

The press and its readership

The issue of immigration in British tabloids during the EU Referendum campaign

Mémoire réalisé par
Nina Monroe

Promoteur
Professeur Paul Arblaster

Année académique 2017-2018
**Master [120] en Communication Multilingue
à finalité spécialisée langues des affaires**

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Abstract

Le 23 juin 2016, le Royaume-Uni vote en faveur de sa sortie de l'Union Européenne, avec un score de 52% contre 48%. Les résultats de ce référendum font partie d'un processus qui a commencé il y a bien longtemps ; les relations entre le Royaume-Uni et l'Europe ont toujours été particulières et le pouvoir de l'UE sur le pays a été remis en question à maintes reprises.

A travers ce mémoire, nous explorons le contexte des relations entre le Royaume-Uni et l'Union Européenne afin de mieux comprendre comment l'Euroscepticisme et son lien avec l'immigration sont devenus des thèmes centraux dans la presse britannique. Nous comparons également les méthodes utilisées par la presse pour créer un lectorat qui s'identifie à un quotidien et comment celles-ci peuvent influencer les lecteurs dans leur décisions politiques. Nous analysons des articles et éditoriaux provenant du Daily Mail et Daily Express, deux tabloïdes populaires en Grande Bretagne, et qui ont été diffusés lors de la campagne précédant le référendum. L'objectif de ce mémoire est de démontrer que, bien que leurs objectifs soient commerciaux et financiers, les journaux à sensation ont une influence certaine sur l'opinion du public en ce qui concerne les enjeux économiques, sociaux et politiques du pays.

On the 23rd of June 2016, the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union by 52% against 48%. The results of this referendum are part of a process that started long ago; the relationship between the UK and Europe has always been very particular and the power of the European Union over the UK has been questioned on many occasions.

In this paper, we explore the context of the relationships between the UK and the EU to better understand how Euroscepticism and its link with immigration came to be central issues in the British press. We also compare the different methods used by the press to create a readership that identifies with a newspaper and how these might influence the readers to make a consequent political decision. We analyse news articles and editorials written in the Daily Mail and the Daily Express that were published during the EU referendum campaign. The objective of this dissertation is to demonstrate that, though their objectives are commercial and financial, tabloids have an influence on the public's opinion when it comes to economic, social and political stakes of the country.

I. Introduction

If the UK's vote to leave the EU was a vote for, or more specifically against, anything, it was a vote against free movement of workers within the EU. Polling evidence showed that approximately 80% of those who thought that immigration was mostly a force for good voted to Remain, while a similar proportion of those who thought it was a force for ill voted to Leave.¹

On the 23rd of June 2016, the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union by 52% against 48%. The results of this referendum are part of a process that started long ago; the relationship between the UK and Europe has always been very particular and the power of the European Union over the UK has been questioned on many occasions. A similar referendum had taken place about 40 years earlier but the British people had decided to stay.

This time, the British people decided that it would not be a part of the Union anymore and triggered the long process for what is now called “Brexit”, a hybrid word made up from ‘Britain’ and ‘exit’. At the time of this dissertation’s writing, negotiations are still underway and the UK has yet to leave the EU, although a date has been set for March 29th, 2019. It is necessary to investigate what elements might have tipped the balance in favour of a split to better understand what is at stake. Although there were many factors to be taken into account for a decision on the UK’s membership, the question of immigration was one of the main arguments used by politicians to convince voters to vote ‘leave’. It was also a reoccurring theme in British newspapers, especially in conservative tabloids such as the Daily Mail and the Daily Express. The British press, unlike similar newspapers worldwide, covered the subject with clear and overt partiality. A study from King’s College in London found that the coverage of the EU referendum campaign was almost only negative, with constant references to immigration and fear. “Coverage of immigration tripled over the course of the 10-week campaign, rising faster than any other political issue.”²

“[M]edia language is heard not just by one or two people but by mass audiences. [...] Media are dominating presenters of language in our society at large.”³ Newspapers, being part of the mass media family, have an enormous presence and power over the people. When the discourse is full of hatred, racism and ideologies, its consequences can be disastrous. In light of this, the question remains whether the press used

¹ Portes, Jonathan: « EU referendum: one year on – immigration », 29 June 2017, <http://ukandeu.ac.uk/eu-referendum-one-year-on-immigration/>. Accessed 11 August 2018.

² Bulman, May: “Brexit: Media coverage of EU referendum ‘acrimonious and divisive’, finds report”, *The Independent*, 10 May 2017, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/brexit-latest-news-eu-referendum-media-coverage-acrimonious-divisive-report-kings-college-a7727716.html>. Accessed 13 August 2018.

³ Bell, Alan, *The language of news media*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1991, p.1.

immigration issues to convince the public to vote leave or if it was just a popular theme that helped them to sell more copies.

In this paper, we will first explore the context of the relationships between the UK and the EU to better understand how Euroscepticism and its link with immigration came to be central issues in the British press. Then, we will discuss the different methods used by the press to create a readership that identifies with a newspaper and how these might influence the readers to make a consequent political decision. We will analyse news articles and editorials written in the Daily Mail and the Daily Express during the EU referendum campaign, more specifically over the two months preceding the vote.

List of abbreviations, conventions and symbols

a.k.a.	also known as
cf.	confer (compare with)
EEC	European Economic Community
e.g.	exempli gratia (for example)
etc.	et cetera (and so on)
EU	European Union
i.e.	id est (that is)
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
MP	Member of Parliament
UK	United Kingdom
UKIP	UK Independence Party
US(A)	United States (of America)

II. Context

In order to have a better understanding of the subject matter analysed in this dissertation, it is necessary to take a look at the context in which it occurred. The complex relationship between the UK and the EU, as well as the British journalistic history and tradition, have shaped the way the topic of the EU referendum and its link with immigration have been covered. In this chapter, we will first trace the history of Euroscepticism in the UK and how it inevitably led to Brexit. Then, we will research how the subject of immigration entered the political and the press discourse. We will finish by painting a broad picture of the British press and its relationship with politics.

A. The relationship between the UK and the EU

1. Euroscepticism in the UK

Europe has had a bad reputation in the UK to most of the population since 1945. It seems as though Euroscepticism is simply part of the British culture and that the British people are born with this point of view. This stance can be explained in part by three factors, according to Peter J. Anderson and Tony Weymouth⁴. First, the UK is geographically separated from the continent of Europe, a situation that gives it a unique status from the start. The UK always felt like an 'outsider' when it comes to European issues. Second, Britain does not have the same fear of war as continental European countries as a consequence of 1945 and therefore it does not attempt to secure peace and integration the same way. The creation of the European Union was in major part a consequence of the World Wars and an attempt to form lasting relationships between European countries so that it would never happen again. The UK, being very pragmatic, saw more of an opportunity to secure commercial relationships and deals that would benefit its economy. Finally, the British people have very few foreign language skills, which prevents them from being in contact with different cultures and from broadening their perspective. These factors are not the only explanation for UK's attitude towards Europe. The UK was one of the most powerful players of the colonial world and that has shape the way the British perceive themselves. The British are also very proud of their political system and their democracy. That is why an external power, the European Commission, is seen as a threat to what the country has built over the centuries and as a power the people cannot control, since EU commissioners are not elected. After the end of the Second World War, Britain refused to join the EEC (European Economic Community) in 1957 and then decided "to join [...] in 1961, only for entry to be vetoed - twice - by French President Charles de Gaulle. He accused Britain of a "deep-seated hostility"

⁴ Anderson, Peter J. and Tony Weymouth, *Insulting the public? the British press and the European Union*, London: Longman, 1999, p.178.

towards European construction, and of being more interested in links with the US.”⁵ Britain did always have a special relationship with the USA and its gaze turned to the west rather than to the east.

Thus, began a long period of rivalry that would not be tamed by the UK’s entry into the EEC in 1973. Over time, “[t]he UK has come to be regarded as an ‘awkward partner’ in the project of European integration [...]”⁶. The fact that the UK is not part of the Schengen area also shows how it always kept one foot out of the EU. Britain’s membership was several times questioned by the public and by politicians, and Europe was seen as more of a powerful dominance over the country rather than as a common goal. The press, mainly tabloids, took the opportunity to cover a popular issue to which the public would react with passion. The European question was and is more than ever a topic that sells copies, especially when writers add some drama to it, even if it means adding a few half-truths in the text. For twenty years, Euroscepticism propaganda in the British press has been so predominant that “[t]elling lies about Europe has been fully integrated into the public and political discourse.”⁷

2. How Brexit came about

While this atmosphere of rejection and distrust towards the EU had been present for a long time, a series of events turned it into a major decision for the British people. It is argued by many that there was no other possible outcome for the UK than a referendum.

At the beginning of his term, Cameron tried to appease the internal disagreement over the EU in the Conservative Party. But a series of events happened roughly at the same time and, in a way, forced the Prime Minister to promise to hold an EU referendum. While the British people were angry about the 2008 financial crisis and blamed the EU for many of its causes and repercussions, Ukip, an ultra-right political party, was starting to rise. Other parties failed to address the issues related to the crisis and the fear of immigration that people associated with it. This new political power scared the members of the Conservative Party, who started to put pressure on Cameron to find a way to gain back the people’s votes for Ukip. “Nearly 100 of these Conservative MPs signed their names to a letter to the Prime Minister in summer 2012 that urged him to hold a referendum.”⁸ At this point, the only way to take back these voters in the conservative camp was to promise them an EU referendum and a say in the future of the UK.

⁵ Wilson, Sam. “Britain and the EU: A long and rocky relationship.” BBC News, 1 Apr. 2014, www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26515129. Accessed 16 May 2017.

