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Department of International Relations

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**British Political Parties and immigration theme in
their Brexit campaigns**

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Abstract

Before, after and during the Brexit referendum in the UK immigration has been one of the most popular topics, which politicians discussed in their campaigns. Some of them were supporting the immigrants from the EU, arguing that they were bringing up the economy in the country, helping out the NHS and public services, and supporting the image of the multi-cultural society in the UK. However, others were saying that immigrants were stealing jobs, making unemployment rate higher and salaries lower. Immigration is still a very sensitive topic in the British society, ever since Brexit happened.

This master thesis deals with the Discourse analysis of five main British political parties and the way they talked about immigration in their pre-Brexit speeches and campaigns. The main focus of the research is on understanding, whether immigration was indeed as important during the Brexit debate and also whether some of the UK's political parties tried to form a negative image of immigrants in British society. The analysis bases on the Political Marketing theory and is done by collecting the data out of the primary sources (such as speeches, campaigns and web-sites of the parties), and using the qualitative analysis on them.

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Declaration of Authorship

1. The author hereby declares that he compiled this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature.
2. The author hereby declares that all the sources and literature used have been properly cited.
3. The author hereby declares that the thesis has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.

Prague 05/01/18

Liliia Tenchurina

Signature:

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

UK – United Kingdom.

EU – European Union.

Brexit – Britain and Exit, a term for the prospective withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union.

UKIP – United Kingdom Independence Party.

LibDem – Liberal Democrats.

SNP – Scottish National Party.

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INTRODUCTION

Immigration in the UK has always been a complex issue. Was it immigration from the former British Empire (India, Bangladesh, Pakistan) or Republic of Ireland; immigration from the EU countries or asylum seekers and refugees escaping from war – it was always a theme, which concerned British citizens. Predictably, it became one of the most important topics which politicians chose to talk about during the Brexit campaign. Most of the British citizens who voted to leave truly believe, that immigrants take British citizen's jobs and therefore make unemployment rates higher. They are also sure, that immigrants get all the unemployment benefits or places of their kids in schools, kindergartens and hospitals. Other people agree on the fact, that immigrants from European countries are a big part of British economy and take jobs which British people are not willing to take. Surprisingly, it's not only the native UK-citizens who voted for Brexit because of immigrant-related issues, but even immigrants themselves who came to the country long time ago, insist on closing the borders now. We will discuss the reasons for it later in this thesis.

According to Wadsworth (2017), even though many people worry that immigration may reduce the pay or job prospects for British citizens, this's not necessarily true. As immigrants consume goods and services, this raises demand and helps to create more job opportunities. He also argues, that neither immigration in general, nor EU immigration has ever had a negative effect on employment rate, wages or wages inequality for the UK-born citizens.

Eastern European migration to the UK has only become a popular topic for discussion after 2004, when the EU accepted Eastern and Central European states like Poland, Czech Republic, Lithuania etc. to be a part of it ('A8' countries). The UK was a member of the EU back then and had to accept immigration as one of the Four Freedoms of the EU (free movement of people). By that time immigrants from India, Pakistan or even Turkey were

already well-received in the society due to their Common Wealth connections, however, the massive migration of Eastern Europeans became a new thing for the British. As a result, a lot of racist and xenophobic slogans and even attacks came up in different areas of the UK with time.

This thesis is focusing on the way British political parties used EU immigration in their pre-Brexit debates or campaigns. It will be analyzing primary sources in order to understand how British politicians talked about immigration from Europe and what kind of attitude towards immigrants they tried to form in the society.

SCOPE OF THE THESIS

The thesis is divided into three parts. The first part points out the Research criteria, where the Research Framework is described, research question is asked and the main hypothesis is stated. It also discusses the Theoretical scope and Political marketing Theory, represented by different academics. Political Marketing is the main theory, which was used in this thesis in order to do the analysis.

The second part consists of the background information on the British political parties' views on immigration during the Brexit debate, mostly presented by media and their web-sites. It represents the views of all the five parties, which were analyzed in this thesis – Conservatives, Labour, UKIP, Liberal Democrats and SNP. This information is supporting the analysis and gives a broader picture to the whole Brexit debate.

The third part is Methodology&Data collection, where the discourse analysis, data collection and qualitative analysis are used in order to answer the research question and prove or disapprove the main hypothesis.

1. RESEARCH FRAMEWORK AND THEORETICAL SCOPE

Research question: Was immigration one of the key topics, which British political parties used in order to achieve their goals in Brexit campaigns?

Hypothesis: Some of the British political parties formed a negative public image of the EU immigrants in their Brexit campaigns.

In order to do the research on this, Political Marketing Theory will be used. Political Marketing Theory is relevant in this case, as it will be followed to find out whether British political parties used some of its techniques in order to accomplish their plans in Brexit referendum.

In the second part of the thesis, different media sources will be analyzed in order to understand how they represented parties' views on immigration during their Brexit debate and after that. The views of all the five parties will be represented to make sure that the analysis is fair. Represented information will be used in Methodology & Data Collection part to support the Discourse Analysis.

In the analysis part, the Discourse Analysis method will be used. Brexit speeches, published manifestos and campaigns of five main British political parties – Conservatives, Labour, UKIP, Liberal Democrats, SNP will be analyzed and compared in order to prove or disapprove the hypothesis. The data collection will be used first in order to do the specific word count and the qualitative analysis will be followed after that to see the context in which these words are used.

1.1 Literature Review. Political Marketing Theory

'Political marketing...plays to people's emotions, not their thoughts. It operates on the belief that repeating a catchy phrase, even if it's untrue, will seal an idea in the mind of the unknowing or uncaring public. It assumes that citizens will always choose on the basis of their individual wants and not society's needs. It divides the country into "niche" markets and abandons the hard political work of knitting together broad consensus or national vision' (Delacourt, 2013)

Kelley (1956, p.53) was the first scientist to use the term ‘political marketing’ in his book ‘Professional Public Relations and Political Power’ and establish the era of public relations experts to take over the professional image of the political candidate and successfully market him:

‘The team relies heavily but not entirely upon their own intuitive feel for providing political marketing conditions. They pride themselves on having ‘good average minds’ that help them to see things as the average man sees them.’

After Kelley, it took the scientists another ten years to start looking at political marketing as a new branch of marketing or even a new concept itself. At the beginning, most of the academics didn’t differentiate commercial and political marketing at all, thinking that they always follow the same principles and use the same strategies. Nevertheless, with time political marketing grew into a separate discipline and soon enough the scientists started to see the major differences between selling a product in a supermarket and ‘selling’ a candidate to win the elections. The elections were particularly important for the theory back then, as some of the thinkers looked at political marketing mostly from that side. Denton (1988), for instance, decided to research political marketing on US Presidential Elections.

According to Ormrod, Henneberg (2013, 10), there are five definitions of political marketing that have been made over the past 40 years. The very first one was made by Shama (1975) and it defines political marketing as ‘the process by which political candidates and ideas are directed at the voters in order to satisfy their political needs and thus gain their support for the candidate and ideas in question.’ In his article, Shama compares marketing of goods and services with marketing of political candidates. He mentions, that both marketing and political marketing have a common concept promotion – thorough use of media by the seller (politician or political group in political marketing), in order to inform, remind, change attitudes and behavior of the buyer (electorate). Similarly, Scott (1970) and Lane (1993)

believe, that both political marketing and marketing are based on exchange, which happens between the seller and the buyer. In politics, voters are the buyers and the product they buy is politicians who govern them. Therefore, electorate's votes are exchanged for governance.

Clemente (1992) also thinks, that marketing and political marketing are very similar to each other. He mentions, that political marketing provides foundation for political events, issues, public opinion and other parts of political outfit and that the opinions and ideas can be sold as products if they are well developed and arranged.

However, not all the academics believe that marketing and political marketing are that much alike. O'Shaughnessy (1990) argues, that political marketing strategies are quite different from the strategies of normal marketing, because human element of politics makes it much more complex than products which you can buy in shops. Moreover, performance indicators which are used in order to understand the success of a product can't be used in political marketing, as political promises lack consistency. He believes, that political marketing theory is situated in between three different fields, such as political science, communication science, and marketing. The academic says, that political consultants are 'product managers of the political world', and describes the vote as 'psychological purchase'. He also connects personal appearance and volunteer worker programs of political candidates to distribution strategy and speaks about modern 'political marketing culture'.

Another academic who doesn't agree with an idea of marketing and political marketing being all similar is Mauser (1983). He mentions, that strategies which are used in marketing can't be simply used in political marketing and be expected to have some results for a few reasons: political market is much smaller than the market of goods and therefore the choice is quite limited; while marketing of goods is supposed to bring profit, political marketing is oriented on serving people who are voting for these candidates.

As stated by Lock, Harris (1996), political marketing is the ‘explicit use of techniques in politics’ and is connected to communicating with party members, media and potential sources of funding as well as electorate. It is also involved with strategies of communication and placing the political product. The legislators and the governors are a part of this structure, but also function as external regulators of exchange processes between political entities, their environment and between themselves.

Henneberg (2003) believes, that ‘Political marketing seeks to establish, maintain and enhance long-term political relationships at a profit for society, so that the objectives of the individual political actors and organizations involved are met. This is done by mutual exchange and fulfillment of promises’. Newman (1999) defines political marketing as ‘the application of marketing principles and procedures in political campaigns by various individuals and organizations.’ Political marketing operations include the analysis, development, execution and management of particular campaign by political parties, candidates, lobbying groups and governments in order to control public opinion, win elections or pass legislation according to the needs and wants of selected personas in society. It is concerned with understanding the voter’s needs and the development by the party of a product which electorate wants. This process is directly connected to the ‘process definition’ – ideally, continuous polling. This product usually has two parts: the platform of the party, which includes its policies on controversial topics and its ability to achieve the objectives, together with the image of the party.

Ormrod, Henneberg (2013, 11) also define a few more political marketing definitions – one made by The American Marketing Association (AMA) and one made by Winther-Nielsen. The AMA believes, that political marketing is a ‘Marketing designed to influence target audiences to vote for a particular person, party or proposition’. According to Winther-Nielsen (2011, 29) political marketing is ‘concerned with reciprocated exchanges of value

between political entities and their environments'. Clemente (1992) defines political marketing as:

'The marketing of ideas and opinions which relate to public or political issues or to specific candidates. In general, political marketing is designed to influence people's votes in elections. It is different from conventional marketing in that concepts are being sold as opposed to products or services. Political marketing, however, employs many of the same techniques used in product marketing, such as paid advertising, direct mail and publicity.'

Ormrod, Henneberg (2013) argue, that even though there is a lot of research done on political marketing management, comparative political management and political strategies, the core of the political marketing remains uncertain. It was often said that use of marketing tools in politics is nothing new, however, during the last twenty-five years the belief that political actors not only act in marketing terms, but also think in marketing terms and do marketing management, became stronger. Political actors now not only include political parties, politicians and political consultants, but also governments, single-issue groups and lobby organizations. Therefore, political marketing moved from communication tool to a way of managing politics, such as policy progress, continuous campaigning and governing. According to Ormrod, Henneberg (2013, 23), there are six main developments in political marketing management which appear in most democratic political systems during the last twenty years:

- an expanded sophistication of communication and 'spin'.
- an accent on product and image management, along with candidate positioning and policy development.
- increased sophistication of news management ('free' media usage).
- a more rational political marketing strategy evolution.
- a more increased and integrated use of political market research.

- an accent on political marketing structure and professionalization of political management.

Nevertheless, most political actors are not very experienced in using marketing applications for their political exchange situations. According to Henneberg (2006), because of the political marketing management, some parties and candidates accepted 'follower' approach, which led to disappointment and distrust regarding politics in general.

Speaking of political marketing theory, as stated by Ormrod, Henneberg (2013, 26), firstly, a wide interpretation of political marketing theory is not only concerned about marketing activities, but tries to merge these activities with the political environment in which they are being used. Thus, only a comprehensive understanding of all political activities, communication and exchanges, players, structures will be enough to understand the specific consequences of and for political marketing management. Second, a wide understanding of political marketing theory is concerned with epistemology. That doesn't mean that political marketing is an epistemology, but different ontological and epistemological positions can be connected with political marketing. Third, political marketing theory has to be seen as a part of methodological pluralism. Even though marketing-related epistemology would not explain the political sphere better than political science, sociological or psychological epistemology, judgements need to be employed with regard to the propriety of certain epistemological positions in case of some exact anomaly. For example, looking for understanding of the influence of negative political advertising on voter's decisions in order to come up with direction for self-regulating bodies of political advertisers. To summarize, according to the authors, the political marketing theory would not replace but add its part to other theories, such a political science.

According to O'Cass (1996), political marketing research and theory are still growing at that stage, and very few media sources focus on marketing orientation political parties, while none of them talk about the marketing concept. In accordance with his research project,

key political rulers within a party O’Cass (1996) was researching on, have a very little understanding of the marketing theory. Marketing theory with its customer-oriented approach created a big concern from the perspective of the state executive category of rulers. This was so important in the research, because this key decision-making category pointed out the role and importance of the voter in developing the political product is insignificant. The author also believes, that because both politics and marketing often control the social psyche of many societies, they have a large influence on the citizens.

