**Faculty of Arts of Palacký University**

# Portrayal of ONS migration statistic in headlines of selected British newspapers before EU referendum: A critical discourse analysis

**Diploma Thesis**

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V Olomouci dne 17.8.2020 **Aneta Muchová**

I would like to thank my family and friends for the needed support to finish this thesis. Thank you all and hopefully it will not be in vain. I would also like to thank my supervisor for his patience.

<div align="right">Aneta</div>

## Abstract

Diploma Thesis introduces Critical Discourse Analysis and builds on it for the analysis of the headlines selected British Newspapers. The headlines are concerned with the ONS (Organizaion for National Statistics) Migration Statistic published a month before the EU Referendum. The socio-historical context is provided for better understanding of the social environment, and connection to text production and consumption is made also. The headlines are then interpreted with the above-mentioned aspects in mind.

## Abstrakt

Diplomová práce se zajímá o Kritickou analýzu diskursu a využívá ji k analýze titulků vybraných britských novin. Titulky se zabývají reportem statistiky o migraci od ONS (Organizace pro národní statistiky), který byla publikována měsíc před EU referendem. Práce obsahuje sociálně-historický kontext, který slouží k lepšímu porozumění sociálního prostředí. Spojení mezi produkcí a pobíráním textu strany čtenářů je také obsaženo. Jednotlivé titulky jsou dále analyzovány se zmíněnými aspekty na mysli.

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# Introduction

The migration crisis caused by the war in Syria has shaped the events across the world as the populist leaders have taken advantage of it and based their political campaigns on the fear of refugees and their possible damage to the stability of one's country. The run for presidency in the United States of America was possibly affected by the crisis when Donald Trump used it to evoke fear of the immigrants in the minds of American people (Obschonka et al. 2018). Apart from economy, NHS and sovereignty, the migration was a large part of the campaigns before the EU referendum in the United Kingdom. Nigel Farage, UK Independence Party leader at the time of the campaigns, has lobbied for leaving the European Union since the 90s, but it was the year 2016 when he succeeded (Hunt 2014).

Arguably, the words of people can impact opinions of others and they are even more powerful when backed by the mass media. In the current society, it is easy to get well informed but also misguided. Fairclough (1999) talks about representation of the world and how the shapes of people's lives are made elsewhere because the everyday life is more textually mediated. How people see themselves and act is more the work of media than their own doing. To be able to resist various powerful influences, the people need a sense of Critical Language Awareness, therefore they should be aware that language can be used to shape their opinion and they should be able to recognize it. This could be provided by critically assessing discourse, through Critical Discourse Analysis.

This thesis focuses on the depiction of migration statistic that was published by Office for National Statistics in selected newspapers' headlines leading up to the EU referendum in the UK and its possible effect. This statistic was published less than a month before the referendum, on 26 May 2016, and was reported in various ways in several newspapers. According to Taylor's (2017) article on the Media Briefing website, it is The Daily Mail and The Telegraph that have the oldest audience and, based on a research conducted by Reuters Institute, these newspapers were supporters of the pro-leave campaign (University of Oxford 2016). Furthermore, statistics show that it was a great percentage of the older generation that voted leave in the EU referendum and not the younger people (Statista n.d.). It is my belief that there is a

relevant connection between the readership demographics of the British newspapers and the voting results.

Therefore, the aim is to analyse in what way the portrayals of migration statistic could have contributed to the outcome of the referendum based on the Critical Discourse Analysis of Media Discourse. It was 'a decision that lasts a lifetime (Cameron 2016), thus it is relevant for CDA because it is an approach in the social studies that analyses inequality and shifting powers in the society (van Dijk 1995).

The focus on the media in these terms is important because as van Dijk states:

…political propagandists, advertisers, journalists…have some idea about what kind of messages will have what kinds of effects. They know how to effectively change the knowledge and opinions of recipients… (van Dijk 1995, 22-3).

Media discourse and their use of language, alongside the discriminatory discourses attract many Critical Discourse Analysis practitioners. To name some of them, Wenden (2005) analysed the politics of representations in the Aljazeera articles, concluding that specific utterances of language were used to underline the Palestinian innocent role in the conflict and justify the force they used. In comparison, the Israelis were portrayed as the 'evil' side that was the actor of wrongdoings. Another study researched the Irish Press for the perceptions of sexual orientation. This study combined Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus-linguistic approach as it contributes to lowering the bias because it provides more quantitative, and also qualitative findings (Bartley and Hidalgo-Tenerio 2015).

In the first part of the thesis, a general idea of Critical Discourse Analysis is provided. It gives an overview of the emergence of CDA as well as several approaches to critical analysis of discourse. There is a special focus on the works of Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak and Teun A. van Dijk. Fairclough (1989) believes there is an internal and dialectical relationship between language and society, therefore there is a connection between how people perceive language in a particular situation, and at the same time how the situation is defined by the form of the language used (Fairclough 1989). This thesis focuses on discourse of immigration that is often part of the racist ideology, therefore, the first section also provides more information on the previous research into discourses of racist ideology. A short note on media and media analysis concludes the first part.

The second part briefly introduces the object of research of this thesis, the reason for choosing immigration as the focus, and why the migration statistic in particular. Then it informs on the decisions behind the selection of newspapers for the analysis and how the data was gathered. It also gives a quick statistical overview about the reporting of the statistic throughout the years before EU referendum. This part is concluded with an analytical framework used for the analysis.

The last part analyses the socio-cultural practice, discourse practices and textual analysis of the headlines. Socio-historical background into immigration is provided, an important aspect of Wodak's approach. Next, it deals with discursive practices of text production and text consumption in the media. The analysis of text production takes a particular note on news values. The analysis of text consumption is done with van Dijk's approach in mind because it is linked to cognitive responses of individuals. The textual analysis interpretatively analyses the content of the headlines, the lexical choices made by the producers and overall cohesion and coherence. It also deals with individual headlines based on Thematic structure.

# 1. Theoretical overview

## 1.1 Introducing Critical Discourse Analysis

The critical discourse analysis aims to research the power abuse and inequalities in the social structure that are reinforced by those in power and understand these issues through discourse analysis. The goal is to approach it systematically, go beyond the surface and find the fundamental roots and bring forth the implicit or opaque ways in which dominance and inequality are enacted (van Dijk 1993, van Dijk 1995). Van Dijk (1993: 252) further states that as CDA is concerned socio-politically and deals not only with language use, text and talk, but also with the social aspects like power and culture, the approaches of the analysis should be combined with methods from other disciplines.

One of the misconceptions is that the analysis focuses only on those events that have a huge impact on the society or are negative, but really it aims to analyse any social event that can be approached critically, small or big, negative or positive (Wodak and Meyer 2015, 2-3). While there is no common principle or method of CDA and the approaches of the analysts vary, there are some shared characteristics and the main aspect of CDA is its problem-orientation. The analysts are concerned about socio-political issues in the world and they form an opinion prior to the analysis (van Dijk 1993, 252). This subjectivity, however, is opposed by some scholars because they deem it unscientific and biased, but critical discourse analysts argue that scholarly is a part of society and the political life so, in a way, the discourse studies are always political, but whereas in some political studies it is only implied, CDA says it explicitly (van Dijk 1995, 19). In the words of Wodak and Meyer (2015, 7):

> Researchers, scientists and philosophers are not situated outside the societal hierarchy of power and status but subject to this structure. They have also frequently occupied and still occupy rather superior positions in society.

Critical Discourse Analysis works with the assumption that discourse is both 'socially constitutive' and 'socially conditioned', it is a form of opaque power (Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000, 448). The function of text and talk is not only informative, it can also be persuasive or even manipulative. It can be used to control peoples' thinking, which can be done overly explicit and radical, but also subtly through systematic regular standardized norms. Continuation of this "traditional talk"

can retain the already dominating social structure (van Dijk 1993, 254). By a dictionary definition ' to criticize' is to '[f]orm and express a judgement' (Oxford English Dictionary 2019). Therefore, with concepts likes argumentation theory, linguistics pragmatics, rhetoric, semantics and syntax in mind, the main goal of CDA is to detailly analyse the language use in the context of society and how it affects the social structures. What makes CDA critical is the assumption that it reveals connection between use of the language and structures (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, 258).

## 1.2 Origins of Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis has emerged from various disciplines. It combines linguistics and semiotics with social awareness about current issues and the role of language, discourse and communication (van Dijk 1995, 17). Before Fairclough introduced the term Critical Discourse Analysis, this so called cross-discipline was by some referred to as Critical Language Studies. In addition, van Dijk and Wodak prefer the term Critical Discourse Studies to imply the relation of theory, application and analysis. While discourse is the main concern of the analysis, the actual methods of analysing it are connected to sociological and philosophical concepts (Forchtner and Wodak 2017, 146).

Already in 1937, Horkheimer (2002, 246) talked about the critical theory and the evolving social sciences that critical theory 'exercised a liberating and stimulating influence' and 'its goal is man's emancipation from slavery'. People's individual growth depends on the 'rational constitution of society'. Therefore, it can be achieved through better understanding of how the structures of power and ideology behind discourse work (Hidalgo-Tenerio 2011, 187). Wodak and Meyer (2015, 7) add, the first thoughts of Critical Linguistics were that language could be used for 'mystification of social events', they mention Chilton's example of using passive construction to conceal the reference to an agent.

Van Dijk's (1993, 257) approach is widely connected to social cognition as it stands behind the individual and collective thinking. It presupposes some previous knowledge that can reinforce other attitudes and opinions. This corresponds with the constructivist theory that one's individual knowledge is constructed in coordination with other people. Our concepts may be altered while interacting with the concept representation of another (). Van Dijk's (1993, 258) main concerns are ideologies,

because based on these ideologies, people form opinions and attitudes on the issues in the society, be it feminism, racism or, for example, abortion. Knowing the people's values and interests makes them easier target for manipulation by the power elites. According to their values, they can easily choose topics that will be most impactful. Discourses affect society because they can be tools for domination and for distributing and transferring power, as they are both part of them (Hall 1992, cited in Wodak and Meyer 2015).

*Discourse*

It is important to understand the notion of discourse as it is a crucial point of CDA, it takes notice of extralinguistic factors like culture, society and ideology. But discourse is perceived in various ways by the scholars. Hidalgo-Tenerio (2011, 185-7)) provides an overview, for example, Widdowson distinguishes texts, written or spoken, from discourse. Texts are described linguistically with an intended meaning, and discourse is contextual thus the understanding of the text depends on the coherence and is defined by its effect. But for Fairclough, discourse also includes the concept of semiosis, which means that alongside linguistic communication there is also a visual one. In a similar manner, Wodak believes that discourses are realized through language use and visual semiosis. More importantly, CDA sees discourse as language and as a social practice.

*Ideology and power*

Critical discourse analysis deconstructs ideologies and power by investigating various data. Clarification of the concepts 'ideology' and 'power' is, therefore, needed.

By a dictionary definition, an ideology is 'a system of ideas and ideals' or 'the set of beliefs characteristic of a social group or individual'. CDA researchers are concerned with those ideologies that are part of people's everyday life. Gramsci (1980, 376) builds on the Marxist theory of ideology, but whereas the latter perceives ideologies as useless in reforming social structures, Gramsci sees a potential in ideologies and their hegemony, they can direct the human masses (cited in Daldal 2014, 154). For van Dijk (2002, 208), ideologies are part of social cognition, it is 'any kind of socially shared mental representation'.

For the concept of power, I will again use help from the dictionary, power is 'the capacity or ability to direct or influence the behaviour of others or the course of

events'. Weber (1980, 28) describes power as the possibility to gain something over the resistance of other people (quoted in Wodak 2015, 10). This is further, acknowledged by Foucault who talks about 'technologies of power' or knowledge of ways that can exercise power. CDA researchers analyse the linguistic manifestations of power in the modern societies and discourses.

## 1.3 Approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis is an approach to discourse analysis that is created on several levels. But CDA differs from the usual sociolinguistic researches as CDA scholars try to uncover the roots of social problems and want it to be relevant for practice. It presupposes connection between society and language use. CDA linguists agree that because of its nature and complexity, there is a need for interdisciplinary procedure, and 'CDA is open to the broadest range of factors that exert an influence on texts' (Meyer 2001, 15).

This chapter provides an overview of the practices that emerged in the Critical Discourse Analysis over the years and that will form a basis for a later analysis.

### 1.3.1 Fairclough's Dialectical Approach

Fairclough (2001a, 121), as others, is sceptical to the term 'method' and regards CDA more like a theoretical perspective. He also stresses that it should work with other social theories and methods on 'transdisciplinary' level. In the sense of Harvey (1996, cited in Fairclough 2001a), there should be an interconnection and open attitude towards them.

Fairclough was influenced by the works of Foucault and his 'order of discourse', which is, according to him, blending of 'genres (ways of acting), discourses (way of representing) and styles (ways of being)'. In other words, a person in a certain situation acts in the way that is generally expected of him/her. However, these orders are subjected to change when other orders become more internalized (Wodak and Forchtner 2017, 139). Another aspect of Foucauldian work is drawn in with 'technologization of discourse' that is in motion when individual becomes aware of the discursive practices that can further reproduce some hegemonies and ideologies (ibid.,139).

Fairclough (2001a, 122) focuses on semiosis and its dialectical involvement in the material social processes. The main concern is with the 'social practices' and the relationships between them because they have the ability to transform and produce social structures and social events. Social practices include intertwined elements such as productive activity, means of production, social relations, social identities, cultural values, consciousness and semiosis. Fairclough (2001b, 2) points out the various ways 'discourse' is perceived and therefore distinguishes between 'discourse' that includes semiotic elements of social life – language, visual semiosis, body language and such, which he calls 'semiosis' and 'discourse' which is 'a category for designating particular ways of representing particular aspects of social life' and is understood through its relationship with 'genres' and 'styles'.

Semiosis is realized in the social practices and social events in three ways – social activity, representations and ways of being. Social activity is the way in which people use language. For example, being a shop assistant entails certain way of using language. It is realized as 'genres', ways of interacting in certain situations (Fairclough 2001b, 4). Therefore, they are distinct part of the social practices and 'can be described in terms of their organizational properties' (Fairclough 1995, 56).

Then it is realized through representations, meaning that people make up the representations of other practices and reflect on their own. They make up 'discourses' of social practices produced by social actors (Fairclough 2001b, 4). Discourses contain and construct knowledge, they are employed at a particular standpoint and it is a use of language that describes various social practices (Fairclough 1995, 56). For example, topic of abortion would be presented differently in church and in the hospital. It is a 'social construction of practices', they can be further recontextualized or operationalized (Fairclough, 2012, 4-5).

And finally, semiosis is also achieved in the ways of being or constructing an identity. Identities are realized in the form of 'styles' and are grasped by 'performances' of people in certain positions within the social practice (Fairclough 2001a, 124).

