

Brexit

How were the reasons for wanting the UK to leave the EU constructed through discourse in British tabloid media at the time of the referendum?



AALBORG UNIVERSITY
DENMARK

Abbreviations

ACH	Associated Housing Costs
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
EEA	European Economic Area
EU	European Union
FoM	Freedom of Movement
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
MEP	Member of European Parliament
RSPCA	Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
SM	Single Market
UK	United Kingdom
UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party

Shaun Gordon

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Author: Shaun Gordon (20171505)

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Abstract

On June 23 2016, the United Kingdom became the first nation to formally indicate its intention to withdraw its membership from the European Union. After 51.9% of participating voters voted to leave, the UK government formally announced the country's withdrawal in March 2017, commencing a two-year process that was due to conclude with the UK officially withdrawing from the European Union on 29 March 2019. As the UK parliament thrice voted against the negotiated withdrawal agreement, that deadline has been extended twice, and is currently 31 October 2019, however, an act of Parliament requires the government to seek a third extension if no agreement is reached before 19 October. The UK's withdrawal from the EU is happening right now and is an ongoing predicament in global politics that does not seem close to being resolved in the near, or distant future. While Brexit is primarily a predicament for the United Kingdom, its consequences will be felt globally across the European Union and beyond.

This thesis uses discourse analysis to analyse four British newspapers at the time of the 2016 European Union referendum. The print media, mainly in the form of newspaper, can and has been used as an instrument to control and influence public opinion. It is thought that within this project, analysing the reasons for leaving, by looking at a broad spectrum of newspaper articles, will provide insights into how discourse is used in the construction of reasons for wanting the United Kingdom to leave the European Union.

The aim of the discourse analysis is to ascertain the role that these outlets had in representing the potential positives of leaving the EU, while at the same time obtaining an understanding of the relationship between the outlet and the reader. This thesis looks in depth at a theory of discourse analysis and to a lesser extent Euroscepticism. In order to operationalise the critical discourse analysis, the analytical toolbox presented by Chouliraki and Faircloth was employed. Their framework drew on systemic functional linguistics, which enables the thesis to offer a detailed analysis of exactly how language is employed in the construction of reasons for wanting to leave the EU. Taggert and Szczerbiak's theory of Euroscepticism was then used to support the discourse analysis theory and analysis by providing clarity over areas of Euroscepticism, particularly the rejectionist stance. The findings from this study established in almost all instances, the reasons for wanting to leave the European Union and or the benefits for leaving the European Union were a result of either economic or sovereignty or arguments based on immigration.

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1.1 Introduction

It is common knowledge that the United Kingdom's relationship with the European Union has been in many respects turbulent for a considerable amount of time. Since as early as the 1950's 'opposition to European integration has remained powerful political undertow in British politics'.¹ Evidently, as the influence, the integration and perceived political and economic power of the European Union increased, so did the public opinion in some corners of the United Kingdom, concerning the opposition of integration, shared jurisdictional practices, values and additional aspects of the European project. As Torreblanca and Leonard explain, 'The explanation for Euroscepticism is the alleged existence of a democratic deficit within the EU'.²

'Concerning aspects of Euroscepticism in Britain, it falls typically under at least one or more of the following categories according to Taggart and Szczerbiak. The Utilitarian category of Euroscepticism, which is predominately created of the opinion that the membership of the EU is not economically viable. And the Sovereign form of Euroscepticism, the notion that focuses on individual member-states abilities to enforce their laws and self-govern without too much external influence.'³ Euroscepticism within the U.K stems back over thirty years⁴, however taking a starting point in the early 1970s opposition towards to the European project was much more prominent within those that were left of the political spectrum.

A conservative politician, Harold Macmillan, was one of the first members of parliament that advocated and sought to put The United Kingdom on course for entry into the ECC 1961. He and many other conservatives were of the belief that that continued exclusion from the European project could prove to be harmful. At the time, Labour had the more prominent Euroscepticism, notably Hugh Gaitskell, who even claimed a year later that joining a federal Europe would be 'the end of Britain as an independent European state, the end of a thousand years of history'.⁵ However, it is intriguing as many scholars, notably Usherwood & Startin

¹ Gedds, A, *Britain and the European Union*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan (2013), p.64

² Torreblanca J, Leonard M, *THE CONTINENT- WIDE RISE OF EUROSCEPTICISM* (2013, p.4

³ Gordon S, *Euroscepticism* (2017), P.4

⁴ Andrew Geddes, *Britain and the European Union*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, p.68

⁵ Davids, R, *Euroscepticism and Opposition to British Entry into the EEC, 1955-75* p.6 PDF

argue that there was a somewhat consistent consensus about the economic advantages related to further European integration, especially the troubles surrounding the Maastricht Treaty marked a clear sign of the simmering Euroscepticism around Europe.

1.2 Relevance of Topic

Euroscepticism in the United Kingdom is not a new phenomenon by any means. However, if looking for an explanation as to why there is – in some areas – such a strong anti-EU rhetoric in more recent times – particularly over the last decade, the British tabloid press could be a good place to start. This is undoubtedly a relevant topic, because Brexit is happening right now and is an ongoing predicament in global politics that does not seem close to being resolved in the near, or distant future. While Brexit is primarily a predicament for the United Kingdom, its consequences will be felt globally across the European Union and beyond. As former Italian Prime Minister Monti explained ‘The consequences of a Brexit would be very severe for the U.K. I’m afraid, but also for each of our EU member states.’⁶ This is a sentiment echoed by many, including New York University Professor Nouriel Roubini, who suggests that ‘a blowup over Brexit might not by itself cause a global recession, but it would certainly trigger a European one, which would then spill over to other economies.’

As this project is conducted within the context of the UK continuously postponing the Brexit date, it is even more interesting to see how the prospects of Brexit evolve, and how these prospects compare to the initial reasons for wanting to leave.

For this reason among many others, it will be beneficial to see how the British tabloid press utilises their editorial and wide reach at such a politically sensitive time.

It is often overlooked, but many of the national newspapers that have a Eurosceptic editorial also have a strong financial or political incentive in doing so. Take *The Times* and *The Sun* for instance. Both newspapers are owned by a publishing company that is under the operational name of News UK. The company News UK is owned by billionaire tycoon & open Eurosceptic Rupert Murdoch. Rupert Murdoch has had several years of internal anti-EU sentiment. As he himself explained in an interview with Anthony Hilton of *The Evening Standard*, it can be

⁶ Goodman, D., Mckormick, L. and Stirling, C. (2019). *Bloomberg - Brexit*. [online] Bloomberg.com. Available at: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-10-04/how-a-no-deal-brexite-may-become-a-problem-for-the-world-economy> [Accessed 11 Oct. 2019].

much more challenging to have an influence in the EU parliament than it is in the British - 'When I go into Downing Street they do what I say; when I go to Brussels they take no notice.'⁷ However, it is not just Rupert Murdoch leading the line for the anti-EU tabloid owners. It has also been well documented that the Barclay Brothers (Daily Telegraph), Richard Desmond (Daily Express) and Lord Rothermere (Daily mail) are all strong advocates of the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European Union and are long-time Eurosceptics, not to mention that in 2018 *The Daily Mail*, *The Express* and *The Daily Star* merged and are currently under the same ownership.⁸⁹

1.3 Problem Formulation & Research Question

The conundrum with the term Euroscepticism is its conceptual vagueness by including not exactly matching semantic meanings (rejection/reservations). With that being said, it is beneficial to distinguish not only between respective views, but also clarify the scope and meaning of these misgivings. As a result, this project seeks to explore how British tabloid media discursive constructs the reasons for voting/wanting to leave the EU and has come to the following research question.

How were the reasons for wanting the UK to leave the EU constructed through discourse in British tabloid media at the time of the referendum?

The project is limited to examining discourses within different areas of Euroscepticism within four major tabloid newspapers: The Sun, The Express, Daily Mail and The Daily Star. These newspapers have the highest percentage of leave-voters, as found by several election studies.¹⁰

⁷ Hilton, A *The Evening Standard* (print) 2016

⁸ TSITONAKIS, N *The British Press: Sensationally Eurosceptic* (online) 2013 – Accessed online 10/05/2019

⁹ Mail Online. (2018). *Daily Mirror owners buys the Daily Star and Daily Express*. [online] Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5371027/Daily-Mirror-owner-buys-Daily-Star-Daily-Express.html> [Accessed 17 Sep. 2019].

¹⁰ Ponsford, D *Study* (2016), P.1 (Accessed Online 01/05/2019) (<https://www.pressgazette.co.uk/study-readers-of-the-sun-express-and-daily-mail-strongly-favoured-brexiteers-in-eu-referendum/>)

Therefore, a focus on these newspapers will provide the deepest insight into the discursive construction of reasons for leave the EU. The discourses analysis will be based on a selection of newspaper articles dating from the time of the referendum (three months before 23rd June 2016 and three months after). This will give an indication into how the reasons to wanting to leave were constructed at the time of the referendum.

Furthermore, this project seeks to discuss the relation between the reasons for wanting to leave the EU, as seen through media discourses, and the possible outcomes for leaving the EU at present.

The print media, particularly in the form of newspaper, can be used as a tool to sway and influence public opinion, particularly when considering the vast amount of readership which can be attained. It is thought that within this project, analysing the reasons for leaving, by looking at a broad spectrum of newspaper articles, will provide insights into how discourse is used in the construction of reasons for wanting the United Kingdom to leave the European Union. This can illuminate what influence discourse and discursive constructions have had on the 'Brexit' debates, and the understandings of 'Brexit', across the UK.

2.1 Methods & Methodology

In this methods chapter, the methodological framework for this study will be presented, to focus on how a satisfactory conclusion to the research question can be reached while taking the opportunity to acknowledge the limitations of this project.

2.2 Research Puzzle

With regards to the framework of this project, it was of great importance to conduct and identify a rationale. When in the process of finding a suitable topic, it was deemed appropriate to conduct a research puzzle, something that is widely recommending in political science by many theorists, including Gustafsson & Hagström. Gustafsson & Hagström argue that in order to justify the conducting of new research, a well-constructed research puzzle is of utmost significance.¹¹

To clarify, research puzzles assist explanations as to why new research is covered and also why such research is necessary and relevant. Furthermore, research puzzles allow for the facilitation of the development of the problem formulation, method and use of theory, through a carefully constructed development method. In 2018, Gustafsson & Hagström proposed a formula of what a research puzzle is composed of. A typical research puzzle could start with the conundrum as to “*Why x despite of y?*’, or *How did x become possible despite y?*”¹² The puzzle is then, “*...when things do not fit together as anticipated, challenging existing knowledge.*”¹³ By taking inspiration to this formula, it was possible to create a research puzzle and rationale for this thesis.

In order to create a suitable research puzzle, I have illustrated below, a hypothetical conversation between myself (A) and a supervisor (B) in order to show the thought process behind how my topic came about.

