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The Visuality of Immigration: Images from British online news sources and their potential to construct immigration as a security issue in the lead up to the EU Referendum

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Abstract: In order to securitize something, it must successfully be *represented* as such for the audience to accept the securitizing move. Consequently, this dissertation heavily stresses that images are a salient part of the representation and construction of immigration as a security issue. The research aims to elucidate how images fit within security studies by examining their place within the process that generates the 'speaking of security' as an outcome, i.e. the securitization process. Primarily, the research provides a visual analysis of online news sources from within the United Kingdom, and their construction of immigration as a security issue during the lead up to the EU Referendum. By reviewing three major news platforms (the BBC Online, The Guardian Online, and the Daily Mail Online) from February 2016 to June 2016 (via the methods of Content Analysis and Compositional interpretation), this thesis investigates how visuals, accompanying different articles about immigration, were used to construct the meaning of immigration as a security issue. Consequently it was found that, the images analyzed have the potential to represent immigration and immigrants as securitized, via visuals depicting large groups of mainly men (sometimes depicted as criminal), other images that kept many factors 'unknown' (such as who these people were and where they were and/or where they were coming from), and some photographs which portrayed such 'threatening individuals' behind barriers. Not only were the images seen to aid to the construction and/or continuation of immigration as a security issue, but they also showed who was given the authority to securitize via visuals coded for speaking showing a high proportion of individual politicians. As previous studies have highlighted how certain frames surrounding an issue have the potential to effect attitudes about policy, the visual representation and construction of immigration and immigrants, is thus something to seriously consider within the realm of international relations. **Keywords:** Image(s), Visual(s), Security, Securitization, Immigration, Immigrant, Media, Online News, United Kingdom, EU Referendum, Representation(s), Construction

Contents

INTRODUCTION	5
CHAPTER ONE: Literature Review	7
Copenhagen School's Securitization Theory	7
Importance of the Visual Sphere	13
The Visual Sphere and International Relations	20
Immigration, Securitization, and Stereotypes	25
Looking at Images Critically	29
CHAPTER TWO: Methodology	31
Compositional Interpretation	32
Content Analysis	34
Justification for Mixed Methods Approach	36
Methodological Outline	37
CHAPTER THREE: Research and Findings	46
Here Come the Men	49
The Mysterious Migrant	59
Behind Barbs	71
The Speech Act	82
CONCLUSION	91
Limitations and Future Research	91
Concluding Remarks	96
Bibliography	96
Appendix	104

INTRODUCTION:

The debate and construction of certain issues is vital to the interworkings of the international political sphere. How one views an issue has the potential to determine how they will respond to it. As Miles' Law states, "where you stand depends on where you sit" (Miles 1978: 399). This is salient especially when such an issue becomes a matter of security. While such a process might not seem so complicated, the ever-changing political environment is not always black and white. In the age of globalization and modern technology, where immeasurable amounts of information and data flow freely, quickly, and vastly, there are also now many actors at play such as nation states, politicians, individual citizens, the media, and more. Traditionally, it was the nation states that communicated and constructed various issues via text and speech, however as it will be shown, the media is now a noteworthy actor and visual domain has come to challenge the authority held by the textual field. Thus, for the purpose of this thesis, it is the UK media, the issue of immigration as securitized, and the visual sphere that is of particular interest. The following research will aim to elucidate how images have a significant role within security studies by examining their place within the process that generates the 'speaking of security' as an outcome, i.e. the securitization process. Primarily, this thesis will provide an analysis of the visual framing of immigration, by British online news sources, as a security issue during the lead up to the EU Referendum. By reviewing three major UK online news sources from February 2016 to June 2016, the

thesis will examine whether images supplementing various articles about immigration depicted immigrants in a specific way, emphasizing threat and/or fear, which could increase the potential for securitization to occur or be maintained. Specifically, this research asks how visuals were used to construct the meaning of immigration a security issue. This investigation subsequently aims to fill a gap by expanding and updating the small body of previous work on images and immigrants, in relation to the contemporary political environment (i.e. Brexit) and by looking into a different media source (i.e. UK online news).

The following thesis will be organized as follows. Chapter one will review the literature that is relevant to the overall topic at hand. This will consist of subsections on the Copenhagen School's Securitization theory, the move towards the importance of images, images and International Relations, how to critically look at images, and immigration, its securitization and stereotypes. Chapter two will then examine the methodology. Specifically, this chapter will start off by discussing the two methods used within this thesis (Content Analysis and Compositional Interpretation), and justify the use of such a mixed methods approach. It will then present how the research itself was carried out via a methodological outline. This outline will present how images were chosen for the analysis and how they were then analyzed. It goes over the content analysis's coding framework, the subsequent trends and themes found, as well as the steps followed for the compositional interpretation that follows. Chapter three then moves on to reveal the research and findings. This chapter is divided into four subsections, which

correspond to the aforementioned themes found within the research. Each one will be expounded upon further in the chapter. They are titled 'Here Come the Men', 'The Mysterious Migrant', 'Behind Barbs', and 'The Speech Act'. For each theme, the overall data will be discussed first, followed by a compare and contrast of the three publications similarities and differences in data, while ending with a small discussion. The paper will then move on to the conclusion, examining limitations, potentials for future research, and concluding remarks. Thus, the remainder of this thesis will aim to answer how visuals, from British online news sources, were used to construct the meaning of immigration as a security issue in the lead up to the EU Referendum.

CHAPTER ONE: Literature Review

The following literature review will discuss five main areas of scholarship. These are: the Copenhagen School's Securitization Theory, the move towards the importance of images, images and International Relations, immigration, its securitization and stereotypes, and how to critically look at images. This literature review will subsequently help to elucidate the background from which this subsequent research and findings came from.

Copenhagen School's Securitization Theory

The Copenhagen School has made great contributions to the study of securitization, and still does. Securitization Theory, within the Copenhagen

School, has created a salient agenda of research that is “possibly the most thorough and continuous exploration of the significance and implications of a widening security agenda for security studies” (Huysmans, 1997: 186). It is said such a study, of securitization under the Copenhagen School, adopts from both constructivism and realism. On the one hand, it sees security as a social construction – securitization as a process of making something a security issue, where security is “the outcome of specific social process”, as this thesis will aim to exemplify (Williams 2003: 513). On the other hand, it also has roots in the realist scholarship – in the ‘classical’ tradition of thinking about security, where there is a focus on survival, existential threats, and maximum danger (Williams 2003; Wæver 1995).

Three prominent scholars within the Copenhagen School, Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde, heavily discussed the concept of securitization in their 1998 book ‘Security: A New Framework for Analysis’. At its core, securitization theory is to be comprehended as a ‘speech act’, which is “the act of labeling something 'security' that produces the 'thing' as a security issue” (Jarvis and Holland 2015: 14). This can be done by speaking or writing, however it is usually spoken. Wæver emphasizes this further stating:

“By saying it [i.e. speaking the speech act], something is done (as in betting, giving a promise, naming a ship). By uttering “security” a state representative moves a particular development [or referent object] into a specific area, and thereby claims a special right to use whatever means are necessary to block it.” (1995: 55; 2004).

A referent object is therefore that which is being securitized. Thus, when a speech act is uttered, the first step towards a successful securitization occurs, and a securitization move is then in play. "By stating that a particular referent object is threatened in its existence, a securitizing actor claims a right to extraordinary measures to ensure the referent object's survival." (Taureck 2006: 54).

It is then up to the audience whether or not they securitize the issue and/or referent object. If the audience accepts the securitizing move, the issue at hand is no longer a matter for normal politics to handle, and consequently moves "into the realm of emergency politics, where it can be dealt with swiftly and without the normal (democratic) rules and regulations of policy-making." (Taureck 2006: 54-5). Therefore, one can see the process of successful securitization as the following: existential threats (i.e. something needing to be securitized), emergency action (securitization move/ request for the move to be accepted), and escape from standard rules (leaving the arena of normal politics) (Buzan et al., 1998: 26). Once an issue has been dealt with or solved as a securitized issue and is no longer seen as or accepted by the audience as a security issue needing extraordinary measures, it then enters desecuritization. Desecuritization is the process of moving the issue out of the realm of emergency politics and off the security agenda. It is then placed back into the domain of "public political discourse and "normal" political dispute and accommodation." (Williams 2003: 523). One could therefore argue that desecuritization is the last and final step in

the securitization process. From there, other issues (or the same issue) may start up the entire process again.

The Copenhagen School, specifically Buzan, Wæver, and de Wilde, argue that security is made up of five different sectors (1998). There is Military Security, Environmental Security, Societal Security, Economic Security, and Political Security. Additionally, Lausten and Wæver (2000) assert that Sacred or Religious Security could be a potential sixth sector. Subsequently, each security sector has a certain threat agenda and particular things to securitize (i.e. referent objects). For example:

In the “military” sector, the referent object is the territorial integrity of the state, and the threats are overwhelmingly defined in external, military terms. In the “political” sector, by contrast, what is at stake is the legitimacy of a governmental authority, and the relevant threats can be ideological and sub-state. [Then there is] “societal” security, in which the identity of a group is presented as threatened by dynamics as diverse as cultural flows, economic integration, or population movements. (Williams 2003: 513).

For this thesis, a focus on Societal Security will remain salient as it examines immigration as a security issue. As specified above, Societal Security emphasizes the function that identity can play within the realm of security. Williams states, “the identity of a society, [is a] sense of “we-ness,” that is at stake” (2003: 518). Such a “we-ness” is part and parcel of the ‘us’ vs. ‘them’ dichotomy.

Jarvis and Lister (2013) investigated different types of security and found six main themes of how the UK talk about and conceptualize security in their daily lives. Survival (i.e. protecting life/living), belonging (i.e. a sense of safety and happiness where you are), hospitality (i.e. feeling welcome), equality (i.e. having the same rights as everyone else), freedom (i.e. leading your life the way you want without fear) and insecurity (i.e. a traditional security or military security conception) were those concerns. Within these conceptualizations, at least half would fall into the realm of Societal Security (belonging, hospitality, equality, maybe even freedom). And even though there is still a piece of traditional or classical security involved (insecurity and survival), it still has relevance to societal security (Jarvis and Holland 2015: 89). Weaver goes on to stress that just as in state security, Societal Security also involves survival. "A state that loses its sovereignty does not survive as a state; a society that loses its identity fears that it will no longer be able to live as itself" (Wæver, 1995:67). Consequently, the dichotomization of 'us vs. them', 'similar vs. other', and 'friends [vs.] enemies' is invoked, and with it a politics of exclusion." (Williams 2003: 519).

While the Copenhagen school provides significant scholarship on the area of Securitization, there remains an issue. The problem here is that they, and other Copenhagen School scholars, pay little attention to the significance that images can play within security studies and specifically securitization theory. The time has come for the Copenhagen School to realize that a focus purely on the speech act, in regards to the ways in which security practices are produced and consumed, is no longer enough. The study must face the

fact that modern political discourse is progressively getting more laden with visuals communications (Williams 2003). Various authors have since criticized this limiting attachment to speech/text, and emphasize the importance of the study of images (Hansen 2000, 2011, 2014; McDonald 2008; Moeller 2007; Stritzel 2007; Vuori 2010; Williams 2003). The reliance on the speech act draw some critics to state that it “potentially limits the framework as it neglects other ways in which security is presented that may have securitizing effects, such as visual representations in the media” (Bourne 2014: 56; Williams 2003). Today security is bound up in a context surrounded by images. Take the modern media system for example. Its heavy reliance on televisuals and pictures has become a prime case in which the representation and formation of security relations are increasingly involved with the visual sphere. Cori Dauber emphasizes this when stating that today we live in an environment heavily saturated by the media (2001: 209). Thus, it is important to consider the power of images.

Such scholarship has shaped the subsequent research, as it will emphasize that images are part of the process that generates a referent object as securitized. It is important to begin to understand how images play a part in the process of securitization that “tap[s] into already existing themes [of] what we recognize as security issues”, i.e. criminality, terrorism, and other violence (Bourne 2014: 53). As it has been shown in the above sections, in order to securitize something, it must successfully be *represented* as such for the audience to accept the securitizing move. Consequently, this dissertation heavily stresses that images are a salient part of the

representation and construction of security issues. Therefore, an examination into the scholarship of visual imagery is necessary.

Importance of the Visual Sphere

As this literature review has already mentioned above, it is time to consider the power and importance of the visual sphere. Note that for the rest of the thesis, the terms 'visual(s)' and 'image(s)' will be used interchangeably, but synonymously. Cori Dauber has suggested a similar articulation when it comes to the role and treatment of images in the practice of security. She states that while there has been a focus towards the textual sphere of linguistics, disregarding the visual sphere in today's media saturated environment would not aid to the production of new and improved scholarship (Dauber 2001). Thus, the visual sphere has come to challenge the hegemony held by textual field. Research has subsequently begun on the dominance or "visual primacy" of the pictorial domain over word-based cues (Posner, Nissen, and Klein 1976; Noller 1985; Grabe and Bucy 2009). This is due to the fact that studies have shown that readers are more likely to see and retain an image's content 'as objective evidence', than they are to read and remember text in the same way (Gilens 1996; Cisneros 2008). "The atom bomb burst into the American consciousness not through the written word, but a photo" and it was "television [which held] an integral part of what made the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center (WTC) the event that was 9/11" (Dombrowski 2015: 1).

While the Linguistic Turn of the early 20th century, and its emphasis on language, might have come first, the Pictorial and Visual turns have since then taken images to the forefront in order to assess how they fit in to the practice and study of security and International Relations. As such, scholars have ventured into this inquiry, yet it is still a growing topic of investigation. Consequently, part of the research puzzle of this dissertation will focus on such an examination of images and their role within security studies. The Pictorial and Visual ‘Turns’ were introduced by W.J.T Mitchell in 1994, and stressed by Roland Bleiker in 2015. The ‘Pictorial Turn’ is evidence of the call, and response, for research on the importance of images in International Relations. “The picture now has a status somewhere between what Thomas Kuhn called a ‘paradigm’ and an ‘anomaly’, emerging as a central topic of discussion in the Human Sciences in the way language did” (Mitchell 1995: 1). It was at the start of the 1990’s that Mitchell declared the ‘Pictorial Turn’ and expressed that “although we have a thousand words about pictures, we do not have a satisfactory theory of them” (1994: 9). The ‘Pictorial Turn’ was really the first expeditionary inquiry to the study of images in International Relations. It exposed that we did not know what images were, their relationship to text, how they work on observers, producers, and the rest of the world, or what is to be done with them (Mitchell 1995: 9). While there have been scholars since to lead inquiries into this field (Schlag 2012; Hansen 2011, 2014; Callahan 2015; Bleiker 2015; Campbell 2002a, 2002b, 2007; Rauer 2006; Dodds 2007; Sharpiro 2007; Neumann and Nexon 2006; Welds 1999; Moeller 2007; Weber 2006), the research of this paper will fill

some of the gaps by looking into how images are a salient part of the process towards securitization, rather than securitized referent objects within in their own right (as stressed by Lene Hansen 2011; 2015). For Hansen, the images themselves were securitized (usually as part of a larger issue). Her examples of the Mohammad Cartoon Crisis and the photographs from Abu Ghraib exemplify her argument successfully. However, this thesis will argue that images don't have to be securitized as a referent object in their own right in order to be important. The frame and/or construction of a topic that images represent are just as salient to the securitization process. This thesis will also fill a gap by expanding and updating the small amount of earlier work on images and immigrants, in relation the contemporary political environment (i.e. the EU Referendum) and by looking into different sources (i.e. British online news). Specifically, the subsequent research will aim to show how visuals, specifically those from various UK online news media outlets, can be used to construct the meaning of a problem (i.e. Immigration) as a security issue with the potential to be securitized or maintain securitized status.