The social discursive practices make up 'order of discourse', a semiotic difference network of genres, discourses, and styles. The way social order is constituted gives rise to dominating structures that prevail over the alternative ones,

they can become hegemonic (Fairclough 2001a, 124). But overall, it is an open system that can be changed. Therefore, CDA 'oscillates between a focus on *structures*…and a focus on *strategies*', on semiotics' role in structuring orders of discourse and what strategies are used by social agents in their production of texts (Fairclough 2012, 5). Texts are the semiotic result of social events and are produced by social agents, they depend on the social structures and social practices, including orders of discourse (ibid.)

Interdiscursive analysis of texts is the main point of Fairclough's approach. On one hand, the analysis focuses on how the individual semiotic elements work together, and on the other, it includes a linguistic and semiotic analysis of more than just writing and speaking, but also visuals. 'Context' is also part of this analysis, therefore, the practitioner analyses individual events within the social practices, 'it has mediating role in allowing one to 'connect the linguistic and semiotic features of texts with processes of social change' (Fairclough 2001b, 5).

Textual analysis can focus on different types of aspects – argumentation, narrative, modality, transitivity, nominalization, voice and more. It can, for example, build on Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics, a linguistic theory that considers language 'functional', meaning it is shaped by its social functions. Halliday recognizes three meta-functions of language – ideational, interpersonal and textual. Ideational function describes the experience that is shaped by social structures, but can also influence them in return, there is a dialectical relationship. Interpersonal function of the language demonstrates what relationships are between the participants. And the textual function is concerned about how text is held together, what coherence and cohesive tactics are at play (Wodak 2011, 55).

In addition, Fairclough (1995, 17) states that because all these meta-functions are at work in the texts at the same time, the representations, relations and identities are also present in the text. The ideational function creates the representations of the world, the interpersonal function then describes the function of language in creation of relations and identities. And finally, the textual function recounts how the individual sentences are constituted.

The value of such a view of texts is that it makes it easier to connect the analysis of language with fundamental concerns of social analysis: questions of

knowledge, belief and ideology [ideational function], questions of social relationships and power, and questions of identity [interpersonal function] (Fairclough 1995, 17)

It assumes that 'the linguistic choices that are made in texts can carry ideological meaning' (ibid., 25). In viewing language as a functional, it is possible to answer the questions that arise during media discourse analysis:

- How is the world represented?
- What identities are set up for those involved in the programme or story?
- What relationships are set up between those involved?

Thus, based on the theory described above, Fairclough (1995, 56) introduces a three-dimensional method of discourse that corresponds to the three language meta-functions. It deals with concrete communicative events and the order of discourse, how are the genres and discourses set up and in what way they function in the socio-cultural context.
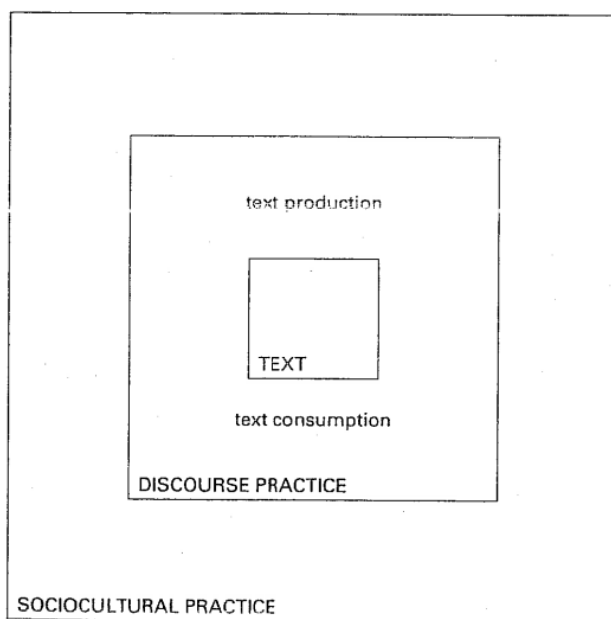


*Figure 1 Framework for critical discourse analysis of a communicative event*

*(source: Fairclough 1995, 59)*

As can be seen in the picture above, it works on three interconnected levels. On the macro-structure level, it is the *sociocultural practice*. Then it is the middle level that mediates the macro and micro levels. It deals with *discourse practice* or orders of discourse–with text production and text consumption. The last one is a micro-structure

that analyses the linguistic properties of text. Based on this model, Fairclough stresses that 'the link between the sociocultural and the textual is an indirect one, made by way of discourse practice' (Fairclough 1995, 60).

*Systemic Functional Grammar*

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), the language has three meta-functions – ideational, interpersonal and textual. It focuses on how people construct texts and utterances in order to convey the intended meaning. The assumption is that clause has a character of a message, and its structural organization fits in with the flow of discourse. The textual function looks at the actual structuring of the text, on its cohesion and coherence of the production of linguistic information. On a clausal level it is a grammatical Theme. It deals with the thematic structure and how the information is distributed. Coherence is dependent on the people's knowledge and beliefs of the world, it is used to interpret the discourse in given cultural setting (van Dijk 1988, 12).

In English language, the prominent part is the Theme and with the remaining elements, it forms a message. It varies across languages, but English puts this prominent part at the beginning of the clause, especially in written texts. The Theme puts the clause in the context and is the point of departure of the message. It corresponds to the textual function of language. The selection of Theme depends on the producer of the text, and according to van Dijk (1988, 14) it is ideological.

1.3.2   The discourse-historical approach

The heterogeneity of a modern world inclines to challenge the 'globalization, and neo-liberalist economies and ideologies' (Muntigl et al. 2000, cited in Wodak 2001, 63).  Nowadays, it is joined by the rising of, often, right-wing populistic tendencies of nationalism and xenophobia (ibid.). Wodak (2000, 6) speaks about 'symptomatology' that relates the relationships between various 'symptoms', her work includes the analysis of anti-semitism in Austria where, for example, the problems of economy or society were attributed to the "problem" of Jews. She follows Mouzelis's idea of 'conceptual pragmatism' in which within the social theory, the formation is pragmatically connected to the contexts of specific problems (Wodak 2001, 64). CDA 'aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, constituted legitimized, and so on, by language use (or in discourse' (Wodak 2004, 187).

The discourse-historical approach builds on the socio-philosophical orientation of critical theory and combines all the available information about the phenomenon under observation and interpretation of written and spoken texts about it within the analysis. It aims to analyse prejudiced utterances that are indirect, and to find the linguistic devices that are used – for example, allusions or codes (Wodak 2011, 61-2).

Three interconnected aspects make up this concept, the first two are cognitive. It is the critique of text-internal and discourse-internal structures and the aim is to uncover the contradictions or inconsistencies within them. Then it is a socio-diagnostic critique. The researcher goes beyond the internal sphere of text and discourse and connects them to broader social and political contexts, therefore, at this level the aim is to uncover whether some manipulative discursive practices were used (Wodak 2001, 64-5). Wodak's (2004, 193) approach works with the concept of 'context' outlined below:

- the immediate, language or text internal co-text
- the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses
- the extralinguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frame of specific 'context of situation'
- the broader socio-political and historical context, which the discursive practices are embedded in and related to

Third aspect is actional and it is the prognostic critique where the aim is to transform and improve communicative practices (Wodak 2001, 65).

Wodak (2001, 66) sees 'written and spoken language as a form of social practice', discourses constitute discursive and non-discursive social practices and they are also constituted by them. To distinguish 'discourse' from 'text' in the discourse-historical approach, Wodak and Meyer (2015, 6) see 'discourse' as a manifestation of social practices and knowledge, 'text' on the other hand is the specific writing or speech.

Wodak draws upon Lemke's approach and sees discourse as a macro-topic, a combination of various linguistic acts in the societal field – semiotic, oral and/or written. They are open systems that can be realized through both text and genres. Here, 'texts' are materialistic products and 'genre' is perceived as a convention of using language in a particular social action. 'Fields of action' are parts of the 'reality' that help shape the 'frame' of discourse. The various fields of action can be distinguished

as different functions of discourse. The topics as well as discourses themselves can overlap with others. In other words, there are interdiscursive and intertextual relationships present. But only with the context and co-text of utterances in mind, can one find the intertextuality and interdiscursivity of various discourses (Wodak 2004).

Through extensive research, it was suggested that discourses about nations and national identities that form the distinction between 'us' and 'them' rely on at least four types of discursive macro-strategies. Namely, they are constructive strategies that are behind the forming of national identity, then it is a preservative strategy that maintains or further reproduces this identity. Furthermore, transformative strategies can be employed to change these identities, and finally destructive strategies are used to terminate the national identities. What strategy is used depends on the context of the discursive event (Wodak 2004, 193). By 'strategy' is understood intentional plan of using language systematically in order to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim (Wodak 2001, 71-3).

Wodak (2006, 184) addresses the issue of mediation between discourse and society and the importance of cognitive models in people's text comprehension. She suggests that there is a strong connection between our stored knowledge and the new information people receive. Based on this presupposed knowledge, it is possible for people to infer different information from the same texts. Further, she believes cognitive theories can be part of the Discourse-Historical Approach as, for example, conceptual metaphors develop overtime. What once was said explicitly can have implicit meaning later without the co-text to elaborate it. She further states:

> Fantasies, projections and imaginations based on folklore and on prejudicial heritage are transferred from generation to generation and obviously stored as mental models and common-sense knowledge. Much the same could be said for sexist, homophobic and racist discourses (Wodak, 2006, 185).

### 1.3.3  Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Approach

Critical Discourse Studies are done in combination with other approaches from the fields of humanities and the social sciences. As was already mentioned, van Dijk sees CDA as a discourse analysis that is problem-orientated, and it should be multidisciplinary because the relationship between discourse and social structure is complex. Therefore, he stresses the importance of including linguistics, like grammar,

pragmatics, stylistics and such, in the Critical Discourse Analysis. and further, it should also be relevant and accessible. In his description of CDA, he concludes that it is usually 'in solidarity with the dominated groups' (van Dijk 1995, 17-18; van Dijk 2001, 96).

His studies mainly focus on the production and reproduction of prejudices and racism in discourse and the possible power abuse and domination within the society. The domain of his diverse approach on racist discourse is defined by the theoretical Discourse-Cognition-Society triangle. He agrees with Fairclough that a direct link between discourse structures and society structures does not exist, but that it is rather the mental models of language users that connect the society and discourse, so the link is actually mediated by cognition (Wodak 2011, 60). Van Dijk (2001, 97) 'value[s] the fundamental importance of the study of cognition…in the critical analysis of discourse, communication and interaction.'

Teun A. van Dijk (2001, 98) sees 'discourse' as a 'communicative event', which includes conversations and written objects, but also semiotic dimension, like for example, a form of gestures, body language and so on. 'Cognition' is thought of as both social and personal that are made up of 'mental' and 'memory' structures as part of discourse and interaction. And 'society' is perceived to consist of the local structures that are on the microstructure level like conversations, but also of global structure and the societal, cultural and political processes involved globally. The social and cognitive levels define the relevant context of discourse.

Discourse is produced and understood through the cognitive component, which is made up of mind, memory and involved cognitive processes. Usually, cognitive structures are used in the analysis of discursive and semiotic structures of the examined object, often they are required for interpretation of the message. They consist of memory, mental models and social cognition. *Mental models* are formed by personal experiences of individuals, they themselves have a structure that is like the normal semantic structures of sentences – Setting, Participants (and their identities), Actions/Events, and Goals. *Social cognition* is the shared knowledge between the people of the same social community. It assumes that apart from knowledge, the groups can also share attitudes and ideologies. Social cognition directly impacts our mental models, thus, the cognitive aspect of the triangle influences the production and understanding of discourses (van Dijk 2015, 66-7).

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### 1.3.3.1   Mental models

Van Dijk names two types of mental models in discourse processing, situation and context models. Situation models provide the discourse structures and context models constitute of local and global contexts (van Dijk 2001, 108).

*Situation models*

Situation models present what the discourse informs on. At this point, an individual interprets the discourse according to his/her personal knowledge, the discourse is given meaning and coherence, local and global. In addition, also shared knowledge is part of this process, as people are 'able to infer relevant aspects of a situation model by applying shared knowledge' (van Dijk 2015, 67).

Topics, or 'semantic macrostructures' tell people what the discourse is about in a more global manner, they depend on the local (micro) structures and provide the coherence of the text. They are used by the people in producing and understanding specific discourses. For example, in long stretches of text, it is harder to remember all the meaningful parts, therefore language users structure these meanings under certain major topics. Therefore, it also has a social relevance because in analysing the macrostructures, researchers can infer what the speaker/writer deemed the most significant, or in what order. They can be used to 'emphasize meaning, control comprehension and influence the formation of so-called [mental models]' (van Dijk 2001, 102). This is connected to the global forms of discourse, these are the 'canonical and conventional schemata' that are used and understood by the language users, for example fairy-tales or news reports (van Dijk 2001, 107).

The, above mentioned, local meanings are selected by the language users when participating in the communicative situation, it is a selection on a lexical level, and they provide the overall coherence of the text. The choice depends on the context and words and propositions that are selected can further influence the mental models of the recipient the most (van Dijk 2001,103).

*Context models*

Context models are used to describe the communicative situation or experience people are part of. They depend on the subjective representations by the participants of the ongoing situation. Individuals draw on these context models to decide how to behave in the communicative situation or how to talk about it. Based on these models,

people choose suitable discourse for the specific situation. They constrain to what extent people share some information, and how, '[people] tell about the same experience…in a different way…to our friends than to the police' (van Dijk, 67).

Van Dijk (2001, 2015) mentions context models, either global or local. When describing a communicative event in a global context, this global context is dependent on the social, political, cultural and historical structures within which the event takes place.

The local contexts include the immediate situation of the communicative event. Many properties of the situation are at play, for example the overall domain or action, but also participants and their roles in the communication. In addition, also 'their intentions, goals, knowledge, norms and other belief' are part of these local contexts. Therefore, they influence the properties of text and talk used by the participant that are dependent on their position in the communication, on what is talked about and to whom (van Dijk 2001, 108). They influence the form of local discourse. At this lower level, people choose the linguistic forms like syntax, how to relate sentences and clauses to each other, or other features. Lexical choice or voice–passive or active construction–is also decided on this level (van Dijk 2001, 107).

Thus, the context models exert control over the situation; 'they are the interface between mental information…about an event and actual meanings being constructed in discourse' (van Dijk 2001, 110). They provide the language users with what is relevant information in the situation (ibid., 111).

*Event models*

Van Dijk (2001, 112) further introduces the term event models for the comprehension of discourse; mental models of these events '[form] the basis for the production and understanding of a discourse, especially of its meaning'. They differ from the situational models because the participants are not part of the situation of event models, they can only talk or write about them.

