated across UK because of ‘failing’ system, MPs warn,” *The Independent*, 21 Nov 2017.

illegal immigration and viewed smuggling as a primary problem on that front. The language of the first statement is exceptionally careful. The ‘refugee crisis’, as it has been dubbed by many, is referred to instead as a “situation,” “issue,” and even as a “phenomenon” that “presents a serious concern.”¹¹¹ It seems that the language was selected almost to avoid any insinuation that the refugee crisis is in anyway a product of the asylum seekers themselves and rather as an issue in need of better solutions. The harshest language is reserved for smugglers and human traffickers who “take migrants’ money and risk their lives.”¹¹²

The second Franco-English document takes a more concerned approach language-wise. This document comes as a conclusion to the 34th UK-France summit from March 3rd 2016. The goal of these summits is to deepen the bilateral relationship between the UK and France, but much of the discussion pertains to the matter of migrants and asylum seekers. This document refers to the ‘migration crisis’ as well as using crisis-like language. It says “Our security environment has dramatically changed...”, perhaps noting the change in language from the previous statement from half a year earlier, “...External crises are knocking on Europe’s doors - both East and South of its borders. They have immediate and tragic consequences on the European territory and on the safety of our citizens.”¹¹³ This is obviously referring to more than just the situation with migrants and asylum seekers, but it certainly also includes the issue. On the issue of terrorism the document uses stronger security language, as may be expected. It states “Europe is no longer a safe haven” and that terrorism “constitutes a critical challenge to our core values, including democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, equality, and the mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs.”¹¹⁴ However, while these statements provide both an existential threat and referent objects, they do not call for measures that would be outside the regular operating rules between the UK and France, nor do they call for stepping outside international agreements or organizations in order to deal with terrorism as an issue.

The Home Office is careful to use language that is both non-securitized and without hyperbole. This is to be expected as the standard practice for most large bureaucratic agencies in

¹¹¹ United Kingdom Home Office, “Managing migratory flows in Calais: Joint ministerial declaration on UK/French co-operation,” 20 August 2015. 1,2,3.

¹¹² UK Home Office, “Managing migratory flows,” 6.

¹¹³ United Kingdom Home Office, “UK-France Summit 3 March 2016: conclusions,” 1.

¹¹⁴ Home Office, “UK-France,” 3.

the liberal-democratic world. Even as the agency has come under repeated criticism for mistreatment of detainees and draconian measures aimed at slowing immigration, the language used in official documents and reports remains tempered and careful. At least for the period I have analysed here.

5.4 Media - The Daily Mail, Mail on Sunday, and MailOnline

The Daily Mail was the top selling paper news source as well as one of the top news outlets read online in the UK during the period analysed.¹¹⁵ The Daily Mail is a tabloid-style newspaper known for taking advantage of large color photo cutaways and sensationalist headlines. The Mail has come under a bevy of criticism throughout the years for misleading articles, sensationalist headlines, and inaccurate assessments (particularly of scientific studies).¹¹⁶ The Daily Mail, like so many UK news sources, differentiates between its weekly format (mentioned at the start of this sentence), its Sunday long read (Mail on Sunday), and its internet edition (the MailOnline). In selecting news articles for the Mail, I selected from all three as they have more or less the same staff that contributes in all forms, albeit with separate editorial staffs. An odd area that the Daily Mail does not clearly differentiate in is between its news articles and its editorial articles. The wording of the text itself gives an indication of the separation, but the outlet does not make the distinction clear in all cases, unlike many other news outlets.

I have selected some 240 articles published between June 2015 and June 23 of 2016 centered specifically on immigration. The Mail published hundreds of articles a day between its print and online format, so I specifically narrowed my selection to matters of immigration relating closely to Britain. In many ways, this period could be considered the height of the

¹¹⁵ Ofcom, "News Consumption in the UK: 2016," 29 June 2017.

¹¹⁶ Jasper Jackson, "Wikipedia bans Daily Mail as 'unreliable' source," *The Guardian*, 8 Feb 2017.

¹¹⁷ Trevor Butterworth, "Will Drinking Diet Soda Increase Your Risk For A Heart Attack," *Forbes*, 21 FEB 2012.

¹¹⁸ Roy Greenslade, "Daily Mail publishes correction to misleading EU migrants' story," *The Guardian*, 23 May 2016.

¹¹⁹ Ben Goldacre, "The Daily Mail cancer story that torpedoes itself in paragraph 19," *The Guardian*, 16 Oct 2010.

refugee and migrant influx that affected all of Europe and thus the total selection of articles could be much larger. My decision to limit the scope to articles relating to immigration directly affecting the UK is twofold. The first and most important reason was directly related to my research question: the language used around immigration and the UK is the most likely to have securitizing language. The second reason has to do with the tone I found in my preliminary readings. Oftentimes the Mail provided a much more compassionate view towards refugees and immigrants boating across the mediterranean or coming through Turkey, while the articles pertaining to direct British migration had a much more alarmist tone. On a final note of general observations, I found that the headlines for the Mail to often be the most extreme use of language in the articles. Much as discussed before, the headlines often misconstrued the actual contents of the article it was supposed to be describing, opting for sensational effect. The Mail headlines also tend to deviate from the journalistic norm of using purely descriptive language. Instead, they often opt to use prescriptive language. These differences will be discussed at greater length below.

Due to the breadth of articles in my analysis, I have divided things into more useful categories of analysis. These categories break down into the four different factors of securitization as mentioned before, primarily *existential threats* and *referent objects*. The categories are: anti-European Union language, concerns about population size and quality, a distinct misappropriation of the terms ‘migrant’ and ‘refugee,’ concerns about welfare and taxpayer money, the worry of immigrant criminality, the worry of immigrant extremism and terrorism particularly from muslim immigrants, and lastly the use of language of crisis including metaphor relating to floods and water. Many of these categories overlap in multiple ways, such as a fear of EU immigrants taking advantage of the welfare provided by the UK state, or through the use of the word refugee almost exclusively in relation to fears of migrating terrorist threats. Some of these categories have been grouped together due to their analytical similarities in the sections below. Because the Mail does not clearly differentiate its editorial pieces from its news articles, I will be mixing the language used in both. I made this decision because if the Mail does not wish to make a clear distinction, then my assumption is that they want their audience to take everything that is written as tangible and important and not necessarily an individual writer’s

opinions on a matter. As to be expected, the pieces that appear to be more editorial often use the more distinctive language and provide the most distinctive use of securitization discourse.

