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**THE PRESS' INFLUENCE ON THE UNITED KINGDOM'S
REFERENDUM ON BREXIT: FROM 15TH OF APRIL TO 23RD
OF JUNE 2016**

Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctorate in
English Literature and Civilization

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Declaration

I hereby declare that the substance of this dissertation is entirely the result of my investigation and that due reference or acknowledgment is made, whenever necessary, to the work of other researchers.

I am duly informed that any person practicing plagiarism will be subject to disciplinary sanctions issued by university authorities under the rules and regulations in force.

Date: 03 January 2022

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Acknowledgements

I owe a large debt of gratitude to my research supervisor Prof. Brahim Mansouri for his guidance and support throughout the progress of this research. I am also highly grateful to the members of the jury: Dr. Assia Kaced, Dr. Mohamed Douifi, Dr. Raoud Nadjouia, Dr. Yasmina Djafri and Dr. Fethi Haddouche for having accepted to examine this dissertation.

Dedication

I dedicate my dissertation to the five pillars of my life: My mother, my husband, sister, brother and my children;

Mom, you have given me so much. Thanks for your faith in me and for teaching me the first and indispensable lessons of life;

Brahim, without your love and your understanding I would not be able to accomplish this work;

Zina, thank you for believing in me, supporting, encouraging and motivating me to continue at rough times;

Cherif, you are a source of my inspiration and my ideal in life thank you for being there for me;

Akram, Yacine and Ilyas, I want you to be proud of me, thank you for your patience and sorry for taking from your time and for not always being to the height with you;

I cannot forget my brothers Abderrahmane, Mouloud and Azzeddine who are very special, thank you for your encouragement and support;

I also give special thanks to my friends Selma, Chahinez and Djamila.

Abstract

For decades, newspapers in the UK have been harnessed as a communicative means by owners and politicians to propagate their ideas, legitimize their political power, and shape people's opinions in favour of policy makers' intentions. People's actions and opinions are profoundly manageable and manipulated by the hidden ideologies adopted by the press and ingrained within the news texts. During the Brexit referendum campaign of 2016, the press was a primary source of political information and had a significant position in setting the agenda for the mainstream Media. This dissertation is an attempt to analyze the language used in the UK online press during the EU membership referendum campaign to provide readers with a new perspective to visualize the outcome of the EU referendum. Norman Fairclough's model of CDA will be the appropriate approach for this study because it encompasses linguistics, social and political theories indispensable to make the connection between text and other aspects in social life and fully grasp the ideological and rhetorical strategies used by the campaigners to influence voters' views on the EU. Next to Fairclough's model, historicism, Halliday's systemic functional theory and Van Dijk's Socio-cognitive approach are applied to foster the understanding of the intricacies of the case under study. The findings reveal that the press' discourse of both conflicting sides in the referendum campaign, the anti and the pro-EU, was in the same way determined by ideologies of racism and xenophobia. These ideologies shaped the newspapers discourse and contributed to the transformation of power relations in contemporary Britain.

Keywords

Brexit, discourse, ideology, influence, newspaper, power struggle, referendum.

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Acronyms

CAP: Common Agricultural Policy

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CFP: Common Fisheries Policy

DUP: Democratic Unionist Party

EEC: European Economic Community

EMU: Economic and Monetary Union

IFM: International Monetary Fund

IFS: Institute for Fiscal Studies

IMPRESS: Independent Monitor for the Press

IPSO: Independent Press Standards Organisation

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

PCC: Press Complaints Commission

SEA: Single European Act

SFF: Scottish Fishermen's Federation

SNP: Scottish National Party

UEP: United Empire Party

UKIP: United Kingdom Independent Party

UUP: Ulster Unionist Party

Introduction

Brexit has captured newspaper headlines for more than four years. Discontent, anger, diplomatic tensions, political debates, and analysis have made daily rubrics in the UK newspapers. The British exit from the European Union is not yet completed. Many problems remain unsolved. Indeed, after a long and bitter negotiation on how to leave the EU, the trade deal became problematic even after the signing of the protocol which, was supposedly going to bring stability to Northern Ireland and maintain the unity of the UK. Nothing of the sort has happened; the UK is still struggling with the EU to bring a solution to the political crisis which hangs over Northern Ireland issue more than ever. British people foremost voted to leave the EU for a better future as manifested in newspapers particularly the popular press, yet, merely promises appear to be the motto of politicians to influence the outcome of elections and referendums.

Newspapers in the UK represent a vital part of the British news landscape. The development of online news and the attenuation of print paper's circulation have neither overshadowed nor relegated the position and indispensability of newspapers in the political debates. Newspapers have always been harnessed as a communicative means by owners and politicians to propagate their ideas, legitimize their political power, and shape people's opinions in favour of policy makers' intentions. Indeed, the shift of news production online changes news consumption, but it does not transform the core purpose of the newspaper organization. Strangely enough, in the Brexit referendum campaign of 2016, the press has been both the pinnacle of political information and chief in setting the agenda for the mainstream media (Levy, Aslan and Bironzo 33).

The concern of this dissertation is to examine how the online press' discourse of the referendum campaign of 2016 on the United Kingdom's membership in the EU, carried information full of directed ideologies and manipulative features. The discourse purpose was to influence people's views and shape the outcome of the referendum. The Brexit result of the 2016 referendum was a turning point in contemporary British history. It was a global event dominating the news in the four corners of the earth. The conflicting news reports sparked my interest in the press discourse; particularly the language used by the pro and the anti-EU campaigners. Each one had their beliefs that they thought were pre-eminent for the benefit of the British people and Britain's place in the World.

Britain seceded from the EU after 43 years of membership and adherence. It was for the first time that a population of a member state of the EU voted in favour of leaving the European Union. It was an unexpected result brought about a real political earthquake, not only in the United Kingdom but also in the rest of the European Union. The victory of Brexit appeared as the end of series of Euroscepticism whose outcome had not been anticipated. David Cameron, when he was prime minister, believed that promising a vote would not only satisfy his eurosceptic deputies, but also strengthen his leadership in the party, and above all maintain Britain in the union. His misjudgement marked the end of 43 years of a complex relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union. The mainstream media and mainly the press had a large part in framing the referendum campaign and defining its tone.

Accordingly, newspapers' support to the question of the UK membership in the European Union diverged into two opposing sides: the Leave and the Remains camps.

Campaigns have been organized by activists from political parties. They used the press as a means to diffuse their ideas and exert their power to reach their objectives. A margin of 3.8 percent of the referendum's verdict made the divergence between two adversaries, which may lie in the discourse and the linguistic patterns adopted in the competitor's publications. Interestingly, the Brexit referendum discourse was interconnected with different socio-political issues, cultural aspects, and historical events that were interchangeably employed to influence the electorates' views. Hence, investigating the distinct discursive practices used in the newspapers discourses of the two conflicting camps is significant to reveal the newspaper bias in the coverage of the campaign.

As far as the EU referendum campaign is concerned, the coverage of the mainstream newspapers regarding the EU referendum was analyzed by many academics to assess the amount of attention devoted to the referendum. In the news reporting, the studies' focus was set on the articles released by both the broadsheet and tabloids newspapers articles. In terms of content from the surface, the researchers showed that the pro-EU's articles spun around the economic negative effects of leaving the EU whereas the pro-Brexit's articles granted more hope and a better future after the withdrawal from the union (Levy, Aslan and Bironzo 33). Another research about the EU referendum stressed the role of the press in disseminating the Eurosceptic sentiment exceptionally the populist message orchestrated by tabloid newspapers such as *the Sun*. The latter attempted to explain how the vote Leave won in the EU referendum, acknowledging that newspaper opposition to European integration is a longstanding phenomenon (Wring 12).

In the same perspective, Mike Berry, Lecturer at Cardiff University School of Journalism, argued that “the more powerful effects of the media are actually via long term processes of political socialization, where voters were exposed to messages many times” (14), taking the case of immigration topic which have been reported in the newspaper over many years. Similarly, another scholar, Justin S. Origen explained how the rhetoric of the politicians could promote their beliefs and visions in the public’s brain through constant reminders and repetition of the same topics years before and during the referendum campaign. Indisputably, newspapers are used as a tool to influence the readers by eluding certain viewpoints and highlighting others, thereby; they contribute to set the tone and frame the politics within the UK (15).

Considering the debate over the language used during the EU referendum, Steve Buckledee in his book *The Language of Brexit*, analyzed and compared the linguistic features from both sides of the campaigners' debate and illustrated the way language is involved in the political process through emotive linguistic strategies used to convince the voters. In Ebtisam Saleh Aluthman’s publication in *Arab World English Journal*, she gave more attention to the immigration issue through a semantic study of documents mostly from daily news related to Brexit topics. She demonstrated the opposing attitudes toward immigration in the EU referendum debate. Indeed the immigration issue, as argued by Deborah Sogelola, an academician at Carleton University, was a recurrent theme in the online press coverage of the referendum and became the most concerning to the public. She also suggested that the rhetoric utilized by the *Daily Mail* (her study case) employed terminology implicitly supportive of the ‘Leave’ campaign such as ‘control’ in the context of borders and immigration. She

added that the selection of words contributed to the ‘us vs them’ narrative by creating the perception that the other did not have the same moral values ‘in simplistic sense bad people’ (134-135). Furthermore, Julie Firmstone, in her analysis, explained how some newspapers employed persuasive narratives and metaphors, combining language more familiar to descriptions of war with nationalistic concerns about sovereignty and immigration. Similarly, in *Mind, the Gap*, Paul Rowinski’s article argued that argumentation, metaphors, and misinformation were prevalent in mainstream newspaper discourse in the weeks before the EU referendum. He believed that, some newspapers were irresponsible for the fact that more serious issues were camouflaged including the reclamation of the country's economy, sovereignty, and control of immigration (Rowinski, 2016).

The discourses adopted in the referendum campaign is of prime importance. Despite the interest of researchers in the Brexit referendum and their investigation into the press influence on people's opinions, a few studies have been conducted on textual content and feature; taken into account the political and social context of the language used to unveil the implicit ideologies with which the newspaper discourse is laden. Indeed, this leaves a gap in the understanding of the linguistics device engaged during the referendum campaign and the relations of power reproduced in the text to control people's actions. Therefore, this study is concerned with the discourses implemented in the UK's online press during the EU membership referendum campaign that officially ran from 15th of April to 23rd of June, 2016, and critically analyzes the language used in online press’ articles exploited during this frame of time. The aim of this research is

to provide readers with a new perspective to visualize the outcome of the EU referendum.

The consideration of the online press is motivated, in part, by the shift of readership from print to online, by resource availability, and by the causative role of newspapers in setting the agenda for other media, especially in one of the most important events Britain has witnessed in the 21st Century; the United Kingdom's referendum on European membership. The outcome of this referendum was a turning point not only in the Britain-Europe relationship but also in Europe and world history.

News reports from six of the British online press namely *The Daily Mail*, *the Sun*, *the Daily Telegraph*, *the Guardian*, *the Independent*, and *the Daily Mirror* are the examined cases of this study. The selection of these particular newspapers is double-fold. First, they are national rather than regional publications. Second, they have a wide readership. In other words, they reflect a large portion of British press discourse. According to the National Readership Survey, the *Daily Mail/Mail Online* is in first place with 29m readers a month, followed by the *Sun* on 26.2m, the *Mirror* on 25.8m, the *Guardian* 22.7m, *the Daily Telegraph* 21.4m, and *the Independent* with no print publication has 16.9m readers a month (Ponsford). These newspapers took different stances during the referendum campaign; either of leaving or remaining in the European Union. While, the *Daily Mail*, the *Sun*, and *the Daily Telegraph* were Pro-Leave, the *Guardian*, *the Independent* and *the Daily Mirror* were pro-remain with the largest portion of pro-remain articles was assigned to the *Guardian* (Levy, Aslan and Bironzo 33).

The originality of the research's corpus resides in its heterogeneity. It is diversified between broadsheets and tabloids titles to cover a maximum of articles on the one hand and to enlarge the analysis to deal with a variety of news reports that target different audiences on the other hand. It is an attempt to give more accuracy to the present research. Broadsheets or quality press namely, *the Guardian*, *the Independent*, and *the Daily Telegraph* are commonly designed for middle-class people, whereas Tabloids with their popular style including *the Daily Mirror*, *The Daily Mail*, and the *Sun* target the working-class people. The selected articles are retrieved from the official website of the archive of the British newspaper. It comprises editorials, headlines, and news reports which are subjects of scrutiny.

The core purpose of this dissertation is to address the question:

- ❖ How did the British online press coverage affect readers' opinion on the EU during the referendum campaign of 2016?

The main research question is supported by subsidiary questions which are:

1. How did the British online press portray the European Union to the Public?
2. What is the relationship between press editorials and political power?
3. What are the basic ideologies that described the text displayed during the referendum campaign?

During the referendum campaign of 2016, readers were submerged with articles about the EU and EU/UK relationship. The coverage displayed an abhorring atmosphere. The feeling of fear, in a contrasting way from the Remain and Leave camp, was projected in almost all their major messages in the press. The online press was considered biased; it followed its political interest in portraying the UK/EU

relationship. Considering the Brexit result, it is believed that the campaign discourse affected people negatively since the vote's result created uncertainty about the UK's future and relations with its neighbours.

I believe that a deep analysis of the online news texts would illustrate the way newspapers make use of the linguistic device to promote implicitly ideas and perceptions that affected the voters' choices in the EU referendum. Further, the concern is to go beyond the mere analysis of the written text it is to consider also the context that involves the social, cultural, and political environment that governed and created newspapers' texts. The analysis will be conducted within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) that draws heavily on Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model of analysis (text analysis, processing analysis, and social analysis). The scrutiny of any kind of discourse is complex and multifaceted, it requires a multidisciplinary study. In this sense, CDA is the appropriate tool for this research because it is an eclectic approach; it relies on Hallidayan linguistics, on Bernsteinian sociolinguistics, and also, to some extent, on the work of literary critics and social philosophers such as Pecheux, Foucault, Habermas, Bakhtin, and Voloshinov (Ruth, Wodak and Michael 8). Therefore, CDA as a multifaceted theoretical approach is indispensable to deconstruct the discourse of the EU referendum campaign to unveil the ideological assumption embedded and relate it to the existing power relations in the British political and public domains. Next to Fairclough's model, historicism will be applied, particularly in chapters one and two, which will be conducive to the research's stated objective. Additionally, I have integrated into this research,

specifically, Halliday's systemic functional theory and Van Dijk's Socio-cognitive approach to foster the understanding of the intricacies of the case under study.

Halliday's systemic functional theory is employed to identify the appealing processes of the transitivity system. It is linked to Fairclough's description level of text analysis and aimed at recognizing the linguistic choices in terms of the most frequent process in a news item, and how they are constructed in a text to impart certain ideologies. Besides, Van Dijk's Socio-cognitive approach is employed to complement the text analysis that tends to identify the information or the claims of both campaigners, which have cognitive values shared with other members of the same group. It gives meaning to the cognitive component that deals with the cognitive processes and representations involved in the production and comprehension of discourse. Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach is of particular relevance since it links the formal features of text to the background knowledge that have social origins. The link is made through the cognitive interface of mental models, knowledge, attitudes, and ideologies.

It is essential to mention that this research has some limitations which need to be acknowledged. The analysis is drawn only on some national British newspapers many other well-circulated newspapers such as the *Times*, the *Daily Star*, and the *Daily Express*, which have considerable audiences, are not taken into concern in this research. Thereby, the finding of this research cannot be generalized.

This research comprises five chapters, in an attempt to find out an answer to the questions raised earlier. Chapter one deals with the establishment and enlargement of

newspapers over time. It traces back to the early beginning of Newspapers with the emergence of the radical press, which is central in the history of newspaper development. The radical press contributed to a large extent to promote working-class consciousness and establish the regularity of news among them. The British press expansion overtimes witnessed a phenomenon of ownership concentration; press barons used newspapers as a means to influence public opinion for their interests. The political power of the ownership is still lurking in the background of the newspaper. Another major part of this chapter is devoted to democracy and freedom of the press. The focus also is particular on the press regulation which is as important as its position in the political, economic, and social environment of journalism. The final point that will be addressed in this chapter, and that should not be underestimated given its impact on the general public, is the digital age and its relation to newspapers in Britain.

Chapter two covers the historical background of the UK/EU relationship and the national press' implication in the process of the UK integration in the EU from 1973 to 2016. It is concerned with the environmental setting, and the historical context that led to the UK's referendum of 2016. The national press representations of the union throughout the years of the UK/EU relationship's development and its position towards the EU created a hostile atmosphere in the UK with Europe. Especially after the Maastricht treaty in the early 1990s, where the member states of the union decided to push the European project to a new level of political power by establishing: common foreign policy, European citizenship, and closer judicial cooperation. The Eurosceptic sentiment by lending a hand of the media and principally the press grew

significantly since then. It widened the gap of division inside the political polities and separated the general public opinion about Europe. The UK's referendum in 2016 came after years of tension between the pro and anti-European integration to supposedly settle the issue of the UK's EU membership.

Chapter three exposes the theoretical framework adopted in this dissertation. It also deals with newspapers' text analysis which will display an overview of the EU referendum coverage to set the referendum context. Besides, the examination of the lexical features of texts to extract the ideologies embedded within. A deconstruction of the messages, launched by both campaigners in the EU referendum, into its smallest linguistic features in terms of lexis and grammar is the first step in this analysis that contributes to a better understanding of power relations and ideological processes in the referendum discourse. That is, the very particular choice of certain linguistic forms signals the exercise of power manifested in the covered ideologies. In addition, the textual structure of news articles will be explored to recognize the organization of the referendum event in news reports which is expressed in a particular order; to implicitly affect readers' views.

Chapter four is devoted to social context of newspapers discourse, which is complementary to the textual investigation. It is concerned with both the interpretation and explanation stages of Fairclough's three-dimensional model approach. The two levels are interrelated with the first stage of textual analysis. While the interpretative stage goes through a cognitive process that is socially shaped to bring meaning to the text, the explanation stage demonstrates how social structures determine and are determined by discourse, and what are the effects generated from discourse to

influence those social structures. The referendum discourse of 2016 did not emerge from a vacuum. It was a product of a long process of construction. It was influenced by various texts from historical events. These past occurrences are brought to the surface to recognize, through intertextual study, how the current discourse of the referendum event influenced and how is it framed by other historical texts to fit the social context of the referendum campaign

The final chapter focuses on the effects of the newspaper's discourse. It is concerned with the interpretation of the outcome of the referendum campaign's discourse. The ballot end result was shocking for British people, it is important to understand the repercussions of such a vote which are linked to the campaign's discourse to perceive the discourse's manipulation used to influence and directs the individual's vote on the day of the referendum. This section of the research offers an insight into the reaction of the newspapers under my investigation to the Brexit outcome, and the consequences of a referendum in all its aspects; be it political, economic, and social, which became perceptible to people only the day after the ballot result. This is to demonstrate the culmination of a long and bitter campaign and to understand the way a hidden power of discourse could lead a battle, deflect the course of the events, and thrust people to make an uncertain choice.

Chapter One

The Emergence of Newspapers in the UK

I. The Genesis of the British Newspapers

A deep comprehension of the newspaper's status in contemporary Britain is also recognition of the establishment and enlargement of newspapers over time. Newspapers have developed to be not only a function but a force in society. Curiosity of people to know about what is happening around them and even abroad has made the spread of news a necessity. The exchange of ideas and thought between individuals has expanded to reach unprecedented level of influence to give birth to journalism which contributed to developing the critical mind of its readers. Newspapers have developed over the course of different periods in history alongside the social, economic, and political changes.

In a broad sense, journalism can be defined as a practice of gathering and reporting news or current happenings for readers. This chapter traces back the early beginning of this practice where the terms journalism and newspaper did not exist yet; however, its features were present to serve the wealthy and aristocrats in society. The emergence of the radical press is another central interlude in the history of newspaper development. It will be assessed to perceive its impact in raising the social class consciousness which was unprecedented. The radical press contributed to a large extent to establish the regularity of news among the working-class population. Influenced by the French and American Revolutions, British newspapers helped to create active participation in the new political culture. It meant shaping working-class opinion and thus influencing events. Besides, the British press expansion witnessed a phenomenon of ownership's concentration that used newspapers as a means to influence public opinion for their own personal interests. The political power of the

ownership is still lurking in the background of the newspaper. It represents a real danger for the development of democracy in Britain.

Another major part of this chapter is devoted to democracy and freedom of the press. Since the contribution of contemporary public opinion in the political process is subject to the freedom of the press and its relation to democracy. The focus also will be particular to the press regulation which is as important as its position in the political, economic, and social environment of journalism. The final point that will be addressed in this chapter, and that should not be underestimated given its impact on the general public, is the digital age and its relation to newspapers in Britain. The internet contribution to the dissemination of information cannot be measured. Political journalism is thorough and more accessible to the public through the different platforms of news, so understanding this new way of delivering news and the newspapers' traditional place in the British media landscape can give a new insight into the newspapers' effect in shaping the public opinion.

With hindsight, the exchange of information, thoughts, ideas, and feelings through verbal means dates back to the first human civilizations. As the early communities enlarged, people relayed on messengers and drums as ways to spread information over distances. The need for news to keep in contact increased as the eagerness for discovery and exploration of other spaces for trade grew. More to the point, news was commissioned by the wealthy and aristocrats and had been carried by travellers, merchants, soldiers, and other adventurers. Yet the oral transmission was often inaccurate and the development of writing enabled news report to become easier and reliable at the same time.

Paper arrived in Europe in the twelfth century. It was used first in Britain in 1309. As early as the fifteenth century, merchant groups started to invest increasingly in gathering reliable information about distance events. Wars, disease, trouble in routes, any change of policy in foreign countries were kinds of information needed for a good expansion of trade. At that time, formal news came as private letters. The most famous form of these newsletters was developed by the Augsburg banking family in the sixteenth century to keep their agents informed of relevant developments which might have been of concern to the commercial and political interests of their business (Conboy 7). The handwritten letter of news, that is the newsletter was quite common and regularly sent out from London as early as 1568. Travel was the source of information that was sought and circulated in places where travellers and merchants met; most commonly in commercial centers, markets, and ports. Martin Conboy argued in his book *Journalism Critical History* that News at that stage of history had a structural effect as part of the flow of information which reshaped Early Modern European societies because it allowed audiences to imagine their place in a world which was wider than its medieval predecessor (8).

The grid of communication was already set in most parts of Western Europe before the introduction of printing. Indeed, the printing press was built in Europe by Johannes Gutenberg around 1450 a year after its discovery in China. It was brought to England by William Caxton, later on, to be installed in Westminster. The potential of printing can be felt within the Reformation in England which represented the first intensive and widespread debate that was allowed through the print medium. So far the pamphlets were printed and propagated by royal authority. Yet many books were

smuggled and translated from German into English, they constituted a threat to the authority of the church in England which was unable to control their flow, such as the work of Martin Luther who sought to place the Bible into the hand of ordinary people. For the first time, the printing text came to challenge the church and the state authorities since the religious and political ideas could be disseminated in a language understood by the wider population. This was followed by the establishment of proclamations by Henry VIII who banned importing or being in possession of any religious book without authorization from the appropriate religious authority. This constituted the earliest attempts at systematizing the licensing of printing (Conboy 10).

The greed for news grew considerably among the population as the rate of literacy was in constant increase largely in London and in many other areas around the country. By 1650 literacy rates in London were remarkable 80 percent, although in the rest of the country barely 30 percent could read, yet the illiteracy did not represent an obstacle for the spread of news as the public reading news was very common practice (Temple 6). Publications of all kinds were available, transmitting a mixture of information to the readers; scandal, fantasy, sensationalism were the major themes with seldom news of wars, politics, and trade. Thus, in the seventeenth century news started to be printed more regularly and within periodical publications in England. *Curanto* was the first weekly newspaper in English, published in Amsterdam in 1618 and the first dated and sequential 'newsbooks' appeared in England from 1621. The emergence of these newsbooks forwent a very important event in the history of England, the Civil War; fighting between the supporters of the Monarchy of Charles I and parliament, the newsbooks and pamphlets served the role of propaganda that

strengthened interest and speculation about the event. As a professor of Journalism, Mick Temple has argued that “English journalism was about to make its first significant and prolonged inputs into the political sphere” (6). In terms of journalism also Martin Conboy has stressed the fact that these newsbooks and pamphlets did something of probably even greater consequence. He went further to say: “They selected a target reader, and addressed this reader, assuming that he shared an ideological community with the writers” (26) during that period which lead-up to civil war in England. Still, in this point Zagorin, author of *Court and Country: The Beginning of the English Revolution*, has emphasized the role of regular domestic newsbooks and their early forms of journalism as indispensable to understanding the new relationships forming across political life in England, as quoted by Conboy:

The appearance of the newspaper in 1641 was an indication of how far political life had broken through its former limits. Opposition to the regime had engendered a broad public which wished both to participate and be informed. To mobilize popular support and stiffen conviction, the press was indispensable. The systematized provision of news, the presence of the journalist and publicist, were the necessary adjuncts of an energized politics (28).

What is worth mentioning is that news reporting by the time of Tudors and then Charles II monarchs became more and more dangerous because of the massive control and cruel censorship, still valiant writers pursued their work to challenge authority. The early reporting of news had a great contribution in inciting rational debate and forming public opinion outside the political elites; despite the fact that disagreement with the dominant ruling group cost life of many reporters.

Essentially, the term ‘newspaper’ came into use in 1670, from then on enduring characteristics of the new means had been seen, as readers have been targeted together

as political actors and consumers capable of bringing gain and profits to guarantee newspaper's revenue. The growing demand for news among British society expanded rapidly after the end of licensing Act in 1669. The first regular daily paper, the *Daily Courant*, was published in Fleet Street on 11 March 1702, it was a Whig supporter. Many of the newspapers that followed after approved support from either Tory or Whig party (Temple 3-11). Press-owners and editors dedicated increasingly significant resources to gathering information from local, national, and international sources. To guarantee their needs in news supplies the daily newspapers had two means of collecting information; through their own reporters and special or permanent correspondents, or by the use of news agencies which rapidly occupied a vital position in the news supply business. From the 1850s onwards, newspapers had to rely on news agency, such as Reuters, for much of the information they decided to publish, since the cost of permanent correspondents abroad was only at the hands of leading papers such as *the Times*, which at first had declined Reuters' offers and only accepted them in October 1958. For many newspapers, the chief source of foreign news was the cables of the news agencies, essentially Reuters. Regarding the reporter, it was developed during the period where journalists were granted the right to sit in Parliament. For instance, towards the end of the 18th century, the *Morning Chronicle* was the first London newspaper to have a team of parliamentary reporters. By the 1830s, around 60 reporters sat in the Gallery of the House of Commons, and that number had increased to 105 by 1870. Besides parliamentary reporters, London dailies also had reporters who sat in the various courts of law to gather the necessary information for the press coverage (Chalaby 79-80).

In essence, newspapers increasingly throughout the eighteenth century were behind the dissemination of ideas but also raised the feelings of involvement in political life among their readership, especially in publication on matters of topical concern and in the general response of the newspapers to popular protest and dissent. By the middle years of the century, news reporting was beginning to attract more consistent approval for its contribution to the political culture of the nation. From a Victorian perspective the mid-eighteenth was a highly significant phase of journalism's formation (Conboy 78-79). It is conceived as a central period in the history of English newspapers for its contribution to the development of a discourse of public opinion as revealed by Fox Bourne in his book *English Newspapers*:

[Newspapers'] modern history only dates from that reign [George III 1760–1820], and their recent progress has been in large measure due to the new contest, or the old contest under new conditions, forced upon them as champions of popular rights and exponents of public opinion in opposition to the efforts of the crown and its advisers to maintain an authority, and perpetuate institutions, that were becoming intolerable to the nation (149).

Hence, the model of the modern newspaper had been set by the mid to late Victorian era. The newspaper's status as the most important element of the public sphere was established. British journalism had secured a position as an important contributor to public opinion (Temple 15).

Moreover, the radical press in the nineteenth century came to build on journalism's discourse as it attempts to insert the interests of ordinary people in periodical form. Earlier in the century, the lower classes were not targeted and did not represent any interest for newspaper owners and contributors. Most newspapers and journals readers were from the homogeneous middle class and the poor readers were taken into account only for irregular pamphlets such as ballads and almanacs.

However, the influence through the newspapers reporting of the events from abroad namely the American Revolution that brought political independence to America and French Revolutions which put an end to the old order by bringing an end to feudalism and establishing equality among men led to the growth of radical ideas in England. Newspapers helped to create active participation in the new political culture generated by those revolutions. Additionally, the early industrial revolution in Britain had also a significant impact on working-class opinion. The need for mass production and the high wages compared to farm work led to urbanization. The movement of people to the cities brought about exploitation, poverty, and much of other social unrest. It was in that period and more precisely the 1790s through to the late 1820s that the radical press started to emerge regularly as a political force help the development of class consciousness determined to articulate the demands of the working class. It created a kind of readership that was becoming more aware and active in politics along class lines (Conboy 88). Naturally, there had been radical publications previously. Yet, they were irregular, often unreadable, seldom associated with the needs of the working classes. The growing concentration of workers in factories led to a rise in organized working-class radicalism, also many working class children attended unofficial classes and schools in which the focus was given on the ability to read, and radical newspapers and texts were the main sources of reading material (Temple 17).

Actually, since the English civil war, newspapers had not seen such renewing in political contestation. This was against the will of the elite class and caused a serious disturbance among them. The latter believed that as long as the lower ranks had access to newspapers this represented a potential danger to social order. That was why the

government resorted in the eighteenth century to stamp duty and taxes on paper and advertisements as an attempt to counter and curb the radical press. Actually, the first Stamp Act was introduced in 1712, taxing the press at a basic rate of a penny a paper. This was arguably because of a provoking report on the conduct of the war with the Dutch in the *Daily Courant*, the Queen Anne's plea to parliament for a remedy to the scandalous libels in the press. The tax was to increase at regular intervals until 1855 when it was finally abolished (Temple 13). James Curran believes that the intentions behind these press taxes were twofold: to restrict the readership of newspapers by rising cover prices on the one hand, and to limit the ownership of newspapers to the propertied class by increasing publishing costs on the other hand (7). Martin Conboy argued that in addition to concerns over the influence of erroneous or seditious material, there was a pressing need for government to raise funds via commodity taxation, and newspapers by this time very conveniently fell into this category as commodities (68). Essentially, this system of control worked only for a short time as the government enforced the law more and more by prosecuting the sellers of the clandestine (unstamped) newspaper. Yet, to the disappointment of the government, this control system instead of restricting the radical press developed a well-organized resistance that challenged the authorities and increased the circulation of both the unstamped papers and the stamped radical newspaper as the radical trade unions and political movement rose.

The ownership of the radical newspapers belonged for most of them to modest origins that had grown to stand through the working-class movement. Some other newspapers, such as the *voice of the people*, the *Liberator*, and the *Trades Newspaper*,

were possessed by political or trade union organizations. These ownerships relegated the editing of their newspapers to the former manual workers such as William Hill and Joshua Hobson, or middle-class activists such as O'Brien and Lorymer. These elements that constituted the cell body of the newspaper influenced the way in which journalists recognized their task. In fact, their papers were more directed to depict the extent of power and inequality rather than reporting the news events. This made their effect more substantial within the working-class readers.

In fact, the radical newspaper effects can be felt on the extent of its geographical distribution, for instance, leading radical papers such as the *Two penny Trash*, *Political Register* and *Republican* were read as far afield as Yorkshire, Lancashire, the Midlands, and East Anglia, as well as in the south of England. By the early 1830s, the principal circulation newspapers such as the *Weekly Police Gazette*, the *Poor Man's Guardian* had a distribution that reached the four corners of the UK from Glasgow to Truro north-south and from Norwich to Carmarthen east-west (Curran and Seaton 12). Its leading publication offered national coverage that helped to reinforce the unity between the different working communities and becoming a force in its own right. Furthermore, the impact of the radical newspaper was more strengthened by the discussion that followed the reading of newspaper articles in a public meeting. This model of social consumption of newspapers had a great impact in mobilizing public opinion in the early nineteenth century.

Therefore, the control system imposed by the government had failed and did not prevent the growth of the radical press that increased evermore. The press regulation became a major political issue. Traditionalists proclaimed that the government should

enforce the stamp duty with tougher measures, while a relatively small group of reformers in Parliament were with a repeal of taxes since it had become unenforceable in the face of mass resistance. The two sides in the debate had the same goal except that the method to adopt was different. As the Lord Chancellor said in 1834 that “the only question to answer, and the only problem to solve, is how they [the people] shall read in the best manner; how they shall be instructed politically, and have political habits formed the most safe for the constitution of the country” (Curran and Seaton 17). Hence, what matter was the social control; repeal of stamp duty would become an educational weapon in the fight against trade unionism that was a view of many parliamentary campaigners of the 1830s. The pressure for reform was growing and the driving force behind it was Liberal industrialist MPs who saw in the repeal of press taxation a means of propagating the principles of free trade and competitive capitalism (18). Indeed, the free market competition was a favourable measure adopted by the government to restrain the radical press in some way instead of direct taxes. The belief was that a cheaper, livelier and more professional capitalist press would get more readers than the predominantly serious radical political press and could help counter the spread of trade-unionism (Temple 17). Thus, during the years following the repeal of taxes and paper duty (1853-1869), the number of radical newspapers closed down or was ultimately integrated into the mainstream of popular liberal journalism. It is noteworthy that the decline of the radical papers occurred during a period of rapid press expansion, when local daily papers were recognized in almost the major urban centres of Britain and a new generation of predominantly right-wing national newspapers came into being, along with newspapers such as the People (1881), Daily

Mail (1896), Daily Express (1900) and Daily Mirror (1903), which have a significant role in British journalism ever since (Curran and Seaton 23).

According to James Curran and Jean Seaton the decline of radical journalism is assumed to be the result of the climate change of public opinion. Some radical activists were absorbed into the Liberal Party, particularly after the working class gained the vote. Trade unions also turned out to be more seeking to improve wages and working conditions rather than to restructure society. These changes were toughened by the winning of significant social reforms and, chiefly, by the relative success of the British economy (23). A further truth that may be also behind the decline of the radical newspapers is the appearance of three cheap magazines in 1832 namely *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, the *Penny Magazine*, and the *Saturday Magazine*, which aimed to provide wholesome material for the working classes. They all sought to combine the containment of political ambition with the education and entertainment of the lower classes. Such magazines helped create a market for cheap and accessible newspapers which 'tickled the public' more than attempting to educate or instruct them (Temple 18; Conboy 152). It is argued by Chalaby that the repeal of stamp act or taxes on knowledge, as it was described by radicals and social reformers, between 1855 and 1861 was the principal factor that contributed to the formation of the journalistic field. As long as the taxes on knowledge were imposed on the press, stamped papers were priced by 7 pence. This price was well out of reach of the vast majority and thus the market of readers was small and too restricted to trigger market mechanisms. The repeal of the taxes opened up a new possibility of selling newspapers for one penny, and a few decades later, for half a penny. This price, affordable for more people,

greatly enlarged the market of newspapers' readers. From that time on, newspaper owners and journalists have competed for shares in this market (32). The formation of the journalistic field led to the emergence of important historical figures, that of the press barons.

By the early twentieth century, the rapid development of newspaper chains created an amalgamation of many national and regional newspapers and caused a concentration of ownership. A significant section of the British press was conquered by the three Harmsworth brothers; Lords Northcliffe, Rothermere and Sir Lester Harmsworth developed their press into one of the world's largest media empires of the time.

Harmsworth Northcliffe founded the *Daily Mail* (1896), the *Daily Mirror* (1903) and bought *The Times* in 1908. His brother, Lord Rothermere, who was exceptional in acquiring advertising, joined him. Together, the Barons targeted new reading public of literate working men and particularly women. Their brother, Lester Harmsworth, acquired a chain of regional publications in the southwest of England. The family's combination Press group along with Lord Beaverbrook owner of the *Daily Express*, *Sunday Express*, and London's *Evening Standard* were the leading force in British newspaper publishing in the inter-war (Curran and Seaton 30).

Moreover, the Berry brothers' group namely; Lord Camrose and Lord Kemsley also grew from four daily and Sunday papers in 1921 to twenty dailies and Sunday papers in 1939 (Curran and Seaton 39).

A massive expansion in newspaper consumption went together with the growth in the number of publications. This increase was due to industrialization, urbanization,

technological innovation, changes in transportation as well as the rise in literacy; all combined had an impact on the growth of newspaper circulation. Despite the emergence of radio and television news and their political influence, the press maintained its position as a source of political stories for broadcasters, because editorializing was impermissible for both television and radio and they were requested to be balanced in their news and current affairs diffusion, whereas the free press was able to set any agenda wanted by its proprietor (Chalaby 131; Temple 61). Thus, between 1851 and 1920, annually newspapers sales rose considerably from 85 million to 5,604 million. In fact, by 1910, the three largest groups controlled nationwide, 66.9 per cent of the circulation of Mornings' and 82.6 per cent of Evenings' sales. Throughout the 20th century, the proportion of circulation controlled by the three top companies remained at a similar level. In 1947, the three largest groups controlled 61 percent of the circulation of the national daily press, 72 percent in 1977, and 73 percent in 1993 (Chalaby 47).

The close connection between the press and government can be noticed since the First World War. Northcliffe's influence on government policy during the war was striking. He interfered on all the major issues of the conflict; from recruitment, to propaganda, to the composition of the cabinet itself. He became, according to historian Richard Bourne "a political and national figure ... a stalwart of the war effort and a maker and breaker of governments" (qt. in Jewell "Press Baron"). The job of Northcliffe and his newspapers was to keep the realities of war away from the British public. The general approach was to make the war seem righteously necessary. During that war, the press became strongly established as a powerful political force.

Northcliffe had direct access to the prime minister. The close link between the barons and the government did not stop there, in 1918 Lord Beaverbrook, was made minister of information (Jewell “press barons”).

After, Northcliffe’s death in 1922, Beaverbrook and Rothermere had become close because of their shared hostility to the Conservative politician Stanley Baldwin (prime minister from 1923–29 and 1935–37). They started to use their papers as weapons against the political establishment. They intended to produce a circle of press power equal in strength and significance to the political elite. Wherefore, during 1929 and 1931, they created their political party, the United Empire Party (UEP), in support of free trade within the British Empire as an opposition to the economic policies of Baldwin’s Conservative party. Actually, the two men wanted to regain power over Conservative party policy but they failed. Their power, despite being significant, was no match for established constitutional and democratic procedures in an age when those procedures were still widely supported by the public. Politicians were respected and there was widespread public concern over the excessive power of the press (Temple 35).

The proprietors of newspapers instead of taking a part in constructing an educated democracy used their papers to influence public opinion for their own personal causes. This was why Stanley Baldwin qualified them as ‘power without responsibility’ to respond to their aspiration. (Chalaby 51; Temple 36). He also, libelled their papers ‘engines of propaganda’. They represented a real danger for the development of democracy. This idea can be supported by Beaverbrook's famous answer to the 1947 Press Commission, to whom he declared that he owned newspapers

for propaganda purposes exclusively. Unlike the proprietors of the classic newspaper, press barons exercised formidable independence and treaded on an equal footing with politicians. Additionally, there were many suspicions about the friendship of press magnates with politicians, which can be illustrated in Northcliffe's advice to newspaper proprietors against a wide circle of friends among politicians as he said: "The newspaper owner should always remember that while the politicians have nothing to give him, they have much to gain from his newspaper" (Chalaby 50-51).

As assumed, the press barons were cruel and capricious; their own personal and business interests dominated their papers' coverage of political and economic issues. Their politics were frequently populist, uniformly conservative. They pursued a diversification approach in the newspaper market as they controlled both popular and quality dailies. They were also operating in the Sunday market. Press barons proved capable to forge journalism into a very profitable domain. As a political force, they brought an end to the Asquith coalition ministry and rather they elevated Lloyd George to the premiership in 1916. Furthermore, they opposed the Labour party and they were blamed for the defeat of the Labour in the general election of 1924 by publishing in the *Daily Mail* a letter sent by Zinoviev (president of the Third Communist International in Moscow) to the British communist party. Obviously, the letter was a forgery manipulated by all the press baron's papers sought to scare off electors by accusing the Labour Party of being the domestic agent of the Moscow-based Communist International and allow Tory victory (Chalaby 124; Curran and Seaton 48). The Baron's press perpetually associated Labour with the Bolsheviks, and persistently played on people's fear by warning readers of disasters such as massive

unemployment, starvation, and chaos in the event of a Labour victory (Chalaby 124). Since the press Lords were involved in the decision-making concerning the content of news, it raised significant doubt about the freedom of the press.

The press baron and the media empire of the interwar, in the later part of the 20th century, was replicated by the media empire established by Rupert Murdoch; the most successful media entrepreneur of the twentieth century. A newspaperman whose support to Margaret Thatcher's conservative party and later shifting to support Tony Blair's new Labour party is nothing but evidence of a strong link of political and business interests. In fact, Murdoch had acquired four national titles, 33 percent of total national circulation following his support to Thatcher in the 1980s. Thatcher's administration allowed Murdoch's company to take over the *Times* and *Sunday Times* taking no notice for his monopoly . Murdoch had to overcome the rule that the owner of a newspaper with sales over 500,000 was required to have a bid for another national title referred to the Monopolies and Mergers Commission (MMC) (McNair 2009, 88).

Furthermore, the parallel with the pre and interwar of the Baron's papers strategy of linking the Labour party with Soviet-style communism can be illustrated in the 1992 General election. Two months before the General Election, the *Sunday Times* published Kremlin files allegedly detailing Kinnock's attitude to the Soviet Union at the height of the Cold War and the relations of prominent Labour figures with the Kremlin during the Brezhnev years (Chalaby 125). Hence, the Labour Party's defeat in the 1992 election made it imperative to gain Murdoch's support. That is why a close relationship between Murdoch and Blair was cultivated which can be exemplified by Murdoch's phone call in 1998 to the Prime Minister questioning about prospects for

further developing his company in the UK. Brian Mc Nair, Professor of Journalism & Communication at the University Strathclyde, has written about Murdoch's decision to switch the allegiance of *The Sun* and the *News of the World* to the Labour Party in the 1997 general election in his book *News and Journalism in the UK*, he argued that despite the fact that Labour made Murdoch's repositioning quite easy by signalling that it would provide him with a sympathetic business environment, Murdoch and his managers were also driven by their readers' losing patience with the Tories, and opinion poll and other evidence that they were forming a preference for New Labour. Press barons such as Murdoch pay serious attention to the demands and preferences of their consumers, including their politico-ideological preferences purely for economic self-interest to compete with other news sources (McNair 2009, 51).

Accordingly, the UK politicians could not resist Murdoch's manipulation and this can be explained by the fact that he controls over 30% of the UK press. So, political support from Murdoch's empire is an obvious motivation for politicians to keep the media mogul or *media tycoon; as it refers to him*, on their side. An instance evoked by Andy Beckett in his article to the *Guardian*, *Revenge of the Tabloids* reported from Nick Davies about the newspapers intervening in the making of government policy, he stated that in 2001 the *Sun* forced Brown as chancellor to permit more private sector involvement in the NHS. At first, the *Sun* condemned Brown's cherished plan to increase NHS spending as too profligate. Brown was desperate not to be depicted as a traditional tax-and-spend left-winger, he contacted the *Sun* and agreed to rearrange his diary so that he could go to their office that day

and sat down with the *Sun*'s outspoken rightwing political editor, Trevor Kavanagh, for an interview which rapidly became a negotiation about policy (Beckett).

Moreover, Nigel Farage in a documentary in a *Press Gazette* on a media mogul Rupert Murdoch has provided new insight on his almost incestuous relationship with Tony Blair, as he said "I think when we look at the long history of Britain's relationship with the European project that led ultimately to the Brexit vote, I think that was a decisive intervention from Rupert Murdoch" he added that:

the price of Rupert Murdoch's support for Tony Blair was that Blair promised he would not take us into the European currency without first having a referendum, and if Rupert Murdoch had not done that we would have joined the Euro in 1999 and I doubt Brexit would have happened (Tobitt).

In fact, Murdoch's acquisition of the *Sun* is considered as the most prominent post-war attempt to openly influence the political process. Murdoch's monopolizing control over national and even international (the United States, Australian and England) media outlets and his conservative political views which are repeatedly reflected in his controlled papers have drawn wide criticism. When he was asked if he would interfere in the News of the World's editorial policy he replied, "I did not come all this way not to interfere" (Temple 64).

Furthermore, Murdoch was once again solicited for why he hated the EU so much, he answered "That's easy, when I go into Downing Street they do what I say; when I go to Brussels they take no notice" Murdoch had been violently anti-European Union for decades; *The Sun* kept inculcating readers for 40 years before the EU referendum of 2016 with anti-European stories. Its attacks on the EU reached a summit in the summer of 2016, and ended by expressing a direct instruction to its readers on the eve of the referendum: "We must set ourselves free from dictatorial Brussels".

Additionally, the *Express* and the *Mail* launched an extensive xenophobic rhetoric tone exclusively during the EU referendum campaign. The *Times*; which had to some extent a degree of autonomy by its owner compared to the *Sun*, prevaricated over Brexit before finally supporting the pro-EU, even though indistinctly with an unenthusiastic style. However, newspapers were used as a platform for the views of the major Brexit campaigners, before, during the campaign, and after the referendum. In addition, Murdoch's dislike of the EU is no more than a reflection of a preference for a small state and resistance to regulation and is also a fear that the EU would regulate the media and telecoms sectors (Hull 61).

