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UK: IMMIGRATION POLICY AND RACIALIZATION OF MIGRANTS
İNGİLTERE: GÖÇ POLİTİKASI VE GÖÇMENLERİN IRKÇILAŞTIRILMASI

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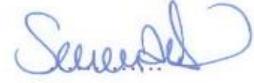Jüri Üyesi: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Özge Onursal Beşgül
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ABSTRACT

UK: IMMIGRATION POLICY AND RACIALIZATION OF MIGRANTS

The purpose of this study is to analyze the racialization of immigration in the UK, by analyzing discourses of the politicians, Theresa May and David Cameron in immigration policies announced as 'Hostile Environment Policy' and their responses to Calais and European refugee crisis. While exploring the discourses and the policies on the immigration, it intends to reveal whether we can talk about any racialization of immigration and how racialization discursively takes place. Firstly, I will discuss the notion of racialization by having referred to theoretical studies in this field and methodological discussion of Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Then, the discourses on the issues of immigration, migrants and refugee will be critically analyzed in highly debated specific cases in the UK in the light of discourse-analytical point of view to answer the question. While discussing the cases, this study will also address how the legitimization of tough immigration policy has been produced.

Keywords: Racialization, Racism, Critical Discourse Analysis, Discourse-Historical Approach, UK Immigration Policy

ÖZET

İNGİLTERE: GÖÇ POLİTİKASI VE GÖÇMENLERİN IRKÇILAŞTIRILMASI

Çalışmanın amacı Theresa May'in ve David Cameron'un söylemlerinden yola çıkarak 2012 ve 2016 yılları arasında Birleşik Krallık 'Hostile Environment' politikası ve dönemin önemli krizlerinden 2015 yılı mülteci krizi ve Calais problemini göçmenlerin ırkçılaştırılması bağlamında analize tabi tutmaktır.

Bu çalışma, göç politikası, göçmenler ve mülteciler üzerine söylemleri incelerken ırkçılık/ırkçılaştıma teorilerine başvurup ırkçılaştırmanın nasıl üretildiğine Eleştirel Söylem analizinin kollarından biri olan Tarihsel-Söylem analizi ile cevap arayacaktır. Biz ve öteki ayrımının politik söylemlerde nasıl yer aldığını ve hangi araçlarla göç, mülteci, göçmen kavramlarının dışsallaştırıldığını ortaya koyacaktır. Bununla birlikte, dönemin Başbakanı Cameron ve İç İşleri Bakanı May'in göçü kontrol altında tutmak için getirdikleri dışlayıcı politikaları nasıl meşrulaştırdıklarını tartışacaktır. Söylem türleri olarak May ve Cameron'ın parti konferansları, 'House of Commons'daki konuşmaları ve verdikleri mülakatlar değerlendirilecektir.

Bu tez, İngiltere 'Hostile Environment' politikası, 2015 yılı mülteci ve Calais krizlerinde göç, göçmen ve mülteci kavramlarının hangi söylemsel stratejilerle ırkçılaştırıldığını tarihsel söylem analizine tabi tutarak literatüre katkıda bulunmayı hedeflemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler : Irkçılaştırma, Irkçılık, Eleştirel Söylem Analizi, Tarihsel Söylem, İngiltere Göç Politikası

INTRODUCTION

Global and Local Context

Current socio-political changes, political and economic turmoil in the Middle East and Africa region push many people to leave their home countries for seeking protection in the European continent, by taking dangerous journey across Mediterranean. At that point, outbreak of civil war in Syria in 2011 is historically a crucial point, which then led millions of people to flee home countries in search of protection. The number of asylum seekers into European continent have increased from 626,960 asylum applicants in 2014 to 1,321,600 in 2015 (Eurostat 2016). This doubled rise in the number of asylum seekers have caused Europe to confront with so-called 'refugee crisis' in 2015 Summer, which is the biggest humanitarian crisis since II World war. Although European countries have implemented policies regarding 'the control of immigration' that indicates the idea of 'Fortress Europe' for long years, 2015 refugee crisis incredibly raised more tension on the issue of immigration in terms of need of further measures on protecting borders.

While EU proposed a plan on allocation of refugees among member states, the UK refused to take in Syrian refugees as opposed to EU decision. The number of refugees that London announced to accept from refugee camps until the year 2020 is just 20,000. In the meantime, Calais crisis broke out on the border of France and the UK, where different immigration groups from various ethnic background, tried to escape to the UK in 2015. Despite its small weigh in European refugee crisis, it caused substantial discussion among politicians in Britain. Considering the wish of Britain as being 'zero immigration country' (Layton-Henry 1995, p.1), it is not odd to state that the UK's response to both the European and Calais crises includes anti-immigration rhetoric, at the same time, violates international law and human rights principles.

In addition to its long-historical concern about the grip on immigration, some socio-political changes peculiar to the UK context have led the topic of 'immigration' to have been widely debated issue and take up large space in the political discourse. The anti-immigration phenomenon, which is currently dominant in the discourse of right-wing populist parties, has brought them a breakthrough in Europe by getting seats from mainstream parties in the elections. This is also valid for the case of Britain. Right-wing populist and Eurosceptic actor UKIP (UK Independence Party), founded in 1993, succeeded to get the majority of votes in the UK in 2014 European election under the leadership of Nigel Farage. Also, the previous achievement in 2013 local election shows that almost a quarter of voters chose UKIP parliamentary candidates as their representatives (Addley et al. 2013; Wintour & Watt 2014). At that point, first greatest successes of UKIP have pushed Tories into more panic, so that the governing party Conservatives started to outflank UKIP's more restrictionist and exclusionary immigration policies (Greven 2016). Thereupon, Pohl and Wodak argues that the disposition of Conservatives towards right-wing populist parties may increasingly manifest itself in the use of metaphors, idioms, symbols, and images (Pohl and Wodak 2012, p.206). At that point, these discursive strategies instrumentalize the view of 'the control of immigration,', which 'forms part of compulsory rhetoric of electoral programmes' (Derrida 2001, p.12).

The other tense debate, the Brexit referendum, by which future EU membership of UK was to be voted, was mainly spurred by anti-immigration tones by both sides and this referendum was mainly about controlling immigration coming from EU member countries. As the pre-election polls drawn nearer, more anti-immigrant discourse surrounded Bremain and Brexit campaigners (Cook 2016). In the Brexit discussion, even though Theresa May and David Cameron were on the part of Bremain, it is crucial to demonstrate that Conservative party promised to bring the country to referendum on EU membership, just before 2015 election as an electoral promise.

Seen in this context, UKIP's upsurge, the discussion around Brexit and current refugee crisis, in all of which anti-immigrant, racist and exclusionary discourses were common and prevalent, have extensively made the concept of immigration a highly controversial issue in the UK.

Research Question

The main research question of this dissertation is that how the racialization of migration and immigrants has been produced by political elites in the specific period of 2012-2016? While addressing this main question, which discursive strategies and legitimization tool pertinent to Calais/European refugee crises and Hostile Environment Policy that announced in 2012 will be elucidated in this analysis.

Regarding with the current immigration issue in the UK, there are some arguments in the literature on possible causes of the recent rise in racist approaches to immigration. The defenders of this perspective bring different explanatory dimensions of the issue in the political spectrum (Virdee & McGeever 2017, Khalili 2017). However, this paper mainly focuses on the question of 'how' rather than 'why'. Therefore, the importance of this study comes from its interest in the discursive reproduction of racism by how the objects of study, ie. migrants and immigration take place so that how the social reality is produced by elites who hold the power. For the significance of discourse, Michel Foucault states that "in any society there are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterize, and constitute the social body and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated, nor implemented without the production, accumulation and functioning of a discourse. There can be no possible exercise of power without a certain economy of discourses of truth which operates through and on the basis of this association. We are subject to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth" (1980, p.93). In that sense, the production of knowledge through a discourse is an inevitable process in

the exercise of power. Furthermore, regarding government policies and laws, they all are outcome of discourse; therefore, they reaffirm discourse.

While racism encompasses broad investigation in different disciplines, the theoretical and historical knowledge on the explanations for racism, inequalities and exclusion as a social problem manifest itself by discursively as well. Recent above-mentioned debated issues surrounding immigration make the political discourse of political elites worthy of addressing. As Bourdieu argues 'the categories of perception, the systems of classification, that is, essentially, the words, the names which construct social reality as much as they express it, are the crucial stakes of political struggle, which is struggle to impose the legitimate principle of vision and division' (Bourdieu 1990, p.134). Therefore, how the reality has been shaped in the political discourse within different discursive strategies labels the construction of immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers in the specific period. It is worth dealing the discourse to comprehend contemporary inequalities, racism, and exclusion in certain period as racist discourse needs to be analyzed in a given socio-political condition surrounding 'the moment of its enunciation' (Solomos & Back 1994).

To comprehend the development of race-immigration nexus, John Solomos's book entitled 'Race and Racism in Britain' introduces racism under the historical and conceptual frameworks. Having started 1945 onwards, Solomos analyze the developments in race relations. He deals with the question of how immigration and race relations become politicized and stress upon how race-immigration issue has interlinked each other. Especially, through analyzing the policies of British parties he unravels the concern of protecting 'Britishness' and 'Englishness' by inquiring a number of Immigration Acts (Solomos 2003, p. 178). In this way, he provides historical background indicating the continuities of 'Englishness' and 'Britishness' over years.

In addition to the work of Solomos, many studies have handled the relationship between immigration and the race; however, the critics to race sprawl in recent

years. The focal point of the discussion regarding race is whether it prevails to answer current policies on stringent immigration policies. Goodhart argues that race loose its significance to answer current problems about immigration, so that, there is any connection between racism and immigration. He claims that among different ethnic groups living in the UK, the racialization could not be observed. According to him, current UK' s problem mainly based upon significant numbers of migrants having come to the UK. The tension is related to local community failing to provide housing, education and employment (Goodhart 2013). As opposing this view, Lentin and Titley (2001) argues that even tough race seems to lose its significance in biological and cultural context, in the post-racial turn, racism performs as a euphemism for racist discourse on immigrants. While Lentin-Titley critically look at the issue of race in immigration, racism functions in different forms which may be called as the form 'denial of racism.' Even though current race-immigration nexus has been questioned by the claim that there is any influence of race/racism on the issue of migration in the UK, researchers continue to raise the issue of racialization and speak of its importance to uncover current dilemma regarding current migration regime (Erel et al. 2016).

There are significant studies that illustrate current immigration policies and related discourses of the UK to answer how racism/discrimination/exclusion have been produced. Several projects have been recently released to discuss the migration and migration-related issues. For example, Kader's (2016) paper on anti-Islamisation and anti-immigration discourse analyzes the case of the English Defence League and Britain First, which are deemed to be far-right movements in the UK. His paper mainly discovers blatant forms of racist discourse. Furthermore, Ágopcsa (2017) examines the discourse of Cameron's political language on EU migrants for a specific period between 2010 and 2015. While analyzing, Ágopcsa illustrates how Cameron's discourse surrounding immigration have become more hostile, compared with first (2010 to 2013) and second period (until 2015).

Wodak (2015b) analyzes Cameron's discriminatory speeches concerning migrants by primarily discussing the topic around the politics of identity and the construction of Others, who have been excluded by the hegemonic power. With the help of Discourse-Historical Approach, she exemplifies how EU migrants, especially Greek people, discursively face discrimination.

Furthermore, recent reports on racism which published by the European Network Against Racism (ENAR) put stress on the anti-migrant political discourse and exclusionary migration policy, which has impact on racialized migrants. This report reveals some evidence of discriminatory rhetoric of policies and speeches in the UK. According to this report, the migrants have increasingly remained as targets of hate crimes in the period of implementation of discriminatory British migration policies. In a similar vein, the report released by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) urged the UK for 'considerable intolerant political discourse focusing on immigration and contributing to an increase in xenophobic sentiments.'

Rationale of the Research

Above-mentioned studies on immigrants in the UK investigate political discourse on EU-migrants, while others examine the forms of blatant racist discourse by far-right movements. This study aims to discover discriminatory utterances including all migrants, EU and non-EU migrants in discursive events with the discussion of racialization. Although racialization of immigration has been widely discussed in migration studies, specifically in the case of Britain emphasizing the racialization of post-colonial migrants and in recent years EU migrants also inquired with this analytical framework, there is not much inquiries that have applied racialization in the analysis of political discourse of mainstream parties. The current developments in the UK require uncovering current inequalities and discrimination produced by discourses and policies, which concern different groups including asylum seekers, refugees, non-EU migrants and EU migrants who have been explicitly or implicitly

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focused in the texts. Furthermore, the discursive investigation of Hostile Environment policy and Calais/European refugee crises offers a new reading under the positive self- negative other construction.