5.4.1 Population: Size, Makeup, and Cost

Throughout my period of analysis, the Mail showed a persistent theme of concern about population size and makeup for the UK. Many of these articles mixed a certain skepticism towards the EU freedom of movement as well as the effects of a rising population on welfare state systems like the NHS. In a particularly more insidious manner, the Mail mixed in certain concerns about the content and makeup of the UK's population with sensationalist headlines about the future population breakdown and the diminishing number of 'white Britons.'

The most substantial message on population during my analysis period was the belief that the UK was going to be so overpopulated that it would not be able to provide welfare services for its citizens, this being exacerbated by immigrants coming and staying in the UK. Headlines such as "Social Service in Kent are under 'enormous strain' and face 5.5 million shortfall as the number of young migrants coming into the UK has doubled in the last three month" among others are used to paint a picture of untenability to continue operations along with migration numbers.¹²⁰ This message actually mirrors the message provided by both the Tories as well as UKIP and to a lesser extent Labour on a need to wrangle in migration to protect services for the rest of Britain. In this way the matter is perhaps only politicized, as it is debatable what level of immigration is tenable for a state to maintain its services. However, many of the articles from the Mail dip further into a securitization dialogue on the matter of population when it involves the EU or fertility rates.

Many articles mention the number of births of immigrants to the UK. Articles such as "Rise in migrant babies means UK will have a bigger population than Germany by 2060," "Migrant baby boom means one in four infants now born in the UK has a mother who was born overseas and figures could reach one-in-three by 2021" and "Maternity wards that can't cope: Migrant Births and rise in older mums blamed as HALF of maternity units have had to turn away

¹²⁰ Emma Glanfield "Social services in Kent are under 'enormous strain' and face £5.5million shortfall as the number of young migrants coming into the UK has doubled in the last three months," *MailOnline*, 30 July 2015.

women in Labour” raises concerns about birth rates of non-british citizens.^{121,122,123} At the surface, neither of the first two articles are particularly securitizing, alarmist perhaps, but the contents provide a more existential problem. Both articles use commentary from MigrationWatch UK and UKIP spokespeople to highlight the dangers of immigration and the strain these numbers will put on social services. The third of those three articles provides a securitizing tone with the concern that women have been turned away while in labour, insinuating that the health facilities are under such strain that they are unable to do vital work. However, the population growth mentioned in the first two articles is far from unsustainable, suggesting that instead the concern is that the composition of the growth is dangerous in some way. This sort of language is useful in otherizing immigrants to the UK regardless of their home country or the contributions they may or may not be making to the state.

The Mail takes this theme further in “Over a third of babies born in the UK are no longer white British...” and “How Labour turned London into a foreign city: then half the capital’s population are white British...”^{124,125} The first article is quick to call this change in fertility demographics a result of immigration followed immediately by a quote from then Home Secretary, Theresa May, that high immigration levels make it “impossible to build a cohesive society.” The article then shifts direction to talk about the numbers from the Office of National Statistics Report that the article is based on, but ends the piece by returning to May’s quote. The article both restates the previous quote on cohesion and adds that immigration makes it “...difficult for schools and hospitals to cope.” The second article is actually about a book from author, Ben Judah, attempting to give voice to different immigrant groups living in London. It also appears to be written more as an editorial than as journalism. The author of the article, Harriet Sargeant, is deeply critical of the portrait of London as painted by Judah. Sargeant

¹²¹ Richard Spillett, “Rise in migrant babies means UK will have a bigger population than Germany by 2060” *MailOnline*, 2 June 2015.

¹²² Hannah Parry, “Migrant baby boom means one in four infants now born in the UK has a mother who was born overseas and figure could reach one-in-three by 2021,” *MailOnline*, 16 July 2015.

¹²³ Sophie Borland, “Maternity wards that can’t cope: Migrant Births and rise in older mums blamed as HALF of maternity units have had to turn away women in Labour,” *The Daily Mail*, 23 Dec. 2015.

¹²⁴ Steve Doughty, “Over a third of babies born in the UK are no longer white British: More than 10% come from other Caucasian backgrounds mirroring increased migration from Europe,” *The Daily Mail*, 9 Oct. 2015.

¹²⁵ Harriet Sargeant, “How Labour turned London into a foreign city: Fewer than half the capital’s population are white British, gangsters from Somalia terrorise the suburbs and even the tramps are immigrants, reveals astonishing new book,” *The Daily Mail*, 24 Jan. 2016.

describes London as undergoing ‘ethnic cleansing’ because of the rapid diminishing of white British inside the city. This is a troubling distinction that seems to say that immigration is an existential threat to white British people. It is a distinction that also leaves out non-white British, as if those who are not of anglo-saxon ethnicity, but still citizens, will somehow contribute to the destruction of the UK.

The final and most extensive concern linking immigration and population together is the amount of immigrants coming to the UK from EU countries, particularly eastern Europe. The Mail used headlines such as “Number of EU migrants working in Britain tops 2 MILLION for the first time with foreigners now taking one in 10 jobs.”¹²⁶ The article, much like a number of other articles mentioned in this analysis, use a MigrationWatch UK representative to explain the dangers of immigration on the services provided by the state. The language in the headline uses otherization to deliver an ‘us vs them’ narrative. “Foreigners now *taking* one in 10 jobs” suggests that it is somehow undeserved employment, or that there are not enough jobs for everyone. The Mail also writes: “Net migration hits a record high of 336,000 as government warns ‘uncontrollable wave’ of people could push Britain to leave the EU” and “1.6 million migrants from the EU settle in Britain...”^{127,128} In another series of articles, the Mail postulates on population growth of the UK were it to stay in the EU: “Another FIVE MILLION migrants from the EU could come to the UK by 2030...”, and “EU migrants ‘will help push the UK population by 13 million in just 20 years’: Watchdog says country will ‘change for ever’ if Britain votes to remain in the EU.”^{129,130} The suggestions made by these headlines alone is that there is something wrong with the number of immigrants in the UK and that, unless the UK leaves the EU, that number will continue to grow unchecked. The two articles on future population growth are both based on the findings of MigrationWatch UK and include the assumption that Turkey,

¹²⁶ Tom Metague, “Number of EU migrants working in Britain tops 2 MILLION for the first time with foreigners now taking one in 10 jobs,” *MailOnline*, 13 Aug. 2015.

¹²⁷ Matt Chorley, “Net migration hits a record high of 336,000 as government warns ‘uncontrollable wave’ of people could push Britain to leave the EU,” *MailOnline*, 26 Nov. 2015

¹²⁸ James Slack, “1.6 million migrants from the EU settle in Britain: That’s equal to populations of Manchester and Birmingham combined in just nine years,” *The Daily Mail*, 29 Mar. 2016.