¹¹ Gustafsson , K., & Hagström, L. (2018). Teaching and Learning. What is the point? teaching graduate students how to construct political science research puzzles. *European Political Science*, 17(4), pp. 634-648.

¹² Ibid

¹³ Ibid

Shaun Gordon

A: *I want to do a topic on Brexit.*

B: *First, what about Brexit?*

A: *An analysis of how the media impacted Brexit.*

B: *Which forms of media and why do you find it interesting?*

A: *British print media. Brexit is the UK's biggest peacetime government project. It means possible domestic economic reconfiguration, risks creating further social divisions as well as requiring political readjustments on relationships between the executive and parliament. There implications on the devolved settlement between the UK as a whole and at least two of the four constituent UK nations. A large percent of British citizen read newspaper; therefore, it would be beneficial to see how Brexit was portrayed in such outlets.*

B: *What does the existing literature say about Brexit and the British tabloid press?*

A: *There is current literature on Euroscepticism; however, with regards to Brexit, the literature is relatively new and is continuously expanding at a rapid pace.*

B: *How can you contribute to this research?*

A: *Existing research has primarily focused on the analysis of party-based Euroscepticism or discourse analysis. There is an opportunity to take on an approach that combines analysing newspaper articles through discourse analysis and adopting a normative perspective with the aim of understanding the relationship between the British tabloid media and their readers with regards to Brexit.*

B: *How could discourse analysis on areas of the British tabloid media help illuminate the relationship between how Brexit was portrayed and the readers of such outlets?*

A: *We are aware that there certain forms of media which have an agenda with regards to the message that they outlay and in particularly how they relay these messages. It will be of great significance to present and investigate the ways in which the media presented the ways in which how the United Kingdom leaving the European Union would be beneficial to the United Kingdom.*

B: *You are making many assumptions. What exactly the agenda newspapers have and how do we identify it?*

A: All will become clear in the project. An agenda is not necessarily a negative thing; however, naturally, all outlets have a clear editorial interest, typically due to political or financial reasons. The discourse analysis theory used in the project will delve into greater concerning the significance of the language used in the media and how it affects the relationship between the reader and the outlet.

The benefits of this hypothetical conversation cannot be underestimated. The conversation allowed for and provided an expressive outlet where there was room for sparring, debate and an exchange of ideas. This then allowed for development and clear direction with regards to the problem formulation of this thesis.

2.3 Research Strategy and Choice of Case

In this section, I will account for the selection criteria and the connection between the cases and provide greater detail with regards to the research strategy.

There can be some methodological challenges with regards to gauging the effects of tabloid persuasion where Euroscepticism is concerned. From the beginning of the European project to this current day, many of the British media outlets have and maintain the same consistent position on the European Union – whether in support or opposition. Hence, the sheer amount of studies that conclude there were little effects of individual media exposure the messages about the European Union.¹⁴ However, there is the notion from previous studies, such as Azrout et al.¹⁵, which suggests a countries media environment fuels Euroscepticism – not the outlets. The method for this study primarily is discourse analysis of specific newspapers within a time frame that is up to three months before and no longer than three months after the 2016 European Union referendum. The outlets that have been chosen for analysis within this study are articles from (the England edition of) *The Daily Mail*, *The Express*, *The Sun* and *The Daily Star*. The reasoning behind the selections of these four outlets owns to their long-running history and opposition towards the European Union.

¹⁴ Carey, Sean, and Jonathan Burton. 2004. "Research note: The in-uence of the press in shaping public opinion towards the European Union in Britain." *Political Studies* 52 (3): 623–640.

¹⁵ Azrout, Rachid, Joost van Spanje, and Claes de Vreese. 2012. "When News Matters: Media Effects on Public Support for European Union Enlargement in 21 Countries." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 50 (5): 691–708.

This is not to insinuate that other outlets that are not included within this study would not have Eurosceptic pieces, articles or extracts, however, there is simply a common ground with regards to these outlets and their rhetoric.¹⁶

The project focuses on this period, in order to analyse what Chouliraki & Fairclough call a “discursive conjuncture” rather than a live event or a long-term structure. The theory section below elaborates on all three concepts, but the idea of a ‘discursive’ conjuncture’ favours focusing on ‘relatively durable assemblies of people, materials, technologies and therefore practices (in their aspect as relative permanences [sic]) around specific social projects in the widest sense of the term.’¹⁷

In this context, the social project is precisely the ‘Brexit’ referendum in 2016, rather than the general and long-running discussions about the UK’s relationship with the EU. Furthermore, the discourse analysis can be applied both as a tool for analysis and as a more comprehensive methodological approach. Therefore, the analysis and methodology of this project are shaped by the suggested analytical framework proposed by Chouliraki and Fairclough, which is elaborated in the following chapter.

2.4 Choice of Theories

In order to operationalise the critical discourse analysis, the analytical toolbox presented by Chouliraki and Faircloth is employed. Their framework draws on systemic functional linguistics, which enables the project to provide a more in-depth analysis of exactly how language is employed in the construction of reasons for wanting to leave the EU.

Along with theories on Euroscepticism, the discourse analysis will provide an in-depth analysis of how the reasons for wanting to leave the EU are constructed, that the research questions set out to explore. Taggert and Szczerbiak’s theory of Euroscepticism will also be applied, in some

¹⁶ Mail Online. (2018). *Daily Mirror owners buys the Daily Star and Daily Express*. [online] Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5371027/Daily-Mirror-owner-buys-Daily-Star-Daily-Express.html> [Accessed 17 Sep. 2019].

¹⁷ Chouliraki, L & Fairclough, N *Discourse in late modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999. P22

capacity. With regards to this theory on Euroscepticism, it is clear that Taggart and Szczerbiak focus on party-based Euroscepticism, while this study has a focus on media discourses; thus there is an inherent interest to discuss the area of mass/popular Euroscepticism. As Taggart and Szczerbiak explain, ‘although we are interested, obviously, in knowing about party-based Euroscepticism for its own sake we would like to think that we could use this [theory of Euroscepticism] more widely to illuminate the particular political dynamics of the broader European issue.’¹⁸ With that being said, this theory will not be implicitly used to structure the theoretical framework of the analysis; the theory instead will be used to provide support to the discourse analysis theory that provides the theoretical framework for the analysis of this project. To provide extra clarity on the use of this theory, it should be known that this theory will not structure the analysis, it will be used in elements to clarify the extent or type of Euroscepticism that is being analysed. It is hoped that application of this Euroscepticism theory coupled with the theories of Euroscepticism would allow for added clarity with regards to why individual sections of society may be opposed to or potentially opposed to membership of the European Union. Conducting a discourse analysis on the text, while incorporating a theory of Euroscepticism will not bring conclusive answers but, it will highlight correlation and provide clarity. The use of this Euroscepticism theory is essential because textual analysis as an isolated tool can be difficult in providing conclusive results. As Fairclough describes, ‘textual analysis is a resource for social research which can enhance it provided that it is used in conjunction with other methods of analysis. By itself, textual analysis is limited.’¹⁹

2.5 Choice of Data, Choice of Analytical Tools and Texts

The section will draw on current predictions and analyses on the possible outcomes of Brexit in order to compare these with the primary reasons for wanting to leave the EU. This will lead to a broader discussion on whether such analyses and predictions can sway or influence the opinion of Eurosceptics, or the readers of these outlets and if not, why.

The study takes the approach of using qualitative analysis rather than the form of individual and personal anecdotal interviews. The method of qualitative analysis allows for a

¹⁸ Taggart, P and Szczerbiak A *The Party Politics of Euroscepticism in EU Member and Candidate States* 2002. P30

¹⁹ Fairclough, N. (2003) *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* London: p.15 Routledge

generalisation of mass opinion in a way that intricate and one-to-one personal interviews would not allow given the resources and timeframe allocated for this study.

2.6 Structure of Analysis

The four newspapers that were chosen for this study could be considered as Eurosceptic, with a predominately Eurosceptic readership. One of the highlighted newspapers in this study is the *Daily Mail*. The *Daily Mail* is the United Kingdom's third biggest-selling newspaper after, following closely from *The Sun* and *The Metro*.²⁰ Perhaps arguably the second best-selling newspaper, when bearing in mind that *The Metro* is a free newspaper distributed in mass around the United Kingdom at in public areas such as railway stations, bus-stops and newsagents. In addition to the Anti-EU rhetoric, the *Daily Mail* was chosen as a newspaper to analyse because of its controversial and partisan outlook on issues. While the newspaper has been in several controversies over the recent years, their standpoint is normally entirely binary and is not an outlet that seeks to find nuance or balance. It is an outlet that does not usually seek to analyse both-sides in a situation; however, more attempts to present and remain firm in a standpoint and argue why.

Take for example in September 2013; the *Mail* was criticised for an article on Ralph Miliband (father of then Labour-leader Ed Miliband and prominent Marxist sociologist), titled "The Man Who Hated Britain". That in itself is a quite a bold, if not extreme stance to take, on the father of the leader of the United Kingdom's most-prominent political parties.²¹

However, there is, of course, the reoccurring notion surrounding the reliability of *The Daily Mail*. In February 2017, Wikipedia banned the *Daily Mail* as an 'unreliable source' to use as a reference in Wikipedia. Its use as a reference is now "generally prohibited, especially when other more reliable sources exist". Support for the ban centred on "the *Daily Mail*'s reputation for poor fact-checking, sensationalism, and flat-out fabrication".²²

²⁰ **Freddy Mayhew (2019).** "*National newspaper ABCs: Mail titles see slower year-on-year circulation decline as bulk sales distortion ends*". *Press Gazette*. Retrieved 31 July 2019.

²¹ **Levy, Geoffrey (2013).** "*The man who hated Britain: Red Ed's pledge to bring back socialism is a homage to his Marxist father. So what did Miliband Snr really believe in? The answer should disturb everyone who loves this country*". *Daily Mail*. London.

²² **Bowden, George (2017).** "*Daily Mail Banned As 'Reliable Source' On Wikipedia in Unprecedented Move*". *The Huffington Post, UK*. *Huffington Post*. Retrieved 9 February 2017. *The decision was made by the site's community*

Though, in the case of this study, *The Daily Mail* and other selected newspapers being considered ‘unreliable’ by external outlets and publications is perhaps not something that should raise concern. This study aims to find out how the reasons for wanted to leave the EU were constructed through British tabloid media. Whether we come to find that the reasons presented by some of these outlets were falsehoods or if there was indeed reason to doubt the legitimacy of specific claims, is perhaps a conversation that can open the door to be expanded upon with further research – where there would be an opportunity to tackle the topic in greater detail.