As stated by Durmaz, Direkci (2015), marketing can be explained as the state of recognizing and meeting human needs, including being cost-effective. They believe that political marketing is made on the use of marketing management theory to the practice and theory of politics. It is said that political marketing has a great influence on politics and is extremely important: governing, lobbying, elections, electorate, referenda etc. The use of marketing by political parties has been a growing thought in academia, while some of the academics concentrate on social and democratic conclusions of using marketing in politics, others emphasis on marketing management problems in campaigns. Political marketing nowadays has achieved an important position and obtained a broad usage in different democracies around the world.

According to Kotler (1975), marketing of political candidates has turned into a major activity, which requires a special education for all the politicians who are trying to use it. With a break of several years, the governors constantly participate in numerous elective campaigns for the local and state authorities. Political campaigns have been largely compared to marketing campaigns, where the candidate puts himself on the voters’ market and uses contemporary marketing techniques, such as marketing research and commercial advertising, to receive more votes. Candidates, who are looking for winning the election, cannot avoid marketing themselves. The question is how they do it and what tools do they use.

Kotler (1975) mentions, that recent interest in political marketing has been largely stimulated by increasing political advertising and growth of scientific opinion polling, such as marketing research, computer analysis on voting patterns, and campaign management companies (marketing organizations). It would be wrong to believe that election campaigns started to use marketing tools only recently. Election campaigns always used marketing, however, before the new methodology came, political candidates used the handshake, baby kissing, speechmaking and teas. The so-called 'new methodology' is not the introduction of marketing into politics, but more intelligent and sophisticated way of using it:

'The personal handshake, the local fund-raising dinner, the neighborhood tea, the rally, the precinct captain and the car pool to the polls are still very much with us. .the new campaign has provided a carefully coordinated strategic framework within which the traditional activities are carried out in keeping with a Master Plan. It centers on a shift from the candidate-controlled, loosely-knit, often haphazard 'play-it-by-ear' approach to that of a precise, centralized 'team' strategy for winning or keeping office.' (Glick, 1960, 1)

Kotler (1975) differentiates a few political marketing strategies, which are being used by politicians – in order to win the elections, the political parties strongly promote their candidates as brilliantly appropriate for the elective positions, while the candidate himself from early morning to late evening, wanders around the polling stations, shakes hands, kisses infants, meets with businessmen, pronounces hastily improvised incendiary speeches. An uncountable number of money is spent on television and radio advertising, posters, dispatch of materials by mail. Any disappointing features of the candidate are being hidden, because the most important thing is to sell it, and not be tormented about the future satisfaction of voters with their choice. Some of the very important political marketing tools which are being used by political parties are their manifestos, campaigns and speeches made in public.

2. VIEWS OF BRITISH POLITICAL PARTIES ON IMMIGRATION – MEDIA&PARTIES’ WEB-SITES CHECK

2.1 Conservative Party

Even though the official Conservative’s position in Brexit referendum was described as ‘neutral’, most of the academics disagree with that point. Following the long-term tradition of Conservatives’ Euroscepticism, they were not opposed to Brexit, but rather supported it. One of the biggest reasons for it, same as for many other parties in the Parliament, was clearly immigration from the EU countries. Conservatives’ Party official web-site mentions:

‘All of the other parties ignore the need to get control of our borders – and they talk about ignoring the decision the country made and staying in the EU. For the best Brexit deal, vote for Theresa May and the Conservatives.’ (Conservative’s official web-site [online])

According to Dorey (2017), since the 1980s Conservative Party started raising disagreements in the society regarding initially the European Community and later on – the European Union. The leaders of Conservative Party, David Cameron and John Major, often appeared as following their Party’s voice about all the Eurosceptic issues more than leading the Party by themselves. Starting with Margaret Thatcher in 1980s, Conservatives were already quite Eurosceptic and this Euroscepticism continued to grow between 1997 and 2005, when the Party was led by William Hague, Iain Duncan Smith and Michael Howard. As stated by MacShane (2016:109), Hague helped to create a deeply Europe-hostile Conservative party in twenty-first century. Once David Cameron was elected, he tried to decrease the EU as a policy issue in the Party, mostly because of its animosity. He asked Conservatives to ‘stop banging on about Europe’ along with other important problems, such as immigration. As reported by Heppell, Crines, Jeffery (2017), in his early years of opposition Cameron tried to change the attention of his Party colleagues from the issues of

immigration and Europe towards environmentalism, poverty, feminization etc. However, once he became a Prime Minister, skepticism of his colleagues towards the EU intensified.

According to MacShane (2016: XVII), after Cameron was elected, Conservative Eurosceptic MPs and MEPs started to insist that he had to win treaty change or changes in the EU laws, so that workers coming from the EU countries would face a disparate treatment than their British colleagues in the same company. At the same time, other European leaders announced, that the Conservative's party requirements, such as the UK deciding on how many immigrants from the EU eastern and south-eastern states can be allowed to live and work in Britain, can't be met.

Heppell, Crines, Jeffery (2017) believe, that the 'identity threat' (threat of immigration) in the Conservative Party emerged from concerns over economic security in the Union as Eastern European employees started to be blamed for both low wages, unemployment and overwhelming of public services, which were already over-stretched in their spendings.

According to BBC News (2015), Cameron mentioned that benefit control was needed to prevent 'very high' and 'unsustainable' levels of migration to the country. He also said that around 40% of recent European Economic Area migrants (which allows the free movement of people, goods and services and, also, allows these people to live in any state within this area), received an average of £6,000 a year of in-work benefits.

Cameron, seeing the growing anti-immigration moods in the society, his own party and the Parliament, has signed himself up for a dangerous deal – if British citizens choose him to be a Prime Minister, he would hold a referendum and negotiate to reform the EU and its relationship with the UK. He did mention that he personally wanted his country to stay in the Union, but he did not ignore the leaving opportunity in case if the required changes in UK – EU relationships would not be achieved. Immigration from the EU countries was a deal-

breaker in this negotiation. In his speech to the British citizens before he was elected, Cameron mentioned:

‘People want Government to have control over the numbers of people coming here and the circumstances in which they come, both from around the world and from within the European Union. They want control over who has the right to receive benefits and what is expected of them in return. They want to know that foreign criminals can be excluded - or if already here, removed. And they want us to manage carefully the pressures on our schools, our hospitals and our housing.’ (BBC News, 2014)

Interestingly enough, before Brexit happened, the current UK Prime-Minister Theresa May was against it. Once she became a Prime-Minister, she said that there’s no way of going back and ‘Brexit means Brexit’. On her own words, one of the main reasons why May decided to call-in a general election in 2017 was to strengthen her hand in Brexit negotiations with the EU (BBC News, 2017). In a letter to the president of European Council Donald Tusk (BBC News, 2017), she mentioned a couple of things regarding migration: to strike an early agreement for the rights of EU citizens living in the UK and British citizens living in the EU (‘citizens first’); an as-yet undefined immigration structure to replace the free movement of citizens from the EU. The aim is to drop total net migration below 100,000. According to BBC News (2017), Brexit Secretary David Davis mentioned that Conservatives aim to bring the immigration down to ‘sustainable levels as soon as is economically viable’. In the same announcement, the Party repeated its promise to cut down annual net migration to less than 100,000. Davis also mentioned that the timing of this to become reality would depend on the economy, the speed to train British people to take jobs, changes in the welfare to encourage people to take these jobs etc. Another point was to keep employment rights according to the EU law.

Although, it's still not clear from the letter in what way the UK is planning to reduce the net migration. In her speech in Florence, May commented that it will take time to put the new immigration system in place and recover control over the UK borders. She also mentioned, that during the transition period EU citizens will still be able to come and work in the UK, however, the new registration system will be created (Independent, 2017).

In her speech at the Conservative Party Conference 2016, May said that many people ask her about the 'trade-off' between controlling immigration and access to the free market, but she believes that's 'the wrong way' of looking at this situation. As the UK voted to leave the EU and become fully independent, she said, they will do what independent and sovereign states do – decide on how to control immigration to the country and pass their own laws (Vital Speeches International, 2016).

Once May announced about her plans to reduce migration so rapidly, to the tens of thousands, a lot of critics started to raise their voice to say how unachievable this goal is. Predictably, Liberal Conservative pressure group had an immediate response about it. The director of Bright Blue (independent liberal conservative think tank and pressure group) Ryan Shorthouse, who is being supported by 140 Conservative MPs, mentioned that keeping the net migration target is a mistake and controlling immigration should not be concentrated on such an unrealistic and indiscriminate figure. Shorthouse also said that Prime minister has to come up with realistic and efficient ways of controlling migration (The Guardian, 2017).

According to Independent (2017), Conservative party mentioned, that they would 'reduce and control migration', while attracting the 'best and brightest' from all over the world. They would also make companies pay up to £2,000 a year Immigration Skills Charge for migrant workers, and those incomes to the budget will be invested to skills training for UK workers. The Immigration Skills Charge will not only rise for companies who have migrant workers employed with them, but also international students coming to study in the

UK. While for expat workers the charge will rise to £600, for international students it will be £400. At the same time, those people who are working abroad and want to take their family with them, will have to earn more as the earnings threshold for family visas will be raised. Apart from that, the independent Migration Advisory Committee will have to make propositions for changes to the visa requirements, which will allow serious numbers of visas for employees in key sectors without calculating to net migration as a whole.

At the moment, it's not clear how the situation with unskilled migration will turn out. Conservatives didn't say they wanted to stop it completely, even though the UKIP, which we are going to talk about later in this thesis, did. Home Secretary Amber Rudd declared, that the Government will push businesses to hire unemployed British workers and train them. She also mentioned, that Britain should no longer rely on the EU stuff:

‘We will be trying to push them as well to do more in the U.K. - them and all other businesses - so that we make sure we look after people who are otherwise unemployed.’ (Evening Standard, 2017)

Interestingly, unemployment in the UK nowadays is one of the lowest since 1970s (see the graph below), so it's not very clear how the Home Secretary and other Conservatives are planning to hire those British workers.

D'Ancona (The Guardian, 2017) fairly argues, that at pro-Brexit campaigns it's easy to notice how the hostility towards immigration was formed – in particular, with voters who are feeling that their economy is in a bad place because of immigrants, scared of change and don't have enough information coming from politicians. He believes, that politicians who are blaming immigrants for things like globalization, extremism and challenge of automation, are just applying to people's anger, which is easy to do, considering that very often these people are low-paid, sensitive and poorly housed. D'Ancona (2017) states, that emotions which

drove Brexit vote could flare up again as there is always enough populist right-wing politicians, who are happy to fan the flames.

Nevertheless, later on Davis mentioned, that the UK will still be open for EU migrants to come and work in Britain. On his visit to Estonia, Secretary of State for Exiting the EU commented:

‘In the hospitality sector, hotels and restaurants, in the social-care sector, working in agriculture, it will take time. It will be years and years before we get British citizens to do those jobs... Don’t expect just because we’re changing who makes the decision on the policy, the door will suddenly shut – it won’t.’ (Independent, 2017).

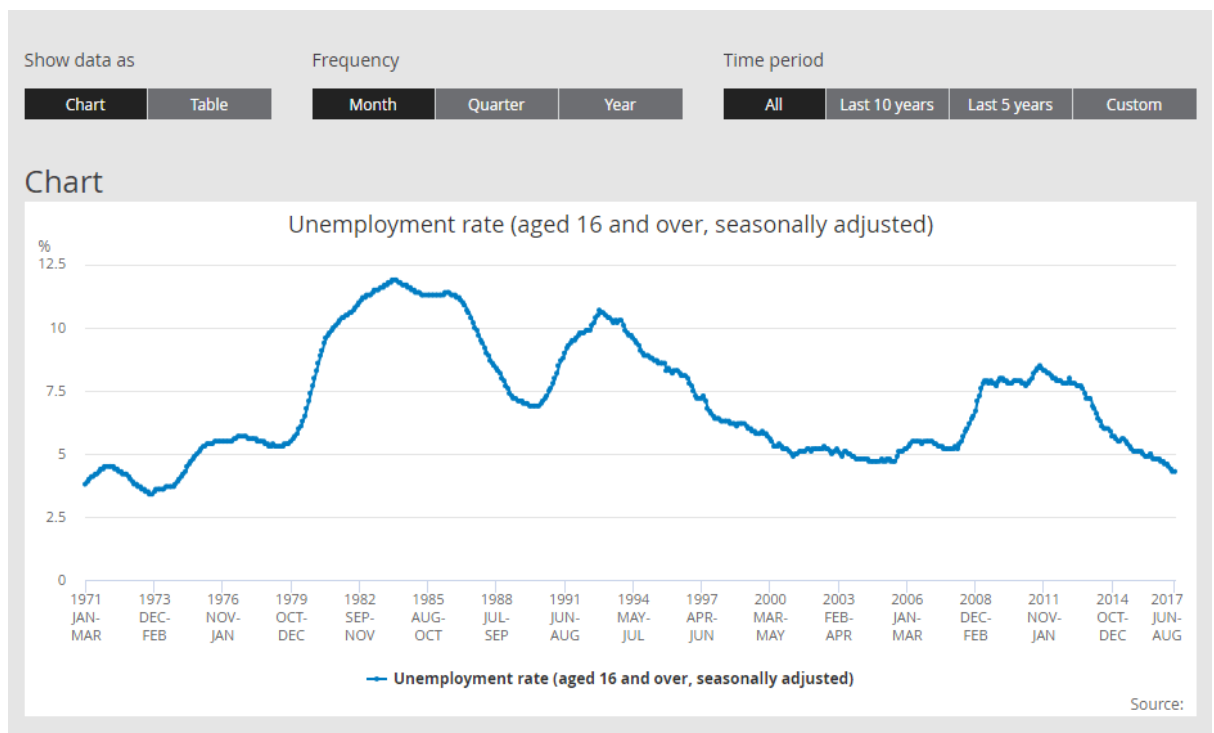


Figure 1: Unemployment rate in the UK (aged 16 and over, seasonally adjusted).