Van Dijk (2001, 111) states that coherence of discourse depends on the mental models of people. It is not based on the relations between the presented facts in the discourse, but rather on how language users perceive these facts, how they interpret them and how they describe them. And because mental models depend on personal experience and are also constrained by the context models, the interpretations of

discourses 'are personal, subjective, biased, incomplete or completely imaginary.' This proposes that the meaning of discourse is incomplete when compared to its mental model because it does not include everything the producer wants to convey. Rather, some information does not have to be stated explicitly because people can infer some meanings themselves or they might already know it.

Van Dijk (2001, 99) states that for a 'complete' discourse analysis, a great amount of time would be needed because it is too complex, therefore CDA analysts 'must make choices' in selecting the structures of discourse that could be relevant to the study of the object of research, those that are involved in production and reproduction of power abuse. In addition, one should understand what parts of discourse are inert and which can exercise power over it.

## 1.4 Critical Discourse Analysis of racist ideology

Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000, 451) said that immigration is amongst the popular topics of CDA analysists as it is related to racism, a social issue produced by power and inequality. And it corresponds to the previous research by CDA practitioners, it was also shown that immigration is often part of the political discourse as well as the media discourse. This subchapter introduces some of the previous research.

Van Dijk's (2015, 73-4) focus on discourses of ideology shows that in racist discourses there are tendencies to make a distinct representation between 'us' and 'them'. In this manner, he introduces the term 'Ideological Square', where the positive self-representation of 'us' is reinforced by emphasizing the good things and omitting or lessening the bad things, and the representation of 'them' is done in reverse. This is an ideological structure called polarization, it can be further supported by use of pronouns as they can establish a relationship between the speakers and audience and at the same time exclude other groups of people. Another ideological structure is that of identification, in expressing their leanings people can expect that others will understand some of their values.

Van Dijk's (1998) analysis of ideologies was concerned with the social representation of groups, which immigrants are. He further states, 'socially shared opinions about immigration may be based on racist or antiracist ideologies.' Van Dijk examined a speech of a British MP Teresa Gorman and concluded it was full of

implicit, but also explicit, xenophobic attitudes towards asylum seekers and immigrants in general. She showed tendencies of polarization between the British and foreigners as well as "good" asylum seekers and the "bad" ones. Apart from other implications, she also indirectly portrayed them as a 'problem' (see details in Van Dijk 2002).

Van Dijk also analysed a billboard used by UKIP campaign during the 2014 European Parliament elections, in which the far-right party used a xenophobic and racist propaganda. On this example, he demonstrated his triangular socio-cognitive approach to CDA (see details in Van Dijk 2015, 65).

The UK racist discourse was also the focus of the research by Baker et al. (2008) who analysed news reporting between the years 1996 and 2006 on the topic of immigration across several newspapers, tabloids as well as broadsheets. They used a combination of the Discourse-historical approach to CDA and Corpus Linguistics for the collection of data. The results showed tendencies to portray immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers and migrants as negative elements. And while, generally, there are differences between these terms, they were often used interchangeably by the media during the 1996-2005 period.

The discourse-historical approach was developed by Ruth Wodak and her Viennese colleagues (2001) with a focus on other discriminatory practices. Concretely, the anti-Semitic stereotyped image in the rhetoric of the Austrian presidential candidate Karl Waldheim in 1986 that showed in a public discourse. She also made a short analysis of a statement by Jörg Haider, following a directive that all roadworks should be done exclusively by indigenous workers. In his statement, Haider clearly makes use of discriminatory prejudices and polarization. Additionally, he even distinguishes the 'black Africans' from foreigners, making them, according to Wodak (2004, 197) 'even worse evil'. Wodak further states that this construction of 'threat by foreigners' became a very significant topoi in the Austrian public discourse.

The polarization of in-groups and out-groups was a result in a research conducted by Wenden (2005) of Al-Jazeera newspapers. The analysis showed that the representation of Pakistanis was deliberately portrayed positively and Israelis negatively. For example, the negative actions of Pakistanis were formulated as defensive and as the result of Israelis' action (for more details see Wenden 2005).

## 1.5 Note on Media Discourse and Media Power

Anne O'Keeffe (2011, 441) defines media discourse as 'interactions that take place through a broadcast platform, whether spoken or written, in which the discourse is oriented to a non-present reader…' and as 'a public, manufactured, on-record, form of interaction.' All these characteristics make media discourse available for critique to everyone, be it public or scholars. In addition, nowadays with the advancement of technology, the role of the reader can be different.

Fairclough (2006, 12) believes that 'mass media are the predominant social field in the creation…of the public knowledge and information, beliefs, values and attitudes', the mediation of experience restricts people's perspectives and makes them easier target for 'the strategies and meanings favoured by the powerful' (ibid., 14).

When it comes to the power of the media, Habermas (2006: 415-9) talked about *media power* that is utilized as a selection and shaping of the message representations. In this way, media bring attention to public issues and influence the formation of public opinions. Fairclough (1995, 3) believes that mass media are influential in producing representations of events, which can further shape the cognition of people, their knowledge, values and other beliefs. He further states that 'the language of the mass media can make a substantive contribution [to the study of sociocultural change]' (ibid.). Talbot (2007, 5) agrees that the power and influence of media discourse plays a crucial role in the construction of people's realities and sees 'media as a key domain of language use for the sociology of language that is deeply embedded in people's everyday life and their interactions'.

Media discourse contains also written texts, from the linguistic point of view, they are understood as a product of the discursive process (Talbot 2007, 9). Therefore, in analysing media discourse Fairclough (1992, 194) also stresses for the textual analysis to be part of it, the detailed analysis can only contribute to it. Gillespie and Toynbee (2006, 2) also argue that the analysis of media texts can provide useful tool for understanding how is power exercised through them.

Overall, the 'primary function of media products is the making and taking of meaning…[usually] combined in ways that convey multiple possible meanings (Gillespie and Toynbee 2006, 2-3). However, this can lead to obfuscation and various readers can infer various meanings from the texts (ibid.). Fairclough (2006, 15) further

talks about the clash of mediated and unmediated experience because it can lead to 'the interpretation of media messages, images and representations [that] may be highly diverse', especially, when someone consciously exert power over the texts.

In addition, 'any text can be said to have an implied reader, an imaginary addressee with particular values, preoccupations and common-sense understandings', media can exercise their power in constructing this imaginary addressee, give him/her the desired attributes and present them as a truthful image (Talbot 2007, 47).

## 2 Methodology

The thesis analyses newspapers headlines of selected newspapers about migration statistic published by Office for National Statistics less than a month before the EU referendum. I chose a qualitative and deductive approach and the main point of analysing is interpretation based on practices of Critical Discourse Analysis.

### 2.1 Object of research

CDA is concerned with social problems and shift in the social structure, thus I decided to concentrate on the role of immigration in the British EU Referendum about staying or leaving the union. As David Cameron (The Guardian 2016) stated about the referendum: 'This is a decision that lasts for life. We make this decision and it is probably going to be the only time in our generation when we make this decision.' It did shake the UK political establishment and affected many people.

Focusing on immigration was chosen because it was, arguably, one of the driving forces in the debates before the referendum. Ibrahim and Howarth (2018, 353) state it was 'a pivotal issue in the Brexit referendum in 2016 where the decision to leave [EU] was in many ways framed as means for Britain to regain control over its borders'. This is further supported by a poll that was conducted by Migration Observatory, in which the respondents named immigration as one of the most important issues in Britain: between June 2015 and June 2016, immigration was named as a 'salient issue facing the country, peaking at 56 % in September 2015.' In comparison, after the referendum, only 21 % of respondents saw immigration as a great issue (Blinder and Lindsay 2018).

For the analysis, I chose a reporting of a "boring" statistical report and how it was conveyed in the headlines by various publishers. It was released in May 2016, less than a month before the referendum, by Office for National Statistics (2016) and it was a migration statistical report, in which the net migration figure for the end of 2015 was calculated at 333 000. Net migration is the difference between the number of people who immigrate into the UK and those that emigrate from the country. The net migration was one of the highest in history because the emigration decreased, however, immigration numbers were comparable to previous year and thus ONS reported the total numbers of immigration, emigration and net migration as 'not statistically significant'.

I believe that statistic is, in general, an objective and reliable piece of information. However, my assumption is that the producers of news employed language devices to transfer this "boring" statistic into an entertaining story in order to appeal to readers' attention.

## 2.2 Selection of the newspapers

This thesis presumes a connection between the representation of immigration in newspapers and the outcome of the EU referendum. The assumption is based on the statistics of demographics of the pro-Leave voters age, readership of two particular newspapers – The Daily Mail, The Telegraph, and findings that were conducted by Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism at Oxford University in which they state that the, above mentioned, newspapers took a pro-Leave stance in their news reporting (Statista n.d., University of Oxford 2016). However, for a contrast, two pro-Remain newspapers are added, namely the Guardian and The Daily Mirror (University of Oxford 2016). Instead of focusing on the "traditional" divide of broadsheets and tabloids, the distinction is on their official stance towards referendum.

According to Statista (n.d.) the majority of male and female aged over 50 years old voted for Britain to leave the EU. These votes represented over 60 %, therefore it arguably had a significant influence on the outcome of the referendum because the final vote results were tight. Henry Taylor (2017) from the Media Briefing posted an analysis of readership demographics of the British newspapers. It showed that the oldest readerships have two newspapers, The Daily Mail and The Telegraph. On the other hand, the Guardian and the Daily Mirror have slightly younger audiences.

Data for the analysis were collected on the official websites of the newspapers. I decided for the online source because of its accessibility, for the readers as well as for the analysists. This thesis assumes that the age demographics of online newspapers does not differ significantly from that of print edition. National Readership Survey (n.d.) found that the highest readerships of digital media between January 2016 and December 2016, time during which the EU referendum took place, had the Guardian and the Daily Telegraph for the broadsheets and the Daily Mirror and the Daily Mail for the tabloids. Followed by The Independent and The Sun.

Therefore, a combination of the above findings led to a decision of focusing on the reporting of these newspapers. In taking a stance, these newspapers constructed

certain identities of themselves and the values they represent, as Fairclough (1995) states:

> The wider social impact of media is not just to do with how they selectively represent the world, though that is vitally important issue, it is also to do with what sorts of social identities, what versions of 'self', they project and what cultural values…these entail (Fairclough 1995, 17).

## 2.3 Overview of ONS statistic reporting in the selected newspapers

Organization of National Statistics publishes the migration report since November 2014, so for better perspective, I have decided to explore how much were the previous ONS publications reported. Thus, this part of the paper will show statistical portrayal of news articles connected to the migration report since its first publication until the one before the referendum that will be further explored in the analysis. Between, and including, November 2014 and May 2016 it is exactly seven published reports, the individual headlines can be found in Apendix A The assumption is that leading up to the Referendum, the report gained more prominence in the newspapers.

The Figure 2 shows how many articles, including opinions, regarding the report were published in the individual newspapers on the days of the publications, respectively
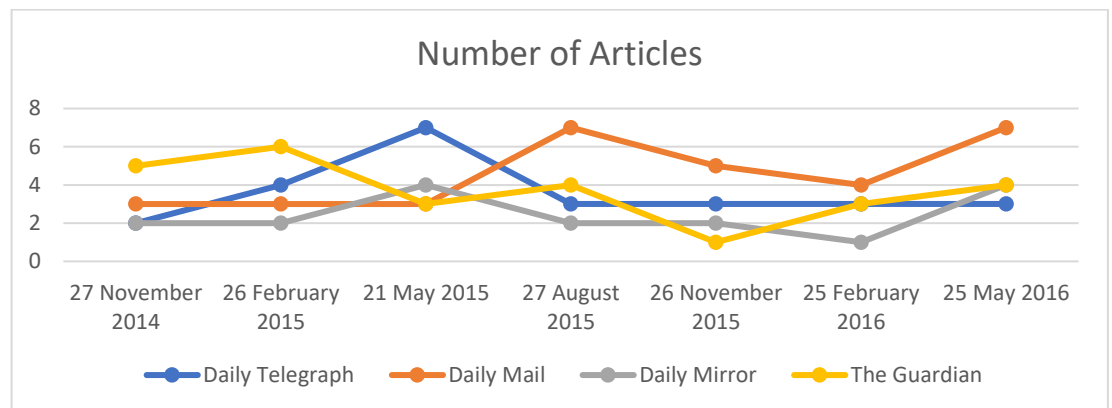


*Figure 2 Number of Articles in the newspapers*

*(source: own)*

The ONS report did not have the same prominence throughout this publication period. However, notable is that The Daily Mail equalled its number from August 2015 and The Daily Mirror published more articles than about the penultimate report.

More informative is Figure 3 which represents the number of clauses used in the headlines.
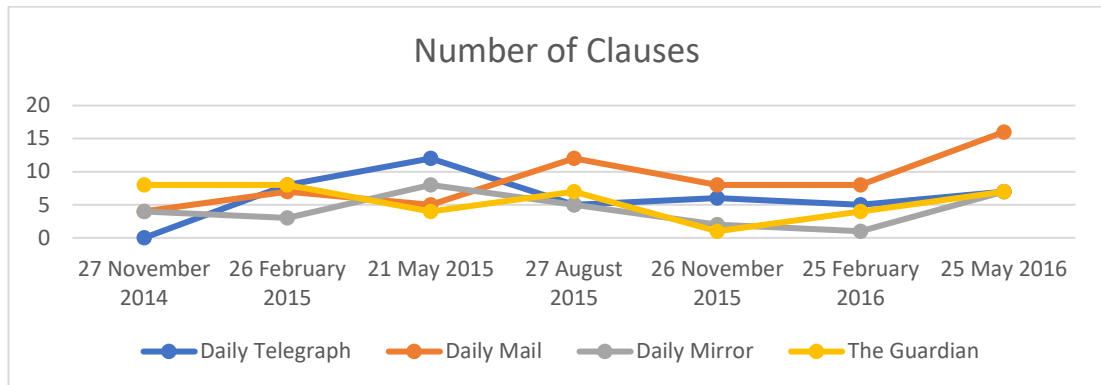


*Figure 3 Number of Clauses in the Headlines*

*(source: own)*

It shows that on 25 May 2016, The Daily Mail used the most clauses to report the Statistic and the rest of the publishers had the same number of clauses in their headlines.

During the covered period, Daily Mail was the publisher that was interested in the reporting of ONS Migration Statistics the most, followed by Daily Telegraph and The Guardian. In fact, the Mail published 32 articles in 60 clauses. On the other hand, The Daily Mirror, the "opposite" tabloid newspaper, covered it the least.

