

# The Imagery of Migrants in the British Media and its Impact on the Brexit Vote in the Midlands.

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Abstract

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The vote to leave the European Union by the United Kingdom was a shocking political event. Pollsters had predicted a slight edge for the Remain camp right up to the day of the referendum. After the votes had been counted it was discovered that a region that had historically backed the Labour Party, a strong supporter of Remain, had voted Leave. This region, the Midlands, had seen changing demographics due to migration within and outside of the EU. Consequently, the imagery of the 2015 Migrant Crisis that was published in the British media helped to increase anxieties over migration in this region. These media sources differed in their initial focus of the images of the early part of the crisis. This changed as the crisis continued and the migrants began to travel across multiple European borders. The tabloid newspaper the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian*, a paper of record, are examples of this convergence that helped to exacerbate the immigration anxieties of the voters in the Midlands. This thesis will explain how the presentation of these images led to this region supporting the UKIP position of leaving the European Union.

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## Introduction

Imagery has a profound impact on the viewer. A simple image can transmit information of the sufferings of others, the reliability of a political candidate, or a perceived threat to one's home region. These images of key political campaigns have been utilized to influence the electorate such as the 1964 re-election campaign of President Lyndon Johnson where the famous "Daisy Commercial" applied imagery to communicate the threat posed by the Cold War as well as the need for stability.



However, political campaigns do not have the sole monopoly on presenting imagery that can impact the voting public. News media has also been prevalent in presenting images that are striking and can potentially influence a segment of the public. An example of this is the recent EU Migrant Crisis where hundreds of thousands came to Europe, and more specifically the EU, via the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas. Below are two images that show both the scale of the movement and the strong emotional stories captured in these photographs.



In addition to the tragedy that these images represent, they are also presentation of a migration of large numbers of people. Consequently, these caused anxiety in parts of Europe that increasingly felt unease over the multicultural makeup of their countries. This was felt within the increasingly diverse United Kingdom.

The United Kingdom has become a multicultural nation in the timespan of the decades following the Second World War. An example of this was shown in the difference between the Census in 1991 and 2011, the former being the first to include ethnicity in it.<sup>1</sup> The population termed “White” dropped from 94.1% in 1991 to 86% in 2011 in England and Wales.<sup>2</sup> These immigrants came often from the former colonies of the British Empire, such as India and Pakistan. Many of the recent arrivals have not come from former posts of empire, but rather from the member states of the European Union. This supranational union Britain has elected to leave from in a referendum in 2016.

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<sup>1</sup> “Ethnicity and National Identity in England and Wales: 2011.” *Office of National Statistics*. December 11, 2012. <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/ethnicity/articles/ethnicityandnationalidentityinenglandandwales/2012-12-11>

<sup>2</sup> “Ethnicity and National Identity in England and Wales: 2011.” *Office of National Statistics*. December 11, 2012. <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/ethnicity/articles/ethnicityandnationalidentityinenglandandwales/2012-12-11>

On June 23, 2016, the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union. The causes of this were numerous though the top three reasons for Leave voters included sovereignty, immigration, and concern over the powers of the EU, according to exit polls.<sup>3</sup> The concern surrounding immigration stems from the changing nature of the population makeup of the United Kingdom that has been a recipient of migrants from around the world. This referendum, called “Brexit”, was very divisive with those supporting an exit from the EU portraying the migration as a threat to the UK. This campaign known as “Leave” took advantage of the 2015-16 Migrant Crisis as a demonstration of why the UK should not remain.

The year preceding the referendum on the British membership in the European Union saw an increase of the discontent with immigration. This was due to the large increase of irregular migration to the European Union as hundreds of thousands of refugees and migrants from the Middle East, North Africa, and elsewhere arrived primarily in Greece and Italy. This mass movement of peoples was extensively covered in various forms of media. This coverage of the everyday arrival of these migrants<sup>4 5</sup> was shown and shared on the internet and via more traditional forms of news coverage such as newspapers. These various outlets transmitted the scale and size of this influx of people as they moved through nations in the Balkans and

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<sup>3</sup> Ashcroft, Michael. “How the United Kingdom Voted on Thursday... and Why.” *Lord Ashcroft Polls*. June 24, 2016.

<sup>4</sup> The populations that will be referenced are diverse and include both refugees and economic migrants. I will reference both groups as migrants though there is a difference between the two with the former being eligible for asylum. This eligibility also depends on the circumstance of their home nation as the cause of their flight from that country. The economic migrant is an individual who leaves their home country in search of better employment opportunity in another nation.

<sup>5</sup> The UN defines a refugee as “... someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war, or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group. Most likely, they cannot return home or are afraid to do so. War and ethnic, tribal and religious violence are leading causes of refugees fleeing their countries.” UNHCR. <http://www.unrefugees.org/what-is-a-refugee/>

eventually Central Europe. Consequently, numerous publications in the UK published these images with headlines and captions attempting to capture this event. The Right used these images to portray this event as being negative.

The Brexit vote was scheduled for June 23, 2016 about three months after the deal between the EU and Turkey dramatically lowered migrant arrivals in Greece.<sup>6</sup> The Conservative government of the United Kingdom was also not unified with Prime Minister David Cameron supporting the Remain vote while senior Conservative members of Parliament such as Boris Johnson and Michael Gove campaigning for Leave. The Scottish National Party, Liberal Democrats and the Labour Party all supported the Remain vote. Oppositely, the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) campaigned relentlessly to leave the European Union and was the central political party for that campaign. Age and education were additional factors for the support of the various campaigns. An example of this was that based on exit polling 73% of 18-24 year olds chose to remain in the EU while 60% of those aged 65 and over supported Leave.<sup>7</sup> The regional differences of the vote were also significant with Scotland strongly supporting Remain and areas that traditionally supported Labour chose to leave the European Union, chiefly the Midlands region.

The Midlands are in the very center of the United Kingdom and contain the second city Birmingham and other smaller cities such as Leicester, Northampton, and Nottingham. They are administratively split between the West and East Midlands and together comprise a population

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<sup>6</sup> Though arrivals have decreased in Greece since the signing of the deals, Italy has returned to being the top destination for migrants coming to Europe. "Arrivals of Migrants in February: Surge in Italy, Drop in Greece." March 15, 2017. <http://frontex.europa.eu/news/arrival-of-migrants-in-february-surge-in-italy-drop-in-greece-8F7H77>

<sup>7</sup> Ashcroft, Michael. "How the United Kingdom Voted on Thursday... and Why." *Lord Ashcroft Polls*. June 24, 2016.

of 10,135,000 according the census of 2011 out of a total population of 63,181,775 in the United Kingdom. These areas have been historical centers of manufacturing and industry that have had strong support for center-left and liberal causes through their voting preference for Labour, especially in the larger urban areas.

Additionally, the Midlands have historically voted for the Labour Party. However, it differed from this historic trend in that they ended up selecting to leave the EU. This contrasts with the information garnered from the exit polls had indicated that most Labour supporters had chosen to Remain in the EU. This was also surprising because polls had generally shown that the Remain campaign had enjoyed an edge in traditional areas of Labour support. However, areas in the Midlands, such as Birmingham and Leicester that had both been traditional Labour cities, had either voted narrowly for Leave or had been substantially closer than expected.

Given the fact that areas of the Midlands, specifically the cities such as Birmingham and Leicester, had been polled a year prior to the Brexit Referendum that they favored Remain we would, consequently, expect them to vote Remain. However, these regions voted to Leave. The central question of this thesis is why does a region that historically supported Labour, whose voters favored Remain by a large margin, go against the trend and support the Leave campaign, which was aligned with more traditionally Right and Center-Right parties such as UKIP?<sup>8</sup> More specifically, what events could have been consequential enough to have caused this historic

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<sup>8</sup> The United Kingdom Independence Party was founded on September 3, 1993 by members of the Anti-Federalist League.

change and in what manner were they portrayed in order to cause these Midland voters to support?

I hypothesize that the 2015-16 Migrant Crisis, part of a larger movement of migrants from the Middle East and Africa, combined with the inundation of major media sources with imagery of this crisis helped to give credence to the United Kingdom Independence Party/LEAVE opposition to migration and therefore that an exit from the EU was the best course of action for the UK.

I acknowledge that racism and Islamophobia played a part of some voters selecting to leave the EU. Since the majority of the migrants who were coming to Europe were Muslim, it is likely that for some voters religion and race played a part of their choice. However, this paper focus is upon how the majority of the voters in the Midlands were swayed by the images of uncontrolled migration, not of a racial causation.

The methodology that I will employ to analyze the specific images is Semiology, which is the analytical study of images and their signs. There is a specific framework that will be utilized that is influenced by Gillian Dyer's approach in her book *Advertising as Communication*. She created a checklist to use to analyze each photo that included a focus on the people, surroundings, and objects. Though her approach was focused on the impact of imagery in advertisements, it is still relevant in how photographs can have an influence on a population due to the subject, or sign, in each one. Therefore, I will use a checklist of signs that centers on the representation of individuals, representation of manner, representation of activity, and representation of surroundings.

The data that will be utilized will originate from some of the most circulated British news publications. These will include the *Daily Mail* which is considered a tabloid publication and has some of the most incendiary captions with the photographs that they publish both on their websites and daily print publication. I will further include *The Guardian* which is considered a newspaper of record. It is also highly reputable with a global reach and has revealed many key stories.<sup>9</sup>

This thesis will be broken down into six different chapters. The first will focus on the introduction and background of this topic; this will include the basic causes that led to the Brexit vote along with some of the key issues that were being discussed by the campaigns. There will also be a historical look at the United Kingdom's relationship with continental Europe and the anxieties and hesitation felt by that country towards closer cooperation with the increased deepening of ties between European states. In addition, a background section detailing British Media will be included to show the coverage trends in the United Kingdom.

The second chapter will provide an analysis of immigration theory regarding the UK and Europe. This will include a look at the debate surrounding immigration between European states as well as an analysis of the potential consequences of this migration. These consequences range from positive economic contribution to decreased societal cohesion.

The third chapter will focus on the theories of imagery in political campaigns and the media. I will especially draw upon the methodology of Murray Edelman who writes that, "The point is that every political institution and act evokes and reinforces a particular response in its

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<sup>9</sup> Such as the Edward Snowden exposure of the National Security Agency's hacking and surveillance efforts.

audience.”<sup>10</sup> I will alter this approach with my analysis focusing on the political symbolism of the media’s use of images that evokes an emotion that helped to alter traditional voting patterns in the Midlands.

The fourth chapter will be an overview of Brexit and the various parties. I will highlight the various positions of the major political parties including Labour, Scottish National Party, Liberal Democrats the United Kingdom Independence Party, and the ruling Conservatives.

The fifth chapter will focus on the Midlands I will provide analysis on my findings. This will include a geographic description along with shifts in population that have occurred in the recent decades. I will analyze and compare the trend towards Labour in past election and the contrasting Brexit vote in 2016. Lastly, there will be possible explanations that have been analyzed into why the Midland voted Leave the EU. These will include dates of the images and headlines that were used along with polling data during this time. This will further include information of the methods that were used to accomplish this analysis.

The last chapter will be the conclusion of this project. It will reiterate the findings that I have uncovered and how they relate toward the decision of the United Kingdom to leave the European Union.

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<sup>10</sup> Edelman, Murray. *The Symbolic Uses of Politics*. University of Illinois Press. Urbana. 1964. Pg. 12.

# Chapter 1: Background

## Introduction

The United Kingdom voted on June 23, 2016 to leave the European Union, popularly known as Brexit. One of the interpretations over this vote focused on the rising popularity in populist parties and a backlash against globalization in the years following the global financial crisis of 2008.<sup>11</sup> This notion has been grouped with other votes, including the election of Donald Trump as the President of the United States. However, this concept fails to adequately include large events that have occurred in recent years along with the imagery of these occurrences that have helped to shape the political discourse over key votes, including the British Referendum over their membership in the European Union

## Brexit, A Historical Perspective

The British vote to leave the supranational grouping of nations was unexpected and shocked many due to opinion polls identifying a small lead for the Remain Campaign.<sup>12</sup> The significance of this vote cannot be overstated since it was the first time a member nation of the EU has voted to leave the bloc. The preceding decades had been ones of expansion as country after country from Central, Southern, and eventually Eastern Europe became members. Inclusion to this group was even sought by Turkey, a nation with a transcontinental geography. However, recent years had been difficult for the EU due to economic and financial problems. An

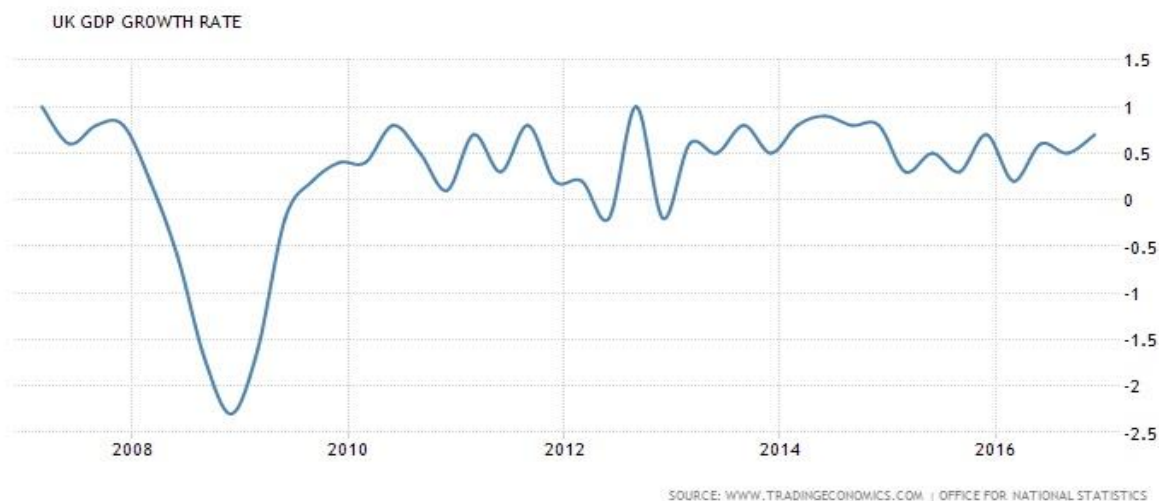
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<sup>11</sup> Elliot, Larry. "Brexit is a rejection of globalization." *The Guardian*. June 26, 2016.

<sup>12</sup> Cooper, Charlie. "'EU Referendum Final Polls Show Remain with Edge over Brexit'". *The Independent*. June 23, 2016 <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/eu-referendum-poll-brexit-remain-vote-leave-live-latest-who-will-win-results-populus-a7097261.html>

example of the severity of this crisis was Greece, who during the height of its economic woes had been referred to as the first potential nation to leave the Euro, the currency of 19 member states. In contrast, Britain had voted to leave despite a relatively healthy economy; strong trade ties with the continent; one of the largest populations in the EU that had one of the higher fertility rates in Europe<sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup>; and support to remain in the EU by key British politicians including Prime Minister David Cameron.