¹²⁹ James Tapsfield, “Another FIVE MILLION migrants from the EU could come to the UK by 2030, Brexit campaigners warn,” *MailOnline*, 20 May 2016.

¹³⁰ Ian Drury and James Slack, “EU migrants ‘will help push up UK population by 13million in just 20 years’: Watchdog says country will ‘change for ever’ if Britain votes to remain in the EU,” *The Daily Mail*, 14 June 2016.

Albania, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia would join the EU freedom of movement within 10 years. The concerns expressed toward the EU was a common theme in the analysed Mail articles and was not just contained to articles on population numbers.

5.4.2 Anti-European Union Language and Sentiments

A consistent securitizing message from the Mail was about the UK's inability to control its immigration without leaving the EU. Two days before the referendum, the Daily Mail officially endorsed 'leave' so perhaps the language they used in the year leading up to the referendum is not entirely surprising.¹³¹ The themes presented by the Mail include a distinct concern for eastern European immigrants particularly of low-skill, EU top-down decisions affecting the UK's ability to police its own border, and a view that EU migrants use a disproportionate amount of the welfare state.

The Mail dedicated a significant number of headlines to concerns about Eastern Europeans living in the UK. These concerns also extended to fears of more eastern states joining the EU freedom of movement. In June 2016, the Mail published "Britain is a 'magnet for migrants' as number of foreigners with right to work hits 820,000 including 220% rise in Romanians."¹³² The article is factually correct, but uses alarmist language. Romanians were only allowed to migrate to the UK under the EU rules in 2014, so it is not altogether surprising that the number would jump between year one and year two. Again, this article is a vehicle for the anti-migration organization MigrationWatch UK, with the title 'magnet for migration' coming from one of their spokesman, who also mentions: "We are a magnet for poor people whose circumstances are woefully below ours and are totally wretched," a subtext being here that too many people from 'wretched' conditions risk bringing those conditions here, to us. In a later article titled "The Eastern Europeans? We shouldn't worry about numbers: How Blair turned a blind eye to impending migration crisis," there is a pretext that eastern European migrants are

¹³¹ Daily Mail Comment, "If you believe in Britain, vote Leave. Lies, greedy elites and a divided, dying Europe - why we could have a great future outside a broken EU," *The Daily Mail*, 21 June 2016.

¹³² Matt Chorley, "Britain is a 'magnet for migrants' as number of foreigners with right to work hits 820,000 including 220% rise in Romanians," *MailOnline*, 4 June 2015.

coming to the UK in unmanageable numbers to chastise the Blair administration's approach to immigration some 12 years after the fact.¹³³

A significant amount of language used about the EU was directed at a sense of lost sovereignty, a fear that the EU was making rules from which the UK could not make changes or choose their own path. These concerns often included a hopelessness that directed the reader into believing that the only solution would be to leave the EU. Many of the articles come from a period in which the Cameron government was in negotiations with Brussels and other EU member countries about what to do with the influx of refugees and migrants into Europe. Language such as “Give refugees the right to work from day one, says Juncker as he reveals power-grab for EU-wide migration policy” the article reveals that European Commission President Jean Claude Juncker was actually offering ideas and suggesting policy points to better deal with the influx of migrants and refugees.¹³⁴ But the Mail’s language here suggests an overzealous EU attempting to push “an extraordinary demand to rewrite national laws...” Other articles such as “EU ‘will block Cameron’s migrant Benefits blitz’: Top British diplomat secretly warns they will qualify for handouts after just MONTHS, not four years” suggests a British inability to get everything that they want on immigration policy.¹³⁵ These sentiments are echoed later in the year in a piece titled “Germany warns David Cameron that restricting migrant benefits and free movement within the EU ‘is not up for negotiation’ in which much time is spent talking about the fruitless effort of David Cameron to secure a deal with the EU in order to convince British voters to stay in the EU.

The Mail takes a particular concern with the amount of money being spent due to membership in the EU as well as a concern over the amount of benefits being provided to EU migrants living in the UK. These concerns are exemplified by articles like “Eastern Europeans in the UK ‘earn less and claim more’ than those born in Britain - but migrants from Western Europe, Australia and North America do better” and “£886million... That is the eye-watering

¹³³ Tom Bower, ““The Eastern Europeans? We shouldn’t worry about numbers: How Blair turned a blind eye to impending migration crisis,” *The Daily Mail*, 26 Feb. 2016

¹³⁴ Matt Chorley, “Give refugees to the right to work from day one, says Juncker as he reveals power-grab for EU-wide migration policy,” *MailOnline*, 9 Sept. 2015.

¹³⁵ John Stevens, “EU ‘will block Cameron’s migrant Benefits blitz’: Top British diplomat secretly warns they will qualify for handouts after just MONTHS, not four years,” *The Daily Mail*, 22 Oct. 2015.

sum YOU pay in benefits to out-of-work EU migrants in just one year.”^{136,137} Both articles present concerns that EU related migration is costing the UK significant sums, or in the case of the first article, dragging the UK down. The first article is based off of research by Migration Watch which argues that all immigration obviously cannot be positive for the economy. The second article suggests that the Cameron government was hiding this information in order to procure a ‘remain’ vote. Meanwhile, other articles highlight the amount of money leaving the UK to pay for immigration-related measures in the EU: “Britain facing a new £260 MILLION bill from Brussels as part of a deal to get Turkey to stem the flow of migrants into Europe.” Here, the article goes on to explain the necessity of aiding Turkey in order to take control of the refugee and migrant influx.¹³⁸ Finally, the Mail offers “Vote Leave to take control of your family’s destiny, Boris tells women: Former London mayor says ‘out of control’ immigration is depriving families of access to schools, homes and healthcare.”¹³⁹ The article uses Boris Johnson as the voice and gives him a predominant platform just days before the referendum. However, let it be noted that his fear over services and welfare extends beyond just EU specific immigration messaging.

5.4.3 Welfare State and Taxpayer Money

The Mail stoked fears over taxpayer money and availability of social services. The articles I looked at focused on several ‘shock’ storylines: migrants and refugees given lavish treatment, usually via transportation, paying for refugees and migrants who had not yet reached the British isles, and a general fear of overstrained welfare services. The final concern is not necessarily unfounded, but the way in which the Mail presents its information is alarmist. As was

¹³⁶ Ian Drury, “Eastern Europeans in the UK ‘earn less and claim more’ than those born in Britain - but migrants from Western Europe, Australia and North America do better,” *The Daily Mail*, 21 July 2015.