With the assistance of the application of the theory, coupled with the analysis of language, factual evidence, it is hoped that the analysis can provide clarity and broaden knowledge behind the heavy anti-EU sentiments of specific areas in the British tabloid industry and how these arguments were presented to their readership. The analysis will begin with a depiction of articles from an economic standpoint of Euroscepticism. There will be an overview of the discursive conjunction around reasons for wanting to leave the EU – where the topic of for example economic implications are concerned, followed by an in-depth analysis of selected articles from the chosen newspaper outlets within the period of 23rd March 2016 and 23rd of September 2016 (three months prior and subsequent to the referendum vote). As Barker & Galinsinski argue, ‘Words carry multiple meanings, including the traces of other meanings from related works in multiple contexts’²³

Within the analysis of these articles, from the four newspapers, three fundamental parameters will be considered by using Fairclough’s textual analysis structure, which looks at action, identification and representation as Fairclough explains. ‘We can see Action, Representation and Identification simultaneously through whole texts and in small parts of texts.’²⁴

The first parameter to be studied will be the action of the text. For clarification, it will be essential to gauge whether the article aims to inform, persuade, declare or interrogate. The second parameter to be explored will be the representation of people/places/institutions in the text. It will be important to analyse how the above is mentioned and categorised. The representation will especially be significant as it is here where there will be an opportunity to influence and or persuade and control narratives. The third parameter to be considered will be

²³ Barker & Galasinski *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis: A Dialogue on Language and Identity* (2003). P10

²⁴ Fairclough, N. (2003) *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* London: Routledge p.27

identification. The notion of identification will supplement the action of the text and will aid in delivering a more nuanced understanding of the motive(s) of the literature. Things to be considered with regards to the identification would be, sources used, and general reliability of the content. When ascertaining the action, representation and identification of all texts, it will then be possible to offer clarity over the research question that is ‘how were the reasons for wanting to leave the EU constructed through discourse media at the time of the referendum’.

The texts of the analysis section will be primarily be divided into categories of the outlets, then as a sub-category the form of Euroscepticism. Dividing the texts and analysing them in this way will be beneficial for intelligibility reasons. The topic of Brexit is already complicated, especially coupled with the notoriously multifaceted phenomenon that is Euroscepticism. It will be in my best interests to create a layout that does not induce any form of confusion but instead provides clarity to the reader. As a result, I consider it best, to divide the articles into categories of publication and then within the analysis of each article delve into the category of Euroscepticism that is being portrayed. It is significant to make clear that these categories of Euroscepticism were not created by or any party connected to the study, however, the categories were delegated reoccurring themes that were encountered over the research process which involved analysis of different articles.

One of the categories is Sovereignty. With regards to sovereignty, there has always been an implication that the United Kingdom surrenders its sovereignty to the European Union – although, they are a significant influence within the EU and not to mention they are not in the Schengen zone and are not required to adopt the Euro as currency. This, in essence, is the notion that the United Kingdom is not in control of making their laws or determining their policies. Of course when one a part of a multinational organisation such as the European Union, one must anticipate negotiations and compromise where the issue of transferring of powers is concerned, so, it would be advantageous to gauge the extent the issue of sovereignty had upon the reasons given for support of leaving the European Union –

Immigration – The predicament concerning Euroscepticism and immigration could to some extent be under the sovereignty banner. Over the last 10 years there has been a steady increase in European Union migration to the United Kingdom, and as a result there is the perceived notion that the EU sets a precedent for unlimited migration to the U.K – whilst the U.K are unable to do anything as they have ‘surrendered sovereignty’ in the form of laws and treaties.

The leave campaigns were well aware that the referendum presented an opportunity to link the issue of migration with among many things, the issue of the National Health Service, which had suffered from austerity policies enacted in order to balance the budgets after the Great Recession. The official leave campaigners consistently linked the pressure and cuts the NHS was facing to the increase in net migration – although, there is no official link to the two. As the ‘leavers’ Boris Johnson, Michael Gove and Gisela Stuart explain,

“(...) the demand for NHS services is only set to grow. NHS Improvement, the NHS regulator, has identified rising demand as one of the principal challenges for the NHS’s future funding. If we vote to leave the EU on 23 June, we will be able to do something about one of the main causes of higher demand - uncontrolled and unlimited migration from the EU into the UK. In 2015, 270,000 people came to the UK from Europe, a population movement equivalent to all the inhabitants of a city the size of Newcastle arriving in our country. Net migration was 184,000, a population increase equivalent to adding a city the size of Oxford to the UK population. Year after year, similar numbers arrive.”²⁵

The anti-immigration rhetoric is undoubtedly fuelled by a protectionist sentiment – something that will be analysed in greater detail within this study. However, looking at the inference that leaving the EU will create a stronger NHS, by way of having more money for those in need, is equating the number of immigrants to the strain placed on the health service – something that cannot at this stage be proven. Nevertheless, the pledges given to lower the migration is understood as a way to embed and improve the labour market situation in the United Kingdom. Thus, perceivably protecting and serving in the interests of the United Kingdom by preventing the increased amounts of migration to the United Kingdom. Notwithstanding the rhetoric that immigration negatively impacts the NHS, there is also the notion that immigration to the U.K contributes to the rising costs of housing and also puts pressure on the education sector. This is something that Ross²⁶ looked into in greater detail

²⁵ **Vote Leave. (2016). Statement by Michael Gove, Boris Johnson and Gisela Stuart on NHS funding. [online]**

Available at:

http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/statement_by_michael_gove_boris_johnson_and_gisela_stuart_on_nhs_funding.html [Accessed 19 Aug. 2019].

²⁶ **Ross, Tim (2016). Migration pressure on schools revealed. The Telegraph, 7 May. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/07/migration-pressure-on-schools-revealed/> the 14th of June, 2017**

See for instance, Ross (2016) and Fox (2016). In other words, the issue of migration is connected to the very fabric of British society – education and health are among the most crucial welfare services – and even something as essential as having a place to live.

Becker and Fetzer (2016) had found that migration did indeed increase pressure on public services and housing.

Economy – the idea that the United Kingdom’s membership of the European Union is detrimental to the economy of the United Kingdom’s nation-states.

European integration is perceived by most citizens to shape their economic welfare in a general sense. Citizens who feel confident about the economic future – personally [i.e. cell III] and for their country [i.e. cell IV] – are likely to regard European integration in a positive light, whereas those who are fearful will lean towards Euro-skepticism.”²⁷

There are other aspects that could be considered, where the notion of discourse analysis within newspaper articles are concerned. As Fairclough explains, ‘setting’ is also a significant aspect of analysis and is often overlooked. “Setting is concerned with the extent to which and ways in which the reader interpretation of secondary discourse is controlled by placing it in a particular textual context (or 'context').”²⁸

2.7 Limitations

The following chapter of this study will highlight the limitations of this study.

Firstly, it is of considerable significance to draw attention to the length of this project. Where the topic of Brexit is concerned, coupled with Euroscepticism and discourse analysis on areas of England’s print media, it would be an enormous encounter to include all facets of all aspects; therefore, omissions from different areas were made. The first notable omission was to only include articles from outlets in England, rather than all regions where there was a possibility to vote in the 2016 referendum – notably, Northern Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Gibraltar. With the limited resources and timeframe allotted to this project, a decision was made only to include England’s print media into the analysis. The reason that England as an analysis tool was chosen

²⁷ Hooghe, Liesbet & Marks, Gary. (2005) p.442 . *Integration Calculation, Community and Cues: Public Opinion on European. European Union Politics.*

²⁸ Lillie Chouliaraki & Norman Fairclough, *Discourse in late modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999.P61

ahead of the other regions was primarily owing to population, readership and potential members of the electorate. Of all nations in the United Kingdom, England unquestionably has the largest population and the significant share of the voting electorate.²⁹ Therefore, if exclusions should be made, it would be make the most logical sense to omit the constituencies with fewer members of the population and conduct analysis on the region(s) inhabiting the amount of people, as this would aid the study's analysis where the topic of legitimacy and perhaps reliability is concerned.

Secondly, owing to the resources and time allocated to this project, it was not possible to conduct an analysis on more than four outlets; therefore, the outlets chosen has to be selected exceptionally prudently. The four newspapers that were chosen, were proven to have had or have links to Euroscepticism, whether in the form of ownership, editorial or readership, thus allowing for greater opportunity to analyse and conduct a discourse analysis in the ways in wanting to leave the European Union were presented through the media at the time of the 2016 referendum.

A third significant omission is with regards to the timeframe of analysis. This study analyses articles from no more than three months prior to or after the 2016 European Union referendum. If time and resources were of no barrier, it would have undoubtedly been of benefit to conduct analysis on articles over a prolonged period. This is because the tone and the manner in reporting has altered over the last three years. In the three years subsequent to the EU referendum, the United Kingdom has had three Prime Ministers, four Brexit Secretaries and a general election and as a consequence, one would expect the tone in reporting to have altered throughout a time of such constitutional instability. That being said, analysing articles three months prior to and following the referendum provides the opportunity to see whether the reporting of the United Kingdom's relationship with the European Union altered after the result.

²⁹ **Ons.gov.uk. (2018).** *United Kingdom population mid-year estimate - Office for National Statistics.* [online] Available at: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/timeseries/ukpop/pop> [Accessed 20 Sep. 2019].

3.1 Theory

3.2 Chouliraki & Fairclough (Discourse analysis)

The analysis will be structured around the framework proposed by Chouliraki & Fairclough in their co-written book 'Discourse in Late Modernity'. Within their book *Discourse in the late modernity*, Chouliraki & Fairclough explain that "Critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) starts from the perception of discourse (language but also other forms of semiosis, such as visual images) as an element of social practices, which constitutes other elements, as well as being shaped by them."³⁰ Chouliraki & Fairclough expand in great detail on the works of recognised academics, such as Giddens and Bourdieu and in their interpretations of social practices, critical social sciences in addition to the repercussions of modernity in social life . With regards to critical discourse analysis, Chouliraki & Fairclough expand on the work of writers Laclau & Mouffe and Foucault. The Marxist nature of especially Laclau & Mouffe, highlights the social criticism and politicisation of academic work, present within Chouliraki & Fairclough. While building on sociological and Marxist academics, Chouliraki & Fairclough fairly underline the complementary nature of critical discourse analysis and systemic functional linguistics. The use of systemic functional linguistics as a tool to perform critical discourse analysis is further described below in the section on Barker & Galasinski. Simplifying critical social science in layman's terms, Chouliraki & Fairclough both explain that "the basic motivation for critical social science is to contribute to an awareness of what is, how it has come to be, and what might become."³¹

In the context of Brexit, this would entail contributing to an awareness of what the discourses around wanting to leave the EU are, how these discourses have come to be and what might they might become if the UK leaves the EU.

³⁰ Chouliraki,L &Fairclough, N *Discourse in late modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999.