⁶ Todd, John, *The UK’s relationship with Europe: struggling over sovereignty*, London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016, p.2.

⁷ MacShane, Denis, *Brexit: how Britain left Europe*, London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2016, p.175.

⁸ Todd, J., *op. cit.*, p.3.

In January 2013, Cameron announced that he would organize an in-out referendum if the Conservatives won the elections. It seemed as if he did not actually believe in the possibility of the UK leaving the EU as he tried to make deals with the EU to secure a special status and benefits for the UK. During his speech at Bloomberg, he said: “So I speak as British Prime Minister with a positive vision for the future of the European Union. A future in which Britain wants, and should want, to play a committed and active part.”⁹ After the referendum was announced, people, including politicians, had to make a binary choice and take one side. Instead of expressing their fears and dissatisfaction to try and reform the current situation while keeping the benefits of an EU membership, they were given only two options, both of which usually did not satisfy them.

It is easy to propose a referendum, but not always easy to guarantee the results. Referendums have their own reasons that have very little to do with reason. A plebiscite is about passion, not a calm, disinterested process based on examining the evidence and coming to a mature judgement.¹⁰

It was not the first time that the British people were given the opportunity of a referendum. Two years after its entry in the EEC, the UK had to choose if it wanted to stay in it. “To hold his party together, the new prime minister, Harold Wilson, made a twofold promise: he would renegotiate the terms of membership, then put them to the people in a referendum.”¹¹ The course of events in 2013 is almost exactly the same as in 1975, except for the fact that the discourse at the time was much less Eurosceptic and that the referendum ended in the UK staying in the EEC. The problem for the 2016 vote is that a referendum is not about making a conscious decision, it is a protest. It is an opportunity for people to have their voice heard, and people had many reasons to protest about the European Union. Many people saw their quality of life deteriorate after “[...] the years of globalization and the abolition of national controls inherent in EU membership [...]”¹² and therefore they took the opportunity to show their discontent, and the referendum became “[...] a wider protest about economic and social changes which appears inside Britain to produce as many losers as winner.”¹³

Once the referendum was announced, pro-European politicians failed to convince the public of the benefits of an EU membership for the UK. They only tried to contain the Eurosceptics by responding to their arguments but did not give a specific plan of

⁹ Cameron, David, *Bloomberg speech*, 23 January 2013 (original script), accessed on 12 August 2018 from <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/eu-speech-at-bloomberg>

¹⁰ MacShane, D., *op. cit.*, p.22.

¹¹ Saunders, Robert: “Britain decides: the first European referendum”, History Extra, 2016, <https://www.historyextra.com/period/modern/britain-decides-the-first-european-referendum/>.

¹² MacShane, D., *op. cit.*, p.15.

¹³ *Ibid.*

reforms that would take into account the social demands of the British people. They had no charismatic and powerful leader, “[...] no Nigel Farage or Boris Johnson, able to make a stylish, persuasive case for the EU in the soundbite and social media era of modern political communication.”¹⁴

On June 23rd, 2016, it was announced that the British people had decided to leave the EU. At the time, *The Guardian* wrote: “Cameron had said he wanted to stay on to trigger article 50 and start negotiations to take the UK out of the EU in the event of a vote to leave [...]”¹⁵ but it was very unlikely since he had made his position as a pro-European very clear from the start and he was under a lot of pressure to quit. Ensued Cameron’s announcement for his resignation. That meant another politician would have to take his place and trigger Article 50. Article 50 was written in the Treaty of Lisbon, which was signed in 2007. It gives the right to EU member countries to leave the Union and gives the framework for the procedure. The article is very short and does not give many details on how a country should negotiate a deal with the other member states. It only states that a country that triggers Article 50 has two years to negotiate the conditions of its exit.¹⁶ After Cameron’s resignation, Theresa May became the Prime Minister on 13 July 2016 because her competitor, Andrea Leadsom, withdrew from the race for the premiership. She also became the Conservative Party’s leader after Cameron left. Since then, she has had to lead the negotiations with the European Union on what deals would be made for the UK to leave while keeping healthy political and commercial relationships. Other than Article 50, there is no guideline on the process and, since the UK is the first state to leave the EU, no example to learn from.

3. The emergence of immigration in the Referendum campaign discourse

As stated, the opinions on the EU have always been rather negative in the UK, but John Todd identifies three main continuities and three main changes in the British discourse on Europe since the 1970s.¹⁷ The theme of Sovereignty and Democracy and economic issues have always been a major part of the political and media discourse on Europe. The tone of the discourse has also been predominantly negative, with “[h]istorical allusions of invasion, worries about loss of sovereignty, and implicit and explicit threats to national identity and the self [...]”¹⁸. What changed is the fact that

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.27.

¹⁵ Asthana, Anushka, Ben Quinn and Rowena Mason: “UK votes to leave EU after dramatic night divides nation”, 24 June 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/britain-votes-for-brexit-eu-referendum-david-cameron>.

¹⁶ Rankin, Jennifer. “What is Article 50 and why is it so central to the Brexit debate?” *The Guardian*, 25 Jun. 2016, www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/25/article-50-brexit-debate-britain-eu. Accessed 16 May 2017.

¹⁷ Todd, J., *op. cit.*, pp. 109-111.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

Conservatives became the party whose members disagreed on the European question the most. The media, especially newspapers, became more Eurosceptic. What interests us the most, though, is that the theme of immigration became over time a key topic in the discourse. This can be explained by the fact that “[f]orty years of threats to national identity, fears of British democracy at risk, and so on, have provided fertile ground in which EU-linked anti-immigration rhetoric has taken root.”¹⁹

The presence of the topic of immigration itself and the hateful way it is reported in the British press is not new. In 2004, several countries were accepted in the European Union, one of which being Poland. Many Poles saw an employment opportunity in the United Kingdom and decided to move there. For Britain, they were mostly considered as cheap labour, but they contributed to the economy by being active members of society. However, like the Irish before them, Poles were discriminated against and were the victims of racism. They were insulted, caricatured and rejected, not only in their daily life but also in the press. In 2009, a report from the Federation of Poles of Great Britain showed “how just one paper – predictably enough the *Daily Mail* – had written 80 ugly headlines and reports full of dishonest caricatures of Polish people in Britain and inciting hate and contempt for them.”²⁰ An analysis conducted by the University of Oxford’s Migration Observatory found a “[...] tendency for journalists themselves to play the role of framing problems in the migration debate, rather than simply reporting on others’ (such as politicians, think-tanks, or academics)’ analysis. This highlights the key role played by journalists and media organisations in shaping the UK migration debate.”²¹

The presence of Eurosceptic views was much more prominent than the pro-Europeans’ in 2013. Immigration was the most effective and attention-grabbing topic to push a Leave argument, and was mostly used by the press. Since every good story needs a protagonist and an antagonist, migrants were the perfect ‘bad guy’ that would encapsulate and embody the fears of the British people that resulted from the 2008 crisis. People were afraid of crime, of losing their job, people were afraid of losing control and of the unknown. The Eurosceptic press turned these fears into a common enemy and proposed a simple solution that would take away all of the Brits’ troubles, i.e. Brexit. That is why the theme of immigration was often linked with jobs and crime. At that time, “[...] the focus was almost exclusively on intra-EU migration: the subsequent refugee crisis has recently become an additional element in the discourse.”²² Of course this crisis only gave Eurosceptics more arguments against immigration. They pushed even more the argument of getting back control over the borders of the country, even though, since the UK is and was not part of the Schengen

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.111.

²⁰ MacShane, D., *op. cit.*, p.169.

²¹ The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford: « A Decade of Immigration in the British Press », 07 November 2016, <https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/reports/decade-immigration-british-press/>.

²² *Ibid.*, p.91.

area, the UK has always had control of entry from non-EU citizens. Some newspapers, such as the Daily Express, were even described as racist by critics: “With Brexit, the Express has been a fundamentalist voice of anti-EU hysteria. On issues such as immigration, integration and diversity its tone has been malignant and crude, befitting its refashioning as the house journal of Nigel Farage and Ukip.”²³

B. The British press and politics

1. British Tabloids

Tabloids are a type of newspapers distinct from the so-called ‘quality newspapers’ because of the popular topics they cover and their controversial tone. “The real key to the tabloid newspaper is the style. Tabloids are written in a particular, very colloquial, language. They make no attempt to sound educated or refined, and they love slang, rude rhymes and puns.”²⁴ The distinction used to be about the format of the newspapers. ‘Broadsheets’ were bigger than ‘tabloids’, but this distinction is not used the same way nowadays since most newspapers adopted the size of the tabloid format.²⁵ The Daily Mail is said to have been the first British tabloid. In the UK, tabloids are wildly criticised even though they are read by a much larger number of people than quality newspapers. It is no wonder that the British press is filled with Eurosceptic or even Europhobic discourse and arguments against immigration. “Studies have shown the UK to have the most right-wing press in Europe.”²⁶

The Daily Mail was founded in 1896 and is considered to be the pioneer of the sensationalist press; “it was one of the first British papers to popularize its coverage to appeal to a mass readership.”²⁷ Alfred Harmsworth, a powerful London businessman, created several popular newspapers, including the Daily Mail and the Daily Mirror. The target of the Daily Mail was the working class; the articles were shorter and did not require a high level of education to be understood. “[O]ne of its straplines was ‘the busy man’s daily journal’ [...] and it included an innovative page dedicated to women readers.”²⁸ While the press had until then been mainly reserved to the upper, higher educated classes, the typical working man now had its own newspaper. This style of journalism followed a trend that originated from the United States. It started a

²³ Muir, Hugh: “Richard Desmond is no longer a press baron – it can only be good news”, The Guardian, 11 February 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2018/feb/11/richard-desmond-no-longer-press-baron-good-news>.