Methodology

This paper use Discourse-Historical Approach to analyze the current political discourse and analyze the current discursive strategies in the production of racialization. Through this approach, it produces a detailed analysis of discourses of Conservative party leaders by linking up with intertextual and interdiscursive attributes of discourses, which is one of available tools in examining case with the lens of DHA strand of CDA. Furthermore, the importance of this methodology relies on signaling and uncovering the code, allusions in the discourse and implicit utterance that generated by actors or speakers (Fairclough & Wodak 1997).

The choice of CDA is based upon the fact that it seeks an answer to 'how' rather than 'why' and it definitely offers a qualitative-interpretive approach. The preference of these two leading politicians is based upon the position of Theresa May as State Secretary and Cameron's tenure as Prime Minister. The prior evidence signifies the role of the politicians. They have an impact on consequential decisions and actions taken for the lives of minority groups, migrants and refugees as a result of their policies and political decisions (Wodak & Sedlak 2000, p.221).

This study is grounded on an outside perspective which is one of the ways to search the discourse on discrimination/difference in society to unravel how minority and migrant groups experience racial discrimination (Kryzanowski & Wodak 2008, p.4). The ways to investigate the racist discourse from outside perspective contain public arenas where politics are conducted, such as parliamentary discourses, media reporting, election campaigns, party programs, public speeches and so on. Those public arenas (as discursive genres) which focuses on migration topics selected for this study have been critically interrogated.

To examine current political discourse on migration, ten speeches have been selected from discursive genres composed of public interviews, party conferences and speeches in House of Commons. The choice of these genres is primarily based upon the fact that they are directed to broad national public. Six speeches have been chosen to analyze British government approach to Calais and European crises. For examination of Hostile Environment policy, four speeches exhaustively focus upon restrictive immigration policies intended by Conservative Party to uncover how racialization has been produced.

The Scope of the Study

In the following chapter, I firstly discuss racism and racialization as a theoretical lens by appealing to recent conceptual developments of these concepts to comprehend interrelationship between racialization and migration. Then, I move on to the relationship between discourse and racism to shed light on how these notions could be interlinked to grasp the construction of refugees, asylum seekers and migrants, who are relatively powerless group in the society.

In the second chapter, I elaborately elucidate DHA strand of CDA so as to provide methodological tool to analyze subsequent cases. Therefore, this part briefly describes a number of linguistic means and discursive strategies for positive-self and negative-other presentation on the migration discourse.

The third chapter aims to find answers to the research questions by elaborating the political discourses upon European, Calais refugee crisis and Hostile Environment policy. Besides, while analyzing the cases, intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between current discourse on migration and discourses produced in the previous-years is discovered. For this reason, the history of immigration in the UK is briefly handled to explain development of immigration policies over years so that it could answer whether there is any continuity or change in discourse on immigration and related policies. Furthermore, it illustrates which discursive tools

have been applied for the racialization of immigration in the UK and which tools political elites prefer to use to legitimate exclusionary policies. In the last chapter, some suggestion and conclusion remarks are given according to all these discussions around the construction of refugees, asylum seekers and migrants in policies and political discourses.

CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1. DEFINING RACISM

In this chapter, I will introduce the different usages of racism and theoretically elaborate the concept of racialization, which I am planning to use as an analytical tool to analyze the cases in this study. Then, I will discuss the notions of discourse and racism in regard to the construction of immigration and migrants.

The first emphasis on racism, which was grounded on the notion of race, was being perceived as a 'biological category' or 'natural category' unaffected by social force, was classified as 'scientific racism' (Barkan 1992). This categorization was challenged by Barker's study (1981) named as 'The New Racism: Conservatives and the Ideologies of the Tribe'. It introduced the concept of 'new racism' by including the influences of some political changes in the UK after the 1974 election. In detail, after being defeated in the election, Conservative Party revisioned his program, especially by paying attention to immigration. In this revision, immigration was regarded as a threat to the cultural homogeneity of the nation and threatening the nation by 'swamping' the culture of 'our own people.' By introducing the term of 'new racism', Barker differentiated racism from biological and pseudo-biological assumptions and he posited a 'fixed human nature', which identified as such a 'natural to form a bounded community, a nation, aware of its differences from other nations' (Miles & Brown 2003, p.61). What makes this study so important is that it ponders why immigration become a salient topic in the Conservative Party program in the light of the ideological perspective of the party. To do so, he uses evidence from the 1970s, during which state interventions become much apparent (Solomos 1986). Thus, it shows the politicization of immigration through policies and political discourse, which reflected itself by the shift towards culture.

The definition of new racism is elaborated by collaborating with various concepts. Following the view of Barker, Gilroy (1986, p.43) further argues that the new racism has 'a capacity to link discourses of patriotism, nationalism, xenophobia, Englishness, Britishness, militarism and gender difference into a complex situation which gives race its contemporary meaning'.

The term of 'new racism' in Europe paved the way for discussion of many racisms rather than sticking to one type of racism (Balibar 1991; Hall 1980; Sivanandan 1983; Solomos & Back 1994; Wieviorka 2013). In the similar vein, Goldberg (1990, p. xiii) has pointed out 'the presumption of a single monolithic racism is being displaced by a mapping of the multifarious historical formulations of racisms'. This means that racism is not a fixed concept, it has changed and re-emerged through the time and history. The new racism, which has not been expressed in a neo-fascist discourse and not taking account of biological categorization, does not contain the dichotomy between inferiority and superiority based on the racial meaning which has not been taken in the political discourse. Instead, discursive features of new racism have been expressed by social characteristics (frequently in the form of "topoi") (e.g., protecting jobs, concern about welfare benefits, e.g.) or cultural incompatibilities and differences (Kryzanowski & Wodak 2008, p.2). In the discussion of new racism which could be termed as xeno-racism signifies a mixture of xenophobia and racism. It remarks a more racist tune against migrants by making them illegal in the public mind even if there are some who seek asylum and need protection. The sentiment of a stronger opposition to migrants could be termed under the fear of the stranger regardless of their skin-colour (Cole 2009; Fekete 2001; Sivanandan 2001). About this kind of racism Sivanandan (2001) further argues:

> 'It is a racism that is not just directed at those with darker skins, from the former colonial territories, but at the newer categories of the displaced, the dispossessed and the uprooted, who are beating at Western Europe's doors, the Europe that helped to displace them in the first place. It is a racism, that

is, that cannot be colour-coded, directed as it is at poor whites as well …. It is a racism that is meted out to impoverished strangers even if they are white. It is xeno-racism'.

This definition underlines the asylum seekers, especially through 1990s, when the arrivals of them swiftly increased in Western Europe. The impoverished or poor strangers have constituted new immigrant group, who has discursively faced with exclusionary or racist discourse produced by Bills and led to the development of the term of anti-asylum seekers racism, as well.

The transformation of the term of race into the contemporary meaning presents the idea that the race and racial meanings are sometimes manifest and sometimes they are inferred from culture, ethnicity and social problems approach (Murji & Solomos 2004). This domain of race has further expanded that may be illustrated in that race is a social construction that is being used as 'a legitimizing ideological tool to oppress and exploit specific social groups and to deny them access to material, cultural, political resources, to work, welfare services, housing, and political rights' (Reisigl & Wodak 2001; Wodak & Reisigl 1999). At that point, the actors, who have the power to problematize and exclude the 'others' in the society, legitimize their exclusionary policies, by stressing upon others' negative attributes.

1.1.1. Racialization

Racialization has become a leading topic in diverse research areas in the UK such as immigration, political discourses, the media, crime, poverty, housing since the 1970s (Murji &Solomos, 2004). The concept of racialization comes from earlier sociological work on racism (Garner 2009, p. 42). Regarding the definition of this concept, Small (1994) come up with various assumptions to describe it such as 'a process, a problematic, a concept, a theory, a framework, and a paradigm'. The lack of clarity of this term push the writers to develop their own conceptualization so

that the scholars on racialization contribute to this concept in their analyses (Murji & Solomos 2004).

The prevailing view of scholarship specializing in racialization has been that 'the object of study could not be race itself, but rather the processes of the study by which the race becomes salient' (Garner 2007, p. 62). Specifically, sociologists who prefer to use the term of racialization in their studies are mainly in the opinion of 'the study of races not to be justifiable' and they do not consider 'races are something real', but rather they take the view of that the social groups, racial identities, and racisms are real (Zakharov 2014, p. 47). From this point of view, there is a inconsistency in the definition of the notion of the race in the racialization: While some refer it to 'a specific and narrow discourse of biologically distinct races' or 'a process of cultural differentiation', or the other approach to race manifest itself as 'a code in which the idea or a language of race is not manifest at all'. While some scholars such as Banton (2002), who has strongly oppose to the view of a code in statements indicating the race and opines that without the language of race, no racialization can be argued; Miles, who rejected 'race and race relations' as analytical categories, and rather choose the concept of racialization in which the ideas of race are constructed and used for exclusionary attempts (cited in Murji & Solomos 2004, p. 2-10; Wodak & Reisigl 1999). In the similar vein, the (in)famous underlining migrants as 'swamping', released by Mrs Thatcher in 1970s (when she said that 'people are rather afraid of being swamped by those with a different culture), can apparently be rated as an example of coded racializing discourse.

According to post-colonial scholar Patrick Wolfe, racialization is an exercise of power on its own right, that underlines the unequal power relations with 'others' (cited in Garner, 2007). As a common shared point as Small (1994) claiming that it provides 'better ways of discussing the power'.
It is important to mention that earlier studies in the UK provide how the racialization of immigration has taken place through policies and legislation, media coverage and various forms of political mobilization (Carter at al 1987; Murji & Solomos

2004; Solomos 2003) legislation, by associating immigrant population with the problems in housing, employment, policing and social services in various social domains. In this approach, one dimension of the racialization relies on the perception of the threat, by which the dominant actor creates real or imagined fear in such cases: loose of safety and security, personal or national, and the new migrant taking their job and for lower wages (Gans 2017).

Anthias and Yuval Davis's (1992) approach has led broader conceptualization of the term of racialization by explicitly putting stress upon the concepts of the migrants and refugees who are constructed in ethnic terms (cited in Murji & Solomos 2004). According to these writers, these inferior groups have been shaped as 'political, cultural and national outsiders and undesirables.' Gans's (2007) approach has been sharing the same opinion as racialization occurs with 'the arrival of new migrants, voluntarily and involuntarily, who are perceived as different and undeserving'. Based on these assumptions, it could be seen in some remarks that they broaden the conceptualization of racism and racialization so that racialization could overlap with the notion of racism in the definition. Due to various usages of the concepts of race and racism and their non-static character, it is crucial to define these concepts in this study my position is based upon following definition:

'Racialization occur when the category of 'race' is invoked and evoked in discursive and institutional practices to interpret, order, and indeed structure social relations. Race in this sense is not an essential trait of migrants, but rather the socially constructed contingent outcome of processes and practices of exclusion ... Racialization does not require putative phenotypical and or biological differences' (Fox et al. 2012, p.681)

According to this definition, the process and the practices of exclusion by which hierarchical relations produced and the migrants may be faced with multilayer discrimination in the society is important in the occurrence of the racialization. In this exclusionary process, government in power and its policies remain as the key

actor, which have discursively introduced its approach on the issues of immigration and migrants. Furthermore, the term of race in this study is to be dealt with by the coding element signifying discursive racialization. Also, the idea of power, which has strongly been emphasized in the racialization process, is the crucial remark for the concept of racialization. With regard to the issues of power, it is crucial to define 'who has access to which 'orders of discourse', to which genres, contexts, and in which roles' (Wodak 2008, p.55).