³¹ Lillie Chouliraki & Norman Fairclough, *Discourse in late modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999. P22

Chouliraki & Fairclough have a clear focus on social practices thus define them as having three primary characteristics³²

- Practices are ‘forms of production of social life, not only economic production but also production in for instance the cultural and political domains.’
- “Each practice is located within a network of relationships to other practices, and these ‘external’ relationships determine its ‘internal’ constitution.
- "Practices always have a reflexive dimension: people always generate representations of what they do as part of what they do.

When analysing practices, Chouliraki & Fairclough favour a focus on the ‘conjunctures,’ instead of highlighting the immediate events or long-term structures. To Chouliraki & Fairclough, conjunctures are “relatively durable assemblies of people, materials, technologies and therefore practices (in their aspect as relative permanences) around specific social projects in the widest sense of the term”³³. Concerning the investigation in this project, the reasons for wanting to leave the EU can be considered a discursive conjunctures with a chronological development from the time of the referendum to the end of the withdrawal period. Considering the reasons for wanting to leave the EU as a discursive conjuncture offers the possibility “to trace through time the effect not just of individual events but of conjecturally linked series of events in both sustaining and transforming (re-articulating) practices”³⁴. This is important and relevant, with regards to the problem formulation, as I seek to convey through discourse analysis how the Brexit argument was formed through certain areas of the British tabloid press. Alternatively, investigating the subject of this project as an immediate event would entail focusing on incidents such as the how a specific Brexit-supporting newspaper referred to certain lawyers and judges ‘enemies of the people’ in relation to ruling that the UK government required the consent of its parliament to give notice of the United Kingdom’s withdrawal from the EU.³⁵ Another example of such immediate events in the context of Brexit, could be the

³² **Ibid**

³³ **Lilie Chouliraki & Norman Fairclough, *Discourse in late modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999.P23**

³⁴ **Ibid**

³⁵**The Daily Mail, *Enemies of the People*, 04 November 2016, Retrieved May 5, 2019 from <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3903436/Enemies-people-Fury-touch-judges-defied-17-4m-Brexit-voters-trigger-constitutional-crisis.html>**

reports that showed that the Vote Leave spent 2.7 million GBP on campaigns targeting specific groups of people on Facebook.³⁶

Meanwhile, focusing on long-term structures would entail analysing the history of Euroscepticism and anti-EU discourses within the UK, both in relation to the EU as an institution and in relation to Europe as a continent.

As outlined above, Chouliraki & Fairclough favour a focus on discursive conjunctures rather than immediate events or long-term structures, and therefore so will this project.

As explained by Chouliraki & Fairclough, “Social systems are both the precondition of social action and the products of social action. Every moment in the structure/action dialectic is a moment in the power struggle over whether the social world is to be maintained as it is or changed”³⁷.

In this regard, every discursive moment of anti-EU sentiment is a struggle over whether the ways to portray, represent and perceive Europe, Euroscepticism and the EU will change or stay the same.

While this study will investigate this struggle in-depth using a framework from Fairclough that seeks to analyse the ‘action’, ‘representation’ and ‘identification’ of the texts, there was also a further analytical structure proposed by Chouliraki & Fairclough which could have been employed³⁸

1. A problem (activity, reflexivity)
2. Obstacles to its being tackled
 - a. Analysis of the conjuncture
 - b. Analysis of the practice re its discourse moment
 - i. Relevant practices?
 - ii. Relation of discourse to other moments?
Discourse as part of the activity
Discourse and reflexivity

³⁶ **Europa Parliament, *The use of Facebook users' data by Cambridge Analytica and the impact on data protection* - Thursday, 25 October 2018. (2018, October 28). Retrieved May 5, 2019, from http://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-8-2018-0433_EN.html?redirect**

³⁷ **Lilie Chouliraki & Norman Fairclough, *Discourse in late modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999.P32**

³⁸ **Lilie Chouliraki & Norman Fairclough, *Discourse in late modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999.P62**

- c. Analysis of the discourse
 - i. Structural analysis: the order of discourse
 - ii. Interactional analysis Interdiscursive analysis Linguistic and semiotic analysis
- 3. Function of the problem in the practice
- 4. Possible ways past the obstacles
- 5. Reflection on the analysis

It is imperative to take into account that, to both Chouliraki & Fairclough, discourse can either be part of a social practice or it can alternatively be part of a reflexive construction of a social practice or in fact, both. Conceptualising this, relates to the method in which Chouliraki & Fairclough take apart discursive problems: The analysis can do various things. For example, it can either focus on a discursive activity (or practice) that lies within the problem, or discursive reflexivity (or reflexive construction).

Thus, the general framework of Chouliraki & Fairclough will be employed to guide the critical discourse analysis and ensure a socially critical investigation of a socially relevant subject, namely how voting to leave the EU and Euroscepticism is spoken about in English newspapers. As an addition to the framework presented above, the following section will present theoretical perspectives on Euroscepticism.

3.3 Taggart & Szczerbiak (Euroscepticism)

Theory of Euroscepticism

Euroscepticism is a controversial term with definitional problems emerging at all its three components: euro, sceptic and ism. However, what is significant is to remember that the conventional definition of Euroscepticism is defined by the concept of having an intense critique of the European project and the European Union.³⁹ The reasons for the critique of the European Union often vary; however, there are frequently cited grievances that are often at the forefront of opposition toward the European project. There is the notion that EU integration fundamentally aims to weaken nation-states; there is the notion that the EU is undemocratic with regards to the way which certain institutes are structured and how senior figures are elected, and there is also a critique surrounding the rules of Free movement of persons and addition immigration laws.

³⁹ Bertoncini, Y. and Koenig, N. (2014). [online] Institutdelors.eu. Available at: <http://www.institutdelors.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/euroscepticismoreurophobia-bertoncini-koenig-ne-jdi-nov14.pdf> [Accessed 10 Oct. 2019].

Taggart and Szczerbiak

Of the most widely cited definitions surrounding the phenomenon that is Euroscepticism, Taggart and Szczerbiak initial outline argued that Euroscepticism expresses the idea of contingent or qualified opposition to the process of European integration”.⁴⁰

According to Taggart and Szczerbiak, it is fair to propose that there are several variations of Eurosceptic thought. While they agree that situations such as ‘the dramatic vote for Brexit has the potential to transform the terrain for Euroscepticism in the coming years’ (Taggart and Szczerbiak), for the time being at least, they are in agreement that there are two core parallels of Euroscepticism. Within these parameters, there is a consensus that outwardly rejects the European Union project and another concept that accepts the European Union project but fundamentally rejects certain aspects of membership. Taggart and Szczerbiak have referred to these two parallels by creating the categories, soft Euroscepticism and hard Euroscepticism.

Soft Euroscepticism

Taggart and Szczerbiak’s interpretation of soft Euroscepticism is bounded by the premise of one being in support of the existence of the European Union / the European project, however, holding an express disagreement with regards to certain aspects of integration and a concern over the admission of a range of specific and isolated policies. As Taggart and Szczerbiak clarify in some complexity, when describing soft Euroscepticism, it is typically an “opposition to the Union’s current or future planned trajectory based on the further extension of competencies that it was planning to make.”⁴¹

Hard Euroscepticism

The metaphorical phenomenon of Hard Euroscepticism is the concept of having a “principled opposition to the EU and European integration”.⁴² They argue through a range of points that this concept can be vividly seen in two predominate situations; ‘parties who think that their countries should withdraw membership, or whose policies towards the EU are tantamount to being opposed to the whole project of EU integration as it is currently conceived’. A prime

⁴⁰ Taggart, P and Szczerbiak A *The Party Politics of Euroscepticism in EU Member and Candidate States* 2002.P6

⁴¹ Taggart, P and Szczerbiak A *The Party Politics of Euroscepticism in EU Member and Candidate States* 2002.P12

⁴² *Ibid*

illustration of a political party that is most known for their hard-Eurosceptic stance European Union would be UKIP, UKIP's fundamental objective was and to some extent still is to ensure the United Kingdom ceased its long-running membership of the European Union, and as Ford and Goodwin recognise, this was a 'core issue that is 'central to the party's identity. A notion reverberated by former leader of the United Kingdom independence party and current MEP, Nigel Farage. Nigel Farage accredited The United Kingdom's membership of the EU as a primary cause of significant and 'impractical' immigration into the U.K, (Godwin, Mathew, Milazzo) - a perception that is undoubtedly flawed or at the very least, requires further clarification in order to establish its legitimacy.

Nevertheless, it is clear that regardless of the legitimacy of the statements UKIP put forward regard the UK and EU, UKIP are to be described as the epitome of Hard-Eurosceptic and rejectionist – where U.K politics is concerned. However, it should be highlighted and perhaps stressed that hard-Euroscepticism and the rejectionist approach are not synonymous properties/characteristics. It is indeed conceivable to be critical of the EU, for example, having legitimate concerns of certain laws/treaties - take 'freedom of movement' for example, concerning integration and sovereignty without adopting a wholesome Eurosceptic/rejectionist stance. That being said, it is unfortunate for Taggart and Szczerbiak; their theory fails to acknowledge this aspect - and acknowledge that not everything is binary. As a result, there has been a vast amount of criticism surrounding their theory - especially the binary aspect that presents the argument that one is either on one side of the spectrum or the other. That being said, Taggart and Szczerbiak's theory on Euroscepticism will be discussed in greater detail as this study develops.

There are many positives to the argument of Taggart and Szczerbiak. However, there are additional weaknesses, particularly owing to the simplicity of their analysis. A consequence of their binary analysis means that there is an extreme amount of minimalism of their hard/soft perspective allows their notion the flexibility of applying to a vast number of settings, in a subject matter that is evidently not as binary as the hard and soft description. 'It is perverse to throw together under the Eurosceptical label parties which are fundamentally in favour of some form of integration alongside nationalists who are not.'⁴³

⁴³ Kopecky,P & Mudde,C *The Two Sides of Euroscepticism: Party Positions on European Integration in East Central Europe* 2002. P32

The hard and soft perspective is deemed as a negative by critics primarily because of its all-inclusive approach and also because of its failure to capitalise the varying degrees of support or rejection for the European Union project. As Kopecky & Mudde suggest, 'if the demarcation line is the number of and which policies a party opposes, then the question arises of how many a party must oppose and which ones she a part oppose that makes them 'hard' Eurosceptic instead of 'soft'⁴⁴.

3.4 Barker & Galansinki (Discourse analysis)

The frameworks presented above provide assistance to the outline and the structures of the analysis. Below, the tools for the textual analysis will be presented. These tools will help guide the text analysis while complementing the overarching analytical structure proposed by Chouliraki & Fairclough underline how not all parts of the toolbox are equally pertinent for all analyses: 'Subsequently, it is the data that will drive the analysis. It is the data that are the most crucial aspect of the analysis, and they must, as far as is possible, be allowed to speak for themselves.'⁴⁵

Therefore, the only tools that are pertinent to the illumination of the 'data' to the problem statement will be employed. The three textual functions are introduced below.