In brief, the development of newspapers in Britain has passed through different periods gaining more strength and position in society. The table above outlines these periods with the intended purpose of the publications for each stage.

PERIODE	PURPOSE
14 th and 15 th Century (Handwritten letter or Newsletter)	Information needed for a good expansion of trade
16 th Century (Printing Text)	Dissemination of religious and political ideas in a language understood by the wider population
17 th Century (the appearance of Newspapers)	Mobilize popular support
18 th Century (the growth of newspapers circulation)	Dissemination of ideas and contribution to the political culture of the nation

19 th Century (the radical press)	Development of class consciousness and articulation of the working class demands
20 th and 21 st Century (Press Barons/ A massive expansion in newspaper publications and consumption)	Influence public opinion for an economic self-interest

Table 1. Newspapers Development in Britain

One can notice that newspapers witnessed two principal periods throughout their development that marked their existence forever, the emergence of the radical press and the press Barons. The radical press came as a political force to help the growth of class consciousness and create a category of readers more involved in political life. Thanks to the radical press demands of the working class were heard, which caused political disturbance among the elites who had to consider the voice of ordinary people in any political process. A further significant stage in the history of newspapers expansion was the emergence of the press barons who appeared to influence public opinion for their causes. They exercised formidable independence. They wanted to tread on an equal footing with politicians. They succeeded in their aspiration and even attained a significant amount of political power, able to change the course of the events to their benefits.

II. Democracy and Freedom of the Press

It has been argued that democracy cannot survive in contemporary society without the news media in general and particularly the press. The term democracy is a Greek name ‘demos Kratein’ that suggests the government of the people, as a distinct state form of monarchy, aristocracy, and dictatorship. Abraham Lincoln emphasized it by stating “the government of the people, by the people and for the people” (Andriakamelo 4). According to Chomsky there are two conceptions of a democratic society, the first and the most appropriate is the one in which the public has the means to participate in some meaningful way in the management of their own affairs and the means of information are open. The second conception is peculiar but prevailing, it stated that the public must be barred from managing of their affairs and the means of information must be kept narrowly and rigidly controlled (Chomsky 1997, 3).

Certainly, the media’s primary function as ‘watchdog’ of power or government (when it was believed that the government was the only existing power) is to check on the government to see that they are accountable to society. The press, in general, is likely to serve as the communication link between the public and political leaders, often advocating the voice of the oppressed and less privileged category of people. It is also agreed that the press serves to sustain democracy in a free society. For that reason, any threat to responsible journalism is considered by many as endangering democracy (Binakuromo 11). Indeed, the liberty of the press is vital to the nature of a free state; citizens need a free press to be able to criticize the government as also they have the basic right to receive reliable information as civilians. However, it is necessary to mention that the free press cannot be absolute when it comes to the question of

national security; there are some important security issues where the government censored the press before they can print the stories about them. The best example is during wartime the government can prevent the press to publish detailed descriptions of troop movements because this can put the lives of soldiers in peril.

The salient element in the history of the press constitutes an endless struggle between those who attempt to disseminate information and those who want to contain it. A long before the arrival of the printing machine, a strong desire for lasted news and entertainment were well reputable of all classes in Britain; however, there was a tense control over the licensing of presses by the Church and State, who saw the new medium as a potential threat to their supremacy. The control and censorship grew to be often brutal in the seventeenth century and adapted later on more sophisticated methods during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries till the introduction of taxes on knowledge. Hence, all the attempts to limit access to the public sphere were unsuccessful especially with the technological advancement and diversity of media which is not restraint to the only newspaper but also radio, television, and more significantly in the modern world of the internet; they make it difficult for the government to control the information.

Actually, after 1771, newspapers were able to report the debates of parliament. As it grew in number, increased in circulation, and became established in more places in Britain counting the peripheral area, it developed to be “a major force behind the increasingly public nature of much politics” as claimed by Bob Harris in Curran’s *Media and Power*. It created a system of government more open to critics, while the reactions of the audiences were highly considered. Hence, it grew to be the fourth

estate, the voice of the people in the corridors of power. There is no certainty in this transformation period of the press, in consonance with liberals, it took place in the early to the mid-nineteenth century while other views related it to the period where the press was more than an extension of the party system a century later (5-6). Yet, what is crucial to consider is that in that period the press rejoiced with its crucial role and became a force in a society where the voice of the ordinary people matters, it empowered the people, and above all, it promoted the democratic society. This is to some extent the ideal image given to the press, the phrase ‘fourth estate’ has continued to exist into the twenty-first century, even when the power of owners and multimedia corporations has been recognized. The perpetuation of this idea of the fourth estate to refer to media news, predominantly to newspapers that function as a watchdog of power in society is quite surprising, as argued by Conboy “it is high on emotive value but low on concrete evidence” (110), he argues that by the middle of the nineteenth century the freedom of the press depended on the economy gradually dominated political ones with an increasingly powerful bourgeoisie.

The few proprietors that owned the press and the commercial advertisements that finance newspapers were central forces leading the newspapers. In addition to another key element viewed by the traditional liberal investigation that could undermine the role of the press in a democratic society is the high market entry cost. This latter limited control of the press principally to the right-wing owners and excluded social groups with restrained financial resources from the competition. This feature is notably a hidden form of censorship that prevented all kinds of influx that could enhance public enlightenment (Curran 2002, 229). In this sense, Jean K.

Chalaby in his book *The Invention of Journalism* evoked the formation of a knowledge gap in the population which is created by the market forces. This latter has influenced many journalistic practices and, has divided the discourse of journalism into two main genres. The division between popular and quality journalism is endogenous to journalism which, as a discourse, is characterized by the polarization of its texts towards the popular and quality formats. Popular and quality journalism differ from each other, but both journalistic genres have been created by the same market forces and belong to the same discursive entity (167). However, defining different newspapers for different classes of readers produced different readerships which would not obtain the same type or the same amount of information (177). Besides, the high proportion of working-class and lower-middle-class readers in the composition of the readership of popular papers, combined with the fact that very few members of these social classes read quality papers, are two of the reasons which encouraged the formation of a knowledge gap in the population (180).

Certainly, this hidden form of journalism control is confirmed by Chomsky and Herman in their propaganda model. They identified the fact that one of the crucial features of the news is its character as propaganda. This means that information is generally framed within the parameters of elite interests and that certain topics are likely to be excluded and the debate is kept within the bounds of acceptable premises. The media's principal aim is to 'manufacture consent' for the social, economic, and political agenda of the dominant and privileged groups in society (Herman, Edward and Chomsky 2002, 298). The media censorship is not required because a system of filters proposed by Herman and Chomsky through which the news are approved

guarantees that debate never goes away from the bounds of tolerability (Temple 117).

Actually, Herman and Chomsky outlined five filters:

- (1) The size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth, and profit orientation of the dominant mass-media firms;
- (2) Advertising as the primary income source of the mass media;
- (3) The reliance of the media on information provided by government, business, and "experts" funded and approved by these primary sources and agents of power;
- (4) "Flak" as a means of disciplining the media;
- (5) "Anticommunism" as a national religion and control mechanism to serve elite interests.

These filters in agreement with Herman and Chomsky represent the most influential elements on what comes into view as news or as a matter of fact a 'residue' (Herman and Chomsky 2).

The first filter is concerned with the dominant media firms which are large capitalist organizations with other major corporations that ensure a news agenda which support the big business interests. The second filter is connected with the news media's dependence on advertisers, whose single preoccupation is the content that catches the attention of a prosperous audience. This practice put working-class and radical newspapers at a serious disadvantage; because the advertisers sought to reach a wealthy audience unlike the poor readers of radical newspapers. So a lack of advertising support contributed to the death of many papers such as the *Daily Herald*, and the *Daily Citizen* (Herman and Chomsky 15). Concerning the third filter, it highlighted, on the one hand, the importance of authoritative and credible sources to

recognize newspapers as objective, and it is also a way to complicate the access to the news agenda for the independent and non-official sources. The fourth filter is the ‘flak’ that refers to the oppositions and the criticisms to a news story that can work to direct journalists or news organizations that strayed outside consent. In fact, the government is a major producer of flak that may include complaints, lawsuits, petitions, or government sanctions. It can be also very costly in terms of abandonment from the advertisers’ support. Although the production of flak is meant to attack the mass media, the media receive and treat them with respectful attention and their propagandistic role and links to a larger corporate program are rarely revealed (Herman and Chomsky 26-29). The final filter is the ideology of anti-communism; it is about mobilizing the population against an external enemy ‘the other’ marked by anticommunism, at the period when the model was published (cold war). This filter still functions since a new enemy or new ‘other’ that emerged is the Muslim world (Temple 117).

These filters seem to disregard the role of journalists in the course of action. That is why many of them rejected the propaganda Model. Herman and Chomsky acted in response by explaining the misconception of journalists to the operation of the model. As described by Mick Temple “The model does not rely on journalistic self-censorship, but on the filters which allow the powerful to mobilize bias by marginalizing alternatives, providing an incentive to conform, and by the innate human tendency to rationalize inconsistencies” (118).

In the contemporary media, the system of monopoly or concentration of the press ownership represented in the model as the first filter still subsists. A great

amount of media organizations has developed during the last three decades into conglomerates that are among the largest corporations in the world. More to the point, an analysis made by the Media Reform Coalition regarding the state of the UK's media, Published in April 2014 exemplified the extent of the threat facing the press and therefore the functioning of democracy in society by the fact that the news and views consumed by the public are owned by handful ownerships. Certainly, merely three companies namely: News UK, DMGT, and Trinity Mirror run nearly 70% of national newspaper circulation. Five companies control some 70% of regional daily newspaper circulation. In addition, out of 406 Local Government Areas (LGAs), 100 representing 25% of the total have no daily local newspaper while in 143 LGAs (35% of the total) only a single title has a 100% monopoly. Concerning the online news sources, they are tremendously accounted for by traditional news providers for their content. As concluded by the same report, the concentration within some news and information markets has reached endemic levels and is damaging the quality and diversity of output on which citizens rely.

Moreover, newspapers need to build audiences in the news that become more products to the public than representation. The commercial dimension is driving the newspapers from its primary role of forming public opinion among active citizens who has been substituted to the consumer to considering chiefly the profits that can gain from its services.

Accordingly, the press' increasing orientation towards entertainment is absolutely what has supported Murdoch and diluted the link between press and public opinion. Progressively more, audiences seek from the newspapers enjoyment rather

than representation while the private agenda was implicitly pursued. The historian and former Observer journalist, Anthony Sampson, observed a deep change in the broadsheet agenda by the late nineteenth century; from the “consistent coverage of serious events to short-term entertainment, speculation and gossip” (Temple 178). What matters the most is the profit that the newspapers could engender as they become a big business (Curran 220). Consequently, many critics approved the fact that the quality of journalism has been weakened by the engagement with the broader lifestyle and entertainment requested by its readers.

Besides, evidence from former editors of several newspapers expressed an interesting account of editorial influence. For instance, Roy Greenslade, editor of the *Daily Mirror* between 1990 and 1991, said that Robert Maxwell; the proprietor had been “an overt interferer...he liked to appear in the newspaper as often as he possibly could and he liked to have an involvement in virtually every story” (“Why Does Ownership Matter?” Chap.3). Rupert Murdoch; from his part admitted that he had “editorial control on major issues”, while Andrew Neil, who edited the *Sunday Times*, said he was “never left in any doubt what Murdoch wanted”(Hosenball and Holton).

In short, Media and particularly the press organizations have become more profit-oriented. The exchangeable relationship between the government and the press makes it difficult for the freedom of the press to sustain and threaten more the process of democracy in society. As the press retains mass electoral support, the government as decisions makers affect the press profitability.

III. The British Press Regulation

The newspaper in the United Kingdom has long been liberated from state regulation. The press was not subject to any government control for more than a century, except during the wartime periods. Nonetheless, many civil society including journalists, academics, and non-governmental organizations have drawn attention to the concentration of press ownership, the inexplicable practice of political power, and the use of the press for personal ends. This led to the establishment of a succession of Royal Commissions that aimed to examine the finance, control, check up the ownership of the press.

The first Royal Commission on Press was established in 1947. Its finding confirmed the decline in the quality of journalism and recommended the foundation of a self-regulation system based on a General Council of the Press that would encourage and promote ethical and responsible journalism and also would have the power to respond to complaints and impose suitable sanctions when it is necessary. This recommendation was initially rejected by the press, because of the threat of political action to establish statutory regulation. In 1953 the General Council of the Press was finally established. This latter was considerably different from that recommended. It had no code and no lay representative that is why it was mainly criticized. Therefore, a Second Royal Commission was held in 1962. It proposed statutory regulation unless the performance of the General Council improved. Hence, the Press Council was formed, including a minority of non-press members.

After persistent complaints concerning inadequate practices of newspapers, a third Royal Commission on the Press was established in 1974 to inquire into the

factors affecting the maintenance of the independence, diversity, and editorial standards of newspapers as well as periodicals and the public freedom of choice of newspapers and periodicals, nationally, regionally and locally. The commission projected a conception of a written Code of Conduct for journalists. It once more recommended a statutory solution. The Press Council rejected the recommendation for a written code of conduct. Following pressure from Parliament and the press's pursuit of public figures which was characterized by increasing intrusiveness into their private lives, in 1989 the Government commissioned Sir David Calcutt to chair a committee to look at press intrusion. The Committee's key objective was to consider the needed measures to give further protection to individual privacy from the activities of the press. Its report was published in 1990, its brought to a close that existing self-regulatory arrangements for the press should be revised and that it ought to be put an end to the Press Council and substituted with a new self-regulatory organization; that is Press Complaints Commission (PCC). The PCC should be given a period to work effectively if by the end it proved unsuccessful, a statutory tribunal should take over the job of dealing with complaints about the press. The PCC was integrated in 1991 and set up a Code of Practice Committee against which editorial practice might be judged. A Second Calcutt Report was published to show that self-regulation by the PCC had failed and the introduction of a statutory Press Complaints Tribunal was necessary. Both the press and the Government in 1995 declined Calcutt's recommendation for statutory regulation but the press did set up some reforms of the PCC.

After more than half a century from the last attempt to address the question of the press behaviour that proved a failure, it surged the revelation of phone hacking at *the News of the World* (owned by Rupert Murdoch) in which the Royal Editor of *News of the World* and a private investigator in 2006 were arrested on suspicion of intercepting the voicemail messages of the Royal Family. They were found guilty and condemned to jail. Following this, *The Guardian* published an accusation in July 2009, about the practice of phone hacking which had been used to gain information about a number of people, in addition to the Royal Family. It declared that it consisted of politicians as well as others in the public eye, such as sportspeople. The police decided not to revisit the 2006 inquiry. Consequently, some of the alleged victims began private legal proceedings which led to the closure of the *News of the World* in July 2011('Press regulation' 15). That urged the coalition government of David Cameron to establish an inquiry to examine the culture, ethics, and practices of the press. It was chaired by a senior judge of the Court of Appeal in England and Wales, Sir Brian Leveson, who published his report in November 2012. He proposed a new system of press self-regulation that keeps away from the kind of statutory press regulation that the British publishers feared in the previous commissions (Hugh, Tomlinson QC and Matrix 5-23).

Leveson's proposal enclosed 92 recommendations on areas including press self-regulation, the police, relationships between the press and politicians, data protection, media plurality, and media ownership. Leveson proposed a system under which the independence and effectiveness of a self-regulation set up by the press could be satisfied through a process of independent 'audit' or 'recognition'. Accordingly, the

Royal Charter on Self-Regulation of the Press established an independent Recognition Panel which was backed in 2013 by Mr. Cameron and the chief party leaders at the time, Ed Miliband and Nick Clegg, but the press rejected it and structured its own regulator, the Independent Press Standards Organisation (IPSO).

Under the system proposed by Leveson, the press remained in operational control of its regulation. The Recognition Panel was not meant to regulate the press, but to decide whether a self-regulatory met the criteria for regulatory independence and effectiveness, besides, politicians were excluded from any role in the process. It insisted on the self-regulation of the press. The charter formalized the Press Recognition Panel mandated to recognize self-regulatory institutions. Further legislation had been enacted that pledged incentives, especially for news outlets to voluntarily join a self-regulating body. However, the press industry players had discarded the Recognition Panel they claimed that the process of initiating the Royal Charter was owned and controlled by the politicians (Luvonga 6). They did not recognize the Charter, in March 2014, the Independent Press Standards Organization (IPSO) was created which had more than 2,500 members, including many of the major tabloids and broadsheets newspapers. The chairman of Ipsos, Sir Alan Moses, declared that his organization aimed to “help rebuild public trust in the press through independent, fair and transparent regulation”. However, publishers such as *The Guardian*, the *Financial Times*, and *Independent* did not join IPSO. They see the new regulator as a threat to the press freedom (they had their own systems of self-regulation). The IPSO was considered by many as a continuity of the failed PCC. Roy Greenslade, of *The Guardian*, rejected IPSO, claiming that it will be controlled by *The*

Telegraph, The Daily Mail, and News UK and stated that: “*IPSO, the new press regulator, is just the PCC with extra bells and whistles*” (the *Guardian* 8 Jan 2014). Similarly, Liberal Democrat politician and associate director of *Hacked Off* website, Evan Harris, mentioned that: “*IPSO is just the PCC with lipstick*”, while comedian Steve Coogan said that: “*The new press regulator is a ‘busted flush’ and no better than PCC*” (Kingston). A year after IPSO creation, James Cusick, a political correspondent of *The Independent* declared that a survey for the Hacked Off pressure group found a clear majority lacked confidence in the regulator, which is backed by the UK’s major newspaper publishers (Cusick).

In January 2016, *The Independent Monitor for the Press* (IMPRESS) had emerged as a new self-regulatory. It was the first officially recognized UK press regulator as it formally obtained approval from the Press Recognition Panel. It had a small number of members, around 25 member publications. Campaign group Hacked Off has welcomed IMPRESS, the joint executive director Evan Harris, which campaigns for greater press regulation, said the decision paved the way for the "first regulator to have proven its independence and effectiveness" under the Leveson system of independent assessment. He added that "The days of failed industry-controlled regulators like the PCC and its sham replacement IPSO are numbered" and emphasized that "This decision makes Impress the only regulator which the public, readers, and victims of press abuse can trust to regulate newspapers and safeguard freedom of the press, while offering redress when they get things wrong" (BBC news “First official UK press regulator”).

Nevertheless, many newspapers opposed the recognition of IMPRESS. To mention some of them, Lynne Anderson, deputy chief executive of News Media Association, which represented publishers said she was disappointed by the decision to recognize IMPRESS, saying it had been set up "to trigger punitive costs sanctions against Britain's press". She also defended IPSO, which represented most of Britain's main national and regional newspapers, saying it was "effective and independent". Bob Satchwell, from the Society of Editors, said the Press Recognition Panel had been "set up by politicians with public funds and had no real work to do because IMPRESS represented only a very small number of local publishers". Moreover, an IPSO spokesperson said: "We have been regulating the overwhelming majority of the UK's newspapers, magazines, and news websites for the last two years and will continue to do so"(BBC "First official UK press regulator").

IMPRESS is now the first and the only recognized self-regulatory under the new system that ensures effective self-regulation while defending press freedom. It gained more publishers as members throughout the time it even surpassed IPSO, but as the largest and wealthy publishers remain members of IPSO the threat and the risk to the public abuse and conspiracy still exists.

IV. Newspapers in the Digital Age

The worldwide expansion of the internet has challenged the established models of how media work and converse with their audiences. It has made a rapid advance and has grown substantially to touch the lives of people in all its aspects. The World Wide Web was a project designed at the beginning to serve scientists working at universities and institutes around the world. It allowed them to obtain and share information instantly. Shortly after developed to revolutionize communications around the world. It became accessible for everyone and indispensable in providing information across the globe and releasing news within minutes. The rapid growth of the internet and its unexpected revolution pressed the most provider of news to set up websites news.

The usage of online journalism has been a crucial event such was the case with preceding innovations in communication technology, yet it is difficult to judge the event that has the most marked the history of the emergence of the internet as a news medium. Some events are identified to be important to make the internet an incontestable news space, for instance, the 1994 San Francisco earthquake was the first story to be broken by online media before the print and broadcast news organizations. In 1997, the *Dallas Morning News* became the first major newspaper to publish an exclusive confession of the 1995 Oklahoma bomber Timothy McVeigh on its website before its print edition. In the UK, the *Guardian* was the first to take the step for the breaking news in 2006 in its website newspaper (McNair 2009, 138). A major event in the history of online news is the terrorist attack on the USA of September 11, 2001, where the online news sites recorded the experiences and emotions of people on the streets of Manhattan and posted them with their photographs to be heard and seen all

over the world. Another event that is also as important as 9/11 is the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. For Stuart Allan, Professor of Journalism and Communication at Cardiff University, this latter event represented the ‘coming of age’ of the internet as a news medium, taking into consideration the general news environment of the event and the relative difficulty in censoring online sources Stuart Allan commented in his book *Online News: Journalism and the Internet* that: Online journalism, at its best, brings to bear alternative perspectives, context and ideological diversity to its reporting, providing users with the means to hear voices from around the globe. News accounts that are overly reliant upon official truth-claims are likely to be revealed as such when compared and contrasted with reports from elsewhere available online, posing acute difficulties for those engaged in information management (105).

Given this, the ritual morning of reading and leafing through the newspapers was seen as outdated by many; only paper lovers preserved their newspaper reading habits. The readership of printed newspapers has declined significantly as the content of news was displayed in the online platform of newspapers. Accordingly, online journalism has become fundamental to people who for most renounced the print newspaper and replace it with its electronic version. This shift brought by technological advancement has many advantages to both journalists and readers. A journalist can give in-depth coverage of any issue without the restriction of space. Breaking news is also an advantage that the electronic versions of newspapers offer to compare to traditional print. It is now practiced for UK newspaper websites to publish breaking news stories before they appear in the next day’s print edition (McNair 2009, 138). Add to that, the possibility of taking part in all kinds of opinion polls and

interacting with responses and comments with a vast extension of the space available for readers' commentary. In contrast to the print version, the letters page was the only space offered to the public voice which could occupy a page of a newspaper's available column.

In this sense, the decline of print newspapers is not surprising. The increasing opportunities that the internet offers draws not only media to take profit by disseminating news through online articles to achieve large audiences, but also companies, who once advertised in newspaper, gain benefits in the rapid communicating information in the digital word with lower cost. This also resulted in the decline of the newspaper revenue as advertising constitutes the primary income source of the newspaper (Ahrens). Hence, the overall circulation of printed newspapers has decreased since 2010. National daily titles have declined from 9.2 million in 2010 to 6 million in 2016 ("News consumption Ofcom" 2017, 26).

A further significant fact is worth mentioning, in the digital age, concerns the growth of news access by the use of social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram, and Snapchat. This new medium has extensively dropped the readership of printed newspapers; largely the young population. The Reuters Institute's Digital News Report found that in 2016 social media's rise as a news source pulled even with print's decline, both serving as a source of information for around 35 percent of the UK's public. After dedicated news sites, social media is the second most important place after television where people discover news online. Yet, the extent of this is notably influenced by age. For a group of people under 45, online news is more

important than television news. For categories between 18–24, they prefer social media to TV news (Wakefield).

Relating the expansion of internet and social networks to the event understudy, it is assumed that the social media during the referendum campaign of 2016 had taken a significant part in informing people and shaping their opinion about the EU through the different platforms they offered namely Facebook, YouTube, and more particularly Tweeter which represented an important social network for news favoured by journalists, politicians, and heavy news users (Newman 11). Figure 1 shows the proportion of access in the mains platforms for news in 2016.

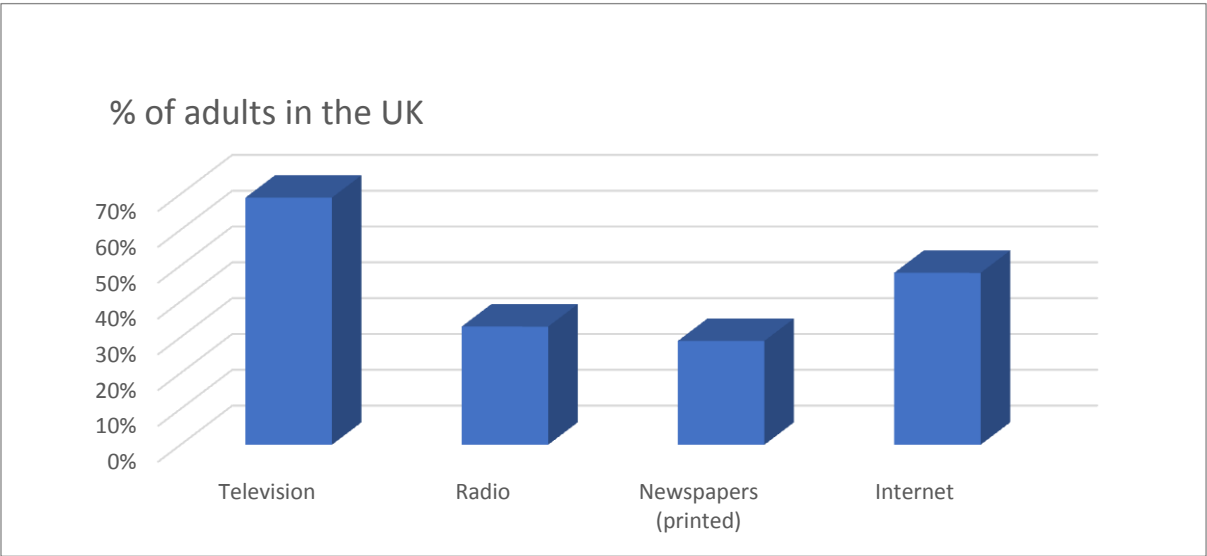


Fig. 1. The Use of the Main Platforms for News in 2016 (“News consumption Ofcom” 42)

A 2017 Ofcom report, about news consumption in the UK: 2016, revealed that 47 percent of those who get news online receive it through social media posts. 26% Mostly obtain news directly from websites/app of a news organization the rest obtain news equally from social media posts and websites/apps (“News consumption Ofcom”

2017, 42). Readers tend to share articles of particular interest to the public through different social media platforms; accordingly, social networks play a central role in encouraging discussion chiefly during decisive political events such as a referendum. Readers can share news which facilitates free public debate and participation in the referendum. The electorates, through social media, can have access to groups of discussion and obtain the quantum of information necessary for an informed resolution. This model of social consumption of online news mirrors Coffee houses networks of the seventeenth century; the early beginning of the newspaper's distribution can also reflect a period of the radical press in the early nineteenth century. The discussion that once followed the reading of the newspaper in a public meeting and the exchange of opinion is similar to chat that goes after the reading of the online news with one difference; both models can mobilize a public opinion, yet the technology of the social media has a more significant impact; given the larger number of readers it can get in touch with, and its restriction is beyond the reach. The most successful of the UK-based sites include guardian.co.uk, dailymail.co.uk, and telegraph.co.uk. To have an insight into news consumption during the year embracing the referendum campaign, the following figure gives the proportion of monthly visitors of the leading newspaper websites.

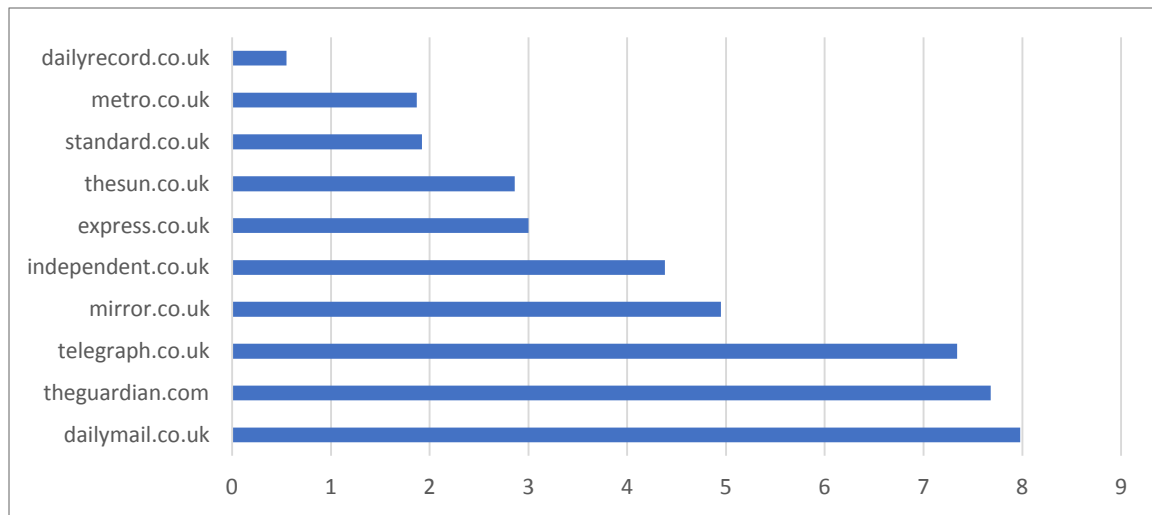


Fig. 2. The Leading Online Version of Newspapers
in the United Kingdom (2016)

The figure 2 shows that website of the *daily mail* newspaper had overtaken the *Guardian* as the UK's most used newspaper website with roughly eight million visitors monthly in 2016 followed by the *Guardian* and then the telegraph with respectively 7.68 and 7.34 million whereas the *Sun* had only about three million visitors.

To sum up, throughout the development of the newspaper, it is clear that it evolved from a mere means of communication and sharing stories of traders and travellers to become an important institution in the social and political sphere. The start of the nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of the radical press determined to articulate the right of the working class. It contributed largely to establishing the regularity of news and developed into a leading force that had a great effect on monopolizing public opinion. The enlargement of the newspaper and the commercial character that embraced make it more and more dependent on the advertisement which is assumed to be among the reasons that led to the eclipse of the radical papers. Furthermore, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the rapid development of

newspaper chains created an amalgamation of many national and regional newspapers and caused a concentration of ownership. A significant section of the British press was conquered by Barons, whose press was established into one of the world's largest media empires of the time.

The press Barons attained a great amount of political power. The Barons as proprietors of newspapers instead of taking a part in constructing an educated democracy are using their papers for propaganda purposes to advance their causes. They represent a real danger for the development of democracy. The question of press freedom has been raised in the mid-nineteenth century, given that the newspapers depended not only on the few proprietors that owned the press but also on the commercial advertisements that finance newspapers and the high market entry cost that excluded social groups with restricted financial resources from the competition.

In the contemporary media the concentration of the press ownership and the monopolization of the proprietors persist despite the effort made after the Brian Leveson's report of 2011 and his recommendations adopted to guarantee effective self-regulation and defending press freedom at the same time. The media empire established by Rupert Murdoch represents a threat for the freedom of the press especially when Murdoch personally interferes in the coverage of the most important issues as he himself admitted.

The rise of the internet came to disturb the stability of the newspapers' circulation which saw a migration of considerable number of readers to the websites news. The rapidity of the journalism-based websites and its accessibility to anyone everywhere in the planet attracted the economic actors to invest in online news which

contributed to the decrease of the print revenues and by dropped its circulation. The online news changed the way journalism function particularly when the use of social media sites emerged to enlarge the interaction and discussion between different players in society. In the Brexit referendum campaign of 2016, the online news played a key role in mobilizing a public opinion in the UK. The free access to the news in personal computers and mobile phones of individual facilitated a public participation in the referendum and enriched debate between journalists, politicians and electorates.

The Brexit referendum of 2016 as a major media event received a large coverage among media, especially online news platforms. The electorates had to choose between remaining a member of the European Union and leaving it. An amount of information was available to the reader involving the advantages and inconveniences of 43 years of union. The difficult relationship of the UK/ European Union made the debate very intense as many political, economic, and social issues were tackled. The readers as they vary in age, instruction level, experience, and class are not all necessarily aware of the complicated UK/EU relation. This is what made the division between the two campaigners even harder to electorates and the result was very shocking for the UK, Europe, and the whole world. Certainly, this result cannot be only the product of a short campaign period. The press as a part of the massive media in Britain had a vast influence dated back to the first accession in the 1973 to 2016 referendum. The enthusiasm for the union expressed at the first referendum in 1975 had been transformed a long way through the development of the European process and amplified by the mainstream media particularly the right press, as been a threat to British sovereignty. Therefore, the examination of the press and the UK/EU

relationship will be dealt with in more detail in the following chapter. It will explore the insight of the press involvement in the development's course of the UK/EU relationship and its continual effect in shaping public opinion.

Chapter II

Press and The UK/EU Relationship

I. The UK/EU Relationship

A. The European Unity Without Britain

A better understanding of the current UK/EU relationship requires deep scrutiny of the historical progression of unity. The political, economic, and societal conditions were contributing factors that shaped and formulated its function. In a broader view, the United Kingdom has always been distant from its European neighbours. Because of its geographical position as an island, the powerful navy that protected it, and the empire that magnified its position in the world, Britons feel unique and belonging to a special nation. As the historian, Vernon Bogdanor stated: “for centuries Britain lived in splendid isolation, protected by the Navy and the Empire, this period has long gone, yet it still preserves some of its impact upon the British people, who do not want ties with the European Continent” (qt. in Wilson).

Britain for decades was the world’s leading power and its attention has been diverted from Europe. She was looking economically, culturally, and politically, across the oceans. Her only concern was to thwart any European rivalry for power and dominance that could endanger her security and imperial enthusiasm. Alas, the glorious years did not last long for Britain. With the economic crisis and imperial decline, trying a relationship with continental Europe became a requisite for the British to retain their position and image in the world. Effectively, in the 1970s they entered the European Communities on disadvantageous terms. Yet, Two years later, the question of membership rose to lead to the first nationwide referendum held on whether or not Britain should stay in the EEC. The decision of the electorates was highly victorious to stay in the EEC. The referendum took place at a time where the

Conservative Party had been broadly united and supportive of the UK membership. But soon the Euroscepticism movement started to pave its way within its members to gain impetus during the premiership of Margaret Thatcher, who further fuelled Euroscepticism within her party and transformed it from Europhile to Eurosceptic party. Hence, the disagreement over close integration into Europe grew substantially to flame a debate between not only the political leaders but also the public opinion to reach an impasse. The UK has found it hard to settle into a solid pattern of engagement within the EU.

In this complicated relationship, the media and precisely some of the newspapers have played a role that is not negligible. Because adhering to the European Union required an in-depth governmental, political, and economic analysis to weigh the interest of this membership. Therefore, outlining the historical fact of the relationship between the UK and Europe serves to clarify the circumstances which led to this tenuous and ephemeral connection that has never found common ground for better prosperity. Besides examining the newspaper's representation of the procedure of integration including the political changes and evolution of the unification process. This may shed light on this difficult relationship which has led to a very heated debate and caused a schism within the political parties themselves and above all has culminated in the isolation of a country facing its uncertain future.

To start with, the process of Europeanization, in general, aimed to ensure welfare, security, and stability among the European nations. It took place after the Second World War. Yet, in the beginning, the British government's enthusiasm has been instead to develop a transatlantic partnership with the United States (US) than to

construct a link with continental powers of Europe (Troitino et al. 153). Despite that, the idea of the union had been recommended by Winston Churchill.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, Winston Churchill delivered a speech at the University of Zurich in which he urged the European states to form a union “We must build a kind of United States of Europe” (19 September 1946). The idea of the union was concretized in 1951, when six European countries namely; Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, West Germany, and the Netherlands, signed the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) Treaty in Paris, to give an economic boost, political strength, stability and security for a post-war era. Unforeseen, despite Churchill’s announcement Britain did not take part in this project. This decision was approved by both principal political parties; the Conservatives and Labour at the time and it was based chiefly on the world’s position of Great Britain compared to other European countries.

Churchill proclamation meant UK participation in the process for the good of both Europe and UK, being a member of a Federal Union of Europe did not fit the special relationship with the USA which was fostered and promoted by Churchill and was among the priorities of the British government in the foreign affairs (Troitino et al. 41). Furthermore, according to Churchill’s pragmatic view of the three magic circles namely: Europe, Commonwealth, and the USA, the federal union of Europe would have limited Britain’s freedom to be associated with all of them. That is why Britain preferred to be an outsider yet a supporter of the good course of action to keep beneficial diplomatic relations with the European states involved in the process of Europeanization (49).

Certainly, the unity among the European countries developed towards a closer political unification to establish in March 1957 by the Treaties of Rome: the European Economic Community (EEC). It was based on the Common Market between the members of the union, and the European Atomic Energy Authority (EURATOM); built up to encourage nuclear energy with governmental funds. The UK once again could not join the community, chiefly because of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). In point of fact, the CAP was one of the crucial agreements adopted in the Treaty of Rome, which allowed a free market of agricultural products inside the EEC and established protectionist policies that assured sufficient revenues to European farmers, prevented competition from third countries' products by securing agricultural prices. These measures were against Britain's agricultural trade with the members of the Commonwealth, which supplied lots of cheap agricultural products to the UK.

Nevertheless, according to Helen Parr, author of *Britain's Policy Towards the European Community*, historians, for the most part, believed that Britain's abstention from the community was a mistake, because, the UK found it difficult to reconcile their interest with the growing EEC. First, the conservative government under Anthony Eden struggled to persuade the negotiators of the six members into a broader free trade area. After him, the new Macmillan government returned to what is known as Plan G, which sought to use the organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) to build a free trade area (Parr 1). The British would prefer to establish a regional free trade zone excluding agricultural products. A project was intended to meet three objectives: first giving the United Kingdom a more clearly defined position if the Imperial Preference system with the Commonwealth were maintained, second

confirming its dominant role in the OEEC, and finally enabling the UK to retain influence over the development of European integration through close links between the free trade area and the Common Market. With this principle, the British officials sought to eliminate barriers to trade between the member countries of the area for industrial products only, while sustaining for each of these countries an individual customs tariff in respect of countries outside the area. However, the British plan for a free trade area was unilaterally rejected in November 1958 by General de Gaulle, French President (Deschamps 2).

After ten years of European success, Britain finally felt the need to join the Community. Certainly, several reasons were behind this intense and sudden desire, for the most part, was the fact that the member states of the European communities were growing more and more, diminishing by the British weight in the overall European economy and consequently declining the UK's influence in the international arena; another reason is related to the turn down on trade between the commonwealth members and the UK; and finally, the American world leadership damaged the UK/USA special relationship. The USA conquered trade, and the dollar became the world currency replacing the pound in the world market (Troitino et al. 78). These are foremost the causes that led Britain to apply for membership. However, this question was highly debatable among historians who provided other political factors that should be considered over the substantial shift in British policy, and Macmillan's move towards EEC. For Wolfram Kaiser, Professor of European Studies, Macmillan's initiative was a tactical approach to secure American support for the continuation of Britain's independent nuclear rein on the one hand, on the other, it was intended both

to divide the Labour party and appease Pro-European opposition within the Conservative party. For other historians, such as Nigel Ashton or James Ellison, Macmillan aimed a hedge against the unreliability of the Atlantic relationship (Parr 2). Thus, to save the UK's image and position in the world the adherence to the EEC was the only option for the UK.

The Conservative government of Harold Macmillan submitted its first application for membership in the EEC on 9 August 1961. This request was vetoed by French President Charles De Gaulle who manifested his iron 'Non' in opposition to British EEC membership in 1963. De Gaulle was anxious that such a redoubtable member like the UK could undermine France's dominant position in the community. He was also afraid that the UK would bring the commonwealth countries in its train. Besides, De Gaulle claimed that the UK would have to abstain from its transatlantic special relations, and unconditionally would entrust itself to security engagements within a European framework. The Labour government of Harold Wilson gave way to another application on 11 May 1967. Once more it met with strong rejection from Paris. De Gaulle went to disperse the community if, against French opposition, the UK came to take part in it (Rudolf 17-18).

B. The UK's Membership

The UK did not adhere to the club until circumstances had been changed and foretold well for membership of the European Communities. Indeed, De Gaulle had resigned and Georges Pompidou succeeded him in 1969. Pompidou unlike De Gaulle had a reputation of being pragmatic, not aspiring to a glorious and dominant France. Furthermore, France was growing more and more worried about the dynamic

escalation of Germany's economy, and the UK was regarded as the counterbalance that would equilibrate the increasing weight of Germany. On the other side, concerning the United Kingdom, the economic crisis was in constant increase; the productivity was down, competitiveness vanished, the pound had lost a third of its value since the end of the war, and public debt was increasingly out of control (19). These conditions of the time opened a new vision for Britain. After eighteen months of negotiations, The Accession Treaty allowed the United Kingdom to enter the European community in 1973, under the conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath, with the positive view that this step would bring prosperity to Britain.

After two years of accession, the question of the European Community was raised again. Harold Wilson the Labour party leader succeeded Edward Heath as Prime Minister on 4 March 1974. Unlike the conservative, the Labour party MPs were deeply torn over the question of Europe. 80% of registered party members objected to the EEC membership. While Parliament voted on the accession treaty, only 69 Labour MPs voted Yes. Certainly, Wilson's tactical move was to silence the radical wing of his party that solicited withdrawal from the EEC. He proclaimed that he would negotiate the conditions of EEC membership, and then he would submit the result of these renegotiations to British people to vote in the Referendum (Rudolf 23).

The first nationwide referendum ever was held throughout the UK in 1975 over the question of Britain's EEC membership. The ballot offered victory to the yes campaign by a large margin of 67.2 percent of votes, against 32.8 percent (Conway 2). Hence, Wilson succeeded in securing the unity and the continuity of his party at the same time sustaining the UK membership in the EEC.

The support of the UK/EEC relations from late 1970 until the mid-1980s was maintained thanks to Margaret Thatcher and her combative attitude towards the EU. She fought with full vigour for a proportionate budgetary rebate for the UK. She came back from a meeting on June 1984 Fontainebleau European Council triumphant; she obtained a rebate for Britain's budget contribution. Thatcher's approach was related to popular loyalty, the transfer of sovereignty from the national to the European level according to her was a utopia that could jeopardize European societies, liberties, and way of life. She believed that Intergovernmental cooperation is the only responsible way to build a lasting Europe. After obtaining the reduction in the British contribution, Thatcher turned her attention to a project close to her heart which was a completion of the Single Market. Transforming the European Community into a great free trade area devoid of internal barriers corresponded to her domestic policy of liberalization and deregulation. This explained her acceptance of the Single European Act (SEA) that was signed in February 1986 and entered into force on July 1, 1987 (Sidjanski 192). This move developed a close integration into the community, on the one hand, yet, on the other hand, the division between the pro and the anti-European integration was more apparent.

Besides of single market, the SEA fixed additional objectives and obligation in terms of economic and monetary union, a social policy, political cooperation in the area of external relations, security, all of which progressively led to the growth of the federal European Economic Community (Sidjanski 193). Thatcher after becoming aware of these hidden and calculated objectives of Jacques Delors, the president of European Commissions, objected strongly, and her famous and sharp sentence in her

Bruges speech of 1988 about the future of the European Community still resonated “We have not successfully rolled back the frontiers of the state in Britain, only to see them re-imposed at a European level” (Thatcher Bruges Speech). Subsequently, another level of cooperation in early October 1990 was accomplished between the UK and the EEC which was Thatcher’s bitter approval of the pound’s membership of the exchange rate mechanism (ERM) a system fixing exchange rates between EEC currencies to advance convergence ahead of a common currency. Following Chancellor of the Exchequer Nigel Lawson’s resignation over the ERM issue, John Major his successor succeeded in persuading Thatcher to join the system in 1990 (Stanley 9). This stage came merely to condemn the European colleagues’ project for monetary union as it was advanced by Lawson “it would give Britain more influence in Europe and therefore enable her to put a brake on the full Delors project of monetary union” (Bogdanor).

The project for a common currency was developed by the Committee chaired by Jacques Delors with other propositions namely an increase of powers of the European Parliament, council, and the European Commission. These proposals received a loud rejection from Thatcher who pronounced the famous statement “*No, No, No*” in her speech in Parliament on 30 October 1990, which made the relationship between the UK and the community more complex.

Mrs. Thatcher’s successor John Major faced another challenging progress of the UK/EEC relation; that is the Maastricht Treaty, officially known as the Treaty on European Union, which laid the foundations for a single currency, the euro, and significantly expanded cooperation between European countries in several new areas.

The Maastricht Treaty made provision for the creation of three ‘pillars’ of the European Union: the European Communities, a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), and cooperation on Justice and Home Affairs matters (JHA). It also included provisions for common European citizenship, expanding the role of the European Parliament, Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), and a Social Protocol (Todd 51). The treaty was signed by the community members on 7 February 1992, and then parliaments in each country ratified the Treaty, in some cases holding referendums. The Maastricht Treaty officially came into force on 1 November 1993 and the European Union was officially established.

John Major British prime minister, in December 1991 attended with other EEC leaders the Maastricht intergovernmental conference, negotiating changes to the Treaty of Rome. Two main issues represented Major concern in this conference:

- The UK Single Currency: Britain was not committed to monetary union
- The Social Chapter: this would exempt Britain from regulations that concerned with employment policy which was against the Conservative MPs prerogatives

John Major successfully obtained the opt-outs from the single currency and the social chapter. However, the question of ratification was not yet resolved. It required a lot of effort principally to obtain approval from the opponents who were for the majority backbenchers, they strongly opposed the project and were against any further integration into Europe that could make the UK sovereignty at risk. But the

relentlessness of Major and his conviction triumphed by the end; the Maastricht Treaty was ratified, though at great cost to the Prime Minister and the unity of his party.

