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Anti-Racist Video Activism: Framing and production of new knowledges that challenge the post-truth hegemonic project

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Anti-Racist Video Activism:

Framing and production of new knowledges that challenge the post-truth hegemonic project

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ABSTRACT

In recent years, the rise of right-wing populism and post-truth politics has created a dangerous cocktail, enabling 'immigration' and 'anti-racism' to be framed within dominant political and media coverage in such a way that it stigmatises and marginalises foreign nationals migrating to the United Kingdom, replicating social injustice. Several activist groups within the broader anti-racist movement are engaging in contemporary forms of video activism alongside protest action to resist and challenge these frames and framing processes.

This thesis makes the necessary four-way theoretical and methodological links between hegemony, qualitative frame analysis, video activism and knowledge production to explore the ways in which dominant framings of immigration are resisted by the broader anti-racist movement. Using a broad framework combining film theory/studies and cinematography, the analysis of the visual strategies employed by eight activist groups within this movement within video activist footage disseminated on YouTube and Facebook provides unique insights into the groups themselves, and the various stylistic, shot, angling, sound and editing strategies employed that open up opportunities for framing. A further qualitative, and discursive, frame analysis explores the various frames that are used by the groups through video activism itself; *persecution*, *hardship*, *heroism*, *empowerment*, *incompetence* and *anti-racism*; producing different new knowledges surrounding organisational knowledges of the movement (including collective identity), social injustice in general, dominant hegemonic narratives, and, most importantly, the struggles of migrants and refugees.

In doing so, it makes significant contribution to knowledge by proposing three unique typologies to demonstrate how the contemporary hegemonic post-truth narratives surrounding immigration can be, and are being, resisted in order to reinforce social justice.

Keywords: Video activism, anti-racism, immigration, hegemony, framing, social movements, knowledge production, qualitative research, visual analysis, frame analysis, social justice.

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I, Vardan "Dan" Petrosian, declare that all the material contained in this thesis is my own work.

Dedicated to my grandmother, Larisa Karapetyan Bagratovna, who sadly passed away before its completion. You will always be my guiding light, my source of strength, hope and resilience.

PREFACE

I began this research with a passion for activism, having previously identified as an anti-establishment and anti-capitalism activist. My experience as a former member of the Anonymous hacktivist collective fuelled my interest in bringing my experiences of taking part in numerous masked demonstrations, acts of civil disobedience, and other adhoc activities which made up the collective direct action strategy of the movement, into academia. This has been fascinating. During my time with the Anonymous collective, most (if not all) demonstrations I attended as an activist had a general anti-capitalist narrative, where specific grievances were aimed directly at the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition government's introduction of punitive Austerity measures after the 2008 Financial Crisis; their neoliberal economic model fuelled cuts to public services and welfare, becoming the broad blame for the suffering many people were enduring during this time. In the several years leading on from my undergraduate studies, however, I began to notice shifts in the 'collective' identity of the movement members. The core anti-capitalist narrative had gradually shifted to one that focused on anti-establishmentism and anti-elitism in a much more broader sense; the scope was widened considerably. Now you could argue that this is not necessarily a huge difference from the original narrative (considering the neoliberal and pro-capitalist stance of the establishment of the time) but, over time, many from the movement who I knew socially began to associate the aims of the movement with a renewed 'project' that had been gaining political traction during that time: the desire for a British withdrawal from the European Union. At this point it was still unclear to me why there was so much focus on the European Union when we were still chanting for freedom, social justice, fairness and true participatory democracy during demonstrations. It was not until the blame for the welfare cuts shifted from focusing on the current government to an obsession with the presence of foreign nationals (whether from the European Union or elsewhere) did I realise that the entire discursive field had been overtaken. It was not long after this, in 2014, that many members of the collective began ascribing the 'solution' to our social suffering to withdrawing from the European Union, with anti-immigration and anti-EU chants becoming more frequent during demonstrations. This became a significant turning point in my activist identity, one that led me to question the premise of what 'freedom', 'social justice', 'fairness' and 'participatory democracy' actually mean.

In reality, those words had since been 'hijacked' by right-leaning movements and right-wing politicians; deconstructed and then reconstructed, rearticulated, reframed, to place the blame for society's woes onto people who had innocently travelled from one country to another to escape persecution, or in search of opportunity or a better life for themselves and their families. *Freedom* no longer meant striving for people to be free to identify as who they were without persecution, stigma or marginalisation – it meant being free from the 'shackles' of some kind of unknown 'European project'. *Social justice* no longer meant collectively fighting for the rights of our minoritised friends, family and communities – it meant fighting for the rights of the British 'native' against infiltration by the foreigner. *Fairness* no longer related to the equal treatment between people of different identities – but a system which should favour the British 'native' over all others. *Participatory democracy* no longer referred to the strategic method through which all of these things can be established within our state – but a tool through which to end our membership of the EU: a 'people's referendum'. As a racially minoritised migrant, it was inevitable that many of these reframed values would apply to my own legitimacy to coexist with the 'native' in this "newly-formed" post-Brexit Britain. Therefore, my own racial identity took precedence over my desire to be anti-establishment, since it was clear that identifying with anti-establishmentism depended on a common, shared, understanding of *who* the establishment actually are. Far from my reality of the establishment; a right-wing government made up of private-school prefects trying to force neoliberalism down our throats, along with all the values associated with it (economic selfishness and greed; little care for society or community), the Brexit debate reframed the establishment as basically being anyone that opposed Britain's exit from the EU; anyone supporting migration; anyone engaging in 'political correctness' or 'woke culture' – both misused concepts that actually refer to striving for fair treatment of minoritised groups. It became clear to me that anti-establishmentism was simply just an empty or floating signifier; something that had no real meaning until one was ultimately attached to it (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). This led me to develop an increased interest in trying to understand *how* this type of reframing takes place in practical terms. Situating this problem through the lens of Gramscian hegemony throughout this thesis has been particularly useful. It has allowed me to appreciate the mechanisms through which 'common-sense' can be understood and the way the discourses contained within this 'common-sense' narrative can be articulated in order to build consensus across large swathes of

society. Reading and understanding about hegemony led to many late-night instances of curiously, scrolling back through the swathes of media reports surrounding immigration to try to visualise the drip-feeding process of reframing those societal values in a chronological fashion.

Having based my Master's thesis on whether the Occupy London movement could be classified as a 'new' social movement, I had previous theoretical knowledge of social movements in a broader sense; affordances, pitfalls, limitations and gaps associated with traditional approaches like resource mobilisation, political opportunity structures, overemphasis on collective action, and so on. Contemporary debates in the field of social movement theory have, in some ways, moved beyond these traditional ideas, as well as the continuous focus on 'new' social movements, almost into a post-social-movement realm where there seems to be a higher methodological, and less theoretical, focus on practices. Owing to my noticing how concepts can easily be overtaken and reframed to ascribe alternative meanings (often with an aim to further right-leaning political ideology), my conceptualisation of the anti-racist movement as being 'progressive' is deliberately vague in its theoretical positioning so as to alleviate potential debates in future studies on the political appropriateness (or lack thereof) of using the term 'progressive' in this context. The focus on the anti-racist movement specifically was sparked through my sense of identity as a racially minoritised migrant, having experienced both individualised and deeply rooted structural racism throughout my academic and work life. As a result, the process of engaging in both visual and frame analysis of video footage came with quite personal challenges; watching and listening to experiences of racism, trauma and victimisation of migrants often led to my reliving of some of the experiences that my family and I endured as first-generation migrants in the United Kingdom. Reflecting critically on this experience, it is important that I also acknowledge that the subjectivity of my own experiences played a part in shaping the interpretation and analytical discussion of the video activist frames and framing processes. To alleviate this, I engaged in a process of voice-centred watching of the videos. Based on Mauthner & Doucet's (2003) ideas surrounding voice-centred reading, this process involved watching the video once for myself and making notes on personal observations and thoughts, and then watching a second time to make notes on both visual strategies employed, but also exactly what is contained/said within the video. Doing this allowed me to visualise in a more practical sense how my initial assumptions can affect my interpretations of

the content and/or impact the analytical process in general.

In the initial stages of my research, I had planned to triangulate the frame analysis of video footage with other methods, including ethnographic participant observation of meetings, demonstrations, rallies, and other ad-hoc activities organised by the various activist groups. This was driven by the theoretical framework having had a strong focus on activist practices, and was to also include semi-structured interviews with video activist members of the respective groups to understand the ways in which they interpret the frames themselves. These plans later changed due to the global Covid-19 pandemic that peaked during the research period, which meant that many planned protests, rallies and meetings were cancelled, and interviewing became difficult and often impossible, due to personal circumstances of the activists of interest. This was entirely understandable, and something I could empathise with, given my own struggles with mental health during the multiple nationwide Covid-19 lockdowns that impacted my research and writing process. Other policies also contributed, but in short, the original plan was no longer feasible and the theoretical and methodological premise of the thesis was appropriately revised to incorporate a new narrative, one which focused more centrally on the visual and framing of the video activist footage; the knowledges this helps to produce, with of course *some* acknowledgement of the usefulness of studying activist media practices, which has formed part of my recommendations for those seeking to do similar research in future studies. Nevertheless, while the process of conducting this research over its four-year span has been, at times, very challenging, it has proven to be very fruitful in the quantity and quality of video data available on the respective activist groups' social media sites, and the substantial insight it provides on the visual and framing strategies employed by these groups through video activism.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Problem

Immigration has been a hot topic of research in many disciplines for many years since the atrocities of the Second World War, not only in terms of the displacement of individuals from totalitarian regimes, war-stricken nations, or persecution in their home countries, but also in connection to those who are in search of better opportunities not otherwise available to them. Stigmatisation and marginalisation of immigrant communities is also not new. There is a vast historical body of research surrounding racism with particular emphasis on immigration and general societal responses to this issue. Several social movements have traditionally led the resistance against the unfair and (in many cases) racist depiction of immigrants and immigration in general, racism that dominated Western nations for many centuries. Despite the continuous progress of these movements in shaping how we understand immigration and racism, in recent years the world has seen an unprecedented and alarmingly sharp rise in racist and anti-immigrant rhetoric which transcends the traditional target on skin colour and is accompanied by divisive discourses depicting an 'us' vs 'them' narrative grounded upon religious, cultural and national differences. It is on these contentious grounds that resisting and challenging the contemporary narrative becomes all the more important in working towards rebuilding and ultimately maintaining the moral values of community, respect, love and compassion becomes all the more important. In line with well-known discourse associated with social movement studies, 'the personal is political' (Srivastava, 2006), this type of social research is of particular interest to me as an racially minoritised Armenian academic in the United Kingdom.

1.2 Underlying Aim and Question

The aim of this thesis is *to explore the ways in which dominant narratives surrounding immigration are understood and challenged through progressive activism*. In doing so, it can make a positive contribution towards the empowerment of those facing these struggles.

The underlying research question this thesis addresses is *how are activist groups within the broader anti-racist movement in the United Kingdom resisting or challenging dominant hegemonic narratives through framing within video activist footage?* More nuanced research questions have been derived from the review of literature in the fields of interest (see **3.6 Research Questions**).

1.3 Contributions to Knowledge

With the exception of the Black Lives Matter activist group, little academic research has been conducted on the various groups that form part of the contemporary progressive anti-racist movement in the United Kingdom.

Similarly, studies have not made the necessary four-way theoretical *and* methodological connections between Gramscian hegemony, Snow & Benford's form of frame analysis, social movement knowledge production and video activism. Research linking one or more of these fields tend to either veer towards a Laclau & Mouffean analysis of hegemony and counterhegemony, engage in quantitative forms of frame analysis or overemphasise the importance of activist (media) practices. This thesis is significant in its theoretical and methodological application of these four nuanced fields of research.

This thesis is significant also in its empirical contributions to knowledge through analysis and discussion of the various visual strategies employed within video activist footage produced by activist groups within the broader anti-racist movement in the United Kingdom, and the analysis of the frame and framing processes utilised throughout these videos. In emphasising the role of this movement as knowledge producers themselves, it outlines the various existing and alternative knowledges that are produced, or contributed to, through video frame alignment processes which help to resist and challenge dominant 'common sense' understandings surrounding immigration.

1.4 Thesis Structure

The first chapter has introduced this thesis, outlining the underlying problem surrounding stigmatisation of migrants, the key aim and research questions that this research will be addressing, and the unique contribution that it makes to knowledge.

Chapter 2: 'Background and Context' situates the current discursive realm surrounding immigration within the contemporary sociopolitical context, which uncovers a parallel rise of right-wing populist discourse and post-truth politics, allowing for stigmatisation of migrants to be continuously replicated within British politics and throughout right-leaning media coverage of immigration.

Chapter 3: 'Theoretical and Conceptual Framework' provides a thorough and in-depth account of the framework that will ground the ways in which immigration is understood and conceptualised throughout the thesis. It does this through first appreciating the importance of Gramscian analyses of hegemony and the significance of subjective production of knowledge. It outlines Snow & Benford's (2000) work surrounding framing and frame analysis, and how this can be applied to understand the ways in which dominant 'common sense' understandings surrounding immigration engage in marginalisation and stigmatisation of migrant communities. Conceptualising race and racism, this chapter outlines the ways in which these dominant understandings have been previously challenged, and continue to be challenged, by anti-racist movements, with particular emphasis on drawing attention to the theoretical and methodological gaps in contemporary research in making the necessary links between Gramscian hegemony, Snow & Benford's frame analysis, video activism and knowledge production.

Chapter 4: 'Research Methodology and Methods' highlights the importance of the social constructionist epistemological and ontological grounding of this research, with emphasis on the entry into the 'field' as being a discursive, rather than physical or digital, one. Utilising a combination of multiple analytical frameworks, it grounds the importance of analysing both the visual and discursive elements of video activist footage produced by the various activist groups forming the broader anti-racist movement in the United Kingdom, while acknowledging the appropriate ethical issues considered throughout the research process, and some of the key challenges in conducting these analyses of content derived from social media and networking platforms.

Chapter 5: 'Visual Analysis' outlines the background of the different activist groups identified through the video data collection process, grounding their significance as part of the broader anti-racist movement through analysis and discussion of the various visual strategies that are employed within video activist footage that are portraying, or uploaded directly by, the respective groups. This chapter provides a unique insight into the individuals that engage in video activism within these groups, the groups' broader aims and objectives, potential availability of resources, and understanding of the target audiences of their social media platforms. It also provides a necessary and significant preface for acknowledging the ways in which opportunities for framing are opened up through an array of diverse and innovative visual strategies.

Chapter 6: 'Frame Analysis' serves as an important exploration of the frame and framing analysis applied to video activist footage within the broader progressive anti-racist movement in the United Kingdom. By delving into the intricacies of the various frames identified and providing a typology for future research, this chapter lays the foundation for an enhanced understanding of the knowledge production processes involved. Drawing on Snow & Benford's (2000) framework of frame alignment processes, it reveals the contributions and formation of anti-racist knowledge, while examining the interplay between frames through elements such as consistency, empirical credibility, and articulator credibility. By revealing the significance of framing within this context, this chapter sheds light on the complex dynamics that shape and resonate within the frames, offering valuable insights into this vital area of research.

Chapter 7: 'Conclusions and Future Recommendations' Chapter 7 presents the derived conclusions from the discussion sections of the empirical chapters, as well as the theoretical and conceptual framework. It recognizes the implications of these conclusions and their contributions to knowledge by directly addressing the research aims and questions.

2. BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

Without intending to delve back far into the realms of research surrounding British colonialism, it is important to acknowledge the role that this has played in the way in which immigration has been portrayed throughout the years, both in political and mainstream media coverage, as well as through public opinion. The work of Patel (2021) is instrumental in highlighting the core narrative behind negative immigration discourse, which is grounded upon the atrocious actions by the British Empire in Africa, India, China and various other areas across the globe, under the guise of promoting 'civilisation'. In reality, 'civilisation' was the dominant terminology used to mask deeply-rooted racism and a desire to maintain white supremacy, causing the inevitable displacement of millions of individuals from colonised states. This is the premise of the context which will be discussed in relation to the conceptualisation of racism and anti-racism in the following chapter (**3. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework**, see *3.1 Conceptualising Racism and Anti-Racism*).

2.1 The 'Catalyst'

The most immediate and contemporary context of this thesis is interested in the events following the 2008 Economic Crisis, since this is argued here as being the 'catalyst' of the way in which the dominant narrative which will be discussed later has arisen. Following the crisis, the United Kingdom and European governments engaged in a process of a bank 'bailout' using public taxpayer funds. In Britain, it was the then-Labour government under former Prime Minister Gordon Brown which made this decision, increasing the country's deficit, and the subsequent Conservative / Liberal Democrat coalition government (headed by former Prime Minister David Cameron) using the deficit as a justification for cuts to public services (BBC News, 2008, 2010; Hastings, 2008; Pimlott et al., 2010). Termed 'austerity cuts', the United Kingdom Coalition Government ensured that public sectors saw a crucial reduction in funds, ultimately compromising quality of care and service in the country's National Health Service and the Civil Service, which covers a range of public bodies including local councils (and schools), policing, judicial and legal work (and legal aid), armed forces and financial institutions. This had far-reaching consequences for benefits and social housing (Hamnett, 2014; Ridge, 2013), access to food (Dowler, 2014) basic healthcare in Britain and beyond (Legido-Quigley et al., 2013; Knapp, 2012), national security

(Hammerstad & Boas, 2015), youth justice (Yates, 2012), disability (Williams-Findlay, 2011), gender and self-identity (Durbin et al., 2017), education (Gateley, 2015; Youdell & McGimpsey, 2015), class relations (Atkinson et al., 2013), employment and unemployment (Lewis et al., 2017; Cunningham & James, 2014; Cunningham et al., 2016).

Directly following the crisis, a wave of discontent was sparked in many countries throughout Europe, the United States and Middle East, though in the case of the Arab Spring it was not just about this crisis. At the time of the uprisings, the aims seemed appealing for citizens in Western nations also in national crises, not due to repressive or totalitarian regimes, but supposedly democratic domestic policies patently disadvantaging those in most need of public services. Inspired by the Arab Spring, progressive social movements such as Anonymous, Occupy, Los Indignados (or 15M) and Put People First (PPF) were born, along with other movements across Greece, Ireland and Portugal, directly opposing the austerity measures (Ishkanian & Ali, 2018: 1). Consequently, each movement was a culmination of individuals with 'shared grievances around the status quo' (Ishkanian, 2019: 153). Many of those shared grievances focussed around notions of promoting the practice of direct and participatory democracy comprising of discussions, proposals, consensus, modifications and subsequent resulting actions (Castells, 2015). This rang particularly true in the case of the Occupy movement, which encompassed a decentralised, leaderless and (arguably) structureless model of action with a view towards shifting public acceptance away from the current failing system into more socially responsible methods of enacting both political and economic policy.

In parallel to the left-wing spectrum of grievances highlighted by social movements, there was a sharp rise in 'anti-elitist' sentiments on the political right, with one of its peaks in 2009 when the British National Party argued that the country's social, economic and political decline was not the result of mismanagement on the part of banks (or governments subsequently), but a direct result of an influx of non-natively-English individuals entering the country (Richardson & Wodak, 2009). As the biggest far-right Party of this time, the British National Party not only contributed to the production and reproduction of negative rhetoric in election campaigns and its manifesto, but was also allowed a public platform on BBC Question Time in October 2009 to disseminate them under the pretence of freedom of speech and expression.

Although support for the British National Party declined in the run-up to the 2010 General Election, the UK Independence Party (UKIP)'s close relationship with the British National Party (Goodwin, 2010) ensured that anti-immigration discourses gained broader ground and took on new forms, with the central focus being around the United Kingdom's membership of the European Union. The success of these discourses among some large groups of the British voting public led to their eventual adoption by more mainstream political parties, specifically the Conservative Party and the more centrist wing of the Labour and Liberal Democrat Parties, in an attempt to please their respective voters.

The Leave Campaign for the exit of the United Kingdom from the European Union harnessed many of these discourses in their attempt to influence public opinion. Right-wing populism was rife during the campaign as it was claimed on many occasions that a Brexit result would essentially 'stick two fingers up to the establishment' (Cockburn, 2019; Houghton, 2019, 2019; Moore, 2018). The combination of racist discourse in the campaign as well as in mainstream media coverage 'may have helped to build an image of [immigrants] as an out-group highlighting a divide along the liens of 'us' versus 'them' (Walter, 2019: 16). The campaign was rooted in discourses of exclusion, marginalisation and stigmatisation against those who were residing in the country by both legal and illegal means. This was not unique to the United Kingdom; racist discourses on immigration can be observed in political and social dialogue throughout EU member-states such as Spain, The Netherlands, France, Italy, Belgium and Germany (Flinders, 2018; Jovanovic, 2015; Wicks, 2018; Wodak, KhosraviNik, & Mral, 2013). Consequently, this helped shape the assumption that British voters were casting a vote against migration 'in general rather than against intra-EU migration' (p. 17). The right-leaning press, in particular, assisted in the perpetuation of some of the myths surrounding immigration. As Walter (2019) states:

> 'If media coverage contributed to creating the impression among citizens that their Leave vote was going to affect general migration levels, then this raises doubts about how well the media were able to fulfil one of their most important roles for the public there: To enable citizens to make an informed vote choice' (p. 17)

The role of media coverage in preserving, rather than challenging, the factual inaccuracies of some of the claims surrounding immigration leads one to question the basis of the free press in the United Kingdom generally. This will be explored in more

detail in the subsequent section surrounding post-truth politics and media 'objectivity'. However, the significance of the contribution by mainstream media outlets to the results of the EU Referendum cannot be understated. As Wright & Brookes (2019) note in relation to both the United Kingdom General Election in 2015 and the EU Referendum in 2016:

> 'it seems likely that the discriminatory press discourses that we have identified will have shaped many voters' opinions leading up to the point at which they entered the voting booth on these occasions' (p. 79)

Similarly, Conoscenti (2018) states:

> '*Vote Leave* has leveraged on a number of potential and unexpressed xenophobic issues already present in the British society, building on them and pushing them to the tipping point to generate an all-encompassing fear discourse' (p. 79)

Establishing a racist narrative on immigration as 'common sense' was not the only political tactic used throughout the Leave Campaign to influence voting in the EU Referendum. Many factually inaccurate claims were made in relation to the United Kingdom's potential exit from the EU, including assertions surrounding Turkey's inevitable and upcoming membership of the Union, the availability of funds post-Brexit which would be returned to the country's Treasury and subsequently used for funding the National Health Service and promises of a slick and swift deal with the EU which would avoid further recession (Bowcott, 2018; Khan, 2018). It is now clear that all of these statements were deliberately inaccurate and amounted to misinformation aimed at grounding a specific political agenda through public support. As argued previously, the growth of right-wing populism is simultaneously fuelled by a rise of post-truth politics, and the same vice versa, where both are utilising the advantages of the other in order to weave a complex and entangled 'new' form of racist 'common sense' narrative. The failure of the mainstream media to maintain objectivity in the light of this rise in both the United Kingdom and United States is fuelling the post-truth wave, allowing right-wing populist politicians to take advantage of this failure to reinforce *stigma reversal* in political and electoral campaigns. As Blinder & Allen (2016) argue:

> 'media influence may be significant not only for leading to more negative attitudes, but also for contributing to a split between public perceptions on the one hand and statistical and policy conceptions of migration on the other. This reflects a

profound disconnect between democratic publics and the elected officials charged with making policy to satisfy public demand' (p. 33)

This leads to a paradoxical situation in which the actions of the mainstream media are contributing to post-truth ideology through a refusal to challenge the factual basis of some the discourses used by right-wing populist politicians, while at the same time disseminating those exact discourses through a widening of the gap between media consumers and their elected representatives, fuelling an 'us' and 'them' narrative. This arguably constitutes to a failure on the part of the United Kingdom's free press to '*serve* the electorate by not providing necessary information' in coverage of both the Donald Trump election campaign and Leave Campaigns (Zelizer, 2018: 159). It is clear that the Leave Campaign aimed at removing the United Kingdom's membership of the European Union was a key event which illustrates the way in which dominant and racist discourses were produced and reproduced by right-wing populist politicians, and disseminated by mainstream media outlets, fuelling an ever-deepening post-truth realm of politics and social debate. More on the specific 'framing' of immigration will be explored in the following chapter (**3. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework**, see *3.3 Framing the 'Common-Sense' Narrative*).

2.2 Nationalism and the Right-Wing Press

It is widely accepted that media discourse is the primary source of the knowledge, attitudes and ideologies of its consumers (Van Dijck, 2000: 36), and so it is not implausible to suggest that the dissemination of racist discourses through mainstream media outlets, including the right-leaning press, can directly influence social discourse. This is not new in British media. Gordon & Rosenberg (1989) highlight that sections of the British mainstream media in the 80s were not reflective of a large proportion of public opinion with regard to coverage on race and immigration, but that portrayals of Black people (for instance) as 'scroungers' and 'criminals' was designed specifically to 'inflame racist sentiment, to make it respectable and to mould a racist public opinion' (p. 9). Similarly, Hartman & Husband's (1974) study on British press coverage of race between 1963 and 1970 found that the media were not reflective of the 'public consciousness' in relation to race, 'but played a significant part in shaping this consciousness' (p. 146). The obsession of the right-leaning press in the mid-to-late 20th Century on discontent towards immigration generally, and immigrants specifically, contributed to establishing a kind of 'common-sense racism',

a narrative eventually leading to amendments in law and policy to 'tackle' said discontent (Hayward, 2006: 50). Highlighting the influence that racist discourse can have on social understanding of racial identity, Hayward argues that 'by saying it, it becomes acceptable - by being acceptable, it becomes true - by being true it forms part of the racist common sense' (p. 52).

The 'common sense' narrative found in coverage on immigration is based upon an assumption that there is an 'us' category within society; the deserving, those which must have social priority, and a 'them' category; the undeserving who do have less rights, thus normalising and naturalising this type of discourse (Cottle, 2000; Van Dijck, 2000). This has a knock-on effect, according to Van Dijck, on creating everyday non-verbal forms of racism practiced by the 'ingroup'; the national victims of poor immigration policies (p. 48). Thus, this form of 'new' racism can be observed throughout the 20th Century, but has taken an even more contemporary form as a result of the austerity crisis, where the focus has extended to include not only skin colour, but religious, cultural and national identity. It is important to note within the contextual background in this chapter that the rise of right-wing populist politics has undoubtedly shaped Western discourse in relation to the meaning of patriotism, nationalism and sovereignty. With no admission by politicians that the Economic Crisis and its subsequent effects had been mismanaged by both preceding and succeeding governments, the burden on the shoulders of those hit hardest by the austerity measures was characterised by British mainstream media as almost 'heroic' or 'patriotic', whereas those not paying taxes due to unemployment or disability were branded as 'welfare dependant spongers' who should be feared (Marston, 2008: 364). Disturbing articles by the right-leaning press with titles such as 'Scandal of 150,000 illegal immigrants on benefits' (Sassoon, 2011), '100,000 Eastern European migrants now free to claim benefits in Britain worth tens of millions of pounds after EU ruling' (Doyle, 2011) and 'UK will be like paradise…you get rich on benefits without working' (Phillips, 2011) became all too common. By far this was not unique in terms of the stigmatisation of immigrants, and not new in the United Kingdom context either. Lee (1998) studies the emphasis on illegal immigration taking precedence over its legal counterpart in similar media coverage in the United States during the 1970s purely on the basis of its sensationalism and newsworthiness. These types of, what I argue to be, moral panics are not uncommon; traditional media organisations, particularly right-leaning ones, have throughout the years used exaggerated and melodramatic

headlines to spark a sense of fear in relation to social issues such as crime and deviance, drugs and violence (Henry & Tator, 2002: 164); fears often grounded within discursive techniques surrounding nationalism.

Valluvan (2019) argues that 'moderate' nationalism relates very closely with the idea of 'sovereignty', i.e. a desire for control of one's own affairs, though this is deeply rooted within the idea of a central ethnic background or makeup of the community to which it refers. However, it must be noted that it is not that which unites the ethnic community which defines nationalism, but that which divides i.e. an 'extensive *negative* reference to the presence of those who do not belong – outsiders who are often constructed according to their many ethno-racial guises' (Valluvan, 2019: 129-130). Studies around the concept of nationalism found its rhetoric being used increasingly by contemporary political parties synonymously with anti-immigration sentiment. Conoscenti (2018) established that there was a direct correlation between right-wing populist discourse and anti-immigrant sentiment in the United Kingdom, where the 'flow of immigrants towards the United Kingdom is thus identified as a conspiracy of the élites against the British people' (p. 75). This is not entirely surprising considering the nature of the theoretical understanding of right-wing populism but demonstrates that social discourse has veered towards an ideology which not only typifies British politicians as the 'élites', but also accepts that the British 'people' are the victims of the policy implications of said elites; those working taxpayers bearing the burden of austerity. The link to immigrants specifically is based upon a perceived lack of integration into the fabric of British society and its core values (Bisin et al., 2008; van Liempt, 2011; Spicer, 2008), which is often connected to linguistic capabilities. Wright & Brookes (2019) established that mainstream media platforms prioritised coverage which marginalised immigrants in relation to language and linguistics, relating this to individual identity in order to 'emphasise differences between dominant majorities and marginalised minorities' (p. 61). They also characterised immigration as a threat and financial burden to the native British citizen (p. 61), concentrating specifically on a 'relatively small portion of respondents [to the Census] who indicated they could not speak English at all', despite it showing that '99.74 per cent of usual residents […] were able to speak English either as a main or additional language' (p. 58). In this way, therefore, mainstream media coverage (specifically those on the right-wing political spectrum) regularly connect immigration to nationalist sentiments and linguistic capabilities in order to stress that those migrating to the UK are unwilling to integrate

into the core fabric of the country's societal values. Print media, in particular, has been found to perpetuate hostility between native British-born citizens and the 'other' through outright refusal to distinguish between different types of migration; immigration for economic opportunity and refugees seeking asylum. Eberl et al. (2018) found that (during the 2015 Refugee Crisis) print media still used discourses such as ''migrant/immigrant' to delegitimize the refugees' or asylum seekers' dire political and personal circumstances' (p. 210). They argue that 'simply by emphasizing the ethnicity of news subjects (i.e. by making it visible), news media can increase out-group hostility in the native media audiences' (p. 210). Consequently, the mainstream media are at least partially responsible for appeasing right-wing populism through the use of discourses associated with its more contemporary form.

Of particular contextual importance (within this thesis) in understanding the actors who are resisting *dominant frames* of immigration (and I will elaborate further on these frames of immigration in the Chapter **3. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework**, within **3.3 Framing the 'Common-Sense' Narrative**) is the 2018 Windrush Scandal, which serves both as a methodological tool for sampling, but also as a broad case study within the analytical chapters in this thesis. The Windrush scandal is rooted in the United Kingdom's decision following the Second World War to grant British citizenship to individuals living in its colonies, which led to a large number of individuals to migrate to the UK from predominantly Caribbean nations, up until as late as the 1970s. This group of migrants have become known in contemporary discourse as the Windrush generation of migrants, named after HMT Empire Windrush, the ship on which they were transported (Chimbiri, 2018), a group which, as will be evident in the analytical chapters of this thesis, are most commonly mentioned in conversations by the broader UK anti-racist movement as having suffered injustice at the hands of the British government and Home Office. The events follow the Windrush scandal encompassing a series of events in 2018, including serious failures on the part of the Home Office in having destroyed landing cars and sudden unannounced decisions to deport migrants from this era (Gentleman, 2018; Khomami & Naujokaityte, 2018).

3. THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter provides a detailed conceptual and theoretical framework surrounding how the core problem of anti-immigration discourse is understood within this thesis. In situating the problem within Gramscian analyses of hegemony, the post-truth realm (which no longer requires the establishment of 'objective' truths), and the significance of subjective production of various knowledges, it widens the scope of research into this field to appreciating the ways in which knowledge is produced. It will outline how framing has been used to explore the ways in which the dominant, hegemonic common-sense narrative surrounding immigration has been understood in existing academic literature in this field of study, and emphasise the importance of highlighting how those who seek to challenge this common-sense narrative have also been traditionally framed within dominant political and mainstream media coverage. The chapter will explore the ways these narratives have previously been challenged or resisted, both globally and in the United Kingdom context, by anti-racist movements. It will draw attention to gaps in the fields of research linking social movement theory with knowledge production, and gaps in studies linking frame analysis and video activism, which do not draw adequate attention to the knowledges themselves which are produced through the frames, rather providing 'containers' or 'types' of knowledges.

3.1 Hegemony, Post-Truth and Knowledge

Coined by Gramsci in his 1971 prison notebook reflections where he describes two elements of class or group supremacy; domination and intellectual or moral leadership, hegemony is a form of social control rooted in class conflict in which the superior class not only dominates resources and institutions, but also discourse and thought; 'an order in which common social moral language is spoken, in which one concept of reality is dominant, informing with its spirit all modes of thought and behaviour' (Femia, 1987: 24). It is a process through which the dominant societal class controls the lower classes through agreed, accepted and embedded conditions and norms (Worth, 2013). Gramsci links the creation of 'common sense' narratives within society to accepted truths and thus the reinforcement of hegemonic ideology and supreme control of the 'masses'. In the Gramscian theory of hegemony, consent from the 'masses' (namely the general public) is key. Consent for the creation and existence

of the 'common sense' narrative is demonstrated through the continuation of everyday mundane activities linked to 'work, school, the family and the church' (Stoddart, 2007). In essence, Stoddart argues that hegemony is an ongoing process of securing and maintaining the consent of individuals in society to be ruled by their respective ruling classes. In this case, the state. The consent manifests itself through ordinary acts individuals carry out throughout their daily lives. It is important to emphasise the theoretical significance of consent here, rather than coercion, since the latter suggests a use of force that is not a necessary element to rule in Gramscian theory of hegemony. The conceptualisation of ideology here is also different to how Marxism interprets the relationship between the working and ruling classes, which is fundamentally based upon mode of production (Laclau, 2006; Little, 2007; Milios & Dimoulis, 2017). In Gramscian analysis, the hegemonic conflict takes places at an ideological level; in the determination of whose ideas become widely accepted within society. According to Gramsci, then, the 'subaltern' classes must enter into this conflict, one which is never-ending as there will always be an alternative or oppositional ideology within society. The 'ruling classes' must have a degree of *power* in order to be able to not only set the parameters of this hegemonic process (i.e. what is considered to be acceptable within society), but to also secure and maintain the consent of society at large; ensuring their passive continuance with everyday mundane activities which signifies consent. In the case of hegemony, it is important to recognise what these parameters are, who sets them and how they function.

Much of the theoretical literature surrounding how these types of parameters are set, and therefore how common-sense narratives are constructed, tend to refer to Foucaultian notions of 'discourse', which focuses on power relations in determining who gets to say what and, in turn, what is not said – or 'discourses of absence' (Cheek, 2004; Foucault, 2002; Yadlin-Gadot, 2019). In Foucault's work, discourse is conceptualised as a set of beliefs that determines the language used surrounding a given subject (Foucault, 2000), which is closely tied in with discourse analytical research methodologies aimed at establishing the types of discursive strategies employed by state officials or, in turn, those challenging the dominant hegemonic order. The most prominent examples of this relate to Laclau & Mouffe's contributions to the relationship between discourse and hegemony; namely analyses of how 'counterhegemonic' narratives are created through various discursive techniques such as focus on empty and floating signifiers, chains of equivalence between various

groups, and so on (Laclau, 2007; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985, 1987; Smith, 1998). Firstly, while this can be a very useful and interesting approach to studying the mechanisms which create and shape discourse, it tends to favour micro-level research methodologies with little scope to take into consideration elements beyond linguistic structures (see, for instance, Carpentier & De Cleen, 2007; Fairclough, 2009, 2010; Fairclough & Wodak, 2004; Glynos et al., 2009; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Torfing, 1999). Secondly, much of the research which builds a theoretical and conceptual relationship between hegemony and discourse often assumes that the establishment of 'truth' is still a vital condition to the way in which hegemony is exercised. This tends to omit much of the recent sociopolitical developments, such as the simultaneous sharp rise of populism and post-truth politics.

How then is post-truth situated in relation to hegemony? The conceptual roots of post-truth tend to link the term to the field of political populism, usually referring to the right-wing spectrum. Populism in its broadest form refers to a political *logic* (rather than a movement) with an underlying anti-establishment and anti-elitist ideology (Germani, 1978; Laclau, 2007; Wodak et al., 2013). In recent decades, the rise of political populism can be observed in many countries globally; not least in former Communist nations of Eastern Europe (Jasiewicz, 2008; Kuzio, 2019; Merkel et al., 2019; Smilov, 2019; Stanley & Cześnik, 2019). While the trend of populism in Eastern Europe seemingly transgresses the left-right political divide, in the case of the United Kingdom it is clear that political populism has been adopted as both a logic and strategy by right-leaning and sometimes far-right political figures seeking to legitimise the diffusion and discouragement of multicultural integration (Worth, 2013: 44). This is observed through the discourses associated with Nick Griffin (British National Party), Tommy Robinson (English Defence League), Nigel Farage (UKIP / Brexit Party) and, most recently, Boris Johnson (The Conservative Party). Right-wing populism has particular social targets, known as the 'dominant elites represented by liberalism' i.e. 'leftist parties, the media, universities, and national and international organizations that champion globalism, cosmopolitanism, foreign interests, and "others" groups (from racial minorities to immigrants)' (Waisbord, 2018). In essence, many right-wing populist politicians share two distinct characteristics; (1) the scapegoating of certain religions, ethnicities, languages or political minorities, perpetuating a "discourse of fear", and (2) endorsing a kind of 'arrogance of ignorance' ideology (Wodak, 2013: 27). Opposing political sides have in recent years

engaged in a game of 'competitive victimhood', where individuals compete to claim victim status for their own in-group' (White, 2019: 13) and the Right have arguably succeeded in encompassing a kind of 'stigma reversal', where predominantly White, heterosexual (and especially male) Britons feel increasingly exposed to accusations of collective blame for historical racism, homophobia and misogyny' (White, 2019: 13). This is a strong example of how some White, middle class, privately-educated, right-wing politicians exploit precisely that discontent traditionally aimed at governments by those on the opposite end of the political spectrum in order to utilise 'liberal arguments for illiberal ends' (Augoustinos & Every, 2007: 134).

The *popularity* of discourses relating to anti-establishmentism and anti-elitism seemingly goes beyond the traditional Gramscian hegemonic model of establishing 'truth' and 'common sense' narrative. Post-truth is concerned less with building a common-sense narrative based upon *whether* a particular truth has been established, and more on the *popularity* of the narrative, regardless of whether it encompasses inaccuracies or outright untruths about actors and actions it targets (Ball, 2017; Fish, 2016; Frankfurt, 2005; Gibson, 2018; Hopkin & Rosamond, 2018; Jasanoff & Simmet, 2017; McIntyre, 2018; Speed & Mannion, 2017). Therefore, a post-truth hegemonic project is no longer one which sees the establishment of an objective version of 'truth' as a vital aspect to building consent towards a shared common-sense narrative, but in the ability to harness this consent through other, more subjective, mechanisms; production of knowledges which transgress the truth-lie dichotomy. If 'truth' is no longer the central focus of establishing a consensual hegemonic common-sense narrative, then the production of various knowledges take precedence in exercising hegemony over the establishment of an objective 'truth', thus their production determines the power one holds to exercise hegemony itself (Whisnant, 2012). By all accounts, then, the process of producing knowledge is in and of itself a form of power that can challenge the same dominant hegemonic project (Armstrong, 2015; Culler, 1994; Escobar, 1984; Hall, 2001; Hook, 2007).

3.2 Frames and Framing

Researchers in the field of anti-racism and critical race theory, for instance, point to the fact that the parameters of what constitutes 'legitimate' knowledge is, both historically and globally, largely dominated by white-centric populations seeking to

maintain supremacy over those not of the same cultural or racial background to their own (Almeida, 2015; Kerr, 2014; Lo, 2011; Macaulay, 2007; McGovern, 2013). This is particularly significant in considering the central issue of this thesis, namely immigration. In applying both the context of the issue from the Background and Context chapter, and the theoretical and conceptual understanding of the relationship between post-truth hegemony and knowledge production, to immigration, it is important to understand how the parameters constituting 'legitimate' knowledges surrounding immigration are set, which subsequently determines what becomes the consensual common-sense narrative. It is equally important, and this is what the analytical element of this thesis focuses on, to determine what knowledges are produced by those resisting and challenging the current common-sense narrative surrounding immigration, and how they are produced; the processes used. The theory of framing can be particularly useful in understanding these processes.

While framing has existed as a concept for many years prior to academic influence, the more 'contemporary' conceptualisation of framing and frame analysis has largely been attributed to Erving Goffman's (1974) work. His work was significant in the introduction of many of the key concepts in the field of framing, such as *strips* which refers to a 'slice or cut from the stream of ongoing activity' (p 10), *tropes* meaning metaphors or *keys* referring to 'the set of conventions by which a given activity, one already meaningful in terms of some primary framework, is transformed by the participants to be something quite else' (pp. 43-44). He argues that there are two types of 'frameworks'; social and natural, both of which combine together to form a primary framework which paves the way for frame analysis to take place (Denzin & Keller, 1981). Academics who later drew from Goffman's work, conceptualised frames and framing in simpler and more nuanced ways. Edwards (2014) defines frames quite literally as the construction of meaning in a particular situation through the selection of a 'culturally available 'frame' to put around it' (p. 93) while Snow et al. (1986) describe frames as a means which 'enable participants to locate, perceive, and label occurrences' (p. 464). In its totality, frames are defined appropriately by Rucht & Neidhardt (2002) as:

> '[…]collective patterns of interpretation with which certain definitions of problems, casual attributions, demands, justifications and value-orientations are brought together in a more or less consistent framework for the purpose of explaining facts, substantiating criticism and legitimating claims' (p.11).

Frames are lenses; ways through which one can understand what is happening and what is going on in a given context. Equally as important is what is not provided in the frame, as this can also provide useful insight into the importance of why an actor has decided to omit certain aspects from a social, political, cultural or economic issue (Johnston, 2002). This is similar to what Foucault refers to as 'discourses of absence' (Foucault, 2002), though it is important to note here that the relationship between framing and discourse is not entirely disconnected but largely aligned, though with the caveat that frames are understood as being *articulations* rather than producers of discourse (Cammaerts, 2018), providing more 'stable' systems of meaning in comparison to the fluidity of the discourse theory's methodological implications (Steinberg, 1998: 848). As such, framing can be understood as a tool – a set of 'strategic attempts' (p. 44) – used not only by the dominant hegemonic project to create legitimate knowledge, but also by those actors or groups of actors seeking to challenge the same project. In this case, the issue at hand relates to the common-sense narrative surrounding immigration and how it is challenged and resisted.

Snow & Benford (1988) later apply the conceptual understandings of framing to create a typology of how individual and group actors engage in resistance to dominant narratives, identifying three core tasks which form the basis of how certain issues are framed:

Diagnostic: Diagnosis of some event or aspect of social life as problematic and in need of alteration;

Prognostic: Proposed solution to the diagnosed problem that specifies what needs to be done;

Motivational: Call to arms or rationale for engaging in ameliorative or corrective action.

(Snow & Benford, 1988: 199)

All three tasks are concerned in some form or another with collective mobilisation of individuals. The first two (diagnostic and prognostic) refer to establishing what they call 'consensus mobilisation'; figuratively recruiting through a process of agreement, whereas the third (motivational) is aimed at establishing 'action mobilisation'; physically recruiting for action to be taken to solve the diagnosed problem using the means proposed by prognostic framing. They also identify a set of four framing

alignment processes that describe the ways in which frames interact with one another, 'accenting and highlighting some issues, events, or beliefs as being more salient than others' (Benford & Snow, 2000: 623), thereby strengthening their 'potential' for creation of meaning:

Frame Bridging: Linking of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem;

Frame Amplification: Idealisation, embellishment, clarification, or invigoration of existing values or beliefs;

Frame Extension: Depicting an SMO's [Social Movement Organisation's] interests and frame(s) as extending beyond its primary interests to include issues and concerns that are presumed to be of importance to potential adherents;

Frame Transformation: Changing old understandings and meanings and/or generating new ones.