### UK 10 Year GDP Growth<sup>15</sup>



While the Greeks have faced recession and economic growth problems over the last 10 years, the British have managed low levels of GDP growth that is comparable to the German economic performance. The trade level of the UK to the other EU nations is also extremely high, especially for the urban centers. The Centre for Cities in the UK has identified that approximately 46% of

<sup>13</sup> According to Eurostat the United Kingdom had a 1.80 Total Fertility Rate in 2015 that contrasted to the EU TFR of 1.58

<sup>14</sup> "Fertility Statistics." Eurostat. [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Fertility\\_statistics](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Fertility_statistics)

<sup>15</sup> "United Kingdom GDP Growth Rate". *Trading Economics*. January 2017. <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/united-kingdom/gdp-growth>

exports from British cities end up in the European Union.<sup>16</sup> Taken together, this information demonstrates that the UK has been stronger than some of its compatriots in the EU but with an economic reliance on that bloc. Consequently, this leads to questions over causes for the Brexit vote in 2016.

The history of the United Kingdom within the larger community of European states has been a relatively recent development. The UK did not join with France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxemburg, and the Netherlands after the Second World War to form the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951 through the Treaty of Paris. Ascension to the European Community (EC), which eventually changed to become the European Union after the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, was not until 1973, which was well after the initial foundation of the ECSC. Aside from Winston Churchill's vision of a United States of Europe in the immediate postwar years, the British government had policies that did not seek closer political and economic integration until the 1960's.<sup>17</sup> The subsequent decades saw the creation of the European Economic Community by the Treaty of Rome in 1957. Eventual British inclusion was held up by a roadblock that came in the form of French President Charles de Gaulle. Richard Davis identifies de Gaulle's opposition stemmed from his desire for France to be the central driver of European policy and integration. He also had suspicions of the British relationship with the United States.<sup>18 19</sup> Ultimately the French objections were overcome when a new president

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<sup>16</sup> Allen, Katie. "EU main export market for most UK cities, says thinktank." The Guardian. January 30, 2017.

<https://www.theguardian.com/business/2017/jan/30/eu-main-export-market-for-most-uk-cities-says-thinktank>

<sup>17</sup> Churchill, Winston. "United States of Europe." Zurich, Switzerland. September 19, 1946. Speech. <http://www.cfr.org/europe/churchills-united-states-europe-speech-zurich/p32536>

<sup>18</sup> Davis, Richard. "The Problem of de Gaulle: British Reactions to General de Gaulle's Veto of the UK Application to Join the Common Market". Journal of Contemporary History. October 1997. Sage Publications, Ltd.

<sup>19</sup> Davis, 1997, pgs. 461-463

came to power in Paris. Fundamentally, the British have been wary of political integration since their history with Europe has been one with a marginal amount of cooperation. The exception has been security alliances, such as with France preceding the two world wars.<sup>20 21</sup> This changed after 1973 with British becoming more economically integrated with the other members of the EC after it became a member.

Furthermore, the British joining the EC meant they entered a system that went counter to the historical apprehensions that they felt toward European integration. Stephen George<sup>22</sup> stated,

Britain's late entry to the European Community (EC), in 1973, meant it joined an organization that had already developed its own internal culture and methods of working. In particular, a close alliance between France and Germany had emerged as the key political relationship in the EC... [Britain] would have to work with other member states, and probably with one or the other of the two dominant states on most issues.<sup>23</sup>

George demonstrates here that the EC, and subsequent EU, were driven politically by the German and French. This perception made the British wary of joining the European project. It is important to also note that the British had been a driver of European policy, even while it kept its feet out of too much entanglement in Europe, through its constant role as providing balance in the European power system.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, this change from driving policy to seeking membership in a group that had its regulations and structure set made it a very different approach than what the British had been accustomed to over the last two centuries. In

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<sup>20</sup> Kissinger, Henry *Diplomacy*. New York. Simon & Schuster. 1995

<sup>21</sup> Kissinger, 1994, pgs.194-196

<sup>22</sup> George, Stephen. "Great Britain and the European Community." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political Science*, Vol. 531, The European Community: To Maastricht and beyond. Sage Publication Inc. January 1994.

<sup>23</sup> George, 1994, pg. 44.

<sup>24</sup> Kissinger, 1994, pgs. 194-200

addition, further evidence continued to suggest British wariness of being tied to the continent extends to economics and monetary policy with the British refusal to join the Euro, despite its trade ties to the continent.

The United Kingdom has been a historic trading nation, and its admission has only strengthened these ties with its new European partners who subsequently lowered tariffs as was part of the framework of the EC. This level of growing reliance of the UK on this single market was highlighted by Lord Simon of Highbury in 2002. He wrote that some of the resistance the British had regarding the single currency and the contemporary misconception the public had toward it.<sup>25</sup> He also emphasized the benefits of it and the single market when he stated, "Britain's economic decline relative to its European neighbors was marked in the period it spent outside the Common Market. Between 1958 and 1973, Britain's share of investment into Europe declined from 40 to 15 percent. Since joining, its share has risen to 28 percent in 2000."<sup>26</sup> In addition, trade ties have made British businesses more dependent upon the EU than prior to joining.<sup>27</sup> Therefore, this demonstrates that though there has been a hesitance on the political integration of Europe by the British, there was a fundamental support for the economic aspects of the single market and closer trade ties with the continental countries, which were a benefit for the UK and was demonstrated in the 1975 Referendum. This referendum was a vote in the United Kingdom over the membership of that country in the European Community and the Common Market.<sup>28</sup> Additionally, the vote was not close with 67% of the vote supporting

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<sup>25</sup> Lord Simon of Highbury. "Lagging Behind: Britain and the Euro" *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Vol. 9, No. 1. *Brown Journal of World Affairs*. Spring 2002.

<sup>26</sup> Simon, 2002, pg. 317.

<sup>27</sup> Simon, 2002, pg. 315.

<sup>28</sup> The decision for this originated in a 1974 Labour Party campaign pledge that they fulfilled on after their victory.

membership in the EC. This was seen as a support for the Labour government's push toward Europe.<sup>29 30</sup> Despite the success of this vote there would be continued problems between the British government and the EC, which eventually became the European Union.

A key issue since the turn of the century has been immigration from the European Union to the United Kingdom due to the requirement for freedom of movement for EU citizens. Recent years of high immigration from the EU helped to raise questions of the viability and favorability of open borders and freedom of movement for labor within the region. This was especially important given the large numbers migrants from the A10 member states (Ascension 10) which included Eastern and Central European nations, chief among these nations was Poland. The Polish population of the UK swelled from the tens of thousands to nearly a million in a span of decade.<sup>31 32</sup> Though many of these migrants from Poland and other nations have concentrated in urban areas, such as London, they have also dispersed throughout the United Kingdom. Continued migration has increased the total share of the population that EU nationals make up in the UK from 1.5% in 1995 to 5.3% in 2015.<sup>33 34</sup> These large numbers have helped to create controversy in the UK as membership within the E.U. increased the overall size of the

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<sup>29</sup> Pierce, Roy, Henry Valen, Ola Listhaug. "Referendum Voting Behavior: The Norwegian And British Referends on Membership in the European Community." *American Journal of Political Science*. February 1983. Political Science Association.

<sup>30</sup> Pierce, Valen, Listhaug, 1983, pg. 45.

<sup>31</sup> Wadsworth, Jonathan, Swati Dhingra, Gianmarco Ottaviano and John Van Reenen. "Brexit and the Impact of Immigration on the UK". Centre for Economic Performance: London School of Economics. 2015.

<sup>32</sup> Wadsworth, Dhingra, Ottaviano, and Van Reenen, 2015, pgs. 5- 7

<sup>33</sup> Wadsworth, Dhingra, Ottaviano, and Van Reenen, 2015, pg. 3.

<sup>34</sup> In terms of numbers, the 1995 population of EU nationals was 0.9 million that increased to over 3 million in 2015.

foreign-born population. Lastly, this demographic change was also evident in the Midlands region of the UK that had traditionally voted for the Labour Party.

### **Issues of Brexit**

Immigration was a key issue for the Brexit referendum campaign in the lead up to the 2016 vote. Others included the economy and political accountability that were argued by both the Leave and Remain campaigns. Though these topics differ, they were all ultimately related through the overall theme of sovereignty that the Leave campaign utilized to varying degrees of success that depended upon the region within the UK.

Many of the migrants that came to the U.K., especially since 2004, are of working age and are moving throughout the country and not just simply to urban areas.<sup>35</sup> This diffusion of labor has helped to mitigate the aging of the nation and brought needed labor to more rural areas that had previously experienced population decline.<sup>36 37</sup> Despite the positive impact immigration has had on the aging population of the UK, immigration in general became a central issue for the BREXIT Referendum in 2016.

The second issue that had been addressed by the campaigns was economic. The United Kingdom has seen changes in its economic makeup over the last several decades from one that was a mix of manufacturing and services to one that is focused on the service sector, especially

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<sup>35</sup> Wadsworth, Dhingra, Ottaviano, and Van Reenen, 2015 pgs. 1-3.

<sup>36</sup> Almeida, Jose Carlos Pina and David Corkill. "Portuguese Migrant Workers in the UK: A Case Study of Thetford, Norfolk." *Portuguese Studies*. Volume 26. No. 1. The Portuguese-Speaking Diaspora in Great Britain and Ireland. Modern Humanities Research Association. 2010.

<sup>37</sup> Almeida and Corkhill, 2010, pg. 28.

finance. London has now become one of the largest centers of finance, along with New York City, and serves as a gateway toward the larger European market. Some of the financial institutions that are present there include British banks such as HSBC, Barclays, and Lloyds. In addition, many American and other foreign companies have offices in London due to its status as a center of finance. Aside from London, the UK has experienced general growth in the service sector as manufacturing has declined in its level of importance to the overall British economy. However, much of the benefit that the British have regarding this is due to its being a part of the Single Market and not, simply, another state at the fringes of large economic area. Hence, the Remain campaign argued strongly that it was important for continued economic success to be a part of the European Union and its Single Market. In contrast, the Leave campaign focused on the potential trade deals that could be made as a singular nation and not part of a block of countries.<sup>38</sup>

This was also part of the political argument that was being presented by the UKIP where they argued that there was no political accountability due to the structure of the EU Commission and other agencies which was supported by grassroots efforts such as the Get Britain Out organization. Throughout the history of the UK, there has been a tendency to attempt to keep the conflicts and politics of the continent at arm's length, this was the case leading up to the First World War as the Germans tried to entangle the British in an alliance and whose military actions only forced London to react when Belgium was invaded.<sup>39</sup> In addition, the UK has played a historic role of resisting a single nation's dominance of the continent

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<sup>38</sup> Cadman, Emily and Shawn Donnan. "UK after Brexit: Options for Trade Deals if Voters Elect to Leave". *Financial Times*. April 21, 2016. <https://www.ft.com/content/8b5907c4-0797-11e6-a70d-4e39ac32c284>

<sup>39</sup> Kissinger, 1994, pgs. 190-195.

through oppositions to Napoleon's France or Hitler's Germany. Consequently, ceding sovereignty to Brussels became a political issue for UKIP and the Leave campaign where they argued that by leaving the EU the UK will be able to return its decision making to London, not a foreign capital. The Conservative government of David Cameron attempted a renegotiation of Britain's membership in the EU as a case to remain within the bloc with halting further political integration.

These three issues were referred to constantly in the lead up to the referendum over the British membership in the European Union. David Cameron announced the referendum, a campaign pledge after he won reelection in 2015, on February 20, 2016 for a voting date of June 23 of that year. This immediately led to a split in the government with Boris Johnson and other Conservatives campaigning for Leave while Cameron led the Remain effort. The exact wording of the question for the referendum was as follows, "Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union." The two potential answers were "Remain a member of the European Union" or "Leave the European Union."<sup>40</sup> The simplicity and directness of the question left no doubt regarding the choice over the future of the UK in the EU.

Since there were strong economic ties between the United Kingdom and the European Union there had to be a key issue that helped to push the vote to Leave. Immigration was a key issue in the campaign for Leave and its representation through imagery in the British media was

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<sup>40</sup> EU Referendum. <https://www.gov.uk/government/topical-events/eu-referendum/about#what-will-the-referendum-question-be>

a key factor for this vote. Imagery of events can help lead to anxiety that can sway voters and altering their traditional political party stance. The Midlands were such a region that changed.

It is important to note the strong recent historical preference that the Midlands have had for the Labour Party and generally Left or Center-Left politics. This shift in this vote was especially surprising since the most recent election, in 2015, had Labour receive support in Birmingham, Leicester, Coventry, and other population centers in the region. Labour had campaigned to remain in the EU, though there has been some criticism leveled against Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn's attempts to support this stance. *The Economist* in their coverage of the immediate aftermath of the referendum stated, "The Labour leadership was in favor of remaining in the EU, yet the vote was lost in the Labour heartlands of the Midlands and north of England.... Many furious Labour politicians blame this squarely on Mr. Corbyn."<sup>41</sup> Though this article does place blame for some of the lackluster showing for the Remain side that Labour strongly on Corbyn, it does not help to explain why this shift occurred in an area that had strongly supported Labour and their causes for numerous election cycles.

### **British Media**

To better understand this puzzle of why the British voted to leave the European Union it is important to first understand the nature, and reach, of the British media and how widespread it is both in its digital and printed format. The British media has some of the most famous organizations and printed press in the world that includes *The Times*, *The Guardian*, *Financial Times*, and many others. In general, these three papers are affiliated with positions across the

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<sup>41</sup> "The Culpability of Jeremy Corbyn". *The Economist*. June 24, 2016  
<http://www.economist.com/news/britain/21701333-culpability-jeremy-corbyn>

political spectrum. *The Guardian* tends to support liberal positions and the Labour Party. It is a highly-respected paper and has been at the forefront of investigative journalism. It was this paper that Edward Snowden provided information to regarding the NSA's surveillance program. The *Financial Times* is considered a moderately conservative paper and has supported positions of both the Labour Party and the Conservatives. It endorsed the Conservative Party and David Cameron in 2010.<sup>42</sup> Also, in contrast to *The Guardian*, the *Financial Times* is owned entirely by a foreign company, Nikkei Inc. of Japan.<sup>43</sup> Another highly regarded newspaper is *The Times* which is considered a more conservative paper than the other two. It is owned by the American company News Corp, which is also the parent company of the American news channel Fox News. It is also the highest sold, non-tabloid, newspaper in the United Kingdom by daily print circulation.<sup>44</sup> However, tabloid newspapers have a much wider printed circulation among the British population than the more traditional, respected newspaper titles. *The Sun*, *Daily Mail*, and *Daily Mirror* all have higher circulation rates than traditional papers. This can be partially explained due to the cheaper cost of these papers. Nevertheless, print media in the UK, as in the United States, is in general decline regarding circulation compared to previous decades.