The European opposition inside the conservative political party since then increased to show more hostility to the project of the UK/EU relationship. The next major issue that the union faced after Maastricht was the Lisbon Treaty that caused more growth of the anti-European opposition in the UK. In fact, in October 2004 The European Council signed the Lisbon Treaty establishing a constitution for Europe. The aim was to replace the multitude of existing treaties and more clearly restructure the legal foundation of the EU. Yet in 2005 the constitutional treaty was rejected in France and the Netherlands in popular referendums. Therefore, in June 2007, it was agreed by the heads of state and governments of the EU members to replace the original constitution with a new Reform Treaty, which was then signed at the European Council of Lisbon on 13 December 2007, it was ratified by all Member States and came into force in December 2009.

The revised Constitution covered all the operational items from the rejected EU Constitution, but the presentation was changed radically with the removal of the word "constitution". Instead of a single document to replace all existing European treaties, the Treaty of Lisbon came to consist of a large number of changes to the existing 17 basic EU treaties with many accompanying protocols and declarations. With the Lisbon Treaty, the EU had its constitution indirectly rather than directly. It has deleted the Constitution article about European symbols such as flags, Europe Day, the motto, and the single EU anthem, which was in the original "Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe". However, it was also stated that this deletion does not

change the status of any of the European symbols that have existed for years without a formal basis in the European treaties (Euabc).

Furthermore, the most important disadvantage of the Lisbon treaty was that it gave the unelected EU Commission greater say over Foreign Policy and Home Affairs. This challenges the principle that sovereign states should have control over these important policy areas. The UK was unable to use its veto to block future changes in an increasing number of areas, potentially even those in which it had negotiated an opt-out. The Lisbon Treaty made the EU an international actor in its own right, separate from and superior to, its member states. It transformed the EU from an international agreement into something more like a single state (Knott). The British government, under Gordon Brown at that time, was uneasy with exposing the ratifications to a popular vote. Nile Gardiner and Sally McNamara stated in their article *The EU Lisbon Treaty: Gordon Brown Surrenders Britain's Sovereignty*, that the electorates of several countries would reject the Treaty if the ratifications were put to a popular vote (2). This is what widened the gap between the pro and the anti-European within the conservative party and raised the pressure over the next government of David Cameron.

What made the UK/EU relationship even worse was the Eurozone debt crisis. The crisis emerged in 2009 when Greece default on its debts. Three years later, it triggered to reach Portugal, Italy, Ireland, and Spain, which were struggling to finance their deficits. The crisis was the world's supreme danger, accompanied by doubt over the euro's endurance. In December 2011, the European leaders gathered in Brussels,

they drew up an emergency plan to safeguard the currency. Yet, David Cameron was dissatisfied, fearing further consolidation of the Eurozone bloc with no safety for British interests; he demanded legally compulsory protections for Britain's financial sector, as the price of his support. His demand was furiously rejected and Cameron in return vetoed the agreement. The EU leaders simply organized a separate union without Britain. After this crisis, Cameron realized that Britain's relationship with the EU was becoming weak and the process of renegotiating was primordial to give more weight to the UK in the European Union. As he wrote in the book he published after leaving office "With the Eurozone crisis, the organization was changing before our very eyes and our already precarious place in it was becoming harder to sustain" (qt. in McTague).

The sovereign debt crisis contributed to solidifying Euroscepticism among Conservative MPs. In response, Cameron followed the path of considering an in-out referendum on European integration after renegotiating new terms of the EU membership. The renegotiation outlined four objectives based on areas of economic governance, competitiveness, sovereignty, and immigration. Cameron called for the limited repatriation of powers from Brussels, rights for national Parliament to block EU legislation, guarantees that the UK could access the single market while remaining outside the Eurozone, continued independence for the Bank of England in regulating the UK's financial system, assurances that British taxpayers would not be liable to support the Euro as a currency, and he also called for the restraint of migrants when countries join the EU and for restrictions on the rights of EU migrants to claim welfare benefits (Vasilopoulou and Keith 488).

The agreement reached with European Council President Donald Tusk in February 2016 met some of Cameron's demands. It delivered an exemption from the commitment to an ever closer union, increased the powers of national parliaments, and made some progress in reducing the burden of regulation to promote competitiveness within the EU. The deal also proposed a temporary requirement that EU citizens should live in another Member State for 4 years before having full access to welfare benefits; yet it fell short of Cameron's ambition of banning the practice, of the migrant workers, from sending child benefits money back home (489). Instead, payments should be linked to the cost of living in the countries where the children live. The new rules concerned new arrivals, and for existing claimants from 2020. David Cameron believed that this deal will give Britain a new position inside the EU as he claimed "I have negotiated a deal to give the United Kingdom special status inside the European Union" (Wright "EU renegotiations"). Nevertheless, he did not convince his conservative politicians, he was extensively criticized in the British press, and indeed his policy featured very little during the referendum campaign (Vasilopoulou and Keith 499) which put an end to the relationship that never found a good deal to sustain.

What is worth to mentioning also in this difficult relationship between the UK and the EU is an element of resemblance or continuity in British political parties, as John Todd described it, in the sense that the European issue presented a threat in terms of party unity, prime ministerial authority and the survival of the government itself (101). In retrospect, these were the issues that prompted Harold Wilson in 1975 to hold a referendum over the question of European integration, the same problems that

pushed Thatcher to resign in 1990 and later on pressed David Cameron in 2016 to adopt Wilson's approach, yet this time did not meet with the same success.

II. Newspapers' Representation of the UK's Membership

A. The Press Coverage and the Public's Opinion

It is clear that the resolution to promote closer economic ties with continental Europe was chiefly the choice of the political, and business elites, who saw the European community as a tool to serve national purposes. The EEC was like a corridor to achieve better deals, to get back competitiveness and to gain access to dynamic markets, while public attitudes toward the EEC were "characterized by ignorance, prejudice, and condescending brush-off"(Rudolf 15).

The first press debate over the merits of European co-operation was prompted in 1948 by the creation of the European Movement and by the first Speeches in favour of the Western European Unity of Ernest Bevin, Labour's Foreign Secretary. Most national newspapers favoured the UK giving a lead in uniting Western Europe in the face of the Soviet threat. *The Observer*, edited by a federalist, David Astor, supported economic, political, and military integration in Europe. Its reports of the founding congress of the European Movement at The Hague underlined the federalist influence among British Labour delegates there and declared Winston Churchill's speech in support of a European Assembly his greatest ever. *The News Chronicle*, owned by Lord Layton a leading pro-Community activist, solidly supported the Hague initiative. *The Times*, though consistently anti-federalist, praised Bevin for uniting parliamentarians behind a pragmatic approach.

However, coverage in the Center-left *Manchester Guardian* reflected the editors' dislike for ambitious and divisive Federalist plans. The *Financial Times* ignored the political aspects of the European issue and presented limited attention to the economic aspects of the Western Union and Hague Congress proposals. Regarding the leading weekly journals they treated the European unity acutely than the dailies; they gave less attention to the domestic politics which surrounded The Hague Congress or Western Union initiatives. Leaders in the *New Statesman* attacked the supra-nationalist plans of The *Observer*, stressing the need for British-led European unity in the face of the US and Soviet domination. *The Economist* was critical of federalism as utopian and cautious about European co-operation. It also urged Bevin to be specific about what sacrifices of sovereignty he would make. According to an *Economist* Editorial, the Hague Congress was unrepresentative and had failed to address the main realistic questions: Germany's place in Europe and interstate co-operation (Wilkes and Wring 187).

Except for the *Herald* and *Express* newspapers that opposed closer ties to the Continent, most of the press welcomed the French initiative made by the French foreign minister Robert Schuman in May 1950 to create the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), despite the difficulties which were presented for the UK. The *Manchester Guardian* noted that the Schuman Plan had 'exhilarating possibilities', suggesting that there were sufficient grounds for the UK to look openly at membership; *The Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* came to a similar conclusion. The *Financial Times* did not give the French initiative much attention but approved the decision to start integration without the Americans and British. *The Observer* also

gave less coverage to the initiative and advocated UK membership of the European organization as a step towards an Atlantic Union. *The Economist* favoured the participation of the UK in the community to strengthen its economy.

British Newspaper Coverage of the development of the UK's opposition to the community from that time was just as weak. Whereas the coverage of the British plan, for free trade area submitted in 1956, increased gradually over 1956-57 developing public position over the subject and giving little attention to growing support for a closer link with the EEC. Therefore, by 1957 the British press was to favour the European free trade area, giving a substantial comment on the negotiations between 1957 and 1958. Except for *The Economist* which was more critical of the British government's approach to the negotiations. The unfruitful negotiation in late 1958 left *The Times* newspaper just offended at 'France the Wrecker', a few journalists suggested that the UK should consider joining the EEC (Wilkes and Wring 190).

The first serious debate over the question of UK membership of the EEC was launched in 1960. Since obtaining support to integrate the European community from the general public was vital in a democratic country such as Britain, the press seemed the appropriate means used by politicians to propagate a positive image of the EEC. Accordingly, the growing support for entry characterized the British press. The *Daily Mirror* attempted to project a positive image of the European Community focusing on Europe's post-war affluence and consumerism. West Germany, for example, was a country 'where the beer flows like water, and money flows like beer', and the situation in France seemed similar: 'Bellies Full, Jobs Booming, Birthrate Bounding' (Haeussler). Sister paper the *Herald* (no longer linked to the trade unions) and the

Express had initiated campaigns to support UK membership. The pro-entry lobbies in the political parties and the press shared similar approaches: entry into Europe intended the revitalization of the UK economy. After De Gaulle's veto in January 1963, the *Daily Mirror* and Herald maintained their support for an eventual entry. Whereas *Express* celebrated the breakdown of negotiations with the headline 'Hallelujah!'. The issue soon dispelled from view while the press was more absorbed by the death of the Labour leader Hugh Gaitskell.

Public opinion moved to support an entry over 1964-66, though the role played by the pro-Community bias of the press was unclear. Harold Wilson as to prepare for the second EEC membership application continued to exert effort with the *Daily Mirror* and the other enthusiastic pro-entry publications. Hence, *The Guardian* and *Financial Times* were so optimistic as to claim that the French currently wanted the UK to join the EEC. In opposition to them, the *Daily Express*, despite Lord Beaverbrook's death, sustained a 'golden vision' of a greater Commonwealth association (Wilkes and Wring 194).

The new level of mediation was reached in 1971 when the circumstances for UK membership were more favourable. It is noted that between July and October 1971 alone, ministers made 280 speeches on the subject of the EEC and flooded the press with letters to promote the pro-European camp (Daddow 2012, 1223). Despite the attempts of much of the press to realize a balance in their coverage, the pro-Community supporters achieved some advantages through their plan based on the 'media breakfasts' directed by the Conservatives' former Director of Publicity, Geoffrey Tucker (Wilkes and Wring 196). David Conway confirmed in his publication

With Friends Like These how the conservative government exercised its power to convert public support to the European membership through ‘media breakfast’. He also claimed that the conservative party organized regular weekly breakfast meetings, where they invited friendly journalists from different media outlets and press writers to take part in leading government and representatives of the European Movement. He added that the media breakfasts were the most important element of the total effort to shape opinion in the UK (39). Evidence is shown in a Gallup poll in January 1973 which revealed that only 38 percent of the British public were in favour of Britain’s membership to EEC against 36 percent. For the rest of the population, they remained without opinion. Yet, in just about two years the proportion of people in favour of membership grew considerably to triumph in the 1975 referendum.

The referendum’s result reflected the great effort of the country’s main propaganda held by the government to back the call of the yes vote, and more importantly, it made it clear the alliance of the press coverage and public opinion. Unprecedented, the newspaper owners of that era, including Rupert Murdoch; whose influence persists in the present days were all supportive of membership. They used their papers to influence people’s opinions in favour of the government’s interest. In the same point of view, Roy Greenslade in his publication to the *Guardian*, entitled *Did National Papers' Pro-European Bias in 1975 Affect the Referendum?* (*The Guardian* 04 Feb. 2016), stressed the support of the mainstream national British press to the Yes campaign during the run-up to June 1975 referendum. He stated that the *Daily Mail*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Daily Express*, the *Sun*, the *Times*, the *Financial Times*, the *Guardian*, *Daily Mirror*, and *Daily Record* “exhibited hysterical enthusiasm for

European integration” (the *Guardian* 04 Feb. 2016). What was fascinating is that the newspapers of the left, right, and center had all the same united views over British membership. Broadly, their arguments on behalf of maintaining EEC membership took two divergent lines: the economic benefits of staying and the political dangers of leaving. This view was reflected in the result of the referendum by 67% who voted in favour of membership. Besides, what is worth mentioning was the constancy in the Yes vote that prevailed all over the country.

Despite the decisive electorate vote, the question over British membership was not resolved since then, and the British’s position on being a member had become more difficult throughout the years of adherence. As time progressed the close integration within Europe culminated into a serious division within the UK public opinion between those who believed that the UK’s future lay with Europe and those who did not accept the subordination to Europe.

What constituted the turning-point in alerting the British public to the perils of closer union with Europe is supposed to be Thatcher’s Bruges speech, and her “No, No, No” rejection of Delors proposals in the House of Common 1990, and the provocative headline in the *Sun* “Up Yours Delors” (Rawlinson 24). It is also assumed that the parliamentary debate over Maastricht, later on, reflected the continued political currency of the arguments made by Thatcher on that speech. Accordingly, the anti-European stance in Britain was intensified by the time of the Maastricht ratification process, in which the combined action of Thatcher’s foreign policy agenda and Murdoch inspired Euroscepticism sustained during two years onwards to prosper and take hold of the British national psyche.

Christiane Barth and Patrick Bijsmans in their article, *The Maastricht Treaty and public debates about European integration: the emergence of a European public sphere*, outlined five issues by which the journalist's coverage framed the European integration: sovereignty, economic consequences, security, and peace, efficiency, and democratic quality aspect. They identified variations in framing these issues between positive, neutral, and negative stances, except for democratic quality that took exclusively negative views (219).

The positive coverage enhanced national sovereignty by giving a member state a more powerful voice. It highlighted the benefits of European integration concerning a single market or EMU in the context of economic consequences. It also referred to European integration as a necessity to ensure peace and security and stressed its efficiency in dealing with certain problems that cannot be tackled without pooling resources and developing common solutions. Whilst, the negative view of European integration was portrayed as limiting national sovereignty, stressed its inability to solve economic problems such as unemployment. Besides, the critics concentrated on the failures of the European integration to ensure peace and security, it also decreased the efficiency of a member state to deal with certain issues, with the fact that it focused too much on irrelevant issues. Above all, European integration is presented as an elite project based on democratically questionable principles (220-221). For instance, on national sovereignty, on 25 June 1990 the *Times* argued that “no political spectacle has been so odd this past year as that of West Europeans binding themselves ever tighter with supranational chains, while cheering on the shattering of such chains by nationalisms in the East” (225), Whereas the *Guardian* wrote on 27 June of the same

year that European integration is not a surrender of sovereignty, it is a way of enhancing it. It is noted that the *times* and the *Guardian* presented divergent values when evaluating European integration.

The big step towards a more integration in the EU was exemplified by the Lisbon Treaty. The treaty received a great debate in the British public sphere as the government ignored their say in the question of the ratification of the treaty and approved it through a parliamentary vote. In this issue on 24 July, 2007 the *Telegraph* published an article by Toby Helm and Bruno Waterfield headlined *Gordon Brown 'broke promise' over EU treaty*, they reported on the conservative politician William Hague who said: “the treaty was profoundly objectionable to the British people...in the light of Labour's previous promises that to deny people a say on a replacement treaty that was essentially the same as the first would represent a fundamental breach of trust between the Government and voters” (the *Telegraph* 24 July 2007). Similarly, the *Daily Mail* on 15 April 2010 wrote: *Brown claims there was no need for the Lisbon Treaty referendum as he's attacked by voters*. The reporter continued his article declaring that Mr. Brown sparked anger by refusing to give the British people a say on the deeply unpopular treaty claiming that it was unnecessary because it was fundamentally different from the constitution rejected by the French and Dutch three years earlier. Also, voters claimed that Brown’s failure to keep a manifesto pledge to hold a referendum meant he could not be trusted (Drury). Furthermore, the *Guardian* on 18 October 2007 asserted a statistic about the public opinion over the question of the referendum made by Financial Times/Harris poll which found that 70% of those

questioned in the UK, France, Germany, Italy, and Spain wanted a referendum. Just 20% did not see the need for a plebiscite; 10% were unsure (Deborah).

Subsequently, except for the eurosceptic parties who were asking for complete withdrawal particularly after the sovereign debt crisis, a distinction was made by a You Gov poll in May 2013 in how people would have voted if the UK's position within the EU had been renegotiated; the opinion favoured remaining in EU. The majority of British people believed that by trying to diminish the EU's powers Britain's future was preminent in the EU, as it is shown in the following chart based on Ipsos European Pulse Survey on March 2014:

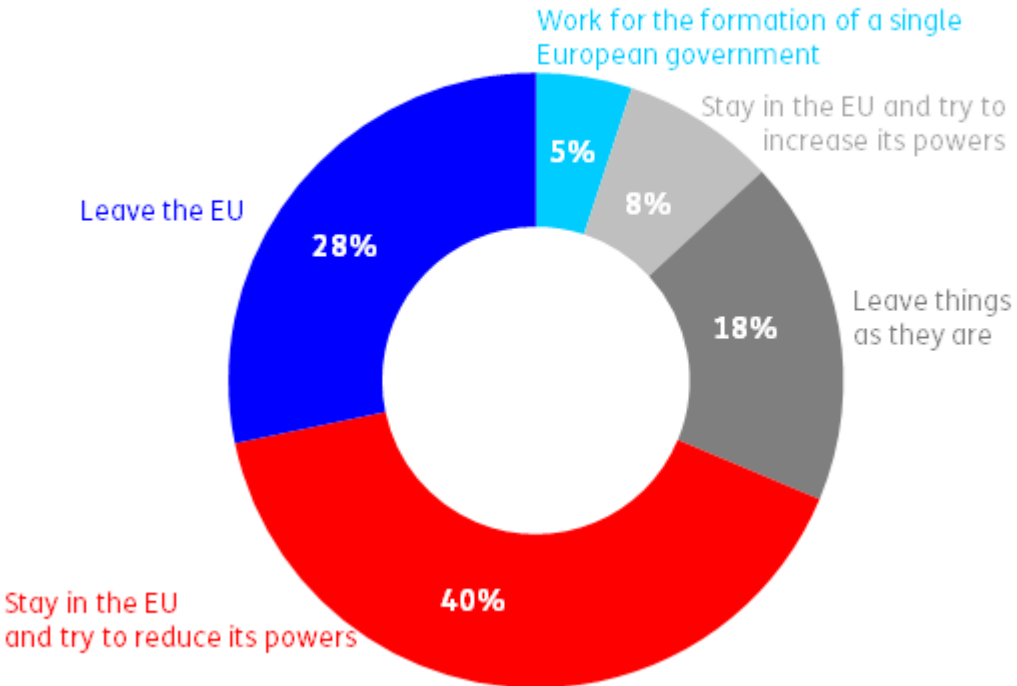


Fig. 3. Polling Responses to What the Long Term Policy of Great Britain Should be (“Ipsos European Pulse” 2014)

These statistics were assumed before Cameron's renegotiations. However, after unveiling the draft deal on EU reform in February 2016, the polls made by You Gov found that 45% of the British people would vote to leave the EU against 36% who would vote to stay while 19% declared themselves as 'don't know'. It was for the first time that the British Public drove in the direction of the Brexit Camp (Jewell "Press urges Britain"). Regarding the British press reaction to Cameron's deal on EU reform, it was regarded as intolerant, particularly from the more right-wing of the British press. To stress the failure of Cameron's renegotiations, *The Sun* portrayed the prime minister as a hapless Captain Mainwaring (a fictional character of the comic story *Dad's Army*, a very popular film broadcasted on the BBC from 1968 to 1977). The *Express* continued ridiculously, asserting on its front page that *Cameron's EU Deal is a Joke* (3 February 2016), while the *Daily Mail* proclaimed that the deal would do nothing to curb immigration and would trigger years of benefit chaos. As it was written on its front page: *The Great Delusion* (3 February 2016). Meanwhile, *Polly Toynbee*, a *Guardian* columnist argued that the right-wing press should not be allowed to 'bully us out of the EU'. She added that despite falling sales newspapers still set the agenda (John Jewell "Press urges Britain").

Consequently, the public trust over the question of EU integration seriously diminished and the issue of withdrawal grew more to find a way out on the 23rd June 2016 referendum that Cameron held particularly to calm the pressure from his party members and appease the hostility of the large part of the press. In fact, the press' representation of Europe has been a subject of inconsistency from pro and anti-Europe.

Nonetheless, the negative depiction prevailed in the mainstream British press predominantly on the right and that was particularly from the 1980s onward.

B. The Rise of the Eurosceptic View After 1975 Referendum

1. Euroscepticism in the British Newspapers

Euroscepticism is a recurrent term used largely to describe the UK and the European relationship. It is agreed by the majority of scholars and commentators that the ‘Euro’ in Euroscepticism refers to the European Union and its precursors, while ‘skeptical’ means ‘doubtful’. Thus, every British doubt, past and present, about the European institutions is an indication of Euroscepticism (Harmsen and Spiering 129). Still, other definitions attempt to explain Euroscepticism, yet the most well-known is the one proposed by Taggart and Szczerbiak, who distinguished between hard and soft Euroscepticism. In the former, there is total opposition to the project of European integration; in the latter one, there is not a righteous objection to the EU or against the membership but there are critics of some policies because they damage the national interests (4).

Researchers concur that Euroscepticism as a prevailing discourse saw its opening from the 1980s, a gradual change from “cautious optimism to aggressive opposition” (Koller et al. 5) developed most visibly in tabloid newspapers. Notably, some newspapers have worked synergistically with politicians to reinforce the language of Euroscepticism that has gained a complete influence over the popular imagination (Daddow 2012, 1222). Mainly tabloids, the *Daily Mirror* and the *Sun*, that formerly backed the UK membership in the EEC have changed their opinions since accession. After Thatcher’s Bruges speech, the *Sun* attacked the President of the

European Commission Jacques Delors for being “the most boring bureaucrat in Brussels” (Baker and Seawright 197) and continued, shortly before Thatcher resignation with its famous headline on 1 November 1990 “Up Yours Delors” that made Delors hold the brunt of British Euroscepticism (Black). The issue turned out to be more visible during major periods of constitutional debates such as over Maastricht and Lisbon treaties (Daddow 2012, 1225). Charles Grant argued in his publication *Why is Britain Eurosceptic?* that Britain has an exceptionally powerful and eurosceptic popular press. He added that ironically, some of the best media organizations that cover the European Union are UK-based, such as the *Financial Times*, *The Economist*, and *Reuters* (Grant 3).

Essentially, what constituted the Eurosceptic media and particularly the written press in Britain is the belief that they are not central players within the geopolitical space. This is due to three main reasons:

- Firstly, it is the fact of Britain’s physical separateness from continental Europe;
- Secondly, Britain has not experienced any aggressive occupation in modern times comparing to other European states that sought peace and security through integration in the post-1945 period;
- Finally, because of the dominance of the English language in almost the global domains, Britons people are less engaged with the culture of other European countries (Anderson and Weymouth 178).

These among others, in particular, constituted the fundamental aspects that composed Euroscepticism in the British press.

Furthermore, the European integration itself caused a problem of comprehension among readers who were not supposed to be experts or have a deep knowledge of economics, law, and finance, in this sense the newspapers, in general, positioned themselves not only as reporters and opinion-leaders but also as educators setting out to simplify and explain the complexity of European integration to their reader. This is not limited to the Tabloids but also the broadsheet newspapers with their A, B-readership (belong to the upper or middle social classes). The press adopted a didactic role as mediator between the elite discourse of politicians and the readers and as any didactic transformation process; the papers embraced the considerable potential of manipulating the instructed (Hardt-Mautner 2-15). In Britain approximately 30 million people read a daily newspaper, three-quarters of them read papers that are determined to make people dislike the EU. The remaining quarter read papers which, though broadly pro-European, still print much that criticizes the European Union (Grant 3).

Regarding the themes covered in the newspapers, particularly the mass-circulation tabloid the *Sun*, they were meant to perpetuate a negative image about Europe. The European identity was a recurrent topic used to increase the Eurosceptic sentiment by emphasizing the sense of distance and isolation from continental Europe, by rising fear that British identity is under threat from progressing European integration, and by stereotyping against other European nations particularly the French and the Germans (Hardt-Mautner 119). The press served as a vehicle of ideas that framed people's opinions about Europe. The *Sun*, on 13 March 1991, depicted the Germans as Selfish, Cowardly, and emotionally lazy. Essentially, the *Sun* portrayed

the EU as "a corrupt untrustworthy interventionist predator, driven a Franco-German plot to damage British economic interests, British security and British sovereignty" (Daddow 2006, 317).

Besides, the religious theme was also present in a newspaper to heighten the opposition to the euro project. In this respect, the *telegraph* entitling an article *God is opposed to Britain joining EU's single currency*, in which it reported from the chief economist of the Institute of Directors, Graeme Leach, who said "we really do need to seek the Lord's guidance on the euro since it is likely to be the single most important economic and geopolitical question facing the UK in the 21st century" he urged political leaders and voters to pray about the euro before the next election. In his speech, Mr. Leach said that joining the euro is bad "stewardship" because it undermines Britain's sovereignty and its economy. He added that "The entire EU project shows conspicuous signs of God's absence" (Combe).

In a deeper research to obtain a better insight and clear understanding of newspaper' discourse, Anderson and Weymouth reading and interpretation of both pro and anti-European news reports, mainly during the pre-election of 1997, revealed that the discourse of Pro-European newspapers namely: the *Independent*, *Guardian*, *Financial Times* and *Daily Mirror* focused more on the economic reality of Europe as Britain's largest trading partner and according to reports, the more integration on Europe constituted a natural and the most obvious political and social space in which Britain should operate. Regarding the single currency which was the major focus of attention in the pre-election period of 1997, the Europhiles took it as an opportunity to

achieve advantages (112). At the same time as, the discourse of Eurosceptic press: *the Daily Telegraph, The Times, Mail, Express, and the Sun*, showed an unveiled opposition to further European integration due to different reasons: Economic as consequences chiefly for the single currency and for the British industry in the signing of the social charter; Political that reflected mostly issues of sovereignty and defence, and the historic-cultural included a dislike of foreigners and Germany in particular (63).

The analysis of the newspaper's discourse by scholars such as Peter Anderson, Tony Weymouth, Gerlinde Hardt-Mautner, and Oliver Daddow recognized stratagem in the misrepresentation of the European Union, which dominated the Eurosceptic discourse and sometimes found their way also into the discourse of the Europhiles press. For instance, the downplaying or simply no mention of the EU's initiatives for the improvement in working conditions for the British people is a clear technique used to undermine the EU's effort. The only exception of the report was presented by the *Guardian* which attributed the improvement directly to the EU, and it gave full rein to its pro-European discourse (Anderson and Weymouth 135).

Accordingly, the ways in which the EU contributed to the well-being of Britons in their daily lives via the structural funds are almost completely ignored in the press. The Blair government's adoption of the European Working Time Directive is a significant European initiative; that affected the lives of millions of Britons. This crucial event was downplayed by all the Eurosceptic broadsheets, ignored, and reduced on its importance by the tabloids papers (183). The same approach was

adopted by some of the British newspapers during the ratification of the Maastricht treaty. Hardt-Mautner investigated an article by the *Sun* entitled *What the hell is Maastricht about?* That was published on 22 September 1992. The article consisted of 14 simple answers to questions range from the very general such as, what is the Maastricht Treaty about? to specific issues of the single currency, employment, European citizenship, defence, and immigration. Hardt-Mautner argued that the 250-pages of the treaty were enclosed in less than half a page, and only few issues were preferred for discussion. This might ignore a more positive side of the treaty. The reader of the article did not learn anything about the treaty's general objectives other than the initial claim that it aims to tie the 12 European Community countries closer together politically creating the United States of Europe which will be run from Brussels (a negative view). Scrutinizing the content of the article in greater detail, one finds that the statements made in the answers range from conjectures and inaccuracies to blatant untruths. The declared aim of the article, simplification, and clarification, is abused for misrepresentation and obfuscation. For example, while the Treaty refers to indirect taxation, the *Sun* claims Britain would lose a lot of control over raising taxes. However, taxes are commonly taken to refer to direct taxes, that is, the kind of tax that is collected on a pay-as-one-earn basis and thus tends to be most obvious and most objectionable to the general public (Hardt-Mautner 192-193).

For the same purpose of explaining the eurosceptic discourse in news reports Oliver J. Daddow in his article *Euroscepticism and the culture of the discipline of history*, seeks to discover the historical stories that lend weight and credence to the report of European matter in Britain. For illustration, the *Sun* launched a publication

against Blair in the wake of the Prime Minister's Warsaw speech on EU enlargement in May 2003, stating 'How dare Tony Blair to call us unpatriotic' for the author of this article, Blair had associated anti-Europeanism with a lack of pride in the nation. Moreover, in the emotive words of Labour leader Hugh Gaitskell, delivered over forty years ago to describe his opposition to the Common Market and in the support of the Eurosceptic case, the *Sun*'s author chastised Blair for hating his country and for being determined to destroy 1,000 years of history. He even wrote history backward by envisaging what Blair might have done in 1939: "Presumably [he] would have thought the patriotic thing to do would be to hand over the keys to Hitler" (Daddow 2006, 318). The *Sun*'s author was playing to his perceived audience, by evoking moments of national pride such as World War II and Gaitskell's thousand years of British history to support his case against Blair's vision for Britain. Euroscepticism in the UK press have been inspired by past conflicts and the Second World War especially, which have provided a range of linguistic weapons used by particularly Tabloid newspapers to keep their audiences in a 'permanent state of discursive war' (Daddow 2015)

Broadly speaking, there was a belief in a large part of the written press that the EU was more of a threat to British security than a benefit due to the sovereignty issue. There has been deterioration in Britain's real sovereignty as a result of reasons independent of the EU itself; it is something that the Eurosceptic press has never been good at explaining to the reader. Britain does not retain the military capability to act in any significant way without American approval; even the Falklands War of 1982 was dependent upon American ammunition supplies and the political support of its European partners. Another symbol of Britain's sovereignty, which is the pound

sterling, is also affected by decisions taken within the German economy, the Japanese economy, the United States economy, and the rest of the global economy as a whole. This reality has never been explained to the reading public of the Tabloid papers and it is perfectly understood at least by editors of relevant papers yet they maintained the pessimistic view of sovereignty threatened under continual integration in the EU, for circulation basis or other commercial reasons (Anderson and Weymouth 180-185).

Accordingly, the press and principally the Tabloid papers failed to represent the real image of Europe given a rise to eurosceptic view in almost the major reports of European issue in Britain. As viewed by Daddow, in addition to the negative representation of the *Telegraph* Group including the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Sunday Telegraph*, and the Harmsworth Group: *Mail*, *Mail on Sunday*, *the Evening Standard*, as well as the *Daily Express* and *Sunday Express*, it is believed that the collapse in press support for the EU in Britain is caused essentially by the “vigorously anti-European agenda of the Murdoch empire” (Daddow 2012, 225) the proprietor of the *Sun*, *Times* and *Sunday Times*, or let us say the owner of Britain’s largest-selling tabloid newspaper. It is also argued that the negative coverage of European politics is directly linked to Murdoch’s personal instruction on editorial policy for coverage of the European issue because he feared the possible effects of anti-monopoly European competition policy regulation on his companies’ profitability. This prompted him to push for a strongly anti-European line in all his papers (Copeland and Copsey 714).

Furthermore, the dominance of the right in the British press sector offered the Eurosceptic voice the part of the lion in the press coverage. The press discourse is affected both in the content and style as a consequence of the right concentration of

ownership leaning on the one hand and the commercial force to maintain the press sector at all costs on the other hand (Anderson and Weymouth 60-70). This included *The Sun* and *The Times*, but also the *Daily Mail*, *The Express*, and the *Daily Telegraph*. A more balanced opinion was given in the centre-left newspapers of *The Guardian*, *The Observer*, and *The Daily Mirror*. Reporting in these newspapers challenged the Eurosceptic narrative. Yet, what is particular in the left-wing newspapers is that despite the positive coverage of the EU, the Eurosceptic view was also present; it offered a more balanced and less uniform account of the EU, while pro-European voices are almost completely excluded from the right-wing newspapers. Moreover, the articles with a negative slant on the European issue tend to be more forthright in manner when compared to those with a positive angle. Pro-European's articles were in general indifferent in comparison with the severe blame against the EU in many negative articles (Copeland and Copsey 726). In the same point of view, Colin Seymour-Ure analyzed the editorial attitudes of the national daily newspapers towards the EU. He concluded that the *Sun*, *Star*, *Mail*, *Telegraph*, and *Times* were all skeptical of the EU, whereas the *Daily Mirror*, *Express*, *Guardian*, *Independent*, and *Financial Times* were all sympathetic to the EU. Of these, only the *Express* and *Star* had changed their attitudes to Europe since the 1997 election (Carey and Burton 628).

2. Euroscepticism in the Political Parties

Euroscepticism in the UK was often closely associated with the Conservative Party and with Thatcher in particular. One of the staunchest supporters of the Eurosceptics was Margaret Thatcher, she was portrayed as the spiritual mother of Euroscepticism. Yet, she was a Europhile, for instance, in 1975 she played a key role

in campaigning for the UK to remain in the European Community, and she did not retreat the UK from the European Communities when she was in office, her basic idea was to defend national sovereignty and the independence of the EU member states from the European institutions. As she declared in 1988 Speech to the College of Europe in Europe's future known as Burges speech:

My first guiding principle is this: willing and active cooperation between independent sovereign states is the best way to build a successful European Community, to try to suppress nationhood and concentrate power at the centre of a European conglomerate would be highly damaging and would jeopardise the objectives we seek to achieve. (Margaret Thatcher, Burges speech 20 September 1988)

Thatcher was conscious of the benefits for her country as a member of the EEC. She was with the European building process and she wanted to redirect its path from a supranational movement to national cooperation (Troitino et al. 124). Still, it is agreed by many researchers that Thatcher's participation in the Single European Act (SEA) was one of her major mistakes. Actually, SEA brought amendments to the Treaties establishing the European Communities and established European political cooperation which paved the way to further political integration, economic and monetary union. As reported from David Ramiro Troitino in *Historical Issues Margaret Thatcher and the EU*: "Thatcher's betray[ed] her own political beliefs" (131). Furthermore, the most significant issue that Thatcher encountered was over the EEC's Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM), which was believed to lead to a single currency. Eventually, Thatcher strongly opposed joining it which demonstrated the growth of her Euroscepticism. Because of that Thatcher started losing the support of some of her previously closest cabinet colleagues; Nigel Lawson, her chancellor, and Sir Geoffrey her foreign secretary who were both in favour of the entry into ERM,

even though they were opposed to economic and monetary union and a single currency.

Thatcher's Euroscepticism radically and publicly increased since then, which raised a serious disagreement in her cabinet and proved damage for her premiership. In early 1990 with the question of Maastricht, Britain sustained its anti-European stance and the European affairs became inculcated with the high drama of British politics as Prime Minister John Major fought openly with Eurosceptic backbenchers to push the Maastricht legislation and the European Communities Bill through a parliament (Daddow 2012, 233).

In the immediate aftermath of the Leadership Election in 1990, both the Right and the Left wings of the Party were pleased with the result. Because they believed that Major was a pragmatic, and very few Eurosceptics realized that Major was far from Eurosceptic, at least until his Bonn Speech in March 1991 (Stanley 10) when Major declared his position towards continental Europe as it was reported in the *Daily Telegraph* 12 March 1991, Major wanted Britain "to be where [they] belong, at the very heart of Europe". Furthermore, the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992-93, and the setting up of political, economic, and monetary union was a significant event in the EU/ UK's history where the Euroscepticism become a prearranged movement both in and outside parliament, with for instance the emergence of the Bruges group, described as "one of the most important guardians of the Thatcher shrine" (Dorey 30).

A further event known as Black Wednesday was to deepen the Eurosceptic commitment with both the backbenches (those without a ministerial office) and

Major's government on 16 September 1992. The UK was forced out of the ERM, after several hours of sustained pressure, Major was forced to devalue and exit the mechanism having wasted billions of the Bank of England's reserves. Hence, this ruined Major's reputation, as well as the Conservative's economic reputation and most decisively, however, it strengthened the feeling to resist further integration into Europe (Stanley 18; Todd 52).

As a consequence of Black Wednesday, Major provisionally suspended the passage of the Maastricht legislation until November 1992 a paving vote was held on whether to continue the committee stage of the bill. After the third reading on 20 May 1993, the bill had passed with a very narrow victory of the vote. In fact, the rise of Eurosceptic MPs' stances was confirmed by the number of rebel votes rising from 22 in the second reading to 32 in the paving vote, to reach 41 in the third reading. A total of 43 Conservative MPs voted against the Maastricht Bill (Stanley 19). Finally, the Maastricht battle ended with the introduction of another amendment in the social charter, the Treaty's ratification was concluded on 23 July 1993. In all of the Maastricht battle the message to be understood from the Eurosceptic rebellions such as Thatcher, Norman Stewart Hughson *Lamont*, Edward Leigh, and Michael Spicer, even though that they lost the Maastricht fight, is that no conservative government would attempt to venture a further integration in European Union.

Major's government confronted another major event that stoked anti-European feelings in the British press, and provoked outrage from farmers' leaders in Westminster, it was the bovine spongiform encephalopathy (BSE) crisis; a new disease of cattle detected in Britain but had not been identified in mainland Europe. Major's

Government announced a possible link between bovine spongiform encephalopathy, or mad cow disease, and Creutzfeld-Jakob disease, a fatal brain condition in humans. For that reason, the EU in March 1996 prompted to impose a ban on imports of British beef into Europe and on exports outside the EU. This measure seemed correct since the health of the public was in danger, but what enraged newspapers and the British government judged as being unjust was the period maintained for the interdiction, longer than necessary, despite the dispositions taken by the government to make British beef safe again, it was only lifted in 2006. It cost considerable damage which was estimated between £740 million and £980 million. The British press unleashed a real anti-Brussel war termed it 'beef war'. From the British perspective, as affirmed by John Darnton, the archenemy in the whole drama was its old wartime foe, Germany. German politicians, quick to respond to the concerns of a health-conscious public and the power of state governments to regulate health matters, fought the hardest to maintain the European Union ban on British beef (Darnton). This confirmed the widespread impression that the EU was unfair to Britain (Rawlinson 25), it increased anti-European feeling, which delighted the Euroskeptics in the conservative party, those who claimed that Britain should roll back the powers yielded to the European Union.

BSE event, in fact, had come to increase a section of Eurosceptic public opinion which had been reinforced by the battle over Maastricht. This included many leading newspapers, which were steadily moving to support the calls for a referendum from extremist movements like Sir James Goldsmith's Referendum Party and later Nigel Farage's United Kingdom Independence Party, member of the European

Parliament, whose purpose centred on the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union. The anti-European stance of the newspapers, that later sustained Brexit in the 2016 referendum was recognizable since this period (Rawlinson 25).

Essentially, with the coming of Tony Blair, the British government placed itself in the mainstream of European policy-making. Indeed, a new agenda was set regarding Britain's role in Europe, and it emerged with the British presidency of the council of the European Union from January to June 1998. This was a goal stated by Blair from the beginning the United Kingdom should lead in Europe (Anderson and Weymouth 113). Nevertheless, Blair in his policy may have sounded pro-European in Britain, yet in defending the movement towards a better integrated European Union, he demonstrated a consistent commitment to British exceptionalism. British exclusiveness in the European Union has been manifested in several ways, including the single currency, Euro-zone, the passport-free Schengen zone, the Atlanticist foreign policy, and active support to the United States on the war on Iraq. Indeed, Tony Blair's approach to European integration as prime minister helped in a way to implant the seeds of Brexit by failing to make the case for the political union of the UK as Jean-Claude Juncker, the outgoing European Commission president stated. He also argued that Blair was among politicians who "wanted nothing to do with the EU" as a political project while they were in office and that was the British's goal to operate in the EU for only economic reasons.

A central decision made by Blair, the New Labour government in 2004 which has had a lasting political debate and helped to promote a large scale of Eurosceptic

sentiments among British people is the free movement agreement that allowed eight central and Eastern European migrants access to Britain. Actually, Margaret Thatcher was one of the first advocated of the EU's eastward expansion; even earlier than the fall of the Berlin Wall she talked of those countries disconnected from their European roots by the Iron Curtain. In 2004 and 2007 ten Central and Eastern Europe states were permitted to join the EU. Eight of these states (A8) namely the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia joined the union in May 2004, the 15 existing Western European member states of the EU were allowed to limit nationals from the new member states from freely working in their Labour markets for up to seven years. The justification behind these measures was to protect these 15 states against the view of increased unemployment, in the event of outsized inflows of workers from the poorer Central and Eastern European states. However, the UK, motivated by economic strength, was one of only three member states, together with Sweden and Ireland, to open its labour market to these new EU citizens. This decision was highly criticized by the Tabloid newspapers as it led to a large influx of workers entering Britain; from 2004 to 2007 nearly nine hundred thousand workers from Eastern Europe have registered to work in the UK. This indeed increased domestic opposition and discouraged the Blair government from adopting free movement when the EU further enlarged three years later to include Bulgaria and Romania in 2007 (Wright 158).

Tony Blair was replaced in 2007 with Gordon Brown as the leader of the New Labour Party and the Prime Minister. Brown was considered to be the main architect of the economic success of Blair's government that why he was a logical preference to

succeed Blair. However, the arrival of the Great Recession of 2008–2009, which started shortly after the Brown leadership, turned political winds once again against the Labour Party. The effort made to improve the welfare of the electorate was downplayed by the global economic crisis; the public spending was out of control. Hence the British economy failed, which led to the grounds for more euro-critic movements to gain support from electorates. In the European Parliament election of 2009, the New Labour Party seized 15.7% of seats; a third position after the United Kingdom Independence Party with 16.5% and the Conservative Party obtained 27.7% of the seats. That was an obvious sign from the increasing trend of Euroscepticism attitude spreading in the British society (Mölder 166).

Both Tony Blair and Gordon Brown sustained and reinforced British positions of exceptionalism over the European integration which appeared on several occasions in their political discourses. For instance, before he was elected a new leader, Gordon Brown delivered a speech in 2006 at the Fabian Society meeting, in which he portrayed the Labour Party as a modern patriotic party, which should emphasize Britishness, as he said: "it is time for the modern Labour party and its supporters to be unashamedly patriotic...We live in a very multi-cultural society, perhaps the most multi-cultural society in Europe. What actually binds us together? Well, interestingly the thing that binds us together is our civic identity which is Britishness". Nevertheless, despite all efforts to shape innovative trends in the British political environment, the project of New Labour promoted by Tony Blair and later by his successor Gordon Brown failed to meet success in redefining the way the British see themselves in their relation to Europe (Molder 166). Gifford Chris explained that the

failure of New Labour's Europeanism was indicative of its defeat to reinvent a common British identity in the context of an increasingly plural and diverse society and in the face of the pressures of separatist nationalism that had come to the fore with devolution. This pointed to the profound set of cultural dynamics associated with the post-imperial demise of Britishness that was driving Euroscepticism (Gifford 7).

Furthermore, which had significantly increased the anti-European rage was Brown's approach regarding the new European Union reform Lisbon Treaty. Several of Britain's Eurosceptic newspapers such as the *Sun* claimed that the treaty transferred large amounts of sovereignty from member states to the EU, so they urged Brown to 'save Britain' by rejecting the new treaty, or to put it to a referendum. Brown's government believed that a referendum would be very hard to win, in part because of the anti-EU bias of large parts of the press that why they decided to ratify the reform Treaty by parliamentary vote rather than a referendum. This resolution represented a dramatic reversal of the government's 2005 manifesto promise to hold a plebiscite on the European constitution (Gardiner and McNamara 1). Hence, Brown was highly criticized, and what further aggravated his situation and cost him his reputation with his European partners and minimized the weight of the pro-European union was his absence on the signing ceremony of the treaty. It was argued that Brown arrived three and a half hours late to avoid the potential TV and press coverage using the image of him celebrating with his European counterparts (Llewelyn).

In 2010 the Labour Party led by Gordon Brown lost general elections to Conservatives led by David Cameron. The latter attempted to minimize European matters and instead promoted more progressive issues such as environmentalism,

eradicating poverty, same-sex relationships, and social justice. However, Cameron could not avoid the issue of Europe with the continual development in the EU and the ever increasing feeling of Euroscepticism among Conservative MPs. After the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty in 2009, many conservative Eurosceptics began doubting the strength of Cameron's determination to resist further European integration, and the concomitant diminution of parliamentary sovereignty. Accordingly, to appease his members Cameron pledged that in the future, the British people would have their say on any transfer of powers to the European Union, and any proposed future treaty that transferred areas of power, or competence would be subject to a referendum.

What increased the fear among the conservative MPs, particularly the hardest eurosceptics, towards a closer approach to Europe was the creation of a coalition government in 2010 with the Europhile Liberal Democrats. Cameron maintained a pragmatic strategy and appointed David Lidington, a pro-European Conservative, as Minister of State for Europe. For some reporters, this appointment was a sign of Lib Dem influence, as reported in the *Guardian*:

David Cameron tonight signalled an end to more than a decade of Tory hostility to the EU when he appointed a moderate figure to the sensitive post of Europe minister, a move that will be welcomed in chancelleries across the continent. In a sign of the influence of the passionately pro-European Nick Clegg, the former Foreign Office adviser David Lidington was appointed to the Europe post, one of the most senior jobs outside cabinet. Lidington takes the job in place of Mark Francois, the Eurosceptic shadow Europe minister (Watt).