¹³⁷ Martin Beckford, “£886million... That is the eye-wateng sum YOU pay in benefits to out-of-work EU migrants in just one year,” *The Mail on Sunday*, 28 Feb. 2016. ri

¹³⁸ John Stevens, “Britain facing a new £260 MILLION bill from Brussels as part of a deal to get Turkey to stem the flow of migrants into Europe,” *The Daily Mail*, 16 Oct. 2015.

¹³⁹ James Slack and Daniel Martin, “Vote Leave to take control of your family’s destiny, Boris tells women: Former London mayor says ‘out of control’ immigration is depriving families of access to schools, homes and healthcare,” *The Daily Mail*, 19 June 2016.

much of the negative research coming from MigrationWatch UK as with previous articles mentioned above.

Alarmist headlines about migrants and refugees receiving lavish or luxurious treatment, at the cost of the taxpayer, was a theme in my analysis period. Headlines such as “Migrants are ‘being transported from Dover to London in taxpayer funded cabs costing £150-a-time” as well as “Private jets to deport asylum seekers: After stretch limo farce, now taxpayers are hit with a £15million bill to send migrants home on half-empty planes” both convey a sense of outrage at the waste of taxpayer money on these outsiders.^{140,141} Both articles detail that the moves were actually made due to the pressure that local counties, including the Home Office, are under to both accommodate and deport respectively based on the situation. The first article then goes on to point out that the mostly unaccompanied minors who are receiving taxi rides to other communities continue to be financial burdens for many years ahead. Costs include “schooling, foster care or children’s homes, through to university fees and housing costs.” While the suggestion is true, it nonetheless serves to paint child refugees as an other and thus unworthy of the support from British taxpayers. As to the second article, it shifts focus from deportation flight waste to criminality of immigrants with very little segue or reasoning. This leads the reader to equate failed asylum status and immigration in general with criminality and illegality.

Another series of articles describes the treatment of refugees and migrants who reached a British owned military base on the mediterranean island-state of Cyprus. These articles express outrage at refugees and migrants being provided processing into the EU at the base at taxpayer expense.¹⁴² The articles offer an interesting glimpse into the mindset of the Mail’s editorial staff. Much of the articles that were writing about refugees and migrants in the Mediterranean came from a sympathetic perspective. However, in this case, the plight of refugees and migrants knocked immediately on the UK’s door and the concern for wellbeing shifted to concern for taxpayer money.

¹⁴⁰ Sam Tonkin, “Migrants are ‘being transported from Dover to London in taxpayer-funded cabs costing £150-a-time’, claims taxi driver,” *MailOnline*, 3 Aug. 2015.

¹⁴¹ Ian Drury, “Private jets to deport asylum seekers: After stretch limo farce, now taxpayers are hit with a £15million bill to send migrants home on half-empty planes,” *The Daily Mail*, 1 Feb 2016.

¹⁴² Larisa Brown and Inderdeep Bains, “UK will foot the bill for EVERY migrant on Cyprus base whether they claim asylum or not,” *The Daily Mail*, 24 Oct. 2015.

The strain for social services was maybe the most securitized theme from the Daily Mail in the arena of immigration and expenditures. Multiple articles decry the strain and even the existential threat that immigration places on welfare services, particularly the NHS. They write “£17bn, the true cost of immigration to the UK every year...”. Here, the article is based off of statistics compiled by MigrationWatch UK and contradicts the official statistics published previously by the UK Treasury department. In another article titled “European migrant crisis cost British business £660million last year as vital trade routes ground to a halt” the Mail argues that food and medical supplies are being destroyed by migrants across Europe and that destruction is leading to severe shortages to ‘vital’ medical deliveries.¹⁴³ Finally, the most securitizing language comes from an article “‘Migrants are pushing NHS to breaking point’: Top cancer doctor warns health tourists are bleeding hospitals dry with demand for treatment.”¹⁴⁴ The article warns that the “NHS has been left ‘on its knees’ by uncontrolled migration from the EU” according to a cancer doctor at the Cancer Vaccine Institute. Also, the use of the phrase “bleeding hospitals dry” serves as a metaphor for diminishment and existential threat. All of which was said at a pro-leave campaign rally but is left until the very end of the article. Much of the article quotes verbatim the words of the Doctor without any attempt to clarify or fact check. This was a consistent theme, especially as the referendum drew closer, that the Mail would provide space for voices without attempting to fact-check or question the statements made.

5.4.4 Criminality, the Distinction between Migrant vs Refugee, and the Threat of Extremism and Terror

A number of articles either specifically or conspicuously labeled immigrants and refugees as criminals or criminal threats. This is a tactic commonly used to create separation between native and migrant communities. It can also be used to justify actions against immigrant communities that a citizenry would not normally tolerate under normal conditions. Several of the articles had to do with EU citizen criminality, much like the concerns raised by MP Hollobone in

¹⁴³ Mario Ledwith, “European migrant crisis cost British business £660million last year as vital trade routes ground to a halt,” *The Daily Mail*, 9 Nov. 2015.

¹⁴⁴ James Slack, “Migrants are pushing NHS to breaking point’: Top cancer doctor warns health tourists are bleeding hospitals dry with demand for treatment,” *The Daily Mail*. 8 Feb. 2016.

parliamentary debate. The other primary concern was the composition of the refugees and migrants; the Mail tends to label all immigrants as migrants with refugee only being used when a she or he has done something that can either be painted as criminal or extremist. Finally, the Mail takes the step of equating immigration and asylum seeking to possible terrorism. This is an equivalence I expected to find sooner in either the party manifestos, parliamentary debate, or even Home Office announcements, but which I first found here.

On the matter of criminality, the Mail's concern primarily revolved around the perceived criminality of eastern Europeans living in the UK. Using titles meant to draw outrage such as "Illegal immigrant with no licence who ran over and killed grandad could be freed from prison in just FIVE months"¹⁴⁵ the article draws at the heartstrings and makes clear the distinction between the victim; 'grandfather,' 'retired RAF engineer' and 'Samaritans volunteer' and the perpetrator; 'illegal immigrant,' and 'Albanian' who drove a 'poorly maintained' car. The outrage is here being driven by the perpetrator possibly being released before Christmas and the uncertainty that he will be deported upon release. Another article proclaims "The 'murder' capital of Britain is revealed to be a sleepy Lincolnshire town - which is also home to the highest increase of migrants in the country."¹⁴⁶ This could be quite alarming, yet the number is derived from the per capita number of murders and the city in question had 2 murders and 8 attempted murders. The article also fails to draw any correlation between the increase in immigrants to the town and its placement as 'murder' capital of the UK. This instead just serves to coerce the reader into believing there must be a correlation between homicide and immigration. Maybe the most alarmist headline linking criminality to immigration was "Cologne sex gangs could come here under EU law, PM is warned..."¹⁴⁷ The article serves as a conduit for then UKIP leader Nigel Farage to extol the dangers of remaining in the EU because of how easy it will be for immigrants to gain German citizenship and then move, unchecked, to the UK. The article does not push back on the notion that convicted criminals are allowed to enter the UK if they have an EU

¹⁴⁵ Chris Greenwood, "Illegal immigrant with no licence who ran over and killed grandad could be freed from prison in just FIVE months," *The Daily Mail*, 2 June 2015.