### January 2017 Print Circulation

<sup>45</sup>

Title	Circulation	YoY%
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<sup>42</sup> "Financial Times backs Conservatives." Reuters. May 4, 2010. <http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-britain-election-ft-idUKTRE64304Z20100504>

<sup>43</sup> "Financial Times sold to Nikkei by Pearson." BBC News. July 23, 2015. <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-33636321>

<sup>44</sup> Ponsford, Dominic. "National Newspaper Print ABCs for January 2017." *Press Gazette*. February 16, 2017. <http://www.pressgazette.co.uk/national-newspaper-print-abcs-for-jan-2017-observer-up-year-on-year-the-sun-is-fastest-riser-month-on-month/>

<sup>45</sup> Ponsford, Dominic. "National Newspaper Print ABCs for January 2017." *Press Gazette*. February 16, 2017. <http://www.pressgazette.co.uk/national-newspaper-print-abcs-for-jan-2017-observer-up-year-on-year-the-sun-is-fastest-riser-month-on-month/>

<i>The Sun</i>	1,666,715	-6.74%
<i>Daily Mail</i>	1,511,357	-4.91%
<i>Daily Mirror</i>	724,888	-10.41%
<i>The Times</i>	451,261	11.66%
<i>Daily Express</i>	392,526	-3.96%
<i>Financial Times</i>	188,924	-2.22%
<i>The Guardian</i>	156,756	-2.69%

The graph demonstrates a general downward trend among the printed media in the UK along with the large gap in circulation between tabloid titles and other papers. These tabloid newspapers still have a substantial circulation despite their relative decline over the recent years. As printed papers decline, these newspapers have seen large increases in their online viewership. While the traditional printed newspaper may be in decline in the United Kingdom, their relevance is maintained in the large number of website visits, numbering in the millions, by consumers. An example of this increase was demonstrated the month of the Brexit Referendum in June 2016.

### **Website Visits June 2016**

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<b>Title</b>	<b>Site Visits</b>	<b>Percent Increase</b>
MailOnline	15,053,614	7.88%
TheGuardian.com	10,304,181	15.48%
Telegraph	5,623,053	29.49%
Mirror Group Nationals	5,032,799	8.38%
The Independent	4,382,722	43.77%
The Sun	2,730,920	15.37%
Express.co.uk	2,730,920	18.69%

<sup>46</sup> Jackson, Jasper. "Newspaper websites break traffic records with Brexit coverage." *The Guardian*. July 21, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/jul/21/newspaper-websites-traffic-brexit-independent-guardian-mirror>

As the graph demonstrates, there were large number of daily visits to the website of these papers. This can be explained by the presence of the British Brexit Referendum in the same month, yet there is still a large population that these papers reach with their news and how they present this information that includes headlines, content, and photographs.

Imagery is a powerful means of conveying an idea or message. These can range from commercials and advertisements that fill social media and television or the ones that occupy printed press. The United Kingdom has a diverse range of publications that still have a large circulation despite the decrease in the overall sales of printed press.<sup>47</sup> In addition, the increased prevalence of online media, including the website of the various printed publications, has helped to continue the widespread viewership of the media sources. Consequently, these media organizations still retain a strong ability to be able to spread images and headlines of key events. An event which was extraordinary prevalent in the British media prior to the vote of British EU membership was the European Refugee Crisis of populations from Africa, the Middle East, and Asia who attempted to get to Europe via the Mediterranean Sea.

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<sup>47</sup> Bond, David. "UK Newspapers Consider Ad Sales Venture". *Financial Times*. June, 19, 2017  
<https://www.ft.com/content/5799b666-2f26-11e6-a18d-a96ab29e3c95>

## Chapter 2: Immigration Theory

### Introduction

The topic of immigration is a politically divisive one as has been demonstrated in several elections including in the United States and Western European nations with increased popularity of fringe, far-right parties such as the National Front in France and the Alternative fur Deutschland in Germany.<sup>48</sup> Due to increased politicized nature, there has been much literature regarding immigration, especially migration to Europe and by extension the United Kingdom. Literature regarding immigration covers economics, integration, and the impact upon the host society. The interpretations and analysis of this topic are as diverse as the populations they refer to in their studies.

This chapter will highlight the different approaches regarding immigration to the UK from the EU and outside of that bloc. Firstly, I will analyze the literature regarding immigration from the EU to the UK and its general impact on the society in that country. However, this will be more of an analysis of the general positive influence on the country. This will be followed by a section on how EU migrants have settled in areas outside of the major metropolitan areas, which will demonstrate the extent of the impact of this population in the UK. The subsequent focus will be upon securitization concerns of changing UK demographics due to migration.

### Immigration

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<sup>48</sup> The 2016 United States Presidential Election where Republican Donald Trump defeated his democratic challenger Hillary Clinton.

This general topic of immigration to the UK and the EU has generated much scholarly analysis. One school of thought in this has been that the migrants from the EU since 2004 tend to occupy lower skilled position for short periods of time in the countries they are employed in. An example of this type of analysis was conducted by Brent Greve<sup>49</sup> who concludes that these individuals tend to be more short term sources of labor due to fluctuations in the economic outlook for EU nations.<sup>50</sup> Jon May, Jane Wills, Kavita Data, Yara Evans, Joanna Herbert, and Cathy McIlwaine further this belief in their study<sup>51</sup> that focuses on how British state policy has created two economies within London that has resulted in migrants occupying the lower skilled jobs with weak wages. Mick Wilkinson and Gary Craig<sup>52</sup> build on this notion of weak British governmental effort in integrating migrants, especially EU migrants since 2004, into the British economy for the long term. The authors help to demonstrate the complicated issue of migration to the UK from the EU and its influence over the British economy. Additionally, these post-2004 migrants may provide an advantage for British businesses in that they have a higher skill set than those that had previously occupied these lower paring positions. According to Peter Huber, Michael Landesmann, Catherine Robinson, and Robert Stehrer<sup>53</sup> these migrants have provided a boost to businesses since they have a superior skill set that allows for

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<sup>49</sup> Greve, Brent. *Migration and Welfare in the New Europe. Ch. 5: Labour Migration and Labour Market Integration: Causes and Challenges*. Policy Press at the University of Bristol. Bristol, United Kingdom. 2011.

<sup>50</sup> Greve, pg. 95

<sup>51</sup> May, Jon, Jane Wills, Kavita Data, Yara Evans, Joanna Herbert, and Cathy McIlwaine. "Keeping London Working: Global Cities, the British State and London's New Migrant Division of Labor." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*. New Series, Volume 32, No. 2. Wiley on behalf of the Royal Geographical Society. April 2007.

<sup>52</sup> Wilkinson, Mick and Gary Craig. *Migration and Welfare in the New Europe, Chapter Ten: Willful Negligence: Migration Policy, Migrant's Work and the Absence of Social Protection in the UK*. Policy Press at the University of Bristol. United Kingdom. 2011.

<sup>53</sup> Huber, Peter, Michael Landesmann, Catherine Robinson, and Robert Stehrer. "Migrants' Skills and Productivity: A European Perspective." *National Institute Economic Review*. Sage Publications. July 2010.

improved functioning of business. They identify the attainment of higher education as creating the means for these new immigrants to excel and outperform their competition, which includes British and non-British workers in the UK. Consequently, this would give some credence to the economic argument put forward by UKIP and other anti-immigration political parties that migrants compete with the native population over jobs, though the overall economic benefit of migration is emphasized by these authors.

Additional issues that have been focused upon include how the EU migrants since 2004 have impacted other previously arrived immigrants within the UK. Due to the higher educational attainment that the citizens from the Ascension 8 nations had, these populations were not only competitive against pre-existing immigrant populations, but also overqualified for the labor jobs that they would be employed in. According to Jose Carlos Pina Almeida and David Corkhill<sup>54</sup>, these new migrants from Eastern and Central Europe were not only well educated but also impacted the employment rate of the Portuguese migrants present in the UK<sup>55</sup>. The implication from their study is that these more recent arrivals have a competitive advantage over those already in the UK who occupy lower paid positions. This wave of migration from the EU has not only been to London and Manchester but has also spread to more rural parts of the UK and have provided a boost to local economies that needed labor. This has been essential for many businesses given the aging population of the UK along with the

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<sup>54</sup> Almeida, Jose Carlos Pina and David Corkhill. "Portuguese Migrant Workers in the UK: A Case Study of Thetford, Norfolk." *Portuguese Studies*. Volume 26. No. 1. The Portuguese-Speaking Diaspora in Great Britain and Ireland. Modern Humanities Research Association. 2010.

<sup>55</sup> Almeida and Corkhill, pgs. 35-37

unwillingness of British workers to do some of these positions. Sam Scott and Paul Brindley<sup>56</sup> detailed how these most recent arrivals have not concentrated in industrial areas or urban centers and have spread out across the nation. Their theory that this occurred among EU migrants due to economic pull and job opportunities away from the major financial and economic centers of London and other British cities. Michael Woods<sup>57</sup> analyzed the impact of this movement of people to rural areas in Wales. The author believed that this is greatly benefiting the economy of rural Wales that would have otherwise faced dire prospects. These sources demonstrate that immigration has had an impact throughout the UK and that it touches all areas from London to rural Wales to the Midlands.

Aside from the economic benefits of an increased labor force, there have been concerns over the impact of migration on European states. The specific concern is over ethnic cohesion in more multicultural societies. Ole Waever, Barry Buzam, Morten Kelstrup and Pierre Lemaitre wrote of the potential security dilemma that increased movement between European states threaten internal social cohesion.<sup>58</sup> The authors address that the freedom of movement between EU states will alter the demographic construction of these nations and could lead to the potential rise of fringe right wing parties that could cause tensions in these societies. Their study does not focus on economic arguments or the potential benefit of increased labor mobility but chiefly on the negative aspects of multiculturalism and how it creates a situation

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<sup>56</sup> Scott, Sam and Paul Brindley. "New Geographies of Migrant Settlement in the UK." *Geography*, Volume 97, No.1. Geographical Association. Spring 2012.

<sup>57</sup> Woods, Michael. *Rural Wales in the Twenty-first Century, Chapter 6: Poles Apart? Migrant Workers in Rural Wales*. University of Wales Press. Wales, United Kingdom. 2011.

<sup>58</sup> Waever, Ole, Barry Buzam, Morten Kelstrup, and Pierre Lemaitre. *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe*. St. Martin's Press Inc. New York, New York. 1993.

where social harmony is endangered. Furthermore, Rafaela Dancygier argues<sup>59</sup> that the root conflict between those that live in an area and the foreign populations moving to that region is economic insecurity. She writes that,

.... the interaction of economic scarcity and immigrant political power lies at the heart of the face of contemporary immigrant conflict.... According to [her] theory, the ability of immigrant-origin minorities to claim goods during economically trying times invites a native backlash....<sup>60</sup>

This backlash she identified has been utilized by the Right to help garner support for their election causes. A typical argument that emanates from that political spectrum is the replacement of native workers with immigrants along with support from the government for the latter group. Economics and the perception of competition for jobs does play an impact upon the politics of population though this depends on how this message is presented along with the perceived benefits of immigration.

David Coleman and Robert Rowthorn in their 2004 article<sup>61</sup> dispute these economic benefits and believe that they will not occur in the United Kingdom; however, they do state that there will be demographic gains for the UK with an increased working age population.<sup>62</sup> They firmly articulated that these economic benefits are non-existent and carry the risk of increased social conflict due to the altering demographics. They write, "All that can be shown here [in this article] is that immigration on the current scale can only be justified on grounds other than its economic advantage to the citizens of the UK."<sup>63</sup> This statement demonstrates

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<sup>59</sup>Dancygier, Rafaela. *Immigration and Conflict in Europe*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. 2010.

<sup>60</sup> Dancygier, pg. 59

<sup>61</sup> Coleman, David, Robert Rowthorn. "The Economic Effects of Immigration in the United Kingdom." Population Council. 2004

<sup>62</sup> Coleman, Rowthorn. 2004. Pgs. 616-617

<sup>63</sup> Coleman, Rowthorn. 2004. Pg. 617

that though the argument for immigration has been an economic one, consensus on this is not universal. Furthermore, it establishes that concern over immigration extends into demographics and social cohesion much in the same way that *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe* identified in 1993.

These different notions of the economic benefits of migration and the negative consequences of a multicultural society have been argued by political campaigns. In effect, politicians become the speaker of these complex concepts that help to relay them to a larger audience. These campaigns can deliver these messages via speeches, policy statements, or most effectively through media and imagery. However, the media independently and, perhaps, unintentionally can provide the imagery that helps to push voters towards certain selections.

## Chapter 3: Political Symbolism

### Introduction

Symbols play an important role in politics and elections. Whether it is the symbolism of Barack Obama's "Hope" slogan or the image of migrants crossing a border in California, these resonate with the electorate. Further, they help to push these voters toward a certain decision that the campaign utilizing symbols. Symbols are what drive masses to vote for a certain issue or candidate. They help to frame an issue and erase the gray areas that help to confound easy comprehension. President Lyndon Johnson ran his "Daisy" message on television and it made the choice binary: between safety or nuclear Armageddon. This resonated with the population enough that he won reelection easily in 1964. <sup>64</sup>

This section will focus on symbols in politics regarding immigration. The first section will provide a recent example of the photograph of Aylan Kurdi's body that was pulled from the Aegean Sea. Murray Edelman's study on the symbolic uses in politics will follow this section. Lastly, there will be a detailed historical example of the Prop 187 campaign in California along with the reelection of Governor Pete Wilson and the usage of imagery depicting legal immigrants and undocumented immigrants.

### Symbols in Politics

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<sup>64</sup> A classic example of the impact of imagery was the 1964 ad for President Lyndon Johnson's re-election campaign. Though this example does not focus on immigration, it is an effective example of how the imagery of a singular individual is utilized and harnessed toward political aims. The title of this ad has been subsequently called "Daisy" with a young girl picking and counting daisy petals. It transitions to a countdown for a nuclear device and a close in of the fear of the child that follows with a massive explosion. The image of a child followed by a nuclear explosion demonstrated to the American public the supposed stakes of the 1964 election. Robert Mann in his article for the *Smithsonian Magazine* states, "The message was clear if only implicit: Presidential candidate Barry Goldwater was a genocidal maniac who threatened the world's future. Two months later, President Lyndon Johnson won easily...." (Mann, 2016) Imagery can impact an election as was shown by this advertisement.

The divisiveness of immigration policy among native, voting populations makes its portrayal in political campaigns, referendums, and in the media more easily manipulated. Images of groups of individuals can help to create emotions that differ from photographs of an individual. The image of a small Syrian child's body, 3-year-old Aylan Kurdi, helped to highlight the dangerous path so many migrants were taking across the ocean. Below is an image that depicts the discovery of his body on the beach.



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This powerful image's focus is a sole individual and helps to communicate the plight of refugees. This image was published in the British newspaper *The Independent* in September 2015 during the height of the migrant crisis. A singular individual can convey the emotion of a scene when captured by an image while imagery of mass movements of people can potentially be coerced to identify alternative political interpretations: more threatening than sympathetic.