Reorienting oneself back into the literature, the 'Pictorial Turn' discussed above can be seen in parallel to the 'Visual Turn'. "The recent visual turn... in security studies is a reaction to the omni-presence of images in a globalized (media) world" (Schlag 2012: 2). HE Wei expressed that "the visual turn in contemporary social culture has highlighted the images ontological status and its role in the social construction" of security issues (2015: 111). William Callahan further discusses the importance of visuals by

stressing that the 'Visual Turn' may be able to improve research within International Relations on the dichotomized issue of self/other relations (2015). Specifically, he finds that the visuals of documentary filmmaking offer a good way "for exploring the intricacies of how international politics works", especially in regards to how "state-to-state relations interact with people-to-people relations" (Callahan 2015: 909). While most of the authors place value on the 'Visual Turn', and thus are relevant to the aims of this dissertation, their perspectives and empirical research differs. Each piece of literature generates a gap to be filled. Callahan (2015) focuses on films, whereas this research focuses on still photographic images. While Schlag (2012) does concentrate on still images, she focuses on a security issue that one could label as falling into the 'hard security' agenda - terrorism - whereas this thesis looks into a security issue one could label as falling into the 'soft security' agenda - immigration.

The work of Lene Hansen (2006, 2011, 2014) has significantly influenced the research of images within International relations. Her methodological frameworks in both her 2011 and 2014 publications have helped placate the issue of a lack of proper methodology within this field. She also emphasizes that images are different from words due to their immediacy, circulability and ambiguity (2011: 55). This analysis fits right in with the continual development of modern technologies and its effect on the spread of images. The immediacy is now faster, the circulability vaster, and the ambiguity even greater. Both images and text can now be communicated with just the tap of a button via the World Wide Web. Once thrust upon the

Internet, the information is then available around the globe. However, even if such visuals are quickly and easily 'sent', and greatly circulated to various stretches of the earth, the creator/publisher/author whomever it may be cannot move at such speed or disperse at such distance. Consequently, ambiguity as to the meaning of such information grows. These factors only make images potentially all the more powerful.

Such development of modern technologies has transformed the way people produce, receive and view mass visual communications. While only a small fraction of a state's population may physically be present to witness an international event first hand, the rest of the population, and the world, view such events through visual imagery. Whether it be access to 24-hour television news coverage, social media, or the digitization of magazines and newspapers, access to, and availability, of this imagery has never been greater. Such an increase in modernity has amplified the amount of coverage and the speed at which images are circulated.

It is important to note how some have argued that showing and seeing a visual is somehow more powerful than reading written text or listening to verbal cues (Resende and Budryte 2013; Bleiker 2015; Heck and Schalg 2012; Iyer, Aarti, and Oldmeadow 2006; O'Hegarty et al. 2006). Part of the power of visuals can be seen via the warnings that can come before them. Think 'this image may contain objectionable material', 'view at your own risk' or 'graphic content'. Verbal and written materials never come with such warnings and one should consider why (Bleiker 2015: 875). Additionally, others have gone further and argue that, "visual images are recalled more

quickly and for a longer time than words.” (Lovelace 2010: 26; Jenkins, Neale and Deno 1967; Anglin & Levie 1985). The ability of images to circulate also increases their potential power “for the simple reason that they can reach more audiences than words” (Hansen 2011: 57). Anyone can see an image for himself or herself, they can interpret the visual how they like, which then makes it all the more real to their own lives. They have now looked, witnessed, and thus experienced an event within their own time and space. Images could consequently be seen as a universal language, whereas text is not. In this way, visuals transcend borders allowing people to see what they normally could not on their own, to otherwise remote and distant times and spaces. If images consequently offer a way to interpret the world around oneself, they can therefore frame an issue a certain way, and studies have shown that those frames effect attitudes about policy, which make visuals all the more significant (Brader, Valentino, and Suhay 2008; Abrajano and Singh 2009; Merolla, Ramakrishnan, and Haynes 2013; Pérez 2016). It is therefore essential to continue such research on the visual sphere, specifically in relation to different security issues.

As aforementioned, readers are more likely to see and retain an image’s content than they are to read and remember text in the same way (Gilens 1996; Cisneros 2008). Along the same lines of a visual’s power and its relation to text, John Berger (1972: 2) suggests “seeing comes before words”, while Chris Jenks (1995: 1-2) states, “looking, seeing and knowing have become perilously intertwined so that the modern world is very much a ‘seen phenomenon’”. The term ‘visual culture’, coined by Svetlana Alpers (1983:

xxv), has been used to do just that; accentuate the saliency of visual images and the seen phenomenon that has engulfed society. In agreement with Alpers are Paul Virilio (1994), who explores how innovative visual technologies have created 'the vision machine' which the world is now caught up in, and Guy Debord (1983), who examined how the world has begun to turn into a 'society of the spectacle'. One only has to think of the contemporary mass media for an example of such worldly visions. W.J.T Mitchell (1994) goes on to describe these ideas as part of the 'visual literacy' or 'visual experience' of the world. Consequently, it has led some to argue that seeing has become synonymous to knowing:

We [have] daily experience [that] perpetuate the connotation of the 'seen' with the 'known' in conversation through the commonplace linguistic appendage of 'do you see?' or 'see what I mean?' to utterances that seem to require confirmation, or, when seeking opinion, by inquiring after people's 'views'. (Jenks, 1995: 3; see also Kress and Van Leeuwen 1990)

People are now gaining such 'knowledge' of the world through visual imagery and the access to and availability/circulability of such imagery, which has the capacity to be seen by all, is ever increasing. Hence why Rose (2001:10) finds it extremely important "to acknowledge that visual images can be powerful and seductive *in their own right*." Barthes (1982) and Rose (2001) discuss how it is important to acknowledge that images themselves can do something. In Lene Hansen's case, this 'something' is to be securitized (2011; 2014). For others that 'something' is that of evoking an emotional

response (Hariman and Lucaites 2003, 2006, 2011; Bucy 2003; Brader, Valentino, and Suhay 2008), shaping public opinion (Grabe and Bucy 2009), or creating frames for others to interpret the world around them (Gamson and Modigliani 1987; Conroy 2015), the list is ever growing. Subsequently, the visual and textual cannot necessarily be treated the same way, or even be said to convey meaning in the same way. Thus, the visual has come to the forefront as a medium demanding consideration. One can now see why this area of research is important, and consequently the topic of this dissertation. Accordingly, a discussion and overview of the scholarship of the visual sphere in International Relations is important.

The Visual Sphere and International Relations

The visual medium is one to be taken seriously in general, in regards to this dissertation, and to the study of International Relations and Security as well. Perhaps the most well known, and potentially challenged, example of the visual sphere in relation to International Relations is the CNN effect, propagated by Livingston (1997) and Robinson (2002). “Dubbed the “CNN effect” (or “CNN curve” or “CNN factor”), the impact of these new global, real-time media is typically regarded as substantial, if not profound” (Livingston 1997: 1). Between the “advances in communication technology [that] have created a capacity to broadcast live from anywhere on Earth... [and] the vacuum left by the end of the Cold War,” the world is now “filled by a foreign policy of media-specified crisis management.” (Livingston 1997:1). It was such a mix of technological developments in the immediacy and circulability

of television, paired with certain issues of humanitarian crises post-Cold War, which helped to shape some of the decisions in International Relations at the time. While the visuals may have only been one of many factors shaping the decision making at that time, it was still a salient moment towards the importance of the visual sphere. Scholars started to pay attention to imagery, predominantly “the ability of media coverage, particularly if including striking images of suffering, violence or humiliation, [as it began] to influence foreign policy decision-making” (Hansen 2008:53).

Televisuals are also part of the research conducted by Williams (2003). He puts forth an argument on how the weight and importance given to 'speech acts' within the Copenhagen School's concept of securitization, “stands in contrast to a communicative environment ever more structured by televisual media and by the importance of images” (Williams 2003: 525). As with the previous authors, he advocates for a serious contemplation and investigation into the importance of images within the realm of International Relations and security studies. He briefly sites how the visuals of immigration could be an area of future research when he talks about “nightly images of shadowy figures attempting to jump on trains through the channel tunnel between France and the UK, for example, or lines of 'asylum seekers' waiting to be picked up for a day's illicit labor (both common on UK Televisions)” and how this issue has become one that has garnered the labeled and status of 'threat' to security (such a discussion of immigration as a threat or security issue will be expounded upon in the subsection to follow) (Williams 2003: 526).

Then there are the effects of still images in combination with televisuals, which can be seen at play when you look at the situation that occurred from the discovery of the camps in Northern Bosnia in 1992 and the images associated with it. If one is familiar with those images, it is not hard to make the comparison to the images of those who suffered in Nazi concentration camps during the Holocaust. Thus, while one could say the Bosnian images represented genocide and consequently a call for foreign involvement, others could view the images as an “indication of the savagery of the Balkans, or so-called ancient hatred, a representation that warned against rather than called for military intervention.” (Hansen 2008: 54). Regardless, this is a keen example of the images surrounding the development and influence of the visual sphere within International Relations.

Additionally, Lene Hansen also examined scandalous photos that made their way around televisual medium too. In her 2014 article on the Abu Ghraib scandal, she deemed the photographs ‘iconic’ and stated that certain appropriations of such iconic images could be “read as critical interventions into foreign policy debates” (Hansen 2014: 236). Consequently, these images could aid in the securitization process. Hansen is a significant contributor to the topic of visuals and security, and while she is a bit critical of the scholarship within International Relations, as it has been slow to take on the importance of visual imagery, she still endeavors to add to it. She has two seminal pieces, the one aforementioned, published in 2014 on photographs relating to Abu Ghraib, and one published in 2011 pertaining to the

Mohammad Cartoon Crises. In the 2011 article, she focuses on cartoon imagery by both explaining the Mohammad Cartoon crisis itself and showing how those images, in their own right, managed to become securitized. She did this by emphasizing the idea of 'visual securitization', "That is, when images constitute something or someone as threatened and in need of immediate defense or when securitizing actors argue that images 'speak security'" (Hansen 2011: 51). Consequently, in the case of the cartoon crisis, it was the securitized images, rather than text or speech, which created tensions between Denmark and Muslim actors all around the world (Hansen 2011: 86). Again, going back to the works on the Copenhagen School's conception of securitization, the fact that the Mohammad Cartoons were securitized as a referent object in their own right is groundbreaking in relation to the School's over emphasis on the linguistic based speech act. Hansen's work is consequently very influential not only to this thesis, but the study of securitization and images as a whole.

In line with Hansen's examination of cartoons, Juha Vuori (2010) is another author who contributed a significant piece of work within this area of scholarship on imagery and securitization focusing on a visual other than television and photographs. However, he took a slightly different direction by conducting a visual analysis in relation to the 'Doomsday Clock'. The Doomsday Clock is a symbol of sorts that is used by Atomic Scientists in order to visualize the probability of a worldwide disaster. Vuori puts forth an intriguing idea of applying the theory of securitization to this non-textual symbol. "Vuori argues that the image of a clock... implies scientific precision"

as well as “all of the crucial ingredients involved in a securitization “plot”: the lateness of the hour (urgency) and impending doom (existential threat), as well as the possibility to reverse course by moving the hands of time far away from midnight (way out [or desecuritization])” (quote from Jarvis and Holland 2015: 83; see also Vuori 2010: 264). From the previous section on the Copenhagen School’s concept of securitization, one can see how Vuori has elucidated the process of securitization in conjunction with a visual (i.e. the clock), by creating an image that visually ‘counts down’ to ‘doomsday’ or disaster.

Subsequently this thesis goes on to address a myriad of the issues brought up within the literature discussed above. The research will continue to show that images do have a significant role within security studies by examining their place within the process that generates the 'speaking of security' as an outcome, i.e. the securitization process. Specifically, the overall aim and objective of my research will be to analyze the visual framing of the meaning of immigration as a “security issue” during the lead up to the EU Referendum in the United Kingdom. While there is some scholarship which assesses immigration and images, (see, for example, Chavez 2001, Ono and Sloop 2002), that body of work is still quite small. Therefore, the research of this paper aims to fill a gap by expanding and updating that work in relation to the contemporary political environment (i.e. Brexit). It will thus ask the question of *how visuals were used to construct the meaning of immigration as a securitized issue*. It is therefore now essential to turn to a discussion on the issue of immigration and its stereotypes.

Immigration, Securitization, and Stereotypes

The issues surrounding the topic of immigration could fill an entire thesis on its own, and then some. However, for the purposes of this research, the areas of the securitization of immigration and the stereotypes surrounding such will be the main focus. In recent years, the social construction of immigration as a matter of security has come to the forefront of international and domestic politics. Usually this has involved a “political process of connecting migration to criminal and terrorist abuses” relating to “a wider politicization in which immigrants and asylum-seekers are portrayed as a challenge to the protection of national identity” and thus the (in)security of a nation (Huysmans 2000: 751). The securitization of immigration therefore has relied on the framing of the issue both textually, and visually. This thesis discernibly puts emphasis on the ‘visual’ representations, which will be further elucidated later on. Today, the world is dealing with the migration crises in Europe, which only further (re)ignited notions like Brexit and the EU Referendum, the return of nationalism, and in the United States, the rise of Donald Trump. Such a link between the discourse of security, terrorism, and immigration displays, what Barry Buzan deems as, an attempt to “graft a newer securitization on to an older one” (Buzan 2006: 1104).

The progression of immigration as part of the security discourse “is often presented as an inevitable policy response to the challenges for public order and domestic stability [due to] the increases in the number of (illegal) immigrants” (Huysmans 2000: 757; see also Lodge 1993). Once labeled an

issue of security, a policy in relation to such a label is then chosen (i.e. the problem can be seen to prompt the response). This particular framing of immigrants as a security problem consequently generates a response that could have been different if the framing would have led in another direction (i.e. Human Rights). Some argue that the social construction, which links immigration with terrorism in public discourse, has the possibility to decrease the likelihood of a policy response that falls in line within the human security agenda (Seidman-Zager 2010; Huysmans 2000). Thus, one can see *the frame matters*. Notably however, it is the frame of ‘securitization’ upon which this thesis wants to focus on.

Such a framework rests on the perceptions of immigrants as a threat to the security of, not only the residents and the society but also, the nation itself (Seidman-Zager 2010; Huysmans 2000; Malloch and Stanley 2005). Hobson writes that this is achieved via an association of immigrants with notions like “mental illness, oppressive and disordered institutions, criminality, terrorism, benefit fraud, “bogus” foreigners” and more (Hobson et al. 2008: 15); see also Seidman-Zager 2010). Such representations, or stereotypes, consequently lead to the construction of immigration as a ‘threat’ and thus an issue that can be or continue to be securitized.

The threat of men is a prevalent part in the construction of immigration as a threat and thus part of the security discourse. For Buchanan, Grillo, and Threadgold, the main stereotype that appeared out of their research “was that of the young dangerous male breaking into Britain and threatening our communities” (Buchanan et al. 2003: 24). This

characterization was only furthered by the connection between these men and their potential and/or actual criminality. Whether it's the description of men who 'look' dangerous, are said to have been caught perpetrating illegal acts or deemed as having issues with police or security forces, migrant men are "actively or implicitly defined as illegal or quasi-criminal" (Buchanan et al. 2003: 32).

