

# **Britain's European Union Referendum in British Quality and Tabloid Newspapers and Their Approaches to the Voters: A Linguistic Analysis**

Lucie Mičůchová

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děkanka



  
PhDr. Katarína Nemčoková, Ph.D.  
ředitelka ústavu

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## **ABSTRAKT**

Cílem této práce je najít a provést analýzu konkrétních persvazivních technik ve vybraných novinových článcích z britských seriózních a bulvárních novin, které vyšly v době před Referendem o členství Spojeného království v Evropské unii v červnu 2016. Práce je rozdělena na teoretickou a praktickou část. Teoretická část se zabývá historií vztahů mezi Spojeným královstvím a Evropskou unií a historickým pozadím britského referenda. Dále jsou specifikovány žurnalistika a vybrané britské seriózní a bulvární noviny. Poslední část teorie se zaměřuje na výrazové a stylistické prostředky, které se objevují v novinách. Praktická část se věnuje lingvistické analýze, která popisuje podobnosti a odlišnosti v interpretaci persvazivních technik, které se objevují v článcích z vybraných britských seriózních a bulvárních novin.

Klíčová slova: britské referendum, Evropská unie, seriózní a bulvární noviny, persvazivní techniky a strategie, lingvistická analýza

## **ABSTRACT**

The aim of the bachelor's thesis is to find and analyze particular persuasive techniques in selected articles of the British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers published before the United Kingdom European Union membership referendum in June 2016. The thesis is divided into the theoretical and practical part. The theoretical part deals with the history of the UK-European relationship as well as the historical background of the British referendum. Further, the journalism and the chosen British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers are specified. The last part of the theory focuses on expressive means and stylistics devices used in newspapers. The practical part is devoted to the linguistic analysis that describes similarities and differences of the interpretation of persuasive techniques among the chosen British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers.

Keywords: British referendum, the European Union, broadsheet and tabloid newspapers, persuasive techniques and strategies, linguistic analysis

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## INTRODUCTION

The United Kingdom European Union membership referendum was a significant event of the UK history since it has shaped the future of the country. The UK's membership in the EU has long been a topic of debate in Britain. On 23 June 2016, the country had opportunity to decide whether to leave or stay in the EU. However, the outcome was in favour of Britain to leave the EU.

This bachelor's thesis focuses on how the British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers felt before the referendum on Britain's membership in the EU and what persuasive strategies they used in order to convince their readers.

Firstly, the theoretical part of the thesis introduces the history of the UK-European relationship. Secondly, the historical context of the United Kingdom European Union membership referendum is described. As the analysis is based on newspapers articles, journalism is introduced together with several characteristics of news stories. The theoretical part also defines newspaper and its division into broadsheets and tabloids. The chosen British broadsheets (*The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian*) and the tabloids (*The Sun* and *The Daily Mirror*) are introduced as well. Furthermore, the thesis deals with the most frequent persuasive techniques and strategies. The last part of the thesis focuses on expressive means and stylistics devices used in newspapers.

The practical part is devoted to an analysis of selected articles from the British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. Four articles are from the broadsheet newspapers and four other ones are from the tabloid newspapers. The analysis focuses on the persuasive strategies and their effect on readers.

The main objective of the thesis is to show similarities and differences of the interpretation of persuasive techniques among the chosen British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers.

## **I. THEORY**

## 1 HISTORY OF THE UK-EUROPEAN RELATIONS

The relationship between Britain and Europe has always been complex. Not only due to the geographical reasons but also due to the historical ones (Katwala and Ballinger 2016, 48). Britain is situated off the north-west coast of the continental Europe and it is separated by the North Sea and by the English Channel (O'Driscoll 1995, 8-9). According to Nugée (Nugée 2013), these geographical facts have made a mental image of Britain and Europe as he calls “us and them”. He also explains the difference in politics. After the Second World War, Western and Northern Europe professed mostly the politics of coalition. This meant discussion, creating friendships and compromise. Whereas Britain has used a different approach. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom makes decisions about political issues on his or her own, whether it is with the Party, the Cabinet or the Parliament.

As Perisic (Perisic 2010, 2-3) notes, the era of the British Empire played a significant role in Britain's attitude towards Europe. During the 16th and 17th centuries Britain established its first colonies and later on, Britain expanded and became the greatest world empire with colonies all over the world. However, in the 20th century the British Empire fell into decline. Decolonisation and the returning of Hong Kong to China resulted in the end of the British Empire.

In the mid-20th century the British Commonwealth was established. The Commonwealth is an intergovernmental organisation of 53 independent and sovereign member states that were mostly colonies of the former British Empire (Green 2006, 75). Due to the position of Britain as a leader of world history, a large part of the country still feels somehow superordinate to the other European states. Belonging to European institutions and being restricted by their policy would mean a loss of Britain's sovereignty and its world-wide influence (Perisic 2010, 3).

However the position of Great Britain changed after the Second World War. Britain was weakened and the fact that Britain did not participate in the founding of the EU played a crucial role as well. The founding members formed the EU to their own advantages, thus countries who joined later, such as Britain, very often encountered difficulties to adapt the rules or to change them (Perisic 2010, 3-4).

Although Britain had a couple of opportunities to participate in the process of establishing the EU, it has not yet done it. In the 1950s, there were negotiations over creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) but Britain, led by the Labour Government of Clement Attlee, refused the offer to participate in it (Perisic 2010, 4). In

1951, by the Treaty of Paris, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was officially established (Liddle 2014, 269).

Due to the decolonisation and Suez Crisis in 1956, Britain was gradually losing its power (Katwala and Ballinger 2016, 48-49). In this conflict, Britain, followed by France and Israel, invaded Egypt in order to regain its control over the Suez Canal and to remove the power from the Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. However, the USA did not support the Anglo-French-Israeli allies and forced them to withdraw. This conflict showed that being dependent on the USA was not reliable for Europe and it also highlighted the decline of Britain as a world power (Liddle 2014, 269-270).

In the meantime, the six founding countries of the ECSC (Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands) decided to extend the common market for coal and steel into the common market in general (Perisic 2010, 4). Thus in 1957 the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC or Euratom) were established by the Treaty of Rome (Liddle 2014, 270). Although this act was another important opportunity to be a part of the formation of the modern European Community, Britain, led by the Conservative Government of Anthony Eden, did not find it important and refused to sign the treaty again (Perisic 2010, 4).

As British decolonization and economic decline continued, Britain (together with Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, and Switzerland) decided to form the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) in 1960 as a reaction to the creation of the EEC. The main aim of the EFTA was to establish a free market like the EEC (Liddle 2014, 270-271).

The conclusion to apply for Britain's membership of the EEC was taken in 1961 by the Conservative Government of Harold Macmillan (Perisic 2010, 4-5). However, the British request to join the EEC was vetoed in 1963 by the French President Charles de Gaulle (Katwala and Ballinger 2016, 48). He argued that the UK's close links with the USA and the lack of the commitment to European integration could be the obstacles to join the EEC (Liddle 2014, 271). The second attempt of Britain to apply for the EEC membership was in 1967. The Labour Government led by Harold Wilson submitted another application to join the European Community, nevertheless it was refused by the French President de Gaulle once again (Perisic 2010, 5). In 1967, The Merger Treaty came into force. This treaty united the three Communities (ECSC, EEC, EAEC) into a single one (EEC) (Schön-Quinlivan 2011, 24).

In 1969, after de Gaulle's resignation, Georges Pompidou became the new French President. Pompidou abandoned de Gaulle's veto and enabled Britain to join the EEC (Grenville 2005, 864). In 1973, Britain, led by the Conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath, officially joined the European Economic Community (Liddle 2014, 272).

According to the European Communities Act of 1972, the European law has supremacy over the law of the member states. Nevertheless, the unwritten UK's constitution is based on the principle of the Sovereignty of Parliament. This clash of powers was shared not only by the public but also by the politicians (Perisic 2010, 5).

In 1974, the Labour Party came to power. They promised to hold a referendum and they kept their word. In 1975, the Labour Party led by Harold Wilson held a referendum on the UK's withdrawal from the EEC. The outcome was that the majority of the public voted in favour of Britain to stay a member (Liddle 2014, 273). The UK referendum split the Labour Party. The Labour Party became more interested in Europe and British membership. On the contrary, the Conservative Party gradually started to deprecate the idea of integration since Margaret Thatcher became the new leader of the party in 1973 (Perisic 2010, 6-7).

In 1978, the European Monetary System (EMS) was established. A part of the EMS was the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM). The ERM system was the basis for creating a single European currency in the future. All member states joined the ERM, except the UK (Liddle 2014, 273).

In 1979, Thatcher became the new Prime Minister. During the period of her service, she openly expressed negative stance towards the EEC and increased political isolation of Britain from Europe (Perisic 2010, 7). At the press conference at the EEC Summit in Dublin, UK in 1979, Thatcher announced her effort to renegotiate Britain's contributions to the EEC budget.

From 1980 to 1983, the Leader of the Labour Party was Michael Foot. He supported the idea of the UK withdrawal from the EEC. However, in 1984, Neil Kinnock became the leader of the Labour Party and gradually the Labour Party dropped its opposition to the European Communities (Liddle 2014, 273-274).

In 1984, the government of Margaret Thatcher eventually negotiated a rebate on the UK's contributions to the budget of the EEC (Perisic 2010, 7). The agreement reflected the fact that the grants of the Common Agricultural Policy were not as beneficial for the UK as for other countries because a farming sector represented relatively small proportion of the UK's GDP. At that time, the UK was second poorest member of the EEC (Liddle 2014, 274).

Throughout the 1980s, Margaret Thatcher was still sceptical about the UK to join the European Monetary System and to adopt a common social policy (Perisic 2010, 7). Britain entered the EEC primarily for economic reasons, not to integrate politically (Katwala and Ballinger 2016, 48). In 1989, after the fall of the Berlin Wall, Thatcher expressed her opinion that she did not want Germany to reunify. She was worried that a united Germany would dominate Europe. Unwillingness of Thatcher to adapt revolutionary changes was the major reason of her fall in 1990 (Liddle 2014, 275-276).