According to earlier anti-immigrant propaganda on the arrival of immigrants to the UK, they are perceived as 'non-white' so that the word of immigrant had a trace of a racist tune due to the color factor (Fomina 2010). The analysis based upon the fact that biological character could not answer the current ongoing crisis. To put it in more detail, in the era of the impact of post-structuralism and post-modernism in social sciences, remarking the racialization with just its biological characteristic, would fail to investigate the current political, social events and answering the conundrum. For example, new EU migrant population in the UK who came from Central and East European countries (Ágopcsa 2017; Dawney 2008; Fox et al. 2012), Jewish population (Kushner 2004) and Irish population in the UK have been analyzed with the title of politicization and racialization of immigration irrespective of migrants' skin colour. While prior studies just touched upon 'non-white' or 'coloured' immigrants as causes of wide-range problems in British society, the subjects in migrant groups have changed over times, such as 'poor whites' started to be used for racialization of immigrants based upon their social background (Krzyzanowski & Wodak 2009).

Goldberg (2006) argues that race became 'that which cannot be uttered' in Europe after World War Two, that asks to question how racism appear to function without a link to the concept of race. To elaborate the critical position in the race, Murji and Solomos (2004) and Garner (2013) develop the concept of race in which racialization is chosen for elucidate the race in a coded form (such as the case of racialization of asylum seekers handled by Garner). This view is also illustrated in

Solomos's account to racialization which is 'done through coded language' (1989, p. 50).

In the light of discussion of the notions of racism/racialization, Erel, Murji and Zahaboo (2016) focus upon race-migration nexus to understand contemporary development in migration policies. While in current British media and politics it is prevalent to see the idea of no relationship between racialization and migration, especially expressed by Goodhart (2013), these scholars evoke racialization to discuss current migration policy and related-discourses. At that point, they classify the relationship between the racialization and migration under three nexi, called as the 'changing migrations-continuities of racism', the 'complex migrations-differential racialization' and 'post-racial migrations- beyond racialization'. The first umbrella to comprehend this nexus is the continuities of racism arguing the discussion on 1960s prevailed upon white and nonwhite or black 'coloured' segregation is valid in current discussion in migration. The second framework deals with differential racism to manage different forms of racism to discuss racialization. The third nexus, in which the approach of post-racial turn is prevalent, the race is not identifiable in current politics, however, the racism could be analyzed in a form of 'denial of racism', appear to oppose the idea of racism. In this regard, 'liberal post-racial turn functions as a euphemism for the racializing of immigrants' (Erel et al. 2016).

According to above-theoretical and conceptual discussions, the domain of racialization of immigration in the UK could be approached by discursive practices through which racial hierarchies and inequalities have been -explicitly and implicitly or directly and indirectly -maintained and reproduced. At that point, it is crucial to analyze the relation between discourse and racism.

1.2. Discourse and Racism

The approach of discourse studies on racism, which assume the racism as a discriminatory discursive social practice (Wodak & Reisigl 1999), expands definitions of both racism and racialization to the interpretive and post-structuralist realm. Scholars deal with different forms of racism reflecting itself through discourse. In regard to the relation between discourse and racism, the analyses of Frank Reeves (1983) show how the changes in racist discourse in the UK take place. Furthermore, the work of Reeves reveals how the term of race is not explicitly produced, instead he lay/put emphasize on the coding form of racism in the examination of empirical data taken from parliamentary debates on immigration and Race Relations Bills and Conservative and Labour party conference reports, rather than analyzing blatant forms of racism used by far-right. Furthermore, he reveals the forms of legitimation used by political actors which have become 'more sanitized' and in some ways 'more covert' or more specifically manifest itself through 'equivocation'. These issues have been rigorously elaborated with the frame of 'discursive racialization', which put forward by Reeves.

Although Banton's (2002) critical reading of 'racial coding' could be counted as a valuable contribution to the discussion on racialization in the 1980s, the discursive cases and texts, which needs to rigorous and critical lens for analysis, inevitably present knowledge on coded racializing discourse. Moreover, this form of the discourse could be both authoritarian and liberal (Wetherell & Potter 1992). Obviously, liberal form of racist discourse draw more attention and needs more rigour, critical view to unravel the discursive strategies leading up to racial discrimination, discursively. Furthermore, liberal form of racism does not take diffuse, blatant forms, rather it could express itself by the 'the denial of racism' in the way of positive self-representation, along with implicit negative discourses on out-groups or minorities being excluded from accessing their certain rights (van Dijk 1993; van Dijk, 1992). In line with this approach, Foucault also gives importance to investigate what is not said and what does not have to be said, because

of their potent signifier than what is explicitly said (Murji & Solomos 2004, p.286) It is important to state that it is not the fact of inequalities and differences constitute racism or discrimination; however, such differences which have been generalized in the negative categories are used as an instrumental to label the whole groups such as migrant population as out-group (Delanty et al. 2008).

1.2.1. Who are Racialized Subjects?

It is crucial to mention how the actors in the public sphere have been presented as the subject of racist discourse. At that point, Kryzawoski and Wodak (2008, p.6) generally introduce the common subjects who become the target of discriminative discourses on the immigration.

1. First, today's racialized subject differs from past biological and phenotypical assumptions defined for it. One example, poor whites who come from within Europe, can be racialized in different terms. Although they are not identifiable in race terms, it does not mean that they are not racialized.

2. Second, non- European migrants have generally been classified under two categories; refugees or asylum seekers on the one hand and 'economic' migrants on the other. Those in the first group mainly come from Middle Eastern countries such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran, Syria and Africa. As for second group of migrants, who come from Asia and are more likely to be educated, have an opportunity to access to work in host countries such as in service sector. Furthermore, they can be even employed as professionally qualified workers. In public discourse, migrants and refugees or asylum seekers appear with the notions of 'criminality' and 'illegality'.

This categorization presents a general outlook to the subjects in discursive practice and demonstrates that there is no single and clearly defined notion that fully

encompasses the migrants as persons and groups. At that point, it is crucial to understand how and in which meaning British leaders use and construct the notions of migrants and refugees or asylum seekers and in which context they prefer to choose these notions.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

2.1. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

CDA is a problem-oriented approach that social problems are main particulars of a research, such as racism, exclusion, discrimination, social change which need to be analyzed through discourses. Because of its strong remark on social problems, it is entailed to incorporate multifold theories and disciplines to elaborate events/debates; so that it has called with its multi-theoretically and multidisciplinary features in their analysis and collection of data (Wodak 2004, p.188). At that point, theory and method constitute crucial part of CDA research.

The discourse covers a large domain that could be 'anything from a historical monument, a lieu de memoire, a policy, a political strategy, narratives in a restricted or broad sense of the term, text, talk, a speech, topic-related conversations, to language per se' (Wodak & Meyer 2009, p.3). The common approach to the definition of discourse, which have been referred to by CDA-scholars, is following:

> "CDA sees discourse- language use in speech and writing- as a form of 'social practice'. Describing discourse as a social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it. A dialectical relationship is a two-way relationship: the discursive event is shaped by situations, institutions and social structures, but it also shapes them. To put the same point in a different way, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped: it constitutes situations, objective knowledge, and social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people" (Fairlough & Wodak 1997, p.258).

It is worthwhile to state that discourse differs from the text in that whereas text combines oral utterances or written documents, the discourse lay stress upon 'a form of knowledge' and 'memory of social practice' (Wodak 2004, p.187). Also, the discourse is not a closed entity, rather it is always open to reinterpretation across the time. The main argument of CDA comes from its highlight that language does not have power on its own and it is powerful by its use by actors and agents, who possess 'language means' and 'public fora' (Baker et al 2008, p.274). Therefore, it needs a critical and rigorous lens to uncover dominance, power-relations, discrimination, the process of exclusion and control; so that it aims to unravel these power-relations between different groups in the society which expressed, propagated and legitimized by language use. This strong point of the language has been in line with Habermas 's claim that 'language is also a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power. Insofar as the legitimizations of power relations … are not articulated, … language is also ideological' (Habermas 1967, p. 259). In other words, CDA, as being an approach/theory influenced by the critical theory of Frankfurt school, chooses 'critical' umbrella to 'make the implicit explicit', so that it has been applied for challenging common understanding so as to 'not take anything for granted' (ed. Wodak 2013, p. xx).

2.2. Discourse-Historical Strand of CDA

DHA strand of Critical Discourse Analysis has been enhanced with the studies of Wodak and her colleagues in Vienna which is essential for offering a new model for CDA, specializing on discourse about racism, discrimination, nationalist discourses, anti-Semitism, ethnic prejudice, the European public sphere, identity politics and right-wing populist discourse. Accordingly, identity construction of us and them is an essential part in DHA. Reisigl and Wodak's (2001) analysis on racism, antisemitism and ethnicism from the discourse-historical analytical point of view have offered new discursive tools and strategies under the frame of DHA,

especially for those studies aiming to unravel systematically discursively racial discrimination within peculiar socio-historical context (Fairclough & Wodak 1997). Their contribution to discourse studies have been illustrated in several other studies on racism and prejudices to analyze discourse germane to foreigners, indigenous minorities, immigrant workers, etc (Matouschek et al. 1995, p.281; Wodak et al. 1998).

The choice of Discourse-Historical strand of CDA in this study is based upon its attempt at exploring the historical-political side of the research, so that it contains as much as background information about the discursive cases which have taken place in a specific context (Wodak & Reisigl 1999, p.186). According to Wodak, 'the context of language use, to be crucial', which has different layers, plays a pivotal role in grasping the texts (Wodak 2001a, p.2). This significance comes from the remark of Wittgenstein that the utterance gain meaning in their historical, ideological, situational and cultural contexts (Wodak 1996, p.19).

To make it clearer, texts could not be analyzed without including the context, which is described with triangulatory approach. A *four level-model* context, which contains socio-political/*historical context* for following historical development in migration policies; the *current context* in specific events/debates; *text-internal co-text,* that specific text produced by actors and *intertextual and interdiscursive relations* (Wodak 2015a, p.5; Wodak & Reisigl 2001, p.385). Intertextuality means that a text is interrelated with another text in past or present in several ways. This connection includes explicit reference to actors or the events and implicit ways such as allusions or evocations. It constructs legitimacy by making references to older texts. In this regard, it gains meaning by producing legitimacy in quoting and being quoted rather than just touching upon old texts. Moreover, this implies that intertextual perspective is also related with how the texts are read and interpreted, so that how knowledge taken from one text are interlinked to another (Hansen 2006, p.57-58). As for interdiscursivity, a discourse on x issue might be linked with other topics or subtopics of discourses. In this matter, the discourse about migration

employs discourses about security, unemployment and so on in the analysis (Wodak 2015b, p.6; Fairclough & Wodak 1997). The emphasis on intertextuality is specifically consistent with the historical part of this form of CDA due to the interconnection between history and a text and their obvious impacts on each other (Kristeva 1986, p. 39). In this study, subsequent case studies illustrate how this point operates in practice.

The instruments of DHA consists of three main steps: *the discourse topics, discursive strategies* and *the linguistic means*. The first step, *the discourse topics*, illustrates the main theme of discourse, 'in the narrative on a given subject'. The second step, discursive strategies, offer tools for answering the research questions, which is exhaustively dealt below. The third step of analysis require *linguistic means* to explore discourse strategies. (Aydın-Düzgit 2017, p. 4-5).

What makes DHA distinctive is that it draws upon the context due to historical quality of all discourse, which highlights its interdisciplinary, multi methodological points, and including in different empirical data as well as background information in the analysis. Therefore, it serves a more proper understanding of social reality with sociological, historical apparatus than conducting a research with just linguistic devices. Also, it takes the argumentation strategies into consideration in the analysis of discursive cases, through which they offer practical text guides in the analysis (Hülsse 1999, p.9) and its stress on political discourse, which presents the extensive use of argumentation theory (Meyer 2001, p.22).

In this regard, this study deals with the problem of racialization from in-depth analysis which deconstructs the coherence and cohesion of texts in detail. For that reason, in-depth analysis is handled with research questions that requires the analysis of a number of discursive genres (political speech, interview, etc.) along with the macro structure of the respective text, argumentation schemes, other discursive strategies, the strategies of identity construction.