(Benford & Snow, 2000: 624-625)

A further typology which can be applied alongside these can be used to establish the potential *impact* that frames and frame alignment processes have on the degree of acceptability of the knowledges which are produced from these processes. This relates to Benford & Snow's (2000) notion of frame resonance. Understanding the resonance of frames and framing processes can be particularly useful in addressing the underlying research question through frame analysis. There are three elements to establishing the resonance of frames: frame consistency, empirical credibility and the credibility of those articulating these frames:

Frame Consistency: Within Benford & Snow's work, this part of frame resonance is defined as the 'congruency between an SMO's articulated beliefs, claims, and actions' (p. 620). In simpler terms, it relates to 'internal consistency of movement beliefs, ideologies, claims, and action and whether they "hang together" to encourage or discourage collective action participation' (Nwofe, 2019: 157). The antithesis of this

(inconsistencies), therefore, can be best described as manifesting themselves in 'two ways: in terms of apparent contradictions among beliefs or claims; and in terms of perceived contradictions among framings and tactical actions' (*ibid.*). As such, this part of the analysis establishes which frames and framing processes have been running throughout the narrative of the video activist footage in a consistent fashion, and which have been inconsistent.

Empirical Credibility: Rather than establishing the truthfulness or factual validity behind what is contained within a frame, empirical credibility is concerned with establishing whether the claims themselves are empirically verifiable i.e. is there sufficient evidence of the claims to warrant their credibility? (Benford & Snow, 2000). It is important to note that 'credibility' itself is a contested concept, and one which is methodologically impossible to measure (Bryman, 2016; Bryman et al., 2008; Patnaik, 2013; Poduthase, 2015; Rose & Johnson, 2020; Williams, 2009), and so care must be taken in ensuring ontological and epistemological positionality is not compromised in order to engage in discussion surrounding measurability. Nevertheless, this can refer to the actually credibility of the knowledges that have been produced through the frames and framing processes (Asplund, 2018).

Credibility of Articulators: Referring first to the conceptualisation of the term 'credibility', this follows the same narrative as in the previous section; the methodological difficulties in establishing true 'credibility'. Credibility of articulators is defined, however, by Benford & Snow (2000) as the persuasiveness of the speakers who make the claims contained within the frames, closely linked to social psychology of communication. Again, here sufficient care must be taken to ensure that 'credibility' is not somehow quantified.

The first typology relating to the three core framing tasks can also be particularly useful in establishing how dominant hegemonic common-sense narratives are in themselves constructed; how, in this case, immigration is *framed* by the state and state actors. Chapter **2. Background and Context** outlines some of the rhetoric which has been used by state actors, politicians and mainstream media outlets to describe immigration and migrants. Previous research surrounding framing of immigration has drawn attention to the ways in which discourses relating to the concept have been articulated through mainstream media coverage, which is still seemingly the

dominant source of news consumption (discussion surrounding the growing influence of alternative and video-based media platforms will take place in the subsequent sections *3.4.5 Digital Activism and Social Media* and *3.4.6 Video Activism*). These frames and framing processes have by and large contributed to the creation of the dominant common-sense narrative.

3.3 Framing the 'Common-Sense' Narrative

Due to the prevalence of mainstream media outlets (broadcast, print and radio) remaining as the dominant source of news consumption in the United Kingdom, knowledges produced in relation to immigration can be (and often are) shaped through the these platforms (Consterdine, 2018), making it a useful resource for those in power to disseminate the dominant common-sense narrative. Whilst it is not clear whether it is the media which sets the agenda on specific framing techniques on immigration, or whether this comes from political discourse itself (*ibid*), it is clear that general mainstream media representations of immigration have always been, and currently still are, negative and hostile (*ibid*). Negative framings are, however, more prevalent among conservative media outlets which have 'spent decades defining and establishing hegemony' and solidifying this hegemony through negotiation of the relationship between 'both radical conservative voices and broader mainstream media' (Speakman & Funk, 2020: 658). Right-leaning newspapers, for instance, have a vested interest in maintaining existing cultural and societal hegemony out of the 'fear of losing power based on male and class privilege' (Brown & Ferree, 2005: 19), with an abundant domination of political elite voices within this coverage (Consterdine, 2018) that aim to solidify power of articulating and disseminating common-sense narratives. Simultaneously, a distinct absence of migrant voices and narratives within mainstream media and political coverage of these issues means that positive news stories of migrant contributions to the UK's economy and society are regularly omitted by mainstream media coverage (Cooper-Moxam, 2017) giving the impression that alternatives views or exceptions to the dominant narrative are few or non-existent.

In this section I combine and outline the findings of various pieces of existing academic research and literature relating to the ways in which dominant common-sense narratives surrounding immigration are constructed by state actors and

mainstream media platforms through the process of framing. The combination of literature includes what is framed as being the 'problem' in relation to the issue of immigration, what the result of this 'problem' is, how migrants and refugees are framed by various dominant actors, and how proposed 'solutions' to the problem are framed. These are necessary and important, as they are synthesised with the core analytical chapter of this thesis which explores the frames produced by those resisting these dominant frames, and the knowledges which are created which help to challenge the core common-sense narrative surrounding immigration.

3.3.1 Immigration Crisis as The 'Problem'

Dominant hegemonic framings of immigration often refer to the phenomenon as a problem or a 'crisis', one which negatively impacts every area of British society, culture, economy and politics. The use of the term 'crisis' to define immigration suggests that there is justification for emergency measures to be taken in order to reverse something strongly negative taking place, a threat of some kind which requires urgency of action and priority in debate (Lindqvist, 2017). In addition to this, and in some ways to also counter suggestions that immigration has always historically existed within Britain, a key technique used within this framing is emphasising the 'newness' of this kind of immigration, one which starkly differs from previous types of immigration that the UK had already become accustomed to. For instance, in their analysis of the BBC homepage of 'Destination UK', Polson & Kahle (2010) found that there were clear and overt efforts being made to frame this kind of immigration as new and 'distinct from immigration that occurred in the past', creating a 'dichotomy between traditional migration, which was about family, and modern migration, which is about 'diverse' […] young people who come for economic reasons' (p. 261). This reinforces news values associated with novelty, proximity, immediacy and sensationalism, all of which are designed to promote readership of particular news stories (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015; Bednarek, 2016; Bednarek & Caple, 2017; Boukes et al., 2020; Jewkes, 2015; Masini et al., 2018; McNair, 1998).

3.3.2 Immigrants as the Result of the 'Problem'

In conjunction with the 'problem' of immigration, several techniques are employed by dominant political actors and mainstream media coverage in the framing of

immigrants themselves (referred to here as the 'result' of the new phenomenon). The primary technique is to create and develop a grounded common-sense narrative based on several assumptions relating to migrants and immigration in general. Firstly, there is an active effort to ensure that there is definitional ambiguity between several different terms used to describe immigrants. The interchangeable use of 'refugee', 'asylum seeker', 'illegal immigrant' and 'foreign worker' causes confusion in who does or does not belong within each respective category. Amalgamating all four terms into one overarching category gives the impression that all who enter the United Kingdom's borders are seeking to disadvantage, or benefit in some way from, the individual Briton (Polson & Kahle, 2010). Lack of explanation of the multidimensional differences between different individuals, or the complex phenomenon of migration itself, implies that it is a simple issue and that there is no need to overcomplicate it; that there is this element of common sense or simplicity about the position or status of each of these individuals (Polson & Kahle, 2010). It further implies that there is monoletheism, an element of 'sameness', between individuals within these categories and that all immigrants hold the same or similar world views or ideologies (Reed, 2017). The merging of the intentions of economic migrants with asylum seekers or refugees with genuine safety concerns, leads to a process of delegitimisation, ignorance and/or general dismissal of the latter status as 'bogus' (Consterdine, 2018; Cooper-Moxam, 2017).

The second technique relates to the establishing of strong juxtapositions. One of the ways this is done is through the creation of binary oppositions between the British 'people', 'taxpayers' or 'public', and the previously merged category of individuals. This technique links very closely to how Laclau & Mouffe (1985) and Laclau (in his later work on Populism in 2007) conceptualise and understand the construction of hegemony and the populist formation of a 'people'; the central point being the drawing of boundaries between the 'us' and 'them' (insiders and outsiders), and overemphasising internal similarities while exaggerating the differences between the two groups. Van Dijk's (1993b, 2015) work on critical discourse analysis also makes a similar point about how dominant racist discourses create an 'us' vs 'them' binary and this binary is often very closely linked to right-wing populist political ideology. Here, this technique is designed to appeal to the middle and working class tiers of British society, those most likely to be outraged by the notion that economic migrants could potentially be posing as bogus asylum seekers to enter the country and benefit from

economic privileges which should only be open to them (Lindqvist, 2017; Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018). This then legitimises the creation of 'deserving' vs 'undeserving' migrants; the former referring to individuals who enter the UK's borders through legal channels for genuine reasons, and the latter describing those considered unwelcome due to either the illegality of their status or circumstances by which they entered the borders (Quinsaat, 2011). It is not surprising, therefore, that the process of first merging all types of migrants into one category and then splitting them into 'deserving' and 'undeserving' camps has in some ways naturalised 'anti' sentiments, where racist discourses targeted at religiously or racially minoritised individuals from different migrant groups becomes normal and acceptable (Reed, 2017).

In the subsequent section, I use the term 'other'-ing to describe this process as it is important to take into consideration the fact that dominant hegemonic framing not only creates simplified divides between an 'us' group and a 'them' group, but the fact that the 'them' group comprises of *several* 'others'. A review of the existing literature in this field can identify numerous frames which are used within this process, which I have split into Dehumanised 'Other'-ing (i.e. *we don't know who they are, they could be anyone*) and Humanised 'other'-ing (i.e. *we know who we are, and they are different from us*). The following frames and framing processes are derived, adapted and restructured from the vast literature of research conducted surrounding dominant framing of immigration and immigrants.

3.3.3 Dehumanised 'Other'-ing

Here, there is emphasis on more macro-level interaction with the dehumanised 'others' and maintaining the anonymity of the 'them' (Esses et al., 2013); the merged group of migrants, immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers. They are considered to be the (out-) group of society (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017: 1751) in comparison to the taxpaying, native, White, British in-group. Here, discourses associated with labels such as 'clandestine' or 'stowaway' are designed to dehumanise individuals (Lindqvist, 2017: 28). Five frames outlined below might be identified from the review of existing literature within this field.

Economic Threat Frame: this frame is concerned with accusing the 'others' as being an overall regional threat to the British economy and labour market (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Boydstun & Glazier, 2013; Lindström, 2017; Lundblad, 2017). Here there are prevalent discourses of burden for individual native British citizens through the depreciation (or pressure) of wages caused by foreign workers willing to accept payment below the minimum wage, meaning employers are more likely to select immigrant workers to carry out 'unskilled' or 'low-skilled' work (Graneng, 2017; Lundblad, 2017; Van Horne, 2018; Adman, 2019; Hansen et al., 2016; Lee, 2010). Furthermore, they are framed as a burden to institutions; high levels of immigration put significant pressure on public services and resources, including higher-than-'usual' demand on the NHS, the benefits system, housing and transport (Sogelola, 2018; Adman, 2019; Lundblad, 2017; Van Horne, 2018; Wooding, 2018; Quinsaat, 2011). This issue framed in such a way as to argue that it disadvantages native British who have 'earned' these resources merely through possession of British nationality/citizenship.

Illegal Status Frame: this frame is based on the premise of nation statehood and superiority of citizenship. Within this frame, the 'others' without proper documentation are considered undocumented, unwanted and generally illegal (Kovář, 2020; Harris & Gruenewald, 2020). This frame (sometimes referred to as the equivalency frames of immigration) contains discourses such as 'illegal alien', 'illegal migrant', 'illegal immigrant', 'unauthorised immigrant' or 'undocumented immigrant' (Alamillo et al., 2019).

Aquatic Comparison Frame: here, the 'others' are often compared with water through the use of discourses such as '*influx, inflow, flow, swelling, stream, floodgates, inundated, wave* and *absorb*' (Taylor, 2020: 12). There are also negative comparisons with water-based movements and disasters, such as 'floods', 'invasions' (Van Dijk, 1993: 3) and adjectives used to both reinforce the 'crisis' narrative and amplify the extent of these movements' effect on the nation or individual Britons, such as '"huge", "uncontrolled" and "swamping"' (Bowler, 2017; Sogelola, 2018; Graneng, 2017; Lundblad, 2017).

Animalistic Comparison Frame: within this frame, the 'others' are compared with animals or insects and ascribed animalistic tendencies, personalities and behaviours

(Taylor, 2020). There are elements where, such as in relation to the Windrush generation, the 'others' (i.e. the migrants) were continuously described as being *entangled* or *caught up* in government actions, who sought to *catch* illegal immigrants *in a net*, portraying them as prey-like (Taylor, 2020). With regards to the living situation of the 'others', such as the camping ground of Calais, is often described as a 'jungle' where they are causing disruption and chaos (Lindqvist, 2017) due to these uncivilised animalistic tendencies. Often they are ascribed certain character traits such as an aggressive desperation or determinedness to enter Britain by any means necessary (Lindqvist, 2017). There is also here the juxtaposition of migrants framed as 'animalistic' while the nation is framed as a 'body' or 'house' (Cardona-Arroyo, 2017).

Criminogenic Frame: this frame is concerned with implying (or constructed as though it is implying) that the 'others' as somehow genetically different from the 'us', predisposed to committing crime and/or engaging in behaviours and activities which are considered morally unacceptable (Kovář, 2020: 572). This is not only limited to lying and cheating (Hansen et al., 2016; Lundblad, 2017; Davidov et al., 2014; Lindström, 2017; Van Horne, 2018; Adman, 2019; Antonucci & Varriale, 2019), but also relates to very specific accusations of being prone to radicalisation and therefore more likely to engage in acts of terrorism (Van Dijk, 1993; Matthews & Brown, 2012; Lee, 2010: 68). Here, migrants are framed as generally dangerous, a security threat, and more likely to engage in criminal behaviour within society as a result of who they are (Quinsaat, 2011; Reed, 2017; Harris & Gruenewald, 2020).

3.3.4 Humanised 'Other'-ing

Within humanised 'other'-ing, there is an element of ascribing human tendencies to the 'other'. Here, some migrants are acknowledged as 'human', but in such a way as to depict that they are culturally, socially or otherwise 'different' from the native, reinforcing racial, religious and cultural stereotypes, in order to maintain human-interest news values (Ibrahim & Howarth, 2015). Unlike the focus, within the former category, on more ideological elements such as 'nation-statehood' and 'citizenship', the emphasis here is on micro-level interaction with the humanised 'others'.

Western Values Frame: within this frame, migrants are portrayed as barbaric, sexist, irrational, uncivilised and unenlightened (Reed, 2017). It suggests that non-white and

highly fertile immigrants are attempting to 'take over' Western nations in order to promote multiculturalism and further their own cultural/political aims (Quinsaat, 2011; Polson & Kahle, 2010), with an unwillingness to integrate to Western values, ideals, norms or identities, which in turn directly threatens the White Christian status quo (Sogelola, 2018; Hansen et al., 2016; Hutchins & Halikiopoulou, 2020; Adman, 2019; Lee, 2010). Of course, these portrayals have racist and Islamophobic undertones. Male refugees (particularly of the Muslim faith) are often painted as rapists or terrorists (Cooper-Moxam, 2017: 28) while the women, especially those with religious-wear, are portrayed as controlled or oppressed by their male counterparts. Muslim immigrants in particular are stereotyped as being most threatening due to their unwillingness to adopt Western values (Wooding, 2018; Hutchins & Halikiopoulou, 2020).

Victim Frame: this frame relates to humanised discourses used to portray certain migrants, particularly those in vulnerable positions, as at potential risk of being victimised by people smugglers, drug traffickers and other organised crime gangs (Lindqvist, 2017), while very little is actually mentioned about the suffering of migrants within refugee camps or detention centres (Y. Ibrahim & Howarth, 2015). This frame is quite strategic as it pre-empts potential criticism of future handling of immigration by implying that there is some kind of selflessness in the dominant understandings of immigration towards those placed in the unfortunate position of being physically or emotionally exploited by criminal enterprises within the UK. Therefore, this frame is pads and dampens the dominant outlook of migrants so as to appear as though there is not only a dominance of negative framing, but also a sense of care and compassion.

3.3.5 Government Policy & EU Membership as Responsible

Within the dominant framing of immigration, there are two objects of blame. The first object of is government policy, which is described as having failed as a result of 'liberal' political values of the most recent Labour Government, which led to a poor 'grip' on immigration (Migration Watch UK, 2015; Watt & Wintour, 2015). It is argued within this *diagnostic frame* that there has been a failure of the state to meaningfully address social, cultural and economic effects of a rise in immigration, which has led to a break in the 'social contract' between the state and its people (Quinsaat, 2011).

Therefore, the blame is argued to lie with the government in its own position in relation to immigration. The second object of blame within this framing is the UK's membership of the EU, which has led to a 'surrender' of political and legal sovereignty and loss of control in decision-making processes, therefore meaning that there are national, regional, institutional and individual safety risks at stake (Van Horne, 2018). The EU's policy of open borders allows migrants from other countries to legally enter the UK for purposes of working, whilst simultaneously damaging the UK's sovereignty by hindering its ability to enact meaningful solutions through legislative policy.

3.3.6 Brexit, Security & Tougher Policy as the 'Solution'

Dominant actors behind this framing of immigration (i.e. the current right-wing Conservative Government and mainstream media outlets) propose a primary 'solution' to the alleged 'crisis problem': exiting from the European Union is argued to return political and economic control to the UK government's legislative process. In essence, the end of freedom of movement for EU migrants to be able to settle and work within the UK, and the UK government's allegedly 'new' powers to control its own borders, will equate to changes to immigration legislation, making it much more difficult for individuals to enter the UK. This 'solution' has already come into effect through the 2016 Referendum on the UK's membership of the EU.

One of these policies, however, had already been put into practice by former Prime Minister Theresa May when she served as Home Secretary: the Hostile Environment Policy. Introduced in 2012 in order to meet the Coalition Government's immigration reduction targets, it was specifically designed to make it as difficult as possible for 'illegal' immigrants to live and work in the UK in order to appease far-right politicians within the Party. May stated that 'the aim is to create, here in Britain, a really hostile environment for illegal immigrants' (Kirkup & Winnett, 2012). It forms a part of the dominant hegemonic solution to the 'immigration crisis' through denying 'immigrants opportunities for work, health care, education, or services so they will self-deport' (Figenschou & Thorbjørnsrud, 2015: 790). As per one of the seemingly 'common-sense' narratives developed by dominant, powerful institutions and certain media outlets in order to deliberately merge complex distinctions between immigration, asylum, refuge or general migration, May's use of 'illegal' can be

considered an floating signifier (as per Torfing, 1999 and Laclau & Mouffe, 1985), falling into the realm of undefined and imprecise discourse at risk of being assigned potentially misleading connotations.

A second solution identified within the literature on dominant framing of immigration has been to enhance securitisation. This is a separate solution from enacting harsher policies to 'deal with' immigration. It proposes that there should be tougher penalties for those who violate laws relating to immigration, such as 'hiring, housing, or abetting undocumented migrants'. There is also the argument of strengthening border enforcement and control more generally (Figenschou & Thorbjørnsrud, 2015: 790). Individually, each of these dominant frames may have sparked social debate surrounding immigration, but their multidimensional nature has proven more impactful (Van Horne, 2018: 73), as demonstrated arguably by the result of the EU Referendum for example.

3.4 Challenging the 'Common-Sense' Narrative

It is clear then that the post-truth dominant hegemonic common-sense narrative relies upon right-wing populist ideas surrounding immigration, encompassing racist undertones in the ways in which division between the supposedly 'indigenous' White Briton and the 'other' is grounded. In order to understand how this common-sense narrative is challenged, it is important to first conceptualise how racism and anti-racism is understood within this framework.

3.4.1 Conceptualising Racism and Anti-Racism

Much of the outdated, misguided and largely rebuked assumptions surrounding race are situated within debates around biomedicine, biological essentialism and evolutionary Darwinism (Walton & Caliendo, 2011). These assumptions formed the basis of the negative treatment of non-White individuals during Britain's role in the transatlantic slave trade and imperialism of India, both of which are well documented in academic and historical literature (see Albert & Dellinger, 1983; Block, 2018; Edgerton, 2018; Knapman, 2017; Magubane, 1996; Miles, 1993; Richards, 1997). This is not to suggest, however, that academics of the era were particularly rebellious against these ideas. Connell (1997), for instance, reminds readers that sociological research of

this era tended to be grounded upon 'difference between civilisation of the metropole and an Other whose main difference was its primitiveness' (p. 1517). Some authors in the field of sociology have argued that the term 'race' should be replaced instead by 'ethnicity' due to the historically nationalist and essentialist undertones typically associated with the term (Ibrahim, 2011). However, doing this would also nullify contemporary theoretical understandings of racism and be a disservice to those whose daily lives are still profoundly impacted by structural and systemic prejudice, and those who have spent (and still spend) much of their lives campaigning in an attempt to eradicate it. While during the interwar years (the period between the First and Second World Wars) there seemed to be a distinct shift from some of the essentialist understandings of race to more cultural definitions (Bush, 1999), defining racism is much more difficult than it seems at first attempt. I subscribe to the argument that the term has no ontological reality and is a constructed concept, one which is historically, culturally, politically and socially dependent; a 'performative' (Chadderton, 2018; Warren, 2001; Ehlers, 2006).

Racism can be defined, as Doane (2006) argues, through 'who is (or can be) racist' (p. 261). There are two perspectives through which are fundamental in understanding the concept; (1) as a form of discrimination or prejudice, which places the 'racist' label upon the individual, and (2) as a form of institutional power, which charges the dominant societal group. One of the most common ways that debates surrounding racism in many political and social arenas have been ignored, stifled or often sidelined is through the argument of 'colour blindness'. This argument assumes that racism is a bygone issue, situating modern society in a fictitious post-racism era, where fairness, justice and equality are accepted as the norm and the ethnic majority group, in most cases those who are ethnically White, maintain the power to voice their discontent whenever attention is being drawn to individual instances of racism (Neville et al., 2000, 2001; Poteat & Spanierman, 2012). Doane (2006), however, highlights the issues with using this perspective in practice and policy-making decisions, since it can lead to difficulties in challenging or even merely envisioning the presence or impact of institutional racism. It individualises the concept rather than accentuating the broader structural or systemic issues which underpin racism. The 'colour blindness' perspective is very prevalent in United States policy decisions due to a denial of the inevitable implications that an adoption of the second perspective would have; the accusation of 'White racism' being ingrained in the very fabric of American values and

institutions. Therefore, political use of this perspective on racism makes it much easier to 'deal with'; relegating the issue to 'societal margins' through a process of culturalising, psychologising and individualising the discourses surrounding racism (Lentin, 2015: 36). It can also lead to an argument that any individual can be branded 'racist', which inevitably strengthens the position of those being accused by allowing them to counter individual allegations of prejudice simply by making their own charges against their accusers (A. Doane, 2006). In using the second perspective, it therefore becomes evident that individual instances of discrimination are merely symptoms of a much larger systemic issue, one which impacts daily lives and the functioning of society and institutions.

It becomes rooted, therefore, not in single interactions with one individual and another on the same playing field, but in the exercise of power and power relations, one which normalises colonialism (McIlwain & Caliendo, 2011). Equally imperative to note, therefore, is also that the lens through which racism is viewed should not be limited to focusing on the prevalence or commonalities between characteristics of those engaging in individual acts of prejudice (for instance as white, working-class men) but rather through the eyes of institutional and cultural *practices* (Nelson, 2015). It is a political war of words, one which demands a strong discursive stance. I adopt the second perspective in defining racism, one which views the concept as being indicative of 'institutional and cultural practices through which whites strive to maintain their hegemonic position' (Doane, 2006: 258). Multiculturalism plays an important role in the way in which the discursive realm of race has transformed in the United Kingdom for the past two decades. Pitcher (2009) attributes multiculturalism to the New Labour era of the late 90s/early 00s, which accentuated the term in many policy decisions, changing the way in which 'Britishness' had been traditionally defined. However, it is clear from the dominant framing of the common-sense narrative surrounding immigration that 'Britishness' and multiculturalism have been reframed as a dichotomy in which opposition to multicultural immigration is the 'common sense norm' and, thereby by default, the embodiment of 'Britishness'; a reframing adopted by mainstream, right-wing populist political Parties.

3.4.2 Anti Racist Activism

It may be too simplistic to suggest that anti-racism is merely the antithesis to racism in general. The use of the concept as a methodological tool for studying the ways in which individual or group actors have challenged or resisted racist ideologies and narratives relies first on how racism itself has been conceptualised. Rather than defining itself through the process of negation i.e. 'I am not racist, therefore I am anti-racist', it is grounded in the conceptual understanding of racism as being deeply embedded in society, culture, economy, politics and other institutions. It has often been tied closely to notions of anti-colonialism, or the impact of 'negritude, self-determination and emancipation' (Lentin, 2015: 97) roots of which can be dated back to movements in the 1930s (Egar, 2009; Nubukpo, 2014). Anti-racism is less a 'statement' as it is a participatory *process* through which one embodies the worldview one wishes to create, whether through influencing individual behaviours (Paluck & Green, 2009), promoting wider inclusion and diversity (Foster Curtis & Dreachslin, 2008; Oswick & Noon, 2014), or engaging more widely in protest movements (Da Costa, 2010; Farrar, 2004; Lentin, 1997; Nelson et al., 2011). This ideology can be encompassed through, what Bonnett (2000) highlights, six interconnected forms of anti-racism:

1. 'Everyday anti-racism, i.e. opposition to racial equality that forms part of everyday popular culture.
2. Multicultural anti-racism, i.e. the affirmation of multicultural diversity as a way of engaging racism.
3. Psychological anti-racism, i.e. the identification and challenging of racism within structures of individual and collective consciousness.
4. Radical anti-racism, i.e. the identification and challenging of racism within structures of socio-economic power and privilege that foster and reproduce racism.
5. Anti-Nazi and anti-fascist anti-racism.
6. The representative organisation, i.e. the policy and practice of seeking to create organisations representative of the 'wider community' and, therefore, actively favouring the entry and promotion of previously excluded races'

(p. 88)

More contemporary anti-racist academics have contributed to this typology two important elements which were not addressed: support for the victims of racism through both physical and psychological means, such as by providing appropriate housing and counselling, and their empowerment, providing racialised and minoritised individuals the necessary long-term support, the tools through which they can 'fight back' against racism (Hage, 2016).

Several movements can since be attributed as anti-racist according to its links with anti-colonialism. From the Civil Rights movement in the US to the Anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa, there is a vast history of attempts to challenge the political, social and cultural assumptions of race in Western nations through mass mobilisation and create alternative understandings. Racial and civil rights have issues of global contention for many years. The Black Panthers (formed in 1967), for instance, campaigned heavily for the release of the Mangrove Nine (Angelo, 2009) through their principles of exposing institutional racism within US society and government, subverting the government's self-conception of this path and provoking its retaliation towards the racially minoritised (particularly Black individuals) thereby self-delegitimising (Meister, 2017). Meister highlights some of the difficulties in dealing with the response by the US government as a result of the Black Panther efforts, such as attempts to disrupt, discredit and destroy the group entirely. However, of larger significance is the relationship between the group and the mainstream media. Media coverage in the 60s and 70s was limited to two platforms; broadcast (incorporating both television and radio) and print (i.e. textual, such as newspapers and magazines). As would be expected in heightened racial tensions of this era, particularly given that segregation between ethnically Black and White Americans was still ripe in the US, the media coverage across these platforms was immense. This mass interest allowed the group to maximise their public visibility through conducting press conferences where they exposed police brutality towards Black individuals (Meister, 2017).

Britain, as a leading (and supposed 'civilised') Western nation in this regard has a terrifying history of racial stigmatisation and exclusion of particular ethnicities (Augoustinos & Rapley, 1999; Curry, 2009; Grosfoguel & Mielants, 2006; McKray, 2003). Equally, it also has its own history of movements which attempt to challenge racism through mobilisation and collective action. From the 'riots' in Liverpool in 1919 to those in Nottingham and Notting Hill in 1958, and then the subsequently in Brixton and Tottenham in 1981 and 1985 respectively, there have been concerted efforts made throughout history in challenging racism and racial discourse in general, attempting to eradicate tension between those considering themselves ethnically White British and the 'other'; the 'intruding menace' (Hayward, 2006: 50). Farrar (2004) situates his discussion of 'race' within self-identity and, therefore, the sociology of social movement theory. The 70s and 80s saw a sharp rise in activist groups under the banner of anti-racist social movements in the United Kingdom. The National Front in Britain

posed a particular threat in the 70s which led to collaboration between activist groups Rock Against Racism and the Anti-Nazi League (formed around 1976) both of whom campaigned heavily (along with the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Socialist Worker) against racist and fascist bigotry (Goodyer, 2003). Their rise can be directly attributed to the seeming success of the National Party, which had grown from National Front, in electoral politics. Differing from some of the traditional methods of social mobilisation and collective action, Rock Against Racism adopted rock music through carnivals as its primary form of protest. One of their biggest successes was to gather masses in the Southall area of London, which has a large Asian population, to participate in protest through rock music and dance (Goodyer, 2009). Its principles were, however, predominantly political since the ultimate aim for Rock Against Racism was to ensure that the National Front was eradicated in order to boost the electoral appeal of the Communist Party of Great Britain, rather than to challenge and reproduce assumptions surrounding race/racism (Smith, 2011).

This era also saw the rise of Asian Youth Movements demonstrating for the rights of Asian minorities in the United Kingdom. Their relationship with the media was problematic since the British tabloid media of this time often published overtly racist headlines and articles referring to protests by these groups as 'floods' and 'invasions', not dissimilar to contemporary frames surrounding immigration. Unlike the other groups in the broader progressive anti-racist movement of this era, the Asian Youth Movements were not as clear in their aims from the outset, but these were solidified following tensions with racist groups and violence targeted at their protesters. Since prejudice against those of Asian ethnicity had not yet been incorporated into the general discourse of assumptions surrounding racism or anti-racism at this point, the groups used 'Blackness' as not only a discourse relating to the colour of one's skin but also as a political position – a method through which they distinguished themselves from the native White population – which became fundamental in their fight against racial prejudice (Ramamurthy, 2006).

While not to dwell too much on 'new' social movement theory relating to activism throughout the 60s and 70s, there has been a distinct shift on both demographic as well as ideological level between previous movements and contemporary anti-racist activist groups; the latter aiming to expose, subdue and eradicate racism from a more culturalist perspective, placing emphasis on the making of meaning – on production

of knowledge – compared to its former counterparts. Significantly for the purposes of this research, it is important not only to consider the object of research (i.e. framing and production of knowledge), but also its producer, consumer, institutional context and cultural field (or setting) itself (Williams, 2004).

3.4.3 Framing Social Movement Activism

A broad consensus exists among academic research that social movements and activists seeking to challenge hegemony or hegemonic narratives tend to be framed negatively within mainstream media, as well as political coverage. Cammaerts (2018) for instance found that the overall representation of the student protests in 2010 following the UK government's austerity programme was largely covered negatively signifying clear 'ideological bias' among right-wing news outlets. Student activists dissatisfied with the rise in tuition fees as a result of the austerity programme were portrayed as ''troublemakers', 'rioters', 'truants', 'agitators', 'anarchists', 'thugs', 'yobs', 'mobs', 'hordes', 'perpetrating illegal acts'' in right-wing newspaper outlets such as the Daily Mail, whereas more left-leaning papers like The Guardian (p. 112).

One of the ways this is often theorised is using the protest paradigm, which outlines the techniques used by mainstream news outlets when framing activism and protest:

'(1) News frames that either emphasize the criminal behavior of protesters or trivialize the protesters' work;
(2) A reliance on official sources and official definitions, instead of those of the protesters;
(3) A reliance on bystanders' (rather than protesters') voices;
(4) Delegitimization of the protest, where the protest's goals are emphasized far less than specific protest events; and
(5) Demonization of protesters through an emphasis on protester-police conflict or on protesters' disruptive/criminal behavior'

(Leopold & Bell, 2017 and McLeod, 2007, cited in Umamaheswar, 2020: 4)

Hertog & McLeod (1995) also contribute five frames which are applied by this paradigm; *circus/carnival, riot, confrontation, protest* and *debate* (Kilgo et al., 2018; Cammaerts, 2018; McLeod & Hertog, 1999). Given the complex relationship between social movements and the mainstream media (Rucht, 2004), it is not entirely surprising that their challenging of the *status quo*, the dominant common-sense narrative, framed unfavourably by dominant state institutions and those in positions of power willing

to defend this narrative and restore consent by any means necessary. The combination of the ideological bias outlined by Cammaerts and the journalistic processes of the protest paradigm can explain the ways in which the factual reality of activism is distorted by mainstream media outlets and political framing to preserve and maintain hegemony. In the early years of the Black Lives Matter movement, for instance, it was clear that news coverage was largely negative towards the movement and activists within the movement, including an abundance of racialised framing which focussed on violence, conflict and confrontation between protesters and the police rather than concentrating on the specific demands of the movement itself (Leopold & Bell, 2017; Kilgo et al., 2019; Kilgo & Mourão, 2019). In addition to the traditional protest paradigm, academic research in this field has also in identified the 'nuisance paradigm' which seems to resonate much more closely with some of the mainstream media and political framing of activism in recent years, including Extinction Rebellion, Black Lives Matter and the protests surrounding the killing of Sarah Everard in 2021. This paradigm seeks to portray activists and movements engaging in protests as being annoying and generally irrelevant (Cammaerts, 2018). Di Cicco (2010: 137-138) identifies three key frames associated with the nuisance paradigm:

(1) **Protests are bothersome**: there is a social consensus of public opinion against the protests being held at all as they cause interference with daily life;
(2) **Protests are impotent**: there is no merit to them, they are a waste of time and will not change anything, so they are a nuisance and inconvenience;
(3) **Protests are unpatriotic**: they hurt the nation or illustrate some kind of ingratitude for democratic freedoms enjoyed by the country in question, so should be forbidden entirely.

Di Cicco also highlights the importance of situating this paradigm within the given sociopolitical context of its era in order to fully understand how/why it operates in the way that it does. The nuisance paradigm can be linked with the administrative criminological stance of many conservative politicians who favour a law-and-order approach to policing rather than one which adheres more closely to due process rights. Often these are framed as being synonymous with patriotism and nationalism and, as such, any challenges to these harsh policing practices are seen as disrespect not only to the authority of the police but also to conservative ideology which seeks to imbed these practices into the moral fabric of the country (Umamaheswar, 2020).

The Black Lives Matter movement's challenge to the nature of policing both in the United Kingdom and in the United States (where ongoing demands were made to 'defund the police'), was therefore seen as a threat to the dominant hegemonic common-sense narrative surrounding patriotism, responsibility and morality (*ibid.*).

In cases where movements or activists seek to highlight specific injustices perpetrated either by the state or other powerful institutions or corporations, mainstream media outlets have also been known to use similar framing techniques as those identified surrounding immigration; dehumanising the victims of said injustices and questioning their status of victimhood (Leopold & Bell, 2017). This is not a new phenomenon and is not unique to the depiction of social movement activists (see Bullock, 2007; Lumsden & Morgan, 2017; Mills, 2017; Morrison et al., 2021; Naik, 2020). It can be argued that both the protest and nuisance paradigms are often inevitable consequences of the paradoxical relationship between social movements and the mainstream media, in which activists aim to increase publicity and visibility for the cause of a movement, but are unable to do so successfully without appeasing key news values and ideas of newsworthiness adopted by mainstream media journalists (Kilgo & Mourão, 2021; Kilgo & Mourão, 2019), resulting in an asymmetrical relationship between the two entities; one in which social movements rely on mainstream media for progression of their cause whereas the latter can survive and even flourish without the former (Rucht, 2004). This can result in undemocratic practices on the part of mainstream media outlets which, rather than providing an appropriate forum for debate on the causes social movements attempt to draw attention to, act as a mechanism for stifling opposition to dominant political and corporate interests (Phipps & Szagala, 2007).

3.4.4 Social Movements as Knowledge Producers

Democratic rights, social and racial justice and equality are important issues to consider in the power dynamics between dominant institutions like politics and mainstream media, and individual 'consumers' (this concept is used in an abstract rather than in a commercial sense) of this media. As a powerful tool in engaging in framing of immigration and anti-racist activism, and helping to aid the post-truth hegemonic narrative, the mainstream media has often been criticised as being just another apparatus of the state in controlling those living within its borders (Day, 2011;

Garza, 2016; Gleason & Hansen, 2017; Kaur et al., 2016; Kimseng, 2014). As such, it is unsurprising that there has historically been a complex relationship between mainstream media outlets and those seek to challenge the dominant hegemonic narrative, considering mainstream media is often referred to as being submissive to those 'dominant groups whom they are [purportedly] challenging' rather than being comprised of autonomous individuals (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993: 119). This poses some difficulties for social movement activist, particularly those seeking to challenge the framing of immigration through the lens of anti-racism, since there can be difficulties in securing and maintaining 'legitimate' visibility and publicity through the mainstream media without being open to the type of negative framings outlined previously. In order to mitigate this, social media platforms have become a useful tool for progressive social movements for mobilisation and collective, or *connective* action (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013; Mattoni & Pavan, 2020). They are often linked theoretically to 'alternative' media practices[1]; creation of radical content, possession of strong aesthetic form which takes advantage of new technologies, alternative means of distribution with an anti-copyright ethos, transformation of social roles and incorporation of participatory communication processes (Atton, 2004).

Research surrounding media practices can be particularly useful in providing a container to understand what activists *do* in relation to the media, and does make the necessary links between social movement theory and knowledge production. As previously mentioned, the production of different knowledges can be a source of power in itself, since it can have the potential to challenge the dominant hegemonic common-sense narrative about a given social issue, making it central in the process of affecting social change (Barbas, 2020; Stephansen, 2020). Previous studies surrounding social movements as producers of knowledge tend to be preoccupied with the *ways* in which this knowledge is produced; the practices in which they engage (i.e. social movement knowledge practices), and there seems to be limited focus on *what* these knowledges are or the analytical frameworks which determine how one has reached conclusions on the types of knowledges produced by social movement activists. Despite this, the focus on social movement knowledge production helps to shift the terrain of social movement research away from traditional understandings that

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[1] The concept of *practices* has become somewhat of a contemporary theoretical and methodological goliath in social movements studies (see (Askanius & Gustafsson, 2010; Cammaerts, 2020; Canella, 2017; Casas-Cortés et al., 2008; Mattoni, 2012; Mattoni & Pavan, 2020; Mattoni & Treré, 2014; Stephansen, 2013, 2016, 2020; Thorson et al., 2013)

knowledge about movements can only be produced by academics studying them, towards an acknowledgement that social movements are *themselves* (both individually and collectively) creators of knowledge (Chesters, 2012; Esteves, 2008; Eyerman & Jamison, 1991; Stokke & Tjomsland, 1996). Methodologically, there are also some useful containers of knowledge types introduced by a variety of researchers such as Eyerman & Jamison (1991), Della Porta & Pavan (2017), Cox (2014), neatly fused together by Stephansen (2019): worldview, knowledge about collective identity, organizational knowledge and knowledge about alternatives. While these containers do not normally make the necessary links between framing process and the actual knowledges that are produced through frames, they are useful starting points for research which links the two fields of research. Coy et al. (2008) provided very similar contributions which seem to bridge the gaps between these types of knowledges and framing processes, introducing a typology of oppositional knowledges: counter-informative, critical-interpretive, radical-envisioning and transformative. While this typology has been applied in several case studies (see Fadaee, 2020; Hájek & Jiří, 2010; Gutman, 2017; McLaughlin-Jones, 2014), these studies tend to focus on framing through mainstream media outlets and there is seemingly little in this field of research that takes into consideration the impact of social media in framing or its evolving technologies.

3.4.5 Digital Activism and Social Media

In its gradual imposition into everyday life over the past twenty to thirty years, social media has often been described as a powerful and ground-breaking tool for those seeking to challenge dominant discourses, narratives, or the status quo as a whole, not least in establishing strong mobilisation among like-minded individuals and movements, and sparking worldwide revolutions (Barassi, 2015; Breuer et al., 2015; Harlow, 2012; Hwang & Kim, 2015; Tufekci & Wilson, 2012; Valenzuela, 2013; Valenzuela et al., 2012). Again, much of the contemporary work studying the relationships between social media and social movements tend to overemphasise the importance of activist media practices, which seem to transgress the online-offline dichotomy as it remains critical of so-called one-medium and technological fascination biases (Mattoni & Treré, 2014). Media practice literature is often conceptualised in relation to evolving hybrid media ecologies (Mattoni, 2017; Treré & Mattoni, 2016). While this thesis does not wish to engage in an in-depth analysis of

the activist media practices the different groups within the anti-racist movement engage in, it is important to provide some contextual background information as to what they do in relation to social media and Web 2.0 generally; how they function in the digital realm. Each of the activist groups within the contemporary anti-racist movement in the United Kingdom has a presence on an official website (notwithstanding some of the closures mentioned later in **4.4 Challenges and Ethical Considerations**) which often act as their core 'base' for mobilisation and collective action. In most cases, there is collaboration between their official websites and their respective social media sites, including Facebook and Twitter (as the most regularly used by the activist groups), engaging in a set of digital practices:

Storytelling*:*   As processes of participatory co-creative media practices, functioning as a 'voice' provider through storytelling (Anderson & Chua, 2010; Canella, 2017; Couldry, 2008; Spurgeon et al., 2009; Vivienne, 2013), this involves digital sharing of stories told by activists which serve to further the overall aims and objectives of the movement. Several examples of this can be can be observed in activist group blogging, both through their official websites, and through third-party sites, mostly in asynchronous archival forms. Some websites, such as the one related to the Black Lives Matter UK activist group, contains a large culmination of various self-created posts, videos linked to YouTube channels and existing news sites, so are less organisationally categorised in comparison to others such as that of Movement for Justice or Bail for Immigration Detainees, the latter even dedicating a section of their website specifically to telling stories from individuals held in detention centres (Bail for Immigration Detainees, 2020b). Third-party (or "external") blogging sites are also utilised for the purposes of telling stories relating to the general grievances of the movement, including Red Pepper, The Canary, Freedom News, Pinks News, Womensgrid, Novara Media, Socialist Worker, Abolitionist Futures and Right to Remain. Some of the stories relate specifically to experiences of activists engaging in protests outside detention centres, most commonly Yarl's Wood, which has received a lot of negative mainstream media attention in recent years over their treatment of individuals housed there,

specifically in relation to allegations of bullying, racism and sexual harassment of refugees (see Bulman, 2018; Lockley, 2019; Parkar, 2019; Sanghani, 2015 and Townsend, 2010).

Mobilisation: This process is mostly related to the ways in which the activist groups attempt to mobilise or gain support through both official websites and their social media sites. It can include featuring images which contain logos or capitalised slogans. For instance, the Black Lives Matter UK website contains various different images with capitalised captions 'LET'S FIX THIS TOGETHER. BLACK HISTORY MATTERS: PEOPLE UNITED' and drawings or artwork featuring Black and White hands with fingers interlocking, captioned 'Power in Solidarity'. Others include reference to recent developments in racism within policing, including that of unusual strip-searching of racially-minoritised teenagers without presence of an appropriate adult; digital badges relating to these include ones captioned 'END RACISM: BLACK KIDS MATTER. POLICE OUT OF OUR SCHOOLS', and one picturing a Metropolitan Police car, titled 'PROTECT OUR KIDS: NO POLICE IN SCHOOLS', 'BLACK KIDS MATTER: NO TO CHILDREN STRIP-SEARCHED IN SCHOOLS. WE SAY NO TO POLICE IN SCHOOLS'.