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<sup>65</sup> Withnall, Adam. "Aylan Kurdi's story: How a Small Syrian Child came to be washed up on a beach in Turkey." *The Independent*. September 3, 2015.

Additionally, this image was utilized by groups to promote a certain position regarding the refugees and migrants that were arriving on European shores from Turkey. The photograph of a dead young boy helped to galvanize public sentiment in Europe and elsewhere, at least initially, to provide more assistance for these fleeing populations.

Murray Edelman, an expert on political symbolism from the 20th century stated, "... mass publics respond to currently conspicuous political symbols: not to moral codes embedded in the character or soul, but to gestures and speeches that make up the drama of the state."<sup>66</sup> This quote highlights that it is less the issues and more how they are presented that is key to the electoral success as was the case in the British Brexit vote. The politician, the speech, and image are the symbols that help to sway voters toward a certain voting selection. Leadership is also an aspect that falls under Edelman's definition of politically symbolic. However, he identifies that leadership might be more powerful from a historical perspective than from contemporary behavior.<sup>67</sup> In regard to Brexit, Leave leaders such as Nigel Farage or Boris Johnson could be viewed as having an outsized impact on the vote from an analysis in the future, but their contemporary impact can be viewed as not decisive. Therefore, the political symbolism that helped win Leave a victory in the referendum did not come chiefly from the leadership of that campaign.

### **Historical Example: California's Proposition 187**

An example of an immigration issue that included imagery to portray the issue in a way to affect the voting public's perception of it was the campaign advertisement run by Governor

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<sup>66</sup> Edelman, Murray. *The Symbolic Uses of Politics*. University of Illinois Press. Urbana. 1964.

<sup>67</sup> Edelman, 1964, pg. 94.

Pete Wilson in California in 1994. Wilson was running for reelection and had staked his campaign on undocumented immigration. In his campaign advertisement, he included a contrast between legal routes of citizenship with chaotic movements of groups coming across the United States' borders.<sup>68</sup> The contrast between the two is stark. Furthermore, the focus of the images in the advertisement was upon groups of undocumented individuals with little focus on the individuals themselves that contrast with the close imagery of the immigrants that go through the established, legal routes. Wilson further supported Proposition 187 that sought to prevent access to healthcare and social services for undocumented immigrants.<sup>69</sup> Wilson won reelection in California that year along with a victory for Proposition 187; however, the proposition was challenged in court and eventually overturned.

Immigration can be a factor that alters an election. Proposition 187 was an example of how the symbolism of undocumented immigration could become a central issue that helped to spur the more conservative voters in California. This helped lead to the success of both the proposition and the reelection of Governor Wilson. An article<sup>70</sup> published in 1996 by Sara Diamond identifies the utilization of immigration as central campaign factor to rally base supporters for right wing politicians. She writes,

Still, the immigration issue- particularly when used to rally economically insecure white voters- was likely to remain expedient for some politicians and, therefore, it would be incumbent upon leaders of the Right to state out their positions on the issue. In the short run, anti-immigrant themes, especially when focused on "illegal" immigration, were likely to remain advantageous at polls. Yet right-wing organizers needed to be

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<sup>68</sup> Barabak, Mark. "Pete Wilson looks back on Proposition 187 and says, heck yeah, he'd support it all over again." *Los Angeles Times*. March 23, 2017.

<sup>69</sup> Barabak, Mark. "Pete Wilson looks back on Proposition 187 and says, heck yeah, he'd support it all over again." *Los Angeles Times*. March 23, 2017.

<sup>70</sup> Diamond, Sara. "Right-Wing Politics and The Anti-Immigration Cause". *Social Justice*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (65), Immigration: A Civil Rights Issue for the Americas in the 21st Century. Social Justice. Fall 1996

careful to contain anti-immigrant fervor, lest it appear to be too stridently racist. Apart from election campaigns, anti-immigrant rhetoric would be most useful to the Right as part of a long-term project to roll back or prevent government intervention on behalf of racial minorities and poor people generally.<sup>71</sup>

Diamond's identification of the use of immigration as a tool of the Right to garner support was prophetic of the election strategies being utilized in Western Europe and the one employed by Donald Trump in the 2016 United States Presidential Election. However, her last statement on the Right's goal of limited government assistance toward racial minorities has relevance towards the analysis of Brexit.

Votes for conservative immigration policies are also influenced by the ethno-social makeup of the country. Western nations have become increasingly reliant on migrant labor to fill jobs that are deemed less desirable due to the position itself or the pay that it receives. Further, this need for labor has led to the increased diversification of populations in these host countries. Marcelo M. Suarez-Orozco identified these tensions at play during the vote for Prop 187.<sup>72</sup> In effect, the need for labor has pushed the politics of immigration increasing to one of social identity as the host nation's demographics have changed rapidly.

These trends and immigration politics were on display during the campaigns over Brexit. Traditional voters of Left and Left-center parties may be more apathetic towards supporting an institution that was dealing with hundreds of thousands of migrants and refugees, especially with the terminology such as burden-sharing which were terms the EU was utilizing regarding

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<sup>71</sup> Diamond, Sara. "Right-Wing Politics and The Anti-Immigration Cause". *Social Justice*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (65), Immigration: A Civil Rights Issue for the Americas in the 21st Century. Social Justice. Fall 1996

<sup>72</sup> Suarez-Orozco, Marcelo. "California Dreaming: Proposition 187 and the Cultural Psychology of Racial and Ethnic Exclusion." *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, Vol. 27. American Anthropological Association. June 1996.

the migrant crisis in 2015. Moreover, the imagery that these populations saw through the media that was being circulated in the United Kingdom were of large groups of faceless individuals who did not resemble the population of that region.

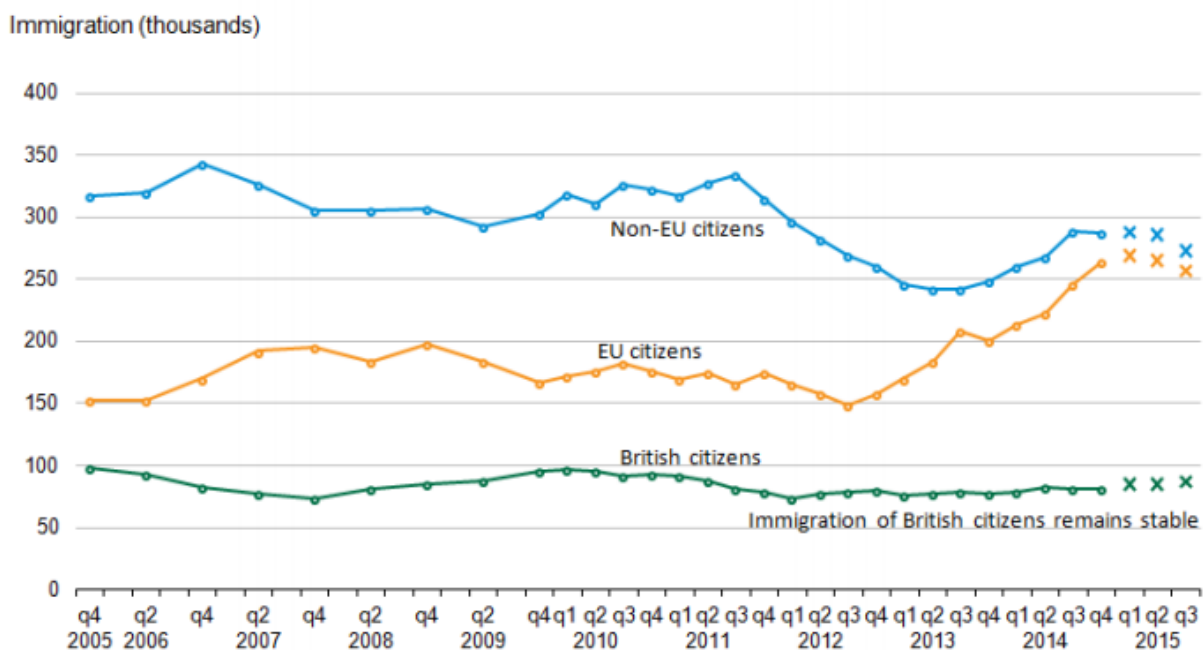
## **Chapter 4: Brexit and the Parties**

Brexit has been simplified as a vote over membership at the EU table with the other nations of the continent. However, the consequences of the vote are complex as well as what it means for the potential direction that the UK will take in the future regarding its role in Europe, relations with the EU, and general position in the world.

The Brexit vote calls into question the course of the UK economy after it officially leaves the European Union. Much of the economic growth of the UK has been centered on its financial institutions and the service sector in recent decades. Part of the incentive for this has been access to the single market that the UK enjoyed since it joined the EEC in 1973. This election to leave the EU by the British raises many questions of incentives for international financial firms to keep regional headquarters in London. It raises the attraction of relocation to Frankfurt, Germany and other areas of the EU since they will remain part of the Single Market. Moreover, as the levels of British trade to the EU has demonstrated, the UK is economically linked to the EU and has benefited from the Single Market's elimination of trade barriers.

The British economy, additionally, has been a beneficiary of receiving millions of migrants from the EU. This wave of migration from the EU has not only been to London and Manchester but has also spread to more rural parts of the U.K. and have provided a boost to

local economies that needed labor. Migration will play a central factor in the negotiations between the UK and EU, just as it did for the Brexit campaigns. The graph below shows that increasing number of immigrants from the EU as the numbers from outside of this bloc of countries decreases.



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The benefits of these migrants touch many aspects of the British economy from agriculture to the service sector to unions. They have provided needed labor to many rural, less urban regions that were both aging and losing their workforce to the more prosperous cities, such as London. In many ways, this wave of migration was, in fact, a rejuvenation for the areas of the UK that have not been traditional beneficiaries of immigration. Though London

<sup>73</sup> Lewin, Joel. "The Latest UK Immigration Figures in 5 Charts". Financial Times. February 25, 2016. <https://www.ft.com/content/548a6e27-80b1-3a85-8f6e-713c23ee4a10>

<sup>74</sup> The increase in the EU migrant numbers after the Financial Crisis in 2007-8 was due to the weak economies of Southern Europe and the relative strength of the British economy.

continued to gain notoriety for its international character, the impact of open borders and freedom of movement has been felt throughout the country. Though the immigrants were from other European nations, this only increased the international, multicultural nature of many regions of the United Kingdom. The freedom of movement of labor in the EU has been a central tenant for the development of the EU and that has led to both increased net migration for the UK, but also it increasingly being a topic of contention regarding the role of the EU.

### **Recent Elections and the Summary of Brexit Campaigns**

Most of the major political parties campaigned to remain within the European Union. This included the opposition Labour Party, Liberal Democrats, Plaid Cymru, Scottish Green Party, Scottish National Party (SNP), and the Green Party of England and Wales. The three largest of these were the Labour Party, SNP, and the Liberal Democrats. These parties were not as divided as was the ruling Conservative Party which faced strong divisions among its senior members as well as the lower ranking, junior members.

The following information shows the data from the two most recent elections prior to the 2016 referendum. The Conservative government not only maintained its lead as the largest party but also increased its number of voters. This is striking considering the rise of the United Kingdom Independence Party that had grown from less than a million votes in 2010 to nearly 4 million in 2015. Many of the policies that the UKIP campaigned on were threatening to pull voters from supporting the Conservatives since there were some shared positions such as immigration. Since the UK is obligated to allow EU citizens to live and work in that country, it was a central campaign topic for the UKIP and their hardened positions towards immigration.

Consequently, this put pressure on Cameron after his successful victory in the 2015 General Election.

### 2010 UK General Election

Party	Seats	Gain	Loss	Net	Votes	%	+/-%
Conservatives	307	100	3	+97	10,736,614	36.1%	+3.8%
Labour	258	3	94	-91	8,609,527	29.0%	-6.2%
Liberal Democrat	57	8	13	-5	6,836,824	23.0%	+1.0%
SNP	6	0	0	0	491,386	1.7%	+0.1
UKIP	0	0	0	0	919,546	3.1%	+0.9

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### 2015 UK General Election

Party	Seats	Gain	Loss	Net	Votes	%	=/-%
Conservatives	331	35	11	+24	11,334,576	36.9%	+0.08%
Labour	232	22	48	-26	9,347,304	30.4%	+1.5%
Liberal Democrat	8	0	49	-49	2,451,862	7.9%	-15.2%
SNP	56	50	0	+50	1,454,436	4.7%	+3.1%
UKIP	1	1	0	+1	3,881,099	12.6%	+9.5%

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### Remain Parties: Labour, Liberal Democrats, and the SNP

The Remain Campaign had the support of most of the establishment including the opposition Labour Party, government coalition member the Liberal Democrats, and the dominant Scottish political party the SNP. The supporters of these parties strongly favored remaining in the EU, though the campaigns that were run by the leadership were not as effective.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>75</sup> "Election 2010". *BBC News*. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/election2010/results/>

<sup>76</sup> "Election 2015". *BBC News*. <http://www.bbc.com/news/election/2015/results>

<sup>77</sup> Ashcroft, Michael. "How the United Kingdom Voted on Thursday... and Why." *Lord Ashcroft Polls*. June 24, 2016.

## Labour

The Labour Party had a history of strong election results in the 1990's and early 2000's with the victories of Tony Blair. This period was not without difficulties with the Iraq War being especially unpopular with the population. Nevertheless, the British economy was relatively strong under Blair and his successor Gordon Brown until the Financial Crisis of 2007 and 2008. Nevertheless, Brown managed with some success to stem the negative impact of the crisis especially given the growing crisis within the Eurozone in 2010. The election in 2010 was a failure for Labour with the Conservative Party picking up dozens of seats in the House of Commons. This led to an eventual coalition between David Cameron and the Conservatives and Nick Clegg and the Liberal Democrats. Brown resigned from the leadership of the party and Ed Miliband became the new leader. Throughout the subsequent years, Miliband led the Labour's opposition to Cameron that included a difference approach towards Europe. Whereas the Conservative leader wished to call for a referendum on the UK's membership, due to the pressure from within his party from the EU skeptics, Miliband campaigned for continued British membership but with a guarantee from Brussels that no further transfer of powers from London to the EU. However, he did promise immigration reform in general and the EU since it was a central issue regarding this election.<sup>78</sup> Nevertheless, this election cycle did not end with a victory for Miliband and Labour and was a rout with the Conservative gaining a majority in Parliament. This led to Miliband's resignation and the guarantee of a Brexit referendum.

