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Policies and Media Representation of Refugees in Post-Brexit Britain

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Abstract

The present dissertation is an expository study that seeks to elucidate the policy approach of the United Kingdom towards the contemporary refugee crisis in Europe post-Brexit. The research then investigates the implications of said crisis on the UK economy, with a specific emphasis on the labour and housing markets. Furthermore, the study explores the repercussion of the crisis on British culture, encompassing its effects on British identity and social unity. The study also looks at the portrayal of those forced migrants in British newspaper media, providing a comprehensive analysis of their representation in this context. The results reveal that the UK's policies aim to reduce the number of asylum seekers. Additionally, British newspapers often portray these migrants in a negative and biased manner, further complicating their integration into society.

Key words: policy approach, United Kingdom, Refugee crisis, Brexit, economy, culture, media.

Dedication

This modest work is dedicated to the dearest people to my heart,

To my beloved parents, who have played pivotal roles in shaping my life — my mother, who planted the seed of knowledge in my mind and nurtured it with unwavering dedication, has always supported and cared for me. Her guidance and love have been a constant source of strength and inspiration. — My father has been a pillar of support, never ceasing to believe in me and my potential. His encouragement and belief in my abilities have fuelled my determination and drive to succeed. Together, they have taught me to be unique, determined, to believe in myself, and to always persevere. I am forever thankful to you.

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General Introduction

General Introduction

“The refugee issue must be put to all governments and peoples as a test of their commitment to human rights.” - Sadako Ogata- (“Fact Sheet No.20”)

My decision to write this master's dissertation was not made hastily; rather, it was the product of careful consideration and dedication. My interest in contemporary world issues has driven me to question what the refugee crisis looks like on the day the United Kingdom (UK) decided to leave the European Union (EU). That is to say, United Kingdom's departure from the European Union aroused my curiosity, encouraging me to go further with the study of the UK's policy on refugees. Indeed, the UK's immigration policy has gone through various changes after Brexit, and the migrants who are most affected by the UK's withdrawal from the EU are the refugees. In other words, this sudden flood of forced migrants in 2015 has drastically altered the United Kingdom's refugee policy and provoked numerous reactions from both state and citizens, ranging from solidarity with migrants, to hostility and rejection.

As a matter of fact, the United Kingdom (UK) has historically been a destination country for immigrants from various backgrounds, with its roots dating back to the Iberians around 2000 B.C. and the subsequent arrivals of the Anglo-Saxons and Normans. These groups have contributed to shaping the diverse cultures, traditions, and values that form the UK as we know it today. According to Esses et al., immigration “is the voluntary or involuntary movement of people to a new country in which they intend to settle for an extended period of time” (2). However, the landscape of immigration has undergone significant changes in the 20th and 21st centuries, with people from former British colonies, as well as refugees and asylum seekers from war-torn regions such as Syria, Iraq, and Eritrea, seeking a better life in the UK.

The terms “refugee”, “asylum seeker”, and “migrant” are the fundamental concepts to consider in this context. The UNHCR defines asylum seekers as individuals who are seeking international protection and have applied for refugee status, yet their submission is still pending approval. Authorities do not label every asylum seeker as a refugee, but every refugee first went through the process of seeking asylum (“Convention” 441). Nevertheless, a refugee is a person who meets the criteria for refugee status based on international, regional, or national laws and regulations. Thus, the UNHCR determines that those asylum seekers require international protection because of their circumstances. Equally important, migrants, or economic migrants, are individuals who primarily emigrate from their countries in search of more prosperous livelihoods or financial prospects. In contrast to refugees, economic migrants do not comply with the prerequisites for refugee status and are not qualified for international protection (444).

To fully understand the dynamics of the refugee crisis in the UK, it is crucial to define key concepts such as racism, British sovereignty, and British superiority. Racism, in this context, refers to the belief that people of some races are inferior to others. This belief can manifest in discriminatory practices and policies against refugees and migrants. British sovereignty denotes the United Kingdom's power to control its own government, a significant factor in the Brexit decision, which aimed to reclaim control over national borders and immigration laws. British superiority is the historical notion that Britain is greater, higher, and better than other nations, often associated with its colonial past and current attitudes towards immigration.

The increasing number of immigrants, particularly refugees, has placed a strain on the UK's capacity to accommodate them. Accordingly, this has triggered anti-immigration sentiment among some UK citizens, who blame economic and social issues for the unprecedented spike in refugees. Today, this issue remains a highly contentious topic in the UK, with varying opinions on how to address the influx of refugees, which the government

tends to view as a crisis requiring stricter border control measures and policies. It is worth noting that the refugee crisis was the UK's incentive to leave the EU to have more control over its borders and immigration policies and reinstate its long sought sovereignty.

Following Brexit, the refugee crisis in the United Kingdom has been the subject of extensive research. In their article, “Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Britain: What Brings Asylum Seekers to the United Kingdom?” (2001), Angela Burnett and Michael Peel explore the factors that lead asylum seekers to the UK. Their research findings disclose that most asylum seekers are often drawn to the UK because their lives are under threat in their home countries due to unstable political situations like wars (485). That is, these people face multiple threats that are making them run away; they are at risk to violence, persecutions, violation of their human rights as well as other forms of oppression.

Besides the reasons that drive asylum seekers to the UK, the challenges they face during the asylum-seeking process have also been extensively studied. Rebecca Chaffelson’s PhD dissertation, “The Challenges Faced when Seeking Asylum in the United Kingdom: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis” (2020), delves into these challenges, particularly focusing on the psychological barriers of shame and trauma during the screening interview (85). Chaffelson’s study reveals that many asylum seekers experience significant psychological distress stemming from the shame associated with their displacement and traumatic experiences in their home countries. The study also shows that these psychological barriers impact the smooth interview process, and this feeling of shame and insecurity increase even more when they are treated as liars by the Home Office. This further complicates their journey through the asylum process.

Cheung and Phillimore's article "Refugees, Social Capital, and Labour Market Integration in the UK" (2014), study another interesting aspect which is the role of social networks in supporting UK's Refugee integration and access to employment. The article presents data from a Survey of New Refugees (SNR) of 5631 refugees (519). It reveals that having established contacts increases the chances of receiving help with housing and employment. However, this is not enough as language proficiency and requisite skills are the key factors to successfully integrate into the labour market and find good employment (532-33).

The impact of Brexit, the UK's withdrawal from the European Union, has also affected policies concerning refugees. In his dissertation titled "Refugee Protection United Kingdom Country Report" (2020), James Foley bring out the impact of Brexit on international protection and the asylum system in the UK (38). Through following a quantitative research and using NVivo as a data analysis tool, Foley's research reveals that Brexit has led to changes in refugee protection policies, including stricter immigration controls and a shift towards prioritising the national interest, which has implications for the rights and well-being of refugees in the UK (39).

From a different lens, Jennie Portice and Stephen Reicher in their article "Arguments for European Disintegration: A Mobilization Analysis of Anti-Immigration Speeches by U.K. Political Leaders" (2018), examine how UK political leaders employ anti-immigration speeches to incite refugees hatred. Through a thematic analysis, the researchers analyse the speeches of David Cameron, Nick Clegg, Nigel Farage, and Ed Miliband to uncover underlying motivations (1359-61). The study uncovers that these leaders use rhetoric that creates antagonism towards refugees, aiming to foster unity among their supporters and manipulate public opinion on immigration.

Accordingly, the present study will enhance the current literature by examining the Post-Brexit immigration policies implemented by the UK, namely the Conservative Party, to address the refugee crisis. It will probe into the impact of this phenomenon on the UK's labour market, housing, and British culture. Furthermore, the study will discuss the representation of the crisis by the British newspaper media.

The importance of this research work lies in the fact that it deals with a burning issue: enduring challenges and hardships faced the refugees in the United Kingdom. Therefore, building upon previous contributions, our study is of the greatest importance, not only for the understanding of how the non-EU refugees are treated by the UK government but also for the understanding of the continuing implications of the refugee crisis in the United Kingdom on immigration policies, integration, social cohesion, and international relations.

The research will be guided by the following research questions:

1. What is the impact of Brexit on the refugee crisis?
2. What strategies and measures has the British government taken to crack down on illegal entry and maintain borders?
3. How do refugees affect the economy and culture of the UK?
4. How do British newspaper media portray the refugee crisis?

The present research is an exploratory study that aims to thoroughly investigate the UK's response to the refugee crisis and examine its impact on the British economy and culture. Additionally, the study analyzes the British newspaper media's presentation of the crisis. To achieve these objectives, the study employs a qualitative content analysis approach.

The primary sources for this analysis include three speeches delivered by prominent British politicians—two by Priti Patel and one by Rishi Sunak—and an article from The Guardian. These sources were selected to provide a comprehensive view of both political rhetoric and media representation of the refugee crisis.

The analysis of these sources is based on content analysis. This method allows us to systematically examine the themes, narratives, and framing techniques employed in the selected speeches and article. By focusing on the key concepts of racism, British sovereignty, and superiority, the study aims to provide an in-depth understanding of the underlying messages and their potential impact on public perception and policy-making. The analysis will identify recurring patterns and differences in the portrayal of refugees, as well as the economic and cultural implications highlighted by the politicians and the media.

In terms of structure, this dissertation is divided into a general introduction, two chapters, and a general conclusion. This division follows an exploratory approach. The general introduction provides an overview of the research objectives and outlines the structure of the work. The first chapter explores the historical background of refugees in the United Kingdom and investigates the reframing of the UK's immigration system after Brexit and its impact on refugees. The second chapter critically examines the impact of the refugee crisis on the British economy and culture, as well as the representation of this crisis in British newspapers. The general conclusion provides a summary of the main arguments as well as underscores both the contribution of this study in the field of research and its limitation.

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Introduction

Since the dawn of civilization, humanity has been set in motion in various parts of the world. Some people move to other countries in order to improve their economic and social well-being, while others seek refuge due to persecution, severe discrimination, human rights violations, war, famine, disease, or ecological disasters. This chapter explores the historical background of refugees in the United Kingdom and demonstrates how its policies have shifted over time, from an open-door policy to border control. Additionally, it offers a concise examination of certain policies implemented by the United Kingdom after its withdrawal from the European Union in response to the ongoing refugee crisis. The migrants discussed in this study are those who are forced to flee from war in their home countries and seek refuge in the United Kingdom.