Furthermore, Philippe Huberdeau, professor at Sciences Po on European issues, argued that overall the coalition accord maintained a euro-sceptic line, he also viewed that during the negotiations on the Coalition Agreement, David Cameron was careful

not to alienate the most euro-sceptic wing of his party whilst Nick Clegg, the Lib-Dem leader, for his part, was obliged to rank his priorities, placing European issues in second place after the organization of a referendum on electoral methods, which was a major strategic issue for the Lib-dems (Huberdeau 1). However, the resentment from Conservative euro-sceptics was growing as they apprehended the Lib-Dem influence would reduce conservative policies on Europe. They feared that the coalition would mitigate the core Tory principles (Miller 11).

Cameron's failure to satisfy the hard euro-sceptics became even more visible when on 31 October 2012 the government suffered its first parliamentary defeat on the EU budget. Conservative hard euro-sceptics joined Labour MPs in voting for a sharp reduction in the EU budget, to prompt David Cameron to give in on the prospect of a referendum. Effectively, Cameron delivered a significant speech on 23 January 2013, in which he promised a renegotiation of the terms of British membership of the EU if he won the 2015 general election, after that an 'in/out' referendum choice on whether to stay or leave the European Union will be held by the end of 2017. He mentioned the need for more flexibility in Europe, less regulation, and more power for national parliaments (Schnapper 3). It was clear by such pronouncement that, on the one hand, Cameron envisaged the management of his party and on the other hand he sought to neutralize the electoral threat of the United Kingdom Independence Party, which was aware that the question of the EU constituted a center division at the party as some Conservative MPs defected to UKIP such as Douglas Carswell, on 28 August 2014, and Mark Reckless, on 27 September 2014 (Alexandre-Collier par. 17).

The radical right United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) was predetermined to withdraw Britain from the European Union since its establishment in 1993. The party has portrayed itself as a ‘common sense’ alternative that vigorously champions the interests of ordinary people. According to UKIP’s populist narrative, self-serving elites dominated Britain’s mainstream parties and have willingly yielded national sovereignty to the EU. UKIP claimed that as long as Britain remains a member of the EU it would face an insurmountable ‘democratic deficit’ and loss of control (Clarke et al. 112). A British withdrawal from the EU has been UKIP’s ‘raison d’être’. Its whole 2015 manifesto was founded on the idea that this would solve all of Britain’s problems, in particular immigration, the economy, and the NHS. In the general election of 2015, Nigel Farage, UKIP’s leader, was hoping to gain at least a handful more MPs on top of the two he had gained in 2014. In the case of a hung Parliament, he might be able to bargain his support for a minority Conservative government in exchange for an immediate referendum on ‘Brexit’. Mentioning Europe was also a way to increase pressure on the Conservatives, who feared losing voters to UKIP in the south of England (Schnapper 5).

Therefore, the UK successive governments throughout the year of membership, besides the evolution and progression of the union to cover the different fields of economic, political, societal, and military have created uncertainty and hesitation as to the close integration of Britain in the European Union. To give a broad view of the UK attitude throughout the years before and after membership with the respect to Taggart and Szczerbiak’s definition of Euroscepticism the following chart identifies the period of soft and hard Euroscepticism. As explained above the hard

Euroscepticism refers to a complete objection to the Union whereas the soft is the non-agreement with some policies adopted by the European Union:

1951-1961	1961-1975	1975-1986	1986-2016
Hard Euroscepticism	Europhile	Soft Euroscepticism	Hard Euroscepticism

Table 2. the UK’s Attitude towards Europe from 1951 to 2016

From this chart, one can conclude that the last divergence of opinion with the subsistence of the Eurosceptics view in both sides traced the final road to the Brexit.

III. The Road to the Brexit Referendum

The Eurosceptic attitudes inside the political party itself with the UKIP determination and the anti-Europe discourse that prevailed in the newspapers before and during the official referendum campaign paved the way to Brexit. Although the Europhile press presented strong advantages mainly economic that Europe offered to Britain and the risk that could engender the Brexit outcome, the leave camp scored. This is due conceivably to the longstanding discourse of the Eurosceptic press. A view sustained by Mike Berry taking the case of immigration topic which have been reported in the newspaper over many years he argued in his article *Understanding the role of the mass media in the EU Referendum* that the prevailing effects of the media are essentially via

long term processes of political socialization, where voters developed their political values and beliefs (14). Similarly, Justin S. Origen explained how the rhetoric of the politicians could promote their beliefs and visions in the public's brain through constant reminders and repetition of the same topics, years before and during the referendum campaign.

The press plays a pivotal role in propagating and indoctrinating ideas that shape people's political opinions, as confirmed by Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky in *Manufacturing Consent* is that:

The media serve, and propagandize on behalf of, the powerful societal interests that control and finance them. The representatives of these interests have important agendas and principles that they want to advance, and they are well positioned to shape and constrain media policy. This is normally not accomplished by crude intervention, but by the selection of right-thinking personnel and by the editors' and working journalists' internalization of priorities and definitions of news worthiness that conform to the institution's policy (1).

In fact, the press coverage of the European Union from the first referendum of 1975 until David Cameron announced the second referendum in 2013 and during the official campaign showed variation in the presentation of Europe. The enthusiasm to open to Europe expressed at the first-ever referendum in British history had been gradually transformed into pessimism. Several crises in the course of the integration process have promoted the growth of the anti-European stance. The mainstream media particularly the right press highlighted and amplified only the negative aspects. Other facets were simply ignored or masked to hold hard Eurosceptics view among British people.

Considering a quantitative study of the newspapers' reports, realized by many academics such as David Deacon; Professor of Communication and Media Analysis,

and Dominic Wring; Professor of Political Communication which they analyzed and compared the number of pro and anti-EU items published in the national daily press during the referendum campaign of 2016. The result, which was published in *the Conservative Journal*, showed that from May 6 to June 8, 1,127 items were analyzed to find that 41% of the items were pro-Remain and 59% pro-Leave the EU. Furthermore, when considering this finding with the circulation of the newspapers, the result proved that the highest-circulating newspapers have tended to support Brexit which means that the gap between the two positions widened into a substantial difference of 18% pro-Remain and 82% pro-Leave. Additionally, David Deacon and his colleagues in their analysis pointed out that most of the newspapers which are aligned with the Leave campaign have a significant 'C2DE' readership; that is, working-class newspaper readers and those in casual or no employment. They also stated that these categories of people maybe were the decisive groups in determining the result of the referendum. Thus, the newspaper was part of the media used to influence the readers' views they contributed in a way to set the tone and structure of future UK politics.

To sum up, delineating the historical fact of the relationship between the UK and Europe clarified to some extent the circumstances to which led to the fragile and ephemeral connection. Investigating the newspaper's representation of the procedure of European integration including the successive governments and evolution of the unification process illustrated a very complex relationship that has never found common ground for better prosperity. Wilson Churchill's pragmatic view of the three magic circles was justified by the good economic performance of Britain. He preferred

to be just a supporter of the Europeanization process to keep beneficial diplomatic relations with the states engaged in the process, at the same time maintained Britain's freedom to be associated with the Commonwealth and the USA, thus protect the tie with the three magic circles. Throughout the years 1970s Britain witnessed an economic crisis which was worsening. A membership to the European community was a forced political choice with the positive view that this step would bring prosperity to Britain.

The division over the question of close integration began to show its scope within the leading Labour Party to end with the first nationwide referendum ever in 1975. Taking into consideration Taggart and Szczerbiak's definition of Euroscepticism one can notice that the soft-Euroscepticism won over the hard Euroscepticism at the beginning with a large majority since the EEC membership was subjected to certain conditions. The UK/EU relationship since then was characterized by soft-Euroscepticism that developed throughout the years of membership with the different changes and adaptations in the European Union policies that reinforced the stance of Euroscepticism inside the political parties and public opinion to end with a clear cut between the soft and hard Euroscepticism.

The newspapers' role in the course of the UK/EU relationship, and particularly the *Tabloid* had a significant part to extend the negative view among people to direct their opinion. The language used by the reporters including the choice of the words the grammatical structure of their reports had helped to disseminate messages fuelled with opinions, and beliefs that will be critically examined in the next chapters.

Chapter III

Theoretical Framework and Textual Analysis

I. Theoretical Framework

Newspaper coverage of world events is far from been a mere reflection of reality. It is not “neutral” as stated by Roger Fowler. However, its presentation is in a language that is intended to be explicit, unbiased, and enjoyable to readers. The reported events in a newspaper are selected for publication according to a certain artificial set of criteria, they are then subject to processes of transformation, and the ways in which they are used are strongly effective in this transformation (Fowler 2). A newspaper article is a discourse fuelled with ideas, beliefs, and values that are socially constructed and socially conditioned. The discourse in contemporary societies is an instrument of power of growing importance. The way this instrument of power works is often hard to understand, and critical discourse analysis (CDA) intends to make it more discernible and transparent (Blommaert 25).

This chapter aims to discuss the theoretical framework adopted in this dissertation as an analytical means to answer the research questions that have been raised earlier. It also deals with the analysis of newspapers’ text, the British national press, which needs to be scrutinized to extract the ideologies embedded within and understand its role in the text. Because every message is both about something and addressing someone and the grammar also shows up another component, a different mode of meaning that relates to the construction of text (Halliday and Matthiessen 30). In this sense, a deconstruction of the messages, launched by both campaigners in the EU referendum, into its smallest linguistic features in terms of lexis and grammar is the first step engaged in this analysis that contributes to a better understanding of power relations and ideological processes in the referendum discourse, which refers

also to Fairclough's first dimension of description in CDA. That is, the very particular choice of certain linguistic forms signals the exercise of power manifested in the covered ideologies. Ideologies as a set of principles or beliefs are encrusted in the discourse. For Teun Van Dijk they are, "largely expressed and acquired by discourse, that is, by spoken or written communicative interaction" (2003, 121). This must happen as Van Dijk claims through a number of discursive structure and strategies (2003, 124).

To understand the relationship between language and society, this study is going to draw on the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach as a tool to explore the link between the use of language, the political and social context in which the news article discourse occurs, and to provide an explanation of how discourse shapes and is shaped by social reality. CDA is a branch derived from critical applied linguistics which was developed by a group from the University of East Anglia in the 1970s. They attempted to combine a method of linguistic text analysis with a social theory of the functioning of language in political and ideological processes, building on the functionalist linguistic theory allied with Michael Halliday, which is known as systemic linguistics (Fairclough 1992, 26).

Many other approaches to CDA were developed since then, to mention some of them: French discourse analysis (Foucault 1972, Pecheux 1975), social semiotics (Hodge & Kress 1988) socio-cognitive studies (Van Dijk 1993), and the discourse historical method (Wodak 1996, 1999) each of these perceptions give a certain insight in combining analysis of language text with a social orientation to discourse. For instance, Michel Pecheux and his collaborators have developed a critical approach

discourse to analysis which, like critical linguistics, attempts to combine a social theory of discourse with a method of text analysis, working mainly on written political discourse. Their major source in social theory was Althusser's Marxist theory of ideology (1971). Pecheux's contribution to this theory has been to develop the idea of language as one crucially material form of ideology. Another example of a central approach to CDA is Michel Foucault's Archaeological and Genealogical works. His contribution to a social theory of discourse is on the relationship of discourse and power, the discursive construction of social subjects and knowledge, and the functioning of discourse in social change. His substantive points into discourse were identified by Fairclough and shortened as follows:

1. the constitutive nature of discourse - discourse constitutes the social, including 'objects' and social subjects; (objects are entities which particular disciplines recognize within their fields of interest. For instance 'madness constitutes an object in the discourse of psychopathology, 'race' or 'freedom' are objects in media and political discourse)
2. the primacy of interdiscursivity and intertextuality - any discursive practice is defined by its relations with others and draws upon others in complex ways.
3. the discursive nature of power;
4. the political nature of discourse - power struggle occurs both in and over discourse;

5. the discursive nature of social change - changing discursive practices are an important element in social change. (Fairclough 1992, 55)

Critical Discourse Analysis can be defined as a multidisciplinary approach that focuses on social problems, and especially on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination (Wodak and Meyer 96). Fairclough uses the term discourse to refer to spoken or written language use; he views language as a form of social practice. This implies that language is part of society, it is a social process, and it is also a socially conditioned process, conditioned that is by other (non-linguistic) parts of society (Fairclough 2001, 19). Accordingly, discourse is a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning. Fairclough distinguishes three aspects of the constructive effects of discourse:

- Firstly, discourse contributes to the construction of what is variously referred to as social identities;
- Secondly, discourse helps construct social relationships between people;
- Thirdly, discourse contributes to the construction of systems of knowledge and belief.

These three effects correspond respectively to three functions of language and dimensions of meaning which coexist and interact in all discourse namely 'identity', 'relational', and 'ideational' (Fairclough 1992, 70).

Fairclough's contributions to the field of CDA are very eminent; he pioneered the creation of the critical discourse analysis model. The latter consists of three

dimensions of discourse analysis; which are interrelated and connected processes. Fairclough's CDA model is the dominant approach linked to the present work next to Halliday's systemic functional theory and Van Dijk's Socio-cognitive approach.

Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis Model is adopted in this study, to deconstruct the discourse implemented during the Brexit referendum campaign and unveil the ideological assumption embedded within a newspaper text that comes to be taken as a mere 'common sense', and which contributes to sustaining existing power relations as argued by Fairclough (2001, 64). He also suggests that critical analysis is used in a special sense to endeavour the connections which may be hidden from people such as the link between language, power, and ideology. That is the exercise of power is more and more completed through ideology, and precisely through the ideological working of language (2001, 2). Accordingly, Fairclough in his model approach presents three dimensions of discourse:

1. Stage of description is concerned with the formal properties of the text;
2. Stage of interpretation is concerned with the relationship between the process of text production and the process of interpretation for which the text is a resource;
3. Stage of explanation is concerned with the social determinants of the processes of production and interpretation, and their social effects.

In these three stages, the nature of analysis differs. The first level focuses merely on a text as a visible object of analysis; that is newspaper articles in the present case study. The second stage is concerned with the processes through which the text or the object

is produced and received by people. Finally, the third dimension is about social events (interactions) that shape and are shaped by the events. In the last two stages, the investigation offers, in a broad sense, interpretations of complex and invisible relationships (Fairclough 2001, 21-22).

Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar is employed to analyze the news article and identify the appealing processes of the transitivity system. It is linked to Fairclough's description level of text analysis. Analyzing a text tends in a way to answer questions related to vocabulary and grammar, to reveal the cues of the way the text producer's experience of the social world may be represented. According to Halliday "The transitivity system construes the world of experience into a manageable set of process types, each process type provides its model or schema for construing a particular domain of experience" (Halliday and Matthiessen 170). He also distinguishes between inner and outer experience: between what we experience as going on 'out there', in the world around us, and what we experience as going on inside ourselves, in the world of consciousness, including perception, emotion, and imagination. The prototypical form of the 'outer' experience is that of actions and events: things happen, and people or other actors do things or make them happen. The 'inner' experience is partly a kind of replay of the outer, recording it, reacting to it, reflecting on it, and partly a separate awareness of human states of being.

Accordingly, Halliday's transitivity system makes out three components: the process itself, participants in the process, and circumstances associated with the process. It also recognizes six process types namely: material which is a process of doing and happening, a mental process of sensing, relational processes of being and

having, a verbal process of saying, behavioral process related to human physiological and psychological behavior, and finally existential that has to do with existing. The purpose of applying the transitivity system of Halliday is the recognition of the linguistic choices in terms of the most frequent process in a news item, and how they are constructed in a text to impart certain ideologies.

On the other hand, Van Dijk Sociocognitive approach to discourse is characterized by the Discourse–Cognition–Society triangle. It claims that the relation between discourse and society is cognitively mediated. Discourse structures and social structures are different, and can only be related through the mental representations of language users as individuals and as social members (Van Dijk 2009, 64). It is related to Fairclough's Stage of interpretation which is concerned with the relationship between the process of text production and the process of interpretation for which the text is a resource. This triangular approach of discourse-cognitive-society is of particular relevance because it links the formal features of text to the background knowledge or common sense assumptions that have social origins. The link is made through the cognitive interface of mental models, knowledge, attitudes, and ideologies.

Van Dijk's cognitive model gives meaning to the cognitive component that deals with the cognitive processes and representations involved in the production and comprehension of discourse. The text process is the complementary stage to the text analysis that tends to identify the information or the claims of both campaigners that have cognitive values shared with other members of the same group. This stage depends on the context that deals with the circumstances that form the setting of the referendum event, the participants, the action, and the aim of the discourse in question.

The system of knowledge accumulated during our lifetime, and as shared by the members of epistemic communities constitutes the basis of all cognition, and hence of all thought, perception, understanding, action, interaction, and discourse. Knowledge is defined as beliefs that meet the (historically developing) epistemic criteria of each community, such as reliable perception, discourse, or inference. Since knowledge of participants is crucial for all discourse processing as well as for all talk in interaction, its use is part of the communicative situation. Hence, context models have a special knowledge device, which at each moment of discourse processing ‘calculates’ what knowledge is shared by the recipients, and hence is common ground that may be presupposed, and which knowledge or information is probably new, and hence need to be asserted (Van Dijk 2009, 68).

While social knowledge is defined as beliefs shared by all or most members of epistemic communities or cultures, attitudes and ideologies are forms of social (often evaluative) beliefs that are only shared by specific groups. For instance, most people know what immigration is, but some groups may have different attitudes about it; as being good or bad, prohibited or allowed, depending on their underlying ideologies (racist for example). General ideologies, as well as their more specific attitudes, also control the personal experiences, that is, the mental models of the members of ideological groups. And if these (biased) models control discourse, they are often expressed in the polarized ideological discourse structures. Therefore, in such ideological discourse we may observe a positive representation of ‘Our’ group, and a negative representation of the ‘Others’, always depending on the communicative

situation, that is, our context models at all levels of text or talk; topics, lexicon, descriptions, argumentation, storytelling, metaphors and so on (Van Dijk 2009, 69).

I. Textual Analysis

A. Overview of the EU Referendum Coverage

The official referendum campaign began on 15th April and lasted until 23rd June 2016. Two official campaigns were chosen by the electoral commission namely *The In Campaign* and *Vote to Leave* directed respectively by David Cameron and Boris Johnson. But within the Leave camp there coexisted another campaigner for Brexit directed by the UKIP leader's Nigel Farage. The campaigners in this period drew heavily on media to disseminate their messages, opinions, beliefs, about the EU/UK relationship. Each camp presented the reasons for and against the European Union. The online news as part of the huge media was very selective in the choice of the topics and themes to be discussed.

The examination of the selected newspapers to this study namely, *the Daily Mail*, *the Sun*, *the Daily Telegraph*, *the Guardian*, *the Independent*, and *the Daily Mirror* revealed in their broad sense, that economy and immigration were the salient topics of the campaign. Throughout the campaign, the Leave campaign delivered substantial articles about immigration. To affect people's views, the Leavers made immigration the central issue. They gave particular emphasis to the negative effects of migrants to exaggerate their threat in relation to the UK's citizens. Accordingly, the content of the reports' news centered around: the population's growth, uncontrolled immigration which put unsustainable pressure on public services, jobs, housing, and school places. Moreover, Leave supporters linked immigration topics with asylum

seekers. Given that, The *Sun* alarmed its reader with an article entitled “330,000 asylum seekers protected by EU last year alone, as scale of migrant crisis is revealed.” (20 April 2016). The report stressed the fact that these new migrants would gain the right to enter the UK under the protection of the EU. It also evoked the Greece turkey border; Turkey had become a key transit point for migrants aiming to cross into Europe to start new lives, especially those fleeing war and persecution. Likewise, the *Daily Mail* on 26 April described how the European Criminals who were supposed to be deported in their countries were released to disseminate terror among the UK citizen.

Furthermore, the voice of the politicians who were campaigning to leave the EU was omnipresent in news reports and determined to put immigration issues at the heart of the campaign. For instance, Ms. Priti Patel Britain’s Cabinet minister in an interview with the *Daily Telegraph* on 16 April 2016 said:

It is not racist to be concerned about the impact of mass immigration... Speak to the public wherever you go, pressures on public services are acute when you look at school places, there are not enough school places in some parts of our country because of the changes in our communities, because of the flow coming in.

She also predicted, in an article published by the *Sun* on 22 June, an influx of 570,000 migrant children to UK schools if Brits vote Remain. Similarly, the *Daily Mail* editorial published on 18 April “Such relentless population growth is simply unsustainable” and quoted from Boris Johnson:

Things may soon get much worse. Under the deal by which Turkey agreed to close its borders to the waves of migrants crossing into the Greek island of Lesbos, some 77million Turks will be given the right to enter the EU without visas. One can only imagine how many will eventually end up here...that is really mad. It can’t be allowed to happen.

Equally, Iain Duncan Smith former Tory leader argued that the cause of suffering is the uncontrolled mass migration, for him, this means cheap laborers from Europe can take jobs from British workers, it depressed wages, and it added to pressure on school places, housing, and hospitals (The *Daily Telegraph* 30 April 2016). The UKIP leader Nigel Farage argued in an article, released by the *Sun*, that quitting the European Union is vital for national security. After devastating attacks on Paris and Brussels, Mr Farage gave a frightening warning that London could well be next (28 April 2016). All of these politicians and Leave campaign leaders took unanimity in dealing with immigration issues. They had gone to great lengths to make immigration a bigger issue to persuade the voters to leave the EU. In fact, Boris Johnson and Michael Gove worked even further, in an article published by the *Daily Telegraph* on 1 June 2016, they provided a plan to how they can overcome the question of immigration based on Australian-style to come into force in the years after Britain leaves the EU. Eventually, the plan was highly criticized by the Remainer's camp.

Actually, the Remains' leaders, in contrast with the Leavers, invoked more articles dealing with the economy. The high scale of coverage was devoted to institutions' reports such as treasury, International Monetary Fund (IFM), and Institute for Fiscal Studies (IFS) which published reports about the danger that the British family is going to face if the voters opt for Brexit and the negative consequences on the British economy of a vote to leave. Accordingly, the *independent* enlightened its readers on 17 April about the treasury warning: "Brexit would leave British households £4,300 worse off, Treasury warns". The day after the *independent*

explained the statistics published by the treasury concerning the Brexit prediction and furnished a more realistic model to how smaller the economy would be if Britain would leave the EU. In the same way, the *Daily Mirror* coverage reiterated the warning by quoting from the British Chancellor of the Exchequer George Osborne when said:

The Treasury analysis shows that under all plausible alternatives to British membership of the EU we would have a less open and interconnected economy not just with Europe but, crucially, with the rest of the world...there would be less trade, less investment and less business. Leave the EU, and the facts are: Britain would be permanently poorer. Britain's families would be permanently poorer too. (the *Daily Mirror* 18 April 2016).

As The *Guardian* on 26 May 2016 publication confirmed the treasury claim about the impacts of the Brexit vote that would rattle stock markets and undermine the value of pensioners' homes. Besides, a sell-off of the pound on the foreign exchanges could drive up inflation, eroding the value of pension savings. Further, the IMF experts believed that the net economic effects of leaving the EU would likely be negative and substantial (the *independent* 18 June 2016). It was sustained by the IFS saying that Brexit would result in lower GDP growth and extra borrowing costs that would knock a £20bn-£40bn hole in the government's finances by 2020 (the *Guardian* 25 May 2016).

The key economic claims of the Remains' camp were based upon economic institutional figures that all take unanimity in saying that leaving the EU would damage Britain's economy. Noticeably, each of these reports was criticized and rejected by the Leave camp's leaders.

As far as the immigration debate is concerned, the EU's supporters did not deny the danger of uncontrolled immigration, yet they took the side of defenders of migrants. To support that, The *Guardian* quoted Theresa May, the former home secretary, as she said on the BBC's Andrew Marr Show that "free movement makes it harder to control immigration, but it does not make it impossible to control immigration" (25 April 2016). In another article that appeared on 14 May 2016, the *Daily Mirror* accused the government of selling big lies about immigration and attempted to rationalize the advanced claims about immigration that would push people towards Brexit.

Besides, immigration and economic topics, the visit of US President Barack Obama at the height of the referendum campaign and his claim that the UK outside the EU would be at the "back of the queue" for trade deals, kept the attention of the campaigners. Obama's statement received appreciation among the Remainers whereas the Leavers heavily rejected it and disapprovingly reported on them.

Further themes, such as sovereignty issue and the EU as an organization project, were covered but with moderation. Others reports concerning accusations of ambiguous, misleading, dishonest, and fake information on both sides were presented to readers. For instance, the *Guardian* reported on an interview with Prime Minister David Cameron, two days before the referendum, who said that all sides of the Leave campaign had become very narrowly focused on immigration and that the decision could carry consequences. He also criticized Michael Gove and Boris Johnson on their decision to suggest that Turkey would join the EU, which he had assumed was a lie.

Moreover, the *Daily Mail* reported on how the Brexiters reacted furiously after George Osborn's accusations when he said:

These people who go around saying Britain would have all the benefits of the European Union without having any obligations, that is economically illiterate...What is not honest and what is economically illiterate is to say we can have all the benefits of the EU and at the same time leave." (The *Daily Mail* 18 April 2016)

From the other side, the Leavers set blame on the Remainers for publishing fake information. For that, the former pensions secretary Iain Duncan Smith described the government's figures as "an utterly outrageous attempt by the government to do down people's pensions and ... little more than a cynical attempt to distract from the government's broken promises on immigration" (the *Guardian* 26 May 2016).

Actually, during the long weeks of the campaign, both sides were engaged in reciprocal accusations. Both campaigners attempted to blame and suspect each other's information to influence the readers and gain their sympathy.

What is also worth mentioning is that even the two supporters of Brexit disagreed on the manner to promote their campaign. After a controversial anti-migrant poster launched by Nigel Farage, Boris Johnson wanted to distance his official Leave campaign from the UKIP camp. The poster showed a queue of mostly non-white migrants and refugees with the slogan "Breaking point: the EU has failed us all", this poster has even been reported to the police with a complaint that it incited racial hatred and violates the UK race laws. The pro-EU newspaper the *Guardian* reported on this issue stating that the official campaign has been less than happy to be

associated with UKIP's camp, which had repeatedly been accused of stoking anti-immigrant feeling and using racist tropes (the *Guardian* 16 June 2016).

This is in broad the main themes discussed during the 2016 EU referendum campaign, at least in the news articles that constitute the object of analysis in this present study. Noticeably, the Remain campaign focused on the damage and the negative consequences of Brexit on the British economy. Whereas the Leave was determined to make immigration his central issue, at the same time each camp attempted to undermine each other warning either about economy or immigration by suspecting mutually theirs claims.

B. The Linguistic Features of the Text

Following Fairclough's Model of CDA, this subsection of the present chapter represents the first stage of description analysis that deals with the texture, the organization, and the form of a text. Raising questions on the aspects of vocabulary, grammar, and textual structure is merely one part of discourse analysis that will contribute to the understanding of power relations and ideological processes in discourse.

Fairclough distinguishes between three different values of a formal feature of the text, namely experiential, relational and expressive. The implication of experiential values mirrors the knowledge and beliefs of the text's producer. The particular lexis choices in some cases are associated with explicit ideological frameworks. For instance, the words subversive and solidarity are associated respectively with 'right' and 'left' ideological frameworks. The very particular sign of these ideologies in some

cases is an over wording or an unusually high degree of wording, often involving many words that are near-synonyms, that designates preoccupation with certain aspects of reality and may expose a focus of ideological struggle. Another means where experiential values are contested is found in the metaphorical transfer of a word or expression from one domain of use to another (Fairclough 2001, 93-96), or also in the grammatical forms of a language for example the choice to highlight or background agency may be consistent, automatic and commonsensical, and therefore ideological (102). For instance, in *the Guardian* publication, one reads “Senior Tories condemn ‘lame duck’ US president after he said an independent UK would be at back of trade deal queue” (23 April 2016) and *the Sun* reads “Obama accused of ‘blackmailing’ British people over Brexit” (23 April 2016). Both articles were about the same topic dealing with Obama’s claim on Brexit, the *Guardian* highlighted the agency responsible for the action, whereas the *Sun* emphasized the receiver of the action; Obama.

The relational value in the text reveals how a text’s choice of wordings depends on and generates social relationships between particular group members (97). For instance, the use of racist vocabulary has experiential value in stipulations of a racist depiction of a particular ethnic grouping but its use may also have relational value, assuming that racist ideology is common ground for the speaker and other participants (97). Besides, the specific choice between the pronouns ‘we’ and ‘you’ is a sign of relational value power and solidarity tied between the text’s producer and the reader (106). For instance, this sentence appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* “If we vote to leave it will be a glorious day, hopefully, enshrined thereafter on the 24th as Independence

Day, Iain Duncan Smith said” (30 April 2016). The speaker in this sentence; Iain Duncan Smith, used ‘we’ to speak on behalf of himself and readers, that it has the authority to speak for others. In addition, British people or the pronoun ‘you’ could both replace ‘we’; this identification of ‘we’ with British people serves a shared ideology that stresses the unity and the solidarity of British people.

The producer evaluation of reality is related to the expressive values. Which, are interrelated with experiential values; the experiential values embody the text producer’s knowledge and ideas, whereas the expressive values signify the view of the text producer (Fairclough 2001, 93).

The investigation is engaged in distinguishing the values of the text’s features as identified by Fairclough; namely experiential, relational, and expressive values in terms of either vocabulary or grammar. The vocabulary questions are related to the experiential values of words that are asked to uncover how the text producer’s experience of the social world is represented in the text. Such as: How do words reflect ideological tendencies? How are relations of power and dominance manifested through words? Is there rewording or overwording of reality? Another question that should be raised as regards lexis is about ideology and how is it constructed through synonymy, hyponymy, and antonymy, as well as through the rhetorical use of metaphors. For instance, the employment of some words denoting positive or negative images that express the ideological view of the texts’ producer is manifesting mainly in the headlines of the reported news. A further example is a metaphorical representation of migrants using terms such as ‘influx, wave or flood’ is Omnipresent in the pro-Brexiteers’ articles. These words and many other contesting ideologies will be

highlighted and analysed to better understand the influence of the referendum Discourse.

The Grammar questions are also related to experiential values of grammatical features such as the use of passive forms and nominalization to delete the agent and what ideological functions are achieved through such deletion are asked. Another question is raised, which is highly significant, of what types of process and participants predominate in the text? It has to do with how the grammatical forms of a language code happenings or relationships in the world, in how the animate beings (politicians, migrants, criminals) or inanimate participants (objects: institution, or abstract: democracy) are involved in those happenings or relationships and what are their spatial and temporal circumstances, manner of occurrence, and so on. A choice between different grammatical processes and participant types can be ideologically contested. A further question that concerns the modality feature of expressive value has to do with subjective values. It is investigated to uncover the ideology of the addresser which is expressed through modal auxiliary verbs such as may, might, must, can, can't, ought, but also by various other formal features including adverbs and tense. The final question is raised which is of relational value. It is linked to the use of the pronouns 'we' and 'you' to see how authority and power relations are expressed through their use. To end up with the textual structure, that involves the ordering of elements in an event that appears in newspaper articles. It is based upon newsworthiness, with the headline the lead, and the first paragraph regarded as the most important parts and the gist, of the story or report event (Fairclough 2001, 92-114).

1. Vocabulary Choice

It is assumed that in any decisive event, such as the EU referendum campaign words are selected in discourse to serve certain ideological values. The producer of the text makes use of particular terms to formulate the event and implicitly impart ideologies to sustain power inequalities.

a. The Experiential Values of Words

The characteristic of experiential value in the text is recognized through the identification of words that are ideologically contested, rewording, overwording, synonymy, hyponymy, and antonymy, they all demonstrate a preoccupation with some aspects of reality, that may specify the focus of ideological struggle. The choice of words in a text may also help to create a social relationship between participants, which involves expressive values; that indicates the writer's negative or positive evaluation of the event or situation. Thus the lexis' scrutiny of the referendum text exposes the particular choice of vocabulary made for a specific purpose.

For the reason that the producer of text exploits the headlines to express his ideological view of the reported news, a special focus is given to the choice of the lexis employed in the headlines. The examination as it will be shown below reveals that the majority of the headlines advocate a negative representation of both immigration and Britain's economy; which were the most eminent themes during ten weeks of the referendum campaign of 2016. The expressive values that the words hold such as: *Killed, Worse, Warn, Unsustainable, Storm, Ruin, wrong, austerity, huge,*

cost, dishonest, destroy among many other terms were remarkably mentioned in the headlines of the reported news of both campaigners. Here are some examples:

- Britain will be '*killed*' economically if it leaves EU, says French minister (the *Sun* 17 April 2016)
- Michael Gove *warns* EU expansion will open our borders to 88 million (the *Dail Mail* 30 April 2016)
- Brexit would leave British households £4,300 *worse* off, Treasury *warns* (the *Independent* 17 April 2016)
- Gove: EU immigrant *influx* will make NHS *unsustainable* by 2030 (the *Guardian* 20 May 2016)
- George Osborne *causes storm* with *controversial claim* Brexit would mean Brit families being £4,300 *poorer* (the *Sun* 18 April 2016)
- Osborne's new *scare*: Brexit will '*ruin* the UK for decades' (the *Daily Mail* 18 April 2016)

The above-mentioned examples are some of the headlines that projected fear and hostile environment for voters either on immigration or economy depending on the interest of the campaigner. This pessimistic view was widely promoted in the news headlines, and it is confirmed in the figure 4, below. It represents the amount of expressive words in the headlines. The words were selected according to their connotation either to promote a positive or a negative insight into the question of both the economy and immigration.

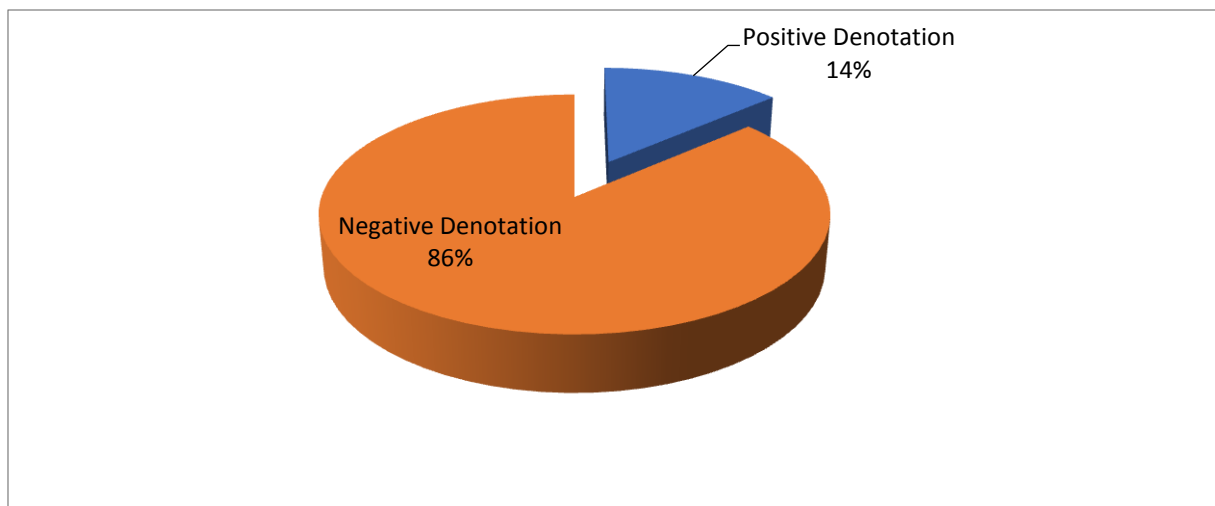


Fig. 4. Expressive Words in News' Headlines

Very few words denoting a positive image and inspiring hope for a better future were found in the headlines of the selected articles related to the present study, such as *good, great, safe, and peace* comparing to the gloomy words premeditatedly exploited by the text's producer in the headlines. This negative view advanced in the majority of news headlines, as the above figure 4 shows, is twofold on the one hand it presents a pessimistic situation that aims at conveying a tragic view of Britain after the referendum, on the other hand, it gives to Britons, a role of the hero who holds the key to rescue their country on the day of the referendum.

Furthermore, an over-lexicalization concept can be noticed in the news articles of both campaigners. It is the overuse of certain words or their near-synonyms. Words such as *warn, threat, or threaten* were exceptionally pronounced in news reports essentially for immigration and migrants' concerns in the pro-Brexit articles, as illustrated in the following passage:

Former Defence Secretary Liam Fox prepared to *warn* today that unchecked immigration will lead to Britain's countryside being concreted over for new housing...Today Dr Fox will *warn* that mass immigration 'year after year' if

Britain stays in the EU would *threaten* the dream of home ownership for the young and increase pressure on schools and GP services. He will also *warn* that green spaces would be under a major *threat* from the need to build hundreds of thousands of homes for migrants. (the *Daily Mail* 2 June 2016).

This was to highlight the factual situation of the EU's freedom of movement rules that allowed increased access to newcomers in the UK, who were not welcomed because of all the trouble they can generate such as pressure on public services, on jobs, housing, and school places,

Besides, the terms *warn* and *warning* recurrently appeared in almost the majority of the topics of the referendum discourse. The leaders of both camps alerted British people about the danger and the risk they were going to undertake by their actions on polling day, either by voting to stay or to leave the EU, depending on the camp in question. The following examples demonstrate the use of the terms *warn* or *threaten* and *warning* in news reports:

- Theresa May urged Britons to vote to stay in the EU, *warning* security and crime fighting would be made much difficult if we leave. Michael Gove *warned* staying in the EU would place pressure on Britain's jails. (the *Daily Mail* 3 May 2016)
- In an article for The Times, the Chancellor [George Osborne] will *warn* of “enormous costs” for the public finances. The estimate is based on an analysis of how a ‘Canada-style’ trade deal with the EU, which has been advocated by Boris Johnson, would affect the UK’s finances. (the *Independent* 17 April 2016)
- Tony Blair and John Major *warn* Brexit would *threaten* union. Tony Blair and Sir John Major have said that if Britain left the EU, border control would be introduced between Northern Ireland and the Republic and the union with Scotland would be *threatened*. (the *Guardian* 9 June 2016)

The over-wording of *warn* interestingly implies the relation of power of the addresser who is ordering his audiences to follow his recommendation if not they would suffer severe consequences (Flower 107).

Moreover, in the Leave articles; the description of migrants takes derogatory forms, they are portrayed as a source of violence and terror in Britain. The expressive words like *rapists, robbers, pedophiles, drug dealers, and killers* are included in the meaning of the hyponym criminals and offenders. These words are employed to show the real illustration of the foreigners by the pro-Brexit campaigner during the referendum campaign, who attempted to create a common view regarding migrants in general. The negative depiction of immigrants has been considerably high in scale as they were condemned to the UK's political, social, and economic ills including school pressure, housing crisis, unemployment, treasury strain, and inability to control, as illustrated in the following headlines.

- Migration *pressure on schools* revealed (the *Telegraph*, 7 May)
- Migrants Spark *Housing Crisis* (the *Daily mail*, 19 may)
- EU *killers and rapists we've failed* to deport: UK's *inability* to expel thousands of *foreign criminals* undermines case for the EU, say MPs (the *Daily Mail* 3 June 20016)
- EU Migration costs Britain £3m every day, *shock* report warns (the *Sun* 16 May 2016)
- EU migrants MORE likely to have a job in the UK than British adults (the *Daily Mail*, 07 June)

Besides, regarding the wording used by the producers of the text, the antonym is one more technique that has its own ideological significance. It is the state where the meaning of one word is incompatible with the meaning of the other (Faircough 2001, 97). As shown in the following extracts from the *Daily Mail* reports:

- The Albanian Option isn't holiday reading fiction it's diplomatic fact. Albania is on course to join the European Union alongside four other countries, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Turkey. The already unwieldy group of 28 is due to become a throng of 33. (30 April 2016)
- On June 23, the choice is clear. We can remain inside an undemocratic, dysfunctional EU that is headed towards a supranational government which will take away more powers from democratic nation states while permitting mass migration. (5 June 2016)

The preoccupation of the Brexiters with the immigration issues was exposed by all means. The underlined words in the first extract were employed with the purpose to thrust the readers to decide whether to live in the imaginative world of novels and fairy tales or facing the real danger of the brand-new comers (fiction vs. fact). The option is also given in the second excerpt to favour the political democracy that they are part of; where the voice of every citizen is heard, or they lose the power to even govern their own country in the undemocratic EU. Captivatingly, the relation of power of the addresser over the addressee was contested in the relational process that attributes the adjective *clear* to the *choice* (subject) at the beginning of the second quote.

As far as the pro-EU campaigners are concerned with the immigration issues, it is noticeable that they adopted a more realistic view in their coverage to defend and protect their causes. Using a positive wording strategy to influence and manipulate the readers is also apparent. The lexicalization in the following passages from the

Guardian editorial is an illustration that inspired hope and projected a positive view of the migrants.

Leaving the EU doesn't *mean* an end to immigration but it does *mean* that we will be able to decide who *comes* here and how they *come*. We must still welcome the dedicated medical professionals who *help* keep our NHS on track. We can still admit the entrepreneurial and highly qualified individuals who will *help* build prosperity. If immigration is controlled and people begin to have faith in the system again, I also hope we might be open to taking more refugees from the world's trouble spots. In other words a post-EU immigration regime can *support* our public services, *expand* our economy and also *deliver humanitarian* objectives; but because it will be under our control there won't be unexpected and excessive pressures on our schools, hospitals and public infrastructure. (14 June 2016)

The repetition of the words *mean* and *come* is to stress the importance of understanding the movement of immigration in the UK, urging a reader to have a deep vision on the issue of migrants is also the aim of this editorial, to notice how they were more giving than taking though the emphasis of the term *help*, and the use of words that have rather an optimistic connotation like *support*, *expand*, *deliver*, and *humanitarian*.

Besides, to postulate the contrast in the preoccupation between the pro and the anti-EU, the following extract from the pro-EU newspaper the *Guardian*, published on 21 June 2016, shows how Prime Minister David Cameron criticizes the Brexiter supporters in highlighting the bad image they were projecting about Britain by dint of talking too much about the immigration problem, as he said Britain will be seen as a more "*narrow, insular and inward-looking*" country if it votes to leave the EU. David Cameron makes use of rewording. It is a process through which some words or phrases are substituted and expressed by other lexical items. As mentioned in italic, in his claim above, the rewording is exemplified in the reiteration of terms that are synonyms. The aim behind this re-lexicalization is to heavily reject the exaggeration

made by the competitor towards immigration, on the one hand and on the other hand to emphasize the reflection that the Leavers are echoed about their own country. The ideological significance of that is to divert the vision of the reader towards another more important problem than immigration; that is the image of their own country, the UK, that they should take good care of. This idea can be justified by the fact that David Cameron in the same article news continues to describe the UK as “arguably the most successful multi-ethnic, multi-faith, opportunity democracy anywhere on earth”, Cameron said a Remain vote would represent a step forwards, sending “a very clear message that we’ve rejected this idea that Britain is narrow and insular and inward-looking” (the *Guardian* 21 June 2016).

The Remainers attempted to project a distinct image from the Leavers in dealing with the immigration issues. They took the side of the defender to counter the view of the Leave campaigners and influence the reader to sympathize with the question of the migrants. As unveiled in the following excerpt where Prime Minister says: “I’ve *always believed* that we have to be able to discuss and to debate immigration. But I’ve *always believed* that this is an issue that needs careful handling,” he adds “We are talking to a country that has a lot of people who have fled persecution and *contribute* a massive amount to our country. It does need *great care*” (the *Guardian* 21 June). Here the replication of the wording *I’ve always believed* is a strategy to stress Cameron’s strong faith and trust in his people who welcomed and accepted to help refugees. In addition, David Cameron uses positive words such as *contribute*, *great*, and *care* to mirror a good view of migrants.

It is also important to notice that the only time that the Leave leader Boris Johnson employed positive words concerning migrants and immigration was when he wanted to distance his official campaign from that of UKIP. As in the following headline news report published by the *Independent* on June 19th: “Boris Johnson says an *amnesty* for illegal immigrants would be the *humane* thing to do” There is an attempt to appease the hysterical view advanced by the UKIP as regard to immigrants by using expressive words such as *amnesty* and *human* that have a positive connotation.

b. The Use of Metaphor

The rhetoric of a metaphor is another technique that was greatly employed by both campaigners. According to Fairclough, it “is a means of representing one aspect of experience in terms of another”(Fairclough 2001, 99). The metaphor is used in news articles as a powerful rhetorical tool to impart some ideologies and manipulate the reader’s view about reality. For instance, the metaphor of “Pinocchio” was employed several times in the reports of both campaigners, as the following excerpt illustrates. “George Osborne 'like *Pinocchio*' for house prices claim, says Duncan Smith: Iain Duncan Smith has likened George Osborne to *Pinocchio* for claiming that house prices could fall by up to 18% if the UK votes to leave the EU.” (the *Guardian* 21 may 2016)

George Osborne was compared to Pinocchio. The metaphor ‘Pinocchio’ has more than one account. First, the substitution of the meaning liar, second the political satire of making fun of Osborne to gain the sympathy of the audience. The third account of comparing Osborne to Pinocchio is an act of dehumanization that represents a direct

attack on the Remains' campaigners. This is one more reality about Pinocchio's tale; the puppet wants to be human and the only condition was to stop lying.