In 1990, John Major became the new Prime Minister and the leader of the Conservative Party. In 1992, Major's government ratified the Maastricht Treaty that led to the creation of the EU in 1993 (Perisic 2010, 8). The Maastricht Treaty introduced the three pillars structure of the EU (the European Community pillar, the Common Foreign and Security Policy pillar, and the Justice and Home Affairs pillar) and led to the creation of a single European currency (Liddle 2014, 276). However, John Major negotiated an opt-out from the Social Chapter of the Maastricht Treaty, as well as of joining the monetary and economic union (Perisic 2010, 8).

In 1997, the Labour Party of Tony Blair came to power. Blair was very enthusiastic about the EU and thus, immediately after coming to power, he abolished the opt-out of the Social Chapter of the Maastricht Treaty. Blair achieved a much more favourable image of Britain as a member of the EU than it used to have. Nevertheless, the UK's strong links to the USA became more apparent in the time of Blair's service. Blair strongly supported the foreign policy of the USA. After the terrorist attacks in September 2001, he ensured that the British Armed Forces participated in invasions in Afghanistan and in Iraq. For these decisions Blair has faced a strong criticism (Perisic 2010, 8-9).

From 2007 to 2010, Gordon Brown came to power as the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Labour Party. His service continued in tight relations with the USA (Perisic 2010, 8-9). During the Lisbon Treaty ceremony in 2007 at which the leaders of the EU were supposed to sign the Treaty, Gordon Brown was the only representative who missed the ceremony. The Conservatives criticised him of not being a very good international diplomat (BBC 2007).

In 2010, David Cameron became the new Prime Minister of the UK. At his 43 he was the youngest prime minister since 1812 (Heppell and Seawright 2012, 194). He served as the Leader of the Conservative Party from 2005 to 2016. In 2011, Cameron vetoed the proposed changes to the EU's Lisbon Treaty concerning the eurozone crisis. He argued that the treaty was not in Britain's interest. In 2013, David Cameron set a deadline to hold a

referendum on Britain's membership in the EU by the end of 2017. In June 2016, David Cameron resigned after the outcome of a referendum the UK to quit the EU. Since July 2016, Theresa May has been the new Prime Minister and the leader of the Conservative Party (BBC 2017).



## 2 BRITISH REFERENDUM

The question of the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European Union accelerated in October 2011, when members of the House of Commons voted whether to grant a referendum on the EU membership or not. The debate of the Commons on this issue was preceded by a petition, signed by more than 100 000 people (BBC 2011). The outcome of the voting of the House of Commons was 483 votes against the referendum to 111 votes for it (BBC 2015). Despite David Cameron's instructions to vote against the referendum, overall 81 Tory Members of Parliament supported the referendum and a further two abstained (Horncastle News 2011). This act proved the inconsistency over the European question in the Conservative Party. The Leader of the Labour Party, Ed Miliband, called the rebellion of the Tories as “humiliation” of the Prime Minister. In addition, 19 Labour MPs and one Liberal Democrat defied their party's leadership and voted for the referendum (BBC 2011).

In January 2013, in a long awaited speech, David Cameron promised to open the debate over the referendum of the EU membership. Cameron said that if the Conservative Party wins in the UK General Election in 2015, he and his party will strive to renegotiate the UK relationship with the EU and after that let people choose whether to stay in or leave the EU. The Leader of the Labour Party, Ed Miliband, opposed holding the referendum. Miliband opined that Cameron got scared of the increasing rating of the UK Independent Party and is going to put Britain through the time of uncertainty and economic risk. The Liberal Democrats expressed their concerns about holding the referendum as well. They argued that renegotiation of the UK's membership would hit jobs and economic growth and this was not in the UK's interest (BBC 2013).

In July 2013, James Wharton, who was a backbencher of the Conservative Party, brought forward a bill about holding the referendum on the UK's membership to become a law. The bill passed through the House of Commons, however the House of Lords blocked it. In January 2014, David Cameron opined that the Conservatives would bring the bill again. Cameron was determined to use the Parliament Act that reduces the delaying power of the House of Lords, in order to force the bill to become a law. In October 2014, Bob Neill, a backbencher of the Conservative Party, brought back the EU Referendum Bill as a Private Member's Bill. Nevertheless, the Conservatives did not come to an agreement with their coalition partners, the Liberal Democrats (BBC 2015).

In May 2015, the Conservative Party won 331 seats and gained an overall majority in the House of Commons in the General Election (BBC 2015). Shortly after the Election, the

Conservatives pledged to hold the referendum on the UK's membership of the EU by the end of 2017 at the latest (BBC 2015). In December 2015, after the approval of the House of Commons and gaining the Royal Assent, the EU Referendum Bill became a law. In the same month, the EU Summit in Brussels took place. The UK's interest was to seal the deal with the EU counterparts over the renegotiations of the UK-European relationship. David Cameron introduced to the EU leaders the UK's requests (BBC 2016). The requests concerned four main categories. Firstly, Cameron demanded more powers for the House of Commons and other national parliaments to block unwanted Brussels legislation. Secondly, he demanded greater protection of the pound by an explicit statement that the EU had more than one currency. Thirdly, he wanted the EU to increase efforts to cut the bureaucracy and boost competitiveness across the EU. Fourthly, he demanded a limitation of the in-work benefits for the EU migrants working in the UK (The Independent 2016). The European Council President Donald Tusk said that the debate should lead to a deal by February (BBC 2016).

At the beginning of February 2016, the European Council published a draft deal for the proposed changes to the UK's membership of the EU (BBC 2016). Two of Cameron's demands (on vetoing unwanted Brussels legislation and increasing competitiveness) were welcomed, however the demands on the Eurozone and particularly on migrants' in-work benefits met with opposition (The Independent 2016). The European Council document suggested so called “emergency brake” on the payment of in-work benefits for up to four years, however Cameron demanded a total ban on in-work benefits for four years. Concerning the Eurozone issue, Britain called for greater protection of the members out of Eurozone and for power to block the Eurozone laws. The European Council document offered a mechanism of certain “reassurances” for non-eurozone members, but it did not constitute a veto (The Guardian 2016).

Although David Cameron did not get everything that he wanted, he said that the package of reforms was the best he could have achieved. Home Secretary Theresa May opined that the package offered the basis for a deal. Nevertheless many Tory colleagues said that the Prime Minister David Cameron had failed, because he did not push through all the objectives he originally intended (BBC 2016).

At the EU Summit in Brussels in February 2016, Cameron got a deal. The 27 members of the EU signed up the package of reforms over the UK relationship with the EU. A day later, Cameron called the EU referendum on Britain's membership to take place on 23 June 2016 (BBC 2016).

At the turn of March and April 2017, The Electoral Commission designated the official Leave and Remain campaigns that offered a 7 million pounds spending limit, an access to public fund and TV broadcasts (BBC 2016).

The UK Independence Party campaigned in favour of the UK's leaving the EU as well as about half of the Conservative Party Members of Parliament including five members of the then Cabinet. They were joined by some of the Labour Party's MPs, as well as the Northern Ireland Party and the Democratic Unionist Party (BBC 2017).

In favour of the Remain Campaign were the Prime Minister David Cameron together with sixteen members of his Cabinet, including Theresa May. The Conservative Party that was split on the issue, stayed neutral in the campaign. The Labour Party, as well as the Liberal Democrats, the Scottish National Party, the Plaid Cymru and the Green Party were all in favour of the UK staying in the EU (BBC 2017).

In June 2016, the UK voted to leave the EU by 52% to 48%. The referendum turnout was 71.8% with more than 30 million people who voted. Few hours after the publication of results of the referendum, David Cameron announced his resignation in an emotional speech outside 10 Downing Street. In his speech he opined that Britain needed fresh leadership to take the country in a new direction. In July 2016, Theresa May became a new Prime Minister and the Leader of the Conservative Party (BBC 2017). In October 2016, Theresa May delivered her first speech to the Conservative Party Conference since becoming the UK Prime Minister. May pledged to trigger the formal process of leaving the EU by the end of March 2017 (BBC 2016). In order to do so, the British government had to invoke an agreement called Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty (BBC 2017). Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty gives any EU member state the right to quit the EU. It also gives the leaving member two years to negotiate an exit deal (Telegraph 2017).

In January 2017, the UK's Supreme Court ruled that the approval of the Parliament was needed before Article 50 could be triggered by the UK Government. In March 2017, the Parliament passed the Brexit bill that gives Theresa May the power to invoke Article 50 and start the EU exit negotiations. After the UK invoked Article 50 in March 2017, Britain is scheduled to leave the EU by the end of March 2019 (The Daily Express 2017).

### 3 JOURNALISM AND NEWS

The news is an important part of our everyday life in the 21st century. The emphasis in news is now put mostly on immediacy (Fleming 2006, 1). Majority of people are not directly affected by events that occur in the world and so it is very important to have a certain mediator that would provide fine and reliable news service (Rudin and Ibbotson 2002, 1). Technological changes also play a key role in the way news is spread and displayed. Communication is now faster with the Internet and mobile phones, thus this also requires some changes in the working process of journalists. Journalist are expected to be more multiskilled in order to adapt to a new technology. But despite these technological changes, the basis of the journalism remains the same. Primarily, it is to report on events that somehow affect society - all in an accurate and balanced way (Fleming 2006, 1). Harcup (Harcup 2009, 2) explains journalism as a form of communication in which certain information is provided and at the same time, the answers on fundamental questions such as what, who, where, when and why are replied to. Rudin and Ibbotson (Rudin and Ibbotson 2002, 5) add that journalism is about the gathering and editing of information. Therefore newswriting requires a selection of information, ideas, events or controversies in order to put them into an appropriate form and context. Fleming (Fleming 2006, 5-6) suggests several characteristics that are evident in most of news stories. They are:

- *Relevance* - event must affect the lives of the audience;
- *Timeliness* - news stories tend to reflect what is happening now than in the past;
- *Simplification* - especially in the case of news bulletins where the time is limited, straightforwardness and unambiguity are favoured;
- *Predictability* - it appears in stories which deal with events that are known in advance, such as state occasions, anniversaries, etc;
- *Continuity* - event has further impact on people, thus there is a tendency for regular updates;
- *Composition* - news editors provide different types of stories from serious political news to stories with much lighter topic;
- *Elite people* - unknown person committing a crime is unlikely to make the news, more appealing is if person is a well-known by the public;
- *Elite nations* - events in top world countries such as the USA and Europe are more favoured than those in developing countries;

- *Negativity* - negative news is generally considered to be more interesting than a positive one, thus stories about crime, natural disasters and scandals occur highly (Fleming 2006, 5-6).