While many men, and sometimes women, are identified as being a threat, those who are not identifiable can be seen to incite another stereotype, the unknown. In regards to immigration, Seidman-Zager discusses how migrants "are often seen as especially suspicious or dangerous due to the possibility that their identity or origin may not be identifiable" consequently invoking 'fear of the unknown' (Seidman-Zager 2010: 12; see also Malloch and Stanley 2005). Sometimes this can be a facet of immigrants purposely canceling their identity. However, even when such an unknown is due predominantly to the ignorance of other cultures, races, or ideas, the 'fear of the unknown' is still a very powerful concept in the construct of the meaning of immigration and its subsequent securitization. As Lia Figgou pointed out, fears can be "linked to the unknown, to the fact that somebody, while walking alone, comes across some people who do not speak their own language" (Figgou 2011: 169). Thus, one runs into a vicious circle, where just as the known can be threatening, so can the unknown.

Certain scholarship on immigration subsequently shows that nations want to keep those who are a threat 'contained', or out and away, in order to reduce the risks to themselves (Seidman-Zager 2010; Avdan & Gelpi 2017;

Farris and Mohammad 2018). It is not a shock to see that once something has been identified as a security issue, that ways of prevention become prevalent. In regards to immigration, prevention comes in the form of not only policy, but also physical barriers such as fences, walls, and borders. Farris and Mohammad write on how such attention to those barriers “evoke[s] a sense of threat from immigrant invasion” (Farris and Mohammad 2018: 3). This emphasis on fences to keep the unwanted out is not a new concept. Many note the relation between porous borders and the threats to the state (Donaldson 2005; Andreas and Nadelman 2006; Andreas and Price 2001). Avdan and Gelpi even go as far to say, “fences reduce the annual relative risk of a terrorist attack by at least 67 percent” (Avdan & Gelpi 2017: 14). Subsequently, depictions containing elements of a fence, barrier, or wall only further construct immigration under the threat narrative that leads to its securitization.

Furthermore, when it comes to immigration and the works that predominately examine textual analysis, specifically in the press, they show such negative portrayals as specified above (Chavez 2001, 2008; Branton and Dunaway 2008; Haynes, Merolla, and Ramakrishnan 2016; Pérez 2016; ono and sloop 2002; Suro 2008). Within this thesis it is anticipated that the UK online news media will contribute to the phenomenon of the securitization of immigration by presenting images of immigrants in relation to the stereotypes above, such as hordes of men, fear of the unknown, and immigrants as needing to be fenced away from ‘us’. Those who are presented as expressing a ‘speech act’ will also be examined. While images in regards to

immigration have been assessed in previous works, the area of scholarship is relatively small and still developing. Consequently, the research of this thesis aims to fill a gap by expanding and updating that work in relation to the contemporary political environment (i.e. Brexit) and by looking into a different media source (i.e. online news media). It will thus ask the question of how visuals were used to construct the meaning of immigration as a securitized issue. Since the research of this work focuses heavily on analyzing image, it is therefore now necessary to turn to a discussion and overview on the scholarship involved with how to critically analyze images.

Looking at Images Critically

While there has been more research focused on visuals recently, there can still be a good amount of confusion around how to critically look at images. As W.J.T Mitchell stated just over twenty years ago, “we still do not know exactly what pictures are, what their relation to language is, how they operate on observers and on the world, how their history is to be understood, and what is to be done with or about them.” (1994:13). However, there have been scholars who have attempted to clear up some of this confusion.

Gillian Rose (2001) in her book on visual methodology, suggests a ‘critical’ visual methodology. “By ‘critical’ I mean an approach that thinks about the visual in terms of the cultural significance” (Rose 2001: 3). For her, the visual is a fundamental part in the production of social life and thus culture. As things such as TV, photography, film, video, etc. now constantly

surround us, such mediums create a world that has become rendered in terms of the visual. However, it is salient to remember that these visuals “are never transparent windows on to the world. They interpret the world; they display it in very particular ways.” (Rose 2001: 6; see also Fyfe and Law 1988). Hal Foster’s answer to this is the idea of ‘Visuality’, which explores the many ways that vision is constructed: “how we see, how we are able, allowed, or made to see, and how we see this seeing and the unseeing therein” (1998: ix). He stands this in opposition to ‘Vision’ which is what a human being is able to physiologically see with their own eyes. Consequently, “looking carefully at images, then, entails, among other things, thinking about how they offer very particular visions of social categories such as class, gender, race, sexuality, able-bodiedness, and so on” (Rose 2001: 11).

In order to carry out this way of analyzing images, Rose (2001) explains how there are three main ‘sites’ where images create meaning. These are, “the site of the production of an image, the site of the image itself, and the site where it is seen by various audiences” (Rose 2001: 16). There are then different features, or ‘modalities’, to each process of meaning making within each ‘site’. The main three ‘modalities’ are: technological, compositional, and social, which help to develop a critical understanding of the visual realm. Where the technological modality explores “any form of apparatus designed either to be looked at or to enhance natural vision”, the compositional modality focuses on the “formal strategies” such as “content... and spatial organization”, and then the social modality examines an array of political and social, or economic “institutions and practices that surround an

image and through which it is seen and used.” (Mirzoeff 1998: 1; Rose 2001: 17). Both sites and modalities work together in order to form a better examination into the visual field. In the following section on the methodology, it will be shown which site and modality will be the main focus of this thesis, as it “is crucial to note that there are very few studies of visual culture which attempt to examine all the areas” of both sites and modalities “and those that do suffer (I think) from a certain analytical incoherence.” (Rose 2001: 29).

Thus, the next section on Methodology will aim to examine the two methods which will be utilized for the research of this thesis, giving a general overview of the methods themselves, then moving into the details on how they be will employed specifically for this work. Additionally, the following methodology section will also discuss other details involved in the research, such as choosing the images to be analyzed and the process of garnering such visual information to be evaluated under the two main methods.

CHAPTER TWO: Methodology

The following chapter aims to outline the combination of research methods that this dissertation will employ in order to examine the visual framing of the meaning of immigration, by the British online media, as a security issue during the lead up to the EU Referendum. The first subsection will examine the method of Compositional Interpretation, while the second subsection will examine the method of Content Analysis. The third

subsection will then explain why there is a need for a mixed methods approach. Lastly, the fourth subsection will give a detailed methodological outline of the way in which the research for this thesis will be carried out, such as the process of attaining the images to analyze and how this dissertation will employ both Compositional Interpretation and Content Analysis in order to garner research findings.

Compositional Interpretation

Gillian Rose (2001: 33) has argued, “it seems to me that there is no point in researching any aspect of the visual unless the power of the visual is acknowledged.” Thus, the qualitative research method to be utilized within this dissertation is that of Compositional Interpretation, which focuses on the image itself. This method, named by Rose (2001), emphasizes that the visual itself has its own power and should be the site of analysis. Irit Rogoff (1998) calls this ‘the good eye’. The ‘good eye’ “looks mostly at the site of an image itself in order to understand its significance, and pays most (although not exclusive) attention to its compositional modality” or content (Rose 2001: 34).

While such a narrow focus could be critiqued, Compositional Interpretation also can be said to look at the site of production as well (think who published it? Why? Etc.). Within this site of production, the method gives most of its focus to the modality of technology, emphasizing that the way an image is made (i.e. painted, photographed, filmed, etc.) can affect the influence a visual has. In regards to photographs, for example, the

technological advancements in the camera over the years have led some to believe that photographic images expose the truth or reality. "Underpinning this is the belief in the objectivity of photographic vision, a belief in photography as capable of capturing reality as it is, unadulterated by human interception." (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1990: 52). However, more modern developments in photography can be said to show a hyper-reality, with the introduction of Photoshop and advancements of camera technology. Taking into account the above statements, if photographs are seen as more real than other forms of visual imagery, it could be argued that one would view a painting of suffering differently to a photograph of suffering. As such, the ways of producing an image can therefore have an effect on how they are seen or the meaning they convey.

Nonetheless, we return to the main focus of Compositional Interpretations analysis, the image. This requires one to look at the content of an image (what does it show?), its spatial organization (both within the image and position to its observer), and its expressive content (the 'feel' of the image) (Rose 2001; Taylor 1957). By doing so, one can gain a better understanding of what the visual is actually showing.

While some have critiqued this method due to the fact that it may neglect how images are interpreted through social practices, its use is still insightful when it comes to carefully looking at the form and content of visuals. Nigel Whitely (1999) comments that the social sciences tend to ignore this initial stage of compositional interpretation by subordinating the influence of visuals to academic works where an image's reading is

embedded. While he advocates for the method to be undertaken by others in the field, he also suggests that it be “conjoined to other types of analysis so that the visual scrutiny of what can literally be seen can be studied in relation to reception, meaning and content” (1999: 107). Subsequently, the next section goes on to discuss the method of Content Analysis, as this thesis will be combining the two methods to generate research and findings.

Content Analysis

Developed in the inter-war period, Content Analysis was created “to measure the accuracy of new mass media” (Rose 2001: 54). It aims to systematically describe texts in order to make “replicable and valid inferences from data to their context” by coding and interpreting the material (Krippendorf, 1980: 21). The study has grown from the analysis of text, to now include the visual medium as well. While Content Analysis can be seen as a quantitative method, Collins and Lutz (1993: 89) argue that it can also include qualitative analysis, as it allows for the “discovery of patterns that are too subtle to be visible on causal inspection and protection against an unconscious search through a magazine for only those which confirm one’s initial sense of what photographs say or do” (see also Krippendorf 1980; Weber 1990). For this thesis it will be employed for both quantitative and qualitative purposes.

Just as in the discussion of Compositional Interpretation, Content Analysis also focuses on the site of the image itself and the modality of compositionality. Rose (2001) defines four steps to Content Analysis: (1)

finding the images one wishes to analyze (using an at random sampling strategy) (2) creating categories for coding (descriptive tags assigned to each images that must be: exhaustive, exclusive, and enlightening), (3) coding (evaluate each image and assign applicable codes), and (4) Analyzing the results (i.e. frequencies, assessment over time, correlations between codes, overarching themes, and/or more).

Of course, the limitations of this method will be considered during the subsequent research. It is argued that some take the aspect of a code's frequency to define its meaning. However, a code that appears often cannot be said to be more important than a code that appears less frequently (Weber 1990: 72; Ball and Smith 1992). Therefore, this thesis will also try to take that into account. Some also feel that "content analysis breaks an image into parts and has no way of handling any interconnections that may exist between its parts, other than by statistical correlation" (Rose 2001: 66). Yet Collins and Lutz (1993) prove this critique to be unwarranted, as they collect their codes in a way to create overarching themes to form a better evaluation of the visuals that they analyzed from different National Geographic photographs. This dissertation will also aim to employ the same strategy by forming overarching themes from the content analysis conducted on British online news media, and their potential construction of the meaning of immigration as a security issue during the lead up to the EU Referendum. Though there are claims that the method may ignore other 'sites', such as production and the social, it has already been stated that trying to encompass all three into one analysis would only impact the research negatively. Thus, a

main focus on one is suggested (Rose 2001). The next sub-section will briefly exemplify the reasons for a mixed methods approach.

Justification for Mixed Methods Approach

As previously mentioned by Whitely (1999), Compositional Analysis is a qualitative method that remains valuable, but needs to be used in conjunction with another method to fully explicate the visual field. Thus, in combination with Compositional Analysis, this thesis will also use Content Analysis. It is hoped that such a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods will create a methodological balance that will best suit the research at hand. A critique of each method has also been that they only focus on a single 'site' and 'modality'. While each one mainly focuses on the site of the image itself and the compositional modality, Compositional Interpretation has a slight focus on the site of production and technological modality that will also be taken into consideration within the research (i.e. spatial organization). Subsequently, this thesis aims to look mainly at the site of the image itself and the compositional modality, with a slighter focus on the production of the image and its technical modality in order to strike a good equilibrium as not risk any 'analytical incoherence' (the concern raised by Rose 2001). The dissertation will thus employ Compositional Interpretation and Content Analysis in order to examine the visual framing of the meaning of immigration, by British online media, as a security issue during the lead up to the EU Referendum. The context of such images will be addressed in the following section dealing with the methodical outline.

Methodological Outline

This final subsection will give a detailed methodological outline of the way in which the research for this thesis has been carried out. It will start with explaining the process of attaining the images to analyze (considering their sources and format, how the images themselves were found and searched for, reflecting on context in regards to the choice of timeline and search terms, as well as how many photos were selected and in what way). The next part will discuss how Content Analysis will be employed (examining the variables and values used to garner frequencies and overarching themes). The final part will then go over how Compositional Interpretation will be utilized (considering the content, spatial organization, and expressive content of the photos). By the end of this subsection the reader will have a clearer understanding of how this dissertation aims to answer the research question at hand.

Finding the Images

In both of the methods to be utilized, there is an emphasis on the process of choosing images. This dissertation will analyze visuals in the form of journalistic photographs. The images will be gathered from the top three online UK media publications, chosen by their rankings in page views in a study by SimilarWeb's Market Intelligence Insights, they are: the BBC Online, The Guardian Online, and the Daily Mail Online. Each image will be attained through a Google News search, filtering by date, region, and keyword (it is important to note that Google does put search results through an algorithm

when sourcing results and this has been taken into consideration as a limitation). The date frame was chosen in relation to the EU Referendum. The use of the EU Referendum was chosen due to its prominence in all types of media over the past few years, including online news media. It also exemplifies the subject matter which has become central to the immigration debate, such as “the number of asylum seekers and the manner in which they arrive in Britain, the alleged loss of control of Britain’s borders, the treatment of immigrants in comparison to British citizens” and the charge that Britain has become an open door for uncontrolled illegal immigration. (Buchanan et al. 2003: 47). Therefore, the time frame used for the garnering the images was from February 20th, 2016 to June 23rd, 2016; it started with the announcement of the EU Referendum, and ends with the date of the actual vote. The number of images is also important to consider. The photographs were gathered by a random sampling. Thirty days were randomly selected via an excel spreadsheet and from there images from each source were then gathered for each day. Such a way of garnering the visuals to be analyzed was chosen in order to reduce any level of bias throughout the research. The choice of 30 days was selected in order to narrow down the number of images to be analyzed.

Subsequently, A total of 115 images from the three different British news outlets (online versions), i.e. the BBC, The Guardian, and the Daily Mail, were coded and analyzed. The images were selected based on a key word search, using the terms ‘migrant’, ‘immigration, and/or ‘security’, via Google’s advanced search settings that allows one to filter results by specific dates as

well as choosing an exact publication to search from within. For example, in order to gain images from The BBC, one of the random dates was inserted into the calendar filter and then the words '*migrant site:bbc.co.uk*' were then entered into the search bar. That search was then repeated for all 30 dates and all three publications. While this dissertation does take into account that Google does have an algorithm that can affect search results, this method of garnering the images was deemed the best that was available to use for this research. Should one have access to subscription-based research services, this examination of images could potentially be studied further. The first article that came up in the specific search was then chosen and images from within the source were used for analysis. While The Guardian and the BBC were quite consistent in presenting one image within each of their articles, the Daily Mail set a trend for presenting multiple images within their publications. Consequently, if a large number of images were present in the article, two/three were then chosen for analysis. This choice was made in order to keep the number of images to be analyzed at a reasonable number. Thus, there were a total of 33 photographs collected from the BBC, 32 from The Guardian, and 50 from the Daily Mail. Once this process of collection was complete, the next two steps were then executed, first Content Analysis and then Compositional Interpretation on a few of the images.