²⁴ Davies, Hillary: “The Art of Bad Taste: The British Tabloid” in *The World of English*, 2002. <http://www.woe.edu.pl/content/art-bad-taste-british-tabloid>.

²⁵ Arblaster, P., LMULT2421: Economic, legal, social and political issues in English-speaking countries. Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, 2016, p.5.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.6.

²⁷ Encyclopaedia Britannica: “Daily Mail”, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Daily-Mail>.

²⁸ Brake, Laurel and Marysa Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, Gent: Academia Press, 2009, p.270.

new habit of showing pictures of celebrities and the royal family on the front page. The darker ages of the newspaper happened during the rise of fascist regimes in Europe. “During the first half of the decade, the [Daily Mail and the Daily Mirror] duly ran multiple articles in support of the fascist movement taking over much of Western Europe.”²⁹ The Daily Mail is still under criticism for this part of its history. Over the years, the paper kept its partisan style and gained more and more political power. At the time of Margaret Thatcher’s election, Sir David English, the editor at the time, “[...] threw the weight of the newspaper behind her in her election campaigns.”³⁰ Politicians started to understand that the press could either be a threat or an opportunity for their career and the success of their political party. After English, Paul Dacre became (and still is) the editor of the Daily Mail. According to *The Week*, his “[...] greatest political legacy will surely be the Brexit referendum. The Mail had been laying the groundwork for years, filling its pages with stories about ‘barmy Brussels’ regulations and the EU’s sinister scheme to strip Britain of its sovereignty.”³¹ The Daily Mail is however expected to undergo some changes in the years to come, with a change of editor. According to *The Guardian*³², Geordie Greig is to replace Paul Dacre, who will be leaving the paper next November. Greig is probably going to change the whole newspaper’s editorial stance since he is a ‘remainer’. Greig has been the editor of the Mail on Sunday since 2012 and did not have a good work relationship with Dacre, since their political view were so opposed. “A source with knowledge of the discussions told the Guardian that Greig’s appointment was part of a process of “detoxifying the Daily Mail” after Dacre’s editorship.”³³ It is not certain that the newspaper will suddenly become less Eurosceptic, though, because it would risk losing most of its readership in the process.

The Daily Express, “in attitudes essentially indistinguishable from the Daily Mail”³⁴, was founded in 1900. When it started losing money in the 1910s, Max Aitken, its owner, started using “[...] ideas pioneered by the Express's great rival, The Daily Mail, and from overseas, to present the news in a livelier format.”³⁵ The Media Bias/Fact Check rates “the Daily Express Right Biased based on editorial content and Mixed for factual reporting due to publishing conspiracies & pseudoscience as well as a few failed fact checks.”³⁶ The Daily Express had a similar history to the Daily Mail and today, they are still comparable in style. Both of them are labelled conservative

²⁹ “A political history of the Daily Mail”, *The Week*, 11 October 2017, <http://www.theweek.co.uk/88935/a-political-history-of-the-daily-mail>.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Waterson, Jim: “New Daily Mail editor to be Geordie Greig”, *The Guardian*, 7 June 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2018/jun/07/new-daily-mail-editor-to-be-geordie-greig>. Accessed 9 August 2018.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Arblaster, P., *op. cit.*, p.5.

³⁵ “Daily Express: A chequered history”, BBC News Entertainment, 25 January 2001, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/974835.stm>.

³⁶ “Daily Express”, Media Bias/Fact Check, <https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/daily-express/>.

tabloids. There is a certain rivalry between the two newspapers, since the Daily Express has always tried to reach the success of the Daily Mail by employing a similar editorial stance. But the former has been under a lot of criticism from other newspapers such as The Guardian, who writes: “if the intention was to out-Mail the Mail, it never did. Because the Mail, even when it is behaving badly, has a level of sophistication – and crucially investment – that Desmond’s Express could and would not have reached with his highest ladder.”³⁷ The Daily Express was not always against the European Union the way it is nowadays. After the 1975 referendum, it “[...] published a celebratory editorial, announcing that the British had declared themselves ‘decisively’ and ‘irrevocably’ European. ‘What had been made out to be the most doubting and hesitant member of the Common Market has shown that it means business’.”³⁸ This shows that the public’s opinion on an issue and a general trend in politics greatly influence the editorial stance of a newspaper.

It is important to note that most newspapers get their information from big news agencies and not from their own journalists. “Almost all international news derives from the ‘Big Four’ news agencies: Reuters, Associated Press, United Press International and Agence France Presse.”³⁹ Often, newspaper even exchange stories between themselves. That is why they usually cover the same events, even though they differentiate themselves by adding their own editorial stance and style.

2. Press ownership

Newspapers are owned by rich and powerful men. “They are owned by proprietors who visit but do not live or pay taxes in Britain.”⁴⁰ They used to be owned by a large number of people, which ensured different views and interests to be represented. Throughout the years, the news media came into the hands of fewer and fewer proprietors. Big media groups were created and each started to buy several papers, which made their owners rich and powerful. For a few billionaires to have so much power and influence on the content of the news is dangerous. “This concentration of newspapers in fewer hands, and in the hands of larger, more diverse organizations, clearly has implications for press freedom.”⁴¹

One cannot write about the British mass media without mentioning Rupert Murdoch, the biggest name in the media proprietor world. He is the Chairman and CEO of News Corp. (or News Corporation), an American media company. The company owns News UK, home of popular British newspapers like *The Sun*, *The Times* or *The Sunday Times*. In 2013, Rupert Murdoch owned 24.9% of combined print and online

³⁷ Muir, H., *op.cit.*

³⁸ Saunders, R, *op. cit.*

³⁹ Bell, A., *op.cit.*, p.16.

⁴⁰ MacShane, D., *op. cit.*, p.166.

⁴¹ Reah, *op. cit.*, p.9

readership of the UK press.⁴² That is a considerable power to have over such a large number of people. Furthermore, he is a billionaire thanks to the British people but he lives in the United States and is an alleged tax avoider.

As for the owners of the Daily Mail and the Daily Mirror, they are also both billionaires and powerful white men. Lord Rothermere, a.k.a. Jonathan Harold Esmond Vere Harmsworth, is the effective owner of the Daily Mail and the heir to Alfred Harmsworth, the founder of the newspaper. He lives in France and does not pay taxes in the UK. In 2013, he claimed tax concessions through the ‘non-dom’ status and was criticised for it.⁴³ Richard Desmond, the owner of the Daily Express until February 2018, is a British publisher and businessman and is also a billionaire. He lives in the UK but is also suspected to avoid taxes. The fact that these two rich men do not pay taxes in the UK and therefore do not contribute to the welfare of the same people who bought their newspapers and turned them into billionaires is highly ironical, since many of the articles they publish about migrants insist on the fact that the cost of immigration on the taxpayers is too high and that that is a threat for the United Kingdom.

3. Newspapers’ political bias

A lot of young people who want to have a career in politics start by working in the media. That is what Boris Johnson, now Member of Parliament and member of the Conservative Party, did. He first started working as a journalist for the Times but was fired for lying about an interview and putting words in the mouth of an Oxford professor. Then, he became the Brussels correspondent for The Daily Telegraph in 1989. It has been proven many times that he lied in his articles to push his anti-Europe agenda. Denis MacShane even calls him “the man who invented Eurosceptic news reporting” and links his arrival at The Daily Telegraph with the beginning of “myths and half-truths in British newspapers about Europe.”⁴⁴ Since then, it has become almost normal for news articles to bear slight errors in numbers and facts. When they are discovered, these errors are corrected but it is often too late and has already made an impression on readers. “Information that is initially accepted as valid but is later found to be incorrect can have a persistent influence on people’s memory and reasoning.”⁴⁵ This does not mean that people will recall the event incorrectly, but that it will have changed their perception and judgement of the event. We have seen this

⁴² London, Tom: “Everyone should know who owns the press – for the sake of our democracy”, 8 June 2013, <https://leftfootforward.org/2013/06/everyone-should-know-who-owns-the-press-for-the-sake-of-our-democracy/>.

⁴³ Cancian, Dan: “How much is Daily Mail owner Lord Rothermere worth?”, International Business Times, <https://www.ibtimes.co.uk/how-much-daily-mail-owner-lord-rothermere-worth-1628099>.

⁴⁴ MacShane, D., *op. cit.*, pp.172-173.

⁴⁵ Ecker, Ullrich K. H., Stephan Lewandowsky, Ee Pin Chang and Rekha Pillai, *The Effects of Subtle Misinformation in News Headlines*, School of Psychology, University of Western Australia, 2014, <http://websites.psychology.uwa.edu.au/labs/cogscience/Publications/Ecker.2014IP.JEPA.pdf>, p.3.

situation happen many times, for example when a man being presented as a criminal in the press is still perceived as guilty by the public even after being found not guilty. In the press, misinformation is usually not blatant lies and errors. It happens in a much subtler way and has more to do with the interpretation of a fact rather than with the fact itself. For example, “[a]ccurate numbers or trends can be communicated in a way that makes them appear to have more (or less) practical significance than they actually do”⁴⁶. When dealing with the subject of immigration, Eurosceptic newspapers use a lot of numbers and figures, which, even if they are accurate and proven, are presented in a way that changes their significance for the reader. Besides, “the only mechanism for correcting untruths in the British press is a committee set up and controlled by editors themselves.”⁴⁷ The mechanism MacShane refers to here is The Independent Press Standards Organisation (IPSO), formerly the Press Complaints Commission (PCC). While it is necessary for the press to be independent, it is also of great importance for the content that is published to be verified in one way or another. Obviously, a body that ensures the veracity of the information published in the press should be unbiased and independent. However, such an organisation set up by editors will always be in favour of news companies.