1. The Historical Overview of Refugees in the United Kingdom

The term refugee crisis refers to a situation in which individuals face humanitarian challenges in their home countries and seek refuge in other nations. The United Kingdom has a long history of providing protection to refugees. According to John Oakland, this commitment can be traced back to 1685 when French Protestants, known as French Huguenots, who sought refuge in Britain after experiencing religious persecution by Louis XIV. After the Huguenots, come the Roman Catholics who fled the 1789 French Revolution. In fact, in the eighteenth century, the United Kingdom did not experience significant levels of immigration. At that time, Britain was sending a great number of people either to North America or other colonies (43). Rhys Drakeley explains that during the revolutions of 1848-1880, the United Kingdom welcomed refugees from different European countries mainly from Germany, Italy, and France (153).

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Until the 1880s, the predominant stance in British politics was one of “liberal tolerance” towards foreigners, particularly those seeking refuge from political oppression. However, the flood of Russian Jewish refugees in the late nineteenth century urged the United Kingdom to tighten its borders by introducing the 1905 Aliens Act. The act marked the end of liberal acceptance of foreigners and the beginning of stricter immigration control (Oakland 45). This change in approach reflected growing concerns over national identity, economic competition, and security fears.

Drakeley further explains that During the First World War, around 250,000 Belgians were given shelter in the United Kingdom. Conversely, individuals of other nationalities did not receive similar hospitable treatment. Under amendments to the Aliens Act, Britain detained some 32,000 men for being “enemy aliens”. Right after the war, the UK’s asylum policy was managed through the League of Nations. The League of Nations focused merely on European refugees. This is demonstrated by the fact that most its treaties, mainly the 1933 Convention on Refugees, dealt only with the issues and the needs of refugees in Europe. The League of Nations was officially dissolved on April 18, 1946, to be replaced by the United Nations (154).

During the Second World War, the UK received refugees from different parts of Europe, among them the Jewish and the Poles who fled from the advancing Nazi German army (Oakland 45). The Poles were of great support to Britain during the war. As a token of appreciation, the British government passed The Polish Resettlement Act in 1947 to help them rebuild their lives as they suffered greatly in World War II (Drakeley 154).

Following the Second World War, the United Nations issued the 1951 Refugee Convention in response to the surge of refugees. During the drafting process, British representatives initially sought to limit the Convention to European refugees, expressing reluctance to endorse it without this clause. As a result, the 1951 Convention primarily focused on European refugees displaced

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by World War II. However, the emergence of new refugee groups, particularly in Africa during the late 1950s and 1960s, highlighted the need for broader protection beyond the temporal scope of the Convention.

The execution of the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees, which expanded the UN's definition of a refugee, resulted in a notable increase in the number of refugees in the United Kingdom, primarily from regions in the global South (Drakeley 154-56). These new refugees, mainly from non-white New Commonwealth nations such as India, Pakistan, and the West Indies, faced hostility from authorities and the media in the UK, often depicted as “uncivilized hoards” (Oakland 45). This denotes that by the late 1980s, the British government began to view asylum seekers with considerable hostility, categorizing them as a problem that needed to be addressed. It also intelligibly expounds the UK's persistently biased view of non-white countries, as they have already created a falsehood about them as opportunistic people who expect to have things handed to them on a silver platter.

The late twentieth century marked the beginning of the “non-entrée regime,” as described by Phil Orchard in his book *A Right to Flee* (20-21). Since the early 1990s, successive governments in the United Kingdom have sought to restrict access to the country by enacting several key acts. These include the Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act 1993, the Asylum and Immigration Act 1996, the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999, the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002, the Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants, etc.) Act 2004, the Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act 2006, the UK Borders Act 2007, the Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act 2009, and the Immigration Act 2014. These acts have played a crucial role in shaping immigration and asylum policies in the UK during this period. The aforementioned legislations aimed to create harsher conditions for asylum seekers, including restrictions on access to benefits, and strategies to expedite removal.

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As a matter of fact, since 2015, Europe has witnessed an enormous and sudden flood of refugees (d'Haenens and Joris 1). This influx was primarily driven by the ongoing conflicts and instability in countries in the Middle East and North Africa, such as Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, and Yemen. The global refugee population reached 36.4 million by mid-2023. This represents an increase of more than 1.1 million people compared to the end of 2022 as estimated by the UNHCR in 2023. The Surge of refugees pushed Britain to become more severe on asylum and Brexit has made it even more difficult for asylum seekers to reach UK due to an increase in border control and the introduction of the New Plan for Migration (Drakeley 158).

The Brexit was a significant turning point in the history of the UK, particularly regarding its stricter stance on immigration and refugees. This shift was strongly influenced by the Conservative Party and its pioneers, including David Cameron, Boris Johnson, Theresa May and Nigel Farage. The former Prime Minister David Cameron announced the referendum in 2013, and his successor, Boris Johnson, played a pivotal role in advocating for Brexit and promoting the idea of regaining control over immigration policies. Nigel Farage, a leading politician from the UK Independence Party (UKIP), further fuelled hatred against migrants. The campaigning efforts of these figures and their respective parties ultimately led to the UK's departure from the EU in the 2016 referendum, with a majority of voters choosing to leave.

Under the leadership of Boris Johnson and the Conservative Party, the UK officially left the EU on January 31, 2020, and simultaneously exited the EU's single market and customs union. The implementation of Brexit had an adverse impact on refugees as quitting EU meant new immigration policies with stricter procedures and increased barriers. Measures that the Prime Minister Rishi Sunak assumes are for the benefit of refugees:

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This country has a proud history of welcoming almost half a million refugees over the past several years, and we will always continue to do so but our ability to do that is absolutely hampered when we have tens of thousands of people illegally crossing the channel every year and it is precisely because we want the help the most vulnerable people whether they be in Syria, Afghanistan, Sudan and elsewhere, that we must get a grip of this problem, break the cycle of criminal gangs and target our resources and compassion on those who most need it. (“2 Rishi Sunak debates”)

The United Kingdom has, indeed, a long history of welcoming refugees, although the extent to which this can be seen as proud history remains debatable. Equally important, the UK’s conservative party led by Rishi Sunak is concerned about more than just refugees. They claim that they are worried about the illegal smugglers who put persecuted refugees in danger and force them to undertake risky journeys for money. In addition, the British government is holding these gangs accountable for their role in promoting and facilitating the deluge of refugees. Since the late of the twentieth century, the British government has used diverse strategies and measures in attempt to reduce the number of arrivals seeking refuge in the United Kingdom.

2. British Policies with Regard to the Refugee Crisis

The withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union is considered a momentous event in the British history as it has far-reaching consequences in terms of economy, politics and society. The most considerable impact of Brexit include changes in British immigration policy, particularly changes to the asylum system.

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As a matter of fact, the number of people seeking asylum in the United Kingdom is increasing more and more rapidly. According to The Home Office (HO), 35,566 asylum applications were made in the United Kingdom in 2019, an increase of 21% compared to the year before (“How” 5). As part of these statistics, it was also estimated that the cost of the asylum system is more than one billion pounds a year (Kuźniar 1). To meet this drastic increase in asylum seekers, the British government has altered its refugee and asylum policy. Therefore, the section below will provide a concise examination of certain policies implemented by the United Kingdom with respect to the ongoing refugee crisis.

2.1. UK’s Withdrawal from the Dublin Regulation

The Dublin Regulation is a system that applies to European member states in addition to four European states that are not members of the EU (Liechtenstein, Norway, Iceland, and Switzerland). Alberto-Horst Neidhardt explains in his article “Post-Brexit EU–UK cooperation on migration and asylum: How to live apart, together,” that Dublin Regulation determines which state is responsible for evaluating an asylum application, aiming to prevent asylum shopping—submitting multiple applications in different European states. The Eurodac system, a fingerprint database, helps ensure that asylum seekers apply in one country. The first factors considered when determining responsibility are family ties to a Dublin state and recent possession of a visa or residence permit in a member state. If these criteria don't apply, the asylum seeker is directed to the first irregularly entered country (5).

The United Kingdom has participated in the Dublin Regulation when it was first established in 1990. An article written by Emmanuel Comte, “Brexit, the Area of Freedom, Security, and Justice and Migration,” points out that at the beginning of the Dublin Regulation, the United Kingdom used to transfer out more asylum seekers to the members’ states than it actually receives from them (4). Therefore, one may notice that at that time the Dublin system

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was serving UK's interests as it gave them a way to reduce the number of asylum seekers that it held. But in 2016 things went upside down as the UK received more refugees than expected. According to the Home Office, 714 asylum seekers entered the United Kingdom under the Dublin system and only 263 were transferred out in 2019 (Gower, "Brexit" 6). Thus, to avoid receiving more asylum applicants from the Dublin countries, the United Kingdom took the decision to withdraw from the Dublin Regulation.

Withdrawing from the Dublin Regulation required long debates and discussion between the United Kingdom and the European Union. It can therefore be assumed that it was difficult for both sides to find common ground about a new framework that could replace the Dublin system. In this context, Neidhardt indicates that during the negotiation of the Trade and Cooperation Agreement (TCA), which governs the post-Brexit EU–UK relationship, the European Commission rejected the British proposals, which consists of accepting only unaccompanied, asylum-seeking children and sending people who entered the UK illegally to the first European country they have reached, arguing that they are "very unbalanced." Neidhardt highlights that the TCA, which was eventually signed by the EU and the UK in December 2020, addressed several issues like trade, fisheries and securing except problems related to migration and asylum policies (6), implying that they have not yet agreed to these issues.

Neidhardt also argues that since the TCA was signed, the UK has made unsuccessful attempts to persuade several EU member states, like France, Belgium, Germany, Sweden, and the Netherlands, to engage in bilateral agreements. The Netherlands, Germany, and France have argued that such decisions should be made collectively by the EU. Belgium, on the other hand, maintained that the UK can no longer rely on European solidarity. He adds that as no bilateral

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agreements were made, safe and legal routes to the UK under the Dublin Regulation are closed. Besides, the UK can no longer send asylum seekers to other European countries (6).