## 4 CLASSIFICATION OF NEWSPAPERS

When it comes to the classification of newspapers, newspapers are mostly divided into “broadsheets” and “tabloids” (Price 2003, 88). Technically, this division refers to the physical size of newspapers but it also corresponds with the character of its news coverage (Harris and Rampton 2003, 134). Sometimes the newspapers are divided into “elite” and “non-elite” newspapers. This approach is based on the socio-demographic categories of readers in society (Rudin and Ibbotson 2002, 10). Another typology classifies newspapers as “down market” and “upmarket”, according to the socio-economic level of readership.

Tabloids deal mostly with trivial subjects whereas broadsheets, sometimes called as quality press, focus on more serious topics (Cotter 2010, 6). Both types of newspapers have their own readership with different values, expectations, interest and education.

### 4.1 Broadsheet Newspapers

Broadsheet newspapers are generally printed on a large format paper. This fact comes from the beginning of newspaper industry when there was a tendency to reduce total costs. Broadsheets are also characterized by a certain journalistic quality and seriousness. Thus the readership of broadsheet newspapers is supposed to be more educated and sophisticated compared to tabloid newspapers (Sterling 2009, 223-224). When it comes to the format of broadsheets, text is mostly separated into columns; sentences are long and complex. On the front page of broadsheets, serious news still dominate. However, some of the broadsheet newspapers, for instance *The Daily Telegraph*, use a “lighter item” on the front page. Front page pictures are also more significant than they used to be in the past (Fleming 2006, 8). Williams (Williams 2010, 231) claims that imaginary borders between broadsheet and tabloid newspapers had almost disappeared by the start of the twenty-first century. Broadsheet papers now publish news that would formerly suit the tabloids only. They use shorter headlines, bigger pictures and less text, and focus more on comments than they used to do in the past. Sterling (Sterling 2009, 224) explains this phenomenon as the cause of constantly rising paper costs, impracticality of the broadsheet format and also of the decline of readers and smaller advertising revenues.

#### 4.1.1 The Daily Telegraph

*The Daily Telegraph* is Britain’s top-selling broadsheet daily newspaper that was founded in 1855 (Westin 2002, 7). Originally, the paper was titled *The Daily Telegraph and Courier* (Conboy 2010, 91). Politically, *The Daily Telegraph* is regarded to be right-wing newspaper

that has leaned towards Conservative Party (Westin 2002, 7). Its readership is rather of the middle social class, middle-aged or older (Childs and Storry 2002, 522). It offers political news as well as sport, culture and lifestyle oriented coverage. *The Daily Telegraph* became the first UK's newspaper which started offering news online, available to the public on its web page (Rudin 2002, 94). The newspaper has its sister paper *The Sunday Telegraph*. Both versions belong under *The Telegraph Media Group* which is situated in Jersey, UK (Noam 2016, 428). In terms of Brexit, *The Daily Telegraph*, together with its sister paper, supported the Leave campaign.

#### 4.1.2 The Guardian

*The Guardian* is a liberal (left-wing) daily newspaper that was founded in 1821 in Manchester as *The Manchester Guardian*. The “Manchester” was dropped from its title in 1959, when the newspaper moved its base to London (Rudin and Ibbotson 2002, 18). Since that time, *The Guardian* has slowly become the metropolitan liberal paper as it is known today. Although the newspaper does not have a very staggering circulation, it is still attracted by its stalwart readers. Those are especially of the middle-class and public sector, such as social workers and teachers (Cole and Harcup 2010, 34). *The Guardian* has its sister papers *The Observer* and *The Guardian Weekly*. All versions are part of the *The Guardian Media Group* (Cole and Harcup 2010, 87-88). *The Guardian* newspaper includes news, comments and analysis from the fields of economy, politics, sport, culture and lifestyle. Concerning the Brexit, *The Guardian* announced its stance in favour of the UK to stay in the European Union.

## 4.2 Tabloid Newspapers

Tabloid newspapers are traditionally called as populars. Generally, tabloids appeal to a larger readership and the target audience is rather of low and middle social and economic level (Jucker 1992, 8). The coverage of tabloids is typically more sensational compared to broadsheet newspapers. It consists of news about crime, sport, politics, royal family, lifestyle and show business (Conboy 2010, 130). More pictures and less text are used in tabloids than in broadsheets. The headlines are screaming and eye-catching, and very often a play on words is used in order to attract the attention of readers. Tabloids are required to be read quickly, thus they contain short and clearly defined stories. A particular word or phrase is often emphasized within the text in order to acquire the context of the news easily (Johansson 2007, 133-134). Tabloids very often describe things in a more dramatic way and so plenty

of intensifiers and emotionally coloured expressions are used in order to appeal to the senses of readers (Jucker 1992, 158-159). Besides other things, metaphors, jokes and puns included in either texts or headlines, are also present in tabloid newspapers (Johansson 2007, 133-134).

#### **4.2.1 The Sun**

*The Sun* is considered to be the most significant daily tabloid in the the UK. The predecessor of *The Sun* was the broadsheet format, however, *The Sun*, as it is known today, was launched in 1969 (Conboy 2011, 114). At that time, the new owner Rupert Murdoch and his editor Larry Lamb had ambitions for *The Sun* to become a fresh new tabloid that is loud, controversial and entertaining yet still politically aware and highly profitable (Johansson 2007, 19). *The Sun* targets male audience because of its fine sport coverage, while woman are attracted by news about scandals, gossips, lifestyle and showbiz (Johansson 2007, 10). Nowadays, *The Sun* belongs to the UK's best-selling newspapers with the highest proportion of circulation (The Sun, 2017). *The Sun* officially supported the Leave campaign in the British referendum over Brexit.

#### **4.2.2 The Daily Mirror**

*The Daily Mirror* is a daily tabloid newspaper established in 1903 with the original intention to appeal to mostly female readers. During the 1930s, *The Daily Mirror* transformed into a working-class newspaper with the aim to address a large mass of readers (Conboy 2006, 7). Its readership is rather of the lower and middle social class (Conboy 2010, 49). *The Daily Mirror* is considered to be a more serious and a more politically focused newspaper in the comparison to *The Sun* (Johansson 2007, 10-17). *The Daily Mirror* is in a political alignment with the Labour Party since General Elections in 1945 (Conboy 2010, 125-126). Concerning the Brexit, *The Daily Mirror* announced its stance on the EU referendum in favour of the Remain campaign.



## 5 PERSUASION IN NEWSPAPERS

The aim of persuasion is to either change or to affect the point of view and the behaviour of the audience, or to support its existing beliefs and opinions. Persuasion has a long tradition, it has attracted scholars since ancient times (Virtanen and Halmari 2005, 5). It was the ancient philosopher Aristotle who first defined persuasion as a skill that should be studied. At that age, art of rhetoric became desired among people, especially among the political elite (Mortensen 2004, 10). Aristotle suggested three classic types of persuasion, namely: *Ethos*, *Pathos* and *Logos* (Virtanen and Halmari 2005, 5-6).

### 5.1 Persuasive Strategies

#### 5.1.1 Ethos

Virtanen and Halmari (Virtanen and Halmari 2005, 5) explain ethos as the ethical appeal to the audience. This strategy relates to the personal character of the persuader (Mortensen 2004, 10). Persuader has to be credible in order to convince audience, thus it requires certain expertise and experience (Richardson 2006, 159-160). Persuader with a given social status, education and experience is a very powerful tool of persuasion. Once persuader **presents** himself or herself as this type of person, the audience **recognizes** these preconditions to be worthy of trust and therefore **supports** the persuader's argument (Borg 2007, 3-5). According to Aristotle, this type of strategy is the most powerful among the three persuasive strategies (Mortensen 2004, 10).

#### 5.1.2 Pathos

Pathos is defined as a persuasive strategy with the aim to appeal to the emotions of the audience (Virtanen and Halmari 2005, 5). This type of persuasion can be applied either by the implicit (evasive or indirect) or the explicit (clearly expressed) argument (Richardson 2006, 160). Pathos moves audience from one emotive state of mind to another (Richardson 2006, 160). Mortensen (Mortensen 2004, 11) adds that knowing both, the actual state of mind and desired state of mind of the audience is important to make and then apply an effective persuasive strategy. And so, by the use of an appropriate pathetic argument audience becomes more susceptible to what the persuader presents to be believed (Richardson 2006, 160). Pathos is used to affect certain feelings, for instance joy, fear, anger or pity (Covey 2004, 255). However, nowadays fear is the emotion that predominates political discourse. When audience is afraid in a proper way, in most cases they agree with

claims they would not usually agree with. Thus, the persuasion is more likely to be successful (Richardson 2006, 160-161).

### 5.1.3 Logos

Logos is the persuasive strategy based on the logic, reasoning and rationality of the audience (Covey 2004, 255). This type of strategy is broadly used in the newspaper editorials. Persuader tries to provide logical arguments supported by certain data in order to appeal to audiences' rational thinking processes. These data might be, for instance, various forms of surveys, reports, graphs or public opinion polls (Virtanen and Halmari 2005, 6). The audience is more likely to be persuaded by an argument that is based on evidence and logic (Richardson 2007, 161). Aristotle assumed that humans are reasonable beings in their essence. Hence, they will always believe what they find that makes them sense (Mortensen 2004, 11). Logos relates to the actual words that persuader uses, therefore this strategy requires a valid choice of words, quotations and a logically structured argumentation (Borg 2007, 3-5).

## 5.2 Persuasive Techniques

A good persuader should understand and be aware of the available persuasive techniques and be able to apply them in a suitable way corresponding with a suitable situation. To construct a strong argument requires the knowledge of persuasive techniques and also the familiarity with the target audience (Mortensen 2004, 20-21). The use of an appropriate persuasive language is also an essential part of making strong credible arguments (Beardwood 2015, 161).