Analyzing Images

Content Analysis was employed on all of the images collected in order to discover the frequency at which variables and values appear. In addition to the discovery of frequencies, overarching themes were also determined,

which in turn then regulated the number of images that went through Compositional Interpretation (to be discussed after this). Such codes helped in elucidating how certain online British media visually framed and constructed immigration in the lead up to the EU Referendum.

Subsequently, all of the images were then coded for certain variables such as gender, age, skin tone, style of dress, social distance, gaze of represented participant(s), setting, expression, role of the represented participants, the presence/location of a fence within the photo, presences of criminality, and if the represented participants were photographed speaking. Each variable then had different values to be coded for. Such variables and values coded for were as follows:

Variables – Values Coded For (See Appendix C for details)

Gender – *Male, Female, Unknown*

Age – *Child, Young Adult, Middle Aged Adult, Older Adult, Mix, Unknown*

Skin tone – *Light Tone, Medium Tone, Dark Tone, Mix, Unknown*

Style of dress – *Western, Non-Western, Other, Unknown*

Gaze – *Direct, Indirect, Unknown*

Social distance – *Intimate, Close Personal, Far Personal, Close Social, Far Social, Public*

Setting – *Boat, Event Space, Street, Transportation Center, Refugee Camp, Other, Unknown*

Expression – *Anger, Contempt, Disgust, Fear, Joy, Sadness, Surprise, Neutral, Unknown*

Role – *Migrant, Politician, Security Personnel, Humanitarian Aid, Other*

Presence of a fence – *Presence of a fence, No presence of a fence*

Location of people to the fence – *N/A, People photographed behind a fence, People photographed in front of a fence*

Presences of criminality – *Presence of criminality, No presence of criminality*

Presences of person speaking – *Presence of speaking, No presence of speaking*

Gender and *age* were a chosen as variables since it was exemplified in previous research that the coverage of men may be different to the coverage

of women, and that age of individuals might also be a factor in how the media depict immigrants (Buchanan et al. 2003). The variable of *skin tone* and *style of dress* were chosen for their potential to paint immigrants as the 'other' or different from 'us', potentially showing "patterns of thought and behavior that subtly code who belongs and who doesn't, who is accepted in and who is cast out" (Painter 2017: 1; Morrison 2017). The *gaze* of those depicted in the images has, on one hand, been said to signify if the photograph is 'demanding something' from the viewer (i.e. their gaze is direct). Such demands may be indicated by the expression of those shown within the photograph. On the other hand, if the gaze of those depicted is indirect, it has been said to label those individuals as objects "offered to the viewer as items of information, objects of contemplation, impersonally, as though they were specimens in a display case" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006: 119). While this thesis is not examining what a viewer *actually* sees, what a viewer *has the potential to see* is just as important.

As such, *gaze* and *expression* were selected as a variable to be coded for.

Social distance was chosen as a variable due to its ability to signify probable social relations between the viewer and those shown in the photographs (Torres 2015). Kress and van Leeuwen write that "in everyday interaction, social relations determine the distance (literally and figuratively) we keep from one another" (2006: 124). Such a factor is important when it comes to the meaning of immigration, since the possible construction of immigrants as 'impersonal objects' that are kept at a far social distance could hypothetically lead back to the case of othering and separation of 'them' from

'us'. The question of 'where these people photographed', led to the variable of *setting*. For this research, it is important to note where the individuals depicted in the photos are photographed as it can aid to a particular frame. As Buchanan, Grillo, and Threadgold noted in their research, immigrants were never photographed in a domestic or work setting, which led to frames of illegality and welfare abuses (Buchanan et al. 2003: 23). Thus, *setting* was coded for in this thesis.

The question of 'who is photographed' led to the variable of *Role*. In regards to articles relating to the topic of immigration, this research wanted to see who was photographed. Was it mainly the migrants, humanitarian workers, security personnel, politicians or someone else? Consequently, *role* became another variable within the content analysis. The next variable that was selected was whether or not there was a *presence of a fence* or barrier in the photograph, and if so where was the *location of the individuals in relation to the fence*. Studies have shown that nation states put up such barriers in order keep themselves secure by deterring threats or keeping them out entirely (Avdan and Gelpi 2017). Consequently, since this thesis aims to examine the construction of immigration as a security issue, the *presence of a fence* and *where the individuals within the photo are located in relation to it*, could be telling. If immigration is to be constructed as a security issue, then it must be seen as a threat according to the Copenhagen school. The *presence of criminality*, which could signify a potential threat, within the images was thus another variable to be coded for. Lastly, since the speech act has been so

emphasized by the Copenhagen school, the variable of the *presence of someone speaking* was coded for as well.

Additionally, it is important to note that all images were coded under the value that was most present (i.e. if the photo had five migrants and one security officer, the image was coded for the value of 'migrant' under the variable of *role*; if there were two women and five men in an image, the image was coded for the value of 'male' under the variable of *gender*). This choice was made in order to examine what majorities were depicted so as to examine how the visuals were used to construct the meaning of immigration as a securitized issue. It must also be acknowledged, that a limitation within this thesis is that this research is of a level where there is only one researcher and thus one coder. Such a limitation was accounted for by coding some images more than once, at different times, to ensure reliability in the coding.

From the Content Analysis conducted overarching trends became apparent: men and their potential criminality, migrants as the unknowns, people photographed behind barriers, and the speech act being reserved for politicians. These trends subsequently formed different themes. For the purpose of clarity and understanding from here on out, it is salient to understand that each theme was generated from a combination of different variables and their data. The theme titled 'Here Come the Men' may focus heavily on the variable of *gender*, but also encompasses data from the variables of *age*, *skin tone*, and *presence of criminality* in order to draw conclusions on how such a theme constructs the meaning of immigration as a security issue. The second theme, titled 'The Mysterious Migrant',

predominantly scrutinizes the data collected on the variables of *setting, social distance, gaze, and expression* to draw its conclusions. 'Behind Barbs', the third theme found becomes a bit more complex, as it builds upon the threat narrative shaped by the 'Here Come the Men' and 'Mysterious Migrant' themes. It will be demonstrated that 'Behind Barbs' does this through an emphasis on the notion of keeping the unknown or danger out or away from 'us'. Thus, the theme of 'Behind Barbs' will examine the variables of *presence of a fence, location of people to the fence, as well as gender, age, gaze, and social distance* in order to expose how visuals constructed the meaning of immigration as a security issue. Lastly, the theme titled 'The Speech Act' looks mainly at the variables of *role, and presence of persons speaking* so as to see how certain visuals depicted those given the right to 'speak security' in regards to the issue of immigration (i.e. presenting the securitizing move and thus potentially securitizing or maintaining the securitized status of immigration).

All of this will be expounded upon and further discussed in more detail in the research and findings chapter to follow. Such themes and trends began to appear once the gathering of images had started and became further apparent after the coding was conducted. After the themes were discovered, a few images from each one were then qualitatively analyzed through Compositional Interpretation in order to aid the data found via Content Analysis and get a better idea about what the images were actually showing.

Compositional Interpretation, which focuses on the site of the image itself and the compositional modality, will be employed on a few of the images from each theme in order to better qualitatively interpret what the Content Analysis was able to discover through coding. Since Compositional Interpretation requires looking at images in such great detail, the time allowance for this research did not allow for both of the methods to analyze and focus on *all* of the photographs collected. Thus, Compositional Interpretation will aim to add some qualitative explanation to findings garnered from the Content Analysis in order to supplement the investigation into the overarching themes, frequency of certain values, and what images within those themes contain. One must note that the images, which underwent Compositional Interpretation, were chosen due to their exemplification of the data found through the Content Analysis of each outlet. Consequently, one image from the BBC, one image from The Guardian, and one image from the Daily Mail were inspected via Compositional Interpretation. This was then repeated for each theme (3 images – 4 themes), totaling a number of 12 visuals. These 12 images were then subsequently assessed for the following qualities (Rose 2001):

1. **Content** – what is the photograph actually showing? (Any particular religious, historical, mythological, moral or literary themes or events?)
2. **Spatial Organization** – think angle and perspective, direction of gazes, and distance. Both within the image and how such organization “offers a particular viewing position to its spectator”, which can “begin

to say something about an image's possible effects on a spectator” (pg. 40; 52).

3. ***Expressive content*** – the ‘feel’ of a visual, capturing what the other qualities could not in order to “evoke its affective characteristics.” (pg. 46)

The following process described above will be useful in helping to describe the visual content of the photographs analyzed, in a way that Content Analysis could not. It is *salient* to note that the Compositional Interpretation within this research does not aim to make claims about how the pictures are *actually* interpreted, since this study did not analyze the audience or observer, but rather to suggest what *potential* interpretations may be. By taking the additional few images and putting them through another round of examination, this thesis will be able to make further claims on how these visuals were used to construct the meaning of immigration, via British online media sources, as a security issue during the lead up to the vote on whether or not the United Kingdom would be leaving the European Union. The subsequent section will go on to describe the research and its findings, both quantitative and qualitative.

CHAPTER THREE: Research and Findings

The following chapter discusses the findings from the content analysis and compositional interpretation explained in the methods chapter. From the content analysis conducted, four main themes emerged. The subsequent

subsections within this chapter will investigate each theme in greater detail, noting the quantitative results and their potential significance. However, a brief introduction into each will be beneficial. Firstly, there was an overwhelmingly large percentage of men as the majority of those depicted (see figure 1). This trend can lean towards the stereotype of the 'dangerous male', since woman and children are stereotypically seen as less threatening (Buchanan et. al 2003). This theme is therefore titled 'Here Come the Men'. Secondly, there was a trend of photos which were coded as 'unknown' under certain variables; the majority under the variable of *setting* (see figure 3) but also in regards to *skin color, style of dress, gaze, and expression*. The majority of the images were similarly coded as having a public *social distance* (see figure 4), the farthest of the social distances, which denotes the idea of not knowing these represented participants in intimate or close personal way. Thus, rendering them even more unknowable or at risk for 'othering'. The large presence of a public *social distance* within the images analyzed led to the theme titled 'The Mysterious Migrant'. Thirdly, of the photographs that had a fence, barbed wire, or barriers present, the majority of those depicted were photographed behind them (see figure 5). Again, the large proportion of images coded under public *social distance* also comes into play as this idea of keeping the 'unknown' at a distance or separated from 'us' (see figure 6). The notion of 'good fences make good neighbors' (i.e. boundaries having a value and purpose, in this case barriers that keep 'them' away from 'us') can also be ignited from this imagery. Think of the concept of sovereignty and the desire to keep people out. This theme was thus titled, 'Behind Barbs'. Lastly,

within the images that involved the participants depicted as speaking, an overwhelming amount of them were politicians (see figure 7). Of these speaking politicians, the majority were photographed as an individual, thus depicting the speech act as conducted by one sole person. This was conceptualized as the theme titled 'The Speech Act'. While the previous themes were about the portrayal of immigrants being represented as a potential risk or threat, and thus securitized, this theme is about which depicted participants are given the ability to speak. While not necessarily a stereotype itself, the trend of visuals depicting a speaking individual was an interesting find.

The rest of this chapter will detail all of the data, both quantitative and qualitative, from within the four themes. Each theme's section will go in depth in order to examine their potential significance to the process of securitizing immigration during the lead up to the EU Referendum in the UK. Each subsection will subsequently start out broadly by discussing the overall outcomes from the content analysis conducted on all 115 images. Then, the subsections will narrow down to compare and contrast the findings from within all three publications. The quantitative data found from the content analysis will be supplemented by some qualitative analysis via the compositional interpretation of 12 images (one per outlet, per theme). This will be done so that one can see the differences and/or similarities across each outlet in order to conceptualize how the visuals were used to construct the meaning of immigration. Each subsection will then end with a discussion on the potential significance of such findings.

Here Come the Men

Overview

As stated above in the Methods Chapter, each theme has been generated from a combination of different variables and their data. This theme, 'Here Come the Men', may focus heavily on the variable of *gender*, but also encompasses data from the variables of *age*, *skin tone*, and *presence of criminality* in order to draw conclusions on how such a theme constructs the meaning of immigration as a security issue. Subsequently, within the content analysis conducted, there was an overwhelming majority of men within the photos used by all publications (see figure 1).

Outlet/Gender	Male % (n)	Female % (n)	Unknown% (n)	Total % (N)
BBC	76% (25)	15% (5)	9% (3)	100% (33)
Guardian	53% (17)	41% (13)	6% (2)	100% (32)
Daily Mail	86% (43)	0% (0)	14% (7)	100% (50)
Total	74% (85)	16% (18)	10% (12)	100% (115)

Figure 1

Seventy-four percent of the images contained either all men exclusively or a larger amount of men than women. Of these, more than half contained males that were portrayed as young adults and middle-aged adult men. Additionally, most (but not all) of these men tended to have a medium to dark skin tone. While women and children are stereotypically seen as less threatening, only in 16% of the visuals analyzed did women appear exclusively or in majority to men. Children (regardless of gender) only

appeared solely or in greater numbers than other ages, 8% of the time. Notably, zero of the 115 images depicted women as violent or criminal. While violence and criminality were not necessarily in the majority of images, the ones that did include such variables contained exclusively men. Of the 85 images depicting males, 18% had a presence of criminality (see figure 2).

Outlet/Criminality (of Men)	Present % (n)	NOT Present % (n)	Total % (N)
BBC	8% (2)	92% (23)	100% (25)
Guardian	29% (5)	71% (12)	100% (17)
Daily Mail	19% (8)	81% (35)	100% (43)
Total	18% (15)	82% (70)	100% (85)

Figure 2

These visuals were ones such as mug shot like photos or pictures that captured violent behavior. Consequently, the vast majority of visuals that depicted immigration, within the time period between the announcements of the EU Referendum vote and the actual voting day represented immigrants trying to enter Britain as groups of foreign adult men with an important proportion involving a slightly criminal or violent presence (Buchanan et al. 2003). In the next section, the images are analyzed according to the outlet. The data shows that there are some differences in terms of the proportion of men represented and percentages of criminality shown in each outlet.

Comparisons: The BBC, The Guardian, and The Daily Mail

In regards to the images analyzed and coded from BBC's online news media, the trend found within the overview continues. Just over three

quarters (76%) of the photographs contain exclusively or mainly the male *gender*. Within that 76% of visuals, almost half were coded for either young adult or middle-aged adult. In regards to the *skin tone* of the men pictured, majority were depicted as having a medium to dark complexion. While the BBC did contain the most images portraying a lighter skin tone, 30% to be exact, most of those visuals that were coded for the lighter skin tone were also coded under the *role* of politician, thus not representative of the portrayal of 'a migrant'. This facet of information will be touched upon more when discussing 'The Speech Act' theme. In the depiction of women and children, the BBC remains similar to the overall trends with 15% of the images containing exclusively or majority women and only a small 9% involving children. In regards to visuals containing men and elements of criminality, the BBC had the smallest percentage of all three publications. While there were not any mug shot style images, 8% of the photographs, where men were coded for, depicted some sort of violence (i.e. *presence of criminality*). This is however the smallest proportion when compared to the other online news outlets examined. Consequently, the images analyzed from the BBC aided in the securitization rhetoric during the lead up to the EU Referendum in regards to the 'hordes of men' stereotype. However, it was not seen to represent these men as frequently criminal, and thus failed to add to the rhetoric of lawless danger, even though it was slightly present. In order to visualize this data, let's look at IMAGE 26 from the BBC and examine it via compositional interpretation:



IMAGE 26 (See Appendix B for sourcing of all images)

Content - the image shows a large group of individuals walking towards the direction of the photographer. They do not appear to be hostile. While some women can be seen on the left-hand side, majority of those depicted, who can be gender identified, are men. A few children can be seen (left foreground), majority are most likely young adults or older. Many are pictured carrying backpacks, bags and other belongings. Their style of dress is casual, mostly western oriented except for a few of the women wearing headscarves. While there is one child who seems to be barefoot (left foreground), the rest of those depicted appear to be wearing sneaker like footwear. Three individuals (one in the foreground on the right and another 2 men in the center of the photo) are shown to be carrying regular to large size bottles of liquid.