In fact, the United Kingdom held view that exiting the European Union and the Dublin Regulation would allow them more flexibility in managing and adjusting their migration and asylum policies. However, it seems that it was not exactly the case. According to the Appendix, there was a noticeable increase in net immigration of non-EU citizens, particularly those from developing countries, after the 2016 referendum. At the same time, the number of EU citizens saw a significant decline.

This increase in non-EU immigration can be attributed to two reasons as follows: to the fact that EU countries stopped providing surveillance at the UK borders, and to the lack of safe and legal routes to the UK, previously provided by the Dublin Regulation. Consequently, many asylum seekers were pushed to undertake hazardous ventures, such as crossing the English Channel in small boats, in an attempt to reach the UK, eventually leading to an enormous flood of irregular arrivals.

Apparently, the UK's withdrawal from the Dublin Regulation seems to have more detrimental effects on the United Kingdom rather than on Europe; in this regards Comte argues that the United Kingdom departure from the Dublin Regulation would not have a significant impact on the efficacy of European Union policies, since that the UK has not historically been the primary recipients of Dublin transfers (9).

While the EU's measures may have impacted refugee and asylum seekers numbers within the United Kingdom, it is essential to consider the broader global context of this issue. Indeed, according to Frontex, more than 1.8 million illegal migrants arrived on Europe's shores in 2015. That is to say, the surge of illegal migrants to seek asylum in the UK is not only because

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of the European Union's policies that used to be imposed on the United Kingdom, but it is also due to unprecedented surge of illegal migrants that Europe has witnessed in recent years.

2.2.Nationality and Borders Act 2022

“This Bill introduces the most significant overhaul of our asylum system in over two decades - a new, comprehensive, fair but firm long-term plan, which addresses the challenge of illegal migration head-on” (qtd. in “Home Secretary: Backing the Bill”). This part of the speech delivered by former Home Secretary Priti Patel was an attempt to encourage the approval of the bill, highlighting that it is one of the best ways to address illegal immigration.

In fact, on July 06, 2021, the Nationality and Borders Bill was introduced by the then UK Home Secretary Priti Patel. It has undergone several debates before being approved by the parliament and receiving Royal Assent by the monarch, thereby becoming law on April 27, 2022. The overall objective of this law is to address concerns about irregular migration and asylum seekers besides reforming the UK's immigration system.

The Home Office declares in a document published online on its official website that the bill “is the cornerstone of the government's New Plan for Immigration” that delivers “the most comprehensive reform in decades to fix the broken asylum system.” Accordingly, the primary purposes of this act are “To make the system fairer and more effective so that we can better protect and support those in genuine need of asylum, to deter illegal entry into the UK breaking the business model of criminal trafficking networks and saving lives, to remove from the UK those with no right to be here.” (“Nationality and Borders Bill: Factsheet”).

Dagmara Kuźniar explains that the Nationality and Borders Bill introduces two-tier refugee system of protection. That is, the bill creates two groups of refugees based on how they have entered the United Kingdom (UK). The first group are those who have entered the United

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Kingdom directly from a country where their life was at risk and when they immediately present themselves to authorities. In addition, if the refugee is unlawfully within the territory of the United Kingdom but has been recognized as requiring protection. All other refugees are categorized as group two refugee (255-56).

In fact, the creation of two distinct groups of refugees signifies that group one will be given more rights than group two refugee. In this context, Kuźniar contends that group two refugee will not be granted the same rights and protections as refugees in Group one. For example, in respect of the prerequisite that the refugee must have so as to be granted indefinite settlement, family reunification rights, provisions regarding entry clearance, and access to public money (256).

In an attempt to defend the bill, in her speech “The Nationality and Borders Bill is Now Law,” Priti Patel referred to the United Kingdom as a land which has long welcomed migrants and refugees, in what she claims is a “long and proud history”. Then, she moved forward to describe the British broken immigration system that lets undocumented people play with its rules. She also highlights that it is high time to reform the immigration system by making illegal migrants pay for their illegal act of crossing the borders. This implies that the United Kingdom’s withdrawal from the European Union would enable the UK government to reform its asylum system by setting up new laws and punishments that aim to dissuade migrants from illegally entering to the UK.

As a matter of fact, the third part of this act is devoted to the presentation of the penalties that illegal migrants would face in the UK. The act stipulates that people who enter the United Kingdom unlawfully are liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding 12 months or a fine or both. The bill also punishes the people who helps illegal migrants in the UK by imprisoning them for life (“The Controversial Nationality and Borders Bill Explained” 8:07- 9: 09). This

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means that, the UK government assumes that introducing these new offences and tougher criminal penalties will dissuade refugee status claimants from entering the United Kingdom illegally and, therefore, it will meet the act's second objective of deterring illegal entry into the UK breaking the business model of criminal trafficking networks and saving lives.

In fact, From Priti Patel's perspective, this new plan for migration will deter unlawful migration by irregular or unsafe routes and, therefore, it will put an end to the criminal gangs trafficking people into the UK in small boats. In Mark Townsend's review from The Guardian website, "Home Office admits no evidence to support key claim on small boat crossings," he made a reference to Patel's speech while defending her policy saying "In the last year, 70% of individuals on small boats are single men who are effectively economic migrants. They are not genuine asylum seekers." This quote shows how the former Home Secretary, Priti Patel, is convinced by the idea that most who claim asylum in the UK do not deserve to be granted refugee status and, therefore, it is necessary to make the British asylum system stricter. In correlation with this, Colin Harvey joins Patel's opinion by arguing that asylum procedures are being "abused" by "bogus applicants" and that these individuals should be removed from the system as rapidly as possible (99).

Yet, the act has received a barrage of criticism from multiple groups and organizations for its perceived impact on human rights and treatment of asylum seekers. For instance, an article published by the UNHCR entitled "Updated Observation on the Nationality and Borders Bill, as amended" noted that the first safe country principle, the idea that people should claim asylum in the first safe country they reach, undermines the 1951 refugee convention and the international law (2-3). This shows that the international law gives refugees the freedom to choose the country in which they wish to seek asylum and, therefore, are not restricted in the first safe country they arrive in.

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The UNHCR goes on to claim that 73% of the world's 34.4 million refugees are hosted in countries neighbouring their country of origin. Thus, if all countries follow the British asylum system, it would create a disproportionate global asylum system, i.e., some countries would receive much more asylum applications than others (3). Furthermore, Kuźniar claims that the adoption of the safe country concept leads to violating the rights of refugees by restricting their freedom to choose the State in which they will seek asylum (257), and thereby it would oppose the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol to the Convention that gave freedom to asylum seekers to choose the country in which they would like to submit their asylum application (258).

However, Colin Harvey holds in his book *Seeking Asylum in the UK: Problems and Prospects*, an opposite view to that of Kuźniar, saying:

The definition of refugee is contained in the 1951 Convention. This instrument has gained widespread international acceptance. The precise application of the Convention depends on national law and practice. This means that responses can vary between states. While one state may recognise persecution by non-state entities as coming within the definition, another may not. There is no international court or tribunal to which an asylum seeker can appeal in order to challenge this variance in national practice. (99)

The given passage here reveals that while the states parties to the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol are bound to respect and uphold the provisions outlined in these international agreements, the interpretation and the application of asylum laws and regulations can vary among different states. The different interpretation of these laws explains why the states treat its asylum seekers differently.

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Unlike Harvey's version, Colin Warbrick in his article "Refugees," argues that all the states that have ratified the refugee convention are bound by the non-refoulement principle, meaning they are required to refrain from sending a refugee back to the country where they face the risk of being persecuted (925). This means, by refusing to grant asylum to those who reached the UK via a safe country, the United Kingdom violates the principle of *non-refoulement* since the Nationality and Borders Bill would oblige them to leave its territory.

Moreover, Raza Husain QC et al., argue in their article "Nationality and Borders Bill: Joint Opinion," that the fact of driving these vulnerable people away "represents the biggest legal assault on international refugee law ever seen in the UK" (2). This quote further reinforces the previous argument that the UK government's treatment of refugees is incompatible with its international human rights commitments.

Following this line of argument, Anne McLaughlin, Scottish National Party (SNP) politician, maintains that the Nationality and Borders Bill oppresses asylum seekers mercilessly; to put it in her words "We are not talking about immigrants; we are talking about victims of criminal offences"; then McLaughlin continues and asserts that she has "never ever been so ashamed as I am today, because I know that Members will vote for this Bill that will damage, exploit and kill vulnerable people, whom they claim to care about. It is absolutely a disgrace." ("Nationality and Borders Bill") From here, we deduce that the bill is tyrannical and is not in compliance with human values.

Several organisations have expressed their discontents regarding the new measures and punishments that would be applied on these vulnerable people. For example, the international non-governmental organisation Amnesty International indicates that incorporating the aforementioned penalties for criminal activities would not stop people smugglers, but it would

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make them even stronger since trafficked individuals would rely more on their services (Kuźniar 255).

From Colin Harvey perspective, regional co-operation between states and burden-sharing can play a crucial role in alleviating the impact of refugee crises on host countries (78). To reinforce the latter point, in the view of Kuźniar, the individual approach taken by States over the past fifty years has failed to deliver effective solutions to address the evolving refugee issue. According to her, this failure can be attributed to the lack of collaborative efforts among states (263). That is to say, the solution to this current international issue can be achieved through mutual aid and cooperation between the European states. In this regard, Kuźniar claims the following:

Perceiving the issue in an individual way is quite dangerous and becomes the cause of actions that contradict the assumptions of the concept of international protection of refugees and violate treaty obligations. An example of this are the solutions adopted in the Nationality and Borders Bill presented in the article. Such an approach may lead to situations generating tensions between States or threatening international peace and security in the world ... Ultimately, however, it is the refugees who bear the greatest costs of the non-cooperation of States and their search for indirect solutions aimed at minimizing the effects of their obligation to international refugee protection. (265-66)

The Nationality and Borders Act sparked a great deal of political controversy. While its supporters argue that the bill is a must to address issues related to illegal immigration and take back control of their borders, its opponents believe that the bill undermines international human rights and refugee law, given that the UK is a member of the UNCHR, which mandates that it take a humanitarian approach when welcoming the refugees.