Concerning the persuasive language, before analysing how language works in a persuading audience, it is necessary to be acquainted with the following three elements which are present at any writing. They are: *Contention*, *Tone* and *Style* (Breuer and Napthine 2008, 70). *Contention* reflects *what* the persuader is saying and what he or she is convincing audience to believe. *Tone* is explained as the *way* the persuader feels towards the topic. It describes the persuader's attitude. When tone is aggressive, it mirrors in the choice of language as well. And so, the persuader uses more forceful and convincing words. On the other hand, a calm tone, which is used rather to inform than persuade, requires more neutral vocabulary. Shifts in tone influence the impression the audience gets. *Style* defines the *way* the persuader's stance is presented. It concerns the type of devices that the persuader uses;

in other words, whether the text is logical, formal, straightforward, based on evidence, etc. (Breuer and Napthine 2008, 70-74).

Breuer and Napthine suggest some of these techniques and strategies for the purpose of persuading the audience:

- *Use of emotive words* - intentional use of emotive expressions such as *disgusting, greedy, etc.* appeals to reader's feelings and evokes certain emotional reaction that has a persuasive impact on readers;
- *Inclusive language* - the aim of this method is to include the reader and gain his or her sympathy by using the *we* personal pronoun. This evokes in readers a sense of unity and togetherness;
- *Rhetorical question* - is a question that does not expect an answer. The answer is obvious, so the only purpose is to encourage the reader to agree. Very often, the rhetorical question uses irony;
- *Repetition* - repeating of letters, words, phrases or ideas provides prominence and strengthens the claim. At the same time it makes readers memorize it;
- *Use of hyperbole* - hyperbole, in other words the overstatement or exaggeration, is used in order to emphasize the point and manipulate the readers;
- *Use of figurative language (e.g. metaphor)* - the aim of using metaphor is to appeal to the reader's feelings and make the point more colourful and memorable. It also makes the persuader seem more educated and sophisticated;
- *Generalisation* - is based on the use of a particular cases, examples or parts in order to make an argument about the whole;
- *Use of evidence* - by the support of evidence such as graphs, statistics, research or expert opinions, the argument becomes more reliable and trustworthy. Reader has no reason not to believe to something that is a fact, not just an opinion;
- *Making an appeal to patriotism* - this strategy focuses on people's pride to their country and nation. Very often, it plays on reader's emotions like loyalty, pride, fear, insecurities and other moral values;
- *Making an appeal to tradition* - turns attention to the past and its legacy. Any changes or doing things in modern way are very often rejected;
- *Alliteration* - is a technique characterized as an intentional repetition of the same letter especially at the beginning of words for the purpose of catching the reader's attention and giving an emphasis to the point of the persuader. Alliteration is primarily used in the newspapers headlines (Breuer and Napthine 2008, 74-78).

Huggard and Breuer (Huggard and Breuer 2006, 28-33) suggest further strategies and complete the list of selected persuasive techniques above by following examples:

- *Use of adjectives* - adjectives modify and describe a word (noun). They are used to highlight the point;
- *Connotation* - it is the implicit meaning associated with words. The persuader choose words carefully according to the context and tone of his or her point. Different shades of similar words create a different effect on readers;
- *Sensationalism* - sensationalism is a biased presentation of the point usually with the tendency for over-dramatizing things. Very often it appears in tabloid newspapers. The principal aim is to catch the reader's attention and evoke strong emotions such as panic, fear, depression, etc.;
- *Simile* - it means that one thing is frequently compared to another one by using *like* or *as*. It is a very effective device if an unexpectable comparison is used;
- *Reason and logic* - making an argument strong, logic, objective and trustworthy requires valid information supported by evidence;
- *Loaded words* – it means words with subtext. Words that are connected with different associations but predominantly with negative ones (Huggard and Breuer 2006, 28-33).

## 6 EXPRESSIVE MEANS AND STYLISTIC DEVICES

As Miššíková (Miššíková 2003, 29) suggests by the use of stylistic means of a language, the author creates certain effect that he or she desires the audience to have. These stylistic means can be sorted into *Expressive Means* and *Stylistic Devices*.

### 6.1 Expressive Means

Expressive means of a language, present at various language levels, are those means whose function is to intensify the point, in order to appeal to the emotions or logic of readers (Miššíková 2003, 29). According to Miššíková (Miššíková 2003, 29-31) expressive means differ from stylistic devices by a considerably bigger predictability and also by a smaller amount of information that they carry. In other words, expressive means are more likely to be understood without any difficulties (Miššíková 2003, 31).

#### 6.1.1 Lexical Level

Lexical level deals with words and their meaning. That words carry certain expressiveness and have emotive and referential meanings. Some of literary expressions and words of non-standard English, such as poetic, vulgar or archaic words, belong to the lexical level as well. Their expressive character is unquestionable, particularly in comparison to neutral language. Proverb, sayings and some of idioms are very often based on expressiveness too (Miššíková 2003, 30). Related to the meaning of words, there are denotative and connotative types of meaning (Jackson and Amvela 2000, 57). Denotative meaning indicates the literal, objective, unambiguous meaning of the word (Kim 1996, 24). Denotation resembles dictionary meaning (Mott 2009, 68). For instance, the denotative meaning of the word *home* is *a place to live* (Kim 1996, 24). On the other hand, connotative meaning is more subjective and emotive and depends on the personal attitude and experience that readers have (*man* as *an adult* versus *man* as a connotation of *strength, virility, aggression*) (Mott 2009, 68).

#### 6.1.2 Syntactic Level

At the syntactic level, the way the sentences and its elements are structured in a certain language is studied (Chomsky 2002, 11). There are many syntactic constructions and patterns that have an expressive potential (Miššíková 2003, 30). Passivization might be one of the tools how to change the emotional quality, by either deleting the Agent of the action or rhematizing the Agent (Veselovská and Emonds 20011, 22-23). By the process of deleting, the agent becomes general and generalization is considered to be one of the persuasive technique that is sometimes used in newspapers as well (Breuer and Naphtine

2008, 74). As a further effect, passive voice is used in newspaper to make the statement more formal and polite (Roberts 2004, 103-104). Declarative, imperative and interrogative tone of clauses might also serve as emotional intensifiers (Schwabe and Winkler 2007, 27). Concerning the word order in English sentences and its potential expressive quality, the phenomenon of the “fronting” should be mentioned as well. Fronting means moving of certain sentence elements (very often adverbials or objects in English) to the beginning of the sentence for the purpose of emphasizing the theme (Attarde 2007, 638). Modality, that is also very common in English; it has an expressive capacity as well. Through modality, the writer is able to express his or her mood, attitude or feelings, very often in gentle way (Wirtz 2007, 55). Modality might be expressed by either modal verbs that are more frequent, or by modal adverbs (Hoye 2013, 20).

### 6.1.3 Word-building Level

At the word-building level, many affixes (meaning prefixes and suffixes) might serve to intensify the expressiveness of the utterance. For instance, suffix *-ie* added to *girl*, makes the word *girlie* somehow emotively coloured. Besides affixes, compound words, blends and acronyms also belong to this category. They are expressions with a certain expressive character (Miššíková 20013, 29-30). In terms of the British referendum, the blend *Brexit* and the acronym the *EU* appear in newspapers commonly.

## 6.2 Stylistic Devices

Stylistic devices are explained as certain elements in writing that writer uses in order to evoke desired effect on readers. Such devices are for instance metaphors, suspense, rhetorical questions or humour (Gregg and Steinberg 2016, 62). Different stylistic devices, used by a different writer, make his or her text distinctive from others. Therefore, readers might recognize the writer even without previously looking at their name, just by the way he or she uses the stylistic devices (Pollock and Dippel 2003, 135). In comparison to expressive means, stylistic devices are more metaphorical and complex, thus they require certain context to be well-understood. Although they carry a greater degree of information, they are still less predictable than expressive means. Stylistic devices are regarded as a certain code that needs to be somehow decoded. Generally speaking, stylistic devices are used quite moderately so that the text is not overloaded by information (Miššíková 2003, 31).

## **II. ANALYSIS**

## 7 INTRODUCTION

The analytical part focuses on how the British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers felt before the referendum on Britain's membership in the EU and what persuasive strategies they used in order to convince their readers. The chosen broadsheet newspapers are *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian*, the tabloid newspapers are *The Sun* and *The Daily Mirror*. *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Sun* belong among the newspapers that supported the idea of Britain to leave the EU, while *The Guardian* and *The Daily Mirror* announced their stances in favour of the Remain campaign.

In total, I gathered eight articles that are extracted from online versions of the newspapers. I created two groups consisting of four articles from the broadsheet newspapers, where two articles are from *The Daily Telegraph* and the other two are from *The Guardian*, and four others from the tabloid newspapers where two articles are from *The Sun* and the other two are from *The Daily Mirror*. The chosen articles were published shortly before the EU referendum in June 2016.

The aim of the analysis is to identify the persuasive strategies and their effect on readers as well as to show similarities and differences among the selected articles of the broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. I would like to analyse every single article in detail, then compare it within the same newspaper and finally contrast it with other newspaper of the same format. In the "Summary of the Analysis" I would like to summarize and contrast the identified features between the broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. I expect that the tabloid newspapers will use more powerful persuasive strategies, thus will be more manipulative.

The corpus of articles is available on CD and in a printed version enclosed with my thesis.

For a better orientation, each article is marked with the first letter of the newspaper, namely:

T for *The Daily Telegraph*;

G for *The Guardian*;

S for *The Sun*;

M for *The Daily Mirror*.

In addition, the articles are numbered chronologically, i.e. *Article 1* stands for the article published sooner whereas *Article 2* later.



## 8 BROADSHEET NEWSPAPERS

### 8.1 The Daily Telegraph

#### 8.1.1 We must vote Leave to create a Britain fit for the future (T1)

Concerning the headline of the article, the modal verb *must* expresses strong recommendation or even obligation. By using it, the readers are intentionally persuaded to vote in favour of Britain to leave the EU. The inclusive *we*, which is a part of the headline as well, makes the tone more personal and evokes a sense of unity and togetherness between the author and the audience. As a result, readers feel more involved in the question of the EU referendum on Britain's membership.