¹⁴⁶ James Dunn, "The 'murder' capital of Britain is revealed to be a sleepy Lincolnshire town - which is also home to the highest increase of migrants in the country," *MailOnline*, 23 Jan. 2016.

¹⁴⁷ Jack Doyle, "Cologne sex gangs could come here under EU law, PM is warned: Nigel Farage says migrants given right to stay in Germany could become EU citizens within three years," *The Daily Mail*, 18 Jan. 2016.

citizenship. It also fails to question how immigrants convicted of crimes in Germany or elsewhere manage to receive citizenship.

There is a much consistent theme by the Mail in regards to their labeling of immigrants. Throughout almost every article discussing the refugee and migrant influx, they exclusively use the term migrant. Migrant suggests some element of choice, and undoubtedly some percentage of those who arrived in Europe in 2015 and 2016 were migrants. But the Mail fails to label asylum seekers and refugees by that terminology unless there is another separate, and generally nefarious, intent prescribed to them. With headlines that claim “Immigration minister claims ‘majority’ of migrants trying to cross the Mediterranean are doing it for economic reasons instead of ‘fleeing for their lives’” and “Four out of five migrants are NOT from Syria: EU figures expose the ‘lie’ that the majority of refugees are fleeing war zone,” there is a further separation from ‘legitimate’ refugees and ‘illegitimate’ economic migrants.^{148,149} This type of rhetoric makes it easier to choose to either close the borders further or offer fewer options for asylum seekers coming to the UK. The second article uses refugee only while claiming that ‘these refugees’ are not fleeing the war zone in Syria. It is a small detail, but the wording suggests that refugees coming to the UK are maybe not worthy of asylum. This is amplified by the Mail very rarely using the term refugees. The article “The tragic but brutal truth: They are not REAL refugees! Despite drowning tragedy thousands of economic migrants are still trying to reach Europe” continues the reassignment of refugees as economic migrants as well as adding a dash of pure securitization language.¹⁵⁰ It warns that that the inflow of these economic migrants is “changing Europe irretrievably and forever.”

Another tactic taken to diminish the claims of asylum seekers is to equate those coming into the UK as ‘jihadist’, extremists, or terrorists. Most of the fear is centered around the idea that potential terrorists are taking advantage of the refugee and migrant influx to sneak into Europe. On its own, this concept is not necessarily concerning, it is highly likely that potential

¹⁴⁸ Flora Drury, “Immigration minister claims ‘majority’ of migrants trying to cross the Mediterranean are doing it for economic reasons instead of ‘fleeing for their lives,’” *MailOnline*, 8 July 2015.

¹⁴⁹ Ian Drury, “Four out of five migrants are NOT from Syria: EU figures expose the ‘lie’ that the majority of refugees are fleeing war zone,” *The Daily Mail*, 18 Sept. 2015.

¹⁵⁰ Sue Ried, “The tragic but brutal truth: They are no REAL refugees! Despite drowning tragedy thousands of economic migrants are still trying to reach Europe,” *The Daily Mail*, 28 May 2016.

terrorist did find their way into Europe via migration and asylum channels. Yet the language used by the Mail is alarmist and suggestive of large numbers of extremists and potential terrorists streaming onto the continent. Headlines like “ISIS terrorists are arriving in Europe hidden among migrants crossing the Mediterranean on boats...” fuels an immense distrust and fear of immigrants.¹⁵¹ Other articles serve to create fear of supposed Syrian asylum seekers: “Fears terrorists and economic migrants could be obtaining Syrian passports with few checks in their bid to reach Europe...”¹⁵² Meanwhile, legitimate Syrian asylum seekers are partially securitized with “Two in every 100 Syrian migrants are ISIS fighters, PM is warned...”¹⁵³, and there are a number of articles that seek to reaffirm the public that potential terrorists are making their way into Europe every day: “ISIS radicals planning terror attacks in Europe ARE entering the continent hidden among migrants...,” “A ‘staggering number’ of EU citizens have become jihadists and returned to the continent hidden among the migrant influx, border agency admits,” and “Staggering’ number of European jihadis: EU’s own border agency admits terrorists are exploiting refugee crisis and lax controls - but has no idea how many illegal immigrants there are.”^{154,155,156} The last two articles are in fact just the same story repeated several days later by a separate journalist. The summation of these articles is a fairly transparent attempt to paint incoming refugees and migrants as possible threats due just to the possibility that terrorists may be among them.

¹⁵¹ Jennifer Newton, “ISIS terrorists are arriving in Europe hidden among migrants crossing the Mediterranean on boats, warns EU’s top prosecutor,” *MailOnline*, 6 July 2016.

¹⁵² Jenny Stanton, “Fears terrorists and economic migrants could be obtaining Syrian passports with few checks in their bid to reach Europe as 10,000 are handed out at embassy in Jordan in just one month,” *MailOnline*, 11 Sept. 2015.

¹⁵³ Jack Doyle, “Two in every 100 Syrian migrants are ISIS fighters, PM is warned: Lebanese minister tells Cameron jihadis are coming ‘under cover’ to attack the West,” *The Daily Mail*, 14 Sept. 2015.

¹⁵⁴ Corey Charlton, “ISIS radicals planning terror attacks in Europe ARE entering the continent hidden among migrants, says German police chief,” *MailOnline*, 26 Nov. 2015.

¹⁵⁵ Julian Robinson, “A ‘staggering number’ of EU citizens have become jihadists and returned to the continent hidden among the migrant influx, border agency admits,” *MailOnline*, 7 April 2016.

¹⁵⁶ James Slack, “Staggering’ number of European jihadis: EU’s own border agency admits terrorists are exploiting refugee crisis and lax controls - but has no idea how many illegal immigrants there are.” *The Daily Mail*, 5 April 2016.