Next, I also collected data with focus on references to the topic of government, European Union and Brexit to see what situational contexts were activated. To be fair, some aspects, like David Cameron, were counted as reference to the government as well as Brexit.
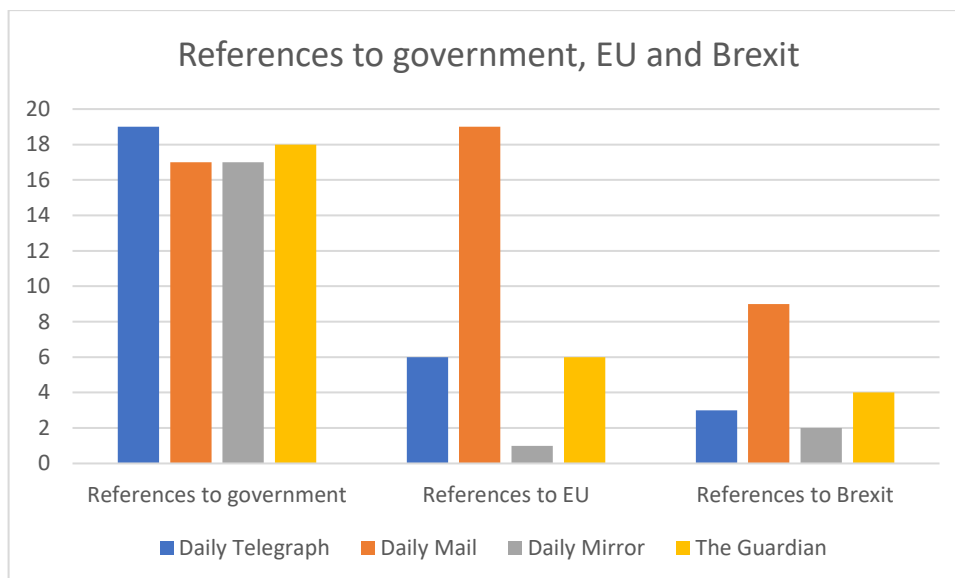
*Figure 4 References to governemnt, EU and Brexit*

*(source: own)*

The Figure 4 shows that mentions of the government, governmental figures and the like are in similar numbers in all newspapers. However, the references to EU and Brexit are led by the Mail. References to EU are in the Mail more times than in the other three newspapers combined.
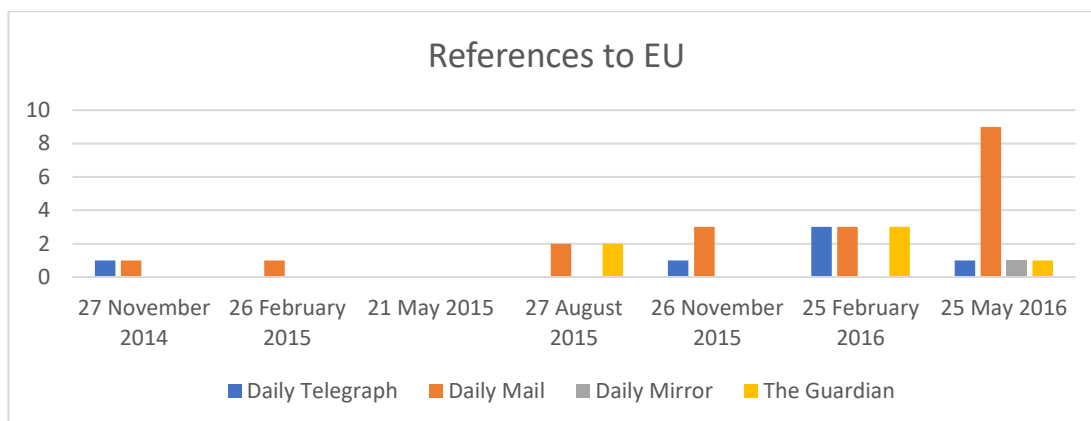


*Figure 5 References to EU*

*(source: own)*

It would not be true to say that all newspapers started to mention EU only after the referendum became a prominent topic in the public discourse, see Figure 5 for confirmation. It is only natural for EU to be mentioned in articles connected to the migration statistics as the United Kingdom is part of the European Union and the ties between them are evident. At the same time, my assumption was that the references would increase hand in hand with the approaching referendum, which can be said only

for Daily Mail. However, The Daily Mirror did only refer to EU in its articles reporting the last ONS statistic before the referendum.

The base tables for the above Figures can be found in the Apendix B.

## 2.4 Method of Analysis

The further analysis is based on Fairclough's three-dimensional model of discourse analysis. Therefore, macrostructures as well as microstructure is analysed. At the macrostructure level, Wodak's approach to CDA and her context structure is incorporated as it stresses the importance of socio-cultural background. Part of the macrostructure is also text production and text consumption. These combine to form discourse practices. van Dijk's triangular component is employed in text consumption to identify possible factors of influence on the minds of the audiences. Finally, the microstructure level of discourse is analysed in terms of Halliday's Systemic Functional Language view on Thematic structure, the lexical choice of the producers and coherence and cohesion on textual level.

# 3 Analysis

## 3.1 Sociocultural analysis: Socio-historical context

The socio-historical context provides important information for better understanding and interpretation of analysed data, therefore this sub-chapter will provide a useful insight into immigration in the UK after the Second World War when the UK started becoming multicultural nation, with a particular note on the question of European Union, and asylum seekers.

Max Horkheimer (2002: 54) in his essay "Authority and the Family" states:

'the whole culture…is caught up in the dynamism of history, and the cultural sphere – customs, morality, art religion, and philosophy – form, in their interconnection, dynamic influences on the maintenance or breakdown of a particular form of society.'

Therefore, contemporary society is shaped by every social change and historical events that happened previously.

### 3.1.1 Socio-historical background of immigration in the UK

In the year 1913, The British Empire has held influence over a great number of people, it was almost a fourth of the total population of the world. And it is from the Commonwealth, that many immigrants came into the UK after the end of the WWII and fall of the empire. This was enabled by the British Nationality Act 1948 that established the national citizenship status Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies. It did not differentiate between the people from the colonies and people born in the United Kingdom, both of whom could freely enter and live in the country. This was a welcomed move as the post-war era economy needed the labour (Hansen 2003, 25-6).

The British government, from the fear of increased immigration, tightened the immigration controls from other parts of Commonwealth in the 1960s, concretely 1962 with the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 (Hansen 2003, 27). The 1960s were accompanied by anti-immigrant views and efforts from the politicians to restrict it even more. It was quite evident in the famous and xenophobic "Rivers of Blood" speech by Enoch Powell in 1968 at the meeting of the Conservatives, in which he attacked the mass immigration and predicted 'interracial violence' (Friedersdorf 2018, Hansen 2003, 29).

Interestingly, in the words of C. Howard Wheeldon, member of the audience during Powell's speech: '…it is fascinating to note what little hostility emerged from the audience. To the best of my memory, only one person voiced any sign of annoyance' (Heffer 1999: 455). This corresponded with the public opinion on a larger scale, Collins (2016, 12) states 'approximately three-quarters of the British population agreed with Enoch Powell's demand that year for non-white immigration to be halted completely, and three-fifths agreed with his still more inflammatory call for the repatriation of non-whites already resident in Britain.' Hansen (2003, 29) also points out that Powell's speech granted him a huge support from the working-class people who 'marched through London in his defence'.

Over the years, the phrase "Enoch was right" has become a political rhetoric and it was used by various far-right politicians (Friedersdorf 2018).

The tensions resulted in passing The Immigration Act 1971. The nature of this law allowed only those British people with a strong connection to British Islands, like

their birth or birth of their parent or grandparent on the British soil, to freely enter, live and work in the UK without the immigration control, it was under the so called right of abode (Home Office 2017, 4-6). This decision was met with some critique, Solomos (1993, 71) viewed it as discriminatory against the black citizens of Commonwealth. But the public opinion, according to Gallup's polls, showed an agreement with the restrictive policies and, in year 1978, mostly thought that is it more important to control immigration than to improve race relations in the country (Collins 2016, 12).

Nevertheless, the number the number of emigrating was often larger than that of immigrating from 1964 till 1983 (Sturge 2018, 11-2). During these years, opinion polls were conducted, in which the British citizens were questioned about immigration and coloured people. The results often showed negative rather than positive attitude towards immigrants. And only minority of the questioned people saw immigration and multiculturalism as a benefit (Collins 2016, 11).

And 1983 brought another change of Immigration Policy when the British Nationality Act 1981 was passed, it is the current law in forces which was amended over the years. It produced a system of multiple categories of British nationality and the Commonwealth citizens were no longer recognized as British subjects. It was the result of 'Thatcher's 1979 election pledge to further restrict immigration to Britain' (Girvan 2018, 5). Overall, the access to British Nationality became more complex and harder to obtain.

Whereas it became harder for the Commonwealth citizens to move to the UK, other nations gained access when the UK joined the European Community. And with the foundation of European Union's Single Market that promised, amongst other liberties, the free movement of labour (European Commission n.d.), it was even easier for people of the EU countries to move to the UK for work reasons. However, when the Schengen Agreement was introduced to improve the movement of people, the UK government decided to opt-out, as it challenged Britain's sovereignty and identity, and rather keep the control over its borders (Ibrahim and Howarth 2018, 356).

During the 1990s, the in-flow of migrants from the EU was not in large numbers, however, this changed in 2004 when the Eastern European countries joined the union. The expansion was often the topic of election debates and the uncertain attitudes were reflected in the press (Ibrahim and Howarth 2016). One of the reasons was Tony

Blair's decision to omit any transitional period in the ability of the citizens of newly accessioned countries. Therefore, more people came for work to the UK than was previously anticipated, and it effected the public perceptions of the Union (Goodwin and Ford 2014).

Nevertheless, the greater number of migrants was still from the non-EU countries, in the first decade of the new millennium, it was around 60 % (Brand and Rowlatt 2014, 21). And in 2017, time after the Referendum, it was still a larger percentage than that of EU-migrants which was 39 % (Rienzo and Vargas-Silva 2018).

In addition, the topic of asylum seekers was brought into the British politics and immigration policy in the 1990s. In the construction of their attitude towards asylum, the UK government had to work around the already agreed obligation from 1951 Geneva Convention (Hansen 2003, 35-6). It was a United Nations Refugee Convention where the Article 1 of this meeting established the definition of a refugee as someone who:

> As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (UNHCR 2010, 14).

The geographical and temporal restrictions of the definition proposed at the convention were later discarded in the international refugee law called The Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees.

The British helped the people fleeing persecution for religious and political reasons in as early as the middle of nineteenth century. It was perceived as part of the collective mind of the nation and it showed their "higher moral ground" (Bashford and McAdam 2014; Shaw 2015; cited in Ibrahim and Howarth 2018). However, their attitudes of twentieth century showed a tendency to restrict and control refuge and it was widely debated in the parliament and in the media. According to (Ibrahim and Howarth 2018, 358), 'asylum was reframed as a 'problem' and…migration became an

election issue…debates shifted from issues of refuge to the cost of dealing with asylum seekers.'

In the 1993 Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act was passed as the primary law dealing with asylum. It incorporated the resolution of the Refugee Convention and while it speeded up the processing of applications, it mainly hardened the measures on asylum seekers. It was supposed to discourage them to come to the United Kingdom (Macdonald 1993). Further legislation acts reduced the access to benefits, so that the welfare system did not attract economic migrants and increased the powers of immigration officers (Ibrahim and Howarth 2018, 364-5).

Furthermore, the Immigration Acts 2014 and 2016 were supposed to 'create a hostile environment' (Travis 2013) as the authorities, like banks, hospitals or landlords, were encouraged 'to do basic immigration checks' (Ibrahim and Howarth 2018, 369).

Overall, migration is highly politicized since the 1980s not only in the UK but in other western European countries as well. The elections are often accompanied by promises of further restriction of "unwanted" migration. As for example, Cameron and the Conservative party promised to decrease the total number of immigrants to less than 100,000 a year, if people voted for them in the general election 2010 (Curtice 2017, 22).

Ibrahim and Howarth (2018, 374) mention the two narratives present in 'the public debate since the 1990s: loss of control over borders and the economic threat of migration through expansion of European Union membership.' Asylum policy became 'an emotive election issue, with refugees portrayed as exploiting not just welfare benefits but core British values' (Ibrahim and Howarth 2018, 379). And Bosworth (2008, in Ibrahim and Howarth 2018, 374) acknowledges the change from the discourse of rights, protection and refuge to threats by the uncontrollable population shift caused by the political re-structuralising of Europe.

The question of asylum seekers has brought forth a debate on the genuineness of the applicants (Hansen 2003, 36). When Cameron and May were in the office, which was during the EU referendum debates, they further polarized between those refugees that deserve pity and assistance and those who did not. According to Sheikh (2016),

May's policy on asylum seekers was viewed by the critics as "vindictive" and "nasty" and aimed to persuade the people who seek refuge not to come to the UK at all.

According to Amnesty International (2019), every refugee is essentially an asylum seeker, but not every asylum seeker is recognized as a refugee. It is, nevertheless, a person who seeks protection on an international level and has applied for a permission to reside in the host country. On the other hand, refugee is a someone who has fled their country of origin in fear and is unable or unwilling to return because of their fear of persecution. In addition, refugees and asylum seeker are, by definition, also different from economic migrants, people who move to another country in search of stability and a better life. However, according to research by Baker et al. (2008, 288-9), media often used these terms interchangeably during the 1996-2005 period.

In general, the UK has a complex and long relationship with migration, therefore it is unsurprising that it is part of various discourses as it is an important long-standing "issue".

### 3.1.2 EU referendum, identity and elites

Ever since the UK joined the European Union, there was not a strong inclination of European identity within the British public. In a survey of 1992-2016, around 60 % of population considered themselves only British, and those acknowledging a European Identity were 17 % at most (Eurobarometer and British Social Attitudes, cited in Curtice 2017, 21-2). Curtice (2017, 22) also states 'the European project was potentially more at risk in the UK than in any other member state.'

Curtice (2017, 23) further comments on the different economic circumstances of the EU referendum conducted in 1975 and that of 2016. Whereas in the 1970s, EU was perceived as a boost for the unstable post-war economy, in 2016 it was affected by the financial crisis eight years earlier.

Moreover, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism conducted an extensive research into UK press coverage of the referendum, in which some of the findings included the fact that whereas Europe was not considered as a great issue until 2010, immigration was highly perceived as a problem already in 1997 and peaked in 2015 (Levy et al 2016, 8-9). When after 2010, the issue of immigration was connected to Europe, it started to become a problem as well. Because, allegedly, it posed a threat to British identity and exploited the freedom of movement, the perception of European

Union as a benefit changed from the positive one in 1975 to a negative one in 2016 (Curtice 2017). Furthermore, Rowinski (2016, 52) talks about the Eurosceptic rhetoric of media that drew upon 'a selective collective memory' and used immigration to polarize between the British nation and the "evil" Europe. He states:

> 'It is…the consistent discourse of taking back our country and regaining control of immigration, that were established in the collective memory in the years prior to the campaign that facilitated the final result…' (52, italics in original)

Part of the media coverage is referencing the elites, or the people in the position of power. Survey showed that the most referenced people were Tory politicians Boris Johnson and David Cameron, one a Brexiteer and the other a Remainer (Levy et al 2016, 28-9). Especially, Johnson is an interesting figure, because according to White (2016), he was heard to agree with staying in the EU before he joined the pro-Brexit campaign in February 2016. Yates (2016, 80) describes his political identity as:

> 'slippery, as joker and skilled political orator he seems to enjoy cocking a snook at the establishment whilst at the same time, as a white, upper middle class, Oxbridge educated member of the Conservative Party, he also symbolises all that the establishment is held up to be'

His persona was what resonated with the voters as his attitude brought "a fresh air" in people's, otherwise, cynical perception of current politics.