In another relating topic to George Osborne's claim about Brexit risks, the metaphor tool is there to be at the command of the reader's view, the *Daily Mail* wrote:

*Project Utter Cr**!* Furious Tory backlash after Osborne warns that Brexit could trigger an 8p rise in income tax: George Osborne is facing a furious Tory backlash after warning that Britain would be 'permanently poorer' after leaving the EU. The Chancellor accused London Mayor Boris Johnson and other Leave campaigners of 'dishonesty' as he published an *apocalyptic* Treasury assessment of Brexit risks. (18 April 2016)

The ideological significance of *apocalyptic* rhetoric is used to diminish social pressure by making the reader experiences hope in face of chaos. Another ideological function is expressed, in the headline in the above quote, is about *Project Utter Cr**!* Project Utter Cr is a phrase taking from a script of Sophocles tragedy play's *Oedipus the King of Thebes*. The metaphor of 'project utter Cr**' was employed instead of 'absurd' to ridicule George Osborne and make him irrational in his claim about the future of the British economy after Brexit. To understand the ideology behind this metaphor one needs to recall Sophocles' play. It is a tale of the king of Thebes who kills his father and unwillingly marries his mother. When the king and his wife, who is his mother too, discover the truth, she committed suicide and king Oedipus after blinding himself, goes into exile where he has been swallowed into the earth (Oedipus). So evoking such a legend of suffering to compare the approach that the Remainers were adopting in the referendum campaign is very significant. Actually, according to Leavers, Osborne's claim was like a tragedy script that aims at frightening and sowing horror among the British people by a claim that can be described merely as unbelievable.

Correspondingly, and still about George Osborne's claim, the pro-Leave campaigner, Michael Gove the Justice Secretary, delivered a speech published by the *Daily Mail* on 19 April 2016. The topic was *what Britain could look like after leaving the EU*. Mr. Gove raised the Remainers campaign and the reporter of the speech in the news wrote "Deriding the Project Fear approach of the Remain campaign, Mr. Gove suggested they had recruited in horror writer Stephen King to drafted their script" in this passage Michael Gove made use of Metaphor by comparing politician (George Osborne one can guess) to the American author of horror and fantasy novels Stephen King. This also an allegation against the Remainers who are projecting terror to manipulate and influence British people's vote on the day of the referendum, as stated by the Leave campaigners.

The metaphorical means is more manifested by the press opposing the EU, particularly when it is a question of immigration. Accordingly, the Leave supporters accused their rivals by the fact that they ignored or they even refused to deal with the question of immigration. In this concern, the *Sun* stated in the headline and the lead article released on the 14th May that "Unwise monkeys: Sneering David Cameron, Gordon Brown and John Major branded bananas by Brexit-backing Priti Patel: Pro-EU allies see no *immigration*, hear no *immigration*, speak no *immigration* says the minister." The author of this article employed metaphorical expressions linking the pro-EU politicians namely: David Cameron, Gordon Brown, and John Major to monkeys. The lead article exemplified the proverbial principle "see no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil". In this metaphorical representation, there is an exaggeration in comparing immigration to evil, which has a significant ideology that tends to make

immigration a dominant interest that necessitates everyone's strength to face it. It is also another manner to say that the power is only in the hand of British people who can clean a sin by voting to leave the EU.

Furthermore, other metaphors can be noticed in the headlines of articles by the *Daily Mail* that tackled migrant issues:

- Migrants *spark* housing crisis: Now EU tells Britain to build more homes as open borders send population soaring (the *Daily mail* 19 May 2016)
- How Romanians and Bulgarians *fuelled* the *influx*: Net migration from the countries total 102,000 in two years since residents were allowed to work freely in Britain (the *Daily mail* 26 May 2016)

The metaphorical *spark* and *fuelled* as sources of fire were used to compare respectively immigrants to a burst of fire or more intensely to a supply of power to burn. Actually, this representation was used as a substitute for the term 'cause', it was ideologically contested to exaggerate the immigrant's threat and influence the reader's opinion about the issue. More metaphors were overused essentially by the anti-EU campaign to overstress their severe position concerning immigration and urge the reader to act in response to the terrible situation they were facing if they remained as members of the EU. Therefore, the flow metaphors such as *flood*, *wave*, and *influx* were manifested to express the free movement and amplify the catastrophic reality of the refugee's arrivals to Britain. The metaphor of "Jungle camp" articulated more than once in an article by the *Daily Mail* (23 June) and the *Sun* (21 June) referring to Calais camps; the area where the migrants settled to prepare their way into the UK either by claiming asylum or remaining as illegal workers. Using the term 'jungle'

rather than ‘area’ was an act of dehumanization against migrants who were measured against animals living in a forest; they were no more than a source of trouble and disorder in the view of the Brexiters.

As an illustration, we calculated the amount of the metaphorical representation of migrants as influx, flood, wave, or jungle in the pro-Leave articles. The result is presented in figure 5. The ‘influx’ metaphor takes the lion’s share, in the news reports dealing with immigration issues, with the percentage of 43%, followed by ‘wave’ with 25%, then ‘jungle’ with 18%, and finally ‘flood’ with the percentage of 14%.

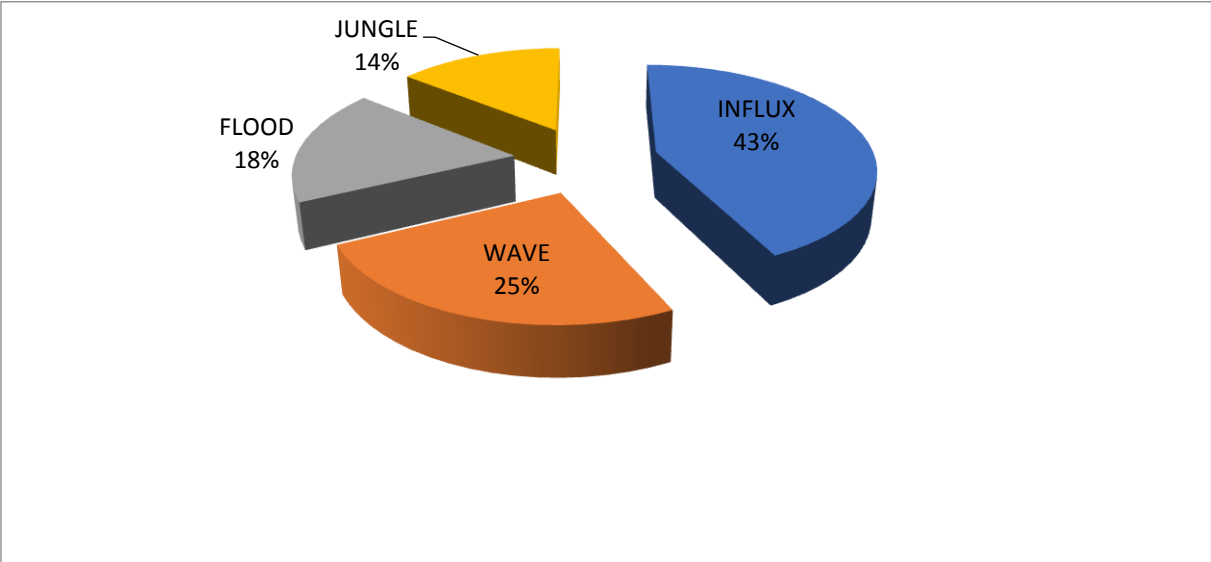


Fig. 5. Metaphorical representation of Migrants in the Pro-Leave News Articles

Through those metaphors which are intensively used in news reports of the Brexiters, the producer of the text aimed at indoctrinating in the mind of the reader a catastrophic image towards migrants.

A further topic that provoked a great debate within the press is related to the visit of the American president Barack Obama in the middle of the referendum campaign. Obama overtly sided with the Remain camp. So the scrutiny of *the Sun*

article released in this respect manifested the use of metaphor to express the rejection of Obama's claim that Brexit would put the UK 'back of the *queue*'. The reporter of the *Sun* newspaper wrote: "Leaping on Mr. Obama's use of the British word "queue" instead of the American phrase for it, "line", anti-EU Tory MP Stewart Jackson claimed it had been written by Downing Street". (the *Sun* 23 April 2016). The reporter in the above quote relied on the metaphorical expression through the personification of Downing Street, the reporter portrayed it as a person who can write. Actually, *Downing Street* is the official residence and the office of British Prime Minister David Cameron. The same metaphor is employed by the EU's supporters the *Guardian* in an article published on the 23rd of April 2016 as it is written: "*Obama was being manipulated by Downing Street*" yet, here Downing Street is a person skilled to manipulate the President Obama.

2. Grammer Structure

As viewed by Fairclough, there is often a choice between different grammatical processes and participant types in the textual representation of some real or imaginary actions, events, states of affairs, or relationships. This selection is ideologically significant (2001, 100). Therefore, the embedded ideologies are brought to light through a thorough investigation of the grammatical features of texts.

a. The Experiential Values of Grammatical Features

Interestingly the grammatical structure is exploited in the aforementioned passages about Obama's intervention. The *Sun*'s author combines the metaphoric expression with the passive form of the sentence that emphasizes the subject 'it' which refers to

queue “it had been written by Downing Street”. In the same way, *the Guardian* in their article on 23rd April, the metaphorical expression about Obama’s involvement is operated with the passive form of the sentence where the subject, in this case, is different: “*Obama was being manipulated by Downing Street*”. In this passive sentence the subject undergoes the action; thus, in both sentences agency is unclear. The responsible for the action (to write, to manipulate) is unnamed; who wrote the word *queue* to Obama, and who manipulated the US president Obama. This manoeuvre is ideologically contested to hide the responsibility of the action process.

Moreover, a clear contrast of passive and active form is shown in the comparison of the headlines articles dealing with Obama’s claim about Brexit. The articles in question were published the same day, 23 April 2016, in the newspapers the *Sun* (pro-Brexit) and *The Guardian* (pro-EU) as mentioned here respectively: “Obama accused of ‘blackmailing’ British people over Brexit”. “Euroscptics pour scorn on Obama's warning against Brexit.” The passive construction of the *Sun*’s headline concealed the responsible for the accusation and put stress on the receiver of the blame (Obama). Even in the opening of the same article one notices the use of passivization highlighting the accuser and not the one who is accused; here mentioned: “Barack Obama was last night accused of voter blackmail by threatening to put Britain at the back of the queue for a trade deal if we Brexit”. Whereas, the active structure form of the *Guardian*’s headline emphasized the responsibility of the claim (on the Euroscptics). Hence, a clear responsibility is pursued through the use of the active form in the lead article, as mentioned in the news report “Senior Tories condemn

‘lame duck’ US president after he said an independent UK would be at the back of trade deal queue”.

In the same way and still, with Obama’s involvement, the pro-EU newspaper the *independent* employed nominalization to leave agency and causality unclear. Actually, nominalization is a process converted into noun, or a multi-word compound noun; commonly used in news headlines. It is reduced in the sense that some of the meaning one gets in a sentence is missing, such as a tense, so there is no indication of the timing of the process, modality, and often an agent and/or a patient (Fairclough 2001, 103). As here in the *independent*’s headline “Obama’s intervention in EU debate could be a game-changer” (22 April 2016). Those form structures in the headlines of different newspapers dealing with the same issue of Obama’s claim is exposed to indicate the point of view of the writer who makes use of the sentence structure to advance or hide a certain aspect of reality from the reader to direct his or her attention according to his own interest.

In addition to the use of the passivization and nominalization forms of sentences, the inanimate subject is another tool to leave agency unclear. Observing the headlines of newspapers that deal with the topic of the treasury’s statistic, from both sides of the campaign, simple sentence structure is manifested; yet an inanimate subject that leaves the agent vague is employed in the headlines of the Remainers. Here examples from the *independent* and the *Guardian* headlines: “*Brexit* would leave British households £4,300 worse off, Treasury warns” (17 April 2016 the *Independent*). “*Brexit* could cost pensioners £32,000, chancellor says” (the *Guardian*

26 May 2016). The value of the agentless is ideologically motivated to conceal the responsibility of the action process. On the opposite side of the campaign, the Brexiteers, both the *Daily Mail* and the *Sun* contested a clear presence of the agency: “Osborne rails at 'dishonest' Brexiteers as he warns of huge quit cost” (the *Daily Mail* 18 April 2016). “George Osborne sets out the economic case for Remain with boffins’ baffling equations” (the *Sun* 18th April 2016). Thus, Chancellor George Osborne holds responsibility for the course of action.

Moreover, the very notable element when comparing the headlines of the Leave and the Remain campaigners when dealing with the immigration question is also the ordering of words. The first words or phrases of all headlines constitute actors or actions that tend to be ‘topicalized’. As pointed out by Van Dijk: “Often, the first position of actors is associated with the role of active agent” (1991, 61). It is clear that, in the Leave’s headlines, the migrants occurred in the first position, and they are agents of negative action. Here some examples of headlines from both campaigners:

- *Migration pressure* on schools revealed (the *Telegraph* 7 May 2016)
- *Migrants Spark Housing Crisis* (the *Daily mail* 19 May 2016)
- *EU Migration* costs Britain £3m every day, shock report warns (the *Sun* 16 May 2016)
- Brexit is only way to control *immigration*, campaigners claim (the *Guardian* 25 April 2016)
- The Government's lies on *immigration* will push more people towards Brexit (the *Daily Mirror* 14 May 2016)

Following Van Dijk's description, the fact that migrants were put in the first position their negative actions were highlighted twice, first by headlining them and secondly by further topicalizing them in the headlines. Regarding Remain's headlines, the issue of immigration was not topicalized instead migrants were passive actors. Thus, it showed that the goal of both was different. While the Brexiteers want to focus merely on the negative aspects of immigrants the pro-EU campaigners tended to be more neutral.

b. The Process Types

Understanding the contribution made by different process types in the construction of the newspaper text is very crucial. Through investigating the six process types namely: material, mental, relational, verbal, behavioural, and existential an explanation to the way the producer of text organizes his text is exemplified.

Indeed, two articles for each press treating separately economy and immigration topics are deconstructed into clauses following Halliday's transitivity to recognize the linguistic choices in terms of the more frequent process types, and how they are described to impart certain ideologies in a text as already explained in the theoretical part. After collecting, analyzing, and categorizing the clauses the process findings are represented in the following charts:

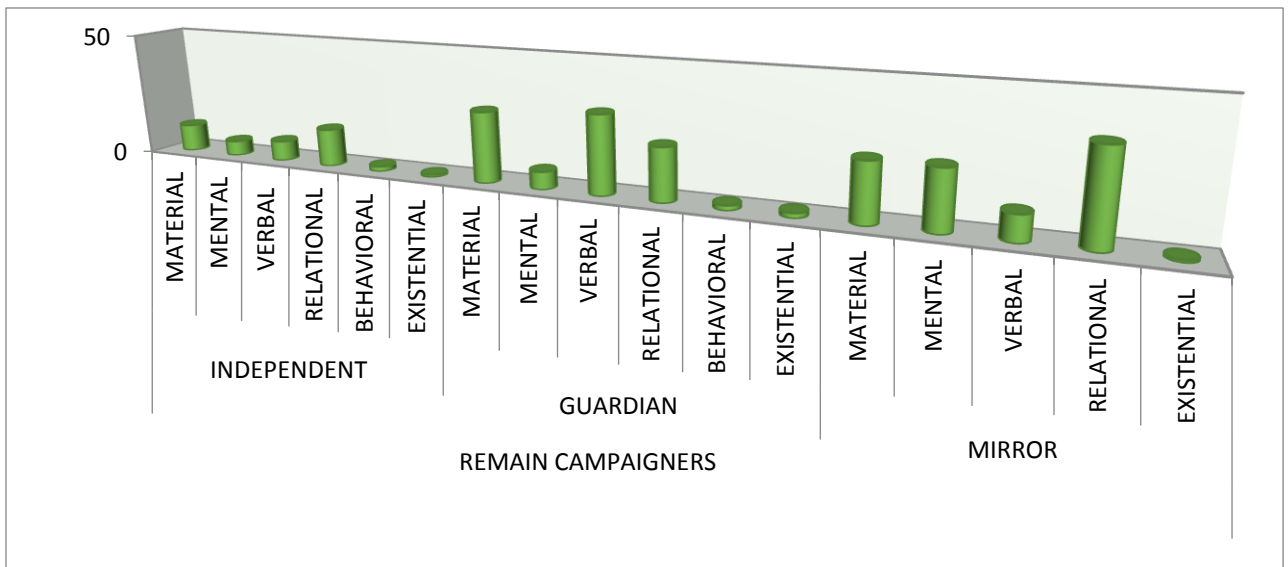
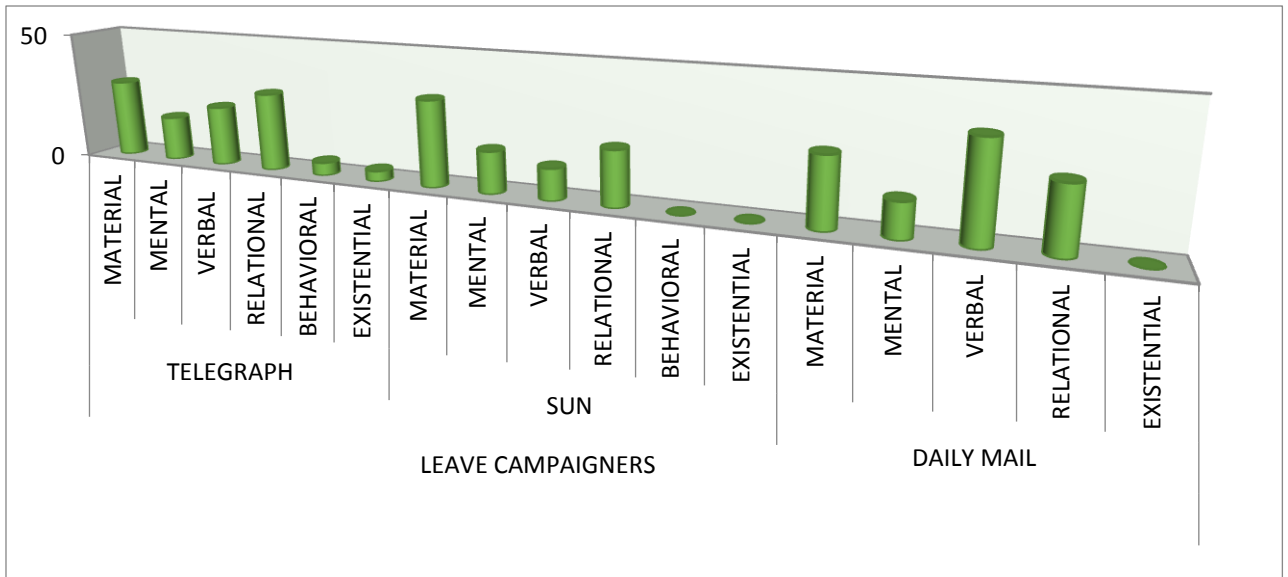


Fig. 6. The Frequency of the Process Types

The result of our analysis, represented in figure 6, illustrates the frequency of four processes among the six namely: the material, verbal, relational, and mental processes. The dominance of the material process over other processes in the Leave campaigners texts and relational process in the texts of the Remain camp is noticeable, with one exception the verbal process is the dominant in the Leave camp the *Daily mail* and in the Remain camp the *Guardian*.

Looking at the process types depicted in the analyzed texts, some interpretation can be described as follows:

- In news reporting, verbal clauses allow the reporter to attribute information to sources, including officials, experts, and eyewitnesses. There is constantly one participant, representing the speaker; there may also be an additional one representing the addressee (Halliday and Matthiessen 252). In the examined news texts, the verbal process that occurs is identified by verbs like say, tell, dictate, suggest, blame... etc. It appears that the writer in his report tries to persuade the reader and inculcate some ideologies with the support of some statistics, sayings, or quotations from important personalities or institutions that intervened or tackled the subject matter. In the economy theme, for instance, the most important participants or sayers are found to be animate agents in certain cases and inanimate in others (George Osborne; The Chancellor, Eurosceptic Tory MPs, Banks, The treasury, the Government...etc.) this depends on the degree of transparency of the message assigned. Similarly, in the immigration topic the participants are agent animate or inanimate (The Employment Minister Priti Patel, London Mayor Boris Johnson, The EU Commission, New figures...etc.). The representation of these sayings is a matter to add to the credibility and accuracy of the news.
- The material process is a course of doing and happening, according to Halliday “a ‘material’ clause construes a quantum of change in the flow of events as taking place through some input of energy” (179). In news items, this process is very common and in our analysis, it is more pronounced in the news of the

Leave supporters because the content portrays more physical actions and events. For example, in the *Sun* report, one can read: “Treasury released (material)...Britain’s economy would shrink (material); Every week we send (material) hundreds of millions of pounds to the EU.” In this excerpt, ‘Treasury’, ‘Britain’s economy’, and ‘we’ are actors. The Actor is the one that does the deed, that is, the one that brings about the change (Halliday and Matthiessen 179).

- The relational process that engages the state of being and having is central in the text of the Remain camp, particularly the *Daily Mirror* and the *Independent*. This is not to undermine its importance in other text news but to evaluate the extent of the writer’s authority over the reader. Here, is an example from the *independent* “They were – and still are (relational) desperate, frightened people” the relational process in this passage serves to characterize the participant ‘they’ which refers in the text to British people. Accordingly, the producer of the text is the identifier and the attributor of certain values and elements to participants by providing characteristics or statistics; he is in a position of power over the receiver or the reader (Fairclough 2001, 105).
- The mental process has to do with feeling, sensing and thinking. It is used in the analyzed news approximately at the same rate of frequency as the verbal process, except for the *Daily Mail* and the *Guardian* where the verbal process is more pronounced. One can explain the function of the mental process in news items like the verbal process which is to support the writer’s view and chiefly to affect and influence the reader’s opinion. The only difference is that the verbal

process attempts to persuade through saying and claiming words whereas, the mental process uses the thinking and believing method. Accordingly, the mental process is recognized in the text by the verbs such as: see, know, imagine, appear, recognize, and believe...etc. here is a passage from the *Daily Mail* text dealing with immigration “One can only imagine (mental) how many will eventually end up here. As Mr. Johnson so succinctly put it (verbal): That is really mad. It can’t be allowed to happen.” The mental process clause in this excerpt is specifically about cognition, rather than a verbal one. It represents a meaning rather than a wording such as in the verbal process (Halliday and Matthiessen 449).

- Very rare cases of existential and behavioral processes are noticed in news reports of both campaigners as demonstrated in figure 6. Their use is not too much required in the news but rather more common in the narrative context as confirmed by Halliday (456).

To elucidate the transitivity structure of the clauses that appeared in the news items, an illustration of each process is described in the below examples. The tables consist, in principle, of three components:

1. The process itself,
2. The participants involved in the process,
3. Circumstances associated with the process, which are peripheral namely: circumstances of time, space, manner, or one of a few other

types. These circumstances are not directly involved in the process;
rather they are attendant on it (Halliday and Matthiessen 170).

➤ The verbal process

“The Chancellor accused (verbal) London Mayor Boris Johnson and other Leave campaigners of 'dishonesty’” Daily Mail 18 April 2016

“Britain will be poorer by £4,300 per household if we leave, the Chancellor claimed (verbal), / before saying (verbal) anyone who thought otherwise was "economically illiterate" the *Daily Mirror* 18 April 2016

“George Osborne targets (verbal) older voters with claim that leaving the EU would drive up inflation, hitting pensions and house prices.” The *Guardian* 26 May 2016.

Participants: Sayer / Target	Process	Verbiage
The Chancellor / London Mayor Boris Johnson and other Leave campaigners	accused	dishonesty
The Chancellor	claimed	Britain will be poorer by £4,300 per household if we leave
The chancellor	saying	anyone who thought otherwise was "economically illiterate"
George Osborne / older voters	targets	that leaving the EU would drive up inflation, hitting pensions and house prices.

➤ The Material Process

“the EU constrains (material) us in all manner of ways and throws (material) reams of red tape around British businesses.” (the *Sun* 23 April 2016)

Participants: Actor/ Goal	Process	Action or Event	Circumstances
the EU / us	constrains		in all manner of ways (manner)
The EU	throws	reams of red tape	around British Business (place)

➤ The relational process

“Britain is (relational) a proud nation of entrepreneurs, and small businesses are (relational) the backbone of our economy.” The *Sun* 23 April 2016

Participants: Carrier /Token	Process	Attribute / Value
Britain (carrier)	Is (attributive)	a proud nation of entrepreneurs
small businesses (Token)	Are (identifying)	the backbone of our economy

➤ The Mental Process

“This morning we have seen (mental) the second component of this campaign go into overdrive” the *Daily Mirror* 18 April 2016.

Participants: Senser	Process	Circumstance (time)	phenomenon
We	Have seen	This morning	the second component of this campaign go into overdrive.

➤ Existential process

“There is (existential) nothing subtle about the Remain campaign” the *Daily Mirror*
18 April 2016

Subject:	Process	Existent: Circumstance (matter)
There	is	Nothing subtle about the Remain campaign

➤ Behavioral process

“Ministers and former chancellors ridiculed (behavioral) the forecasts” the *Daily Mail*
19 April 2016

Participants: behavior	Process	Circumstance (matter)
Ministers and former chancellors	ridiculed	The forecasts

c. The Use of Modality

Modality is considered as a comment or an attitude; it has to do with truth, obligation, and permission and with the desirability aspect (Fowler 85). The modal expressions are about the writer’s view of the world that is why the focus, regarding modality

feature, is put on the editorial commentary of the newspapers that express the editor's opinion about the topical issue. Here below is a passage from the *Sun* editorial.

We are told the Pound *will* plummet against the dollar if we vote to Leave. That's GOOD news for our exports. It means more jobs — and huge investments flowing in. There *will* be more jobs too from Britain, the world's fifth largest economy, trading independently with every other nation outside the EU. That's a market of seven billion people. Mr Cameron calls this "quitting". Leaving the EU *will* mean joining the rest of the planet and embracing the future. We call it joining the rest of the planet and embracing the future. If there is any short-term market instability, it *will* be less due to the verdict of the British people and more to the apocalyptic warnings from George Osborne and his Canadian Bank of England Governor Mark Carney. Tomorrow's vote is our one chance to escape the EU and be part of the real world. It is not like a normal election, where half the constituencies are safe Tory or safe Labour seats. The vast majority of Sun readers want out and this time EVERY single vote *will* count. (The *Sun* 22 Jun 2016)

The modal auxiliary *Will* is used to express more truth in this editorial. It refers to things in the future that the writer thinks are certain (the drop of the Pound against the dollar, creation of more jobs, joining the rest of the planet, as well as the importance of the vote). It is also used to show a possible situation in the future and the writer's commitment to the result when the text refers to the possible existence of the short-term market instability. According to Fairclough, this implies the author's authority with respect to the truth or probability of reality's representation (2001, 105). Next, another illustration of modality is expressed in the *Daily Mail* editorial.

Osborne *will* pay dearly for this desperate threat: Win or lose next week, it is hard to see how George Osborne *can* survive the blow he has inflicted on Tory unity and his own credibility as Chancellor. Indeed, his threat to punish voters with swingeing tax rises and spending cuts if they decide to pull out of the EU is an act of utter desperation. It is also deeply irresponsible of him to talk Britain down — ludicrously predicting 'decades' of woe if we withdraw. It is as if he is willing investors to lose confidence in our country so that he *can* point to a downturn in the financial markets as evidence that we *should* vote Remain. So how frustrating it *must* be for Mr Osborne that the markets stubbornly refuse to be alarmed by the prospect of Brexit. (the *Daily Mail* 16 June 2016)

In this editorial, there are five modal auxiliaries. Interestingly the first auxiliary *can* is used to question possibility, the second *can* modal is used in a conditional sentence expresses a general truth or a belief based on experience or knowledge that the author possesses. Besides, the modal *should* is implemented to dictate the best or the ideal way in this situation and it signals obligation for the participants that they ought to perform, *must* on its own signals obligation, but the meaning, in this case, conveys truth and certainty behind the proposition articulated by the author. One can notice that authority and power relations were implicitly exercised through the use of modality. More auxiliary modals of significant importance were remarkably used in the following passage.

Brexit *would not* restore sovereignty, rationality or public services to Britain, but it *would* hasten the disintegration of the EU. *Might* this be a good reason to vote leave? Progressives *must* make a judgment call: do they believe that something good *may* come out of the collapse of our reactionary, undemocratic EU? Or *will* its collapse plunge the continent into an economic and political vortex that no Brexit *can* shield Britain from? Our view on this is clear. And it is the reason we stand together in urging an in vote in the context of a radical surge of democracy from Britain to Greece, and from Portugal to the Baltics (the *Guardian* 28 May 2016).

In the above extract, the editorial writer expressed his own prediction of the future event Brexit by the modal *would*, *may*, and *might*. He also made use of modality to speculate some facts. This urged readers to consider several possibilities and guided them to act immediately on the writer's recommendation, which is revealed in the last sentence where the writer talked on the behalf of himself, of his newspaper, and his readers. This identified a position of power the addresser has over his addressees.

Apart from the modal auxiliary verbs that were overused in the selected news articles especially in the editorial but also in the headlines, the modality can also be

indicated by adverbs and tense as stated by Fairclough (2001, 105). An illustration is shown in the following passages from the *Telegraph*:

- Voters who have concerns about Turkey and the EU deserve to have their questions answered. *Perhaps* we *should* debate calmly whether full membership (and thus the right for its citizens to move freely across the union) *will* ever be appropriate for Turkey; *would* “affiliate membership” be more apt? The idea of asking the NHS to look after a new group of patients equivalent in size to four Birminghams is *clearly* unsustainable. Free movement on that scale *will* have huge consequences for the NHS (*the Telegraph* 22 May 2016)
- Boris Johnson: The EU *wants* a superstate, just as Hitler did: The European Union is *pursuing* a similar goal to Hitler in trying to create a powerful superstate, Boris Johnson says. In a dramatic interview with the *Telegraph*, he *warns* that while bureaucrats in Brussels *are using* “different methods” from the Nazi dictator, they *share* the aim of unifying Europe under one “authority” (*the telegraph* 15 May 2016)

The adverb *perhaps* in the first passage expresses a degree of obligation; it is used in the way to suggest permission in this sentence but not with the meaning of authorization, since the addresser soon expresses obligation (*should*), and then truth (*will*), so his commitment to the right choice is revealed and expressed by the modal *will*. By so doing the obligation upon the addressee is implicitly imposed, thus the authority and power relation is maintained. The editor maintained his influence by further usage of adverb *clearly* and modal *will* indicating his opinion with certainty and suggesting authority over the addressee.

In the second passage, the verbs are all in the present tense (*wants, is pursuing, warns, are using, share*) forms. This represents a categorical certainty without the genus of intermediate modalities. It expresses truth modality that signifies the writer’s

commitment to the authenticity of the claim advanced relating to the EU which reflects his own ideological interest (Fairclough 2001, 107).

d. The use of Pronouns

The genuine usage of pronouns such as ‘we’ and ‘you’ in text resides in their close association with the dimensions of power and solidarity; it is also a sign of relational value between the addresser and the addressee (Fairclough 2001, 106; Fowler 35). In this regard, it is worth looking at these two pronouns in the texts of both campaigners in the referendum to see how power and solidarity are expressed through their use.

As far as the personnel pronoun ‘we’ is concerned, it is more used in the editorial of newspaper, in its inclusive form, to include the producer of text and the reader as opposed to the exclusive ‘we’ form which refers to the writer plus one or more others but does not include the reader or the addressee (Fairclough 2001, 106). The usage of the inclusive ‘we’ is much contested in the editorial for the reason that the editor speaks on behalf of himself, his readers, and all British citizens. For instance, hereafter follows the *Guardian* editorial passage:

Leaving the EU doesn't mean an end to immigration but it does mean that *we* will be able to decide who comes here and how they come. *We* must still welcome the dedicated medical professionals who help keep *our* NHS on track. *We* can still admit the entrepreneurial and highly qualified individuals who will help build prosperity. If immigration is controlled and people begin to have faith in the system again, I also hope *we* might be open to taking more refugees from the world's trouble spots. In other words a post-EU immigration regime can support *our* public services, expand *our* economy and also deliver humanitarian objectives; but because it will be under *our* control there won't be unexpected and excessive pressures on *our* schools, hospitals and public infrastructure. (the *Guardian* 14 June)

In this excerpt the inclusive ‘we’ and the possessive ‘our’ are used similarly to include the editor with the entire British citizen. It is also noticeable that the inclusive ‘we’ in all the sentences of this quote is used with the modal auxiliary, as one can read: ‘we will’, ‘we must’, ‘we can’, and ‘we might’. This is due to the nature of an editorial text that exhibits a comment or opinion of the newspaper about a given issue. Yet, in combining the inclusive ‘we’ with the modality of obligation, aptitude, and opportunity the newspaper gives a sense of shared community values among British people, which is also strengthened by the excessive use of the possessive ‘our’. Moreover, the inclusive ‘we’ and the possessive ‘our’ in this editorial help to construct a power claimed by the editor over his reader (Fairclough 2001, 106) as the newspaper have the authority to speak for others. With regard to the pronoun ‘you’ as an indefinite pronoun according to Fairclough, it implies people in general. The use of this pronoun in the editorial of the newspaper is less pronounced compared to inclusive ‘we’. The ‘you’ pronoun is used to show compassion and solidarity with the British peoples. Here following passage from the *Daily Mail* editorial:

If *you* believe in the sovereignty of this country, its monarchy, its unwritten constitution and its judicial system; if *you* believe in the will of the people and don’t want to be ruled by faceless bureaucrats; if *you* are concerned about uncontrolled immigration; if *you* wish to control the destiny of the UK; if *you* want a government *you* can vote for and in turn vote out of office if it breaks its promises; and if *you* believe in Britain, its culture, history and freedoms, there is only one way to vote. Brexit (21 June 2016).

The frequency of the pronoun ‘you’ in this editorial passage claims solidarity, but it is not authoritative. The pronoun ‘you’ is a colloquial form that has an ideological dimension over the addressees, who feel included in this message. It promotes a sense of unity and appurtenance to one nation (106).

Furthermore, in the same way of authority and solidarity, the pronouns ‘you, our, and we’ are manifested in the speech of politician leaders of the campaign reported in the news articles. For instance in the interview with the *Guardian* on 21 June 2016, David Cameron said: “Clearly if *you* look at our creative industries, if you look at *our* hi-tech, if *you* look at all of *our* internet-based industries, *we* are succeeding on the basis of bringing people together and creating a real hub of technology here in Britain”. He made use of the pronoun ‘you’ to attract the audience’s attention; David Cameron consistently merged ‘you’ with ‘our’ to create a relationship of solidarity between him and his audience. Solidarity is maintained by the inclusive ‘we’ employed instead of Britain in the last sentence of the passage which also claimed the authority of the speaker over his audience.

3. Textual Structure

The textual structure is concerned with the whole organization of events in news articles. The events in news reports are not expressed continuously. It is not the chronology of the events that matter, but rather their importance, relevance, or newsworthiness that organize news reports. Therefore, the structure of information in the text takes the form of a pyramid, that is the information is realized from top to bottom of the text: the most important topic is usually expressed in the headline and the lead article then the more specific information is uttered in the first body paragraph, the less significant news follow until the bottom of the pyramid (Van Dijk 1991, 72).

The headline in the news article is designed to be brief and attractive. Its main function is to summarize the most important information in the report. Since readers often recall well the content of headlines, reporters tend to exploit them to express their ideological view of the news. Hence, the headline summarizes what, according to the reporter, is the most important aspect, and such a summary inevitably implies an opinion or a particular perspective on the events. In the referendum campaign for instance many events, which most of the time were reported on the same date, were presented differently in newspapers. Taken the example of the US' president visit event, one can read in the headlines of the Leave campaigners' newspapers the *Daily telegraph*, and the *Sun* the following:

- Obama accused of 'blackmailing' British people over Brexit: US President issues 'back of the queue' trade deals warning (*The Sun* 23 April 2016)
- Barack Obama: As your friend, let me say that the EU makes Britain even greater (*the Daily telegraph* 23 April 2016)

The *Sun*'s headline highlighted Obama's accusation, while the *Daily telegraph* underlined the fact that Obama was speaking on behalf of a friendship. This is to exemplify the fact that the headlines are subjective and ideologically contested as assured by Van Dijk "Headlines often have ideological implications...headlines are a subjective definition of the situation, which influences the interpretation made by the readers" (1991, 73). Furthermore, the topical order of the news in a text may also be biased, since what may be relevant for one newspaper is not for the other. For instance,

the information of friendship and Obama's claim concerning the EU is evoked only at the lower position in the *Sun*'s text as follow: "Saying he was speaking as "a good friend" of the UK, Mr. Obama also said the United States wanted us to stay in because the EU "magnifies rather than moderates" British influence in the world." This information is upgraded and even expressed in the headline of the *Daily telegraph* newspaper. So, the particular hierarchical structure of a text is a way to manipulate and influence the reader's interpretation of the whole event. It also expresses the relation of the power of the producer of text over the reader. Since the producer is the one who has a right to determine what includes or excludes from the report, and how events are represented to the consumer (Fairclough 2001, 42).

All in all, the linguistic investigation of some news articles' text of the two conflicting campaigners in the EU's referendum of 2016 relies on Norman Fairclough's Modal of *Critical Discourse Analysis*. Considering the aspects of vocabulary, grammar, and textual structure through the examination of the values expressed in the news articles, reveals the use of experiential, expressive, and relational values engaged as manoeuvres by both campaigners to indoctrinate ideas and beliefs to influence and direct the individual's vote on the day of the referendum. This description scrutiny of texts is part of the analysis that contributes to the understanding of power relations and ideological processes in the discourse, yet it needs a social context analysis to wholly expose a clear account about the referendum campaign discourse of 2016, which will be the key subject of the next chapter.

Chapter Four

The Social Context of the Newspaper Discourse

I. Processing Analysis of the Newspaper Discourse

The textual analysis of a newspaper text exemplifies a range of linguistics features that the text may contain. It refers to the first dimension in Fairclough's critical discourse model that needs complementary investigation since a text is a product; it represents just a part of the whole process of social interaction which denotes the term discourse. The term discourse refers to spoken or written language use; Fairclough views language as a form of social practice. This implies that language is part of society, it is a social process, and it is also a socially conditioned process, conditioned by other (non-linguistic) parts of society (Fairclough 2001, 19).

Scrutinizing the process of production of which the text is a product as well as the process of interpretation for which the text is a resource allow us to understand the way the newspaper discourse of the referendum campaign influenced and affected people's perception towards the European Union. This is the concern of this chapter; that is an attempt to uncover the remaining stages of interpretation and explanation in Fairclough's three-dimensional model approach. While the discourse's interpretation deals with the way member's resources are drawn upon in processing discourse, the explanation, in Fairclough's view, clarifies the changes and the social formation and organization of the member's resources.

The interpretation of the newspaper discourse gives to the textual features of the text their values. Because these values only become real, socially operative, if they are embedded in social interaction, where texts are produced and interpreted against a background of common-sense assumptions (Fairclough 2001, 117). The common-sense assumptions are part of what Fairclough refers to as 'members resources' (MRs)

that people draw upon to produce and interpret texts. These MRs are in one sense cognitive because they are in people's heads, yet they are also social in the sense that they have social origins (Faircough 2001, 20; Van Dijk 1990, 166). The interpretation is created through the connection between the formal features of text (cues) and the elements of the interpreter's MRs. Because what one 'sees' in a text, what one regards as worth describing, and what one chooses to emphasize in a description, are all dependent on how one interprets a text ((Faircough 2001, 22). For instance, in the passive form of the sentence, the author stressed on the receiver of the action to alleviate the doer position, this depends on the author's MRs (his knowledge, his values, and his beliefs) on the one hand, and on what he intended for readers to interpret which also is based on the readers' MRs, on the other hand.

As explained in the theoretical part of this study, the formal features of text examined in chapter three will be linked to the background knowledge or common-sense assumptions that have social origins. Their connection will be completed through the cognitive interface of mental models, knowledge, attitudes, and ideologies. For Van Dijk, the cognitive model gives meaning to the cognitive component that deals with the cognitive processes and representations involved in the production and comprehension of discourse. This constitutes the main objective of this part of interpretation in the study; it is complementary to the text analysis in the sense that tends to identify the information or the claims of both campaigners that have cognitive values shared with other members of the same group.

The interpretation stage is conditional on the context model that deals with the circumstances forming the setting of the referendum event, the participants, the action,

and the aim of the discourse in question, along with the social origin of these values that help to comprehend the referendum discourse and its influence. Starting by identifying the cognitive basis of the newspaper as an institution to see the way its institutional structure and individuals act together and co-evolve cognitively to form the referendum discourse. This section is followed by the process of production which is controlled by the mental models, the knowledge, and the ideologies of the participants in the referendum. It is also essentially important to investigate the social origin of member's resources that refers to the intertextual reading of newspaper discourse.

A. The Newspaper Discourse and its Cognitive Basis

The news articles are the product of teamwork. They are defined in *Merriam Webster* dictionary as a report of recent events or previously unknown information or also something having a specified influence. According to Hillel Nosssek, the news is a genre of mass media content resulting from journalists' information gathering and editors' decisions and following professional practices and norms. Thus the gathering information only becomes news when it appears in a newspaper, before that, it should meet the need of the political leaning of the newspaper, economic constraint, and social demands (Nosssek 401). Accordingly, much of information one reads in the paper depends on the internal organization of news production within media organizations on the one hand, as well as on the relations between such corporations and the government, political parties, or social groups, on the other hand (Van Dijk 2009, 70).

The interpretation of the news reports in the referendum campaign in terms of the newspaper as an internal media organization will make it explicit the process of interactions of news gathering which depends chiefly on its participants; its readers, and its political inclination. The selected newspapers for this study are divided between the two conflicting camps in the referendum namely: *the Daily Telegraph, the Daily Mail, the Sun* which have supported the Leave camp and *the Guardian, the Independent, the Daily Mirror* backer of the *In Campaign*. Each of these publications has its proper political affiliation. However, in this exceptional event, as explained in the second chapter, the two main political parties (Conservative and Labour) themselves were divided on the issue of the European Union between supporters and opponents, depending on the politicians' mental models. So, it is essential to know the political ideology and view of the politicians involved in the referendum debates. Besides, each publication has its particular readers, which means different social groups and different mental models. Accordingly, the following tables give an insight into the affiliation of each of the newspaper in question with their type of readers as well as the position of the main politicians involved in the analyzed newspaper:

Publication	Political Position & Party	Typical Reader
The Daily Telegraph (Anti-EU)	Right & Conservative	Higher social classes: Older businessman with traditional views.
The Daily Mail (Anti-EU)	Far-right & Conservative	Middle social classes : Conscientious female office

		worker
The Sun (Anti-EU)	Far-right & Conservative	Lower social classes / working classes.
The Guardian (Pro-EU)	Liberal, Centre-left (Lib Democrats)	Higher social classes : person who cares about the arts and modern technologies
The Independent (Pro-EU)	Neutral, Centre-left (Lib Democrats)	Higher social classes: Cosmopolitan and liberal young man who cycles to work and likes cultural activities.
The Daily Mirror (Pro-EU)	Centre-left & Labour	Working classes: Older manual worker

Table 3: Newspaper's affiliation and Reader's Type

Pro-EU Politicians	Party Politic	Anti-EU Politicians	Party Politic
David Cameron	Conservative	Boris Johnson	Conservative
George Osborne	Conservative	Michael Gove	Conservative
Theresa May	Conservative	Iain Duncan Smith	Conservative
Amber Rudd	Conservative	Priti Patel	Conservative
Gordon Brown	Labour	Gisela Stuart	Conservative

Angela Eagle	Labour	Chris Grayling	Conservative
Jeremy Corbyn	Labour	Matthew Elliott	Conservative
Nicola Sturgeon	Scottish National Party	Liam Fox	Conservative
		Gisela Stuart	Labour
		Nigel Farage	UKIP

Table 4: The Main Political Figures of Pro and Anti-EU

The first table shows that the anti- EU newspapers have a conservative leaning whereas the pro-EU align themselves with Liberal Democrats or Labour. The second Table demonstrates that the majority of the conservative politicians are against European membership and supporters of Brexit. The more liberal Conservative such as David Cameron and George Osborne support the continuity of the European Union. Regarding the Labour party politicians’ position, they mostly agree on the EU question and they back the UK membership. An exception is recognized in this later table that distinguishes Nigel Farage’s opposition to the EU and Nicola Sturgeon’s support for membership. Nigel Farage is the only politician figure; a mental model representative of the unanimity of UKIP members’ attitude similarly to Nicola Sturgeon who comprises the Scottish National party’s mental model.

From the different political parties, two different views separated the participants in the referendum debates towards the European Union issue. So to better adjudicate the political division it is worth stressing the key principles and ideologies of the political spectrum which is divided between the right and the left, representing

two opposite groups of principles. As elucidated by Van Dijk the alignment of the newspaper with the conservative or Liberal or with the Labour is not only through discourse, but more basically by the attitudes and ideologies expressed in a coherent corpus of discourses, of editorials as well as of news articles. Such fundamental representations control all aspects of the production of these discourses, and at the same time give details of how readers will interpret and understand the discourses, and construe their appropriate mental models, partly also based on the same underlying attitudes and ideologies (Van Dijk 2017, 22).