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2.3.The UK and Rwanda Migration and Economic Development Partnership (MEDP)

Two weeks before the Nationality and Borders Bill received Royal Assent, a partnership agreement known as the Memorandum of Understanding between the United Kingdom and the Republic of Rwanda was signed for a duration of five years in the capital of Rwanda, Kigali, on April 13, 2022, by the then Home Secretary, Priti Patel, and Rwanda's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vincent Biruta. The following day, 14th of April in 2022, the then Prime Minister, Boris Johnson, made a speech announcing UK and Rwanda Migration and Economic Development Partnership (MEDP), commonly referred to as The Rwanda asylum plan, which consists of sending people who arrive illegally in the UK to Rwanda (Gower et al. 6).

According to the Home Office annual report and accounts 2022 to 2023, the Home Office has paid a total of £140million to the Government of Rwanda as part of the Migration and Economic Development Partnership (MEDP) in the financial year 2022/23 (52). In return, Rwanda will discharge their obligations under the Memorandum of Understanding, the part by ensuring adequate support and accommodation to the Relocated Individuals (9).

A Home Office policy paper entitled "Migration and Economic Development Partnership with Rwanda: Equality Impact Assessment," stated that the MEDP with Rwanda is part of the New Plan for Immigration (NPI) Programme. The primary objective of the UK-Rwanda partnership is to support the NPI by dissuading immigrants from entering the United Kingdom unlawfully and breaking the business model of people smugglers (3).

The aforementioned policy paper claims that the Home Office would not have agreed to relocate an asylum seeker if it had not determined that the receiving state was safe (7). It argues that before engaging in a bilateral agreement with the Government of Rwanda, the Home Office Country Policy and Information team (CPIT) conducted an evaluation of the

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circumstances in Rwanda (3). The CPIT report highlights that while Rwanda does exhibit some deficiencies in its human rights track record, the country remains peaceful and generally offers a safe environment for asylum seekers and refugees (6). In this context, the former Prime Minister, Boris Johnson, declared in his speech that:

The deal we have done is uncapped and Rwanda will have the capacity to resettle tens of thousands of people in the years ahead. And let's be clear, Rwanda is one of the safest countries in the world, globally recognised for its record on welcoming and integrating migrants ... We are confident that our new Migration Partnership is fully compliant with our international legal obligations. ("Boris Jonson says thousands of asylum seekers could be sent to Rwanda" 1:09-1:27)

From this we can deduce that Boris Johnson is convinced that Rwanda is a safe country and that the fact of sending asylum seekers there would not put their lives in danger since they will be well accommodated, giving them an opportunity to rebuild their lives. However, by looking back at the history of Rwanda, which is full of blood and dictatorship, it makes the safety of this African country doubtful and questionable.

The first flight to Rwanda was supposed to take place on 14th of June in 2022; however, the European Court of Human Rights cancelled the flight in the last minute arguing that there is a risk of irreversible harm (Gower, et al 23). In fact, the Rwanda Plan was very controversial and open to doubts and criticism. For instance, while the UK argues that sending asylum seekers to Rwanda would not jeopardise the safety of the asylum seekers, the United Nations high commissioner for refugees, Filippo Grandi, holds an opposite view saying that the plan "is all wrong. This is all wrong for so many different reasons ... the precedents that this creates is catastrophic for a concept that needs to be shared like asylum" ("UN High Commissioner for

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Refugees Filippo Grandi”). In fact, Grandi believes that all states are concerned with asylum and therefore each country should take on its share of the responsibility.

In line with this idea, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees asserts in an article entitled “Analysis of the Legality and Appropriateness of the Transfer of Asylum-Seekers under the UK-Rwanda arrangement,” that the UK is shunning its responsibility to grant protection to asylum seekers by transferring them to a country with a questionable human rights record, i.e., refugees would be at risk of persecution and human rights violations in Rwanda (3). The United Nations also argues that the decision to relocate asylum seekers from the UK to Rwanda is not aligned with the provisions outlined in Article 31(1) of the 1951 Convention. The latter, prohibits the imposition of penalties due to the irregular entry or presence of a refugee or an individual seeking asylum (6).

Despite the fact that Rwanda Plan was hugely criticised, the United Kingdom appears to be determined to carry out its plan to the end. In this regards, Priti Patel criticised the UNHCR after stopping the first deportation flight to Rwanda. She says the government “will not be deterred from doing the right thing and delivering our plans to control our nation’s borders. Our legal team are reviewing every decision made on this flight and preparation for the next flight begins now” (Morris). A similar statement was made by Boris Johnson who declares that it is conceivable to leave the ECHR, if that's what's require to implement this plan (Woodcock).

Despite UK’s determination, Rwanda Plan may not achieve the intended result of deterring illegal migration. To support this point, the UNHCR argues that the Rwanda plan would increase the power of the traffickers as people would rely more on them and would hesitate to have recourse to the Home Office. Besides, the plan has a negative impact on people's mental health since many of them prefer to commit suicide rather than to be sent to Rwanda (4).

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In conjunction with this, Rhys Drakeley supports the UNHCR maintaining that Rwanda is unsafe since Universal Periodic Review (UPR), which reviews the human rights record within a country, revealed that in 2018, twelve refugees were killed by Rwandan police and 66 were detained during a protest over cut in food relations (176). She adds, concerns arise about the status of trafficked people, particularly women, sent to Rwanda. In fact, most of those who enter illegally to the UK are victims of human trafficking; thus, by sending them to Rwanda, there are high chances they will be re-trafficked again (178).

Drakeley further argues that the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022 resulted in the largest refugee crisis in Europe. As a result, the UK has opened its door for more than 125,000 Ukrainian refugees. This equals the number of refugees accepted by the UK in 2021 and is twice the number of arrivals via small boats since 2018. Drakeley believes that the fact that the UK has accepted to open its borders to this vast amount of Ukrainians implies that the British government discriminate refugees coming from outside Europe (146). He adds that this discrimination violates Article 3 (non-discrimination) of the 1951 refugee convention (172-73). This selective acceptance shows the racist attitude that the UK has towards non-Europeans and non-whites.

From here we can understand that the United Kingdom is treating asylum seekers differently based on their country of origin and this distinction results in an unfair British asylum system. In other words, the main concern that is posed here is the way the Western look down into what is non-European as underdeveloped and deserving of what befalls them, even when humanitarian involvement is urgently needed. And again, the UK's violation of Article 3 of the 1951 refugee convention, which prohibits discrimination based nationality, erodes the credibility in the UK asylum system, as it can be viewed to fit the government's sensibilities rather than improving or containing the crisis.

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Furthermore, the British government insists on the fact that refugees should use safe and legal routes to come to the UK. Nevertheless, Drakeley contends that the government has failed to ensure these safe and legal routes as it refrains from providing ‘asylum visas’ only in particular circumstances. Hence, to claim asylum in the UK people should first come via students or tourists’ visas, an alternative which may not be accessible to numerous asylum seekers (161-62). This means claiming asylum in the UK in a legal way is not an easy matter, and it is for this reason that asylum seekers resort to risking their lives by coming in small boats.

The Rwanda Plan was also criticised by the leaders of the Church of England maintaining that the only way to fight the trafficking gangs is through collaborative efforts, and proving legal routes,

We must end the evil trafficking ... This needs global co-operation across every level of society. To reduce dangerous journeys to the UK we need safe routes: the church will continue to advocate for them. But deportations — and the potential forced return of asylum seekers to their home countries — are not the way. This immoral policy shames Britain. (“Bishops' Letter”)

Indeed, Rwanda's plan may appear as another quelling strategy for illegal immigrants to decrease the number of the refugees entering the UK, and the government still presents itself negatively as displacing these people means another form of people trafficking, but in a legalised way. This also brings the fact that realising this plan means spending more expenditures at the detriment of the UK's citizens who will endure the unintended consequences of their government. Despite the controversies surrounding the safety of Rwanda, the bill has finally been passed by the UK government. However, it is worth noting that the fact of passing the bill does not make Rwanda safe enough to treat refugees in accordance to international refugee and human rights law.

2.4.End the Use of Hotel Accommodation

According to the Home Office, £1.3 billion were spent on hotel bill for housing asylum seekers in 2022, and it is expected to increase to £3.1 billion by 2024. To reduce this colossal sum of money, the British government has announced in December 2022 its plan to reduce reliance on expensive hotel accommodation and use cheaper alternative accommodation options like disused holiday parks, former student halls, and surplus military sites (National Audit Office 5-14).

Home Secretary Suella Braverman assumes that it will take time before they can stop using hotels to accommodate asylum seekers. The focus will be on using new sites for accommodating new arrivals instead of moving people out of hotels. Braverman also mentioned that once the Rwanda Plan is implemented, the process of moving asylum seekers from hotels will be faster. This plan involves sending people to Rwanda, which would help reduce the pressure on the housing system in the UK (Gower, “Asylum Accommodation” 13).

Prime Minister Rishi Sunak confirmed that his government is working on four Large Sites Accommodation Programme that could accommodate 10,000 people: The Bibby Stockholm barge in Portland, Dorset, the former RAF bases at Scampton in Lincolnshire and Wethersfield in Essex, and former student accommodation in Huddersfield (Gower, Asylum accommodation 19). In fact, Sunak has supported the establishment of these new styles of accommodations arguing that it would address illegal immigration and would reduce costs to the taxpayer. In Rajeev Syal and Diane Taylor’s review from The Guardian website, “Plans to move asylum seekers from hotels in tatters after NAO report,” they made a reference to Sunak’s speech saying:

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British taxpayers are forking out £6m a day to house illegal migrants in hotels and other accommodation. That's clearly wrong, it's clearly unfair and that's why I want to put an end to it. Now, in the short term, we're finding alternative sites like the barges that we're bringing in, which are new ways to deal with this problem which no one else has done but I've done.

The quote above shows Sunak's discontent regarding the amount of money being spent on housing asylum seeker every single day. His alternative to reduce the costs raises questions about the costs of this big project and the quality of these accommodations.

An article published by the National Audit Office entitled "Investigation into asylum accommodation," argues that the four Large Sites Accommodation Programme will cost more than originally estimated. It was anticipated that both Wethersfield and Scampton will cost £5 million. It turns out that, the expenses have subsequently risen to £49 million for Wethersfield and £27 million for Scampton (26). The wrong estimate of the costs of this project could lead to tax hike and the project would, therefore, fail to achieve its initial objective of reducing taxes.