Although British newspapers are almost all clearly politically biased, it is not a reason to limit the freedom of the press. Unfortunately, the government is very strict with the press and companies often sue newspapers for breaching confidence. This “[...] has resulted in the UK keeping its status as one of the worst-ranked Western European countries in the World Press Freedom Index. The government began to implement the Investigatory Powers Act—the most extreme surveillance legislation in UK history—with insufficient protection mechanisms for whistleblowers, journalists, and their sources.”⁴⁸

4. The press of the 21st century

The 21st century, its technological inventions and its new social codes have completely refashioned the way we produce and consume news. Nowadays, people are constantly stimulated with screens, movements, sounds and colours. They need entertainment and do not have the patience to sit down and read a lengthy article about a complex issue. News reports have for a long time been written following the structure of a story, but now they have to be written almost as a fiction. Cold hard facts do not interest people, whose attention is more difficult to get than ever. That is why the news has to be presented fast, in small increments and in a way that brings feelings to the reader. The world surrounding us is saturated with communication and language of all sorts and we do not have the capability to give our attention to all of it.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ MacShane, D., *op. cit.*, p.179.

⁴⁸ 2018 WORLD PRESS FREEDOM INDEX: United Kingdom, Reporters Without Borders, <https://rsf.org/en/united-kingdom>.

Therefore, we can only be reached by flashy stories written in an entertaining and attention-grabbing manner that forces us to pay attention to them. This generation's youth was born multitasking. Young people watch television, check social media and listen to music all at the same time. For them to decide to read an article requires a lot of persuasion. David Shaw thinks that "[...] young people -- those in their late teens and 20s -- are particularly susceptible to these one-sided, half-baked news mc nuggets. [...] They get their news -- to the extent that they get any -- inadvertently, almost by osmosis, absorbing bits of it on various websites or between the radio play of their favorite songs or while clicking the television remote control."⁴⁹

The shift from print to online newspapers also radically changed the way articles are written. The codes of news reporting are completely different on a web page. First of all, the format allows much more than what print does. Editors can play with other elements than they traditionally can. On print, the usual elements of an article are the headline, photographs or images in general, the text and advertisement. Online, several pictures can be shown through a slideshow or even videos, which make articles much more attractive for the reader. The writer can also add links to other articles that are related to the subject at hand or links to other websites. A very useful tool for newspapers that appeared with the shift to the online format is that they are able to monitor the traffic on their website. That means that they can know how many people saw an article, how long they stayed on it, what their favourite topics are, etc. The articles also benefit from a new kind of advertisement on a specific platform: social media. People can share articles in seconds just with their fingertips and make them visible to their whole network. That represents millions of potential readers for the newspapers. However, news media do not make that much revenue from their online sites. They have steadily been losing money as the younger generations steer away from print and they have not been able to retain readers by turning them towards the online format. "Financial viability for newspapers and most magazines, at least for now, requires retaining as many existing print readers as possible. Yet the trends are clear: people, especially the young, are turning to the Internet for more and more of their news and developing an effective digital strategy is essential for long-term survival."⁵⁰ The arrival of the smartphone once again disrupted the editors' habits. They had to find a way to make news articles legible and attractive on a very small screen. Nowadays, people have their phones with them at all times and check them very regularly. More than ever, writers have to make headlines and links pop in an ocean of information. And there are countless ways in which cell phones help newspapers cater to their readers individually. For example, a reader can be presented with certain news depending on where he is or what he has been searching for recently. Another way that smartphones are useful to the press "is their ability to use

⁴⁹ Shaw, David: "News as entertainment is sadly becoming the norm", LA Times, 11 July 2014, <http://articles.latimes.com/2004/jul/11/entertainment/ca-shaw11>.

⁵⁰ Grabowicz, Paul: "Tutorial: The Transition To Digital Journalism", UC Berkeley Advanced Media Institute, 2014, <https://multimedia.journalism.berkeley.edu/tutorials/digital-transform/>.

photo and video cameras built into many of the devices to create and publish their own content, especially eye-witness accounts of news events.”⁵¹ But all of these changes happened in a very short time-span and newspapers had trouble keeping up with the 21st century, which is maybe why scandal and attention-grabbing content seem to be more of a priority than ever, especially for tabloids.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

III. How language can influence readers of the press

This chapter aims at answering our working hypothesis that readers' decisions can be influenced by the way articles and editorials are written in British tabloids. First, we will present the methodology that was used to conduct this analysis. Then, we will have a look at news articles, headlines and editorials respectively. For each of these sections, we will present the existing theories and research on the topic and we will compare them to articles from the period analysed, i.e. May and June 2016.

A. Methodology

In this section, online articles and paper front pages from the Daily Mail and the Daily Express will be analysed. For each of the newspapers, we selected editorials and news articles in order to have a broad scope of the editorial stance of popular British tabloids. The selection of the articles was done by researching keywords in both of the newspapers' website's search bars. Only articles published from May to June 23rd, 2016 were retained and only those specifically addressing both topics of the EU referendum and immigration (both intra- and extra-EU). With no intention to carry out a quantitative research, we limited the number of articles used for analysis to roughly ten.

We will use a qualitative methodology to compare existing research in the field of press discourse analysis and the press coverage of a recent event, in this case the EU referendum campaign. The aim is to analyse different aspects of British tabloids such as front-page headlines, news articles' content and editorial tone and to find out which methods were used to possibly influence their readership. More specifically, we will try to find out how these methods were used in the context of the Brexit Referendum campaign and in which manner the subject of immigration was covered.

B. The “objectivity” of news articles

1. Impartiality in the press

The press cannot actually be impartial; it is subjective by nature. First of all, as Roger Fowler explains in “Language in the News”⁵², it is impossible for news content to be unbiased empirical facts because language cannot be unbiased. We all see the world with our own culture, perspective, education, experience, etc. because we have to make sense of the world around us. We create categories, relationships and hierarchies “which are not there ‘naturally’, but which represent the interests, values and behaviours of human communities.”⁵³ That shapes the way we express ourselves

⁵² Fowler, Roger, *Language in the news: discourse and ideology in the press*, London: Routledge, 1991, pp.1-3.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.3

and transmit information depending on our culture, education, generation, language, etc. For example, not all cultures refer to colours the same way. Some cultures do not differentiate the colours blue and green. Some tribes do not even have a word for the concept of colour. Since news articles are written by human beings – even if writers are trying to write in the most objective way possible – they are filled with the writer’s biases. And they are even influenced by more than one person’s biases since “[n]ews media offer the classic case of language produced by multiple parties.”⁵⁴ Before being transmitted through articles, events have to go through what Fowler calls “processes of selection and transformation”. Not all events are worth reporting and the ones that end up in a newspaper are chosen because they fit a number of criteria. These criteria were identified by Johan Galtung and Mari Ruge to explain why a story is worthy of becoming news.⁵⁵

Figure 1. Selection criteria for newsworthy events.

Source: <https://extra.shu.ac.uk/ppp-online/roma-in-the-news-an-examination-of-media-and-political-discourse-and-what-needs-to-change/>

- | |
|--------------------------------------|
| F1: frequency |
| F2: threshold |
| F2(i): absolute intensity |
| F.2(ii): intensity increase |
| F3: unambiguity |
| F4: meaningfulness |
| F4(i): cultural proximity |
| F4.(ii): relevance |
| F5: consonance |
| F5(i): predictability |
| F5 (ii): demand |
| F6: unexpectedness |
| F6(i): unpredictability |
| F6(ii): scarcity |
| F7: continuity |
| F8: composition |
| F9: reference to elite nations |
| F10: reference to elite people |
| F11: reference to persons |
| F12: reference to something negative |

The topic of immigration in the context of the Brexit is highly relevant for newspapers because it fits many of the criteria presented above. A criterion that interests us particularly here is the ‘reference to persons’ (F11). It means that events involving specific people are more likely to be read, because readers will be more likely to identify with the protagonists and to approve or disapprove of the situation.

⁵⁴ Bell, A., *op.cit.*, p.33.

⁵⁵ Fowler, R., *op. cit.*, pp.12-14.

Fowler points out the dangers of the process of personalization. “The obsession with persons, and the media’s use of them as symbols, avoids serious discussion and explanation of underlying social and economic factors [...]”⁵⁶. In this case, stories about migrants often present one or a group of migrants trying to illegally enter the UK and focus on the possible negative outcome of their presence. Very seldom do tabloid articles present the social and economic context in which people decide to leave their country to enter the UK and the causes for such a migration. The last criterion, ‘reference to something negative’, is also interesting to note and reflects an important aspect of our society, in which people are more interested in hearing bad news than good ones. In conjunction with F5 (‘consonance’), it means that people are more interested in articles about negative events that they expect or want to happen. Indeed, it is a natural human bias to look for information that confirms what we already think. Once we have been convinced of something, it is much easier to present us articles that are in line with our beliefs.

Looking into which events are selected and reported by a newspaper tells us a lot about the culture of the country where it is written and about the ideological stance of the newspaper. “The selection and textual prominence of topics [...] embody criteria of journalistic decisions about the newsworthiness of events. Therefore, topics also manifest complex networks of professional, social and cultural ideologies.”⁵⁷ It means that topics in newspapers reflect what society is interested in and which stance it takes but it also means that newspapers, through their process of selection, shape society to be interested in certain events and shape its opinion on these events.