Spatial Organization – The photo seems to have been taken at eyelevel with those depicted. The observer is not looking down on, or up upon, those photographed. Thus, when it comes to the angle of the visual, the observer and participants are on an equal level. However, the image is captured at a public social distance, which allows the visual to capture such a large group, but also keeps them distanced at the same time.

Expressive Content – Due to the excess baggage, these people seem to be traveling or moving somewhere. In relation to the footwear and large water bottles, it seems that they have or will be walking a long distance and/or for a long time. This walk appears to be a journey, not a leisurely stroll. Where they are from, where they currently are, and where they are going is unidentifiable, that is left to the observer.

The photographs analyzed and coded that were taken from the online news media source The Guardian, told a slightly different story. While majority of the images were still coded for men, it fell short of matching the overall trend at 53%. Thus, portraying a more equal representation of *gender* in comparison to the BBC and the Daily Mail. In regards to women, The Guardian boasts the highest percentage of the female gender depicted, either exclusively or in majority over men, as represented participants within the images at 41% (the other 6% being coded as ‘unknown’ since *gender* was unidentifiable within some images). Furthermore, 0% of images coded for the *presence of criminality* were also coded for the *gender* of female.

Nevertheless, just over half of the photos where men were mainly depicted (n=17) were also coded for *ages* from young adult to middle aged. Over three quarters of those visuals were then coded for *skin tones* ranging from medium to dark. While The Guardian might have depicted a lower proportion of men than the other publication, the same cannot be said for the representation of criminality. Out of the 17 images depicting men, 29% of the visuals portrayed an element of *criminality*, such as mug shot like image or an aspect of violence. This proportion of violence and *criminality* depicted is notably higher than the overall average. In order to visualize this data, let's look at IMAGE 51 from The Guardian and examine it via compositional interpretation:

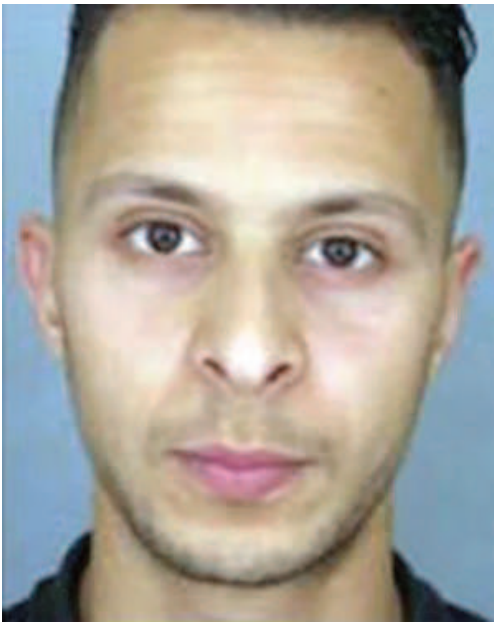


IMAGE 51

Content – The content of the image here is quite simple. One individual, who appears to be of the male gender with a medium skin tone, is being photographed in front of a blue-grey background. His expression is neutral as he looks directly at the camera.

Spatial Organization – The angle of the photo is balanced. The observer is not looking down on, or up upon, this individual photographed. The observer and participant are on an equal level. However, the distance between the observer and individual depicted is minimal. The photograph has been taken at an intimate social distance, as we see only their face and head. This offers a direct and personal view of the participant to the observer.

Expressive Content – This photograph has a mug shot like quality to it, as only the face and head are present in the image. Potentially having the ability to suggest criminality, and thus threat and danger. The lighting is very bright; you can almost see the camera light in the individual's eyes. This suggests a possible consideration to the clarity and detail of the image. Which, if it is for a mug shot, is necessary in order to properly identify the individual. While the photograph may have been taken at an intimate social distance, it does not suggest a welcoming or friendly feel. This person is a stranger, and within day-to-day interaction people do not normally interact this closely with those they do not know. Thus, it is almost as if the observer has encroached on the personal space of the participant or vice versa.

The 50 images analyzed and coded from the news source the Daily Mail, surpassed the overall *gender* trend by depicting the largest proportion, 86%, of the male *gender* either in majority of or exclusively as the represented participants in comparison to the other two outlets. When it

comes to the portrayal of women and children, the Daily Mail shocking leads the way with the smallest percentages of each. The images consisted of 0% women as the exclusive or main represented participant. The publication also depicted a diminutive percentage of children portrayed as the singular or main represented participant, 4% to be exact. Within the 43 photographs depicting mainly men, almost half were coded as men between the *ages* of young adult and middle-aged, and almost a third were represented as having a medium to dark *skin tone*. While only a few of the images portraying the male *gender* were taken in a mug shot like manner, the 19% *presence of criminality* within photographs of men falls in line with the overall trend seen at the start of this section. In order to visualize this data, let's look at IMAGE 78 from the Daily Mail and examine it via compositional interpretation:



IMAGE 78

Content – The image shows a very large crowd walking towards the camera. Even with the lack of focus in the background one can see there are people stretching to the far back of the image. While they do not

seem hostile, most, if not all, who can be gender identified are male, except for the one female security officer on the left-hand side. The picture begins to blur in the background and thus identifying those individuals is not possible. Focusing then on the foreground, all of the men seem to be of young adult age or older. There appears to be no children shown. Some of the men can be seen carrying bin bags of belongings (left), while others are wearing backpacks. Most are in hoodie and sweatshirt like clothing with sneaker like footwear.

Spatial Organization – Again, the image of a large crowd is captured at a public social distance, which is both all-encompassing yet keeps those depicted at a distance. However, this image is taken marginally above eyelevel. This gives the observer the slightest angle of looking down on those depicted while also showing the expanse of the crowd that doesn't seem to end even when the photo does.

Expressive Content – The amount of people shown in this image is an even larger crowd than that shown in IMAGE 26 examined above. This is in line with the data that identified the Daily Mail as the publication that depicted the largest proportion of men. Again, with the 'who, what, and where' as unidentifiable, the bags in tow, and the chosen footwear, it seems these men have had or will have a long journey. Furthermore, the lack of women and children continues to demonstrate the 'hordes of men' impression of possible traveling migrants. Whether they are or will become dangerous or threatening is up to the observer. However, the potential representation is there.

Such a trend of men within all of the publications analyzed and images coded, while not a groundbreaking or a new development within the study of the representation of immigration and immigrants in the media, is a valuable and significant theme. The Guardian had the best balance of *gender* within the represented participants depicted in the images analyzed from their publication at 53% men and 41% women, yet had the largest proportion of the *presence of criminality* at 29%. The photographs chosen for analysis from the BBC almost matched the overall trend of the total 115 images (which depicted men 74% of the time and women 16%) with its coding producing the results of 73% men and 15% women as majority or exclusively the represented participant(s). Lastly, the images garnered and coded from the Daily Mail imbued this theme the most by containing 86% men, 0% women, and 14% unknown. While the variable of criminality was not in the majority of photos overall, when it was present, it was depicted in visuals containing exclusively or mainly men. This problematically aids to the rhetoric pushing the securitization of immigration.

Discussion

Out of all three publications, it was the visuals from the Daily Mail that, more so than any other publication analyzed, stereotypically represented immigrants as the horde of men trying to enter Britain. However, such a combination found within all three publications, of the male *gender*, darker *skin tones*, and the *ages* of young adults and middle-age adults, all bundle together to contribute to the representation of the 'threatening male' that has dominated the securitization of the issue for years. Whether

it's the description of men who 'look' dangerous, are said to have been caught perpetrating illegal acts or deemed as having issues with police or security forces, migrant men are "actively or implicitly defined as illegal or quasi-criminal" (Buchanan et al. 2003: 32).

Consequently, the vast majority of visuals that depicted immigration, within the time period between the announcements of the EU Referendum vote and the actual voting day, stereotypically represented immigrants, trying to enter Britain, as groups of foreign adult men with an important proportion involving a slightly criminal or violent presence. This characterization of immigration subsequently aided to the securitization rhetoric of the 'threatening' or 'criminal' man trying to make their way into the United Kingdom (Buchanan et al. 2003: 25). Such repetition and appearance of these types of visuals incorporated within expansive online news media sources, such as the BBC, The Guardian, and the Daily Mail, only furthers the potential for immigration to be constructed as a security issue. Especially when studies have shown that over time these images might convey a steadier message than the numerous texts and reports that they are a part of (Buchanan et al. 2003).

The Mysterious Migrant

Overview

This second theme, titled 'The Mysterious Migrant', predominantly scrutinizes the data collected on the variables of *setting*, *social distance*, *gaze*, and *expression* to draw its conclusions. While the 'Here come the Men' theme

was able to divulge information about the immigrants depicted (i.e. copious amounts of men with potential criminality), and therefore reveal a certain inclination towards 'knowing something' from the images analyzed and coded, the same cannot be said for this theme. While that may seem counter intuitive to the purpose of this thesis, it turns out that 'not knowing' revealed just as much and subsequently generated a trend and theme of its own. Thus, images coded with the values 'unknown' became of interest. To explain: within the content analysis, under each variable, there were values that could then be coded for. For example: under the variable of *gaze* the values coded for were 'direct', 'indirect', or 'unknown' (refer back to chapter 2 on methodology or Appendix C for detailed coding information). Subsequently, within this theme of the 'Mysterious Migrant', the value of 'unknown' is of particular importance. The variables of *gender*, *age*, *skin tone*, *style of dress*, *gaze*, *setting*, and *expression* of the depicted participants all had a value of 'unknown', which could then subsequently be coded for when examining the photographs. However, in regards to the *gaze* of the represented participant, neither those images coded as 'unknown' or 'indirect' offer the observer much to go on in regards to understanding the represented participant. Consequently, as specified within the literature review, those depicted within the images become more of a specimen to be looked at but not necessarily one to be known or understood (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006). The content analysis also coded for *social distance*, which symbolizes the potential social relation the observer could have to the represented participants in the images. The distance represented between

the viewer and the participant depicted in the photograph substantiates *social distance* ('public' being the farthest and 'intimate' being the closest). Thus, *social distance* gives one an idea of how much the observer can potentially 'know' or 'understand' the represented participant. Consequently, those images coded as 'unknown' (or 'unknown' or 'indirect' in regards to *gaze*) and as having a public *social distance* could be said to leave the observers of the images at a loss as to whom the represented participants are (as will be seen in IMAGE 13, 65, and 67 below). Normally this would not necessarily be a problem. However, when it comes to the representation of immigration and those entering one's country, not knowing who they are or where they come from could hypothetically be seen as risky, threatening, or dangerous. Thus, the 'Mysterious Migrant' becomes a potent theme.

The analysis shows that the variable *setting* had the highest overall percentage of images coded as 'unknown': 53%. This is followed by *expression* at 32% unknown, then *gaze* at 30% unknown and 58% as indirect. Next was *style of dress* at 19% unknown, *age* at 16% and *skin tone* at 10%. On top of that, 57% of all images analyzed from all three publications were depicted at a *public social distance*. Such a combination of variables within photographs, being coded as 'unknown', cannot really be said to give much confidence to the observer as to whom they are looking at within the images. This larger proportion of 'unknown' being coded within the images could hypothetically attribute to the apprehension some may have about the issue of immigration, since not knowing who is entering the country and from where is a common complaint. While six possible variables were listed above

as having the potential to be coded for ‘unknown’, the content analysis revealed the highest proportions when it came to the variables of *gaze*, *setting*, *expression*, and the majority of public *social distance*. Thus, it is those variables, particularly *setting* and *social distance*, which will be the focus of the subsequent subsections on each publication (See figures 3 and 4). In the next section, the images are analyzed according to the outlet. The data shows that there are few differences in the depictions of unknowns among all three outlets. There were high proportions all round.

Outlet/ Setting	Boat % (n)	Event Space % (n)	Street % (n)	Transport Center %(n)	Refugee Camp %(n)	Other %(n)	Unknown %(n)	Total % (N)
BBC	12% (4)	9% (3)	6% (2)	9% (3)	9% (3)	6% (2)	48% (16)	100% (33)
Guardian	6% (2)	0% (0)	9% (3)	6% (2)	22% (7)	6% (2)	50% (16)	100% (32)
Daily Mail	12% (6)	0% (0)	20% (10)	2% (1)	0% (0)	8% (4)	58% (29)	100% (50)
Total	10% (12)	3% (3)	13% (15)	5% (6)	9% (10)	7% (8)	53% (61)	100% (115)

Figure 3

Outlet/Social Distance	Intimate % (n)	Close Personal % (n)	Far Personal %(n)	Close Social %(n)	Far Social %(n)	Public %(n)	Total % (N)
BBC	18% (6)	3% (1)	12% (4)	3% (1)	12% (4)	51% (17)	100% (33)
Guardian	6% (2)	12% (4)	16% (5)	0% (0)	3% (1)	63% (20)	100% (32)
Daily Mail	4% (2)	8% (4)	22% (11)	2% (1)	6% (3)	58% (29)	100% (50)
Total	9% (10)	8% (9)	17% (20)	7% (8)	7% (8)	57% (66)	100% (115)

Figure 4

Comparisons: The BBC, The Guardian, and The Daily Mail

While the analysis of the images garnered from the BBC revealed it to have the least proportion of ‘unknown’ values being coded out of all three publications when it comes to *setting*, *expression* and public *social distance*, it still follows the overall trend that supports this theme of the mysterious migrant. In regards to the *gaze* of the represented participants, the BBC leads the pack with 33% coded as ‘unknown’ and 61% coded as ‘indirect’. This means that the gaze of the represented participants in 94% of the photographs analyzed were unable to reveal much about those in the photos to the viewer. The 51% of images captured at a public *social distance* and 30% of ‘unknown’ *expressions* coded do not help this matter either. Not only are those depicted possibly difficult to understand or ‘know’, but where they come from could potentially elude the observer as well. Almost half of the photos, 48% to be exact, are coded for an ‘unknown’ *setting*. These images were coded as such due to attributes like a blurred background and framing/cut of photos to only include a mass of people, and no orientation as to where they are. In order to visualize this data, let’s look at IMAGE 13 from the BBC and examine it via compositional interpretation:



IMAGE 13

Content – The image above shows, what appears to be, two men on the ground. One can be seen to have his hands behind his back; the other’s arms are not within the frame of the photograph. Their clothing style looks to be jeans and sneaker like footwear. It also appears as if they have/had backpacks on as well.

Spatial Organization – The photo is taken at a slightly higher angle from those depicted, which is not surprising as the individuals in the photo are depicted on the ground. However, this does give the viewer a perspective that is looking down at those in the image. While the image is not captured at the farthest *social distance* (public), it is captured at the second farthest: far social. Their *gaze* and *expression* are also hidden from the observer.

Expressive Content – As one can see from the ‘Content’ description above, there is not much that this photo offers to the viewer in comparison to the IMAGEs previously discussed. Even at a far *social distance*, the image gives little away. With the frame of the photo most likely cutting out other information and the image’s blurred content, the *setting* is also unknown. Consequently, at a far *social distance* and an ‘unknown’ *setting*, the expressive content of the visual is slightly enigmatic.