Barker & Galasinski establish the following assumptions about discourse:

- Discourse is socially constitutive
- Discourse is a system of options
- Discourse is ideological

Emphasis on the socially constitutive and ideological aspects of discourse echo ideas on discourse proposed by Chouliraki & Fairclough above. Furthermore, Barker & Galasinski underline that texts are multifunctional. Three functions are identified: the ideational function, the interpersonal function, and the textual function. The textual function refers to how elements of language are responsible for making discourse look like 'text.' Barker & Galasinski explain; "through the textual function language forges links with the presumed

⁴⁴ Kopecky,P & Mudde,C *The Two Sides of Euroscepticism: Party Positions on European Integration in East Central Europe* 2002. P34.

⁴⁵ Wodak, R *The Discursive Construction of National Identity* April 1999.

extra-linguistic conditions of its occurrence as well as with other texts which have occurred or will occur in the context."⁴⁶The interpersonal function refers to the relations between the speaker and the receiver through texts. Language can reveal the assumption embedded in the relationship between speaker and receiver.⁴⁷The ideational function is how a text can represent the world outside the text. An analytical focus on the ideational function helps to uncover how reasons to vote to leave the EU are created and represented through discourse within a text. Therefore, the analysis will focus on the ideational function. The following will provide a more detailed introduction into the tools for analysis of the ideational function. It is the ideational function through which "texts are able to refer to realities "outside" of the speaker, enabling her/him to render intelligible their experience of the world. The ideational function also refers to the internal world of speakers, their cognitions, emotions, perceptions and acts of speaking and understanding. In sum, the ideational function is responsible for the texts' "representational faculties".⁴⁸ A focus on the ideational functions in a text will uncover how underlying discourses in texts create and represent the world, and is therefore of particular interest when seeking to uncover the development and construction of a phenomenon in media discourses. The ideational function is analysed through an examination of transitivity. As Barker & Galasinski explains, "it is transitivity that enables the representation in multiple ways of an implied extra-linguistic reality. The two main elements of transitivity by which 'reality' can be rendered intelligible are 'process' and 'participant.' The emphasis on transitivity echoes the examination of power structures and gender domination, championed by Lazar, as explained above. Barker & Galasinski draw on the systemic functional linguistic framework developed by Halliday. ⁴⁹ When presenting six types of ideational processes: - Material processes refer to doing, happening, creating, changing. The participants in the structures that contain material processes are actors (those who do) or goals (those unto whom things are done). - Mental processes refer to feeling thinking or seeing. Participants who perform these are said to be 'sensors' while that which is

⁴⁶ Barker & Galasinski *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis: A Dialogue on Language and Identity* August 2003. P68

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸ Barker & Galasinski *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis: A Dialogue on Language and Identity* (2003). P68

⁴⁹ Barker & Galasinski *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis: A Dialogue on Language and Identity* (2003). P70

perceived or felt is called the 'phenomenon.' - Relational processes refer to being and having an attribute or identity, with participants as the 'carriers' or 'identified' and attributes as the 'identifiers.' - Behavioural processes refer to behaving (laughing, smiling, singing). Those who perform such processes are called 'behavers.' - Verbal processes are those referring to all those actions that are about saying something (promising, talking, warning). Those who say things are 'sayers,' those who are addressed are 'targets.' - Existential processes concern existing and being there, such as in the sentence 'There are lions in Africa. In material and verbal processes, the patterns of transitivity are especially interesting, as a participant performs actions onto a goal.

4.1 Analysis

The analysis section of this study seeks to dissect a discourse analysis upon four renowned national newspapers distributed in the United Kingdom, but with a specific focus on topics in England. The discourse analysis will – as discussed in the earlier chapters, aim to provide clarity upon the reasons behind the intentions of why the readers of the specific newspapers voted in the way which they did or perhaps to an extent analyse potential reasons provided by these outlets, that sought to seek an influence for wanting the United Kingdom to leave the European Union. As Fairclough explains, ‘news tends to be seen as very much a conceptual and ideational business, a matter of statements, claims, beliefs, positions - rather than feelings, circumstances, qualities of social and interpersonal relationships.’⁵⁰

4.2 Article 1 – *The Daily Mail*

Britain 'will thrive after Brexit': Leaving will boost pay and jobs says Tory high-flier

The Daily Mail: April 4, 2016 ⁵¹

The first article for analysis is from the outlet – *The Daily Mail* and was published both online and in print, two months prior to the European Union referendum in June 2016. Looking at the headline in isolation, it is apparent that the article seeks to underscore the potential economic positives in leaving the EU, by highlighting the hypothetical benefits that would occur – by way of ‘boosting jobs and pay’. The headline of this article used positive wording and affirmation to perhaps entice the reader in taking the viewpoint that there are many positives to Brexit. In such a short headline, all of the verbs (boost, thrive, high-flier) used can be depicted as having positive connotations, especially in the context of the subject at hand. Within the headline alone, it is possible to use Fairclough’s ‘types of meaning’ approach with regards to the analysis in the opening lines of this article. With the ‘types of meaning’ there are three significant categories to be looked at when conducting discourse analysis, action,

⁵⁰ Fairclough, N. (2003) *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research London: Routledge* p13

⁵¹

The Daily Mail. (2016). *Brexit will boost pay and jobs says Tory high-flier*. [online] Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3521977/Britain-thrive-Brexit-Leaving-boost-pay-jobs-says-Tory-high-flier.html> [Accessed 23 Aug. 2019].

representation and identification, as he states ‘focusing analysis of texts on the interplay of Action, Representation and Identification brings a social perspective into the heart and fine detail of the text’.⁵²

The notion of action describes the format of the text – for example, persuasive, interrogative, declarative or implicative. In this instance, the initial feeling is that this text aims to be persuasive. There is then ‘representation’, which involved the descriptions of ,for example, actions, places or people. An example of this can be seen with the headline’s description of ‘high-flying tory’⁵³ used to describe Conservative politician Andrea Leadsom. Andrea Leadsom is in the same article is referred to as; ‘Mrs Leadsom’, ‘Energy Minister’ ‘ex ‘Treasury Minister’, ‘Tory rising star’ and potential ‘future leader’.⁵⁴ This is a noble example of representation as although the article is in essence persuasive and not based on fact, with regards to matters concerning policy, Andrea Leadsom, is undoubtedly qualified to provide an opinion that should be listened to due to the vast amount of titles that emphasize on her qualifications, ambitions and experience whereas the current Prime Minister (at the time) was not referred to by rank, title or experience. Instead, the description was ‘David Cameron’.⁵⁵ Referring to the highest-ranking politician in the United Kingdom by name and not rank is typically and unprecedented phenomenon and as a result, it has the opposite effect to that which is desired from the way in which Andrea Leadsom is described. The description of the PM as David Cameron could be mistaken for allowing one to assume his stance on the topic of this article is not as a politician but as a civilian. It should not be overlooked that when Andrea Leadsom is speaking about the economy, she is described as Ex Treasury Minister, but when the Prime Minister is speaking about the economy, he is referred to as David Cameron.

There is also the final category of identification. Identification can to some degree relate to the representations used by the writer(s) in order to gain a broader understanding of the literature’s motive. Due to the persuasive landscape of this article, it is instantaneously apparent that much of the written content is based upon inducement and opinion, instead of factual based evidence, and this is owing to many reasons, most notably the lack of sources after claims. An example of this is shown when Mrs Leadsom claims that ‘If you are unemployed or low-paid it is clear

⁵² Fairclough, N. (2003) *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* London: Routledge

⁵³ The Daily Mail. (2016). *Brexit will boost pay and jobs says Tory high-flier*. [online] Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3521977/Britain-thrive-Brexit-Leaving-boost-pay-jobs-says-Tory-high-flier.html> [Accessed 23 Aug. 2019].

⁵⁴ Ibid

⁵⁵ Ibid

you would benefit from Britain leaving the EU.’⁵⁶ This is a claim without any follow up of reference, explanation or evidence – something which is a reoccurring theme for *The Daily Mail* and other outlets that have articles which aim to persuade rather than to for example declare or interrogate.

Further evidence of this is through the claim that ‘the latest opinion poll gives Leave a four-point lead.’⁵⁷ There is no reference or citation as to which opinion poll being discussed, what the timeframe is or even if the data is from a reputable and neutral polling institution. The lack of sources for such claims are not to say that they are fallacious; however, it would be expected that where the topic of numbers and the economy is concerned, it would be relatively easy and in the best interests of the outlet to provide evidence in the form of numerical data. With an article that is designed to persuade, it could prove to be particularly more persuasive to the reader purely with the addition of factual evidence. However, as described in the earlier chapters of this thesis, Euroscepticism is based on emotion just as much as it is based on fact, therefore, from the perspective of the publishing outlet, it could have been deemed to be unnecessary.

With regards to the form of Euroscepticism displayed throughout this article, it is clear that there are reservations concerning the economic aspect of the United Kingdom remaining in the EU.

4.3 Article 2 – *The Daily Mail*

Health tourism is costing UK millions, say Brexit campaigners

The Daily Mail: April 5, 2016⁵⁸

The second article is from *The Daily Mail* outlet and has a focus upon the economic aspects of Euroscepticism, thus providing economic arguments as to why leaving the European Union could be seen as beneficial to the United Kingdom. The article was written prior to the referendum; however, unlike the first article analysed, these writers/contributors to this piece

⁵⁶ **Ibid**

⁵⁷ **Ibid**

⁵⁸ **The Daily Mail. (2016). *Health tourism is costing UK millions, say Brexit campaigners* . [online] Available at <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-3523681/Health-tourism-costing-UK-millions-say-Brexit-campaigners.html>**

were not declared. Which is an stimulating point where textual analysis is concerned. As Fairclough explains

'Styles are the discorsal aspect of ways of being, identities. Who you are is partly a matter of how you speak, how you write, as well as a matter of embodiment – how you look, how you hold yourself, how you move, and so forth. Styles are linked to identification – using the nominalization rather than the noun 'identities' emphasizes the process of identifying, how people identify themselves and are identified by others.' ⁵⁹

When the writer(s) of an article is not declared, one can take the assumption of two things. The piece represents the overall views of all that are connected to the publishing outlet, or there is a strategic benefit in not declaring openly who is responsible for writing the piece. The latter could be pertinent, for example, if there are claims made within an article that are not factually supported.