The very first paragraph begins with the sentence *Thursday's referendum marks a pivotal moment in this country's history*. The phrase *pivotal moment* has a persuasive effect since it presents the referendum as the act of great importance. At the same time, the phrase appeals to the senses of readers because it evokes a great responsibility for their final decision in the referendum.

The Remain campaign is often criticized throughout the text. This can be noticed in the sentence *the fact that Remain has lost ground is a clear sign that they have also been losing the argument*. The phrase *has lost ground* indicates that the Remain campaign is about to fail. By this strategy, the Remain campaign becomes less credible in voters' eyes. In the following sentences, *Leave campaign has articulated an ambitious vision for Britain as an independent nation, once again free to make its own decisions*. *Remain, by contrast, has resorted to grim pessimism*, the both campaigns are contrasted in order to demonstrate each in a different way. The Leave campaign is presented as the positive one because of the positively coloured choice of words, while the Remain campaign is described as a negative one due to the phrase *grim pessimism*. The phrases *an independent nation* and *free to make its own decisions* connote the vision of a better future for Britain.

Pathos and logos strategies are a part of the text as well. Pathos is evident through the use of emotionally coloured words such as *pivotal*, *tragic*, *grim*, *unconscionable*, *dire*, *flawed*, *bloody*, *dreadful* or *tragic*. These expressions have a persuasive effect because they appeal to the readers' feelings and evoke a certain emotional reaction in them. Logos strategy is obvious through the use of evidence-based arguments. The sentences *...it has been estimated that the annual cost to UK businesses and the public sector of EU social policy is more than £9 billion* or *About 50 per cent of our laws and 70 per cent of our regulations*

*originate in Brussels* are the proof of it. By the use of evidences, the arguments become stronger thus more trustworthy from the readers' point of view.

Figurative language appears in the text too. The phrase *Project Fear* indirectly refers to the Remain campaign. This is very effective persuasive strategy because it appeals to the readers' emotions and at the same time, it evokes the feeling that the Remain campaign is something readers should be afraid of.

The EU is intentionally presented in a bad light. This is obvious in the sentence *membership has proved to be extremely expensive and increasingly detrimental to job creation*. The superlative form *extremely* expresses the highest degree and intensifies the persuasive effect on readers. The phrase *increasingly detrimental* connotes certain negativeness about the European Union because it presents the EU as an economically unstable organization. The sentence *Most problematic is how the EU has sought to turn itself increasingly into a single political entity, with its own currency, a central bank, no internal frontiers, a supreme court, a parliament, a civil service in the shape of the Commission, and an embryonic police and judicial system* contributes to the image of the EU as an organization that is full of problems and crisis. The phrase *Another problem with the EU...* indicates the same feature. Thus who would like to stay in such an organization? Again, this is a very powerful persuasive strategy.

The sentence *Even David Cameron and other leaders of Remain concede that the EU is a flawed project* criticizes the EU as well. The intentional reference to the elite politician and some leaders of the Remain campaign makes the argument against the EU even stronger, thus the reader is more likely to be persuaded.

Throughout the text, a couple of rhetorical questions are used. For example the questions *But why should this be so?* or *Yet why should we fear it?* The aim of using them is not to find the answer but rather to encourage readers to have a think about the issue.

The sentences *Leaving the EU does not mean leaving Europe. A vote for Brexit on Thursday will not change our geography* indicate that Brexit is not such a big deal. The aim of using this strategy is to appeal to the readers' emotions by assuring them that leaving the EU is not something to worry about.

The last paragraph of the article is characterized by the use of a propaganda strategy with an appeal to patriotism. This appears in the part *The case for Leaving is not negative and jingoistic. It is optimistic and hopeful. It is the case for a strong, independent and outward-looking Britain*. Referring to the Leave campaign as being *optimistic* and *hopeful* evokes the positive feelings about the campaign, as well as about the future Britain. By the

use of the phrase *strong, independent and outward-looking Britain*, the pride and loyalty to the country are instigated. These strategies have a strong persuasive effect because they appeal directly to the readers' senses.

The very last sentences *The EU belongs to the past. On Thursday we hope the country chooses the future – and votes to leave* reflect the attitude of the newspapers over the EU referendum question. The comparison of the European Union to the past evokes the image of the EU as something that is not favourable anymore, thus leaving is the only way for Britain to become a better and more prosperous country.

### 8.1.2 Vote leave to benefit from a world of opportunity (T2)

The headline uses an imperative tone *vote leave* in order to strongly recommend the readers that leaving is the best option because Britain would benefit from that. In the first part, the author introduces a historical background of the UK-European relations, mentioning some of the historical events and elite British politicians such as Margaret Thatcher and David Cameron or a French statesman Charles de Gaulle. This presents the author as someone who is an expert on the UK-European history, thus the author becomes more trustworthy (Ethos strategy). The author also refers to older articles on the UK-European relations topic by the use of the phrase *we wrote*.

In the next part, the Remain campaign and its argumentation against leaving the EU are mentioned in the sentence *We are told by Remain campaigners that we can always occupy an outer ring of countries that do not wish to be part of the integrated eurozone*. However, thereafter the rhetorical question *Is this what we want for our country?* is used in order to call the argument of the Remain campaigners into question and make readers think about it.

Throughout the text, the European Union is often criticized. In the rhetorical question *what future does the EU offer as it lurches from one crisis to another?*, the phrase *from one crisis to another* connotes certain negativity about the EU since it presents the EU as an organization that is full of crises.

The text contains several rhetorical questions. Rhetorical question, such as for example *Why, then, would a country with our history and economic strength want to continue its membership of such a dysfunctional outfit?*, is used in order to force readers to have a think about the issue.

Pathos and logos strategies appear in the text as well. Pathos is obvious by the use of emotionally coloured expressions such as *catastrophe, mess, to scare, besmirching, thriving*. Logos is recognizable due to the use of evidence, for example in the sentence: *A recent poll*

*in Italy showed 48 per cent would vote to leave.* These strategies make the argumentation stronger and thus more reliable and credible from the reader's perspective.

The inclusive *we*, that is repeated oftentimes throughout the text, makes readers feel like they are a part of the issue. Moreover, it creates certain sense of unity and togetherness between the author and the reader. This can be noticed in the sentence *So we are not alone in Britain in feeling irritation with the EU.*

The figurative language is present in the text as well. This is evident in the sentence *it is a choice between fear and hope* that indirectly refers to the referendum as a choice between the Remain and the Leave vote. Thus, the expressions *fear* and *hope* are metaphors. The aim of using them is to impress readers and appeal directly to their senses.

Among other persuasive strategies, the appeal to patriotism occurs in the text as well. The sentence *Britain, by contrast, has always been a global player, with its connections to the Commonwealth, the UN and Nato, and will be again* is a proof of that. This strategy plays on the readers' emotions because it evokes a sense of pride and loyalty to their country.

Passive voice, that is used in the phrases *this is to be regarded; is it seriously being suggested; we are told* contributes to the greater formality of the text. Thus, it evokes the feeling that the text is dealing with a serious topic.

The article ends with the sentences *In the event, and despite the optimism of our editorial, Jan 1, 1973 turned out not to be a sunshine day for the UK after all. On Thursday, the country has another opportunity to lift the clouds. We must take it.* The sentence *In the event...* relates to the day when Britain officially joined the European Economic Community. The phrase *not to be a sunshine day for the UK* carries a negative connotation about the EU because metaphorically, it says that joining the EU was not a good decision at all. The sentence *On Thursday...* indirectly refers to the referendum and the voter's choice in it. In the figurative sense, the phrase *opportunity to lift the clouds* means a chance that Britain should take, in order to build a better future for the country. The modal verb *must*, that is used in the very last sentence *We must take it*, expresses a strong recommendation to readers to vote in favour of the UK's withdrawal from the EU.

### 8.1.3 Conclusion of The Daily Telegraph

Both articles are written in a similar vein. They use similar persuasive techniques in order to persuade readers such as logos and pathos strategies, an appeal to patriotism or the use of the figurative language.

However, what slightly differs is the way the articles are written. The first article (T1) focuses more on the present and future. The reference to the present appears in the sentence *the UK is currently running the biggest trade deficit* (T1). Whereas the reference to the future is obvious through the mention of possible consequences that Brexit might have. This is evident in the sentence *we will control our own borders; we will let in who we want to come and contribute to our economy* (T1). The second article (T2) focuses more on the past by providing a historical background of the UK-European relations. The sentence *the economic and financial changes wrought during the 1980s, together with the decline of trade union power* (T2) is a proof of that.

Concerning the headlines of the articles, the tone of them differs as well. In the headline of the first article *We must vote Leave to create a Britain fit for the future* (T1), the modal verb *must* is used. The modality, in this case, expresses a strong recommendation. However, the headline of the second article *Vote leave to benefit from a world of opportunity* (T2) uses an imperative mood in order to express not only a strong recommendation, but rather obligation or even duty. Thus the headline of the second article (T2) might be considered to be more persuasive.

Both articles end in different way. The tone of the last sentence of the first article *On Thursday we hope the country chooses the future – and votes to leave* (T1) is rather hesitant in comparison with the second article. The choice of the words *we hope* (T1) that something will possibly happen, is not that persuasive because it evokes the feeling of uncertainty. On the other hand, the last sentence of the second article *We must take it* (T2) uses the modal verb *must* that connotes the feeling of obligation. Thus, the second article seems to have a more persuasive tone of the last sentence (T2).

## 8.2 The Guardian

### 8.2.1 EU referendum: ‘This is now a battle for an idea of Britain’ (G1)

Concerning the headline, referring to the Brexit as being *a battle* evokes the image of referendum to be very difficult decision. Thus the readers feel great responsibility about their final choice in the referendum.

Throughout the text, a lot of arguments are provided from different fields why the UK is better to stay in the EU. This strategy appears in the sentences *British workers have more rights...; There are more good jobs in our factories...; Beaches are cleaner...; mobile phone charges lower...; Farmers’ incomes are higher...; We can monitor and catch potential terrorists more easily*. The purpose of using this strategy is to make readers think that the EU is beneficial in so many aspects of everyday life thus it is worth staying in it.