Comical Satire: Many of the groups engage in digitally sharing satirical or ironic comics, drawings, or memes relating to contemporary political and cultural issues. Movement for Justice, for instance, uses alternative media site *Drawn Out Thinking* to present comic artwork relating to the collective action in which activists from this group are engaged. On this site, there are eight comics published by Movement for Justice, each drawing attention to various social issues, sometimes in culmination with one another, including issues relating to the negative experiences of migrants and refugees within detention centres, the hardships associated with the immorality of their illegal statuses, call for action to shut detention centres and stop charter flights, and serving as somewhat messages of empowerment (Drawn Out Thinking, 2015). Memes are also regularly used by the

activist groups through their social media sites, particularly Facebook and Twitter; the sharing of captioned images and posters to sparking debates around different social issues, in this case specifically relevant to immigration and anti-racist activism.

Hashtagging: Also referred to as 'hashtag activism', the practice of hashtagging was predominantly fuelled by social networking site Twitter, but due to its popularity has also been adopted by other prominent sites such as Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat, Whatsapp and, most recently, Tiktok. It functions by adding hash (#) symbols at the beginning of words or phrases, so that other users will be able to find messages or posts relevant to these words or phrases upon searching for them (Bonilla & Rosa, 2015; Canella, 2022; Thapliyal, 2018). Most of the hashtagging in which the eight activist groups are engaged is through social media sites Twitter and Facebook. However, in some instances, the social media posts are featured in real-time or "live" on the homepages of their websites or on other affiliated alternative media sites. Examples include Bail for Immigration Detainees using #BIDREADS which links to a section on their website containing self-created blog posts, #BinTheBill linking to another hashtag #RingTheAlarm, both in relation to criticisms directed at Nationality and Borders Bill (Bail for Immigration Detainees, 2020a). Black Lives Matter was in itself born through a hashtag in 2013; #BlackLivesMatter following the killing of Trayvon Martin and later increased in visibility followed the killing of George Floyd in 2020.

Policies: The various activist groups engage in publishing reports relating to immigration detention centres or deportations, some of which relate Select Committees in which the groups participated. For instance, Movement for Justice published the proposals made to the Home Affairs Committee in 2013 against the Hostile Environment Policy, focusing on the experiences of refugees and asylum seekers (Movement for Justice By Any Means Necessary, 2013). Bail for Immigration Detainees published a document submitted to the Home Affairs Select Committee in response to the Panorama

programme: *Panorama, Undercover: Britain's Immigration Secrets*, containing broader details about the activist group, its background and legal basis for the work they conduct in relation to migrants and refugees, but also serving as a form of storytelling through the different case studies of existing refugees presented within the document (Bail for Immigration Detainees, n.d.). There is also evidence of the overall movement's contributions to Legal Aid, Sentencing and Publishment of Offenders Act (LASPO) 2012, the impact of Article 8 and separated families, barriers to accessing Exceptional Case Funding (ECF), access to legal advice under the Detention Duty Advice Scheme (DDAS), automatic right to legal aid in bail applications, charter flights, detention in prisons, Covid 19 and increasing use of technology (UK Parliament, n.d.). Detention Action features an '-in-house' archive on their website under the master Publications link listing four pages of reports relating to immigration detention dating as far back as 2009 (Alger & Phelps, 2011; Cheeseman, 2019; Detention Action, 2013, 2015, 2017a, 2017b; Phelps, 2010; Phelps et al., 2009, 2014; Vanderbruggen et al., 2014).

Publications: Collaborative academic publications are also evident through the movement's digital footprint. This includes publications relating to children in immigration detention centres in the United Kingdom (Campbell et al., 2011), academic journal articles for the Feminist Review exploring the experienes of children, pregnant asylum seekers, and torture/trauma victims (Jackson, 2003), issues which are rarely featured through the dominant hegemonic common-sense framing processes relating to immigration. Articles in the Socialist Lawyer Journal can also be found which depict the experiences of the Stansted 15 activists in and their understanding of the importance of the work they are engaged in in relation to marginalised groups (Bright, 2020; Tamlit, 2017). This also includes archiving of various academic publications and other materials through external sites. Bishopsgate Institute (2020), for instance, contains archived material relating to Unite Against Fascism and

other traditional anti-racist movements (Rock Against Fascism, Love Music Hate Racism, and the Anti-Nazi League).

While these are good starting points for research into the contemporary progressive anti-racist movement, as previously mentioned, the preoccupation within activist media practice literature of exploring in great analytical depths what activists *do* in relation to the media tends to underestimate, firstly, the evolvement of contemporary social media platforms which increasingly prioritise *video* in the consumer-producer dynamic, and secondly, the fact that (due to this) many younger social media users increasingly engage with video-based platforms as 'reputable' sources of news consumption (Milmo, 2022; Vázquez-Herrero, 2022; Vázquez-Herrero et al., 2022; Vergani & Zuev, 2011; Zuev & Bratchford, 2021). Knowledge production additions to much of these research areas also tend to overlook the impact of video in general as a powerful tool in challenging hegemonic narratives. This thesis does not aim to study the media practices or ecologies themselves, but is interested in understanding what knowledges surrounding immigration and anti-racist activism are created through framing processes. In doing so, it is increasingly important to acknowledge the increasing influence of video as a form of activism in itself.

3.4.6 Video Activism

There is a vast history of the use of video for the purposes of activism or challenging dominant hegemonic narratives. One needs only to study the contribution of Deep Fish Television, the Gulf Crisis TV Project (Robé, 2017), all the way through time into the use of camcorders as a 'vibrant form of activism' covering the 'boom in grassroots politics' (Harding, 1998: 83). Often also described as 'video for change', 'video advocacy' (Koçer & Candan, 2016: 211), '"witness" video', 'horizontal communications' (Drew, 2013) and 'citizen journalism' (Gillmor, 2006; Rodríguez, 2008; Stephansen & Treré, 2019), the 90s in particular saw the emergence of some video activist organisations in the UK, such as Undercurrents, Despite TV and Conscious Cinema (Presence, 2015; Harding, 1998). As technology progressed throughout the late 20th and early 21st centuries, new methods of video activism developed. Although camcorders were still quite commonly used in the 00s, technological synergy provided cheap and easy video-recording facilities through camera mobile phones where users were able to take, process and distribute images all in one device (Goggin & Hjorth,

2014: 246). The use of smartphones for this exact purpose came to light following the death of Ian Tomlinson at the G20 protests in 2009; while the real cause of Tomlinson's death was captured via smartphone, the mainstream media seemed preoccupied with covering the protests are violent, focusing on number of arrests (BBC, 2009; Daily Mail, 2009; The Guardian, 2009). The video captured on the smartphone later became viral and directly challenged the official version of events depicted by both the police and the mainstream media (Curran et al., 2016; Greer & McLaughlin, 2010; Newburn & Peay, 2011). Video activism can be defined as 'a tool to bring about social justice and environmental protection' (Harding, 1997: 91), a process of 'integrating video into an advocacy effort to achieve heightened visibility or impact in your campaigning' (Caldwell, 2005: 3), though the latter definition assumed that the video activist process is a formal one. However, the aftermath of the Rodney King beating and the death of Ian Tomlinson both illustrate that video activism need not be a systematic or methodical process (as suggested in initial conceptualisations of the term by Harding and Caldwell), and that simply engaging in amateur forms of video activism at noteworthy moments or events can have a significant social and political impact, not just in terms of challenging dominant hegemonic narratives, but also in holding to account those on the higher end of the power incline (Mann & Ferenbok, 2013).

Acknowledging the synergy between the platforms that are being utilised for this type of video activism is a good starting point in understanding the reach and visibility of video content, ultimately determining its impact on audiences. The cross-platform synergy between smartphones and social media has shaped the way that pluralism is understood in the 21st Century; the notion of mass self-communication as a method of counter-power (Castells, 2007). This has become a positive contributing factor to the ways in which progressive movements are attempting to challenge some of the dominant narratives disseminated through mainstream media coverage. From the introduction of Indymedia, BeTheMedia and the Zapatistas (Wolfson, 2012), progressive movements often combine video activism and social media in different ways; counter-surveillance, which encompasses the watching of CCTV cameras or sousveillance of those in positions of authority (Mann, 2002) for the purposes of self-assertion or empowerment (Askanius, 2012: 66), or citizen (or participatory) journalism which involves the filming of events for the purposes of distribution on user-generated content platforms (Chanan, 2012: 219) for the purpose of creating

alternative news with information that may have been missed, or misrepresented, by mainstream media coverage (Askanius, 2012: 64).

3.5 Summary

This chapter has provided a detailed conceptual and theoretical framework surrounding how the core problem of anti-immigration discourse is understood within this thesis. In situating the problem within Gramscian analyses of hegemony, the post-truth realm (which no longer requires the establishment of 'objective' truths), and the significance of subjective production of various knowledges, it has widened the scope of research into this field to appreciating the ways in which knowledge is produced. While 'discourse' is not the central focus of this framework, there is acknowledgement that *framing* is a form of discourse 'articulation', thus rendering the two concepts in broadly similar theoretical camps. The chapter has further outlined how framing has been used to explore the ways in which the dominant, hegemonic common-sense narrative surrounding immigration has been understood in existing academic literature in this field of study, and emphasised the importance of also outlining how those who seek to challenge this common-sense narrative have also been traditionally framed within dominant political and mainstream media coverage. The chapter has highlighted the ways these narratives have previously been challenged or resisted, both globally and in the United Kingdom context, by anti-racist movements. It draws attention to gaps in the fields of research linking social movement theory with knowledge production which tend to overemphasise media practices, while underemphasising the importance of the ongoing technological evolvement of social media platforms which give rise to increased video activism. There are also gaps in studies linking frame analysis and video activism, which do not draw adequate attention to the knowledges themselves which are produced through the frames, rather providing 'containers' or 'types' of knowledges.

3.6 Research Questions

As already alluded to, is not the intention of this thesis to analyse the video activist *practices* of the anti-racist movement in general but, in acknowledgement of the importance of *video* as an increasingly legitimate source of news consumption by younger social media users, and the significance of knowledge production as a form

of power to challenging dominant hegemonic common-sense narratives, this research aims to understand what the contents of video activist footage produced and disseminated by the progressive anti-racist movement in the United Kingdom tells us about the ways in which immigration and anti-racist activism is being framed by this movement, and what knowledges this framing helps to create that resist or challenge the hegemonic narratives. As mentioned in the introduction, the overarching research which this thesis addresses is:

How are activist groups within the broader anti-racist movement in the United Kingdom resisting or challenging dominant hegemonic narratives through framing within video activist footage?

In line with the review of available literature, and the theoretical and conceptual grounding of this thesis, the more nuanced questions which will be addressed throughout the analytical discussion chapter (see **5. Video Frame Analysis**) are as follows:

Q1.   *What are the visual strategies that are employed by the different groups within video activist footage?*

Q2.   *How do these videos frame immigration and anti-racist activism?*

Q3.   *How, and in what ways, are Benford & Snow's (2000) frame alignment processes being utilised to create knowledges about immigration and anti-racist activism, and what are these knowledges?*

Q4.   *To what extent is Benford & Snow's (2000) frame resonance established through the framing processes?*

Q5.   *To what extent do these knowledges reinforce or challenge the dominant hegemonic common-sense narrative and create alternative ways of thinking about immigration and anti-racist activism?*

4. RESEARCH METHODOLODY AND METHODS

This chapter outlines the epistemological and ontological positionality of the research. It provides descriptive detail of the way in which the data which has formed part of the analysis has been sampled, including the parameters that have been set through the online software used to sample the data. It also describes the process of data collection and storage itself. The approach to frame and framing analysis is explained using a combined framework from various case studies of similar research conducted in previous academic literature. I then provide my personal reflections on the process of researching and writing this thesis (as a whole), accompanied with considerations surrounding the limitations of the research and some of the unexpected challenges that were overcome during this time, whilst acknowledging relevant ethical considerations during the research process in line with the British Sociological Association Statement of Ethical Practice (2017).

4.1 Ontological and Epistemological Positioning

In line with the theoretical and conceptual framework, the ontological positionality of research is based on the premise that there are multiple, rather than one singular objective, versions of reality and multiple understandings of meaning; thus constructivist. It is also positioned in line with social constructionist epistemology; one which focuses on exploring *how* these multiple realities are constructed. This offers a deeper and more inciteful knowledge on social phenomena (Williams, 2009; Meneklis & Douligeris, 2010). As the central focus is on uncovering the knowledges are produced through framing within video activist footage, this thesis rejects some of the traditional anthropological understandings of the research 'field' as needing to be a physical arena, such as a protest of an event (Schensul et al., 1999), rather the entry point into the 'field' of research which explores the key questions is a discursive one; the online space where the video activist footage is contained and disseminated.

4.2 Sampling and Data Collection

Data collection relating to video activist footage began through acknowledgement that YouTube remains as one of the most popular user-generated content sites. There has been some academic discussion in previous studies with similar methodologies

around which software or applications are most appropriate for returning more fruitful YouTube data, both in relation to the affordances of the given platform and its efficiency in retrieving the kind of data required as part of its respective study. Whilst there are several methods of identification, such as using YouTube channels relating to the topic of interest (Ekman, 2014; Núñez Puente et al., 2015; Waters & Jones, 2011), searching for keywords of interest relating to a given topic (Guo & Harlow, 2014; Thorson et al., 2013; Vergani & Zuev, 2011) or a combination of both. However, manual searching can be quite time-consuming, especially if this needs to be done on a daily basis in order to identify new videos or channels. The most useful platform identified for the purposes of this thesis was YouTube Data API (see Malik & Tian, 2017; Sahin et al., 2019; Xiao et al., 2008; Thelwall et al., 2012 and Donzelli et al., 2018). The reason for this is that it provides an opportunity to search for pre-determined parameters quickly and efficiently, and easily store the (text-based) metadata associated with each individual video.

Four events and entry-points relating to immigration were identified for this part of the data collection; *The EU Referendum, Deportations, BlackLivesMatter* and *The Windrush Scandal*. These events were selected as they were most notably linked to the discursive field in question; immigration and anti-racist activism. The EU Referendum was announced and carried out amidst many years of debate surrounding the effectiveness of existing measures of 'tackling the influx' of migration, and was in the central point of the discursive war surrounding immigration. Both the *Deportations* and *The Windrush Scandal* categories are closely interlinked, and mostly involve charter flights, an issue which is also quite central in debates surrounding the justification of deporting migrants either back to "home" countries, which often includes countries in which they have never lived. The BlackLivesMatter is fairly contemporary, and there are some significant discursive links between how racism, anti-racism and immigration are framed simultaneously. Similarly, in relation to the Windrush Scandal, not only was this again quite central in the debate as to who should or should not be considered a 'legal' or 'illegal' migrant within the UK, but also some significant connections were made between issues of race and immigration, both of which are crucial in this study. Rather than conducting a broad keyword search using consistent timeframes, the timeframe parameters I used were related to key moments surrounding each of these events. This was done because, firstly, the discursive field here is not static or constant and therefore debates surrounding immigration and

racism/anti-racism can fluctuate over time and, secondly, specifying concrete and narrow timeframe parameters can ensure that returned videos are as relevant as possible. The timeframe parameters, therefore, were entered as follows:

The EU Referendum: From 8th August 2015, which signified when the campaigning officially began, and 24th June 2016, the date of the referendum itself.

Deportations: #StopCharterFlights campaign against the deportations of
(3 separate searches)   Jamaican Nationals from the UK. As this campaign took place in 2017, the time frame parameter was set from 1st January 2017 to 1st January 2018.

#Stansted15 campaign protesting against the deportation of sixty African migrants. The dates entered for this were between 27th March 2017, one day before the protest at Stansted Airport, and 1st March 2019, one month after the release of those arrested during this protest.

#DearBA campaign against the role of British Airways in facilitating deportation of asylum seekers from the UK. This campaign ran throughout 2019 and so the time frame parameters were set from 1st January 2019 to 1st January 2020.

BlackLivesMatter: While the BlackLivesMatter movement began much earlier than the murder of George Floyd in Minneapolis in 2020, this is a significant contemporary event which sparked a renewed debate on structural racism, including the underlying racist and white-supremacist undertones of Donald Trump's immigration policies. The date parameters, therefore, were set from 27th May 2020 which marked two days since George Floyd was killed and one day prior to the organised protests in the UK, and 29th June 2020 which was one week after the UK demonstrations around this issue concluded.

The Windrush Scandal: The circumstances surrounding the Windrush Scandal were brought to light in 2018 so the time scale parameters were set from 1st January 2018 which marked the month within which the Home Office Select Committee released a report relating to Theresa May's Hostile Environment Policy, and 1st January 2019 after the National Audit Office's release findings that there were serious failures of duty by the Home Office in relation to the Windrush generation of migrants.

Timeframe parameters are an example of one of the independent variables of the search conducted using YouTube Data API (i.e. those which were altered in order to cater to the type of search necessary on each occasion). Another parameter which was necessarily changed upon each search was the keyword string. Specific keywords were searched within the title and/or description of a video in order to further ensure the relevance of returned videos:

The EU Referendum: 'immigration' and 'racism'
Deportations: 'StopCharterFlights', 'Stansted15', 'DearBA'
BlackLivesMatter: 'Black Lives Matter'
The Windrush Scandal: 'windrush' and 'protest'

Other variables remained the same, such as the parameter for the location of each video where the longitudinal and latitudinal coordinates of the City of London were entered, and a location radius of 620 miles (see **Figure 1: YouTube Data API variables and Search Parameters** in the **Appendices** for further details) in order to ensure that most returned videos were in English language. Despite these parameters, some videos returned were still in languages other than English, so they were removed throughout the filtering process. The subsequent number of individual YouTube videos collected are as follows:

The EU Referendum: 19
Deportations: 33
BlackLivesMatter: 23
The Windrush Scandal: 3

A further two social media site which were most commonly used by the majority of the activist groups identified was Facebook and Twitter. The latter, however, was not used much for the dissemination of videos by these groups but there is evidence of re-tweeting of videos interviews with public figures or edited videos created by other movements which may have differing aims but similar ideological stances to their own. In order to conduct the initial video frame analysis, videos uploaded to the Facebook pages of each respective activist group were prioritised (due to sheer volume), downloaded and stored. Data collected for each video included their titles/descriptions (which are often combined on the Facebook platform), length, upload dates, number of views, number of comments, URL and number of 'reactions' to each video which include 'Love', 'Like', 'Angry', 'Laughing', 'Shocked', 'Sad', 'Care'. The upload dates are crucial as they allow us to contextualise each video based upon the key events surrounding immigration within that time frame. The URL is supplementary, should there be any accessibility issues in the video formats. In total, 148 publicly available videos were downloaded from these Facebook pages and stored in NVivo.

The combined videos collected from YouTube and those collected from the respective activist groups' Facebook pages were cross-referenced in order to identify (and remove) potential duplicates, but no duplicates were identified in this process. A further elimination procedure then took place for the YouTube and Facebook videos separately, to ensure that each video related directly to the research questions this thesis seeks to explore. Keywords relating to the overarching research question, and the sub-questions (see below) were identified as 'activist groups', 'anti-racist', 'United Kingdom' and 'immigration'.

*How are **activist groups** within the broader **anti-racist** movement in the **United Kingdom** resisting or challenging dominant hegemonic narratives through framing within video activist footage?*

Q1.	*What are the visual strategies that are employed by the different groups within video **activist** footage?*

Q2.	*How do these videos frame **immigration** and **anti-racist** activism?*

*Q3.   How, and in what ways, are Benford & Snow's (2000) frame alignment processes being utilised to create knowledges about **immigration** and **anti-racist** activism, and what are these knowledges?*

Q4.   To what extent is Benford & Snow's (2000) frame resonance established through the framing processes?

*Q5.   To what extent do these knowledges reinforce or challenge the dominant hegemonic common-sense narrative and create alternative ways of thinking about **immigration** and **anti-racist** activism?*

Therefore, in a similar fashion to the sampling criteria employed for identifying the most relevant online media content in the previous section, each video needed to: (1) relate directly to immigration, (2) have been created by an activist group (or individuals from any of the activist groups in question), (3) refer to immigration and/or anti-racism principles at some point or another and (4) have been filmed in the UK [relating to UK context]. Videos which did not meet all of these criteria were removed from the sample. The remaining videos from YouTube and Facebook were downloaded and also stored in NVivo. The subsequent combined sample consisted of the following number of videos:

Facebook: 91
YouTube: 35
Total: 126

This sampling also highly depends on the level of engagement there is between the activist groups and their respective social media accounts. As mentioned, while engagement with Twitter is high, there are very few videos which appear there as Facebook seem to hold the crux of these videos. All available online videos by these groups have been collected, stored and transcribed in NVivo.

It should be noted that, as the entry to the 'field' of research was a discursive one, the specific activist groups that have been selected for analysis within this thesis do not represent the entirety of anti-racist activism in the United Kingdom, but were identified from the sampling process used to collect the video activist data. As such, the following activist groups were identified as being creators or contributors to the video activist data, or regularly featured within the videos themselves:

- Movement for Justice by Any Means Necessary
- Detention Action
- Bail for Immigration Detainees
- Unite Against Fascism
- Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants
- Black Lives Matter UK
- End Deportations
- Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants

4.3 Analytical Approach

4.3.1 Visual Analysis

Overlaps in the fields of sociology and media studies in studying the 'visual' is not entirely new, and is often rooted in the field of visual sociology (Harper, 1998; Henny, 2012; Pauwels, 2010; Tomaselli & Shepperson, 1997; Williams, 2015; Zuev & Krase, 2017). Although much of the former literature focuses on semiotic analysis (i.e. the study of signs, symbols, and underlying codes in meaning-making), the first part of the analysis is more interested in the visual strategies that are employed by the activist groups' respective video activists (and the broader anti-racist movement as a whole). It uncovers a variety of strategies employed throughout these videos that open up opportunities for the types of framing of immigration that are explored in much more depth in the subsequent chapter (**6. Frame Analysis**). In establishing the various visual strategies employed by the activist groups within the collected videos, I establish here a broad conceptual framework derived from a combination of literature surrounding film theory/studies (specifically cinematography, editing and visual effects, where applicable) and the typology of video activist footage outlined by Askanius (2013). The typology initially outlined in Askanius' work includes:

Mobilisation video: edited videos which explicitly call for political action; *witness video*: documentation of unjust actions, political/police wrongdoings and human rights violations; *documentation video*: straightforward documenting of marches, speeches, meetings, actions and political events; *archived radical video*: culmination of historical and new videos featured on 'channels', primarily UGC platforms such as YouTube;

political mash-up video: edited videos containing snippets of amateur *and* professional footage designed to construct a political statement or argument. Some adaptation of this typology has been made in conceptualising the different types of videos collected and analysed here:

(1) Much of Askanius' work within this text, and her subsequent research, contextualises this typology within debates on radical online video practices, which is less relevant in the context of this research. Therefore, some of the categories, such as 'Archived Radical Video' has been discounted, as the focus here is less on the practices of uploading video, and more on the visual strategies employed by the activist groups.

(2) Based on Askanius' study, it is evident the 'Political Mash-Up Video' type (or genre) encompasses videos where political or broadcast footage is included within the editing of an event/demonstration organised by a movement or activist group. The types of videos selected for this study identify a gap in this understanding of the mashup genre, in that there is often an overlap between Documentation and Political Mash-Up video types, which encompass albeit edited videos but without political broadcast footage/segments, are not necessarily mobilising in intent, do not contain evidence of abuse of authoritative powers, and are not 'raw' to the extent that they have been edited (whether in professional or amateur capacity). Therefore, a new genre of video is added to account for this gap: *edited mashup video*; videos which contain various edited segments of rallies and demonstrations, but for documentation reasons, rather than those outlined by any of the other categories from Askanius' typology.

(3) A further addition to the typology includes *satirical video*, which encompasses filming which has been edited in such a way as to create a satirical or comedic effect for the purposes of drawing attention to social injustices surrounding immigration. Although some of these types of videos can also overlap with the *documentary video* category as they involve subjects directly addressing the camera without any specific editing, others are sometimes created as 'mockumentaries'; mock documentaries with satirical storytelling content (Formenti, 2022; Hallas, 2009; Kester, 1998;

Marcus & Kara, 2016; Middleton, 2014; Roscoe & Hight, 2001; Wallace, 2018).

(4) The final addition to the typology includes *narration video*. This refers to videos that contain normally a still image, photograph or some raw footage from protests/rallies, but where the only sound is a voiceover narration.

(5) Further, rather than referring to 'Witness Video', which in the original typology has a rather narrow scope, reference will be made throughout to how the visual strategies employed by the various videos often contribute to the notion of 'bearing witness' (Laub, 1992); establishing truth, authenticity, and allowing the viewer to feel as though they are virtually part of events that have been/are taking place.

The amended typology above is used within **5. Visual Analysis** to discuss the various stylistic strategies employed by the different activist groups within these videos. Within this structure, there are connecting threads of cinematographic styles and techniques contained within the videos, which will be examined using a conceptual framework derived from film theory/studies literature; specifically a combination of the work and ideas of Bordwell & Thompson (2019), Doane (2003), Donnelly (2013), Dmytryk (1988), Kenworthy (2013), Lancaster (2013), Pisani (2014), Rabiger & Hurbis-Cherrier (2013), Shrum & Scott (2017), Stadler (2020), Stadler & McWilliam (2009) and Taylor (2013):

Shots: The proximity between the camera and its subject or object. These can range from *master/establishing shot*, denoting a very wide shot portraying the overall setting or context in which an event is taking place; *full shot*, where the subject can be seen in their full height in relation to the context or background/environment; *medium shot*, displaying a slightly closer portrayal of the subject in relation to their context, background/environment; *medium close-up*, where the upper body of the subject is visible, normally used to portray their reactions to what is going on around them; *close-up*, where the subject's head and shoulders are visible, whether from the front or from behind; and

extreme close-up, often used to portray refined details of an individual or an object.

Angling: The angle at which the camera is pointed at the subject or object within the frame, ranging from *low angle*, where the camera is pointing upwards at the subject or object from below; *eye-level shot*, at a direct and straight level to the subject or object, but can also refer to a side view; *bird's eye*, referring to the camera at a height above the subject or object, usually looking directly down; and *dog's eye*, which are filmed at a low level close to the floor, normally displaying a subject's shoes.

Movement: Any movements by the camera during the filming process, including *tilting*, the act of moving the camera either vertically, horizontally or onto its side; and *following* (also known as *tracking* or *travelling*), moving alongside, behind or in front of a subject or object while an event is taking place.

Editing: Processes of selecting, sequencing, and/or arranging shots to create some kind of meaning. This can include *cutting*, the literal meaning of one shot abruptly moving to the next shot; *pace*, the speed at which the footage is edited (either normal, fast or slow motion); and *transitions*, the ways in which two shots are conjoined through editing.

Sound: Auditory elements found within the videos. This can relate either to the choice, style or genre of music being used in the background, to sound editing like the use of *voiceover*; hearing the voice of an individual not necessarily in each of the shots; *sonic overlap*, where the sound from one shot is continued into the next one; and *sound bridge*, referring to sound from a subsequent shot prematurely being prematurely introduced into the current shot before the source of the sound is known to the viewer.

4.3.2 Frame Analysis

The second analytical stage of this study is more comprehensive and relates to the examination of frames and framing processes. Applying the theoretical and methodological bases of framing to actors or groups of actors seeking to challenge the dominant hegemonic common-sense narrative, similarities between discourse and frame analysis become evident in their epistemological positions; both social constructionist in paradigm and analytical in research methods, seeking to interpret and understanding the meaning behind 'activism and social movement communication' (Lindekilde, 2014: 196). Both are set on highlighting the power dynamic in the relationship between "texts" and their broader contexts' (ibid.). However, as previously mentioned, it is not the intention of this thesis to study the nature of being of individual discourses, rather how issues surrounding immigration are *articulated through* framing processes, and the knowledges these frames help to produce which resist or challenge the current post-truth hegemonic project.

Video activist footage can be argued to be 'sites of struggle in that they show traces of differing discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance' (Meyer, 2009). As previously mentioned, there is a gap in the fields of literature which made up the conceptual framework of this thesis, namely frame analysis has not yet been conducted on video activist footage to identify frames and production of knowledge which challenge dominant hegemonic narratives. Much of the research relating to videos tend to either employ quantitative methodology, such as coding followed by content analysis, or some form of textual analysis but without conducting a qualitative frame analysis concurrently or subsequently. Similarly, there is an overemphasis in existing literature on empirical elements of framing (as demonstrated by Jungblut & Zakareviciute's 2019 study on the Israeli-Gaza conflict) rather than more qualitative approaches to the method. It is important to note there methodological differences between 'frame' and 'framing' analysis and how these have been used within the analytical chapter. Rana (2020) outlined some of the pitfalls found in Benford's work such as descriptive bias, 'wherein there is a tendency to focus on a long list of types of frames' (p. 58), which speaks to the discrepancy between the choice of using 'frame' rather than 'framing' as the central focus for analysis. Whilst 'frames' themselves refer to the 'interpretive schemata' which simplify and condense the world 'by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences and sequences of actions within one's present or past environment' (Snow & Benford, 1992: 137), 'framing' refers more broadly to the processes surrounding the

frames; the creation of the narratives themselves. Following the collection of the video activist footage, I adopted a frame analytical approach to explore the frames contained within and the framing processes which indicate the knowledges produced throughout.

Van Dijk suggests a two-step guidance to the process of frame analysis; ascertaining the lowest common discursive denominator contained throughout the entire text (video in this case) in order to identify the frame used, then applying the results of this to the four tasks that discursive structures perform as outlined below (1980: 46-47, in Fisher, 1997: 98):

(1) Enabling the receiver of a language message to select some elements for interpretation and to delete others as not relevant to the global meaning of that message;

(2) Enabling receivers to organise elements of messages hierarchically, and to mark those elements requiring 'strong' or 'weak' deletion or selection;

(3) Allowing receivers to generalise the meaning of the message; and

(4) Equipping receivers to derive a global fact from the message.

In essence, the process of 'select' and 'delete' do not necessarily mean physically removing elements from the analysis, but simply marking them as not being central to the focal point of the general 'message' which the video is attempting to put across. This process was practically applied during my analysis of the collected videos. I then categorised the videos using Snow & Benford's (1988) framing tasks to illustrate the way in which immigration was framed through these videos. The overall analytic framework which I employed for analysis was as follows:

1. Identify the lowest common discursive denominator running throughout the text(s);

2. Use Snow & Benford's (1988) model of framing tasks to identify the type of framing taking place i.e. diagnostic, prognostic and/or motivational;

3. Apply these results to Van Dijk's four tasks of discursive structures, specifically tasks (1) and (2);

4. Identify gaps or 'missing' elements of the frames and use this to 'generalise the meaning of' and 'derive a global fact from' the message;

5. Use Benford & Snow's (2000) framing alignment typology to explore the extent to which various frames interact with one another.

Visual/auditory denotations (i.e. what is simply visible and audible) were identified for each collected video. This fed into Van Dijk's hierarchical organisation of relevant information as well as marking of 'select' for relevant information and 'delete' for elements deemed unrelated or unconnected to the overall theme or message of the video. The broad message of each video was then generalised in order to identify the exact frames being employed. In addition, I also established how the frames were constructed more broadly; the aim of each frame, the object of focus, the object of blame and which dominant hegemonic framing processes (generally) or frames (specifically) each frame seemingly challenged.

4.3.3 Frame Resonance

The resonance of frames and framing processes have been established through acknowledgement of the three elements outlined in **3.2 Frames and Framing**; namely attention to frame consistency, empirical credibility and credibility of articulators.

Frame consistency: In line with Benford & Snow's (2000) framework for frame analysis, and their ideas surrounding the importance of consistency…

consistency within frames and framing processes has been analysed through the frequency and persistence of themes which contribute to the production of knowledges, or different ways of understanding immigration and anti-racist activism. Equally, I draw attention to perceived[2] inconsistencies within, as well as between frames and framing processes, including themes which were not evident through the video activist frames, but that could have contributed towards the resistance or challenging of dominant hegemonic narratives.

Empirical Credibility: As previously mentioned, credibility is a contested concept and care must be taken to ensure that the ontological and epistemological positionality of this thesis is not compromised through engaging in a discussion surrounding

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[2] 'Perceived' acknowledges my own subjectivity involved at all the stages throughout the research process.

measurability. Therefore, it is important to note that this thesis does not seek to suggest that any actor within the broader anti-racist movement itself is or isn't considered credible, since my ontological and epistemological positionality is based upon the premise that all research contains elements of subjectivity in approach and analysis, but highlights the attempts made through the produced video activist footage to establish credibility for the respective groups and the claims which are made.

Credibility of Articulators: It must be noted that this element of the research does not engage in a social-psychological analyses, but (as within the notion of Empirical Credibility) highlights the various attempts made by activist groups through the production and dissemination of video activist footage to establish this type of credibility. In conceptualising 'credibility' and categorising the methods which have been used throughout the video activist frames, I drew from previous literature where this type of credibility had been demonstrably established; namely Coy & Woehrle (1996) which details how activist groups outline their own history, Schmidt et al. (2021) who detail that diversity of speakers can contribute to the credibility of the group as a whole, and Persaud's (2016) assertion of the importance of self-declared victories. Finally, in embodying the nature of the constructivist ontological positioning of this study, and acknowledgement of social movements as producers of knowledge themselves, it was important to add an additional category to the analysis of the credibility of articulators: activists' personal experiences.

4.4 Challenges and Ethical Considerations

4.4.1 User Participation and Interaction

A key challenge to the collection and analysis of online videos, particularly in this type of research, is the notion of *immediacy* (Choi & Sung, 2018: 2291-2292). Kaun & Stiernstedt (2014) coin the concept 'social media time' as a way of understanding the ways in which the rise of social media platforms has commodified the act of networking through constant flow of newness and liveness (pp. 1158-1159). This, they argue, contributes to a space in which the bombardment of new information leaves users unable or unwilling to analyse the authenticity of the data, nor leave room for any forms of interpretation of what they have consumed (p. 1164). Analysis of the

introduction of Web 2.0 was formerly quite sufficient in explaining the rise in instances of User Generated Content (UGC) in the 21ˢᵗ Century and its impact on mainstream media outlets. Kaun & Stiernstedt (2014) analyse the ways in which Facebook is designed in such a way as to *feed* the immediacy of social media users, thus making it increasingly difficult to ensure visibility. As such, this made continuous access to certain types of footage or data necessary for the purposes of this thesis challenging over time. Older, or less contemporarily relevant, video footage on both YouTube and Facebook sites were often removed shortly after posting, paving the way for new uploads. This posed a challenge for remaining up-to-date with the types of video activist footage that was being made available, and thus the need to download and store the relevant videos became top priority during this research process. Similarly, some sites were suddenly closed down without warning throughout the course of the research, for instance the Black Lives Matter UK Facebook site or the End Deportations official website. This type of action can also pose a challenge to maintaining an up-to-date dataset, but this was alleviated due to the aforementioned process of downloading and storing videos in good time.

Simultaneously, attempting to research levels of genuine interaction between activist groups on social media platforms and wider users was initially prioritised but later became unworkable due to the fast-paced nature of changes. Users, who are not necessarily devoted or committed followers, but who may merely be sympathetic to the causes or grievances of an activist group/movement, are more likely to engage in slacktivism; quick and simple acts of civil disobedience on the online realm, such as signing e-petitions, rather than translating these sympathies into physical protest action alongside (or with) the activists themselves (Cabrera et al., 2017; Christensen, 2012; Gladwell, 2010; Glenn, 2015; Howard et al., 2016; Kwak et al., 2018; Rotman et al., 2011). The levels of interaction of online users who are less than sympathetic to the causes of the anti-racist movement with some of the video activist content available on respective social media sites were likely to have been very low. As a result, it was difficult to establish whether the online interactions (such as liking, reacting and commenting on uploaded videos) were from users who were particularly committed followers of the activist groups in question, individuals sympathetic to their causes or grievances, or those who had had no involvement but happened to come across the post/upload during the course of browsing.

One of the more contemporary challenges for understanding the levels of impact that social media video activist footage could have on discursive change relates to the commercialisation of some social media platforms. Facebook and YouTube are both widely known to make use of *algorithms* for engaging public and user interaction on their platforms. These are formulae or codes designed to control the given platform by 'dynamically modifying content and function' (McKelvey, 2014: 598). This is done through continuous surveillance and monitoring of behavioural patterns, which then creates an internal artificial profile only known to the platform themselves, through which it targets personalised content with which the respective user is most likely to interact (DeVito et al., 2017; McKelvey, 2014; Milan, 2015a; Peterson-Salahuddin & Diakopoulos, 2020; Rieder et al., 2018; Sumpter, 2018; Treré, 2019). Often, algorithms are utilised strategically by multinational businesses aiming to advertise their products to viable users, or simply misused by political actors seeking to influence the outcome of elections; this was evident through both the Cambridge Analytica scandal in the run up to the EU Referendum (Brändle et al., 2021; Joseph, 2020; Krasni, 2020), as well as through the subsequent election of Boris Johnson (O'Connor et al., 2020; Shore, 2021; White, 2020). As a result, the levels of interaction between users and activist groups can be considered as almost predetermined due to the creation of online 'echo chambers' i.e. spaces where users are only exposed to content they are more likely to agree with and interact with other users who are of like mind or opinion; 'the looping of self-declared cause/identity with the information that the relevant user encounters, with little intervening friction' (Valluvan, 2019: 187).

Closely linked to how algorithms are misused is the contention between the use of social media for progressive social change, and the surveillance business model of commercial platforms. Fuchs & Trottier (2015) develop a theoretical model through which one can understand the process of surveillance of social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter, taking into consideration the 'constitutive features' of social media. These are indicative of not only the ability of organisations wishing to profit from private information using product advertisements and placements – termed 'digital capitalism' (Barassi, 2015; Fuchs & Mosco, 2015; Roy & Gupta, 2018; Schiller, 1999), but also of the power of state institutions to enforce existing laws through collection of data from social media accounts. Whilst the example provided in Fuchs & Trottier's work relates specifically to terrorist activities on social media, the vagueness of what constitutes appropriate or reasonable surveillance on social media

platforms (albeit for the purposes of law enforcement) remains questionable. As demonstrated by the Cambridge Analytica scandal, it would not be an extraordinary exaggeration to state that states and state institutions could also easily fall into the trap (whether intentionally or unintentionally) of collecting more data than they need through vague and/or miscoded algorithms. Considering the lack of criminal sanctions against Cambridge Analytica for their role in the UK's EU Referendum, justification for similar actions conducted by the state or state institutions may also potentially be accepted as reasonable. It is evident that the level of surveillance of social media platforms is also impacting on users in the offline realm, where an increased sense of self-awareness leads to offline behaviours adhering to them in the likely possibility that they may be captured and become available for online audiences (Marder et al., 2016). The use of these commercialised platforms by activist groups within the progressive anti-racist movement in the United Kingdom seems rather paradoxical considering their stance against neoliberalism. It may be reasonable to assume that much of the video activist footage becoming available on certain social media platforms or channels, such as YouTube or Facebook, are also tailored to appeal to certain audiences than others, creating a challenge for those seeking to understand how and why these videos have been edited and produced in the way that they have.

4.4.2 Considering Anonymity, Confidentiality and Copyright

Due to the fact that the data collected for the purposes of this research was publicly available, there are no issues relating to anonymity of individuals choosing to post/upload content on online platforms. However, screenshots of the videos made available on YouTube and Facebook accounts of the respective activist groups have been redacted for copyright purposes from the final publication of this thesis. All ethical considerations surrounding confidentiality of research data were deemed in line with the British Sociological Association Statement of Ethical Practice (2017), including storage of the collected data on University of Westminster in-house servers.

4.5 Summary

This chapter has outlined the epistemological and ontological positionality of the research. It has provided descriptive detail of the way in which the data which has formed part of the analysis has been sampled, including the parameters set through

YouTube Data API, collected and stored in line with appropriate ethical considerations. The approach to the frame and framing analysis has been outlined using a combined framework from various case studies of similar research conducted in previous academic literature. It has also outlined some of the potential challenges of this research in relation to the social media realm in general, and for those conducting similar research in the future to consider critically. Finally, this chapter outlined the potential ethical issues which were adequately taken into consideration.

5. VISUAL ANALYSIS

This chapter first introduces the various activist groups that form part of the broader progressive anti-racist movement in the United Kingdom, providing some contextual information to each of the groups, drawing attention to the discursive relevance of their inception; aims, objectives and mission statements, and the work they do in areas of migration and immigration. In line with the analytical framework outlined for this part of the analysis, it then explores the visual strategies employed by the various groups, using a conceptual framework made up of Askanius' (2013) typology of video activist footage, and literature surrounding film theory/studies and cinematography, finally proposing a Typology of Anti-Racist Visual Strategies.

As previously outlined within the **4.2 Sampling and Data Collection** section, the contemporary progressive anti-racist movement in the United Kingdom identified for the purposes of this research is made up of several activist groups which make the necessary conceptual links between immigration and racism, rooting the aims and objectives of their work in principles or anti-racism and pro-immigration, along with a concerted effort to oppose state policies relating to the treatment of migrants. Some of these activist groups date as far back as 1995, and others came about through affiliation or notable events relating to anti-racism, such as through repeated deaths in police custody, scandals surrounding the Windrush generation of migrants, or other high-profile deportations of racially minoritised migrants in general.

Movement for Justice By Any Means Necessary was first registered as a charity in 1995 after mobilisation of members of Camden's Kingsway College Student Union with a shared aim to tackle institutional racism and organised fascism, having also protested against the Austerity cuts following the 2008 Financial Crisis and, most notably, organising the "Day of Rage" protests following the Grenfell Tower fire in London (Tambini, 2017; Mitchell, 2017; Innes et al., 2020; Brown, 2020). Since 2015, however, they have been actively demonstrating against the detention of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees in the UK's immigration detention centres, and the deportation of said individuals to other countries. The specific demands of the movement are to '(1) shut down detention centres, (2) defend and extend free movement, (3) fight nationalist and racist backlash and (4) open the borders' (Mukaka, 2019: 263), and they

detail fifteen principles which define the work of their group (Movement for Justice, 2017).

Detention Action was registered as a charity in 1997. Although little is known about the early work of this group, they have in recent years joined in collaboration with Movement for Justice to argue for the closure of immigration detention centres in the UK and halt deportations of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees. In 2014, they began work on establishing a Community Support Project working with supporting young men (18-30 years old) who had been, or were at risk of being, in long-term detention. They have since been involved in several legal actions against the UK Government's immigration policies, and have been supporting the rights of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees in several cases, in 2014 securing a Court of Appeal judgement against the Secretary of State for the Home Department (Silverman et al., 2020; Detention Action, 2020; *Detention Action v SSHD*, 2020; *Detention Action v SSHD*, 2014).

Bail for Immigration Detainees became a registered charity in 1999 and has since been providing detainees in UK immigration detention centres information, legal advice and legal representation (BiD, n.d.; McGinley & Trude, 2012; Cutler, 2007; Jackson, 2003). They have three self-proclaimed aims / mission / values: (1) 'providing free legal advice, information and representation to thousands of people held in detention across the UK', (2) 'Challenging detention practices through research and policy work', and (3) 'Ending all forms of immigration detention, and creating a world where people are not deprived of their liberty for immigration purposes' (London Assembly, 2021). Alongside this work, members from the activist group have been attending protests and demonstrations against the UK Home Office's policy of deportation flights in support of asylum seekers and refugees concerned (Taylor, 2021).

