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Visual Securitization of Calais Migrants

MA Thesis

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Vaibhava Purandar Shetty

VISUAL SECURITIZATION OF CALAIS MIGRANTS

Vaibhava Purandar Shetty

Abstract

Since the advent of social media, political communication has become increasingly visual. The increasing use of visuals in political and security discourses presents fundamental challenges to Securitization Theory (ST), which analyses security through the performative aspect of a speech-act. Texts and visuals complement each other to generate security constructions and therefore, ST needs to adopt a multimodal analysis to theorize the performative aspect of text and visuals in combination.

This thesis has two main objectives. First, to present a visual securitization framework that can analyse how discourses of security are constructed through visuals. This will be achieved by drawing theoretical and methodological insights from Rose's four sites of critical visual methodology, which analyses a visual's meaning-making along its production, circulation, and consumption stages. The applicability of the framework will be demonstrated through the case study of Calais migrant situation, where visuals were used by truck drivers, travellers and mass media to Calais migrants as security threat.

The second aim of thesis is to analyse how visuals can facilitate the saliency of securitizing moves of actors with insignificant positional power. This thesis argues that for actors with insignificant positional power, visuals are an effective heuristic artefact to gain publicity around their securitizing moves. To this effect, the thesis highlights the importance of publicity in the ST.

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Introduction

With the availability of high-quality image-capturing smartphones and the global sharing platform of social media, contemporary political communication has become increasingly visual and less textual (Williams, 2003: 512). The adoption of Twitter and Facebook as preferred modes of political communication for global leaders and organizations is an acknowledgement of the fact that the viewer is becoming increasingly detached from long textual materials. The literature on CNN effect has also demonstrated that, compared to textual mediums, textual discourses complemented with visuals receive a higher degree of acceptance and politicization (Robinson, 1999), which facilitates easier and faster legitimization for a particular course of action. This was well-evident during the 9/11 WTC plane attacks, where the immediacy generated by the visuals of the falling towers legitimized Bush administration's retaliatory response. Visuals have become a rallying point around which securitization discourses can be built. The importance of visuals in IR and especially Security Studies has gained increasing academic attention over the past few years (Bleiker, 2001; Callahan, 2015; Hansen, 2011; Williams, 2003; Vuori, 2010).

Williams (2003: 512) argues that the increasing visual political communication presents fundamental challenges to Securitization Theory (ST), which narrowly focusses on the performative aspect of a speech-act. As visuals can be read by different language speakers across different nations, it has a wider audience reach than texts and therefore, can impact international political affairs, political ideologies and movements across states as witnessed during the Arab Spring and the European Refugee crisis. The rise of social media also enhances the performative aspect of the public in ST. Amateur visuals created and shared by the public have increasingly triggered security debates around individual discourses. Through visuals and social media, the public is now better equipped to gain attention of actors with significant positional power to their causes, as demonstrated by the truck drivers in Calais (Elgot, 2015b) or Elin Ersson's livestreaming attempt to halt the deportation of an asylum seeker from Sweden (Crouch, 2018). Social media has not only combined the textual and visual media but has also given the power to the public to produce these mediums; a phenomenon that didn't exist before the emergence of social media.

Through visual immediacy, issues gain more visibility and publicity. The ensuing mass media and public discussions facilitates the intersubjective construction of an issue as a security threat. For actors with insignificant positional power, gaining attention towards a threat therefore becomes more essential in cases, where the threat is persistent and inadequately managed by political authorities. In such securitized settings, where the audience is a decision-maker, proposing extraordinary measures to address the threat can also be effective in attracting their attention. Similar to visual immediacy, the thought of an extraordinary measure also evokes fear and insecurity, which are closely associated with issues such, as climate change and migration. Vuori (2010) demonstrates how atomic scientists have used visuals of Doomsday clock as a heuristic artefact to provoke people's awareness towards the continuing threat of nuclear war. In this thesis, the analysis of Calais migrant situation will show how visuals and suggestion of exceptional measures have been mobilized by securitizing and functional actors to create a sense of urgency around a threat and thereby influence the audience to implement necessary measures.

Since 1999, the Calais truck drivers and residents have constantly faced violent attacks and harassment from migrants camping in Calais, from where they attempt to stow away on trucks headed to the UK. The ineffective responses of the French and the UK governments to address the situation compel the truck drivers and the local authorities to constantly securitize the issue in an attempt to attract the attention of the concerned political authorities to address the threat of migrants. Pictures and videos of migrants blocking highways and attempting to board trucks were constantly captured and circulated by truck drivers to construct the migrants as a security threat. These visuals not only facilitated the securitizing moves of truck drivers but also attracted attention of mainstream media towards the issue, thereby mounting the pressure on the political authorities to act. But how do visuals facilitate securitizing moves and does ST provide a theoretical framework to analyse the construction of security meanings through visuals?

As securitization draws heavily on the speech act theory (Färber, 2018), constructivist scholars, such as Hansen (2013) and Wæver (2015) have relied on linguistic methodologies that are suited to analyse security discourses in textual sources. Such an approach tends to obscure the element of visual memory inherent in political and

security discourses. For example, the security discourses around the Bosnian war may simulate visual memory of an emaciated man behind barbed wire (Campbell, 2002) while the policies calling for protection of European external borders might evoke visuals of boats filled with migrants crossing the Mediterranean Sea. Even though these visuals may not be explicitly called out during politicization or securitization, the political and security discourses are often constructed around the depictions in these visuals. Texts and visuals complement each other to generate meaning and therefore, ST needs to adopt a multimodal analysis to theorize the performative aspect of text and visuals in combination. Along with linguistic methodologies, ST also needs a visual methodology that can account for intertextual references made by texts and visuals together.

The first aim of this thesis is therefore to present a visual securitization framework that can analyse how security threats are constructed through visuals. This will be achieved by applying Rose's critical visual methodology that theorises a visual's journey along its production, circulation, and consumption stages of meaning-making. Such an approach seeks to account for the technological, compositional, and social modalities that can influence a visual's meaning across different stages of meaning-making. The thesis does not attempt to establish a causal relationship between visuals and securitization but rather theorize the visual's role as a heuristic artefact in securitization process by drawing insights from the discipline of Visual Studies. Through the case study of Calais migrant situation, the thesis also aims to study how visuals facilitate the saliency of securitizing moves. To this effect, this thesis analyses the visuals shared by truck drivers and mass media that constructed Calais migrants as a security threat.

The analysis of amateur visuals along with mass media visuals offers an empirical contribution to the existing literature and research on visual securitization, which have focused solely on media-produced visuals, such as the Muhammad cartoon crisis (Hansen, 2011), Bosnia Concentration camps (Campbell, 2002), and Abu Gharib prisoner images (Möller, 2007; Hansen, 2015). These studies have advanced a framework to study visual securitization within the genres of photojournalism and editorial cartooning. By developing a methodological framework that also accounts for amateur visuals, this thesis seeks to explore how the public is empowered in ST through amateur visuals and social media.

The thesis consists of three chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter provides a brief overview of ST and related concepts. It then presents a detailed discussion of Rose's four sites of critical visual methodology that structures the visual securitization framework for the empirical analysis.

The second chapter describes the methodology that helps to analyse the visual politicization and securitization framework. The methodology lists the key units of analysis, securitizing actors, facilitating factors, materials, and the methods to be used at each site of a visual. It will also define the criteria for the research design and the choice of visuals for the empirical analysis.

The third chapter will present an in-depth application of the visual securitization framework and methodological principles from the first two chapters. Through the case of Calais migrant situation, the chapter will analyse amateur visuals and visuals created by mass media during the period of June 2015 to October 2016 to show how political and security meanings are constructed around a visual that facilitate the publicity of securitizing moves.

1. Theoretical Framework

To develop a conceptual framework for visual politicization and securitization, it is necessary to first understand what constitutes politicization and securitization. The following section will provide a brief overview of ST and related concepts.

1.1 Securitization

Securitization was developed by the Copenhagen School (CS) of researchers, consisting of Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde, who argued for an intersubjective understanding of security in their book, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (1998). The CS advocated for widening of security studies beyond the state-centric military issues, to analyse the threats emerging from non-military issues, such as migration, natural calamities and economic instabilities.

Drawing on John Austin's speech act theory (1962), the CS proposed a poststructuralist approach to understand and analyse the construction of security problems. According to Austin (1962), we are bound by the semantic structures of linguistics to communicate with each other and accordingly perform certain actions. This requires us to employ specific utterances to influence or initiate specific actions from others (Austin, 1962; Vuori, 2010). Austin (1962) terms these performative utterances as *speech acts*, which can be analysed through *locutionary* (what was said), *illocutionary* (what was meant), and *perlocutionary* acts (what happened as a result). The success of a speech act depends on the satisfaction of *felicity conditions*, which are a certain set of rules and criteria that must be in place in order for the speech act to produce the intended effect. The ST developed by the CS conceptualizes security as an illocutionary speech act. It claims that the utterance of 'security' has a performative character that can transform the social reality around an issue to effect a specific action.

Since its inception, securitization has evolved theoretically and methodologically. Second-generation of securitization scholars, especially, Balzacq (2005, 2011, 2016), Guzzini (2011), Salter (2008), and Stritzel (2007) have stepped away from the CS's philosophical approach of analysing securitization through the functionalities of speech act theory. Instead, they have argued for a Bourdieuan based sociological approach that accounts for socio-cultural predispositions of the securitizing actors and the audience that influences the construction of security issues. The following sections will provide

an overview of the key securitization concepts as developed by the CS and also elaborate on the subsequent theoretical development of ST since its inception.

According to the CS, securitization constitutes a discourse of mediation, in which a *securitizing actor* presents an issue as an *existential threat* to a *referent object* and mobilizes support from an *audience* for *extraordinary measures* beyond the realm of normal politics or procedures (Buzan *et al.* 1998: 25). Depending on the sector, *securitizing actors* can be governments, politicians or environmentalists, who can speak on behalf of concerned *referent objects*, such as the sovereignty of a state, identity of a society, or survival of the planet. *Referent objects* are “things that are seen to be existentially threatened” and therefore possess a legitimate claim to survival (1998: 36). But without the audience’s legitimization, any articulation of an existential threat only constitutes a *securitizing move* but not securitization (1998: 25). Securitization is successful only if the *audience* is convinced about the threat to a *referent object*. Depending on the *referent object*, the *audience* can be the government, public, political leaders or international organizations. The audience’s support makes it easier to employ emergency or *extraordinary measures*, which would normally be considered unacceptable.

On the contrary, Balzacq (2011) argues that ST can be perceived not just through philosophical viewpoint but also through a sociological lens. The philosophical approach analyses the act of securitization through the design of speech act theory whereas the sociological approach places importance on the discourse of social practices, underlying context, cultural disposition, and power relations brought about by the speaker and audience that influence the construction of a security threat.

The CS claims that the illocutionary force of the security speech act alters the context of an issue by moving it from the context of normative politics to a security context. Balzacq (2005: 180) considers this as an internalist approach, where the context of security is shaped by language. He claims that the performative aspect of securitization depends not just on the dynamics of speech act but also on contextual circumstances (Balzacq, 2011: 11). Although Buzan *et al.* (1998) emphasize the importance of context in security construction through the categorisation of security context into military, political, societal, economic, and environmental sectors, Balzacq (2016: 502) argues

that it doesn't account for the 'epistemological underpinnings' of context that can influence the outcomes of securitizing moves. The *context*, according to Balzacq (2011: 13), also relates to external social conditions, which are independent of the security speech act. Balzacq (2011: 13) argues that the CS has neglected the 'brute' threats, which do not rely on the linguistic construction. He claims that the objective realities should not be disregarded in the constructivist theorization of security (2011:13). Thus, the external context should guide the security speech act of a securitizing actor and also determine the necessary measures and the audience of a securitizing move. Balzacq (2015: 495) argues that the success of securitizing moves are not necessarily determined by the exceptional character of the responsive measures. Depending on the context of the securitized setting, implementation of normal or distinctive measures to address a threat can also be deemed as an outcome of securitizing move.

Buzan *et al.* (1998: 31) claim that a securitization is only successful if the audience accepts it but they do not specify the indicators to measure this audience acceptance. In a constructivist approach to security, this claim is surprisingly linear and causal in nature. It obscures the dialectical relations between the mediator and the audience existing in the social and governmental practices that can also be instrumental in the formation of security problems (Balzacq, 2011: 8, 18). Even though the CS has accorded an important causal status to the role of audience in ST, the role of audience is surprisingly objective in an intersubjective process of securitization. The securitization is deemed successful if the audience accepts it and a failure if the audience rejects it. The lack of conceptualization of the audience has been one of the major limitations of the original ST theory developed by the CS. The CS doesn't explain how to determine the measure of the audience acceptance. It also doesn't explain how multiple audiences with varying degrees of acceptance or rejection can influence a securitizing move. The receptive character of audience in ST has attracted the much needed push towards the theoretical development of *audience* in securitization.