Propaganda strategy appears in the text as well, namely in the part: *Europe is an idea. It’s better than that – it’s a noble idea*. Referring to the EU as being *a noble idea* evokes the picture of the EU to be something extra that the UK should not lose. In the sentence *But, best of all, we are part of a European club that is trying to make our world better*, the phrase *make our world better* uses the propaganda strategy as well since it connotes positive feelings about the EU. The aim of this strategy is to portray the EU in the best light so that the readers would vote staying in it.

The Leave campaign is criticized through the use of negative references about it. The sentence *To leave is to indulge the worst side of our natures, to believe fantasies about what constitutes democracy and to chase an economic chimera* is a proof of that. The superlative *the worst* connotes the sense of extreme that nothing can be worse. The metaphor *an economic chimera* that evokes negative image about the economy of the EU as being an illusion. All these devices even intensify the persuasive effect on readers.

Pathos strategy is present in the text through the frequent use of emotionally coloured words such as *noble, toxic, expensive, poor* or *lousy*. By using the pathos the author appeals directly to the readers’ senses thus the persuasive effect is stronger.

The arguments against leaving the EU are supported by the reference to British elite politician John Major. This is present in the part: *As John Major has argued, we export six times as much to the EU as to Brazil, Russia, China and India added together. We export five times as much to the EU as to all the other 52 members of the Commonwealth added together*. By the use of this strategy the arguments become stronger in the readers’ eyes thus more likely to be believed.

The last part of the article refers to both sides of the referendum and let voters to think about their decision: *To leave is to indulge the worst side of our natures, to believe fantasies about what constitutes democracy and to chase an economic chimera. To remain is a double win – to be part of something good and get richer in the process. Think before you vote.* The very last sentence *Think before you vote* appeals to the readers since it says that they should think about their decision carefully. This strategy evokes the feeling of great responsibility because the final decision in the referendum will determine what the future of the country will be like.

### **8.2.2 The Guardian view on the EU referendum: keep connected and inclusive, not angry and isolated (G2)**

The headline indicates that The Guardian supported the idea of the UK's staying in the EU. The phrases *keep connected and inclusive* and *not angry and isolated* are intentionally put into opposition. The first phrase stands for Britain's staying in the UK whereas the second phrase stands for leaving. The negatively coloured expressions *angry* and *isolated* connote bad feelings, thus the decision to vote against staying is being considered to be bad too.

The whole article is based rather on pathos strategy. The arguments play upon the reader's feelings than being evidence-based. This fact contributes to the feeling that the text is rather subjective and biased than objective and rational. Pathos can be noticed through frequent use of emotive expressions such as *angry, nasty, brutish, frenzied, crack down, bruised or violent*. There are used a couple of rhetorical questions: *Who do we think we are, and who do we want to be?, Is that fair?, Yes or not?, Is that responsible?, Is that worth it?* The aim of using them is to appeal directly to the readers' senses and force them to have a think about the issue.

Figurative language is present in the text as well. The metaphor *these islands* indirectly refers to the United Kingdom. The sentence *The best starting point for Britain to reach a sound decision on Thursday is to cool the passions of the heart, and listen to the head* uses the figurative language as well. The phrase *listen to the head* connotes something based on reason and logic and the voice of reason says to support the idea of the UK's staying in the EU. Again strong play on the readers' feelings.

In the sentence *Britain should vote to remain in the club that represents the most advanced form of cross-border cooperation that the world has ever seen* the propaganda strategy is used. The superlative *the most advanced* evokes the image of the EU as being at high-level, thus it is worth staying in it.

The sentence *Britain is still robustly herself* appeals to patriotism for the purpose of awakening national pride. This strategy has a strong persuasive effect since it appeals directly to the readers' senses.

At the very end of the text, the word *vote* is repeated. It is obvious in the part: *Vote this week. Vote for a united country that reaches out to the world, and vote against a divided nation that turns inwards. Vote to remain.* The aim of repeating the word is to attract the attention of the readers, make them memorize it and, at the same time, strongly recommend them to vote the UK to stay in the EU.

### **8.2.3 Conclusion of The Guardian**

Both articles use similar or mostly the same persuasive strategies within the texts such as pathos, the appeal to patriotism or the figurative language. The way of persuasion is based rather on playing upon readers' emotions than providing evidence-based arguments.

However, what slightly differs is the last part of the articles. The first article ends in more neutral way saying the readers that they should think about their decision carefully before they will vote: *Think before you vote* (G1). On the contrary, the second article uses the imperative mood *Vote to remain* (G2), thus, the second article (G2) proves to be more persuasive than the first one (G1).



### 8.3 Comparison of the Broadsheet Newspapers

The persuasive strategies used in both broadsheet newspapers are slightly different. *The Guardian* is based rather on pathos strategy since it often plays on the readers' emotions. Whereas *The Daily Telegraph* works more with the data and evidence-based argumentation by using logos strategy. Furthermore, *The Daily Telegraph* uses ethos strategy by providing a historical background of the UK-European relations. This strategy is used in order to present the author as being an expert on the UK-European history. As a result the whole article becomes more reliable from the readers' perspective.

Compared with *The Daily Telegraph*, the tone of *The Guardian* seems to be more moderate. This is obvious in the use of modality. *The Guardian* uses the modal verb *should* in the sentence *Britain should vote to remain...*(G2). This device evokes a certain recommendation. On the other hand, *The Daily Telegraph* uses *must* in the sentence *We must vote Leave...*(T1). The modal verb *must* expresses a very strong recommendation or even obligation, thus, *The Daily Telegraph* seems to be more persuasive. Equally, even the headlines of *The Daily Telegraph's* articles are stronger in comparison to *The Guardian's* ones. *The Guardian* uses an indicative mood in the headline *EU referendum: 'This is now a battle for an idea of Britain'* (G1). The aim of the indicative mood is to be neutral and so the persuasive effect of the headline becomes neutral too. On the contrary, *The Daily Telegraph* uses an imperative mood in the headline *Vote leave to benefit from a world of opportunity* (T2). The imperative sentence gives a certain command, thus the effect on readers is more manipulative. To sum up, regarding these features, *The Daily Telegraph* proves to be more persuasive than *The Guardian*.

## 9 TABLOID NEWSPAPERS

### 9.1 The Sun

#### 9.1.1 SUN SAYS We urge our readers to beLEAVE in Britain and vote to quit the EU on June 23 (S1)

The headline explicitly expresses that The Sun's stance towards the British referendum is in favour of leaving the EU. The part of the word *beLEAVE* is capitalized by intent. It calls on readers to trust in Britain and at the same time, it contains the message of leaving. In this context, believe in Britain might be also interpreted as an appeal to patriotism. The purpose of this tool is to attract the attention of readers and directly appeal to their senses. In the part *We urge our readers*, the use of emotionally coloured verb *urge* gives the phrase a strong convincing character, thus readers see the Leave vote as something that is their duty.

Throughout the whole text, the tone is quite aggressive. Readers are given a lot of arguments why staying in the EU is not good for Britain. The sentence *Staying in will be worse for immigration, worse for jobs, worse for wages and worse for our way of life* tells readers that staying is not in their interest because it would worsen many aspects of everyday life. The repetition of the word *worse* has its function as well. By the repetition, it makes readers memorize it and also encourages readers to agree with it. The sentence *THIS is our last chance to remove ourselves from the undemocratic Brussels machine*, indicates couple of features. Firstly, capitalized word *THIS* attacks the attention of readers and thus it presents the referendum act as something super important. Secondly, the phrase *last chance* feels like a frightening of readers. Once something is our last chance, there is no other option. This is a very effective persuasive strategy. Thirdly, the phrase *undemocratic Brussels machine* is used in order to indirectly (through Brussels) criticize the EU since the negative word *undemocratic* connotes bad feelings about it.

The use of the fear as a persuasive strategy appears in the text as well. This is evident in the sentence *If we stay, Britain will be engulfed in a few short years by this relentlessly expanding German dominated federal state*. In this case, the conditional sentence *If we..., Britain will...* intensifies the feeling of fear because it describes the things that could possibly happen if readers would vote against leaving. The inclusive *we*, which oftentimes appears in the text, is used in order to win favour with readers and to make them feel united.

The text contains quite a lot of capitalized words. These are for example *THIS*, *LEAVE*, *WE*, or *WILL*. Once the word is capitalized, it becomes more visible throughout the text, thus attacks the attention of readers more easily.

Pathos and logos strategies are used in the text as well. Pathos strategy is present through the use of strong emotive words such as *greedy*, *wasteful*, *bullying*, *witless*, *cynical*, *deceitful* or *abusive*. Whereas logos is evident in the sentence *In Spain, 45 per cent of those under 25 are out of work*. These strategies strengthen the argumentation, thus the whole article becomes more reliable and credible.

The sentence *Outside the EU we can become richer, safer and free at long last to forge our own destiny — as America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and many other great democracies already do* refers to elite nations in order to strengthen the arguments as well as the whole persuasive effect on readers. The adjectives like *richer*, *safer* and *free* evoke something positive and beneficial thus leaving the EU has to be a good decision too.

The sentence *For all David Cameron's witless assurances, our powers and values WILL be further eroded* evinces intentional humiliation of the Prime Minister David Cameron. The Prime Minister is put down in order to present him as someone who should not be respected due to his support of the idea of Britain's staying in the UK.

The Remain campaign is often disparaged throughout the text. The sentence *Their "Project Fear" strategy predicts mass unemployment, soaring interest rates and inflation, plummeting house prices, even world war* is a proof enough of that. The phrase *Project Fear* evokes negativity, thus readers connote the Remain campaign as being negative too. No one would want problems such as *unemployment*, *inflation*, etc. to happen so the best is to vote against staying. Again, the fear is used as an effective persuasive strategy.

By the use of the superlative *the biggest* in the sentence *WE are about to make the biggest political decision of our lives*, the referendum is given a great importance. Readers then feel a bigger responsibility for their decision in the referendum act.

The appeal to patriotism appears in the text as well. This is evident in the sentence *Our country has a glorious history*. The aim of this strategy is to play on the readers' emotions because it awakens their pride in Britain.