Unite Against Fascism was founded by the Socialist Workers Party in its direct opposition to the rising publicity and political popularity of the British National Party in the early 21st Century. It has strong links to various unions and has over the years gathered strong support from MPs from across the UK's political spectrum, including the "Big Four": Labour Party, Green Party, Liberal Democrat Party and the Conservative Party; David Cameron having been a key signatory member to the group's founding statement (Unite Against Fascism, n.d.). Since 2013, their elected

officers also include two Members of European Parliament (MEPs) and they have supporting links with various other groups, including Stand Up To Racism, Rock Against Racism, Anti-Nazi League, National Assembly Against Racism, Show Racism the Red Card and Love Music Hate Racism. The rise of the British National Party saw sustained action by Unite Against Fascism in the form of conferences, such as its 2007 National Delegate Conference which mobilised trade unions across the country against the British National Party's success in the West Midlands (Unison, 2007) and demonstrations including notably the rallies in June and November 2007 against Nick Griffin being provided a platform at an Oxford Union address (Unite Against Fascism, 2007). Since this date, they have campaigned arguably successfully against both the British National Party and the English Defence League (a de facto political Party founded by Tommy Robinson with strong links to the British National Party), leading to significant reduction in public popularity for either of these Parties in UK and EU elections.

Although the *Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants* has been around since the mid 1960s, it officially became a registered charity in 2007. One of the founders of this activist group is Vishnu Sharma, a member of the Community Party and former vice-chair of the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD) in the 1960s (Punja, 2016). The core aims of the group have not changed considerably since its early inception; challenging unjust and discriminatory legislation, policy and practices, and supporting the victims of said legislation, policy and practices through legal advice (JCWI, n.d.; Kofman, 1999; Cashmore & McLaughlin, 1991; Hayter, 2014; Fekete, 2016). It is clear that they collaborate closely with Bail for Immigration Detainees, who are featured on their website under information for where detainees can seek urgent, and free, legal advice.

Black Lives Matter was founded as a Twitter hashtag in 2013 in response to the acquittal of US police officer George Zimmerman after the killing of Black American teenager Trayvon Martin. The movement was largely decentralised and aimed at raising awareness of the injustices Black Americans face, on a premise that Black lives are largely framed in dominant arenas to be unimportant (Lane et al., 2020; Beck & Fabregat, 2019; Smiley, 2019; Torres et al., 2017). Since this time, Black Lives Matter has expanded to the United Kingdom and Canada. The UK counterpart of the American Black Lives Matter movement is Black Lives Matter UK. Another UK

version of this movement, brandishing the same name, is UKBLM who were formed in 2016 as a coalition of Black activists (UKBLM, 2021). The two are seemingly not connected, with the former's website disclaimer claiming 'We are NEITHER associated or affiliated with @ukblm registered (Sep 2020) with FCA under the name 'Black Liberation Movement UK' nor are we affiliated to BLM USA and or any other political party or group here in the UK or abroad' (Black Lives Matter UK, n.d.). The UK branch of the movement gained particular attention in recent years following the killing of another Black American, George Floyd, by US police officer Derek Chauvin in 2020. The group organised several large-scale demonstrations across UK cities to raise awareness of injustices facing Black individuals globally, including in the UK (Samayeen et al., 2020; Mohdin et al., 2020; BBC News, 2020). Notably, this wave led to the toppling of several statues of famous colonial-era individuals in a bid to oppose ongoing colonialist practices in the UK, leading to the establishment of a Commission for Diversity in the Public Realm and a review into the 'appropriateness of local monuments and statues on public land and council property' (Dray, 2021).

Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants was founded in 2015 alongside LGBT+ People Against Islamophobia. The name of the group is based on the 1980s alliance Lesbians and Gays Support the Miners in support of the National Union of Mineworkers against the Thatcher administration's decision to close UK coal mines (Kelliher, 2014; Robinson, 2007; Smith, 2016; Franklin, 2019). Its members (alongside those from End Deportations and Plane Stupid) have most notably been involved in the 2015 Heathrow Airport sit in-demonstration against climate change and the Stansted Airport sit-in demonstration in against a Charter Flights (Tamlit, 2017; Cole, 2017; Turhan & Armiero, 2017). The group claims solidarity with migrants, refugees and asylum seekers historic victimisation of LGBT+ people grounded upon relatability due to historic victimisation of LGBT+ people (LGSM, n.d.).

Alongside Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants, *End Deportations* was founded in 2015 and took part in both the 2015 Heathrow and Stansted Airport demonstrations, later becoming dubbed as the 'Stansted 15' (The Guardian, 2018; Dearden, 2018; Kennedy & Abellan-Matamoros, 2019). Though not much of their ongoing activism is documented in secondary sources, it is clear from video activist footage on more corporate social networking sites like Facebook and YouTube that End Deportations members have been heavily involved (alongside Movement for Justice by Any Means

Necessary) in demonstrations outside immigration detention centres such as Yarl's Wood and Harmondsworth.

Building upon the introduction of the activist groups within the broader progressive anti-racist movement in the United Kingdom, this chapter now transitions to the analysis of visual techniques employed by these groups. It is crucial to focus on these activist groups as they represent the forefront of the anti-racist movement, actively challenging institutional racism, xenophobia, and discriminatory immigration policies. By studying the visual strategies used within their video activist footage, we gain valuable insights into their innovative approaches for raising awareness, mobilising communities, and potentials in affecting social change. This analysis not only highlights the power of visual media as a tool for activism but also underscores the significance of these activist groups' efforts in advocating for the rights of migrants and fostering a more inclusive society. By bridging the earlier contextual information with the forthcoming visual analysis, we gain a comprehensive understanding of the intersection between visual communication and anti-racist activism in the United Kingdom.

5.1 (Raw) Documentation Videos

The majority of the collected videos were made up of raw documentation footage from rallies, demonstrations, meetings, interviews and other events organised by the various activist groups in the broader anti-racist movement, totalling to 83 out of 126 videos across those uploaded to both YouTube and respective Facebook pages. In analysing the various visual strategies employed throughout these videos, there are some interesting contributions to knowledge in terms of the way in which the viewer is able to interact with the footage within these videos (and inevitably also the activist group itself), but also insight for researchers into both the types of individuals who are engaging in video activism as part of these groups, and the resources that are available to these individuals. A key connecting theme throughout the raw videos is one of storytelling, and this is done in a variety of ways, but using three common styles: raw footage of protestors engaging in demonstrations or making speeches, interview-style raw footage, and raw footage that has been *livestreamed*. These have been divided into two categories, based on the style of the videos; amateur(-style)

filming and professional(-style) filming, both with their own specific implications in relation to the aims and objectives of the movement as a whole.

5.1.1 Amateur(-Style) Filming

Many examples of raw documentation of protestors marching during a demonstration can be found throughout the array of videos collected. The majority of these videos have been filmed in an amateur capacity. This can be identified through both the quality of the footage and the professionalism or the shots, angling and camera movement.

For instance, an example of one of a video that contains footage of protesters engaging in a standing demonstration includes one titled: 'Walthamstow Stand Up to Racism #Stansted15 Solidarity 1' uploaded onto YouTube under the Occupy News Network channel on 18th December 2018 (Occupy News Network, 2018c). Here, a group of protesters are filmed using a full shot technique standing in Walthamstow Town Square in London in the dark. It is clear that the weather is rainy, as some of the protesters are holding up umbrellas, while others are wearing hoods and other types of head coverings, and the blue lights from a nearby Christmas tree are reflecting off the wet pavements, exposing the puddles some of the protestors are standing in. The quality of the footage is largely poor, but it is not clear whether this is compromised by the poor lighting given the footage is filmed during the dark, the technical specification of the recording equipment (i.e. use of a smartphone or other camcorder), or (as can often happen) a choice of uploading a compressed version of the video to the YouTube channel to reduce the total upload time. At times throughout the duration of the video, the camera movement pans horizontally from the protestors standing on the right-hand-side of the frame, to those on the left, then back-and-forth. While this type of movement technique is intended in this case to document the protest itself, it can also be an indicator of the intention of the video activist to demonstrate the numbers of those in attendance. The shaky and rather messy nature of the panning itself suggests that the person filming is using a hand-held camera (most likely a smartphone), and gives an impression of amateurism both in terms of technological resources and ability to maintain smooth movement. Having said that, the shaky nature of the movement can also signify the difficulties of filming during poor weather conditions, as is evident from the footage itself. Many of the attenders

at the demonstration are holding banners reading 'Stand Up To Racism' (a sub-branch of the Unite Against Fascism activist group), and heard throughout the video is the cameraperson narrating and providing details of the event, including the location and purpose of the demonstration. The choice of disseminating this video as a form of activism is in itself interesting in a symbolic sense, since it draws attention both to the dedication of the activist group to continue engaging in protest, despite the weather and visibility, but also the collective nature of this dedication.

Out of multiple instances found of these types of videos, a further two are selected here as examples which are significant in terms of the visual strategies that have been employed by the Movement for Justice activist group. Two videos were uploaded by this activist group on their Facebook page containing a standing demonstration outside Yarl's Wood detention centre, which has been previously discussed as having received fairly negative media attention in recent years for a variety of reasons:

- On 6th July 2014, titled: '"You see the planes leave... its a message telling you, you're next" ex-detainee and MFJ organiser Frederick Kkonde speaks at Harmondsworth Demonstration yesterday "We know we will win - by any means necessary"' (movementforjustice, 2014b);
- On 7th July 2014, titled: '"I was inside there (Harmondsworth), I know what it means and I want to let our brothers know we are together with them and we shall fight" MFJ organiser and ex detainee Frederick Kkonde speaks to the demonstration at Harmondsworth' (movementforjustice, 2014c).

The first video uploaded on 6th July 2014 contained footage of one of the Movement for Justice organisers and a former detention-centre detainee, Frederick Kkonde, standing outside Yarl's Wood detention centre and speaking into a megaphone microphone. The filming strategy employs a medium shot, in which the upper half of his body is visible. Standing behind him are several other activists, and on the right-hand-side is a man leaning against one of the metal pillars of the detention centre fencing with a backpack and a professional-style photo camera in his hands, presumably documenting the event using the camera. Throughout this video when the speech is taking place, the normally eye-level angle of the camera tilts in a shaky and messy fashion (demonstrating that this is a hand-held device) slightly upwards to expose the fencing behind the activists, where at a further distance the detention

centre is visible. While it is clear that there was no specific intention of the person filming this event of actually panning or tilting in order to show the detention centre in the background in an explicit capacity, it nevertheless provides some interesting insight about the architectural nature of the detention centre and the security implications here.

The windows of the centre appear to have several vertical metal bars attached to the outer side. If the video were to be viewed in a frame-by-frame format, then also at some points it would be evident that there is barbed wire attached to the top of the fencing outside the detention centre. This second element is visible much clearer in the second video uploaded on 7th July 2014 by the activist group [see **Figure 3: Frederick Kkonde** in **Appendices**], within which the same activist is standing almost in the same spot and conducting another speech about his experiences as a former detainee and the importance of the work the activist group are carrying out. Before discussing the similarities in terms of the securitisation of the detention centre, it is important to note the subtle differences between these two videos. Firstly, it is clear that the second video is filmed on a different day to the first one, given the speaker (Kkonde) is wearing different clothes in both videos; presumably the second video is filmed chronologically after the first. The reason for this is that the second difference here is that, not only is he accompanied beside him by Antonia Bright, the Chair of the Movement for Justice activist group, but also behind him there is a female police officer leaning on the gate with her hands behind her back and looking around at the protesters outside of the immediate frame. It is unclear whether there was a significant, or any, police presence at the event which was documented in the first video, as this was not explicitly shown. However, the symbolism here is interesting and fairly significant.

The fact that there are both metal bars on the outer sides of the windows of the detention centre, and fencing that surrounds it (evidently at some distance from the building itself), including the fact that it is evident from both videos that the lower half of the fencing is even boarded up from the inside, demonstrates that there is an attempt to ensure a high level of security. Bars on the windows signifies that there is a concerted effort to make sure that those being housed in the detention centre are not able to escape using the windows, or open them to a significant degree, and the barbed wire on the top of the fencing is also an indicator that there is an attempt to ensure

they are housed within the parameters of Yarl's Wood, being unable to leave the area. From a rather different perspective, the boarding up of the lower half of the fencing demonstrates an effort to simultaneously stop detainees from climbing up the fencing to escape, and to stop non-detainees (or other members of the public) from being able to climb up the fence to enter the parameters of the detention centre. Certainly from the angling technique employed in the second video, where the camera is pointed upwards from a low-angle, there is a clear attempt on the part of the video activist to not only contextualise the event taking place but, importantly, to accentuate the prison-style securitisation around the detention centre. Parallels here can be drawn with an array of (in this case, criminological) academic literature surrounding prisons, such as Foucault's (1977) analyses of this type of prison-style architecture serving as mechanisms of control and discipline, Liebling & Arnold's (2004) work surrounding the deteriorating wellbeing of individuals within similar penal structures, and even Reiter's (2016) work on how windows with bars and other forms of confinement, play a role in controlling and isolating prisoners. As such, the visual strategies employed within these videos provide us some unique insight into how the 'problem' surrounding stigmatisation of migrants is contextualised by the activist groups, and opens up opportunities for understanding the ways in which both immigration and anti-racist activism are framed by the groups in question through the use of video.

Further to this, there are several instances of videos uploaded by the activist groups in the form of amateur 'standard' interview-style. These types of stylistic strategies provide some useful insight into the collective nature of the various groups within the broader anti-racist movement, their wider reach beyond the remits of 'activism' in the way it has been conceptualised within social movement theory in general, and their relationships with prominent public and political figures. Two examples of this type of insight can be found through analysis of videos uploaded by the Unite Against Fascism activist group on their Facebook page:

1. On 7th June 2020, titled: 'Online rally: Black Lives Matter - We demand change 6pm tonight -#WeDemandChange online rally - Make your voice heard! Live on Facebook at https://facebook.com/StandUTR/live Join in with the rally by posting your demands, placards, pics and videos on the #WeDemandChange hashtag. Let's make this movement an engine for real change' (UAFpage, 2020a);

2. On 3rd July 2020, titled: 'Rev Jesse Jackson & Diane Abbott: US/UK #BlackLivesMatter - Where Next for the Anti Racist Movement' (UAFpage, 2020b).

In these two examples, the videos contained footage from interviews conducted with various individuals via Microsoft Zoom (the logo being visible towards the bottom-right-hand-side of each of the clips), and segments of each interview were edited so that they switched back-and-forth between interviewees, depending on the topic that was being discussed, ensuring that there remained a smooth narrative. In conducting the interview and editing in such a way, each interviewee was seen to be in their own space of comfort, with varying background images; some depicting bedrooms, some studies/offices, others living rooms or kitchens. This not only creates a sense of intimacy for the viewer, as in many of these cases it can be a symbolic invitation into the private spaces (homes) of the respective interviewees, albeit virtually, but also draws attention to some of the challenges in engaging in activism throughout the Covid-19 lockdown taking place during the filming of these scenes. The interviewees comprised of a mixture of:

- Activists from Black Lives Matter, Stand Up To Racism, and the Windrush Movement Campaign
- Activists linked to Justice for Kingsley Burrell, a Black student killed in Birmingham in 2011 as a result of police exercising an unlawful restraint technique (Halliday, 2015);
- A relative of Roger Sylvester, a Black man killed in Tottenham (London) in 1999 as a result of police exercising dangerous and unreasonable force of restraint (Wright, 2003);
- Members of the Unison union, Runnymede Trust charity, and church representatives;
- Public figures, such as singer and broadcaster Kwame Kewi-Armah (OBE);
- US political representatives: Professor Jonathan Jackson (Congressman for Illinois' 1st Congressional District) and Rev. Jesse Jackson Sr. (Shadow Senator for District of Columbia);
- UK political representatives: Labour Party Members of Parliament such as Bell Ribiero-Addy (for Streatham), Claudia Webbe (for Leicester East), and Dianne

Abbott (for Hackney North and Stoke Newington); and Rohksana Fiaz (Mayor of Newham).

The wide-ranging profiles of the various interviewees being included within these two videos, their willingness to engage with both the MS Zoom meeting being hosted by MP Dianne Abbott, and be filmed, demonstrates not only the broad reach of the anti-racist movement as a whole, but also the strong collaboration being established between various activist groups within this movement; Unite Against Fascism, Black Lives Matter and Stand Up To Racism. Inclusion of a variety of influential and, arguably, powerful public figures like political representatives from both the US and UK, and prominent celebrities, also draws attention here to the ability of the broader progressive anti-racist movement to gather wider support beyond geographical borders, centred around an ideological push towards social justice and racial equality on the back of many of the more contemporary debates surrounding the deaths of George Floyd and other Black men killed by police officers in the US and UK as a result of abuse of authoritative power.

Livestreaming process involves the use of digital platforms to air audio-visual content in a real-time synchronous fashion. It bridges the gap not only between traditional literature on the proximity between 'participant' and 'audience' of activist created media content, allowing for shared and proximate co-presence (Gregory, 2015), but also between what Bennett & Segerberg (2013) refer to as the shift from collective to connective action, acting as a form of 'connective witnessing'. There are pockets of other livestreaming 'practices' that the activist groups engage in. however, this section provides two examples of video activist footage, uploaded by the End Deportations activist group to their Facebook site, to demonstrate the diversity of visual strategies employed within the videos:

(1) On 29th March 2017, titled: 'Last night 14 activists blockaded a mass deportation flight and stopped it from forcibly deporting dozens of people to Nigeria and Ghana. Join them in calling on Theresa May to #StopCharterFlights now: https://actionsprout.io/1631AC' (EDeportations, 2017a);
(2) On 22nd May 2018, titled: 'Hold the plane LIVE' (EDeportations, 2018a).

The first video was originally livestreamed to the End Deportations Facebook site from the demonstration itself, where protesters from the activist group can be seen laying on the ground underneath the wing of an airplane, engaging in a *direct address* with the camera. 'Direct address' within the fields of film theory/studies and cinematography refers to a specific camera technique where the subject in the frame directly engages with the camera by looking directly into the lens, breaking the fourth wall and establishing a direct connection with the audience. It is often used to create a sense of intimacy, immediacy, or confrontation, allowing the subject to address the viewers directly and establish a direct emotional or intellectual connection (Barsam, 2018; Bordwell & Thompson, 2019; Sobchack, 2004; Sturken & Cartwright, 2017). In this case, by live-streaming their actions, the activist group is able to bring the reality of their protest directly to the viewers, bypassing traditional media channels and capturing their attention in real time. This sense of immediacy is vital in drawing public attention to the cause and evoking emotional responses, as it creates a sense of urgency and connection that may be lacking in other forms of communication. As such, through this visual strategy, the group allows viewers to witness events as they unfold, enabling the audience to experience the intensity, passion, and dedication of the activists, while also ensuring the footage is documented and 'archived', leaving a lasting record that can be shared, revisited, and used as evidence in support of the cause. In this way, the use of livestreaming here not only amplifies the impact of activism but can also foster a sense of accountability and encourage a broader dialogue around the issue of deportation flights.

The second video contains raw documentation footage comprising of 11 minutes, 27 seconds, filmed during a demonstration outside the Home Office building in London aimed at stopping deportations and Charter Flights. The video contains continuous raw, and initially livestreamed, footage of several different people taking turns to make speeches, standing in front of a line of protesters who are holding banners. The angling of the camera is in the form of a *profile shot* or *side profile shot*. This involves framing the subject from a side angle, typically capturing the subject's face in profile while also showing the audience or spectators in the background (Bordwell, 1985; Mulvey, 1975; Stam, 2000). This type of angling allows for a dynamic visual representation where both the subject and the audience are visible, emphasising the interaction and communication between the two. It can also be used to convey the subject's emotions, expressions, and body language, while simultaneously

highlighting the audience's reactions, engagement, or impact of the subject's speech or actions. It provides a way to capture the subject's presence and connection with the audience in a single frame, providing an insight into the emphasis being placed by the broader anti-racist movement on the value of human interaction and collective identity. By combining the elements of witnessing and storytelling, livestreaming amplifies the voices and experiences of those involved, allowing the broader anti-racist movement to convey the significance of the pursuit of social justice. It empowers viewers to become active participants in the narrative, has the potential to foster empathy, awareness, and also inspire collective action.

5.1.2 Professional(-Style) Filming

In contrast to the more amateur forms of filming discussed previously, there are also examples of (raw) documentation videos that make use of professional filming techniques and resources.

Some of the more common examples here relate to the Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants activist group in their creation of standard interview-style videos under the campaign #DearBA, but in a professional rather than amateur style of filming. These videos were uploaded to YouTube under the Occupy News Network channel between April and August 2019, but the most relevant for this strategy included eight which were uploaded on 4th August 2019 entitled '#DearBA: Nebiyat', '#DearBA: Jun', '#DearBA: Eric', '#DearBA: Om', '#DearBA: Esty', '#DearBA: Soso', '#DearBA: Abdellah', and '#DearBA: Ahmed'. Each of these videos featured a different refugee, with varying demographic backgrounds and accents, speaking of their experiences of travelling to the United Kingdom to seek refuge and/or the treatment of persecution in their home countries. Every video contained footage where the camera was pointed at a level angle at the legs of the individual interviewee, often with their hands visible [see **Figure 4: Nebiyat** in **Appendices**], rather than their faces. The connotation of this is that there is seemingly an attempt to maintain the anonymity of the individuals being interviewed or speaking about their experiences, albeit with their first names included in the title to the respective videos, so as to highlight the ongoing nature of threat or risk to life these individuals may still be facing if their identities are revealed. It is also significant that the shots often featured close-ups of the hands of the individuals, some of them visibly fidgeting or playing with their fingers; denoting a

level of anxiety or nervousness and highlighting the vulnerability of the minority groups being filmed. All eight videos are also rather good in quality, with no panning or tilting, signifying that the camera equipment used was not only of rather professional quality, but also that the device had been carefully positioned in a stationary position; most likely on a tripod. While it would have been entirely possible, and likely much cheaper in terms of resources, to record this video using amateur video technology (such as a smartphone), the use of professional filming equipment to record this footage, and subsequently disseminate it, can also be a signifier of the target audience that the activist group is attempting to reach.

In a rather different fashion to the videos discussed previously, standard interview-style techniques are also employed by the Detention Action activist group, evident in some of the videos uploaded onto their Facebook page:

(1) On 10th October 2019, titled: 'Mental Health and Indefinite Immigration Detention / "This individual had lost all hope" - Michael of Freed Voices talks about mental health and his experience in immigration detention on World Mental Health Day' (DetentionAction, 2019b);

(2) On 11th October 2019, titled: '"It's given me flashbacks..." Collin from Freed Voices talking about mental health and the impact of indefinite immigration detention' (DetentionAction, 2019c).

The camera angling in both of these videos are rather different compared to the examples from the #DearBA campaign. Within both videos, medium close-up shots are used to film the interviewees, where their faces and a small portion of their upper torsos are visible [see **Figure 2: Michael of Freed Voices** in **Appendices**], in comparison to the #DearBA interview videos which protected the anonymity of the individuals. Behind both of the interviewees are two tropical plants, showing that this backdrop has been used intentionally for the filming, providing a rather serene effect juxtaposed with an otherwise sombre topic being discussed by the interviewees. Nevertheless, both this juxtaposition and the fact that both names and faces of the individuals are disclosed, suggests that there is a level of confidence and security being portrayed which is not necessarily found in the previous examples from the #DearBA interviews. In this case, the choice of interviewees is also important, as these are two people who are speaking in retrospect about the journeys they have been

through, and their subsequent decision to help the Detention Action activist group in ensuring that others do not face the same hardships. As with the previous example from the #DearBA interviews, it is evident that the camera in both of these videos has been placed at eye-level in a stationary position, again denoting potential access to professional recording equipment. Having said that, the quality of the videos is relatively poor, despite these also being uploaded on social media in the same year, but it is not clear whether the reason for the lower-quality footage can be ascribed to the recording equipment used for these interviews, or the social media sites being utilised.

In summary, the strategic use of visual techniques by activist groups, such as amateur-style filming, unique angles, and interview-style approaches, provides valuable insights into their efforts to garner support and address the stigmatisation and marginalisation of migrants. These strategies create a sense of immediacy and empathy by capturing authentic and raw footage, establishing a deeper connection between viewers and the issues at hand. Livestreaming further amplifies the impact and promotes a collective identity among supporters. Similarly, in campaigns like #DearBA and interviews conducted by Detention Action, deliberate framing, strategic camera angles, and personal narratives contribute to conveying the experiences of migrants and refugees, challenging existing narratives, and fostering empathy and social change. These visual strategies play a crucial role in advocating for social justice and promoting a more inclusive society.

5.2 Edited Mashup Videos

Within this new category are contained several examples of videos that make use of segments from meetings, speeches, rallies, demonstrations and other events organised by the various activist groups, editing them in such a way that they create a flowing narrative designed to either aid in mobilisation efforts, or to engage in documentation of what has been happening as part of specific campaigns. In doing so, some of the videos where these types of editing techniques have been used also include various interviews that are conducted with activists present during the events themselves. This is not dissimilar to the types of videos which one would find on mainstream media outlets documenting a demonstration. It is interesting since it demonstrates that the movement does not necessarily prioritise 'rawness' in their editing style,

although this does seem to be the most common type of video editing that can be found on the activist groups' respective Facebook and YouTube sites.

One example of this type of video activist footage is uploaded under the loveofpeace YouTube channel on 14th January 2017, titled 'London march against mass deportation charter flights in Brixton' containing three hashtags; '#protest #MJF #StopCharterFlights' (loveofpeace, 2017a). This video contains segments of different moments from the rally where large groups of people are chanting and marching down the streets of Brixton. It then cuts to a brief clip where a female activist holding a placard reading 'Brexit is Racist: STOP the scapegoating of immigrants' (which will be discussed further in a subsequent section under the Anti-Racism frame) is engaging in a *direct address* with the camera, seemingly having just been asked by the interviewer why she is taking part in this protest. It then cuts abruptly to several different segments of chanting, including 'we're here to stay, we're here to fight', 'Carter Flights, no way', and to segments where predominantly female activists are holding placards, one of them reading 'STOP kidnapping our loved ones...STOP the raids, STOP the Charter Flights. We WILL resist!' Most of the protest is filmed from the side (and most likely in the central, most populated section) of the march, seemingly to appear as though there are more demonstrators in attendance than there may have been. This is quite significant particularly in linking the level of solidarity with numbers in attendance at these demonstrations, which can be a strategic in challenging the dominant hegemonic narrative surrounding tougher policies by illustrating the widespread discontent with government policy on deportations. It can also form as a method of potentially retaining those who are members of the activist groups part of the movement, and empowering them to continue pressure on the state through acts of civil disobedience.

In several shots, the protesters are filmed holding placards using an up-angle shot [see **Figure 5: MfJ Placards** in **Appendices**]. Filming protesters holding placards using an up-angle shot carries significant symbolism in visual storytelling. This camera angle empowers the protesters, making them appear larger and more dominant, symbolising their courage and determination. It emphasises the strength and impact of their placards, highlighting their messages and demands. The up-angle shot can also represent a shift in power dynamics and challenges the status quo, and the use of this within video activist footage potentially inspiring viewers to question norms and

join the movement for purposes of change. It creates a visual hierarchy, directing focus to the placards and amplifying the protesters' voices. Ultimately, this technique captures the essence of their activism, showcasing their strength, heroism, and call for social transformation. Further to this, there are a number of shots where the filming takes place from the centre of protest marches, or from behind. Filming a protest march from the centre or behind the protesters carries both cinematographic and symbolic significance. When capturing the march from the centre, the camera is positioned amidst the participants, immersing the viewer in the dynamic atmosphere. This perspective allows for a more intimate experience, showcasing the diverse range of individuals united in their cause. It can capture their determination, energy, and collective spirit, providing a sense of being an active part of the protest (or 'bearing witness' to it). On the other hand, filming from behind the protest, where the backs of other protesters are visible, creates a different visual impact. It symbolises solidarity and a shared journey towards social change. Focusing on the backs of protesters emphasises the collective nature of the movement, highlighting that individuals are part of a larger whole. This perspective evokes a sense of unity, highlighting the power of coming together for a common purpose.

A further example of heavy editing of footage is uploaded by the End Deportations activist group on their Facebook site on 18th December 2018, titled 'International Migrants Day: Solidarity with the Stansted 15' (EDeportations, 2018f). Here, segments of rallies and demonstrations are cut and pieced together, alongside a voiceover of an activist walking and talking into a microphone; in a walk-and-talk (Barsam, 2018; Bordwell & Thompson, 2019) style interview [see **Figure 13: Walk-and-Talk**]. While it is clear from the quality of the footage, and the microphone being held by the interviewee, that there is professional filming equipment being utilised, the camera is pointing at the interviewer in a slight up-angle and the rather shaky panning signifies that the camera is handheld and being carried, rather than mounted on any tracking equipment. The use of the walk-and-talk style interview can create a sense of immediacy and authenticity, as it takes place within the live context of the protest, showcasing the energy and passion of the participant. It can also allow for a more dynamic visual presentation, with the shaky camera moving alongside the protester, providing a sense of amateur movement and momentum to the interview. This can enhance the overall engagement and impact of the footage. Additionally, it can effectively capture the atmosphere of the protest, including the chants, signs, and

surrounding environment, providing a richer and more immersive experience for viewers, helping to establish a personal connection between the interviewer and the protester, in order to foster a sense of rapport and empathy.

Following the shot of the interviewee talking into the microphone, the video then cuts abruptly to footage recorded near Waterloo station in London of members of the public crossing the street in slow-motion. Over this footage is a text overlay reading: 'THIS INTERNATIONAL MIGRANTS DAY / SHOW SOLIDARITY WITH THE #STANSTED15'. The scene then cuts back-and-forth between various interviewees holding the microphone and speaking about their reasons for taking part in the demonstration, in the same walk-and-talk interview style. Similarly, the camera is pointed at the interviewee in an up-angle; the importance of this having been discussed in the previous section in terms of symbolism of shifting power dynamics. The footage is again quite shaky in panning and following, rather than smooth, providing a sense of movement and dynamism to the overall aesthetic of the video. While the audio of the interviewers are continued as voiceovers, in between video footage of the interviewees, there are video segments of the demonstration at different points throughout London, and filmed from various angles, including ones filmed from 'behind', where only the backs of protesters are visible and from a rather lower angle than eye-level, as though the cameraperson is marching alongside (or behind) the other activists. Again, this can act as emphasising the collective nature of the movement, and highlighting that the individual activists are part of a larger whole.

At times, there are also extreme close-up angles of the hands of several different protesters as they are collectively holding a large banner over the side of Westminster Bridge. The extreme close-up shot here serves as having various functions: firstly, it accentuates some of the more intricate elements of the protest (Shrum & Scott, 2017; Stadler & McWilliam, 2009); secondly, it provides the viewer a sense of intimacy to the events taking place, one which they would not have otherwise been privy to even if in attendance (Lancaster, 2013); but fundamentally, the switching of shots from one protester's hands to another all holding the same banner, connotes a sense of collective unity. One of the protesters being interviewed is heard as a voiceover during these shots saying:

> 'I think freedom of mobility is a fundamental human right. And especially when
> it's connected to security of being, security of livelihood. It's a fundamental human

right, and we've been violating that based on a racist system that prevents people of colour being mobile in the same way as White people have been, and continue to be' (EDeportations, 2018f: 01:46-02:02)

While it is not the intention of this chapter to analyse the discursive ramifications of the videos (this is covered in the subsequent chapter **6. Frame Analysis**), it is important to take into consideration the audovisual strategy here; the combination of sound bridges (Hurbis-Cherrier, 2012; Pisani, 2014; Stadler & McWilliam, 2009) and sonic overlaps (Donnelly, 2013; Stadler, 2020; Stadler & McWilliam, 2009) allowing for the voiceover to remain constant both before and after shots of the extreme close-ups of various protesters' hands; the narrative of humanisation generally, and human rights specifically, grounds this sense of power in collective unity.

In summary, the editing techniques employed in these videos create a flowing narrative that aids mobilisation efforts and documents specific campaigns. They often feature interviews with activists, similar to those found in mainstream media coverage of demonstrations. The visual strategies employed in these videos, such as up-angle shots of protesters holding placards and footage from the centre or behind the protest, convey courage, unity, and the collective nature of the movement. The use of walk-and-talk interviews adds authenticity and immediacy, while extreme close-up shots provide intimate glimpses into the events. These visual elements, combined with audio techniques like sound bridges and sonic overlaps, contribute to a powerful narrative that humanises the cause and emphasises the importance of human rights.

5.3 Narration Videos

Narration videos featuring voiceover of migrants and refugees talking about their *living experience* are utilised by the Movement for Justice activist group. It is important first of all to acknowledge the use of the concept *living experience* and the way that it is understood here. As a concept of growing contemporary importance, particularly in relation to certain individuals or groups who face social injustice, 'lived experience' often refers to the subjective, first-hand experiences, perspectives, and narratives of individuals who have migrated, sought asylum, or become refugees (Anthias & Lazaridis, 2012; Block & Gray, 2019; Giordano & Lunt, 2013; Henrik, 2012; Sigona & Gamlen, 2014; Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2016; Yuval-Davis, 2011). It encompasses the personal, social, cultural, and emotional dimensions of their journeys, including

their interactions with different societies, institutions, and systems. In this context, however, it is necessary to refer to liv*ing* rather than lived experience, acknowledging some of the conceptual limitations within this field of research that seems to place too much emphasis on the chronology of experience of social injustice, but also taking into consideration the fact that many of the narrative-style videos uploaded by the activist groups here contain footage of *storytelling* of experiences that are still ongoing, rather than in bygone. As such, these videos and their narratives provide an insight of the *living* experiences of refugees and asylum seekers being housed within detention centres in the United Kingdom.

There are six examples of these types of videos which have been uploaded, predominantly by the Movement for Justice activist group, onto their Facebook page:

(1) On 18th April 2012, titled: 'Hear Proscovia speak Proscovia is a lesbian activist from Uganda, a member of Movement for Justice who is fighting for equality and justice in Britain - sign her petition http://www.gopetition.com/petitions/tacko-asuman-andrew-and-proscovia-must-stay.html' (movementforjustice, 2012);

(2) On 15th July 2014, titled: 'A video of demonstration in #Harmondsworth right now "and they call this Great Britain" - emergency demo, home office noon today https://www.facebook.com/events/862037383809807/ #ENDdetention' (movementforjustice, 2014f);

(3) On 4th April 2015, titled: '"WE ARE NOT ANIMALS, WE ARE NOT BITCHES, WE ARE HUMAN BEINGS"" hear women of #YarlsWood demanding freedom, RIGHT NOW women are demonstrating #ShutDownYarlsWood Please share, RT, tell any press you know - spread the word - demand that YarlsWood is shut down once and for all"' (movementforjustice, 2015a);

(4) On 6th March 2015, titled: 'Women of #YarlsWood speak about their protest over last 3 days "We Are Not Animals" time to #ShutDownYarlsWood and #ENDdetention' (movementforjustice, 2015d);

(5) On 27th November 2015, titled: '"27/11/15 YarlsWood women protest brutalityy Recording: Tonight #YarlsWood women are protesting brutal attack on fellow detainee by guards: hear their voices, spread the word #ENDdetention #ShutDownYarlsWood #SetHerFree SHUT IT DOWN NOW!"' (movementforjustice, 2015e);

(6) On 11th March 2018, titled: "Mothers of #YarlsWood - Freedom Fighters! On #MothersDay with this video we send solidarity to powerful mothers of #YarlsWood fighting to #ShutDownYarlsWood from inside & those who now lead the struggle outside. JOIN THEM & #SurroundYarlsWood with us on 24/3 #HungerforFreedom #SetHerFree #EndDetention #mothersdayuk'" (movementforjustice, 2018a).

There is a distinct difference between the first two videos in comparison to the rest of the four. Firstly, the first video contains no specific footage, only a black screen with narrating sound in the background. There is also no text that features at any point during the video. Despite the blank video footage here, which seemingly denotes an attempt to maintain the anonymity of the individual who is speaking of their experiences, the narrating sound in the background is of a female who speaks about being a Ugandan refugee and introduces herself by her first name. As such, there seems to be a slight disconnect here between the perceived intention of the visual strategy employed, and its subsequent result.

In the subsequent videos, while there is no visually-recorded footage found within them, there is some editing and inclusion of text within them. Often this text begins with introducing the individuals who are speaking/narrating in the background, switching then to providing closed-captions (or subtitles) so as to ensure that the viewer is able to understand what is being said, presumably due to both the poor quality of the sound and some of the echo that can be heard in the background. Here, the narrators are 'current' detainees who are speaking from within the detention centres themselves, about their negative everyday experiences. These subtitles are edited in such a way as to create an emotive effect, where often certain keywords such as 'freedom' and 'justice' are boldened and presented in capital-letters within the subtitles, despite there not being a change of intonation on the part of the narrative speakers in the background, as a means of creating emphasis and highlighting the most important elements of the narratives. In some of the videos, specifically in number two, four and five, scattered throughout the narration are photographs taken of protests and demonstrations relating to the detention centres, as well as photographs that have been taken of the building themselves, specifically of the windows with bars on them, depicting detainees stretching their hands out with coloured pieces of cloth. In the sixth video, there is some visual footage which is

featured. These include footage filmed of some of the windows of the building (these are not ones with bars on them, but with regular glass panels), where detainees' arms are visibly sticking out, waving towards the cameras, or doing a peace sign. In other footage of these windows, detainees are seen twirling or spinning bits of cloth (presumably sheets or covers from their bedrooms), or throwing out of the window shredded pieces of paper; drawing parallels with behaviours that are akin to prisoners engaging with cell windows, demonstrating once again the punitive securitisation of migrants and refugees as though they are deserving of similar types of penal control mechanisms as those who have broken UK criminal law.

It is important to note here the time span between the first and the final video uploaded by the activist group on their Facebook page; spanning across six years. This provides some context as to the lack of action which has been taken by the UK government and any applicable policymakers in ensuring that the conditions and experiences being described by the detainees within these videos are appropriately actioned and improvements made. As an evidentiary mechanism, the appearance/dissemination of these videos in and of themselves allow us to understand the level of inaction taken on the part of the state when concerns surrounding the treatment of migrants and refugees in detention centres is being raised.

In summary, the use of visual techniques is significant in the narration and satirical videos created by the Movement for Justice and Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants activist groups. The narration videos featuring migrants and refugees sharing their living experiences employ strategic editing, inclusion of text, and emotive subtitles to convey the struggles and injustices they face. The visual techniques create a connection with the viewers, emphasising key elements and evoking empathy. By amplifying the voices of migrants and refugees, these narration videos serve as powerful tools to raise awareness, inspire action, and foster social change.

5.4 Satirical Videos

All videos that have been identified as having a satirical effect have been uploaded by the Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants activist group. The context surrounding

these videos relates to the aforementioned #DearBA campaign, aimed at drawing attention to the role of British Airways as an airline in deporting migrants and refugees to countries that they are either unfamiliar with (in the case of the Windrush generation of migrants) or where they are facing a risk to safety or to life for reasons relating to personal/self-identity or political preference. In this case, this section discusses a mixture of videos that are (1) filmed in such a way that the subject is directly addressing the camera and making a passive-aggressive, sarcastic or otherwise comedic statement directed towards the British Airways airline; (2) filmed in a postmodern-style musical-satirical fashion, and (3) filmed in mockumentary-style.

5.4.1 Direct Addresses

As previously outlined, direct addresses with the camera help to establish a sense of intimacy and immediacy, and to create an emotional or intellectual connection (Barsam, 2018; Bordwell & Thompson, 2019; Sobchack, 2004; Sturken & Cartwright, 2017). Two videos uploaded by the Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants activist group to their YouTube channel demonstrate the use of this technique for satirical purposes (both under the #DearBA campaign):

(1) On 4th August 2019, titled '#DearBA: Welcome to Colonial Airways' (Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants, 2019f);
(2) On 24th August 2019, titled: '#DearBA: Surviving Society' (Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants, 2019m).

The first video is very short, comprising of 5 seconds in total. Contained within this video is a Black activist from the LGSM group directly addressing the camera and saying 'welcome to Colonial Airways, where we take your freedom, blood and tears' (*ibid.*). Specific discussions relating to the discursive framing contained within this video is covered in the subsequent chapter on Frame Analysis. Visually, however, the angling of the camera here is at eye-level and the shot is a medium close-up, portraying only the top half of the activist; their head and shoulders, allowing both for a sense of intimacy and connection to the subject, but crucially for the viewer to identify what they are wearing. Bright yellow straps on the activist's shoulders and the black plastic clasps are indicative of the types of emergency life-vests one would

find stored under one's seat in an airplane. The symbolism of this is rather interesting. The satirical effect lies in the juxtaposition between the fictional portrayal of the character (the activist) posing presumably as a member of the cabin crew at British Airways, and the exaggerated and sarcastic comment, but purportedly 'factual' argument that the 'freedom, blood and tears' of migrants and refugees are being taken by the airline. Simultaneously, the yellow life-vest carries another symbolic meaning; these are commonly only seen during the beginning stages of a flight take-off, where emergency protocols and procedures are outlined to flight passengers, or less commonly when an actual emergency situation is taking place which may require an unusual type of landing. In either scenario, the connecting symbolic thread throughout these scenarios is one of an *emergency* or a *crisis*, which the visual inclusion of the life vest within this video ascribes to scenarios beyond the 'common-sense' realm; a humanitarian crisis – one which will be explored in further detail in the subsequent chapter.

In somewhat of a contrasting style, the second video contains footage of a Black man and woman sat side-by-side in a room, looking towards the camera. In front of them on the table are two Press-style stationary microphones pointed in each of their directions, and there is a large glass panel in the wall behind them, through which a control room is visible. This is indicative of a radio-style studio, signifying that both of the speakers in the footage are presenters of the respective show or podcast. It is not until the man speaks that it becomes evident that the video relates to a podcast called 'Surviving Society', which is a podcast aiming to 'challenge common-sense understandings of 'race', class, and gender, and to show how entrenched inequalities shape both political conversations and individual experiences' (Surviving Society, 2022). Although the two individuals do not introduce themselves within the video, other online presence (including the podcast's official website) identify them as presenters Tissot Regis and Chantelle Lewis.

The satirical or comedic elements of this footage are derived from some of the comments and statements made by both of the presenters. Firstly, Lewis begins the scene here by saying, 'dear British Airways' with a pained and rather frustrated expression, signifying two things: (1) that the target viewer(s) here are British Airways themselves (owing to the #DearBA campaign under which this video is slotted), and (2) that there is already a sense of irritation at the actions of the airline. The second

statement by Regis solidifies this frustration in a much more direct and blunt manner, where he states, 'listen, you're gettin' gunned…' – at this point Lewis begins to laugh uncontrollably at the tone and directness of what has been said, or the slang jargon which has been used to refer to the fact that they have been 'criticised' – '…exclusively from Surviving Society, right. I think your attitude [shakes head] stinks, frankly'. The pair then continue to discuss the appropriateness of what British Airways are doing in relation to deporting migrants from the UK. However, in comparison to the first video, where the speaker used more of a 'sarcastic' tone and utilised symbolism to accentuate the seriousness of what was being stated, the presenters within this video are more direct, and take on a more direct and frustrated tone regarding the accusations targeted at the airline. At the end of the video, after a momentary silence, Lewis looks directly into the camera, saying 'happy birthday' in a rather passive-aggressive way, immediately followed by Regis sticking up two fingers at the camera commonly known as a swearing gesture [see **Figure 14: Surviving Society** in Appendices]. Within this figure, Lewis can also be seen wearing a black t-shirt containing five names written in white: 'Yusef, Kevin, Antron Korey & Raymond', which are the names of the five boys that were wrongfully convicted and subsequently exonerated in the assault and rape of a woman in New York City's Central Park in 1989, highlighting a significant miscarriage of justice (Bergman & Fagan, 1991; Calandro, 1996; Humphrey & Scholz, 1992; Leo, 1997). Wearing a t-shirt with the names of the Central Park Five is visually significant in the context of anti-racism. It serves as a tangible way to draw attention to the racial biases and injustices that led to their wrongful conviction. By wearing these names, Lewis is symbolically challenging the systemic racism embedded within the criminal justice system. It in itself becomes a visual statement against racial profiling, discriminatory practices, and the urgent need for reform, to open up discussions on the impact of racism, promote empathy, and encourage collective action in the pursuit of racial justice and equality.