Second-generation scholars, such as Balzacq (2011, 2016) and Salter (2008) have been instrumental in developing the actorship of audience. Balzacq (2016: 500) argues that the role of the audience in securitization is not one-sided but a mediation of power relations, where audience can respond to securitizing moves and recontextualize it with different meanings. The social settings of securitizing actor and audience have often

been projected as binary in the CS formulation of securitization. For example, if the securitizing actor is the government, the audience is usually the general public or vice-versa. Such empirical studies have conceptualized the public as a single entity who will react similarly to a securitizing move. Balzacq (2011) and Salter (2008) have highlighted the importance of multiple audience and this also applies to the case of multiple public opinions. A section of public can securitize an issue for an audience that consists of politicians as well as other sections of public. Thus, depending on the context, the audience or securitizing actor can consist a mix of actors from various social settings and positional powers.

Securitization also implies that either the securitizing actor or the audience should possess the authority to employ the necessary measures. This puts actors with institutional power or authority in an advantageous position to securitize compared with the general public. Though the power to initiate securitizing moves is not dependent on the socio-political status of an actor, most empirical studies on securitization, with few exceptions (Vuori, 2010), have focussed on cases, where the securitizing actor possesses significant positional power and authority to exercise emergency measures. But can only actors with positional power securitize? Can visuals enhance the securitizing capabilities of actors that lack positional power?

This thesis analyses how heuristic artefacts such as visuals can augment the securitizing moves of the public to mobilize the construction of a security issue. In social and cognitive psychology, heuristics are referred as mental shortcuts that facilitate decision making (Myers, 2010: 94). In the context of securitization, *heuristic artefacts* are elements that are instrumental in intensifying the urgency around a threat in a way that stimulates fear or insecurity among the audience. Balzacq (2016: 495) argues that securitizing actors can employ heuristic artefacts, such as emotions, images, stereotypes, and metaphors in their securitizing moves to influence the legitimacy and decision-making of the audience.

The discourse of a security threat between a securitizing actor and an audience is also influenced by *functional actors*. *Functional actors* do not call for security on behalf of a referent object but they can affect the degree of securitizing move through further politicization or desecuritization (Buzan *et al.* 1998: 36). For example, functional actors,

such as mass media can constantly report on an issue to keep it in the public limelight, thereby accentuating audience legitimization or rejection of a securitizing move. In the age of digital communication, securitizing actors need their articulated threats to be in the midst of constant political debates to attract the audience's attention. Therefore, constant publicity of a security threat becomes critical in creating and sustaining the *sense of criticality* around a securitizing move. The *sense of criticality* relates to a window of opportunity during which a securitizing move is more likely to be accepted by the audience.

1.2 Publicity in Securitization

In empirical analyses of securitization, the general public has always been part of the audience. There is usually some element of public legitimization required for securitizing moves in any sector. Therefore, it becomes difficult to conceive of a securitization process without taking into account the practices involved in influencing the public approval. The role of publicity in maintaining sense of criticality around a security threat has surprisingly received less theoretical and empirical attention considering that the politicization of an issue is vital in the securitization process. In fact, Buzan *et al.* (1998: 24) see securitization as an extreme version of politicization. In trying to establish a distinction between politicization and securitization, Buzan *et al.* (1998: 29) argue that politicization constitutes an issue that is debated amongst the political authority, media, and the audience and addressed through existing routine procedures. But for an issue to be debated through political and security contexts, it first needs to be visible and presented as critical among the functional actors and the audience. Thus, without publicity of an issue, a securitizing move can lose its sense of criticality.

From a marketing perspective, publicity involves generating awareness of a product among the public or the target audience (Lake, 2019). Businesses employ various marketing strategies to improve the visibility of their products. This includes promotional events, social media marketing, interviews, and viral marketing. To reach a large section of audience, publicity strategists often relate their products with trending or controversial issues. For example, Nike featured Colin Kaepernick's controversial kneeling protests against police brutality in its new ads (Abad-Santos, 2018). The

negative backlash ensured increased visibility and revenue for its brand and its products (2018). Similarly, political and securitized issues also need to compete with each other for public attention. A securitizing actor needs to generate awareness and urgency around a particular threat.

Functional actors, such as mass media, play a key role in generating publicity around an issue due to their access to a large audience. Mass media can choose to publicize or suppress a particular issue based on their political agenda and business strategy. Since the advent of social media, the capabilities to generate publicity are not restricted to mass media alone. Social media platforms tend to generate significant public discussion on issues, which sometimes become difficult for conventional media to ignore. With more than 3 billion people users, securitizing moves need to employ social media marketing strategies to maximize its visibility. Aligning heuristic artefacts, such as images with trending issues is an effective way for securitizing moves to reach wider audiences (Kim, 2016). For example, the images and posts related to refugees during the European refugee crisis were constantly tagged with #refugeeswelcome and #syrianrefugees to capitalize on the visibility generated by the iconic image of Aylan Kurdi (Barnett, 2015; Vis & Goriunova, 2015). The dynamics of social media can magnify the political attention around a securitizing move as it provides a responsive platform for a securitizing move to be transmitted, accentuated, or manipulated by various functional actors, such as mass media or social media commentators supported by lobby groups. The role of functional actors thus becomes key in maintaining the publicity around an issue to keep it relevant and critical among the audience.

The publicity of a threat becomes crucial especially in cases, where the articulation of an issue as a security threat is contested and needs persuasion among the audience. For example, securitizing move around the threat of Islamic terrorism after 9/11 will encounter less resistance among the audience and therefore requires less publicity. But a securitizing move around the issue of banning burka in a Western country might need more persuasion. Therefore, the securitizing actor may need to employ various publicity strategies to generate awareness and trigger debates around the issue of burka and present it as a threat to a particular referent object. Repeated publicity (positive or negative) of the issue is necessary to maintain its sense of criticality. Publicity of a securitizing move is also important for securitizing actors who lack positional power,

such as the general public. For example, the public may use images to create securitizing moves around an issue but they lack the resources to relay their securitizing moves to a wider audience. Functional actors, such as mass media and popular social media users can recirculate the securitizing images captured and shared by the public to a wider audience and thus generate interest around it.

1.3 Visual Securitization Framework

With contemporary political communication becoming increasingly visual, ST faces a fundamental challenge as it theorizes security through the performative aspect of a speech-act. The difference in semiotic structure of texts and visuals accounts for difference in the speed of immediacy of the two media. Andersen *et al.* (2015) state that texts “unfold their meaning progressively along syntagmatic chains,” whereas visuals are usually “perceived as a whole before its individual parts.” As ST is structured around the social impact of communicative action, it must account for new media of communication that are not necessarily restricted to linguistic or textual sources or televised media. The communicative aspect of a visual, thus needs to be deconstructed and theorized, to understand its distinctiveness from texts and how it brings about political and security connotations around a particular discourse (Hansen, 2011: 53).

To develop a visual framework with IR and securitization perspective, an interdisciplinary approach involving the theoretical concepts of Visual Studies becomes imperative. Many IR scholars have attempted to combine specific tenets of visual studies with ST (Heck & Schlag, 2012; Hansen 2011; Vuori 2010). The theoretical framework outlined by Hansen (2011) provides an excellent starting point for analysts interested in analysing the engagement of visuals in security studies. Hansen (2011: 51) proposes an inter-visual/intertextual model consisting of four components: the visual itself, its immediate intertextual context, the wider policy discourse, and the constitutions of the image. With specific focus on the visual genre of editorial cartooning, Hansen calls for variations to her framework that can account for politicizing and securitizing elements that are visible in other genres.

The genre of amateur visuals, for example, creates a heightened sense of authenticity and familiarization with the viewer due to its non-mediated and haphazard portrayal of events. Unlike photojournalists or editorial cartoonists, the creators of amateur visuals

on social media are not restricted by the ethics of journalism and are therefore free to share unfiltered visuals across the globe without a pre-conceived securitizing strategy (McDonald, 2008: 572). As social media further facilitates the virality of amateur visuals, it assumes the role of a functional actor, which can enhance the politicization and securitization of a visual. With smartphones and social media gaining prominence only since the beginning of last decade, the factors influencing the visual politicization and securitization of amateur visuals needs further academic attention.

This thesis adopts the framework proposed by Rose's (2016) four sites of critical visual methodology - "the *site of production*, which is where an image is made; the *site of the image itself*, which is its visual content; *the site of its circulation*, which is where it travels; the *site of audiencing*, the site where the image encounters its spectators or users." The term *site* refers not just the space around a visual but particular stages and processes through which a visual gains meaning as it passes from its creator to the viewer. Rose proposes that each of these sites can be analysed along technological, compositional and social modalities for a critical understanding of images as shown in Table 1.1. The technological modality focusses on how the technical design involved in the modes of production, display and circulation impact the meaning of visual whereas the compositional modality analyses the influence of the visual's genre, content, colour, spatial structure, and modification on its meaning. The social modalities analyses visual communication brought about by the related actors. Kress (2006: 114) categorises these actors into two kinds of participants – *interactive* and *represented*. The *interactive participants* constitute the actors who create, view, circulate, and interpret the visual while the *represented participants* are the people and objects depicted in the visual. The social relations among these participants constructs a visual communication that influences the interpretation of the visual.

The deconstruction of a visual in terms of its journey from production to viewership, will help to identify the actors, processes or institutions that are instrumental in politicization and securitization of a visual. The following sections will analyse the modalities within each site of an amateur visual and thereby identify the components of a visual securitization framework for the genre of amateur visuals.

Table 1.1: Sites and modalities for interpreting visual materials (Rose 2016: 25)

<div style="text-align: center;"> \ </div> Modalities Sites	Technological	Compositional	Social
Site of Production	How made?	Genre?	Who? When? Who for? Why?
Site of Image Itself	Visual effects?	Composition?	Visual meanings
Site of Circulation	How is it circulated?	How it changed?	Organised by who or what? Why?
Site of Audiencing	How and where is it displayed?	Viewing positions offered? Relation to other texts?	How is it interpreted? By whom? Why

1.3.1 Site of Production

For Rose (2016: 25), the site of production analyses factors that influence a visual’s interpretation due to its production components, such as the technology used in creation of the visual, the genre of the visual, and the intention of the creator. Fairclough (2006: 93) describes genres as “uses of language associated with particular socially ratified activity types.” Thus, genres are ways of acting that influences the creator as well as the viewer. The conventions associated with a genre discipline a creator’s practice of depicting and capturing an event through a visual. The conventions also condition the viewer’s way of interpreting the visual. A creator captures and depicts based on the established ways of depicting similar events, people or objects whereas a viewer interprets a visual based on established ways of seeing similar events, people or objects.

Within a genre, images employ specific conventions that resonates with historical or trending depictions of the subject (Hansen 2011: 63). In popular culture, for example, Hollywood has historically used tense Arabic music in the background while depicting Muslim places or people (Kristobak, 2017; "Aziz Ansari Stand-Up Monologue - SNL", 2017). A study of existing visual representations related to the depicted subject can reveal the conventions of a genre. A creator may consciously or subconsciously follow these conventions while capturing the subject. Visuals that follow the established social

conventions of a genre can resonate quickly with viewers, who have been conditioned through the similar representations. Political agendas and orientations can also influence the practices related to creation and consumption of visuals. For example, a migrant-sceptic mass media, such as *Daily Mail*, may choose to depict refugees in a demonizing way that resonates with migrant-sceptic base of viewers of *Daily Mail*, whereas a left-wing daily, such as *Guardian*, will choose a humanizing depiction of refugees as it resonates with the political views of most of its readers.

The epistemic-political claims associated with a genre, regulates and simulates the audience's viewing behaviour in a particular way (Fairclough, 2010: 78; Hansen, 2011: 60). Visuals within a genre are seen and interpreted in similar ways of seeing (Rose, 2016: 28). The spectator also has specific expectations from a visual based on its genre (Hansen, 2011: 60). For example, a spectator watching a news report expects the factual truth from its creator but will not have similar expectations from a meme. The genre of memes expects its viewer to see it through the lens of critical humour, satire, and irony.

Thus, the epistemic-political claims associated within the genre of a visual already imposes a certain connotation on its viewer even before the visual is viewed. To familiarize with the epistemic-political claims associated with a visual's genre becomes important as it can further help to explain the spectator's interpretation of a visual. A study of the genre and the visuals associated with the genre also helps to understand expected depictions and responses that might be observed at subsequent sites of the visual.

Amateur visuals have increasingly become part of political and security debates since the advent of social media. The amateur genre of visuals is no longer restricted to family or vacation pictures but have rather evolved as a visual discipline of citizen journalism. One of the distinguishing characteristics of sensationalized amateur visuals is to spontaneously capture its subjects off-guard. Unlike photojournalism or a media documentary, where the objects are made aware of their role and actions, amateur visuals don't provide the time to carry out a calculated gesture (Becker, 2012: 30; Rose, 2016: 27). The haphazard handling of the camera and the subsequent poor quality is a trademark of amateur visual and is associated with authenticity (Niekamp, 2012: 118). The event or the scene captured in amateur visuals signifies the closeness of the

photographer with the event. It provides a sense of ‘a behind the scenes moment’ (Becker, 2014: 30). Andén-Papadopoulos (2008) argues that it is in fact the conventions of amateur family photography, which the amateur genre is associated with, helps it to be seen as a product from an insider and thus accentuates its authenticity and immediacy. The sensationalism aspect of amateur visuals is what draws the politicizing and securitizing actors towards it (Becker, 2012: 31) and subsequently generates a political debate around it. Thus, the conventions of interpretation associated with the genre of amateur visuals do not bring about political or security meanings but rather serve as accentuating factors for a visual’s securitization.