Source: Office of National Statistics (2017).

According to Forbes (2017), the EU leaders made their point very clear about the Conservative’s Party desire to stop immigration to the country. As one of the four freedoms of the EU is free movement of people, the Conservatives signed themselves a deal for the ‘hard’ Brexit when decided to cut off migration to the country to tens of thousands. Although,

the Union wasn't always as good at protecting their four freedoms – it not only suspended the Schengen agreement during the refugee crisis (as not all the states were happy to take refugees on board), it also established the capital control for Eurozone members, which made it harder to travel around.

Dorey (2016) comments, that by the time Cameron became Prime Minister in 2016, the separation in the Conservative party wasn't anymore about Europhiles and Eurosceptics, but about 'hard' and 'soft' Eurosceptics. The development of hard Euroscepticism and, also, the shift towards total unacceptance of the EU started with 1990s 'Thatcherisation' of the Party, new Treaties and most importantly – post-2004 Eastern EU employees' migration to the country.

Dorey (2016) also mentions, that much of the triumph of 'hard' Eurosceptics in Conservative Party was dependent on them making the immigration issues seem very easy by using the slogans like 'taking back control' or 'controlling our borders'. This kind of techniques are often used by politicians in order to influence voter's emotions instead of their logical thinking. On the other side, 'soft' Eurosceptics assumed that Britain staying in the EU would be an obvious choice and could be explained by facts, logic, economic data and discussions. As we can see now, that wasn't the case.

Even though it seems like there were only Leavers in Tory party, there were some people (as it was mentioned before, including Cameron) who were supporting the idea of staying in the Union. According to Bale (2016), there still were some Conservatives who thought that leaving the EU was a bad idea and who wanted if not to reverse the Brexit itself, but at least to limit the harm by making Brexit to go as peaceful as possible. One of these people was former MP and Chair of the European Movement, Laura Sandys and other once were ex-ministers Anna Soubry and Nicky Morgan, and Chair of the Commons Education Select Committee, Neil Carmichael.

In her article for The Guardian (2015), Laura Sandys acknowledges, that thinking that exiting the EU will solve the refugee crisis and other migration issues, is ‘one of the biggest political mis-selling scandals of our time’. She argues, that neither of Brexit supporters’ claims (Douglas Carswell, Nigel Farage etc.) to ‘control the borders’ actually mean less migration in any way. She also mentions, that the idea mentioned earlier about giving security to low-paid workers and only allowing the ‘skilled’ EU migrants to come to the country, would mean that while EU migrants will be getting skilled jobs, British employees will be sent to the factories and fields. Wouldn’t it be better to focus on training those low-skilled workers and helping them financially? Sandy’s also comments, that Nigel Farage’s ‘retail offer’ would put the biggest limits of free movement. In order to do so, the UK would have to create a border between Northern Ireland and Republic of Ireland, which would lead to migrants entering the UK from the Union ‘back door’. Sandy believes, that if her colleagues-Leavers actually cared about immigration, they would better break those minimum-wage laws, boost skills development and get the living wage higher.

Another Tory MP who is opposed to Brexit is Anna Soubry. In her interview to BBC News (2014), she mentioned that there is no real problem with European immigrants coming to the UK and claiming benefits as, in fact, the number of those people is actually ‘terribly small’. She also said that obsessing about such things can be very dangerous, as there’s a danger of creating false fear and judging in the society.

Surprisingly, the latest YouGov poll showed, that the majority of voters would rather maintain free trade with the EU over stopping the migration. According to this poll, people voted in such a way (Market Insider, 2017):

- It is more important for the UK to have control over EU immigration into the country than to still have free trade: 42%.

- It is more important to still have a free trade with the EU without tariff barriers than it is to cut off EU immigration: 58%.

Another interesting observation was that more British citizens now think that it was a wrong decision to leave the Union. YouGov poll found out that 45% of voters said the UK was wrong to leave the EU, while 44% decided it was right.

Coming back to Tory's Party supporters of migration, Nicky Morgan (another Conservative MP), her colleagues have to explain the citizens that immigrants are good for Britain's economy and public services. According to Telegraph (2016), Nicky Morgan mentioned, that immigration is a necessary and valuable part of the society. She believes, that Conservatives have to start modernizing and talk about issues like immigration or sex education in schools. Morgan thinks that issues like immigration have to be properly explained to the citizens, as many people voted for Brexit because they didn't know the benefits of staying in the EU. She believes that people coming to the UK bring some benefits to the state's economy as they pay taxes. Moreover, Britain is a part of interconnected world and has a tradition of inviting people to work, giving them refuge, supporting public services - over 50,000 people from overseas work in NHS (Telegraph, 2016).

According to Independent (2017), another Tory MP Neil Carmichael has become the first Conservative MP who said that he would rebel in a key vote in order to stop Theresa May from taking the UK out of the EU without a trade deal. Supporters of Remain campaign in Tory party want to make sure that Parliament is given a 'meaningful vote' before any agreement is made with the EU – so the Prime Minister can go back and discuss better Brexit terms in case if MPs reject the deal she reaches in 2019. As it was discussed earlier, a successful trade deal isn't really possible with a strict immigration control plans.

It is also important to mention the influence of UKIP (right-wing populist party) on Conservatives and their views of migration and closing the borders. According to Ahluwalia,

Miller (2016), UKIP threatened the classic political constituency of the Conservative Party and as a result David Cameron promised a referendum as a ‘payment’ for his party to win the General Election in 2015. This referendum was a successful way to protect Conservative votes, which were threatened by the raising UKIP popularity. Laura Sandys writes in her article for Telegraph (2014):

‘UKIP wraps itself in historical mantels, paradoxically referencing our great history of engaging with the rest of the world as an excuse for withdrawal from our near abroad. However, ‘Out of Europe’ as a stated policy would be the first time in modern history that the UK’s aim would be to diminish its influence in Europe – an extraordinary retreat from our national interest.’

Comments about the UKIP threatening Conservative’s votes were as well made by Liam Fox, a former defence secretary. It’s mentioned in Telegraph (2014) that Fox warned the Prime Minister Cameron back in 2014 that he should cut ‘net migration’ and reduce the number of low-skilled workers from the EU. He also mentioned that the public has to be concerned about the impact migrants make on public services like hospitals and schools. Fox believed that without a clear goal on immigration, Conservatives wouldn’t win the elections and Cameron would win less seats than Nigel Farage (UKIP’s leader). Fox is another example of extremely Eurosceptic Conservative, who was a Brexit supporter because of migration issues.

Views on migration and multi-culturalism are not the only things which were forming similarities between Conservatives and UKIP – the graph below shows, that Tory Party had the second largest majority of Leavers after UKIP:

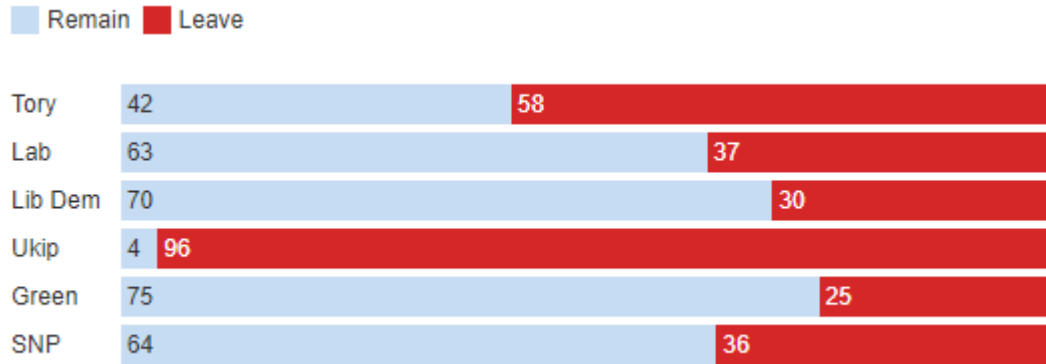


Figure 2: British Political Parties' Votes in Brexit Referendum. Source: BBC (2016).

UKIP party and their views on migration and Brexit will be discussed in details later on in this thesis.

2.2 Labour Party

On the opposite side of Brexit spectrum, there was the Labour party and their general pro-EU, anti-Brexit approach. While Conservatives were talking about Eastern European immigrants stealing the British jobs, Labour were supporting the single market idea and were not as oppose to immigration.

The official web-site of Labour Party says, that they accept the referendum results and will always put the jobs and economy first:

‘We will prioritise jobs and living standards, build a close new relationship with the EU, protect workers’ rights and environmental standards, provide certainty to EU nationals and give a meaningful role to Parliament throughout negotiations.’ (Labour Party official web-site, [online]).

They also mention, that their Party won’t blame migrants for the country’s economic failures and won’t discriminate between people of different races or nationalities. They will protect those migrants who already work in the UK and will end workplace exploitation as both public and private sector employees depend on migrants. Although all these promising

comments were made after the Brexit happened, what did the Labour Party do in before Brexit?

Collins (2017) believes, that the Labour Party wasn't really effective in their Brexit campaign. He mentions, that on a few things which Labour took a liberal approach to, immigration in particular, Jeremy Corbyn's support brought even more harm. The Party was very confused about the EU in general and, therefore, the vote was getting split and nobody in the party eventually paid attention to Jeremy Corbyn's words.

Surprisingly, Corbyn wasn't always as supportive of the Union as he seems to be nowadays. As reported by BBC News (2016), Corbyn voted to leave the European Economic Community in 1975, spoke against the Maastricht Treaty in 1993 (the one which created the European Union as we now it nowadays and pushed it towards economic and political unification), and voted against Lisbon Treaty in 2008 because the EU had 'always suffered a serious democratic deficit'. After Corbyn won the Labour leadership campaign, he said he wanted Britain to stay in the Union, however, with some reforms to be made. He also mentioned, that when there's a Labour government in 2020, they will be fighting for better financial and workers' across Europe and the continent which is based on social justice and good.

According to News Statesman (2017), during the campaign, Corbyn's idea to support the referendum results and end free movement gained the respect of Leavers, while his pro-migration beliefs and promise of 'jobs first' affected Remainers, so Corbyn hit both sides of the conflict.

Nevertheless, Corbyn's opinion about migrants didn't change significantly – hi still believes, that immigrants from the EU and other countries are an important part of British society and the numbers of people coming to the country aren't too high. In his interview to BBC News (2017), Corbyn stated, that immigrants from European countries play a

significant role in country's economy and he would not propose any new restrictions for control of migrants coming to Britain. He mentioned, that the country has to recognize what a big contribution is made to Britain's health service, education and manufacturing by people who come from the EU. Moreover, there is a very big number of British citizens living in the Union (around 1.5-2 million), making their contributions. EU citizens, Corbyn said, come to the UK and work hard, pay taxes, are a part of the society and British citizens have to be accepting of that instead of rising the hate crimes and abuse. He also mentioned, that without doctors and nurses from Europe, situation with NHS would be even worse now.

As stated in Independent (2016), Corbyn also mentioned, that there will be new policies announced in order to limit the impact of migration without cutting off the numbers of people who are coming to Britain. He acknowledged that he has been in contact with some socialist parties in Europe about the need of 'co-terminosity' – adjustment of wages and conditions, which would lower the stimulus for Eastern European migrants to come to the UK. He was also planning to recreate the Migrant Impact Fund which was initially launched by Gordon Brown in 2008 in order to support local communities and lower the pressure on health and housing providers, schools etc. This Migrant Impact Fund was previously canceled by the Coalition Government in 2010. Corbyn mentioned, that the Labour government will not create fear or division of the nation because of migration issues, but will tackle the real problems connected to this question and make the real changes. Labour would also make sure that the Migrant Impact Fund gives the necessary support to areas where migration is very high and will add a citizenship application fee to get more money for the fund.

According to Independent (2017), the Labour's new campaign of supporting the free movement of people is getting more ground. Politicians, who are supporting it are Clive Lewis (Corbyn-supporting MP who left the shadow cabinet because of Brexit) and Michael Chessum (used to be a senior figure in Corbyn-supporting Momentum group). Chessum

mentioned, that this is a very important moment for the Labour party as the position which they are going to take in immigration debate will be explanatory of what the party does in general. He also commented, that there should be an end to blaming migrants for the crisis in British economy and public services.

Another Corbyn's supporter, Ian Hodson (president of the Bakers and Allied Food Workers Union (BFAWU)), acknowledged that Labour has an option of accepting agenda of hope and solidarity instead of division and fear. He said that the country needs a movement which would unite all workers, regardless of where they are from. Ending free movement would lead to the completely different result (Independent, 2017).