The shadow home secretary Yvette Cooper said that National Audit Office report is "staggering". In her statement, she emphasized that the British citizens pay high taxes to accommodate asylum seekers and it has been revealed that these new sites which are supposed to save money are actually resulting in higher costs for the taxpayer. She also pointed out that Rishi Sunak's asylum policy is foredoomed to failure ("Syal and Taylor"). In addition to that, the Infrastructure and Projects Authority (IPA), which is responsible for evaluating the deliverability of major government programmes, categorizes this plan as red, meaning that the plan is not likely to be completed on time and within the budget (National Audit Office 9).

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The plan also raises some serious doubts about the quality of the accommodation provided to refugees in these new sites. The Refugee Council asserts that asylum accommodation often does not fulfil the requirements of individuals receiving support, especially those with Special Health Care Needs. Criticism towards asylum accommodation has been recurrent due to inadequacy in ensuring safety, privacy, and fundamental standards of cleanliness and security, especially concerning female occupants.

The Home Office declared that the accommodation in question has undergone redevelopment and are adequate for asylum seekers, except for people with physical and mental disabilities (5). Minister for Immigration, Robert Jenrick, argued that these dispersal accommodations will only provide basic needs so as to make the UK a less attractive destination; therefore, it would deter people from entering the UK illegally:

We need to suffuse our entire system with deterrence, and this must include how we house illegal migrants ... the government wants to ensure that accommodation meets asylum seekers' essential living needs and nothing more, because we cannot risk becoming a magnet for the millions of people who are displaced and seeking better economic prospects. (Gower, "Asylum Accommodation" 19)

According to National Audit Office, to make the housing system cheaper, the Home Office should increase the number of asylum case workers so as to be able to clear the backlog and make asylum decisions more quickly (20). That is to say, by processing asylum applications rapidly, there will be less need for new accommodation as people flow through the system more quickly.

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Conclusion

The first chapter has provided a historical background on refugees in the United Kingdom, highlighting the fact that immigration to Britain has been a longstanding phenomenon dating back to ancient times. However, the UK's approach to refugees has shifted over time, from a more open-door policy before leaving the EU to stricter immigration control after Brexit. Indeed, withdrawing from the European Union allowed the British government to implement new strategies and measures to deter illegal entry, enforce a more severe asylum system, and maintain border control. The strategies discussed above are among several other initiatives undertaken by the UK following its withdrawal from the EU. The next chapter will delve into the enduring impact and effects of refugees on the United Kingdom's economy and culture; it will also examine their representation by British newspaper media.

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Introduction

The United Kingdom has always been a nation of immigrants. These immigrants come to the UK for a variety of reasons, including to work, to study, to join family, and to seek asylum. As our thesis deals with the complex issue of mass migration to the UK for asylum, it is compulsory, inter alia, to assess its impact on the UK's economy and culture as well as the representation of refugees in the British media, focusing on the post-Brexit era.

This chapter then looks at the effects of large-scale influx of forced migrants on the UK economy, focusing primarily on their impact on the labour market and the housing market. The second section examines migrants' impact on British culture, particularly on British identity and social cohesion. The third section looks at the representation of those migrants in the British newspaper media.

1. The Impact of Refugee Crisis on UK Economy

The flow of illegal migrants to the UK to seek asylum has reached its peak over the last couple of years, with a significant number of people coming from Afghanistan and Middle Eastern countries like Syria and Iraq. According to GBNews, “channel migrants’ arrivals surge by 43% in 2024 as another 442 cross by small boat on Easter Sunday” (“Illegal Immigrant Tent Cities” 0:06-0:13). This clearly explains that the Conservative party is facing a large scale challenge to curb the refugee number at the moment despite the many proposed plans. This complex issue, however, requires a considerable thought and further study into its effects on the UK economy regarding the labour market and the housing market.

1.1. Refugee Crisis Effects on Labour Market

Once asylum seekers get the refugee status, they will be able to work in the United Kingdom as any British citizen, and this raises serious questions of whether they have a positive or negative impact on the labour market.

The United Kingdom population is ageing rapidly and this engenders an increase in the number of pensioners and a decline in the number of people in employment. Experts from the United Kingdom have stated that most developed countries would not be able to pay pensioners by the year 2040 (Samorodov 6). In addition to that, a labour force that is smaller in relation to more numerous pensioners have a negative impact on the UK labour market (9) as it generates numerous challenges, including labour shortages, pressure on welfare state and sluggish economy that impedes the growth of wages and salaries. Mass migration is therefore considered to be beneficial rather than harmful for native workers (Wadsworth 4). In this sense, young people, who make up the majority of refugees, have the potential to stimulate the economy by offsetting the growing number of pensioners and boosting the GDP of the United Kingdom.

Simon Tilford in her article “Britain, Immigration and Brexit” argues that British workers have a tendency to relate the lack of jobs and low wages to the increasing number of migrants in the UK, although there is little evidence for such a link (1). To reinforce the latter point, the Labour Force Survey indicates that there is no discernible correlation between the surge of immigrants and the rise of joblessness among local workers in the United Kingdom. Hence, the simultaneous increase of immigration and unemployment within a specific region does not necessarily imply that immigration is the primary cause for the rise of unemployment (Wadsworth 7-8). Tilford’ statement suggests that there may be additional factors that either directly or indirectly come into interplay.

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In fact, large scale migration frequently addresses labour shortages in particular sectors where there is a lack of skilled or available domestic workforce. According to APS Group Scotland, many jobs like nurses, carpenters, electricians, and plumbers would not be done without migrants (22-24). From here, we can deduce that migrants do not compete with the local labour force; they rather complement them by doing the work that may be undesirable to them, or that they do not have the skills for. Thus, migrants' labour helps fill gaps in the labour market, thereby boosting economic growth, fostering job creation for both migrants and native workers, and potentially leading to increased salaries (Hunt 8). Moreover, Migrants' employment is said to be fiscally beneficial, i.e., they generate a fiscal surplus for the government since they generally pay higher taxes than the welfare costs provided to them. This also means that they have a significant contribution in funding pensions. Additionally, migrants' labour leads to an increase in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (APS Group Scotland 22).

David Coleman and Robert Rowthorn, in their article "The Economic Effect of Immigration to the United Kingdom" present perspectives that are completely opposite to those previously discussed. They believe that most of the propositions outlined above are either wrong or exaggerated. Besides, they minimize the importance of immigration, saying that just a slight increase in the fertility rate from the existing 1.74 to 1.75 would lead to a gradual increase in the UK population to reach around 60.4 million by 2026 before decreasing to 59.4 million by 2036 (588-89). They further expound that the United Kingdom is not facing a labour shortage but is actually facing a shortage of cheap labour. To affirm this point, The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) noted with respect to nursing that: "The problem is not so much a shortage of nurses as a shortage of nurses willing to work under the conditions being offered them" (Coleman and Rowthorn 610).

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Rudolf G. Adam claims in his book *Brexit Causes and Consequences* that British employers tend to exploit migrants by giving them low salaries and subjecting them to poor working conditions, a practice that domestic workers would not accept. Such policy increases competition for low-skilled jobs, potentially leading to a reduction in wages for native workers since employers rely on cheap labour (240). He further substantiates his arguments by saying:

These newcomers are mostly poorly qualified. They are prepared to accept any job and to work under any conditions as long as it pays somehow ... This tends to push wages down for local workers who see their chances for gainful employment dwindle ... This forms a stark contrast to areas like London, where rich households, a booming service industry and public transport rely largely on the steady influx of cheap labour and do not expect high professional qualifications. (240)

The passage highlights the fact that UK citizens often overlook poor-quality job opportunities and substandard working conditions, while refugees view them as golden opportunities due to their limited education and language barriers. Equally important, those migrants who come from poor countries seems to be harmful to both the local workforce and the British economy as they do not generate lots of tax revenue due to the fact that most of them work in low-skilled jobs. Along the same lines, Coleman and Rowthorn argue that refugees and asylum seekers are fiscally unbeneficial as they consume more in public services like education, healthcare, and transport, than they contribute in taxes (616).

As far as taxation and fiscal policy are concerned, Nigel Farage, the former Leader of both the UK Independence Party (UKIP) and the Brexit Party, told the GB News viewers: “For over

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two decades I have made the argument that uncontrolled mass immigration happening on a scale never seen before in the history of our islands, was putting pressure on housing, on GP appointments, and yes - the number of cars on the road. I was mocked, I was derided, I was abused for daring to say those things” (“UK taxpayer spends 24 Billion” 0:11-0:37), then Farage continues stressing that despite prevailing public concerns about the impact of mass immigration on public services, supporters of immigration still assert that it has positive effects on the economy. He added: “I can well remember being with Nick Robinson at the BBC about 10 years ago when he said ‘but, Mr Farage, immigration at these levels is good for GDP!’ To which I said ‘I couldn’t really care less! Because it is GDP per capita that actually matters.’” He continues by saying that the Centre for Migration Control’s report has uncovered a key misunderstanding in the claim large-Scale Forced Migration benefits the economy as jobless migrants have cost British taxpayers £24 billion since 2020 (“UK taxpayer spends 24 Billion” 0:11- 2:40).

Therefore, Farage is calling for the consideration of per capita income rather than gross income, coupled with the expenses incurred in supporting unemployed migrants. He also asserts that relying on low wage and low skill migration from outside of Europe results in a fiscal deficit rather than a fiscal surplus for the British economy. According to him, most people who enter the UK whether legally or illegally take more out of the economy than they actually contribute. This additional fiscal burden has not only hindered the economy, but has also failed to contribute to it. Robert Bates, Research Director at the Centre for Migration Control, concurs with Farage's view, saying that:

These findings show that mass migration is far from the economic panacea that the advocates of open borders purport it to be ... The UK is now in a recession and GDP per capita has plummeted through the floorboards. Our policymakers

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need to shed the illusion that, somehow, another year of net migration running in the hundreds of thousands will turn the ship around. (Maddox)

The debate over the impact of refugees on the UK's labour market is complex. While some believe that refugees play a significant role in enhancing the British economy, others argue that they have more drawbacks, such as taking jobs from natives. In this respect, other factors come into consideration. In fact, the issue of cheap labour stems from two main reasons: first, employers exploit those forced migrants by paying them lower wages—a practice they would not apply to British workers. This exploitation reveals the racist views held towards foreigners; and second, many refugees lack adequate qualifications because they have missed out on education, often due to the disruptions caused by conflict and displacement in their home countries. This lack of education limits their employment opportunities and forces them to accept low-paying jobs.