The campaign by Labour to remain in the EU was titled "Labour In for Britain" and was led by MP Alan Johnson. He had little respect for the new Labour leader, Jeremy Corbyn, and

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<sup>78</sup> "Election 2015". *BBC News*. <http://www.bbc.com/news/election/2015/results>

claimed that there was no effort from him in respect to the Brexit campaign.<sup>79</sup> In an interview with *The Times*, Johnson stated that Corbyn was "... useless. We would put in speeches for him, 'That's why I'm campaigning for Britain to remain in the EU', and they took it out every time. He would say, 'That's why Labour is campaigning to stay in the EU'."<sup>80</sup> This quote demonstrates that though most Labour voters did support the Remain campaign, the leader of the party did not fully embrace the notion of the UK's continued membership within the EU.<sup>81</sup> In addition, the terminology utilized by Johnson towards Corbyn indicates not only the hostility but also the divisions within the Labour Party that existed prior to the referendum on June 23, 2016. As the largest party after the Conservatives in Parliament, a divided Labour Party only led to a less impactful campaign to remain in the EU, which could have been crucial in the supposed heartland of that party: The Midlands.

### **Liberal Democrat**

The Liberal Democrats have been a smaller, junior party compared to the Conservatives and the Labour. This directly relates to their relative share of the members of Parliament compared to the other parties. They are relatively new after being formed from a merger between the Liberal and Social Democratic Parties. Nick Clegg became the leader of this party, its fourth, in 2007. The large break for this party came in the 2010 election when Clegg and David Cameron of the Conservatives formed a coalition government with the latter being Prime Minister and the former Deputy Prime Minister. Clegg differed from the Prime Minister in that

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<sup>79</sup> Sylvester, Rachel and Alice Thomson. "We have got to recapture the Labour Party otherwise it's dead and finished". *The Times*. September 17, 2016. <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/we-have-got-to-recapture-the-labour-party-otherwise-its-dead-and-finished-3r30ghb7g>

<sup>80</sup> Sylvester and Thomson, 2016.

<sup>81</sup> Sylvester and Thomson, 2016.

he did not support a referendum on EU membership that was supported by the EU skeptics of the Conservative Party and the UKIP. Clegg and the Liberal Democrats campaigned for continued British participation in the EU while opening new markets for that country's economy; nevertheless, they supported a referendum on EU membership if there was a goal of a transfer of more sovereignty from the UK to Brussels.<sup>82</sup> The results of the 2015 election were devastating for the Liberal Democrats with their worst showing since the party's formation in 1988. In total, they gained only 8 seats in Parliament while losing a total of 49.<sup>83</sup> Nick Clegg resigned from his position as the head of the party and was eventually replaced by Tim Farron. This strongly diminished role indicated that the Liberal Democrats would be in a weaker position to contest the coming Brexit Referendum.

The Liberal Democrats supported the Remain Campaign even after the negotiation between Cameron and Brussels over the UK's membership. Prior to the 2015 General Election, Nick Clegg stated that, "Unlike the Conservatives, we understand that you cannot secure a new settlement for Britain through a one-off negotiation conducted under the threat of exit. Instead, you do it by engaging with our neighbors, forging alliances with like-minded states and winning the argument."<sup>84</sup> This quote summarizes the Liberal Democrats position on the EU and their campaign reflected this stance though with much less prominence than the Labour Party given their weakened position in Parliament.

### **Scottish National Party**

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<sup>82</sup> "Policy Guide: Election 2015." *BBC News*. <http://www.bbc.com/news/election/2015/manifesto-guide>

<sup>83</sup> *BBC News*, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/election/2015/manifesto-guide>

<sup>84</sup> Archer, Laura. "Nick Clegg: Pro-Europeans are the Real Reformers Now." Liberal Democrats. [http://www.libdems.org.uk/nick\\_clegg\\_pro\\_europeans\\_are\\_the\\_real\\_reformers\\_now](http://www.libdems.org.uk/nick_clegg_pro_europeans_are_the_real_reformers_now)

The Scottish National Party campaigned for Scottish Independence during the referendum of 2014. The failure of this vote resulted in the resignation of their overall leader and Scottish First Minister Alexander Salmond. This position of First Minister was created with the Scottish Parliament by the Scotland Act of 1998 that saw the devolution of powers from London to Edinburgh. The Scottish National Party is a nationalist, pro-independence party that ultimately seeks the separation of Scotland from the United Kingdom.<sup>85</sup> <sup>86</sup> The fact that it has taken a position that focuses on Scottish independence was complicated by their support of Conservative Prime Minister David Cameron and his campaign to remain in the European Union. Fundamentally the SNP supported the continued membership in the EU because it was perceived as being in Scotland's interest, since it gave the country access to a market of 500 million people. However, it was challenged by some senior SNP politicians such as former deputy leader Jim Sillars, a Leave supporter, who did not agree with the stated benefits of EU membership that the SNP articulated during the Brexit Campaign.<sup>87</sup> Sillars argued in an interview that the economic benefits were exaggerated by the Remain Campaign and the SNP. However, as was demonstrated by the call for a new referendum on Scottish Independence, Brexit has proven new fuel for a second chance to gain the stated goal of the SNP.<sup>88</sup> This desire for independence is stated by W. Elliot Bulmer in his book *Constituting Scotland*. He writes, "From 19 September 2014 until 24 June 2016, it seemed that Scotland would remain in the

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<sup>85</sup> Bulmer, W. Elliot. *Constituting Scotland*. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh. 2016.

<sup>86</sup> Bulmer, 2016, pgs. 193-195

<sup>87</sup> Lo, Bernie and Nyshka Chandran. "Brexit Vote: Jim Sillars criticizes Scottish National Party for 'remain' stance". *CNBC*. <http://www.cnn.com/2016/06/21/brexit-vote-jim-sillars-criticizes-scottish-national-party-for-remain-stance.html>

<sup>88</sup> Carrell, Severin. "Scottish Independence: Nicola Sturgeon fires Starting Gun on Referendum". *The Guardian*. March 13, 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/mar/13/nicola-sturgeon-fires-starting-gun-on-second-scottish-independence-referendum>

United Kingdom – although it might be a very different, and less united, kingdom. At the time of writing, however, the independence movement appears to have been revitalized by the decision of England and Wales to leave the European Union.”<sup>89</sup>

### **Divided Party: The Conservatives**

The Conservative Party came to power in 2010 after an election victory that saw the defeat of the Labour Party who had been in office since 1997 with Tony Blair’s victory. This, in a coalition with the Liberal Democrats, brought to power David Cameron during a period of financial uncertainty with the aftermath of the Global Financial Crisis of 2007-2008 and the Euro Crisis in Greece that began around the end of 2009. The Conservative Party during the subsequent years faced challenges from the economy to global security to questions over the role of the EU. Nevertheless, in a surprise result, the Conservatives and David Cameron won the 2015 General Election and increased their overall voter share, the first time that was done since 1900. Cameron promised a referendum on the UK’s continued membership within the EU with a yes or no question. This campaign pledge was due to the increased unpopularity of the supranational organization and the rise of the anti-EU UKIP, which had increased its voter share though its leader Nigel Farage had failed to win his election and had subsequently resigned. Cameron’s pledge to hold the referendum would occur after a renegotiation with the EU over the membership of the UK.

The Conservative Party was divided among its leadership over the UK’s participation. Prominent Conservatives such as Boris Johnson and Michael Gove actively supported the Leave

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<sup>89</sup> Bulmer, 2016, pg. 204.

Campaign with arguments of economic benefits of being outside of the EU's single market. In addition, immigration was a central feature of the campaign with right-wing UKIP pushing an agenda that limited immigration from the EU. Therefore, this divide within the party weakened any coherent attempt at a unified approach towards British membership in the EU. Whereas David Cameron campaigned for British membership, Johnson and Grove actively sought a Leave victory with the former becoming the most visible surrogate for the effort among the Conservatives.

### **Party for Leave: The United Kingdom Independence Party**

The United Kingdom Independence Party is considered a right-wing party that is relatively populist and Eurosceptic. This party was formed in 1993 but only became increasingly prominent over the last decade. It was more successful at European Parliamentary level elections, that have lower voter turnout than at the national level, where it has increased its share of the vote and seats won since 2004. In 2004, UKIP placed in third among the parties that were competing for seats in the European Parliament while in 2009 it had reached second. UKIP increased this to winning the most seats in the 2014 vote where it passed other parties such as the Conservatives and Labour. Nevertheless, this was not a complete view of the success of the party since at the national level, UKIP managed to gain only one MP in the House of Commons. This was viewed as a disappointing result that led to the resignation of the UKIP leader since 2006, Nigel Farage.

Farage was the leader of UKIP since 2006 and stood for election to the House of Commons in the 2015 General Election. He was already a Member of the European Parliament though he held positions that ran contrary to continued British membership in the EU. He was a

central figure for the Leave Campaign during the months leading to the British Referendum on continued EU membership. Despite the fact, he lost his election to join the House of Commons, his campaign for a Brexit enhanced his exposure and influence in the UK. Consequently, Farage's influence on the campaign rhetoric along with its imagery highly influenced the strategy of the Leave Campaign. Ultimately, his continued hostility towards immigration was given ammunition through the EU Migrant Crisis of 2015 where hundreds of thousands of refugees and irregular migrants arrived in Italy and Greece. These images were utilized by Leave, Farage, and ultimately the media of the UK with their publication of mass, controlled movement of people through different countries in Europe. These publications ultimately served UKIP's purpose, intentionally and unintentionally, of providing potential supporters of Leave images to cause heightened anxieties for continued membership of a group who could no longer control their borders.

The practical aspects of Brexit depend on the negotiations that will happen after the government of the UK evokes article 50 of the Treaty of Lisbon, which will set in motion the two-year period for the British withdrawal from the many treaties and agreements that bind the different nations of the EU. In a practical sense, this will mean that the British will have to deal with the EU as an outside power and potentially not as a member of the Single Market, though this depends substantially on the negotiations that will take place in the subsequent years after the referendum.

These considerations of what exactly Brexit will mean, since it has not been fully implemented, are still open to debate. To better understand what the separation by the UK from the EU will signify it is important to grasp the key notion that this is a separation from the

trending of an expanding EU that now stretches from the Black Sea to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. The EU symbolizes not only a grouping of various democratic states but a peaceful attempt at European unity where so many military conquests had failed. Consequently, as the first major state to leave it, Brexit signals a rejection of integration. Nevertheless, a majority of the political parties in that country campaigned to remain within the EU due to many issues from economic to political.

While the United Kingdom Independence Party was eventually successful in its stated goal of removing the UK from the European Union, credit for swaying voters to select the Leave vote was not solely because of this. While the UKIP share of the vote was increased between the 2010 and 2015 General Elections, it did not increase its role in Parliament with gaining only a single seat. While this could be explained as that it reflected the formation of the United Kingdom's electoral system with each region selecting a Member of Parliament, and not a proportional representation, this would also argue against Farage and the UKIP's influence since the former resigned from his leadership role. Though it can be stated that this presented Farage with the opportunity to play a spoiling role in the lead up to the Brexit referendum, one where he continued to attack the British renegotiation of EU membership along with the growing migrant crisis, his role could be argued was diminished since he failed to achieve a victory in the 2015 General Election. Consequently, UKIP alone cannot be argued for the shift in areas that had voted strongly for the Labour Party and its policies and had changed to support the Leave campaign in the Brexit vote.

## Chapter 5: The Midlands Vote Brexit and the United Kingdom leaves the European Union

An article in the *New York Times* from April 2017 about the impact of Brexit on London delved into the impact of the British tabloids on the previous year's referendum. The author, Sarah Hill, had spent a considerable part of her professional career in that city and made observations of how it differed from the rest of the nation. Specifically, this divide was articulated by the tabloid press that held considerable influence over the population given its large circulation and numerous site visits. She identifies the conservative, anti-EU bias that these publications articulated over the Brexit debate. She writes,

The populist tabloids stoked that anxiety and resentment, often veiling it in easy stereotypes and portraying anyone who objected to the coverage as tediously 'politically correct.' They used crude World War II metaphors when England played Germany in soccer. They mocked Europe as a place of humorless Krauts and garlic-eating Frogs, deriding the European Union as an impenetrable, out-of-control bureaucracy sucking up British money and imposing risible, onerous laws on an unwitting populace. Multiculturalism, the zero-sum argument went, was causing Britain to lose sight of what it was meant to be.<sup>90</sup>

The large event that caused this shift, more specifically the imagery, did not start in the territory of Britain or the continent of Europe. This crisis was the large number of refugees and migrants that had been concentrating in regions adjacent to the EU for several years. These nations included Turkey and war-torn Libya primarily but to a lesser extent Egypt, the former Yugoslavia, Morocco, and Russia.

### Introduction

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<sup>90</sup> Hill, Sarah. "Will London Fall". *New York Times*. April 11, 2017.  
[https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/04/11/world/europe/uk-london-brexite.html?\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/04/11/world/europe/uk-london-brexite.html?_r=0)

As of 2011, 13% of the population of England and Wales is foreign born that is equivalent to 7.5 million individuals.<sup>91 92</sup> The report by the Office of National Statistics states, “The 2011 Census has shown that England and Wales has become more ethnically diverse, with minority ethnic groups continuing to rise since 1991. The proportion identifying with a White ethnic group has decreased from 94% in 1991 to 86% in 2011.”<sup>93</sup> This increased multicultural makeup of the country has led to differing approaches by British media on how they present information. The 2015-16 European Migrant Crisis is an example of how imagery and headlines can be presented that help to influence the vote on the Brexit referendum. The demographically changing Midlands are the region of focus since they had trended toward Labour for many general elections yet had voted for Brexit. The question of how this change occurred will be the focus of this chapter.

This chapter will provide examples of how the British Media presented information and imagery of the migrant crisis during three periods of it. I will firstly introduce the Midlands and provide a brief history and overview of the region. The electoral history of this area along with a demographic profile will be provided. This will be followed by a section on the 2015-16 EU Refugee-Migrant Crisis. The terminology of this topic will be examined along with the inclusion of details on the differences and usage of migrant and refugee. In addition, I will explain the separation of this crisis into three distinct parts. This will be followed on a description of the

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<sup>91</sup> “2011 Census Analysis: Ethnicity and Religion of the Non-UK Born Population in England and Wales.” Office for National Statistics. June 18, 2015

<sup>92</sup> This also includes increases in all other ethnic, non-white groups with increases in South Asian, Black, and Multiracial populations in the UK. Consequently, the percentages of each these groups increased by over 60%. Whereas the White population increased this can be attributed to EU migration.

<sup>93</sup> Office of National Statistics, June 18, 2015

methodology utilized in the analysis of the data of this study. The data provided will be broken down into the three corresponding periods of the crisis that are being analyzed along with corresponding information on the polling for Brexit at that particular time period.