Most of the principles separating the left and the right wings are about the best way to organize society for people to prosper. These principles subsist in the members' mental models of each group. Those on the left-spectrum of politics believe that the government should play a large part in people's lives to achieve an equal society. They tend to support higher taxes on the rich, welfare for the poor and government regulation of business. They have also a tendency to adopt a progressive view; they often favour social change or reform. In contrast, right-wing ideologies believe that a certain level of social inequality is unavoidable and the best outcome for society is delivered when individual rights and civil liberties are paramount with limited involvement of the government. They tend to support a laissez-faire approach to the economy. They also believe that less business regulation will help innovation, and lower taxes on businesses will help them to grow. In other words, if we don't interfere with business and we leave the market to its own devices, it's better for the economy. Besides, those on the right they are characterized by ideas of authority, hierarchy, tradition, and nationalism. These are the general principles or beliefs that can be

shared to unite members under the same political party which can be described as being left or right-wing. For example, it is assumed that the conservative party and UKIP belong to the right-wing parties, whereas the Labour belongs to the left-spectrum of politics. However, the question of European membership has divided the UK politics of the same party, between the remainers who sided with the attitude towards the EU or leavers who were against any amalgamation with Europe. This can be explained by the fact that some members of the same party are less rigid and more open to adopting changes.

The EU referendum, therefore, offered a very challenging Campaign; almost all of the parties were divided into the question of the EU. The only party that entirely recommended people to vote to leave was UKIP. The official conservative government recommendation was to remain in the EU, yet the majority of its party's members were for leaving the EU. Regarding, Labour and the Liberal Democrats, the greater number of their members urged voters to remain in the EU. Therefore, it can be assumed that a large majority of the political left favoured the EU and those on the right-spectrum at great number expressed an unfavourable view about the EU.

B. The Referendum Discourse Processing

Discourse processing is deliberately produced and understood based on the cognitive structures. The words, phrases, clauses, sentences, paragraphs or turns are sequentially processed in short term memory, part of the memory, and represented and controlled by the mental models, the knowledge and the ideologies in long term memory which is also part of the memory or mind. Understanding these three parameters of mental models, knowledge and ideology in discourse processing is a key

concept in the interpretation stage of the referendum discourse. The journalist or the author of the article in his writing mirrors his mental model; that is representations of his personal experiences and interpretations, as well as personal knowledge and opinions; he also reflects social realities which are controlled by the context model.

1. The Context Model

The Context model is defined as the structure of all properties of the social situation that are systematically relevant for the production, comprehension, or functions of discourse and its structures language users have learned to focus on those properties of the social situation that are thoroughly the relevant for discourse in a given culture (Van Dijk 2009, 130). The context in which the referendum campaign took place can be described as follows:

Setting		Participants	Action	Aim
Time	Space			
15 th April to 23 rd June 2016	The UK	Journalists Politicians Institutions EU Electorates/ Readers/British citizens	Support and Command or Recommend	Mobilize voters to vote either 'Leave' or 'Remain'

Table 5: The Context Model of the Referendum Campaign

- The setting is characterised by the time of the referendum campaign that took place from 15th April to 23rd June 2016 in the united kingdom;
- The participants taking part in the referendum campaign are the newspaper's author, politicians, governmental institutions, the EU (organization) as well as a reader or British citizens.
- The action undertaken in general is to support one of the conflicting camps and command or recommend either leaving or remaining in the European Union. For instance, the command is expressed by the leavers' slogans 'take back control' or 'vote leave' and the remainers' recommendation is noticeable by the expression 'together' denoting British and the European Union.
- The aim is getting more voters in the camp.

Because context models are a special type of experience models, the event of referendum campaign featured complex person models of participants (see table 5).

At this point, it is assumed that for the creation of efficient context models for language use, it is central that the participants know: the pertinent identities, ongoing actions, current beliefs of themselves and other participants in the situation. In this sense, the context model of the participants in the discourse of the referendum campaign can be divided into two parts, since the discourse is about two contradictory views. Furthermore, readers or the electorates featured either emotion of fear and anxiety resulting from the Eurosceptic attitude, or they marked liberal views of tolerance and openness towards Europe. Similarly, the politician's context model is also separated between the resistant to cultural change, protector of the conservative and traditional values versus the more liberal elites adopting a change and

collaboration with European members. These context models, featuring the setting, the action, the aim, and the participants, form the platform that influenced and guided the journalist in his reports of the news. As viewed by Van Dijk it does not only control the information that should be appropriately talked about but especially how this should be done (2009, 67).

2. Knowledge and Ideologies in the News Report of the Referendum Campaign

The starting point of all thought, perception, understanding, action, interaction, discourse and thus all of cognition, is the system of knowledge built up during the lifetime of the individual, and as shared by the members of epistemic communities. In this sense, the referendum of 2016 on the question of Brexit was entirely held for political motivations. So, the newspaper's political preference matter for most in this event. During the spring of 2016, from 15th April to 23rd June, millions of British readers were supplied with the view of their habitual newspapers on the EU membership. The overall discourse was characterized by its rhetorical strategy of persuasion to readers. The news released was meant to defend a cause either of the UK remaining a member or leaving the European Union. Such inclination has its root in the mental model of the journalist who gathers and put in writing the report. The journalist as a member of a newspaper group shares knowledge, attitude and ideology with the editor who constitutes the social cognition of the newspaper's members. The traces or the cues of these shared attitudes, beliefs and values can be found in the text of the news articles (a part dealt with in the third chapter).

The very interpretation of the messages embedded within the text of the referendum campaign coverage requires various cognitive structures. According to

Van Dijk, the process of production and comprehension is more complicated and more strategic and goal-directed. Readers may have insufficient knowledge to understand the news. Mostly, they also lack detailed knowledge about the production context of news (who control and have access to news making) so that they may be easily manipulated into accepting suggested event models or the positive self-presentation strategies and credibility tactics of both journalists and their sources (Van Dijk 2009, 142). Moreover, the messages do not make sense without certain shared socio-cultural knowledge, for instance, the population's growth in the UK, the debate over uncontrolled immigration which puts pressure on public services, on jobs, housing, and school places constituted the central interest of the Brexiters in their coverage. For that reason, the particular choice of lexis, that expresses the negative aspect of the mental model of a journalist, conveyed an intolerant attitude towards immigrants shared by the same members of the news community. This attitude is fundamentally based on a racist ideology prioritizing in-groups (Brexiters, conservative and British citizen) over out-groups (immigrants and European). The readers of these articles were targeted (context model) as they already had a predisposition to this attitude they were likely to adopt the same ideology. For instance, the *Sun*, an anti-EU newspaper, read "Brexiteer Priti Patel predicts an influx of 570,000 migrant children to UK schools if Brits vote Remain" (22 Jun 2016). The author of this article projected a catastrophic image towards migrants, the enemy out-groups, who were coming to take the place of the British children. The targeted readers, as is shown in Table 3 above are of lower social classes. To whom parents were already missing out on their first choice schools

for their kids. Thus they were easily influenced to accept the negative representations towards migrants.

Similarly, another type of negative wording was expressed by the journalist of the opposing part representing a mental model communicating a xenophobic attitude of the Remainers camp about the undergoing risk of the British economy after Brexit, which stand for a pragmatic principle shared by the Remainers group. Whereas the immigration issue in the pro-European discourse was expressed with a more positive opinion, using a more positive wording with a tolerant attitude based on a liberal ideology of acceptance of others and openness towards Europe. The following passage from the *Guardian* editorial is an illustration:

A post-EU immigration regime can support our public services, expand our economy and also deliver humanitarian objectives; but because it will be under our control there won't be unexpected and excessive pressures on our schools, hospitals and public infrastructure" (14 June 2016).

Furthermore, the economic topic particularly was presented into two mental models with two different views but with the same based knowledge. For instance, the institutional statistics, the sayings, or the quotations from important personalities or institutions are all knowledge used by journalists of both camps to support their claims that appeared in the textual analysis of the verbal process of Halliday. For illustration in the *Daily Mirror* (pro-EU) and the *Daily Mail* (Anti-EU) one can read respectively the following:

- George Osborne says: Brexit will leave you £4,300 a year worse off ...The Treasury analysis shows that under all plausible alternatives to British membership of the EU we would have a less open and interconnected economy not just with Europe but, crucially, with the rest of the world (18 April 2016).

- Mr Duncan Smith, however, dismissed the Treasury analysis as an outrageous attempt to ‘scare pensioners’. He was backed by a series of experts. Alan Higham, independent pensions expert and founder of website Pensions Champ, said that in the past five years the EU rules had meant that annuities have collapsed by 23 per cent, according to data firm Moneyfacts. Other experts said pensions could get a boost with Brexit because of a fall in the value of the pound – and because we will no longer be bailing out southern European economies (28 May 2016).

These quotations are considered as power resources employed by a journalistic institution because they have privilege access as an organization to this specific data and the fact that they were engaged with the purpose to defend a cause, one can take these citations as a manipulative means or control of public discourse to direct the subsequent actions of others.

Apart from the expressive vocabulary used to express a negative opinion about either immigration or the economy, the rhetoric of metaphors was also manifested in news reports. From a cognitive view, Metaphor is regarded as a way of thought; it is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action (Lakoff and Mark 8). For Lakoff and Mark, Metaphor pervades a person’s normal conceptual system, in terms of which he/she thinks and acts. Because so many of the concepts that are important to an individual are either abstract or not clearly delineated in his experience. So, one needs to gain a grasp on them through other concepts that can be understood in clear terms, this leads to the significance of metaphor (115). This means required a shared socio-cultural knowledge of participants because much of the implied information existed in the mental model of the participants but not on the surface of newspaper discourse. For instance the Metaphor of ‘Pinocchio’ that implicitly treated George Osborne of Liar, and the metaphor of ‘Project Utter Cr’ taking Osborne’s claim about the future of the British economy after Brexit as being

absurd and unbelievable. Based on the context model, such a negative opinion is firm with British people attitude and ideologies, and since the newspaper and the targeted participants are British peoples, readers will be able to develop a connotation in their mental model even if the journalist is not explicit in depicting George Osborne as a liar or ridiculous.

Besides, what can be also taken as an ideologically polarized a negative opinion about the other (out-group). The ideological polarization between the two conflicting camps in the referendum campaign was employed to emphasize the negative properties of the opposite camp. Another example which was exposed in the preceding chapter can be cited: “Unwise monkeys: Sneering David Cameron, Gordon Brown and John Major branded bananas by Brexit-backing Priti Patel: Pro-EU allies see no *immigration*, hear no *immigration*, speak no *immigration* says the minister” (the *Sun* 14 May 2016). The journalist of the *Sun* (the leave supporters) makes use of metaphorical expression linking the pro-EU politicians namely: David Cameron, Gordon Brown, and John Major to monkeys. This metaphor expresses a negative opinion in the mental model of journalist and editor, and it applies a more general negative attitude about them (pro-European camp) about the immigration issue. Metaphor allows an understanding of one domain of experience in terms of another. This suggests that understanding takes place in terms of entire domains of experience and not in terms of isolated concepts (Lakoff and Mark 117). Consequently, the interpretation of the metaphor; linking pro-EU leaders to monkeys, by readers requires activation of their political-cultural knowledge to value the inference.

Similarly the pro-European conveyed a negative opinion of their mental model which applies a negative attitude towards the Brexiters with the use of specific lexical items to emphasize the bad image of them (Brexiters) and a good view about us (Pro Remain) as illustrated in the lead of the *Guardian* on June 21st "PM criticises a narrow focus of Farage, Gove and Hilton and says remain vote would show rejection of insular view."

Still, the metaphorical representation of migrants as influx, flood, wave, or jungle in the pro-leave articles is exactly the very tangible mental model of conservative newspaper and political discourse use to contest immigration, as they generate fear and horror among the British people and thus are capable to manipulate both the population (voters) as well as government policies about immigration.

With the same purpose of manipulation the semantic representation with different clause structure in news helps the author to implicitly advance some ideologies that existed in the socio-political and cultural knowledge of the readers' mind, this is in a way to show how context models of participants regulate or monitor information into discourse meaning. As viewed by Van Dijk this should be understood as a process that affects both production and comprehension. In production, it tells the journalist what information of an event model to select for insertion in the news report. In comprehension, the context model of the reader denotes the relevant information to derive from the text and hence what to include in the event model. The context model also explains what information or opinion is made explicit and which information is presupposed, and what inferences can thus be made about the knowledge and opinions or other social characteristics of the journalist (Van Dijk 2009, 134). For instance, the

use of passive form and normalization techniques depend on journalistic beliefs about the agency. Therefore, the passive structure may weaken the responsible agency of in-group members, and conversely, negative out-group agency is emphasized by active clauses. For instance, as described in chapter three, a clear contrast of passive and active form was shown in the comparison of the headlines articles dealing with Obama's claim about Brexit. The articles were published the same day, 23 April 2016, in the newspapers the *Sun* (pro-Brexit) and the *Guardian* (pro-EU) one reads respectively: "Obama accused of 'blackmailing' British people over Brexit". "Eurosceptics pour scorn on Obama's warning against Brexit." The passive construction of the *Sun*'s headline conceals the responsible for the accusation and puts stress on the receiver of the blame (Obama). Whereas, the active structure form of the *Guardian*'s headline emphasizes the responsibility of the claim that is out group (Eurosceptics).

Moreover, in the same situational event of Obama's claim the metaphor 'Downing Street' combined with the passive form used by the anti-European camp in the newspaper activates the reader's political knowledge about the current conservative government directed by David Cameron. This is again the ideologically polarized negative opinion about David Cameron and its policy about the European Union.

It is essentially important to mention that from the above one can understand that the situational context of the referendum campaign was invariable, which means that the discourse type of the two conflicting parts in the campaign was consistent in the whole campaign period. It is not the case, for instance, Boris Johnson the leader of

the Vote Leave Campaign, used positive expressions about migrants when he wanted to distance his official campaign with that of UKIP, the publication of the *Independent* on June 19th was an illustration of that. The situational context at that time can be described as a doubtful atmosphere caused by the controversial anti-migrant poster launched by Nigel Farage which provoked uncertainty of the public opinion toward the leave campaign. The poster in question was very offensive; the photograph was of migrants crossing the Croatia Slovenia border in 2015, with the only white person in the poster was disguised by a box of text. This poster repealed in the background of the reader's mind a similar photo of Nazi propaganda of migrants shown in a BBC documentary from 2005 (the *Guardian* 16 June 2016). This change in the context affected the discourse structure and compelled a renovation to a discourse given it a more tolerant attitude and anti-racism ideology to appease the hysterical view advanced by the UKIP leader and regain the trust of a public opinion. Because any discourse must contextually obey the usual rules of conversation and interaction, and respect general social norms and goals, including those that prohibit discrimination (Van Dijk 1990, 170). These general norms were not respected by the UKIP leader that why he was highly criticized and attacked and he was seen as racist.

This strategic tactic of not expressing a negative opinion about foreigners can be felt also in the discourse of the Pro-EU. In textual analysis, only positive wording was expressed about migrants. Yet, it was combined with a positive self-presentation as one can read in David Cameron claim about the UK as being “arguably the most successful multi-ethnic, multi-faith, opportunity democracy anywhere on earth” (the *Guardian* 21 June 2016). The Pro -camp was aware of the big issue of immigration,

they share the same social knowledge with the opposite group but the fact that the aim of both differed this affected a discourse and attributed a much more open and tolerant appearance to the Pro-EU camp.

C. Intertextuality Reading of the Newspaper Discourse

The examination of intertextuality in the newspapers discourse helps to comprehend both the process of production and interpretation. Intertextuality is exploited by newspapers discourse as a means of persuasion to attain consensus and legitimize political affairs.

Intertextuality deals with the process of generating a text outside the already existing discourse. It is concerned with the continued existence of a text within society and history. Julia Kristeva, who first coined the term intertextuality points out that “the construction of any text is regarded as a mosaic of citations; every text is absorbing and transforming from the other one.” (36-37). She also observes that intertextuality implies the insertion of history into text and of this text into history. By the insertion of history into a text, she means that the text absorbs and is built out of texts from the past. By the insertion of the text into history, she means that the text helps to make history and contributes to wider processes of change, as well as anticipating and trying to shape subsequent texts. This inherent historicity of texts enables them to take on the major roles they have in contemporary society at the leading edge of social and cultural change (Fairclough 1992, 102). In this sense, the producer of text draws upon a mixture of two or more discourse types as a means of making creative use of the resources of the past to meet the changing communicative needs of the present (Fairclough 2001, 129). For instance, the rhetoric use of an independence day as an act

of patriotism to influence British people was employed in the past by Gordon Brown in his speech delivered for the promotion of Britishness at the annual Fabien Society conference that was held at the Imperial College of London University. Brown said that “Britain should be given its own national day for celebrations of its culture and historical heritage” (14 January 2016), the same rhetoric was imitated by the leaders of the Leave campaign such as Boris Johnson, Nigel Farage, and Iain Duncan Smith as it met the event of the Brexit campaign. The Brexiters claimed their country back and called for an Independence Day. In the *Daily Mail* publication on 05 June 2016, Iain Duncan Smith, former Cabinet Minister cried for independence as he said “Britain needs to leave the EU. Do this and, on June 24, we will finally celebrate Independence Day”. The adverb ‘finally’ in his saying marked an old aspiration that will take place in a short time.

Moreover, in an intertextuality manner, the author may manifest a clear presence of intertextuality by the mark of the quotes, which confirm the use of other text messages, or he/she brings in 'hedging' to mark some possible words expressing inadequacy belonging to another text. One can also merge other texts intimately within the existing one to be associated with the new one. This is a kind of intertextuality referred to it in Fairclough view as a ‘Manifest intertextuality’, he also evoked another type which is ‘constitutive intertextuality’, which operates on a different aspect to show how a text is constituted by a combination of other language conventions (genres, discourses, and styles) it is concerned with the implicit relations between discursive constructions rather than the explicit relations between texts (Fairclough 1992).

The scrutiny of intertextuality in the discourse of the newspapers during the referendum campaign exhibits the utterance of multiples political voices as well as different discourses and genres. The journalist’s borrowing from other texts is merely for the purpose to sustain the views of either to remain or to leave the EU depending on the newspaper’s support on the one hand; on the other hand, it constructs an opposition discourse to the counterpart. Intertextuality has an ideological dimension, it is adopted either to maintain an existing power or create an opposition towards an established hegemony to achieve social change.

In this respect, and before bringing the intertextual feature of newspapers discourse of the referendum campaign, one needs to make clear the claims of both campaigners for and against the EU to understand how it was shaped by the use of preceding discourses to form a consensus. Mutually campaigners used a negative insight mainly into the economy or immigration, as it was demonstrated in the descriptive section, to make people in a state of panic and fear to leave or to remain in the EU depending on the campaigners in question. The claims about the danger of remaining and the risk of leaving are presented in the table 6 as follows:

The Danger of Remaining	The Risk of Leaving
<p>Immigration issue:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mass immigration would continue (an extra of 3.3 million immigrants will arrive in Britain by 2030 if we 	<p>Economy issue:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - An exit by Britain would likely lead to reduced trade and financial flows with other EU members, lower investment and consumer confidence, and higher

<p>stay in the EU)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pressure will increase on public services <p>Economic issue:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - NHS to be in debt - Britain sends £350m a week to the EU - Housing crisis <p>Security issue:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Losing control of our border - Insecurity, crimes would increase Murders and terrorists would enter to the UK <p>Sovereignty issue:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Losing sovereignty - Brussels became a superstate controlling the world 	<p>financial market volatility.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - leaving the EU would drive up inflation, hitting pensions, and house prices - People will be “permanently poorer” if Britain leaves the European Union - Brexit would drive up mortgage rates - people could begin losing their jobs ‘very quickly’ as a result of the ‘economic shock’ - A fall in the value of sterling - Provoke a deep recession - leaving the EU would damage the economy, so that means less money for the NHS. - Scotland will demand another referendum to leave the United Kingdom so it can stay in the EU <p>Immigration:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Would put NHS at risk (which relies on
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	<p>workers coming from Europe)</p> <p>Security issue :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conflict between European countries
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Table 6: The Main Campaigner’s Claims

The table above underlined the central issues affirmed by both campaigners. While the Pro-Brexit supporters overstressed immigration and made it closely linked to the economy, security, and sovereignty issues, the pro-Remain camp ignored all these advanced claims by their rival and put emphasize on the economic danger. The Brexiters wanted to leave the EU because of immigration, because they lost control of their border, because of the undemocratic EU which prevented them from taking their own decision, because of the unelected politicians who were taken decisions instead of them, and because Britain sent £350m a week to the EU which could be better used in the NHS. The Pro-EU yearned for continued membership, chiefly because leaving would cause huge damage to Britain’s economy which would engender a deep recession, hurt trade, damage pensions, and lead to a fall in the value of sterling. Each of the campaigners intended to make voters believe in all what they claimed; for that, they went back to history to support their allegation with the most influential politicians in the history of Britain such as Churchill and Thatcher among many others. Without losing sight of other important events in the relation EU/UK, that had considerable impact. Hence, in the event of the Brexit campaign journalists and

politicians drew upon pre-historical discourses to activate experiences occurrences in the mind of the reader in the attempt to assimilate them to the current issues in society.

Intertextuality helped in a way to give more accuracy to what campaigners advanced. Van Dijk points out that quotes or quasi-quotes are closer to the truth, which not only can make reporting livelier and reliable, but also protect journalists against any defamation (1988, 87).

1. The Brexiters Claims and the Political Voices

Multiples voices and texts characterized the newspaper reports, which cover ideological motivations that tend to select specific texts out of others. This is one of the aspects of intertextuality as it is “inevitably selective with respect to what is included and what is excluded from the events and texts represented” (Fairclough 2003, 55). Margaret Thatcher and Wilson Churchill’s speeches among many other texts were reproduced in the referendum campaign. Each camp with his manufacture shaped prior texts to a new product of news that fitted more its interest. To demonstrate clearly, some examples are presented in the following excerpts.

In the perspective of capturing historical events to build a new claim, the Leave campaigners in the *Daily Mail* called to the mind a letter written to the *Times* in 1981 by 364 economists about the Thatcher reforms. The *Dail Mail* report reads:

In an open letter, they say Brexit would create major uncertainty, with effects which would persist ‘for many years’. Signed by Cambridge professor Sir James Mirrlees and nine other winners of the Nobel Prize for economics, the letter claims economic issues are central to the referendum debate. But Leave campaigners pointed out that economists have often been wrong before, most notably the example of the letter written to the Times in

1981 by 364 economists about the Thatcher reforms (*The Daily Mail* 17 June 2016).

In this article, the *Dail Mail's* author used intertextuality to make a parallel between the two economic letters of 2016 relating to the referendum campaign and 1981 about Thatcher reforms. The *Daily Mail's* journalist rejected the economists' claim about the economic shock that Britain would face after Brexit. The economists were completely wrong in the view of the Brexiters as they were completely wrong in 1981 when they criticized Margaret Thatcher and Sir Geoffrey Howe's Budget warning about the policies adopted at the time which would deepen the depression and threaten social and political stability (Congdon 19).

Furthermore, the *Sun's* journalist activated the reader memory to consider the economic success owed to Tory PM Margaret Thatcher, whose hard-fought in 1980s reforms put Britain in the top league. He added that in the 'Downing Street' they are terrified by the enthusiasm for Brexit among the over-50s, who witnessed the historical events and are inherently racist compared to the young generation (the *Sun* 29 May 2016).

In the same way of bringing the historical events into the case of the brexit referendum, the *Telegraph* reads as follows: "Boris Johnson: The EU wants a superstate, just as Hitler did" (15 May 2016). Boris Johnson warned that while bureaucrats in Brussels are using different methods from the Nazi dictator; they have fuelled tensions between member states and allowed Germany to grow in power, they take over the Italian economy and destroy Greece, according to him they share the aim of unifying Europe under one authority, typically as Hitler and Napoleon tried it

before, and they ended tragically. Mr Johnson added by invoking Winston Churchill's war-time defiance, urging the British people to be "the heroes of Europe again" (the *telegraph* 15 May 2016) by setting the country free and save the EU from itself by voting to leave in the referendum next month. Further, the voice of Thatcher in her Burges speech echoed also in Boris Johnson's claim when she declared "Over the centuries we have fought to prevent Europe from falling under the dominance of a single power." (20 Sept. 1988)

Besides, the intertextuality's feature of selecting specific texts helped in a way Boris Johnson to blame David Cameron in reproducing from the same text of Thatcher's speech which was imitated by Cameron but he did not invoke the role of the NATO in his claim. Johnson Blamed David for being 'rash' and undermining NATO by claiming that the EU is the guarantor of peace in Europe and that Brexit could lead to war. This accusation once more sounds Thatcher in her Bruges Speech stating that is "to NATO that we owe the peace that has been maintained over 40 years". She added that Europe has to maintain a sure defence through NATO.

The campaigners out of the EU claimed that Brexit would free trade barriers imposed by the excessive and unnecessary Business' regulations. The *Sun* mentioned that "It is not as though the EU is delivering for business. The single market, which started as Margaret Thatcher's great project for liberalising trade, was hijacked by the eurocrats" (16 May 2016). The reference to Margaret Thatcher in this passage activated in the reader mind her speech *opening Single Market Campaign* at Lancaster House in 1988 as she declared:

Just think for a moment what a prospect that is. A single market without barriers; visible or invisible, giving you direct and unhindered access to the purchasing power of over 300 million of the world's wealthiest and most prosperous people (18 Apr. 1988).

Thatcher aimed to free trade for all unnecessary barriers to allow people to practice their trades and professions freely throughout Europe. For the Brexiters, Thatcher's prospect proves failure, because it benefited only the big multinationals that can afford all the costs of compliance, for smaller firms it was terrifying. The Brexiters appealed to intertextuality to create a parallel between what Thatcher projected and what they got to make people believe on the obligation of leaving the European Union.

Still in constructing argument from history, when Ex-Cabinet minister Iain Duncan Smith compared George Osborne to Pinocchio he went back in 2010 when George Osborne was in power, Osborne declared that Treasury reports cannot be trusted because they were always fiddled (*Independent* 21 May 2016). Hence, Duncan borrowed directly from George Osborne's previous declaration to strengthen his argument about him and counter the governmental institution warning. Besides, the Brexiters argued against the discourse of the Remainers by a direct quote from someone very close to Thatcher or preferred economics analyst as one can read:

Margaret Thatcher's favourite economist Professor Patrick Minford said the benefits would come as quitting Brussels delivers a good shock to the UK economy freeing the country from EU red tape to trade as it wishes and focus on its most successful sectors ... Prof Minford added: Walking away from the EU, not negotiating a new agreement with the EU or putting up any new trade barriers will bring about a four per cent gain in GDP (the *Sun* 28 April 2016).

Moreover, the Brexiters evoked the historical event of Black Wednesday to remind people about the bad experience they had in joining the Union and the exchange rate

mechanism consensus that drove Britain economically wrong. The *Sun* newspaper read as follows:

Johnson's chief economic adviser Gerard Lyons said those warning about the dangers of Brexit had been wrong about both Britain's fortunes if we did not join the Euro, and the consequences of Black Wednesday in 1992 – when leaving the Exchange Rate Mechanism actually put the UK's economy back on track (the *Sun* 28 April 2016).

The intertextuality was engaged to encourage British people to take a lesson from history and stand against a further union.

In another publication of the *Sun* newspaper, the intertextuality manifested once again, when the Brexiters recalled into the mind the Bank of England warning if Britain left the Exchange Rate Mechanism which would have been a disaster. The *Sun* journalist expressed how they were wrong then and they are wrong again in the question of the UK membership (16 May 2016).

Similarly, in a published article by the *Telegraph*, Ms. Patel referred to the 1975 referendum and the way electors felt a 'betrayal' when they signed up the European Economic Community in 1975, only for it to transform into the more political EU. She also, brought into mind the day she became a Eurosceptic: 'Black Wednesday' in 1992 when she was 20 and Britain was forced to spend billions trying and failing to stay in the European exchange rate mechanism. It was complete devastation for British people who lost their jobs and their homes. This was to show how bad their choice of the first referendum was and that now another opportunity is offered to them to leave the Union that is why the 55 years old who were with the community will vote to leave the EU on the 23rd June. She also referred to Thatcher considering herself her heir and

quoting directly from Lord Parkinson to whom Thatcher was his favourite Prime minister, who said: “being part of the DNA of the Conservative party is what really motivates me” (the *Telegraph* 16 April 2016).

In addition, the *Telegraph* employed intertextuality by going back to history to suggest that the political construction of the EU was a CIA project. The *telegraph*'s journalist argued that it was Washington that drove European integration in the late 1940s and funded it covertly under the Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon administrations. The US has relied on the EU ever since as the anchor to American regional interests alongside NATO. The Eurosceptic camp has been strangely blind to this, somehow supposing that powerful forces across the Atlantic encouraging British secession, and will hail them as liberators. The author added that many are not aware of declassified documents from the State Department archives showing that US intelligence funded the European movement secretly for decades, and worked aggressively behind the scenes to push Britain into the project.

Apart from the UK/EU historical relationship that shaped the discourse of the referendum campaign, many other events were induced to affect people's views. In point of fact, pertaining to Obama's visit and his support to Remain camp, Boris Johnson, in a counter-attack reported in the *Sun*: “he didn't care for Britain and returned a bust of Winston Churchill to our embassy in Washington DC” (22 April 2016). Johnson went back to the rumours circulated in 2012 about Obama's antipathy towards Britain after removing a bust of Winston Churchill from the Oval Office shortly after becoming president. This duplicate of previous rumours was put forward

to sow doubt towards the president's faith in his encouragement to the British people to stay in the union. Actually, the bust of Winston Churchill has existed in the White House since the 1960s. At the start of the Bush administration, Prime Minister Blair lent President Bush a bust corresponding to the one in the White House; The version lent by Prime Minister Blair was displayed by President Bush until the end of his Presidency when all of the art lent specifically for him was removed by the curator's office, as it is common practice at the end of every presidency. The original Churchill bust remained on display in the residence (Pfeiffer).

Correspondingly, in an intertextual manner, the *Telegraph* justified Obama recent intervention by the fact that Obama could not contain his hostility after the abuses that have come to light lately from the Mau Mau repression, where Obama's grandfather was a prisoner during the suppression of Kenya's Mau Mau revolt (16 April 2016).

Moreover, when the pro-Brexit politicians such as Boris Johnson and Farage said they wanted their country back and call for an Independence Day, the ideology of nationalism flavoured when race is reflected. They wanted to free the UK from the EU and put an end to immigration, in an intertextual means they used the rhetoric of an independence day as an act of patriotism to influence British people to make them believe that Britain's resources were taken from them and benefited others. In the *Sun* publication on 19 Jun, 2016 headed "Boris Johnson gives his vision of post-Brexit Britain in a rallying cry for independence" Johnson echoed American rhetoric as he stated: "The eyes of Europe will be on us and hundreds of millions of people will be

praying that we do the right thing and vote for change” this is a sermon delivered by John Winthrop a hundred years ago before he and his fellow settlers reached New England, it revealed how Winthrop expected Massachusetts to differ from the rest of the world. In the same way, Boris Johnson wanted to project a new image of Britain after Brexit different from the rest of Europe.

The American rhetoric was also emulated when Johnson and other leave supporters repeated Trump’s rhetoric by stating “Let’s make Britain great again” it was an explicit recall of the glorious days of the Britain Empire. In fact, the greatness of Britain inside or outside the EU was repeated on countless occasions by either campaigners to make people feel nostalgia about the lost past because of the EU or to see Britain even greater and in continuous glory as a member of the union. As an illustration, one can read in the *Telegraph* headline “Barack Obama: As your friend, let me say that the EU makes Britain even greater” (23 April 2016). French finance Minister Emmanuel Macron had raised doubts about whether Britain would still be 'great' outside the EU. He argued that Britain is a great country and in such a condition its future as a great country is not outside the EU (the *Daily Mail* 18 April 2016). In opposition, the leave supporter, Iain Duncan Smith declared “vote to leave on June 23 will make Britain great again” (the *Telegraph* 30 April 2016) he even went to advocate June 24, the day the European Union referendum result will be engraved on the nation’s calendar, alongside Christmas, New Year and Easter, forever. He added, “If we vote to leave it will be a glorious day, hopefully, enshrined thereafter on the 24th as Independence Day”

With reference to immigration, the politicians reproduce heavily from the rhetoric of metaphor and mythical moral as it was shown in the previous chapter. Once again the metaphorical representation from an intertextuality point of view helps politicians to reshape realities; Metaphor has entailments through which it highlights and makes coherent certain aspects of experience (Lakoff and Mark 156). This stylistic change in the politicians' messages created an easy communicative atmosphere that makes the author very close to its readers. The addresser aims to stimulate the reader's memory, on the one hand, it gives a comprehensive and vivid image to a particular message, on the other hand, it affects the reader's view about the issue. For instance, the *Sun* reported on Mr. Johnson:

All the usual suspects are out there, trying to confuse the British public and to persuade them that they must accept the accelerating loss of democratic self-government as the price of economic prosperity...people can see the emperor has no clothes and that Britain could have a glorious future outside the EU. They all know that there is one event in the next few weeks that could remind the British people of at least one salient point in this debate that this country has lost control of its frontiers and that is another migration crisis on the borders of the EU, and within the EU itself (The *Sun* 18 April 2016).

In this extract a borrowing of the expression "The Emperor has no clothes!" is manifested. This phrase was uttered by a bold observer of the king's procession in the Danish fairy tale written by Hans Christian Andersen in 1837. The metaphor has since been used to connote, among other things, collective denial or ignorance of an obvious fact (Gilfix) this moral is reproduced by Boris Johnson to make people speak up the truth advanced by the leave supporters about the danger of migrants.

Moreover, the metaphor is not merely a way of viewing reality; it constitutes a license for policy change and political action (Lakoff and Mark 156). For instance, the

metaphorical framing of the words *Spark* and *Fuelled* advanced in the *Daily Mail*' headlines (19 May 2016) which are used to compare respectively immigrants to a burst of fire or more intensely to a supply of power to burn, in addition to the flow metaphors framed in the context of the migrants' free movement such as *flood*, *wave*, and *influx*, all of these terms generated entailments of enemy and threat to national security which require policy change and an action to be undertaken against the threat. So, the reader's acceptance of metaphor sets the stage for certain inferences, which is in fact the aim behind the metaphorical reproduction.

Still, with the immigration issue, Mr Duncan Smith evoked, in the *Telegraph* on 30 April 2016, the fact that David Cameron or the Remain camp ignored the danger of immigration which made people uncomfortable and feared the impact of immigration on their lives feeling abandoned. To put the accent to the unjustified behaviour of the Remainers, he indirectly blamed them for having a hypocritical attitude towards voters by recalling to their mind the Gillian Duffy episode, shortly before the 2010 election, when the Labour Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, was overheard describing a voter (Mrs Gillian Duffy) who raised concerns over migration as a 'bigoted woman'. Mrs. Duffy's family suggested that the public had been given a clear understanding of the hypocrisy of the Prime Minister, who had to sympathize with her in public then insulting her in private when he considered that he was ceased of being recorded.

Continually in the emphasis of the open Border danger, Nigel Farage, in the *Sun*, reported on the stories that happened elsewhere in Europe. Taken the example of the devastating attacks on Paris and Brussels, Mr. Farage was expecting that "London

could well be next”. He also highlighted the terrible New Year’s Eve sex attacks by North African or Arab men on more than 100 women and girls in the German city of Cologne as a potential danger. And he warned that these men in few years would have passports that would allow them the freedom to come to the UK (28 April 2016).

Moreover, when Boris Johnson wanted to distance his campaign from that of UKIP he replicated the critics of the poster which was compared to Nazi propaganda as one can read in the *Independent* “Chancellor George Osborne also criticized the poster, describing Mr. Farage's campaign tactics as ‘disgusting and vile’ and saying the poster echoed fascist propaganda from the 1930s” (the *Independent* 19 June 2016).

Likewise, the Brexiters criticized David Cameron, who declared in his speech of January 2016 on securing the future of Britain in a reformed European the following:

you’re never going to hear me say that Britain couldn’t succeed outside the European Union. Britain is the fifth largest economy in the world. We’ve got a huge amount of talent and resources and brilliant people and we’re members of many important organisations in our world. I’m never going to talk Britain down, but I think the question is not: could Britain succeed outside the European Union? The question is: how will we be the most successful? How will we be the most prosperous? How will we create the most jobs? How will we help the most number of livelihoods in our country? And how will we keep our country the most secure? Those are the questions that, to me, are absolutely vital (David Cameron, the World Economic Forum in Switzerland)

This declaration turned against him as it echoed in the pro-leave campaigners’ claims: “The Prime Minister who claimed last week that leaving the EU would be a 'disastrous outcome' for our trade is the same David Cameron who said earlier this year: You're

never going to hear me say that Britain couldn't succeed outside the European Union” (the *Daily Mail* 5 June 2016).

2. The Remainers Claims and the Political Voices

The intertextuality feature embodied the Pro-EU supporters’ discourse. Creativeness from other texts can be a persuasive way to impart messages and direct people’s views. Accordingly, in an indirect intertextuality Cameron repeated Margaret Thatcher’s words in her Bruges Speech on 20 Sep 1988 as she said “Europe never would have prospered and never will prosper as a narrow-minded, inward-looking club.” Cameron maintained her vision to counter the Brexiters with their immigration obsession he said “Britain will be seen as a more narrow, insular and inward-looking country” (the *Guardian* 21 June 2016). The influence of Thatcher was also felt when David Cameron expressed his view about Britain prosperity, economic success, and security by summing all up in one word ‘together’ he stated:

We have got one day left to hammer out that message: stronger, safer, better off. And as we do so think of one word which brings it all into one which is ‘together’ because frankly if we want a bigger economy, more jobs we’re better if we do it together (the *Sun* 22 June 2016).

Similarly, years ago Margaret Thatcher in her Speech to the College of Europe believed in the idea of being stronger together as she stated: “I want to see us work more closely on the things we can do better together than alone. Europe is stronger when we do so, whether it is in trade, in defence or in our relations with the rest of the world” (Thatcher Speech, 20 September 1988).

Still, with David Cameron and his reproduction of historical texts, the *Telegraph* on 9 May 2016 reported him saying: “Brexit could lead to Europe descending into war” Cameron added that Britain has a fundamental national interest in maintaining a common purpose in Europe to avoid future conflict between European countries. It requires British leadership, and for Britain to remain a member. David Cameron’s argument echoed Winston Churchill, speech delivered at the University of Zurich, 19 September 1946 as he urged France and Germany to take a lead in partnership to prevent another devastating war as he declared: “we must recreate the European family in a regional structure called, it may be, the United States of Europe... In this urgent work France and Germany must take the lead together” (Winston Churchill Zurich Speech). This shows the continual existence of a text within society and history.

Moreover, with reference to the economic matter, the *Guardian* publication reported on George Soros, a currency trader whose attack on the pound helped push Britain out of the European exchange rate mechanism on what became known as Black Wednesday, stated that the shock of Brexit could be even more severe than that day in 1992 (the *Guardian* 21 June 2016). Similarly, to make people figure out the economic shock after Brexit, with a reference to the global financial crisis that occurred between 2007 and 2008, George Osborne, in an intertextuality manner, presupposed that the case of Brexit would resemble that period where Banks had collapsed, stock prices had drooped and there had been an unparalleled decline in economic activity in the world. The *Independent* wrote:

The figures cited by Mr Osborne suggest the Treasury is assuming a shock to the housing market similar in magnitude to that experienced in the global

financial crisis. House prices, as measured by the Nationwide, fell 20 per cent between 2007 and 2009... Britons have traditionally been sensitive to house prices because a very large proportion of many families' net worth is tied up in housing. Research also suggests people's spending patterns are influenced by house values, implying a fall in house prices could also deter spending, which would damage the overall economy (21 May 2016).

The eventual Brexit and the historical event of the worldwide economic crisis of 2007, was highly focused and based on the bad experience of British people who were not prepared to repeat the same or even more severe shock. The aim of making a parallel between the two events was to activate the memory of readers to have a vivid image of the economic damage of Brexit.

Furthermore, in the same perspective of influence the pro-EU supporters in their claims sounded more the Scottish independence referendum of 2014, they reproduced similar strategy of xenophobic attitude in the risk of the British economy to sow fear and panic among voters. It is also assumed that there is a direct borrowing of the term 'Project Fear' used to describe the Remain camp, it was first coined by Rob Shorthouse the director of communication of *Better Together's* campaign during the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum. The phrase was embodiment for negative campaigning from the pro-union camp and became the attribute term for the remaining campaign during the referendum campaign as one can read in the following excerpt from the *Sun*: "Their 'Project Fear' strategy predicts mass unemployment, soaring interest rates, and inflation, plummeting house prices, even world war" (the *Sun* 13 June 2016).

Additionally, inspired by the project fear already advanced by the unionist in the Scottish independence referendum, in the case they had to leave the UK, the campaign Remain built their negative projection about Britain's economy which

would be badly hit by leaving the European Union in the same way as the unionist did. This claim can be confirmed by the critics advanced by the Pro-Leave campaigners against the Remainers as it stated in the *telegraph* “By constantly focusing on negative possibilities, the Remain campaign has neglected to pose any positive likelihood... They are repeating the exact same mistakes of the 2014 campaign against Scottish independence” (15 April 2016). Actually, Remain camp, through intertextuality, based their claims on the governmental institution statistic (the Treasury, International Monetary Fund, and OECD) to give strength to their statements and persuade people about the chaotic situation that Britain is going to face if people vote to leave the union. It is the purpose of intertextuality in the newspapers discourse, which helped in a way to give more legitimacy to what campaigners advanced.

Still, with the critics of the project fear as the Remain campaign was labeled, the Brexiters quoted from Adolf Hitler as he said: “The great masses will more easily fall victim to a big lie than to a small one” (the *Sun* 17 April 2016) so people are likely to believe the big lie but in facing the catastrophe reality of mass immigration they would not be taken in the big lie of the Remainers. They also quoted from a former adviser to Margaret Thatcher, Professor Patrick Minford, who co-chairs the Economists for Brexit group, said: "The Bank of England is talking down the economy. It has become part of Project Fear and is highly politicized (the *Daily Mail* 17 June 2016).

More to the point, the *Daily Mirror* quoted from the Former cabinet minister John Redwood who dismissed the headline findings of the Government's analysis. And

criticized David Cameron and George Osborne who were raising what the critics call ‘Project Fear’. John Redwood reminded people of the way John Major's government tried to keep Britain in the EU's disastrous Exchange Rate Mechanism that destroyed jobs and caused misery for families across the country. To give more strength to his claim John Redwood recalled into the mind of British people that the Prime Minister, David Cameron, was one of the senior advisers working in the Treasury at that time that why people should not trust him again (the *Mirror* 18 April 2016)

It is interesting to note that in an article in the *Independent*, a journalist who was influenced by George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, one of the most popular novellas in Britain, stated:

Leave campaigners start off by saying all people are equal. But if they get their way, and Britain leaves the EU, it will soon change to all people are equal but some are more equal than others. The Leave campaigners are scary people, so do not fall for their scary future. Their future is a Brexit world with Trump in the White House, Putin in the Kremlin and the UK out of the European Union with Boris Johnson as prime minister. Now that is a scary future. (08 June 2016)

In fact, *Animal Farm* is a political satire of power and corruption. The author of the above excerpt, in an indirect borrowing from the novella, described the politician's leaders of the Leave campaign as being distrustful and corrupted people he also added in his article that these politicians believed in minimal regulation even if that regulation protected the rights of the people, their only concern is to get them out of the European Union.

To stress on the hypocrisy of the leavers' politicians, the *Guardian* reported on Michael Gove's a year ago as he admitted that Britain's NHS relied on over 100,000

workers from the EU, and supported the living wage that benefits low-paid British workers. In the campaign for Britain's membership in the EU, Gove not only turned his back on his previous claim but he was pursuing UKIP-style rhetoric in stoking fears about the potential for immigration. The *Guardian's* author added that patients, doctors, and nurses are stronger thanks to Britain's membership in the EU. He also stressed the fact that leaving the EU would put NHS at risk. (the *Guardian* 20 May 2016).

Similarly, Iain Duncan Smith, the former Work, and Pensions Secretary was accused of absolute hypocrisy after considering the EU as a force for social injustice. the *Daily Mirror* on 10 May 2016 quoted from Frances O'Grady, the General *Secretary* of the British Trades Union Congress who argued that people cannot take lessons on social justice from the minister, Iain Duncan Smith, who cut tax credits, who cut disability benefits, and who pushed half a million more children into absolute poverty. Moreover, in intertextuality, Iain Duncan Smith was ironically compared to the fairy Godmother who helps the poor.

Furthermore, in criticizing the Brexiters campaign the *Guardian* quoted from JK Rowling, the Harry Potter author, as she declared "The union that was born out of a collective desire never to see another war in Europe is depicted as an Orwellian monolith, Big Brotheresque in its desire for control" (20 June 2016). The intertextuality of Big Brother, George Orwell's dystopian novel, is very significant in the sense that it exemplified the exaggeration of the Brexiters in portraying the European Union in a very pessimistic way.

The intertextuality in newspapers reporting is no more than evidence of historical influence and dependence of referendum discourse on the background of common-sense assumptions (MRs) which are cognitive and socially generated. These common-sense assumptions that constructed the discourse integrate ideologies that accord with particular power relations (Fairclough, 117). The discourse of the newspapers during the referendum campaign contributed to either sustaining or transforming existing power relations. These are the social effects of a discourse that concern the stage of explanation in Fairclough three-dimensional model approach.