Given the short length of both videos (the second lasting a total of 1 min, 47 seconds), there are some key similarities identified between the two. Firstly, it is clear that there is a similar viewership that is being targeted through these videos; in that they are filmed in such a way as to allow the subjects to speak directly to the camera in the form of a 'direct address', and the hashtag of the campaign (#DearBA – akin to how a formal letter would be started), both indicating that British Airways themselves are the intended audience. Secondly, both videos have satirical narratives. In this case,

there is a subtle difference in the way that the first video is engaging in visual symbolism in comparison to the second; the first using the yellow life-vest as the core defining symbol of the narrative, whereas the second uses visual symbolism in a rather more subtle way through the t-shirt worn by Lewis, intending to provide some context to personal positionality on (anti-)racism and social justice, rather than to directly inform the narrative in itself. There are also similarities in the recording techniques employed; it is clear that both videos were filmed using hand-held recording devices, as the hand movements of the cameraperson were evident throughout the scenes (rather than enabling a smooth filming process) indicating that the camera was not placed on any mounting device. However, the key difference between them lies in both the shots used, and the staging of the scenes. In the first video, there is rather more of an intimate feel created through the medium close-up of the subject, where not much else in the background is visible. In the second video, however, both the background and the items contained in the foreground seemed to be strategically visible in the medium/full shots in order to draw attention to the fact that the two speakers were in their workplace setting; presumably an indicator of an intent to enhance the reputability and credibility of the subjects in the eyes of the viewer – the latter concept will be discussed in some further detail in the subsequent chapter.

5.4.2 Musical Satire

A musical satire genre refers to a form of artistic expression that combines music and satire to critique or mock social, political, cultural, or individual aspects of society. It involves the use of music, lyrics, and performance to convey humorous or satirical messages, often employing irony, sarcasm, parody, or exaggeration to expose or challenge prevailing norms, beliefs, or practices (Pestalozza, 2014; Solie, 2002). In this case, there is one video throughout those uploaded by the Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants on the activist group's YouTube channel that makes use of this style; on 22nd December 2019, titled: '#DearBA - A Christmas Message for British Airways' (Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants, 2019o).

This video is filmed as a mock music video; essentially a satirical or parodical audiovisual production that mimics the style and conventions of a music video, employing humor and/or irony to comment on a political topic using music or pop

culture (Baker & Wagg, 2011; Negus & Pickering, 2004). Lasting 1 minute and 15 seconds, it contains footage that has been edited insofar as it begins with a black screen with white cursive writing reading 'Dear British Airways #DearBA'; the second frame reads 'a Christmas message from Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants'. While the second piece of text is on screen, there is use of a *sound bridge* in which the audio from the next frame, in this case the actual audiovisual footage that makes up the bulk of this video, can already be heard in the form of group laughter. Towards the end of the video, there are two still-image frames. The first of these frames uses a Christmas ribbon transition to shift from the video-based footage sandwiched in the middle to an image of a digital Christmas card front-cover reading (in gold cursive writing) 'All I want for Christmas is for [British Airways logo] to stop deportations' [see **Figure 15: #DearBA Christmas Card** in Appendices]. This is a play on the title and lyrics of a popular Christmas song by Mariah Carey; All I Want for Christmas Is You. At this point, the sound of laughing from the previous visual footage is still continuing in the form of a *sonic overlap*. The second still-image frame includes the same image contained in **Figure 7: No Human is Illegal** [see Appendices], but an edited version where the airplane is pointed at an upward (rather than downward) angle, suggesting the plane is taking off. Accompanied underneath the drawing of the frame is the name of the activist group in the same diagonal angle as the plane. The final text-based frame in the video contains the words #DearBA in cursive writing, and underneath this in sans-serif font the URL of the Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants' official website, its Twitter handle and two hashtags; #BA100, referring to the 100 letters that were sent to British Airways as part of the DearBA campaign, and #stopdeportations.

Sandwiched in the middle of these text and still-image frames is audiovisual footage first showing a group of people, evidently activist members of Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants, gathered together in an outdoor space (presumably in a town centre) beside a large golden and glittery outline of a reindeer, looking at one another and laughing. The camera then pans from these activists towards the lower-left hand-side, portraying a man sat in front of a grand piano, who then begins to play the introduction of another popular Christmas song by Eartha Kitt; 'Santa Baby'. The shot then abruptly switches to one where the activists are all clicking their fingers in a synchronised way towards the camera, and in time to the beat of the piano being played. The abrupt switch here from one scenario to another causes some confusion in temporality, as the order of the activists have changed since the previous shot,

signifying that the footage has been edited to allow the audio from the first shot to continue playing in the background as a *sonic overlap*, while the latter shot has been re-taped, ensuring that the activists are still visually singing in time to the initial sound. It then switches abruptly back to the first scene, showing the piano player, and the camera then pans once again to show the activists standing in their original order beside the reindeer, beginning to sing. Most of the members are visibly looking at their smartphones while singing a parody version of 'Santa Baby' as 'BA Baby'. In two instances throughout the video, footage of a clarinet playing the filler sections of the song are also edited into the video – but it is evident that these were not in the original audiovisual elements that were filmed in the outdoor scenes, but have been added at a later time. It is also evident from the smoothness of the panning that the video was recorded on a hand-held device, with the exception of the aforementioned shot of the changed order of the activists all clicking in a synchronised fashion, where the camera was seemingly placed in a stationary position.

The combination of amateur panning and professional-style editing of this video enhances its overall aesthetic appeal and production quality, striking an appropriate balance between relatability with the cameraperson filming as any other smartphone user would, and the time and effort dedicated to the quality of editing, making it more engaging and arguably accessible to a broader audience. This attention to detail and commitment to rather seamless quality not only increases the likelihood of videos becoming viral (although this is not an accurate description of this video, given its viewership statistics on YouTube) but also can in some ways enhance its credibility and legitimacy as a form of activism in itself. Through professional editing, mock music videos acquire heightened artistic and technical qualities, rendering them more persuasive and influential in advocating for social change and drawing attention to social injustice, such as those relating to the actions of British Airways.

5.4.3 Mockumentary

Mockumentary refers to a genre of film or television that presents a fictional or staged narrative in the style of a documentary, often with comedic or satirical elements. It deliberately mimics the format, aesthetics, and conventions of traditional documentaries while purposefully blurring the line between reality and fiction (Austin, 2007; Bruzzi, 2000; Nichols, 2010; Rascaroli, 2009). This is not an uncommon

genre of videos often found on user-generated content platforms like YouTube (Juhasz, 2011). Often visual and cinematographic techniques used in the filming of mockumentaries include the use of handheld cameras, talking head interviews (where subjects are directly addressing the camera to respond to questions posed, whether within or outside of the earshot of the footage) observational shots that capture everyday activities or interactions without intervention (similar to fly-on-the-wall filmmaking techniques often found in documentaries), and pseudo-verité that emulates the visual style and aesthetics of natural documentaries (Auster, 2011; Austin, 2009; Berryman, 2005; Corner, 2002; Jermyn, 2013). One significant example of mockumentary-style filming can be found within a video uploaded by the Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants activist group to their YouTube channel on 28th August 2019, titled: '#DearBA - Drag Queen Helvetica Bold delivers the letters to British Airways' (Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants, 2019n).

This video contains a plethora of multiple cinematographic filming techniques. It begins firstly with an *aerial follow shot*, which refers to tracking of a plane's movement, capturing its ascent into the sky (Ascher & Pincus, 2013). In this case, given the campaign that has already been referred to as one in which British Airways is being criticised for deporting migrants, this type of shot symbolises a critical eye on their operations, suggesting that their actions are being closely watched and evaluated. It not only allows for dynamic and visually engaging footage, showcasing the plane's motion, but it can also place a degree of emphasis on the scale and reach of the airline's influence or impact in the context of their complicity in aiding deportations. The second segment follows a pair of black stiletto shoes walking down the street from a *dog's eye* angle. Symbolically, this shot and angle can represent a shift in power dynamics or challenge traditional gender roles. By focusing on the stiletto shoes, which are often associated with femininity and sophistication, from a lower vantage point, it can emphasise empowerment, confidence, and assertiveness (Brown, 2011; Bruzzi, 1997). Throughout both shots, there is avid use of both *sonic overlap* and *sound bridges*, where the temporality of the scenes are often confused due to audio being introduced before and subsequent to the scenes to which they refer. In the initial scenes, it is clear that the sound bridges to an interview scene that has been recorded at the home of the main protagonist (drag queen **Helvetica Bold** – a play on words based upon the well-known digital font often used for text). By featuring a drag queen as the central character, the mockumentary can satirically challenge and critique not

only traditional notions of masculinity and femininity but also the heteronormative and cisnormative narratives often associated with activism. It allows for a playful exploration of the intersections between LGBTQ+ identity, migrant rights activism, and the power of performance as a tool for drawing attention to social change.

The full shot of the interview where Helvetica is speaking is filmed in a dining room, where they are intermittently sipping on a cup of tea, with the kitchen visible in the background. The dining room setting, often associated with warmth, comfort, and domesticity, represents a space of familiarity and belonging. It juxtaposes the notion of home and hospitality with the harsh reality faced by migrants who are forcibly uprooted from their homes. The visibility of the kitchen in the background further adds depth to the symbolism. The kitchen, traditionally associated with nurturing, sustenance, and care, can become a metaphorical space representing the diverse contributions and cultural richness brought by migrants to the host country. It underscores the idea that migrants are not merely 'outsiders' but integral members of society who contribute to its fabric. Also found in one of the scenes of this mockumentary is a full shot of Helvetica wearing a yellow high-vis jacket, approaching a member of security guarding the parking area of one of the airports relating to British Airways with a trolley full of letters addressed to British Airways. They seems to get turned away, and the following scene shows them sat on the edge of a brick wall, underneath a large British Airways sign, legs crossed and shaking their head with a rather disappointed look on their face. Firstly, the use of the high-vis jacket in a satirical context, with the drag queen as the protagonist, serves to subvert and challenge the seriousness and authority associated with British Airways. It adds a layer of irony and humour to the critique, providing a thought-provoking and simultaneously engaging rapport with the viewer. Secondly, the visual composition of the second scene underscores the stark contrast between the activist's aspirations for change and the systemic obstacles presented by the airline, conveying a sense of frustration and highlighting the challenging nature of established power structures.

In summary, the use of visual techniques in the Satirical Videos created by the Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants activist group is significant. Through the "direct address" camera technique, strategic framing, and symbolic elements, such as the yellow life-vest and the t-shirt with the names of the Central Park Five, these videos establish a direct emotional and intellectual connection with the audience. The

use of handheld recording devices adds authenticity, while the seamless integration of audio and visual elements enhances the overall aesthetic appeal. Furthermore, the visual techniques employed in these videos mimic music videos, leverage popular cultural references, and emulate the aesthetics of traditional documentaries, allowing for a powerful critique of social, political, and cultural issues. By skilfully utilising these visual techniques, activist groups can create compelling and thought-provoking content that engages viewers, challenges established power structures, and inspires action towards social change.

5.5 Political Mashup Videos

From the collected and analysed videos, there were 3 key examples of ones that fit within the Political Mashup category/type. All three of these examples relate to videos that were uploaded by the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants activist group to their Facebook page:

(1) On 28th February 2019, titled: 'In 2018 we took the government to court to challenge the legality of their 'Right to Rent' laws which prohibit undocumented migrants from renting a home and create real discrimination against all migrants and people of colour in the rental housing market. The Hostile Environment must end. For more visit JCWI.org.uk' (JCWImmigrants, 2019a);

(2) On 1st March 2019, titled: 'BREAKING: We won! The High Court has ruled that the #RightToRent causes racism and cannot be reformed. Sajid Javid must act now to scrap the scheme and end the #HostileEnvironment once and for all' (JCWImmigrants, 2019b);

(3) On 13th December 2019, titled: 'Stand with migrants. Join JCWI For 50 years we've been stepping up, speaking out and defending the rights of migrants. Are you with us?' (JCWImmigrants, 2019d).

As per the examples that Askanius provided in her (Askanius, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2020), this type of video tends to include a variety of different segments of footage; from demonstrations and rallies, both amateur and profession, but crucially also footage from political broadcasts and statements. Previously there was some discussion surrounding overlap across some of the categories provided within her

typology, which is similarly the case with this category of video as the content within the video and the style of editing tends to indicate the *intention* of the respective activist group through the uploading of these types of videos. For instance, it is clear from all three of these examples, that these videos were edited in such a way as to aid in the mobilisation efforts both of activists within the broader anti-racist movement, but also 'non-member' individuals i.e. regular members of the public who may be engaging with their social media page and/or the videos themselves. This is clear based both upon the choice of audiovisual material that is included within these videos, but also the text overlays which provide some context. It is less the intention of this chapter to analyse the discursive framing of these videos based on the text overlays – this is featured more heavily in the subsequent chapter **6. Frame Analysis**. However, it is important to note that both the *choice* of certain audiovisual material and the inclusion of this text overlap *in combination* tell us about the importance of visual strategies that are employed by this particular activist group.

Firstly, all three videos include a music track featuring in the background throughout the duration of each video. The tracks are: 'Midnight Train' by Eyal Raz, and 'Red Zone' by Loleschwarz' respectively, and an unknown third musical track in the third video. These tracks are characterised by their heavy basslines, dynamic beats, and futuristic soundscapes, and contribute to an audiovisual effect that captures attention and evokes a sense of urgency. Within the first two videos there are segments of former Prime Minister Theresa May detailing the Hostile Environment Policy in the House of Commons, as well as David Lammy MP (for Tottenham) criticising the government's policy during the same session. By incorporating the dubstep-style musical elements throughout the background of this video, the activist group creates a powerful contrast between the political spoken content, focusing on migrants and their hardships, and the contemporary, cutting-edge music style. This juxtaposition can provide a sense of engagement for viewers on multiple sensory levels, drawing them into the video and heightening their emotional response. The intense basslines and energetic beats of the tracks can symbolically mirror the passion and determination of the activist group, with the futuristic soundscapes adding a modern touch.

Secondly, the text overlay can be an important tool for conveying information and emphasising key messages. By superimposing text directly onto the footage, the

activist group is able to provide additional context, highlight important quotes, and draw attention to specific statements made about the hardships suffered by migrants and refugees. This technique can allow viewers of the videos to easily grasp the intended meaning and provides a visual reinforcement of the group's arguments. The strategic placement of text overlay enhances the impact of the video by combining visual and textual information, creating a comprehensive and engaging viewing experience. It effectively communicates the group's stance, critiques the Hostile Environment policy, and invites viewers to reflect on both of these issues.

The third video uploaded on 13th December 2019 is subtly different to the first two, in that it contains much more of an intention for mobilisation in comparison, drawing attention to the successes of the activist group through the text overlay (which is discussed in more discursive detail in the subsequent chapter). However, the key difference in terms of editing style is the use of large upper-case fonts and a contrast between white and red colours for these fonts. This commands attention and creates a sense of urgency and authority. By using capital letters, the text becomes more prominent and visually impactful, demanding viewers' attention. Additionally, the contrast between the white and red colours further enhances the visual effect. White is often associated with purity, clarity, and truth, while red symbolises passion, energy, and urgency. The combination of these colours in the font choice reinforces the activist group's message and highlights the importance of their cause.

Further to this, the segments of visual footage contained within this video does not include its original audio; there is footage of the Windrush migrants disembarking from the Empire Windrush, still-images of photographs from Civil Rights protests in the United Kingdom (both historical ones in black-and-white and contemporary ones in colour), a panning drone shot of the Lady Justice statue in London, and finally a close-up shot of an unknown Black man looking down and then looking up directly into the camera in slow motion. By excluding the original audio from the segments of visual footage, the video creates a visual narrative that allows the viewer to focus solely on the imagery and its intended message (as well as the text overlay). The inclusion of footage depicting the Windrush migrants disembarking from the Empire Windrush serves as a powerful reminder of the contributions and struggles of Black migrants in the United Kingdom. The still images of photographs from both historical and contemporary Civil Rights protests, presented in black-and-white and colour

respectively, highlight the enduring fight for justice and equality. Additionally, the panning drone shot of the Lady Justice statue in London emphasises the importance of fairness and the rule of law in the pursuit of social change, while the close-up shot Black man evokes a sense of introspection and connection, humanising the cause and fostering empathy among viewers. These visual strategies, carefully selected and edited, can serve to evoke powerful emotions, prompt reflection, and inspire action.

In summary, the political mashup videos uploaded by the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants activist group employ key visual strategies to aid in mobilising support, and in the subsequent understanding of how the issue of immigration is framed by the broader anti-racist movement in the UK. These strategies include dubstep-style music tracks, text overlays, and carefully selected footage. The music creates an urgent and engaging audiovisual effect, while the text overlays provide additional context and emphasise key messages. The use of large uppercase fonts in contrasting colours adds authority and urgency. The exclusion of original audio directs focus on the imagery, which includes powerful visuals of Black migrants, Civil Rights protests, and symbols of justice. These visual strategies effectively convey the group's message, evoke emotions, and can contribute to inspiring action.

5.6 Summary

The strategic use of visual techniques in the video activist footage provides unique insights into the challenges faced by migrants and refugees, while opening up opportunities for a discussion surrounding how migration and anti-racist activism is 'framed' within these videos. Through raw and authentic footage, livestreaming, deliberate framing, and personal narratives, these visual strategies foster empathy, challenge existing narratives, and promote collective action. The editing techniques, walk-and-talk interviews, and audio techniques like sound bridges and sonic overlaps contribute to powerful narratives that humanise the cause and emphasise the importance of human rights. Furthermore, the narration and satirical videos, as well as the political mashup videos, employ strategic editing, inclusion of text, and symbolic elements to raise awareness, inspire action, and critique social, political, and cultural issues. These visual strategies can serve to engage viewers, challenge power structures, and contribute to the furthering of the aims of the broader anti-racist movement in the United Kingdom. They lay the groundwork for further exploration

and analysis in the next chapter, focusing on some of the discursive contents of a select number of videos in framing immigration and anti-racist activism.

Table 1: Typology of Anti-Racist Visual Strategies

Strategy	Style / Type	Contribution
Direct address shot	Livestreaming	Personal connection with audience. Activists directly convey their message. Provides insight into the target audience & viewership. Enables connective witnessing. Amplifies activist voices; serving as storytelling tool.
	Satirical video	Ambiance of sarcastic & passive-aggressive symbolism of humanitarian crisis. Draws attention to urgency faced by migrants & refugees.
Point of view (POV) shot	Moving demonstration	Personal involvement & solidarity, inspiring engagement and support. Unique vantage point to capture power dynamics and acts of resistance. Enhanced authenticity, emotional impact, and call to action in addressing issues of social justice.
Full shot	Satirical video	Juxtaposition between home and hospitality with the harsh reality faced by migrants who are forcibly uprooted from their homes.
Medium shot	Standing demonstration	Wider view of subject in relation to their context, capturing more details and providing a sense of scale. Can help establish setting and enhance visual storytelling by revealing the environment and the subject's interaction with it.
Close-up shot	Professional interview-stye	Conveying anxiety & highlighting the struggles of refugees, while also providing anonymity and protection. Professional interview-style videos with higher production quality enhance credibility and authority, amplifying the perspectives presented.
Extreme close-up shot	Edited mashup video	Narrative of humanisation and human rights, grounding a sense of power in collective unity in the struggle for social justice.

Up-angle	Standing demonstration	Insight into the architectural design of detention centres and securitisation, highlighting the power dynamics and control exerted over migrants. Emphasises the imposing nature of the structures and evoke a sense of vulnerability or oppression.
Panning: shaky / messy	Standing/moving demonstration	Creates sense of immediacy and authenticity, immersing viewers in the scene and conveying a raw, unpolished aesthetic. Can evoke a sense of chaos or urgency and enhance the realism and subjective experience of the viewer.
Stationary (no movement)	Amateur interview-style	Sense of intimacy and connection through visibility of private spaces like living rooms, kitchens, and dining rooms in the background of Zoom interviews. Creates relatable & personal atmosphere, fostering a connection between the interviewees and viewers. Diversity of interviewees demonstrates wide reach of support for the movement and willingness to collaborate beyond traditional activist circles.
Sonic overlap / sound bridges	Edited mashup video	Creates a cohesive narrative structure and enhances the immersive experience. Helps convey interconnected stories and experiences of subjects, amplifying their voices and adding depth to the video. Adds layer of richness and emotional resonance.
Voiceover	Narration video	Conveys struggles and injustices faced by migrants in detention centres. Amplifies voices and *living* experiences of migrants and refugees, serving as powerful tools to raise awareness, inspire action, and foster social change.
Live music	Mock music video	Draws attention to injustices faced by migrants during a time associated with joy (Christmas). Provides cultural critique, challenging dominant narratives, and fostering empathy through emotional power of music and visuals.

6. FRAME ANALYSIS

The discursive field central to this thesis involves anti-racism and immigration. It is important to understand how dominant hegemonic common-sense narratives related to this discursive field is challenged or resisted. This chapter engages in an analytical discussion surrounding the findings from the research conducted. The 'data' (i.e. the video activist footage collected through YouTube and Facebook) has been analysed in line with the framework outlined in the chapter **4. Research Methodology and Methods** (see section **4.3 Analytical Approach**), exploring the knowledges created through the framing processes that are employed, the frames (or lenses) themselves through which various objects or actors are understood by these groups, and the resonance of these frames. Finally, this chapter proposes two typologies: Typology of Frames and a Typology of Knowledge Production which can be useful for future research within these fields.

6.1 Frames and Frame Alignment Processes

Six key frames were identified through this analysis: *Hardship, Persecution, Empowerment, Incompetence, Heroism and Anti-Racism*. It must be noted that although the identified frames have been divided, most (if not all) of the data analysed used a combination of several frames in unison. The separations of these frames for the purposes of clarity within this section is not in any way attempting to suggest that only one frame is used for each video example, or that the use of each frame separately strengthens their potential effectiveness in challenging the dominant hegemonic common-sense narrative surrounding immigration. Quite the contrary; I argue that the multidimensional nature of the way in which several frames often work together within any given video makes them potentially more effective, much like dominant framing of immigration, as suggested by Van Horne (2018).

6.1.1 Hardship Frame

This frame is diagnostic in nature; i.e. it seeks to diagnose what the narrative 'problem' is which it is seeking to address through the video activist footage. It directly contradicts and challenges the dominant framing process of dehumanised 'other'-ing and the Animalistic Comparison frame. As per the section **3.3 Framing the 'Common-**

Sense' Narrative, the Animalistic Comparison (see *3.3.3 Dehumanised 'Other'-ing*) frame compares the 'others', in this case the migrants and refugees, with animals or insects, ascribing them animalistic tendencies, personalities and behaviours. The particular focus of that frame related to the use of discourses such as *entangled* or *caught up*, or referring to the Calais camping ground as a 'jungle'. The hardship frame functions by shifting this focus from the perceived characteristic traits assigned to them through these common-sense narratives, rehumanising them and establishing empathy for the personal circumstances of refugees and asylum seekers through emphasis on the hardships they face (1) in their journeys travelling to, and (2) in their subsequent detentions within, the UK. Within this frame, emphasis is placed on psychological, emotional and physical victimisation of both child and adult refugees and asylum seekers. It contributes to the production of alternative knowledges not otherwise available to wider society through mainstream media coverage due to the way in which dominant hegemonic narratives surrounding immigration are ingrained in the fabric of everyday life and mainstream media coverage.

In relation to the hardships experienced by refugees and asylum seekers on their journey to the United Kingdom (i.e. Function 1), a video uploaded to YouTube by the Movement for Justice activist group containing a segment from a demonstration held outside Chelmsford Crown Court in support of the Stansted 15 (uploaded on 1st October 2018). The video is titled: 'Solidarity with the Stansted Defendants! Chelmsford #EndDeportations #Stansted15'. It contains a speech by Jonathan Bartley (co-Leader of the Green Party), of which there are two segments. The first segment will be discussed within this frame. It relates to Bartley's visiting of the 'Jungle Camps' in Calais, France, and having 'seen the children that we are turning our backs on; children who we are allowing to be tear-gassed' (*ibid.*). It places emphasis on specific areas of contention, in this case the journey of these individuals, which are either omitted entirely or often suppressed from dominant political and mainstream media coverage in the immigration debate, and certainly falls outside the remit of what is constructed as the dominant hegemonic common-sense narrative. Bartley is an interesting choice of speaker for the activist group to use, and to highlight through the uploading of the video which contained his speech, highlighting the strong political support the group is receiving from the Green Party UK. The second segment goes on to say:

'When I go to detention centres and I hear from refugees and asylum seekers, the migrants, that have been taken away in the middle of the night and banged up in cells, three to a **cell**…in conditions worse than prison. When they are made to **work a few hours a day** to afford **basic toiletries** and **basic sanitary items, I know this country is going entirely in the wrong direction, and we must say 'no'**' (Occupy News Network, 2018b)

The inclusion of this speech within the uploaded video demonstrates the way in which foreign minorities are framed through the lens of national, or local, persecution. In this case, the use of 'cells' is significant, since it paints a picture of the structure of the detention centres as being prison-like. Similarly, the reference to refugees needing to work several hours a day to afford basic necessities and 'sanitary items' not only draws attention to the fact that conditions are synonymous with prisons, but the fact that they have to 'work' to afford these sanitary items suggests that there are gender-specific struggles here which are not adequately taken into consideration by states and state institutions. As such, there are two frame alignment processes working simultaneously through the availability of this video. Firstly, the reference to the struggles of women detainees accessing basic toiletries and sanitary items is an illustration of how *frame extension* functions; relating to social 'issues and concerns that are presumed to be of importance to potential adherents and constituents' (Benford & Snow, 2000: 625). In this case, this process not only contributes to the production of knowledge surrounding the deplorable conditions within detention centres, but also appeals to shared societal understandings of gender-specific struggles. In relation to how *frame transformation* functions here, the segment within this speech, specifically 'I know this country is going entirely in the wrong direction. We must say 'no'' suggests that there are alternative possibilities to the current hegemonic narrative surrounding tougher border policies, emphasising their contestability, while not yet putting forward the version of reality which it seeks.

In relation to Function (2), i.e. the treatment of migrants and refugees within UK borders, detention centres and during deportation processes are a key object of this frame. Both Yarl's Wood and Harmondsworth detention centres have already received significant negative portrayals within mainstream media outlets for their treatment of refugees and asylum seekers being housed there (see Bulman, 2018; Lockley, 2019; Parkar, 2019; Sanghani, 2015 and Townsend, 2010). Broader literature surrounding immigration detention centres supports the way in which they are framed by the broader anti-racist movement as a risk or harm to the individual,

including in reference to prison-style architecture (discussed in the previous chapter), lack of adequate staff training or medical provisions, and the behaviour of staff amounting to serious abuses of power (Bosworth, 2012, 2016; Sitkin & Rogers, 2014). Three activist groups within the broader anti-racist movement, namely Movement for Justice, Detention Action and End Deportations, upload online videos on their respective YouTube and Facebook pages which contain migrant 'voices'; first-hand information provided by individuals who are, or had previously been, detainees within detention centres in the UK. This includes four different types of online video uploads: (a) containing clips of former detainees making speeches to a crowd, normally during demonstrations, (b) containing audio from telephone conversations with current detainees, (c) containing clips of other activists reading current/former detainee experiences to a crowd, or (d) containing clips of professional-style interviews with former detainees.

In the case of (a) i.e. *clips of former detainees making speeches to a crowd, normally during demonstrations*, one example can include a video uploaded by Movement for Justice to their Facebook site on 14th July 2014 titled *'psychologically you, you are tortured... treated as a liar, whatever you say is a lie'*. This video contains a clip of a speech by a former Yarl's Wood detainee, Lisa C, during a demonstration held outside the detention centre:

> 'Yarl's Wood is a place where none of the **women** who are in there deserve to be there. **We call it a 'mental detention' centre**, because there **we** undergo a lot of **struggles**' (movementforjustice, 2014b: 00:06-00:22)

> 'So the **women** in there, **we** have undergone a lot of different, different, different things that, luckily…the case that has been published is an example, but that's just the tip of the iceberg…a lot of things happen there. But it's **only when you have been in detention, you know**, because **psychologically you are tortured. You are termed as a liar, whatever you say is a lie**' (movementforjustice, 2014b: 00:46-01:16)

> 'For example, there are some people in Yarl's Wood who have been in detention for two years. **We** have a **woman** in there who is going to be two years next month, November [2013]. **She is using a Zimmer frame to walk**, **she had an accident in Yarl's Wood**, but **still** now she is in detention. **She has to wear pampers**, because she has got **bladder problems**, she [has] got [a] **back injury**, but [they] still think that she is faking it up. There [are] **women** in there who are **going mad**…excuse my language…because little things can **trigger** the **mental conditions** of people, we all know that, so there are **people there who are losing it**. They don't know where they are, they don't know what to do, and there's no one there to support them. There are **women** who have been **sexually abused**, and they [are] **afraid to speak about it**' (movementforjustice, 2014b: 02:42-03:32)

In this powerful clip, the ex-detainee describes some of her own experiences, as well as the experiences of those who are currently detained in Yarl's Wood detention centre. Firstly, the use of the word 'we' signifies the ex-detainee's sense of identity as still being entangled with others who are currently detained at Yarl's Wood. Similarly, in using 'the women in there' and then 'we' immediately after suggests that the individual is emphasising that she identifies as a woman herself, as well as a detainee. Secondly, there are two sets of characteristic elements that demonstrate the function of the *frame bridging* alignment process, or the 'linking of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem' (Benford & Snow, 2000: 624): reference to gender, and reference to mental and physical struggles. There are several occasions when she refers to 'woman', 'women' or 'she' in conjunction with both mental and physical struggle, for instance, 'psychologically you are tortured', 'she is using a Zimmer frame to walk', 'she has to wear pampers [nappies/diapers]', 'she has got bladder problems', 'she [has] got [a] back injury', 'going mad' and 'losing it'. In the same fashion, she refers to the fact that 'there are women who have been sexually abused'. The frame bridging process is not demonstrated through reference to each of these struggles on their own, or the fact that, for instance, sexual abuse is simply a natural consequence of being in that environment, but connecting these struggles together to provide an intersectional lens to the struggle; the (emphasis on) women who are housed within Yarl's Wood who have physical disabilities are, firstly, still being detained, secondly, mentally triggered due to potential pre-existing mental health struggles, and thirdly, sexually abused *because* they are vulnerable women. 'They are afraid to speak about it' solidifies the notion of vulnerability, which is argued as being taken advantage of by others within Yarl's Wood (while it is not clear whether the suggestion is that it is detention centre staff engaging in this sexual abuse, or other male detainees).

However, the final point relating to the specific allegations made by detainees is clarified in another video uploaded by the Movement for Justice activist group onto their Facebook page on 14th July 2014 entitled '"Where is the protection?" Ex #YarlsWood detainee Rebecca speaks about the endemic sexual abuse #ENDdetention'. This video contains footage from the same demonstration but

features a speech by another ex-detainee and activist, Rebecca, who provides examples of sexual harassment and abuse she had witnessed during her time in Yarl's Wood detention centre:

> '**Men** barging into **your** room while **you** are naked, the **so-called 'officers'**, and without even saying the word 'I'm sorry'. They barge into **your** room. I believe a **woman** should have **privacy**, but they don't do that. They just barge into your room without knocking your door, or they make silly questions: 'oh my god, you look hot', 'oh, look at the bum'. That is detention. Where is the protection? I don't think **anyone** deserves to be in detention' (movementforjustice, 2014e)

Within this speech, there are clear allegations being made against the staff working at Yarl's Wood. In this case, the ex-detainee refers to 'so-called 'officers'' who engage in acts of sexual harassment by entering the rooms of female detainees without knocking or apologising. In conjunction with this physical act of sexual harassment, there are also suggestions of verbal harassment in quoting of the types of comments which have been made about the appearance of the female detainees during this process; 'oh my god, you look hot' and 'oh, look at the bum'. It is also interesting to note the 'voice' that is used during the speech, which is seemingly directed at other women; '**men** barging into **your** room while **you** are naked' – this suggests that in the inclusion of this speech as a form of video activism (i.e. through the uploading to their Facebook site), the intended target viewing audience from the perspective of the activist group are other women, perhaps those who have potentially experienced similar acts of sexual harassment in the past. This is a strong example of the way in which the *frame extension* alignment process functions i.e. 'extending beyond its primary interests to include issues and concerns that are presumed to be of importance to potential adherents' (Benford & Snow, 2000: 625). In this case, the scope of the narrative is widened so as to not only focus on refugees and asylum seekers, but to appeal to a sense of shared collective understanding of the gendered struggles of womanhood in relation to potential experiences of sexual abuse or harassment. Despite this type of frame alignment process operating here, there seems to be a disconnect between the core narrative put forward throughout the speech, and the final sentence of the speech which states 'I don't think **anyone** deserves to be in detention', which rather diverts from the focus of the frame being on the gender-specific struggles. This is discussed further in the subsequent section **5.4 Frame Resonance** (*5.4.1 Frame Consistency*).

A further example of how the frame extension process operates within this frame can be observed through the uploading of a video by the Movement for Justice activist group on their Facebook page on 5th March 2015 entitled 'Ex Yarls Wood detainee, Ugandan lesbian, Maureen speaks out on #SurroundHarmondsworth "Women loose their babies... people die" #ShutDownYarlsWood #ENDdetention'. This video contained a speech given by another former detainee from Yarl's Wood, Maureen, during a demonstration outside Harmondsworth detention centre, who speaks of the hardships that pregnant women face during their detention when they are having miscarriages.

> '**People** get so frustrated that **people** want to end their lives. **Women** lose their **babies**. **Women** get **miscarriages** in Yarl's Wood. **People** die. And, you know, they just look at them like they're not **human beings**. For example, about a week ago a **woman** got a **miscarriage** but she was not taken to hospital for about four days, and they are saying that's because she's got a ticket' (movementforjustice, 2015b).

There are several frame alignment processes operating within this example. There seems to be an interesting interplay between reference to 'people' and reference to 'women', with particular emphasis on motherhood (this interplay is discussed further within **5.4 Frame Resonance**, *5.4.1 Frame Consistency*). Firstly, reference to the fact that 'people get so frustrated that people want to end their lives' is an illustrative demonstration of the functioning of the frame extension process; framing issues relating to suicide as a potential consequence of the frustrations individuals feel from detention, thus appealing to wider audiences through a shared, collective understanding of mental health. Secondly, this draws attention to the intersectional struggles associated with womanhood and motherhood (frame bridging) in emphasising that 'women lose their babies' and 'get miscarriages', directly following the discussion surrounding suicide and mental health. This suggests that the argument here is that mothers are suffering miscarriages due to the mental health struggles they are facing during the detention process, grounded further later in the speech when there is reference to an example of one woman not having been taken to hospital for 'about four days'. The titles of these videos also provide short textual segments of the speeches by the activists, and are clear examples of where migrant voices have been used both within the content, and in the titles, to reframe the dominant hegemonic narrative (which tends to focus on the intentions of economic migrants and their 'strain' on the British economy/resources) to concentrate on the hardship that migrants are facing within detention centres in the UK.

With reference to (b) i.e. *audio from telephone conversations with current detainees*, audio-recorded telephone conversations were found in two of the videos uploaded to the Movement for Justice Facebook site. One of these was dated 4th March 2015 and entitled '"WE ARE NOT ANIMALS, WE ARE NOT BITCHES, WE ARE HUMAN BEINGS" hear women of #YarlsWood demanding freedom, RIGHT NOW women are demonstrating #ShutDownYarlsWood'. The audio is in poor quality with some background noise, but most of the speech could be read through the subtitles contained at the bottom of the video. Within this video, a seemingly current female detainee within Yarl's Wood detention centre speaks of the difficulties she is facing:

> 'The situation here is very, very horrible; the way they treat **people**, they treat **us** with no **dignity** or no **respect**. It is horrible, it is horrible. We are **human**, we are **human** for god's sake. We are **human beings like everyone else outside**. We are **not animals**. We are **not bitches**. We are **human beings like each and everybody else**. They **treat us like dogs**. We are **not animals**. We want **freedom**. We want **justice**' (movementforjustice, 2015a)

There are two examples of the way in which frame extension operates through this piece of video activist footage. There is continuous emphasis on the notion of 'humanity' and 'people' which is negated in relation to 'animals', but there is also specific reference to 'freedom' and 'justice'. In doing this, the frame not only challenges the dominant hegemonic common-sense narrative surrounding immigration which tends to dehumanise migrants and refugees, engaging in animalistic comparisons through appealing to a shared societal understanding of what 'human' and 'human being' means, but it does this through the emphasis on shared values of 'freedom' and 'justice' which are key to resisting the dominant Western Values frame.

The second audio-recorded telephone conversation video was uploaded by the Movement for Justice activist group on 6th March 2015 to their Facebook page, entitled 'Women of #YarlsWood speak about their protest over last 3 days "We Are Not Animals" time to #ShutDownYarlsWood and #ENDdetention'. The description underneath the title of the video contains 'The women od #YarlsWood are determined to fight until ALL the women are freed and Yarl's Wood is shut down once and for all. / Please watch, share and RT! [Retweet]'. Within this audio recording, which is of

a better quality to the previous one, there is again reference to the fact that current detainees are 'not animals', going on further to say:

> 'We are **women**, we are **not animals**. **Women** have a **dignity**, we have a **reputation**. We can be **black**, we can be **Asian**, we can be **Indian**, we can be **whoever**. We are **human**. When we heard in the news they called [us] **animals**, Avocet people they were protesting, they were outside shouting, screaming, protesting that they are **not animals**. Nobody went to eat. Nobody decide to go to the dinner to eat, because they **called us animals**…a **fucking bitch**…so nobody decide to go and eat' (movementforjustice, 2015d)

Here, the two audio-recorded telephone conversations draw attention to the way in which the movement seeks to reframe how migration is understood; through the perspective of humanity, directly challenging some of the dominant common-sense narratives which argue that the solution to the immigration 'problem' (as it is dominantly framed) is to introduce increased securitisation and tougher border policies/restrictions. The alternative to this dominant narrative being presented here is that increased securitisation and tougher border policies have led to the detention of migrants and refugees within immigration removal centres (in this case, Yarl's Wood) where they are being dehumanised and treated like animals, being deprived of their liberties, a shared societal value again demonstrating the operation of the frame extension process. It is an attempt to reframe the issue towards establishing empathy for the hardships being suffered by those who are already in vulnerable positions, owing to the fact that some are already refugees/asylum seekers fleeing from persecution or social injustices in their home countries.

A critical point here relates to the movement's understanding and positionality surrounding gender. 'we are women', 'women have dignity, we have a reputation' indicates that the migrants speaking, firstly, identifies as a woman. Secondly, it grounds the discussion on justice and empathy on debates surrounding gender norms and stereotypes. In this case, what can be drawn from the use of the word 'reputation' is that there is a secondary element of injustice being carried out which may not be visible to those already engaging in stigmatisation or unjust treatment of those housed in the detention centres; a lack of understanding of gendered stereotypes to which women migrants and asylum seekers are forced to conform. A further point of importance from this video relates to how the movement positions itself in relation to race and ethnicity. In this case, the 'we can be black, we can be Asian, we can be Indian' already suggests that there are individuals being housed within the detention centres

around the individual, perhaps even the person themselves, who are from racially minoritised backgrounds, not White British. The second part of this statement, 'we can be whoever. We are human' contradicts some of the principles of anti-racism and anti-racist activism, one which situates the debate surrounding race in the post-racism realm, which often refers to the notion of 'colourblindness' (as defined in *3.4.1 Conceptualising Racism and Anti-Racism*). While it is unclear whether this statement is intended to make this kind of conceptualisation, or situate the debate on race within this realm, there is nevertheless a dominant focus within this video on the concept of humanity, but one which prioritises gendered hardships over ones relating to race.

In relation to the (c), i.e. the uploading of videos which contain clips of other activists reading current/former detainee experiences to a crowd, one example includes a video uploaded by the End Deportations activist group on their Facebook page on 22nd May 2018, entitled 'Hold the plane LIVE'. This video contains footage filmed during a demonstration outside the Home Office building in London aimed at stopping deportations and Charter Flights. Alongside several activists making speeches, one female activist mentioned the work that End Deportations were conducting through their Detained Voices campaign (which publishes accounts of individuals who are held in detention centres). As part of this speech, she also reads an account of a current detainee who was awaiting a Charter Flight to Nigeria:

> 'I've been to Yarl's Wood. I've met with **women** who are being detained; **women** who really needed healthcare that wasn't being provided to the extent that one **woman** was left alone after a **serious operation**, and not supported until her pus and **blood-filled bandages** finally got changed **three days after** an operation, after they'd already become **infected**. **Women** who don't know if they are going to be able to stay in the place they call **home** […], **women** who are being forced to leave, **women** separated from **their children**, with the smallest slither of relief that these **children** are not also detained and receiving the same treatment, being treated like prisoners simply because they have the wrong papers' (EDeportations, 2018a)

There are several elements of this speech which are significant to underlying positionality of the movement in relation to existing knowledges surrounding gender. The emphasis on 'women' in the plural signifies that there are several being detained within Yarl's Wood detention centre, though only one example is provided. The description of the woman detainee as requiring medical treatment following a 'serious operation', firstly, draws attention to the humanity of the individuals being detained at Yarl's Wood, thus countering the dominant hegemonic narratives which engage in processes of dehumanising migrants. Secondly, it emphasises the fact that there is a

layered element to the debate surrounding what constitutes 'legitimate' cause to provide medical attention to detainees housed in Yarl's Wood; that is the importance of gender here, since 'woman' and 'women' were mentioned a total of six times throughout the presentation of this case study. A further contribution here relates to the reference to motherhood; 'women separated from their children' and 'with the smallest slither of relief that these children are not also detained and receiving the same treatment' points towards an intersectional understanding of gender, one which takes into consideration various other elements of social injustice, stigma or marginalisation as *barriers* to social equality and equity. In this case, there is an acknowledgement that there is a dual layer of injustice: stigma and marginalisation related to gender and womanhood in general, and the suffering associated with being a mother separated from your children in these types of circumstances. In this case, understandings relating to essentialist knowledges of sex, gender and motherhood are somewhat reinforced – while intersectional feminism is the ideological lens through which these hardships are being framed, essentialist knowledges surrounding sex and gender tend to amalgamate the two concepts, assuming homogeneity and generalising all women as being natural caregivers (Ásta, 2018; Butler, 1990; Chafetz, 2006; Matsumoto & Hwang, 2019; O'Reilly, 2010; Parpart et al., 2000; Pruitt, 2018).

A further example of how this function operates is linked to a video uploaded by the Movement for Justice activist group through the Occupy News Network YouTube site on 19th March 2018. It is titled: 'Solidarity #Stansted15. Chelmsford Crown Court' and features several speeches made by activists in solidarity with the so-called Stansted 15 activists who were arrested for demonstrating in Stansted airport to halt a charter flight from departing:

> 'Deportation **disproportionately affects people of colour**. **It is racist**. People being deported are subjected to violence and abuse, unauthorised and excessive restraint techniques are used on deportees. In 2010, as we know, Jimmy Mubenga was killed after being restrained by G4S guards whilst being deported from the UK to Angola' (Occupy News Network, 2018a)

Within this speech, there are illustrative demonstrations of frame alignment, specifically the frame bridging process. In this case, there is clear linkage between understandings of asylum status as being a stigma in itself, leading to the deportation of refugees and asylum seekers, but 'disproportionately affects people of colour' and

'it is racist' both signify that the frame is also incorporating elements of racism within the understanding of this status. Essentially, it invokes, what Laclau & Mouffe (1985) refer to as *equivalential articulation*, or 'equivalent symbols of unique and indivisible struggle' (p. 182). References made directly after this in relation to G4S, and their role in leading to the death of a refugee (Jimmy Mubenga) during a deportation process, seems to suggest that the group is framing this death as an example or case study of racism in relation to the deportation process. While G4S is not a state-specific institution, it nevertheless operates via a 'policing *through* government' approach i.e. provision of policing services to the state (Loader, 2000).