According to The Guardian (2017), after Brexit happened, the Party announced that they will be supporting the UK's membership in the Union's single market and customs union during the transition period which can take up to 4 years. It's particularly interesting, because this means they won't be oppose to the free movement of people too as the EU's leaders made it clear that they won't allow the access to the market unless the free movement of people is there. This kind of approach will definitely lead to the creation of a clear dividing line with the Conservatives on Brexit for the first time. Anti-Brexit Tory MPs will be put in a very difficult position of supporting Labour's ideas and rebelling against their own party, which will threaten Theresa May's already unstable leadership position.

News Stateman's (2017) author believes, that giving the economy priority over immigration and continuing to be a member of single market is the most decent way to make sure that the UK saves the access to the market which it requires.

The national executive committee published a document after Labour were criticized from some of its own members. According to The Guardian (2017), Labour stated that an accurate institutional reform of the new trading and customs relationship should be created by

negotiation. The Party will not support any decisions on hard border introduction or free movement of people restrictions.

Varoufakis (2017) argues, that by bringing up the idea of a longer transitional period, Labour party has shown bigger political responsibility and seriousness than Theresa May and Conservatives. He mentions, that the question right now is if Labour Party can be adjustable and innovative in dealing with issues like free movement of people to the country. At the moment, European companies are able to freely import cheap labour to the UK and cut out some of the domestic workers who are looking for better employment rights. However, the progressive Parties like Labour have to challenge the EU to promote the equal rights and consensus in working conditions for all European workers.

Mason (2017) believes, that Labour needs to decide, what do they want in Brexit negotiations and threaten, that if their requirements are not meant, they will vote down the Brexit deal in the Commons. He also mentions, that even though Labour's support for European immigrants was very strong, they now have to vote on immigration policy which will propose some replacement of free movement. A very important period for Labour will come in winter 2018-2019, when, as Mason (2017) argues, Theresa's May Brexit strategy will break down and she will lead the UK to 'no deal Brexit'. Under that terms, Labour will have to come back to power and create the deal as they want it: no Brexit without an access to the single market and, therefore, immigration reform.

Armstrong (2017, p. 74) mentions, that the Remain campaign, which Labour party was supporting, claimed that leaving the Union would not necessarily raise control over net migration especially if the 'point-based' immigration system, which was offered by Leavers like Boris Johnson, Michael Gove, Priti Patel and Gisela Stuart was established. Remainers also tried to change the center of discussion over free movement to the benefits which it would bring, like the low-cost travel around Europe, access to the medical health care in

other EU countries as a tourist and also cheap roaming charges. These arguments didn't work very well, most probably because they spoke more for the people who already lived outside of the UK and not in Britain.

According to Independent (2016), more than 50% of Labour supporters who voted to leave the EU, would now change their preferences in general election. 9% of their voters would switch to Conservatives and 8% to UKIP. These 8% who turned to UKIP prove, that the reason they changed their preferences because of immigration issues and desire to stop the free movement, as that's the main policy of the UKIP. In a response to that, Labour MPs Rachel Reeves, Emma Reynolds and Steven Kinnock called for the end of free movement within the Union.

Even though the official position of Labour party was to vote against Brexit, there was a lot of disagreements on it within the Party itself. As reported by Independent (2016), Rachel Reeves (Labour MP and Former Shadow Cabinet minister), threatened that Britain could 'explode' into protests against immigration if it's not being dealt with after Brexit. She also mentioned, that there were 'bubbling tensions' over immigration that could lead to some riots if the deal agreed with the EU wouldn't include the end of a free movement.

Reeves also believes, that Britain needs to get the best possible deal regarding the single market and trade with the EU, however, without the free movement of people.

In their article to The Guardian (2017), Stephen Kinnock and Emma Reynolds (both Labour Party MPs), argue that in their Party those who are believe in managed migration are called 'UKIP-lite'. They believe that Labour Party has to push the government to create a two-tier migration system:

- Tier 1 – highly skilled workers from the EU like teachers, doctors, engineers, who will be able to move to the UK on the basis of confirmed employment. The jobs they would take

would have to outpace agreed skills, education, thresholds. EU students who study at British universities would also belong to this Tier.

- Tier 2 – low-skilled and semi-skilled EU workers. In order for them to get to the UK they will have to deal with sector-based quotas, negotiated between the government, industry and trade unions. Sectors which this tier would include are construction, food processing, agriculture and hospitality.

They anticipate that if the government proposed a preferential labour migration scheme, it would remove such a massive tension between the access to the single market and free movement of people. That means that Labour party has to either refuse any calls for the reforms on immigration or demonstrate that they're ready to take action and create a fair and managed migration system in order to rebuild the trust of British people.

Brooks (2016) believes, that Labour Party can deal with immigration issue and gain back public's trust in order to form the next government. He supposes that even though the public concern towards immigration is growing, the UK immigration system has some important strengths, which were mostly introduced by the Labour. Brooks supports the idea of Jeremy Corbyn, which we discussed earlier, of developing a socialist immigration policy. Even though the Conservatives failed to bring migration down to the levels of Gordon Brown and Tony Blair, the voters still think the need to deal with free movement lies on Labour's shoulders. The common criteria for receiving a citizenship in the UK are the common law – language, residency, good character and fair knowledge. Residency requirements that can now allow some evidenced exceptions, language test which was established in 2005 – these and other changes for the purposes of dealing with immigration problem were provided by Labour government. Even the points-based immigration system, argues Brooks, which was apparently proposed by UKIP in their Brexit campaign, was already running for over a decade because of Labour government. He also mentions the Migration Impacts Fund

(mentioned earlier), which Labour established in order to redirect the money from immigration applications to public services such as NHS.

Bale (2014) argues, that the Labour has made a lot of mistakes in their migration policies – the biggest one, he believes, was not to appoint transitional controls on new member states which joined the Union in 2004 and the failure to bring a points-based system earlier. Yvette Cooper (Labour MP and Shadow Home Secretary), mentioned that even though managed migration has benefits for the economy and culture of Britain, they also need to understand the impact on communities and have a strong control which is properly accomplished (Bale, 2014).

According to Bale (2014), when all the 28 states joined the Union in 2004, the UK's government didn't decide to do anything about migration to the country and as a consequence, experienced a big and unplanned wave of migration, particularly from Eastern and Central European states. Labour government decided to toughen the rules on migration and asylum under the pressure of Conservatives and right-wing media. However, the results were the opposite from what was expected - this not only increased UKIP's electorate, but also played a big part in Labour losing general elections in 2010.

Later on, Ed Miliband (ex-leader of Labour Party and the Opposition), said Labour wouldn't do anything about the EU migration and free movement of labour for EU citizens, even though that's one of the reasons why Blair and Brown governments were in trouble and why the current Conservative government would not be able to do a lot on immigration. As a result, it wasn't very surprising when in his first conference speech as a party leader, Miliband said that the public wanted their concerns about immigration to be heard and he understands people's disappointment, because the Party 'didn't seem to be on your side' (Bale, 2014)

To summarize, according to The Guardian (2017), until now the Labour's policy on Brexit was lacking some clarity as they wanted both to end freedom of movement and get the benefits of the single market at the same time. Nowadays, Labour finally made its mind and decided that Britain should keep all the economic agreements and relationships with the Union for some period after leaving the EU, to let time and space handle this deal.

2.3 UKIP (United Kingdom Independence Party)

While Labour and Tories were divided and unclear on their Brexit views, the United Kingdom Independence Party (or simply UKIP) were more than sure about their position on Brexit. Since the very beginning of its existence, UKIP was known as Eurosceptic, extremely right-wing and populist political party. Considering that even the history of this Party shows, that it has always been the most anti-European out of all its colleagues in the whole House of Commons, it's not difficult to guess what their views on the referendum were.

According to BBC News (2004), it all started in 1991 as an organization called the Anti-federalist league, in order to fight against the Maastricht Treaty (the Treaty, which was probably the most important one for creation of the modern EU and which goal was to closer integrate European states). The main goal of the Party was always withdrawing from the European Union, as they believed that the UK's nationality, free speech, currency, military and police were constantly intimidated, if not threatened, by the EU membership. Predictably, the biggest argument UKIP always used in their anti-EU campaigns, was immigration from the EU states and refugees from destabilized countries, which the EU was taking on board. In his article to Telegraph, Nigel Farage (perhaps the most famous ex-leader of UKIP), argues:

‘It is clear that in the forthcoming EU referendum the issue of border controls will dominate the debate. Particularly since the EU's Common Asylum Policy has relaxed its criteria, allowing pretty much anyone who comes to Europe to stay... We have long been witness in Britain to the failed policy of the EU's open borders, supported

by the establishment politicians to the detriment of our nation. When the referendum comes, the British people will finally have their chance to reject these open borders by saying No to the European Union.’

Farage, who became a leader of the Party in 2006, became famous for his loud and controversial talks on immigration and the EU. One of his quotes about immigrants was:

‘I was asked if a group of Romanian men moved in next to you, would you be concerned? And if you lived in London, I think you would be’ (Independent, 2016)

Moreover, after he was asked if he would also be against German children living in his neighborhood, he said ‘You know the difference’. (Independent, 2016)

According to The Guardian (2016), just before Brexit referendum happened, his anti-migrant poster was reported to the police and accused of being racist. Poster with the slogan ‘Breaking point: the EU has failed us all’ was showing many non-white migrants and refugees, who were trying to get to the EU and Britain, according to UKIP (see the poster below). The person who reported it was Dave Prentis, a member of the Unison union (one of the biggest trade unions in Britain), who mentioned that this picture was an attempt to create a racial hate in the society and the latest attempt to make people to vote Leave. He also said, that the Unison union complained about the poster not only because of the racist feelings it was inciting in the society, but because it broke the UK’s race laws as well. The Unison union were not the only people who complained about the poster – a bunch of politicians, including Yvette Cooper and Nicola Sturgeon, were not happy about it either. Even Boris Johnson, who was leading the official Leave campaign, had to distance the campaign from UKIP, saying that the poster wasn’t ‘my politics’ and ‘not our campaign’.



Source: The Guardian (2016).

Speaking of UKIP's Brexit campaign, it was clear that they will be completely against being a part of the EU as the main goal of the Party was leaving the Union. Farage has resigned his post after the referendum, saying that he had accomplished his political goals and needed some rest. According to The Guardian (2016), one of Farage's quotes stated that during the referendum he wanted his country back, while now he wants his life back.

He was a leader from 2006 until 2009 and came back after 2010 election, bringing the UKIP higher electorate and making it an important political force in the country. He also mentioned, that he won't be coming back to being an MP as it wasn't one of his ambitions anymore (The Guardian, 2016).

While a lot of people were arguing that UKIP won the Brexit referendum, there are still a lot of doubts about that. According to Usherwood (2016), there was some tension going on between the Leave.EU campaign (which UKIP created to challenge the referendum and become the official organization which was fighting to drop the EU) and Vote Leave campaign, which was more populated by political insiders and was much more cross-party.

One of the biggest differences in those two campaigns was, obviously, their rhetoric on immigration – Leave.EU was going much more beyond Vote Leave’s words on ‘uncontrolled migration’. Nevertheless, even though Farage claims that UKIP with his Leave.EU campaign were the one to win the referendum, the politicians of Vote Leave, especially Boris Johnson, played a more important role in building the campaign’s rhetoric (Usherwood, 2016).

As stated by Goodwin and Heath (2016) the result of Brexit referendum showed that British society is divided by social class, generation and geography. Leave campaign was primarily focusing on immigration issues, especially during the last weeks before the referendum. It received 70% of the vote in 14 local authorities, most of which were targeted by UKIP in previous European, general and local elections. Predictably, Leave campaign received the biggest number of votes in the West Midlands (59.3%), known historically for its Euroscepticism and anti-immigration attitude.

Goodwin and Heath (2016) also argue, that Leave campaign’s central theme was ‘take back control of our borders’ with a presumption that it would help to cut down migration to the UK. This message influenced on public concerns within the state and as surveys revealed, people thought it was the most important problem facing the country. Surprisingly, communities that had less or no immigrants at all, were more likely to vote Leave in the referendum. In fact, Goodwin and Heath (2016) mention, that out of the twenty places with the fewest EU migrants, fifteen voted to leave, while out of twenty places with the most EU migrants, eighteen voted to remain. Therefore, local authorities with the biggest amount of EU migrants were more likely to vote Stay in the referendum. On the other side, places which tended to vote Leave, had experienced an unexpected flow of EU migrants to their neighborhood over the last ten years. Therefore, sudden changes in population are indeed influencing on growing concern about immigration, but not the immigration itself.

According to Polgar (2016), before and during their Brexit campaign UKIP required the border control to be completely returned to the UK. Immigrants, who are entering the country, would have to be financially independent for five years and they would not be allowed to use the services of private sector within these five years. Speaking of social benefits and other civil help, they will be given to the British citizens only or to people who lived in the UK for five or more years. They also want to introduce the visa system to the EU nationals, so they would need to have a work permit in order to work in Britain (like citizens from outside of the EU do). They believe that would create job opportunities for British citizens and also make their wages higher, reduce the pressure on public sector and cut off migration numbers in general. As reported by Polgar (2016), even though UKIP is a minor party with over 35,000 members, during the last few years it became an important political force that can challenge the bigger political parties like Tories or Labour. The success of the Party has shown that Euroscepticism across the UK definitely exists and concerns about EU immigrants are constantly growing.