Then, events are turned into stories. To become stories, they undergo a series of transformations because “news, like every discourse, constructively patterns that of which it speaks.”⁵⁸ An event can be reported from many different angles and points of view. The focus can be put on one of the protagonists, on numbers, on an action, etc. and that completely changes the interpretation of the reader. For example, when reporting about an incident, putting the focus on the victims triggers more emotions in the reader than simply reporting about the facts. Stories need a protagonist and an antagonist, but the reality is usually not as binary. Writers will have to apply those social constructs to the people involved in an event. The list of criteria aforementioned therefore helps writers to select relevant information and to present in a way that will make people want to read it. We might even go further and say that writers could select irrelevant information and write it in a way that will make it interesting for a potential audience. In short, we may be led to believe that the news gives us a somewhat accurate picture of the real world and what happens in it, but it is not the case.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.16.

⁵⁷ Van Dijk, Teun A., *Racism and the Press*, in “Critical Studies in Racism and Migration”, London: Routledge, 1991, p.71.

⁵⁸ Fowler, R., *op. cit.*, p.4.

The second reason why the press is not impartial is because the goal of news companies is to make money, like any other business. Newspapers make revenue from two main sources; people buying newspapers or subscriptions and advertisement. In order to make money from advertisement, newspapers have to be read by a large number of readers. That is why it is important to give readers a story they want, presented in an attractive way rather than writing the news in the most objective way. “The media of all nations play to their public’s view of the world. Good mileage is guaranteed by indulging in caricature.”⁵⁹ The media used to have the primary role of informing, but changes in society forced them to become more competitive. Norman Fairclough points out a “[...] contradiction between the public nature of media production and the private nature of media consumption”⁶⁰ because of the need for entertainment to attract more consumers. Advertisers also have a strong power of veto on the content of the news reports and feature stories. Since newspapers mainly live from advertisement revenue, they have to cater to the goals of advertisers. A newspaper might decide not to denounce the wrongdoings of a company that pays them to have their ads featured in the newspaper. For example, “if a major company has been polluting the environment and supporting state terrorism in a developing country, is that company going to give its lucrative advertising contracts to publications that report these events?”⁶¹

2. Creating a readership

In order to sell more copies, newspapers have to build a readership. Since they cannot address their readers directly and individually, and though there is no ‘typical’ reader profile of a newspaper, they will “[...] often write as though such a person exists and that there is, in fact, a homogeneous group of people with shared beliefs and values whose defining feature is the newspaper that they read.”⁶² This reader profile is called ‘implied’ audience. To create a group that will agree on a number of shared values, it is useful for newspapers to create a common enemy. Politicians use the same techniques in their discourse to create a group of followers: by differentiating ‘us’ and ‘the others’. In short, when reporting on an event in a way that will trigger a particular response against a certain group, newspapers manage to gather people around a system of common values.⁶³ For example, the Daily Mail writes in its online article “Revealed: Migrants try to sneak into Britain at a rate of one every six minutes, official figures show”⁶⁴ as a lead:

⁵⁹ MacShane, D., *op. cit.*, p.177.

⁶⁰ Fairclough, Norman, *Media Discourse*, London: Edward Arnold, 1995, p.11.

⁶¹ Reah, Danuta, *The language of newspapers*, London: Routledge, 2002, p.9.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p.36.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.40.

⁶⁴ Dathan, Matt. “Revealed: Migrants try to sneak into Britain at a rate of one every six minutes, official figures show.” The Daily Mail, 10 June 2016 www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-

- Border officials stopped 84,088 at the British border last year
- Alarming rate of detections has more than doubled since previous year
- Ex-Cabinet minister Iain Duncan Smith said the figures are 'truly shocking'
- Home Secretary Theresa May admits the problem 'shows no sign of easing'

⁶⁵

The strategy here is to trigger a feeling of fear in the reader. Further in the article, the author proceeds to cite different authority figures who all take the same stance on the issue, such as Mr Duncan Smith, who said: “This is a direct consequence of the EU's obsession with freedom of movement and insistence on an open border policy.”⁶⁶ After feeling fear, the reader is confronted with a cause and presented with a solution to said fear. The EU is responsible for the increasing number of migrants trying to enter the UK illegally and the solution is to leave the EU.

We have seen that the press uses strategies to address a group of readers as its implied audience. Discourse analysis differentiates responsive and initiative communicator strategies. “That is, speakers are often primarily responding to their audience in the language they produce. But they also on occasion take more initiative and use language to redefine their relationship to their audience.”⁶⁷ These findings support our previous claim that the press and the public influence each other in the choice of topics addressed but it also means that they influence each other in terms of linguistic and lexical style of the texts produced. Although, since mass media communication is mostly a one-way type of communication, it can be argued that the press has a much more powerful influence on the public than the opposite. Indeed, “[...] direct feedback by the audience is subject either to delay – influencing subsequent but not immediate production – or to reduction: the audience member's response remains under the editorial control of the communicators.”⁶⁸

3. Lexical style and ideology

The vocabulary employed by news writers and editors in articles is a rather effective way to convey a certain ideology. “News is determined by values, and the kind of language in which that news is told reflects and expresses those values.”⁶⁹ Most seem to have chosen the repertoire of fear to convey ideas. “Tapping into such fears of

3634930/Migrants-try-sneak-Britain-rate-one-six-minutes-official-figures-show.html. Accessed 16 May 2017.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Bell, A., *op. cit.*, p.105.

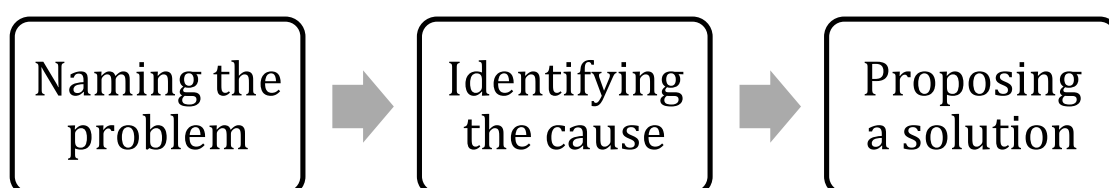
⁶⁸ Bell, A., *op. cit.*, p.87.

⁶⁹ Bell, A., *op. cit.*, p.2.

threat to the individual self in order to create a more general sense of threat originating from Europe is a regrettably effective strategy for Eurosceptics.”⁷⁰

Previously in this dissertation, we have discussed the fact that British tabloids often make a connection between the EU, immigration and issues related to the economy or social issues. The writing process that they use to make these links can be summarized by the following diagram:

Figure 2. Diagram



First, the problem is mentioned, sometimes even exaggerated. It can be a rise in crimes, overpopulation, unemployment rates, or social and economic issues in general. Then, a cause for the problem is given, in our case immigration. And finally, the writer proposes the solution, which is leaving the European Union. Anyone who does not agree with the solution, e.g. Europhiles, are against the interests of the British people. The article sometimes follows these steps in a different order. The problem is that this usually goes unnoticed by the reader. “It is easy to resist a particular viewpoint or ideology when you know it is being presented to you, but not so easy to resist when the viewpoint or ideology is concealed.”⁷¹ It is particularly difficult for most people to identify an ideology in a news report, for we have been told since childhood that the press is impartial. However, we have seen in the previous chapter of this dissertation that it is simply not true. The danger is that most people will not take the time to consult different sources of information and will be easily influenced by a lexicon of fear, anger and isolationism.

There are many ways to talk about the same thing, “and they are not random, accidental alternatives. Differences in expression carry ideological distinctions (and thus differences in representation).”⁷² Journalists will often use a colloquial discourse in their articles, especially in the sensationalist press. In order to attract a certain type of readers and make them identify with the newspaper, they will use the same register that the readers use. We can therefore say that the choice of register is based on the reader. The choice of lexicon, however, is ideologically based, since we inject our ideologies in any language we produce.

⁷⁰ Todd, J., *op. cit.*, p.95.

⁷¹ Reah, D., *op. cit.* p.54.

⁷² Fowler, R., *op. cit.*

4. Example: BOMBSHELL REPORT

On May 17th, 2016, the Daily Express released an article entitled “BOMBSHELL REPORT: Mass immigration is costing Britain £17BILLION each year.”⁷³ After analyzing it, we can see that it follows the process we have described in the previous section and that the writer employed many of the methods we have identified previously in this chapter.

Problem-cause-solution

In this case, the article starts off by identifying the problem and its cause at the same time: “MASS immigration is costing British taxpayers £17billion a year, a bombshell report warned last night.”⁷⁴ And then, immediately the answer to the problem is given: “But it said the UK could save £1.2billion by quitting the EU.”⁷⁵ It does not explain in what way quitting the EU would save money. It goes on, however, to explain in detail how much of an issue immigration poses on the UK economy. It gives a very simplistic approach to an extremely complex issue. Another issue pointed out in the article is the population increase in the UK. Most countries are seeing their population grow rapidly and that could become a real issue for their economy. Here the cause of the issue is attributed to immigration. The meaning of the sentence “It also contributes a population increase of half a million every year – roughly a city the size of Liverpool”⁷⁶ is unclear. It is not certain if the overall population increase in the UK is of half a million every year or if that is the increase solely from immigration. The former explanation is the most plausible and, after verification, the correct one. Actually, in 2015, the population of the UK increased by 418,047 people.⁷⁷ Regardless, the sentence is misleading because it makes readers think that immigration is the only cause for overpopulation, when it is actually not true and the proportion of increase from immigration is not given.