(d) As previously mentioned, the hardship of refugees and asylum seekers held in detention centres can also be found in a fourth style of video; ones which contain professional-style filmed interviews with former detainees. One example of this can be found on the Detention Action Facebook page, where the activist group uploaded a video on 10th October 2019 entitled 'Mental Health and Indefinite Immigration Detention / "This individual had lost all hope" - Michael of Freed Voices talks about mental health and his experience in immigration detention on World Mental Health Day'. This contains an edited interview with an activist, Michael, who speaks about issues surrounding mental health difficulties within detention centres; how detention leads to both pre-existing mental health issues being exacerbated, and new ones formed. Besides the importance of the visual interview-style filming here, which has been captured in the previous chapter, what is also significant is the chosen upload date. As the title suggests, the video was uploaded by the activist group on World Mental Health Day (annually on 10th October), which targets social media users who may or may not be facing their own personal challenges with mental health and can act as a reminder of some of the mental health difficulties that refugees and asylum seekers are currently facing within detention centres (DetentionAction, 2019b) [see **Figure 2: Michael of Freed Voices** in **Appendices**].

> 'Detention affects people's **mental health** in various ways. First and foremost, there are those who go into detention with **already-existing mental health issues** and detention, or the lack of time limit on detention, **exacerbates their mental health issues**. And there are those who **develop mental health issues whilst being detained**. It **doesn't take long** before **people** start **thinking about self-harming**, because **people** need an **escape**, they need to **escape** the environment that they don't understand. Indefinite detention itself is **torture**, it's **human torture**' (DetentionAction, 2019b)

The content of what is said within this video by the individual concerned illustrates the way in which Detention Action positions itself in relation to existing knowledges surrounding mental health. Firstly, as per the framing function of the hardship frame, this video humanises the migrant (as the actor) through the use of the word 'people' several times, and also reference to 'human torture', again directly challenging the dominant hegemonic narratives surrounding immigration which engages in processes of dehumanisation. Secondly, the references to mental health in the context of immigration removal / detention centres highlights the fact that it is not merely the physical element of detention which is impacting on migrants and refugees, but a mental anguish which leads in some cases to acts of self-harm. Here, the use of 'escape' is also significant, since it grounds the fact that the individuals in question are being held in detention centres against their will, but also including 'people need an escape' generalises the conversation surrounding mental health and self-harm as something which is not necessarily unusual in these types of circumstances, and that is can happen to anyone in the same position. In doing so, it produces an alternative knowledge through the process of frame extension; highlighting the impact of detention on the mental health of individuals being detained, countering dominant prognostic framings which suggest that increased securitisation and harsher border controls are 'common-sense' and 'necessary' to tackle the 'problem' of immigration.

A further example of the way this frame functions can be found within the content of another video uploaded by Detention Action to their Facebook site on 11th October 2019 titled '"It's given me flashbacks..." Collin from Freed Voices talking about mental health and the impact of indefinite immigration detention'. This video activist footage contains another interview-style conversation with an activist 'Collin' from the same in-house campaign Freed Voices talking about his experiences of immigration detention:

> 'Detention affected my **mental health** very severely because it's given me **flashbacks** and **emotional breakdown** at times. I never used to have these. This stuff **only started affecting me while I was in detention**, and **since I came out it's gotten worse**. It has **gotten worse**. I would ask the government…I would like them to consider the fact that **you are responsible for these people inside**, **physically** and **mentally**. That's enough to just make your body shut down. Indefinite detention should not be an option for **anyone**. At first, I was so caught up with what was going with me and I didn't think anyone could help' (DetentionAction, 2019c).

Similarly to the video containing a speech by Michael, this video demonstrates the way that this frame functions; drawing attention to the hardships faced by refugees and asylum seekers while they are being housed in detention centres in the UK. There is a clear distinction made here between the individual's time prior to, during, and after immigration detention; 'this stuff only started affecting me while I was in detention', suggesting that the individual had not been suffering from mental health issues prior to being detained. This is similar to the argument made by Michael in the previous video that there are those who 'develop mental health issues whilst being detained' (DetentionAction, 2019b). As such, this is another example of how *frame extension* processes function here through refocusing the object/actor away from the 'economic migrant', towards the refugee, and the frame away from the 'burden' on the economy (as is evident through the dominant hegemonic narrative) towards the hardships faced by refugees. In this case, the hardships highlighted by Collin are related to mental health and thus this contributes to understanding surrounding struggles surrounding mental health. In addition to this, the 'voice' of the frame is interesting, as it shifts slightly from being a conversational tone towards the first half of the interview-style recording, to one that becomes directed to the government itself. Through the uploading of this type of video activist footage, the intended audience of this frame widens in scope not only to individuals who are users or followers of the Detention Action Facebook site, but also potentially to state individuals who the speech is directed at.

In conclusion, there are several types of knowledges that this frame contributes towards. Frame bridging processes operating within this frame allow for a broader understanding of how the anti-racist movement situate themselves within debates surrounding intersectional struggles relating to gender identity, essentialist notions surrounding motherhood, race (perhaps even situated within the post-racism realm), mental and physical health. Frame extension processes contribute towards our knowledge of the impact of immigration detention on vulnerable populations, particularly surrounding mental and physical health, where self-harm is depicted as an inevitable form of escapism from the effects of indefinite detention, and suicide as a potential consequence of the frustrations one experiences during detention, but also the prevalence of gendered struggles and the impact of sexual abuse and harassment closely linked to the vulnerability of those detained. It also contributes to knowledges surrounding values of freedom and justice, allowing us to understand the ways in

which the broader anti-racist movement appeal to wider shared societal understandings of these values in order to, firstly, portray the state as acting against these values and, secondly, to ground the justification for the motivational elements of this framing process; taking action against the state through demonstrations and acts of civil disobedience.

6.1.2 Persecution Frame

This frame functions by shifting the discursive focus away from migrant 'intentions' and challenges dominant processes which seek to dehumanise migrants and refugees by re-humanising them through establishing empathy for persecuted minorities seeking asylum in the United Kingdom. Simultaneously, it accuses the UK government of lacking empathy towards those fleeing persecution. It directly challenges the dominant framing processes which seek to merge all migration into one category.

Several examples of this type of framing can be found within the content of video activist footage made available by the various activist groups. One of these relates to the way in which Movement for Justice frame the issue through the uploading of a video to their Facebook page on 7th July 2014 entitled '"I was inside there (Harmondsworth), I know what it means and I want to let our brothers know we are together with them and we shall fight" MFJ organiser and ex detainee Frederick Kkonde speaks to the demonstration at Harmondsworth'. This video featured a demonstration where activist Frederick Kkonde can be seen and heard speaking with a megaphone outside Harmondsworth detention centre [see **Figure 3: Frederick Kkonde** in **Appendices**]. The content of the speech within the video is relevant to this frame since a similar technique is used by the speaking activist as was illustrated through function (c) within the hardship frame, i.e. the uploading of videos which contain clips of other activists reading current/former detainee experiences to a crowd:

> 'recently, a friend of mine, a **Ugandan lesbian** called Jackie Munyonyo was deported back to Uganda in December last year [2013] and **she died a few days after her deportation** because the escorts who took her back to Uganda **manhandled her**. In short, **they killed her**, because she had so many injuries and she died a few days after her deportation. I was in touch with her right from the day she was deported until her arrival in Uganda, so there is **no doubt that she**

was killed by the escorts who took her back to Uganda' (movementforjustice, 2014a)

The speech contained within this video demonstrates the function of this frame; both drawing attention to the persecution of foreign minorities within their home countries and placing blame on the UK government for not doing enough to support them while they are here. In this case, the blame is grounded upon the state's decision to deport a Ugandan lesbian back to Uganda which had caused her to subsequently die at the hands of Ugandan officials. This demonstrates that the state is being framed here as unempathetic to the persecution of foreign minorities in their home countries, and its actions in deporting them are framed essentially as contributing factors to their subsequent deaths. In addition to this, there are clear depictions within this text to the ways in which the activist group understands the relationship between race, gender and sexuality. Similarly to the hardship frame, this example demonstrates how this frame employs an intersectional lens in viewing issues surrounding social stigma and injustice. The reference to 'Ugandan lesbian' suggests that the case in question relates to a Black woman who is also a member of the LGBTQ+ community, highlighting three layers of social injustice associated with each characteristic which, in combination, have led to her persecution by authorities in her home country as a result of the prognostic actions of the UK government. It is a clear illustrative example of the process of frame bridging, where interconnections are made which connect a variety of struggles. Despite the intersectional similarities, it is important to note that the premise of these struggles is understood rather differently within the contents of this video in comparison to the hardship frame; in this case the three struggles are given equal weighting in terms of their importance in relation to the persecution of migrants and refugees, compared to the dominance of gender over race which was evident in the knowledges produced through the hardship frame. Nevertheless, the focus on persecuted refugees challenges the dominant hegemonic common-sense narrative which depicts migration as a burden to the British economy or the individual taxpaying 'in-group' of White British natives.

In addition to this, other examples of the way in which this frame functions to place blame on the UK government, and highlight the persecution of foreign minorities, can be seen in the campaign launched by the Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants activist group, #DearBA. Within this campaign, the activist group uploaded several videos to their YouTube channel which featured the hashtag in both the titles and their

117

descriptions. The campaign was seemingly addressing British Airways on the part they play in deportations and Charter Flights, removing refugees from the UK back to their home countries. The videos were all uploaded on the same date (4th August 2019) to coincide with the 100-year anniversary or "birthday" of British Airways later in the month. Examples of this can be found in eight videos uploaded on 4th August 2019 entitled '#DearBA: Nebiyat', '#DearBA: Jun', '#DearBA: Eric', '#DearBA: Om', '#DearBA: Esty', '#DearBA: Soso', '#DearBA: Abdellah', and '#DearBA: Ahmed'.

The content of these videos is also quite significant to the way in which the activist group is choosing to frame this issue. Each interview contained within the videos draws attention to the persecution of the respective individuals due to either their ethnicity, sexuality or religion. One example of this can be observed from a speech by Nebiyat contained in the video titled '#DearBA: Nebiyat':

> 'I have a message to British Airways. Normally I come to ask asylum because I'm **homosexual** and it's **not legal in my country**. So **British Airways**, **please don't deport people** because if I was deported to **my country** I could have been **killed** and it's not **fair**. Thank you' (Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants, 2019e)

Specifically, within the content of this speech, there is evidence of how this frame functions. 'I'm homosexual and it's not legal in my country' highlights that this individual is from a country where they could be persecuted based on their sexual orientation. Later on, in saying 'if I was deported to my country I could have been killed and it's not fair', they are placing an element of accountability and responsibility for the consequences of their deportation on the shoulders of British Airways through a plea directly to them. The reference to 'it's not fair' is an illustrative example of the process of frame extension; referring to the fairness or unfairness relating to the problem highlights the way in which this process makes discursive connected to wider issues relating to social injustice in an attempt to gain support for the aims and objectives of the movement.

The video titled '#DearBA: Jun' also focuses on the links between sexuality and persecution:

> 'Hi, I came from China. When I realised **I'm different**, I couldn't keep hiding myself. I know they could discriminate others. **They don't care about us**. I love my country and my family, but they can't protect me, so I'm very sad because I can't express the feeling, because it's hard to **talk** to anybody **freely**. I just want…if I

can…if I can get **freedom** to be **happy** in life' (Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants, 2019a)

Here, there is specific reference to the country from which the individual has migrated to seek asylum in the United Kingdom. The comment 'when I realised I'm different' seemingly refers to the individual's sexual orientation and accentuates the fact that it deviates from the dominant norm in the person's home country. It is not entirely clear whether the reference to 'they' when it is said 'they don't care about us' refers to the UK government / immigration policy makers or whether this refers to the individual's home country. Nevertheless, there is a further illustrative demonstration here of frame extension where they claim they would like to have the 'freedom to be happy in life': this appeals to the audiences who the activist group feels are interacting with the content through reference emphasis on shared beliefs relating to issues of social justice (freedom and happiness). In addition, suggesting 'I love my country and my family' suggests that migrating to the United Kingdom and seeking asylum was not an easy choice that the person has had to make, and that it had been difficult, thus suggesting alternative ways of understanding the experience of migration which differs from the ways in which migrants are framed within dominant hegemonic common-sense narratives i.e. as unusual 'others' or individuals seeking to gain an economic advantage over 'native' Britons.

While the video titled '#DearBA: Eric' still conforms to the framing processes outlined of the persecution frame i.e. drawing attention to the need for empathy towards those being persecuted in their home countries, the framing processes relating to the content of this video are slightly different:

'**Happy 100th birthday** British Airways. We do **appreciate the support** you gave to the LGBT community, but we do **appreciate if you could do more**, for example **stop the deportation of asylum seekers**. And once again, **happy 100th birthday** British Airways' (Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants, 2019c)

In comparison to the first two videos, namely '#DearBA: Nebiyat' and '#DearBA: Jun', which were silent on the actual *role* of British Airways in facilitating the deportation of migrants and asylum seekers, rather focusing the frame on the persecution of foreign minorities, the content within this video features the individual (Jun) addressing British Airways directly. Notably, on two occasions they wish the airline a happy 100th birthday, which is the context surrounding the production and

dissemination of these videos around this time frame, but there are also positive undertones in the way the issue regarding LGBTQ+ rights are framed. The individual refers to the fact that they 'appreciate the support you [BA] gave to the LGBT community' and then proceeds to ask for further support i.e. stopping deportations of asylum seekers. It is unclear what the initial support was that was being referred to as no context is provided surrounding this, but the linking of 'do more' with 'stop the deportation of asylum seekers', suggests that they are referring to individuals who are being persecuted for their sexuality or sexual orientation in their home countries, are seeking asylum in the United Kingdom, and that British Airways is being used as the primary airline to deport the individuals back to their home countries. This is an illustrative example of frame transformation within the persecution frame, i.e. 'changing old understandings and meanings and/or generating new ones' (Benford & Snow, 2000: 625). More specifically, the appeal to British Airways for support directly contraicts dominant hegemonic prognostic narratives that argue for tougher border controls, rendering them 'contestable and ultimately defeatable' (Cammaerts, 2018: 65).

The video titled '#DearBA: Om' drew attention to not only the persecution that migrants face in their home countries, but there were elements of blame directed at the UK government for their complicity in capital punishment through the process of deportations, as well as positive framing of migrants in general:

> 'The **United Kingdom do not support the death sentence to any crime**. However, they adhere to **deportation policies** of so many migrants who eventually face such deplorable conditions that **most of whom end up resulting to death**. **90% of migrants will contribute positively to the community** and should be given a chance to **live**, showcasing their **talents** to the **welfare** of the nation, rather than passing a **death sentence** on them by **deportation**. **Please stop deportation**' (Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants, 2019j)

Beginning on the important point that the UK does 'not support the death sentence to any crime' acts as a reminder that, while capital punishment is not legally enshrined in Britain, it is taking place in other countries. This is an illustrative example of *frame extension*; where it is emphasised that there is opposition to capital punishment which is *shared* between those fleeing from their home countries due to the death penalty, and those living in the United Kingdom where capital punishment is opposed. 'Do not support' is key, since it also draws attention to the hypocrisy surrounding the deportation of refugees who potentially will face capital punishment despite this; the

UK government framed as acting as a 'proxy' to death sentencing. In emphasising the positive contribution of '90% of migrants', there is a form of negotiation between this frame and the dominant hegemonic narrative surrounding immigration that overemphasises the negative effects of migration on the British economy, reframing the issue to relate only to a small percentage of those migrating to the UK. 'Should be given a chance to live' is a further example of *frame extension*, since it appeals to the shared desire between migrants and refugees, and wider British society, to 'live', simultaneously suggesting that the alternative to this is potentially the death that they face if deportation is carried out. Similarly to the video '#DearBA: Eric', the appeal to 'please stop deportation' is an illustrative example of *frame transformation* in that it once again renders the hegemonic narrative as contestable, one which can be amended or defeated through reframing the way that migration is conceptualised and understood.

The videos titled '#DearBA: Esty' and '#DearBA: Soso' both respectively illustrate a combination of *frame extension* and *transformation*:

> 'British Airways, I think they have to **stop deportations** because it's not **fair**. People are leaving their country to come here for **security**, for **safety**, for **identity** and, at the end of the day, still have to bring them back to their country? For me, it's so **risky** and an **issue**. British Airways can really **stop deporting people**, as I think **lives** matter more than papers, that I come here to ask for. So, by deporting them back to their country, you're not helping them. **You're instead killing them again**. So I really think **British Airways should stop. Not only British Airways, but all the other companies who are deporting people**, so it would be nice I think when you **stop the deportations**, because we are here for **safety** reasons' (Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants, 2019d)

> 'Dear British Airways, I'm one **asylum seeker** who is originally from the North of Africa. Can you please tell us why you're deporting people? We feel it is not **fair** for them as a **human**, and they want to only **live their lives** with **freedom**. Can you **please stop deporting people**' (Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants, 2019i)

Within these videos, there is a clear appeals not only to British Airways to stop deporting refugees, but also to 'all other companies who are deporting people', though the specific companies are not referenced here. Once again, they demonstrate the way in which frame transformation processes function; the contestability of the hegemonic narrative which sees tougher border controls as a prognostic solution to the dominant diagnostic immigration 'problem'. Similarly, there are several examples here of the way in which *frame extension* functions: reference to key concepts such as

'fair', 'security', 'safety', 'identity', 'human' and 'lives' suggests that there is a common, shared, societal understanding of these words but also a desire for these types of values. In emphasising this, there is a reframing of the dominant hegemonic narrative surrounding immigration, in particular the humanised 'other'-ing process, which seeks to frame migrants as culturally different and unwilling to integrate to Western values, ideals, norms or identities. In doing so, this form of frame transformation leads to the production of alternative knowledges surrounding migration; refugees and asylum seekers share the same individual desires for fairness, security, safety, identity and right to human life, which are encompassed within Western values and norms. 'we are here for safety reasons' also opposes the dominant hegemonic common-sense narrative which frames migrants as an overall regional threat to the British economy and labour market (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Boydstun & Glazier, 2013; Lindström, 2017; Lundblad, 2017).

The video titled '#DearBA: Abdellah' is a further example of how this frame functions; drawing attention to the persecution of foreign minorities in their home countries, but also another illustrative example of how *frame extension* process operates:

> 'I'm from the Democratic Republic of Congo. I am lucky to have escaped my country. I was accused of being an informant and I was **sexually abused** during my deportation interview because **they found on my phone that I was gay**, saw my conversations and pictures. **British Airways should not take part in sending people back to exposing their lives to danger**' (Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants, 2019k)

The individual speaking within the video draws attention to the fact that they were sexually abused during their deportation interview in the Democratic Republic of Congo 'because they found on my phone that I was gay'. Linking the act of sexual abuse to the discovery of a sexual preference suggests, firstly, that the individual's home country is not accepting of sexualities that deviate from the societal norm. Secondly, it is an appeal to wider audiences who have not only suffered sexual abuse more generally, but also as a result of the discovery of their sexual preferences; a clear illustrative example of how the process of frame extension is applied through the availability of this video. 'exposing their lives to danger' further suggests that the return of individuals with sexual preferences that are different from the acceptable societal norms back to their home countries can lead to potential loss of life, thus

further grounding the debate surrounding migration on knowledges relating to to right to life and opposition to capital punishment.

A further example of the way in which persecution of foreign minorities is framed, and how both frame extension and frame transformation processes are further illustrated, relates to the video titled '#DearBA: Ahmed':

> 'If you **kill someone**, **sten gun**, they say killer is danger. If you take British Aiways, it's like they know already if they see their life is in danger. It's like there is another crime. I think British Airways knows, because **they have internet**, they find out which country was problem. So if you then know, but still take someone and deport them, it's like **they killed someone's life. I think it's not right**, because you killed someone. I just request for British Airways, please try to save people's lives. If there's danger, don't take off. Whereas if you don't, it's okay, a European country? No problem. But if you see any country danger, leave them. Take them off' (Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants, 2019h)

Here, there is specific reference to the awareness of British Airways, due to technological advancement (i.e. 'they have the internet') of the dangers associated with deporting refugees back to home countries where they may potentially face persecution or loss to life. While there is an element of frame extension also at play here (in the way in which the shared values of right to life is suggested; 'they killed someone's life. I think it's not right'), the core narrative this video contributes to is in highlighting the contestability of the dominant hegemonic common-sense narratives that argue tougher border controls are unavoidable, inevitable and fair. In this case, the actions of institutions aiding in the physical enactment of this narrative i.e. those such as British Airways engaging in deportations, are compared to killing someone with a 'sten gun', thus suggesting that these institutions are complicit in the deaths of refugees and asylum seekers through engaging in deportation action.

Furthermore, another video under #DearBA was uploaded on 8th August 2019 to the Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants YouTube channel, titled '#DearBA: Dina Nayeri'. This video contains an illustrated image of a British Airways aeroplane with a banner reading 'NO HUMAN IS ILLEGAL' [see **Figure 7: No Human is Illegal** in **Appendices**]. The image will be discussed in more detail within the *6.1.3 Empowerment Frame*. The background contains narration by activist, Dina Nayeri:

> 'Happy Birthday British Airways. It's such a symbolic thing that you do, flying people around the world, and **mostly** it's **positive** and **beautiful** flying people to

holidays and new jobs and new opportunities. But then there are those times where you're flying people to their **doom** to **places that they have escaped**, when you become **complicit** in turning away, you know, **real people** with **hard lives** facing the possibility of **danger**. It's easy to say that you're a middleman, simply because you have to **follow the government's**…you know…**what they decide to do**, but you're not actually. **You're the gatekeepers**. **You're** the ones who can **choose** not to put those people on your planes and deport them back to their countries. **You can at least delay things**. **You can make it harder**. **You can take a stand and say "no, we're not going to be complicit in this"'** (Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants, 2019g)

There are several demonstrations throughout this example of how this frame functions. Firstly, emphasis on 'doom', 'danger', and 'places they have escaped' ensures that the individuals who are being deported are depicted as being genuine refugees and asylum seekers, countering the dominant Economic Threat Frame that makes up the hegemonic process of dehumanised 'other'-ing of migrants; i.e. it challenges the notion that the 'others' (or the migrants) are a regional threat to the British economy and labour market. Secondly, there is an appeal to the notions of humanity through the frame extension process; use of words such as 'real people' and 'with hard lives' assumes that there is a shared common societal understanding of the values associated with the realness of humanity, with the hardships associated with human life. Thirdly, in using a direct 'voice' through the speech, i.e. directing the message at the British Airways themselves, there is a clear demonstration of the way in which frame alignment operates. In specifying that British Airways are 'complicit' in what the government decides to do, using phrases such as 'you can at least delay things', 'you can make it harder', 'you can take a stand and say "no, we're not going to be complicit in this"', there is a process of establishing the contestability of the prognostic task of the dominant hegemonic narrative which argues that tougher border policies (in this case manifested in the act of deporting migrants to their home countries) is a necessary and unavoidable solution to the immigration 'problem'. In framing the actions of British Airways as voluntary and based upon the exercising of individual (or perhaps even collective) agency, this frame also maintains a rather offensive stance towards government policy and those carrying out said policy. Within the videos uploaded to YouTube by Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants, the practice of hashtagging #DearBA before naming the individuals taking part in these videos contributes to widening the intended net of potential audiences interacting with the videos in question. While it is entirely possible that the initial intended audience, judging by the hashtag itself, are employees of British Airways, the practice can extend the search parameters leading to those searching for British

Airways in general encountering these videos, thereby increasing the visibility of the alternative knowledges.

A further example of the way in which this frame functions relates to a video uploaded by under the Fourman Films channel on YouTube on 12th December 2018 contains a segment from a speech made by an activist named Angela during a demonstration in solidarity with the Stansted 15 entitled 'Angela& Anna-All African Women's Group-Thousands Support the Stansted15 Home Office Protest 11.12.18'. As the video is 7:32 minutes long, only the relevant excerpt of the speech will be drawn upon to illustrate the way this frame functions, and the way the frame alignment processes take place within this frame:

> 'Those of us who have been **forced to leave our homes** did not do it easily. We had to run away because of **war**, **destitution**, **devastation**, and all the **hardships**. We have the **right to fight for our lives**. The Stansted [15] protest against people being sent back to their countries to be **persecuted** and to **die**. We will not be **hounded** or **tricked** or **bullied** or **threatened** to leave this country' (Fourman Films, 2018)

The content of this speech combines the two elements outlined within this frame; the fact that refugees who are being housed within UK detention centres have been forced to flee their home countries due to either persecution, destitution, devastation or hardship, and that the fact that the act of deportation these individuals can and do lead to their subsequent deaths in these countries. This indirectly accuses the government of having a lack of empathy towards the individual circumstances of refugees in their home countries, and in contributing to their deaths through deportation policies, thus illustrating the way the aforementioned frame transformation process functions; states and state institutions as complicit in the killing of refugees. In addition, there is also an accusation that state institutions are engaging in acts of hounding, tricking, bullying and threatening in an attempt to coerce individuals to leave the country voluntarily, rather than through deportation. This suggests that the state is not making an accurate enough distinction between individuals who are migrating to the United Kingdom for economic reasons, and those who are facing a genuine threat to life and seeking asylum in the country. Use of these types of coercion challenges the state's policy on refugees and asylum seekers are being flawed, one which is being conflated with economic migration, thus illustrating the contestability of the interchangeable use of migration-related discourses used to build the dominant hegemonic common-sense narrative. This

refers to the way in which various discourses relating to migration are used interchangeably within dominant narratives: 'refugee', 'asylum seeker', 'illegal immigrant', 'foreign worker'.

In conclusion, this frame engages in two key alignment processes; frame extension and frame transformation both contributing to the production of various knowledges. In relation to frame extension, this creates alternative ways of thinking about capital punishment through a shared societal opposition to the death penalty that refugees face in home countries, values of right to life through shared desires to 'live', where the alternative is facing potential death, sexual abuse as being a potential consequence from discovery of sexual preferences that deviate from social norms, and struggles relating to gender through the lack of accessibility of basic toiletries and sanitary items. With regards to frame transformation, it contributes to an understanding that dominant framing processes that use migration-related discourses interchangeably to build the hegemonic common-sense narrative surrounding immigration are fundamentally contestable, as there is seemingly a clear understanding on the part of the state of the differences between the concept of 'refugees' and that of 'economic immigrants', demonstrable through their attempts at coercing refugees to *voluntarily* return to their home countries. Secondly, frame transformation also contributes to the contestability of the dominant hegemonic common-sense narrative which suggests that tougher border controls are necessary and fair in tackling what is perceived to be the immigration 'problem'. This contestability is demonstrated through appealing to institutions to stop deportations and framing state institutions not as framers of individual freedoms, but reframing them as complicit in killing refugees.

6.1.3 Empowerment Frame

This frame functions in three ways: (1) by emphasising that migrants, refugees and asylum seekers have civil and human rights, (2) by demonstrating broader public solidarity to the cause of the movement, and (3) by refuting the illegality of the status of individuals seeking asylum in the UK. It challenges the dehumanising processes associated with the dominant hegemonic narrative surrounding immigration, seeking to re-humanise refugees and asylum seekers, resists the dominant Illegal Status frame through the emphasis on civil and human rights, and shifts the focus from the overall 'other'-ing process towards concentrating on the state's responsibility to respect the

Human Rights Convention; upholding rights for freedom of speech, assembly and expression.

Videos which contain short segments of rallies, protests and demonstrations relating to deportations and Charter Flights are often edited to also include various interviews conducted with activists present during the events. One example of this type of video activist footage is uploaded under the loveofpeace YouTube channel on 14th January 2017, titled 'London march against mass deportation charter flights in Brixton' containing three hashtags; '#protest #MJF #StopCharterFlights' (loveofpeace, 2017a) [see **Figure 5: MfJ Placards** in **Appendices**]. The choice of the various segments outlined in **5. Visual Analysis** is quite important in relation to the way in which this frame operates. It both emphasises that refugees and asylum seekers have powers and rights, while simultaneously portraying strong solidarity. This is demonstrated by the choice of placards featured within the video, but also by the angling used to film the marches taking place (refer to **5. Visual Analysis**). In addition, much closer examination of this video uncovers the broader activist alliances associated with the Movement for Justice activist group. For instance, in one segment within this video, there is a long horizontal banner reading 'MAZIMBABWEANS: YES WE CAN / DEMOCRACY – FREEDOM – EQUALITY', above which is a placard relating to Sisters Uncut, including their logo [see **Figure 6: Mazimbabweans & Sisters Uncut** in **Appendices**]. 'Mazimbabweans' is an activist group which was launched in 2011 by eighteen Zimbabweans living in the United Kingdom, aiming to support and 'empower' those seeking asylum in the country 'to access services like the NHS, Education, Community Events etc.' (Mazimbabweans Yes We Can, n.d.). Founded in 2014, Sisters Uncut is a feminist activist group aimed at drawing attention to how Austerity cuts have negatively impacted on the lives of women and gender-variant victims of domestic violence to gain access to appropriate services (Sisters Uncut, 2018). The image of both of these activist groups being present at a Movement for Justice demonstration relating to the deportation of refugees and asylum seekers is significant, speech by a member of the Mazimbabwean activist group later in the video:

> 'We are demonstrating against the British government in working in liaison with the Kenyan government. They are illegally deporting **our people**…when I say '**our people**' I am referring not only to Zimbabweans but **all people** who are [seeking] asylum, **all the people** who have come here to [seek] **sanctuary**. They are abrogating the Human Rights Act; Geneva Convention 1951, Human Rights Act

1998, and it is against that background that we are demonstrating that they are not fulfilling their international obligation' (loveofpeace, 2017a)

Firstly, the presence of the different activist groups at this demonstration grounds the debate surrounding immigration away from the dominant hegemonic narrative which focuses on their 'impact' or the immigration 'problem' towards alternative understandings through the process of frame bridging; highlighting the importance of intersectional struggles between refugee status and gender rights, or rights to access domestic violence services. Secondly, it demonstrates the wider alliances that the activist group is building upon and, in this case through the inclusion of these segments into the video activist footage, engaging in frame extension which (aside from highlighting issues which may be of general interest to the target audience) seeks to 'express solidarity with similar struggles being waged elsewhere' (Cammaerts, 2018: 63). The speech by the Mazimbabwean activist solidifies this point; 'deporting our people' was then quickly clarified to refer not only to Zimbabweans but 'all people who are [seeking] asylum'. This contributes not only to the production of knowledges surrounding how immigration is understood from the perspective of the broader anti-racist movement (i.e. in connection with wider struggles, relevant to notions of race, ethnicity, gender identity, and values of 'sanctuary': a shared societal desire to be free of persecution and danger), but it also contributes to knowledges about the way in which the broader anti-racist movement operates; its strategic and organisational practices, and its collective identity (Della Porta & Pavan, 2017; Eyerman & Jamison, 1991; Melucci, 1985; Stephansen, 2019).

A further example of the ways in which the empowerment frame functions can be found by the choice of speeches included within videos. In a video uploaded to the Movement for Justice Facebook site on 5th March 2015 titled '"WE ARE HERE TO FIGHT FOR OUR FREEDOM'" Ex #YarlsWood detainee Christine speaks out on #SurroundHarmondsworth join us for our 7th demo on 11th April at 1pm #ENDdetention #ShutDownYarlswood' a speech is featured by an ex-detainee of Yarl's Wood detention centre during a demonstration outside the centre building. Within this speech, the ex-detainee describes her intention to be the first to attend an event relating to the knocking down of detention centres. In addition to this, she goes on to say:

'I am telling everyone in the detention centres: **don't be afraid**. **Speak up** for your **rights** and just believe in yourself that **you will go through it**. **We are out here** to fight for you, **we are out here** to fight for all of us and **we are here** to fight for our **freedom**. Nobody can come from their country and start claiming about their sexuality from the blue. I am a gay. Yes, I am a **gay** and I come from **Uganda**, so if I say **I am a gay from Uganda** you can't tell me to prove my **sexuality**. You know, that's a style of **abuse**. That is absolutely **abuse**' (movementforjustice, 2015c)

In including this speech as part of the video which has been uploaded by the activist group to their Facebook site, Movement for Justice engages in the process of framing refugees, migrants and asylum seekers through the lens of empowerment; in 'speaking up' for their rights. The emphasis on 'we are out here', 'we are out here', and 'we are here' suggests, firstly, that one of the potential audiences of the speech are the people who are (at the time) being detained within Yarl's Wood. Secondly, the constant emphasis on 'we' depicts the intention of the articulator of establishing a sense of collective empowerment, appealing to the collaborative nature of the support that the detainees should expect. This video also simultaneously demonstrates how the Persecution frame functions, as there is reference here of the speaker being a persecuted minority from Uganda and a simultaneous emphasis on the fact that her treatment within the UK (namely in requests that she 'prove' her sexuality) can also amount to a form of local persecution, and lack of empathy for the difficulties that minorities are experiencing in other countries. In relation to the frame alignment processes which are operating here, this video is an example of the way in which the activist group utilise frame extension in the form of appealing to wider audiences through shared common understandings of particular issues. In this case, the argument being made, whether directly or indirectly, relates to values of human 'rights' and 'freedom'. This can help to resonate with wider audiences who may associate these concepts with similar meanings to that which the activist group is aiming to attach. The frame bridging alignment process is also demonstrated here through the reference to intersectional struggles. For instance, the references to sexuality and race (with indirect underlying reference to refugee status) were made separately, but were then combined to form a union: 'Yes, I am gay and I come from Uganda, so if I say I am a gay from Uganda…'.

Another video which demonstrates the function of the Empowerment frame was by the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants activist group on their Facebook page on 13th December 2019 entitled 'Stand with migrants. Join JCWI'. Throughout the various short bursts of video segments, text appears on the screen reading:

'Since 1967 we haven't quit. We've stepped up. We've stood up. We've fought back. We've **mobilised**. We've educated. We've advocated. We've agitated. We've litigated. We've **protected**. We've **protested**. We've **disrupted**. We've **defended**. And we're not giving up now. Are you with us? **Stand with migrants**. Jcwi.org.uk/join' (JCWImmigrants, 2019d)

This is an example of the way in which this frame functions. While this video demonstrates the consistency between various frames (see **5.4 Frame Resonance**, *5.4.1 Frame Consistency*) in that it both depicts migrants as empowered, but also that it is an example of how the subsequent Heroism Frame functions (see *5.4.4 Heroism Frame*) through the demonstration Snow & Benford's (1988) motivational framing task. In terms of the current Empowerment framing function, it is an example of how the activist group uses 'we' as a collective identifier to suggest that the group is not separating itself from the individuals who they are supporting, rather including them within the processes of stepping up, standing up, fighting back, and so on.

An example of how the third function of this frame is demonstrated, namely refuting the illegality of the status of individuals seeking refuge in the UK, can be observed through the upload of two videos by the Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants activist group on their YouTube channel in relation to the previously-mentioned #DearBA campaign on 2nd and 8th August 2019. Both of these videos have a thread of similarity in that they both feature a solid image with rather different background narration. The image in question is an interesting addition to the campaign aimed at getting the attention of British Airways, as it features a drawing of a British Airways-labelled aeroplane flying a red banner which reads 'NO HUMAN IS ILLEGAL' (Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants, 2019b, 2019g) [see **Figure 7: No Human is Illegal** in **Appendices**]. The videos are titled '#DearBA: Hannah Lowe - Deportation Blues' and '#DearBA: Dina Nayeri'.

While the narration will be commented on in some more detail in a subsequent section under the *6.1.6 Anti-Racism Frame*, here, it is important to comment on the choice of image for use within the uploaded video. Specifying 'human' in this context, firstly, directly negates the dominant Animalistic Comparison frame in emphasising that migrants are not animals, but humans. In doing so, this is another example of the way in which the frame extension process operates; extending the scope of the frame to appeal to a wider potential audience who may share the same understanding of the

meanings associated with 'humanity'. In claiming that 'no human is illegal' the banner suggests that the illegality of the status of migrants (refugees and asylum seekers) is a politically and social constructed label placed upon them, thus demonstrating the contestability of the dominant hegemonic framing process of dehumanised 'other'-ing, specifically the Illegal Status Frame (an illustrative example of frame transformation).

In conclusion, this frame engages in three frame alignment processes: frame extension, frame bridging and frame transformation in contributing to the production of various knowledges surrounding immigration. First, frame extension processes that operate within this frame contribute to knowledges about the way in which the broader anti-racist movement operates; its strategic and organisational practices, and its collective identity (Della Porta & Pavan, 2017; Eyerman & Jamison, 1991; Melucci, 1985; Stephansen, 2019). They also contribute to understandings of the worldview of the broader anti-racist movement, insofar as it places value on ideas surrounding human rights, freedom and sanctuary by appealing to common desires associated with these ideas which are shared between migrants and refugees, as well as wider society. Second, frame bridging processes highlight the importance of viewing gender-specific struggles such as the frequency and impact of domestic violence, struggles relating to sexuality and sexual preferences in conjunction with refugee status through an intersectional lens. Finally, frame transformation processes demonstrate the way in which the dominant hegemonic narratives constructed surrounding immigration are contestable. In this case the emphasis is on two elements; the dehumanised 'other'-ing framing process, specifically the Illegal Status frame, and the perceives solutions to the immigration 'problem' as requiring tougher border controls. This is done through appealing to institutions who are complicit in enacting these policies and deporting migrants to their home countries, to exercise individual agency and resist calls from the state to act on said policies.

6.1.4 Heroism Frame

This frame portrays a positive image of anti-racist activism as necessary and proportionate. It functions by directly challenging dominant hegemonic narratives surrounding social movement activism (see *3.4.3 Framing Social Movement Activism*) through the inclusion of video activist footage which paint activists halting

deportations and charter flights in a positive light. This is done through the uploading of videos containing:

(1) footage of the Stansted 15 activists themselves;
(2) footage of speeches by activists praising the actions of the Stansted 15 or the movement as a whole;
(3) footage of current or former detainees praising the actions of the Stansted 15 or the movement as a whole (either speaking themselves or by proxy through others reading their speeches for them);
(4) footage of activists from other movements praising the actions of the Stansted 15 or the movement as a whole;
(5) footage of political actors praising the actions of the Stansted 15 or the movement as a whole.

There are two videos uploaded which feature the Stansted 15 themselves (the first style of video). The first of these examples is one which has been uploaded by the End Deportations activist group to their Facebook site on 29th March 2017 titled 'Last night 14 activists blockaded a mass deportation flight and stopped it from forcibly deporting dozens of people to Nigeria and Ghana. Join them in calling on Theresa May to #StopCharterFlights now: https://actionsprout.io/1631AC'. This video was originally live streamed to the End Deportations Facebook site from the demonstration itself, where protesters from the activist group can be seen laying on the ground underneath the wing of an aeroplane, one of them speaking directly to the camera:

> 'So we are still locked down here underneath the wing of this Titan Airways flight which was planning to deport **tens, if not hundreds, of people** to Ghana and Nigeria; people who were **fearing for their lives** from **violence** and **death** and **torture**. As you can see the ladders, the stairs are all gone. The crew, the cabin crew, the pilots have all gone home for the night and we have just seen that **all the coaches which were containing detained people have gone back, so we have successfully shut this flight down**. [Cheering]' (EDeportations, 2017a)

Here, the act of speaking directly to the camera using live streaming is interesting since it both suggests that the activist group is addressing a particular audience on its social media site, but is also a form of documenting the *evidence* that the protest itself had actually taken place and what was happening was accurate and real (see **5.4 Frame Resonance**, specifically *5.4.2 Empirical Credibility* for further details on the

evidential value of this video). This angling style has also been explored in some more detail within **5. Visual Analysis**. In the conversation within the video, the shift between 'tens, if not hundreds' signifies that the activists taking part in the protest are not aware of how many migrants are actually on the flight, so it deemphasises the value of knowing exactly how many people they were helping, only that they were contributing to halting the flight from taking off. In this case, there are no specific mentions of demographic features of any of the migrants who were aboard the flight, which could signify that either this information was unavailable to the activists taking part in the protest, or that the word 'people' took symbolic precedence over specifying any demographic information. Nevertheless, there is an emphasis within this video on the actual impact of what the activists are doing: 'people who were fearing for their lives from violence and death and torture' not only suggests that the actions of the activists, and the group in general, is saving the migrants from these potential fates in their home countries, but demonstrates the consistency in the framing processes where details surrounding the persecution of refugees and asylum seekers is constantly refered to (see *5.4.1 Frame Consistency*).

The second example of where Stansted 15 is featured within an uploaded video relates to one posted onto the End Deportations Facebook site on 1st October 2018 titled 'Solidarity with the #stansted15 outside Chelmsford Crown Court Moving scenes of solidarity at Chelmsford Crown Court today as the Stansted 15 left for the lunch recess and were greeted by hundreds of friends, family and supporters who were still there from the demonstration this morning. #solidarityforever #enddeportations' (EDeportations, 2018c). Within this video there is a segment which shows the activists of the Stansted 15 exiting Chelmsford Crown Court during a lunch recess to a crowd of demonstrators gathered outside cheering and applauding them. The choice of this segment for an uploaded video demonstrates the way in which this frame draws attention to solidarity and support of the actions of the Stansted 15 and suggesting, thereby directly challenging dominant framing of social movement activists as a 'nuisance' or 'criminal' (see *3.4.3 Framing of Social Movement Activism*).

With regards to the second style of video, namely footage of speeches by activists praising the actions of the Stansted 15 or the movement as a whole, an example of this can be found in the uploading of a video by the End Deportations activist group on their Facebook site on 18th December 2018, titled 'International Migrants Day:

Solidarity with the Stansted 15'. This is an edited video which features segments of demonstrations around London by the activist group in support of the Stansted 15. There are several segments here of casual interview-style conversations with activists walking on the streets, but only one of them will be used to demonstrate how this style of video helps the functioning of this frame:

> '**We're** here to **support** the Stansted 15. **We** think it's an **absolute outrage** that they are being penalised for trying to **defend innocent people**. […] **We** defend the right for them to protest, and **I** think the legislation that's being used against them is being…is **gonna be used against protesters**, it's **gonna be used against political activists to try and stop us pointing out some of the policies that this Tory government is carrying through**' (EDeportations, 2018f: 00:00-00:09; 00:32-00:51)

The inclusion of this speech within the edited video that has been uploaded demonstrates the function of this frame; namely portraying, or seeking to portray, activists who are stopping deportations as heroes, or that their actions are proportionate and necessary. In this case, the use of 'support' is key, since the activist overtly states that she is supportive of the Stansted 15. 'Absolute outrage' refers to the actions of the state in prosecuting the activists for, what this person claims as, defending innocent people. In addition to this, there is a sense of collective 'voice' being employed in the first part of this conversation, in which 'we' is used several times to refer to the collectiveness of the support, the outrage and the defence to the right to protest. Later on, the voice switches to an 'I', when the activist expresses her personal beliefs about the way in which the actions of the state in charging the Stansted 15 with terror legislation could potentially affect broader rights of individuals wishing to engage in protest, political activism, or in challenging their dominant hegemonic narrative which argues that increased border securitisation and controls is a necessary and justified response to immigration. In some ways, this video is an example of the way in which frame extension processes operate within the Heroism frame. In this instance, broadening of the scope of the focus from the Stansted 15 to future acts of the state against those engaging in peaceful protest and political activism contributes to the production of legislative and policy-based knowledge through highlighting the potential consequences for the future of challenging dominant hegemonic narratives.