5.4.5 Crisis and the Flood

The most obvious and ubiquitous form of securitizing language used by the Mail was allusions to crisis, catastrophe, and imminent danger. Due to the nature of tabloid journalism, this is not surprising, but it does demand closer scrutiny. Mixed into the language of crisis is the persistent metaphor of the flood. A wave of migrants arriving on Europe's shores. The floodgates thrown open to migrants and refugees. But these are not the only metaphorical tropes used by the Mail. There are a number of articles that allude to war motifs affecting both the UK and Europe in general.

A large portion of articles were devoted to the situation in the French port-city of Calais where the Eurotunnel connects the UK to continental Europe. The city had a large camp of refugees and migrants referred to as the 'jungle.' The encampment reached its largest numbers in 2015 and thus the Mail wrote extensively about attempts by the inhabitants of the camp attempting to force their way onto lorries and trains on their way to the UK. The conditions in the camp were destitute and unsustainable and there were some articles that highlighted the conditions in the camp and even expressed sympathy. And yet, the majority of the articles expressed disbelief and fear of refugees and migrants finding illegal entrance to the UK. Examples of such headlines as "Someone's going to die..." and "Send in the troops!" in response to the aggressive attempts to illegally board lorries headed to the UK.^{157,158} Beyond calling for extraneous action the articles also highlight the market costs with "£10 million of fresh fruit and vegetables" being tossed out in the previous 6 months. The mail also suggests that the camp of migrants and refugees are "laying siege [sic] to Britain" by settling into the camp and building makeshift homes and businesses.¹⁵⁹ They even suggest that closing the tunnel at night to prevent

¹⁵⁷ Jack Crone, "Someone's going to die: British trucker reveals drivers are being stabbed and beaten by desperate gangs of migrants forming road blocks at Calais to stop lorries and board them," *MailOnline*, 19 June 2015.

¹⁵⁸ Kate Pickles, "Send in the troops! Haulage chief calls for French government to send in the army to protect British lorry drivers from Calais migrants," *MailOnline*, 3 July 2015.

¹⁵⁹ John Hall, "Shops, an electronics hub and a makeshift mosque marked out by water bottles: inside The Calais Jungle where 3,000 migrants laying siege to Britain are turning a temporary home into a town," *MailOnline*, 4 Aug. 2015.

people from attempting to make the trek on foot is the “nuclear option.”¹⁶⁰ Obviously the nuclear option is hyperbole when referring to closing a tunnel, but it does provide for strong connotations of the threat caused by those encamped. Likewise, ‘siege’ conjures up images of invaders attempting to storm the keep, in this case the migrants and refugees are the attacking army and the British Isles are the keep in question. One columnist even makes allusion to migrants as being akin to invasion by questioning: “We kept out Hitler. Why can’t our feeble leaders stop a few thousands exhausted migrants?”¹⁶¹

The use of alarmist language was not just reserved for the camp in Calais. The Mail made use of bombastic language in relation to the entirety of the refugee and migrant influx. In relation to an increase in illegal border attempts in 2014, they describe an “explosion in the number of migrants” as well as describing the situation in northern Italian towns in the summer 2015 as a “bomb ready to go off.”^{162,163} The allusion, much like the use of the nuclear option, is that the migrant and refugee influx are destructive, a threat to Britain and a threat to Europe. This allusion of conflict goes further with one columnist asking “Could this lead to WAR in Europe? Apocalyptic, yes.”¹⁶⁴ This presents a strong assertion that immigration could lead to conflict and even affirmation that current immigration will lead to apocalyptic destruction. This sentiment echoes a security concern for not just the UK, but also Europe and the EU in general. In September 2015, they published, “Germany in a state of SIEGE”, which was a lengthy article detailing illegal entry into the federation and calling the majority economic migrants as opposed to refugees.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁰ Sam Tonkin, “Time for the ‘nuclear option’? Ministers to consider closing the Channel Tunnel at night after Sudanese migrant RAN almost all the way to Britain before being stopped,” *MailOnline*, 7 Aug. 2015.

¹⁶¹ Dominic Sandbrook, “Calais catastrophe: We kept out Hitler. Why can’t our feeble leaders stop a few thousand exhausted migrants?” *The Daily Mail*, 29 July 2015.

¹⁶² Ian Sparks, “French border police have stopped migrants trying to sneak into Britain 18,000 times this year - FOUR TIMES the figure for the whole of 2013,” *MailOnline*, 2 June 2015.

¹⁶³ Larisa Brown, Kate Pickles, and Tom Wyke, “Northern Italian towns are ordered to stop accepting migrants because the situation ‘is like a bomb ready to go off’, as 6,000 refugees are rescued in one weekend desperately trying to reach Europe,” *MailOnline*, 8 June 2015.

¹⁶⁴ Max Hastings, “Could this lead to WAR in Europe? Apocalyptic, yes. But even if conflict can be avoided, MAX HASTINGS says unchecked mass migration will make Europe unrecognisable,” *The Daily Mail*, 18 March 2016.

¹⁶⁵ Sue Reid, “Germany in a state of SIEGE: Merkel was cheered when she opened the floodgates to migrants. Now, with gangs of men roaming the streets and young German women being told to cover up, the mood’s changing,” *The Mail Online*, 26 Sept. 2015.

Perhaps due to the general anti-EU sentiments expressed by the Mail, there was a significant number of articles relating to the direct existential threat that the EU is facing in regards to refugees and migrants. These threats range from the more localized, like an article describing “no-go areas” in Rome and “marauding migrants” threatening social services across the continent,^{166,167} and to the more dire ones with pronouncements that the “EU ‘is weeks away from falling apart’,” to “EU risks ‘disintegration,’” suggesting that the influx of migrants and refugees is not only a cause for concern but potentially the end of the European Union.^{168,169} Columnist Michael Burleigh warns that the influx of migrants and refugees could be the “biggest threat to Europe since the war,” meanwhile other articles warn that portions of the EU are under existential threat asking “Are Europe’s open border on the brink of collapse?”^{170,171} These represent some of the most direct efforts to securitize immigration by the Mail. The use of alarmist language that appears to place the EU and its tenants on the edge of destruction thus suggests that leaving the EU may not be such a bad idea after all. If the UK leaves the EU, then things may be fine, as the EU may cease to exist and the UK will not be wrapped up in that inevitable destruction anymore. None of these articles directly mention the referendum, but their fatalist language coupled with the Daily Mail’s ‘leave’ endorsement suggest a path for the UK.