There are many instances in the text where a negative connotation is given to facts to make them seem worse than they are. To do so, writers add adjectives that make numbers or nouns more powerful. The phrases ‘crippling shortfall’, ‘overwhelmingly negative impact’, ‘soaring cost’, ‘greatest burden’ are striking examples of it. Similarly to other news reports on the subject, the article makes it seem as if there were only one possible outcome to the situation and then gives the reader a solution, which brings him some feeling of relief.

⁷³ Hall, Macer. “BOMBSHELL REPORT: Mass immigration is costing Britain £17BILLION each year.” *Daily Express*, 17 May 2016, www.express.co.uk/news/uk/670875/migrants-cost-britain-brex-it-eu-referendum-migration-report. Accessed 21 May 2017.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ U.K. polpulation, Worldometers, <http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/uk-population/>.

Lexicon

There are several lexical fields to be highlighted in this report. The first one and the most visible is the one of money and numbers. Here are a few examples of words from the text that are a part of that field: tax, benefits, pensions, fiscal, contribution, cost, unaffordable, bill, etc. But what is most striking in the text is the number of figures presented. We found 25 instances of sums of money, all in billions of pounds. Then, words related to surprise and superlatives are used, e.g. ‘bombshell’, ‘staggering’ and ‘astronomical’. The word ‘bombshell’ refers to an event or piece of news that is unexpected and shocking.⁷⁸ It is very useful in making an event seem more relevant than it is. It makes the reader want to know what the surprising event is and to keep on reading. Here the writer also used superlatives that give the impression that this issue is the worst that could happen to the UK and is of paramount importance.

Finally, all of that is linked with the repertoire of danger. Burden, warned, crippling, pressures, reckless, uncertainty, etc. are only a few examples of how the journalist uses fear to associate an event with a negative feeling. It is one factor of newsworthiness for an event to be negative. Here the event reported is not necessarily negative in itself but a negative connotation was stamped to it through a series of words.

This news report is clearly not objective. Even if the numbers and the facts are correct, their meaning is modified by words filled with negative tones and connotations. The selection of the facts presented and the people interviewed is undoubtedly biased. Once again, a Ukip MEP gets to have his word featured in an article, while the argument is reinforced by stating that “Tory MP Tom Pursglove agreed the report showed the need to quit the EU in next month’s referendum.”⁷⁹ That makes it sound like the Conservative MP was convinced by the newspaper’s arguments and agreed with what was written.

C. The power of headlines

1. The persuasive function of headlines

A headline is the name used to refer to the title of an article. It is usually short and concise, because it is supposed to summarize an article and because it has to respect the layout of the page and the space given to the article. That is why headlines have their own grammatical rules and semantic characteristics. In theory, the primary function of a news article headline is communicational, that means its aim “[...]is to

⁷⁸ Bombshell. *MacMillan Dictionary*. Retrieved 16 May 2017 from <https://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/bombshell>.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

summarize the most important information of the report.”⁸⁰ It should help the reader to have an overview of the news of the day and an idea of their importance in order to choose which articles he is going to read more thoroughly or not. In practice, however, headline writers are more concerned with how attractive a headline will make the article – and the newspaper, if it is on the front page – for the reader. For the purposes of this dissertation, we will mainly focus on the persuasive function of headlines, in other words their ability to attract a reader and make him want to read the article. Readers will usually rather scan through headlines than actually reading the articles, “as this strategy will maximize their informational gain relative to invested cognitive effort.”⁸¹ The issue is that “[...] headlines can often, in their attempt to attract a reader to a story, be ambiguous or confusing.”⁸² Over time, they have become shorter and more attention-grabbing. They use devices like puns and rhetorical questions and they usually need the common cultural knowledge of its audience to be understood. For example, the headline “Arise Sir remain!” does not evoke anything to the reader if he does not know what the word ‘remain’ stands for. In this case the article was about some pro-Europeans receiving a title, hence the reference to votes for the UK to ‘remain’ in the EU. The aim is to make the reader curious about the content and to make him remember the headline. It is therefore not as important for it to be a hundred percent true to reality, and since most likely all newspapers will be covering the same event, each one of them has to distinguish itself from the others. That is how tabloid headlines turned from summarizing an article into trying to be the most dramatic and unique catchphrase among tens of others.

In the digital world, writers had to adapt to a new format of news consumption. Many people now get their daily news from the internet. What has changed the most for headlines is that they now “appear not just at the top of articles, but in news feeds, emails, content widgets, and many other places. And, for better or worse, they are judged mostly by one metric: clicks.”⁸³ Most of the time, internet users do not go look for news, news is being presented to them. Social media is now the preferred information source. Readers are presented with a number of headlines every day. That is why it is important for a headline to make readers want to click on the link and read the article. Moreover, advertisers will pay news media websites to show their ads on their articles depending on the number of clicks they receive. Headlines are turned into what we call ‘clickbait’, a catchy phrase that makes clicking on it irresistible. Google is another important factor to be taken into account. Usually, writers and editors create a special title for their article to appear in search engines like Google. “The ‘SEO Title,’ as it is often called, doesn’t have to match the headline on the visible page, is used as a ranking factory by search engines and is usually the text for

⁸⁰ Van Dijk, T., *op. cit.*, p.50.

⁸¹ Ecker, U., *op. cit.*, p.7.

⁸² Reah, D., *op. cit.* p.13.

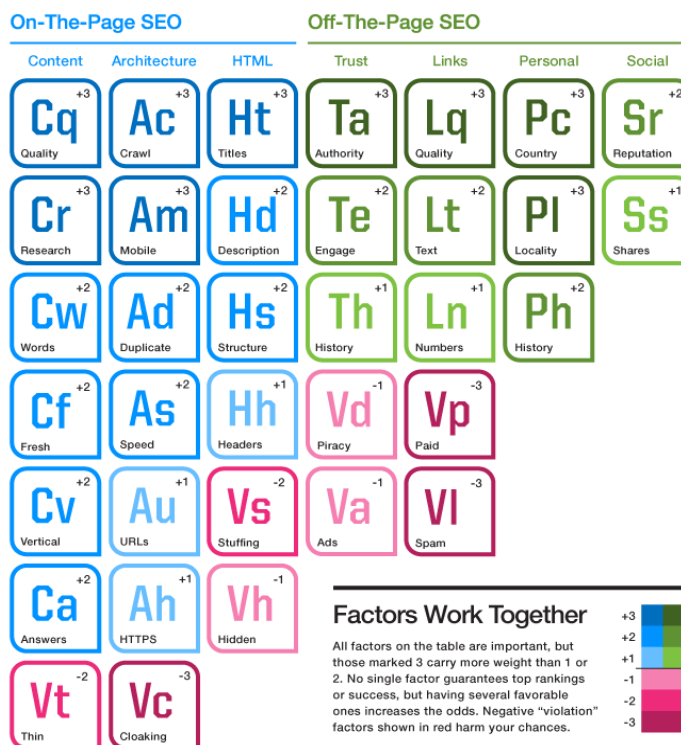
⁸³ Dooley, Roger: “Beyond Clicks: Headlines That Persuade”, *Neuromarketing*, <https://www.neurosciencemarketing.com/blog/articles/headlines-that-persuade.htm>.

the clickable link in the search results.”⁸⁴ SEO means Search Engine Optimization and is a marketing technique that makes a web page more visible on free search engines. Google uses a special algorithm with many criteria that determine the rank of a web page in relation to the keywords entered in the search bar. One of the things SEO does is find out what keywords are more often searched and add those to the page if they are relevant.

Figure 3. Search engine ranking factors

The Periodic Table of SEO Success Factors

Search engine optimization (SEO) seems like alchemy to the uninitiated. But there's a science to it. Below are some important "ranking factors" and best practices that can lead to success with both search engines and searchers.



© Search Engine Land

However, keywords are not the only criterion that counts. Figure 3 shows some of the most important factors that Google takes into account. For example, the factor ‘Cf’ or ‘fresh content’ has to do with the relevance of the topic on the page. News articles are usually about current events and popular topics. Newspapers are also considered a trustworthy authority, which places the articles in a good position in the rank, according to the factor ‘Ta’ or ‘trust authority’. Country, locality and history are all

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

factors that have to do with individual users' experience. For example, when someone searched for news, he will be more likely to be presented with news from local news sources and news related to his search history. The full Google algorithm, however, is kept a secret.

In short, headlines now have to satisfy many more requirements than ever before. Other than their function of summarizing the article, they also have to adhere to the SEO factors while being attractive enough for the reader to click on their link.

2. Leads

Leads (or ledes) are another part of news articles that have a significant influence on the meaning of the rest of the text. They are a sort of short introduction to the article. Bell even calls the lead “the most distinctive feature of news discourse”⁸⁵, and not the headline. Whatever does not appear in the headline is usually present in the lead, which gives a better summary of the content of the article. “We can regard the lead as basically a summary of a story, deriving its content and structure from the body copy, and so it is. But it is a *directional* summary, a lens through which the point of the story is focused and its news value is magnified.”⁸⁶ It introduces not only the story but also the editorial stance on the topic addressed. While headlines generally contain one event, leads can contain more. That is why they are particularly useful in drawing links between events. They are a very important part of a news article because they are what makes a reader read the rest of the article. It serves the purpose of luring the reader to a story, much like the first page of a book. Journalists usually write the lead first, to set the frame for the rest of the story. They use different types of leads depending on the kind of article they are about to write. For breaking news, they will use leads that are very factual and “sum up the news in a straightforward, clear way — in a single sentence. They also hint at the broader context in which the news occurred.”⁸⁷

3. Creating an enemy

When the press refers to certain groups of people, particularly in a negative way, the way that they call these groups matter a great deal. In fact, “[t]he naming strategies adopted by a text can [...] have a direct effect on the ideological slant of a text.”⁸⁸ Names, beyond describing a group, can carry positive or negative connotations. The way migrants have been referred to in British tabloids in the referendum campaign

⁸⁵ Bell, A., *op. cit.*, p.176.