2.2.1 Positive-Self and Negative-Other Presentation

The language manifests itself both as constituting distance and solidarity between two entities. However, the most common attribute regarding 'Other', often base upon (false) dichotomies or fallacious argument which in turn lead to a categorization of human beings as one part of opposing poles (Meadows 2005)

The discursive construction of 'us' and 'them' is the basic point of difference and exclusion; therefore, such discourses are focal point for analysis of discourses of discrimination and racism (Wodak 2001b, p.73). In case of migration, generally, studies about discourses on migrants and immigration show that these terms have been frequently associated with 'stranger' and 'enemies', through body politics/identity and border the Others do not let in to country, while some are allowed to enter the country (Wodak, 2015b). In this case, Walters (2006) states that EU countries' measures against illegal migration exactly illustrates tense and exploitative clashes of Us vs. Them, which is a kind of conducting 'ultra-policy' (Kaya 2016, p.12). How the policies for controlling undocumented migration have been legitimized and how these measures have discursively been produced constructing migrants as 'aliens', 'others' and 'foreigners' to protect the British society have remained as a critical point to examine. In positive self-presentation, political actors generally talk on the long tradition of hospitality, tolerance, democracy, equality and other values, especially among conservative parties, positive self-presentation functions as a tool of 'denial of racism', by which they introduce negative attributes of others by not producing explicit discriminative discourse (van Dijk 1992; van Dijk 2000).

2.2.2. Discursive Strategies

The strategy, by which the actors attempt to achieve certain political, social or linguistic aim by discursive practices, has offered systematic ways of using language (Wodak 2004, p.195). There are numbers of discursive strategies to

analyze texts and talks; however, this study focuses on discursive strategies under argumentative schema 'positive self- and negative other-representation', on which DHA mainly concentrates upon (Meyer 2001, p.27). Table 2.1 which generally illustrates different types of strategies is applicable to the cases to understand how actors represent themselves to legitimize their exclusionary and discriminatory politics. To put it in a more detailed way, argumentation schema (topoi), metaphors, construction of in-group and out-group in this table which are visible in our discursive cases help understand the position of political leaders and how they pave the way for the racialization of immigration and migrants. To deeply comprehend these discursive strategies, some questions are considered as crucial to defining the subjects, specifically racialized subjects in this study. How are chosen subjects (migrants, UK, and non-EU migrants) named and referred to linguistically? What traits, features and characteristics are attributed to them? By which arguments have the subjects been employed, legitimated, excluded, justified in the discourse? Are the respective utterances intensified and mitigated? (Wodak 2015b, p. 8; Wodak 2001b, p.73)

2.2.3. Some Important Linguistic Tools and Their Application in the Analysis of Political Discourse

While discussing cases, Positive Self and Negative Other Presentation requires some discursive strategies to comprehend the main questions in this study. At that point, Table 2.1 exhaustively offers linguistic means to be used in the analysis. First, referential / nomination strategy indicates how in- and out-group have been described by the means of metaphors and metonymies. Second, predication strategies could be realized as evaluative features of negative and positive traits, at that point it appears to share common point with nomination strategy. The other one, the intensification and mitigation strategies look into how actors intensify or mitigate their point of view (Richardson & Wodak 2009b, p. 47-48).

The following part sheds lights on the argumentation strategies from discursive strategies in a detailed manner and *Metaphor-Metonymy* will be explained to cover what they are discursively implying.

2.2.3.1. Topoi

As Wodak touches upon the importance of strategies as follows: 'The range of argumentative strategies and insinuations will illustrate new dimensions of the discursive construction of the other' (Wodak 2004, p.194). At that point, DHA draws on a number of discursive strategies, one of which is called as topoi. According to Rubinelli, topoi are strategies of argumentation, which makes actors to deliver a successful speech. Furthermore, topoi play a decisive role for coded language to discuss racism, ethnicism, and nationalism; furthermore, it is an instrument to justify social and political inclusion or exclusion (Wodak & Sedlak 2000, p. 228). Although there are some generalized topoi used for analysis on the immigration discourse, it is not fixed. Rather it depends on the analysis in context-related discourse. Regarding immigration, Wodak introduces these topoi, which has been used by political leaders in arguing for or against the discrimination of immigrants, refugees and minorities (Wodak 2001a; Wodak 2015c, p. 53). For example, *topos of threat or topos of danger* occurs if some actions contain disastrous consequence. Actors or leaders do something to be against or prevent this danger related case to have happened. As an instance of this form of topoi, especially commonly used in migration discourse is that if too many immigrants and refugees enter to the country, the native population will not appreciate this situation and they become hostile to immigrants.

Another very common topos in migration discourse is '*topos of number*'. According to this form of topoi, if the numbers prove/don't prove a specific point of view, a particular action should be performed/ not be carried out. For instance, immigrants and refugees are said to come in large numbers, which produce a result that immigration should be reduced or even stopped.

The topos of burden, in which if an institution, a country and a person is burdened by a number of problems, one should act to solve problems. This form of topoi is broadly used in the immigration as the burden on public services.

The topos of abuse is generally employed if a right and an offer for help is abused, the right or the support should be withdrawn and actors should take measures to prevent the abuse of system.

Topos of definition or topos of name interpretation serves as follows: If a thing or a person (group of persons) is named as X, this group of persons carries the qualities contained in the meaning of X.

Topos of finances serves as follows: If a specific action and decision cost too much money, one should perform actions that help avoid the loss or that diminish the cost of action.

2.2.3.2. Metaphor-Metonymy

Metaphors and metonymies are significant tools in us vs them thinking. The role of metaphors on the issue of migrants and immigration contains unwanted, negative and destructive meaning in the analysis. In the schema, they illustrate tools in referential/nomination strategy and they describe the subjects. There are fixed forms of metaphors employed in racist and xenophobic discourses, such as 'immigration as flood disasters' and depicting 'migrants or immigrants as a water-course/current/flood metaphors' and so forth (Reisigl & Wodak 2001, p.59). Furthermore, the use of metaphors is also a good strategy for the legitimization of policies (Charteris-Black 2005, p.13); so that it has the power of persuasion in the case of strict immigration policies.

Table 2.1 Discursive Strategies for Positive Self- and Negative Other- Representation

Strategy	Objectives	Devices
Referential / Nomination	Discursive construction of social actors/events/actions/processes	Membership categorization Biological, naturalizing and depersonalizing, dehumanizing Metaphors, metonymies
Argumentation	Justification of positive and negative attributions/ political inclusion and exclusion	Topoi Fallacies
Predication	Describing social actors/events/phenomena more or less positively or negatively	Implicit and explicit predicates Evocations, allusions,
Intensification Mitigation	Modifying epistemic status of proposition	Intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of utterances

Source: Wodak 2001b, p. 73

Table 2.2 Topoi in Discriminatory Discourses About Migration

Topoi	*Warrants*
Topos of number	if the numbers prove/don't prove a specific point of view, a particular action should be performed/ not be carried out.
Topos of threat or danger	if some actions have disastrous consequences, one should prevent it
Topos of burden	if a situation and action impose a burden on society and country, one should act to solve problems or eliminate burden
Topos of abuse	if a right and an offer for help is abused, actors should take measures to prevent the abuse of system.
Topos of definition / topos of name interpretation	if a group of persons is named as X, this group of persons carries the qualities in the meaning of X
Topos of finances	if a specific decision and action cost too much money, the actors should prevent this action.

Source: Reisigl & Wodak 2001

CHAPTER III
ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze and discuss the cases in the light of DHA described in previous chapter. This will address the main research question about the racialization of migrants in the UK. Drawing on a number of discursive strategies in DHA, it serves finding an answer to the question: how the racialization of migrants and immigration have been discursively produced by evaluating how are subjects, i.e. the migrants and immigration framed in a political discourse and policies and which tools leaders use for the legitimization of their policies. The chapter is divided into two main sections, in which European and Calais refugee crises and Hostile Environment policy as discursive events will be analyzed.

For better understanding of discursive strategies in DHA employed in the discourse upon Calais/ European refugee crisis and Hostile Environment Policy, I firstly want to frame the discourse analysis by giving some historical and political developments in the British immigration policy owing to the fact that different historical circumstances may distinguish the content of the discourse; therefore, different forms of racist and xenophobic discourses in cases could be out. Furthermore, the fact that current policy should be utilized with policies produced before is one of DHA's contextual dimension which requires intertextual and interdiscursive analysis. In all, such a historical background of immigration policy will crystalize whether there is a continuity in policies and discourses.

3.1. History of Immigration in the UK

Britain is one of western foremost successful 'would-be zero immigration country', that has always attempted to bring down the number of immigrants (Layton-Henry 1995, p.1); therefore, British immigration policies have generally consisted of restrictive and exclusionary legislation set out by governments. Despite this general

view on immigration in the UK, the policies and migration-related discourses have changed across time, to some extent, depending on the political developments.

The first piece of legislation, called as 1905 Aliens Act, aimed to restrict the arrival of Jewish emigrants and refugees from Russian, Ukrainian and Latvian massacre. Later on, in the era of post-World-War II different migrant groups came to the UK, such as people from Commonwealth countries. These people were migrants from ex-colonized countries and during this post-war era, in which the British government needs to economic growth, migrants were to be allowed to enter to the UK for economic recovery. However, the studies show that politicians already have had hesitant attitudes towards migrants, especially towards Blacks, who have been stigmatized as 'colored immigrants.' On the other side, the British state implemented an active immigration policy for displaced persons in Europe in the post-world war II era, mostly Poles and other Europeans. Thanks to this policy, some 350,000 European Volunteer Workers came to the UK (Joppke 1999, p. 105-106). Although UK needed economic development in the post-war era in the sectors such as textile, transport and metal manufacture, British politicians' responses to migrants' settlement, integration and migrants' acceptance remained insufficient (Banton 2012; Layton-Henry 1985, p.32). To put it in more detail, migrants, especially those depicted as 'Black' migrants, have faced many levels of discrimination in the domains such as employment and housing. Further, they were not employed or given low-paid manual work and they were resettled in poor-quality housing. Within such circumstances of restrictions in everyday life of migrants, Britain continued to accept the labor migrants who reached from its ex-colonized countries until 1962. After that, the UK started to enforce restrictive immigration policies, so that it intended to prevent the arrivals of Commonwealth citizens who perceived as a domestic problem of multi-racial Britain. (Erel et al. 2016, p. 1343). Joopke (1999, p.102) explains that British immigration policy is to strive for holding a nation from a vast empire which consists of predominantly white people so that the arrival of subjects from Commonwealth seem as a root cause for racial biases in the British immigration policy. This emphasis could be inferred from

pieces of evidences of the concern of the Inter-Departmental Working Party's discourse on the possibility of 'an inassimilable minority' in the 1950s (Layton-Henry 1985, p. 32). The other sign of such discourse could be analyzed is in 1968, Conservative Member of British Parliament, Enoch Powell's infamous speech called as 'rivers of blood' delivered in 1968. That underpinned the enormous number of migrants in the UK who could not be assimilated into the British society. Also, he strongly emphasized the role of government to reduce immigration by repatriation and strict border controls (*The Telegraph* 6 November 2007).

1968 Immigration Act which put barriers to the entry of East African Asians, has been shown as a significant sign of the interest of 'racial harmony' of Act's racial motivation according to European Convention on Human Rights. Since 1970s, the Tories pledged to halt the permanent immigration to the UK. This desire was explained by having approached to the issue of migration as 'secondary' to 'the basic problem of community relations' (Joppke 1999, p.102). Actually, the tone of Powell's speech continued in the following years in the discourses such as marking migration as 'a threat to social order' or 'concern of racial disharmony' (Fomina 2010, p.68).

While the migrant population in Britain consisted of limited number of people who come from specific regions, the demography of Britain started to change swiftly from the 1980s onwards due to the increase in the number of migrants (Unutulmaz 2016, p.150). Due to high number of asylum seekers who came to the UK as a result of political changes in European continent which resulted in the displacement of European people in the continent, such as the collapse of the Soviet Union and Bosnian war. Before the success of 1997 Labour government, previous government Conservative party passed discriminatory immigration acts, which pretended to restrict the numbers of asylum seekers and refugees by means of deportations and detentions (Humphries 2002, p. 215 – 216).

In subsequent years, the Labour government announced its open-door policy to EU's eight new member states from Eastern Europe in 2004, through which the

arrivals of EU citizen went up. While net migration of EU remained below 35,000 each year before 2004, an enormous increase took place after EU enlargement, from 2004 to 2007 – when it reached 127,000. Due to the financial crisis (2008-2012), the number of EU migration decreased to 58,000 in 2009 (Sumption & Vargas-Silva 2017). While the approach of Labours to immigration appear to adopt a positive attitude in case of EU migrants, Labours had continued to limit net migration to the UK by implementing a restrictive border control on non-EU immigrants and asylum-seekers (Ellis 2017; Fekete 2009). In case of asylum seekers, has put a regulation in which asylum seekers subject to 'constant surveillance, the introduction of a special asylum detention regime' which further has constructed the view of potential criminal and the welfare provision aimed to use for asylum seekers planned for controlling immigration rather than providing social care. The perception of threat has been supported by introduction of the significant change in the government's administrative apparatus by abandoning the responsibility of the Department of Social Security (welfare benefits) and the Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions (housing benefits) for housing and welfare of destitute asylum seekers. Instead, according to law, Home Office should hold responsibility for regulation of all funding for support of asylum seekers (Fekete 2009, p. 27 -30). In line with this point, the term of 'bogus asylum seeker' and 'abusive asylum seeker' were to be prevalent in political discourse of Conservatives and Labours in 1990s and 2000s. Labour's choice of 'abusive asylum seekers' traces the same meaning with bogus asylum seekers that had been widely used in the period of Conservative party.