## 3.2 Discourse practice analysis

In terms of Halliday's three meta-functions of language, discourse practise is realized by the interpersonal function. It focuses on relations and identities among language users. It corresponds to his message as meaning exchange, and in this exchange, the participants have a particular speech role. As our analysis deals with written text, it is the role of writer and reader (Halliday 1985,).

Hall (2005, 119-120) proposes an encoding and decoding diagram of media discourse communication, specifically for broadcasting, but I believe it is sufficient for other forms as well:
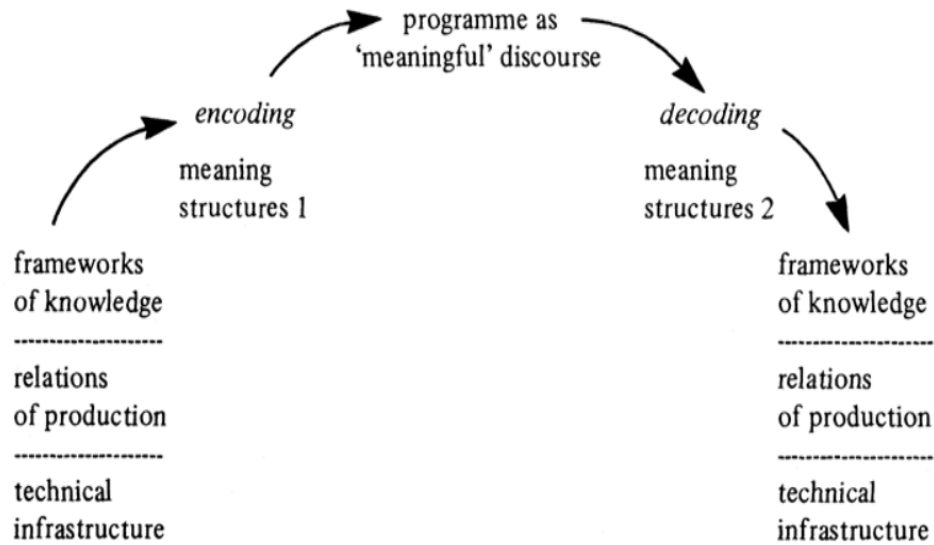
*Figure 6* Encoding/decoding paradigm (source: Hall (2005, 120)

He comments that the meaning structures do not have to be the same, as they are encoded and decoded in different environments. And how well is the communicative message understood depends on the equivalence of these settings between the producer and receiver.

This chapter analyses the discourse practices of text production and text consumption.

3.2.1   Discursive practice of text production

In their historical overview of news production, Conboy and Steele (2008, 651) state:

'…newspapers have always produced readers, not news, as their primary goal; creating a selection of news tailored for a particular readership to create profit and/or exert influence on that readership'

Thus, people are viewed as a commodity that newspapers need to create a revenue. To gain the readership, they target an audience with certain values and accommodate the reporting accordingly. In addition, Conboy (2001, 156-7) proposes 'major popular newspapers are owned by and serve the financial interests of some of the wealthiest men in the world'. Fowler (1993, 20) also comments that newspapers are determined socially and economically and because they act within particular commercial and institutional relationship, they are 'bound to have an effect on what is published as news, and on how it is presented'. Fairclough (2006, 13) also comments on the effect

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of globalization and the involvement of transnational corporations on the media and how it changed its role as an independent provider of information for the public.

Generally, newspapers, even if saying otherwise, are opinionated and ideological, and people tend to look for those representation of events that ideologically match their own cognitive mental models. Knowledge, power and ideology, all of these factors are present in media and they constrain the language use of the producers. However, Fowler (1993, 41) comments that even though newspapers deliberately select some news over others and report them in a particular way, it is done so on the basis of conventions.

The stress to appeal regularly to a certain audience group was seen already in the 18th century and even more prevalent in the following one. Conboy and Steele (2008, 652) suggest that '[w]hat newspaper can perhaps be…credited with are those longer narratives of ideological coherence and identity' and these narratives were 'crafted for a specifically targeted audience in terms of class and political orientation.'

*News report*

Genre shows how language is used by the language users in a communicative setting that is constrained by conventions of culture. Martin (2009, 13) sees it as 'a theory of the borders of our social world, and our familiarity with what to expect'. Lavid et al. (2012, 4) state that focusing on genre analysis shows 'how writers achieve their communicative purposes by using various structural forms, constructing different focuses and manipulating topics and readers by using various linguistic devices'.

Relevant to my analysis is the genre of news report. Its purpose is informative, and it should objectively communicate something to the readers. The objectivity should be supported by neutral language use, but also with multiple opinions and perspectives on the topic (Lavid et al 2012, 5). The language choice of the producers should reflect the communicative purpose of this given genre.

Headlines are specific parts of news reports, it is the first contact of an audience with the news piece (Fairclough 2012). It is the part that affects the representation of the story 'in terms of a "preferred" mental model' because the topics activate readers' mental models (van Dijk 1988). In similar way, Pan and Kosicki (1993, 59) describe headline as 'the most salient cue to activate certain semantically related concepts in readers' minds; it is thus the most powerful framing device of the syntactical structure'.

With digitalization, the function of headline changed from the "summary" of the article to device of attracting the readers to open the article, Chen et al (2015, 1) talk about click-baiting effect of the headlines. Adler (2014) also talks about the shift in consumption by the readers through social media and not through usual publication (Chen et al 2015, 2). The headline has to attract in order for the article to be read by wider readership. Kuiken et al (2017, 1301) even propose that headlines meant for the online distribution vary from those for print publications. Nevertheless, to produce an effective headline, writers need to employ stylistic features to spark a curiosity of the reader, thus it plays a significant role in the text production.

There is also a connection between news values and audience, as Richardson (2007, 94) states 'news values are the [imagined] preferences of the expected audience'. Van Dijk (1988b, 121) believes that news values constrain the news production, its formulation and selection because they 'have a cognitive representation'. Fowler (1993, 13) views them as a social construct that is culturally based. They represent the values of newsworthiness and therefore are employed in the production of news (Bednarek and Caple 2014, 139). Price et al. (1997, 481) further comments that 'news values, or what constitute a good story, are present in the decisions of editors as well as journalists' choice of presentation, and they influence the public opinion.

It is, according to Price and Tewskbury (1997, 482) done in two ways, *agenda setting effect* is the selection of some items over others, these stories are perceived as more newsworthy. The other way is a *framing effect*. So, it is an example relevant not only to text production as Gamson & Modigliani (1987, 143) state frame is a 'central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning', but also to text interpretation because the selection influences judgments or infer meaning of individuals (Kahneman and Tversky 1984, ). Furthermore, it is 'viewed as placing information in a unique context so that certain elements of the issue get a greater allocation of an individual's cognitive resources (Pan and Kosicki 1993, 57). Gans (2004, 40) states that the values are often present implicitly and have to be inferred by the readers, and because they 'come to the news with different preconceptions, they may infer many different values from what they…read.'

Price et al (1997, 482-3) mentions Iyengar's (1991) research that presented an example of episodic framing. When covering unemployment, the newspapers used

stories of individuals who lost their job but did not cover the broader context of this issue, thus omitting the general understanding of the problem of unemployment. Therefore, audiences can more easily tend to view this problem as a problem of individual and not of the system.

Furthermore, Uribe and Gunter (2007, 209) see sensationalism as a concept that is 'a characteristic of the news-packaging process that places emphasis upon those elements that could provoke an effect on the human sensory system.' Other features can include simplification, spectacularizing, negativity, numbers or provoking content (Blom and Hansen 2015, Rowe 2011, Tenenboim and Cohen 2015, Safran 2013). It is no surprise that Tandoc's (2014) research suggests that news producer use words, phrases, and stylistic techniques that are statistically known to attract more clicks.

There is a distinction between hard and soft news, whereas soft news is concerned with gossip, entertainment or sport, hard news is about 'breaking events involving top leaders, major issues, or significant disruptions in the routines of daily life' (Patterson 2000, 3). However, these topics might overlap, and some 'soft' news can be relevant to public interest, politics or society (Reinemann et al. 2011, 5).

Arguably, some of the discursive practices mentioned in this section violate the NUJ's code of conduct, main principles of UK and Irish journalism since 1936, for example, a journalist 'strives to ensure that information disseminated is honestly conveyed, accurate and fair' or 'does her/his utmost to correct harmful inaccuracies'.

Historically, tabloids are perceived as the entertainment news, whereas broadsheets are considered serious newspapers. This distinction puts restraints on the production of the news in a form of visualization as well as content. However, there has been a shift within and between these categories. Tabloids, nowadays, cover the topics that are considerate hard news and are usually in the scope of broadsheets, like politics, and at the same time, broadsheets have been seen to tabloidize their reporting (Conboy 2010, 130). Moreover, Simpson (2003, 190) proposes that tabloids 'are widely regarded as opinion formers and, by implication, as influences on everyday style.'

The newspapers under observation were already divided according to their stance on Brexit, they can, however, be also divided on the "traditional" categories of

broadsheets and tabloids. This differentiation puts the Telegraph in the same category as the Guardian – broadsheets, and Mail with Mirror as tabloids.

If I considered the distinction of language of headlines in popular and serious newspapers, according to Connor (2011), as the norm, I would expect the analysed headlines to match different categories. To briefly note one aspect, the longest headlines are in The Daily Mail and The Telegraph, followed by The Daily Mirror and the Guardian.

| Tabloids | Broadsheets |
|---|---|
| Short and simple | Longer |
| Dramatic and emotive | Serious Factual |
| Biased | Unbiased, Truthful |
| Slang, Alliteration, Puns, Clichés, Rhymes | Factual |

*Table 1 Headlines in Tabloids and Broadsheets*

*(source: Connor 2011)*

Crucial aspect of online news is their immediacy, with internet it is possible access, as well as post, news anywhere and anytime. Lewis (2004, 97) states specific part of online news is that 'news elements are embedded in and linked to wider content…[a] summary outline of one news item can simultaneously be a detail of another'. And while reading an article on the internet, there are noticeable hypertextual links to other articles. The plausibility of intertextuality can be judged in quick overview of the headlines, in pro-Brexit newspapers, they are considerably longer and refer to more than the findings of the ONS report. She further mentions that 'language is above all tailored to audience.' (Lewis 2004, 99)

According to the study by Reuters Institute, the majority of news covered in the press were polarized, and the out evaluations were more common. Reuters Institute further showed that 20 % of Leave articles were focused on migration and mobility, but it was only half of it for Remain articles. (Levy et al 2016, 20-1).

The Daily Mail led campaigns against the EU for years and its attitude did not change during the referendum campaigns and the 'anti-European views were part of

the newspaper's identity'. On the other hand, The Daily Mirror showed a longer support for the Union, as well as the Guardian (Levy et al 2016, 10-1).

### 3.2.1.1 Profiles of the Newspapers

#### The Guardian

In its historical overview, The Guardian points out its emergence as a pro-left voice during the political climate of late 1970s and early 1980s. In addition, this quality newspaper was awarded for ground-breaking journalism and innovation in 2011. One of their prominent slogans is 'available for everyone, funded by readers', I would say it is supposed to support the idea of independence from power elites. And it supports sense of community of people 'with a shared set of core values and a vision for a more hopeful world'. Its vision is to hold 'the powerful to account and [cover] stories that would otherwise be ignored…and [hope to help] build a fairer world' (Guardian Staff 2018).

#### The Daily Mirror

When researching this newspaper on Google website, it is presented as 'Mirror Online: The intelligent tabloid. #madeuthink'. It says to report the news 'accurately and with energy and vigour'. It further explicitly states its left of centre political affiliation and the support of Labour Party since 1945. The Mirror wants to entertain as well as inform its readers. It launched Pride of Britain Awards that 'reflects the very best of the Mirror and its values'. Ordinary people who did something extraordinary are the recipients, therefore arguably, Mirror presents itself as an ordinary newspaper that does extraordinary reporting.

#### The Telegraph

The Telegraph presents itself as 'synonymous with quality, authority and credibility', it further states that its readership is diverse and discerning. It also aims to produce more 'tailored and sophisticated' news according to the data they gather on the customers. And in its vision, it says 'it is essential that [The Telegraph] workforce is more representative of the base of customers whom [it serves]'. So, The Telegraph is a quality newspaper with news tailored for its audience with 'stories…that will live long in the memory of our audience'. In addition, they started a new brand campaign that ends with 'Words are powerful. Choose them well'.

*The Daily Mail*

This newspaper presents itself as 'hugely influential and an integral force in the British cultural and political landscape'. It says to think alike as the people of middle-class that is perceived as the most powerful part of the British population. It also prides itself in the 'tradition of editorial integrity and campaigning journalism'.

Furthermore, the MailOnline is said to have 'addictive content', 'unique tone' and 'engaged audience' with 24.4m monthly unique visitors (DMG Media, n.d.).

### 3.2.1.2   *Construction of News Values in the Headlines*

This section analyses what news values were attributed to the Migration Statistic by the various newspapers in the text production of their headlines. As was mentioned above, it is a statistical representation of the number of people coming to and leaving the UK, essentially it is a summarization of numbers. Therefore, it is interesting to note what values were added to it by the media. Firstly, I would like to briefly note on *News writing objectives* and *Selection factor*s according to Caple and Bednarek (2016) in news construction. And then focus on *News values* as categorized by Harcup and O'Neill (2016).

In terms of *News writing objectives*, which is specified as 'general goals associated with news writing, such as clarity…accuracy' (Caple and Bednarek 2016, 4), all four newspapers present themselves as providers of important and accurate information for their audiences. Telegraph's goal is above all to produce news that is specifically written for its readers. In, addition, Daily Mail wants their readers to read additive content of unique tone. Daily Mirror's aim is to entertain as well as inform. Furthermore, the Guardian's reporting is based on the representation of hope in better and fairer world.

*Selection factors* are those factors that have an influence over publishing of the story, like 'commercial pressures, availability of reporters' and so on (ibid.). In addition, I also consider the above-mentioned goals as selection factors. Overall, I believe that the most salient reason for including the statistics in news coverage is its relevance to the context of current affairs. It falls within the category of immigration discourse that was prominent before the EU Referendum, this issue is recognized by the public and therefore attractive to the readers. It is published because it will gain an audience.