94

## The Midlands

The Midlands are a region of the UK that has been historically industrial with early manufacturing plants for the automobile industry in that country. Geographically, this region is in the very center of England, and adjacent to Wales. It contains the second largest city in the UK, Birmingham, along with other smaller population centers such as Leicester, Northampton,

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<sup>94</sup> "European Parliament: Information of the United Kingdom." *European Parliament*. [http://www.europarl.org.uk/en/your-meps/uk\\_meps.html](http://www.europarl.org.uk/en/your-meps/uk_meps.html)

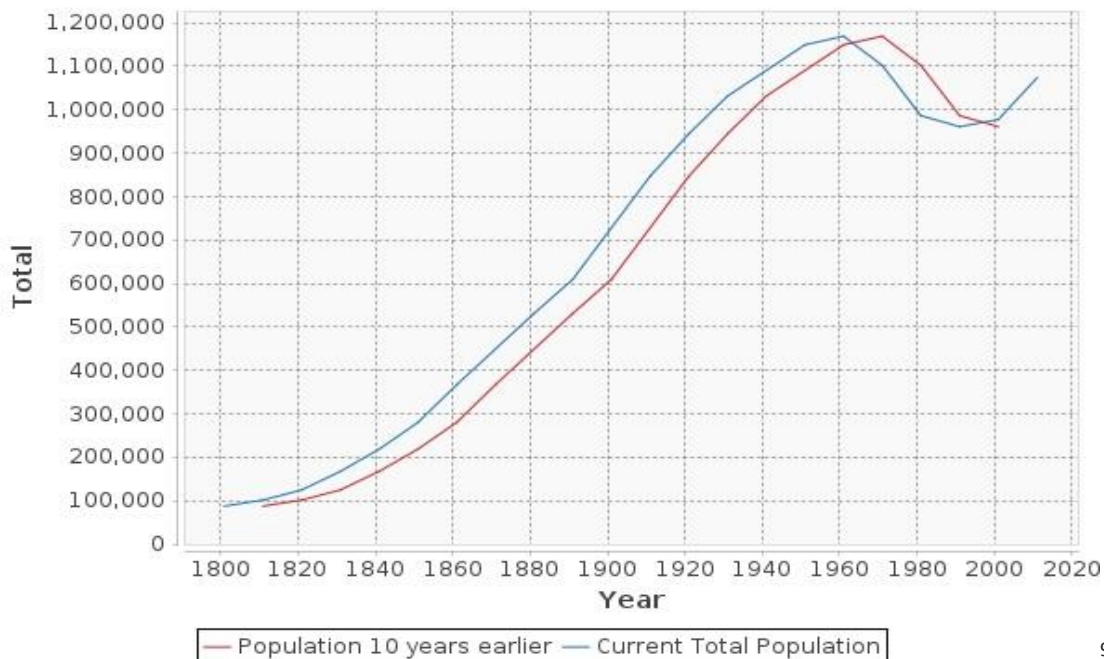
and Nottingham. This area is administratively split between the West and East Midlands and together comprise a population of 10,135,000 according to the census of 2011 out of a total population of 63,181,775 in the United Kingdom.<sup>95</sup> The West Midlands with a population of 5,602,000 is the more populous of the two and contains the city of Birmingham, whose population consists of 1,073,045.<sup>96</sup> The population is more diverse than the overall UK population with approximately 82.7% as White British or Other White. The Other White population includes populations who identify as White from outside of the UK. The East Midlands with a population of 4,533,000 is smaller than its western neighbor. It also contains a population with a lower percentage of foreign-born than the West Midlands with approximately 87.6% born in England and additional 2.5% from Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales.<sup>97</sup> The region, along with the entirety of the UK, has experienced population growth in recent decades due to immigration from outside of the UK.

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<sup>95</sup> "Midlands Demographics." *Local Stats*. <http://localstats.co.uk/census-demographics/england/east-midlands>

<sup>96</sup> "Birmingham Census Demographics." *Local Stats*. <http://localstats.co.uk/census-demographics/england/west-midlands/birmingham>

<sup>97</sup> "East Midlands Demographics." *Local Stats*. <http://localstats.co.uk/census-demographics/england/east-midlands>



98 99

Polling data had indicated that there was a general lead by the Remain campaign between September 2015 and the vote on June 23, 2016. The leave campaign started with an approximate 37.6% support throughout the UK in September to winning 51.89% during the actual referendum vote. Remain started 51.1% of the vote yet gained only 48.11% of the vote in the referendum.<sup>100</sup> In addition, the turnout for this election was high with 72.21% of the eligible electorate voting that contrasted with 66.4% in the 2015 General Election, 65.1% in the 2010 election, and 61.4% in 2001.<sup>101</sup> This was the highest voter turnout in the UK since the 1992 General Election. The surprising result of this vote was not just the fact that the polls had been

<sup>98</sup> This graph demonstrates that the trend of a decreasing population ended approximately at the turn of the century and increased levels of immigration from Europe and former colonies such as India and Pakistan.

<sup>99</sup> "Administrative Unit: Birmingham." *A Vision of Britain Through Time*. University of Portsmouth

<sup>100</sup> "Brexit Poll Tracker". *Bloomberg*. June 24, 2016 <https://www.bloomberg.com/graphics/2016-brexit-watch/>

<sup>101</sup> Ashcroft, Michael. "How the United Kingdom Voted on Thursday... and Why." *Lord Ashcroft Polls*. June 24, 2016.

incorrect in the assertion that Remain would ultimately pull off a victory<sup>102</sup> but that a region that had traditionally voted for Labour<sup>103</sup> had gone against the trend and voted Leave. This region, the Midlands, was in the heart of the country and had helped sway the vote toward Leave.<sup>104</sup>

Though there has been competition, organized labor has also been a beneficiary of the influx of EU migrants, including the Midlands. This increase in labor from the continent to the UK and the Midlands has helped not only businesses but also unions. Stephen Mustchin<sup>105</sup> articulates the point that the ranks of organized labor have been rejuvenated through the targeting of migrants from the EU and elsewhere in the Midlands and the rest of the UK. Their strategy has been to utilize English as a means to encourage union participation from these workers. Mustchin states, “This activity had contributed towards the development of a more diverse union membership and activist base, highlighted as central to the membership dimension of union revitalization.”<sup>106</sup> The goal of a more diverse union membership is important for the British unions since the UK has become increasingly diverse given increased migration rates. In addition, these migrants have also helped to limit the impact of the aging

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<sup>102</sup> A poll the day before the vote had given Remain a 46.2% to 44.3% edge with 9.6% undecided. “Brexit Poll Tracker”. *Bloomberg*. June 24, 2016 <https://www.bloomberg.com/graphics/2016-brexit-watch/>

<sup>103</sup> whose voters according to exit polls had voted by a 63% to 37% margin to Remain based upon exit polls.

Ashcroft, Michael. “How the United Kingdom Voted on Thursday... and Why.” *Lord Ashcroft Polls*. June 24, 2016.

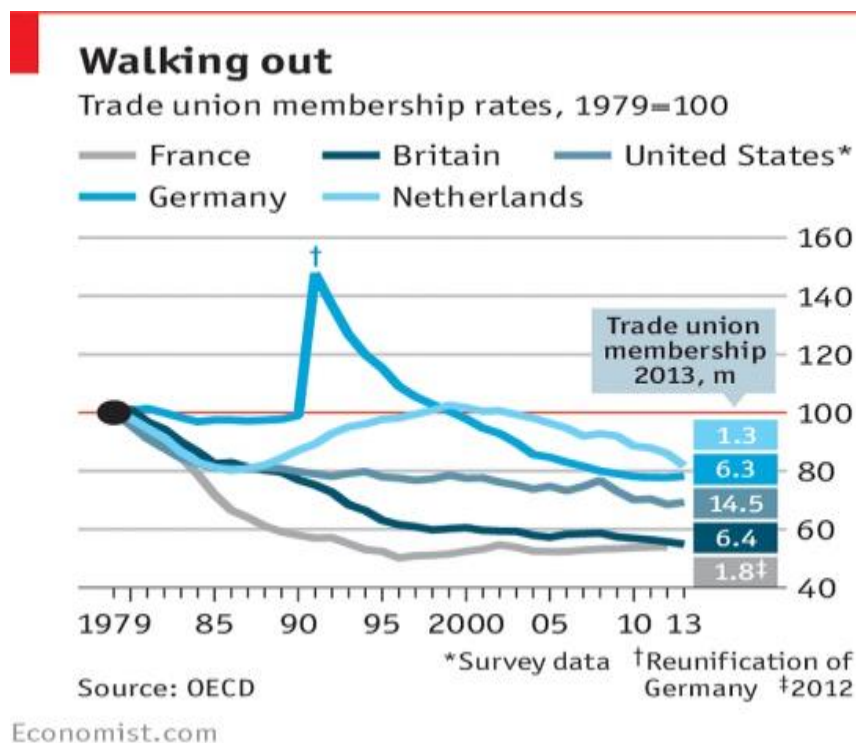
<sup>104</sup> Birmingham had voted to leave the European Union by a 50.4% to 49.6% that contrasted with a vote for Labour in the 2015 General Election. Leicester had voted 51.1% to Remain but this number was far closer than had been expected. Coventry had voted 55.6% to Leave the EU though, similarly to Birmingham and Leicester, it had voted heavily for Labour in 2015.

“EU Referendum: Results in Maps and Charts.” *BBC News*. June 24, 2016. <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-36616028>

<sup>105</sup> Mustchin, Stephen. “Unions, Learning, Migrant Workers and Union Revitalization in Britain.” *Work, Employment, and Society*. Volume 26. No. 6. Sage Publications. December 2012.

<sup>106</sup> Mustchin, 2012, pg. 963.

populations that are common in the EU and other developed nations. Moreover, they have helped to lessen the general decrease in trade union membership in the UK and the Midlands.



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This graph demonstrates the decline in the trade union membership within the UK slowed substantially after the turn of the century, that also coincided with the A8 nations access to the labor market within the UK. However, the decline in trade union membership is also symbolic of the general decline in manufacturing within that country. The increased multiculturalism that Mustchin identifies would lead to increased contact between native British labor workers and those from the EU. More importantly, the differentiation between the EU workers who had a legal right to work anywhere in the UK and those from immigrant backgrounds from outside of Europe would be established. This would be due to the freedom of movement given to EU

<sup>107</sup> "Why Trade Unions are Declining". The Economist. September 29, 2015.

<http://www.economist.com/blogs/economist-explains/2015/09/economist-explains-19>

citizens; additionally, the benefit of these EU workers would be demonstrated by strengthened unions.

Given the fact that areas of the Midlands, specifically the counties adjacent to major cities such as Birmingham, had been polled a year prior to the Brexit Referendum that they favored Remain we would, consequently, expect them to vote Remain. However, these regions voted to Leave. Consequently, the question is raised as why does a region that historically supported Labour, whose voters favored Remain by a 63% to 37% margin<sup>108</sup>, go against the trend and support the Leave campaign, which was aligned with more traditionally Right and Center-Right parties such as UKIP? Further, what events could have been consequential enough to have caused this historic change and in what manner were they portrayed in order to cause these Midland voters to support?

## **EU MIGRANT CRISIS**

The crisis that took the world headlines in 2015 had been simmering for years as regimes that bordered the Mediterranean Sea destabilized. In particular, Libya after the civil war that toppled its longstanding leader, Muammar Gaddafi, became the launching point for hundreds of thousands. These populations came from sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East and represented a mix of economic migrants escaping poverty and war refugees fleeing from Syria and other warzones. The scale of this event cannot be overstated. In 2014, there were

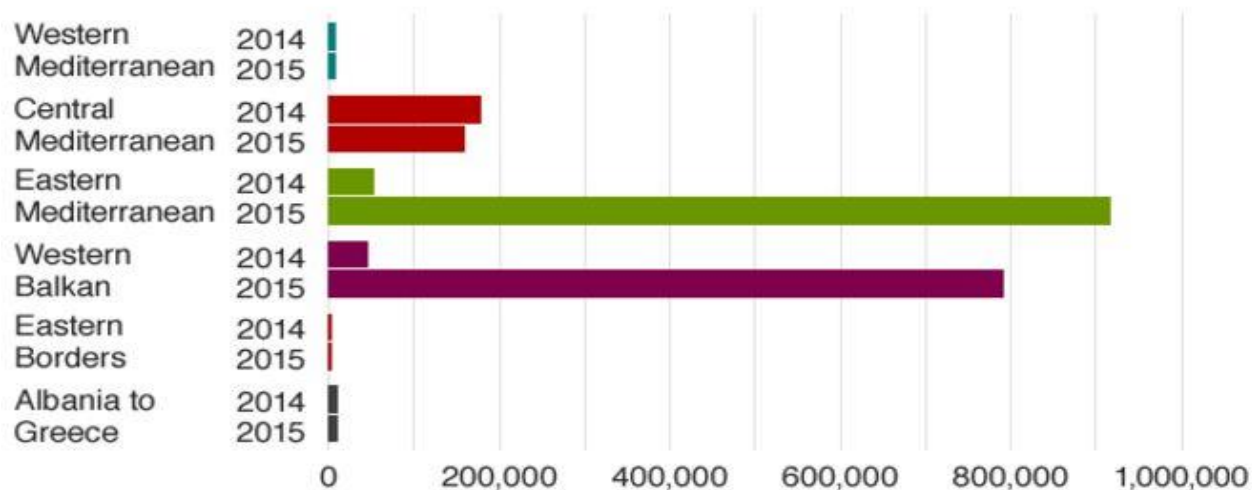
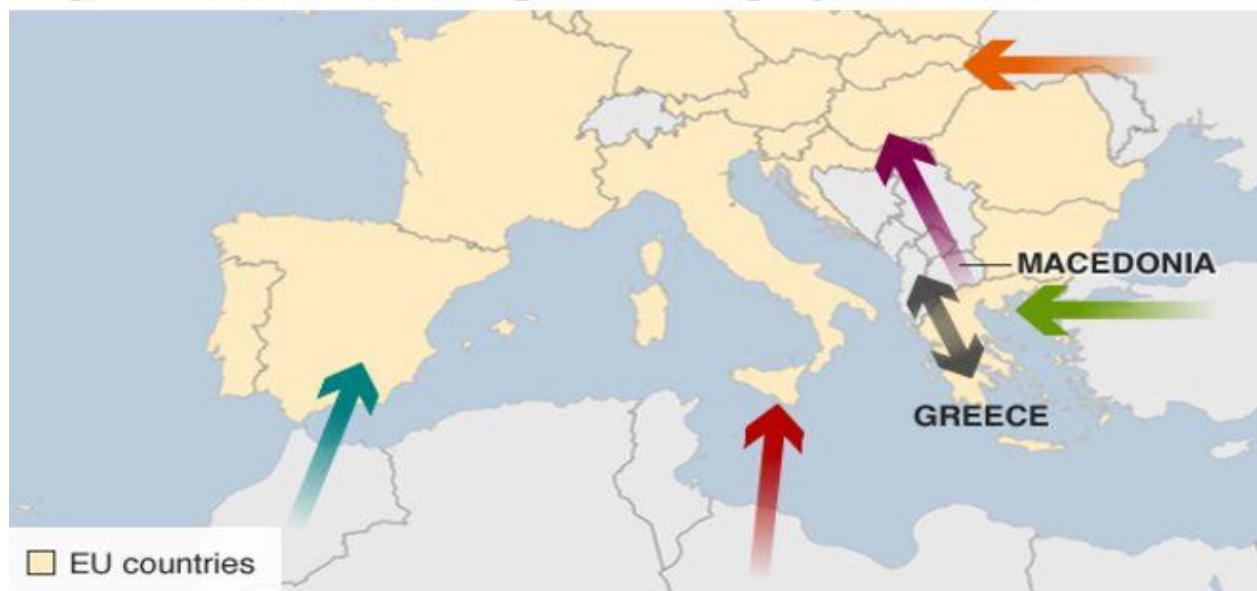
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<sup>108</sup> Ashcroft, Michael. "How the United Kingdom Voted on Thursday and Why." Lord Ashcroft Polls. June 24, 2016. <http://lordashcroftpolls.com/2016/06/how-the-united-kingdom-voted-and-why/>