Besides, Labours demonstrated institutional-based attempt for anti-racism such as stopping the discrimination and abolishing the Race Relations Bill due to its racist assumption. On the other side, immigration policies that partially consist of exclusionary and discriminatory statements produced racialized subjects, especially those coming from East-European countries (Fox et al. 2012). In 2010, which is the the last year of Labour government, net migration has peaked the highest point, figured as approximately 250,000 migrants (Casciani 2011). After Labour lost 2010

election to its counterparts, namely Conservative-Liberal Democrats coalition, the Secretary of Home Office, which was held by Theresa May, promised to reduce the net migration to tens of thousands, which constituted her primary responsibilities (Payne & Bienkov 2017). In addition to its long-historical concern on controlling the numbers of immigration, socio-political changes after 2010 in European and UK context raised the concern on the immigration issue, in a way of more restrictive tone compared to prior period and in a way of fueling 'hostility towards new strangers- economic migrants and asylum seekers-' (Redclift 2014, Jones 2014).

3.2. Europe and Migration

The war, famine, and poverty in the Middle East and Africa have forced millions of people to make a perilous journey in the Mediterranean to find safety and acceptance in the countries of European Union and beyond. Notably, the year 2015 is significant in the numbers of arrivals of migrants and refugees to EU compared with previous years. In that time, over of roughly 1 million migrants and refugees arrived in Greece, Italy and Spain coast (*BBC*, 11 September 2018). These people came from many different countries mainly from Syria, Afghanistan, Nigeria, Iraq and Eritrea (UNHCR, 2016) Furthermore, the unprecedented increase in migration to Europe has led to so-called 'European migration crisis', which the European countries could not manage to share the responsibility for people coming from war-torn countries, mainly from Syria. In regards with the approach of UK to this crisis, the British government refused to accept the proposal that requires fair share of allocation of refugees regulated by EU. The aim for bringing down net migration to ten thousand and controlling immigration in the UK have been core determining factors for its reluctance to offer protection. The UK accepted just 35,000 refuges in the year 2015, which is 85,000 fewer than its fair share (Lambert 2016). Furthermore, the government gave pledge to take just 20,000 refugees from Syria until 2020. Obviously, the UK has continued its tough approach to resettlement of refugees in this crisis, as well. In the period of highly tense discussion on migration crisis in the

European continent, the UK has confronted with the case of Calais, which has directly been related with the UK.

3.2.1. The Case of Calais

Calais, which is located in France and just on the border of Britain, has become the main topic of the 2015 migration debate in the UK. Even though the region of Calais has got more public attention through so-called 'European refugee crisis', the history of Calais can be traced back to 1999 when the first refugee camp called as the Sangatte was opened. This place has attracted many refugees and migrants to attempt reaching the UK through Eurotunnel and Channel, as well as people smugglers. However, its closure by French authorities in 2001 and 2002 caused riots in France. Migrants have continued to come to Calais afterwards and build makeshift camps near the port and lived there under inhuman conditions such as insufficient food, water and lack of hygiene. In the Summer of 2015, the fact that in July, 2,000 migrants have tried to reach to the UK has gathered tense attention. The migrants living in the camps known as 'the Jungle', attempted to arrive in the UK by jumping, cutting security fences or trying to hide in Eurotunnel trains (*BBC*, 3 October 2015). Due to significant number of migrants in this region, discussion on migration in the UK has sparked. At that point, how the immigrants and migration in Calais and in European continent are described, which discursive strategies have been applied for the exclusion of migrants and the legitimization of their exclusionary policies, and how these terms have generally led to the racialization of migrants are main focal point of the next part of this study.

3.3. The Analysis of Excerpts from the Case of Calais and the European Crisis

A number of discursive genres will be analyzed to comprehend how racism has been reproduced discursively. For this reason, interviews, conference speeches and the speeches in House of Commons are selected as discursive genres owing to the fact

that they are directed to the broad national public. David Cameron gave an interview in ITV News, and talking about the issue of Calais:

> "you have got a swarm of people coming across the Mediterranean, seeking a better life, wanting to come to Britain because Britain has got jobs, it's got a growing economy, it's an incredible place to live" (*The Telegraph*, 30 July 2015)

According to this speech, Cameron uses a metaphor to describe the migrants who are exposed as a threat with the word of 'swarm', which is generally used in cases related to animals. This contains the dehumanizing feature of so-called group of people. The metaphors for the construction of migrants and immigration is a crucial element to comprehend how positive self and negative other representation takes place. Especially, such a depiction of people in Calais serves as negative representation. According to Potter and Wetherell, the 'metaphor of construction emphasizes the role of discourse in constructing objects and subjects' (1992, p.94). In the same text, the people who tried to reach the UK is defined with just economic aims. In detail, they have been described with their desire to reach the UK for various expectations to live in the UK. In this short excerpt, it is obvious that Cameron's construction of out-group with a metaphorical term and describing their arrival with just 'economic' reasons have played an enormous role for the legitimization of their immigration policies. On the other hand, having focused on such reasons serves as euphemizing some factual information about Calais. Based on short historical background information about Calais, there are some immigrants who have escaped from torture and persecution in their home countries, they have been directly excluded from the right to seek asylum. Afterwards, Cameron attacked Labour Party leader Corbyn and the shadow chancellor, John McDonnell, at Wednesday's PMQs (Prime Minister Questions) over their stance on the Calais "Jungle" camp.

"They met with a bunch of migrants in Calais, they said they could all come to Britain. The only people they are never stand up for are the British people and hardworking tax-payers" (*The Guardian News*, 27 January 2016)

In this short speech, three actors could be defined; British people who are described as hard-working tax payers, the migrants in Calais depicted as a bunch of migrants and the other one is Labour party, which has been criticized for their visit to Calais and especially his speech delivered in Calais. The use of 'bunch' for migrants has the same impact as the word of the swarm for exclusionary discourse, through which immigrants in Calais described with the term of bunch in inflammatory language. In this short speech, by constructing the migrants with the bunch, he refers a dehumanizing code of negative representation. According to Bauman, the way of post-modern societies to cope with strangers is the exclusion, i.e., by removing them from one's territory (1995, p. 2-3). This is also related to the body politics, which is visible with the derogatory language of migration that applying metaphors to construct the racialized subject. Furthermore, according to UNHCR Representative in France, many of migrants in Calais have mainly fled conflicts, violence and persecution in Sudan, Eritrea, Somalia, and Syria. Therefore, they have legal rights for international protection according to Human Rights Convention (Schmitt 2015). Theresa May, as Home Officer talked about the migrants in Calais as follows:

"Between 21 June and 11 July, over 8,000 attempts by illegal migrants were successfully intercepted at juxtaposed ports in France through the joint efforts of the French and British authorities …But just as we are generous to those who need our help, the UK will be tough on those who flout our immigration rules or abuse our hospitality as a nation" (Home Secretary statement on illegal immigration in Calais, 14 July 2015)

Regarding the identification of migrants with the notion of illegality, 'illegal' is widely used term in the migration discourse. It can be said that a number of argumentations are employed such as the *topos of definition/topos of name-interpretation* and *topos of threat/danger*. The term of illegal migrants makes immigrants to be criminalized. Therefore, the term implies that, because they are illegal, they will or they must return to their country/countries. Whilst immigrants are typically asked 'where are you from', 'why are you here' and 'when are you going to back home', illegal immigrants are mainly confronted with the discourse of 'you should not be here!' (Düvell 2008, p.493). Moreover, *the topos of abuse* could be depicted by statements of 'flouting our immigration rules' and 'abusing our hospitality as a nation'.

David Cameron, who laid behind of his speech of 'a swarm of migrants', talked more about the question on Calais when he is asked question about asylum policy of the UK on BBC Radio 4's Today programme

> "I think we do. If you take a 25-year view, Britain has always been one of the most generous countries in Europe for giving people asylum. But what we can't do is allow people to break into our country. A lot of people coming to Europe are coming in search of a better life. They are economic migrants and they want to enter Britain illegally, and the British people and I want to make sure our borders are secure and you can't break into Britain without permission" (Khomami, The Guardian, 15 August 2015)

> "...we have an asylum system and right record of giving people asylum in this country we should be proud of when people are feeling torture and persecution, they can find a home in Britain but let's be clear the vast majority of people who are setting off into the Mediterranean are not asylum seekers but are people seeking a better life" (Cameron, 3 June 2015)

In the first speech, three social actors are represented: British people, the migrants in Europe and the British government. The migrants who come to Europe have been illustrated with their desire to seek prosperous life in Europe under the term of 'economic migrant'. As taken from background information on the European refugee crisis, even though there are some 'economic migrants' having tried to reach European continent, the reports about European refugee crisis shows that there are significant numbers of asylum seekers who fled Europe for search of protection (UNHCR, 2016). Cameron employed in this short speech a number of topoi such as *topos of number* and *topos of threat*, by stigmatizing migrants with the title of 'a lot of', which serves quantified vagueness of migrants by elites, also intensified the perception of *threat.* At this point, the description of migrant as 'breaking into' the UK signals a racist tone, which further works for the criminalization of immigrants. Furthermore, the discourse of us vs them displays in a way that British government secures its border for the interest of British people, so that protect them against the threat of 'economic migrants', who are depicted as law- breaking people. *The topoi of threat* and *the topoi of numbers* are strategic tools for political actors in order to persuade the public for any tough immigration policies.

As for the second extract, it is important how the social actor, the UK government positively portray itself related to asylum policy in the UK and its open-door policy to refugees. Positive-self presentation of the actor continues with the topoi of numbers, employed with 'vast majority of people' for legitimizing its current immigration policy, same as 'a lot of' in the previous speech. The actors don't often choose to mention numbers in cases if the numbers do not support their view of strict immigration policy. At that point, they prefer to choose overgeneralizing phrases by vague quantifiers and lack of convincing and valid sources, that manifests 'numbers game', as well (van Dijk 1997, p. 46). Wodak explains the significance of numbers in the discourse on migration set out as below:

'Numbers, serve legitimating political decisions, they possess quasi factual authority, and- as argued by psychologist and social scientists- are a technology of distance and have enormous constitutive and persuasive power. Hence, migration restrictions and control are legitimized authoritatively by referring to quasi objective numbers. Furthermore, numbers also create distance to people, they offer abstraction and dehumanize individual experiences' (Wodak 2018)

Furthermore, it is worth stating that mainstream parties generally put emphasize on the moral and humanitarian values to legitimize their proposals (Wodak & Sedlak 2000, p.236). At that point, while the government has been represented as 'moral', 'tolerant', 'rational' and 'legal', the migrants are referred as 'the others'. They have been depicted with irrationality due to their false claims about seeking asylum and abusing the laws. It is important to mention that both extracts include first the qualities of positive self-presentation, continued then with the 'but' conjunction to strongly emphasize on negative attributes of migrants. This could be named as one common strategy for the legitimization of restrictive immigration policy offered in the form of 'denial of racism' (van Dijk 1992, p.88; van Dijk 2000, p.98). According to van Dijk, the elites act in a way of 'denial of racism' by first representing themselves positively, which illustrated as 'we have nothing against immigrants (minorities), but ….', after which exclusionary rhetoric continues as it is manifested below text taken from 2015 Conference speech of David Cameron

Another big judgment call to make is when a refugee crisis confronts our world. Like most people, I found it impossible to get the image of that poor Syrian boy Aylan Kurdi out of my mind. We know in our hearts our responsibilities to help those fleeing for their lives. But we know, too, that we must keep our heads. Let's start with a simple fact. Twelve million people have been made homeless by the conflict in Syria. And so far only 4 per cent of them have come to Europe. If we opened the door to every refugee, our country would be

overwhelmed. The best thing Britain can do is help neighboring countries, the Syrian people and the refugees in the camps …and when we do take refugees, to take them from the region, rather than acting in a way that encourages more to make that dangerous journey' (DC, The Independent, 2015)

Cameron in this extract talks about refugees and Syrian people. What especially significant in this quotation is how the refugee has been depicted. Whilst Cameron overwhelmingly prefer to use 'illegal migrants' or 'economic migrants' for referring those coming to Europe as notably seen in previous extracts, he mostly prefers to use the phrase of 'refugee' for those living in camps and in neighboring countries. At that point, he strongly emphasizes the moral duty of government for refugees living in camps. At the same time, he legitimizes its restrictive immigration policy, the closure of borders to even asylum seekers by applying the instrument of preventing 'more people to make a dangerous journey'. Although this extract first appears to provide more positive image due to its reference to 'refugee', it is a different way of talking about the legitimization of firm immigration policy and exclusion of immigrants, who has right to seek asylum in another country.