I. Social Analysis of the Newspaper Discourse

The social effects of discourse engage a stage of explanation in Fairclough three-dimensional model approach that is concerned with the relationship between interaction and the social context of discourse. The explanation involves a specific perspective on member's resources (MRs) as:

[MRs] are seen specifically as ideologies. That is, the assumptions about culture, social relationships, and social identities which are incorporated in MR, are seen as determined by particular power relations in the society or institution, and in terms of their contribution to struggles to sustain or change these power relations - they are seen ideologically (Fairclough 2001, 138).

The social analysis objective is to show how social structures determine and are determined by discourse, and what effects are generated from discourse to influence those social structures. This emphasizes the social effects of discourse, on creativity, and on the future. On the other hand, it can show what power relationships determine the discourse; these relationships are themselves the outcome of struggles, and are established by those with power. Both social determinants and social effects of

discourse can be investigated at three levels of social organization: the societal level, the institutional level, and the situational level, as it is detailed in the following chart.

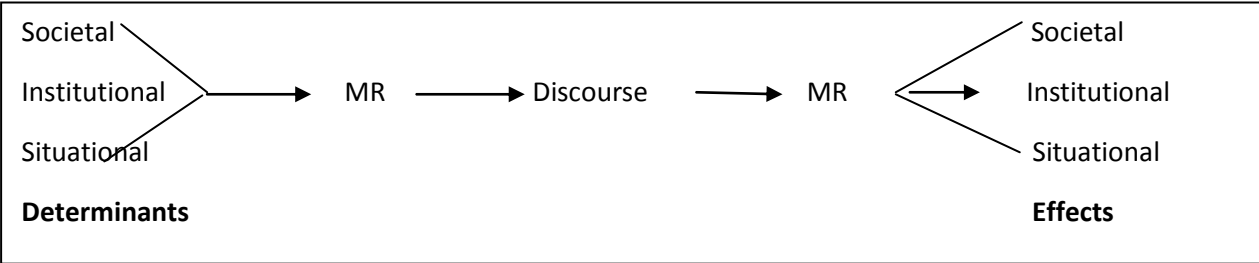


Fig. 7. The Social Analysis (Fairclough 2001, 136)

Analyzing the social organization of the referendum discourse in its societal, institutional, and situational levels does not mean that different features are investigated at these different levels; rather, it is the examination of the same features of discourse at three different perspectives of society, institution, and referendum campaign which encompasses the situation in question.

A. Societal level

Like most societies in the world, British society can be divided into two categories the older and the younger generation. The former is more traditional, less educated, and socially conservative, against European integration, and more likely calling for Brexit, as have been shown by voting statistics. The latter is better educated, socially liberal, and more likely for remaining in the European Union. Linking these two categories of people and the content of newspapers during the referendum campaign brings a certain level of explanation to referendum discourse. Through the interpretative stage, it is

noticeable that the newspaper discourse of 2016 played an informative role between the journalist and its reader or more precisely British people. Revealing a specific knowledge about the social issues, such as immigration, housing, wages, and public services attracted the attention of the reader in the sense that it inculcated and reinforced the shared values and beliefs of society. For instance, a journalist in his discourse relied on some historical events that the old generation witnessed and held experiences that can affect their views toward Europe either positively or negatively, for instance, Black Wednesday 1992. For the young generation, a journalist intended to affect them by engaging elements of tolerance and openness towards the other.

The social relationship in the referendum campaign context can be divided into two groups:

Group 1: Journalist (pro or anti-EU) / Reader

Group 2: Anti-EU journalist / Pro-EU journalist.

In the first group, the relationship between a journalist and his reader is authoritative and control relation. The journalist is the power-holder over his reader; he possesses the necessary knowledge to determine the needed information to direct his addressee. For instance, the anti-European journalist in his discourse from the interpretative stage, one can recognize that they targeted the old generation, whereas the pro-European journalist appeals to the young reader. The nature of the relationship in this group of a journalist (pro or anti) / reader is determinative.

However, in the second group representing anti-EU journalist / Pro-EU journalist there is an ideological struggle relationship between two world-views of the traditional conservative and liberal. They both sought the position of social power to gain the vote. The determinants ideologies of member resources that they draw upon to build the discourse of the conflicting power are identical in the sense that both used elements of culture and historical background to argue and strengthen their social position. Hence, ideologies of racism and xenophobia determined the discourse of the anti and pro-EU groups.

B. Institutional level

An institution is a complex of relationships, roles, and norms, which establish and control recurring interaction processes among participants in socially defined settings or domains. “It consists of a system of authority and power. It organizes, coordinates, and regulates social interaction in a particular domain or domains” (Wodak and Paul 285).

Newspapers, as a distinct institution as we have seen in chapter one, evolves from a mere means of communication and sharing stories of traders and travellers to become an important institution in the social and political sphere. It serves to maintain social order and determines the relationship of individuals and organizations through discourse. It has a dual nature. On the one hand, it represents a societal institution that is ascribed a vital role concerning political values as freedom of expression and democracy. On the other hand, it represents businesses that produce commodities and entertainment for a market (Allern 137). These, in fact, are the external forces that

shape the newspapers discourse. The newspapers product particularly in the event of the referendum campaign aims to influence the view and the perception of its reader through the institutional framework of journalism.

Besides, in the present analysis, the institution of newspapers exists in the matrix of other institutions such as the government and the European Union. The relationship between the British government and the EU is a relation of mutual interest based on diplomatic agreement, trade, and cooperation between both sides for peace, stability and, economic growth. Yet, the economic interest of the British government is the key determinant in the relationship with the EU, and this is clear in the way the pro-EU journalist constructs their discourse across the newspapers institution. In this case the institutional relationship that helps to shape the discourse belongs to the struggle of power of the pro-EU that is projected to maintain the dominant power of the conservative party to be continued within the equilibrium of the European Union membership. This vision can be supported by Fairclough's argument that:

Power, 'in' discourse or 'behind' discourse, is not a permanent and undisputed attribute of any one person or social grouping. On the contrary, those who hold power at a particular moment have to constantly reassert their power, and those who do not hold power are always liable to make a bid for power (2001, 57).

This is true because, while the pro-EU struggles to sustain power, the opponents, in contrast, aspire to power and they see huge transfers of it to the European Union. This is the key determinant of their discourse. They associate the decrease in the living standard of the British people to the EU as they figure out the economic prospect with less regulation and control from the EU. Their discourse at the institutional level is also part of the power struggle independently from the EU. Moreover, the particularity

of the Brexiters discourse is the aspect of creativity that affects power relations and the outcome of the struggle. Through stressing on special elements of major concern to the public, predominantly immigration, journalist uses his creativity to adopt cultural features and historical events, he transforms them to fit the context of the referendum event, his discourse is loaded with ideologies of racism to cover up the manipulation of the reader view. Therefore, the Brexiters' discourse is ideologically determinative and creative that affects people perception, in the sense that ideologies contribute to struggles to change power relations and they bring a decisive change on the future of the British nation in political, economic, and social domains. This refers to the notion of regarding language as centrally involved in power, and power struggles and that is so involved through its ideological properties.

C. Situational level

The campaign leading up to the UK referendum on the EU membership on 23 June 2016, where people were asked whether to remain or to leave the EU, began three months prior to the concrete vote. A very crucial political question, that faced the voters who were not necessarily familiar with it and may not have reliable cues. The voters' perception of the referendum question was drawn upon a discourse implemented during the campaign through which they obtained information and formed an opinion on the fundamental issues presented to them. Their reaction to the discourse can be imperative to the voting decision. Thus, the referendum campaign is critical to the determination of the vote's outcome. During ten weeks of intense

campaigning, immigration and economy were among the chief items in news agenda. The UK/EU relationship was determined by these two main themes.

The Leave camp has centred its discourse on the immigration issue. Load of information about the actual situation of migrants in the UK as well as many statistics have been made available to voters to give accuracy to the existing number of immigrants and the amount of the future arrival if they remain a member of the EU. These information were set and structured under the power of language with its strategic and manipulative means to disseminate racist ideology and persuade the voter about the necessity to leave the union. Similarly the backer of the Remain provided statistics about the factual economic shock to frighten the electorates about the catastrophic situation of the UK economy out of the EU which give a rational choice to remain and the obligation to preserve the UK membership of the European Union for the better future to the UK. In this sense, one can suggest that the informative role that the referendum campaign has played in forming the public's opinion was the determinant factor in the UK/EU relationship and its outcome put an end to 43 years of membership.

All in all, the social context of newspapers discourse is concerned with both the interpretation and explanation stages of Fairclough's three-dimensional model approach. The two levels are complementary and interrelated to the first stage of textual analysis. While the interpretative stage goes through a cognitive process that is socially shaped to bring meaning to the text, the explanation stage demonstrates how social structures determine and are determined by discourse, and what effects are

generated from discourse to influence those social structures. Fairclough views language as a social practice, which is demonstrated in the present research; language is part of society, a social process, and it is a socially conditioned process. The referendum discourse of 2016 did not emerge from a vacuum. It was a product of a long process of construction that was influenced by various texts from historical events and common-sense assumptions. The discourse of both conflicting power in the referendum campaign, the anti and the pro-EU groups, was in the same way determined by ideologies of racism and xenophobia. The power relations that helped to shape discourse belonged to the struggle of power to either maintain or bring a change to the existing power.

Considering the result of the vote, which offered victory to the Brexiters, we can say that the newspapers discourse of the referendum campaign of 2016 contributed to the transformation of certain power relations in contemporary Britain. Hence, it is important to interpret the result of the discourse of the referendum campaign to perceive the discourse's manoeuvre used to influence and direct the individual's vote on the day of the referendum.

Chapter Five

The Impacts of the Referendum Discourse

I. Newspapers' Response to the Brexit Vote

The Brexit vote was a world event that absorbed the interest of all types of media in the four corners of the earth. A relationship of more than 43 years was put in the hand of British people who preferred to break up with the union and start a new experience far from the EU constraints. The will of the Brexiters; the majority of whom were older, working-class and inhabitants of England's countryside was fulfilled to create a shocking outcome. This at least was the opinion expressed by media and particularly some newspapers at the declaration of the vote's result. Nevertheless, the vote result was not unexpected, in the sense that it reflected the abhorrent atmosphere reigning during the campaign; the immigration issue overwhelmed most of the voters. Leave voters were frightened of the free movement of immigrants and refugees, arguing that citizens of poorer countries were winning jobs and benefits. Many of the Leave supporters also felt that the U.K. paid more into the EU than it gained. Those who voted to remain in the EU mainly lived in London, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. For most they were highly educated and aware of the economic damage of Brexit, they believed that leaving the EU would break the U.K.'s global status.

What can be considered as surprising about the referendum vote was the fact that Britain was not prepared to leave the EU and they had no plan for after the exit, it was astonishing in a particular way that the referendum was one of the key components of the Conservative party manifesto for the 2015 general election. This presumed that preparation for the eventual departure from the EU would be available before the actual referendum in June 2016, which was not the case, even for the leader of the Leave campaign Boris Johnson and his supporters were not able to provide a

comprehensible agenda for the leaving process before and even after winning the referendum (Yang 1). People were taken by fear, most of them were not aware of the consequences of the Brexit vote.

Therefore, this chapter aims to offer an insight into the reaction of some newspapers to the Brexit outcome, and the consequences of such a vote in all its facets; political, economic, and social, which became perceptible to people only the day after the ballot. This is to notice the product of a long and bitter campaign and to understand the way a hidden power of discourse could lead a battle, change the course of the events, and thrust people to make an indecisive choice. The discourse of referendum campaign was a hidden power because it was implicit in the practices of the newspapers rather than being explicit (Fairclough 2001, 43). The newspapers discourse during that campaign was scrutinized, in chapters three and four of this dissertation, into its smallest linguistics features and related to the political and social context in which it occurred. The investigation revealed that the discourse of both conflicting camps in the referendum campaign, the anti and the pro-EU groups were similarly determined by ideologies of racism and xenophobia. Given the result of the vote, the discourse contributed to the transformation of certain power relations in contemporary Britain. In this final part of the dissertation, it is important to interpret the result of the discourse of referendum campaign to perceive the discourse's manipulation used to influence and direct the individual's vote on the day of the referendum.

The end of a long battle between the two camps for either to quit or to maintain Britain's membership in the European Union was over to claim victory to Brexit.

British newspapers backing the Leave camp such as the *Sun*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and the *Daily Mail* celebrated their victory, each one at its manner they had started their celebration as soon as the results were announced. The front pages were ornamented with the British flag as a sign of liberation. The *Daily Telegraph* headlined the front page of its special edition EU referendum: *Britain backs Brexit*. Further on the page was mentioned: “in an extraordinary end to a bitterly-fought campaign the nation votes to leave the EU” (the *Daily Telegraph* 24 June 2016). The heroism of the British people was glorified once again to create unexpected success. The *Sun*'s headline read *Britain votes to LEAVE the EU on a dramatic night as Nigel Farage declares ‘victory for ordinary people*. In the same discourse of nationalism advanced during the referendum campaign, UKIP leader claimed victory for ordinary people, a victory for decent people, he reiterated his call made during the campaign to make from 24 June day a Bank Holiday, labelled Independence Day. He added that the current Government should be replaced with a ‘Brexit Government’ so that negotiations to leave the EU can begin immediately (the *Sun* 24 June 2016). Similarly, the *Daily Mail* comments on the Brexit result with a provocative headline: *Take a bow, Britain! The quiet people of our country rise up against an arrogant, out-of-touch political class and a contemptuous Brussels elite* (24 June 2016). The commentator adopted the same techniques of accusation engaged during the campaign to blame the pro-EU the ‘other’ of being liars and proved a positive self-image and honesty to ‘us’ pro-Brexit by winning the referendum. It was read in the *Daily Mail* comment the following:

What an awesome tribute to the British people. Day after day, month after month, voters were bombarded with hysterical threats and terrifying scares everything the Government machine, the mainstream party leaders and the global political and financial elites could throw at them... But outside the

echo-chamber that is the metropolitan liberal class, the real people of Britain saw things differently. They held their nerve, saw through the lies and trusted their instincts (the *Daily Mail* 24 June 2016).

Here also the British people are portrayed as a hero who saved their nation and put their destiny on the right track.

From another camp, the desolate Pro-European newspapers such as The *Guardian* questioned the credibility of the *Sun* and the *Daily Mail* newspapers in the bitter fight of the referendum campaign as is noted on its front-page headline: *Did the Mail and Sun help swing the UK towards Brexit?* The debate was engaged on whether these newspapers reflected or influenced public opinion. The opening of the article cited “Was it the Sun wot won it?” (the *Guardian* 24 June 2016). A phrase appeared in the *Sun* publication on the day after the 1992 General Election, which is regularly mentioned to evoke newspapers’ influence on political attitude and election results in general. The *Guardian*’s author in this report suggested that British people were exposed to the Eurosceptic press which campaigned against Brussels for decades. He added, that the desire to emphasize what anti-EU newspapers considered the worst excesses of the EU’s freedom of movement laws conducted to some intolerable errors, such as the *Daily Mail* front-page story, on 16 June 2016, claiming that group of migrants were from Europe when video footage showed members of the group, which included three children, say they were from Iraq and Kuwait. This forced the *Daily Mail* to run a correction saying that the group was from the Middle East. The identical story was also reported in the *Sun* and the argument was given by the reporter of this newspaper was that he/she was reflecting the fear of the British people which was mainly ignored by politicians and other papers such as The *Guardian* and the

Financial Times. Another reported argument from Professor of communication and media analysis, David Deacon, stated that the media has more influence in telling people what to think about than telling them what to think (the *Guardian* 24 June 2016).

The *Independent* explained that the referendum outcome could mean a second independence referendum in Scotland that, unlike England and Wales, voted to remain in the EU. The report focused more on the economic shock of the Brexit vote describing it as “one of the biggest market shocks of all time” (the *independent* 24 June 2016). With the pound plunging against the dollar to levels not seen in more than thirty years before. The author continued reporting from; the Tory Energy Minister, Andrea Leadsom and vote Leave supporter saying that the dire predictions of economic doom did not need to come to pass and what is needed to do is to take a calm and rational look at exactly what the next steps are, she reflected at the possibilities of a presumption of continuity for the free trade agreements and all of the trade negotiations both with the EU and with other countries that at the moment Britain could not trade with directly. Shadow chancellor, John McDonnell, guaranteed that the Bank of England would have to intervene to prop up the pound. Hence, the economic side was still what matters the most and a rational solution was primordial to rescue the country.

In the aftermath of the Brexit result, the front-page headline of the *Daily Mirror* interestingly read *Britain votes for Brexit in a historic EU referendum that has split the nation*. The article mentioned the fall of the pound to its lowest level against the dollar as the results rolled. It also highlighted the fact that the vote left a deeply disunited

Kingdom Northern Ireland, 28 out of 33 London areas and all 32 areas in Scotland backed Remain. The call of the nationalist in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland for a vote on a united Ireland and the Scottish National Party (SNP) threatened a second Scottish independence referendum (the *Daily Mirror* 24 June 2016). All these claims were part of the predictions advanced during the referendum campaign in the eventual Brexit result. They were recognized by both camps yet, less considered and debated that let a little say for a public who had hope in gaining back control of their destiny; instead, it led them to an uncertain future.

I. The Referendum Result Reading

Essentially, the Brexit vote mirrored the xenophobic atmosphere projected by the discourse of the referendum campaign of both rivals. Naturally, when electorates interpreted the discourse of newspapers, they were likely to incline with a story or report the most appropriate and understandable to their sense of belief and educational attainment. For that reason, it is necessary to exhibit the geographical distribution of the vote result across the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland, as the vote for Leave and Remain were inconsistent and remarkably marked by populations' level of education and age.

Accordingly, on the question, should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union? The referendum was held across the UK on Thursday, 23 June 2016. Britain has voted by a margin of 3.8 to leave the European Union; 51.9% vote leave against 48.1% vote remain. The figure 8 below shows the total number of votes cast, and the national share of the vote, for Leave and Remain.

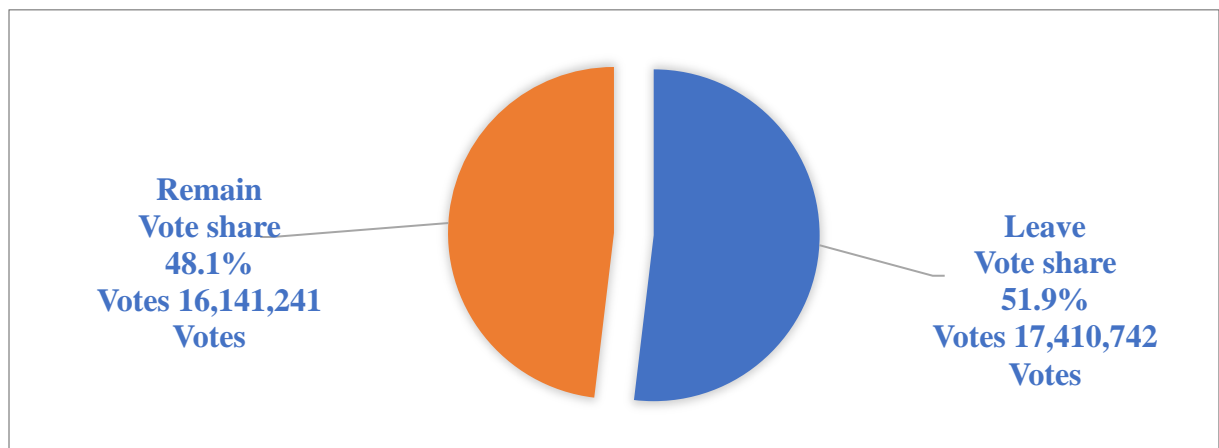


Fig. 8. EU Referendum Results

This figure demonstrates a heavily polarised country over the question of EU membership. Nonetheless, votes for both Leave and Remain were not consistently dispersed across the UK. The highest share of the vote Leave was in England and Wales, while the vote Remain triumphed in Scotland and Northern Ireland. It is also worth mentioning that within England, the UK's capital city London voted to remain in the EU. It is clear that the electorates were the most important actors among the participants in the referendum discourse, their voting behaviour on the day of a ballot can provide evidence to the investigation of the referendum discourse made to give some insight into how voters were affected. The referendum discourse was shaped by the historical discourse exploited to influence the cognition of particular participants to build on new discourse that fit the social context of the referendum. In what follows one can see how the votes changed with the age and education level of the participants.

The central conclusion of post-referendum analysis across the UK of voting behaviour, made by Peter Moore in YouGov 2016 and Lord Ashcroft Poll 2019, was related to voter’s age and level of education, as illustrated hereafter in table 7:

Age	Remain	Leave	Education	Remain	Leave
18 – 24	71	29	GCSE or lower	30	70
25 – 49	54	46	A level	50	50
50 – 64	40	60	Higher below degree	48	52
65+	36	64	Degree	68	32

Table 7: The Voting Behaviour of Electorates (Moore)

The most significant split was in proportion to education. 70% of voters whose learning ability is only secondary education or lower voted to leave, while 68% of voters with a university degree voted to Remain in the EU. Besides, age was the other significant fault-line. While the over 65s and electors between the ages of 50s and 64s went for Leave, the under 25s and voters aged from 24s to 49s voted Remain.

Through the lens of political parties leaning of the electorates and the Brexit vote, the analysis of the post-referendum Poll showed a great connection between the percentage of people who voted Leave and those who voted for UKIP in 2014 European Parliament election. It indicated the steadiness and conviction of the party on the obligation of leaving the EU that started years before the referendum. Nevertheless, the link between the Brexit vote and the Labour or the Conservative Party did not affirm any existence. It implied the clear division of these parties on the EU membership subject that can explain the uncertainty of some electorates.

Besides, the post-referendum poll found that the main reason people gave for voting Leave was the principle of sovereignty of the UK. Whereas the core motive people offered for voting Remain was because the risks of voting to leave the EU looked too great when it came to things like the economy, jobs and prices. These are some of the opinions already conveyed in the discourse of the campaign. That is why this analysis is of great interest to the present study because it confirmed the existing relationship between the newspaper's discourse, political preference, and the targeted reader. Journalists, via language, expressed views based on ideologies that correlated with the already predispositions of their readers, together, they indoctrinated new ideas and beliefs based on the same ideologies.

II. The Consequences of the Ballot Result

The repercussions of the post-Brexit were in all aspects of British diplomatic, economic and social relationship with the EU. Besides, the Brexit vote marked a clear cut amongst the four nations of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland that was perceived by a different interest in the relationships vis-a-vis the EU.

Essentially, the political impacts of the Brexit vote can be assessed by the fact that the outcome of the ballot did not resolve the division issue among the British politicians as to the question of future relations with the European Union and peculiarly an exit plan. The British government had to withdraw from the European Union to honour the people's choice, yet, no plan had been prepared. During the referendum campaign, David Cameron's government was very confident about the victory of the Remain camp thereby no program was designed for a possible Brexit

vote. Regarding Brexiters, they were very concerned about the exit from the union; that was why they failed to develop a strategy to execute withdrawal.

In the aftermath of the referendum, Prime Minister David Cameron resigned even though he had declared before that he wanted to stay to trigger Article 50 on the Treaty of the European Union in case of a vote to leave, and start negotiations to get the UK formally out of the EU, but there was considerable pressure after the exit vote to cede the role of undertaking Brexit to his successor. The former Home Secretary Theresa May was elected and appointed as the new Prime Minister on July 23, her new cabinet was rapidly formed with Boris Johnson appointed as Foreign Secretary, to guide the Brexit negotiations with the EU and coordinate new trade relations with other countries. The most crucial problem with Brexit was the dilemma surrounding the procedure of leaving and the terms of negotiations since there were no precedent withdrawals from the EU. Article 50 is the only ruling guideline dealing with the exit of any member from the EU. It stipulates that a member state may decide to leave the union with the agreement for its constitutional requirements and shall notify the European Council of its intention. The European Council in return provides guidelines in which the Union shall negotiate and conclude an agreement with that State setting out its withdrawal and taking account of the framework for its future relationship with the Union. This means that the UK government should first obtain approval from the parliament which is controversial since the majority of its members were for sustaining membership. A second agreement also is required which concerns the UK/EU future relationship negotiations.

Accordingly, Theresa May, after taking office, warned that Brexit would not be "plain sailing" for the UK. This latter needs to be equipped for some difficult times ahead as it runs off the EU. Theresa May announced that the government would not trigger Article 50 before the end of 2016 year, a period judged appropriate to organize the government negotiations. Because, only two years will be allowed for the process of leaving the EU once the European Council is notified, unless the 27 EU member states, unanimously agree to extend this period (BBC "Brexit may bring difficult times"). To understand the withdrawal process, the following charts give insight into the steps to follow for both, negotiating withdrawal from the EU, and negotiating a new agreement with the EU under the Treaty on European Union.



Fig. 9. Withdrawal agreement from the EU (“The process for withdrawing from the European Union”)

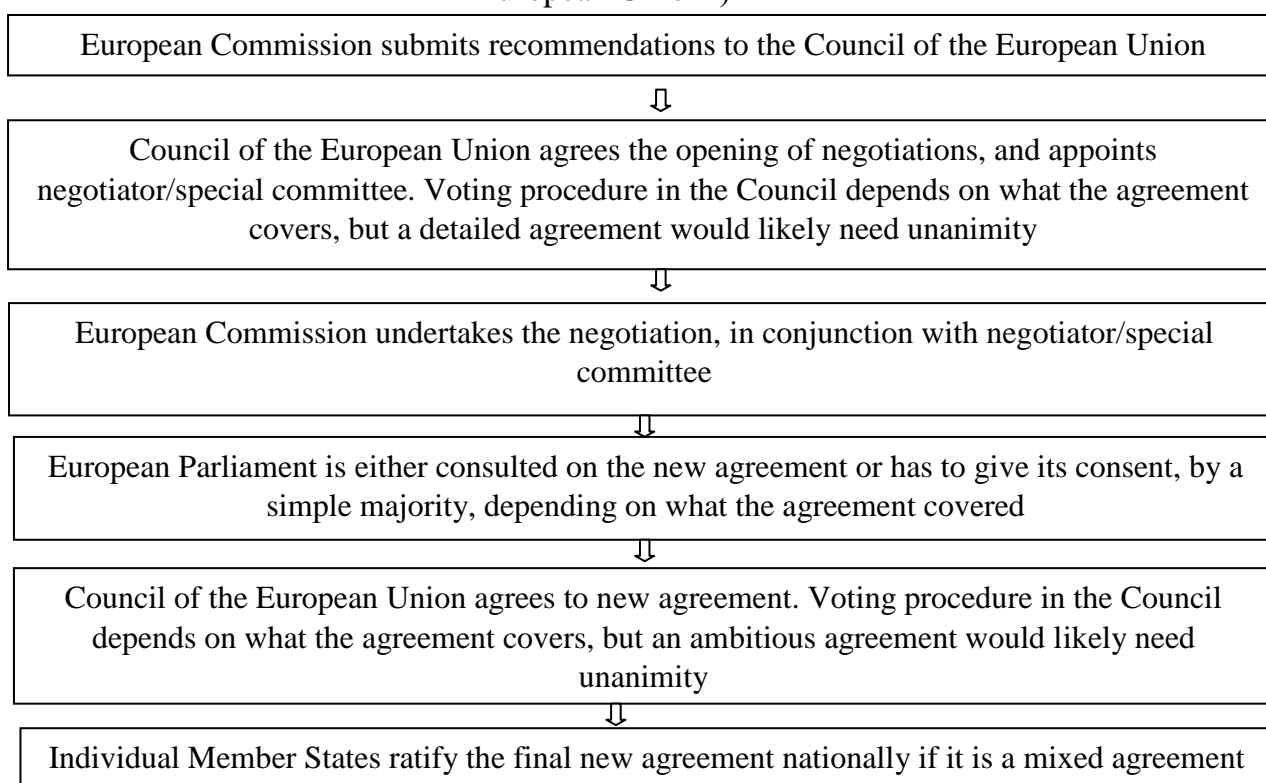


Fig. 10. New agreement with the EU (“The process for withdrawing from the European Union”)

Given the fact that these processes have never been applied, Prime Minister Theresa May, in the interests of time, expected to anticipate negotiations before the formal

procedure begins. However, EU leaders did not accept to cooperate and declined negotiations prior to the activation of Article 50.

The official process of leaving the EU began on March 29, 2017, when Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty was triggered. From that date, the UK had only two years to finalize its departure from the European globe and negotiate a new relationship with the EU. Indeed, discussions started on 19 June 2017. A year after, on 25 November 2018, Britain and the EU approved 599-pages Withdrawal Agreement, a Brexit deal that included issues like citizen's rights, the divorce bill, and the Irish border. However, the deal was rejected by the UK Members of Parliament voting 432-202 against the agreement.

Theresa May failed three times to obtain approval from the House of Commons for the Brexit deal she had agreed with the EU. That is why she resigned as a conservative party leader on 7 June 2019, giving away to Boris Johnson, who was elected conservative party leader and appointed as Prime Minister on July 24. Johnson, a hard Brexit supporter, was determined to leave the EU with or without a deal. The way of leaving the EU created a disagreement manifested in the appearance of the 'hard' and 'soft' Brexit supporters. Essentially, hard Brexit means leaving both the EU's Customs Union and Single Market, ending the EU budget payments, and withdrawing from the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice. Whereas, Soft Brexit implies the UK leaves the EU but remains part of the Customs Union or Single Market, as a sort of quasi-EU member without voting power (Downer).

The post-Brexit negotiation period was a critical juncture inside Britain's political parties; it created heated disagreements among both the Conservative and

Labour parties, who were in a steady protest. There have been accusations of anti-Semitism in the Labour party, Jeremy Corbyn, leader of the Party, has been criticized for his handling of the issue. Besides, in September, Prime Minister Boris Johnson expelled 21 MPs for voting to delay Brexit as he expected to leave the EU by October 2019, and the Parliament chose to seek an extension. At the beginning of Brexit negotiations, Britain appointed David Davis, secretary of state for Exiting the European Union, as a lead negotiator in the talk with Brussels, the home of the European Commission. From the EU side Michel Barnier, a former French foreign minister, and EU commissioner was chosen by the 27 EU member states as a representative. The major political issues engaged in discussions were: first, the rights of EU citizens in the UK/the UK citizens in the EU, Second the 300-mile land border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland and third, Scotland's place in the EU, which required an answer before the UK withdrawal from the EU.

Firstly, the citizen's rights were one of the most politically problematic issues that confronted Brexit negotiators. According to figures provided by the United Nations Population Division, around 1.2 million British-born inhabited another EU country, of which 800,000 were workers. Regarding EU citizens in the UK, it was evaluated about 3.3 million people, 2.1 million of whom were working. Certainly, the right of these citizens was to be safeguarded before the withdrawal. Therefore, during the Brexit negotiations both sides, the UK and EU, presented their positions on citizens' rights. According to a commentator in BBC the UK's offer was less generous than the EU in terms of granting permanent residence or settling status to its EU

residents (BBC “Brexit at a glance”). Indeed, the immigration issue as it was at the heart of the referendum campaign remained divisive in the debate for withdrawal too.

In the aftermath of the Brexit result, Britain's Parliament was aware of the national divisions over migration; it struggled over the rights of EU citizens to remain in the UK. Theresa May's government concluded that it had the right under the royal prerogative to trigger Article 50 and begin the formal withdrawal process on its own. The UK Supreme Court intervened, ruling that Parliament had to authorize the measure, and the House of Lords amended the resulting bill, to guarantee the rights of EU-born residents. The House of Commons, which had a Tory majority at the time, revoked the amendment and the unamended bill became law in March 2017 (Hayes). The argument given by those in favour of the amendment is the same given during the referendum campaign characterizing the economic benefit from the EU migrants who were more expected to work and largely contributing to the UK economy than their counterpart UK native citizen, stressing the fact that a third of UK ex-pats in Europe are pensioners. In contrast, the opponents, leave supporters, explained this reality as foreign competition for scarce job opportunities in Britain, just as they did during the campaign, because of their racist attitude towards migrants, Britons believed that the presence of these foreigners limited employment opportunities despite the positive impact of their work on the country's economy.

Still, with the citizen's rights, the most prominent concern was the treatment of the Common Travel Area which represented the protection of British citizens in Ireland. Under this bilateral agreement that started in 1922 between Ireland and the UK, UK citizens have the right to enter Ireland without a visa, travel between the UK

and Ireland, work without an employment permit, access the public healthcare system, and vote in general elections. After the Brexit vote, this agreement arose on the surface to be discussed to find a compromise that would be in a favour of Citizens of Both Ireland and the UK after the UK departure from the European Union.

Ultimately, The Withdrawal Agreement authorized the free movement of EU and UK citizens up to the end of the transition period. After that phase, they would keep their residency rights if they pursue work, have sufficient resources, or are related to someone who does. To upgrade their residence status to permanent, they would have to apply to the host nation. The rights of these citizens can be abruptly taken away without ratifying a deal (Hayes). Besides, Ireland and the UK remain in a Common Travel Area, which grants residency and travel rights, among other rights to Irish citizens in the UK, and British citizens in Ireland.

Secondly, the Irish border was a more challenging political question that needed some moderation to be approached in the wake up of the Brexit vote. It was modestly debated during the referendum campaign and only appeared to the front of the debate during the negotiations period, which caused Theresa May's troubles to obtain her withdrawal agreement pass through the parliament.

In the Brexit vote, Northern Ireland and Scotland voted favourably to remain in the EU. There are many reasons behind this vote related mainly to its history, geographical position, and its economy. The vote result showed 55,8% of people in Northern Ireland voted to remain, in the majority 11 out of 18 parliamentary constituencies; in addition, three of the ten unionist constituencies voted in favour of Remain (Jeannier 1), which marked a desire to extend a common European destiny

with the Republic of Ireland. Considering that Northern Ireland is the only British territory to share a land border with an EU member country, the Republic of Ireland. It is noteworthy, that all the constituencies bordering the Republic were in favour of remain. Here also, one can notice either the pragmatism of the citizens whose daily life could be jeopardized by the materialization of a physical border between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland or the fear to return to troubled years.

The historical separation between Northern and Southern Ireland dated back to 1922. It was a compromise aimed at satisfying a majority of Unionists predominantly Protestants in the north of the island. The nationalists largely catholic in the rest of the territory were willing to achieve independence from the UK, whereas most Protestants of origin wished to remain part of Great Britain. The political dominance of Unionists in Northern Ireland had led, over the years, to discrimination against the nationalist minority in terms of jobs and housing. In the late 1960s, following the failure of the civil rights movement to end these inequalities, the region descended into an armed conflict that claimed more than 3,600 lives in 30 years. The Belfast Agreement (or Good Friday Agreement) in 1998 between the British and Irish governments and most of the political parties in Northern Ireland ended the conflict by establishing a devolved government for Northern Ireland in which unionists and nationalists would share power. Yet, Northern Ireland is a very vulnerable territory within the United Kingdom because the tensions between the unionists and nationalists were stumped and not completely disappeared. Accordingly, the case of Brexit result could revive the trouble and destabilize and threaten the peace process established by the Good Friday agreement.

Actually, the Irish border was the key element in the rejection of Theresa May's withdrawal agreement by the British Parliament. The agreement contained a specific protocol on Ireland and Northern Ireland whose objective was to build a 'backstop' to prevent the return of a border or physical infrastructures and checks between Ireland and Northern Ireland and also to respect the provisions of the 1998 Good Friday Agreement. Yet, this meant that the United Kingdom would have remained in the customs union with the European Union, forming a single EU/UK customs territory, which allowed Northern Ireland to remain aligned to a limited set of rules that were related to the single market for an indefinite period. This disposition was rejected by the Eurosceptic Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) in Northern Ireland and by the hard-brexiteers who argued that the backstop would have seriously threatened the constitutional integrity of the United Kingdom since it would have introduced a difference of treatment between Great Britain and Northern Ireland (Jeannier 5).

Besides the Irish border, the immigration issue rose also to be very problematic for the British government, because it should honour its engagement to control EU immigration which meant that the circulation of people through the Irish border would be intolerable otherwise Ireland could be taken by EU migrants as a backdoor for the UK. This is, on the one hand, on the other hand, it was difficult to restore a controlled border which would constitute an obstacle in local people's everyday lives. It was strongly rejected by both unionists and nationalists.

Following Theresa May's resignation, The new UK government of Boris Johnson put forward a formal proposal to the EU, which included Northern Ireland

following EU rules and creating a customs border between Northern Ireland and the EU/Republic of Ireland. After negotiations, the two sides agreed on the new Ireland-Northern Ireland protocol, which involved Northern Ireland following EU rules for goods and customs but included a consent mechanism that aimed to avoid a hard border on the island of Ireland. The deal looked similar to the one first proposed by the EU in February 2018, which was rejected by the UK, but as including an exit mechanism, this meant that Northern Ireland would remain aligned to EU regulations in areas needed to avoid a hard border, such as industrial goods and agri-food. Northern Ireland would also apply EU Value Added Tax (VAT) and customs rules, although it would remain in the UK's customs territory. As a result, checks and paperwork would be required on goods moving between Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and tariffs would be payable on goods that cannot be certified as staying in Northern Ireland (Sargeant). The following figure portrays how checks and controls of goods would then be between Great Britain and Northern Ireland.



Fig. 11. Expedition of Goods from Great Britain to the Republic of Ireland¹

During Brexit negotiations, an absolute concern was to protect the Good Friday agreement. The new Ireland- Northern Ireland protocol avoids checks along the land border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. The checks instead would take place at Northern Ireland Ports as it is shown in Fig. 11 above. This created loads of critics against the new Irish Sea border. The protocol has not solved the issue of the border but, actually, has reproduced it elsewhere.

¹ <https://www.bbc.com/news/explainers-537>

Northern Ireland's Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) strongly opposed the new protocol, including the application of EU VAT rates and the introduction of a customs border in the Irish Sea, as well as the complex consent mechanism. The former British negotiator to Northern Ireland, Jonathan Powell, was sympathetic to DUP concerns. He argued that the border in the Irish Sea would grow as the U.K. diverges in regulatory terms. Conversely, Lord David Trimble, the former leader of the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) and former First Minister of Northern Ireland who opposed the backstop, recommended the DUP to support the revised deal, which he believed is consistent with the Good Friday Agreement (Sloat and Bosch 3).

Thirdly, Scotland's place in the EU, was among the major political issues that required an answer before the UK withdrawal from the EU. The outcome of the referendum created an exception for Scotland. There was no one region of its 32 electoral which voted to leave the EU, it had a strong consent among its political parties who saw the importance of EU membership. Going back to the 1970s, Scottish voters were not enthusiastic about European integration, but while England became more skeptical over the years, Scotland grew more supportive. This shift was encouraged by several aspects, for instance; local authorities in Scotland found the European Commission more receptive to its interests than the government in Westminster. The Scottish Trade Union Congress saw the European Community as supporting trade union rights. There were also changes in Labour Party and Scottish National Party thinking towards supporting European integration (Mitchell).

Straight away after the EU referendum, Scotland's First Minister Nicola Sturgeon proclaimed that another independence referendum was 'on the table'. (Yet Scotland did not have the power to call an independence referendum. It needed the consent of the UK government) The SNP government had been re-elected in May 2016 based on a manifesto which stated that if there will be a significant and material change in the circumstances that prevailed in 2014, such as Scotland being taken out of the EU against its will, it would be acceptable for the Scottish Parliament to propose a second independence referendum. Following the Brexit referendum, the Scottish Parliament gave First Minister Sturgeon a mandate to hold direct talks with European institutions and the UK government to seek to protect Scotland's place in the EU. Yet, both the President of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, and the President of the European Parliament, Martin Schulz, refused to discuss Scotland's future without the UK. Theresa May argued, in her first visit to Edinburgh on July 15 upon becoming prime minister, that a UK-wide approach had to be found. At the meeting with Sturgeon, Prime Minister, May, assured that the voice of the Scottish people will be well received in the course of negotiations with the EU and that Article 50 will not be triggered unless a consensus is developed within the UK while discarding the necessity of another referendum for Scotland's independence (Yang 3).

However, May's rhetoric became more firm, particularly around the course of the Conservative Party conference in October 2016, when she suggested that her government alone would negotiate Brexit without interference from other administrations. She rejected Sturgeon's proposition for Scotland's a distinct solution by saying that there would be no opt-out from Brexit. Accordingly, in December 2016,

the Scottish government published its plan on Scotland's place in Europe. It proposed that the best option for Britain was to stay in the European Single Market through the European Economic Area (EEA)² Agreement as well as in the EU Customs Union.

However, against all expectations, Prime Minister, Theresa May, presented her most explicit vision of Britain's future relationship with the European bloc, in which she promised to leave the single market and sought an agreement for future partnership between the UK and the EU to deliver "a smooth and orderly Brexit" (Theresa speech January 17, 2017).

The Brexit vote revealed that Scotland's future governance was an issue that the UK government should address with caution because the unity of the country was threatened. In retrospect, in September 2014, Scottish electors were given the option of staying in the UK or becoming an independent country. They supported staying in the UK by 55% to 45%. But, the Brexit vote of 2016 changed the course of events and pushed the Scottish to consider a second referendum for their independence. It gave nationalists clear evidence that Scotland needed to be free from the UK and its Conservative government. Rejoining the EU as an independent country was overly proclaimed by the pro-independence movement; for they believed that independence would give Scotland more control over the country's economy, spending, as well as control over the country's national resources, namely oil (Da Silva). Thus, the Brexit vote increased the division between Scotland and the United Kingdom.

² EEA is an agreement which allows non-EU countries to access the Single Market in return for accepting the majority of EU rules and regulations.

It is worth noting that the dilemma of the referendum choice was that the campaign lacked a profound political debate over serious issues such as the Irish border and Scotland's future in the case of the Brexit vote. All the difficulties faced in the post-Brexit were not debated and less discussed with the public or little evoked in the report's news. Merely a narrow-angle was represented to affect the public opinion, this is why the majority or a big portion of people, after being aware of the real meaning of leaving the EU, they sought the possibility of a second referendum on the EU membership. According to a poll conducted after 23 June 2016, it indicated that the majority of people in the UK did not want the Brexit (Dunin-Wasowicz 1).

Apart from the political impacts of the Brexit vote, understanding the economic force and the Brexit vote's Implications is crucial to give meaning to the referendum discourse that reflected merely the interests of its campaigners. In terms of British investment and trade, the Brexit vote was a key factor for the UK's economic growth.

To begin with, the chief strength of the pro-EU during the referendum campaign was the claim about the British economy. Leaving the EU would cause huge damage to Britain's economy which would engender a deep recession, hurt trade, damage pensions, and lead to a fall in the value of sterling. These were the main apprehensions of Brexit's danger. Many governmental statistics, such as those published by the treasury had predicted the eventual effect of Brexit on the UK's economy in the immediate vote to leave the EU. The last one in the campaign was published on 23 May 2016:

A vote to leave would represent an immediate and profound shock to our economy. That shock would push our economy into a recession and lead to an increase in unemployment of around 500,000, GDP would be 3.6% smaller, average real wages would be lower, inflation higher, sterling

weaker, house prices would be hit and public borrowing would rise compared with a vote to remain (Treasury analysis 8).

Before that publication, the Bank of England had warned that Britain could fall into recession in the aftermath of a vote to leave the EU, the *Guardian* published on 12 May 2016 headlined read “*Brexit could lead to recession, says Bank of England*”. Governor, Mark Carney, warned that Brexit could hit the pound sharply lower, stoke inflation, and raise unemployment. That would leave the Bank with a difficult balancing act as it decides whether to cut, hold or raise interest rates to counter opposing forces. Similarly, George Osborne, Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the Remain camp, in the same newspaper declared on 21 May 2016 that house prices would be lower by at least 10% and up to 18% compared with what is expected if Britain remained in the EU and that an immediate economic shock would hit financial markets if Britain left the EU. He added in another publication, during the referendum campaign, that he would have to fill the £30bn black hole in public finances triggered by a vote to leave the EU by increasing income tax, alcohol and petrol duties, and making massive cuts to the NHS, schools, and defence. These claimed had been rejected by Brexit supporters as being biased aimed at undermining the case of Brexit.

Immediately after the referendum result, the Bank of England’s Monetary Policy Committee reacted to cut interest rates, increase liquidity by purchasing government and corporate debt and provide banks with access to cheap finance to help support lending to businesses and households. Mark Carney, the Governor of the Bank of England, estimated that these actions assisted the economic growth by between 0.5% and 1%. Meanwhile, the new Chancellor, Philip Hammond, allowed the fiscal

policy to support the economy rather than depressing growth by raising taxes and cutting spending. By the 2016 Autumn Statement, the Office for Budget Responsibility estimated that government borrowing was likely to be £73 billion higher over the four years from 2017/18 to 2020/21 as a result of deterioration in the economic side. Rather than intervening to compensate this, the Chancellor allowed borrowing to increase and chose to raise government borrowing further (by an additional £25bn over this period) by increasing investment spending, recalibrating from some previously planned cuts to benefits, and cancelling planned increases in fuel duties (Tetlow and Stojanovic 9) as alarmed and predicted by Osborne during the referendum campaign.

Nonetheless, the pro-EU were right the pound was devalued by 11% against other major currencies which signalled the fear of the foreign investors who had less confidence in the UK's economic prospects. In fact, the UK's attractiveness to foreign investors was affected or reduced at least because of three reasons:

1. Free movement of capital; one of the 'four freedoms' central to the EU Single Market which made it easier for investors from other EU member states to invest in the UK.
2. Being in the EU Single Market makes the UK an attractive export platform for Multinationals, who can take advantage of the UK's relatively attractive business environment, while also being able to enjoy frictionless trade with the rest of the EU.
3. Operating from an EU country is particularly attractive for large multinational companies which have complex supply chains or networks of subsidiaries

across different countries within the bloc. The EU Single Market, including common regulations and the ability to move staff freely between countries, reduces co-ordination costs for these kinds of companies (Tetlow and Stojanovic 15).