According to the UKIP's web-site [online], they plan is to introduce a visa system, similar to the Australian one (an ethical visa system for work and study with equal application principle for all the applicants). They would also create a couple of more additions to the immigration policy:

- Migration Control Commission – in order to bring down the net migration, they would create Australia-like points based system and make sure that the 'right' number of high-skilled workers are coming to the country.

- On employment and visas – cancel the rules, which favor EU citizens and discriminate them against non-EU citizens; 'Highly Skilled' workers only work visa.5 tiers for visas - Highly Skilled Work Visa, the Temporary Unskilled Workers Visa, Visitors Passes, the Student visa, and the Family Reunion visa.

- On security&entry point systems - increase Border Agency Staff. They would also increase border agency staff up to 2,500 to be allocated in a new division; one passport queue for British citizens and another one for all the others; and, lastly, create a new technology that is able to check in and out times of all the passport and visa holders and would identify over-stayers.
- On illegal immigration – no amnesty; would expand the police team up to 500 more people to be added to the front line; advance the technology for better identification of illegal immigrants; analyse the nowadays situation with accommodation for illegal immigrants.
- On citizenship – existing EU citizens would be offered to look for a permanent residency and citizenship in the UK after Britain leaves the Union; people with criminal convictions would not be able to get a citizenship; passport of those supporting terrorist organizations would be abolished.
- On asylum – will keep up with UN Convention on Refugees for Asylum and have a prompt review of the asylum process.
- On benefits&health – all the highly skilled workers would be required to have a Health Insurance for 5 years; all the immigrants under the new point-based system would have to contribute to tax and national insurance for five years before asking for benefits; would ask the government to create a fund for those who don't fit in previously mentioned categories or in NHS.

Considering that now UKIP has achieved the biggest goal it had – UK has left the EU, it's hard to say if the party will still be relevant. Out of two main things which held the Party together – idea of leaving the EU and fight against the immigrants, it's only one left now. Usherwood (2016) also argues, that immigration issue most probably won't be enough to hold the party together, especially if the post-Brexit deal will decrease the amount of people coming to Britain.

2.4 LibDem (Liberal Democrats)

Liberal Democrats, the second youngest popular party after UKIP, formed in 1988, had completely different views on Brexit from their colleagues in UKIP. According to the LibDem web-site, they were supporting the idea of the UK staying as a part of the EU:

‘Liberal Democrats are open and outward-looking. We passionately believe that Britain is better off in the EU. We will fight against the Conservatives disastrous hard Brexit - their choice to make the UK a poorer place... We acknowledge the result of the 2016 referendum, which gave the government a mandate to start negotiations to leave – but we believe the final decision should be made by the British people, not by politicians.’ (LibDem official web-site, [online])

Their web-site also mentions, that their plan for the relationships with Europe is to let British people decide once more in a referendum whether they want to accept the ‘hard’ Brexit deal, which Conservatives insist on, or change their decision and stay in the EU. Moreover, speaking of the single market and migration, Liberal Democrats would like to stay in the single market and customs union (so the free trade with the Union would continue and the customs controls on the border wouldn’t be destroyed). They would also want to protect the rights not only of the European citizens living in Britain, but also the rights of Britons living in the EU.

According to 2015 estimates from the United Nations (UK’s Independent Facts Checking charity, 2017), 1.2 million people who were born in Britain live in other EU countries. Also, according to census data across the EU collected by the Office for National Statistics (ONS), around 900,000 UK citizens had a long-term residence in other countries of the Union in 2010 and 2011. While ONS checks for both UK-born people and UK citizens, the UN data only shows the UK-born people. Therefore, even though the United Nations numbers are more current, Office for National Statistics data is definitely more concrete.

As reported by Telegraph (2017), in a speech during the general election campaign, ex-leader of the Party Tim Farron mentioned, that LibDem would totally support the free movement of people between Britain and EU. Similar to Labour's Party manifesto, LibDem say they don't want to include students to official immigration statistics and allow high-skill immigration to be a prospect for industries which need certain skill sets.

Current Party leader sir Vince Cable supports the ideas of his predecessor. He believes, that Theresa May's target to cut off immigration below 100,000 a year is 'absurd' and 'amateurish' and is going to lead to bad social and economic consequences. Moreover, he said that the strict attitude to immigration, which May built her career on, has now backfired as she didn't manage to reduce net migration as it still has 248,000 a year. He mentioned, that May sacrificed one of the most successful export industries – higher education – in her hunt of the migration target (Independent, 2017).

Nevertheless, Cable is actually not oppose to cutting the EU migration to the country. According to The Guardian (2017), Cable believes that it's politically necessary to reduce immigration from Europe as a part of the UK's Brexit deal. Even though he still wants the UK to stay a part of the Union, he mentions that one of a few benefits would be a more rational immigration policy. In his article to the NewStatesman (2017), Cable says that he spent five years fighting with ridiculous Conservative's net migration target and ruining restrictions on students and employees from abroad, he still is a big believer in free trade, globalization and freedom to travel around Europe. He mentions, that his gut feeling tells him to defend the freedom of work, study and retire around the EU, he is and stays a Remainer, believes in diversity and has a multi-ethnic family. He also comments, that he spent 50 years fighting against anti-immigrant intolerance, 'from Enoch Powell's "rivers of blood" to the Turkish 'hordes' of the referendum campaign.'

Despite this, Cable says, Remainers have to accept the fact that there should be controls, like they exist for non-EU immigrants. Long-term social survey, he says, advises that effective immigration control doesn't mean less tolerance or diversity. The vision of his rational immigration policy is the following (NewStatesman, 2017): legitimizing the position of EU citizens who already live in the UK (including an emphasis on dealing with students from abroad, who benefit Britain's economy); penetration of the Irish border must lead to a united Ireland in Europe; restrictions on labour movements should be matched with control over the capital – cutting off the takeovers which drown the innovative businesses, on which the UK's future relies on.

As stated by Independent (2016), Tim Farron mentioned, that if elected, he would cancel the referendum result and keep Britain in the EU. He stated, that fake slogans of Johnson and Farage have nothing to do with the real situation on migration and that the referendum was not just about Europe, but also about anger at politicians, who have let the country down. He commented, that British people deserve the chance not to be stranded with consequences of a Leave campaign which Farage, Johnson and Gove promoted. The Liberal Democrats, he said, will fight for restoring British wealth and function in the world with the UK being a part of the EU (Independent, 2016)

Cable stands on the same page as Farron in terms of the idea of cancelling the results of Brexit referendum or having a second referendum to rethink the first decision. At this point, Liberal Democrats are making their ideas on Brexit much more clear than any of the major parties with Labour's uncertainty and separation and Conservative's 'Brexit means Brexit'. In his interview to BBC (2017), Cable mentioned that he begins to think that Brexit may never happen, because the problems and divisions between Tories and Labour are way too big for Brexit to take place. He also said, that LibDem policy for a second referendum is made for having a way to escape when everyone understands that Brexit deal is a complete

failure. Considering that nowadays May's negotiations with the EU promise to be a disaster, Philip Hammond and David Davis are trying to soften Brexit and opinion polls show that British citizens would prefer to have a single market with the EU over migration control, Cable might have a point on having the second referendum (Independent, 2017).

2.5 SNP (Scottish National Party)

Scottish National Party, famous for their Scottish Independence campaigns and support, are actually the second largest party in the UK after Labour Party. During Brexit campaigns, they became famous for their anti-Brexit approach and desire to stay in the Union. They, as well as Labour and LibDem, stand against the hard Brexit of Conservatives and mention the consequences of leaving the single market. On their official web-site it's mentioned, that Tory's hard Brexit is going to cost Scotland 80,000 jobs over a decade and cost people around £2,000 in wages. That is why, they say, it's so important to keep Scotland in the single market – they believe that the UK should stay in the market as a whole, but if the UK leaves the Union, Scotland should still remain a member of the single market. They want to make sure that Scotland continues to have benefits of European Single Market in addition to the free trade across UK (SNP official web-site, [online])

On their official web-site [online] SNP also mention party's Brexit plan. They mention, that even though the vast majority of Scotland voted to stay in the Union and they believe that in order to build more successful and economically strong Scotland it will have to become the full independent EU member, country's First Minister (Nicola Sturgeon, who is also a leader of SNP) would still investigate all the different options to protect their national interests.

The most important part of SNP's proposal is to keep Scotland in the European Single Market. Before the referendum happened, SNP mentioned that they would fight for the whole of the UK to stay in the Single Market and Customs Union. However, once British people

voted to leave, they stated that they would fight for Scotland to stay as a member of those organizations and also keep some of the EU membership benefits.

They also mention, that the Scottish parliament should receive some new powers and believe that if Scotland's interests will not be listened to and protected, then Scotland should have a right to consider independence.

Most importantly, in their big manifesto 'Scotland's Place in Europe' (The Scottish Government, 2016), Scottish Government emphasizes on the fact that the food and drink sector (fishing, agriculture, food and drink manufacturing) significantly relies on EU funding and seasonal EU workers. Around 8,000 people who work in food and drink sector in Scotland are non-UK EU nationals, therefore being a part of European Single Market and continuing freedom of movement would ensure that manufacturers can prosper due to help of those migrant workers coming to Britain from Eastern Europe. Apart from that, they mention that removing Scotland and the whole UK out of Single Market would cut off the amount of skilled labour and EU migrants to Scotland, which would negatively influence on population levels and make it more complicated for Scottish people to travel, work and live in other EU countries.

According to Independent (2017), other Scottish MPs joined the SNP's policy on staying in the Single Market – Ruth Davidson, the Scottish Conservative leader, has been told to get her MPs to join other political parties in order to save the membership in Single Market. SNP's leader for Westminster, Ian Blackford, commented that Scottish MPs had an 'historic opportunity' to 'save the UK from cliff edge' after the UK leaves the Union.

In this document, Scottish government also emphasizes on the importance of free movement of people to Scotland's workforce as 'recent EEA migrants made a positive contribution to UK public finances of over £2.5 billion'. They believe that the access to labour from EU countries is essential and both skilled and unskilled workers are needed to

fulfil the needs of economy. Over the next 10 years, they say, 90% of Scottish population growth is supposed to come from immigration and any moves on decreasing it (EU or outside of it), might harm Scottish economy.

SNP also comments, that this kind of discriminatory approach to immigrants from the EU has to stop as during the Brexit process the UK government has treated EU citizens living in Britain like ‘bargaining chips’. They believe it’s embarrassing and has to stop. SNP will continue to push the UK government to confirm the rights of EU citizens to remain in the country and they expect the rights of British citizens living in Europe to be provided in the same way (SNP official web-site, [online])

According to Telegraph (2017), SNP’s plan on General Election in 2017 was to devolve immigration so Scotland would have its own policies on it after Brexit, limit immigration delay to 28 days, press the Government to make border checks as smooth as possible after Britain leaves the Union, guarantee EU citizens’ rights to stay in Britain and give SNP a place at the Brexit negotiating table.

As reported by NewStatesman (2017), Nicola Sturgeon mentioned, that the SNP’s 2015 manifesto insisted on another referendum if there was ‘a significant and material change in the circumstances... such as Scotland being taken out the EU against our will’. However, almost two-fifths of Scottish voters voted to leave and according to Gordon Wilson (ex SNP leader), among the Party itself there was around 30-34% of voters who are against Britain staying in the Union.

According to Telegraph (2016), the former party leader Jim Sillars commented that there was five or six members who voted to leave the EU in referendum. He also mentioned, that those MP didn’t make their views public because it would be very difficult for them to ‘go against the leadership’. Nevertheless, Alex Neil (SNP member and former Health Minister), confessed that he decided to vote Leave 10 days before the referendum happened.

He also added, that his decision was influenced by the rise of right-wing parties in Europe, the way Greece and Portugal has been treated by the Union and the attitude of the Remain campaign.

Sturgeon commented on her BBC interview, that although Neil voted Leave, the majority of Scotland are still Remainers. According to Telegraph (2016), she mentioned, that Sixty-two per cent of people who voted in Scotland voted to remain and even though it's important to listen to the voices of Leavers, her task in uncertain times is to protect the interests of Scotland.

3. METHODOLOGY&DATA COLLECTION

3.1 Discourse analysis

According to Jones (2012, p. 2), discourse analysis is a study of language and also the 'sub-field of linguistics, which is the scientific study of language'. Discourse analysis isn't only about the study of language itself, but also about focusing on the way people use it in real life to joke, flirt or persuade, in other words, to achieve their goals. As stated by Rholetter (2013), discourse analysis is the study of language beyond the sentence, 'a way of methodically examining the details of an oral or written statement longer than a single sentence, considering the creator of the utterance, the recipient, and its linguistic and social contexts'. Discourse analysis is not as much bothered with literal interpretations of language, but how meaning is made and changed by situation.