David Cameron, as Prime Minister stated the topic of migration in Party Conference with humanitarian perspective of talking about Aylan Kurdi. However, he employed *the topos of number* and *the topos of burden* as argumentation strategies. As for the 'topos of burden', he implies that if Britain is overwhelmed, the measures have to be taken. The peculiar examples germane to the forms of the *topoi of burden* will be investigated in the next part.

According to analysis of Calais and European refugee crisis, the discussion on refugees or asylum seekers is related with 'deserving' or 'undeserving' refugees based upon how they have travelled to the UK rather than taking the well-founded fear of persecution into consideration. The pervasive use of illegal migrants, even

for describing the case of Calais and European refugee crisis criminalize asylum seekers who fleeing persecution categorized under 'illegal migrants.'

Even though Article 14 (1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and 1951 Refugee Convention outline the right to seek asylum and protects those claiming asylum treated as criminals, this approach does abandon their right, by prioritizing deportation over claiming asylum in the UK.

Also, Garner emphasize that 'asylum-seekers creates such a threat because they represent a projection of fears about diminishing welfare being absorbed by the 'undeserving poor'. Regardless of the origin refugee comes from Middle East, Africa, Eastern Europe, they have been categorized with some racialized characteristics associated with the 'Other' defined with 'desperation, criminality, wanton sexuality, and voracious appetites for both employment and welfare' (Garner 2007, p.17). In the case of Calais and so-called European refugee crisis, the common phrase for the people in Calais is defining them 'as reaching to Britain illegally', law-abiding people, also a number of topoi (*the topoi of numbers, topoi of burden, topoi of threat)* play a great role for describing people with purpose of seeking better life. The justification of the strict immigration policy has been further provided by this vague quantification and factual inaccuracies.

The extracts taken for the discussion elaborates the point of "reactions to asylum seekers do not follow the ordinary temporary moral panic model, but are subject to continuous negative, excluding and hostile message" (Brouwer, van der Woude, and van der Leun, 2017). This can be illustrated in that point, while the state has described the people in Calais as 'economic migrant', 'seeking better life' and 'illegal migrants', the British government laid behind of the statement of EU Dublin Regulation, which specifies that the first EU state to which an asylum seeker arrives, must be the country for taking asylum application. By claiming that, Britain perceived the issue of Calais out of its responsibility. At that point, the scandal on Calais in the UK became a salient issue, when the French authorities were

dismantling the Jungle and dispersing 10,000 asylum seekers arbitrarily around France. The scandal was about 1,300 unaccompanied children, 500 of them were believed to be eligible for resettlement in the UK under the Dublin Regulation (Cockburn 2017, p. 184).

3.4. Hostile Environment Policy

Theresa May introduced Hostile Environment policy which targets creating a really 'hostile environment for illegal immigrants' in the year of 2012 as she announced in a speech delivered in the Parliament (Kirkup & Winnett 2012). In this regard, she has presented the aims of this policy to discourage people from coming to UK (Yeo 2017). The Hostile environment includes a number of measures to limit access to housing, bank accounts, health care, work and restrict rights to appeal against Home Office decisions for those so-called 'illegal migrants' who live in the UK. Even though initial reference to this policy was back to 2010, the discussion around this policy was out in public domains (such as politics, media) in 2013 onwards. This policy has become prominent after Brexit election, with the scandal of Windrush generation, which break out in 2018 and led to resignation of Amber Rudd who was the Secretary of Home Office. Through the stringent measures imposed by Hostile Environment Policy, migrants and even British citizens who have right to reside in the UK, they were unlawfully deported from the UK as a result of strict measures taken under this policy.

The measures constructed under the Immigration Act 2014 have been further expanded to the Immigration Act 2016, which is a product of controlled based immigration approach of the UK. These stringent measures have been valid for both irregular migrants and British citizens such as employers and landlords. According to new immigration law, landlords must check the identity card or immigration status paper of tenants. This control requirement has been valid in various public spaces, such as in the workplace, in hospital, university and so forth. If British landlords or employers do fail to check ID card and inform Home Office, they may

face punishments according to the law (*Immigration Act 2016*). In addition to these legislative measures, for combating illegal migrants 'Go Home' Operation vans, became a tool for curtailing the net immigration in the UK under Hostile Environment policy. David Cameron introduced this policy below:

"We want an immigration system that puts Britain first and so what we're doing today is whole series of changes that says to people if you come here illegally we will make it harder for you to have a home, to get a car, to have a job, to get a bank account, and when we find you - and we will find you- we'll make sure you're sent back to the country that you came from... If you're here illegally you should *go home*" (*BBC*, 29 July 2014)

The discussion around immigration is mainly related with so-called 'illegal migrants.' It is worthwhile to state who are these illegal migrants? The term, which constitutes one of the attributes commonly used to frame people in Calais, Mediterranean more generally for those in the European continent, aims to exclude them to arrive Britain, by depicting them as 'law-breaking' person in the British border. However, in this extract migrants/immigrants have been excluded in various public spaces due to their illegal status shaped with their law-abandoning covered by their access to housing, driving license, employment, education, banking sectors, as unlawfully. Raising the phrase 'illegality' in almost every social domain in current immigration policy is entitled to bring about more restrictive measures. The popularity of 'illegality' in political speech has manifested in media as well. In a recent study on the representation of refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants in British newspapers over 10 years (1996-2006) shows that the concepts of immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers have commonly been categorized as 'Others', that is strangers, evidenced in both tabloids and broadsheets as types of newspapers (KhosraviNik 2010, p.21-23). Furthermore, according to study conducted by the Migration Observatory at Oxford University, the phrase of 'illegal' was the common descriptor for the word 'immigrants' among 58,000 UK newspaper articles published between 2010 - 2012, which included all types of

newspapers such as tabloid, mid-markets and broadsheets (The Migration Observatory).

In the next part, I will analyze the Conference speeches of politicians, Theresa May and David Cameron just after Conservatives took the majority in 2015 election in Parliament. According to Cameron, this success has given more power to further restrictive immigration control policy to decrease 'the net migration to the tens of thousands.' Therefore, it creates more ground for implementation of 'hostile environment policy.'

3.4.1. David Cameron's Immigration Speech

In addition to its significance of that it took place just after the election, this speech was delivered in the period of discussion of Brexit, and during that time so-called European refugee crisis were highly debated topics.

> "Two weeks ago, the people of Britain spoke. They voted for a majority Conservative government. In doing so, their message was clear: they wanted a government that was on their side; that backed them; that would help them get on – a government for working people.
>
> So while a strong country isn't one that pulls up the drawbridge – it is one that controls immigration. That's what people – people of all backgrounds – voted for. And they were right to do so. Why is it right? Because if you have uncontrolled immigration, you have uncontrolled pressure on public services. And that raises basic issues of fairness.
>
> Uncontrolled immigration can damage our labor market and push down wages. And working people want a government that is on their

side. Uncontrolled immigration means too many people entering the UK legally but staying illegally. And people are fed up with a system that allows those who are not meant to be in our country to remain here.

We also recognized that we needed to reduce the demand for migrant labor by making our own people able and willing to do the jobs this country needs. And with 2 million more apprenticeships, radical welfare reform, and a system where it pays to work, we are getting there.

There were times under Labour when 90% of job growth was taken up by foreign nationals – under us, the majority of the rise in employment – a record 1,000 jobs for every day we've been in office – has gone to Brits" (PM speech on immigration, 21 May 2015)

The speech that is officially announced as 'a speech on immigration,' started with us vs. them segregation, and it initially comprises British people and the other. Although the group may be categorized as Other did not explicitly infer to this text initially, illegal migrants, depicted as Other, are framed as being exploited by British welfare system. In this sense, British government talked about its duty to stay on British people, especially stressing upon British working people. Based on a research, we group as Britishness could be found in an investigation based upon the tabloid newspaper articles in the UK which has showed the use of hard-working in frequent collocation with ingroup markers such as 'people of Britain' and 'British taxpayers'. They label a positive construction of British as 'we' against the migrants as others (Mautner 2016).

Besides, the phrase of fairness definitively clarifies the approach of government on immigration policy, which is conceived as '*firm but fair*' move. The notion of fairness is one of the instruments of positive-self presentation of social actors when

decisions are 'premised on principles of humanism, tolerance and equality' (van Dijk 1992). Therefore, the rhetoric 'fairness' signifies also the legitimization of migration regime by mitigating actor's point of view. In respect of legitimization of immigration policies, the rhetoric 'fairness' is not new. It has been produced by New Labour and published as the government White Paper, Fairer, Faster, Firmer: A Modern Approach to Immigration and Asylum (Ellis 2017, p.5; Schuster 2003, p. 164).

David Cameron defined uncontrolled migration and depicted it as people having entered legally to the UK. However, due to the reason of expired visa they illegally stay. After he first mentioned about the threat of uncontrolled migration and defined it in such a way, he continued his speech on people tried to reach to European countries and by touching upon the issue of the borders of Britain. Under the frame of uncontrolled migration, his speech touches upon people who cross Mediterranean without any reference to refugees or asylum seekers. This led to the confusion and blurring the concept of uncontrolled immigration, about whom has been referred. That means, even though he provides some accurate information on 'migrants', who are currently overstaying in the UK due to visa issue, derogatory language excludes all immigrants in the following parts of this speech. As for interdiscursivity and intertextuality, controlling immigration has been addressed by political actors with blatant or latent racist discourse since long years. This approach makes racism-immigration card discursively salient. Through 1970s, in which net immigration under zero in the UK, the Conservative Party renew its party program with touching upon anti-immigrant perspective. It mainly describes them as a threat to the nation, which explicitly grounded on perceived threat on so-called colored migration. The meaning of threat expanded to embrace large groups of migrants in recent years without explicitly referring race issue as well. Fairclough and Fairclough (2012, p.28) argue that political leaders by referring same utterances through history produce the same logic. Based on this collective memory and knowledge of electorate, they use it (exclusionary/discriminatory discourse) for legitimizing their current policies. It constitutes some similarities in case of

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discourse in the past as evidenced in referent subjects in 2000s who have been excluded in job market and welfare services. In this regard, foreign nationals who have not explicitly been identified in this text marks EU citizen and non-EU migrant labor, especially the significant increase in the arrivals of EU labor migrants in the period of Labor by pointing out the previous period of Labour government. Cameron excludes the migrant labors who were employed in previous years and establishes a link between employment of British nationals and migration. British government justifies its strict measure for labor migrants, by fulling fear based upon argument of 'pushing down wages'. This point will be clarified below part.

3.4.2. Theresa May's Immigration Speech

Theresa May, at that time her tenure as Home Secretary delivered a conference speech in 2015 and she said that:

> "There are millions of people in poorer countries who would love to live in Britain, and there is a limit to the amount of immigration any country can and should take. While we must fulfill our moral duty to help people in desperate need, we must also have an immigration system that allows us to control who comes to our country.
>
> Because when immigration is too high, when the pace of change is too fast, it's impossible to build a cohesive society. It's difficult for schools and hospitals and core infrastructure like housing and transport to cope. And we know that for people in low-paid jobs, wages are forced down even further while some people are forced out of work altogether.
>
> While there are benefits of selective and controlled immigration, at best the net economic and fiscal effect of high immigration is close to zero" (*The Independent*, 6 October 2015).