Another key factor at the site of production that can influence a spectator’s interpretation is the creator’s reputation or the intention. Rose (2016: 32) stresses that the desire or the motivation of the visual maker is as important as the interpretation of the spectator. She also recommends to familiarize with the creator’s profile and their previous works (Rose, 2016: 53). With regards to media, the brand image and political leanings of a media can set prior expectations on a spectator’s interpretation.

1.3.2 Site of the Image

The site of the image refers to the actual visual, which has two key components: the spatial structure of a visual and the immediate text. The term *immediate text* in this thesis refers to the visible text surrounding a visual, such as a headline, commentary, or hashtags. The concept of intertextuality helps to understand how this immediate text interacts with other texts and makes intertextual or intervisual references. The theory of intertextuality was coined by Julia Kristeva (1980), who states that texts cannot form a meaning by itself and relies on other texts to create meaning. In the context of visuals, Rose (2016: 188) expands on Kristeva’s definition and refers intertextuality as “the way that the meanings of any one discursive image or text depend not only on that one text image, but also meanings carried by other images and texts.”

The spatial structure of a visual, as Barthes (1977: 17) claims, contains two main messages: “denoted” and “connoted.” The denoted message of a visual refers to a pre-iconographic interpretation of the visual (Panofsky, 1962), whereas the elements within the spatial structure of a visual attain symbolic meaning at the iconographic level (Panofsky, 1962), also referred by Barthes (1977: 17) as the connoted message of a

visual. The analysis of the connoted message helps to identify the elements where political and security meanings are inscribed into a visual. The spatial structure of a visual consists of depictions of objects, gestures, people, and expressions that have multiple meanings. A spectator makes sense of these depictions through codes. Rose (2016: 128) defines codes as “a set of conventionalized ways of making meaning that are specific to particular groups of people.” The dominant codes existing within these groups influences the way they see a visual. Barthes (1977: 22) describes these dominant codes as “a store of stereotyped attitudes which form ready-made elements of signification.”

Hansen (2011: 52) states that images by themselves cannot prescribe a policy but they are capable of interacting with similar established depictions based on dominant ways of seeing. By drawing comparisons with intertextuality, Hansen (2011: 54) argues that visuals can make intervisual references through depictions and their established meanings in society. For example, a visual depicting a gesture of raising the right arm with a straightened hand makes an instant intertextual reference to Nazism and Fascism due to established ways of seeing.

Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006: 122) argue that the established ways of seeing also relate to the perlocutionary effect of a speech act. The *spatial organisation* of the represented participants in visuals can make a non-verbal communication by extracting a uniformed social response from the viewers. The *spatial organisation* relates to the position of the represented participants in relation to the viewer, which could be “how the represented participants look at the viewer – direct or indirect?” and “the distance between the represented participants and the viewer – close, medium or long shot?”

Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006: 116) claim that the choice of a particular spatial organisation suggests different social relations depending on the genre. For example, in an amateur visual, a close shot indicates that the represented participants have a comfortable relation with the creator and therefore their conduct will be friendly. If non-intimates are in a close shot, it usually implies a potential act of aggression¹. Similarly, long shots create an impersonal and detached relation with the viewer. The high angle

¹ For a detailed discussion on the social meanings associated with various spatial positions, see Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006: 114 – 153)

shot makes the represented participants look small and insignificant while the low angle shot depicts the represented participants as persons or objects with higher authority, value and status than the viewers (2006: 140). The low angle also makes the represented participants look more powerful and superior than the viewer. A frontal eye-level angle signifies an equal relationship between the represented participants and the viewer. Thus, the angle of the camera regulates the power relations between the represented participants and the viewers. The ‘direct gaze’ of the represented participant into the camera invites the viewer to identify with them whereas an indirect gaze coaxes the viewer to focus on the other aspects of the visual. But Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006: 125) warn that these conventional ways of looking can differ depending on the genre and the cultural background of the viewer. Therefore, spatial organisation alone cannot determine the construction of meanings through visuals. Due to established ways of seeing and depicting, viewers have been subconsciously conditioned to interpret a particular spatial organisation with specific social meanings.

In their study on visualization of refugees, Bleiker *et al.* (2013) claim through social–psychological studies that close-up portrayal of refugees often evokes compassion in the viewers while depiction of groups increase the emotional distance between the viewers and the subjects. The depictions of the Self and the Other also carry various political–security connotations, which create “frames of recognition” through which the Self and the Other are visualized (Butler, 2009: 6; Bleiker *et al.* 2013: 400). But frames of recognition alone cannot lead to politicization or securitization. The depictions in a visual also needs to be constituted as politically disturbing or threatening, which can only be achieved through immediate text. The immediate text shapes the political and security context of a visual.

A visual is usually followed or accompanied by a text. The spatial structure of a visual according to Barthes (1977: 16), “is not an isolated structure.” It communicates with an accompanying text, which can be in the form of a title, caption, article, or commentary. In fact, Barthes (1977: 25) compares this textual component to a parasite that clings to the visual and thrusts its own meaning upon the visual. As Hansen (2011: 54) states, images by itself cannot speak security, it needs a securitizing actor to construct the meaning of security around it, which is usually done through the immediate text. Vuori (2010: 274) claims that the immediate text acts as an anchorage for visuals to securitize.

The immediacy generated by a visual is not something inherent in the visual but it is something that is articulated by the creator or experienced by the viewer. Foucault (2005: 9) states that what we see is only visual in our mind but the moment we describe it to someone else, it is not visual but just elements of syntax. Thus, words or language dominate the description of a visual. These words provide the context to a spectator that can constitute emotions, such as compassion, shock, joy or sadness. The immediate text tries to impose its authority over the visual.

While visual and social theorists, such as W.J.T. Mitchell (1995) and Foucault (2005) have tried to advance theories that allows the visual to speak for itself, it is highly unlikely for a visual to decouple itself from an immediate text. The major sites of circulation, such as social media and television, don't propagate visuals in isolation. There is always an immediate text in the form of commentary, headline or a caption, hovering nearby. Even the text entered to search an image on *Google* constitutes as an immediate text or an intertext. On *YouTube*, even before a video starts playing, the spectator encounters the title of the video, which can carry multiple political connotations. The technical design of social media platforms thus makes it impossible for the viewer to distance the visual from an immediate text.

Even though the immediate text constantly follows the visual, the viewer also searches for the immediate text if they encounter a visual before the text. It is the ambiguity of the spatial structure of the visual that drives the viewer towards the immediate text. Mitchell (1995: 64) argues that the viewer has been disciplined and conditioned in decoding a visual through text, which provides them with certainty and closure. The ambiguity in a visual is tamed and domesticated by the immediate text. Even a single word in an immediate text has the potential to influence and dominate the interpretation of the viewer (Mitchell, 1995: 56). For example, use of either "refugees" or "illegal immigrants" as a term to describe the characters in a visual, has different socio-political connotations. These terms create multiple intertextual references, thereby influencing a viewer's interpretation (Hansen, 2011: 54). Securitization theory focuses on linguistic element of a speech act to determine the logic of threats. This makes immediate text, an ideal material to analyse instances of securitizing speech act.

Depending on the creator, I have further categorized the immediate text into primary and secondary components. The primary immediate text represents the textual elements that have been added by the creator of a visual before it reaches the site of circulation, while the secondary immediate text, which will be explained further in the site of circulation section, constitutes all the textual elements added during the site of circulation. The primary text usually consists of commentary, title or an overlay text. It is difficult to determine whether a creator intentionally or unintentionally chooses particular terms with political connotations but a discourse analysis of these textual components can help to identify the intertextual references and the regimes of truth that the creator is trying to establish and disseminate (Rose, 2016: 190). The analysis can show how the immediate text follows or resists the dominant political representations or ideologies. Background commentary in a video also acts as an immediate text, where it can add a cultural or political context to the event depicted in the visual (Sjøvaag, 2012: 91). The analysis of the commentary can reveal how social difference is articulated through the construction of the Self and the Other (Rose, 2016: 189).

1.3.3 Site of Circulation and Audiencing

The *site of circulation* explores the processes through which a visual moves from the site of production to its viewers (Rose, 2016: 34). It also focusses on how and where a visual becomes available for the viewers. The *site of audiencing* is where a visual attains meaning from a viewer and this meaning is transmitted to other viewers through the *site of circulation* (Rose, 2016: 38). Every actor other than the creator of an amateur visual constitutes as a viewer. For amateur visuals, the site of circulation serves as an intermediary between the creator and the viewer. As a viewer encounters an amateur visual, his or her interpretation is further shared with other viewers through the sites of circulation. For example, the mass media acts as a *site of circulation* by transmitting an amateur visual from the creator to multiple viewers but it also acts as a viewer when it first encounters the visual and provides its interpretation. Thus, the *site of audiencing* is often in a continuous loop with the *site of circulation* (Figure 1.1), as visuals are interpreted and circulated again for different viewers to view and react.

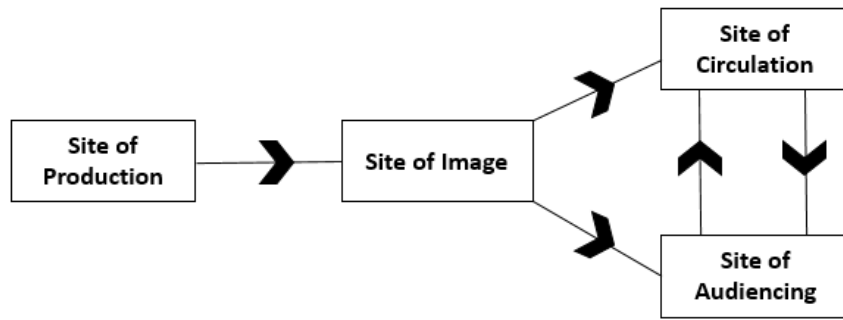


Figure 1.1: Diagram showing the sites of an amateur visual

For a visual to be politicized or securitized, it needs to be debated and presented as politically disturbing or threatening. Politicization and securitization is thus a mediation between the articulator and the audience (McDonald, 2008: 572). Hansen (2011: 53) states that a visual does not enter the realm of politics before being a subject of debate or engaging with discourses already in place. It is only at the site of circulation that a visual becomes a subject of debate amongst its viewers, such as the mass media, social media users, and politicians, who respond to the visual and recontextualize it through their preferred meanings.

The securitizing connotations are embedded into a visual by the viewer through *secondary immediate text*. The *secondary immediate text* constitutes all the textual elements that surround the visual in the form of articles, reports, comments, captions, discussions, or hashtags. Even the response of a visual's creator at the site of circulation constitutes a secondary immediate text. Through the secondary immediate text, securitizing and functional actors can securitize the visual and recontextualize it in the form of a security speech act. Similar to primary immediate text, the analysis of secondary text aims to uncover the political and security discourses propagated by the viewers that share their interpretations.

Audiencing on social media falls in various categories depending on viewer's method of social media consumption. The comments section of social media is a key observation site to assess how viewers interpret a visual on social media. The trending or dominating perspectives of a visual can be judged from the comments section though it is prone to be influenced by fake comments and trolls.

The analysis of site of circulation and audiencing also aims to explore the role of institutions and processes through which regimes of truth or particular visual representations are canonized. Rose (2016: 214) claims that certain discourses surrounding a visual become more dominant than others due to the authority and social position of the viewer. Buzan *et al.* (1998: 31) also argue that “some actors are placed in positions of power by virtue of being generally accepted voices of security.” The creator of an amateur visual is not necessarily a securitizing actor or not necessarily the only securitizing actor around a particular discourse. Functional actors, such as media and social media political commentators, can influence the security meaning around an amateur visual and set the stage for subsequent securitizing move by a securitizing actor. A securitizing actor, such as a politician responding to a visual immediately brings the visual on to a political platform, thereby increasing its visibility among the targeted audience of the securitizing move. When Erdogan used Christchurch shooting video for political campaigns, he not only brought political attention to it but also recontextualized it through securitizing language as an attack against Islam (“Recep Tayyip Erdogan uses Christchurch shooter's video in election campaign, draws New Zealand's ire”, 2019). The political leanings, reputation, and authority of media can also influence the politicization of the visual. Even though the social media provides a participation platform for the public, the social position and authority of actors with positional power, such as politicians and media still enables them to dominate discourses surrounding a visual. For example, Trump retweeted² three amateur videos that claimed to depict Islamic extremism from migrant Muslim men in Western countries (“Donald Trump retweets far-right videos”, 2017). The retweet of amateur visual by Trump gained instant attention and politicization due to Trump’s political authority. Even though Trump didn’t say anything about the video in particular but his retweet served as an acknowledgement of specific discourse surrounding Muslim migrants. It was also an effort to create facilitating factors for his future policy of Muslim travel ban.