562,680 individuals that attempted to claim asylum in the European Union which increased to 1,255,640 in the following year.<sup>109</sup>

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### Migrants detected entering the EU illegally, 2014-2015



Source: Frontex

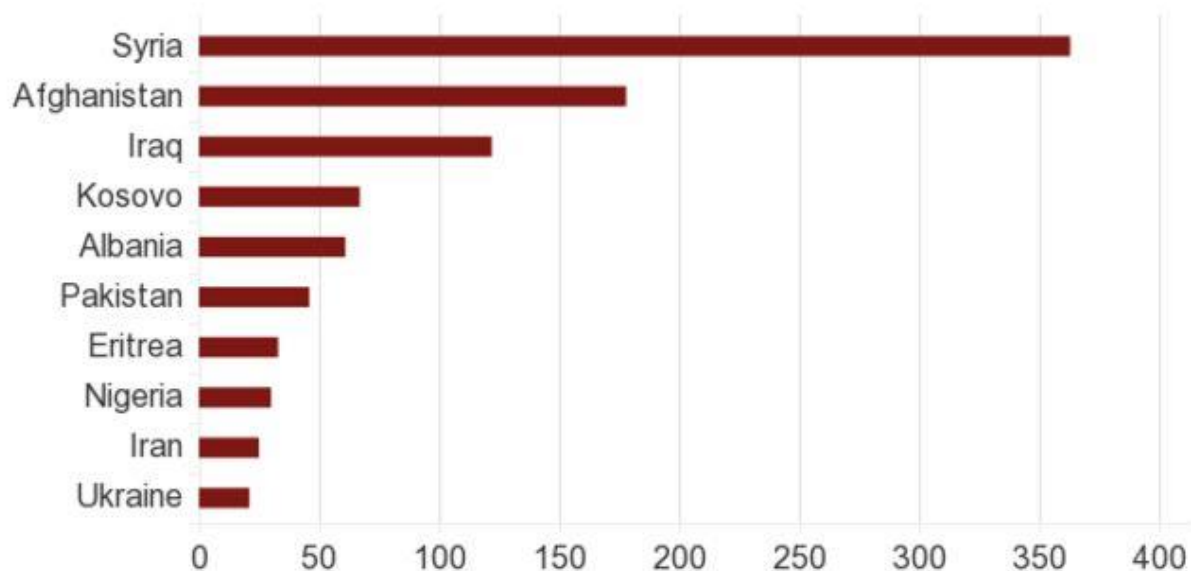
BBC

<sup>109</sup> "Record Number of over 1.2 million First Time Asylum Seekers Registered in 2015." Eurostat. March 4, 2016. <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/7203832/3-04032016-AP-EN.pdf/790eba01-381c-4163-bcd2-a54959b99ed6>

<sup>110</sup> "Migrant Crisis: Migration to Europe explained in Seven Charts." BBC News. March 4, 2016. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911>

## Top 10 origins of people applying for asylum in the EU

First-time applications in 2015, in thousands



Source: Eurostat

This migrant crisis that gripped the EU during 2015 and much of 2016 was a catalyst that helped provide media with the type of sensational imagery that was highly impactful in the UK and the Midlands. As the graphs demonstrate, many of these new arrivals were from warzones in Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan that were engulfed in civil wars. The images of this event were exceptionally powerful with moments captured of mass population movements with little control by the European governments. In a nation where immigration was a key issue prior to

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<sup>111</sup> "Migrant Crisis: Migration to Europe explained in Seven Charts." BBC News. March 4, 2016. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911>

the Brexit vote, these scenes of mass migration, uncontrolled borders, and lack of control was impactful enough to alter traditional party voting patterns in the key region of the Midlands.

The following analysis will be broken down into three different time period of this crisis while connecting their impact on the UK. The first phase I identify beginning on April 18, 2015 and ending on September 5 in the same year. The second phase began prior to German Chancellor Angela Merkel announced that Germany could handle large numbers of refugees and asylum seekers. This period was defined by larger numbers arriving to Greece along with increasingly failed efforts to contain this crisis by European governments. It included barriers going up between Hungary and Serbia and eventually Macedonia and Greece. I identify its end with the announcement in March 2016 of tighter controls over entry for asylum seekers and concurrently with the EU-Turkey deal at the end of the month. The third phase is between April and June 2016 as the EU attempts to share the burden between member countries and ensure the crisis will not happen again. Concurrently, the Brexit Campaign is in full swing.

The methodology that will be employed to analyze the images in these different sections is Semiology with a series of checks. I will employ a checklist of signs that focuses on the representation of individuals, representation of manner, representation of activity, and representation of surroundings. Additionally, I will also analyze if the image provides a clear representation of the individual's faces, group size, gender, and ethnic background.<sup>112 113</sup>

Furthermore, the selection of the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* as the news media for analysis is due to several factors. Firstly, they are a both highly distributed relative to their type

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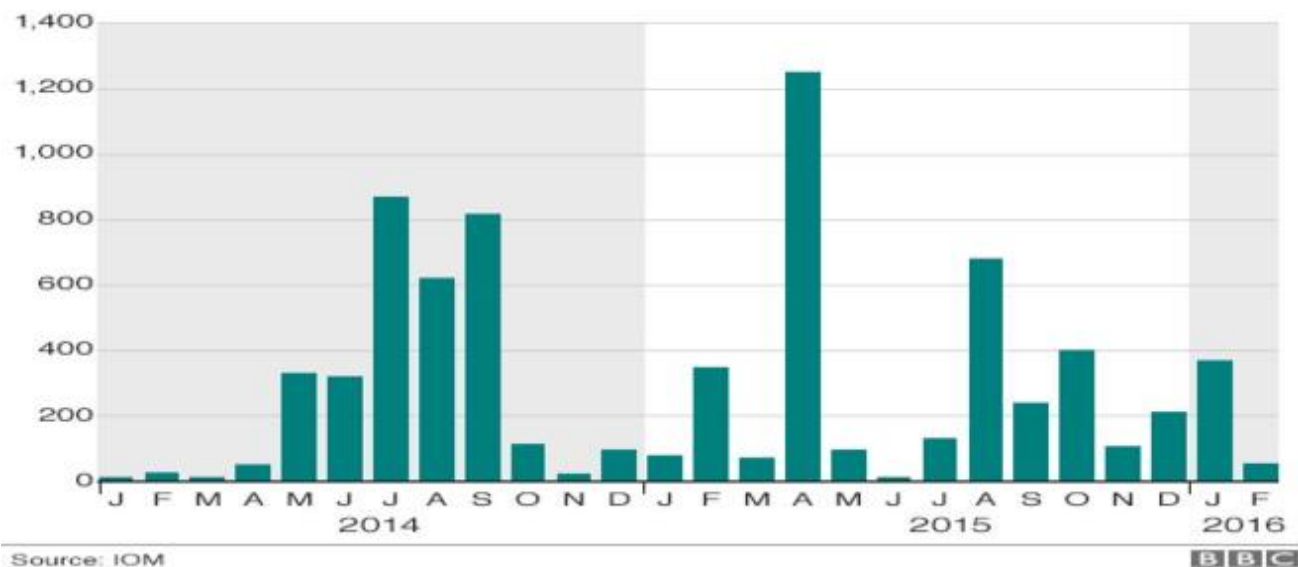
<sup>112</sup> Rose, Gillian. *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*. London. Sage Publications.. 2001.

<sup>113</sup> Dyer, Gillian. *Advertising as Communication*. Methuen. 1982.

of publication, the former a tabloid and the latter a paper of record. Secondly, they both had highly visited websites prior to the Brexit Referendum. The *Daily Mail's* website was the most visited while *The Guardian's* was second among all news media in the month leading to the referendum.<sup>114</sup> Consequently, these two media sources are leaders in circulation among their specific brands and will be the bellwether of the trends in coverage of the EU Migrant Crisis in the United Kingdom.

### Phase One: Casualties Rise

**Migrant deaths in the Mediterranean by month**



April 18, 2015

<sup>114</sup> Jackson, Jasper. "Newspaper websites break traffic records with Brexit coverage." *The Guardian*. July 21, 2016

<sup>115</sup> "Migrant Crisis: Migration to Europe explained in Seven Charts." BBC News. March 4, 2016.

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911>



<sup>116</sup> Image 1

This date still marks the largest single incident in the continued European Migrant Crisis. *The Guardian*, covered the incident in their Sunday edition and online along with the previous day, the 19<sup>th</sup> of April.<sup>117</sup> Image 1 was utilized featured focused upon a group shot, but more specifically the corpse of a migrant that was covered with a white tarp. The photo that this paper utilized presents a sympathetic image while including several individuals viewing the body. Their expressions are difficult to gauge, yet their faces are identifiable. More specifically, *The Guardian* utilized an image of this event to both show the individuals who were suffering from this tragedy along with its deadly results. The use of biohazard uniforms, however, conveys a sense of danger for disease that further demonstrates danger.

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<sup>116</sup> Bonomolo, Alessandra and Stephanie Kirchgaessner. "UN Says 800 Migrants dead in Boat Disaster as Italy Launches Rescue of Two More Vessels." *The Guardian*. April 20, 2015.

<sup>117</sup> The previous day's headlines stated, "EU ministers meet for crisis talks after hundreds of migrants drown in the Mediterranean – Italian prime minister Matteo Renzi says EU action must be a priority as death toll of drownings this year now stands at 1,500 – 50 times more than at the same point in 2014."



118 Image 2



119 Image 3

In contrast to *The Guardian*, the *Daily Mail* utilized these images, 2 and 3. The difference between these images is noticeable. This paper utilized images that were of groups of individuals that did not focus on their desperation and the horror of this event. More precisely,

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<sup>118</sup> "Fury as 700 feared dead in 'avoidable' Med Shipwreck." *Daily Mail*. April 19,2015.

<sup>119</sup> "Fury as 700 feared dead in 'avoidable' Med Shipwreck." *Daily Mail*. April 19,2015.

the images in the *Daily Mail* are not of tragedy as was shown in *The Guardian*. These photos are both of scale regarding the numbers that were arriving and the methods of transportation. Further, there is no sense of the tragedy that is afflicting the migrants on the ships that sink or the potential dangers. This presentation dehumanizes their plight and the hazards of the journey since it focused is not the hazards but the method of transportation and number of migrants.

**May 11, 2015**



<sup>120</sup> Image 4

The EU planned to share the burden of the migrants between member states to lessen the hardship that the nations who were receiving the boats, principally Italy at this time.

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<sup>120</sup> Traynor, Ian. "EU plans migrant quotas forcing states to 'share' burden." *The Guardian*. May 10, 2015.

Consequently, the ministers from the different member states met to discuss how this would come about. The divisions that were to solidify as the crisis continued to unfold were apparent at this juncture and no effective mechanism to distribute the arrivals was put into place before the upcoming busy summer months. Image 4 accompanied the topic of the conference in *The Guardian*. The image clearly shows African migrants being transferred to safety from a military vessel. Further, it depicts the plight of a small group of individuals and not the large groups that would traverse Europe in the summer and fall of 2015.

The contrasting headlines from the tabloid press focused on the fact that the EU would not send back migrants picked up at sea. The Daily Mail ran an article with the headline “Migrants will not be sent back against will: EU top diplomat.” Since David Cameron had run his campaigns on lowering immigration, this headline highlighted the EU as the cause of the uncontrolled movements of people that was central to the UKIP/Leave argument. Moreover, the differentiation between immigrants from the EU, who have a right to work anywhere in that bloc, and those coming from Africa, the Middle East, and the Balkans was not established in these articles. Though they do not identify EU migrants or immigration from the EU as a theme in the articles, centering the EU in this growing crisis is by itself central towards the message that is being conveyed by the tabloid press.

**June – August 2015**



121 Image 5



122 Image 6

<sup>121</sup> Burleigh, Michael. "Forget the Greek Crisis or Britain's Referendum, this tidal wave of migrants could be the biggest threat to Europe since the war." *Daily Mail*. June 27, 2015.

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3141005/Tidal-wave-migrants-biggest-threat-Europe-war.html>

<sup>122</sup> Burleigh, Michael. "Forget the Greek Crisis or Britain's Referendum, this tidal wave of migrants could be the biggest threat to Europe since the war." *Daily Mail*. June 27, 2015.

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3141005/Tidal-wave-migrants-biggest-threat-Europe-war.html>

As the crisis along Europe's border continued, the direct impact that it would have on the United Kingdom began to become more covered by the media, especially the tabloid press. Images 5 and 6 showcase how migrants in the Calais camp infamously called "The Jungle" would attempt to gain access to the trucks traveling from the continent to the UK.<sup>123</sup> These images of the migrants do not show a clear location other than on the road. It does depict the face of the migrants, who are all young men of African origin. Moreover, the actions of the men look suspect with their forceful entry onto the truck. The subsequent picture depicts clearly a middle aged white man whose face is shown. Additionally, his stress is presented as he checks his vehicle somewhere in Calais. These two images create a sense of legality vs illegality with the European man clearly the former. As a person who could clearly be part of the working class in the Midlands, this man represents the impact the migrant crisis on the workers from the UK.