In this extract, three main social actors can be identified: the British government, people in poorer countries, British workers. *The topoi of number* which reflected with the millions of people has a role in over-generalizing immigration by applying numbers. In this speech, British government has been presented with 'moral duty' for people in need, and this is one of the strategies of government to represent itself positively, which demonstrates in the Calais and European crisis as well. However, after she firstly presents the government with the positive phrase, she continued the view of controlling immigration, which does not just draw on *the topoi of numbers*, but also, she applied to one common argumentation strategy used for immigration. This means the *topoi of burden/threat.* The burden described in some domains such as housing, transport and school, play strategic role for legitimizing all measures in almost every social space.

Furthermore, May's speech addresses two groups, British workers and those people who come from poorer countries. She describes them as the cause of the increase in unemployment of British-workers and the decrease in wages. In this sense, 'low-skilled migrants' have been pointed as a threat to low-paged workers and clearly portrayed as job-stealing immigrants, which has not been supported by any evidence in her speech. The fact that the focus on selective inaccurate information is for justification of stringent measure on controlling immigration has led to the racialization of impoverished, low-skilled migrants discursively. At that point, some evidence shows that migration has contributed British market as being opposed to the view of May. According to some published studies on the contribution of migrants to the UK, the EU migrants or non-EU migrants have positive impact on British market, by contributing GDP than costing in terms of social benefit and services (Alfano et al. 2016; HM Revenue & Customs, 2016; Portes 2018; Wadsworth et al. 2016;). According to CReAM (Center for Research & Analysis of Migration) report, EU migrants have been less likely than British citizen to receive the support in social housing and benefits. It is right even in the case of low-paid migrants. According to LSE study of economic impact of EU immigration to the UK, British workers who do not work or are searching for a job,

are unemployed not because of EU migrants in sector, but rather economic circumstances in the UK has directly impacted the employment of British workers. At that point, even though this paper does not focus on the causes of current British immigration policy, the economic condition in the UK (especially after 2008 financial crisis) has appeared to be a greater role for state taking tough measures in controlling immigration. It is not just valid non-EU migrants, but even against EU migrants, exclusionary discourse has continued for those coming from East European Countries and Greece as well (Fox et al. 2012; Wodak 2015b).

3.4.2.1 Cohesion

The phrase of 'cohesion' which is expressed by Theresa May has a sign of seeing migrants as a threat for British society so that it evokes 'Britishness'. This connotation addresses some common points with Enoch Powell's (in)famous speech in 1968 (the ideas in which has been taken great attention and supported by media, politics and public) as Conservative PM, which later became known as 'Rivers of Blood'. In this speech, he focused upon anti-discrimination legislation Race Relations Bill. He has criticized this act, by the claim of the massive migration into the UK as a threat and important factor of interracial conflict (Chilton 2004, p. 110). This speech includes possible dangers for sustaining cohesion in British society, if Blacks outnumber whites of Britain. According to him, 'interracial conflict' could be indispensable if massive immigration to the UK continued. The significance of this speech lies behind its popularity that British population has supported Powell's ideas, that could be seen in opinion polls and letters written to MPs, even today British Conservative party members and popularity in national media, as well (Kopytowska & Chilton 2018). In the changing context, now Britain uses discriminatory rhetoric without any reference to color, but the same desire which aims to decrease the numbers of migrants and even stopping them in order to preserve Britishness in various domains, even if this has not been explicitly mentioned. Together, the political actors in mainstream have frequently given attention to the idea of sustaining cohesion, with the end of multiculturalism in 2010

onwards. Therefore, viewing migrants as a threat to sustaining cohesion in the UK or claiming society 'too diversity' for social democracy remains one of the strategies for legitimizing racism by euphemising the racializing of migrants in the 'liberal post-racial turn' (Lentin & Titley 2011, p. 121-136). In this sense, even tough race appears to lose its significance in the extract, the racialization of migrants has been produced by conceiving them as a threat to national homogeneity. According to Fekete, in the amid of critics to multiculturalism in 2000s, 'in a climate of fear, hostility and suspicion, homogeneity is fast becoming western Europe's security blanket' (2009, p. 67- 8). Therefore, the migrants have remained to be main target group to be handled with the issues of security.

3.4.2.2. The issue of Asylum Seekers and Refugee

"The system is geared towards helping those most able to access it and sometimes manipulate it, for their own ends – those who are young enough, fit enough, and have the resources to get to Britain. But that means support is too often denied to the most vulnerable, and those most in need of our help. At the moment, the main way people claim asylum here is when they're already in Britain. That fails on three accounts. First, it encourages vulnerable people to take dangerous and illegal journey to get here, often by putting themselves at the mercy of gangs of human traffickers and people smugglers. Second, instead of helping those in greatest need, it rewards the wealthiest, the luckiest and the strongest. Three quarters of asylum seekers in Britain are men and the vast majority are in their twenties. And third, it means people abuse the system by claiming asylum when their visa ends or by making spurious legal appeals to stay in the country for as long as possible. More than half of all asylum claims fail, and three quarters of people denied asylum appeal their decision in the courts" (*The Independent*, 6 October 2015)

In the previous discussion pertinent to Calais and European refugee crisis, we dealt with how the refugee and asylum seekers have been perceived or which attributions associated with them. In this extract, the same utterance of justification of exclusion of migrants displays itself with 'encouraging them to take dangerous and illegal journey' to get to the UK. In addition to that, May continues her point of curtailing migration, by describing 'the asylum seekers' or 'refugees' in the UK as a group of 'wealthiest, luckiest and the strongest' (those already arrived to the UK) which may underline the view of 'they do not need any protection', which could be explained as *a topoi of abuse* due to false claims to British asylum system.

In the discourse on the justification of strict border policies and halting illegal immigration, asylum seekers have broadly been the target of political discourse. Although seeking asylum in another country is one of the rights defined under Geneva Convention, how this right rhetorically abandoned by the phrase of 'dangerous and illegal journey'. Although David Cameron touched upon this point in some extracts produced in previous case, May's discourse openly ignores the right to seek asylum and therefore she problematizes the one enter into the UK to seek asylum. This is one of the strategies to prevent people from taking journey for claiming asylum in the UK. There is almost no way for people to claim asylum by entering legally. Therefore, Britain abandons the rights of seeking asylum by wrong facts. The strategic refraining of government to use the term of refugee/asylum seekers draw on these phrases imply that the government should have an obligation to people; so that 'let them on to our territory and give them the chance to seek asylum' (Ruz 2015)

Furthermore, the right to appeal of any asylum seeker has been problematized with the term of 'spurious' after Home Office evaluates asylum application as unsuccessful. 'Spurious appeal' makes the group of asylum seekers more vulnerable. It clearly implies the attribute of law-breaking as regard with British immigration law. In a similar vein, this also evokes the topoi of 'abuse' by appealing. At that point, it is not odd to demonstrate by which attributes asylum

seekers have been presented in three qualities of newspapers as tabloid, mid-market and broadsheet (Migration Observatory). According to the report published by Migration Observatory, the term 'asylum seekers' have been frequently used with 'failed', which seems to confirm the view of May's spurious appeal. However, according to Home Office source, after refused asylum application in 2013-2015, the percentage of granted asylum, increased from %37 to %52 after the appealing process (Home Office 2017). In line with this fact, the hostility towards asylum seekers and refugees is not to be a new case. Regarding asylum seeker in the UK, owing to swiftly increase in the number of asylum seekers in 1990s and 2000s, the phrase of 'bogus asylum seeker' was prominent in political discourse through Conservatives and New Labour period (Smith 2010, p. 258). Even though May and Cameron do not explicitly announce the phrase 'bogus' in above-mentioned texts, the idea behind to 'bogus' is valid for current approach to asylum policies, with 'spurious legal appeal' or by defining them as 'wealthiest, luckiest and strongest'.

In regard with refugees and asylum seekers, even though Britain has historically implemented restricted policies to asylum seekers since 1990s onwards by controlling of who and how many of asylum seekers would be allowed to enter the UK, it could not achieve to close doors to all asylum seekers. However, in the 2000s, Conservative party proposed asylum-seeking procedure that introduced removing to seek asylum in Britain territory as part of 2005 electoral agenda (Capdevila and Callaghan 2008, p. 4; Schuster, p. 144). Afterward, when Conservative party formed a coalition government with Liberal Democrats in 2010 and succeeded to win the majority in 2015 election, politicians recalled the view of stringent procedure to seek asylum as manifested itself in the speech of May.

3.4.2.3. Britain First

> "As our manifesto said, 'we must work to control immigration and put Britain first''. We have to do this for the sake of our society and our public services – and for the sake of the people whose wages are

cut, and whose job security is reduced, when immigration is too high. And there's another reason. Without controlled immigration, there will be less public support for taking in refugees. And- while cannot solve every problem in every corner of the world by granting asylum to everybody in difficulty – we do have a moral duty to help people in need.

The best way of helping the most people is not by bringing relatively small numbers of refugees to this country, but by working with the vast numbers who remain in the region" (*The Independent*, 6 October 2015)

The phrase of 'Britain first' is widely used. It is not expressed just by Theresa May, but also it displays the speech of David Cameron mentioned above by quotation of 'we want an immigration system that put Britain first'. This phrase could be categorized as metonymies that means there might be some alternative views that put Britain as next or last as attributes and predication (Wodak 2001b, p. 85). The metonymy, as a linguistic tool, presents us. vs them relation in the political discourse, like metaphors. 'Britain first' historically was back to 2011, when a number of former members of British National Party (BNP) with far-right and anti-immigration motivation established this group to oppose the policies of multiculturalism. Furthermore, the slogan has been used during Leave campaigners in the period of Brexit referendum. The message of this phrase was clear that it evokes nativist approaches, mainly the view of 'taking back the control' of its borders from the EU (Tyler 2018, p.8). At that point, Britain -metonymically standing for the British- give priority the UK over the other countries and the people out of Britain, which implies non-EU and as well as EU citizens. The notion of 'Britain first' is instrumental, during the discussion of European refugee crisis and Calais, and also the Brexit, in which the topic of immigration, especially halting immigration from European countries are deemed as the main discussed topic. Theresa May, then, has continued supporting 'Britain first' leaning on a number of

reasons of the sake of society, public services and British people. At that point, immigration is perceived as a threatening factor for *society, British people and public services*, which has been demonstrated and extensively explained by 'the topoi of numbers'.

> "Not all of the consequences can be managed, and doing so for many of them comes at a high price. We need to build 210,000 new homes every year to deal with rising demand. We need to find 900,000 new school places by 2024. And there are thousands of people who have been forced out of the labor market, still unable to find a job" (*The Independent*, 6 October 2015)

The topos of burden is clearly imposed through this extract by including the numbers in the domains of housing and schools. Together, this speech has displayed an example of *the topos of finance* by describing immigration with high price.