The functionalities of social media makes it easier for the secondary text to connect with the visual and travel to larger audiences and thus enhance the politicization. The way a

² The retweets were flagged by Twitter as sensitive material and therefore cannot be viewed on Twitter anymore.

visual is circulated and appropriated through secondary immediate text can endow it with an *iconic status*. Hansen (2015: 265) claims that iconic images condense the range of interpretations and become visual nodal points around which new discourses can be mobilized. As an icon, a visual travels outside of its depicted events and becomes an illustration for wider political discourses. Vuori (2010: 259) states that the terms that bring about the logic of threats, urgency, security or insecurity, such as “terrorism”, “national security” or “refugee crisis” are often attached to visuals through primary or secondary immediate text. After a significant repetition of this image-term association, the visuals gradually become master signifiers of these terms. The image absorbs the signified of the immediate text and no longer needs the text for its signification (Vuori, 2010: 259). The constant recirculation of a visual is an attempt to iconize the visual, which will ensure its easier facilitation into wider contexts. For example, the 9/11 visuals have become synonymous with the issue of terrorist attacks, while Aylan Kurdi’s image symbolizes the hardship of refugees. These visuals have become posters for their respective political discourses.

Iconization also relies on repetition, which is ensured by the functionalities of web and social media. The dominant discourses surrounding a visual generates a set of keywords that the web uses to associate with a visual. This was acknowledged by Google CEO, Sundar Pichai (“WATCH: Why does Trump's image appear under searches for 'idiot?' Google CEO Pichai answers.”, 2018), when he had to explain the association of Trump’s image with the word ‘idiot’ in the Google search engine³. Pichai attributed the role of algorithms that crawl keywords from trending discussions surrounding Trump. To validate whether social media authorities are deliberately propagating a particular political discourse for a visual would require digital methods that can analyse the algorithms. This requires an advanced knowledge of computer programming (Rose, 2016: 293) and is beyond the scope of this thesis. A discourse analysis of a visual’s recirculation can reveal the iconizing and recontextualization strategies employed by various discursive agents and institutions to align the visual with a particular political discourse.

³ When Rep. Zoe Lofgren sought clarification from Sundar Pichai for this association, she herself contributed to the politicization of this association by bringing the issue into public limelight.

1.4 Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the ST and presented its evolution over the last couple of decades. The securitization framework for this thesis aligns closely with Balzacq's (2011) sociological approach to analyse security threat and it guides the methodological design and the subsequent empirical analysis. The chapter also highlighted how publicity and heuristic artefacts can augment securitizing moves and stimulate a response from the audience. Publicity around a securitizing move is crucial for actors with insignificant positional power. Without publicity of an issue, a securitizing move can lose its sense of criticality.

Using Rose's (2016) critical visual methodology, this chapter presented a detailed visual securitization framework that analyses security construction in visuals along its production, circulation, and consumption stages of meaning-making at the site of production, site of the image itself, site of circulation, and the site of audiencing. The site of production relates to factors that influence a visual's meaning due to production elements, such as a visual's genre and the creator's reputation or political stance. The social conventions associated with a genre disciplines the creators' way of depicting and the viewers' way of interpreting.

At the site of the image, security discourses are constructed through the spatial structure and the primary immediate text. The spatial structure of the visual is analysed through the dominant meanings, representations and depictions associated with a particular object, character, gesture or expression. The established ways of seeing and depicting have disciplined viewers to interpret spatial organization with specific social meanings. Securitizing actors can consciously or subconsciously capture their subjects in securitized depictions to evoke particular social meaning that can facilitate the construction of a security threat. The primary immediate text helps to articulate and strengthen the construction of security threat.

The site of circulation and audiencing acts as a confluence for creators, functional actors and the viewers of a visual, who interpret, recontextualize and recirculate the visual to a wider set of viewers. It is only at the site of circulation that a visual can be securitized as it encounters functional actors and audience in the form of mass media, politicians, and

the general public, who can trigger public debates, intensify the urgency around a threat, and legitimize or reject the security threat constructed through the visual.

2. Methodology

Based on the conceptual arguments discussed in the theoretical chapter, the analysis of the primary and secondary immediate textual materials of a visual can reveal how the elements within the spatial structure of a visual are securitized. It is only through the primary and secondary immediate textual components that a visual can be interpreted as referring to a security concern. Thus, a successful securitization of a visual is dependent not just on disturbing depictions within a visual's spatial structure but also on the performative success of its immediate security speech-act (Buzan *et al.* 1998: 46) and its recontextualization to a political and security discourse (Balzacq *et al.* 2016). The methodological design in this chapter follows Balzacq's (2011) approach to securitization, which argues that securitization is not only characterized by the adoption of an exceptional policy but also through measures adopted to manage the threat.

The discussion focussing on the sites of a visual highlighted three key visual categories, such as the spatial structure of a visual, primary immediate text, and secondary immediate text. These visual categories serve as the units of analysis for the visual securitization framework. According to Buzan *et al.* (1998: 25), "The way to study securitization is to study discourse and political constellations." Thus, discourse analysis is an appropriate method to study dominant ways of seeing, intervisual/intertextual references, strategy of depictions, security speech act, and iconization that influence the securitization of a visual. Table 2.1 lists the visual sites, categories, key concepts and factors that helps to etch out a methodology to analyse the visual securitization framework. This provides a starting point to engage the framework with various visuals that were already securitized.

Table 2.1: Methodology for Visual Securitization Framework

Note: Based on Hansen (2011) and Rose (2016)

Sites of a Visual	Units of Analysis	Materials to be analysed	Methods used
Production	NA	NA	NA
The Image itself	Spatial structure of a visual	Original Visual and related visuals, texts that depict similar social groups and visual patterns	Discourse Analysis
	Primary Immediate Text	Title, commentary, captions, overlay text, tags, keywords	Discourse Analysis
Circulation and Audiencing	Secondary Immediate Text	News headlines, reports, commentary, comments section, hashtags, montages	Discourse analysis
		Responses from politicians - Speeches, statements, Twitter posts	

The methodological tools listed in Table 2.1 are employed to conduct a detailed analysis of the visuals that furthered the saliency of securitizing moves employed by truck drivers and mass media during the Calais migrant situation. The Calais migrants have been threatening lorry drivers along Calais since 1999 but the response of the concerned authorities has been lacklustre and patchy. The camps were dismantled thrice between 1999 and 2016 but they were built again by migrants, which meant that the threat to truck drivers and local residents remained persistent. The local mayors of the border towns, Calais and Dover appealed for Army intervention multiple times while the truck drivers and the English mass media have constantly circulated visuals to generate awareness and attract the government's attention towards the situation. As seen in Figure 2.1, the Calais migrant situation is characterized by a recurring pattern of events, which reflects a process of securitization and becomes an appropriate case study to test the theoretical elements developed in chapter 1.

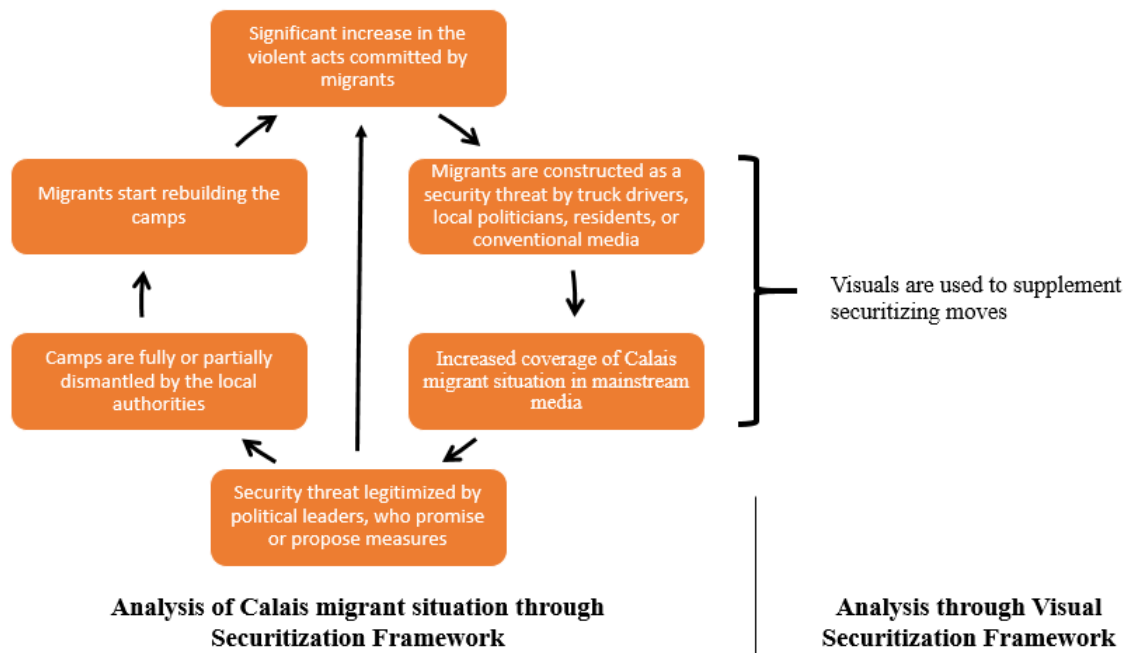


Figure 2.1: Recurring events of Calais migrant situation

A single case study allows for a poststructuralist discourse analysis of the political and security constellations of migrant threat constructed through the visuals. This requires a detailed discussion of the *context*, which is also more feasible through a single case study. Discourse analysis will be primarily used to analyse the identity construction of Calais migrants through the amateur visual and its intertextual sources. Discourse analysis methods takes into account the social conditions that shape the production of meaning around an image (Rose, 2016: 143) and also helps to uncover the dominant codes depicted and articulated through the visual (2016: 191).

For the empirical analysis, I have chosen the period between June 2015 and October 2016, which consisted of a similar cyclical conglomeration of events as illustrated in Figure 2.1. The period ended with the camps being fully dismantled by the French authorities on 24 October 2016. The period of 2015-16 also witnessed maximum online coverage of the Calais migrant situation. The increased saliency given to the Calais migrant issue by mass media can be partly attributed to the impact of the European refugee crisis during the same time (Germany raises estimate on refugee arrivals to 800,000 this year, 2015) and also due to the increased visibility created through amateur visuals shared by truck drivers and other travellers in Calais. The visuals shared by the mass media and truck drivers facilitated the construction of security threat of migrants

and maintained a sense of criticality around the Calais migrant situation. These visuals helped actors with insignificant positional power to mobilize the functional actors in support of their cause and triggered responses from audience with significant positional power.

The period of 2015-16 is further divided into three phases, where each phase witnessed significant increase in visual coverage of violent acts committed by Calais migrants, which were followed by definite proposals or actions from the political authorities. The *securitizing actors* during this period consists of truck drivers, travellers, local residents, and local politicians while the mass media served as a *functional actor*. The *audience* in all the phases consist of the general public, mass media, and the political authorities. The reaction of audience is measured through public speeches, statements, tweets, and security agreements that were made in response to the securitizing moves. The analysis through these three phases also helps to demonstrate and establish an element of generalizability around the impact of visuals in securitization process. As illustrated in the Figure 2.1, these visuals will be analysed through the processes and elements listed in the visual securitization framework while the events and practices during the above mentioned period will be analysed through the lens of securitization framework. The prominent visuals from each phase are chosen for the analysis based on the following factors:

- In case of an amateur visual, the visual was a topic of discussion or referred in mainstream media and social media channels
- In case of a visual created by mass media, there was a direct or indirect response to the visual from a political leader

For the **Phase 1** period of **1 June 2015 to 20 August 2015**, I have analysed two visuals. The first is an amateur video uploaded by a traveller, Jenny Adams and second is a video from the BBC report, which uses aerial footage to depict the aggressive acts of migrants. The BBC also acted as a *functional actor* through its subsequent video report, which generated further publicity from other functional actors, such as mass media channels, who recirculated the visual and political leaders, Harriet Harman, the opposition member of the Labour Party, who raised the issue in the UK Parliament session. The *measures* adopted in response would be the joint security agreement signed

between the UK and France on 29 July, 2015. Table 2.2 lists the key materials that will be analysed in Phase 1.

Table 2.2: Visual Analysis of Phase 1

Sites of Visual	Units of Analysis	Materials/Factors analysed	Methods used
Production	NA	Profile of the amateur video uploader BBC's political orientation and bias, Presenting style, Reputation of BBC	NA
The Image itself	Spatial structure of the videos	Original Videos, Visuals with similar depiction and patterns during the same period	Discourse Analysis
	Primary Immediate Text	Title, commentary, description	Discourse Analysis
Circulation and Audiencing	Secondary Immediate Text	News headlines, reports, commentary, comments section of social media communities Video of the debate between David Cameron and Harriet Harman in the UK Parliament Policy measures – Document listing the new joint security agreement between the UK and France	Discourse analysis

For the **Phase 2** period of **21 August 2015 to 3 March 2015** (Table 2.3), I have analysed an amateur visual shared by a Hungarian truck driver, Arpad Levente Jeddi, on 25 November 2015. Despite being in Hungarian, the video was the most viral among all amateur videos on the internet related to the Calais situation. It triggered significant public discussion on social media communities and was constantly featured on English mass media channels. The partial dismantling of the Calais camps by the French authorities were the concrete political responses during this period.