⁸⁶ Bell, A., *op. cit.*, p.183.

⁸⁷ Bloch, Hannah: “A good lead is everything — here's how to write one”, *NPR Training*, 12 October 2016, <https://training.npr.org/digital/leads-are-hard-heres-how-to-write-a-good-one/>.

⁸⁸ Reah, D., *op. cit.* p.60.

has been mostly negative. Groups are made up with individuals who are identified as being part of that group by one characteristic. “Such labelling can create a situation in which people lose their individuality [...]”.⁸⁹ In the case of migrants, hundreds of thousands of different individuals are labelled to form a group and therefore have to bear all the characteristics that the public applies to that group. Unfortunately, tabloids focus on negative aspects and play on people’s fears of insecurity and loss of control. They usually use metaphors to write about migrants. In fact, “[...] numerous accounts have demonstrated that the movement of migrants and refugees are [...] pejoratively related through metaphor usage to disease, military invasion and war, natural disasters (including the movement of water), pollution, animals/insects and the trade and transportation of goods [...] Such metaphors, it is argued, serve to homogenise and dehumanise their target groups.”⁹⁰ The goal is to make an easier attack on a group of people. Instead of depicting migrants as individual human escaping war, terror or a difficult economic situation and going through the most difficult time of their life, tabloids portray them as a homogeneous group representing a threat to the UK. They are often described as having evil intentions and as wanting to take over the UK and steal the population’s jobs.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p.54.

⁹⁰ Smith, David, *Immigration in UK newspapers during general election campaigns, 1918-2010*, Loughborough University Institutional Repository, 2014.

4. “The Invaders”

On Thursday, June 2nd, 2016, the Daily Express published its daily newspaper and a story about migrants made the front page. The headline was the following: “The Invaders.”⁹¹

Figure 4. *Daily Express* front page, 2 June 2016.



The front page is a striking example of how much of an impact the headline makes on the rest of the text. “The invaders” is written in bold text and capital letters and takes up a significant portion of the page. Without the lead or the rest of the text this headline is meaningless; it could refer to any group of people. It is similar to a movie title and has a distinctive negative connotation to it. That is one of the techniques identified by Danuta Reah and used by headline writers to make headlines more attractive and memorable.⁹² The definition of ‘invader’ according to the Cambridge Dictionary actually says it refers to an army or country that uses force to enter and

⁹¹ Sheldrick, Giles. “The Invaders.” *Daily Express*, 2 June 2016, www.pressreader.com/uk/daily-express/20160602/281479275671371.

⁹² Reah, D., *op. cit.* p.18.

take control of another country⁹³. It should therefore not refer to migrants but the link between the two is then made through the subtitle. This implies that not only are migrants trying to enter the UK by force, but that they are also trying to take control of the country, which is a strong assumption, an over exaggeration and that can be simply qualified as a lie. Since “[h]eadline information is [...] used to activate the relevant knowledge in memory the reader needs to understand the news report”⁹⁴, it influences the way it is interpreted by the reader. The fact that migrants are referred to as invaders immediately sets up a cognitive process in readers, in which their understanding of the event will be associated with their representation of what an invader is. They will even apply this understanding to other news reporting involving migrants in the future because “[...] the information in the headline is also the information that is best recalled by the readers.”⁹⁵ It means that, from the moment a reader integrates what is said in the headline in figure 4 and compares a migrant with an invader, he is more likely to associate all migrants with concept usually associated with the word “invader”, such as war, violence, threat, fear, etc.

The lead in this article says: “Sneaky migrants set up tents on French cliffs waiting for boats to smuggle them into Britain to join their mates.”⁹⁶ It follows the structure described by Bell; “the actors, main event and place – the journalist’s *who*, *what* and *where*”⁹⁷. It is a very powerful visual description because the reader can imagine the landscape of cliffs with tents on it. It paints a picture in the reader’s mind of who these migrants are. The words ‘sneaky’ and ‘smuggle’ denote wrong intentions. The word ‘mates’ implies that there are many more migrants who have already managed to get into the country. Usually, migrants are trying to join their families, but here the writer chose the word ‘mate’ because it sounds less important. It is commonly used in a colloquial way to talk about friends in general, but the word also has the meaning of sexual partner for animals. Words related to the animal vocabulary are often used in articles to talk about immigrants in a negative way and to dehumanize them. “Dehumanization occurs when human beings are compared to animals, disease, vermin, or some non-living entity. When this is done, individuals are denied equal rights of humanity, since it allows one to view them as an entity that is less than human.”⁹⁸ ‘Swarm’, ‘packs’, ‘plague’, ‘nest’ are just a few examples of dehumanizing words that are often found in news articles. On “The Invaders” front page, migrants are even compared to aliens by the use of the word ‘launchpad’. Dehumanization is a tremendously dangerous practice, the effects of which we have seen in the past. “During World War II, the Nazis frequently used dehumanization tactics against the

⁹³ Invader. *The Cambridge Dictionary*. Retrieved June 21, 2018, from <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/invader>.

⁹⁴ Van Dijk, T., *op. cit.*, p.50.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.51.

⁹⁶ Sheldrick, G., *op. cit.*

⁹⁷ Bell, A., *op. cit.*, p.177.

⁹⁸ Utych, Steve: “How Dehumanization Influences Attitudes Toward Immigrants”, *The Blue Review*, 21 August 2017, <https://thebluereview.org/dehumanization-influences-attitudes-toward-immigrants/>.

Jewish people. This included text and images comparing Jewish individuals to rats, cockroaches, and other vermin. The Nazis went so far as to refer to Jewish people as *untermenschen*, or subhuman.”⁹⁹ Unfortunately, it has become integrated in our culture to talk about others in a dehumanized way because it is very effective in provoking an emotion of anger in the reader.

It is interesting to note that the online version of this article does not bear the same headline. “I want to get to England...I will try EVERY night' The Albanian migrants heading for UK”¹⁰⁰ is the title chosen. The words used in this one are much more neutral when describing the migrants. They are simply referred to as “migrants” instead of “invaders” or “sneaky”. This could be explained by the fact that, since the shift from paper to online support, articles online are read by many more readers than the paper version. The online version is also longer-lasting than in print and it is easier to find it even after time has passed. Another explanation is that readers online need more information in a headline in order to click on it. ‘The Invaders’ is simply not detailed enough for readers to be interested. The visual layout also plays an enormous role in choosing the headline. Online, articles are all accessible very easily and the layout can be played with much more than on paper. On the paper version in this case, the picture takes up more than half of the page and the headline is more likely to be visible by more people if it is shorter and bigger. The headline here in the online version takes the voice of one particular migrant but makes it seem as if all Albanian migrants had said the exact same sentence by signing in their name. Under the title, the subheading states “GROUPS of Albanian migrants have bragged how at least 50 of their countrymen are making it to Britain illegally every week.” There, they are referred to as groups instead of a gang. The word ‘gang’ has a distinctive negative connotation to it. It implies that the group has intentions of being violent or to conduct illegal activities.

5. Media overkill of June 2016: a short analysis

In the few weeks leading to the vote of the 23rd of June, the press saw a flood of articles related to the referendum. We selected front-page headlines from The Daily Mail and The Daily Express over a span of ten days, from June 6th to 16th, 2016, excluding Sunday 12th, in order to examine what topics were deemed most important for the newspapers and what strategies they used in their headlines to attract readers.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Sheldrick, Giles. “I want to get to England...I will try EVERY night' The Albanian migrants heading for UK” *Daily Express*, 2 June 2016, www.express.co.uk/news/politics/676004/Migrants-tents-French-cliffs-boats-smuggle-UK.

Table 1. Front-page headlines from selected articles

DATE	HEADLINE (DAILY MAIL)	HEADLINE (DAILY EXPRESS)
6/6/2016	Human organs grown in pigs	'Cover-up' over migrants sneaking into UK
7/6/2016	Breast cancer victims denied lifeline	Huge boost to EU exit hopes
8/6/2016	What a way to tackle migrant crisis!	New EU threat to your pension
9/6/2016	The Albanian double killer who's lived freely in open borders UK for 18 years	Outrage at bid to 'rig' EU vote
10/6/2016	Strip Sir Shifty of his title!	Migrant seized every 6 minutes
11/6/2016	Arise Sir remain!	Migrant crisis will cost £20BN
13/6/2016	Fury over plot to let 1.5M Turks into Britain	Fury at PM's pension threat
14/6/2016	Brexit poll boost as migration fears grow	Proof we can't stop migrants
15/6/2016	Clement Freud – Child abuser	Viagra stops heart attacks
16/6/2016	We're from Europe – let us in!	Outrage at plot to raise our taxes

It seems appropriate that, a few days before the referendum, the press would cover Brexit and the issues related to it. However, a quick look at these headlines tells us that these two tabloids focussed much more on migration than other aspects at the time. The word “migrant(s)” or “migration” occurs in six out of a total of twenty headlines. Four of those occurrences are seen in the Daily Express. A few other headlines, even if they are not citing the word directly, are in one way or another about migration and Brexit. For example, “We’re from Europe – Let us in!” refers to a group of migrants in a lorry intercepted by the police in London. On the first page still, the article goes on with: “The dramatic pictures emerged as the Tories were accused of being in referendum chaos over border controls” and “Under the free movement edict, 500 million EU citizens enjoy free access to the UK.”¹⁰¹ It is obvious that the article is not about the event of migrants being found but a critic on the open borders system in the EU and an attempt to convince citizens to vote to leave the EU. It turned out later that the Daily Mail had made a mistake in its article. It later published a correction, which The Guardian relayed in an article. “[The] group arriving in back of lorry were actually from Iraq and Kuwait, contrary to claims in

¹⁰¹ Slack, James and Jason Groves: “We’re from Europe – Let us in!”, *Daily Mail*, 16 June 2016.

front-page article.”¹⁰² The question is: do people read corrections? An article and especially a headline can make a serious impact in the reader, sometimes without him noticing, and if he does not come across the correction of the article, he will be impacted by a lie.