The Mail used the migrants as water trope when referring to immigration at multiple points. This metaphor has been used to ‘dehumanize’ its subjects and refer to them as something which is slippery and difficult to contain, or in the case of a flood, potentially disastrous. The Mail makes extensive use of water metaphors such as referring to a “wave of migrants” that

¹⁶⁶ Thomas Burrows, “Parts of Rome ‘turning into no-go areas due to sanitation and security issues caused by migrants’ claim local businesses,” *MailOnline*, 15 June 2015.

¹⁶⁷ James Slack, “The marauding migrants from Africa threaten our standard of living, says Philip Hammond: Foreign Secretary says it is not possible for Europe to absorb ‘millions’ more migrants,” *The Daily Mail*, 9 Aug. 2015.

¹⁶⁸ Jack Doyle, “EU ‘is weeks away from falling apart’: Dire warning as countries battle to cope with influx of migrants,” *The Daily Mail*, 26 Oct. 2015.

¹⁶⁹ Gerri Peev and Tom Wyke, “ONE MILLION more migrants could head for Europe over the winter because of the Syrian war, warns Turkey, as official says the EU risks ‘disintegration’ if it fails to tackle the crisis,” *The Daily Mail* and *MailOnline*, 29 Oct. 2015.

¹⁷⁰ Michael Burleigh, “Forget the Greek crisis or Britain’s referendum, this tidal wave of migrants could be the biggest threat to Europe since the war,” *The Daily Mail*, 26 June 2015.

¹⁷¹ John Stevens, “Are Europe’s open borders on the brink of collapse? EU leaders warn of ‘race against time’ to save passport free travel zone as migration crisis spirals out of control,” *The Daily Mail*, 12 Nov. 2015.

German Chancellor Angela Merkel let “flood into the country” in 2015.¹⁷² Other examples include Britain being “deluged by a wave of immigration,” a statement made by Mail columnist at a UKIP conference¹⁷³. This also includes a warning of an “uncontrollable wave of people” that may force the UK to vote leave.¹⁷⁴ Floodgates is another popular metaphor in relation to immigration with the Mail writing “The Floodgates would open” in response to an EU plan to distribute refugees and migrants among member nations.¹⁷⁵ Even extending the metaphor into literal actions with “The floodgates really ARE open!” when French officials flooded an area around the Calais eurotunnel entrance to dissuade refugees and migrants from making their way into the tunnel on foot.¹⁷⁶

5.5 Securitization, Politolinguistics and Hansen’s Intertextual Model

I set out on this research design because I was curious about a broader idea: how does fear play into our political discourse and what are the implications? While this design has not been to answer that exact question per say, I do feel as though I have gained a broader perspective to the way in which fear can be a powerful motivator to politics, policy, and polity as described by Wodak and Reisigl. What I settled on in order to find answers to my broader question was an investigation into securitization of immigration in the UK in the year leading up to the Brexit referendum. Because of the extremity of the decision it seemed to warrant further investigation of the particular language used. There has been a plethora of analysis as to why the UK voted the way they did and what led to the result. Most of those analyses looked at the broader issues and broader implications and not the detailed language in use. Immigration seems to have a been a primary concern of the British people in their decision to leave the EU, but that

¹⁷² Sam Matthew, “Germany throws its doors open to the wave migrants as Merkel urges the rest of Europe to show ‘fairness and solidarity,’” *MailOnline*, 3 Sept. 2015.

¹⁷³ Tom McTague, “‘We cannot cope any more’: Katie Hopkins claims Britain is about to be ‘deluged by a wave of immigration’ as she makes star turn at Ukip conference,” *MailOnline*, 25 Sept. 2015.

¹⁷⁴ Matt Chorley, “Net migration hits a record high of 336,000 as government warns ‘uncontrollable wave’ of people could push Britain to leave EU,” *MailOnline*, 26 Nov. 2015.

¹⁷⁵ James Slack and Ian Drury, “The floodgates would open’: Fury over EU plans to make Britain accept 90,000 refugees a year as part of migrant quota ‘that would make Calais even more of a magnet,’” *The Daily Mail*, 21 Jan. 2016.

¹⁷⁶ Sara Malm, “The floodgates really ARE open! Desperate Eurotunnel officials flood marshland around French tunnel entrance in bid to halt migrant trespassers,” *MailOnline*, 13 Jan. 2016.

perception did not come from the ether. It had to either have a grounding in reality or in perceived reality, probably both. Language, in all likelihood, was of importance here.

The language used around immigration in the year prior to the Brexit referendum was a mixed bag, so to speak. Using Hansen's intertextual model of analysing governmental language through political and media languages, I built a design to analyse any interplay or disconnect between the separate levels pronouncement. The Home Office releases offer a view of how the governmental/bureaucratic sector was referring to immigration. The party manifestos and parliamentary debate gave some lens to the idealistic and conciliatory language used on a political level. Finally, the use of content from the Daily Mail provided a snapshot into the message being conveyed to the public. What I found through it all was an interesting pattern of concern. The Home Office refrained from any securitization language and managed to keep their discourse careful and precise, but also served to 'normalize' the occasionally extra-ordinary and even illegal laws enacted by the government. The party manifestos of UKIP and the Tories offered some examples of securitized action and, while careful, both offered language that suggested that immigration could be an existential threat if left unchecked. Parliamentary debate was, for the most part, careful and polite with only a few voices rising to the existential fear needed for securitization language. However, while the language was careful, some of the legislation was securitized action. The Daily Mail and its online division MailOnline offered a plethora of securitization language by offering worrying existential content as well as making bold suggestions of how to deal with these threats.

The Home Office language was careful and bureaucratic as one may expect to read from such an institution. The only language that veered towards securitization was from the March 2016 document detailing a meeting between France and the UK. And while the document described the crisis taking place in Europe, with the influx of refugees and migrants, it did not call for any action outside of the political norm. This language occurred late in my analysis period and was closer to the referendum. This may suggest that language from outside the Home Office was effecting a more concerned and securitized tone. Perhaps it was the concern of French officials that gave the document its tone. As the only document that displayed this tone, it suggests that it was more an isolated example and not a theme of securitization displayed in

many documents. Yet, the Home Office also offered direction on several aspects of law that were securitized. The directions on how to handle right-to-rent, and ‘deport first, appeal later’ serve to standardize and normalize the actions previously outside the political norm.