In relation to the third style of video, namely footage of current or former detainees praising the actions of the Stansted 15 or the movement as a whole (either speaking

themselves or by proxy through others reading their speeches for them), one example includes a video uploaded by the Movement for Justice activist group on their Facebook page on 7th June 2014 entitled 'Vid of demo at Harmondswoth 7/6 - JOIN US for next demo 5/7 this sat 1pm #ENDdetention #ENDfasttrack #ShutDownYarlswood'. This video features footage of a demonstration held outside Harmondsworth detention centre, where an unnamed ex-detainee from Harmondsworth speaks about his experiences and about the Movement for Justice group in general:

> 'I was put on fast track and my asylum case was concluded in one month. I was put on four different flights, I fought off all those flights, and **now I'm outside because of Movement for Justice**. **They fought for me and I fought for myself**' (movementforjustice, 2014a).

The speech within this video suggests the Movement for Justice group supported the individual to be released from several charter flights trying to deport him to his home country. In addition to the support by the activist group, the ex-detainee also emphasises the fact that this has also strengthened his own conviction ('They fought for me and I fought for myself'). While it is not entirely clear from his speech what exact methods of support the activist group had provided him, it is still a demonstration of the core function of this frame; drawing attention to the positive actions of the movement. In addition to the core function, it is also a demonstration of how the frame transformation process operates within this frame. 'I fought off all those flights' and 'now I'm outside' both signify the contestability of the dominant hegemonic narratives which argue that tougher border policies are a necessity in responding to immigration.

A further example of the third style can be seen by the inclusion of a video on the Fourman Films YouTube channel on 12th October 2018 entitled 'Angela& Anna-All African Women's Group-Thousands Support the Stansted15 Home Office Protest 11.12.18'. While this video has also been used to illustrate also how the Hardship frame functions, it contains a further speech within the video which is of particular significance in demonstrating this Heroism frame. Footage of an activist named Anna, a member of the All African Women's Group, reads a statement by a refugee, Jen, who was on the Charter Flight halted by the actions of the Stansted 15:

'Jen, one of the **women** of our group, was meant to be deported on a charter flight which the **Stansted 15 bravely stopped**. She told us she's devastated by the conviction and asked us to read a short statement: "on the coach to Stansted Airport, I was shut down completely. **I've lived in this country for more than twenty-nine years**, having **fled persecution** in our country, where I suffered **physical** and **mental abuse**. Forcing me onto that charter flight would have been a **definite death sentence** for me. What the **Stansted 15** did when they stopped that plane was to **give me [a] voice**, to **give a voice to people whose voice was being taken from them**. **They saved lives, and they gave their lives**. One **woman** on one of the planes has since been granted [indefinite] leave to remain, and another has **given birth to a baby boy**. My life was saved that night. I will never forget that" – this was a message from Jen, thank you' (Fourman Films, 2018)

The inclusion of the statement within this video clearly illustrates the way in which this frame operates in order to emphasise proportionality and justification for the actions of the movement activists. In addition to this, there are also two different frame alignment processes in operation; frame bridging and frame extension. The operation of the frame bridging process is demonstrated through the reference to intersectional struggles between gender-specific issues, motherhood in general and refugee status. In the inclusion of this speech which, far from refering to these issues separately, unifies them to create a sense of relatability for 'broader, long lasting, historical struggles' (Cammaerts, 2018: 62). Linked to this, the frame extension process is demonstrated here through an attempt to connect to wider audiences beyond the aforementioned intersectional struggles; 'give a voice to people whose voice was being taken from them'. While in this specific context Jen was referring to migrants and refugees who did not feel as though they had a 'say' in the enactment of the state's policies on deportations, it can also speak to the personal experiences of anyone who has been a victim of social injustice, marginalisation or stigma which has rendered them in some way 'voiceless', creating an appeal to wider audiences. In addition to the frame alignment processes outlined, the inclusion of this speech within the uploaded video highlights the importance of speaking from lives experiences of detention, particularly in relation to establishing frame resonance; further details surrounding this can be found in **5.4 Frame Resonance** (see *5.4.3 Credibility of Articulators*).

In relation to the fourth style of video, namely footage of activists from other movements praising the actions of the activist group in question, this can be found through an example uploaded by the End Deportations activist group to their Facebook site on 22nd May 2018 titled 'Live stop the plane' contains footage of a demonstration held outside the Home Office building in London in support of the

Stansted 15. There are two significant speeches contained within this video which demonstrate the operation of frame extension processes. Firstly, the video begins with a speech by a male activist relating to the support that End Deportations had shown to members of the Pakistani community:

> 'I would like to say **'thank you' to all of you** [in] **representing** Pakistan, [the] Pakistani community. **It was a Pakistani issue**. I really **appreciate** the people who **turned up here** and [I'm] really sorry there was no Pakistani participation here, but I think the message has not gone through. The time was short. But **I really appreciate you guys**…' (EDeportations, 2018b)

This speech within the uploaded video is significant in that it demonstrates the operation of the frame extension process which, beside appealing to wider society, also involves building of networks with activists or movements *beyond* the immediate collective (Benford & Snow, 2000: 625). In this case, it is clear that the End Deportations activist group had at some point prior to the creation, and uploading, of this video been involved in a form of collective action in partnership or in solidarity with causes related to the Pakistani community in the United Kingdom. 'It was a Pakistani issue' suggests that the support provided by End Deportations was beyond the remit of what the types of collective action that they normally engage in. Not only does this demonstrate the way in which this frame functions as a whole, i.e. in highlighting the positive actions on the part of activists within the anti-racist movement towards supporting migrants and refugees, but it also contributes more broadly to 'organisational knowledge' surrounding the way the activist group builds wider alliances across the anti-racist movement.

In relation to the fifth style of video, namely footage of political actors praising the actions of the Stansted 15 or the movement as a whole, there is one example of this type of video which was uploaded by the End Deportations group on their Facebook site on 11th December 2018, titled: 'We're live at the rally outside the Home Office protesting the conviction of the #Stansted15 for a terror-related charge after they peacefully prevented a deportation flight from leaving last March'. This video contains footage which has been filmed outside the Home Office building in solidarity with the Stansted 15, and features several left-leaning political figures making speeches in support of the actions of the activists, and the movement as a whole. One such speech is by the Labour Party Shadow Home Secretary (at the time) Diane Abbott:

'I'm also here to say that I think it is **very concerning** indeed to use terror legislation on people who are **peacefully protesting**. It is **quite wrong**. It is **quite wrong**' (EDeportations, 2018e: 08:38-08:55)

'I'm just here to **support you all**, and tell you that, when I'm Home Secretary, some of these things…most of these things…will change' (EDeportations, 2018e: 09:12-09:22)

These two segments of the speech demonstrate the function of this frame. While there is no direct support outlined here for the actions of the Stansted 15, merely that the state's response in charging them with anti-terror legislation was 'concerning', there is an acknowledgement that the activists were protesting 'peacefully'. In the second segment there is overt support for the movement as a whole: 'support you all'. Similarly, a further speech contained within this video example are made by Clive Lewis, Member of Parliament for Norwich South:

'I had 'The 15' come to my office a few weeks ago and I thought **it was important to be seen with them**. **They weren't snuck in**. I was **proud** to have them in my office and to tell me what they had done. And pertinently after they had told me the story, **I thought they were heroes**, quite frankly. [Cheering from the crowd]. With the sentence they're potentially facing, **they are putting their lives on the line for people**…**everyday people**. When you understand that 41% of all those that appeal against their deportation end up staying in this country, when you understand that there are a large number of people on that flight who now live here in the UK with indefinite leave to remain, **they are heroes**…**there is no two-ways about it**' (EDeportations, 2018e: 10:36-11:30)

Not only is there a clear demonstration here of how this frame functions through the support that Lewis proclaims for the Stansted 15 activists; 'it was important to be seen with them', 'they weren't snuck in', 'I thought they were heroes' and 'they are heroes…there is no two-ways about it', there is also a demonstration here of how the frame extension process operates in relation to the appeal to wider audiences through the use of 'people' and 'everyday people'. The inclusion of this video containing the term 'everyday people' there is an assumption that wider society, or the constituent audiences viewing these videos, have a shared common understanding of the concept through a process of negation i.e. they are not 'unique' groups of people of high class status, wealth or power, but relatable to the a wider set of individuals who may encounter the video.

A further speech was found within the same video by Sian Berry, co-Leader of the Green Party UK alongside Jonathan Bartley (mentioned in another example of how the Hardship Frame functions):

> 'If it wasn't for the **hideous actions of the people inside here** [points to the Home Office building], the Stansted 15 **wouldn't have had to get in the way of that plane**. **The idea that these fifteen protesters are guilty is absurd**. The people who should be in the dock are the ministers inside this building whose hostile environment **locks detainees up** without a time limit, **shackles** them to seats in planes, and deports them around the world to places where they face…[inaudible]…for defending these human rights' (EDeportations, 2018e: 14:05-14:43)

While there is no overt reference here to 'heroism' of the Stansted 15, there is acknowledgement, as with the previous two speeches by left-leaning political figures, that the subsequent reaction of the state towards in charging the activists is 'absurd', hence contributing to an overall challenging of the dominant hegemonic framing of social movement activists as being bothersome, impotent and/or unpatriotic (Di Cicco, 2010), and the process of delegitimising activism in general (Leopold & Bell, 2017 and McLeod, 2007, cited in Umamaheswar, 2020). This example also demonstrates the notion of frame consistency which links the premise of the way this video is used to frame immigration and anti-racist activism with both the Hardship and Persecution frames through the use of phrases such as 'locks detainees up' and 'shackles' to draw parallels between migrant experiences and prison-like conditions (see **5.4 Frame Resonance**, *5.4.1 Frame Consistency*).

In conclusion, this this frame portrays those engaging in activism within the broader anti-racist movement as positive, necessary and proportionate. It does this through the uploading of five types of video activist footage, examples of which have drawn attention to some of the frame alignment processes which have been employed. There are several contributions to knowledge through the combination of frame bridging, frame extension and frame transformation alignment processes. Frame bridging processes once again situate the debate surrounding immigration within fields of discussion surrounding the importance of employing an intersectional lens in order to understand the gender-specific (motherhood) and status-specific (refugee status) struggles endured by migrants and refugees. Frame extension processes increases or 'maximises' (Benford & Snow, 2000: 625) the frame's resonance, contributing to contributes more broadly to 'organisational knowledge' surrounding the way the anti-

racist movement builds wider alliances beyond its core base with unrelated activist groups, legislative and policy-based knowledges in highlighting the potential consequences for the future of protest and political activism in challenging dominant hegemonic narratives, and in attempts to resonate with wider audiences to secure common discursive ground relating to a desire for a 'voice' in exercising freedom of speech and articulation. Frame transformation processes within this frame highlight the contestability of dominant narratives which argue that tougher border policies and increased securitisation are necessities in responding to immigration, but also the contestability of dominant framings of social movement activism in general as bothersome, impotent and/or unpatriotic.

6.1.5 Incompetence Frame

This frame seeks to portray both the UK government and the UK criminal justice process as being incompetent. In relation to the framing of the former, it functions to undermine public trust in government policy and its solutions to migration, and in the latter, it accuses the criminal justice process of being unjust and disproportionate in its response to social movement activism. In doing so, it directly challenges solutions outlined in the dominant hegemonic narrative surrounding the immigration 'problem' i.e. increased securitisation and the introduction of the Hostile Environment Policy, as well as providing an alternative oppositional voice to dominant framings of social movement activists.

There are two of the noteworthy examples of videos uploaded by the Bail for Immigration Detainees activist group on its Facebook site that demonstrate how this frame functions. The first of these is one uploaded on 23rd February 2019 entitled '"It's hard to put into words just how casually the Home Office approach the best Interests of the Children, it really is lip service. I've been with BID for four years on the deportation project and I've not seen one case where I can say yes they have really looked at the circumstances here" Watch Carmen share some of her experiences managing BID's ADAP project and read more on our website http://bit.ly/22Jan19'. This video contains a speech made by Carmen, an expert who worked on the BID group's Article 8 Deportation Advice project, during a Linklaters (legal representation) conference. Within this speech, Carmen goes into minute detail of some of the moral and conceptual issues surrounding responses migrants had

received from the Home Office after making decisions on their separation from their children.

> '"There's no threat to the child's physical wellbeing if you are deported": well that's a very **narrow definition** of what the welfare of the child is. "There is no evidence of your child's emotional dependency on you": that is [inaudible] **parental relationship** and the everyday hands-on involvement of the **parent**, so **how can there not be emotional dependency**? "The children's emotional needs and care would be provided for by their mother": **so she is to provide all emotional needs, all practical care needs on her own**. **I see this in virtually every letter I see**; "you can maintain a parental relationship with your children from abroad via modern methods of communications, such as telephone, email or letter": as one **parent** who read this summed this up to me, and I couldn't put it better, she said "**you can't hug a computer screen**". There are **children** who are under aged five' (BIDdetention, 2019a)

This is of particular importance to the functioning of this frame, as it directly accuses government actors of being incompetent in the way in which they are carrying out certain policies surrounding migration. 'Narrow definition' and 'I see this in virtually every letter I see' not only signifies that there are conceptual issues with the way in which policymakers justify government policy, but also that this issue is a recurring one rather than a singular instance. In addition to this, there are two frame alignment processes which are demonstrated through this example: frame bridging and frame transformation. Frame bridging is demonstrated through the way in which the focal point within the content of this video is shifted away from the dominant hegemonic narratives surrounding the legitimacy of the migrant status (i.e. the Illegal Status frame) and towards an acknowledgement of the intersectional nature of the struggles endured by migrant mothers upon separation from their children, and vice versa. In containing excepts from written responses from policymakers which are considered by the articulator within the video as inadequate to the concerns being raised, this frame provides a deeper insight not only into the legal dimensions of grassroots activism, but in the justifications and proposed 'solutions' by state institutions and policymakers relating to the policies which they themselves are enacting. This video is also an illustrative example of the way in which the frame transformation process operates within the Incompetence frame. In rehumanising migrants who have been dehumanised through the dominant hegemonic framings of immigration, and reframing the 'problem' as being a humanitarian rather than an immigration crisis, this frame transformation process contributes towards the contestability of the framing processes that shape the way the dominant narrative functions.

Another video of the same conference was uploaded on 26th February 2019 by the Bail for Immigration Detainees activist group to their Facebook site, entitled '"We have a government whose policy is ineffective and not working, regardless of what you think of detention, but we also have policy makers who are deeply incompetent and unqualified in the field that they're writing policies on." - Nathan Ward on his management experience at G4S. Read more on our website http://bit.ly/22Jan19'. This video contains footage of a speech made by another expert, seemingly with management experience at G4S:

> '…the wonderful day when I met the **lady in charge of Section 55**…and things like that…and me **naively** said 'oh wonderful, what's your childcare experience?', **thinking she was a qualified social worker** or something like that. And she said 'oh I've got two lovely young girls', and that was the sum total of it. And part of me smiles and laughs at the **perverseness** of it, but actually there is a deep question that needs to be asked…it's that we have a government whose **policy is ineffective** and **not working**, regardless of what we think of detention, but we also have **policymakers who are deeply incompetent** and **unqualified** in the field that they are writing policies on. And it is within that context that immigration detention centres operate' (BIDdetention, 2019b)

The speech contained within this video contributes to the way in which this frame functions; accusing the state and policymakers of incompetence. Section 55 refers to guidance provided by the UK Visas & Immigration department in relation to the safeguarding and welfare of migrant children (UK Visas & Immigration, n.d.). In this case, the speaker recounts his experiences of having met with the individual who was in charge of this guidance. While it is evident that the speaker refers to policymakers (in plural) as 'incompetent' and 'unqualified', the accusation was based upon the premise of having discovered the background of the individual in charge of Section 55. As such, there is no specific reason provided as to why the person was deemed to be incompetent but, analysing the two segments of speeches uploaded to the Facebook site in combination, it is possible that the statements made by this speaker is directly connected or referenced to the one from the previous video who spoke of the treatment of migrant mothers, and the breakdown on the mother-child relationship as a result of government policies on immigration. Once again, this is a clear demonstrable example of the way in which the frame transformation process operates in relation to the contestability of the dominant hegemonic narrative relating to necessity for tougher border controls. In framing state policymakers as 'incompetent' and 'unqualified', the dominant framing processes are broken down to reveal the fact that they are merely 'ideological devices' (Benford & Snow, 2000: 625).

A further example that demonstrates the function of this frame relates to a video uploaded by the Detention Action activist group on their Facebook site on 15th April 2019, entitled 'In Divided Times MPs from across Parliament are coming together to end the 'national shame' of indefinite immigration detention. Find out if your MP is supporting >>> https://detentionaction.e-activist.com/page/39456/action/1' (DetentionAction, 2019a). This is a silent video which contains some segments of different background images, overwritten by text:

> 'In **divided** times, these MPs are **coming together** to end indefinite immigration detention. **25,000 detained with no time limit. Detention serves no purpose in most cases**. Windrush **victims** detained. **Torture trafficking survivors** detained. [Quote]: "We have found **serious problems** with **almost every element of the immigration detention system**" Home Office Select Committee, 2019. It's time for **reform. End indefinite detention**' (DetentionAction, 2019a)

The uploading of this video activist footage to the Detention Action Facebook site illustrates the core narrative has been reframed away from dominant hegemonic focus on economic migration, towards conceptualising the individuals in question as 'victims' and 'survivors', whilst simultaneously claiming that there are 'serious problems' with 'almost every element of the immigration detention system', signifying a level of incompetence on the part of the state and its policymakers. Here, the contents of the video play a significant part in demonstrating the way in which several framing alignment processes operate in unison: frame transformation and frame extension. The frame transformation process operates in the same way as described in relation to the previous video examples that demonstrate the function of this frame; highlighting the contestability of dominant hegemonic narratives relating both to processes of dehumanising migrants and refugees, but also to the necessity and inevitability of tougher border policies. In relation to the frame extension process, this video demonstrates the way in which the concepts of 'victims' and 'survivors' broaden the scope for understanding the ways in which refugees and asylum seekers can be understood by wider society. Whilst not to delve into a deeper debate on how victimisation is conceptualised in contemporary studies, and not intending to sideline the important reference to the Windrush generation of migrants as being some of the victims that form an important part of the broader anti-racist narrative which this video demonstrates, the contents of this video demonstrates the ways in which the activist group utilise the broadness of the concepts of 'victim' and 'survivor' which

can appeal to wider audiences who may themselves identify as either of these concepts in relation to other (perhaps even unrelated) social injustices. In addition to the various framing alignment processes, this example also demonstrates the way in which both credibility of the articular and empirical credibility are established (see **5.4 Frame Resonance**, *5.4.3 Credibility of Articulators*).

The final example which is used to demonstrate the function of this frame relates to yet another video uploaded by Bail for Immigration Detainees on its Facebook site on 21st December 2019 entitled 'For those who celebrate, Christmas is a precious time of year. However, for those separated from their families by immigration detention, it is a time of particular pain and anguish. Donate now to our Christmas appeal to help reunite more families: http://bit.ly/DonateBID' (BIDdetention, 2019c) [see **Figure 8: BID Christmas Appeal** in **Appendices**]. The text foregrounded within this video reads:

> 'For those who celebrate, Christmas is a precious time of year. However, for those **separated from their families by immigration detention**, it is a time of particular **pain** and **anguish**. The home office has a statutory duty to safeguard children. However it routinely **separates parents from their children**. **Separation** from their parents **causes children extreme distress**. Here at BID we believe all detention is harmful and should be ended. Last year, BID supported **138 parents** separated from their **272 children**. "Being released was the best feeling in the whole wide world…I got to spend Christmas with my family." "BID is the best I swear I don't know what I would do without BID, it is a blessing." Help us reunite more families, Donate now #EndDetention. BiD: Bail for Immigration Detainees' (BIDdetention, 2019c).

This video as an example should be understood in the context of the previous videos which make specific references to the incompetence and unqualified nature of state policymakers in relation to the way in which Section 55 has been written and enacted. The video, on its own, does not necessarily accuse the government or policymakers of incompetence, but it is implied here through the reference to the fact that the Home Office engages in separating 'parents from their children', despite the fact that it is claimed within the text that they have a 'statutory duty to safeguard children'. In doing so, the argument being presented is that the Home Office is failing in its statutory obligations, and that children's safety is not, in fact, being guarded. As with a previous video example containing a speech made by Carmen in relation to her unfortunate communication with policymakers, this video is an example of the way in which dominant hegemonic narratives have been reframed to rehumanise

migrants, with specific emphasis on the victimisation of children throughout the process. In this case, there are nuanced differences between the two examples in that, here, there is no frame bridging process which draws attention to intersectional struggles between gender and motherhood. In this instance, this is an example of the way that frame extension operates; through the appeal to wider societal understandings of the value of child safeguarding. In addition to this, this video is also a further example of two frame resonance techniques (see **5.4 Frame Resonance**, *5.4.1 Frame Consistency* and *5.4.2 Empirical Credibility*).

In conclusion, the function of this frame, and the frame alignment processes demonstrated through the examples provided in this section, contribute to understanding of several areas of knowledge. Frame extension processes attempt to appeal to wider societal understandings of the importance of child safeguarding, which is framed as lacking due to the incompetence of government policy and unqualified nature of policymakers, and understandings of 'victim' and 'survivor' status from audiences with potentially similar experiences of social injustice. Frame transformation draws attention to the contestability of dominant framing processes of dehumanisation, instead rehumanising migrants and refugees, and the contestability of dominant hegemonic narratives that argue for tougher immigration border policies.

6.1.6 Anti-Racism Frame

This frame directly accuses different actors, objects and processes associated with the state as being racist. It functions in different ways to expose the deeply-rooted nature of racism within immigration policy and the general hegemonic narrative surrounding immigration by situating these areas within broader social, political and historical context. The first object of this frame relates to detention centres and charter flights (in many cases these are referred to in the same video examples), which are often accused within the content of uploaded videos of racism due to the historical context through which the deportation of racially minoritised migrants is being carried out; underlying issues relating to Home Office's actions towards the Windrush generation of migrants, and the disproportionate number of people from these backgrounds being housed in detention centres or deported to home countries. The second part of this framing function targets three objects/actors simultaneously; Nationalism, Brexit and former US President Donald Trump. This is done through a

similar process to that which is used within the construction of dominant common-sense narratives surrounding the simplicity of immigration, namely merging different nuanced elements into one overarching category. It does this by situating the debate surrounding immigration within a broader political context, in criticising the rise in nationalism within the UK and US, which has been linked to the success of the Brexit campaign and the election of Donald Trump in the US.

One example relating to the first set of objects (detention centres and deportations) is attributed to a previously-mentioned video uploaded to the Fourman Films YouTube channel on 12th October 2018 entitled 'Angela& Anna-All African Women's Group-Thousands Support the Stansted15 Home Office Protest 11.12.18'. While this video has been used previously to illustrate the demonstration of the way the Persecution and Heroism frames function, a different segment from this video will be drawn upon as an example for how the current frame functions (further details surrounding frame consistency can be found within **5.4 Frame Resonance**, *5.4.1 Frame Consistency*). The segment of interest from this video relates to part of the speech by activist, Angela:

> '**Like the Windrush generation**, we have the **right** to be in the UK. One of the richest countries in the world: **trillions have been stolen from Africa**, starting from millions of people during **slavery**, and the **theft goes right into until this present moment**' (Fourman Films, 2018)

Within the contents of this particular video, the debate surrounding refugee status in the United Kingdom is framed through acknowledgement of the impact of historical acts committed by the British government. In accusing the state of having stolen trillions from Africa and engaging in slavery, but also claiming that the 'theft goes right into until this present moment', comparisons are being drawn between the era of slavery and Britain's role in colonialism in Africa, and the seemingly metaphorical contemporary theft which relates to the lives of African refugees seeking indefinite leave to remain in the United Kingdom, suggesting that the colonisation process is continuing. This is an example of the way in which the progressive anti-racist movement challenge and resist the dehumanised 'other'-ing framing process, specifically the Illegal Status frame, and reframe the issue of migration through anti-racist positionality. The mention of the Windrush generation of migrants is seemingly a demonstration of how the frame extension process operates within this frame; i.e. the expression of 'solidarity with similar struggles being wages elsewhere' (Cammaerts, 2018: 63).

A similar example can be found in an interview-style video uploaded by the Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants activist group as part of the #DearBA campaign. This video dated 4th August 2019 and titled '#DearBA: Welcome to Colonial Airways' (Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants, 2019f) is very short, comprising of 5 seconds in total. Contained within this video is a Black activist from the LGSM group directly addressing the camera and saying 'welcome to **Colonial** Airways, where **we** take **your freedom**, **blood** and **tears**' (*ibid.*). Here, the statement situates the argument surrounding deporting migrants and refugees within wider social understandings of colonialism; referring to Britain's role in the colonisation of African nations and accusing British Airways of being complicit in a contemporary form of colonialism, one which metaphorically takes 'freedom', 'blood' and 'tears. The 'voice' of this video is also significant, since the use of the words 'we' and 'you' suggests there is a dialogue between the activist (who is seemingly posing as a 'Colonial Airways' employee) and the consuming audience who is presumably the potential future deportee. Simultaneously, this video is an example of how frame extension operates within this frame, in this case referring to concept of 'freedom' with an assumption that there is a shared societal desire for living in 'freedom'.

Another example which demonstrates the object of this frame relates to a video uploaded by the Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants activist group on 24th August 2019 to their YouTube site, titled '#DearBA Docs Not Cops'. This is a short five-second video which features a group of eight activists standing in an office, holding in front of them a large green banner with an image of a stethoscope intertwined with an image of handcuffs, and text beside it reading 'DOCS: NOT COPS' [see **Figure 12: Docs Not Cops** in **Appendices**]. While holding this banner, the group are collectively chanting 'money for beds and operations, no more racist deportations' (Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants, 2019l). The chant within the video contributes not only to the framing of deportation processes as racist in themselves, but also provides a prognostic solution to the diagnostic 'problem' (i.e. the racist deportations) through situating it within issues surrounding economic injustice; a demonstrable example of the frame amplification process, or the process of 'appealing to sense of social injustice and moral indignation' (Benford & Snow, 2000: 624).

Further examples of the framing of deportations as racist can be found in a series of videos uploaded by the Movement for Justice activist group to their Facebook site containing segments of demonstrations and marches where the chanting contained within directly accuse the deportation process of being 'racist'. For instance, one video uploaded to the loveofpeace YouTube channel on 15th January 2017 entitled 'STOP Mass Deportation - March through Brixton' (loveofpeace, 2017b) contains segments of activists chanting 'money for health and education, no more racist deportations' along with placards reading 'HOMES & EDUCATION: NOT Racist Deportation' and 'Mass Deportation Charter Flights are RACIST and INHUMAN' (*ibid.*). Although there is no direct effort made within this video to situate these issues within broader political, cultural and social context, the choice of selecting these chants specifically for dissemination acts as a direct offensive to dominant framings of deportations as just and necessary.

In relation to the second set of objects of this frame (namely nationalism, Brexit and Donald Trump), one example can be found through a video uploaded by the Movement for Justice activist group on their Facebook site on 30th January 2017 entitled 'Another vid of MFJ at #StandUpToTrump demo in Ldn "No Trump, No Brexit, No racist EU exit!' #StopBrexit #MuslimBan #TrumpMustGo demonstrate with us to demand MPs vote down Article50 tues and weds this week!'. Placards held up by activists within the demonstration clips in this video include 'Trump & Brexit: 2 sides of the same racist coin #TrumpMustGo #StopBrexit' [see **Figure 9: Trump & Brexit** in **Appendices**]. The same video then cuts to clips where activists are heard chanting 'no Trump, no Brexit, no racist EU exit' (movementforjustice, 2017a). The inclusion of both the chanting and placards within the disseminated videos demonstrates the framing technique here which combines the three political elements of nationalism, Brexit and the presidency of Donald Trump, which demonstrates the operation of the frame extension process in extending the scope of the narrative or argument to also show solidarity with other similar movements or struggles. This contributes to the organisational knowledge surrounding the way in which the movement operates, seeking to extend their identity to appeal to other similar causes.

Another example of this type of framing relates to a video uploaded by the Movement for Justice group to their Facebook site on 17th February 2017 entitled 'StopBrexit #StopTrump WALKOUT 20/02 MONDAY #WalkOut & march with us—SHUT

DOWN LONDON to #StopTrump #StopBrexit & declare #ImmigrantsAreHereToStay Brexit & Trump = 2 sides of the same racist coin—ALL OUT on Monday! #1DayWithoutUs' contained similar clips from the demonstrations held during this time, but also contained professional-style interviews conducted with activists "on the ground" [see **Figure 10: Racism, Xenophobia & Nationalism** in **Appendices**], who talk about their reasons for taking part in the protests. In one of these interview clips, one activist states 'as we march against Trump, we are marching for our own futures as well. We see the racist, xenophobic, nationalist direction our society is taking on the path to Brexit' (movementforjustice, 2017b). Not only are the links between these three objects made plain and clear within this interview, but the choice of the activist group to take part in a demonstration against Trump's decision to impose a ban on migrants entering the United States (from predominantly Muslim-majority countries), also grounds this interconnection, reaffirming the aforementioned contribution to the organisational knowledge through the frame extension process.

A further example which demonstrates this type of interconnection between the three political elements can be found in the uploading of a video by the Movement for Justice activist group on their Facebook site on 18th March 2017 entitled 'MFJs @AntoniaB4 speaking at todays #MarchAgainstRacism #BrexitIsRacist #StopBrexit #EndDetention #ResistRaids Join Movement for Justice & fight to WIN!' (movementforjustice, 2017c). This video contains a short segment of a speech made by Antonia, the Chair of the Movement for Justice activist group, which makes specific links between the three elements. Unite Against Fascism make similar three-way links between the presidency of Donald Trump, Brexit and nationalism in relation to immigration by linking all three issues to an overarching narrative of racism. One example of this can be found in a video uploaded to the Unite Against Fascism Facebook site on 13th October 2018 featuring a photo slideshow of a Whitehall demonstration against the Democratic Football Lads Alliance (DFLA), a right-wing movement founded in 2017. Within one of the images in the video, a large banner is held by front-line demonstrators during the march reading: 'NO TO ISLAMOPHOBIA: Don't scapegoat migrants. Stand up to Trump. Stamp out antisemitism. Refugees welcome' (UAFpage, 2018) [see **Figure 11: No to Islamophobia** in **Appendices**].

The final object of this Anti-Racism frame is the mainstream media. Here, this frame functions to accuse the mainstream media of perpetuating racism and xenophobia through the use of videos which compare these narratives to those which were used towards Jewish migrants in the early 20th Century. One example of this can be observed by the uploading of a video on the Stand Up To Racism YouTube channel (a sub-group of Unite Against Fascism) on 26th may 2016 entitled 'Stand up to Racism: Keep racism out of the EU Referendum - Rabbi Lee Wax' (Stand Up To Racism, 2016). This video contains a speech made by Rabbi Lee Wax during a conference organised by the activist group where references are made to contemporary mainstream media coverage of migration to the UK, specifically the Daily Express, comparing them to narratives relating to Jewish migration to the UK in the 1930s:

> 'We know what happened to them…because of **racism**, **xenophobia**, **British immigration policy** and **public opinion**. Jewish refugees were '**diseased'**, apparently. They '**worked for less**'. They '**took our jobs**'. They '**were criminals**'. They '**milked the system**'. Just a few of the hate-filled attacks on Jews **seeking refuge**…**seeking life**. Together, here today, we recognise those words of **hatred**. And this time, they're about **another people**, and it's the **same words**, and it's the **same dynamics**' (Stand Up To Racism, 2016)

The speech contained in this video draws discursive similarities between the narratives of Jewish migrants and those which ground the contemporary dominant hegemonic framing processes surrounding immigration. 'Worked for less', 'took our jobs' and 'milked the system' refer to similar discourses articulated through the dominant dehumanised 'other'-ing process, specifically the Economic Threat frame. 'They 'were criminals'' also relates closely with the humanised 'other'-ing process, specifically the Criminogenic frame. It directly accuses the mainstream media of racism and xenophobia, describing the words used as 'words of hatred'. The contents of this video also form part of the example of how the frame extension process operates within the Anti-Racism frame, specifically through the use of words such as 'seeking refuge' and 'seeking life', in an attempt to appeal to common, shared societal understandings of the importance of these values.

In conclusion, the framing processes involved in the creation of the Anti-Racism frame contribute to the production of various knowledges. Frame extension processes shed light on the organisational knowledges surrounding the way the anti-racist movement builds wider alliances beyond its core base in showing solidarity with similar struggles that form part of the contextual grounding of how 'racism' is understood

and conceptualised within this frame; causes in support of the Windrush generation of migrants, in support of anti-nationalist movements, in opposition to Brexit and the appointment of Donald Trump as US President, and opposition to antisemitic narratives. This alignment process also seeks to highlight shared understandings between migrants and refugees, and wider society, in relation to the importance of values of 'freedom', 'refuge' and 'life'. Frame amplification processes also appeal to a wider sense of social injustice through situating the legitimacy of deporting migrants within debates on economic justice.

6.2 Typology of Frames

The analytical discussion surrounding the video frame analysis assisted in the creation of a typology of video activist frames identified (see **Table 2: Typology of Anti-Racist Video Activist Frames**). In addition to the core framing tasks outlined in (Snow & Benford, 1988), i.e. *Diagnostic*, *Prognostic* and *Motivational*, the frames that were identified from the analysis were grouped into two different themes of *Defensive* and *Offensive*. Frames which take a defensive stance defend the actions and positions of their respective framing objects from discursive or legal attacks. Offensive frames seek to challenge existing dominant frames and discourses.

Table 2: Typology of Anti-Racist Video Activist Frames

Stance	Task	Frame	Object or Actor
Defensive	Diagnostic	Persecution	Foreign Minorities
		Hardship	Asylum seekers / refugees
	Motivational	Heroism	Movement Activists
Offensive		Empowerment	Asylum seekers / refugees / migrants
	Diagnostic	Incompetence	Government Policy
	Diagnostic & Prognostic	Anti-Racism	Detention Centres / Deportations
	Diagnostic		Nationalism / Brexit / Donald Trump
			Mainstream Media

6.3 Frame Alignment and Knowledges

In conducting the video frame analysis, and engaging in an analytical discussion of the frame alignment processes employed by the anti-racist movement, various knowledges have been contributed to, or produced, in relation to immigration and anti-racist activism. In this section, I summarise the various existing knowledges that have been contributed to, and new knowledges which have been produced, in conjunction with the frame alignment processes identified. I then propose a typology which may be of use for those conducting similar research in the future.

6.3.1 Frame Bridging

This alignment process has been used in relation to the Hardship, Heroism, Empowerment and Incompetence frames. Frame bridging has contributed to a broader understanding of how the anti-racist movement situate the debate surrounding immigration within fields of discussion surrounding the importance of employing an intersectional lens in order to understand a variety of identity-related

struggles faced by migrants and refugees, including a combination of gender-specific struggles (motherhood), race (racial minoritisation), refugee status, and mental and physical health.

6.3.2 Frame Amplification

This alignment process has been used only in relation to the Anti-Racism frame. It has contributed to both organisational knowledge surrounding how the movement operates as a whole, but also in terms of how we understand social justice; in this case, links are made between the legitimacy of deporting migrants and issues of economic injustice.

6.3.3 Frame Extension

Frame extension has been used across all frames: Hardship, Persecution, Empowerment, Heroism, Incompetence and Anti-Racism. The types of knowledge the process has helped contribute towards can be split into six categories: legislative and policy-based knowledge, organisational knowledge, knowledge about collective identity, knowledge about struggles faced by migrants and refugees, knowledge about migrant and refugee values, and knowledge relating to social justice. As a result of this process, we can better understand the legislation and policies which are being used to legitimise the inhumane treatment of migrants and refugees, and deport them to 'home' countries, and a shared opposition to capital punishment. It also helps us to understand the ways in which the broader anti-racist movement build wider networks and alliances through solidarity with unrelated causes, but also causes with similar ideological struggles such as the treatment of the Windrush generation of migrants, anti-racist activism more broadly, anti-nationalist activism, anti-Brexit activism, anti-Trump activism and activism against antisemitism. We gain a better understanding of how the progressive anti-racist movement builds alliances with other activist groups, and how they operate to appeal to wider society in attempting to establish empathy towards the victimisation and survivorhood of migrants and refugees. In drawing attention to the struggles faced by migrants and refugees, we gain a better understanding of the mental health struggles of migrants, including references to self-harm is framed as an inevitable consequence of escapism from indefinite detention and suicide being a potential consequence of the frustrations

experienced from detention itself. Similarly, we understand the gender-specific struggles of migrants and refugees, their lack of access to basic necessities and sanitary items, and how their vulnerabilities are taken advantage of through acts of sexual abuse and harassment. We also understand that the vulnerabilities of those from LGBTQ+ communities are taken advantage of through acts of sexual abuse and harassment by authorities abroad upon discovery of their sexual preferences. Furthermore, we gain a better understanding of the shared values and desires between wider society and migrants/refugees: shared desires to 'live' and appreciate the value of life, where the alternative is facing potential death, shared desires for freedom, free speech and articulation, human rights, fairness, happiness, sanctuary, child safeguarding and refuge.

6.3.4 Frame Transformation

This frame alignment process operates across four frames: Persecution, Hardship, Heroism, Empowerment and Incompetence. As the frame alignment process with the most 'offensive' stance, it directly challenges the dominant hegemonic common-sense narratives surrounding immigration. It allows us to understand the contestability of various aspects of the dominant faming process such as the necessity and proportionality of enacting tougher border controls to respond to the immigration 'problem', the interchangeable use of migration-related discourses in building the overall narrative, the illegality of migrant statuses more broadly, the dominant framing processes which dehumanise migrants and refugees and, finally, the dominant framing of social movement activism as bothersome, impotent and/or unpatriotic (Di Cicco, 2010). In doing so, it creates knowledges *about* the dominant narratives as being contestable insofar as exposing them as merely ideological devices (Cammaerts, 2018) demonstrates the fluidity of the hegemonic process.

Table 3: Typology of Anti-Racist Knowledges

Type of Knowledge	Knowledges
Refugee/Migrant Struggles	Intersectional struggles: gender & motherhood/parenthood/childhood + race + mental health + physical disability + refugee status
	Gendered struggles: lack of accessibility of basic necessities and sanitary items / sexual abuse and harassment due to their vulnerability within detention centres
	LGBTQ+ struggles: sexual abuse and harassment upon discovery of sexual preferences
	Mental health struggles: self-harm as inevitable form of escapism from effects of indefinite detention / suicide as a potential consequence of the frustrations experienced from detention
Social Injustice / Organisational	Moral indignation: situating dominant legitimacy of deporting migrants within issues of economic injustice
Legislative & Policy-based	Shared opposition to capital punishment which refugees may face in home countries
	Legislative and policy-based knowledge: potential consequences for the future of protest and political activism in challenging dominant hegemonic narratives
Organisational	Building of wider networks and alliances through show of solidarity with unrelated causes
	Emphasis on reality of human life: 'real people', 'everyday people', with 'hard lives'
	Show of solidarity with wider struggles; Windrush generation of migrants / anti-racist activism / anti-nationalist activism / anti-Brexit activism / anti-Trump activism / activism against antiseminitism
	Appeal to wider society for empathy on victimisation and survivorhood of migrants and refugees
Collective Identity	Building of alliances with other activist groups
Refugee/Migrant Values	Shared desires to 'live' and appreciate value of life, where the alternative is facing potential death
	Shared desires for freedom, free speech/articulation, human rights, fairness, happiness, sanctuary, child safeguarding and refuge
	Contestability of the necessity for tougher border controls: appeal to institutions for stop deportations & framing state institutions as complicit in killing refugees / ability to fight for release / incompetent and unqualified policymakers

Dominant Hegemonic Narratives	Contestability of the interchangeable use of migration-related discourses in building common-sense narrative: attempted coercion of refugees asylum seekers to return to their home countries voluntarily
	Contestability of the illegality of migrant statuses more broadly
	Contestability of dominant framing processes: rehumanising of migrants and refugees
	Contestability of dominant framing of social movement activism as bothersome, impotent and/or unpatriotic

6.4 Frame Resonance

In this section, I outline the attempts of the various framing processes employed by the anti-racist movement through video activist footage in maximising or increasing frame resonance through the three elements outlined in Benford & Snow's work (2000).

6.4.1 Frame Consistency

Analysis of the ways in which video activist footage helped to frame immigration in certain ways, and its subsequent production of knowledges, drew attention to both consistencies and inconsistencies in the frequency and persistence of certain themes and knowledges. Themes which focused on the importance of adopting an intersectional lens in understanding the multiple layers of struggle and stigma relating to gender, sexuality, race and refugee status was fairly consistent across the Persecution Frame and the Empowerment Frame. There were three-way consistencies between the Hardship Frame, Persecution Frame, Heroism Frame and Empowerment frame in focusing on themes relating to human rights, freedom, justice and empathy. Empowerment of migrants to stand up (or fight) for both their legal and human rights, for instance, were often also accompanied by depiction of individual activists, or the movement as a whole, as being 'heroic' and/or supportive in relation to refugees and asylum seekers. Strong consistencies were demonstrated in relation to the theme of legal status of humanity through the use of audiovisual imagery. For instance, 'No Human is Illegal' was found not only as a backdrop to edited videos (Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants, 2019b, 2019g, 2019o) signifying thematic consistency between the Empowerment Frame and the Persecution Frame, but also in videos where it featured as banners and placards held up during demonstrations

(EDeportations, 2018a, 2018b, 2018d, 2018e, 2019; Fourman Films, 2018; loveofpeace, 2017a; movementforjustice, 2018b; Occupy News Network, 2018b). There is thematic consistency between the Heroism Frame and Persecution Frame in relation to the emphasis on the persecution that refugees and asylum seekers face, or could potentially face if deported to their home countries; dangers, repercussions, violence, harassment, and so on.

Consistencies between the Hardship and Heroism frames were also demonstrated, through a combination of continuously emphasising the local treatment of migrants and refugees in detention centres and through deportation processes, while at the same time praising activists (and the movement as a whole) for their part in resisting these treatments of migrants. There are also links between this approach and the framing processes within the Persecution frame, where videos filmed outside Yarl's Wood (movementforjustice, 2014c), for instance, are angled in such a way as to accentuate the prison-like conditions of the building [see **Figure 3: Frederick Kkonde** in **Appendices**], which is not necessarily far removed from some of the descriptions of the conditions within the building by activists and supportive left-leaning political figures. Further consistencies are demonstrated between the Heroism Frame, Incompetence Frame and Hardship Frame, which work together to draw attention to the hardships faced by migrant parents, and their children, as a result of the incompetent and unqualified nature of state policymakers, where actions of those supporting the reunification of families (i.e. parents with their children) are framed as positive and heroic (see, for instance, BIDdetention, 2019c). Finally, there are clear strategic consistencies between the Persecution, Heroism and Anti-Racism Frames in highlighting the persecution that migrants face in their home countries, the heroism of activists such as the Stansted 15, and accusations against detention centres as being racist (through comparisons with slavery).