1.2. Refugee Crisis Effects on the Housing Market

The current influx of illegal migrants to seek asylum in the United Kingdom is leading to an increase in the population size. This raises concerns about the impact of large-scale migration on the housing market.

In fact, massive migration is often regarded as the main reason behind housing market failure. According to Opinium Research, 54% of British people believe that housing issues are due to mass migration (POST 1). Nevertheless, the Parliament Office of Science and Technology (POST) article entitled “Migrants and Housing” suggests that it is hard to solely attribute the housing problem to immigration, as it is influenced by a variety of factors like economic conditions, population growth, and household structure (1). We deduce from this that there is no a direct evidence that mass migration is putting a strain on the housing market.

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A broadly similar point has been made by Simon Tilford, who argues that the housing crisis should not fall solely on the shoulders of migrants, as the United Kingdom has been facing a housing shortage for many years prior to the migrant crisis (1). In another article “Why immigration is good for all of us,” Sally Hunt contends that the propaganda of migrants being offered luxury accommodations misleads the public. Refugee Council's reports have revealed that these vulnerable people are actually being housed in disgraceful and infested housing (10). Additionally, refugees are not given social housing priority ahead of British citizens as the public might think. In fact, once asylum seekers are being granted refugee status, they are being given as little as 28 days to move out of their asylum accommodation, leaving more than 50.000 refugees facing homelessness across the UK (POST 4).

From what has been said, we can understand that housing crisis is not due to mass immigration but rather to a lack of housing construction, and that the Labour and the Conservative parties deliberately blame immigrants to hide their failure in addressing the country's real problems. This aligns with Tilford claims who contends that “Successive UK governments have pandered to anti-immigrant sentiment rather than addressing the chronic policy failures behind it” (2).

Meanwhile, an article published by the Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford entitled “Migrants and Housing in the UK” claims that migrants take their part of responsibility in the housing issues as their presence increases house prices across the country especially in London and neighbourhoods that have lower migrant populations (13). In parallel, the Home Office has recently drawn the ire of British citizens for having used their taxes to cover the rent of 16,000 homes for asylum seekers, instead of using them to address the suffering of Britons (Hymas).

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It is clear that the housing crisis, combined with the labour market crisis, fuelled anti-immigrant sentiment as the country receives a significant number of refugees and migrants similar to other European nations. However, the key underlying factor is the British sense of sovereignty and superiority, which led her to leave the EU in the first place. That is to say, the UK has long held the view that it possesses the power to control itself independently, maintaining political autonomy without reference to other European countries, believing itself to be much greater than its neighbours.

2. The Impact of Refugee Crisis on UK Culture

Asylum seekers and refugees in the UK contributes to the cultural enrichment of the nation, bringing diverse perspectives and traditions that reinforce the multicultural aspect of the country. However, this influx also raises concerns about the potential impact on British identity and social cohesion. The section below, thus, will analyse the impact of this crisis on British identity and social integration.

2.1. The Impact of Refugee Crisis on British Identity

Assia Benfodda claims in her dissertation, *Multiculturalism in England: Theories and Practice*, that in the early twentieth century, British attitude towards foreigners was quite tolerant. In fact, the British used to believe that with time migrants would be influenced by the British culture and that migrants' native customs would be practiced and celebrated in private (50-51). This means their cultural difference would not be noticed and therefore would not threaten the UK culture.

Likewise, Mitra argues that migrants' settlement in the UK at that time did not pose a threat to the British identity, as they used to consider themselves as migrants who are not part of the British society. However, she adds that when migrants started to consider themselves

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part of the British national identity, in the mid of the twentieth century, they started to represent a threat to the British identity (50).

In fact, The British strongly believe that Britishness in its essence is solely reserved for the Britons, as they are the founders of a vast global empire that once spread its dominion over a quarter of the world. Thus, they cannot be easily compared, meaning that other cultures are just intruders. This ingrained mentality considers the British people second to none. It is also worth noting that the British Empire is known for its coercive and hegemonic attitude towards what is non-white, as clearly seen in their mistreatment of Africans and native Indians back in between the 17th and 18th century, not forgetting other countless exploits in the Indian Subcontinent. This horrid legacy was a dark chapter in British colonial history, marked by the cruel subjugation and oppression of indigenous populations.

Following this line of argument, Richard T. Ashcroft and Mark Bevir assert that the significant influx of New Commonwealth migrants generated discontent by some conservatives like Enoch Powell and Cyril Osborne who contended that non-white immigrants cannot fit in the British society. They supported their position by relating the issue of immigration to race, thereby influencing debates over citizenship, Britishness, and multiculturalism (31).

Fearing for the British culture, Heath and Tilley's survey revealed that one third of the survey participants claimed that migrants are not welcomed in England as their presence would harm the national identity of Britain (qtd. in Benfodda 62). Theadora Serena Petropoulos posits in her article, "Breaking Point: How Migrant Crises Have Influenced the Rise of Far-Right Parties in Italy, Germany, and the UK," that British citizens are proud of the British Empire and that anything not related to British culture is referred to as the "other," which can potentially harm their identity and values (29-31). Obviously, these anti-migrant sentiments that the British

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have towards foreigners led UK Independence Party (UKIP) to rise in power, as it was well-known for its xenophobic rhetoric.

Kerstin Carroll contends in his article “Nation and Identity: Far Right-Wing Parties’ Depiction of National Identity and Anti-Immigrant Rhetoric” that UKIP's former leader, Nigel Farage, primary focus during the Brexit campaign was about immigration and protecting the UK from the surge of refugees (13). An example of his stance on immigration was his use of an anti-migrant poster which depicts a long line of migrants and refugees coming to the UK (Petropoulos 33).

In fact, Farage raises concerns about the increasing number of illegal migrants coming into the UK via unsafe routes, saying: “Even today, there are boats coming across the English Channel. And we all know that the Border Force bring them in to Dover, they’re kept with the police for twenty-four hours, and then virtually everybody disappears” (qtd. in Hart and Winter 44). Farage claims that Britain's membership in the European Union led to an increase in immigration to the UK. Consequently, withdrawing from the European Union aims to protect the national identity from foreign threats (Carroll 13). Nonetheless, Farage's unease regarding illegal immigration appears to originate more from a xenophobic standpoint rather than an objective attempt to address better ways to improve the immigration policy. In other words, Farage's position reveals an intolerant stance that is unwilling to see cultural diversity as a natural and positive component of contemporary British society. This is also not surprising, as Farage is a radical traditionalist who is influenced by an idealized notion of an “authentic” British identity. Thus, as for Farage, cracking down the “foreign threat” and safeguarding the borders necessitates the UK quitting the EU.

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Mitra also argues, in alignment with Farage's perspective, that large-scale immigration has transformed some regions of Britain into 'foreign land', as migrants often bring with them distinct lifestyles that differ from those of the native population (54). This signifies that migrants tend to impose their original cultures rather than integrate and adapt to the cultures of their new host country, the UK, leading to the creation of culturally segregated communities. This lack of integration can lead to social division, where shared values and norms weaken, potentially causing tensions between native and migrant populations and challenging the notion of a cohesive national identity.

According to Benfodda, the Global War on Terror has fostered discriminatory and islamophobia practices towards Muslims in the United Kingdom, as the British government and its people started to doubt about Muslims' loyalty to British culture. Within the same context, in *Philosophies of Exclusion: Liberal Political Theory and Immigration*, Phillip Cole says: "In effect, any group which shares characteristics with those identified as outsiders will themselves be in a vulnerable position. Their membership will be constantly questioned; they will be subjected to forms of surveillance from which other members are free, and their access to the public sphere of citizenship will become hazardous" (Benfodda 163-64). This further expresses that non-British individuals cannot show the same type of nationalism shown by the British as long as they are still adhering to their respective cultures.

Muslims are also a central target for these stringent rhetoric as they become increasingly in fear of practicing their religion in public because of the growing islamophobia. Benfodda further states that the July 21, 2005 attempted bombings in London tarnished the image of migrants, especially the image of asylum seekers and refugees since the attacks were carried out by asylum seekers who came from Muslim countries like Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea. She additionally stated that this incident did not go unnoticed as it was widely criticized by the

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press: The Sun and the Daily Mail described intended attacks as “an ungrateful gift to a nation that had housed and schooled them” same thing for the government which declares “Britain's native generosity was abused, and collected terrorist violence in recompense” (qtd in. Benfodda 164). This pinpoints another interesting aspect which is media outlets wields significant power in fuelling anti-immigration sentiment and negative perceptions and narratives around immigration and asylum.

Additionally, according to Migration Watch UK, around 80% of charges related to terrorism in the UK since 2001 have been linked to groups or doctrines originating from outside the United Kingdom, referred to as “international terrorism” (“Is”). Data provided by the Home Office revealed that on 31 March 2024, 10,422 foreign nationals were detained in prison, representing 12% of the overall prison population. This constitutes a 3% increase in the number of foreign national offenders (FNOs) compared to the previous year (“Offender” 8). These statistics further contribute to the narrative associating migrants with crime, reinforcing the stigmatization and discrimination faced by these communities.

In his article “A Comparative Analysis of European Islamophobia: France, UK, Germany, Netherlands, and Sweden” Abdelkader Engy explains that people demonstrate a xenophobic attitude towards the Muslim community in Britain. For instance, in 2008 non-Muslim population opposed mosque's call to prayer at the Oxford Central Mosque. In 2010 the project to build Europe’s largest mosque in London has been cancelled due to opposition from 250,000 people. The same scenario recurred in 2015 when far-right activists rejected the construction of new mosques in the UK (52).

Mosques were not the only subjects of criticism, face veils and burqa also came under criticism as the British government prevented women from wearing them in public places (Engy 41). UKIP's former leader, Nigel Farage, also called for the burqa to be banned since it is not

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considered part of the British culture which stands for freedom and democracy (qtd. in Petropoulos 31).