The manifestos of the parties suggested a call to some actions that are outside the political norm. UKIP lead the charge by not only calling for an exit from the EU, but also the temporary closure of the entire UK border. Other concerning actions were called for by not only UKIP, but also the Tories and Labour, in decreasing magnitude. The action recommended was to limit certain benefits to EU immigrants for several years with each party suggesting a separate time period. This would require a renegotiation with the EU and essentially to renege on previous agreements. Even so, throughout all this, all the manifestos were very careful in the way in which they discussed immigration with only UKIP offering it as an obvious existential threat. Meanwhile, the Tory manifesto instead buried its hints to referent objects.

Parliamentary debate was long, procedural and mostly devoid of securitizing language. While the Immigration Bill passed as a result of the debate during my analysis period, it was outside of the realm of normal political action for violating international human rights treaties, and the language used was for the most part calm and contained. Only a few selected voices made use of securitizing language. Incidentally, or perhaps not, these MPs were also staunch supporters of the ‘leave’ campaign.

Finally, the Mail offered multiple examples of securitizing language. Be it on the threat that immigrants caused to the NHS and other welfare programs, or the existential threat to the EU of the refugees and migrant influx, or the fear of cultural replacement by non-white immigrants. The Mail offered the public a narrative to fear immigration for many different reasons. While not outright proposing legislation, the language suggested a deep sense that ‘something must be done.’ One subject the Mail did offer strong policy positions on was the need to leave the EU in order to stop the threat of immigration to the UK. This consistent flow of information painting this decision as the only means to save Britain from the EU’s freedom of movement, including the refugee and migrant influx, seems to have aided greatly in making the country ripen enough to eventually vote ‘leave.’

A securitization move requires four parts: a speaker, an audience, an existential threat, and a referent object. In this analysis, the Government, UKIP, and the Daily Mail all serve as speakers. The British public serve as the audience. Welfare, culture, sovereignty, border control and even the EU serve as referential objects. Furthermore, immigration serves as the existential threat, not in its entirety but in the form of EU migrants, as well as migrants and refugees from the middle east and northern Africa. For a securitization move to be successful, it must be accepted by its audience. This can be difficult to judge. The best way in a democracy is to view elections as a means of offering support to politicians and ideas. Leaving the EU could very well showcase the success of a securitization move on the matter of immigration. Likewise the passage of the Immigration Act 2016 with elements having later been ruled illegal serves as a securitized action. Considering the support for the government to pass any legislation on immigration, this also serves as successful securitization. Because the Tories were voted into sole ownership of the government in 2015, that seems to be an endorsement of the ideas on immigration proposed in their particular manifesto. Granted, people vote on more than just one issue and its possible that immigration was not the reason for the electoral victory of the Conservatives. Yet it is also true that if voters viewed a subject other than immigration as more important to their vote, they were willing to let the Tories choose a path outside the realm of normal political procedure as regards immigration. On the subject of the EU referendum, the vote to leave the EU is possibly a successful securitization. If the primary concern was immigration, then the decision to leave was certainly portrayed as necessary for the survival of the UK's borders, sovereignty, social welfare benefits, and culture. The successful vote for leave would indicate the audience has accepted the message, even if by only a slight margin.

Can immigration in the UK be de-securitized? It is possible that when the UK officially leaves the EU and renegotiates its position on the freedom of movement clause, the high level of concern about immigration may diminish, securitization diminishing with it. However, it is also difficult to say this will be the case. Securitization is only considered successful after an audience accepts the underlying message. The question here then is: was immigration securitized in the minds of the British citizens only in relation to the EU and freedom of movement, or did the message internalize on the matter of immigration entirely? It is difficult to answer from the

perspective of this analysis. The language of existential threat and crisis can be difficult to shake. Fear is not a 'rational' emotion, and thus, once fear sets in it can be incredibly hard to change one's mind or calm those fears. The influx of refugees and migrants from the Middle East and North Africa has slowed, but this movement of people is surely not the last major shift in populations that we will experience in this century. The beliefs and fears built and solidified in the years prior to the EU referendum will be difficult to change.

6. Conclusion

While the language of securitization can be readily seen, oftentimes the distinction of a clearly successful securitization move is more difficult to ascertain. On the matter of securitization of immigration in the UK leading in the years prior to the EU referendum, it is clear that securitization language was used by those in government, as well as political opposition, and certainly in the media at least in regards to the Daily Mail. But was the Brexit vote the summation of a securitizing move on immigration, or was it the cause of a number of other factors? From this analysis, I cannot definitively say. However, what was clear was that actions outside the realm of political norms were taken by the government in the passage of the Immigration Act 2016 and that the language used by the Daily Mail in particular painted a dire situation for the UK in relation to its rules and regulations governing immigration. What was also clear was the attempt to use language of securitization on the matter of immigration in an attempt to persuade the public to vote 'leave.'

If I were to undertake this research question again, I would like to look closer at the language used by the anti-immigration group MigrantWatchUK. Their presence was hard to miss. Both in the position they held during parliamentary debates on immigration legislation, but also with the volume of articles devoted primarily to their viewpoints in the Daily Mail. But, while my units of analysis were not the totality of language used in relation to immigration, they did provide a useful glimpse into both the discourse of the official as well as the discourse in the cultural realm. I wanted to study what sort of securitization language was used on immigration, and I found plenty of examples. For instance, low-skilled migrants from eastern Europe were

painted as economic and welfare leeches. Additionally, refugees and migrants from the Middle East and North Africa were described at various times as potential criminals, potential terrorists, and illegitimate asylum seekers. The EU was described as an overbearing and non-negotiable overseas regime, preventing Britain from controlling its own borders. The NHS and other welfare systems were described as being in danger of falling apart due to rapid increases in population. Finally, population changes were described as a threat to British culture and the diminishment of 'white-britons.' To what extent these messages took hold is difficult to determine, but it would also be hard to say that these messages, particularly from the Daily Mail, had no effect on the perceptions and attitudes of the average British citizen in the weeks and months leading up to the referendum vote. What is certain is that the use of securitized language was prevalent, with a host of existential threats for the British public to worry about and even more referent objects to worry over. In fact, I would conclude that securitized language on immigration was weaponized in an effort to convince the public to vote 'leave' in the Brexit referendum.

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United Kingdom Independence Party. "Believe in Britain: UKIP manifesto 2015."

Appendix 2: Totality of material analysed.

2.1

Party Manifestos: alphabetically.

Conservative and Unionist Party. "Strong Leadership, a Clear Economic Plan, a Brighter, More secure Future: The Conservative Party Manifesto 2015."

Labour Party. "Britain can be better: The Labour Party Manifesto 2015."

Scottish National Party. "Stronger for Scotland: Scottish National Party Manifesto 2015."

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2.2

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2.3

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