Harcup and O'Neill (2016, 13) propose the following news values – *exclusivity, bad news, conflict, surprise, audio-visuals, shareability, entertainment, drama, follow-up, the power elite, relevance, magnitude, celebrity, good news, news organisation's agenda*. If one of these is present in the reported issue or event, it is deemed newsworthy. I would say that the statistic itself contains the values of *relevance* (because of the extensive coverage of immigration in the media) and *news organisation's agenda* because it can be used for supporting both stances towards Brexit, as it proposes that year 2015 saw the second highest immigration figure, but also because Office for National Statistics reported it as 'not statistically significant'. I would also add the value of *magnitude,* because it can have a great impact on the behaviour and cognition of the readers, depending on the reporting and the perception of individuals, but also because the statistic includes high number of people. However, I believe that some of the values were attributed to the reporting of the statistic that are not contained in it, especially in the headlines of pro-Leave newspapers.

The Tables 1 through to 4 show headlines that were written regarding the ONS report on 26 May 2016 by the individual newspapers – The Guardian, The Daily Mirrory, The Telegraph, The Daily Mail. Some news values of the headlines are mentioned following the tables.

| 1 | Net immigration to UK nears peak as fewer Britons emigrate |
|---|---|
| 2 | Boris Johnson says near record migration figures show 'scandalous' government failure |
| 3 | Immigration could fall to almost zero if UK leaves EU, says David Davis |

*Table 2 Headlines of The Guardian*

The first headline could be said to use the news values of *relevance* because it puts into contrast the immigration and also emigration, which is relevant to the statistic and to the other. At the same time, there is also the sense of *magnitude*. The second then draws on the value of *the power elite* and *celebrity* by mentioning Boris Johnson who was prominent Leave figure to report *bad news*. It also creates *conflict* with the current government because of the 'scandalous' failure, I would also say this calls for the *dramatic* news value as well. The third headline then adds *follow-up* to the news value

as the information concerns a possible future of the UK. Nevertheless, it is a hypothetical that could be considered *good news* for some people. Again, *the power elite* news value is attributed by David Davis, who was a pro-Leave politician.

| 1 | Britain still controls its borders, claims David Cameron as net migration hits 333,000 |
|---|---|
| 2 | Latest net migration figures show 333,000 more people came to the UK than left in 2015 |
| 3 | England's population to grow by FOUR MILLION in next decade |

*Table 3 Headlines of The Daily Mirror*

The Daily Mirror's first headline mentions *the power elite* by reporting the opinion of David Cameron, pro-Remain politician. This opinion would be considered *good news*, however, it can be stained by the use the verb claim. The simplistic but fairly accurate second headline is neutral and shows probably on the *magnitude* value by stating the number of migration people. However, the last headline's capitalization also plays on the news value of *drama* in neutral way.

| 1 | Population to surge by four million due to mass immigration that will 'change the face of England forever' |
|---|---|
| 2 | EU Referendum: Record number of migrants arrive in UK without jobs, as Boris Johnson accuses David Cameron of "deeply damaging" faith in democracy |

*Table 4 Headlines of The Telegraph*

The Telegraph published the same information of Mirror's third headline but in notably different way. It is a bit more *entertaining* because of its *dramatic* value in the use of verb like 'to surge' and idiomatic expression 'change the face forever' or "deeply damaging" quote. The first headline also creates a *conflict* between England and immigration. The second headline mentions migrants 'without jobs' and it is supposed to invoke *bad news* because it presupposes that migrants will take jobs from the British people. Which creates one of the *conflicts* in the headline – migrants versus the honest British workers. Furthermore, Boris Johnson and David Cameron add the

value of *the power elites* and *celebrity*, but also of *conflict*–these figures are in the opposition in the question of EU Referendum. This *conflict* value is also supported by the verb 'accuse'. The *drama* value is also present because of the 'record number' which can evoke something fantastical.

| 1 | How Romanians and Bulgarians fuelled the influx: Net migration from the countries total 102,000 in two years since residents were allowed to work freely in Britain |
|---|---|
| 2 | Record number of jobless EU migrants in Britain: Hammer blow for PM as 270,000 EU nationals came here last year |
| 3 | As EU vote looms, migration to Britain nears record high |
| 4 | Near-record UK immigration figures fuel raging EU debate |
| 5 | Migration hits second highest level EVER at 333,000 and nearly HALF are from the EU as Boris Johnson warns we can 'kiss goodbye' to border controls without Brexit |
| 6 | Migration to Britain near all-time high, stats show ahead of EU vote |
| 7 | EU net migration equals record high of 184,000 |

*Table 5 Headlines of The Daily Mail*

The Daily Mail published in total seven articles about the Migration Statistic and most of them contain *conflict* news value. For example, the first headline polarizes between Romanians and Bulgarians on one side and Britain on the other. The second headline has a *conflict* with the government and puts against each other jobless migrants and the British. The fifth headline also polarizes between Brexiteers and Remainers. The fifth headline also proposes the value of *drama* with the capitalization of EVER and HALF'. Furthermore, it warns before *bad news* because the UK will not be able to control its borders without Brexit. This also takes the value of *magnitude* from a different point of view in the 'can 'kiss goodbye'', it is presented as irreversible should Brexit not happen. There is too a reference to Boris Johnson which is appealing to the value of *the power elites* and *celebrity*. The first five headlines also show The Mail's interest in *dramatization* of its news with their lexical choices. The capitalization, use of idioms 'kiss goodbye' and 'hammer blow', use of verbs like 'fuel' or 'looms' and "raging" debate call for *entertainment* value.

### 3.2.2 Discursive practice of text consumption

The previous section commented on the effect of text production on cognitive responses of the readers. This part will provide more background into how individual's cognition can be affected by other factors and how readers approach the texts.

Talbot (2007, 84) agrees with Thompson that reader is in 'mediated quasi-interaction' with the media because the reporting of the media is monological, it does not have a speficic addresse. She comments on Thompson's (1995, 84-5) belief that some individuals are primary producers of symbols in news production and they do so for those who are receiving these symbols, the recipients do not recipropate but can form with them a 'bond of friendship, affection or loyalty.' However, Fowler (1993, 46-7) talks about the power of the reader in constructing the values from the available texts that already exist and are further reproduced.

It is believed that every individual has a distinct set of experiences that shape their view of the world. So, a person who has a negative experience with an immigrant is more likely to perceive immigration as an issue than someone who has a positive or neutral encounter. Similarly, parents, or other people in the position of authority, can shape perception from an early age. When a person does not realize their actions are affected by past experiences, it is called implicit social cognition. Reasearch into the uncounscious cognition in judgements showed an 'automatic response of stereotypes' and 'that studies suggest that stereotypes are often expressed implicitly in the behavior of persons who explicitly disavow the stereotype' (Greenwald and Banaji 1995, 5-15). Stereotypes are part of the conventional schemata in the memory, upon which individual leans on when trying to understand something in the world. It is a 'chunk of unconscious knowledge, shared within a group of people…that make experience coherent and meaningful' (Fowler 1993, 43). Other cognitive concepts are for example frames and scripts. Furthermore, individuals have individualist as well as collectivist attitudes (Green et al 2005, 322).

Other aspects influencing the mental models of individuals are age, education, gender, class, political inclination and ethnicity. People are shaped by the environment they grow up in, live in, experience life in general. Moreover, 'people are producers as well as products of social systems' (Badura 2001, 15). United Kingdom and any other nation is 'made up of individuals with very diverse backgrounds and positions

in the social structure' (Green et al 2005, 323). In social cognitive theory, sociostructural factors like economy, education and family structures implicitly affect people's behaviour because they impact their ambition, personal standards and other self-influences (Badura 2001, 15).

By decodings, message 'issues into the structure of social practices', the decodings have some effect on social behaviour – '[they] influence, entertain, instruct or persuade, with very complex preceptual, cognitive, emotional, ideological or behavioural consequences' (Hall 2005, 119).

It is believed that the decoding strategies employed by different parts of an audience, can be influenced by the position of an inidividual in the social structure (Morley 1980, 164-5). Morley (1980, 162) further states that 'the meaning(s) of a text will also be constructed differently depending on the discourses (knowledges, prejudices, resistances) *brought to bear on the text by the reader* (italics in original).'

Regarding media, in his overview of selective exposure, Stroud (2007, 345) states 'from a cognitive perspective, personally relevant beliefs are more readily activated from memory and hence, are more likely to guide our thoughts – and…our media selections'. She also mentions *partisan* selective exposure where an individual chooses to read those newspapers that share his/her political views. This option to select from various sources leads to the fact that people's exposure to the news is often decreased, people cannot read everything (Mutz and Martin 2001, cited in Stroud 2007, 342). However, Freedman and Sears (1965, 1967) oppose because the selection, rather than motivated by individuals' beliefs, is controlled by information available in their environment (Stroud 2007, 343).

According to Ofcom (2017) research on the year 2016, the readers of the Guardian and the Telegraph deemed these newspapers as a trustworthy and reliable source of news, however, only around third of the readers perceived the Daily Mail and the Daily Mirror in the same manner. This might correspond to the perception of the traditional divide of broadsheet and tabloid newspapers which is rooted in the cultural global context of newspaper production and affects the social cognition of individuals.

For example, yougov's (Statista n.d.b) poll of general election voters in 2017 showed that the readers of right-leaning newspapers, like Telegraph, Mail, Sun, voted

for Conservatives and the readers of the opposite spectrum, Guardian and Mirror, voted majorly for Labour. A notable finding was that UKIP voters were usually readers of tabloid newspapers. According to age demographics, it was the older generation who voted for Conservatives, whereas the younger generation voted for Labour. Interestingly, it was also the older people who were more likely to turn up and vote. At the same time, people with higher education voted less for the Conservative Party and more for Labour Party.

It corresponds to the findings in the EU referendum voters – older age groups and less educated people voted to leave the EU whereas younger and highly educated voted to remain. Furthermore, according to Ipsos MORI's (2016) research into the referendum, the differences were even more apparent than in general elections. Research further states that 'age and class both have an effect on people's views' whereas middle-class voters were more likely to vote remain, the working classes chose to vote leave.

However, Curtice (1998, 3-4) states:

'[f]or any association between newspaper read and vote choice could reflect the outcome of one or other or both of two very different social processes. One possibility is indeed that newspapers influence the way that people vote. The other, however, is that people choose to read a newspaper that chimes with their own views'

On the other hand, his research into the coverage of General Election showed that 'Britain's highly partisan press does have some influence on the way in which their readers vote (1998, 28)'. Temple (2008, 203), does agree that media can help to frame the political agenda but not directly influence the vote.

The influence of the media on the recipients could be summed up in words of Price et al.:

'By activating some ideas, feelings, and values rather than others, then, the news can encourage particular trains of thought about political phenomena and lead audience members to arrive at more or less predictable conclusions' (1997, 483)

Overall, this is only a generalization, and to provide a completely accurate survey of the influence of headlines on the cognitive perception of readers, I would have to conduct an interview or fill out a questionnaire with each of the voters. This could

however, also, pose a difficult task in the post-referendum era because some of them might be ashamed of their previous choice. However, I still believe there is a correlation between the readership and the voting outcome and that the cognition of the readers was influenced by the language use of the newspapers.

## 3.3 Microstucture analysis

In general, it cannot be said that text is a truthful or accurate interpretation of reality, it is rather a reflection on reality. The textual analysis is a methodology that aims to guess the most likely interpretation by analysing particular elements in the text. This, however, depends on the context in which the text is interpreted (Mckee 2001).

The sections below provide an interpretative analysis of the thematic structure, lexical choice and overall cohesion and coherence in the headlines of The Guardian, The Daily Mirror, The Daily Telegraph and The Daily Mail.

### 3.3.1 The Guardian

In total, The Guardian published three articles connected to the ONS report that was published on May 26 and was not specified as an editorial opinion.

#### 3.3.1.1 *Net immigration to UK nears peak as fewer Britons emigrate*

The first headline is divided into two clauses 'Net immigration to UK nears peak' and 'as fewer Britons emigrate', they give two themes to the headline – immigration and Britons. The Theme net immigration is the departure of the message. The focus of the clause is the information that follows thus it says that the net immigration 'nears peak'. However, at this point, the real number is not enclosed so the peak might depend on the mindset of the readers. Some may have the knowledge of the actual number, but overall peak might be very different to individuals. Nevertheless, it is close to some historic maximum. The clauses are connected by the conjunction 'as', this use might suggest causal effect because these actions are interconnected. It might be that the net immigration nears peak because 'fewer Britons emigrate'. Overall, it is actually the one of two headlines that suggests connection between the two phenomenon and proposes that the net immigration figures might be high because the emigration figures of the British citizens lowered in the last quarter. It is accurate because migration depends both on the numbers of people immigrating

and emigrating. However, the term used by the ONS in their report was 'net migration' not 'net immigration', therefore, it could be argued that the Guardian wants to activate the readers' mental models of immigration, rather than only migration.

On the other hand, the lexical choices of 'net immigration', 'Britons', 'emigrate' also suggest a formal and more high-brow approach to the reported statistic. 'Net immigration' is not a part of "regular" vocabulary of people when talking about the issues of immigration because it is a formal term. 'Britons' is a reference to people living in the UK, it could be perceived as more elitist than using 'Brits', according to British corpora, 'Brit' is used more than twice as much as 'Briton'. Even if highly unlikely, it could refer to a post WWI anti-semitic and anti-immigration group called The Britons putting together net immigration and anti-immigrant group in one headline.

In terms of transitivity of the verbs used in the headline, the transitive verb 'nears' takes a complement 'peak'. It is a verb that says something is getting close to something, in this case, net immigration is getting close to the peak. It is not an actional verb and only describes the state. The second verb is 'emigrate', which is an intransitive verb of action, the subject is the agent. The use of present tense puts the message in a contemporary context, something that is happening now. It is a standard practice for newspapers to report in the present tense, even if the statistic reports something that had happened before, this particular statistic reported number of 2015 year-end.

### 3.3.1.2 Boris Johnson says near record migration figures show 'scandalous' government failure

Another headline that was connected to the ONS report introduces a video of Boris Johnson's reaction to the publication. The headline is in two clauses 'Boris Johnson says' and 'near record migration figures show 'scandalous' government failure'. The first Theme is 'Boris Johnson', a prominent figure in the EU Referendum debates and an advocate for Brexit. The transitive verb 'says' introduces the second clause and Johnson's claim about the 'figures' – the second topic of the headline. The topical noun 'figures' is predicated by three components – near, record and migration. The last narrows the Theme to figures about migration. Then there is 'record' which

would suggest the highest figures in migration, but the modifier 'near' puts it into a perspective that it is not the highest figure ever, but it is close to it.

In the second clause, another transitive verb is used, 'show' introduces Johnson's claim that the migration is directly connected to the government policy. It is no surprise that Johnson is in opposition to the present government led by David Cameron who is the main figure for the Remain campaign. This headline, and more specifically Johnson, gives the blame for higher migration figures to the 'scandalous' government leadership. It is a good example of negative representation of the other, of those who want to stay in the EU, as oppose to Boris Johnson and his supporters.