The Guardian was found to have the lowest proportion when it comes to the ‘unknown’ coding of *expression* (16%). It had however, the greatest

percentage of images with a depiction of public *social distance* at (63%). Supplementary to the large proportion of images coded as public *social distance*, is the *gaze* of the represented participants since both variables aid to the potential amount of knowledge an observer could gain about whomever is depicted in the visual. Within the images analyzed from The Guardian, the *gaze* of those depicted was coded 59% 'indirect' and 16% 'unknown'. Meaning that the gazes of the represented participants in 77% of the photographs analyzed were unable to reveal much to the viewer about who those depicted in the photos were. Again, one can see that the variable of *setting* also follows the general trend at 47% of the photographs being coded as 'unknown'. Subsequently, three out of the four variables (*gaze, setting, and social distance*), used to measure the amount of 'unknown' were proportionally present within this publication. In order to visualize this data, let's look at IMAGE 65 from The Guardian and examine it via compositional interpretation:



IMAGE 65

Content – Within this image, there are numerous people depicted, so much so that they seem to go beyond the frame of the visual. The photographed group is so tightly packed into the area, the observer can only see the individuals from the waist up at most. Many are wearing jackets or sweatshirts, some with their hoods up obscuring their faces. While there are two women on the left-hand side of the image and a few children towards the left background, majority of those depicted are men, aged from probably around young adult to older adult. Where these people are (*setting*) is unknown.

Spatial Organization – The photograph is captured at a public *social distance* with a balanced angle (not looking down or up upon those depicted). Due to the substantial number of individuals, their *gaze* is unidentifiable. Those in the foreground are looking away from the camera and those in the background are too far away to classify a direction of *gaze*.

Expressive Content – Those depicted seem to be talking or chanting, what about (whether positive or negative) remains undetermined. While the observer is offered a viewing position from within, or as part of this large group, they are not presented with much information as to who these individuals are. The public social distance seems to offer an inclusivity and exclusivity at the same time. The viewer is far from some but close to others, yet still is not a part of the group due to so many unknowns (i.e. *gaze*, *setting*, and presence of public *social distance*).

In regards to the Daily Mail, not only does it fall in line with the predominant trends seen in the aforementioned overview section of this theme, it has the largest percentages of all three publications in regards to an 'unknown' *setting* and *expression*. When it came to the *expressions* depicted, 44% of the images were coded as 'unknown' meaning the observer would have a more difficult time trying to understand or comprehend those represented in the images. Additionally, 58% of the visuals under the variable of *setting* were coded as 'unknown', so not only were the participants themselves difficult to 'know', but where they came from was unspecified as well. While not the largest percentages overall, the *gaze* of the represented participant and public *social distance* were still salient in regards to the photos taken from the Daily Mail. Fifty-six percent of gazes were marked as 'indirect' and 35% as 'unknown', meaning that the gaze of the represented participant in 91% of the photographs analyzed was unable to reveal much about those in the photos to the observer. Furthermore, 58% of the images were captured at a public *social distance*. In order to visualize this data, let's look at IMAGE 67 from the Daily Mail and examine it via compositional interpretation:



IMAGE 67

Content – This image depicts a large group of individuals, which seem to be running from three security personnel seen across the foreground (one on the left, middle and right) and consequently away from the camera as well. Their *gender* as specified within the image, is unknown. One could assume but the detail of the visual does not confirm. The same could be said for the *age* and *skin tone* of those shown as well. While the image was coded for a ‘street’ *setting*, where this street is in the world is also theoretically unknown. Style of dress appears to be jeans and jackets, possibly some hats too.

Spatial Organization – The image is clearly captured at the farthest *social distance*, public. The distance between the observer and depicted persons is the farthest when compared to the other two IMAGES above. The angle seems to be fairly balanced, even though the represented individuals are seen to be running up a hill. The observer is not really looking down at or up upon these people. The *gaze* of those seen within the image is also unknown.

Expressive Content – This image gives off the suggestion of urgency and pursuit. The security personnel look to be ‘chasing’ these ‘unknown’ individuals who are now running ‘somewhere else’. While the viewer might capture such a quality from the photograph, not much else is gained. Who these people are, why they are being chased, where they are going or coming from is all unknown to the observer.

Thus, it was the BBC which remained closest to the average trends discussed in the overview at the beginning of this subsection, while The Guardian represented the least significant percentages (bar its statistics on public *social distance*), and the Daily Mail exemplified the theme of the ‘Mysterious Migrant’ the most with its large percent of imaged being coded as ‘unknown’ for *gaze*, *setting*, and *expression*. Nevertheless, all three publications remained relatively close to the overall trends.

Discussion

All in all, the data suggests that the images used in British online media reports about immigration aided to the securitization rhetoric of immigration by depicting immigrants as a mysterious and sometimes unidentified subjects. It is important to note that in all three publications over half of the images were coded for a public *social distance*. This significantly aids to the stereotype of the Mysterious or Unknown Migrant since those captured at a public social distance are said to be “people who are to remain strangers” or “are no longer represented as individuals; [but] are

shown impersonally, as strangers with whom we do not need to become acquaintances, as 'trees in a landscape' "(Hall 1966: 125; Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 126). Additionally, the 'indirect' and 'unknown' *gazes* of the represented participants led those in the images to become objects of the viewer's gaze, rather than a fellow human to be known or understood. These variables compounded with an unknown *setting* and *expression* make it all the more difficult for one to understand those shown within the images. Thus, these migrants depicted in the images above have the potential to be "seen as especially suspicious or dangerous due to the possibility that their identity or origin may not be identifiable" therefore invoking the 'fear of the unknown' (Seidman-Zager 2010: 12). Consequently, the visuals analyzed represented those trying to enter Britain, as unknown persons coming from an unknown place, who may have an unknown, potentially negative, effect to the observer and/or their country. Such a characterization of the 'Mysterious Migrant' only drives the agenda that wants to securitize, and/or keep securitized, the issue of immigration. Thus, the content analysis conducted on visuals originating from the BBC, The Guardian, and the Daily Mail within the time period between the announcements of the EU Referendum vote and the actual voting day, aided the securitization rhetoric of immigration by depicting immigrants as mysterious and unknowable

Behind Barbs

Overview

As previously discussed in the aforementioned literature review and in relation to the themes titled 'Here Come the Men' and 'The Mysterious Migrant', one can gather that the issue of immigration has the potential to have a negative or threat like connotation attached to it. In the first theme it was the dangers related to hordes of men with a potential of criminality and violence. Within the second theme, it was the fear of the unknown that presented immigration as potentially risky, dangerous, and threatening. So, the unknown was just as, or even more, hazardous than the known. If such negative trends are attributed to the issue of immigration, then the idea of how to keep such threats away, or even out entirely, is not far behind. Subsequently, the third theme found, titled 'Behind Barbs', builds upon the threat narrative shaped by the 'Here Come the Men' and 'Mysterious Migrant' themes. It will be demonstrated that 'Behind Barbs' does this through an emphasis on the notion of keeping the unknown or danger out or away from 'us'. Thus, this theme examines the variables of *presence of a fence, location of people to the fence*, as well as *gender, age, gaze*, and *social distance* in order to expose how visuals constructed the meaning of immigration as a security issue.

While the title might denote the importance of a barrier, it is not only the *presence of a fence* and the *location of persons to a fence* that matter, but again *social distance* comes into play as it denotes how close one wants to represent those being photographed to the observers. Maybe there is an

intimate relation to the photo with the potential for the observer to feel a close connection to the represented participant which could evoke sympathy, or a close social distance to arouse a middle balance, or then there could be a public social distance to indicate that such an 'unknown' should be kept at a distance away from others (Torres 2015, Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006, and Hall 1966). The placement of those represented within the images in regards to fences and barriers arouses the age-old phrase, 'good fences make good neighbors'. Whether or not such a declaration is true could be a debate for another whole thesis to argue for or against. However, for this dissertation it is the notion that barriers have value for nation states, via the idea that fences can reduce the risk of terrorist attacks, or that porous borders allow for a steady flow of global threats to emerge, which has the potential to be implied when observing images with fences involved (Avdan & Gelpi 2017). Thus, the variables of *gender* and *age* (which relate back to the 'Here Come the Men' theme) and *social distance* and *gaze* (which relate back to the 'Mysterious Migrant' theme) will be revisited in regards to the images containing fences to see if the aforementioned themes are present within these visuals since they had the potential to frame migrants as a threat. Consequently, such attributes seen within these images could have the potential to visually support the idea that barriers and fences keep danger and risk 'out' or 'away' since the *presence of a fence* is involved.

Overall, the data confirms the idea of keeping immigrants at a distance and/or behind barriers. Of the images analyzed that contained a fence or wall (N=15), 67% were photographed behind it and the other 33% were pictured

in front (see figure 5). Moreover, 57% of the images depicting a barrier were also captured from a public social distance. Meaning majority of the represented participants were kept at a distance from the observer and located behind a barrier (see figure 6).

Outlet/Location of persons to fence	Behind % (n)	In Front % (n)	Total %(N)
BBC	67% (2)	33% (1)	100% (3)
Guardian	100% (4)	0% (0)	100% (4)
Daily Mail	50% (4)	50% (4)	100% (8)
Total	67% (10)	33% (5)	100% (15)

Figure 5

Outlet/Social Distance (of images depicting a fence)	Intimate % (n)	Close Personal % (n)	Far Personal % (n)	Close Social % (n)	Far Social % (n)	Public % (n)	Total % (N)
BBC	33% (6)	33% (1)	33% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	100% (3)
Guardian	0% (0)	0% (0)	25% (1)	0% (0)	3% (1)	75% (3)	100% (4)
Daily Mail	0% (0)	0% (0)	37% (3)	0% (0)	0% (0)	63% (5)	100% (8)
Total	9% (10)	8% (9)	17% (20)	7% (8)	7% (8)	57% (66)	100% (15)

Figure 6

The themes previously discussed are also present here, and in all three publication's visuals containing fences: 73% of the images with a barrier present contained exclusively or majority men and only 27% showed women as the main or sole participant. Even fewer showed majority or

exclusively children at 13%. The theme of the 'Mysterious Migrant' was also displayed within these visuals as well, with 47% of represented participant's gazes coded as 'indirect' and 48% as 'unknown'. Meaning that the gaze of the represented participant in 95% of the photographs analyzed were unable to reveal much about those in the photos to the observer, keeping with the 'unknown' theme that has the potential to conjure a sense of danger. In the next section, the images are analyzed according to the outlet. The data shows that there are some differences among the three publications. When compared to the other outlets, The Guardian had the highest proportions of both persons depicted behind a fence and those being shown at a public social distance, while the BBC showed the lowest proportion at public social distance and the Daily Mail depicted the lowest proportion of those photographed behind a fence or barrier.

Comparisons: The BBC, The Guardian, and The Daily Mail

Within the images derived from the BBC, which contained a barbed wire fence or barrier, a majority of 67% had the represented participants depicted behind the fence and only 33% in front. The *gazes* of the represented participants brought back the 'Mysterious Migrant' element with 67% coded as unknown and 33% as indirect. Meaning 100% of the images, with barriers involved, were unable to reveal a significant amount about those in the photos to the observer, maintaining the unknowable theme that has the potential to invoke a sense of risk. Such data found in regards to *gaze* is proportionally higher than The Guardian and equal to the data found for

the Daily Mail. In regards to the *social distances* coded for images from the BBC, they were split equally between the three closest distances that can be portrayed: i.e. intimate, close personal, and far personal, at 33% each. One could potentially suggest that the BBC was trying to evoke a more personal connection to those represented behind the fences. Additionally, these images showed majority or exclusively women behind fences, at 67%, although the depiction of children was nonexistent. While the *social distances* and *genders* displayed in the BBC's images involving fences and barriers may lean towards the sympathetic side, it is still salient that majority of those depicted were shown behind the barbed wire fences. In order to visualize this data, let's look at IMAGE 30 from the BBC and examine it via compositional interpretation:



IMAGE 30

Content – The content of this image shows women, whose eyes appear to be closed, behind a chain-link fence. There is also appears to be barbed wire in the lower part of the visual. She is emoting what appears to be

distressed or distraught expression. She seems to be wearing a jacket, but other *style of dress* information is unknown. The same can be said for *setting* as well. There are other persons behind her, but due to the obscurity of the fence and blur of the image, they are more unidentifiable.

Spatial Organization – The image is captured at an eye level angle. Once again, the observer is not looking down upon or up at the individual depicted. While the angle may offer an even field for observation, the same cannot be said for *social distance*, captured at an intimate level. With her eyes shut, she also cuts off any *gaze* with the viewer.

Expressive Content – Due to the woman's expression, the feel of this image is one of anguish. Again, as seen with IMAGE 51, the intimate social distance does not suggest a welcoming or friendly feel. Even with the presence of a barrier, this person is a stranger, and people do not normally interact very closely with those they do not know. Such a feel is also maintained with the presence of the chain-link fence and barbed wire that is seen to be in front of her. Is such a barrier restrictive or protective? And whom is it for? Unfortunately, the visual does not offer such information, keeping with the 'Mysterious Migrant' theme.

Regarding the fenced images in The Guardian, a whopping 100% had the represented participants placed behind the barrier in the photograph. Moreover, public *social distance* was coded 75% of the time. Consequently, when compared to the other two publications, The Guardian had the highest proportion of images where individuals were shown both behind a fence and

at a public social distance. Thus, not only was every depicted participant photographed behind a fence, but the images were also captured at a distance which has the potential to portray them as detached or ambiguous to the observer. In regards to *gaze*, 50% were coded for 'indirect' and 25% as 'unknown'. This means 75% of the images, with barriers involved, were unable to reveal much about those in the photos to the observer, supporting the 'Mysterious Migrant' theme that has the potential to raise a sense of danger. As for the theme of men, The Guardian displayed an equal amount, 50/50, of the male *gender* as it did the female *gender* when it came to images involving fences. However, children were again minimally represented at 25%. While not as unexemplary of the 'Here come the Men' theme as the BBC, The Guardian only partially extended that within the visuals encompassing barriers. In order to visualize this data, let's look at IMAGE 42 from The Guardian and examine it via compositional interpretation:



IMAGE 42

Content – The content of this image shows a group of people (men, women, and children) mainly sitting behind a chain-link fence with two strings of barbed wired topping it. Two young female children are walking towards the camera, and some older women are sitting in the shade towards the left of the image. There also appear to be two men towards the middle-right of the visual and male children in the right corner. While two young girls walk towards the pink umbrella, the others sit on the ground among many medium to large size bags. A turned over grey basket can be seen in the foreground on the right and a stroller depicted in the center. Style of clothing appears western, except for the women in headscarves.

Spatial Organization – The angle of the photo appears to be eye level with most of those depicted even though they are photographed sitting on the ground. The *gaze* of the persons shown is unknown and the image is captured at a public *social distance*. The distance between the observer and depicted persons is farther when compared to IMAGE 30 above.

Expressive Content – It appears that the persons depicted are at a standstill or pause. Where many individuals in the ‘Here Come the Men’ theme were seen walking with such bags, here they sit among them. While there are more people for the viewer to observe in this image, and there is an equal balance of men, woman, and children in comparison to the other IMAGES, the unknown quality of the ‘Mysterious Migrant’ theme is still present. Again, whether the fence is present to confine or protect and where exactly they are (*setting*) is unknown.