2.2.The Impact of Refugee Crisis on Social Integration

Migration not only affects national identity but also creates challenges related to integration and social cohesion. In this regard, the former prime minister of the United Kingdom, David Cameron, has declared on the 5th of February 2011 that multiculturalism has failed and that the reason of terrorism comes from it. He further argues that multiculturalism has weakened the national identity, advocating instead the adoption of a “liberal, but muscular” policy that aims to preserve British culture (Ashcroft and Bevir 35; Dismore 69). It is clear from here that what David Cameron refers to as "muscular liberalism" aims to impose stricter boundaries on migrant communities in the UK and reduce migration to the country.

Immigration, multiculturalism, ethnicity, and security have often been used to convince the public of the need to leave the European Union. As an illustration, the “Breaking Point” poster used by Nigel Farage during the Brexit campaign helped emphasize that multiculturalism poses a threat to social cohesion (Ashcroft and Bevir 37). In this regard Nigel Farage argues that: “Now there are many other things that we simply can’t put a cost on. Social cohesion. A sense in our cities or market towns that we are one community living together. That of course has become increasingly divided, fragmented, and segmented within our towns and cities, because the sheer pace of people coming has been too great to integrate” (qtd. in Hart and Winter 46). In conjunction with this, the former Home Secretary, Suella Braverman, not only said multiculturalism has failed and threatens social cohesion, but also referred to the small boats coming to the UK an invasion:

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The British people deserve to know which party is serious about stopping the invasion on our southern coasts and which party is not. Some 40.000 people have arrived on the southern coast this year alone. Many of them facilitated by criminal gangs, some of them actual members of criminal gangs. So let's stop pretending that they are all refugees in distress. The whole country knows that is not true ... I'm utterly serious about ending the scourge of illegal migration and I'm determined to do whatever it takes to break the criminal gangs and fix our hopelessly lax asylum system. ("Suella Braverman says she is serious about stopping migrant invasion")

The UK's government, typically the Conservative party namely, Nigel Farage and David Cameron, perceive multiculturalism as failing the national identity and the social cohesion as it comes to curdle the authentic British identity. Additionally, the inflammatory rhetoric used by the Conservatives' leaders betray hateful mindsets towards what is not British. This is similarly conveyed in Braverman speech, who calls the rising influx as an invasion of criminal gangs that must be mercilessly crushed. Accordingly, the language used by Braverman is intended to perpetuate harmful stereotypes and prejudices against minority communities.

3. The Representation of Immigration in the British Newspaper Media

The refugee crisis that Europe has witnessed in 2015 and the Brexit referendum held in 2016 made the issue of immigration a highly topical subject in the United Kingdom, attracting people's attention, and catching the news media. Indeed, extensive coverage of this issue by the media plays a significant role in influencing public perceptions and attitudes towards migrants. Given the influential role of media in shaping public discourse, the choice to focus on British newspapers in this study is deliberate. British newspapers are selected due to their long-standing tradition of reporting on important issues and influencing public opinion.

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Most of the newspapers in the United Kingdom are divided into two categories based on their political affiliations. Some newspapers like The Times, Daily Express, Daily Telegraph and Daily Mail support the Conservative Party, while Daily Mirror and The Guardian support the Labour Party (Parker 5). However, it is important to note that while these newspapers support different parties, they tend to share a similar perception of migrants as a potential threat to Britain (Kimunguyi 2).

According to Kimunguyi, the Guardian which is considered a left-wing newspaper and The Times, known as a right wing newspaper, often describe migrants and refugees as vulnerable people who consistently need help and charity. They never portray them as integrated with the local citizens or being beneficial to society (5). By a way of illustration, in an article entitled “The Plight of Refugees is the Crisis of our Times,” The Guardian focuses on describing the dangerous journeys that refugees should undertake to reach a safe country and shed light to their charity work which aims to provide food and shelter to the most vulnerable in what is referred to as “culture of hospitality”. In this regard, Crawley et al., in his article “Victims & Villains: Migrant Voices in the British Media” argues that a constant portrayal of migrants in a pathetic way may have a negative impact on migrants as it would lessen public solidarity towards them (6). He adds that whenever migrants succeed in the host country, British media would no longer refer to them as migrants but rather they would include them as part of their community (6). This biased way in reporting the news to the large public communicate the idea that migrants are passive individuals who depend on the help of host countries. This idea can be linked to the historical narrative of Rudyard Kipling’s “White Man's Burden,” suggesting that Middle Eastern and African migrants arriving in the UK are viewed as burdens on the British society, relying on their support for survival.

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Furthermore, these two news outlets fail to provide a detailed explanation for the root causes of people's displacement, often attributing it broadly to unnamed wars and political instability in their countries of origin (Kimunguyi 6). This can be illustrated in the aforementioned article by The Guardian, which notes that “Most have fled to countries which are themselves poor and unstable.” This quote reinforces Kimunguyi's observation that British newspapers do not delve into the underlying issues driving migrants to seek refuge elsewhere. The reluctance of newspapers to address the reasons behind mass displacement is probably due to the fact that it will bring to light British involvement in damaging Afghanistan, Iraq, and Libya, countries where most migrants come from. Additionally, instead of explaining the root cause behind migration, newspapers tend to convince the readers that most migrants are coming to Britain to benefit from British social welfare. In this context, Kimunguyi argues that in 2016, the year in which the Brexit referendum took place, The Times published numerous articles saying that the presence of migrants in huge numbers in the UK is due to the attractive British social welfare system (6). Such limited depiction of migrants may make people think that illegal migrants do not deserve the protection provided to them.

Isentyeva argues that newspapers tend to use quantifiers like more and more, flood, wave, surge, and invasion instead of giving exact numbers. The use of such technique gives an impression to the reader that the number of refugees is enormous (425-26). In correlation with this, Cooper et al., also argue that despite their political stance, British newspapers tend to use pejorative words to describe migrants. They claim that the most common word associated with immigrant is “illegal” and failed with “asylum seeker” (199). From here, we deduce that media's technique that consists of playing with words when writing about the issue of immigration affects readers' attitude and directs mass population's opinion towards hating migrants in general and refugees in particular.

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Moreover, newspapers do not present migrants opinion; they slowly rely on politicians as their source of information. For instance, the point of view of refugees in articles from Independent and the Daily Mirror does not exceed 33% (Crawley 5). This suggests a lack of transparency in the media and a bias in favour of those in positions of power. Additionally, not giving voice to migrants in newspapers may lead to adverse effects on the integration of migrants, as well as on their personal well-being, security, and sense of belonging. In light of this, a migrant provides the following testimony:

The question about how I feel about my feeling when I see the coverage of newspaper, Metro, Sun, any of them, I feel very frustrated. You feel alone, you are not part of this society, you see yourself as a criminal judging by the media ... There [was] a time that I used to get up from the train. I've been scared of other people even I know they don't know me, whether I'm an asylum seeker or I was born here unless I start talking. (Crawley et al., 13)

The analysis provided above leads us to the conclusion that the biased views of the media, characterized by negative coverage of migrants, has played a significant role in shaping and influencing public perceptions of immigration, ultimately fuelling hatred and xenophobia. Hence, British people voted to leave the European Union likely because they were convinced by ideas promoted in the media that withdrawing from the EU would reduce the number of migrants and give the UK more control over its borders.

An article from Stop Funding Hate entitled “Addressing Subtle Forms of Hate in UK Media Coverage of Migration” argues that there is a direct relation between negative representation of migrants in the media and increasing hostility towards them, which may lead to hate crimes (31). In this context, Albornoz et al. argue that the UK saw an increase in hate crimes following Brexit (13). This indicates that even after withdrawing from the EU, British

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media continues to depict migrants in a negative light. In other words, the biased and negative portrayal of migrants by newspaper media persists.

Conclusion

Overall, this chapter has provided an in-depth analysis of the impact of migrants on both the economic and cultural aspects of the United Kingdom. The research findings indicate a considerable level of controversy surrounding this matter, with migrants positively contributing on one side and creating challenges on the other. During the period of Brexit and its aftermath, the portrayal of migrants in the British newspaper media has frequently been biased and has demonstrated a deficiency in presenting the truth, ultimately intensifying xenophobic sentiments.

General Conclusion

The present research is an exploratory study that has looked into the United Kingdom's policy reaction to the refugee crisis in Europe following Brexit, examining its economic impact on labour and housing markets and analysing the cultural effects on British identity and social cohesion. Furthermore, it has provided an analysis of the representation of those forced migrants in the British newspaper media.

To effectively address this topic, this dissertation is divided into a general introduction, two chapters and a general conclusion. The general introduction has given an insight into the historical context of immigration in the UK and has reviewed previous research works related to the refugee crisis in the United Kingdom.

The first chapter is entitled “The Historical Background: The Changing Landscape of Refugees in the United Kingdom.” It has provided a historical background on refugees in the United Kingdom, highlighting the fact that Britain has long been a hub of immigration, dating back to ancient times. Nevertheless, the chapter has also underscored a drastic shift in the United Kingdom's approach towards refugees, particularly following Brexit. Conservative figures such as Nigel Farage, Boris Johnson, Suella Braverman, and Rishi Sunak spearhead this change by fuelling the anti-immigrant rhetoric that ultimately led to stricter immigration policies.

The UK implemented many measures by first quitting the Dublin Regulation to have more control over its borders and limit the number of asylum seekers entering the country. The government also introduced the Nationality and Borders Bill and the Rwanda Plan, which aimed to crack down on illegal immigration and make it more difficult for refugees to seek asylum in the UK. To further deter asylum seekers, the UK has reduced the use of asylum hotels by relocating individuals to cheaper accommodations. These policies have sparked debate and

controversy, with many critics arguing that they are inhumane and go against the country's long history of welcoming those in need.