As addressed in the Literature Review, some of the main political marketing techniques which are used by political parties, are speeches, published manifestos and campaigns. In order to do the deep analysis on this, reply to the main question and deal with hypothesis, the Discourse Analysis method was used. We collected 3 different types of information, which were published by Conservatives, Labour, UKIP, LibDem and SNP:

- direct speeches on the Brexit topic, made by the leaders of these five parties.

- published manifestos of these five parties, particularly the parts where they mention their Brexit views.

- published Brexit campaigns of these five parties.

To make sure that the research is fair and non-discriminative to all the parties, the same amount of information was collected – 8000 words for each of the parties. First part of the analysis was the data collection – we checked the number of times the particular word was used in the text. After that, the qualitative analysis stepped in – we checked the context, in which those words were used.

3.2 Data collection

In order to answer the research question and hypothesis, we separated the relevant words to three different categories:

- Category ‘Free movement of people’: migration, border, foreign, free movement.
- Category ‘Economy’: benefits, economy, wages, NHS (National Healthcare Service).
- Category ‘Negative wording’: terror, danger, problem, issue.

Category 1 – Free movement of people. Results:

Word used	Conservatives	Labour	UKIP	LibDem	SNP
Migration	3	10	24	3	5
Border	7	4	10	1	7
Foreign	6	3	4	2	0
Free Movement	1	0	1	1	6

Category 2 – Economy. Results:

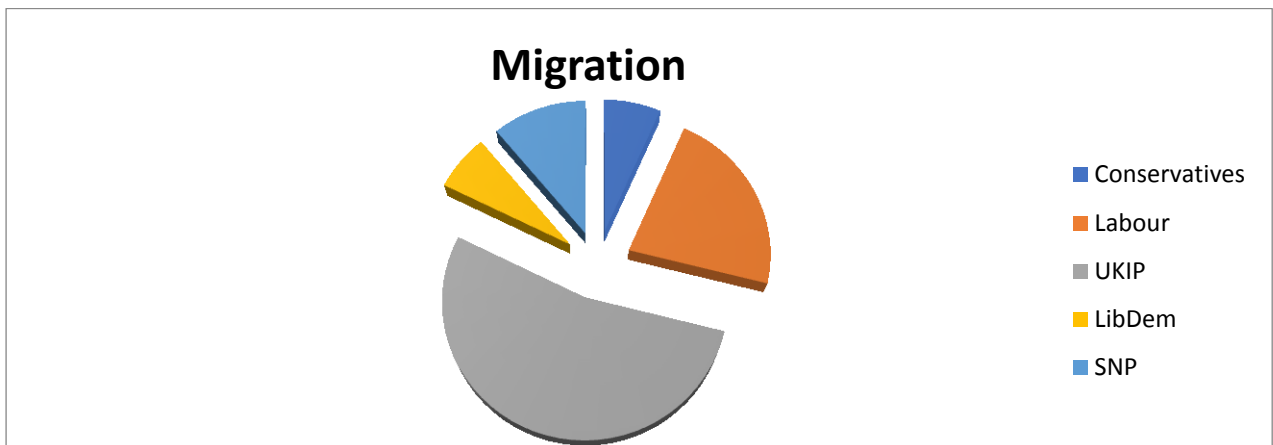
Word used	Conservatives	Labour	UKIP	LibDem	SNP
Benefits	4	3	2	4	4

Economy	8	24	3	21	14
Wages	0	2	3	3	0
NHS	2	3	3	12	0

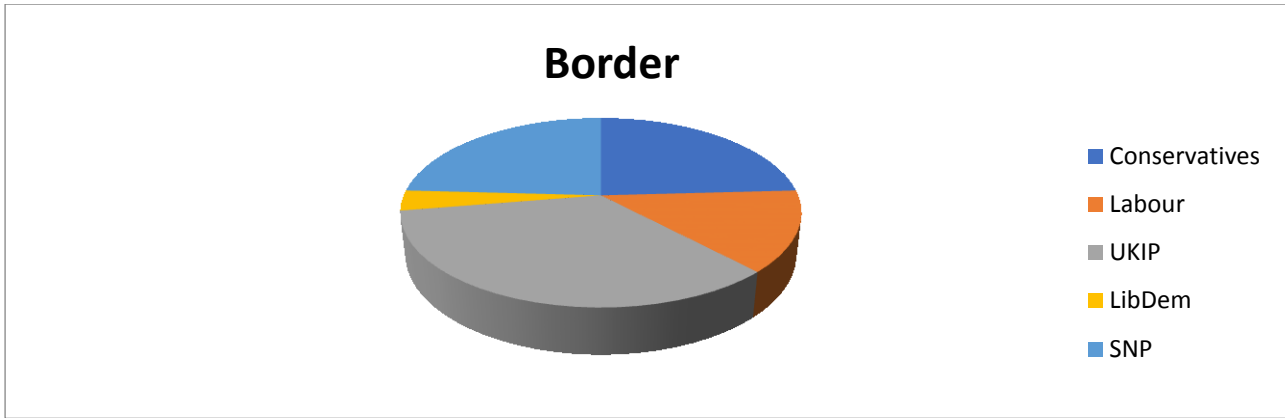
Category 3 – Negative wording. Results:

Word used	Conservatives	Labour	UKIP	LibDem	SNP
Terror	3	5	1	2	1
Danger	0	2	0	5	0
Problem	6	1	3	5	1
Issue	2	7	6	7	5

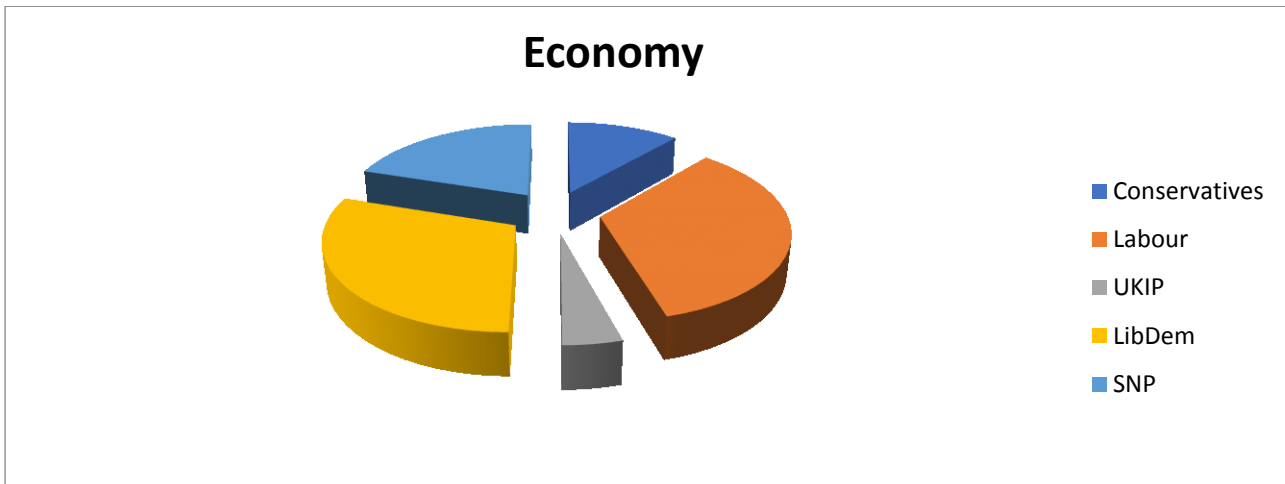
Below you can find the visual representation of the most interesting findings of the data collection:



Graph 1: Frequency of use: the word 'migration' in campaigns of British Political Parties.



Graph 2: Frequency of use: the word 'border' in campaigns of British Political Parties.



Graph 3: Frequency of use: the word 'economy' in campaigns of British Political Parties.



Graph 4: Frequency of use: the word 'issue' in campaigns of British Political Parties.

If we calculate the general amount of times all the words in the category ‘free movement of people’ were used (migration, border, foreign, free movement), we get the number 98. In the category ‘economy’ the number is 115 and in the category ‘negative wording’ – 60. From the diagrams above, we can easily see which party was using which words most of all, however, we can’t see how many words each party used in different categories. Therefore, we did a calculation and the results were the following:

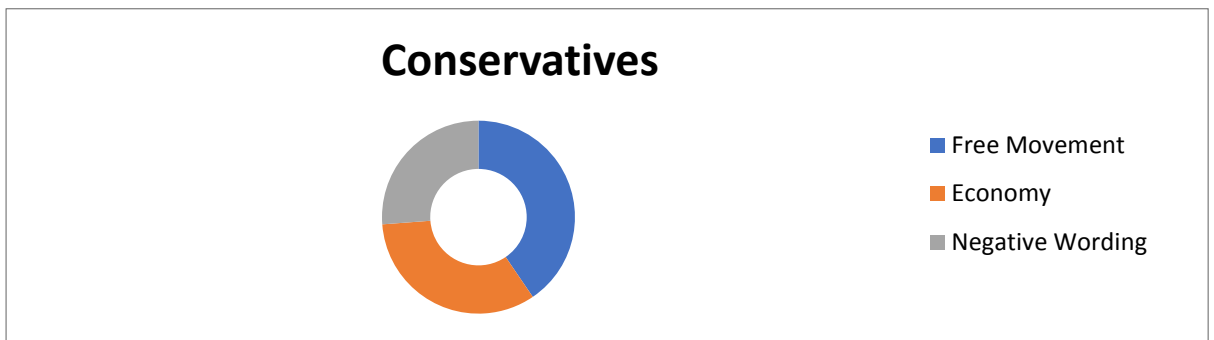
Party	Free Movement of People	Economy	Negative Wording
Conservatives	17	14	11

Party	Free Movement of People	Economy	Negative Wording
Labour	17	32	15

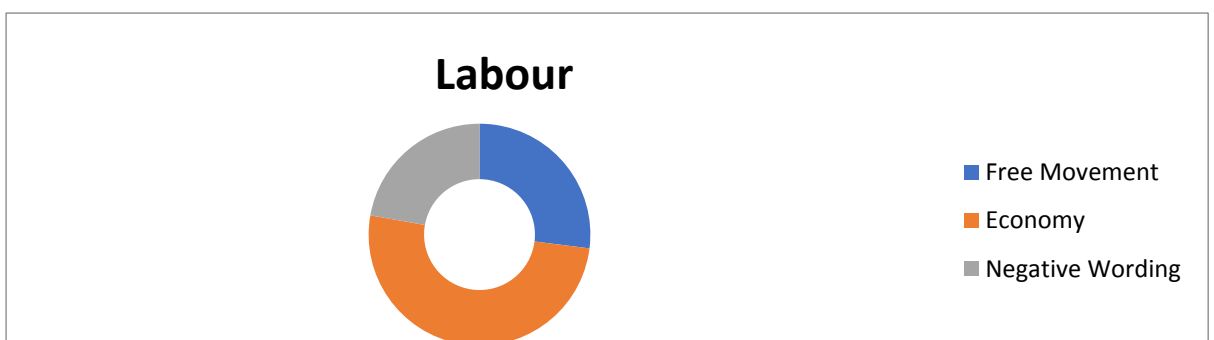
Party	Free Movement of People	Economy	Negative Wording
UKIP	39	11	10

Party	Free Movement of People	Economy	Negative Wording
LibDem	7	40	19

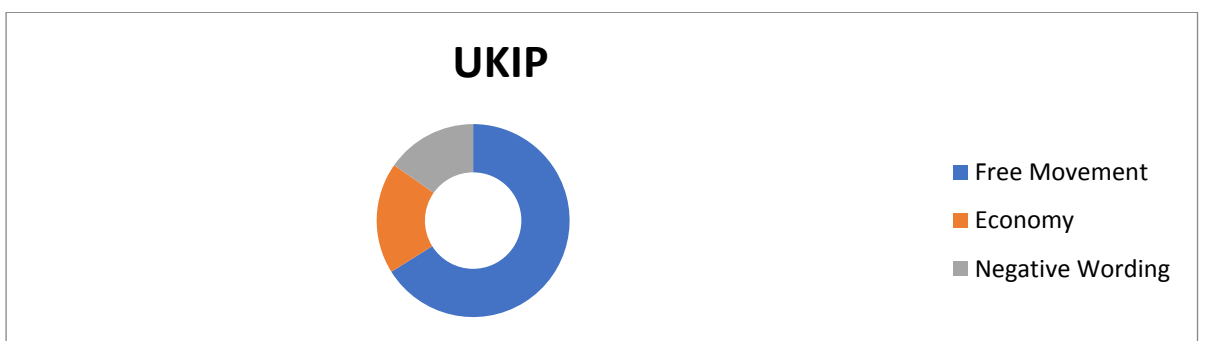
Party	Free Movement of People	Economy	Negative Wording
SNP	18	18	7



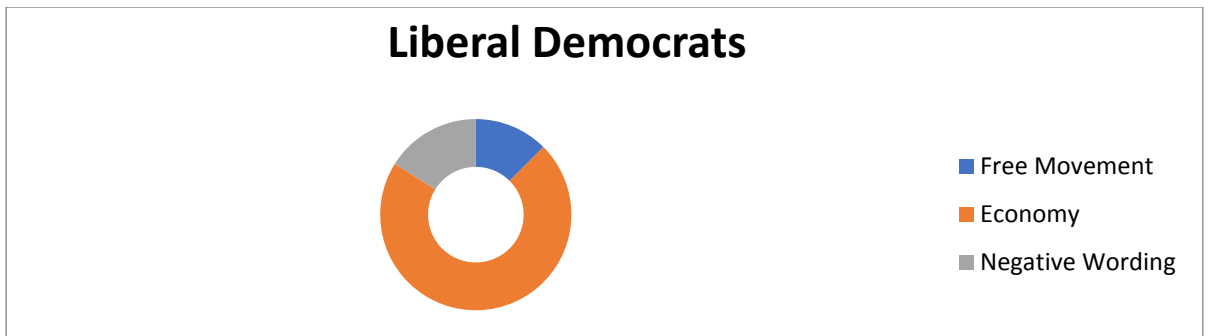
Graph 5: Frequency of use: free movement, economy and negative wording categories' words used by Conservative's.