The final **Phase 3** focusses on the events between **4 March 2016 and 26 October 2016**. For this phase, I analyse visuals from a *Daily Mail* report published on 3 September 2016. This case was chosen because it demonstrates how *Daily Mail* acts as a functional actor by accentuating the urgency around the Calais situation through its visuals and text. On 7 September 2016, the UK government proposed to build a 13 feet wall to protect the truck drivers and traveller from the violent attacks of the Calais migrants and on 24 October 2016, the French authorities fully dismantled the camps. The materials that will analysed for this phase are listed in Table 2.4

Table 2.3: Visual Analysis of Phase 2

Sites of Visual	Units of Analysis	Materials/Factors analysed	Methods used
Production	NA	Jeddi's profile	NA
The Image itself	Spatial structure of the video	Original Video, Visuals with similar depiction and patterns during the same period	Discourse Analysis
	Primary Immediate Text	Title, commentary, captions	Discourse Analysis
Circulation and Audiencing	Secondary Immediate Text	News headlines, reports, commentary, comments section on the Facebook posts of <i>Channel 4</i> and <i>Daily Mail</i> Policy measures – Southern section of Calais camp dismantled	Discourse analysis

Table 2.4: Visual Analysis of Phase 3

Sites of Visual	Units of Analysis	Materials/Factors analysed	Methods used
Production	NA	Political orientation and bias, Presenting style, Reputation of Daily Mail	NA
The Image itself	Spatial structure of the images	Original images, Visuals with similar depiction and patterns during the same period	Discourse Analysis
	Primary Immediate Text	Title, description	Discourse Analysis
Circulation and Audiencing	Secondary Immediate Text	Daily Mail's text mentioning the report Political response – Charlie Elphicke's tweet and article Policy measures – Camps fully dismantled	Discourse analysis

The following chapter will conduct a detailed qualitative analysis of each visual along the theoretical elements developed in chapter 1 and therefore, only a few visuals can be selected for the analysis considering the time constraints for a MA thesis. The time constraints also hinders the operationalisation and measurement of securitizing moves in terms of their outcome. However, these visuals are representative of the overall discourse because they triggered significant publicity around the issue of Calais

migrants and their depictions were repeatedly used to signify the urgency around the Calais migrant situation. The methodological design helps to analyse the securitization of Calais migrant situation through a multimodal analysis of texts and visuals. This also helps to study the public's actorness in ST through amateur visuals.

3. Visual Securitization of Calais Migrants

This chapter will provide a detailed background of the Calais migrant situation and list the key events during the analysed period of 1 June 2015 to 26 October 2016. The *context* will be further elucidated by analysing the dominant perception and visual representation of Calais migrants that existed before 1 June 2015. Each phase will analyse the prominent visuals during the period as noted in the methodology chapter. Finally, this chapter will conclude with a summary of the results.

3.1 Context

In 1994, the UK and France completed the construction of a 50.4km rail tunnel, known as the Channel tunnel, between the port of Calais in France and port of Dover in the UK. Since 1999, the French port city of Calais has become a major transit point for irregular migrants and refugees wishing to enter the UK. The UK is a favourable destination for the migrants mainly because of language, family/friends connections and ease of finding jobs ("Why do migrants and asylum seekers want to come to the UK?", 2016). The migrants started building makeshift camps around the port and at the peak of the European refugee crisis in 2015-16, these camps housed around 3000 - 9000 people (Castle & Breeden, 2015; "Counting the number of migrants in the Calais 'jungle'", 2016).

The migrants attempt to hitch on to trucks and ferries heading to the UK. As a result, truck drivers driving from Calais to the UK are often threatened and attacked by migrant groups trying to get inside the trucks ("Truck drivers still being attacked on daily basis in Calais, say RHA", 2018). The migrants work in groups and use various tactics to hide inside trucks. One of the common tactics involve slowing down the traffic with the help of roadblocks, such as stones or logs (Stone, 2018; Nossiter & Hicks, 2016). As the trucks slow down, groups of migrants break the seal of the trailers behind the trucks and hide inside while one member stays outside to close the trailer door (Piotrowska-Pełka, 2018).

Before analysing the visuals through the lens of securitization, it is necessary to be familiar with the context related to the events depicted in the visuals. This context can be determined by analysing how the Calais migrant situation has been presented through conventional media, social media, and popular culture. It is also important to

understand how the identity of the migrants were constructed and represented in the UK mass media. The elucidation of the context helps to determine the key securitizing and functional actors and the audience in the securitization of Calais migrant situation.

The left-oriented outlet *Guardian* presented the Calais migrant situation by highlighting the daily hardships faced by the migrants living in the slums, infamously known as the Calais Jungle. Using close-up portrayals of migrants and sad background music (Domokos *et al.* 2015), reports from these publications attempted to humanize the identity of the Calais migrants. Conservative and migrant-sceptic outlets, such as the *Daily Mail* often reported on the damages caused by Calais migrants. The reports from these publications created a demonizing identity of Calais migrants, who were often depicted as cutting fences and hitching on trucks. The BBC ("Why is there a crisis in Calais?", 2015; "Calais migrant chaos: Your stories", 2015) and the Independent (Moodley, 2015) often showed the perspective of both the migrants as well as the truck drivers. Their reports highlighted the threats faced by truck drivers from migrants and also the difficult conditions of the migrants in the Calais Jungle.

To gain attention of the government to their situation, truck drivers constantly securitized the threat of Calais migrants by sharing dashcam video on *YouTube*, which showed migrants breaking into trucks and attacking trucks along the highway. In addition to the migrant threat, the truck drivers also face a penalty of £2,000 for each clandestine entrant found in their truck ("Secure your vehicle to help stop illegal immigration", 2014). The inability of the French and the UK governments to resolve the Calais migrant situation since 1999 has been issue of frustration among the residents and local authorities of Calais and Dover. As Calais residents continued to face constant threats and intimidation from the migrants, the mayor of Calais, Natacha Bouchart, threatened in August 2015 to open the borders and release the migrants into Britain (Rothwell, 2015). Through Twitter, Natacha Bouchart constantly highlights the problems faced by Calais residents from migrants. The town of Dover is the UK's first point of entry from Calais and therefore is significantly impacted by the security situation in Calais (Kinstler, 2016). Charlie Elphicke, the Conservative MP for Dover, has constantly maintained the urgency around the situation through his tweets and often appealed for better security measures to handle the threat of Calais migrants.

As the European refugee crisis reached its peak in 2014-2016, issues and news related to migrants and refugees were covered with increased political scrutiny. During this period, the number of clandestine attempts in Calais also rose sharply with the UK Border Force and the French authorities claiming to have prevented 39000 attempts in 2015, more than double the number of the previous year ("Why is there a crisis in Calais?", 2015). As the situation in Calais became increasingly dangerous and chaotic, truck drivers started posting more videos in an attempt to create awareness and draw attention to their situation.

The European refugee crisis was one of the fiercely debated topics on social media, where visuals formed a key part of discussions. The visuals shared by truck drivers and other travellers were vying for attention against a wave of sympathy towards refugees generated by the iconic photograph of the three year old Aylan Kurdi's dead body on the Turkish beach (Smith, 2015). Human rights activists and politicians used the visual of Aylan Kurdi to generate securitization around Europe's lack of humanitarian responsibility towards refugees. *Functional actors*, such as mass media and social media users were instrumental in ensuring the iconic status of the image. The resulting extraordinary measure of this securitizing move could be assessed from the reactions and decisions of European politicians. The image drew empathetic reactions from European leaders with David Cameron, the then Prime Minister of UK, announcing to take in more Syrian refugees (Narula, 2015; Vis & Goriunova, 2015). The image also triggered digital movements of humanitarianism and volunteerism across social media. The hashtag #refugeeswelcome became prominent on social media and it also led to rallies by NGOs and German citizens calling on their governments to accept more Syrian refugees.

On the other end of the politico-social spectrum, there was also a sense of resentment among many sections of European public over the pro-refugee discourses and decisions adopted by the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel and leaders of other EU states. This resentment was exploited by populist parties across Europe, who securitized the influx of refugees as an existential threat to the European civilisation. To promote this securitizing move, many anti-refugee narratives were mobilized by politicians, right-wing media, and social media users. The prominent ones being, "Muslim culture is incompatible with European civilisation", "Influx of refugees is part of a Muslim

invasion”, “They are not refugees fleeing war but economic migrants”, “There are no women and children among refugees but only able bodied men”, “ISIS is sending terrorists into Europe disguised as refugees”, and “Refugees are interested in welfare money” (Ferreira, 2018; Gray & Franck, 2018; Narkowicz, 2018; Trilling, 2018). Some of these narratives were also visually propagated. For example, the right-wing media outlets and social media channels constantly used refugee visuals that lacked the presence of women and children. This reinforced the narrative that most refugees are just men and hence economic migrants.

On 13 November 2015, France was hit by a series of terror attacks, which killed 130 people. These were the deadliest attacks on France since the Second World War. The attacks were carried out by terrorists from the Islamic State (IS) militant group. The Greek authorities claimed that one of the terrorists passed through Greece as a refugee to enter France (Hewitt, 2015). This claim created a sense of urgency around Merkel’s open door policy decision at the height of European refugee crisis and the free movement of people within Europe under Schengen agreement (Ellyatt, 2015). Merkel’s decision had been a rallying point for right-wing populist parties across Europe, who highlighted the security threats posed by the entry of undocumented migrants into Europe. The unconfirmed claims of Paris terrorist posing as a refugee only reinforced that fear and securitized the issue of immigration. Thus, the public opinion over the perception of refugees in Europe was divided and this created audiences with varying degrees of legitimization and rejection for securitizing moves against Calais migrants.

In popular culture, the Calais migrant situation didn’t feature prominently anywhere other than the documentary series, UK Border Force. The TV series shows the inner workings of the UK’s border policing conducted at the airport terminal, Calais port, and immigration centres in India and Nigeria. The theme of the program focusses on how officers of UK Border Agency crack down on illegal immigration. Every episode features scenes from Calais where officers check the trucks entering into Britain to prevent clandestine entry of migrants. The migrants that are caught are usually brown or black people from Afghanistan, Iraq, Sudan, and Eritrea. The officers take their fingerprints and pictures, before releasing them again into Calais, where they are free to

try again. This is a recurring feature in the entire TV series that frames and naturalizes the depiction of Calais migrants as illegals through governmental practices.

As the visuals for this empirical analysis are selected from 1 June 2015, it is useful to determine the pre-existing dominant visual representation of Calais migrants before this period on the popular search engines and social media platforms. As the Calais migrant situation started from 1999, the top results of a *Google* image search⁴ for the term “Calais migrants” between the dates 1 January 1999 and 31 May 2015 (Figure 3.1) show recurring themes of “people running on the road”, “slums”, “presence of police officers”, “people standing in queues”, “people climbing onto the back of trucks”, “barbed wires and fences”, and “large groups of black and brown men.”

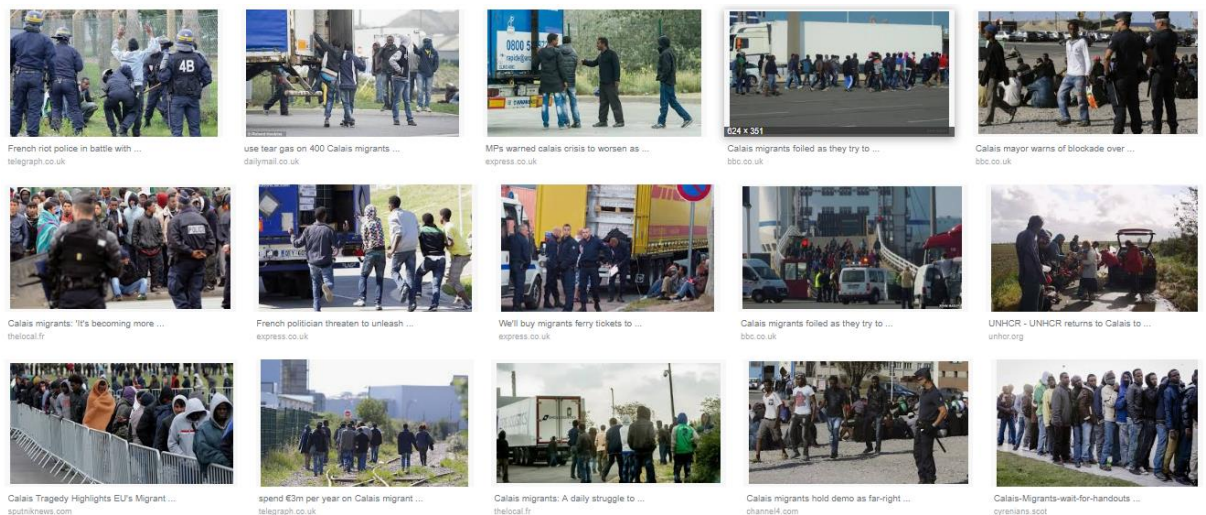


Figure 3.1: Screenshot of the *Google* Image Search Results for the term “Calais Migrants” between 1 January 1999 and 31 May 2015

The top results from *Twitter* for the same term between the period 21 March 2006⁵ and 31 May 2015, are dominated by mass media posts that display similar patterns of visuals as the *Google* results. Most of the images show black and brown men jumping in and out of trucks, running on the road, and standing in queues. These patterns are instrumental in shaping the visual memories and interpretation of the audience for the visuals analysed in Section 3.3.