'Health tourism from the European Union is costing the UK hundreds of millions a year, Brexit campaigners have claimed.' ⁶⁰

The opening passages of the article establish once again that this from *The Daily Mail* article aims to be persuasive and at the same time declarative. The declarative angle derives from the attempts to highlight amounts ('Costing the UK hundreds of millions a year'). ⁶¹ Whereas, the persuasive angle of text can be seen from the opening few words. 'Health tourism from the European Union.' ⁶²

Health tourism, by meaning has many negative connotations associated with the concept. By definition – according the Cambridge English Dictionary Health otherwise known as Medical

⁵⁹ Fairclough, N. (2003) *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research London: Routledge* p.160

⁶⁰ The Daily Mail. (2016). *Health tourism is costing UK millions, say Brexit campaigners* . [online] Available at <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-3523681/Health-tourism-costing-UK-millions-say-Brexit-campaigners.html>

⁶¹ Ibid

⁶² Ibid

tourism is to ‘travel to a foreign country for medical treatment, especially because it is less expensive than in your own country’⁶³. There is the notion that travel tourism disadvantages the host country by way of financial impact and impact on general public resources, especially in this instance as the article claims the those placing strain on the United Kingdom’s economy are from European Union member states. If following the *Fairclough* model used in the first article, the action of the text is to declare and persuade. The representation in the article provides words of a positive connotation to the Brexit side of the argument – referring to those making the claims of Medical tourism to the U.K as ‘Brexit campaigners’ while the opposing side or any other party in disagreement as the ‘Remain camp’.

It is clear that there is a form of Euroscepticism on display, which has grievances with regards to migrants from the European Union being in the United Kingdom and receiving medical care. Consequently, the overall message of the piece appears to be slightly misleading or at the very least befuddling. On the one hand, there is the suggestion that ‘money could have been much better spent - it could have been invested to improve care for NHS patients.’⁶⁴ However, there is a failure to acknowledge, regardless of nationality, those that are treated on the NHS are by definition NHS patients. To clarify, it would not be possible to spend money on improving care for NHS patients without improving care for NHS patients that are non-UK/EEA nationals. Although there has been no evidence provided to suggest that health tourism from the EU to the UK is a significant problem which warrants the UK withdrawing from the EU, it is a proposal that nevertheless is recommended by the writer of this article. It does seem that within this article there are external factors beyond Euroscepticism in play here. There is an concern that within the United Kingdom, sick British patients are treated in the same way that sick European nationals are treated. This indicates there are possible factors that go beyond a rejectionist stance to the European project and perhaps there are elements of discrimination based on nationality.

⁶³ Dictionary.cambridge.org. (2019). *HEALTH TOURISM* | meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary. [online] Available at: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/health-tourism> [Accessed 3 Sep. 2019].

⁶⁴ The Daily Mail. (2016). *Health tourism is costing UK millions, say Brexit campaigners* . [online] Available at <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-3523681/Health-tourism-costing-UK-millions-say-Brexit-campaigners.html>

4.4 Article 3 – *The Sun*

SUN SAYS

We urge our readers to beLEAVE in Britain and vote to quit the EU on June 23

THIS is our last chance to remove ourselves from the undemocratic Brussels machine ... and it's time to take it⁶⁵

The Sun: June 13, 2016

The third article to be analysed is from *The Sun* newspaper outlet, published three weeks prior to the EU referendum and is in a similar fashion to the previous *Daily Mail* article, not credited by an individual journalist – *The Sun* has opted to take a collective approach where the attributing is concerned.

If taking account of the headline of this piece, it is clear that the angle/action is – once again – to persuade and the representation of the article seeks to portray *The Sun* as a unified entity. ‘SUN SAYS’. Is an emphatic headline in block capitals, that is direct, to the point and aims to gain attention. This function is most apparent in headlines, presented as block language, where the impersonality and formality are intense. Block language is specific among others for its absence of articles, ellipted auxiliary and complex nominalization. However, it is imperative not to place an unrealistic burden on newspapers where exaggeration and truthfulness is concerned. As Barker & Galinsinski explain, ‘It is not helpful to think of language as picturing the world with its promise to deliver us the truth, as correspondence between the world and language.’⁶⁶

In this article, *The Sun* has opted to approach the reader from a very undeveloped standpoint. That is, that the United Kingdom being members of the European Union is not good and the United Kingdom leaving the European Union is good.

A clear example of the negative descriptions of the United Kingdom’s relationship can be seen from the opening passages of the article. “We must set ourselves free from dictatorial Brussels

⁶⁵ **The Sun**, (2016). *We urge our readers to beLEAVE in Britain and vote to quit the EU on June 23*. [online] The Sun. Available at: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1277920/we-urge-our-readers-to-believe-in-britain-and-vote-to-leave-the-eu-in-referendum-on-june-23/> [Accessed 6 Sep. 2019].

⁶⁶ **Barker & Galasinski** *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis: A Dialogue on Language and Identity* (2003). P40

(...) Throughout our 43-year membership of the European Union it has proved increasingly greedy, wasteful, bullying and breathtakingly incompetent in a crisis.”⁶⁷

All these adjectives – bullying, greedy, wasteful, breathtakingly incompetent are used to represent the European Union in a negative light – and as a result, that could have had an effect in the way voters/readers of this outlet felt, in the lead up to the 2016 referendum. The use of several contrasting, yet negative adjectives allow the article to perhaps compensate for lack of evidence in such claims which are made. Instead of merely describing the European Union as ‘greedy’, using additional descriptions allows for the inference that there may be accuracy in the statements and is additionally used to remain in the mind of the reader.

In a similar manner to the previous article analysed, there is the way in Prime Minister, David Cameron is referred to. Once again, he is not referred to by title, rank or position; in this article from *The Sun* it is just ‘Cameron’. In a similar method used by the *Daily Mail*, referring to the highest-ranking politician in the United Kingdom by surname signifies an attempt to portray his views and messages as personal and not from the perspective of a democratically elected politician, whose job is to serve in the best interests of the people that voted him in to represent them. ‘Cameron wants it’ (...) Cameron admits it’⁶⁸ are just a couple of examples in which the Prime Ministers communications are sought to be represented as personal opinion. As Barker & Galansiki indicate, ‘The language of the individual subject is valuable when it provides the means to power and capacities of the person(s).⁶⁹ It must therefore, have the opposite effect in this instance, when the language is there in an attempt to diminish power from the individual. Portraying the Prime Minister’s views as personal instead of from the capacity of the Prime Minister undoubtedly takes some weight away from the context of what is being said. As Barker & Galinsinski explain, ‘identities shift according to how subjects are addressed or represented.’⁷⁰

⁶⁷ *The Sun*, (2016). *We urge our readers to beLEAVE in Britain and vote to quit the EU on June 23*. [online] *The Sun*. Available at: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1277920/we-urge-our-readers-to-believe-in-britain-and-vote-to-leave-the-eu-in-referendum-on-june-23/> [Accessed 6 Sep. 2019].

⁶⁸ *Ibid*

⁶⁹ Barker & Galasinski *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis: A Dialogue on Language and Identity* (2003). P42

⁷⁰ *Ibid*

Contrastingly, *The Sun* bids to use affirmative adjectives and positive representation to describe the United Kingdom's future after leaving the European Union. “ ‘Richer’, ‘safer’, ‘free’ ” were all used to describe the future of the United Kingdom outside of the European Union. As the article clarifies, ‘Outside the EU we can become richer, safer and free at long last to forge our own destiny — as America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and many other great democracies already do.’⁷¹

The use of identification in this instance is binary and concise, and one must also take into account that a fundamental reason for this could be because *The Sun* knows its audience and its audience knows what it is receiving from an entity like *The Sun*.

With regards to the facets of Euroscepticism on display, this article from *The Sun* highlights many things; however, there is a constant link back to the topic of immigration from many different angles. It starts with the acknowledgement surrounding the Single Market law. ‘We are told we cannot be in the single market without accepting all the rules, free movement of people included.’⁷² Initially, the point being made seems to be about the Single Market and ‘all the rules’ however, upon reflection it does appear to be the case that there are no grievances with the overall day-to-day operations of the Single Market. The problem appears to be accepting the Free Movement of People. With regards to the depiction of Free Movement of Persons in this article, there does appear to be some misrepresentation.

As the article claims, because of FoM ‘we [The United Kingdom] will finally give up any chance of controlling our population.’⁷³

It is worth noting that FoM does not mean unlimited and uncontrolled immigration from place-to-place within the EU. As the EU commission explains, ‘EU citizens are entitled to; look for a job in another EU country, work there without needing a work permit and reside there for that purpose.’⁷⁴ There is the additional caveat of the law, which makes evident that there are

⁷¹ **Ibid**

⁷² **The Sun, (2016). *We urge our readers to beLEAVE in Britain and vote to quit the EU on June 23*. [online] The Sun. Available at: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1277920/we-urge-our-readers-to-believe-in-britain-and-vote-to-leave-the-eu-in-referendum-on-june-23/> [Accessed 6 Sep. 2019]**

⁷³ **Ibid**

⁷⁴ **Ec.europa.eu. (2019). *Free movement - EU nationals - Employment, Social Affairs & Inclusion - European Commission*. [online] Available at: <https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=457&langId=en> [Accessed 9 Oct. 2019].**

‘limitations based on considerations of public security, public policy, public health grounds and employment in the public sector.’⁷⁵ So, although there is the claim from The Sun that ‘staying in will be worse for immigration, worse for jobs, worse for wages and worse for our way of life,’⁷⁶ there is unfortunately, nothing to link those claims to the laws surrounding FoM. There is additionally no correlation between the four freedoms and the claims that ‘Greece is bankrupt. Italy is in danger of going the same way (...) In Spain, 45 per cent of those under 25 are out of work (...) And numerous even poorer and worse-governed countries are now joining the EU.’⁷⁷

There is a demonstration of Hard Euroscepticism on display in this article by The Sun. The assertions made and representation used for various people, places and institution signify this. There is no effort or attempt to encourage reform within the European Union; there is a clear rejectionist stance which gives the take on why European Union membership is bad and why the United Kingdom (rightly or wrongly) should not be members of the institution.

4.5 Article 4 – *The Express*

Ridiculous EU rules that Britain has to adhere to: Six of the worst
BREXIT campaigners say Brexit will set Britain free from bizarre EU rules that dictate everyday life in the UK. Here is a look at some of the most ridiculous directives.⁷⁸

The Express: June 24, 2016.

The fourth article is from *The Express* newspaper group. The article was written by a journalist that goes by the name of Alice Foster, and it seeks to educate or at-least inform the reader about (what is described as) ‘ridiculous EU rules that Britain has to adhere to.’⁷⁹ The article in a

⁷⁵ **Ibid**

⁷⁶ **The Sun**, (2016). *We urge our readers to beLEAVE in Britain and vote to quit the EU on June 23*. [online] **The Sun**. Available at: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1277920/we-urge-our-readers-to-believe-in-britain-and-vote-to-leave-the-eu-in-referendum-on-june-23/> [Accessed 6 Sep. 2019]

⁷⁷ **Ibid**

⁷⁸ **Foster, A.** (2016). *Ridiculous EU rules that Britain has to adhere to: Six of the worst*. [online] **Express.co.uk**. Available at: <https://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/669356/EU-ridiculous-rules-Britain-must-adhere-balloons-toasters-bananas-lightbulbs-pet-horses> [Accessed 10 Sep. 2019].