The title of the article that these photographs were a part of was a very provocative one: "Forget the Greek Crisis or Britain's Referendum, this tidal wave of migrants could be the biggest threat to Europe since the war." This article that appeared in the *Daily Mail* helped to create a security dilemma for the UK as the migrants were becoming a threat to British drivers. However, the article did not include information about the origins of these individuals and if they were the ones who were on the boats coming from Africa that year. Moreover, there was

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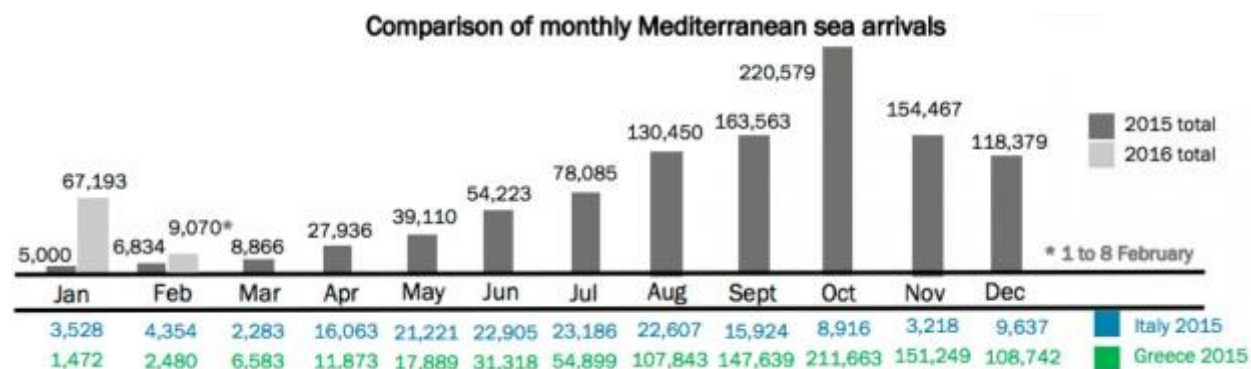
<sup>123</sup> Similarly, too previous crisis, the origin of this one came from the European continent. Though the migrants that were attempting to come to the UK came from outside of Europe, they were in France and were therefore a problem coming from Europe. As the year continued, the size of the Calais camp grew as well as the coverage of it and the many incidents that occurred along the roads adjacent to the camp with migrants attempting to gain access to UK bound trucks.

no differentiation between these African migrants and the Syrians beginning to arrive in Greece from Turkey.

### Conclusion: Phase One

This period was focused upon the rising casualty total of the migration from Libya to Italy and the rest of Europe. The shipwreck of April 18 galvanized an attempted discussion of a response by the EU but failed to unite the bloc into a singular response. During this period, David Cameron won reelection promising a referendum on British EU membership. The images that were presented differed in their presentation. The more reputable newspapers, such as *The Guardian* and *The Times*, focused on the casualties of this event. In contrast, the higher distributed tabloids centered their coverage on the migration and the EU response.

### Phase Two: Mass Migration



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<sup>124</sup> "Number of Asylum Seekers in Europe surges to record 1.3 million in 2015." Pew Research Center. August 1, 2016. [http://www.pewglobal.org/2016/08/02/number-of-refugees-to-europe-surges-to-record-1-3-million-in-2015/pgm\\_2016-08-02\\_europe-asylum-01/](http://www.pewglobal.org/2016/08/02/number-of-refugees-to-europe-surges-to-record-1-3-million-in-2015/pgm_2016-08-02_europe-asylum-01/)

German Chancellor Angela Merkel's call to accept Syrian refugees as well as statements that her country could handle the influx dramatically increased the number of arrivals. This was exemplified by the increase of thirty thousand between August and September in Greece with a larger increase of over sixty thousand between September and October.<sup>125</sup>

### September – November 2015

The coverage differences between the tabloid press and the more reputable British media continued yet the latter combined images of individuals along with groups to present the scale of the crisis. How each outlet presented these images differed with their headlines but there was a start of a convergence of what images were being presented.



<sup>126</sup> Image 7

<sup>125</sup> This can also be attributed as a rush to reach Europe before the onset of winter and the more dangerous seas that could be expected in this period. Nevertheless, smugglers were offering discounts to those who would be willing to sail in the dangerous weather of winter.

<sup>126</sup> Stevens, John. "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." *Daily Mail*. November 12, 2015.

Image 7 appeared in the *Daily Mail* on November 12, 2015. It depicts a group of migrants moving across Slovenia. The individuals that are being photographed look primarily of Middle Eastern Origin with few, if any, Africans. Moreover, there appears to be a mixed group of people with some families and many young men. This article did not include any images a specific individual and was meant to capture the enormity of the migrant groups moving through Europe. The police and military presence makes this look orderly as the groups transits through to its next destination. Additionally, the headline of the article centered on the questions of how borderless Europe could persist with continued migrant traffic through the Balkans to Germany. Taken together, the images and the headlines convey the continued combination of the EU and the migrant crisis together by the tabloids.



<sup>127</sup> Image 8

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<sup>127</sup> "Balkan odysseys and refugee stories – a photojournalist's view." The Guardian. October 2, 2015. <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/ng-interactive/2015/oct/02/balkan-odysseys-a-photojournalists-view>



128 Image 9

These images, 8 and 9, are both present by *The Guardian* as an overall story of the movement of these migrants during this period. This article came out earlier than the *Daily Mails* but both cover the same time of the late summer and early fall. However, *The Guardian* presents this information less as a direct threat as the tabloids did but have instead demonstrated the complexities of this migration as these two photos demonstrate.

Image 8 is of the boy in the field focusses on both the surroundings and the child. With no adults presents this raises the questions of whether this was an unaccompanied minor that were very numerous during this influx. Moreover, his clothes (Barcelona football club apparel) and backpack provide an appearance of a school child. This is contrasted with the latter image of another large movement of migrants through Europe. The difference between this photo and the *Daily Mails* is that nearly all the migrants are young men. Additionally, their faces are clearly viewed that contrasts with the other portrayal of the large group movements.

Demographically, this group is mostly of Middle Easter origin.

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<sup>128</sup> “Balkan odysseys and refugee stories – a photojournalist’s view.” *The Guardian*. October 2, 2015. <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/ng-interactive/2015/oct/02/balkan-odysseys-a-photojournalists-view>

The continued movement of people into Europe seemed at this juncture to be uncontrollable with the migrants appearing to be young, male, and an unstoppable mass. Just as David Cameron was beginning his negotiation over the role the UK would have in the EU, the bloc seemed to be unraveling as tens of thousands of migrants continued to arrive. The media in the UK continued to cover the issue but as has been demonstrated by the contrast between these images, the more reputable news media was beginning to mirror images that were being presented in the tabloids.

### **Crisis in Europe: November-January**

The month of November witnessed a terrorist attack on the streets of Paris on the 13<sup>th</sup> of that month. The perpetrators were from an Islamic State cell in Brussels, Belgium. The majority of the attackers being born in Belgium and France and with an immigrant background.<sup>129</sup> Additionally, one of the attackers had traveled to Syria and had returned to France via the migrant route through the Balkans, hiding among the tens of thousands traveling there. An additional individual had a fake Syrian passport that created some false assumptions that a refugee had attacked Europe.<sup>130</sup>

The winter weather helped to lower the number of arrivals to the Greek shores along with the hope among European capitals that there would be a brief respite. There was also hope during this period for a pact with Turkey to control this influx. However, an incident on

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<sup>129</sup> "Paris attacks: who were the attackers?" BBC News. April 27, 2016. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34832512>

<sup>130</sup> "Paris attacks: who were the attackers?" BBC News. April 27, 2016. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34832512>

New Year's in Germany highlighted both the clash between cultures and the problematic demographic nature of the migrant population with large amount being young men.

**January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2016.**



<sup>131</sup> Image 10

Image 10 from the *Daily Mail* depicts the New Year's assaults in Cologne, Germany. The majority of the attackers were of North African descent who numbered in the hundreds and sexually assaulted women who were attempting to celebrate the New Year. This image depicts the firecrackers that were shot at the people celebrating the festivities by the Cologne Cathedral. There are no faces being shown in this photograph yet the violence is clearly depicted with the explosions. The focus of this image is the crowd mixed with the violence.

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<sup>131</sup> Davies, Gareth. "Revealed: 1,200 women were sexually assaulted by 2,000 men in German cities on New Year's Eve." Updated July 11, 2016. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3684302/1-200-German-women-sexually-assaulted-New-Year-s-Eve-Cologne-elsewhere.html>

There are no clear depictions of the ethnicity of the people in the image, but it is clear that there are mostly men closest to the photographer of it. In addition, the headline of this that accompanies this image focuses on how the scale of this attack was not initially revealed by the German media. Consequently, it implies that the Germans attempted to not fully disclose the scale or the ethnic origin of the attackers.



<sup>132</sup> Image 11

The coverage by *The Guardian* focused on the German response and less upon the identities of the attackers. This was not universal with some opinion pieces stating that hard questions had to be raised over these attacks.<sup>133</sup> The images that were portrayed focused less on

<sup>132</sup> Connolly, Kate. "Cologne inquiry into 'coordinated' New Year's Eve sex attacks." *The Guardian*. January, 6, 2016.

<sup>133</sup> Hinsliff, Gaby. "Let's not shy away from asking hard questions about the Cologne attacks." *The Guardian*. January 8, 2016.

the attack and more on the location and the response after the event. Image 11 is of the train station in Cologne which is adjacent to the Cathedral. There are no clear images of the people but this presentation is in stark contrast to the coverage that was presented in the *Daily Mail*. Nevertheless, there were some coverage in this paper over the fact that the details and scale were not accurately presented initially by the German government. The coverage of this in both papers indirectly demonstrated the effects of the increased populations of young men from North Africa and the Arab world upon the culturally liberal West.

## **Conclusion Phase 2**

The images that were presented in the first phase of this time period were of migrants on the open sea. This shifted to within Europe as tens of thousands arrived each week on the shores of Greece. Moreover, the images that were being presented in the British media now focused on the size and scale of the population that was arriving in Europe and less upon the casualties that were still occurring in the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas. The reasons of why these individuals were moving across vast distances were also not included in the coverage other than describing the continuing wars in Iraq, Syria, and Afghanistan.

Since sovereignty and control of borders was a central issue for Remain voters,<sup>134</sup> these images of mass movements of people from outside Europe would be a potent force. Specifically, the images of these large groups being escorted by police convey not only the inability of the EU to control the flow of migrants but also showing that it was an accomplice to mass migration. For the demographically changing UK, and the Midlands, the images of this

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<sup>134</sup> Ashcroft, Michael. "How the United Kingdom Voted on Thursday... and Why." *Lord Ashcroft Polls*. June 24, 2016.

crisis heightened anxieties about the mass movement of migrant which helped weaken the favorability of continued membership in the EU.

### Phase 3 Closed Border

#### Migrant route to Germany



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<sup>135</sup> "Migrant Crisis: Macedonia shuts Balkans route." BBC News. March 9, 2015. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35763101>

The attack in Cologne along with the continued influx of migrants, despite the winter months, forced closure of borders along the Balkan Route. This was done outside of the EU and was criticized by leaders in that bloc such as German Chancellor Merkel. Nevertheless, the route now face a bottleneck at the Macedonian border as only Syrians were being accepted into that country. Eventually, the border was completely closed as Berlin made a pact with the Turks to stop the migrants in Turkey. The effect was substantial with a large decrease seen in 2016. Closer to the UK, the “Jungle” camp was increasing in size as migrants continued to head towards Northern France, though these numbers were small compared to the overall size of the crisis.

### Europe shuts the door



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<sup>136</sup> Stevens, John. “The new Iron Curtain holding back the hordes: The 19-mile barbed wire fence built on Macedonia’s border to stop a human tide of migrants as Greece is told it faces being ‘sacrificed’ to save the EU.” Daily Mail. March 1, 2016.



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<sup>137</sup> Stevens, John. "The new Iron Curtain holding back the hordes: The 19-mile barbed wire fence built on Macedonia's border to stop a human tide of migrants as Greece is told it faces being 'sacrificed' to save the EU." Daily Mail. March 1, 2016.

<sup>138</sup> Stevens, John. "The new Iron Curtain holding back the hordes: The 19-mile barbed wire fence built on Macedonia's border to stop a human tide of migrants as Greece is told it faces being 'sacrificed' to save the EU." Daily Mail. March 1, 2016.

These photographs in the *Daily Mail* showcase the militarization of the border between Greece and Macedonia. All these images show how the borders of Europe were being lined with razor wire as the migrant crisis continued. The images of the border focus on the frontier itself, how the military is required to help end the route through Macedonia. The photograph of the child is focused as much upon the emotions of him as it is the fence that now exists. The inferred goal of these photos is to show that mass migration will lead to reintroduction of border control at a militarized level. Moreover, the headline that accompanied this article show infer that the EU will attempt to “sacrifice” Greece to stop the flow of migrants. This can be viewed that the EU prioritizes certain nations over others, despite its failed attempted to control the migration.



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<sup>139</sup> McVeigh, Karen. “Fear stalks migrants huddled along Hungary’s border.” *The Guardian*. March 18, 2016.

This image that was presented in *The Guardian* shows crowds of refugees attempting to cross the border between Serbia and Hungary. The population within the image is a mix of men, women, and some children along with the Hungarian border guards. It is clear that the migrants within this image are concerned with some attempting to climb the fence. The desperation is also apparent with some placing hands on their head and the overall crowding of the border fence. However, there was no focus on individuals within this image and is, again, primarily demonstrating the scale and size of the migrant movement.

### **Phase 3 Conclusion**

The migrant crisis subsided substantially after the deal between Turkey and the EU, principally Germany, was signed on March 18, 2016 that came into effect several days later. Numbers have dropped dramatically, but the residual effect of the previous months was still apparent with continued coverage of arrivals in Greece and boats sinking off Libya. However, the weakness of the EU towards immigration had been shown in photographs and headlines in the British press and was continued to be mentioned as the Calais migrant camp known as the “Jungle” continued to trouble the port city and traffic along the route toward the English Channel. The British ultimately decided that a Brexit was more ideal than continued membership in the EU.

## Chapter 6: Conclusion

The purpose of this paper has been to analyze why a region that had voted for Labour and liberal issues broke with their established voting pattern. For decades the Midlands had been central for the Labour Party's support and had voted for that party in the previous year's general election. The question that this paper has addressed was what happened in that time period to cause this area to select a policy supported by UKIP? The 2015-16 Migrant Crisis was the event that altered the perception of the EU in the Midlands. Its presentation in the British Media shifted from focus on casualties and transportation in the Mediterranean to a large, uncontrollable, and unstoppable mass of humanity that the EU was not able to control. Consequently, the migrant crisis produced fears over large scale immigration with the imagery acting as an enhancer.

How a group is presented visually is essential for how they will be perceived by the image's audience. The differences between the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* over political stances did not prevent the eventual similarities of the photographs of the migrant crisis that were presented in each paper. Initially, the tabloid presented the transportation of migrants in the Mediterranean while *The Guardian* displayed the human suffering that was occurring in the crisis. Nevertheless, the images that were presented by both eventually covered only the size of the movement of humanity with less focus on the tragedy. The coverage dehumanized the migrant and focused on the groups of these individuals. This did not occur in exact statements from the papers, though the tabloids did use terms that were inflammatory. Media funneled

the population of the Midlands' focus upon the numbers and less on the individual. Scale was the story that was being presented as the migrants moved through the Balkans.

These publications merged the issue of the crisis with the validity and competency of the EU as an institution that was capable of handling a macro, multinational issue. The migration of populations from Africa and the Middle East did not represent a potential influx to the UK, since very few made it there, but the notion of migration was not separated between intra EU migration and that coming from outside of Europe. The result of this lack of presentation and the imagery of uncontrolled borders was regions of the UK that normally for liberal causes voted to leave the union. Brexit was caused by the lack of control of borders the British papers presented and the perceived unstoppable mass that appeared endless.

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