In regards to the Daily Mail, half of the images depicting a fence have the represented participants placed behind it. Not only that, but 63% of the images are captured at a public *social distance* and *gazes* were coded as 50% 'indirect' and 50% 'unknown'. Meaning 100% of the images, with barriers involved, were unable to reveal a significant amount about those in the photos to the observer (tied with the BBC for the largest proportion). Thus, keeping with the theme of the Unknown that has the potential to invoke a sense of danger or threat. The photographs displaying a fence or barrier garnered from the Daily Mail also fully exhibit the 'Here Come the Men' theme. Of said images, 100% only show men as the exclusive or main represented participant involved. While there were zero women displayed as a majority or sole participant, children were also minimally seen at a proportion of 13% of the time. In order to visualize this data, let's look at IMAGE 79 from the Daily Mail and examine it via compositional interpretation:



IMAGE 79

Content – The content of this visual shows a large group of people standing behind a chain-link fence. The barbed wire displayed takes up more than half of the image. It can be seen blurred in the foreground as well as in more detail towards the background (yet still in front of the individuals depicted). From what can be seen, which is not much due to the obscurity of the fence and light contrast, these persons are mostly, if not all, men of a young adult or older *age*. *Style of dress, gaze, and setting* are unknown.

Spatial Organization – The image is captured at a slightly lower angle than eyelevel, meaning the observer faintly looks up at those depicted. As aforementioned the *gaze* of those shown is obscured by the fence and thus unknown. Captured at a public *social distance*, this image adheres to the trend of most of the other IMAGES shown.

Expressive Content – The image above seems to capture more detail of the fence than it does the people behind it. At first glance, the image is light at the top, dark at the bottom, with some sort of obstructive overlay. Upon a second look, one sees that in fact the photograph is of people depicted behind a barrier. Out of all three IMAGES shown within this theme, this one has the largest exemplification of the barbed wire, which consumes over half the visual.

As it has been shown, in the majority of the pictures, across all three outlets, when a fence or barrier is involved, the represented participant appears behind it. The Guardian had the highest proportion at 100%,

followed by the BBC at 67% and the Daily Mail with 50%. While the position of those depicted in relation to the barrier was salient to consider, so was the *social distance* that denoted how close one wanted to represent those being photographed to the observers. Again, The Guardian led with the highest proportion, at 75%, of images depicting a fence being captured at a public social distance, followed by the Daily Mail at 63%, and the BBC at 0%. Thus, the general overarching trend coded the images at a public *social distance* majority of the time (57%), which helped to convey the 'unknown' as that which should be kept at a distance away from others.

Discussion

While the number of images depicting a fence or barrier may not have been of the highest proportion in comparison to other values coded for, it is salient to note that a code that appears often cannot be said to be more important than a code that appears less frequently (Weber 1990: 72; Ball and Smith 1992). Subsequently, of those images with a fence, it was the 67% of visuals showing individuals behind a barrier that became of great intrigue to the creation of the 'Behind Barbs' theme. Especially when attention given to fences and barriers within visuals has been said to "evoke a sense of threat from immigrant invasion" (Farris and Mohammad 2018: 3). Such framing of immigrants as a threat only helps to suggest the many ways to keep such danger 'out' (Seidman-Zager 2010; Huysmans 2000; Malloch and Stanley 2005). It is thus not surprising that there are those who have then argued that fences are seen to reduce risks and threats to a nation (Avdan & Gelpi

2017). Consequently, the images containing fences were cross-analyzed with the other themes (i.e. the variables of *gender*, *age*, *social distance*, and *gaze*), since they had the potential to stereotypically represent migrants as a danger. Such visual characteristics could support the idea of barriers and fences keeping the danger 'out' or 'away'. Thus, the visuals which depicted immigrants behind a fence, during the time period between the announcements of the EU Referendum vote and the actual voting day from within the three publications, had the potential to represent migrants trying to enter the United Kingdom as a threat to be 'kept out' or at the least kept behind a fence (Seidman-Zager 2010; Buchanan et al. 2003; Avdan and Gelpi 2017; Farris and Mohamed 2018). Such a categorization of immigration has the potential to fuel the agenda that wants to securitize, or keep securitized, the issue of immigration.

The Speech Act

Overview

'The Speech Act' looks at the variables of *role*, and *presence of persons speaking* so as to see how certain visuals depicted those given the right to 'speak security' in regards to the issue of immigration (i.e. presenting the securitizing move and thus potentially securitizing or maintaining the securitized status of immigration). While the previous themes have shown how the issue of immigration is represented itself, as a risk, threat, and/or potential danger and thus securitized, this theme is about which depicted participants are given the ability to speak. While not necessarily a stereotype

itself, the trend of visuals depicting a speaking individual was an interesting find. Previous studies have shown that in the realm of immigration the media has heavily relied on politicians or other official members of state as the main sources of information, explanation, and sometimes even rationalization (on both sides) of the securitization dilemma on immigration (Buchanan et al. 2003). However, in regards to the images published in the BBC, The Guardian, and the Daily Mail during the five-month lead up to the EU Referendum, this trend has not been fully examined. Consequently, in the content analysis conducted for the purpose of this thesis, a theme was found that depicted majority of those seen to be speaking in the images, to be individual politicians. Thus, the images seem to give the power of the speech act to a specific type of role. This theme is subsequently titled, ‘The Speech Act’.

The data for this variable is as follows: of the photographs that include a participant speaking (N=18), 83% of them were coded under the role of politician (see figure 7)

Outlet/Role (of those depicted speaking)	Migrant %(n)	Politician %(n)	Other %(n)	Total % (N)
BBC	0% (0)	83% (5)	17% (1)	100% (6)
Guardian	33% (1)	33% (1)	33% (1)	100% (3)
Daily Mail	0% (0)	100% (9)	0% (0)	100% (9)
Total	6% (1)	83% (15)	11% (2)	100% (18)

Figure 7

Of those politicians (N=15), 73% were coded as individual, meaning they alone were given the authority within the image to speak. It is significant to

consider whom the media depicts as speaking on immigration, and after the content analysis was conducted, a severe bias to publicly known politicians who were also mostly white western men was found. Many studies discuss the underrepresentation of migrant's voices in a plethora of arenas, from healthcare (Van Den Muijsenbergh 2016), to motherhood (DeSouza 2004), to politics (Dancygeir 2015) and unfortunately, the visuals found within the content analysis conducted for this thesis also fall significantly short when it comes to showing speakers who are representative of the immigration issue itself. Such a representation of the speech acts in regards to immigration could potentially be seen to show who drives the agenda that wants to securitize, or keep securitized, the issue of immigration, especially since only one image was coded for the *role 'migrant' AND presence of persons speaking*. As the next section will breakdown the overall data into the three different outlets, it is important to note again that while the number of images depicting the *presence of persons speaking* may not have been of the highest proportion in comparison to other values coded for, a code that appears often cannot be said to be more important than a code that appears less frequently (Weber 1990: 72; Ball and Smith 1992). It was subsequently the large proportion of politicians coded as speaking that led to the investigation of 'The Speech Act' theme (see figure 7). In the next section, the images are analyzed according to the outlet. The data shows that there are some differences between the three publications.

Comparisons: The BBC, The Guardian, and The Daily Mail

Within the images derived from the BBC, which contained the *presence of persons speaking* (N=6), 83% of them were coded under the role of politician. Of those politicians (N=5), 60% were coded as an individual, meaning they alone were given the ability to speak within the photograph. The BBC also had 100% of the photos of speaking politicians being coded under the male *gender*, 100% falling under the category of middle-aged adult, 100% as having a light *skin tone*, and being publicly known. Consequently, the visuals from within the BBC depicted a white, middle aged, western male politician as the main represented participant portrayed as speaking during the time period between the announcements of the EU Referendum vote and the actual voting day, thus characterizing migrants as the unheard voices and emphasizing the role of the known politician. Such a representation of the speech act in regards to immigration could potentially be seen to show who drives the agenda that wants to securitize, or keep securitized, the issue of immigration. In order to visualize this data, let's look at IMAGE 5 from the BBC and examine it via compositional interpretation:



IMAGE 5

Content – The content of this image is quite simple. It depicts a man, from the shoulder up, who appears to be wearing a coat and tie while possibly addressing someone (i.e. speaking). Some of the observers might be able to identify him as the English politician, Nigel Farage.

Spatial Organization – The image is captured at an intimate social distance, and though he may not be a stranger in the sense that some of the viewers may be able to identify who he is, it is still quite a personal ‘observer to depicted participant’ distance. The image is taken just slightly under eyelevel and the gaze is indirect, as it seems to go above the camera shot.

Expressive Content – Due to the cut and frame of the image, not much is known other than this is the politician Nigel Farage and he is in the middle of speaking. While the image is attached to an article on immigration, which could lead to the assumption on what he is speaking about, the image itself does not show whom he is speaking to, or where he is speaking. However, he is depicted talking while unaccompanied by any other persons, which falls in line with the publications high proportions of showing a single individual as representing the speech act.

Regarding the images involving a *speaking represented participant* originating from within The Guardian (N= 3), the publication was 50/50 when coded for male vs. female *gender* and a light vs. medium *skin tone*. In regards to the *role* of those speaking, one was coded for ‘migrant’, one for ‘politician’, and one under ‘other’. Here one sees a slight variation in the

trends of this theme when compared to the overall majority of all three publications. It departed from the overall data even more so when it was found that The Guardian was the only publication that presented an image, which was coded under the *role* of 'migrant' AND for the *presence of speaking*. In order to visualize this data, let's look at IMAGE 65 from The Guardian and examine it via compositional interpretation (while this image was examined under the 'Mysterious Migrant' theme, it is worth reexamining under the 'Speech Act' theme as it is the only image coded as migrants depicted speaking):



IMAGE 65

Content – The content of this image strays from the overall trend of this theme. Firstly, this is not an image of one single individual speaking, there is a large group depicted. There are so many represented in the image that they seem to go beyond the frame of the visual. The group is so tightly packed into the area within the image and they appear to be speaking or chanting (mouths open, some with their arms up). While

there are two women on the left-hand side of the image and a few children towards the left background, majority of those depicted are men, aged from probably around young adult to older adult. Where these people are (*setting*) is unknown. However, the key factor within this image being examined under 'The Speech Act' theme is that the image was coded under the *role* of 'migrant' and for a *presence of persons speaking*.

Spatial Organization – The photograph is captured at a public *social distance* with a balanced angle. Due to the large number of individuals, their *gaze* is unidentifiable.

Expressive Content – The viewer is far from some but close to others. The group seem to be speaking in some form, what about (whether positive or negative) remains undetermined. However, in regards to images representing a potential speech act, this one differs from the other IMAGES in depiction and expressive content. Rather than an individual calmly speaking towards an unknown someone on the other side of the camera (or just not in view), this is a large group that appears to be getting revved up in whatever they are chanting about (i.e. see raised arms, potential clapping of other's hands, and larger open mouths), and they are addressing each other. The public social distance seems to offer an inclusivity and exclusivity at the same time. The observer is in view of the inclusive communication, yet it not really a part of it.

Within the images derived from the Daily Mail, which contained a represented *participant depicted as speaking* (N= 9), a striking 100% of were coded under the *role* of politician. Seventy-eight percent of the politicians photographed as speaking (N= 9) were captured in the image individually, meaning the online news media gave those participants the sole authority to speak on the matter within the photo. Similar to the coding of images under the BBC publications, 100% of the Daily Mail's visuals were coded under the male *gender* and were publicly known. Consequently, the visuals from within the Daily Mail followed the overall data by depicting a majority white, middle aged, western male politician as the represented participant shown speaking. In order to visualize this data, let's look at IMAGE 100 from the Daily Mail and examine it via compositional interpretation:



IMAGE 100

Content – Similar to IMAGE 5, the content of this image is also fairly basic. It depicts an individual of the male gender, from the shoulder up, who appears to be wearing a coat and tie. This person is also speaking to

someone, who is not in the frame of the image. Some of the observers might be able to identify him as the Welsh MP, David Davies.

Spatial Organization – The image is captured at an intimate social distance, and while he may not be a stranger since some observers will recognize him, it is still a relatively personal distance between the viewer and individual depicted. The image is captured at eyelevel and the gaze is slightly indirect, as it seems to go beside the camera shot, potentially to someone out of frame.

Expressive Content – This individual, whose *role* was coded ‘politician’, is photographed speaking on his own. Again, the frame of the image does not give much else away, other than this is the Welsh MP David Davies and he is in the process of speaking. While the image is attached to an article on immigration, which might indicate the topic on which he is speaking, the image on its own does not show whom he is speaking to, or where he is speaking. Nevertheless, the image depicts the overall data, of high proportions of visuals showing a single individual as representing the speech act, found within all three publications (some more than others).

Subsequently, the Daily Mail had the highest proportions of politicians represented as speaking at 100%, followed by the BBC at 83%. The Guardian however, depicted the most diverse proportions for those represented speaking at one image coded for ‘migrant’, one coded ‘politician’, and one coded ‘other’.

Discussion

While the first three themes presented how the issue of immigration was represented itself, as a risk, threat, and/or potential danger and thus securitized, 'The Speech Act' theme was more about the trend within the visuals where represented participants were given the ability to speak. Specifically, how the representation of the speech act, in regards to immigration, could potentially be seen to show who drives the agenda wanting to securitize, or keep securitized, the issue of immigration. Consequently, it comes as no surprise that in the realm of immigration and online news media, during the lead up to the Brexit vote, they relied largely on known politicians as speakers. The content analysis conducted, subsequently found a trend that characterized migrants as the overlooked voices and highlighted the role of the politician.

CONCLUSION:

Limitations and Future Research

The aims and objectives of the research were undertaken with great care. However, there remain some limitations. Although there are claims that the method of content analysis may ignore other 'sites', such as production and the social, it was stated above how trying to encompass all three 'sites' into one analysis would only impact the research negatively. Thus, this research aimed to look at one, the compositionality of the images. Additionally, based on the time limits and only one single researcher

involved in the investigation of this thesis, only three different British online news media sources were chosen. This was done in order to narrow down the scope of the research and cut down the amount of data that was subsequently found and produced. Should multiple researchers undertake this study, they might have the ability to examine more sources. Along the same lines, this research only analyzed each image's *potential* to represent immigration as a security issue, it *did not* actually discuss with various observers or viewers of the images to see what they actually took away from the visuals. Again, should one want to broaden this investigation and test if the findings actually resonate with observers, it could be done as future research. The use of Google as the database chosen to select the images analyzed may also be seen as a limitation. While this dissertation did take into account that Google has an algorithm that can affect search results, this method of garnering the images was deemed the best that was available to use for this thesis, as the researcher did not have access to other databases. Should one have access to subscription-based research services, this examination of images could potentially be additionally studied. Lastly, it is also important to take into consideration the possibility of researcher bias. As the researcher does come from a western-centric background they aimed to be reflexive in their research and how they conducted the analysis of the images to the best of their ability.

Consequently, this topic has room for future research. As an increasing amount of scholarship has come to discover the influential role that the visual sphere can have in shaping opinions and attitudes, this topic is

of great significance to the study of International Relations (Grabe and Bucy 2009). Firstly, one could continue this specific research by analyzing images after the EU Referendum vote, to see if the representation of immigration and immigrants within UK online news media continued with these trends, or if it shifted once the result of the vote was known. On top of that, one could also apply discourse analysis to the text paired with the images, both pre and post EU Referendum, in order to see if the supplementary text aided in the process of securitization, or if it read as a different story. Going even one step further past the text and the images themselves, actually conducting interviews, discussions, or surveys with individuals who look and observe the images could elucidate both significant and potentially interesting results that have the ability to generate another whole other thesis. Nevertheless, the entirety of this research aimed to examine how visuals, from British online news sources, were used to construct the meaning of immigration as a security issue in the lead up to the EU Referendum. The aforementioned research will thus supplement the developing scholarship on the visual sphere and it is hoped that others will increase its growth as well.