### 3.3.1.3  Immigration could fall to almost zero if UK leaves EU, says David Davis

The next headline is divided into three clauses in total, in terms of clauses, it is the largest headline in The Guardian. The Themes in this headline are 'immigration', 'UK' and 'David Davies'.

Out of the three, the least significant is the last clause that provides the connection to the first two clauses. The first two are the complement for the transitive verb 'says' used in the last clause. What precedes is the opinion of David Davis, a politician who voted out in the Referendum. The first clause 'immigration could fall to almost zero' is connected to the second 'UK leaves EU' by the conditional preposition if – this again invokes the connection and causal effect between the two clauses. In other words, David Davis claims that if UK leaves EU, the number of immigrants will lower significantly. And how significantly? To almost zero. The second clause contains intransitive verb 'leaves' that needs an agent and an actor, someone who needs to do something. In a way, David Davies claims that the UK needs to do the action of voting out of EU for immigration to fall. And that is a huge claim to make amidst the vote about the future of the United Kingdom. However, it is not a claim made with total certainty, which is clear in using the modal verb 'could' in the first clause. This shows only percentage of certainty, more likely just a possibility. But it is this claim that can activate the mindsets of the readers to vote out. Reading this headline, not everyone's mindset can be activated to think about every individual word to its core. Thus, in the end, people might notice only the prominent parts of the headline–which to me personally would be–immigration, zero, if, UK, leaves.

### 3.3.2 The Daily Mirror

The Daily Mirror, another paper with a pro-Remain stance published three articles concerning the ONS report.

#### 3.3.2.1 *Britain still controls its borders, claims David Cameron as net migration hits 333,000*

The first headline is divided into three clauses. The first clause introduces a reassurance by David Cameron 'Britain still controls its borders' amidst the publication of the statistic. The Theme of the clause is 'Britai'n, it is the point of the departure and what follows is the opinion of David Cameron. Using Britain as the subject in the clause, evokes togetherness. It is not the government, not individuals but the whole country that oversees its borders. It is the agent of the transitive verb 'control'. Cameron points out that they still have sovereignty, however, to report it, the verb 'claim' is used which does not have to give positive perception to the readers. If somebody "claims", it is something that needs to be further defended, provide more truth for it to be truthful. Cameron wanted to defend pro-Remain politics against the pro-Brexit leaders who feel like EU has taken too much control from them. The use of the adverb 'still' however suggests that there is a danger, like someone is trying to take the control away. And in connection with the last clause 'as net migration hits 333, 000' that is about the ONS statistics, it can give a sense that the migration takes the control away. In this clause, predicated noun 'migration' is the Theme and it is followed by a verb 'hit'. An interesting lexical choice to report about the migration numbers. This verb can have ambivalent connotations. For example, it is usually used in actions with negative perception like when somebody hits another person, or a player hits a ball. One element is "hurt" by the action. It is also used to describe something hitting a record number, like in the charts when something becomes a hit. In that sense, it would be positive, however in this context, it is highly unlikely. This headline provides an actual number of the net migration, in opposition to The Guardian articles. It might be because the number is attractive and catches attention of the readers. It can, however, mislead the people who only read headlines of the articles as they might not explore any further.

### 3.3.2.2 Latest net migration figures show 333,000 more people came to the UK than left in 2015

The first clause of the headline focuses on 'figures', it is the Theme and it is predicated by adjectives: latest, net and migration. It is linked to the second clause by using the transitive verb 'show'. It is a verb that needs complement to be whole and it is provided by the following clause. Caorrespondingly to the previous headline, an actual numeral is presented in this clause, which is again a way to attract attention of the readers. The second clause '333,000 more people came to the UK than left in 2015' explains to the people in short way, what net migration means – it is the difference between people coming to the country and leaving it. In comparison to Guardian's use of the verb emigrate, which is a term that less-educated people do not understand, the Daily Mirror chooses to transform the information into a longer sentence but with a clear message. It is a good practice for its target audience, because the lexical choice of the verbs 'come' and 'leave' is making the language more accessible to wider audience than using verbs 'immigrate' and 'emigrate'.

This headline is also placed not only in spatial, but also temporal context, UK and 2015 respectively. It uses the present tense only in the verb 'show' because the report was published at the time of the reporting, so it is a current affair. However, the other verbs 'came' and 'left' are in the past tense because the migration figures reported in the statistic are related to the year 2015 and not to 2016 when it was published. 'Both 'come' and 'leave' are intransitive verbs that require an agent, an actor who is doing the action and are perceived mostly as neutral words.

### 3.3.2.3 England's population to grow by FOUR MILLION in next decade

The last headline consists of one clause only and the theme is population. It is predicated by possessive England's which puts it into a spatial context–the focus of the sentence concerns England and not the UK or Britain. What is more, it gives a possessive to a country, an inanimate subject. A neutral intransitive verb 'to grow' is used. Personally, this verb gives out positive connotations, because growth is usually seen progressive. However, in combination with the eye-striking use of capital letters for informing about the estimated number FOUR MILLION can be alarming. Overall, it is a just a speculation for the following ten years and many factors are, or should be,

put into the calculations–for example, birth and death rate or emigration–and that is not clear from the headline.

### 3.3.3 The Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph reported the statistic in only two headlines, but they were very rich in their lexical choice and information.

#### 3.3.3.1 *Population to surge by four million due to mass immigration that will 'change the face of England forever'*

The first headline is created by two clauses, the first one 'population to surge by four million due to mass immigration' has a Theme 'population' and informs about the increasing numbers of people. The intransitive verb 'to surge' is used to describe this growth. This lexical choice is very interesting as it is usually used to describe a sudden movement or a sudden increase. Thus, it seems the growth will be done instantly, from day to day. It is then directly linked to mass immigration, so the factual number of population surge by four million is confirmed by the adjective mass – it is innate part of the lexical word, a large amount. The second clause 'that will 'change the face of England forever' is the result of the prediction. It is a quote of Chris Grayling, pro-Leave politician, which is later stated in the article, but the headline omits it and rather generalizes it. The future modal verb is used in the clause and it gives a little space to argue against the claim. Another important aspect of the clause is the expression 'change the face of'. The colloquial is used to seem to be a bit closer to the readers, to give them a feel of familiarity. It means to change something radically. There is no conditional sentence, so the message is conveyed with the highest probability – this mass immigration will affect England, completely, radically and forever. But the immigration is not news in England, or the whole UK, it has been present for more than a century and the country presents itself as being multiracial and inclusive.

#### 3.3.3.2 *EU Referendum: Record number of migrants arrive in UK without jobs, as Boris Johnson accuses David Cameron of "deeply damaging" faith in democracy*

This headline agrees with the broadsheet standard of longer headlines as it can be divided into three parts. First part, not a clause but a pointer followed by a colon that irreversibly connects the statistic to the context of EU Referendum in the minds

of the readers. The first clause 'Record number of migrants arrive in the UK without jobs' informs on the actual report. Theme is the predicated noun 'migrants'. Telegraph chooses to focus on migrants, people who come to the UK, rather than on the official terms like migration or immigration to make it more personal and individualized to readers. The most appropriate definition for understanding the 'record number' would be simply 'at a higher level than ever achieved before:' according to Cambridge Learning Dictionary. Therefore, the sense of the highest number of migrants is cognitively activated in the readers, how big of a number, however, depends on the individuals. It can be categorized as playing into the sensational framing of information.

Interesting point of the clause is the attribute 'without jobs' which is clearly connected to the Thematic NP. However, it is in the last Rheme position, so in the distribution structure it is the most salient information of the clause. This addition to the clause is supposed to play on the 'they're taking our jobs' rhetoric used by pro-Leave advocates. It generalizes and presupposes that all people who come to the UK do not have jobs. It puts them into a negative light and can be a striking point for the hard-working Brits who might perceive it like an abuse of the system. ONS actually reported that the number of immigrants looking for job increased from the previous year, however, the number of those, who had prior job arrangement was still higher, about 16 % more. This clause proposes an ambiguity – was it record number in general or record number without jobs that arrived in the UK? The verb 'arrive' is an intransitive verb that requires an agent of the action.

In headlines a comma is often used instead of 'and', however, comma in this example does not indicate a connecting element but rather another point of message in the same context. The third clause mentions two prominent figures of EU Referendum campaigns, Boris Johnson and David Cameron. Boris Johnson is Theme. Johnson is said to have accused Cameron of "deeply damaging" faith in democracy. The verb 'accuse' is according to Oxford Dictionary used to indicate 'that someone has done something morally wrong, illegal, or unkind'. So, in other words Johnson accuses Cameron that having faith in democracy is something very wrong, not only that, it is also 'deeply' harmful. The Telegraph polarizes between Johnson and Cameron, which polarizes between pro-Leave and pro-Remain by proxy.

### 3.3.4 The Daily Mail

The Daily Mail was productive the most regarding the publication of the ONS report. In total, it published seven articles connected to the statistic.

#### 3.3.4.1 *How Romanians and Bulgarians fuelled the influx: Net migration from the countries total 102,000 in two years since residents were allowed to work freely in Britain*

The first headline focuses on the part of the ONS report that is concerned with two European nations that joined the Union the latest, at the publication, Romanians and Bulgarians. They are the Theme of the clause and the predicate is 'fuelled the influx' which could be perceived negatively. The verb 'fuel' is a transitive verb needing an action of the subject and a complement, in this case, an object influx, in other words something that comes in a large number. The Cambridge dictionary meaning of the verb is 'something that fuels a feeling or a type of behaviour, increases it or makes it stronger'. In addition, the verb 'fuel' can activate negative perception, because it is used as part of an idiom 'add fuel to the fire' to describe that something makes the situation worse. It cannot be a coincidence but a thoroughly chosen lexical word. The second clause 'net migration from the countries total 102,000 in two years' informs about the number of people from Romania and Bulgaria that migrated to the UK. A numeral is used to attract attention and temporal context is established by mentioning two years. This part is connected to the next clause by the conjunction 'since', meaning that they came only after residents were allowed to work freely in Britain. Theme of this clause is 'residents', who refer to Romanian and Bulgarian people and it is followed by transitive verb 'allow' in a passive construction. The use of a passive generally de-agentizes the subject and it works in this clause too. Someone had to allow the residents to work in the UK, but it is not clear who, the information could be implied, especially to those who know that these countries joined the EU two years prior. In this way, the headline would imply that EU allows the influx of foreigners to Britain and thus takes control from them. 'To work freely in Britain' also gives out negative connotation, not only putting the headline into spatial context but also implying that migrants are not controlled, they can roam freely.

### 3.3.4.2 Record number of jobless EU migrants in Britain: Hammer blow for PM as 270,000 EU nationals came here last year

The next headline is made up of three clauses, however the first two omitted a verb, the verb 'be' can be however inferred. Theme of the first is a noun 'migrants' with a long predication 'record number of jobless EU' followed by the spatial context 'in Britain'. The EU is in this case used as an adjective to narrow the meaning to only those migrants who are from the European Union, again putting this headline and the ONS report in the context of the Referendum. Similarly to the previous headline, it points out that the migrants do not have a job – they are jobless. However, as was already mentioned, that is not entirely accurate. The next two clauses are joined by a colon, thus establishing a connection.

The second clause 'Hammer blow for PM' also does not have a predicate. Theme is the idiomatic noun phrase 'hammer blow' that has a negative meaning, it is something damaging. It is followed by 'for PM' which is a synecdoche that directly puts the headline in the context of government, David Cameron and conservative politics. Or the use of PM can put the damage on the individual, an important figure for Pro-Remain movement.

The last clause gives information about the static 'as 270,000 EU nationals came here last year'. The Theme is the '270,000 EU nationals' and it could be argued that 'came here' can evoke a sense of invading one's space. It makes the situation more personal to the individual readers than talking about the country. However, the spatial context was established in the first part by 'in Britain', so it is possible the writer did not want to make it redundant. On the other hand, EU migrants or EU nationals who immigrated are mentioned twice in the headline. The conjunction 'as' can be substituted by the conjunction because – The Daily Mail establishes that the number of migrants did damage to the Prime Minister.

### 3.3.4.3 As EU vote looms, migration to Britain nears record high

Interestingly the first clause with Theme 'EU vote' puts the headline into the context of EU Referendum and the second clause with Theme 'migration' connects it to the ONS report. The headline begins with the conjunction 'as' making it seem like migration increases as the EU vote nears. A correlation is established because even though 'as' can be used to report something happening simultaneously, the ONS report

was about the year 2015 and the EU Referendum vote was in June 2016. The lexical choice in the first clause is notable – the intransitive verb 'looms' is used to describe the approaching EU referendum and this verb gives out a sense of a worry. The transitive verb 'nears' in the second clause takes an object 'record high'.

### 3.3.4.4 Near-record UK immigration figures fuel raging EU debate

This headline is a one short clause. The Theme is the predicated plural noun 'figures'. The predication 'near-record UK immigration' creates a spatial context and informs about the approximate number of people immigrating – nearing the highest level. A verb that was already used in another headline is put here to create a connection between the ONS migration report to EU Referendum. The described verb is 'fuel' and there is little left to imagination – it activates the idiomatic expression 'add fuel to the fire' because the object 'EU debate' is modified by the adjective 'raging', which is very often a fire.

### 3.3.4.5 Migration hits second highest level EVER at 333,000 and nearly HALF are from the EU as Boris Johnson warns we can 'kiss goodbye' to border controls without Brexit

In this long headline, the Daily Mail provides factually accurate information. Arguably, when I look at the article headline, the capitalization of EVER, HALF and the acronym EU, together with the number 333,000 are the prominent parts that stress the key components of the headline's message and they capture the attention of the readers. The headline consists of four clauses with Themes – migration, nearly HALF, Boris Johnson and we. In the first clause the transitive verb 'hits' is used, and it is again an interesting lexical choice. When it is not used in the meaning of reaching something, it is usually associated with negative connotations like 'to touch someone or something quickly and with force, usually causing injury or damage' and 'to affect something badly'. Thus, a negative stance in the minds of the readers can be activated.

The capitalization of EVER and HALF is used for sensationalism to attract attention. Nevertheless, the actual information 'second highest level' about the number of migration can be lost by the capitalisation, because 'ever' is usually used to emphasize the adjective or situation and people might just assume the largest possible option. In the second clause, a nearly HALF of the number is attributed to EU. However, the modifier 'nearly' can be easily lost in a quick skim through the headline

because of the capitalization. This second clause also puts the migration to EU context, and it is highlighted even more by the following clauses that directly mention Boris Johnson, a pro-Leave leader, and Brexit itself.