At the very end of the article in the sentence *A VOTE FOR LEAVE IS A VOTE FOR A BETTER BRITAIN*, the propaganda strategy is used. The capitalized letters intensify the persuasive effect and make the message more significant and visible through the text. The phrase *BETTER BRITAIN* evokes a positive feeling about the future of the UK. Thus a vote for Britain's withdrawal from the EU means a vote for a better future of the whole country.

This strategy has a strong persuasive effect because it appeals directly to the senses of the readers.

### 9.1.2 SUN ON SUNDAY SAYS A vote for Brexit is all it takes to set Britain free

(S2)

The headline attracts the attention of readers since it uses the alliteration in the phrase *SUN ON SUNDAY SAYS*. The phrase *to set Britain free* plays on the readers' emotions because it connotes the image of Britain that it is imprisoned by the EU and the only way to become free is to vote in favour of Brexit.

Throughout the article, there are intentional references to elite nations in order to strengthen the argumentation thus the whole persuasive effect. This is evident in the sentence *We can follow in the footsteps of other major democracies by gaining our independence*.

In the sentence *Free from the stranglehold of the EU superstate which, from its modest beginnings 60 years ago, has grown into a monster engulfing our democracy* the figurative language is used. The metaphors *the stranglehold of the EU* and *a monster* carry a negative connotation about the EU. The aim of using them is to manipulate with readers by appealing to their emotions. The hyperbole occurs in the text as well. The sentence *Now, with us in, they have progressively tied us up in millions of new regulations* is a proof of that. The phrase *millions of new regulations* is purposely exaggerated in order to emphasize the point and to attack the readers' senses.

In the sentence *Brussels has bogged down our small businesses with red tape and milks Britain for billions each year as a membership fee, preventing our natural spirit of enterprise* the European Union is indirectly criticized through Brussels. The emotionally coloured words *bogged down*; *milks* and an idiom *red tape* contribute to the negative tone in which the EU is presented. Again, it has a very strong persuasive effect on readers.

The sentence *Unless we vote Leave this Thursday, all of this will get much worse* uses the propaganda strategy with the purpose to evoke fear in readers. In the following sentence *The risk of voting Remain is much the greater*, the Remain campaign is put down. By referring to the Remain campaign as being risky, it becomes untrustworthy in the readers' eyes.

The appeal to patriotism, as another persuasive strategy, appears in the text as well. It is evident in the sentence *Britain has done better than some others, for which we can thank the great Eurosceptic Margaret Thatcher*. Referring to the elite politician Margaret Thatcher as

being *thegreat Eurosceptic* reflects the newspapers' stance in the EU referendum question and at the same time, it evokes the sense of a national pride to the country.

Pathos and logos strategies are also a part of the text. Pathos strategy is used through the use of emotive word such as *panicking*, *dangerous* or *staggering*. Whereas Logos strategy can be observed through the use evident-based argument. The sentence *Leaving will also allow us to free up our net contribution to the EU — a staggering £250 million a week — to spend wherever it is most needed* is a proof of that. By providing the evidence - an amount of money, the argument becomes stronger thus more likely to be believable by readers.

The sentence *The decision to leave is the most important of a lifetime, but perhaps the easiest* plays on the readers' emotions. The phrase *the most important of a lifetime* presents the referendum as being a very important act but, at the same time, the phrase *but perhaps the easiest* says that it is not such a big deal because the only thing readers should do is to vote Leave.

Throughout the text there are a lot of arguments supporting the idea of Britain's withdrawal from the EU. This is evident in the sentences *But full border controls will allow us to regulate the flow as well as to pick and choose the migrants with the skills we need. Staying in ends any chance of control ... forever.* The first sentence *But full border...* refers to positive consequences that Brexit might have. The second sentence *Staying in ends...*, as an opposite to the first one, depreciates the idea of staying in the EU. This strategy has a strong persuasive effect on readers because it gives them the image of leaving the EU as being something positive however staying in connotes a certain negativeness.

The last part of the article puts forward the elite nations as models to the UK. This is can be noticed in the sentence *America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand — four other major democracies whose independence we can currently only admire.* However, in the following sentence *On Friday morning, if Britain has had the good sense to vote Leave, we can do more than admire,* the phrase *we can do more than admire* says that the referendum can change it thus readers should vote in favour of leaving the EU. This strategy has a persuasive effect since it evokes the feeling that Britain has a great potential to become one of these major independent nations.

### 9.1.3 Conclusion of The Sun

The headline of the first article *We urge our readers to beLEAVE in Britain and vote to quit the EU on June 23* (S1) indicates that the tone is much stronger in comparison to the second one *A vote for Brexit is all it takes to set Britain free* (S2). The phrase *We urge... vote to quit*

*the EU* (S1) connotes a strong sense of necessity to vote in favour of leaving the EU. Thus, compared to the second article, the headline of the first article (S1) proves to be more persuasive from the readers' perspective.

The persuasive strategies used in both articles are similar or mostly the same, however, the first article (S1) uses the exclamation mark such as in the word *Nonsense!* (S1) or the capitalized words like in the phrases *THIS is our last chance* (S1); *vote LEAVE* (S1). The aim of using these strategies is to attract the attention of the readers and strengthen the whole persuasive effect. The second article (S2) uses none of these features. Thus, the final tone seems to be much stronger in the first article (S1).

The articles end in a different way too. The last sentence of the first article *A VOTE FOR LEAVE IS A VOTE FOR A BETTER BRITAIN* (S1) contains capital letters that are used in order to attract the attention and make the claim more significant. Furthermore, it appeals to the readers' senses since it evokes a positive feeling about the future of the country. The second article ends with the sentence *We can follow their lead and reclaim our country* (S2). The tone of the sentence is rather neutral than persuasive. The choice of the modal verb *can* (S2) evokes a certain sense of possibility. Once something is only possible, it is not that trustworthy from the readers' point of view.

To sum up, taking into consideration the tone of the headlines, the tone of the whole content and the last sentence, the first article (S1) proves to be more persuasive in all of these aspects.

## 9.2 The Daily Mirror

### 9.2.1 A vote for Brexit is a vote for life – and if you're in doubt, don't vote out (M1)

The first part of the headline *A vote for Brexit is a vote for life* says that the result of this referendum is not a short-term issue. It is for life. Thus the voters should really think about their decision. The aim of using this strategy is to evoke the sense of great responsibility. The following part *if you're in doubt, don't vote out* expresses The Daily Mirror's stance in the referendum question, which is in favour of Britain's staying in the EU.

The very first sentence *This is a huge decision, made harder by nasty and dishonest campaigning on both sides – but voting Leave to spite Cameron will only spell more uncertainty* carries negative connotations about both campaigns in the readers' eyes. Pathos strategy is used through emotive words such as *huge, nasty* and *dishonest*. In the phrase *...voting Leave to spite Cameron will only spell more uncertainty*, the word *uncertainty* connotes negativeness about leaving the EU. The phrase *to spite Cameron* reflects the newspaper's stance toward the Prime Minister David Cameron. Although David Cameron supported the Remain campaign as well as the papers did, the phrase *to spite Cameron* connotes negative feelings about him. All these features together are used in order to strengthen the persuasive effect on readers.

Throughout the text, there are often used references to elite politicians. It appears in the sentences *David Cameron, Bank of England Governor Mark Carney and Barack Obama are among those urging us to stay. Boris Johnson, Vladimir Putin and Donald Trump want us to leave*. These politicians are intentionally contrasted in order to let the voters decide who of them they sympathise with more.

In the sentence *All sides, rightly, suspended campaigning as a mark of respect to Jo Cox...*, the murder of the Remain supporter Jo Cox is mentioned in order to play on the emotions of readers.

The pun *jiggery-pokery* in the sentence *Mr Cameron's claim that every household would be £4,300 a year worse off was just jiggery-pokery*, is used in order to attract the attention of readers. At the same time, it presents the Prime Minister as being unreliable, thus untrustworthy in the readers' eyes.

The figurative language is used in the text as well. The metaphors such as *economic nirvana* or *Much blood was spilled in Europe* function as effective persuasive devices since they appeal to the readers' senses and encourage their imagination.

The sentences *If you are minded to leave, you might wish to listen to French National Front leader Marine Le Pen, who says...* and *If you're minded to stay, you might take to heart Japan's PM Shinzo Abe's warning that...* are contrasted on purpose. They evoke the feeling that it is up to readers to make the final decision in the referendum.

Logos strategy occurs in the sentence *They pay £3billion in taxes and take out £500,000 in benefits*. By providing the accurate amount of money the argument becomes stronger, thus more credible from the readers' perspective.

The sentence *The EU is less than perfect...* expresses a certain understanding of those who are in favour of the Leave campaign by saying that the EU is not flawless. This strategy is very effective since it manipulates with the Leave supporters in order to gain their sympathy.

In the last part of the article, the tone is rather moderate. In the sentence *If you have decided how to cast it, all well and good*, the phrase *all well and good* evokes the feeling that it is fine that the readers are already decided no matter what the vote will be. The following sentence *But as the final countdown begins if you are still uncertain then Brexit promises only more of that uncertainty* appeals to the readers' senses since it connotes the image of an uncertain future for the country after Brexit. In the very last sentence *So if in doubt, don't vote out*, the phrase *if in doubt* refers mainly to those voters who were still not decided, nevertheless the phrase *don't vote out* explicitly encourage the readers to vote in favour of the Remain.

### 9.2.2 Why the Mirror is backing Remain for the sake of our great nations (M2)

The tone of the headline is rather kind and neutral. It simply indicates that The Daily Mirror supported the idea of Britain's staying in the EU.

In the first part of the text, the sentences *Because not only is this the most important decision for decades. It is also the most difficult* present the EU referendum as being a very difficult decision. The sentence *no editorial judgment could have been harder for us than this* indicates the same feature. The aim of this strategy is to play on the readers' emotions since it connotes the feeling of great responsibility about their decision in the referendum.