3.4.3. 'Go Home' Operation Vans-2013

The campaign, by which the vans are carrying posters, used a slogan of 'In the UK illegally? Go Home or Face Arrest', especially in the areas of London where high migrant population were targeted. This message also is placed in shops, community centers and newspapers to inform people about the way of leaving the UK. The use of phrase 'go home' was not new during the year of 2013. 'Go Home', which practiced by racist National Front graffiti, caused tension in Asian and Black population in the UK in 1970s and 1980s (Grayson 2013). Go Home posters targeted illegal migrants for convincing them to turn themselves into the police voluntarily in order to be returned home. If not, the migrants may face arrest and arbitrary deportation. Therefore, police conducted identity checks depended upon color and appearance and demanded to see their residence permits of those people, who could be British citizens, or in many cases, they came from EU member countries (Tyler 2018; Wodak 2015b, p. 84). This operation led fear-mongering

among people who are not let in, which is signaled with '106 arrests last week in your area' on vans, although this number failed to provide accurate information. Therefore, the exaggerated number created the view of 'enemy within' among British people and various ethnic groups in the UK. As for racialization-migration nexus, race was a valid factor to being identified based upon appearance. At that point, at the beginning 'race' does not seem to play a pivotal role. However, the implementation of policy through identity checks produce racialization by the means of class, appearance and legal status (Erel, Murjı, Nahaboo 2016, p.1347). Racialized subjects could not be characterized with one out-group. That means various assumptions and subjects of racism could display themselves through this policy. Just before this 'Go Home' project in London streets, David Cameron gave some signs of this project in a public speech as below:

> "And, once we've found them, we're going to make it easier to remove them: faster deportation; stopping the payment of legal aid for the vast majority of immigration appeals; and we're even going to look at how we can change the law so that wherever possible people are deported first and they can appeal second from their home country. Put simply, when it comes to illegal migrants, we could actually be rolling up that red carpet, and showing them the door. So, that's how we're changing immigration in this country. Getting net migration down radically. Making sure that the people who come here, wherever they come from, are coming from right reasons. Breaking out of old government silos and making immigration a centerpiece of our economic policy, so that we train our young people to fill more of the jobs being created in our economy with genuine incentives to work, and so we attract the hardworking, wealth creators who can help us to win in the global race" (PM Speech on Immigration, 25 March 2013)

In this speech, David Cameron uses some forms of argumentation scheme such as *topoi of burden, danger and threat* which are universal depiction of migrants, as mentioned in the previous extracts. According to this extract, just one group of migrants should be welcomed, those who are wealth creators and hardworking. Therefore, although he did not explicitly state 'poor immigrants', they are one of the unwanted immigrants of Conservatives, that favors in wealthy immigrants giving benefit in the British economy that underlies class differences. This demonstrates the exclusion of EU and non-EU migrants depending upon their economic situation. In a thorough lense, Cameron's criticize on 'old government', which marks the period of Labour Party, draws on the issue of many European workers who came to Britain to work in many sectors. Therefore, Cameron targeted also European migrants. Regarding this issue, xeno-racism, which has generally been applied to discuss non-color-coded racism directed to the East European migrant workers highlight the discourse of Cameron. While he explicitly talks about 'removing illegal migrants faster' and 'showing them the door' in the form of a threatening factor to British economy at the same time, he selectively approaches to the issue of migration, open to those who may contribute to Britain as wealth creators. It shows that government policies create 'deserving' and 'undeserving' migrants based upon economic background of migrants. At this point, unwanted and undesired migration has been described as employing the metaphor of 'door'. In other words, 'door' as a metaphor- depicting in group (e.g. national) territory as a house or a building and underlining 'halt to immigration as 'bolting the door' (Krzyżanowski & Wodak 2009, p.19). Reports confirm this phenomenon before Brexit and even after the referendum, 'undesirable and economically unproductive EU nationals' were being detained and deported in growing numbers (Tyler 2018, p.10). Even though deportation has appeared as a primary tool for British government to control migration, deportation of EU nationals has swiftly increased from just 973 in 2010 to 5,000 EU citizen in 2017 (Kentish 2017).

Moreover, the extract provokes the idea of 'British jobs for British workers' which has been produced by 'training our young people to fill more of the jobs'. Even

though politician did not explicitly call this slogan, the idea hidden in this extract share the common ground. This slogan had been first used by the National Front and British National Party in the 1980s, then, Prime Minister Gordon Brown in several speeches in 2007 addressed to it (Richardson & Wodak 2009a, p.252) In the similar vein, above-mentioned May's speech, in which migrants described as a cause of unemployment of thousands of British nationals, supports racist-connotation behind the slogan of 'British jobs for British workers'.   In above-mentioned extract, Cameron further support this view by saying that '… under us, the majority of the rise in employment – a record 1,000 jobs for every day we've been in office – has gone to Brits.' This emphasize on 'Britons' obviously exclude foreign nationals, immigrants. According to Richardson & Wodak (2009a), such utterances remain to be a part of nativist job rhetoric. Although the trace of such rhetoric was back to nineteenth and twentieth centuries in anti-Semitic, nationalist, fascist ideologies, the message of this slogan could be recontextualized to utilize in different groups.

3.4.4. Deport First, Appeal Later

The other point in this speech, 'Deport first, appeal later' policy was introduced as a part of Immigration Act 2014, which is later put force by government. This part was organized for foreign national criminals, foreign national offenders in amended section 17(3) of the Immigration Act 2014, with the provision of the Immigration, Nationality, and Asylum Act 2002 (Jones 2018). While this policy remained as limited to just foreign criminals in 2014, 'deport first, appeal later' principle has extended to cover 'all people who are in the UK illegally'. That means policy has targeted all migrants in the UK after 2015, when Conservatives constituted majority government in Parliament. To achieve their aim, the conditions for legal appeals has been reduced from 17 to four clause, so that the UK has limited the numbers of people to go to court and favor in appeal in their home country rather than applying in the UK which leads to soaring failed appeal process (BBC, 2017).

In the Liberal- Democrats and Conservative coalition government, these further measures have been planned, but not realized due to the rejection of Lib-Dem the idea of cracking down on unscrupulous landlords and so that evicted so-called illegal migrants (Wintour 2015). Besides, banks have control over checking bank accounts against databases of people in the UK illegally by the introduction of Immigration Act 2016. According to all this information, Conservatives have created a really 'hostile environment' for those living in the UK illegally. Along with this paper is not concentrated on the direct consequences of these policies, it is important to state that the extension of the view of controlled based immigration policies with identity checks in almost every social domain put all migrants in a situation of 'potential criminal'. In line with this point, announcing the launch of the new National Crime Agency, Home Secretary Theresa May said that "I want to make Britain a 'hostile environment' for serious and organized criminals, with the new National Crime Agency leading that fight" (National Crime Agency, 2013). Dealing with 'hostile environment policy' under the 'criminality' constructs the perception of *a threat to society.* Who has been conceived as a threat that the British government need to fight? This form of anti-immigrant discourse is not peculiar to this case. Rather, politicians widely address to the connection between migration and criminality.

The discursive analysis of laws/ bills requires interdiscursive and intertextual approach for analyzing the continuities or any changes produced by them. The proposals about immigration policies, that announced by Theresa May and David Cameron, have become laws under Immigration Act 2014 and Act 2016. The restrictions on public services are not new. 1971 Immigration Act has remained one of policies targeting non-white Commonwealth citizen, while white Commonwealth citizen have been perceived as partial. Continuous immigration acts (1988 Immigration Act, 2006 Asylum and Immigration act) have introduced instruments for curtailing immigration, and also instruments such as detention or electronic tagging for failed asylum seekers (Fomina 2010). Furthermore, border measures to halt illegal immigration or reduce it is functioning various measures

applying in internal borders. In that point, above-mentioned extracts frequently employ the threat of 'uncontrolled migration' in various domains, which cements the idea of 'Fortress Britain'. The speeches grounded on public services and benefits create enemy within British nationals. Controlling immigration is not about border controls just as a duty of Home Office, it is also related with many institutions tackling with this issue.

Table 3.1 Topoi in Calais/European Refugee Crises and Hostile Environment
Policy

Topos of number	'a lot of people coming to Europe…'
	'vast majority of people who are setting off into the Mediterranean …'
	'8,000 attempts by illegal migrants…'
	'Twelve million people have been made homeless by the conflict in Syria. And so far only 4 per cent of them have come to Europe'
	'There are millions of people in poorer countries who would love to live in Britain'
	Three quarters of asylum seekers in Britain are men and the vast majority are in their twenties.
Topos of name-interpretation	Illegal migrants
Topos of threat/danger	'And we know that for people in low-paid jobs, wages are forced down even further while some people are forced out of work altogether'
	'And there are thousands of people who have been forced out of the labor market, still unable to find a job'
	'Because when immigration is too high, when the pace of change is too fast, it's impossible to build a cohesive society'
	' and for the sake of the people whose wages are cut, and whose job security is reduced, when immigration is too high.'

Topos of burden	'If we opened the door to every refugee, our country would be overwhelmed' 'It's difficult for schools and hospitals and core infrastructure like housing and transport to cope' We need to build 210,000 new homes every year to deal with rising demand. We need to find 900,000 new school places by 2024.
Topos of finance	'Not all of the consequences can be managed, and doing so for many of them comes at a high price'
Topos of abuse	'And people are fed up with a system that allows those who are not meant to be in our country to remain here' 'The system is geared towards helping those most able to access it and sometimes manipulate it, for their own ends' 'people abuse the system by claiming asylum when their visa ends or by making spurious legal appeals to stay in the country for as long as possible' 'the UK will be tough on those who flout our immigration rules or abuse our hospitality as a nation'

Table 3.2 Positive Self – Negative Other Presentation in Calais/European Refugee Crises and Hostile Environment Policy

Referential / Nomination	Metaphors	'you have got a swarm of people coming across the Mediterranean' 'They met with a bunch of migrants in Calais, they said they could all come to Britain'
	Metonymy	We want an immigration system that puts Britain first…' 'we must work to control immigration and put Britain first''
Predication	Implicit and explicit predicates Evocations, allusions,	'when it comes to illegal migrants, we could actually be rolling up that red carpet, and showing them the door' 'But what we can't do is allow people to break into our country.' 'you can't break into Britain without permission' '…those who flout our immigration rules or abuse our hospitality as a nation'
Intensification/ mitigation	Intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of utterances	'While we must fulfill our moral duty to help people in desperate need, we must also have an immigration system that allows us to control who comes to our country. 'when we do take refugees, to take them from the region, rather than acting in a way that encourages more to make that dangerous journey' 'Because if you have uncontrolled immigration, you have uncontrolled pressure on public services. And that raises basic issues of fairness'

		The best way of helping the most people is not by bringing relatively small numbers of refugees to this country, but by working with the vast numbers who remain in the region

CONCLUSION

In this study, I have provided an overview of definitions of racism and racialization, as well as positive self-negative other representation to understand how current political discourses on immigration, specifically the cases of Calais/European refugee crisis and Hostile Environment policy, have led to the racialization of related objects by the means of discursive strategies regarding Discourse-Historical Approach. The discussion has shown that prevailing topoi in immigration discourse are broadly used in current British immigration policies in that describing immigrants as 'burden on society, burden on welfare system', preferring quasi-factual, fallacious argument to delegitimize the immigrants in the UK and European continent. Although this kind of topoi are not odd in this field, the socio-political changes, the UK and Europe have confronted with in recent years, has impact on discourse. Accordingly, the view of 'burden' extensively used by Theresa May and David Cameron for almost social domain produce the idea of 'moral panic' in the society.

Furthermore, a number of metaphors have been expressed by Cameron to define the asylum seekers or refugees in Calais region. Dehumanizing feature of metaphors exclude all immigrants in the Calais, abandon the right to seek asylum by representing them as law-breaking people. Regarding with this point, while British politicians frequently call the phrase 'refugee' and 'asylum seekers' for those living in the camps and outside EU region, they prefer to describe people in Europe and Calais region with the terms of 'illegality' or 'criminality'. Therefore, the perception of 'threat' towards asylum seekers and refugees prioritize the protecting the public from asylum seekers rather than providing the basic human rights. The other point, the perception of threat which has been constructed by a number of argumentation strategies (topoi) is significantly based upon the idea of the protection of 'welfare state' and 'British working class'. While the mainstream party represents itself as a defender of British working class and welfare state, it

produces scapegoats from the relatively powerless group in the society. In the light of these informations, features of xeno-racism in 2000s discursively manifests itself in current British immigration policy as shown with a number of discursive strategies. However, in case of asylum seekers and refugees, the Britain has given more hostile message to prospective asylum seekers after the announcement of Hostile Environment policy. This is case in some speeches given by political elites in abandoning the right to seek asylum in UK territory due to so-called false claims on asylum application (as being economic migrants or illegal migrants).

Although the developments in the fields of international humanitarian law have been potent factor for mainstream party to refrain from use the blatant forms of racism, current British immigration discourse in which social actor fuels racist tone reveals itself with the idea of 'Britain First', 'British jobs for British workers', seeing diversity as 'a threat to cohesion'. Even though this kind of phrase may not explicitly seem bearing the racist message, they indicate the exclusionary immigration policies under the frame of 'denial of racism', which euphemizes anti-immigrant discriminatory view.

As for anti-immigrant policies under Hostile Environment, 'Go Home' vans created hostile environment for immigrants, irregular migrants, asylum seekers, refugees and even for those different ethnic groups. As being part of these vans, police could check the Immigration status of anyone; so that racialization of immigration has taken place with the factors of appearance, class or status. Furthermore, 'deport first, appeal later' criminalizes the immigration in the UK, which could be deemed as deterrence approach to immigration policy by widening its scope from criminals to all immigrants, even those who have the right to legal appeal. Although 'bogus asylum seeker' is not prevalent in current political discourse, the idea behind the term of bogus continues with 'spurious legal appeals'.

This study provides the racialization of the current immigration from the outside perspective of view by analyzing a number of political discourse and related

policies. There is also a need for an in-side perspective to examine the relationship between racism and immigration in everyday life to understand how the racialization of immigration displays itself in various fields such as housing, employment, education, health, social services and Home Office decision in asylum seeking applications.

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