Johnson 'warns' the readers in the third clause and the last clause 'we can 'kiss goodbye' to border controls without Brexit' is the complement of this transitive verb. He warns of a danger of not controlling the borders if the UK stays in EU. The use of inclusive 'we' constituent spatially anchors the headline to Britain and its people. It plays into the 'us versus them' scenario – on one side, it is the readers and the UK and on the other side it is the EU. This clause also evokes the Brexit slogan 'Let's take back control' that blames EU for the high number of migrants. Without voting out, the UK will not take back its borders and Britain can 'kiss goodbye' to sovereignty. Furthermore, using modal 'can' suggest a higher probability that it will happen. In addition, the informal idiom 'kiss goodbye' is used to evoke more intimate relationship with the readers.

### 3.3.4.6   Migration to Britain near all-time high, stats show ahead of EU vote

The sixth headline of The Daily Mirror is in two clauses. The first 'migration to Britain near all-time high' establishes the spatial context by the modifier 'to Britain' and introduces the topic of the headline – migration. This headline uses the word 'near' as an adverb meaning that the migration is close to the highest level ever. The second clause 'stats show ahead of EU vote' links the ONS report to the Referendum. Moreover, the Daily Mail uses the informal abbreviation of statistics – stats, which makes it more personal and accessible to the readership. The publisher wants its readers to connect the nearing EU referendum to migration that is near all-time high. If the individual readers see migration as a threat but still hesitate on the vote only on the basis of this perception, this might have help them to decide.

### 3.3.4.7   EU net migration equals record high of 184,000

The last headline is the shortest and is written in only one clause. The Theme here is 'EU net migration' which means it focuses only on a part of ONS report. It informs on the number of people coming to the EU and leaving it. The transitive verb 'equals' is followed by complement 'record high of 184,000' and it states that the EU net migration is at its highest point. So, this headline is put into the context of the

whole European Union and it supports opinions that EU has 'opened' its borders to immigrants. It can be perceived as a threat by some people.

## 3.4 Notes

After thoroughly thinking about the individual headlines, I would say that the pro-Remain newspapers tried to approach the statistic in the most objective way, because the headlines contained mostly neutral words and the Topics were concerned with migration and were not put into a context of Referendum. However, the pro-Leave newspapers used the statistic to draw upon the context of EU and EU referendum itself. Of course migration is part of the EU context, but the statistic is just an objective piece of information that can be conveyed to the people without misleading connections. I would like to note especially the fact that both The Guardian and The Daily Mirror mentioned emigration as well as immigration and the others did not. Another note would be the distinction in the reporting of the future estimation about population of England – 'England's population to grow by FOUR MILLION in next decade' in The Daily Mirror and 'Population to surge by four million due to mass immigration that will 'change the face of England forever'. The same information, but referred in very different way.

## Conclusion

The critical discourse analysis is a difficult field to work in as its principle prime principle is the subjectivity of the author. The approaches vary and there are number of methods. In this work, I wanted to introduce the field of Critical Discourse Analysis and talk about the approaches that were kept in my mind for the analysis of the headlines, specifically the work of Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak and Teun A. van Dijk. Media discourse was also mentioned, because the focus of this thesis, headlines, is part of it.

In the second part, I state why I chose the particular newspapers and provide the research to support my decision. I have also included an overview on the reporting of the ONS statistic since its first publication in 2014. The number of articles, clauses and references to selected topics were counted to see whether there was a surge of the articles before the referendum or not. The results were in favour of increasing interest in The Daily Mail reporting but not in the other three newspapers.

The analysis itself focused on the macrostructure including the exploration of socio-historical context, text production and text consumption and then on microstructures. In the microstructure analysis, the individual headlines from 25 May 2016 were analysed in terms of Theme, lexical choice and transitivity.

The socio-historical context gave me a better view on the British politics and the sociological situation regarding the immigration and it policies. Personally, I was surprised by the anti-immigrant perceptions in the UK and the results of the Referendum became less surprising after exploring the issue more.

Text production and practices of the newspapers for gaining readership and further generate revenue is also an important aspect of the analysis. It is clear that media can shape people's mind but at the same time, the media are shaped by its readers long before that, and now, unless something changes, the opinions will circulate endlessly. It is linked to the text consumption practices. It is possible that the media did not actually affect the voting of its readers at all. The readership might have decided long before, because the anti-immigrant stance or the fear of losing control were already rooted in pro-Leave voters and read their newspaper just for confirmation. As a part of the text production I analysed the headlines in terms of news values that were added to the news value of the ONS report that the report itself does

not have. The result was mostly that the headlines added entertainment, drama, the power elite, celebrity and bad news

The microstructure analysis showed that the newspapers who took pro-Leave stance published headlines with more negative connection aspects than the Remain newspapers. From the whole analysis, it is clear that The Daily Mail used the report about migration to give negative perception of EU and support the Brexit movement. In the Guardian's headlines, somehow elitist behaviour could be inferred by some people, especially in comparison to the other newspapers. Even though they only published two articles on the day, The Telegraph played into the sensationalism of what is normally a tabloid behaviour and making fatalistic scenarios. The Daily Mirror was probabky the most neutral and accurate newspaper to report the statistics.

Overall, this was a hard topic to analyse and I do not believe I did it justice, a more extensive research could have been made and better coherence between the individual parts could have been established. That said, this was a massive piece to work on and I have made findings that surprised even myself. I do not think my hypothesis was confirmed but it was of some importance. I was fairly certain that it was the newspapers that swing the vote but after exploring the data more, I conclude that it is more likely, the vote out was rooted in the people long before the EU referendum. And the anti-immigrant socio-historical context, hand-in-hand with the newspapers' politics just allowed for the headlines to be more negative in the individual newspapers. It was expected by its respective readerships. However, the Critical Discourse Analysis is highly subjective and opiniated so some might conclude differently.

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# Appendices

## Apendix A

This contains the collected data of the headlines in the Guardian, The Daily Mirror, The Daily Telegraph and The Daily Mail from their respective websites for the basis of the Tables. Going from newest to oldest.

The Guardian:

26 May 2016

Net immigration to UK nears peak as fewer Britons emigrate

Boris Johnson says near record migration figures show 'scandalous' government failure

Immigration could fall to almost zero if UK leaves EU, says David Davis

The eight big questions on migration the leave campaign must answer – opinion

25 February 2016

Net migration to UK falls for first time in almost two years
Latest UK immigration data set to add fuel to EU referendum debate

EU referendum: Cameron claims leaving EU could make cutting immigration harder

26 November 2015

Net migration to Britain hits new high of 336,000

27 August 2015

Migration figures: what do the numbers really mean?

Net migration to UK hits record high of 330,000

Record net migration figures stark and disappointing, says minister – video

The Guardian view on the EU and migration: let's stop the Balkans being part of the problem

21 May 2015

Figures show immigration surge as Cameron unveils illegal working bill

Cameron's immigration bill to include crackdown on illegal workers

Cameron's immigration plans are absurd in face of latest figures

26 February 2015

Net migration to UK higher than when coalition took office

Voters feel let down by main parties, with migration a key issue

Migration figures expected to shatter Cameron's 'tens of thousands' pledge

The failure of David Cameron's migration policy has been spectacular

Lowering immigration: what politicians have said

The Tories' immigration headache is of David Cameron's making

27 November 2014

Net immigration surge squashes Tory targets, but shows Britain's got talent

UK net immigration rises above 2010 level

Miliband: David Cameron has broken his promise to the public – video

The immigration speech David Cameron should be giving – opinion

Government 'aware from the start' that immigration target unattainable

The Daily Mirror:

26 May 2016

Britain still controls its borders, claims David Cameron as net migration hits 333,000

Latest net migration figures show 333,000 more people came to the UK than left in 2015

The numbers are up for Leave: Mirror Politics morning briefing – opinion

England's population to grow by FOUR MILLION in next decade

25 February 2016

David Cameron slaps down Iain Duncan Smith for immigration scaremongering

26 November 2015

Migration to UK reaches highest ever total of 336,000 in first six months of 2015

Foreign workers' contribution to economy 'fuelled Chancellor George Osborne's tax windfall'

Arguments for and against toughening immigration policy as UK population explosion predicted

David Cameron admits "we must better control net migration" as experts predict UK population explosion (29 Oct 2015)

27 August 2015

Jeremy Corbyn says we should 'celebrate' record immigration and slams Labour manifesto pledge as 'appalling'

Net migration reaches all-time high of 330,000 - more than triple the Tories' target

Tories to bury immigration figures under House of Lords new peers announcement

Tory migration pledges shattered again as figures predict 8m foreign-born people living in Britain

21 May 2015

Immigration soars to record high as David Cameron prepares to announce radical new law

David Cameron immigration speech live: Prime Minister to announce radical new laws against illegal working

David Cameron slashes budget for immigration staff despite failure to meet his pledge on numbers

David Cameron and Theresa May join immigration raid photo opportunity as pledge lays in tatters


26 February 2015

Net migration soars to nearly 300,000 leaving David Cameron's immigration pledge in tatters

27 November 2014

David Cameron makes last ditch attempt to win back votes as migration hits 260,000 a year

UK net migration is up - who came and why

The Daily Telegraph

26 May 2016

Population to surge by four million due to mass immigration that will 'change the face of England forever'

EU Referendum: Record number of migrants arrive in UK without jobs, as Boris Johnson accuses David Cameron of "deeply damaging" faith in democracy

The real population time bomb isn't immigration – it's old age – opinion

25 February 2016

Ministers 'hiding full scale of EU immigration'

EU referendum: Senior Conservatives claim Cameron's deal will do nothing to reduce migrant influx as Government fails to meet net migration target

Europhiles mustn't sneer at immigration concern

26 November 2015

Net migration hits new record high of 336k - as it happened

No, leaving the EU will not solve Britain's immigration worries

Emigration and immigration: Why are fewer Britons and foreigners leaving the country?

27 August 2015

Immigration minister blames business for record net migration

Immigration statistics show record level of UK net migration – as it happened

Immigration is merely another issue that the government has no control over

21 May 2015

The unsayable truth about immigration: it's been a stunning success for Britain

Surprise, surprise! David Cameron's net migration pledge is still a load of nonsense

Tories blame Lib Dems for spiralling immigration figures

Emigration nation: who are the thousands fleeing Britain each year?

David Cameron will never hit his immigration target. Here's why

Yet more promises and new laws won't solve Britain's problem with immigration

Illegal migrant workers will have wages seized, vows David Cameron

26 February 2015

No major party has a plausible plan to cut immigration. They should stop pretending

Where are the immigrants? This map will tell you

David Cameron immigration pledge in tatters as net immigration stands at 298,000

Britain's brightest leaving in brain drain and replaced with low skilled migrants

27 November 2014

Net migration hits 260,000 in new blow for Government pledge

David Cameron: I'm ready to lead Britain out of Europe if migrant reforms fail

The Daily Mail

May 26 2016

How Romanians and Bulgarians fuelled the influx: Net migration from the countries total 102,000 in two years since residents were allowed to work freely in Britain

Record number of jobless EU migrants in Britain: Hammer blow for PM as 270,000 EU nationals came here last year

As EU vote looms, migration to Britain nears record high

Near-record UK immigration figures fuel raging EU debate

Migration hits second highest level EVER at 333,000 and nearly HALF are from the EU as Boris Johnson warns we can 'kiss goodbye' to border controls without Brexit

Migration to Britain near all-time high, stats show ahead of EU vote

EU net migration equals record high of 184,000

February 25 2016

Net migration to UK falls but stays close to record levels

As EU vote looms, immigration rise piles pressure on Cameron

Overall net migration down from record levels, official figures show

David Cameron claims a Brexit could make immigration WORSE as Tory rebels seize on new stats showing net migration up 31,000 to 323,000 as evidence for border controls

November 26 2015

How 50,000 migrants came to UK from Romania and Bulgaria in just one year: Figure up by 19,000 in a year after were given right to work freely in Britain

Migration crisis 'could push UK out of Europe': As immigration hits record 336,000, a stark warning from the Foreign Secretary

Net migration to Britain hits new record, putting pressure on Cameron

Net migration hits a record high of 336,000 as government warns 'uncontrollable wave' of people could push Britain to leave EU

Key measure of immigration to the UK reaches record high

August 27 2015

Arrivals from Romania and Bulgaria double over the past year, driving the leap in European migration to Britain

How many more can we take? Number of migrants entering Britain breaks all records in humiliating blow to Cameron

8.3million people living in the UK were born abroad: Official figures reveal shocking scale of immigration to Britain

Net immigration soars to record high of 330,000 as Cameron's pledge to cap numbers arriving in UK is left in tatters

UK immigration hits record high, causing headache for Cameron

Net migration to Britain hits record high

Net migration hits 'deeply disapponting' new record of 330,000 a year

May 21 2015

I will not cave in on immigration pledge, says Cameron despite net migration rocketing to record high of 318,000

UK's Cameron announces new plans as UK immigration rises

Net migration to UK reaches highest level since 2005 -official data

February 26 2015

Immigration to Britain rises in pre-election blow to PM Cameron

300,000! That was the overall number of migrants last year - and 190,000 were from OUTSIDE the EU. So much for the PM's target of tens of thousands

Seems a good day to bury bad news: Figures on migrant rise released on the same day as 16 Savile reports

27 November 2014

Cameron's pledge to cut immigration to the 'tens of thousands' lies in tatters after a record 228,000 people arrive from the EU

Appendix B

Appendix B contains the Excel tables that are the basis for the Figures 2-5 in the text.

All aspects:

| All number of | Daily Telegraph | Daily Mail | Daily Mirror | The Guardian |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Articles | 25 | 32 | 17 | 26 |
| Clauses | 43 | 60 | 30 | 39 |
| References to government | 19 | 17 | 17 | 18 |
| References to EU | 6 | 19 | 1 | 6 |
| References to Brexit | 3 | 9 | 2 | 4 |

Number of Articles

| Articles | Daily Telegraph | Daily Mail | Daily Mirror | The Guardian |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 27 November 2014 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| 26 February 2015 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 6 |
| 21 May 2015 | 7 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| 27 August 2015 | 3 | 7 | 2 | 4 |
| 26 November 2015 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| 25 February 2016 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 3 |
| 25 May 2016 | 4 | 7 | 4 | 4 |

Number of Clauses

| Clauses | Daily Telegraph | Daily Mail | Daily Mirror | The Guardian |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 27 November 2014 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| 26 February 2015 | 8 | 7 | 3 | 8 |
| 21 May 2015 | 12 | 5 | 8 | 4 |
| 27 August 2015 | 5 | 12 | 5 | 7 |
| 26 November 2015 | 6 | 8 | 2 | 1 |
| 25 February 2016 | 5 | 8 | 1 | 4 |
| 25 May 2016 | 7 | 16 | 7 | 7 |

References to EU

| References to EU | Daily Telegraph | Daily Mail | Daily Mirror | The Guardian |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 27 November 2014 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 26 February 2015 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 21 May 2015 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 27 August 2015 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| 26 November 2015 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 25 February 2016 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| 25 May 2016 | 1 | 9 | 1 | 1 |