Throughout the article, there is a certain sympathy expressed with Britain's decision to leave the EU. This strategy can be observed in the sentence *it's not surprising that, after years of the rich getting richer at the expense of others, some voters may wish to vent their fury by ticking the Leave box*. The sentences *the European Union is a difficult organisation to support with great enthusiasm. It is far from perfect. We understand concerns over*



*uncontrolled immigration* indicate the feature of understanding the Leave campaign as well. The aim of using this strategy is to manipulate with voters, especially with those who were not decided yet about their vote in the referendum.

Pathos strategy occurs in the text as well. This strategy is evident through the use of emotive words such as *vile, flawed, fooled, illusion, perilous, mirage* but also through the frequent references to children and their future. The reference to the children can be noticed in the sentence *How we vote will decide not just our future but that of our children, our grandchildren and all those who follow*. The sentences *For our children' futures. For all our futures. We urge you to vote Remain* indicate the same feature. This seems to be a very effective persuasive strategy since the theme of children is supposed to strongly hit the emotions of the voters.

Logos strategy is used in order to strengthen the argumentation by providing certain evidences. The sentence *Almost every economic expert agrees leaving Europe will most likely spark a recession more savage than the last one, putting a million jobs at risk, leaving yet more young people out of work* is a proof enough of that. It uses the experts' opinions in order to become more credible in the readers' eyes. The sentence *Experts also forecast pension pots will be hit hard and public services, already stretched to breaking point, will be slashed further* indicates the same features.

The newspaper intentionally refers to readers. This is obvious in the sentences *This newspaper has a long and proud history in fighting for what is right and fair for our readers; We want only what is best for our readers*. The aim of this strategy is to evoke certain sense of togetherness between the author and readers. The sentence *We sincerely fear a Leave vote will only heap more hardship on our readers' lives* indicates the same feature. Moreover, in the sentence, a sense of fear is used in order to persuade readers to vote against leaving the EU.

Another persuasive strategy that is widely used in the text is an appeal to patriotism. The sentence *We always have been and always will be a sovereign nation* is a proof of that. In the sentence *Great Britain remains one of the finest nations on earth*, the superlative *the finest* evokes the feeling of being the best nation that people should be proud of.

In the text, there are references to the working people. That is because of the fact that the majority of the readership is composed of lower social class. Reference to the working people is present in the sentence *It is the hard working people of this country who have had to battle to survive the recent recession caused by reckless bankers whose wrongdoing went*

*largely ignored by the establishment.* The phrase *It is the (hard) working people...* is repeated five times in the text. The aim of this strategy is to gain the sympathy of the working people.

In order to make the argumentation even stronger, references to elite corporations are used. This is evident in the sentence *It's a truth supported by almost every major employer from Vodafone, BMW and Easyjet and Microsoft to almost every Trade Union including Unite, Unison and the GMB.* By the use of this strategy, the argument becomes more credible and reliable in the readers' eyes.

Rhetorical questions are present in the text as well. In the question *Is that really a risk worth taking?* the answer is not expected because it is obvious that no one would want to risk anything. The purpose of the question is rather to make readers have a think about the issue.

The modal verb *must* that is a part of the sentence *We must continue to play a leading role in Europe and to continue the work of building a European Union which reflects our desires and demands,* expresses a strong recommendation to vote in favour of staying in the EU. Inclusive *we*, that is a part of the sentence as well, evokes the sense of unity between the author and the audience.

In the last part of the article, the propaganda strategy is used. It appears in the text *For our children's futures. For all our futures. We urge you to vote Remain.* The reference to the *children's futures* plays on the readers' emotions. The phrase *We urge you* connotes certain sense of urgency and necessity. Thus, it has a strong persuasive effect on readers.

### 9.2.3 Conclusion of The Daily Mirror

Concerning the headlines of the articles, the headline of the first article *A vote for Brexit is a vote for life – and if you're in doubt, don't vote out* (M1) proves to be more persuasive since it evokes a sense of great responsibility. On the contrary, the headline of the second article *Why the Mirror is backing Remain for the sake of our great nations* (M2) is rather neutral. Nevertheless, when it comes to the persuasive strategies used throughout the whole text, the second article (M2) seems to be more manipulative since it uses more persuasive strategies than the first article (M1). Even the tone of the very last sentence proves to be more persuasive in the second article (M2). The first article ends by the sentence *So if in doubt, don't vote out* (M1) whose tone is rather moderate. On the other hand, the last sentence of the second article *We urge you to vote Remain* (M2) contains the emotionally coloured word *urge* (M2) that connotes a strong sense of necessity to vote in favour of

Britain's staying in the EU, thus the tone of the second article (M2) seems to be more powerful.

### 9.3 Comparison of the Tabloid Newspapers

When it comes to the headlines of the newspapers, the tone of *The Daily Mirror* is rather moderate in comparison to *The Sun*. *The Sun* appeals to the readers by the use of strong emotive phrase *We urge our readers...* (S1). On the other hand, the *The Daily Mirror's* headline: *...if you're in doubt, don't vote out* (M1) seems to be more neutral, thus not as much persuasive.

The articles of *The Daily Mirror* give the readers a greater freedom to decide on the EU referendum question. This is evident by the frequent use of rhetorical questions that make the readers think about the issue. The sentence *You must decide at the ballot box on Thursday which of those camps you want to be in* (M1) indicates the same feature. Furthermore, *The Daily Mirror* expresses a certain understanding of the Leave campaign despite the fact that its stance is in favour of the Remain. It is obvious in the part *the European Union is a difficult organisation to support with great enthusiasm. It is far from perfect. We understand concerns over uncontrolled immigration...* (M2). On the contrary, *The Sun* does not use any of the rhetorical questions and it expresses its stance toward the EU referendum in a strong nearly aggressive way. The sentences: *The Sun has campaigned relentlessly against...* (S1) and *We urge our readers to beLEAVE in Britain and vote to quit* (S1) are the proof of that. *The Sun* also dominates the use of capitalized words within the texts. The aim of this strategy is to attract the attention of the readers and thus intensify the whole persuasive effect.

## 10 SUMMARY OF THE ANALYSIS

The analysis has shown that the newspapers use similar or mostly the same persuasive strategies. However, the tone of the articles is different in the broadsheet and tabloid newspapers.

The tabloid newspapers seem to be more aggressive since they provide strong arguments based on logos strategy and they appeal to the readers' emotions. The broadsheets use logos and pathos strategies as well, however, the tone is still rather moderate. Based on the analysis, *The Sun* proves to be the strongest compared to other papers. As the only paper, *The Sun* uses capitalized words within the texts as well as in the headlines. *The Daily Mirror* plays on the readers' emotions by frequent references to children and their future. *The Daily Mirror* also refers to working people in order to bring them onside. Compared to the broadsheet newspapers, none of these features appear in their articles. *The Sun* and *The Daily Mirror* appeal to the readers by evoking certain sense of urgency. This is obvious by the use of emotively charged expression *urge* in the sentences *We urge our readers...* (S1); *We urge you to vote Remain* (M2). The broadsheets, on the contrary, do not use any of expressions connoting urgency. The fear, as an effective persuasive strategy, is used in both newspapers. However, the tabloids use it more times than the broadsheet newspapers. Also the figurative language appear in both newspapers, but the broadsheets use rather neutral tone such as in the phrases *to lift the clouds* (T2); *these islands* (G2). On the other hand, the phrases used in the tabloids: *the stranglehold of the EU superstate* (S2); *Much blood was spilled in Europe* (M1) evoke negative feelings, thus the whole persuasive effect becomes stronger compared to the broadsheets. Taking into consideration these differences between the broadsheets and tabloids, the analysis proves that the tone of the tabloid newspapers is much stronger than in the broadsheet newspapers. Thus, the tabloids are more persuasive from the readers' point of view.

## CONCLUSION

The aim of the bachelor thesis was to analyse how the selected British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers felt about the referendum over Britain's membership in the EU and what persuasive strategies they used in order to convince their readers. Four articles from the broadsheet newspapers (*The Daily Telegraph*, *The Guardian*) and four articles from the tabloid newspapers (*The Sun*, *The Daily Mirror*) were analysed. The analysis was done for the purpose of showing the similarities and differences among the selected articles of the broadsheet and tabloid newspapers and eventually, to contrast them.

The analysis has shown that the chosen newspapers used similar or mostly the same persuasive strategies. However, what differed was the tone of the articles in the broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. The tabloid newspapers seemed to be more aggressive since they provided strong arguments based on logos strategy and played upon the readers' emotions. The broadsheets used pathos and logos strategies as well, however, the tone was rather moderate compared to the tabloids. *The Sun* proved to have probably the strongest tone since it, as the only newspaper, used capitalized words in the headlines as well as in the texts in order to attract the attention of the readers. Even though both newspapers appealed to the readers' senses by evoking fear, again, the tabloids proved to be more persuasive since they repeated this strategy more times than the broadsheets. The tabloids, more precisely *The Daily Mirror*, also referred to working people and to children and their future for the purpose of appealing to the readers' emotions. Compared to the broadsheets, none of these features appeared in their articles. Thus, taking into consideration these differences between the broadsheets and tabloids, the analysis has showed that the tone of the tabloid newspapers was much stronger than in the broadsheet newspapers, thus the tabloids proved to be more persuasive from the readers' perspective.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
EAEC	European Atomic Energy Community
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EMS	European Monetary System
ERM	European Exchange Rate Mechanism
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America

### Analysis:

- G1 *The Guardian*: EU referendum: ‘This is now a battle for an idea of Britain’
- G2 *The Guardian*: The Guardian view on the EU referendum: keep connected and inclusive, not angry and isolated
- M1 *The Daily Mirror*: A vote for Brexit is a vote for life – and if you’re in doubt, don’t vote out
- M2 *The Daily Mirror*: Why the Mirror is backing Remain for the sake of our great nations
- S1 *The Sun*: SUN SAYS We urge our readers to beLEAVE in Britain and vote to quit the EU on June 23
- S2 *The Sun*: SUN ON SUNDAY SAYS A vote for Brexit is all it takes to set Britain free
- T1 *The Daily Telegraph*: We must vote Leave to create a Britain fit for the future
- T2 *The Daily Telegraph*: Vote leave to benefit from a world of opportunity

## **APPENDICES**

PI Corpus of analysed articles on CD

PII Corpus of analysed articles in a printed version