In relation to demonstrated inconsistencies, these related only to inconsistencies *within*, rather than between, frames. These were limited to only two examples, both relating to the Hardship Frame. Within both of these examples of videos which demonstrate these inconsistencies, there are speeches contained in the videos where the articulator engages in a sharp discursive shift, which swings the focus of the frame away from the core narrative which is being portrayed, towards almost an entirely different one. The first example is the video uploaded by the Movement for Justice

activist group to their Facebook page on 14th July 2012 entitled '"Where is the protection?" Ex #YarlsWood detainee Rebecca speaks about the endemic sexual abuse #ENDdetention' (movementforjustice, 2014e). Here, there is a sharp shift from the focus of the contents of the speech on the gendered struggles that women migrants and refugees face, towards the argument that the activist doesn't think 'anyone' deserves to be in detention (*ibid.*). Similarly, the second example is demonstrated through the video uploaded by the Movement for Justice activist group on their Facebook site on 5th March 2015 entitled 'Ex Yarls Wood detainee, Ugandan lesbian, Maureen speaks out on #SurroundHarmondsworth "Women loose their babies... people die" #ShutDownYarlsWood #ENDdetention' (movementforjustice, 2015b). This example illustrates a similar inconsistency, but in a subtly different way; there is a back-and-forth dynamic on the focus being intersectional struggles of womanhood and motherhood, and 'people' / 'human beings' (*ibid.*). Having highlighted these inconsistencies, it is important to note that these types of discursive dialogues within video activist footage relating to similar struggles can, in other ways, even contribute towards the resonance of the frame, due to the way in which the scope of the narrative is widened to not only those with the specific identities being framed, and including refugees and migrants of any identity who could potentially face this type of treatment.

6.4.2 Empirical Credibility

The frame and framing analysis of the video activist data revealed some of the overlaps between the conceptualisation of 'empirical credibility' and 'credibility of articulators'. While the former relates to the establishment of evidence relating to the knowledges that have been produced, and the latter to the authority of the articulator over the claims they make, there are some ontological overlaps between the two in the sense that, in some case, empirical credibility is directly dependent on the authority of the articulator over the claim. This will be explored further later in this section.

In relation to the ways in which empirical credibility, on its own accord, is established through the video activist frames and framing processes, there are three examples of this. The first example relates to activist groups overtly stating within their video activist footage the breadth and depth of action and support they have previously provided to migrants and refugees. For instance, the video uploaded by the Joint

Council for the Welfare of Immigrants on their Facebook page on 13th December 2019 entitled 'Stand with migrants. Join JCWI' (JCWImmigrants, 2019d). As mentioned within *6.1.3 Empowerment Frame*, the video contains a variety of images of different actions that the group has been involved in. While, as previously alluded to, this thesis does not engage in analysis of media practices or wider media content produced by the various activist groups, this is a clear demonstration of the way in which the broader movement as a whole aims to establish and ground their empirical credibility by illustrating the different types of support they have provided through multiple channels. In this case, the images contained within the videos suggest that they claim active involvement in issues relating to the Windrush generation of migrants, civil rights protests throughout the 1960s and 70s, court proceedings (through the image of the London Statue of Justice), various miscellaneous demonstrations and issues relating to disproportionate violence and/or deaths of racially minoritised individuals (*ibid*.). Similarly, this can also be found through a video previously referred to within *6.1.5 Incompetence Frame* as uploaded by the Bail for Immigration Detainees activist group on their Facebook site on 21st December 2019 entitled 'For those who celebrate, Christmas is a precious time of year. However, for those separated from their families by immigration detention, it is a time of particular pain and anguish. Donate now to our Christmas appeal to help reunite more families: http://bit.ly/DonateBID' (BIDdetention, 2019c). Here, empirical credibility is implied quite clearly through the provision of statistics within the video of the number of families that they have helped to support i.e. '138 parents separated from their 272 children' (*ibid.*).

The second example of the way in which empirical credibility is seemingly established through the frames and framing processes relates to the uploading of videos onto respective Facebook sites which have been previously livestreamed. While there are several examples of this type of practice (see EDeportations, 2018a, 2018b, 2018d; JCWImmigrants, 2019a; movementforjustice, 2013, 2016; UAFpage, 2020a, 2020b), two which encapsulate the way in which the movement aims to solidify empirical credibility through video activist footage relate to two videos uploaded by the End Deportations activist group which features the Stansted 15 activists in real time as they were staging a 'sit-in' underneath a charter flight plane due to deport a group of migrants and refugees to their home countries (EDeportations, 2017b, 2017a). Within one of the videos, the activists panned the camera around the airport to demonstrate

that what they were claiming was actually authentic and true, using phrases such as 'as you can see…' and 'we have just seen…' (EDeportations, 2017a).

6.4.3 Credibility of Articulators

In line with the Theoretical and Conceptual Framework of this thesis (see *3.4.4 Social Movements as Knowledge Producers*), social movement activism is understood here through the lens of social movement knowledge production, specifically in agreement with assertions that social movements can in and of themselves (both collectively and individually) be producers of knowledge (Chesters, 2012; Esteves, 2008; Eyerman & Jamison, 1991; Stokke & Tjomsland, 1996). It is on this premise that I highlight the importance of lived experiences of migrants as being high in credible value. These personal, lived, experiences are embodied within several frames and contribute to *both* the credibility of the articulators (i.e. the refugees and migrants themselves) and the credibility of the empirical data; the knowledges themselves.

Two examples of this can be found throughout several frames. The first relates to the way in which lived experiences are articulated by the individuals themselves, or by proxy by other activists who have had similar lived experiences. Firstly, found through the Hardship frame is one which draws on the example of a video containing a speech by an ex-detainee from Yarl's Wood – here she articulates the experiences of other women who are currently detained within the same detention centre; using 'we' several times during her speech at the demonstration (movementforjustice, 2014d). Relating to the same frame, in another video an ex-detainee from Yarl's Wood articulates the experiences of other women who are currently detained by using a dialogue style 'voice' during her speech at a demonstration; use of words such as 'barging into **your** room, while **you** are naked' (movementforjustice, 2014e). In a similar fashion, there is evidence of attempts to establish credibility of the articulator by proxy in another example found within a video in introduced as part of the Heroism Frame, where the activist (also a former detainee) reads a speech on behalf of another detainee, articulating her lived experiences while in immigration detention.

With regards to the second example of how credibility of the articulator is being established throughout the video activist frames, this is done through the uploading of videos which contain speeches by left-leaning political figures. For instance, in

relation to the Heroism frame is an example of a video uploaded by the End Deportations activist group to their Facebook site, where Clive Lewis MP of Norwich South makes clear links between the collective actions taken by the anti-racist movement, in this case specifically the actions of the Stansted 15, and the statistical data which shows that '41% of all those that appeal against their deportation end up staying in this country' (EDeportations, 2018d). In introducing the MP prior to his speech within the segment, and subsequently including this segment within the uploaded video to the Facebook site, there is a clear demonstration of the establishment not just of the credibility of the articulator (Lewis himself) but, by default then, the empirical credibility of the claims being made. This is similar to what can be found in other examples of videos uploaded by various activist groups, which contain speeches by Jonathan Barley of the Green Party UK. Within these speeches, he accents 'when I go to detention centres' and 'I hear from refugees and asylum seekers' (Occupy News Network, 2018b) and proceeds to recount the lived experiences of the individuals with whom he has been in contact. In doing so, not only is there a clear attempt to establish credibility of the articulator through his introduction as an MP prior to his speech, but the speech itself being based on first-hand lived experiences of those who have been victimised, provides empirical credibility to the claims presented, hence contributing to the credibility of the activist group specifically, and the anti-racist movement more broadly.

6.5 Summary

This chapter has engaged in an in-depth analytical discussion surrounding the frame and framing analysis which has been conducted on the video activist footage created and uploaded by the broader progressive anti-racist movement in the United Kingdom. It then outlined the various frames from the analysis, providing a typology for future similar research. Benford & Snow's (2000) frame alignment processes were used to structure the contributions to, and productions of, knowledges through the frames, producing a further typology related to the anti-racist knowledges produced. It then outlines the various ways in which the frames resonate with one another using the three elements; frame consistency, empirical credibility and credibility of the articulator.

7. CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Summary of the Research

This thesis has explored the issue at the core of the problem outlined within the introduction, namely the negative portrayals of immigration and immigrants. It has firstly acknowledged through the Background and Context chapter the broader context within which debates surrounding the core problem of this thesis, negative portrayals of immigration, is situated, namely the importance of Britain's history of colonialism. It then situates the problem within a much more contemporary context; the years following the 2008 Economic Crisis, which this thesis argues was the catalyst for the dominant hegemonic narrative which is later described. The Coalition government's austerity cuts had far-reaching consequences for benefits and social housing (Hamnett, 2014; Ridge, 2013), access to food (Dowler, 2014) basic healthcare in Britain and beyond (Legido-Quigley et al., 2013; Knapp, 2012), national security (Hammerstad & Boas, 2015), youth justice (Yates, 2012), disability (Williams-Findlay, 2011), gender and self-identity (Durbin et al., 2017), education (Gateley, 2015; Youdell & McGimpsey, 2015), class relations (Atkinson et al., 2013), employment and unemployment (Lewis et al., 2017; Cunningham & James, 2014; Cunningham et al., 2016). Thus, there was a wave of discontent, accompanied in parallel by a rise in the United Kingdom of anti-elitist, anti-establishment and anti-immigration rhetoric, leading to the eventual success of the Brexit campaign through perpetuating 'myths' surrounding immigration (Walter, 2019). The rise of right-wing nationalism led to a situation which gave rise to 'common-sense' narratives surrounding immigration were built (Conoscenti, 2018).

These common-sense narratives were then theorised in the Theoretical and Conceptual Framework chapter in relation to Gramscian (1971) understanding and analyses of hegemony, arguing that common-sense narratives are created through consent, which manifests itself through the societal continuation of everyday mundane activities such as 'work, school, the family and the church' (Stoddart, 2007). This chapter engages in a debate on the role of 'truth' and how this is understood within Gramscian hegemony, with particular focus on the importance of how 'post-truth' is conceptualised and understood within this thesis. If 'truth' is no longer the central focus of establishing a consensual hegemonic common-sense narrative, then

the production of various knowledges take precedence in exercising hegemony over the establishment of an objective 'truth', thus their production determines the power one holds to exercise hegemony itself (Whisnant, 2012). By all accounts, then, the process of producing knowledge is in and of itself a form of power that can challenge the same dominant hegemonic project (Armstrong, 2015; Culler, 1994; Escobar, 1984; Hall, 2001; Hook, 2007). This then opened up the debate in relation to how then common-sense narratives are created and shaped, which this thesis argues is through the production of knowledges which can be made possible through framing processes. In highlighting the importance of Snow & Benford's work, both theoretically and methodologically within this debate, the Theoretical and Conceptual Framework chapter then outlined how the 'common-sense' narrative is framed, which included an array of frames derived from existing literature surrounding dominant framing of immigration and anti-racism. The dominant frames were made up of six framing processes which were significant points of reference throughout the analytical discussion in understanding how, and in what ways, the progressive anti-racist movement in the United Kingdom challenge these frames and framing processes.

The conceptual positioning in relation to racism and anti-racism were grounded primarily through identification with the arguments posed by (A. Doane, 2006), in defining racism institutionally and structurally embedded rather than descriptive of individual acts of prejudice, and the work of Bonnett (2000) in relation to the six forms of anti-racist practice. The significance of the ways in which anti-racist movements have traditionally attempted to challenge dominant hegemonic narratives has been discussed, with a particular focus on the contemporary progressive anti-racist movement in the United Kingdom and its own identity and activist practices. Dominant frames and framing processes surrounding social movement activism were presented as a precursor to further understanding the ways in which the anti-racist movement responds to these frames. While key work in the fields connecting social movement knowledge production and activist (media) practices has been acknowledged in terms of its theoretical importance more generally, this thesis favours viewing social movements (both individually, as activists, and collectively) as knowledge producers in themselves (Chesters, 2012; Esteves, 2008; Eyerman & Jamison, 1991; Stokke & Tjomsland, 1996), with less focus on the practices within

which they engage, and more focus on how they frame immigration through video activism.

Utilising a conceptual framework derived from Askanius' (2013) typology of video activism, and literature from film studies/theory and cinematography, this thesis engaged in an in-depth analysis of the various visual strategies that are employed by eight activist groups part of the broader progressive anti-racist movement in the United Kingdom: Black Lives Matter UK, Unite Against Fascism, End Deportations, Movement for Justice, Bail for Immigration Detainees, Detention Action, Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, and Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants. In doing so, it uncovered the diversity in the use of shots, angling, camera movement, sound and editing strategies used by the various activist groups. The implication and contribution of these were displayed in the form of a Typology of Anti-Racist Visual Strategies.

Furthermore, in employing the typologies provided by Snow & Benford (1988) and Benford & Snow (2000) for the analysis of frames, frame alignment and frame resonance, this thesis engaged in a second in-depth analysis of the use of video activist footage for the purposes of framing immigration and anti-racist activism. The analysis identified six key frames which were employed by activist groups to portray immigration and anti-racist activism through their video activist footage uploaded on YouTube and Facebook sites respectively: Hardship Frame, Persecution Frame, Empowerment Frame, Heroism Frame, Incompetence Frame and Anti-Racism Frame. These frames were grouped into their respective 'tasks' i.e. diagnostic, prognostic and motivational to highlight the ways in which they function and operate. They were also ascribed 'stances' i.e. offensive or defensive, depending on the positionality the frames were taking in relation to dominant hegemonic narratives. In outlining the ways in which the activist groups also used frame alignment processes, this study was able to demonstrate the ways in which the progressive anti-racist movement has been contributing to, or producing, knowledges surrounding immigration and anti-racist activism. The frame resonance processes were significant in demonstrating how these knowledges can increase or maximise resonance (or 'impact'), contributing to alternative ways of thinking about immigration and anti-racist activism, thereby challenging the dominant post-truth hegemonic common-sense narrative.

As such, this research has addressed the four nuanced research questions derived from the review of the relevant literature in the fields of interest to this thesis, and has contributed to answering the core research question: *how are activist groups within the broader anti-racist movement in the United Kingdom resisting or challenging dominant hegemonic narratives through framing within video activist footage?* In doing so, it has also addressed the underlying aim of the research, which has been *to explore the ways in which dominant narratives surrounding immigration are understood and challenged through progressive activism*. It is unique insofar as it makes the necessary four-way theoretical and methodological connections between Gramscian hegemony, Snow & Benford's form of frame analysis, social movement knowledge production and video activism. It had made unique empirical contributions to knowledge through engaging in a frame and framing analysis of video activist footage produced by the broader progressive anti-racist movement in the United Kingdom, and outlining the various existing and alternative knowledges that are produced, or contributed to, which help to resist and challenge dominant 'common sense' understandings surrounding immigration.

7.2 Unique Contributions and Implications

Stipulated within **1.2 Contributions to Knowledge**, the overarching research question posed for this thesis was: *how are activist groups within the broader anti-racist movement in the United Kingdom resisting or challenging dominant hegemonic narratives through framing within video activist footage?*

This thesis has addressed the overarching research question through engaging in a comprehensive two-fold analysis that has clearly answered the five set sub-questions:

Q1. What are the visual strategies that are employed by the different groups within video activist footage?

The **5. Visual Analysis** chapter lays bare the various visual strategies that are employed by the different activist groups part of the broader anti-racist movement in the United Kingdom. These strategies included the use of different types of shots and angling throughout the filming processes, as well as depicting the camera movement strategies, use of audio in a variety of ways, depending on whether the footage had

been edited or 'raw' and actual editing strategies. In conducting this form of analysis, this chapter has provided a unique insight into the ways in which the 'visual' is used by the broader anti-racist movement in order to create an engaging and captivating experience for their viewers, building an intimate and personable rapport, thus contributing to the gaining of wider public trust of their credibility and authenticity in order to strengthen the message being contained within the video activist footage; one of resistance to dominant narratives surrounding immigration and anti-racist activism.

Q2.   How do these videos frame immigration and anti-racist activism?

The eight activist groups within the broader anti-racist movement utilised a variety of frames, which have been derived through an in-depth analytical discussion within the **6. Frame Analysis** chapter, and illustrated within the Typology of Anti-Racist Video Activist Frames. This analysis provided an original empirical contribution that reveals the ways in which the various activist groups understand the discourses surrounding immigration and anti-racist activism, and how the various discursive-frame strategies employed. It has helped us to gain an insight into how migrants and refugees are framed as individuals who are being persecuted in their home countries, and are facing hardships in the United Kingdom, both in detention centres and through forced deportation procedures organised by various well-known airlines like British Airways. It has exposed how the groups use frame both themselves, and their supporters, as heroes (or engaging in heroism) and migrants and refugees as empowered in order to foster motivation for further social action. Furthermore, it has provided us with insider knowledge surrounding how these activist groups (and the broader anti-racist movement as a whole) work collectively in order to frame certain state policies, individuals and 'mainstream media' coverage as being either incompetent or racist. In combination, these factors make a strong contribution to academic understanding of how the anti-racist movement as a whole understand issues surrounding immigration and anti-racism.

Q3.   How, and in what ways, are Benford & Snow's (2000) frame alignment processes being utilised to create knowledges about immigration and anti-racist activism, and what are these knowledges?

Alongside the frame analysis, the **6. Frame Analysis** chapter also engaged in a thorough discussion surrounding how each frame alignment processes has been utilised by the various activist groups in order to create knowledges surrounding immigration and anti-racist activism; including the use of frame bridging, amplification, extension and transformation. Frame bridging is predominantly used through the hardship, heroism, empowerment and incompetence frames in order to highlight identity related struggles faced by migrants, including gender-specific struggles of motherhood, racial minoritisation, the status of being a refugee in itself, and struggles relating to mental and physical health. The knowledges created as a result of these framing processes are detailed illustratively through the Typology of Anti-Racist Knowledges, which serves to emphasise the importance of knowledge production by highlighting new knowledges created and shaped by the different activist groups, but is in itself an original contribution to academic knowledge surrounding anti-racist activism. These knowledges relate to refugees and migrant struggles as a whole, knowledge surrounding how social injustice is understood and conceptualised, knowledge on legislation and policy, organisational knowledge of the movement or individual activist groups within the movement, knowledge about collective identity of the movement, knowledge about the values of migrants and refugees, and knowledge about dominant hegemonic narratives.

Q4.   To what extent is Benford & Snow's (2000) frame resonance established through the framing processes?

To a great extent. Benford & Snow's (2000) frame resonance is established through the framing processes in the context of the anti-racist movement's video activist footage. The analysis in **6. Frame Analysis** reveals consistencies in the frequency and persistence of themes and knowledges, with the adoption of an intersectional lens and focus on struggles related to gender, sexuality, race, and refugee status being fairly consistent across frames. The themes of human rights, freedom, justice, and empathy also show consistencies among multiple frames. The use of recurring slogans, such as the slogan "No Human is Illegal," reinforces thematic consistency. The framing processes effectively highlight the hardships faced by migrants and the heroism of activists, drawing attention to issues such as detention centres, family separation, and persecution. These consistencies contribute to the establishment of frame resonance, while the identified inconsistencies within frames add complexity and broaden the

narrative scope, potentially even enhancing resonance by addressing a wider audience. Additionally, empirical credibility is established through the demonstration of activist groups' past actions and support for migrants and refugees, as well as the use of livestreamed videos and speeches by credible articulators, including former detainees and left-leaning political figures. These strategies contribute to the credibility of the movement's claims and knowledge production, reinforcing the overall frame resonance established through the framing processes.

Q5.   To what extent do these knowledges reinforce or challenge the dominant hegemonic common-sense narrative and create alternative ways of thinking about immigration and anti-racist activism?

To a large extent. The anti-racist knowledges challenge the dominant hegemonic common-sense narrative surrounding immigration and anti-racist activism in the United Kingdom. They directly contest the necessity of tougher border controls, highlighting the complicity of state institutions in the harm experienced by refugees and migrants. By exposing intersectional struggles, such as gendered, LGBTQ+, and mental health issues faced within detention centres, these knowledges undermine the dominant narrative by shedding light on the injustices and vulnerabilities endured. They emphasise the contestability of dominant framing processes, seeking to rehumanise migrants and refugees and challenge negative portrayals. Through building alliances, appealing for empathy, and prioritising human rights and fairness, these knowledges create alternative ways of thinking that advocate for a more inclusive and compassionate approach to immigration and anti-racist activism, effectively challenging and undermining the dominant hegemonic common-sense narrative.

In addressing the overarching questions posed, this thesis makes two very important and unique contributions to knowledge.

Firstly, it has contributed to the theoretical and conceptual development of Gramscian hegemony through an in-depth discussion surrounding the notion of objective 'truth'. It has argued the case that, in a post-truth society, Gramscian analyses of 'truth' is less relevant than the production of knowledge, as knowledge production itself is a form of exercising hegemony. It has rather dispersed the core of research surrounding

hegemony away from traditional Laculau & Mouffian analyses. In doing so, this thesis has highlighted the ways in which knowledge surrounding immigration and anti-racist activism is being produced in its dominant form, by state political actors and right-leaning media outlets, creating a 'common sense' hegemonic narrative. Reviewing the array of literature surrounding frame analysis, this thesis has incorporated the conceptualisation of this methodological and theoretical field established by Snow & Benford (1988), as a tool through which to demonstrate *both* the ways in which this novel understanding of Gramscian hegemony is being applied by those in positions of power, and also how it is resisted through activism. As such, it has successfully diverted from the tradition of using frame analysis in its largely quantitative form, through a strong emphasis on the importance of social constructionist epistemological and ontological positionality in understanding activism in general, and anti-racist activism specifically. This thesis has also made a theoretical argument against the continuous over-focus on activist media practices that tends to dominate the field of social movement research, highlighting the significance of the 'visual', specifically the content within video activist footage, rather than the practice of using video activism. In so doing, it provides unique insights into how the broader anti-racist movement in the United Kingdom generally, and the activist groups that fit within this movement specifically, engage in this type of resistance to dominant hegemonic narratives.

Secondly, it has made an empirical contribution in two ways; through the novel insights into the aims and objectives of the eight different activist groups, seven of which had never featured in any academic publication or been the subject of academic research entirely, and through the analytical chapters contained within this thesis. The first analytical chapter focused on the ways in which video activism is used by the various activist groups, and the strategies that are employed. It provided us with a rare understanding of footage that has never been collected for these purposes, uncovering the diverse methods through which the visual and audiovisual has been, and can be, used in order to create symbolic meanings that have the potential to evoke serious discussions surrounding immigration, anti-racism and social justice in general. The Typology of Anti-Racist Visual Strategies portrayed both the amateur and professional-style techniques that are employed by the various activist groups, the types of videos they produce, their methods of mobilisation using visual strategies and collective identities that are so tightly grounded and brought to light through

shots and angling techniques. The qualitative frame analysis underpinning the second analytical chapter used a unique and novel analytical framework made up of five stages. It meticulously analysed the various ways that the eight different activist groups frame immigration and anti-racist activism, including the framing processes that were utilised throughout the inclusion of video activist content on their social media accounts. Not only did this provide insight into the anti-racist movement's organisational structures, but their overall opinions on state actors, discourses and policies. In doing so, this analysis laid a solid foundation for future research utilising qualitative frame analysis in the form outlined by Snow & Benford (1988). It has demonstrated that, far from being powerless and deferent to the dominant hegemonic project, anti-racist activism is active and powerful in its ability to produce new knowledges that challenge and resist the dominant narrative.

The findings and analytical discussion throughout this thesis draw attention to the contestability of dominant hegemonic common-sense narratives. The thesis as a whole provides a strong argument that these narratives can be challenged and resisted through the use of discursive framing processes which have been aided by diverse visual strategies employed throughout video activist footage. This can have significant wider implications for the future of anti-racist activism – firstly, the findings have uncovered noteworthy failings on the part of the current British state in their inaction on the struggles faced by migrants and refugees within detention centres, lack of empathy and understanding of the human reality of these struggles, and serious incompetence on the part of policymakers tasked with making decisions on migration policy. In exposing these failings, and highlighting the contestability of the dominant common-sense narrative surrounding immigration, this thesis contributes towards empowering the cause of anti-racist activism in general, and its discursive framing specifically, by demonstrating that alternative knowledges on this issue, are able to gain the level of resonance and traction required to foster a wider academic discussion on the issue. As such, the findings within this thesis can also work as a means to inform future policy decisions on the impact of deportation procedures and indefinite detention of migrants and refugees within detention centres in the United Kingdom, focusing attention specifically on the intersectional living experiences of some of the struggles they face as a result of enforcement of this type of legislation.

7.3 Future Recommendations

Academics conducting similar research in the future may wish to broaden the methodological scope in incorporating more ethnographic participant observatory methods, alongside interviews with members of the activist groups *alongside* video frame analysis. As is evident in the Preface, the initial intention of this study to engage in participatory research accompanied by interviews was unfortunately hampered by the global developments during this time frame (Covid-19). Engaging in ethnographic[3] participant observation can open up opportunities to understand the true resonance of these video activist frames beyond interpretive assumptions. In other words, whether the frames and framing processes which uncovered through the video frame analysis are indeed consistent both within and outside the movement's online presence. It may be useful, if this direction is to be pursued, to also appreciate research surrounding activist media practices, which can be fruitful insofar as they can help to broaden the focus away from one medium into more hybrid ecologies, or employing a kind of 'frame elicitation', where the frames themselves can form the grounding for interviews with (video) activists.

Future researchers should be mindful of the methodological implications of using the three frame/framing typologies employed in the analysis of this thesis to ensure that conceptualisation of 'credibility' does not delve into the realm of incorporating quantitative research methods in an attempt to 'measure' the frequency or the respective resonance of frames and frame alignment processes. Where production of knowledges are concerned, these are holistic processes derived (as mentioned within *4.3.3 Frame Resonance*) often from lived experiences of activists, which cannot be quantified. Care must also be taken, if similar research on the progressive anti-racist movement is conducted, that the researcher's understanding anti-racism respectively is grounded in a positionality which views racism as structurally and institutionally embedded, rather than encompassing individual acts of prejudice.

Some further in-depth research into visual strategies employed by other activist groups could provide more insight into whether the findings from this thesis can be generalised in a broader sense. As there are few analytical frameworks that seek to

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[3] Sustained ethnography over a significant period of time.

explore the visual strategies employed within video activist footage, this research can be a strong starting point for further development of a more concrete and explicit framework, still incorporating some of the conceptual understandings from film theory/studies and cinematography, as these have proven to be very fruitful in understanding the ways in which various visual strategies can have a rather symbolic effect on audiences. As previously suggested though, care should still be taken to avoid seeping into the realm of semiotic analysis.

7.4 Summary

This chapter has provided a concluding summary of the thesis as a whole, including the theoretical and conceptual grounding, its methodological positionality and the methods employed to carry out the research, the empirical findings and analytical discussion. It has clearly and explicitly answered the research questions posed throughout this thesis, highlighting the unique contributions to knowledge made by this research, and the wider implications this can have on anti-racist activism and policy implications in relation to legislation surrounding forced deportations and housing of migrants and refugees in detention centres. It has also made recommendations for future academic research seeking to use a similar theoretical and/or methodological grounding.

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APPENDICES

Figure 1: YouTube Data API variables and Search Parameters

Dependent variable parameters:

part = snippet
location = 51.509865,-0.118092
locationRadius = 620mi
maxResults = 200
order = viewCount
type = video

See Data Collection and Sampling section within the Video Frame Analysis chapter for further information regarding the **location** and **locationRadius** parameters. **maxResults** indicates how many results should be returned. This is limited to 200 results per search. **order** specifies the way in which the search results are sorted when returned.

Independent variable parameters:

publishedAfter: the date after which a video had been uploaded (in RFC 3339 format date-time value e.g. 1970-01-01T00:00:00Z)
publishedBefore: the date before which a video has been uploaded (in RFC 3339 format date-time value e.g. 1970-01-01T00:00:00Z)
q: the string (keyword or keywords) being searched within a video's title and/or description

The searches were conducted as follows:

(A) The Vote Leave Campaign prior to the EU Referendum	
part	snippet
location	51.509865,-0.118092
locationRadius	620mi
maxResults	200
order	viewCount
publishedAfter	2015-10-08T00:00:00Z
publishedBefore	2016-06-24T00:00:00Z
q	immigration | racism
type	video

(B) Deportations of Jamaican Nationals from the UK (#StopCharterFlights)	
part	snippet
location	51.509865,-0.118092
locationRadius	620mi
maxResults	200
order	viewCount
publishedAfter	2017-01-01T00:00:00Z
publishedBefore	2018-01-01T00:00:00Z
q	StopCharterFlights
type	video

(C) Deportation of the 60 African Migrants (#Stansted15)	
part	snippet
location	51.509865,-0.118092
locationRadius	620mi
maxResults	200
order	viewCount
publishedAfter	2017-03-27T00:00:00Z
publishedBefore	2019-03-01T00:00:00Z
q	Stansted15
type	video

(D) Deportations of Asylum Seekers from the UK (#DearBA)	
part	snippet
location	51.509865,-0.118092
locationRadius	620mi
maxResults	200
order	viewCount
publishedAfter	2019-01-01T00:00:00Z
publishedBefore	2020-01-01T00:00:00Z
q	DearBA
type	video

(E) The murder of George Floyd in Minneapolis, MN, USA	
part	snippet
location	51.509865,-0.118092
locationRadius	620mi
maxResults	200
order	viewCount
publishedAfter	2020-05-25T00:00:00Z
publishedBefore	2020-06-29T00:00:00Z
q	Black Lives Matter
type	video

(F) The Windrush Scandal	
part	snippet
location	51.509865,-0.118092
locationRadius	620mi
maxResults	200
order	viewCount
publishedAfter	2018-01-01T00:00:00Z
publishedBefore	2019-01-01T00:00:00Z
q	windrush | protest
type	video

Figure 2: Michael of Freed Voices

DetentionAction. (2019, October 10). 'Mental Health and Indefinite Immigration Detention "'This individual had lost all hope'"—Michael of Freed Voices talks about mental health and his experience in immigration detention on World Mental Health Day' [Social Networking]. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/DetentionAction/videos/2515714215333669. Screenshot by author.

Figure 3: Frederick Kkonde

movementforjustice. (2014, July 7). 'I was inside there (Harmondsworth), I know what it means and I want to let our brothers know we are together with them and we shall fight' MFJ organiser and ex detainee Frederick Kkonde speaks to the demonstration at Harmondsworth [Social Networking]. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/movementforjustice/videos/756788561030182. Screenshot by author.

Figure 4: Nebiyat

and it's not legal in my country.

Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants. (2019, August 4). #DearBA: Nebiyat [Video Sharing Platform]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b9XCWgYGo0o. Screenshot by author.

Figure 5: MfJ Placards

loveofpeace. (2017, January 14). London march against mass deportation charter flights in Brixton [Video Sharing Platform]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fb7d0BQFRz8. Screenshot by author.
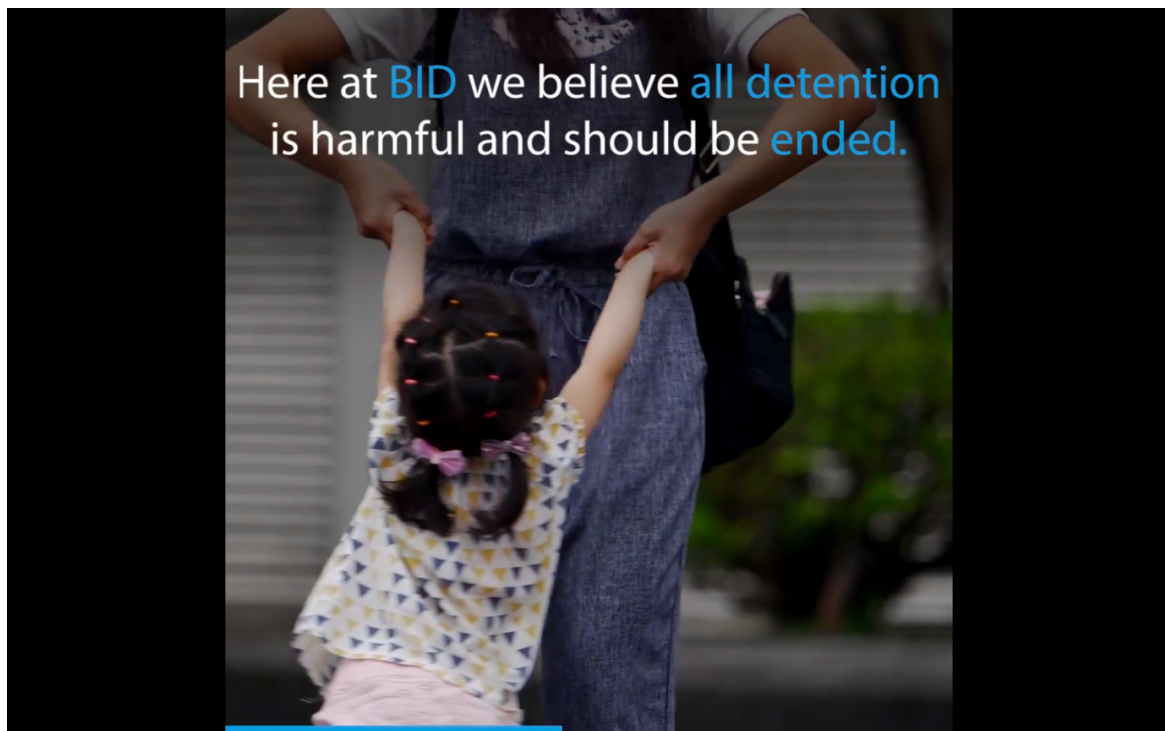
Figure 6: Mazimbabweans & Sisters Uncut

loveofpeace. (2017, January 14). London march against mass deportation charter flights in Brixton [Video Sharing Platform]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fb7d0BQFRz8. Screenshot by author.

Figure 7: No Human is Illegal
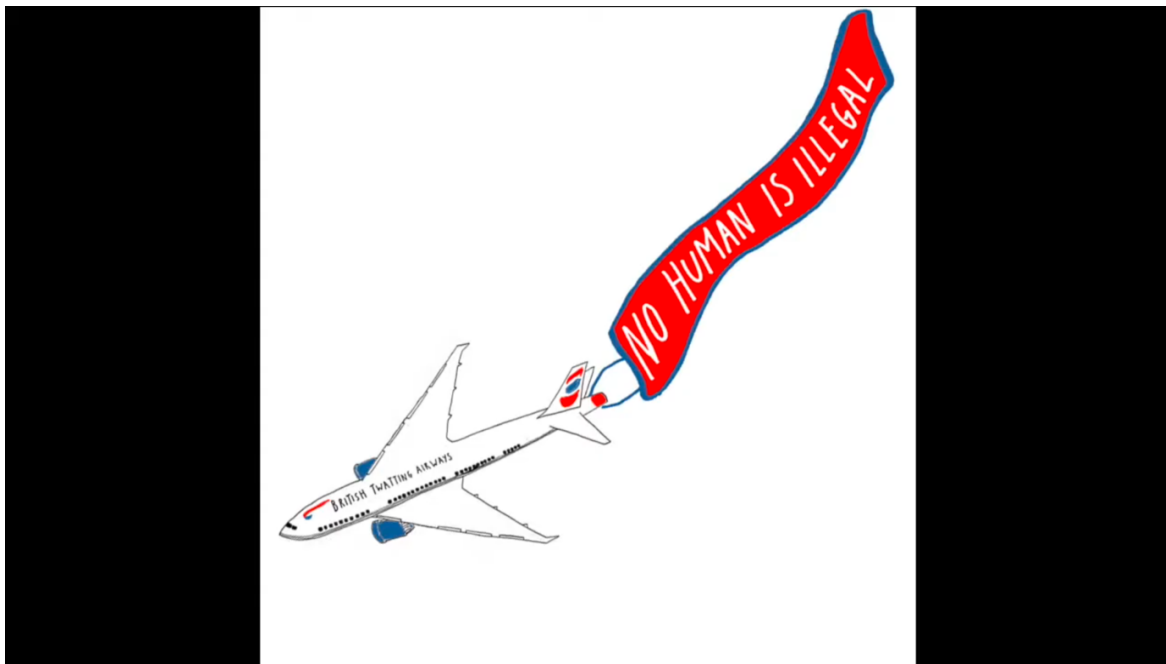

Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants. (2019b, August 2). #DearBA: Hannah Lowe—Deportation Blues [Video Sharing Platform]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_ajr5z6t4MQ. Screenshot by author.

Figure 8: BID Christmas Appeal

Here at BID we believe all detention is harmful and should be ended.

BIDdetention. (2019, December 21). For those who celebrate, Christmas is a precious time of year. However, for those separated from their families by immigration detention, it is a time of particular pain and anguish. Donate now to our Christmas appeal to help reunite more families: Http://bit.ly/DonateBID [Social Networking]. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/BIDdetention/videos/819479205171790. Screenshot by author.

Figure 9: Trump & Brexit
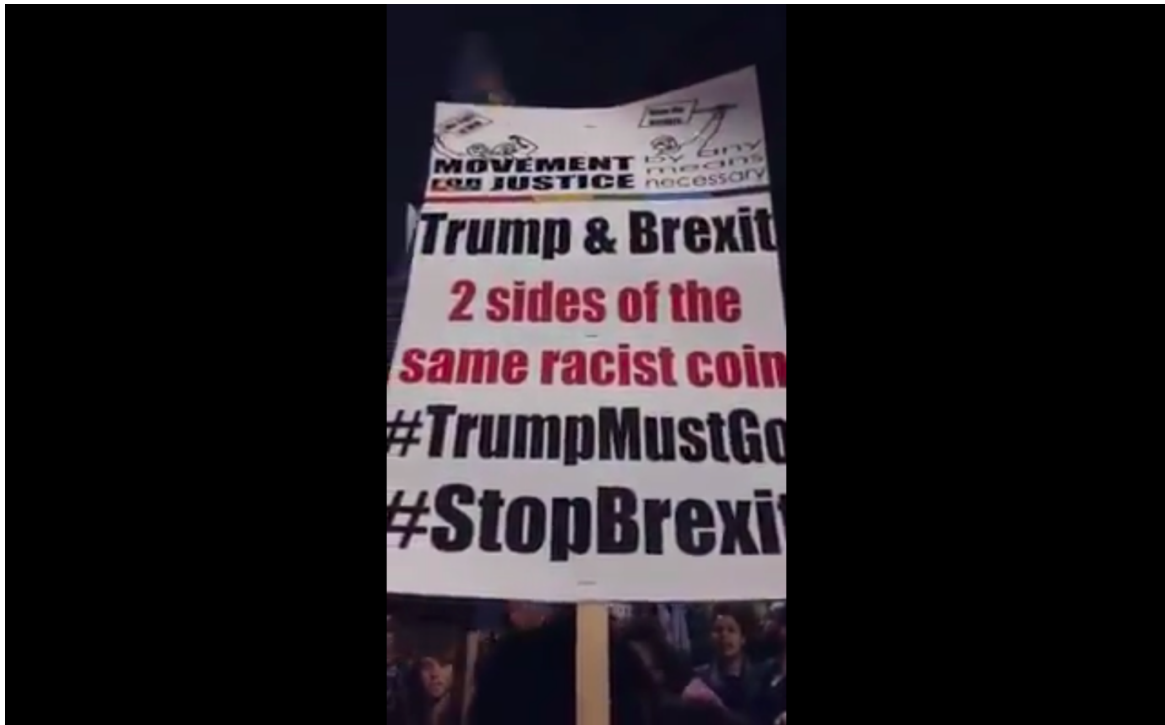
movementforjustice. (2017, January 30). Another vid of MFJ at #StandUpToTrump demo in Ldn "No Trump, No Brexit, No racist EU exit!' #StopBrexit #MuslimBan #TrumpMustGo demonstrate with us to demand MPs vote down Article50 tues and weds this week! [Social Networking]. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/movementforjustice/videos/1439986026043762. Screenshot by author.

Figure 10: Racism, Xenophobia & Nationalism

movementforjustice. (2017d, February 17). #StopBrexit #StopTrump WALKOUT 20/02 MONDAY #WalkOut & march with us—SHUT DOWN LONDON to #StopTrump #StopBrexit & declare #ImmigrantsAreHereToStay Brexit & Trump = 2 sides of the same racist coin—ALL OUT on Monday! #1DayWithoutUs [Social Networking]. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/movementforjustice/videos/1459795157396182. Screenshot by author.

Figure 11: No to Islamophobia

UAFpage. (2018, October 13). Great Rally now happening at #Whitehall opposing racist DFLA @uaf #StandUpToRacism [Social Networking]. Facebook.
https://www.facebook.com/UAFpage/videos/1913031095668770. Screenshot by author.

Figure 12: Docs Not Cops

Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants. (2019, August 24). #DearBA Docs Not Cops [Video Sharing Platform]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sO4nzicO8Jc. Screenshot by author.

Figure 13: Walk-and-Talk

We're here to support the Stansted15.
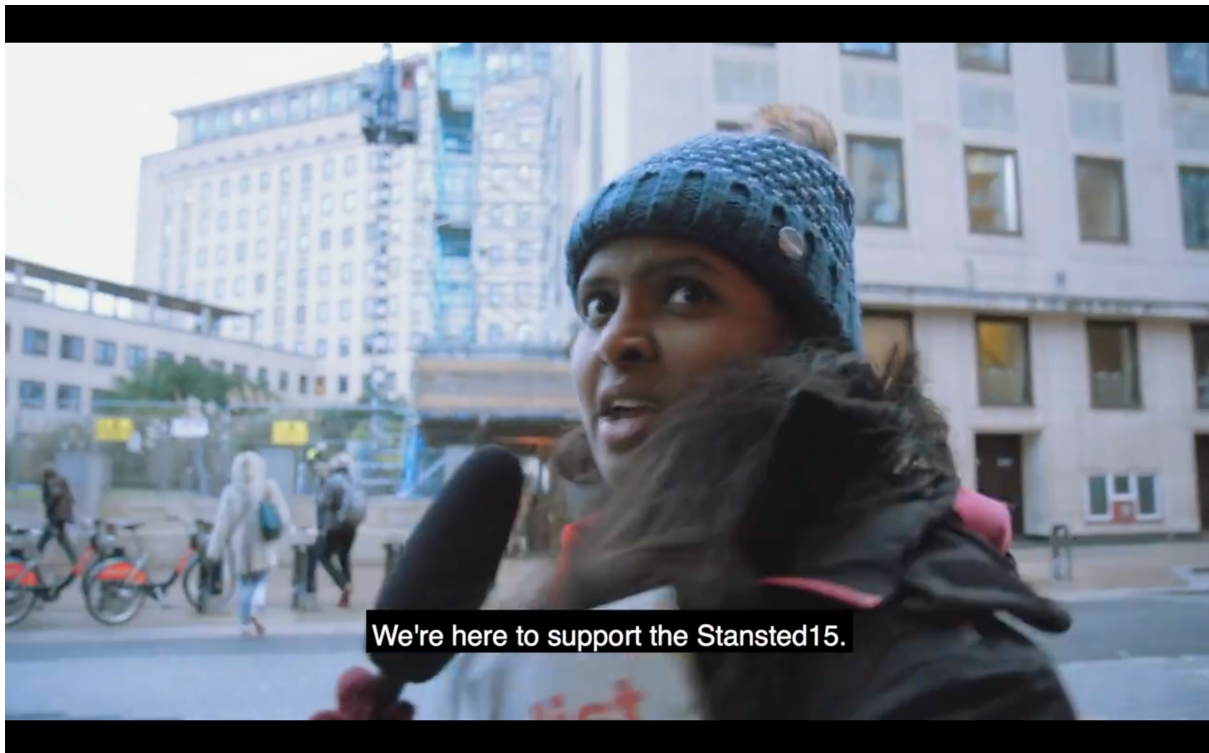
End Deportations (2018, December 18). International Migrants Day: Solidarity with the Stansted 15 [Social Networking]. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/EDportations/videos/515853168900192. Screenshot by author.

Figure 14: Surviving Society

Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants (2019, August 24). #DearBA: Surviving Society [Video Sharing Platform].
YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Rj9mDgBVdI. Screenshot by author.

Figure 15: #DearBA Christmas Card

Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants (2019, December 22). #DearBA - A Christmas Message for British Airways [Video Sharing Platform]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BCjZbfbL5Nk. Screenshot by author.