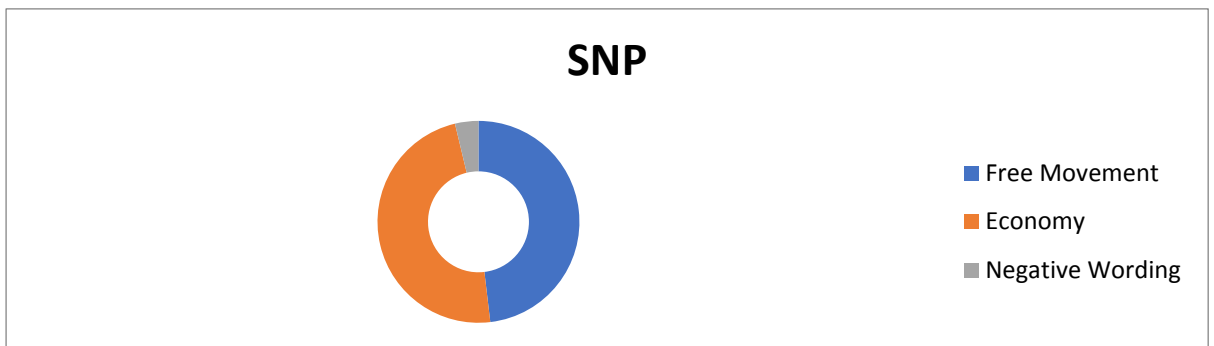
Graph 6: Frequency of use: free movement, economy and negative wording categories' words used by Labour.



Graph 7: Frequency of use: free movement, economy and negative wording categories' words used by UKIP.



Graph 8: Frequency of use: free movement, economy and negative wording categories' words used by Liberal Democrats.



Graph 9: Frequency of use: free movement, economy and negative wording categories' words used by SNP.

According to the data collection, in the category 'free movement of people', the words 'migration' and 'border' were used by UKIP more than by any other political party represented – 24 and 10 times respectively. Calculating the amount of all the words in this category showed the same – they were used 39 times, comparing to the smaller amounts of the other parties. The words in the categories economy and negative wording were used 11 and 10 times respectively. It seems to be strange that the party does not use as many economy-related terms in their speeches and manifestos, related to Brexit. Economical question in Brexit is one of the most important once and UKIP was often criticized for the fact that they use migration as a tool to influence on voter's emotions and completely ignore the economic consequences of leaving the Union. In this case, data collection proves that

migration was indeed one of the key topics used by the parties in order to achieve their goals and answers the research question. As reported by Sturm (2017), while the Remainers were talking about cost-benefit side of leaving the Union, the Brexiteers and UKIP relied on nationalism, xenophobia and fake promises like solving the problems of NHS by the money which Britain will have once stopping the contributions to the EU. Leaving campaign influenced on public's emotions much stronger than Remainers did. This campaign also told the public to choose between the economy and immigration in referendum.

Speaking of Conservatives, they also had the biggest amount of words used in the category free movement of people – 17, in particular 7 words of 'border' and 6 of 'foreign'. Similarly to UKIP, they did not use many words in economy or negative wording category – 14 and 11 respectively, which is again proving the point that immigration was one of the most important topics used by the party in their Brexit campaign.

From the first glance, Labour and Conservatives talked about free movement the same amount of times – 17, however, while for Conservatives that was the number one topic to talk about, for Labour number one was economy – 32 words used. Labour were very concentrated on economy, using the word 'economy' itself 24 times. Interestingly enough, they were the second party having the highest amount of negative wording after LibDem – 15.

Speaking of LibDem, they did not seem to be interested in the free movement as much, only using 7 words of this category in general. However, their biggest concentration was on economy section – 40 words used, in particular, 21 of 'economy' and 12 of 'NHS'. They also had the highest amount of negative wording – 19 negative words used, 7 times used 'issue' – same as Labour Party. As it was mentioned in the second part of the thesis, Liberal Democrats have never been against immigration and have often mentioned the economic benefits of it to the state.

Finally, SNP had the same amount of words used in free movement and economy – 18, while in negative wording they only had 7. One of the key topics for SNP in the Brexit debate was and is to keep Scotlans in the single market.

Therefore, immigration, together with economy, definitely was one of the key topics, which were used by political parties during the Brexit debate.

3.3 UKIP – analysis findings

‘Persuasion may come through the hearers, when the speech stirs their emotions.’
(Aristotle, 1991)

In order prove or disapprove the hypothesis, we have to see in what context the words of the category ‘free movement of people’ were used.

It will be logical to start with UKIP as they used the word migration and the rest of the words from ‘free movement’ group the biggest amount of times. We searched for the context in which those words were used, the word migration in particular, and this is what the results were:

1. ‘That’s what happens if we leave the European Union. We will exit a **failed** political union, one which is now a **disaster** zone. We see a **migrant crisis** utterly out of control. We see a eurozone **crisis** causing human **misery** on a **shocking** scale.’ (Sunday Express article by Nigel Farage, 2016)

2. ‘Open-door **migration** has suppressed **wages** in the unskilled labour market, meant that **living standards** have fallen and that life has become a lot tougher for so many in our country.’ (Sunday Express article by Nigel Farage, 2016)

3. ‘Where the enemy are at their absolute weakest is on this whole question of open door **migration**, the effect that it’s had on the lives of ordinary Britons over the course of the last decade and the **threat** that it poses given the new **terror** and **security threat** that we face in the west.’ (Nigel Farage in his speech to Vote Leave campaign, 2016).

4. 'Britain must have full control of **immigration** and asylum policies, and **border control**. We must not be bound by any **freedom of movement** obligation, and we must be free to set and meet our own annual **migration** targets.' (UKIP Manifesto, [online])

In order to analyze the context better, the most important words in the sentences were highlighted. As we can see from these quotes, most of them were mentioned by Nigel Farage, as he was the leader of UKIP during their Brexit campaigning in 2016. Each of these quotes was chosen for a reason, as each of them is representing one particular topic – EU crisis, economy, threat of terror and border control in the UK. In the first quote, we can see that Farage is using a lot of emotional and not the logical language, such as crisis, disaster, misery, shocking etc. He mentions, that the EU is a 'failed union' and that migration crisis is out of control, even though we can't see any numbers, proving his position. Using the emotional language is an easy way to influence on public opinion and form a negative attitude to a particular group of people (immigrants in our case), while raising the feelings of fear, hatred, us against them etc.

According to Sirico, Schultz (2015), sufficient use of emotion can be very persuasive. They mention, that effective use of emotion can influence on the audience in such a way, that they would start doing things the way you want them to. This happens, because the audience believes your words not only on their intellectual level, but also feels it at gut level and wants to follow you. Therefore, UKIP successfully uses the language of emotions in their speeches in order to build a special contact with their audience and reach the goals they want to reach.

Second quote moves on to the economic issue, mentioning the words wages, labour market and living standards. In this quote, Farage says that immigration is the reason for lower wages, worse living standards and overall 'tougher life' for British people. Once again, there are no real arguments mentioned, proving that economic situation got worse because of migrants or the life of British citizens got 'tougher' because of it.

During the Brexit campaign, the biggest argument of people who were against immigrants and wanted to leave the EU, was that foreigners were taking their jobs and/or moving the wages down. Despite that common opinion, that doesn't seem to be true. Since immigrants consume local services and goods, this increases the demand and raises employment opportunities for people who produce those services and goods. Moreover, studies show that most of the immigrants who move to the UK are young and well-educated, so they eventually can boost productivity and therefore increase wages. Data shows that more than 80% of immigrants from Eastern Europe are employed and they're more likely to be at work than UK-born individuals (78% of A8 immigrants and 72.3% UK-born citizens) (Wadsworth, 2017). Alfano, Dustmann, Frattini, (2016) mention, that most academics agree on the fact, that immigration doesn't affect the employment prospects of the UK-born population. They believe, that there is no systematic correlation between immigration and unemployment.

The third quote goes even more extreme than the previous two and mentions the words terror, threat and security threat in the same sentence with the word migration. In such a way, UKIP tries to associate the word migration with words threat and terror and, hence, create an image in the heads of public that migrants are terrorists and are dangerous for the British society.

Last but not least, the fourth quote is taken out of the UKIP manifesto and mentions words border control, freedom of movement and migration a few times. As we can see from this example, the official language of the party is not as emotional as their leader's quotes. It mentions, that the Party needs strong immigration and asylum control policies and meeting the UK's migration targets.

To summarize, after reviewing the above mentioned quotes by UKIP, the hypothesis can be proven for this particular party – UKIP, indeed, formed a negative public image of the

EU immigrants in their Brexit campaigns. Using the language of emotions, UKIP's leader Nigel Farage created an image of dangerous, hazardous and deeply troubling immigrants, who have a negative influence on the country's economy, wages and unemployment. As mentioned above, some academics proved that immigrants have nothing to do with unemployment or wages drop – quite the opposite, they can be a very positive influence on British economy. Nevertheless, UKIP, using the negative image of immigrants in their pre-Brexit talks, have achieved their goal and got the UK out of the EU.

3.4 Conservatives – analysis findings

Moving on to the Conservatives, another known Eurosceptic party since the times of Churchill and Thatcher, here are the results we received after checking the way they used migration in their campaigning:

1. 'I want to see **immigration** come down. That's why we've taken all the steps that we have. It hasn't worked so far because of the large numbers coming from **inside the EU**... If you want to build a more **integrated** and **cohesive** society - and that is our aim and I think we should be proud of the fact that we've got the most **successful, multi-racial, democracy** on earth - if you want to continue with that you need **well-controlled immigration**.' (David Cameron at his BBC interview, 2015)

2. '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.' (Theresa May to Tory Conference, 2015)

3. '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... We know that for people in **low-paid jobs, wages** are forced down even further while some people are forced out of work altogether' (Theresa May to Tory Conference, 2015)

4. 'So we will leave the European Union and take **control of our money**, take **control of our borders** and take **control of our laws**... With the right deal for Britain abroad: taking back **control of our borders, our money and our laws**.' (Theresa May to Tory Conference, 2017)

Even though Conservatives are not as emotional in their language as UKIP, we can still see how Eurosceptical Tories are towards immigrants and the EU in general. In the first quote, David Cameron in his interview to BBC in 2015 emphasized on the fact that immigration from the EU has to drop and has to be 'well-controlled'. He also used some positive wording, such as integrated, cohesive, successful, democracy, however, in this context he used these words as an oppose to the migration - making it look, like integrated and cohesive society can't exist with current immigration levels. Nonetheless, he didn't use any of the negative wording and didn't try to blame immigrants for economic failures or terror threats in this particular quote.

Moving on to Theresa May's quotes which we chose for the analysis, she mentions the fact that immigration is too high and should be controlled. In her second quote, she uses similar scheme as UKIP does – concentrates attention not only on the economy (using words like low-paid jobs and wages), but also on the public services like schools, hospitals, housing and transport. Pressure on public services and NHS is another card up the sleeve, which Eurosceptics inside the UK love to be using in their speeches. Even though most of the academics still argue that immigrants are helping the economy and not making it worse, providing the NHS with more doctors and nurses and bringing more employees to work for the transportation service, Eurosceptic parties, including the Conservatives, quite enjoyed using these arguments in their Brexit campaigning. Moreover, using the phrase 'poorer countries' shows a bit of arrogance and neglect towards the immigrants in the UK, as the

term 'poorer' is very broad and can't be used towards all the nationalities, who migrate to Britain from all over the world.

In her speech to the Conservative conference already after Brexit in 2017, May repeated the same sentence twice, using the phrases 'taking control of money, borders and laws'. Such a broad promises, without concentrating on anything in particular and using the famous 'taking control' phrase, shows the populist rhetoric of Tories Leader and clearly proves forming the negative attitude to immigrants in the country. Therefore, the hypothesis is proved in the case of Conservatives too.