Concluding Remarks

As it was stated in the literature review, in order to securitize something, it must successfully be *represented* as such for the audience to accept the securitizing move. Consequently, this dissertation heavily stressed that images are a salient part of the representation and construction of immigration as a security issue. Additionally, previous studies have

emphasized, certain frames surrounding an issue have the potential to effect attitudes about policy (Brader, Valentino, and Suhay 2008; Abrajano and Singh 2009; Merolla, Ramakrishnan, and Haynes 2013; Pérez 2016), which only strengthens the significance of the research found within this thesis. Such an influence given to the construction of immigration and immigrants has the potential to effect policy and opinion, which consequently makes their visual representations something to seriously consider within the realm of International Relations. Thus, for the purpose of this thesis, it was the UK media, the issue of immigration securitized, and the visual sphere that was of particular interest. The research aimed to elucidate how images fit within security studies by examining their place within the process that generates the 'speaking of security' as an outcome, i.e. the securitization process. Primarily, the research provided an analysis of the visual framing of immigration, by British online news sources, as a security issue during the lead up to the EU Referendum. By reviewing three major UK online news platforms from February 2016 to June 2016, the thesis examined whether images supplementing various articles about immigration depicted immigrants in a specific way, emphasizing threat and/or fear, which has the potential to hint at "patterns of thought and behavior that subtly code who belongs and who doesn't, who is accepted in and who is cast out ", i.e. cues of 'us' vs. 'them' (Painter 2017: 1; Morrison 2017). Such representations could increase the potential for securitization to occur or be maintained. Specifically, the research questioned how visuals were used to construct the meaning of immigration as a security issue. The investigation subsequently

filled a gap by expanding and updating the small body of previous work on images and immigrants, in relation the contemporary political environment (i.e. Brexit) and by looking into a different media source (i.e. UK online news). Thus, the images analyzed above can be said to portray immigrants as mainly men (with a potential of criminality), who are seen as mysterious and subsequently unknown (conjuring a sense of risk, threat, danger), fenced behind barriers, and securitized via speech acts spoken mainly by known male politicians. This repetition and appearance of these types of visuals encompassed within prominent online news media sources, such as the BBC, The Guardian, and the Daily Mail, only aids to the power of the visual sphere, where over time images might begin to convey a steadier message than the numerous texts and reports that they are a part of.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Images Analyzed

THE BBC



IMAGE 1



IMAGE 2



IMAGE 3



IMAGE 4



IMAGE 5



IMAGE 6



IMAGE 7



IMAGE 8



IMAGE 9



IMAGE 10



IMAGE 11



IMAGE 12



IMAGE 13



IMAGE 14



IMAGE 15



IMAGE 16



IMAGE 17



IMAGE 18



IMAGE 19



IMAGE 20



IMAGE 21



IMAGE 22



IMAGE 23



IMAGE 24



IMAGE 25



IMAGE 26



IMAGE 27



IMAGE 28



IMAGE 29



IMAGE 30



IMAGE 31



IMAGE 32



IMAGE 33

THE GUARDIAN



IMAGE 34



IMAGE 35



IMAGE 36



IMAGE 37



IMAGE 38



IMAGE 39



IMAGE 40



IMAGE 41



IMAGE 42



IMAGE 43



IMAGE 44



IMAGE 45



IMAGE 46



IMAGE 47



IMAGE 48



IMAGE 49



IMAGE 50

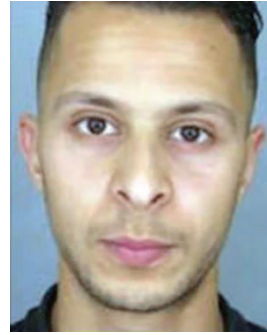


IMAGE 51

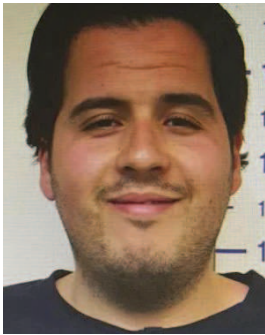


IMAGE 52



IMAGE 53



IMAGE 54



IMAGE 55



IMAGE 56



IMAGE 57



IMAGE 58



IMAGE 59



IMAGE 60



IMAGE 61



IMAGE 62



IMAGE 63



IMAGE 64



IMAGE 65

The Daily Mail



IMAGE 66



IMAGE 67



IMAGE 68



IMAGE 69



IMAGE 70



IMAGE 71



IMAGE 72



IMAGE 73



IMAGE 74



IMAGE 75



IMAGE 76

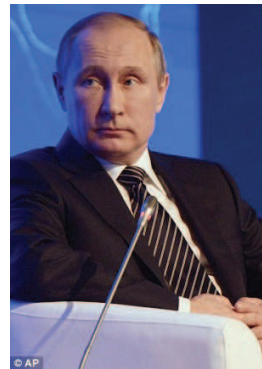


IMAGE 77



IMAGE 78



IMAGE 79



IMAGE 80



IMAGE 81



IMAGE 82



IMAGE 83



IMAGE 84



IMAGE 85



IMAGE 86



IMAGE 87



IMAGE 88



IMAGE 89



IMAGE 90



IMAGE 91



IMAGE 92

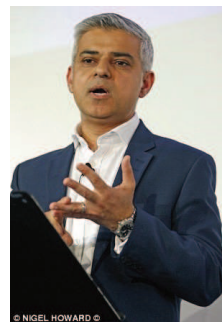


IMAGE 93



IMAGE 94



IMAGE 95



IMAGE 96



IMAGE 97



IMAGE 98



IMAGE 99



IMAGE 100



IMAGE 101



IMAGE 102



IMAGE 103



IMAGE 104



IMAGE 105



IMAGE 106



IMAGE 107



IMAGE 108



IMAGE 109



IMAGE 110



IMAGE 111



IMAGE 112



IMAGE 113



IMAGE 114



IMAGE 115

Appendix B: Image References

THE BBC

IMAGE 1 - Adler, Katya (2016) 'Migrant crisis: Why Europe is in a 'Scream''
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Appendix C: Excel Coding Documentation

Photos #	Gender Male	Gender Female	Gender Unknown	Age Child	Age Young Adult	Age Middle aged	Age Older Adult	Age N/A	Age Unknown
1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
22	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
24	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
27	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
28	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
29	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
30	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
31	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
32	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
33	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
34	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
35	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
36	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
37	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
38	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
39	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
40	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
41	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
42	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
43	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
44	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
45	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
46	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
47	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
48	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
49	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
50	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
51	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
52	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
53	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
54	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
55	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
56	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
57	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
58	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
59	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
60	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
61	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
62	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
63	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
64	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
65	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
66	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
67	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
68	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
69	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
71	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
72	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
73	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
74	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
76	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
77	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
78	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
79	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
81	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
82	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
83	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
84	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
85	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
86	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
87	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
88	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
89	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
90	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
91	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
92	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
93	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
94	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
95	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
96	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
97	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
98	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
99	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
100	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
101	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
102	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
103	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
104	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
105	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
106	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
107	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
108	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
109	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
110	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
111	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
112	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
113	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
114	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
115	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total Rows	115	115	115	115	115	115	115	115	115
Total # Photos	230	230	230	230	230	230	230	230	230
Percentage	78.31%	15.65%	10.43%	7.63%	19.13%	25.22%	5.22%	26.00%	15.85%

Photo #	Photo #	Skin Color	Skin Color	Skin Color	Skin Color	Skin Color	Style of Dress	Style of Dress	Style of Dress	Style of Dress
		Light tone	Medium tone	Dark tone	Mid	Unbrwn	Western	Non-Western	Other	Unbrwn
1		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
2		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
3		0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
4		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
5		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
6		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
7		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
8		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
9		0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
10		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
11		0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
12		0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
13		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
14		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
15		0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
16		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
17		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
18		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
19		0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
20		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
21		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
22		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
23		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
24		0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
25		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
26		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
27		0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
28		0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
29		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
30		0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
31		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
32		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
33		0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
34		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
35		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
36		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
37		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
38		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
39		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
40		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
41		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
42		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
43		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
44		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
45		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
46		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
47		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
48		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
49		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
50		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
51		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
52		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
53		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
54		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
55		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
56		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
57		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
58		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
59		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
60		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
61		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
62		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
63		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
64		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
65		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
66		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
67		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
68		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
69		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
70		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
71		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
72		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
73		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
74		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
75		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
76		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
77		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
78		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
79		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
80		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
81		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
82		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
83		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
84		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
85		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
86		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
87		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
88		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
89		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
90		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
91		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
92		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
93		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
94		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
95		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
96		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
97		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
98		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
99		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
100		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
101		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
102		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
103		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
104		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
105		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
106		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
107		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
108		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
109		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
110		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
111		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
112		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
113		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
114		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
115		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Total Sum		218	117	118	7	23	208	118	18	21
Total # Photos		335	135	135	208	138	335	135	208	138
Percentage		20.87%	49.57%	13.91%	6.09%	9.57%	56.57%	13.91%	10.43%	29.13%

Photo #	Setting Boat	Setting Event Space	Setting In the Area	Setting Transportation	Setting Refugee Care	Setting Other	Setting Unknown
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
3	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
7	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
8	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
9	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
11	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
13	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
15	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
24	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
27	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
28	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
32	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
35	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
37	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
38	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
39	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
40	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
41	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
42	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
43	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
45	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
46	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
48	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
50	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
51	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
52	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
53	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
54	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
55	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
56	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
57	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
58	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
59	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
60	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
61	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
62	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
63	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
64	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
65	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
66	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
67	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
68	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
71	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
72	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
73	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
76	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
77	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
78	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
81	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
82	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
83	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
85	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
86	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
87	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
88	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
90	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
91	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
92	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
93	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
94	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
95	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
96	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
97	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
98	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
99	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
101	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
102	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
103	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
104	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
105	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
106	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
107	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
108	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
109	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
110	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
111	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
112	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
113	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
114	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
115	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total Sum	18	0	15	0	3	3	18
Total # Photos	200	11	200	11	11	11	11
Percentage	10.47%	2.61%	13.04%	5.22%	8.70%	6.96%	53.04%

Photo #	Social Distanc Indefinite	Social Distanc Close Personal	Social Distanc Far Personal	Social Distanc Close Social	Social Distanc Far Social	Social Distanc Public	Mask (Direct)	Mask Indirect	Mask Unknown
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
35	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
39	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
41	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
42	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
46	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
48	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
51	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
52	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
53	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
54	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
55	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
56	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
57	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
58	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
59	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
60	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
61	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
62	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
63	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
64	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
65	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
66	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
67	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
68	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
71	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
72	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
73	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
76	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
77	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
78	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
81	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
82	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
83	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
85	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
86	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
87	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
88	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
90	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
91	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
92	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
93	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
94	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
95	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
96	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
97	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
98	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
99	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
101	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
102	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
103	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
104	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
105	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
106	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
107	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
108	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
109	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
110	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
111	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
112	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
113	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
114	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
115	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total Sum	10	11	11	10	11	10	11	10	11
Total # Photos	110	110	110	110	110	110	110	110	110
Percentage	8.71%	7.87%	17.35%	1.74%	6.96%	57.39%	12.17%	58.26%	29.57%

Photo #	Expression	Expression	Expression	Expression	Expression	Expression	Expression	Expression	Expression
Photo #	Anger	Contempt	Disgust	Fear	Joy	Sadness	Surprise	Neutral	Unknown
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
13	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
18	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
19	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
20	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
21	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
22	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
23	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
30	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
31	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
32	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
33	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
34	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
35	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
39	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
41	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
42	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
43	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
44	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
45	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
46	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
48	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
51	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
52	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
53	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
54	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
55	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
56	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
57	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
58	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
59	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
60	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
61	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
62	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
63	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
64	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
65	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
66	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
67	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
68	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
71	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
72	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
73	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
76	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
77	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
78	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
81	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
82	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
83	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
84	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
85	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
86	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
87	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
88	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
90	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
91	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
92	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
93	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
94	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
95	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
96	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
97	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
98	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
99	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
101	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
102	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
103	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
104	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
105	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
106	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
107	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
108	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
109	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
110	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
111	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
112	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
113	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
114	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
115	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total Sum	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Total # Photos	318	118	118	208	118	208	118	208	118
Percentage	6.09%	6.09%	0.00%	0.07%	6.96%	12.17%	0.00%	34.78%	12.17%

Photo # Photo #	Role Migrant	Role Politician	Role Security	Role Human Aid	Role Other	Speaking Speaking	Fence Fence Present	Fence Behind	Fence In Front	Criminality Present
1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
3	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
4	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
5	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
6	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
7	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
8	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
9	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
10	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
11	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
12	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
13	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
14	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
15	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
16	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
17	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
18	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
19	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
20	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
21	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
22	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
23	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
24	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
25	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
26	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
27	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
28	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
29	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
30	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
31	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
32	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
33	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
34	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
35	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
36	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
37	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
38	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
39	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
40	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
41	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
42	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
43	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
44	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
45	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
46	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
47	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
48	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
49	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
50	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
51	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
52	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
53	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
54	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
55	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
56	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
57	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
58	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
59	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
60	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
61	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
62	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
63	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
64	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
65	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
66	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
67	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
68	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
69	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
70	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
71	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
72	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
73	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
74	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
75	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
76	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
77	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
78	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
79	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
80	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
81	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
82	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
83	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
84	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
85	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
86	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
87	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
88	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
89	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
90	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
91	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
92	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
93	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
94	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
95	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
96	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
97	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
98	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
99	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
100	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
101	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
102	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
103	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
104	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
105	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
106	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
107	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
108	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
109	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
110	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
111	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
112	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
113	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
114	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
115	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Total Sum	50	35	4	1	1	50	18	30	30	35
Total # Present	50%	33%	33%	0.00%	20.70%	33%	33%	33%	33%	33%
Percentage	49.57%	38.20%	3.48%	0.00%	20.70%	33.00%	33.04%	30.00%	33.33%	33.04%

Photo # Photo #	Role Migrant	Role Politician	Role Security	Role Human Aid	Role Other	Speaking Speaking	Fence Fence Present	Fence Behind	Fence In Front	Classified Present
1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
3	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
4	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
5	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
6	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
7	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
8	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
9	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
10	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
11	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
12	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
13	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
14	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
15	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
16	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
17	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
18	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
19	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
20	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
21	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
22	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
23	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
24	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
25	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
26	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
27	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
28	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
29	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
30	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
31	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
32	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
33	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
34	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
35	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
36	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
37	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
38	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
39	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
40	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
41	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
42	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
43	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
44	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
45	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
46	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
47	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
48	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
49	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
50	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
51	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
52	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
53	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
54	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
55	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
56	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
57	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
58	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
59	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
60	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
61	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
62	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
63	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
64	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
65	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
66	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
67	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
68	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
69	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
70	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
71	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
72	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
73	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
74	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
75	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
76	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
77	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
78	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
79	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
80	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
81	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
82	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
83	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
84	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
85	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
86	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
87	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
88	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
89	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
90	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
91	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
92	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
93	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
94	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
95	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
96	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
97	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
98	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
99	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
100	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
101	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
102	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
103	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
104	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
105	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
106	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
107	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
108	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
109	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
110	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
111	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
112	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
113	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
114	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
115	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Total Sum	50	35	4	1	1	50	18	30	30	35
Total # Present	50%	33%	33%	0.00%	20.70%	33%	33%	33%	33%	33%
Percentage	49.57%	38.20%	3.48%	0.00%	20.70%	33.00%	13.04%	8.70%	4.35%	33.04%