The second chapter entitled “The Impact of Refugees on UK Economy, Culture and their Representation by the British Newspaper Media in Post-Brexit Era” has delved into the enduring impact and effect of refugees on the United Kingdom’s economy, namely the labour and housing markets, as well as on British culture, including British identity and social cohesion, exploring the way the aforesaid fuelled anti-immigrant sentiment and led to Brexit. The study reveals that refugees have made significant contributions to the UK economy since young, working-age migrants can help offset the ageing UK population, fill labour shortages, and boost economic GDP and tax revenues. Yet, the British perceive them as a threat, believing that large-scale immigration, especially of low-skilled workers, depresses wages, increases competition for jobs, and places a fiscal burden on public services. Moreover, 54 percent of British people contend that the housing crisis in the UK is solely attributable to mass migration (POST 1), but many critics believe that this housing shortage predates the recent migrant and refugee crisis and is rather influenced by a complex interplay of factors such as economic conditions, population growth, and the lack of housing structure. In fact, refugees are often housed in poor conditions and not given priority for social housing.

The research also uncovers that, over the 20th century, British attitudes towards immigration and multiculturalism shifted dramatically. In the early 1900s, there was relative tolerance, with the belief that migrants would assimilate over time. However, this changed by the mid-1900s, as figures like conservative politician Enoch Powell argued that non-white immigrants could not integrate into British society. This fuelled anti-immigrant sentiment, which was reflected in surveys showing many Britons felt migrants threatened the national identity. Political parties like UKIP, led by Nigel Farage, capitalised on these fears,

campaigning heavily on restricting immigration during the Brexit campaign. Farage claimed EU membership led to an influx of migrants that endangered British culture.

The “War on Terror” also amplified Islamophobia, with Muslims seen as unable to fully adopt British values. Former Prime Minister David Cameron declared that multiculturalism has failed, advocating instead for a more “muscular” preservation of a singular British identity. Immigration and multiculturalism were key issues used by the Brexit campaign to convince the public of the need to leave the EU. This xenophobic rhetoric has continued under the current Conservative government, with Home Secretary Suella Braverman referring to migrant arrivals as an "invasion" that must be stopped. Overall, a pattern emerges of British political leaders promoting an exclusionary, nationalist vision of Britishness that is intolerant of diversity and minorities.

Equally important, the media has played a significant role in perpetuating these narratives, often framing refugees and asylum seekers in a negative and biased light. Both left-leaning newspapers like The Guardian and right-leaning newspapers like The Times, Daily Express, Daily Telegraph, and Daily Mail tend to portray migrants and refugees as a threat or burden to British society. These newspapers often use exaggerated language and quantifiers to create the impression of an overwhelming influx. The media, including outlets like The Independent and Daily Mirror, frequently relies on politicians as sources rather than giving voice to the migrants themselves, further marginalising these communities.

The UK's historical role as a hub of immigration has given way to a troubling pattern of exclusionary, nationalist politics and policies targeting refugees and migrants. While these populations have contributed significantly to the UK's economy and society, a growing backlash, fuelled by populist figures and biased media narratives, has led to a complete fissure from the EU. Furthermore, stricter immigration controls, such as the Nationality and Borders

Bill and the Rwanda Plan, suggest the UK is turning its back on its obligations to protect the vulnerable. This shift is rooted in deep-seated fears about the impact of immigration on national identity, the labour market, and public services—fears that have been exacerbated by politicians and the media's often sensationalised portrayals of refugee and migrant communities.

In fact, the UK started to fight a crisis by investing in another one, the Britishness Crisis, which consisted of a vicious cycle of hardline narratives that were built upon an inclusionary and authentic identity, forged back to the age of the Empire, starting from quitting the EU to demonising refugees. However, due to time and page restraints, this research touches upon the refugee crisis as one contributing factor of Brexit.

Indeed, further investigation could explore how other aspects, such as economic concerns and political ideologies, also shaped the decision to withdraw. Additionally, a deeper analysis of the Britishness Crisis' impact on public opinion and policymaking could provide valuable insights. Researchers could also examine the implication of Brexit on both the UK and the EU. Moreover, research can probe another intriguing topic - Scotland and Northern Ireland's perception and response to the Brexit. Finally, comparative studies with other nations grappling with the refugee crisis could uncover more riveting insights into the global trends shaping contemporary politics and governance.

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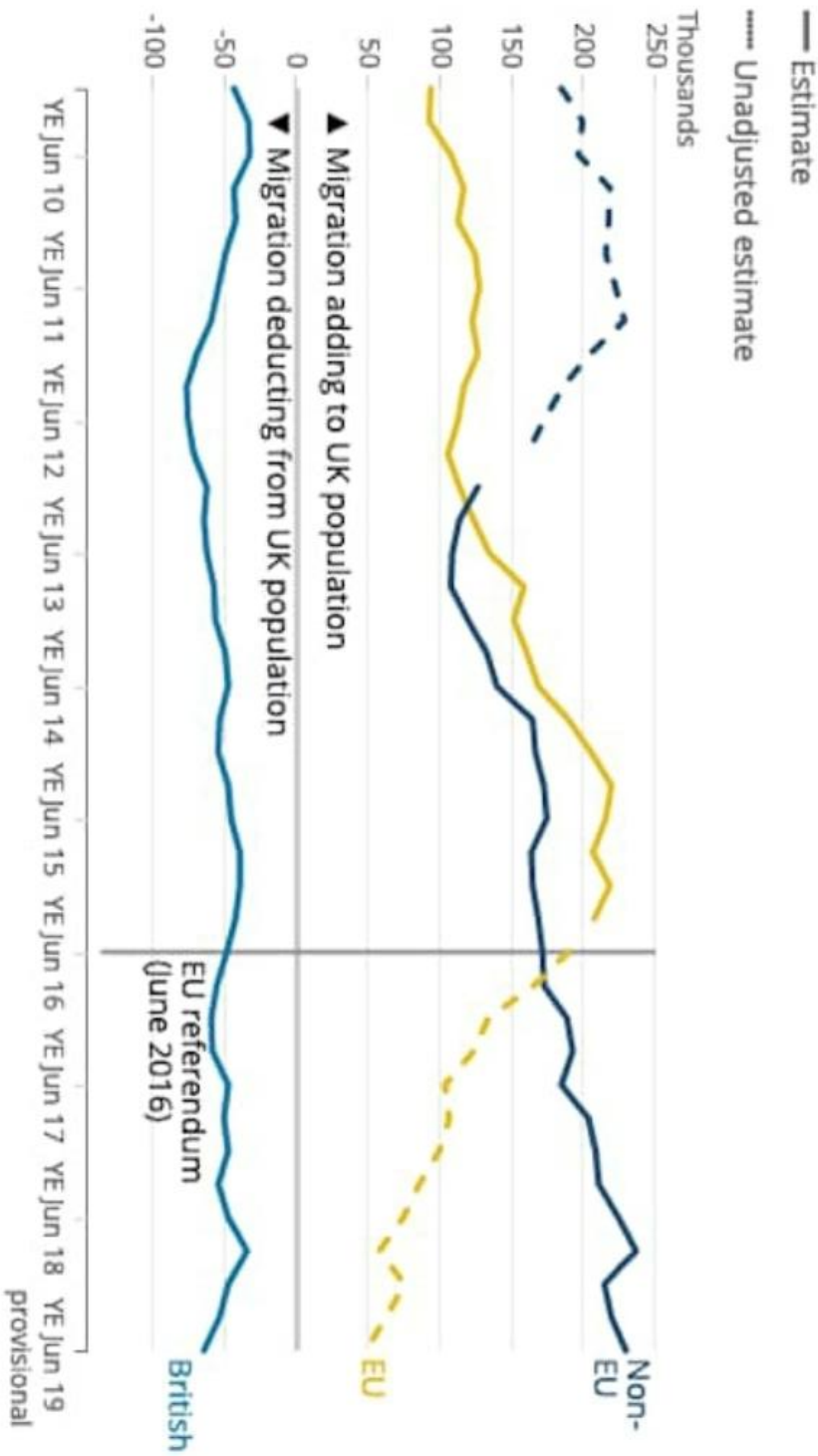
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Appendix

Net migration by citizenship, UK, year ending December 2009 to year ending June 2019



Source : <https://theconversation.com/whats-happened-to-uk-migration-since-the-eu-referendum-in-four-graphs-127891>

Résumé en Langue Française

Le présent mémoire de Master est une étude exploratrice ayant pour but d'élucider l'approche politique du Royaume-Uni face à la crise contemporaine des réfugiés en Europe post-Brexit. Ce travail de recherche enquête aussi sur l'impact de ladite crise sur l'économie britannique, notamment sur le marché du travail et du logement. En outre, cette étude vise à explorer la répercussion de cette crise sur la culture britannique, en particulier sur l'identité et l'unité sociale. En dernier lieu, cette étude examine la représentation de ces migrants dans la presse écrite britanniques, fournissant ainsi une analyse plus complète de leur représentation dans ce contexte. Les résultats de cette recherche démontrent que les politiques du Royaume-Unis ont pour but de réduire le nombre de demandeurs d'asile. De plus, les journaux britanniques ont tendance à représenter ces migrants de manière négative et biaisée, rendant ainsi leur intégration dans la société plus difficile.

Mots-clés: approche politique, Royaume-Uni, crise des réfugiés, Brexit, économie, culture, médias.

ملخص باللغة العربية

تهدف هذه الأطروحة إلى استكشاف السياسات التي اعتمدها المملكة المتحدة لمواجهة أزمة اللاجئين المعاصرة في أوروبا بعد خروجها من الاتحاد الأوروبي. كما يركز هذا البحث على تحليل الآثار الاقتصادية لهذه الأزمة على بريطانيا، بما في ذلك تأثيرها على أسواق العمل والإسكان. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، تستعرض الدراسة الآثار الثقافية للأزمة، مع التركيز على الهوية والوحدة الاجتماعية في المجتمع البريطاني. كما تتناول الأطروحة تمثيل هؤلاء المهاجرين في الصحف البريطانية. تشير نتائج البحث إلى أن سياسات المملكة المتحدة تهدف إلى تقليل عدد طالبي اللجوء، وأن الصحف البريطانية غالباً ما تقدم صورة سلبية ومتحيزة عن المهاجرين، مما يزيد من صعوبة اندماجهم في المجتمع.

الكلمات المفتاحية: السياسات، المملكة المتحدة، أزمة اللاجئين، خروجها من الاتحاد الأوروبي، الاقتصاد، الثقافية، الصحف البريطانية.