⁴ *Google* search results may vary slightly based on geographical location (McEvoy, 2015). These results were based from Poland.

⁵ The date corresponds to when *Twitter* started its operations.

3.2 Timeline of events between 1 June 2015 and 26 October 2016

This section lists the key events related to the Calais migrant situation that took place between 1 June 2015 and 26 October 2016. The timeline helps to frame the events through a securitization perspective.

23 June 2015 - Workers from French ferry company MyFerryLink went on strike against possible job cuts (Calais sailors' strike shuts Eurotunnel, 2015). They blocked the access to the Channel Tunnel and also blocked the highway in Calais causing trucks and other vehicles to be stuck in long queues. The Calais migrants took advantage of the situation as they tried to climb onto stationary trucks.

24 June 2015 – The issue of Calais migrants is raised in the UK Parliament by the opposition member of the Labour Party, Harriet Harman. The then Prime Minister, David Cameron, responded to the events and promised strong measures.

20 August 2015 - France and the UK signed a new joint security agreement, which proposed multiple measures to address the Calais situation (Joint Ministerial Declaration on UK/FRENCH Co-operation, 2015)

20 October 2015 - Calais migrant population reaches to up to 6000 (The forgotten refugee camp in northern France, 2015)

13 November 2015 - Paris terror attacks. Increased mass media focus on Calais as one of the terror attacks was an asylum seeker (Wilkinson, 2015)

25 February 2016 – French local court clears French authorities to clear the southern section of Calais migrant camp (Sharp, 2016)

1 March 2016 – French authorities finish the demolition of southern section of the camps

August 2016 – Increased reports of migrants attacking truck drivers. The population of Calais migrants reaches an all-time high of 9100, which is more than 10% of the Calais population. (Calais: 'Migrants very aggressive', 2015)

7 September 2016 – The UK government proposes to build a 13 feet wall to protect truck drivers from being attacked (Work to start on UK-funded Calais wall, 2016)

26 October 2016 – The camps are completely dismantled (Bulman, 2016)

3.3 Analysis

3.3.1 Phase 1: 1 June 2015 to 20 August 2015

On 8 June 2015, a *YouTube* user, Jenny NZ uploaded a video (Rioting migrants yesterday- Calais to Dover port, 2015) that depicted large groups of migrants breaking into trucks. At the time of writing, the amateur video had garnered around 1.8 million views on *YouTube*.

As the video was haphazardly captured from inside a tourist bus, it creates a sense of authenticity and familiarization with tourists, who have a similar viewing perspective of the road while travelling. The immediate text, in the video constitutes the title and the conversation in the video. The video is titled, “Rioting migrants yesterday- Calais to Dover port”. The term “migrants” establishes the identity of the characters, who are securitized through the terms, “rioting” and “yesterday”. The term, “rioting” stimulates fear and immediacy, while “yesterday” generates a sense of urgency around the situation in Calais. The video starts with large number of migrants walking on the highway and climbing on to a truck in front of the bus. The context of situation is gradually built through the dialogues in the video. The first voice seems to be of the tourist or bus guide, who states, “They are not allowed in the country”, which further securitizes the identity of migrants. It establishes the migrants as a demonizing ‘Other’ that is significantly excluded from the ‘Self’ and needs to be feared. The dialogues that follow builds on the *demonizing* and *othering* references of the migrants, as it states, “Don’t panic, I have locked all the doors...” As the video progresses, more migrants appear on the road and the guide again instructs the tourists not to panic. The sense of fear is also complemented with the reactions of the tourists, who can be heard expressing shock and dismay.

At the site of circulation, the video was first discussed on *Reddit* among the members of a community (also known as subreddit), *r/videos*. *Reddit* is a forum website, where users form or join communities based on personal interests and post related content in the form of links, texts, images, and videos within these communities. The community members of *r/videos* share interesting videos that they encounter online. At the time of

writing, *Reddit* was 20th most popular site in the world ("Alexa Top 500 Global Sites", 2019) and the *r/videos* community had 20.4 million members. The video generated around 5000 comments, with most of them expressing shock and acknowledging the threat of migrants. They referred the migrants as illegals, thieves, criminals, and free loaders, who will bring about the end of Europe.

On 15 June 2015, the video was part of mainstream broadcasting channels, such as the *Daily Mail* (Newton, 2015), *Sky News* (Tourists Shocked As Migrants Climb Into Lorry, 2015), *Telegraph* (Samuel, 2015), and the *Daily Express* (Gutteridge, 2015). Even though the *Daily Mail* is considered unreliable by other mass media outlets (Jackson, 2017), it is still the most widely read print newspaper and the second-most read digital newspaper in the UK (News consumption in the UK, 2018: 39, 41). Sensationalism and fear mongering are typical features of *Daily Mail's* narrative style and they often attempt to shock their readers through the title of their reports. In fact, the titles of *Daily Mail* are the most widely-read news title in the UK (2018: 41). For reporting the incident captured in the video, the *Daily Mail* uses a five line title followed by four key points (Figure 3.2).

Tourists' terror at Calais: Coach passengers capture shocking footage as migrants surround their vehicle and smash their way onto a lorry heading to the UK

- Footage shows migrants breaking into the back of a moving lorry in Calais
- At least six men climb inside the lorry which is waiting in traffic at the port
- The clip was filmed by shocked tourists on a coach travelling to the UK
- Coach's tour guide has to reassure passengers by telling them not to panic

Figure 3.2: Screenshot of the headline used by Daily Mail to describe Jenny's video

The title and the key points portray the situation in Calais as alarming and lawless. In line with their characteristic narrative style, the *Daily Mail* presents a detailed account of the video and also reveals the identity and background of the creators of the video.

The creators are travel bloggers, who had also written about their experience from the video on their blog, which provides more alarming details from the incident⁶. The *Daily Mail* replicated the contents of the blog in their report and supplemented it with a context that describes the Calais situation as extremely dangerous for truck drivers. In the following days, the *Daily Mail* used the video and screenshots from the video in four of its reports related to Calais migrant situation (Allen, 2015; Burrows, 2015; Crone, 2015; McLelland, 2015).

The video also attracted the response⁷ of Charlie Elphicke, the Conservative MP for Dover, who used the video to illustrate the deteriorating security situation in Calais. Thus, Jenny's video served as heuristic artefact for securitizing moves mobilized by *Daily Mail* and Elphicke.

The publicity around Calais situation was further amplified by the strikes conducted on 23 June 2015 by the workers of MyFerryLink, who blocked the Calais highway. The protests caused huge traffic, which helped the migrants to board the stationary trucks. The *BBC* provided a visual coverage of the events through a helicopter (Migrants jump on lorries at Calais, 2015).

The *BBC* has the highest audience reach in the UK among all platforms (News consumption in the UK, 2018: 8) and also considered the most reliable news source (News consumption in the UK, 2018: 137). The *BBC*'s reputation and its balanced stance on the Calais migrant situation can influence the viewers to interpret the events in the video as factual and convincing. The immediate text in the visual are the title and the description. The title confirms the involvement of Calais migrants, thus removing any ambiguity surrounding the identity of the participants. The immediate text uses non-securitizing terms, such as "try to board lorry", and "waiting for a chance to cross the Channel." The language tries to tame the sense of urgency created through the spatial organisation of the visual.

Using a helicopter, the *BBC* provided an aerial perspective of the Calais migrant situation. In the discourse of refugee crisis, aerial perspectives have usually been used to depict the magnitude of the crisis, which can be articulated with contrasting effects. For

⁶ The blog link, forpureadventure.com, is not operational anymore

⁷ See Twitter post, <https://twitter.com/CharlieElphicke/status/610702554423558144>

example, the UNHRC used drone footage in Myanmar to depict the fleeing Rohingyas and thereby trigger the sense of urgency around the issue (Villanueva, 2017). But drone footages of large groups of refugees can also create opposite effects than intended. The drone visuals captured at the Slovenia-Croatia border, where hundreds of refugees are seen crossing the border through farmlands (Refugees on Slovenia-Croatia border – drone video footage, 2015) have often been used by conservative and refugee sceptic channels as a symbol of invasion (Narkowicz, 2018: 358). An overview of the comments in the left-leaning *Guardian*'s publication of the video (Refugees on Slovenia-Croatia border – drone video footage, 2015) demonstrates a dominant pattern in the interpretation of the depiction. In the *BBC* visual, the camera zooms on a group of migrants attempting to get into a lorry, then zooms out and zooms in on another group of migrants. The *BBC* captures the migrants in acts that are socially considered as illegal and thereby facilitates a narrative, which is easier to criminalize the migrants. For viewers, the high angle of the aerial footage makes the objects and people on the ground look insignificant and powerless (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006: 140). It provides viewers with a broader perspective of the events compared to dashcams or footages that present events from an eye-level perspective.

The sense of urgency created by the video was demonstrated by the subsequent reactions of the political leaders. The following day, there was a discussion in the UK Parliament regarding the Calais situation. The discussion⁸ (Prime Minister's Questions: 24 June 2015, 2015) was initiated by the opposition member of the Labour Party, Harriet Harman, who described the events as chaotic and intimidating and referred the migrants as illegally crossing into the UK. The Prime Minister, David Cameron, responded by describing the scenes that he had witnessed as totally unacceptable. Cameron articulated the Calais situation as a security threat from illegal migrants and proposes the Immigration Bill as an extraordinary measure to counter this threat. The use of terms, such as “scenes” and “witness” resonates with a description of a visual memory. Though, Cameron and Harman don't specifically mention *BBC* as the source of their visual memories, the depictions in the visuals closely relate to their responses (Calais scenes unacceptable – Cameron, 2015; Robinson, 2015).

⁸ To view the discussion, watch the video from 2:30 to 5:25.

On 20 August 2016, France and UK signed a joint security agreement (Joint Ministerial Declaration on UK/FRENCH Co-operation, 2015). The details of the meeting (Bernard Cazeneuve and Theresa May visit Calais, 2015) frames the Calais situation as “a joint battle.” The agreement is distinctive and unique in nature as it deploys British police officers in Calais to address the threat of migrants. The agreement is aimed at improving the security situation at Calais. The *Guardian*, which is usually pro-migrant in its political stance, also frames the migrant activity as illegal and criminal (Khomami, 2015), which facilitates a wider portrayal and intersubjective understanding of Calais situation as a security threat.

3.3.2 Phase 2: 21 August 2015 to 3 March 2016

After improved security measures, there were comparatively less mass media reports of Calais migrant crimes until September 2016. The population in the Calais camps kept increasing and by October 2016, the total number of migrants in the Calais camps was up to 6000. The Calais mayor, Natacha Bouchart, reiterated the need for Army’s intervention to handle the Calais situation⁹. The month of November 2016 witnessed almost daily clashes between the police and the migrants. Reports of this clashes were constantly published in the mainstream media. Truck drivers also started sharing more videos of migrants attacking trucks.

On 25 November 2015, Arpad Levente Jeddi, a Hungarian truck driver, uploaded a video on *YouTube* documenting his journey towards the Calais port. The original video link on *YouTube* is not available anymore but the video has been uploaded by other social media users. Due to the offensive language and provocative actions of Jeddi, the video and its mirror versions have been constantly removed by *YouTube* for violating its policy regarding hate speech. At the time of writing, the entire video can be viewed at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y9z1ghGoW2k>. The video includes some shocking scenes of migrants trying to break into trucks in broad daylight and Jeddi swerving dangerously towards the migrants. The video became viral on social media ("Trucker denies driving at migrants", 2015; Hunter, 2015) and before it was taken off *YouTube*, it had garnered around 4.4 million views. Jeddi’s video highlighted the problems faced by

⁹ See Twitter post, <https://twitter.com/NatachaBouchart/status/656164834267045888>

truck drivers in Calais and also regenerated the sense of criticality around the Calais migrant situation.

Before the video became viral, Jeddi was relatively unknown to the viewers and therefore, a first-time viewer would probably be unaware of Jeddi's political opinions and viewpoints. Thus, first-time viewers were unlikely to be influenced by Jeddi's earlier videos or posts. The epistemic-political claims associated with the genre of amateur visual lays particular conventions on the viewer on how to interpret an amateur video. As noted in Chapter 1, the genre of amateur visuals carry a sense of authenticity and immediacy. Jeddi uses a dashcam to create the video. Drivers use dashcams to keep digital evidence of their drives (Chapman, 2016: 3) as the video footage proves useful for drivers to claim insurance during instances of accidents and also exposes fraudsters trying to extract money from a false crash. Dashcam footages are usually shared on the internet only when they capture something extraordinary or irregular (2016: 3). Thus, a viewer, who starts to watch a dashcam footage on the internet expects to see something unusual or shocking. The technological and social viewing conventions associated with genre of dashcams, thus adds to the immediacy factor in Jeddi's video. The dashcam projects the events from a driver's viewpoint. The viewing angle of the dashcam can make the viewers to subconsciously identify themselves not just as the driver, but also as the 'Self' in relation to the migrants as 'Others'.