Although the EU Single Market was very crucial in attracting investors into the UK, ending this agreement was one of the government's priorities after the Brexit vote, as confirmed by Theresa May in her Brexit speech on January 17, 2017, that “a vote to leave the EU would be a vote to leave the Single Market”. Certainly, Leaving the EU would reduce the EU access to a large market, and since the future access to the EU market was still unknown, investors would be perplexed to take risks. Accordingly, the UK economic growth was weaker after the referendum as estimated by the Centre for European Reform by 2.5 percent smaller than it would have been if Remain had won, and the gap is growing (Springford 2). To check the accuracy of this estimation a comparison was made to evaluate the UK’s growth with other countries since the referendum. The result showed that the UK has grown by 3.1 percent over that period. Compare that to the average of the 22 most advanced economies, 5.2 percent of growth, which amounts to a 2.1 percent gap, not far-off from the estimated cost of Brexit (Springford 3). Gemma Tetlow and Alex Stojanovic, in their report *Understanding the Economic Impact of Brexit*, argued that the UK has dropped from the top to the bottom of the league table in terms of economic growth among the G7 group of major advanced economies (9). It means that the Remain supporters, somewhat, were more close in their prediction concerning the economic impact of Brexit, yet, one can notice that it was not as catastrophic as it was advanced and in the

years to come, more details will emerge as to the degree of exaggeration about the economic impacts of Brexit.

Besides, trade is one of the most significant aspects of the British economy. According to the Office for National Statistics (ONS) published in May 2016, The UK is an open trading economy with exports and imports accounting for a quarter to a third of the economy over the last two decades. The EU is a large market for the UK, particularly for exports of services and goods, including components and fuels. In 2015, 44% of the UK's goods and services were exported to the EU, while 53% of imports came to the UK from the EU. In the same year, UK exports to the EU were valued at £223.3 billion, while UK imports from the EU stood at £291.1 billion. Within the EU, the UK exports most of its goods and services to merely a handful of countries namely Germany, France, Ireland, and the Netherlands. This is partly because:

- France and Germany are large economies and geographically close to the UK
- Germany is an EU manufacturing hub that uses UK components
- Ireland is important because of historical trade links, and a common language
- The Netherlands is a global gateway, through the port of Rotterdam, that acts as an intermediate destination for trade between the UK and other countries. This is known as the Rotterdam effect. It's also an important financial and business services trading centre ("UK Perspectives" ONS 25 May 2016).

In the UK wide context, Northern Ireland is only a small trader, providing only 2.4% of UK exports and 1.5% of imports. However, as the EU represents its largest

export market, Brexit arguably matters significantly to Northern Ireland. Growth in exports to EU countries from Northern Ireland has considerably outpaced that to non-EU countries in recent years and amounted to £3.63bn in 2014, compared to £2.53bn of non-EU exports. Hence, the majority of Northern Ireland's exports (57%) head to the EU, particularly Ireland which represents the largest market for Northern Irish exports with 34% of Northern Ireland's EU exports heading there (21% of the region's total exports) (Tonge 9).

Regarding the impacted sector, it varies, but it is worth noting that the agricultural, forestry and fisheries sector in Northern Ireland is the largest, in terms of percentage workforce, of any part of the UK, with 3.2 percent of the workforce directly employed in these categories. Tariffs placed by the EU, at a Most Favoured Nation level of 3.2 percent upon agricultural products exported from Northern Ireland, would have significant adverse effects, whilst average WTO- level tariffs on agricultural imports into Northern Ireland would create inflationary pressures. Therefore, it is argued that Northern Ireland's agri-food sector was exceptionally vulnerable both to the loss of EU funding and to potential tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade (Tonge 9).

Further, Brexit means also the loss of the UK's monetary contribution to the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), which could potentially affect farming in general and Northern Irish farmers in particular. The CAP consists of a very complex range of regulations, agreed, at the EU level, that regulate several aspects of farming from direct payments (subsidies) to farmers and environmental management to market

intervention and rural development (Downing 6). Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) payments provided 60% of cash income to Northern Ireland's farms in 2014-15. Northern Ireland's farmers receive one of the highest payments-per-hectare annual awards in the EU and nine percent of the UK's total allocation of EU pillar payments. Northern Ireland's EU trade dependence has been such that a 3% reduction in the region's GDP has been calculated as the likely outcome of withdrawal. The local economy is weak compared to the rest of the UK in terms of the private sector on a wide range of indicators, yet, the economic effects upon Northern Ireland may be particularly severe (Tonge 9).

Despite the potential impact on trade between the UK and the rest of the EU, the Remain camp's leaders did not triumph in maintaining the UK in the EU. During the referendum campaign, the Leave camp's leaders criticized and rejected the economic claims of the Remain camp's leaders which were based upon economic institutional figures that took unanimity in saying that leaving the EU would damage Britain's economy. In the aftermath of the Brexit vote, it was evaluated that the UK could lose between 1.1-2.6% of real GDP, but considering the lower productivity growth, those losses could reach up to 6.3-9.5%. In addition to GDP losses, the Brexit vote significantly reduced bilateral trade flows between Ireland and Northern Ireland, and its effects could be 20% or more. It will depend on what policies the UK would adopt following Brexit. But lower trade is likely to cost the UK economy because of the reduction in the integration with EU countries (Dhingra et al. 9-10).

In a research paper published by a House of a Commons Library on 26 May 2016, it was advanced that most farming organizations were taking either remain or

neutral position of the EU referendum. This was on the basis that the uncertainties associated with a UK exit were just too significant in terms of the levels of future support for UK agriculture and the basis of future UK trade with the EU. However, their members were more evenly split (Downing 3). Prime Minister David Cameron had committed to assuring an agricultural support system that would be properly maintained in the event of a UK exit if he remained in office. However, facing criticism from farmers, Cameron did not provide any measures that his government would introduce to support farmers if the UK left the EU, instead, he warned farmers that leaving the EU would be a leap in the dark and that the UK exit from the EU would call into serious question jobs and investment in the rural economy (Case). For advocates of Brexit such as farming Minister George Eustice, insisted that Britain could opt to continue providing subsidies and that leaving the EU would create an extra £18bn a year which could be used to continue payments to farmers through an improved scheme. Brexit supporters also pointed to the examples of Switzerland and Norway, which are outside of CAP and have their versions that provide even higher support to farmers (*telegraph* 20 June 2016). But, David Cameron had notified that no existing alternative to EU membership and that whether Norway, Switzerland, or Canada, offered full access to the EU single market for farmers, they all involved tariffs and additional costs (Case).

As regards to Scotland, it is interesting to notice that Scotland trades mostly was with the UK than the EU, it represented for both export and import nearly 60% of its GDP. Even if it were not part of the UK, it would be a lot of trade between them for it shares many favourable factors for trade as a common language and physical

neighbouring. However, the Brexit result changed the orientation in all aspects including trade, even though Scotland is very integrated with the UK economy, for the pro-European camp in Scotland their economy would be better supported with the EU membership that why they call for independence. Accordingly, the Scottish Cabinet Secretary for Economy, Fair Work and Culture, Fiona Jane Hyslop said: "As an independent member of the EU, free from the damage of Brexit, Scotland would be part of the huge Single Market which is seven times the size of the UK. There is no reason whatsoever that Scotland could not emulate the success of an independent country, of our size which are far wealthier per head than the UK" (Fraser). Thus, it is true that independent Scotland would set new trade costs because of the new border between Scotland and the UK, but it would open a new horizon of rejoining the EU. This was the opinion of Scots who were calling for Scotland's independence. From another lens, it was assumed that the easy access into the European Union's huge market would boost Scottish economic output but that would be counterbalanced by the reduction in trade with the rest of the UK. To be specific, a company in Scotland would find it easier to sell Scottish goods to the Netherlands and beyond, and Scots would benefit from cheaper EU imports, but other Scots companies would find their UK-based business model undermined, and it would become more difficult and expensive to buy from England, Wales and Northern Ireland (Fraser). It was also alleged that the combination of independence and Brexit would reduce income per capita by at least 6%, and the negative impact of independence would be two to three times greater than that of Brexit (Huang et al. 3).

An additional vital issue in Scotland concerned fishing. The majority of the UK's fishing industry is located in Scotland. Commercial fishing constituted a very small part of the UK economy, it accounts for around 0.1% of the UK economy. Yet, it has been seen as very critical to coastal communities around the UK, even if economically it has been surpassed by other industries. That was a very pragmatic point observed by the UKIP's leader and used as a key compel in their campaign to leave the EU. For instance, days before the referendum, to thrust into the public consciousness, Nigel Farage was onboard a flotilla of fishing boats where the pro-leave sailed up the Thames to urge parliament to take back control of British waters. This made the headlines of different publications. For instance, the *Guardian* evoked the fact that during last year's election campaign when Farage promoted UKIP's fisheries policy, Greenpeace accused the UKIP leader of hypocrisy. It said Farage had only attended one of 42 meetings while he was a member of the European parliament's fisheries committee, and he failed to take part in three votes to reform the common fisheries policy. The *Guardian*, also, suggested that there was a deep split on the issue within the wider fisheries and seafood sector. While the vast majority of sea-fisherman were thought to back leave, the Scottish Fishermen's Federation, the official representative body, has taken a neutral stance on the referendum. Industry leaders worried that if the UK were to leave the EU, the UK government could use British fishing stocks as a bargaining chip, rather than honour the current promises being made by Brexit campaign leaders to fight hard for the industry. (the *Guardian*, 3 June 2016).

In addition, during the referendum campaign many fishing pressure groups emerged to back Brexit, such as Fishing for Leave. The Leave leader campaigners, Boris Johnson, condemned the Common Fisheries Policy (CFP), calling it “crazy”, but Prime Minister David Cameron defending the policy and claiming that the value of the UK’s fish catching and processing industry had gone up over the last five years (BBC “PM and Boris”). The Brexit result showed a heavy vote in favour of leaving the EU from the coastal communities as they related the loss of control of British waters to the Common Fisheries Policy and the EU membership.

Actually, The Common Fisheries Policy (CFP) was set by the European Union to obtain equal access to Europe’s fishing waters for all member states. It is an agreement through which EU nations do not have power over their territorial waters or fix their quotas to catch fish. Instead, fish are assessed as a common resource, and a whole range of measures such as fishing quotas, catch levels, subsidies, and other related procedures are set centrally by the branch of the European Union, which carries out the day-to-day business of the EU. All EU countries with a coastline and a fishing industry share their territorial, and they have the right to fish in each other’s waters, with the EU setting the catch levels for each country in each specific area. Forasmuch as Britain remained a member of the European Union, the British fishing industry had to respect the rules fixed by the Common Fisheries Policy. The reality is that there was an enormous demand for EU vessels to access Britain’s territorial waters comparing to elsewhere in the EU, and there was a limited gain in catching fish in the EU for the British fishermen. The statistics justified this, in 2015, EU vessels caught 683,000 tonnes (raising £484 million in revenue) in UK waters, but the UK vessels caught

merely 111,000 tonnes (£114 million revenue) in EU member states' waters. Moreover, Brexit's supporters put forward that the way quotas were set by the EU was seen as being extremely inequitable on British fishermen, as they often secured a small proportion of the catch within their waters ("Brexit and Fisheries").

Following the referendum result, the UK fishing industry was more debatable, and its importance to Scotland was more pronounced. Accordingly, the members of the Scottish Fishermen's Federation (SFF) had met and assured that Brexit was the preferred option, in the face of Scottish government efforts to keep the country in, SFF chief executive Bertie Armstrong told BBC Scotland that "For the fishing industry it's a complete no brainer, we should be out the EU and the Common Fisheries Policy (CFP)." In response, the first minister Nicola Sturgeon made it clear that she was aware of the feelings of the fishing industry and others who did not vote to remain. Yet, the priority continues to be the clear majority of people across Scotland who did support EU membership (BBC "Scottish fishing"). For that reason, the SNP lost the support of many fishermen and people from fishing communities during the 2017 election. In order to obtain approbation among the fishing industry, the SNP leader pledged in her manifesto that Scotland could profit from a reformed CFP, and it will oppose any attempt by the UK government to treat the fishing industry as a bargaining chip with EU access to Britain's waters (Revesz).

The plan of Brexit, apropos of fisheries, was that the UK would carry on with the procedure to take back control of its waters and set its quotas for fisheries once the country had withdrawn from the European Union. However, the UK already exports

large amounts of the fish caught in British waters to the EU, and imports much of the fish eaten by UK consumers come from countries that were not in the EU but were in the Single Market (such as Iceland and Norway). Hence, in case that the UK left the EU with no deal and tariffs were imposed on UK fish and seafood being exported to the EU, the result would be enormously negative to the British fishing industry, counting customs of goods checks as goods moved between the UK and the EU as these would affect the freshness and quality of the products being exported. That why many believed that there would be a post-Brexit compromise deal that would allow EU nations some access to British waters under a licensing deal in return for British access to sell catches into the EU (“Brexit and Fisheries”).

To make matters worse for Britain, one can say that from the social lens, the shock of the Brexit vote in the UK reproduced a significant rise in xenophobic and racist attacks in the country. Several racially motivated attacks related to the Brexit result were acknowledged. The police reports increased by 42%, to more than 3,000 allegations of hate crime across Britain in the week before and after the 23 June vote. Mark Hamilton, head of the National Police Chiefs’ Council believed that this had a direct link with the referendum result as he stated “Some people took that [a vote was] as a licence to behave in a racist or other discriminatory way” (the *Guardian* 11 July 2016). The referendum debate and particularly the discourse of the Leave campaign helped in a way to arouse the hidden racist attitude and intolerance towards migrants.

The Brexit result might have given some people the legitimacy to act in an aggressive way against the immigrants ‘the others’ enemies who were the cause of all their suffering, as it was advanced by the anti-EU during the campaign. Accordingly, it

has been argued that the discourse of the referendum campaign contributed to a rise of populism in the UK which can be described as an anti-establishmentarian discourse that emphasized “the people” against “the elites,” partly through mythmaking, but also through the simplification of complex issues. The populist charismatic right-wing Eurosceptic politicians namely Nigel Farage and Boris Johnson had stocked societal tension and grievances through the populist discourse of nationalism (Steven Corbett 19). Noticeably, this strategy was a focal point in Chalaby's book *The Invention of Journalism*. Chalaby pointed out that a common feature of populist discourses is the use of people's fears and anxieties. In Britain, these types of techniques were used by the Conservative Party and pro-Conservative newspapers against the Labour Party ever since it became a threatening political force. As seen with the 1922 General Election, the Conservative press associated Labour with the Bolsheviks and relentlessly played on people's fear by warning readers of disasters such as massive unemployment, starvation, and chaos if Labour made its way to Downing Street (124).

The identification of nationalism discourse was very obvious in the campaign, which described the migrants as being a threat to ‘traditional’ British identity, for instance, Farage’s poster showing a queue of mostly non-white migrants and refugees with the slogan “Breaking point, the EU has failed us all”, even though the poster was condemned by almost all the media commentators, it reinforced the connection between nationalist and Eurosceptics by linking the EU with the migrants’ issue. Moreover, Boris Johnson and Farage adopted a nationalist refrain of taking back control of their country and declared 23 June 2016 the UK’s Independence Day. Reminding people of the glorious day of the British Empire is an emotive way also of

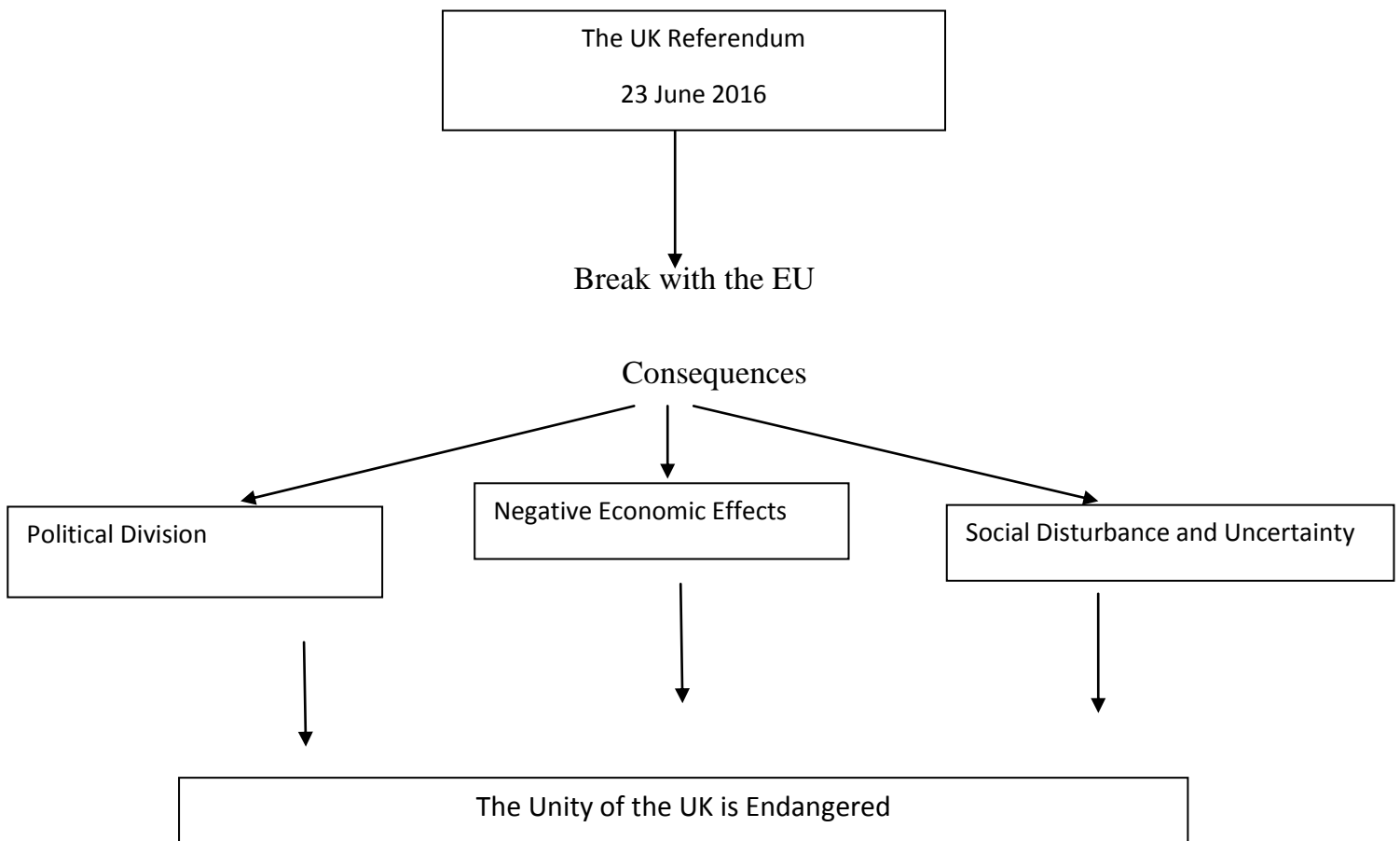
creating a popular revolt against minorities (the source of the problem). Another controversial means used by the Brexiters to enrage the electorates against the EU membership was Britain's financial contribution to the EU. They highlighted a figure of £350m a week amount sent to the EU with no account of the special rebate Britain received back from the EU or billions of pounds in financial supports from Brussels. A reality was confirmed on the day after the Brexit referendum result, by Nigel Farage, who disowned the pledge saying "it was one of the mistakes that had been made by those wanting us out of the bloc" ("Final Say"). However, the issue was that nearly half of the British public believed the claim, as stated in a poll by Ipsos MORI published in October 2018. Two-thirds of the public (67%) have heard of the claim that the UK sent £350m a week to the EU, and 42% of these believe it is true, despite it being labelled a "misuse of statistics" by the UK Statistics Authority (Skinner). In fact, the Anti-EU leaders enforced the £350m claim to carry out aspects of a voter sensitization campaign, emphasizing the detail that this money could be exploited to fund extra spending on public services such as the NHS. This was a chief trump card in the Brexiters camp, it was also an act of patriotism that made people believe that the EU was taking from their resources and benefited others. Indeed, the discourse of the leave campaign deepened divisions within British society and legitimized violence against group minorities in the week before and after the Brexit vote.

Besides, the Brexit vote revived the old polarization of the unionists and the nationalists in Northern Ireland. It brought back to the surface the question of Irish Unification that was so comforted by the Good Friday Agreement. A poll, by Lord Ashcroft (September 2019) in Northern Ireland on whether or not Northern Ireland

should remain part of the United Kingdom, found that 51 percent in favour of joining Ireland (an increase from 46 percent when those who don't know or wouldn't vote are excluded), with results divided along community lines. More than half of those surveyed, including nearly one in five unionists, believe Brexit strengthens the case for Irish unification, with nearly two-thirds think Brexit makes unification in the foreseeable future more likely.

Furthermore, although all the predictions and speculations put forward the risk in favour of the Brexit vote, the reality was very distinct. British people, foremost part, voted to put an end to immigration which has been linked to the European Union rules and presented as a cause for all the problems encountered in their daily life. People's visions were not enlarged by constructive debate to weigh the pros and cons of immigration. Instead, loads of negative perspectives were exposed which were conducted by a racist attitude preventing voters from seeing objectively. From another lens, the economic threat had indeed been explained by the pro-remain supporters yet, it had been taken on greater dimensions which left the voters in a state of doubt and confusion and led them to prefer the tangible option of immigration threat which had a Brexit solution.

The consequences of the Brexit votes can be simplified as follows:



Indeed, the referendum did not settle the European question among the politicians; instead, it contributed to the appearance of other issues. A transparent and informative discourse far from any concerns of ideologies of political interests would have prevented a lot of misunderstanding and trouble among the British society. When the choice of people is formed without constraints and influence, both sides in the campaign will gain even if there would surge economic losses, well-founded and united society would overcome all the problems.

III. The Delivery of the Brexit Referendum

At the time of the writing of this dissertation and after more than three years from the Brexit referendum of 2016, an agreement on the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland's withdrawal from the European Union was finally concluded on 17 October 2019, which entered into force on 1 February 2020. The agreement delivered the result of the referendum and sets up the terms consonantly with Article 50 of the Treaty of the European Union. It also allowed a transition period from 1 February to 31 December 2020, during which the EU treated the United Kingdom as if it was a Member State, with the exception of participation in the EU institutions and governance structures. The EU and the United Kingdom used these months to negotiate the EU/UK Trade and Cooperation Agreement.

Effectively, a post-Brexit trade deal was reached between the EU and the UK, summing up months of disagreements over future business rules, which means significant changes for business as the UK and EU are structuring two separate markets. The Trade and Cooperation Agreement was signed on 30 December 2020, it was applied provisionally as of 1 January 2021 and entered into force on 1 May 2021. This new deal consisted of free trade agreement, a new economic and social partnership, that covered not just trade in goods and services, but also a broad range of other areas, including fisheries, and social security coordination. Both parties agreed on a new framework for the joint management of fish stocks in EU and UK waters. The UK will be able to further develop British fishing activities, while the activities and livelihoods of European fishing communities will be safeguarded, and natural resources will be preserved. Concerning the social security coordination, the

agreement sought to ensure several rights of the EU citizens and UK nationals. It concerned EU citizens working in, travelling, or moving to the UK and UK nationals working in, travelling, or moving to the EU after 1st January 2021. The agreement also permitted the UK's continuous participation in several EU programs such as Horizon Europe, for the period 2021 to 2027, which will be subject to a financial contribution by the UK to the EU budget ("The EU-UK Agreement").

The UK's post-Brexit trade deal with the EU was supported by the Commons (521 to 73 votes); the majority of Labour MPs backed the agreement, yet this did not mean a strong consent with the deal, instead it was to escape terrible consequences of the no-deal alternative. As confirmed by the leader of the Labour party, Keir Starmer, who campaigned against Brexit, he wanted to "avoid a no-deal and put in place a floor from which we can build a strong future relationship". He additionally accused the prime minister of not being honest with the public about the deal, which he stated would lead to an "avalanche of checks, bureaucracy and red tape for British businesses" (BBC "Brexit: MPs overwhelmingly").

Exceptionally, the implementation of the new rules in the Northern Ireland ports, including checks, controls, and customs documents that need to be completed, have proved inconvenient to companies and abhorrence to unionists, who are fiercely against different treatment to Northern Ireland, which remain part of the United Kingdom. Consequently, this April witnessed some of the worst riots in the province since the 1998 accord in unionist communities provoked by anger at the protocol. Britain demanded on July 2021 that the European Union agree to rewrite a deal overseeing problematic post-Brexit trade involving Northern Ireland, a call

immediately rejected by Brussels. Despite repeated British complaints, the EU has refused to amend the protocol, fearing that the hard-to-police frontier with EU member Ireland could allow goods to enter its single market without meeting its regulatory standards (Holden and James).

Brexit Party leader, Nigel Farage, criticized the deal, which he argued was inappropriate, particularly for fisheries. However, he affirmed that this was much better than what it was five years ago. This affirmation is very critical, for it gives reason to the situation of frustration expressed by the Scottish Fishermen's Federation during the referendum campaign. They worried about taking British fishing stocks as a bargaining chip, which in fact occurred, rather than honour the promises made by Brexit campaign leaders who pledged to fight hard for the industry.

Besides, for Scotland's First Minister, Nicola Sturgeon, no deal can compensate what Brexit takes away from them. She argued that it was time to take the reins of their future as an independent and European nation. Constitution Secretary Michael Russell added that this 'hard Brexit' reinforced the importance for people in Scotland to have the right to decide their future and to regain the full benefits of EU membership as an independent country. The Brexit deal agreed by the UK Government was against Scot's will, it abolished the European Single Market, which would hit jobs and the economy at the worst possible time. Michael Russell declared that in the middle of a Corona Virus pandemic and economic recession, Scotland is being removed from a market worth £16 billion in exports to Scottish companies. ("Bad Brexit deal").

Certainly, after the Brexit referendum and the consequences of the Corona Virus pandemic, most Scots currently call for independence. As a response, the Scottish National Party is pledging to plan a vote for Scottish independence if they win a mandate in the 2021 Scottish Parliament elections. However, there are loads of economic dimensions that need to be considered such as, the currency to use, the fiscal engagements to make as well the long-run investment and productivity impacts. All these factors have to be weighed by voters before making any decision so far.

To sum up, the post-Brexit vote reflected a muddled atmosphere projected by a confused and monstrous discourse of the referendum campaign. Newspapers supporters of both the Leave and Remain camp employed a discourse full of rhetorical manipulation to influence and guide the electorate towards an unthoughtful choice. Moreover, the referendum campaign discourse lacked a profound political debate over serious issues such as the Irish border and Scotland's future in the eventual Brexit vote. The issues faced in the post-Brexit were not debated in the report's news during the referendum campaign. Merely a narrow-angle was represented to affect public opinion. The economic predictions launched by the pro-EU were confirmed the day after the Brexit vote but not as catastrophic as they had been reported. It proved correct the devaluation of the pound which had devalued by 11% against other major currencies which signalled the fear of the foreign investors who had less confidence in the UK's economic prospects. Besides, the impact of the Brexit vote reproduced a significant rise in xenophobic and racist attacks in the country, which can be explained by the fact that the referendum debate and particularly the discourse of the Leave campaign helped in a way to raise the hidden racist attitude and intolerance towards

migrants. The referendum discourse delivered legitimacy to act aggressively against the immigrants 'the others' enemies who were the cause of all British suffering, as it was advanced in the discourse of the anti-EU during the referendum campaign. Indeed, the hidden power of discourse led a battle and thrust people to make an indecisive choice.

Approximately, more than four years, after the Brexit result, were needed to materialize the vote, which elucidates the confusion and the complexity of such a choice in which Britain was not prepared to face. There was no plan for exit to be considered even for the leave campaign leaders. At the time of the writing of this dissertation, British people are still confused and more divided in the question of European membership as before. The United Kingdom is threatened as the Scots are more persuaded that Scotland's Independence is the only way to get back the full benefits of EU membership and the Northern Irish more convinced that Irish Unity is the solution to Brexit. What is more exceptional about this vote is that the political and the economic future consequences of the Brexit vote can only be known once in a generation, which means after 20 or 30 years onwards.

Conclusion

This research scrutinizes the discourse of the British online national newspapers published during the referendum campaign of the Brexit of 2016. The focus was put on six publications that have a wide readership. To grant more accuracy to the analysis, the examined cases were heterogeneous between broadsheets and tabloids namely *The Guardian*, *the Independent*, *the Daily Mirror*, *the Daily Mail*, *the Sun*, and *the Daily Telegraph*. They also had a different stance during the referendum campaign; of either leaving or remaining in the European Union. The purpose was to critically examine the strategy of the linguistics devices used to shape the news discourse of the referendum campaign. This study also, aimed to point out the ideologies disseminated by the online press discourse to direct and impact the readers' views regarding Britain's membership in the European Union.

In retrospect, British newspapers evolved throughout the centuries from a mere means of communication and sharing stories of traders and travellers to become a force in the social and political sphere. The emergence of the radical press in the nineteenth century contributed to a large extent to the raising of the social class consciousness and promoted the regularity of news among the working-class population. Thanks to the radical press, the demands of the working class were taken into account, which caused political disturbance among the elites who had to consider the voice of ordinary people in any political process. The rapid development of newspaper chains created an amalgamation of many national and regional newspapers at the beginning of the twentieth century, which generated a concentration of ownership and gave birth to the press barons who conquered a significant section of the British press. These barons represented a real danger for the development of

democracy; they used their papers for propaganda purposes to advance their interests. The question of press independence prevailed, as newspapers depended on the few proprietors and the commercial advertisements that finance newspapers and the high market entry cost that barred social groups with restricted financial resources from the competition.

The rise of the internet was another major factor discussed in chapter one. The internet contribution to the dissemination of information cannot be measured. It changed the way journalism functions particularly when the use of social media sites emerged to enlarge the interaction and discussion between different players in society. News production online changes news consumption, but it does not transform the core purpose of the newspaper organization. In the Brexit referendum campaign of 2016, online news played a key role in mobilizing public opinion in the UK. However, the Brexit result cannot be the product of a short campaign period. The fervour for the European union expressed at the first referendum in 1975 had been transformed a long way through the enlargement of the European process and amplified by the mainstream media particularly the right press, as being a threat to British sovereignty.

In Chapter two, I have looked at the historical relationship between the UK and Europe and clarified, to some extent the events leading to the fragile and ephemeral connection. I have explored the newspaper's representation of the procedure of European integration along with the successive governments and evolution of the unification process illustrated a complex relationship that has never found common ground for better prosperity. The newspapers' discourse in the course of the UK/EU relationship, and particularly the *Tabloid* had a significant part to expand the

pessimistic view among people to shape their opinion. The discourse used from the early 80s to 2016 came to cement the ground of the relation of hate and concretize a wish long-awaited by a class concerned only by its interest.

In the examination of the referendum discourse, Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model of *Critical Discourse Analysis*, as an eclectic approach, allowed me to deconstruct the discourse of the EU referendum campaign to unveil the ideological assumptions embedded and relate them to the existing power relations in the British political and public domains. Besides, Halliday's *Systemic Functional* theory and Van Dijk's *Socio-Cognitive* approach were merged into this research specifically to foster the understanding of the intricacies of the case under study. This analysis is a contribution to enrich comprehension of the Brexit vote and providing readers with a new perspective to visualize the outcome of the Brexit referendum.

Firstly, the linguistics investigation of some news' texts of the two conflicting campaigners in the referendum, which represents the first dimension in Fairclough's modal, reveals the use of three different values of a formal feature of the text. In terms of lexis and grammar, experiential, relational and expressive values were engaged as manoeuvres by both campaigners to indoctrinate ideas and beliefs to influence and direct the individual's vote on the day of the referendum. The implication of experiential values, as explained by Fairclough, mirrors the knowledge and beliefs of the text's producer, whereas the expressive values signify the view of the text producer. The relational value in the text demonstrates how a text's choice of wordings depends on and generates social relationships between particular group members. For

instance, a metaphorical representation of migrants using terms such as ‘influx, wave or flood’ is omnipresent in the pro-Brexiteers’ articles. These words and many other contesting ideologies were underlined and analysed to better understand the influence of the referendum discourse. Similarly, the grammatical structures were exploited in newspapers to expose and indicate the point of view of the writer.

Indeed, the news reporters manipulate the sentence structure to advance or hide certain aspects of reality from the reader to direct his or her attention according to his/her interest. The investigation in the third chapter demonstrates how the very particular choice of linguistic forms and certain lexis signals the exercise of power manifested in the covered ideologies. Because in many cases, one and the same topic about an issue was presented adversely in the different publications of the two conflicting camps, which reveals the newspaper bias in the coverage of the campaign.

Secondly, the research is strengthened by Van Dijk triangular approach of *Discourse-Cognitive-Society*, demonstrated in chapter four, it appeared to link the formal features of text to the background knowledge of the participants in the referendum discourse; chiefly readers, politicians, and journalists. This approach is complementary to the text analysis. It identifies the information or the claims of both campaigners, which have cognitive values shared with other members of the same group. It refers to the second dimension in Fairclough’s Model; that is the interpretation stage, which is concerned with the relationship between the process of text production and the process of interpretation for which the text is a resource. It links different values of a formal feature of the text that have a social origin, which helps to make sense of the referendum discourse and its influence through the

cognitive interface of mental models, knowledge, attitudes, and ideologies of the participants in the referendum.

The result of the interpretation stage, demonstrated in chapter four, shows that the readers, part of participants, featured either sentiment of fear and anxiety resulting from the Euroscepticism attitude, or they marked liberal views of tolerance and openness towards Europe. Politicians in the context of the referendum are distinct; between the resistance to cultural change, protector of the conservative and traditional values versus the more liberal elites adopting a change and collaboration with European members. In this context, journalists diverge into two views in the question of the European Union. Besides, in their reports, they target specific readers who share certain socio-cultural knowledge to either reinforce the shared values and beliefs or promote new ideas, at the same time journalists reflect social realities which are controlled by the context model. For instance, the population's growth in the UK, the debate over uncontrolled immigration, which puts pressure on public services, jobs, housing, and schools constituted the vital interest of the Brexiters in their coverage. Hence, the particular choice of lexis, which expresses the negative aspect of the mental model of a journalist, conveyed an intolerant attitude towards immigrants shared by the same members of the news community and readers who already have a predisposition to adopt this attitude founded on a racist ideology.

The link between the textual analysis and the context model through the cognitive interface demonstrates the very connection ideologies of the participants of the same context model. Many news reports based on the same knowledge of institutional statistics or quotes of personalities were presented into two mental models

with two different views. Views adapted to the interest of the corresponding campaign. For instance, in the economic topic, Treasury analysis showed that leaving the EU would cost British households £4,300 per year. This publication was explained in the Pro-EU articles by the fact that Britain would have a less open and interconnected economy with Europe and with the rest of the world. Regarding the anti-EU, they dismissed the Treasury analysis as an attempt to alarm pensioners. Both campaigners were engaged with the institutional statistics to defend a cause; they used this knowledge (information) as a manipulative means or control of public discourse.

Still, in the second stage of interpretation in Fairclough's three-dimensional model, the social origins of the claims of the participants and more particularly politicians and journalists who are concerned with the news reports contents are examined through intertextuality. In the event of the Brexit campaign, journalists and politicians drew upon pre-historical discourses to activate experiences occurrences in the mind of the reader in the attempt to assimilate them to the current issues in society. The discourse of the newspaper exhibits the utterance of multiples political voices along with different discourses and genres. The journalist's borrowing from other texts aimed to sustain the views of either to remain or to leave the EU depending on the newspaper's support. Margaret Thatcher and Wilson Churchill's speeches among many other texts were reproduced in the referendum campaign. Each camp with his manufacture shaped prior texts to a new product of news that fitted more its interest. Thus, Intertextuality is approved by Journalists and politicians to either maintain the existing power or create an opposition towards an established hegemony to achieve social change.

In fact, the implementation of the third dimension in Fairclough's model exposes, efficiently, the social effects of the referendum discourse. It shows the way social structures determine and are determined by discourse and the results generated from discourse to influence those social structures. In addition, it illustrates what power relationships determine the discourse. The discourse of both conflicting sides in the referendum campaign, the anti and the pro-EU groups, was in the same way determined by ideologies of racism and xenophobia. The power relations, which helped to shape discourse, belonged to the struggle of power to either maintain or bring a change to the existing power. Given the referendum result, which offered victory to the Brexiters, one can say that the newspapers discourse of the referendum campaign of 2016 contributed to the transformation of power relations in contemporary Britain.

The vote result was not unexpected. It mirrored the abhorrent atmosphere reigning during the campaign; the immigration issue plagued most of the voters. Leave voters were terrified of the free movement of immigrants and refugees, arguing that citizens of poorer countries were winning jobs and benefits. Many of the Leave supporters believed that the U.K. paid more into the EU than it gained. The problem of immigration was the main reason for the Brexit vote. However, in the aftermath of the referendum, many issues surged to the surface to threaten the country peace and unity. The majority of British people, after being aware of the implication of leaving the EU, sought the possibility of a second referendum on the EU membership. Indeed, the referendum campaign lacked a profound political debate over serious issues such as the Irish border and Scotland's future in the case of the Brexit vote. Merely a

narrow-angle was represented to influence public opinion. The interpretation of the discourse's result of the referendum campaign, in chapter five, helped to perceive more the discourse's manipulation used to direct the individual's vote on the day of the referendum.

From a political point of view, the Brexit vote did not resolve the division issue among the British politicians. Instead, it deepened disagreement between them as to the question of future relations with the European Union and noticeably an exit plan. The British government had to withdraw from the European Union to honour the people's choice, yet, no plan had been prepared for an exit. During the referendum campaign, David Cameron's government was confident about the victory of the Remain camp that why no plan was proposed for a possible Brexit vote. Regarding Brexiters, they were concerned about the exit from the union; the issue of immigration for them was the key to all other problems. Therefore, they failed to develop a strategy to execute a safe withdrawal.

Regarding the economic repercussion of the Brexit vote, taking apart the pound's devaluation, which signalled the fear of the foreign investors, leaving the EU also reduced the EU access to a large market that make it harder for the investors to take risks. Besides, the Remain camp's leaders got it right considering the trade link between the UK and the rest of the EU, because Brexit might damage the UK's economy. The predictions of the Pro EU depended upon economic institutional figures. The Leave camp's leaders instead of ascertaining the economic claims advanced by their adversary, criticized, rejected and even doubted its credibility because they were overwhelmed by the interest of leaving the EU. The UK economic

growth as a whole was weaker after the referendum as estimated by the Centre for European Reform, 2.5 per cent smaller than it would have been if Remain had won (Springford 2). It means that the Remain supporters, somehow, were more close to reality in their prophecy concerning the economic impact of Brexit. Yet, one can notice that it was not as catastrophic as it was advanced. In the years to come, more details will emerge as to the degree of exaggeration about the economic impacts of Brexit.

From the social lens, the shock of the Brexit vote in the UK demonstrated a significant rise in xenophobic and racist attacks in the country. Several racially motivated attacks related to the Brexit result had taken place. The Brexit result, more precisely, the referendum discourse of the Leave campaign helped in a way to arouse the hidden racist attitude and intolerance towards migrants, which gave some people the legitimacy to act cruelly against the immigrants. Further, the Brexit vote revived the old polarization of the unionists and the nationalists in Northern Ireland. It brought back to the surface the question of Irish Unification that was so reassured by the Good Friday Agreement. Brexit vote proved that more than half of Northern Irish people believed that Brexit strengthens the case for Irish unification. Similarly, Scotland's future in the UK after Brexit developed to be problematic, Scots citizens became more persuaded of the importance of Scottish independence.

The Brexit vote reproduced a muddled atmosphere projected by a confused and monstrous discourse of the referendum campaign. Newspapers, supporters of both the Leave and Remain engaged discourse full of rhetorical manipulation to influence and guide the electorate towards an unthoughtful choice. Although, the risk in the case

of the Brexit vote was higher in the scene, the reality was distinct. British people, foremost voted to eliminate immigration, which was related to the European Union rules. People's visions had not been enlightened by constructive debate to weigh the pros and cons of immigration. Instead, loads of negative perspectives were exposed, conducted by a racist attitude preventing voters from seeing objectively. Concerning the economic warning, it had indeed been alarmed by the pro-remain supporters. Yet, they exaggerated in their claims. Hence, voters were left in a state of doubt and confusion. This situation led them to select the concrete option of immigration threat that, in their views would be settled once leaving the European Union, and all of the other matters would be resolved accordingly.

The question of the EU/UK partnership is not settled yet after more than four years of the Brexit vote. The UK is struggling to find a compromise to rewrite a deal overseeing problematic post-Brexit trade involving particularly, Northern Ireland, the EU rejected the UK request to amend the already agreed protocol. Consequently, the peace and the integrity of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland are in danger. British people are more confused and more divided in the question of European partnership than before. Many of the Scots become more than ever persuaded that Scotland's Independence is the only way to get back the full benefits of EU membership. The Northern Irish, particularly nationalists, are more convinced that Irish unity is the solution to Brexit. These are the results of bitter and a long campaign. Newspapers were biased and very confused in their coverage of the EU. It did not meet the expectations of its readers. Readers were seized by trust and ignorance. They were for most influenced and misguided to exercise a very difficult choice. The choice

was not founded under any pretext of transparency and objectivity of the discourse, which works for the interest of the country and its inhabitants. An informative and clear discourse far from any concerns of ideologies of political interests would have eliminated a lot of confusion and nuisance among the British society. To a greater extent, the political and the economic long term consequences of the Brexit vote are perceptible once in a generation, which means after twenty or thirty years onwards. This offers continuity to this research for a further investigation in the after Brexit discourse.

Ultimately, it is clear that the newspapers discourse of the referendum campaign was employed to exert its power indirectly and guide the readers to adhere to its political agenda. Relating the long term consequences of Brexit to the referendum discourse will increase the readers' vigilance and allow them to become aware of the newspapers discourse that generated fear and terror to manipulate people decisions. Indeed, the kind of manoeuvres and hegemonic power of newspapers discourse has always existed and will continue. Thus, it is up to readers to no longer accept everything said or published, perceive and make a difference. The post Brexit discourse offers a subject for closer examination. In the lasted news of Post Brexit, Northern Ireland has created the front pages of the British newspapers. The rules of the post-Brexit concerning the trade proved to be a failure. Principally, the implementation of the protocol of Ireland at the start of 2021 disrupted trade between Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Diplomatic tensions arose with the EU; Britain is menacing to break down the protocol to block the ban on sending some goods from Great Britain to Northern Ireland. If the UK acts in this sense, it could discredit even the withdrawal

agreement which is contingent on the trade deal that was agreed between the UK and the EU. What is more attractive in newspaper articles and especially that of pro Brexit such as the *Sun*, the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Telegraph*, is the state of alarm and panic reflected in their headlines, which is far from the enthusiasm and cry for independence and a prosperous future projected on the day of the referendum result.

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الملخص

على مدى عقود مضت، تم تسخير وإستغلال الصحف في المملكة المتحدة كوسيلة تواصل ونفوذ من قبل المالكين والسياسيين بهدف نشر أفكارهم، وإضفاء الشرعية على سلطتهم السياسية وكذا تشكيل الرأي العام لتحقيق أغراض سياسية شخصية. وعليه، فإن تصرفات الناس وآرائهم يمكن التحكم فيها بعمق والتلاعب بها من خلال الأيديولوجيات الخفية التي تتبناها الصحف بإدراجها ضمن النصوص الإخبارية. فخلال حملة استفتاء خروج بريطانيا من الاتحاد الأوروبي عام 2016، كانت الصحافة مصدرًا رئيسيًا للمعلومات السياسية وكان لها مكانة بارزة في وضع وتحديد جدول الأعمال الخاص بوسائل الإعلام الرئيسية. هذه الرسالة تندرج ضمن محاولة لتحليل اللغة المستخدمة في الصحافة الإلكترونية في المملكة المتحدة أثناء حملة الاستفتاء على الانفصال من عضوية الاتحاد الأوروبي. تم إختيار نموذج نورمان فركلاف للتحليل النقدي للخطاب كمنهج ملائم لهذه الدراسة، لإحتوائه على النظريات اللغوية والاجتماعية وكذا السياسية التي تربط بين النص والجوانب الأخرى من الحياة الاجتماعية، بالإضافة إلى الفهم الشامل للإستراتيجيات الأيديولوجية والبلاغية التي يستخدمها النشطاء، للتأثير على رأي الناخبين حول نصرتهم تجاه الاتحاد الأوروبي. كما تم الإستعانة بتطبيق التأريخية، نظرية هاليداي الوظيفية المنهجية وكذا نهج فان دايك الإجتماعي المعرفي لتعزير فهم تعقيدات الحالة قيد الدراسة. وعليه، أظهرت نتائج البحث أن خطاب الصحافة لكل من الجهتين المتصارعتين في حملة الإستفتاء، وهما الجماعات المناهضة من جهة والمؤيدة للاتحاد الأوروبي من الجهة الأخرى كان بنفس المنهجية المتشعبة بالأيديولوجيات العنصرية والخوف من الأجانب. هذه الأيديولوجيات ساعدت في تشكيل هذا الخطاب وساهمت بشكل فعال في تغير موازين القوى في بريطانيا المعاصرة.

الكلمات المفتاحية

بركست، خطاب، جريدة، أيديولوجيا، التأثير، صراع على السلطة، استفتاء.