3.5 Labour – analysis findings

In regards to Labour, as it was mentioned in the second part of the thesis, during their Brexit campaign they were not as critical of immigrants as their other colleagues in the Parliament. Ed Miliband and Jeremy Corbyn got famous with their quotes of protecting the migrants, so most of those we used in this research were said by them:

1. 'And I know **immigration** can **benefit** our country, but I also know for that to happen, there have to be proper **controls on immigration**... There are five principles that I want to set out: **securing our borders**, restoring the principle that you **contribute before you claim**, achieving **integration** in our communities, ending the undercutting of local workers and the **exploitation of migrant labour**...' (Ed Miliband's speech on Labour Immigration Policy in Wirral, 2015)

2. 'People that have **migrated** to this country over many years have made an enormous contribution to our society, helped our **economic growth**, helped our **health service**, helped our **social services** and our **education services**, so don't look upon **immigration** as necessarily a **problem**, it is often a very great **opportunity**.' (Jeremy Corbyn at the Labour Party conference, 2015)

3. 'Britain's **immigration system** will change, but Labour will not scapegoat **migrants** nor blame them for **economic failures**... Labour will develop and implement fair **immigration rules**... Labour values the **economic and social contributions of immigrants**. Both **public and private sector** employers depend on **immigrants**. We will not denigrate those workers. We value their **contributions**, including their **tax contributions**.' (Labour Manifesto, [online])

As we can see from these three quotes, Labour emphasize on the fact that Britain does need the new immigration control system, however, they don't use any negative wording towards the immigrants. In the first quote, the ex-leader of Labour Ed Miliband uses quite a few words from the free movement category (immigration, border control, migrant) and also touches the economic side (exploitation of migrant labour). He also mentions, that immigration can benefit the country, however the proper border controls have to be established. For the first time in this research, Party leader speaks up about stopping the exploitation of migrant labour, which means he is defending the migrants and not forming the negative attitude towards them.

The second quote was made by the current Party leader, Jeremy Corbyn. In this quote he also uses not only the free movement group words, but also the phrases like economic growth, health, social and educational services. As an opposite to May and Farage, Corbyn uses these phrases in a positive context – he says that immigrants helped the economic situation and also made great contributions to the services like NHS. He also uses the negative wording category word 'problem', however, the context he uses it in is completely different from other Parties – Corbyn substitutes it with a word 'opportunity' and takes out the negative meaning out of it.

Similar strategy is used in the third quote, taken out of the Labour manifesto – there are a few words of free movement and economy category, including economic failures,

economic, social and tax contributions. Once again, even though the wording can seem to be negative, the context changes it all – it is mentioned, that public and private sectors rely on immigrants, who make a great contribution to the society. To sum up, Labour didn't try to create a negative public image of immigrants in their campaigns and the hypothesis isn't proven for this particular party.

3.6 Liberal Democrats – analysis findings

As it was mentioned in the second part of the thesis, Liberal Democrats were strongly opposing Brexit and were quite supportive of immigrants, unlike their colleagues from UKIP, Tories or even Labour, who were very inconsistent in their views. That's what the results of the analysis were: ‘

1. ‘It should come as no surprise that I'm a believer in the **benefits of well-managed immigration**. I lead, in my view, Britain's only real **internationalist** party. For the Liberal Democrats this nation is always at its best when we are **open and outward-facing**... The Liberal Democrats are never going to mimic the likes of UKIP and others – the **scaremongering**, the **immigrant-bashing**, the seductive promise that all our **problems** will disappear if only we shut up shop and stick a ‘closed’ sign on the door.’ (Nick Clegg, 2015)

2. ‘The UK secures many **benefits** from **immigration** which **boosts our economy** and helps staff our **public services**, especially our **NHS**. But we need to tackle **weaknesses** in our **immigration system**, which **threatened** to undermine confidence in it.’ (Nick Clegg, 2015)

After analyzing the context, it became clear why LibDem had the biggest amount of words out of all the Parties in the negative wording category – in these two quotes, both of the negative words ‘problems’ and ‘threatened’ aren't used against immigrants, but quite the opposite. In the first quote, LibDem's ex-leader Nick Clegg mentions that immigration can be beneficial for the society as long as it's well-managed. He also uses some positive wording in regards to his party and British society (internationalist, open, outward-facing) and puts a

wall of negative wording towards UKIP and ‘others’ (populists, who claim that all the economic problems appear because of immigration), calling them scaremongering and immigrant-bashing. He criticizes the way these parties blame immigrants for economic failures of the state and represents his party as being supportive of globalization and multiculturalism.

In his second quote, Clegg uses similar strategy to the one used by Labour – he mentions the words of the economy group (benefits, economy, NHS), but he uses it in a way that shows how immigration is important and good for the society. He says, that immigration helps to boost the economy and also provides people to work for the public services, such as NHS. The negative wording ‘threatened’ is used in order to underline that there are some weak spots in the immigration system, which need to be addressed and solved. To sum up the above, Liberal Democrats were not trying to create a negative picture of immigrants in their Brexit campaigns, so the hypothesis can’t be true for this Party.

3.7 SNP – analysis findings

Speaking of SNP, in most of their speeches and manifestos, they concentrate particularly on the economic benefits for Scotland. Immigration topic isn’t an exception – quotes, which we analyzed, have been largely concentrated on economic benefits which immigration can bring to Scotland:

1. ‘Scotland needs an **immigration policy** suited to our specific circumstances and needs. Scotland needs people to want to work here, in our **businesses**, our **universities** and in our **public services**. The current UK one-size-fits-all approach to **immigration** is **failing** Scotland. The SNP will continue to seek devolution of **immigration** powers so that Scotland can have an **immigration policy** that works for our **economy** and **society**. And we will stand firm against the **demonisation of migrants**.’ (SNP official web-site, [online])

2. **Immigration policy** is currently too heavily influenced by the priorities of the south-east of England, based on the values of the current UK government and driven by a desire to **reduce the numbers** of incoming **migrants** which does not recognise Scotland's needs and does not serve our **economic or societal interest.**' (Humza Yousaf, the Scottish government's minister for Europe and international development, 2015)

After analyzing the context, we can see that both of these quotes oppose to the British government and talk about importance of migration to the economy. In the first quote, the economy is emphasized through the words businesses, universities, public services, economy and society. SNP believes, that migration is beneficial for Scotland and mentions, that they will always be against 'demonisation of migrants'. SNP uses the same technique as Labour and LibDem used, mentioning how important immigrants are for the economic well-being of the country, particularly the public services.

In the second quote, Scottish government's minister for Europe and international development says that the idea of reducing the numbers of immigrants comes from south-east of England and doesn't serve the Scottish needs well. He also mentions that it's important for the Scottish economy, using the words economic or societal interest. Therefore, SNP also doesn't seem to be using any negative wording against immigrants and won't be proving the hypothesis.

CONSLUSION

To conclude, after the discourse analysis has been done, the research question can be answered and the hypothesis can be proved.

The research question 'Was immigration one of the key topics, which British political parties used in order to achieve their goals in Brexit campaigns?' can be answered now and the answer is yes, immigration was definitely one of the key topics, which were used by UK's political parties in their Brexit campaigns. Immigration was always a

complex issue in any debate and any election that happened in Britain, however, it stood up the most in the Brexit campaigning. After data collection has been done, it became clear that the word ‘immigration’ and the words from the group ‘free movement of people’ (migration, border, foreign, free movement) were used the large amount of times in the analyzed texts, speeches and manifestos of the mentioned British parties. It wasn’t very surprising to find out that UKIP, indeed, used the word ‘migration’ 24 times and all the words out of the ‘free movement of people’ group 39 times. As it was discussed in the second part of the thesis, since the very start of its existence UKIP showed themselves as an extremely Eurosceptic, far-right populist party, main goal of which was exiting the EU. Immigration of foreigners to the UK have always been a topic, which they used in order to get some support from the British citizens, and it became one of the leading themes which they used in order to achieve their goal in Brexit – get Britain out of the EU. The hypothesis proved, that the way they did it was by using the emotional language. The data collection also showed, that even though UKIP was largely concentrating on immigration, the party didn’t talk much about the economic state of the UK. Instead of proposing some real solutions to the economic problems, the Party (their ex-leader Farage in particular), moved public’s attention away to the problems of immigration. All the other parties (Conservatives, Labour, Liberal Democrats and SNP) also used the words of the category ‘free movement of people’ very frequently, particularly SNP, Tories and Labour. However, the difference from UKIP in their case was in using the words from ‘economy’ group too. Labour, SNP and Liberal Democrats have largely concentrated on the economic questions, all of them for the different reasons – Liberal Democrats and Labour were using the economic words in order to prove how beneficial the migrant labour is for the economic success of the country, particularly public services and NHS. SNP used a lot of economic words in order to show that immigrants are extremely important for the economic well-being of Scotland and also concentrated on the importance

of staying in the single market. Interestingly, two of the Eurosceptic parties – UKIP and Conservatives, used the words of ‘economy’ group the smallest amount of times, which proves, that they were concentrating public’s attention on other issues instead of addressing the economic problems.

The hypothesis stated ‘Some of the British political parties formed a negative public image of the EU immigrants in their Brexit campaigns’ and after the qualitative analysis, it has been proved. After the deep analysis of different quotes, taken out of speeches and manifestos of the British parties before Brexit, it became clear that UKIP and the Conservative Party formed a negative public opinion about immigrants in the society. UKIP used a lot of emotional language, which has been proved to be one of the most influential ways of influencing on the public opinion. While using the words like threat, terror and security threat in his speeches, ex-leader of UKIP Nigel Farage associated the immigrants with terrorists in the eyes of public and made them look dangerous for the British society. Such a huge generalizing is very irresponsible for the political party which has the seats in European Parliament, however, considering that it’s a right-wing populist political party it’s not very surprising. As it was mentioned in the second part of the thesis, UKIP has been criticized by other political parties and society and has been called racist and xenophobic. One of the biggest scandals in their Brexit campaigning was about the poster showing all the migrants trying to get into the UK (see in the second part), which was reported to the police and accused of being racist.

Another point of qualitative analysis showed, that UKIP and Conservatives blamed immigrants for the economic failures of the country. As it was mentioned before, most of the academics agree on the fact that immigrants are actually beneficial for the economy of the UK, however, UKIP and Tories used the economy question as one of the main topics in their Brexit debates. They created an image in public’s minds that immigrants are to blame for the

higher rates of unemployment, lower wages and general decline of the economy. They persuaded some voters, that because of immigrants the pressure on the public services is extremely high and schools, hospitals and housing market are not able to deal with this pressure. They also neglected the fact, that migrants also work in those schools and hospitals, simply because there are not enough people on the British labour market. Therefore, the hypothesis can be proved for the UKIP and Conservatives Party. Speaking of the other three parties, after analyzing their speeches and manifestos, there was no proof found which would show that they formed a negative public image of immigrants in their speeches.

Nowadays, after Brexit already happened and there are the debates going on about the cost of it for the British and the issues of single market and freedom of movement, it's interesting to see how the British public reacts to those issues already after Brexit happened. According to YouGov (2017), the majority of British public wants to have their cake and eat it too – they want the UK to stay in the single market and also to have the strict immigration control:

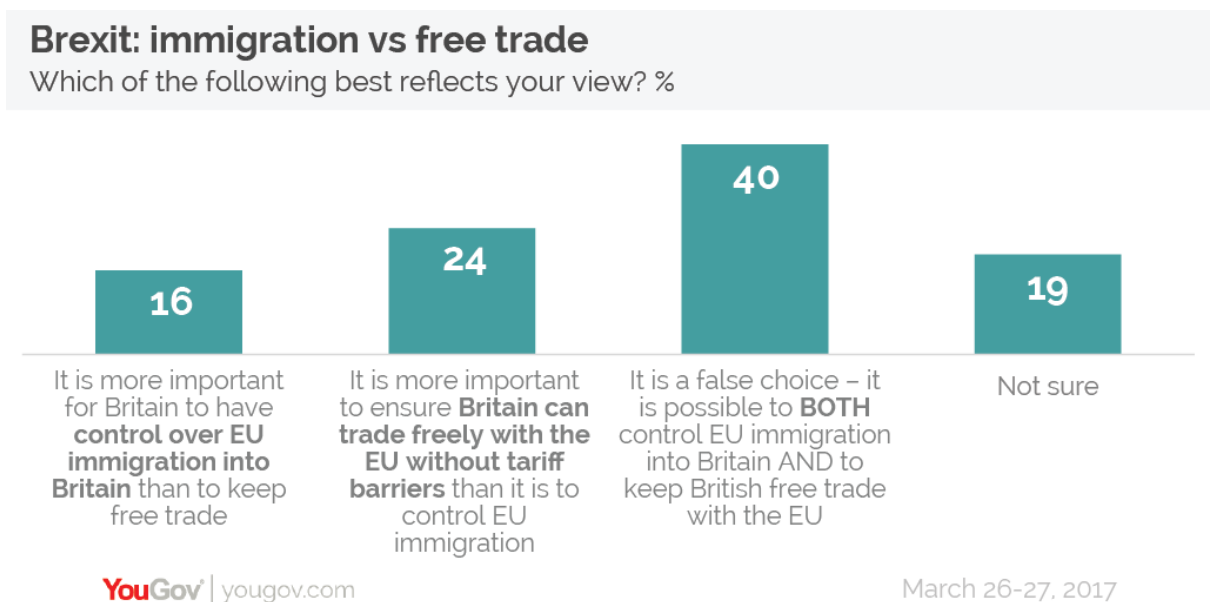


Figure 3: Brexit: immigrations vs free trade. Source: YouGov (2017, [online])

Nevertheless, we will see what the future brings us and what kind of a Brexit deal with Theresa May negotiate for Britain in 2019.

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