It should also be noted that most of the viewers became aware of Jeddi's video through secondary sources such as mass media and social media platforms. Therefore, the political stances of these secondary sources could impose certain pre-conceived notions on the viewers before they encounter the video. For example, as noted in chapter 3.3.1, *Daily Mail* has a reputation to publish sensationalized content that often projects migrants in a negative light (Greenslade, 2016). Therefore, the viewers who are familiar with *Daily Mail's* publishing style will expect to see a negative coverage of migrants in the video. Similarly, viewers who are familiar with *Guardian's* left-wing spin on news, will expect to see migrants to be shown in a positive light when they encounter Jeddi's video. The reputation of these secondary sources act only as facilitating factors for politicization or securitization around any issue. The political stance or the brand image of the secondary sources alone cannot generate a political or security meaning by themselves and cannot call for an explicit policy.

The video is titled, “Calais Emigrant vs Drivers and EUROPA.” The title is one of the primary immediate texts for this video and it makes a clear reference to the Calais migrant situation. The use of “vs” in the title creates a sense of confrontation. It pits the migrants not just against truck drivers but also Europeans. By using the term “Drivers and Europa”, Jeddi indicates how he views the migrants. He sees the migrants not just as a threat to himself but as a threat to Europe. The identity of European people constitutes a larger collective subject compared to the truck drivers in Calais and is also a referent object that has already been securitized. Therefore, constructing a threat against Europe rather than truck drivers in Calais creates a wider *audience* for securitization of Calais migrants.

The identity of migrants as the ‘Other’ was already established in the title and it is further reinforced as Jeddi utters the word, “Immigrante.” As more people appear walking on the road, they are now seen through the identity of “migrants” or “Calais migrants.” Viewers interpret visuals through established ways of seeing. The depictions and gestures of migrants in Jeddi’s video mimics the dominant visual representations as presented in chapter 3.1. The video has similar depictions of “large groups”, “people trying to climb onto the back of trucks”, “fences”, and “the presence of police officers”. These depictions reinforces the prior visual representations of Calais migrants prevalent in mass media and social media. The gesture of Jeddi and migrants in the video also plays a critical role in how the ‘Self’ and ‘Other’ might be interpreted in the video. There are multiple instances of migrants throwing or pretending to throw objects at trucks. These acts clearly violate the law, and therefore it makes the migrants look like criminals. Jeddi’s dangerous swerve towards the migrants generates immediacy as it indicates an attempt to run over the migrants. The spatial organization of the representation of migrants also enhances their othering. The high oblique angle from Jeddi’s viewing position creates a sense of detached and impersonal relation between the viewer and the migrants. Though the choice of this particular spatial organization is not deliberate, the high angle makes the migrants look insignificant.

The presence of fences and police officers serve as symbolic settings that creates the visual distinction between legal and illegal. Their presence indicates a precautionary measure against a threat. The symbolic setting in a visual also plays a role in creating immediacy. Vuori (2010: 262) argues that the use of symbolic settings in a visual can

complement a securitizing move. For nation-states, a border fence serves a symbolic setting, which cannot be violated. Any violation of this setting symbolizes a violation of sovereignty of the nation-state. Calais, being a border town, serves as a symbolic setting for securitization of migrants. Therefore, the depiction of migrants attacking trucks entering Britain creates a sense of urgency and insecurity. This makes it easier for Jeddi and also populist leaders, such as Nigel Farage to securitize the migrants in these settings. (Sandhu, 2015).

Jeddi's depiction of migrants resonates with the strategies of depictions propagated by European anti-immigrant actors, institutions, and discourses. The socio-political meanings attached to migrants in the context of European refugee crisis places the issue in a larger political debate and not just through a solitary event. But this debate can only happen at the site of circulation. Even though Jeddi attempts to politicize and securitize the issue of immigration, he needs *functional actors* and the *audience* at the site of circulation to acknowledge, publicize and recontextualize his securitizing moves.

Jeddi shares his video on *YouTube*, where viewers can acknowledge, reject or recontextualize his securitizing move. The site of circulation, such as *YouTube*, is a meeting point for the creators, functional actors, and the viewers of a visual. Jeddi's video needs to be a subject of debate amongst a significant section of viewers before it can attract the attention of news media outlets and social media channels. To analyse the initial interpretation and recontextualization of Jeddi's video, it will be helpful to look at the responses and activities surrounding the video since its publication. Jeddi shared his video on *YouTube* on 25 November 2015 and by 2 December 2015, it was a topic of discussion on the mainstream media. Therefore, to conduct this analysis, I did a *Google* and *Facebook* search for the terms, "Hungarian driver Calais", "Calais", "Calais truck driver", "Jeddi Calais", and "Calais migrants" between 25 November 2015 and 2 December 2015 to track how Jeddi's video was responded, interpreted and recontextualized by different audiences.

The following day after its publication, Jeddi's video was a topic of discussion on *Reddit* among the members of a community known as *r/Roadcam* ("[France] Driver of semi-truck had enough of migrants trying to get inside of his trailer: Roadcam", 2015). The community members of *r/Roadcam* share and discuss interesting road videos

usually captured from dashcams and at the time of writing, the community had 1.2 million subscribers. Jeddi's video generated around 200 comments in the *r/Roadcam* community with most of them expressing shock and empathy for the driver's actions towards the migrants. Jeddi's Hungarian commentary wasn't a barrier for the English-speaking users of the community as most of them seemed to be familiar with the political and social context of the events depicted in the video. Most of the users of the community approved Jeddi's actions and acknowledged the threat of migrants.

On 27 November 2015, *Breitbart*, a far-right news website, published a detailed report describing the events of the video (Lane, 2015). *Breitbart* is known to present news that often tend to be sensational, migrant-sceptic, fake news, pro-Brexit, and pro-Trump (Benkler *et al.* 2018) and their report on Jeddi's video maintains the same pattern. The title of the report quotes one of Jeddi's swearing dialogues¹⁰ from the video, where he threatens to kill the migrants. The title also projects Calais as a warzone. The report translates some of Jeddi's comments directed at the migrants, which had references to free-loading migrants, all-male refugees, and ISIS. By translating Jeddi's comments, *Breitbart* makes the video comprehensible for its English-speaking readers. Through the comments section, the users of *Breitbart* recontextualized the video by projecting the migrants as Muslim invaders. With regards to the European refugee crisis, discourses, such as free-loading migrants, Muslim invaders, and all-male refugees have been commonly observed in the comments section of news and posts related to European refugee crisis. These comments often refer that migrants are lazy young males looking to exploit the generous welfare system of the rich European countries (Ferreira, 2018). The discourse of all-male refugees can be attributed to conventional media's visual representation of refugees during the European refugee crisis, which has often lacked women and children. The constant absence of women and children in these visuals has reinforced the belief that the depicted men are economic migrants and not refugees fleeing war and persecution. The comments section in *Reddit* and *Breitbart* links clearly seem to indicate that belief.

The *Breitbart* link was further shared by a user in Mississippi gun owners' forum, *MSGO* ("A Muslim "refugee" reality check in Europe", 2015). Some users supported

¹⁰ *Breitbart* used the English translation of the dialogue in the title.

Jeddi's actions and linked the video through the discourses of all-male refugees and Muslim invasion, while some interpreted the invasion of Muslim migrants as an existential threat that legitimized the possession of guns. Being gun owners, many of them discussed the type of weapon to be used against the migrants. One user named *GunnyGene* linked Jeddi's video with an anti-migrant video that propagates the "Muslim Invasion" discourse. The video is provocatively titled, 'This Is The Most Disturbing Muslim Refugee Video You Will Ever See' and is in fact a mirror version of a viral video ("With Open Gates: [FULL AUDIO VERSION] The Forced Collective Suicide Of European Nations", 2015). The original video was created in 2015 by a *8chan* user named *Gex* and had around 4.5 million views before it was taken down by *YouTube* due to copyright issues ("With Open Gates: Racist Anti-Refugee Video Goes Viral", 2015). Since then, multiple mirror versions of the video have appeared on *YouTube* with the same and different titles. The video is a montage of selective footages from news reports, interviews, sermons, CCTVs and amateur videos that shows African and Muslim men creating mayhem and destruction throughout Europe (2015). Created against the backdrop of European refugee crisis, the video visually articulates the existential threat to Europe and Europeans if they accept Muslim refugees. The immediacy generated by the provocative actions and statements of the migrants are complemented by background rock music with intense tempo. It also consists visual patterns that enhance 'othering', such as the high-angle shots and large crowds. One of the clips in the video shows migrants running on the highway and jumping at the back of the trucks, which is quite similar to the actions of the Calais migrants depicted in Jeddi's video. The intertextual reference constructs a visual identity of Calais migrants, associating them with the disturbing actions of other migrants depicted in the video, "With Open Gates."

As Jeddi's video generated significant interest and discussion on social media, it started to attract mainstream media's attention. On 28 November, the *Daily Mail* published a report, detailing the events depicted in Jeddi's video (Hunter, 2015). The *Facebook* post ("Daily Mail", 2015) of the same report generated around 800 comments with most of them criticizing *Daily Mail* for using the term "helpless migrants" in its headline to refer Calais migrants. The choice of the term "helpless" is rather surprising considering *Daily Mail*'s reputation to demonize migrants and promote anti-immigration rhetoric.

But this is consistent with its “divide and conquer” tactics to incite racial hatred and attract angry comments to increase its website traffic (Watson, 2012). The report uses only one specific clip of Jeddi’s video, which shows him swerving towards the refugees and excludes other parts of the video that depicts the provocative behaviour of migrants. The accompanying report complements the selective footage as it securitizes the safety of migrants. Through selective footage and securitizing secondary immediate text, *Daily Mail* recontextualizes Jeddi’s video through its preferred meaning. But the recontextualization does not resonate with most of the readers as they reject the narrative propagated by *Daily Mail*.

By 30th November 2015, Jeddi’s video was picked up by most mainstream media channels, such as the *Guardian*, *Channel 4*, and the *Independent*. The *Guardian* published two reports (Elgot, 2015a; Elgot, 2015b) about the video. Both reports used only one portion of the video, which shows Jeddi swerving towards the migrants. The titles “Calais lorry driver's video shows swerve towards refugees” and “Lorry drivers warn of escalating violence with refugees in Calais” complement Jeddi’s swerving depiction. The first report (Elgot, 2015a) described the events in Jeddi’s video, whereas the second one (Elgot, 2015b) placed Jeddi’s video in a wider context of the clashes between truck drivers and migrants in Calais. The second report (2015b) maintains a balanced narrative as it shows perspectives from both the truck drivers as well as the migrants. The Channel 4 (“Channel 4 News”, 2015) and the *Independent* (Withnall, 2015) use the same cropped footage of Jeddi swerving at refugees in their reports. The swerving depiction is again highlighted and augmented through the title used by the *Independent* - “Video shows Hungarian lorry driver deliberately swerving at refugees in ‘Calais warzone.’” The accompanying report describes the events of the video but doesn’t mention the provocative gesture of migrants. Jeddi’s original securitizing move constructed migrants as a threat. But the cropped video and the secondary immediate text used by mainstream media in the form of titles and report recontextualized Jeddi’s security threat construction. Instead, the recontextualization presented the safety of migrants as a referent object and constructed Jeddi and lorry drivers as a security threat. The meaning generated through these reports associates Jeddi’s video with the left-wing and liberal narrative of Calais migrant situation, which claims that Calais migrants are attacked and racially abused by truck drivers and police authorities (Alakbarov, 2015;

Townsend, 2017). However, the comments sections of the above reports indicate that the recontextualization by the *Channel 4* and *Independent* didn't resonate with its audience. Most users highlighted the manipulation of the video's context through exclusion of provocative actions of the migrants.

The varying political orientation of viewers led to varying recontextualizations of Jeddi's video. Right-wing channels and anti-immigrant viewers recontextualized Jeddi's video as another visual evidence of "Muslim invasion" and "fake refugees." Viewers and media channels with pro-refugee opinions and left-wing views securitized Jeddi's provocative actions and words and highlighted the risks faced by refugees in Calais. Thus, the positive and negative publicity surrounding Jeddi's video, helped it to stay in the public limelight for some time as the cropped footage of Jeddi swerving towards refugees became an iconic gesture in the context of Calais migrant situation. This was evident in the subsequent news reports related to Calais migrant situation where Jeddi's cropped footage was regularly featured to illustrate the clashes between migrants and truck drivers (Elgot, 2015c; "'Like a warzone': Truck drivers at Calais fear for their lives as angry refugees attack", 2015). For Calais truck drivers trying to gain attention towards their safety and immigration critics, Jeddi's gesture became a poster to forward their discourses. Left-wing users and NGOs helping refugees, used Jeddi's gesture as a constant reminder to the public, mass media, and political authorities about the dangers faced by the migrants in Calais. Jeddi's video thus served as a heuristic artefact in new and recontextualized securitizing moves. Jeddi's video also demonstrated how visuals can travel across different language speakers without losing context.