⁷⁹ **Ibid**

similar makeup to the previous two that were analysed, seeks to portray the United Kingdom's membership with the European Union as negative, whilst giving positive predictions as to what will happen once 'Brexit will set Britain free from bizarre EU rules.'⁸⁰

While all of the rules and directives in the article are centred around the notion of health & safety, they are nevertheless categorised as 'bizarre', by Alice Foster of *The Express*. In the previous articles analysed, the focus was perhaps heavily focused on the action of the piece. For clarification, it was centred around the representation aspect – in this instance portraying select EU laws in an undesirable light – insinuating that there is an issue surrounding the sovereignty aspect of Euroscepticism here. There is the inference that is if the United Kingdom was not part of the European Union, they would not be bound by described laws. One of the six rules in the article states that the European Union forbids person(s) from member states from consuming their pet horse. Foster considers the law 'bizarre' due to the fact that that it is just pet horses that are not allowed to be eaten. However, as Foster also explains in the article, this is to avoid individuals from European member states raising pet horses for consumption in order to avoid adhering to food safety rules. Though, what is not mentioned in the article, is that lobbying from the RSPCA along with discussions with the U.K government's Environment, Food and Rural Affairs committee was a contributing factor in the law regarding horse meat consumption.

As explained in an official U.K government document,

"the RSPCA told the House of Commons Environment, Food and Rural Affairs Committee that the scale of unregulated horse breeding and trading has made horses entering the slaughtering chain vulnerable to mislabelling and traceability problems. The Association identified "changes in slaughterhouse legislation and the failure of the horse passport system", as contributing to the problem".⁸¹

Lack of intrinsic detail or at least openness is a reoccurring theme, in this article by *The Express*. Nevertheless, as Fairclough explains discourse analysis, it not just about the words

⁸⁰ **Ibid**

⁸¹ **UK. Gov (2013). *Horse Meat Controls and Regulations*. [online] [Researchbriefings.parliament.uk](https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk).**

Available at: <https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/SN06534> [Accessed 13 Sep. 2019].

that are used, but it is also important to acknowledge that what is omitted is also usually of significance – indirect discourse.

‘Indirect discourse may also accurately represent the actual words used, or alternatively a transformation of those words into the ‘voice’ (in the sense of the style distinctive for, say, a newspaper or some sections of it) of the primary discourse.’⁸² Fairclough mentions that ‘(...) in general, where ID occurs there is ambivalence as to voice (...) This ambivalence is part of a broader tendency for primary and secondary discourse not to be clearly differentiated. ⁸³

The method ID is especially prominent in persuasive articles, most likely owing to the fact the outlet knows the reader and the reader knows the outlet and what to expect, as ‘aspects of the ‘style’ of a text are ideologically significant.’⁸⁴ As Fairclough referenced in an article from Van Dijk, ‘the headline and the lead paragraph express the most important information of the cognitive model of journalists, that is, how they see and define the news event.’ This is of significant importance because, unless readers have different knowledge and beliefs, they will generally adopt these subjective media definitions of what is important information about an event’⁸⁵ or story. It is commonplace that after time the readers of specific outlet will believe what is written, without doing due diligence or background research. This is not necessarily an adverse attribute, as it represents a trusting relationship between the reader and the outlet; however, it does allow for the possible form of manipulation from the outlet to the reader. As Fairclough explains in his breakdown of discourse analysis, ‘texts acquire their meanings by the dialectical relationship between texts and the social subjects: writers and the readers, who always operate with various degrees of choice and access to texts and means of interpretation.’⁸⁶

4.6 Article 5 – *The Daily Star*

⁸² Fairclough, N. (2003) *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research London: Routledge P.56*

⁸³ *Ibid*

⁸⁴ Fairclough, N. (2003) *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research London: Routledge P.75*

⁸⁵ Van Dijk, T.A. (1988a). *News Analysis: Case Studies of International and National News in the Press. Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates P.14*

⁸⁶ Fairclough, N. (2003) *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research London: Routledge P.13*

'Brexit will make Britain great' Former Brit boss says new trade agreements will thrive
BRITAIN is not dependent on exports to the EU, a new report claimed last night.⁸⁷

The Daily Star: 31 July, 2016

The fifth article (see: index 5) is an article from *The Daily Star*, and written by the journalist Ruth Mckee. This text in a similar fashion to many of the post and pre-referendum articles contains an headline that in its very core seeks to persuade and convince the reader of what is being said. 'Brexit will make Britain great', noticeably comes at an influential approach if considering the action of the text. With regards to the representation of the piece, we can see that the person attributed to the claims of Brexit being beneficial to the United Kingdom, is 'Former Brit Boss'. Referring to John Longworth as 'brit boss' indicates several things. Firstly, the phrase itself, brit boss, contains alliteration, so is captivating, easy-on-the-eye, and not difficult to remember.

There is also the use of colloquial terminology with regards to the word brit (Britain). Although not declared within the text, it is naturally assumed that the term brit is referring to the nationality of the person they are describing. This, therefore, indicated two things. The use of slang implies that this person is either approachable, not overly formal or familiar to the reader, plus indicating that Longworth is of British origin does give the insinuation that he has the best interests of Britain in his rational. Furthermore, citing John Longworth as a boss implies that the foundation behind his statements concerning Brexit, stems from possible business knowledge and not solely that of emotional sentiment or bias to the United Kingdom's position. Thus, providing extra-weight behind the claims that he has made.

This is a shrewd approach with regards to persuasive articles such as this one. Questioning the legitimacy of claims made by Longworth, leaves those that critique open to two forms of scrutiny. The first form would be that disagreeing with a 'Brit boss' means that that you are disagreeing with a person that has Britain's interests at heart, therefore coming across as a 'anti-brit' – when bearing in mind the emotional aspect behind Euroscepticism. Secondly, it would also be arduous to disagree with the view of the protagonist here. A 'boss' that has professional knowledge, and experience with managing within the field he is speaking in

⁸⁷ McKee, R. (2016). 'Brexit will make Britain great' Former Brit boss says new trade agreements will thrive. [online] *Dailystar.co.uk*. Available at: <https://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/john-longworth-former-head-chamber-17101309> [Accessed 17 Sep. 2019].

providing an opinion can be difficult to legitimately frame arguments in contradiction to, particularly when these claims are framed in the form of an opinion.

This article from *The Daily Star* is concise (under 300 words) and follows the similar pattern of many other Eurosceptic articles in lacking or failing to go into great detail where the criticism of the European Union is concerned and additionally when describing the potential benefits of Brexit.

In all of the articles analysed, where the primary objective has been to persuade, representation has been an incredibly powerful tool, where the portrayal of institutions is concerned. For clarification, there are elements of this article which manage to indirectly discredit the European Union, without mentioning the European Union by. The idea that ‘Brexit will allow Britain to become a great trading nation once again’⁸⁸, suggests a couple of things. The first inference is that the United Kingdom’s EU membership prohibits the nation from becoming a great trading nation, the second is that one cannot be a great trading nation while members of the European Union. As Barker & Galansinski explain, ‘language is not metaphysical presence, nor a coherent system, but a content specific tool for achieving our own purposes.’⁸⁹ This is a significant point when considering the use of language within politics. As Barker & Galansinski explain, ‘The language of cultural politics bring oppression in to view (...) this does not involve the discovery of truth.’⁹⁰ The way in which people, places and institutions are described are not done so with the primary objective being accuracy or as Barker & Galansinski describe – the discovery of truth. This is a notion that is somewhat echoed by Fairclough, as he tells how vital text can be to shaping a narrative and determining attitudes. ‘Texts can start wars (...) contribute to changes in education, changes in industrial relations, and so forth and their effects can include changes in the material world.’⁹¹

⁸⁸ McKee, R. (2016). *'Brexit will make Britain great' Former Brit boss says new trade agreements will thrive.* [online] Dailystar.co.uk. Available at: <https://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/john-longworth-former-head-chamber-17101309> [Accessed 17 Sep. 2019].

⁸⁹ Barker & Galansinski *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis: A Dialogue on Language and Identity* (2003). P44

⁹⁰ Barker & Galansinski *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis: A Dialogue on Language and Identity* (2003). P45

⁹¹ Fairclough, N. (2003) *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research London: P.8*

5.1 Discussion

The following chapter will be where similarities and differences will be compared, with regards to the issue of Euroscepticism in the United Kingdom. Reasons provided for wanting to leave the European Union will be compared and discussed, while key elements will be analysed in this section. There will be interpretations – discussing the meaning of the results, implications – establishing why the results matter, limitations – what the results can tell us and recommendations, with regards to what practical actions or scientific studies should follow.

Concerning the articles analysed and the British tabloid press in general, it is important to acknowledge that where textual analysis is concerned, assumptions must be made. It is important to recognise that within certain forms of dialogue, exceptions must be made. As Fairclough mentions, ‘implicitness is a pervasive property of texts and a property of considerable social importance.’⁹² When analysing texts, one must recognise that ‘all forms of fellowship, community and solidarity depend upon meanings which are shared and can be taken as given, and no form of social communication or interaction is conceivable without some such common ground.’⁹³

With regards to the articles investigated throughout this study, it is apparent that in almost all instances, the reasons given for wanting to leave the European Union / or the benefits for leaving the European Union are a result of the economy or sovereignty angle. This on the surface answers the question of the problem formulation - *How were the reasons for wanting the UK to leave the EU constructed through discourse in British tabloid media at the time of the referendum?* However, if going into more detail, there are some important elements that should be recognised.

A similar noticeable configuration with regards to the articles analysed is that although the initial form of Euroscepticism given in the headline or opening paragraphs may be owning or connected to grievances concerning the economy. However, there were approximately on all occasions, supplementary reasons are given which were not in any way connected to the primary given economy aspect of Euroscepticism - or at the very least the reasons given were vague or fictitious in nature.