Even though the video was part of mainstream media broadcasting, Jeddi's securitizing move lacked clear legitimization from a political actor. The crude language and the controversial gestures in the visual might have hindered a political acknowledgement of Jeddi's securitizing moves. With no political leaders using Jeddi's video as a reference to describe the Calais situation, the video gradually faded from discourses related to Calais migrant situation. But Jeddi's iconic gesture continued to be featured in Calais news and user-generated montages (E04 - "Free ride" - Refugee crisis in EU, 2016). The Calais migrant situation attracted significant responses from the French political authorities in February 2016, when the southern section of the camp were dismantled (Blamont, 2016).

3.3.3 Phase 3: 4 March 2016 to 26 October 2016

In August 2016, the population in Calais camps had reached an all-time high of 9100, which was more than 10% of the total Calais population (Calais: 'Migrants very aggressive', 2015). During the month of August 2016, new amateur visuals appeared online that showed migrants using new aggressive tactics to stop trucks. The migrants block the highway during the night with tree logs, branches, concrete blocks and other unknown objects. This forces the truck drivers to stop while migrants board the truck. If the drivers doesn't stop, they attack or threaten to attack the trucks with branches and other unknown weapons (2015). The Calais Mayor had already described the situation as uncontrollable and called for Army's intervention¹¹. She appealed to the authorities to dismantle the camps. As the Calais migrants became increasingly aggressive and desperate in their measures, there was also a significant increase in the mass media coverage that highlighted the urgency of the situation.

On 3 September 2016, the *Daily Mail* published a report (Powell *et al.* 2016) about how their journalists were injured in Calais due to a crash deliberately caused by migrants to create traffic. The detailed report includes graphic images of their journalists covered in blood and multiple videos illustrating their account. The report maintains *Daily Mail's* conventional scaremongering narrative style as it uses a four line title followed by four key points of the report (Figure 3.3). The title uses terms, such as “carnage”, “jungle migrant gangs”, “covered in blood”, “narrowly escaping death”, and “ambush.” To create further immediacy, the word “Ambush” is emphasized in capital letters.

Carnage in Calais: Horrific crash as jungle migrant gangs target tourists in cars in terrifying new AMBUSH technique that left our journalists covered in blood after narrowly escaping death

- Ruthless gangs deliberately causing crashes on the roads to the French port by hurling large objects at cars
- Home Secretary Amber Rudd has spoken out after a team of journalists narrowly escaped death last week
- Reporter Ben Ellery and photographers Steve Burton and John McLellan were all injured
- They had been investigating a shocking explosion of violence at the squalid migrant camp

Figure 3.3: Screenshot of the headline used by Daily Mail

¹¹ See Twitter post, <https://twitter.com/NatachaBouchart/status/765532547988254720>

Before providing details of the accident, the report starts with an overview of the Calais situation and lists numerous incidents, where migrants have attacked trucks and cars. The migrants are demonized and constructed as a security threat through terms, such as “intimidating”, “ruthless gangs”, and “masked men”, who use “menacing new tactics”, and “tools including chainsaws, metal bars, machetes, petrol bombs and tree logs” to attack British citizens heading back home. To strengthen its description of Calais situation as chaotic and lawless, the report uses the statements of local authorities, British tourists and lorry drivers as testimonials. The report creates a sense of urgency around the Calais situation, which needs urgent measures to address the security of British citizens threatened by the migrants. The story of the accident is then described through the backdrop of this securitized setting. The story introduces the journalists as “one of the million Britons” who pass through Calais and therefore, also as a member of the Self. The rest of the report presents a detailed account of the journalists’ experience at the spot of the accident and the hospital. The report ends with the response of Conservative MP for Dover, Charlie Elphicke, who acknowledges the security threat posed by migrants and calls for the Army and the Navy to address the situation. The report also mentions of a direct response from the then Home Secretary, Amber Rudd to the accident. But Rudd’s response cannot be verified online and therefore is considered invalid for the purpose of this analysis.

The report uses alarming images and videos from the accident and the hospital. Images from the accident depict crashed car surrounded by police officers and journalists standing beside the road and bleeding from the face. The hospital images show the journalists lying on the bed with blood on their face. There are also two videos in the report. The first video consists scenes from the accident spot, which shows policemen assisting one of the journalists away from the crashed car. The depictions from the images and first video are graphic in nature and therefore, easily create a sense of immediacy. The injured journalists are depicted in close shots and make direct contact with the viewer. The immediate text has already constructed the journalists as part of the Self and the close shot further strengthens this identity representation. The direct gaze of the journalists with blood covered faces invites the viewer to identify and be concerned with their situation. The second video in the report depicts an earlier investigation conducted by the same journalists to capture the violent acts committed by

the Calais migrants. The video shows three migrants blocking their car and a truck with tree branches. The migrants are then seen instructing the truck driver to stop as they attempt to climb on to the truck. But they fail in their attempt as the truck driver refuses to halt and drives over the branches. The act of migrants resembles the dominant visual representation of Calais migrants, who are often seen as walking on the highway, threatening drivers, and climbing on to trucks.

The report also uses a non-related migrant image to build an intertextual reference. As seen in Figure 3.4, the top image shows journalists covered in blood followed by the immediate text, "...The violence of the migrants..." This is followed by a random image of two migrants captured from a low angle. The placing of these two images is similar to a comic book narration style, where visual frames are placed side by side to construct a narrative. The first frame shows two journalists, John McLellan (on the left) and Ben Ellery (on the right) covered in blood. Ellery is positioned closer to the viewer and can be seen more clearly due to the light on his face whereas McLellan has comparatively less light on his face and is seen looking at Ellery with concern. This spatial organization and composition makes Ellery the main subject of this frame. Therefore, his features and actions will attract the maximum attention of the viewer. Ellery makes an indirect gaze with the viewers and coaxes the viewers to see things from his perspective. According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006: 119), represented participants that address the viewer indirectly, offer themselves as objects of information and contemplation. Ellery's indirect gaze implies that he has some information that he wants to offer to the viewer. This information is constructed through the immediate text, "...The violence of the migrants..." followed by the frame of migrants. The sequential placing of the frames thus visually summarizes a narrative that Ellery and his colleague were attacked by migrants.

Both migrants make indirect gaze with the viewer while one of the migrants is seen smiling. The low angle creates an impression that the viewer is powerless compared to the migrants (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006: 140). The indirect gaze diverts the viewers' attention to other aspects of the image, such as, the barbed wire and the presence of police officers behind the migrants. As seen in Jeddi's visual analysis, the barbed wire and police officers act as symbolic settings, where they establish a visual distinction between legal and illegal. The migrants in this frame are visually deemed illegal.



David Sagnard, president of the local branch of France's national federation of lorry drivers, said: 'The violence of the migrants has not gone up by a notch, but by ten'



Figure 3.4: Screenshot of the *Daily Mail* report showing two non-related images placed together

At the site of circulation and audiencing, the story didn't spread widely through mass media but it gained the attention of actors with significant positional power, namely the *BBC* and the Conservative MP for Dover, Charlie Elphicke. The *BBC* published a report (Protesters blockade Calais over migrants, 2016) about the protests organized by Calais farmers, lorry drivers, local traders, and trade unions, who were affected by Calais migrants. The protesters blocked the main route to Calais port demanding the closure of the migrant camp in Calais. The report mentioned that the Calais migrants had becoming increasingly violent and used new aggressive techniques to get into trucks.

The report linked *Daily Mail*'s story as an example to illustrate the new techniques used by migrants. Thus, the *Daily Mail*'s securitizing narration was legitimized by the *BBC*, whose popularity and reputation as a neutral media broadcaster is fairly established. The *BBC* also helped to disseminate *Daily Mail*'s report to a wider section of audience.

Elphicke legitimizes *Daily Mail*'s securitizing narrative through his positional power as a political leader. Elphicke published his response through an article in the *Daily Mail* (Elphicke, 2016) and also tweeted about it¹². Referring the accident of journalists as an escalation of Calais migrant situation, he presents the migrants as a serious security threat to truck drivers and travellers driving along Calais. By citing other horrific experiences of drivers, he creates a sense of urgency around the threat of Calais migrants. He argued that if the issue is not resolved through the routine procedures of dismantling the migrant camp, extraordinary measures, such as calling the Royal Navy and the French Army will be required to address the issue (2016).

The issue is further escalated as the local residents, trade unions, and truck drivers block the Calais highway on 5 September 2016. The protests attract prime time coverage of major mainstream media channels (Protesters blockade Calais over migrants, 2016) and intensifies pressure on the UK government to act. On 7 September 2016, the UK government proposed that it will build a 13 feet wall to block the migrants from entering the highway. The securitizing moves employed by various actors in this securitized setting were apparently quite effective in creating a sense of urgency as the work on the wall began within two weeks of its announcement (Work begins on UK-funded Calais wall, 2016).

3.4 Summary

The gesture of migrants breaking into trucks had become a visual poster to signify the Calais migrant situations. The visuals in all three phases follow and enhance the pre-existing dominant visual representation of Calais migrants. The visuals' genre and the reputation of its creator helped to facilitate the immediacy created in the spatial organization and primary immediate text of the visual, which demonstrated and constructed the violent acts of migrant crime as a security threat. But the intersubjective

¹² See Twitter post, <https://twitter.com/CharlieElphicke/status/772344920661196801>

understanding of the Calais migrants as a security threat was constructed only at the sites of circulation.

Viral amateur videos from truck drivers and tourists, such as Jeddi and Jenny, generated significant amount of public discussion in online communities around the issue of migrants. The online discussion around amateur visuals also forced mainstream media to report on it thereby increasing the publicity around the threat of migrants. The public discussion on social media communities and forums, such as *Reddit* are instrumental in attracting visibility for amateur visuals, which help to gain the attention of mainstream media, who served as functional actors. *Daily Mail* was the key functional actor during the analysed period as it constantly recirculated amateur visuals shared by truck drivers and also published securitizing reports with visuals that stimulated fear and insecurity around the issue of Calais migrant situation. The local political leaders acted as audience, functional, and securitizing actors as they acknowledged the securitizing moves of the public and then enhanced it through their positional power. They constantly securitized the security situation in Calais by demanding the Army's intervention. Their appeals helped to gain attention and create urgency around the issue of Calais migrants.

The threat of migrants was clearly evident through the visuals and thus didn't need much of a construction. In Balzacq's (2011: 12) terms, these are "brute threats", which doesn't entail a linguistic construction. The publicity of this brute threat was rather more crucial in this case to attract the significant political responses. The Calais situation was intersubjectively understood as a security issue, which led to adoption of measures to address the issue. The presence of riot police and increasing security might be argued a partial success for the securitizing moves employed by the truck drivers as the threat of Calais migrants is still persistent for truck drivers and local residents even after the demolition of the Calais camps in October 2016 (Truck drivers still being attacked on daily basis in Calais, say RHA).

Conclusion

This thesis set out to address the lack of theoretical and methodological elements to analyse the impact of visuals used by securitizing actors. Therefore, this thesis had two main objectives. First, to present a visual securitization framework that can analyse how discourses of security are constructed through visuals. This was achieved by drawing insights from Rose's (2016) critical visual methodology that theorises a visual's journey along its production, circulation, and consumption stages of meaning-making. The discourses of security threat are intersubjectively constructed at the visual's four sites, namely production, visual itself, circulation, and audiencing. These discourses are analysed through a visual's spatial structure, primary and the secondary immediate text, which serve as the key units of analysis for analysing the visuals of Calais migrant situation shared by truck drivers, travellers, and mass media. The visual securitization framework and methodology developed in this thesis equips ST with a multimodal analytical model to analyse the security threat of Calais migrants constructed through visuals and texts.

The *context* of securitizing moves in the Calais migrant situation determined the necessary measures to address the threat, which were routine and non-exceptional. It demonstrated how securitization is not necessarily characterized by the adoption of an extraordinary measures. The inconsistent implementation of necessary measures by the main political authorities to address the threat of migrants in Calais meant that there was a recurring pattern of securitizing moves mobilized by truck drivers, travellers, and local residents that articulated the threat of migrants, which were often illustrated through visuals. These visuals were aimed at creating a public awareness around the deteriorating security situation in Calais and thereby pressurize the government to take the necessary measures.

Therefore, the second aim of thesis was to explore how securitizing actors with insignificant positional power, such as truck drivers and travellers use visuals as heuristic artefact to facilitate the saliency of their securitizing moves. The amateur visuals shared by truck drivers and travellers created a sense of immediacy that attracted the public attention towards the threat of Calais migrants. *Functional actors*, such as mass media, local politicians, and social media communities regulate this public

attention as they possess the positional power to recirculate and recontextualize the visual to a wider audience. Therefore, for actors with insignificant positional power, visuals help to facilitate the saliency of their securitizing moves as they are effective in gaining the attention of functional actors and subsequently a wider public and significant political response.

In addition to the use of visuals, the Calais migrant situation also demonstrated that local political actors constantly appealed for extraordinary security measures to gain attention of their main government and senior politicians. This indicated that suggesting extraordinary measures can be an effective heuristic artefact to augment securitizing moves especially for political actors, who are not the decision makers to address a particular threat.

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