⁹² Fairclough, N. (2003) *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research London: Routledge* P.55

⁹³ *Ibid.*

For example, in analysis article 5, there are suggestions that the United Kingdom leaving the European Union is a positive prospect because, ‘Experts say that as the rest of the world grows richer, people want wellcrafted [sic], luxury goods, an area where Britain excels.’⁹⁴ Though, there is no explanation as to who these experts are, what their expertise are in, or in which way Britain excels in crafting such goods. In fact, according to the UK governments own calculations, the United Kingdom is an economy that is heavily reliant on services. Services are the sector that accounts for the largest part of the economy – in 2017; they accounted for 79% of economic output, the production sector for 14%, construction for 6% and agriculture for 1%.⁹⁵ This is without mentioning that since the article from the *Daily Star* was published, manufacturing output from the UK has descended by 1.1% and the production sector overall fell by 0.5%. As Fairclough explains,

‘One important contrast in reporting is between reports which are relatively faithful to what is reported, quoting it, claiming to reproduce what was actually said or written, and those which are not.’⁹⁶ To be completely clear, it is important to distinguish from reports which ‘keep a relatively strong and clear boundary between the speech or writing or thought that is reported and the text in which they are reported, and those which do not.’⁹⁷

Though, it is perhaps analysis article 3, which provides the most content for analysis. In analysis article 3, *The Sun* tackles a vast amount of objections within a relatively short article. It appears that the issue of sovereignty is the concern from the writers in this article, though there are a vast amount of additional facets of Euroscepticism tackled as the piece progresses – once again without demonstrating any factual evidence. There is the claim that ‘outside the EU we [The UK] can become richer, safer and free at long last to forge our own destiny’⁹⁸ This is then followed by claims such as ‘Staying in will be worse for immigration, worse for jobs,

⁹⁴ McKee, R. (2016). *'Brexit will make Britain great' Former Brit boss says new trade agreements will thrive.* [online] *Dailystar.co.uk*. Available at: <https://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/john-longworth-former-head-chamber-17101309> [Accessed 17 Sep. 2019].

⁹⁵ Booth, L. (2019). *Components of GDP: Key Economic Indicators.* [online] *Researchbriefings.parliament.uk*. Available at: <https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/SN02787> [Accessed 24 Sep. 2019].

⁹⁶ Fairclough, N. (2003) *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research London: Routledge P.49*

⁹⁷ *Ibid*

⁹⁸ *The Sun*, (2016). *We urge our readers to beLEAVE in Britain and vote to quit the EU on June 23.* [online] *The Sun*. Available at: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1277920/we-urge-our-readers-to-believe-in-britain-and-vote-to-leave-the-eu-in-referendum-on-june-23/> [Accessed 6 Sep. 2019].

worse for wages and worse for our way of life.’⁹⁹ A sentence that includes feasibly all acknowledged facets of Euroscepticism. There is the mention of immigration, economy, and sovereignty whilst using emotive language which describes how ‘the Remain campaign, made up of the corporate establishment, arrogant Europhiles and foreign banks, have set out to terrify us all about life outside the EU.’¹⁰⁰ This article undoubtedly takes the approach of casting all connections to the European Union as harmful and does so in a multidimensional approach. This could be owing to many reasons, including the release date of the article. The article was published ten days before the 2016 referendum, and there is a general consensus that with the articles that were published before the referendum, the reasons given for support of Brexit are in almost all instances multidimensional, based on prediction, rather than fact and to some extent frantic in their methods of persuasion.

With regards to this article from *The Sun*, one would assume that if the initial reasons given for wanting to leave the European Union were solid enough, it would not be necessary to launch personal attacks on; ‘The Remain campaign, made up of the corporate establishment, arrogant europhiles[sic] and foreign banks’, ‘dictatorial Brussels’ or ‘project fear’.¹⁰¹ *The Sun* demonstrates in this article clear illustration of ‘Hard Euroscepticism’, because just as Taggart and Szczerbiak describe, ‘there is a clear and principled opposition to the EU and European integration.’¹⁰²

It is important to look deeply at what these articles tell us, with regards to how the reasons for wanting the United Kingdom to leave the European Union were constructed through discourse in British tabloid media, at the time of the referendum. The general consensus is that in order to construct arguments as to why the United Kingdom should leave the European Union, in almost all instances, the European Union must be portrayed in a negative light, while the future of the United Kingdom must be – in contrast – portrayed positively and optimistically.

The second point is that the majority of these articles start by basing their Euroscepticism upon the potential economic benefits that the UK would face should it leave the EU. Putting to one

⁹⁹ **Ibid**

¹⁰⁰ **Ibid**

¹⁰¹ **The Sun, (2016). *We urge our readers to beLEAVE in Britain and vote to quit the EU on June 23.*** [online] The Sun. Available at: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1277920/we-urge-our-readers-to-believe-in-britain-and-vote-to-leave-the-eu-in-referendum-on-june-23/> [Accessed 6 Sep. 2019].

¹⁰² **Taggart, P and Szczerbiak A *The Party Politics of Euroscepticism in EU Member and Candidate States* 2002.P6**

side the fact that such benefits are based on speculation and cannot be proven, it is an interesting find. This is perhaps because economics is an aspect of Euroscepticism that many can resonate with and get behind, without perhaps being linked to racism/xenophobia or other negative characteristics that can sometimes be associated with Euroscepticism. The average reader of *The Sun*, the *Daily Mail*, *The Daily Star* and or *The Express* cannot be accused of anything but being sensible if wanting to leave the European Union potentially means an increase in earnings for them and their families. This is something that should not be undervalued, when only two years prior to the referendum, the Institute for Fiscal Studies calculated that the absolute poverty rate in the UK was 21.6% (13.6 million individuals), measuring incomes after deducting housing costs (AHC).¹⁰³ With over 13 million British citizens living in poverty prior to the referendum, it is without a doubt that by certain areas of the tabloid press putting forward the argument that the EU is a reason for why they are living in poverty, Euroscepticism and support for Brexit would intensify.

In many instances, these arguments connecting to the economy then develop into sub-concerns. Tackling into issues concerning immigration, sovereignty and other facets of Euroscepticism. This is because, with immigration, and sovereignty, it could be considered as ‘easy’ to place blame on individuals and then go back to link it to the economy. A prime example of this is highlighted in *The Sun* article analysed in this project. The opening passages of the article suggest that ‘outside the EU we can become richer’¹⁰⁴, before going on to explaining possible how this financial growth will occur. The article goes on to say that, ‘to remain means being powerless to cut mass immigration which keeps wages low and puts catastrophic pressure on our schools, hospitals, roads and housing stock.’¹⁰⁵ Though, it has been proven that EEA migrants are a benefit to the UK’s economy. In a report for the United Kingdom’s migration committee, it was established that ‘EEA migrants contributed around £2,300 per head more

¹⁰³ **Living Standards, Poverty and Inequality in the UK: 2015.** (2015). 1st ed. [ebook] London: Institute for Fiscal Studies, p.43. Available at: <https://www.ifs.org.uk/uploads/publications/comms/R107.pdf> [Accessed 27 Sep. 2019].

¹⁰⁴ **The Sun,** (2016). *We urge our readers to beLEAVE in Britain and vote to quit the EU on June 23.* [online] The Sun. Available at: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1277920/we-urge-our-readers-to-believe-in-britain-and-vote-to-leave-the-eu-in-referendum-on-june-23/> [Accessed 6 Sep. 2019].

¹⁰⁵ **Ibid**

than the average UK adult.’¹⁰⁶ So, while these various outlets do claim that leaving the European Union is economically beneficially for Britain, it cannot ,or at least has not been proven.

Though, what is factual is that migrants that reside in the United Kingdom under freedom of movement laws are net contributors to the UK’s GDP. In short, European migrants benefit the economy. Something all four outlets had failed to acknowledge in all of the articles analysed during this projects.

It is difficult to ascertain as to why these newspapers have omitted such a relevant fact from their articles, so one might suggest it is a result of their inherent Euroscepticism and long-running agendas. As highlighted earlier within this project, an example of this is Rupert Murdoch explaining that he is anti-EU because ‘when I go to Brussels they take no notice’. ¹⁰⁷ So, what is one able to conclude from the findings in the analysis chapter?

It would be unfair to suggest that there are no legitimate reasons for being a supporter of Brexit, or indeed for being a Eurosceptic. That being said, it is clear that in all articles analysed in this project, there have been clear cases of exaggeration, the presentation of fact(s) as opinion(s) and a heavy dependence on persuasive editorial technique from the side of the newspapers. It suggests that there is Brexit and perhaps Euroscepticism are topics based on emotions and sentiment rather than facts and evidence. Clear facts concerning how much EEA migrants contribute to the economy, or how the laws are created are readily available and accessible, though are consistently overlooked or at-least not acknowledged, for reasons that remain unclear until there is further research conducted in this area.

¹⁰⁶UK.Gov (2019). *THE FISCAL IMPACT OF IMMIGRATION ON THE UK A REPORT FOR THE MIGRATION ADVISORY COMMITTEE*. [online] Available at: https://d2rpq8wtqka5kg.cloudfront.net/460295/open20181002110700.pdf?Expires=1569938836&Signature=LUTMxZUjO3i7zo1r2bN3ROmAxZXWgp2fBrxCfh3T3OIoQe1KLSO1Vc22FsqeQwB4-aglS7GwZkWUsK79yRHZ7ebLi1VFsrSIQSC8hWFmVOOgGDuzGDK~wXgKadD89J6siXmtALavZ0slaq00MPz2L-Z4pNf7dIzoxKQme3JAgKeDJDmpzo83SMjcvbthhPYj-UENIxKACSIMtUnVBUJHA3jBZupW~IslEKUZZleg2qK5bh1h510XC5I08aGkKLhHtV0Dt4guQbV6bbNSw6DAMccTAjrKxovcZfIncA7Od7xm35fJ0lCnaDoOku4MVYJZfV50uR9nR-p8GhValNIE1Q__&Key-Pair-Id=APKAJVGCNMR6FQV6VYIA [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019].

¹⁰⁷ Hilton, A *The Evening Standard* (print) February 26 2016

6.1 Conclusion

This thesis aimed to focus upon how the reasons for wanting the United Kingdom to leave the European Union, were portrayed through discourse in parts of the British tabloid media. To do this, it was imperative to establish clarity over several matters. It was important to gain an understanding over the relationship between the British tabloid press and the European Union – for clarification, finding out if there were any links between the editors/writers and the European Union institution because if there were this would, of course, be of significance. It was also of substantial importance to provide a basic understanding of Euroscepticism in the United Kingdom at the same time providing a theoretical framework in order to conduct a discourse analysis on the selected newspaper articles.

By conducting a discourse analysis on the various selected articles, I was able to some extent determine the method in which certain areas of the British tabloid media portray a message that supports Brexit, to their readers. It was determined that the reasons for wanting to leave the EU that were constructed through discourse were primarily done so with articles that were primarily designed to persuade, rather than inform, declare or interrogate. Instead of providing a balanced approach, all articles analysed opted for the persuasive method of article writing.

This thesis has opened the doors for further research, where the notion of Brexit and discourse analysis is concerned. Whilst this paper has provided clarity as to how certain areas of the media portrayed Brexit at the time of the 2016 referendum; there is a natural progression that could perhaps explore in more detail the relationship between Euroscepticism in society and media outlets. There would be relevance and advantage in exploring (within the UK) for instance whether Euroscepticism in society is a result of certain media coverage, or whether certain media coverage is purely reflective of the wider societal makeup.

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