Other than the headlines about migrants, six headlines are about Brexit. That means that, a few weeks before the vote, roughly 50 percent of the front-page stories from the Daily Mail and the Daily Express about the EU referendum were directly linked with immigration. Even in the articles that were not directly about migrants, mention of the threat that immigration would pose to the UK is sometimes present in the body of the text, such as in “Huge boost to EU exit hopes”, where we can read “Mr Cameron's campaign has also been on the back foot on the key issue of immigration after official figures showed net migration hit a near peak of 330,000 during 2015.”¹⁰³ Our findings confirm the results of a study conducted at King’s College London and reported in an article in *The Independent*. The study found that

[a]lmost half of all referendum-related articles in the final four weeks which referred to the economy also referred to immigration. That compared with just over a quarter during the first six weeks, according to the report. There were more leading front pages about immigration during the campaign than about the economy, with six in 10 of them published by three newspapers — the Daily Express, the Daily Mail and The Daily Telegraph.¹⁰⁴

D. The authority of editorials

1. What is an editorial?

An editorial is a newspaper article that expresses the editor’s opinion on an event or an issue. It is the opportunity for a newspaper to have its own views and stance published. In the Daily Mail and the Daily Express, editorials are under a category called ‘comment’ and are unsigned. Another function of editorials is “[...] an important symbolic function, seeming to partition off the ‘opinion’ component of the paper, implicitly supporting the claim that other sections, by contrast, are pure ‘fact’ or ‘report’.”¹⁰⁵ It is usually easy to identify an editorial because it uses different devices than news reports. Some of these devices are more visual, e.g. the editorial has a special section in the newspaper, with a different colour for the heading and a

¹⁰² Khomani, Nadia: « Daily Mail publishes correction to story about 'migrants from Europe' », The Guardian, 17 June 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/jun/17/daily-mail-publishes-correction-story-migrants-from-europe>.

¹⁰³ Hall, Macer : “Huge boost to EU exit hopes: Bookmakers slash odds as polls swing towards leave vote », *Daily Express*, 6 June 2016, <https://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/677307/bookmaker-Coral-EU-referendum-Brexit-Leave-Remain-In-Out-odds-bets>.

¹⁰⁴ Bulman, M., *op.cit.*

¹⁰⁵ Fowler, R., *op. cit.*, p.208.

specific name for the category, such as ‘opinion’ or ‘comment’. Others are subtler; they are linguistic devices that confer a specific style and tone to the genre of editorials.

2. Editorials as ideological guides

What differentiates editorials from other texts or other types of articles is not the fact that they are subjective, or biased, since all texts are subjective (see section III.B.1.). It is the fact that they are written with the intention of being subjective and without claiming to be objective. However, while the newspaper does not claim to be an authority figure in the topic it addresses in its editorial, it employs different strategies to be perceived as such by the readers. First of all, the fact that editorials are usually unsigned turns the writer into an unknown voice. The voice in the article speaks directly to its audience and embodies the whole newspaper as a leader of a group of readers with the same ideological stance. Second, editorials are riddled with generic statements, which are “[...] inevitable authoritarian, claiming total and definitive knowledge of some topic; they offer the comfort of closure as against the openness of enquiry.”¹⁰⁶ Editorials also clearly try to convince readers by being argumentative. The editorial voice makes arguments for its own position on the matter, and arguments against other viewpoints. “Often the argument is dramatized by the use of dialogic devices such as rhetorical questions [...]”¹⁰⁷. A technique used in editorials is to tell the story through different voices and to give the impression of different perspectives. “It is easy for the reader to forget, or to fail to recognize, that the actual perspective is that of the newspaper.”¹⁰⁸ For example, newspapers will often quote people to give the impression that they are presenting the reader with a wide range of viewpoints on an issue, but they will actually only present perspectives that align with their own opinion.

In the Daily Mail comment entitled “Immigration and a corrosion of trust”¹⁰⁹, the following people are cited: Calais’s chief coastguard, Conservatives Boris Johnson and Michael Gove, and Employment minister Priti Patel. The first one is a short citation saying that “the Channel is becoming ‘the new Mediterranean’.”¹¹⁰ That phrase does not give much detail about what the coastguard actually said on the subject and the reader has to make an assumption about what he meant by ‘the new Mediterranean’. The second one, Boris Johnson and Michael Gove, is a classic in right-wing tabloid editorials. Ukip members are very often quoted as if they were speaking the truth that everybody is thinking. The newspaper writes that “they

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p.211.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Reah, D., *op. cit.* p.31.

¹⁰⁹ Daily Mail Comment. “Immigration and a corrosion of trust.” Daily Mail, 30 May 2016, www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3615708/DAILY-MAIL-COMMENT-Immigration-corrosion-trust.html. Accessed 20 May 2017.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

challenged [David Cameron] to ‘confirm’ that a remain vote would mean permanently accepting the principle of free movement and the European Court’s ultimate authority over who should be allowed to live in this country.”¹¹¹ Mr Cameron did not confirm anything but the editorial implies that that is what he should do or that it is his intention. The third cited person, Priti Patel, is a Conservative MP and the employment minister. She accused Remain campaigners to ignore the issue of immigration because they are rich. The editorial goes on to make strong assumptions about her statement. It says Ms Patel was “clearly referring to Messrs Cameron and Osborne”¹¹², even though she did not say it, and adds: “It’s impossible to overstate the seriousness of these charges.”¹¹³ Here the Daily Mail clearly uses people’s statements and turns them into arguments in favour of the point it is trying to get across.

3. Readership

Once again, the same methods are used in editorials to create a readership as in other articles. They are perhaps even more effective than news articles in creating a group effect. Since the writer can speak directly to the reader through the editorial voice, it is much more compelling for the reader, who feels directly addressed. In addressing readers, the writer can use the consensual ‘we’ pronoun. This allows him to create a group that is composed – from the point of view of one reader – of the editorial voice, of all the other readers and of the reader himself. This way, readers will feel as if they were part of a group of people they have never met and accept the point of view of a whole newspaper and not even a specific person. Such a homogeneous group of readers with exactly the same view does not actually exist, but the editorial voice “[...] leads the reader to assume that this attitude is shared by a large number of people.”¹¹⁴

The Express Comment entitled “No More: The UK cannot take five million more immigrants”¹¹⁵ is a very short editorial published on June 13th, 2016 and illustrates the readership-making techniques we evoked. In a text of less than two hundred words, the words ‘we’ and ‘us’ appear nine times. We have highlighted in a previous chapter that a way for newspapers to create a readership is to make the reader react to something negative and presenting that as a common enemy of the newspaper and the reader. First, the writer presents the victim: “We are a small island with limited resources [...]”¹¹⁶. Then, he explains that the negative context of economic troubles in the UK are due to immigration: “[...] that have been stretched to breaking point by

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Reah, D., *op. cit.* p.51.

¹¹⁵ Express Comment. “No More: The UK cannot take five million more immigrants.” *Daily Express*, 13 June 2016, www.express.co.uk/comment/expresscomment/679191/UK-unable-five-million-more-immigrants. Accessed 20 May 2017.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

the influx of migrants [...]”¹¹⁷, thus creating the enemy. And this pattern is repeated several times in such a short text. Another enemy is created simultaneously: the EU, its member states and the British Prime Minister by association. The writer instils fear in the reader as he explains the threat that immigration will pose in the next twenty years and says that it is solely because of the European Union. The sentence “Countries such as Poland are now telling us what to do and how they must be enjoying that”¹¹⁸ is not a very accurate statement. It is a blatant lie and its only purpose is to reinforce a reaction of rejection towards the EU. First of all, it is not clear what is meant by ‘countries such as Poland. The characteristic that the writer is trying to point out here seems to be negative but it is not explained. Omitting to explain an argument is a technique the writer uses so that the reader will fill in the blanks himself. “The article [...] assumes a set of shared values that the reader has no way of verifying”¹¹⁹ and that he is forced to accept and to make sense of. That way, the writer does not have to criticize Poland directly, the reader does it himself. Many British people have a negative view on the Poles since the immigration waves of the post Second World War.

4. May 27th, 2016

We will now compare two online editorials from May 27th, 2016; one from the Daily Mail and one from the Daily Express. They both express similar views on the immigration issue related to the UK’s EU membership and were written less than a month before the referendum.

Figure 5. Headline in *Daily Mail* (27/5/2016)

DAILY MAIL COMMENT: Crisis that proves we must control borders

By [DAILY MAIL COMMENT](#)

PUBLISHED: 01:32 BST, 27 May 2016 | **UPDATED:** 01:40 BST, 27 May 2016

© Daily Mail

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ Reah, D., *op. cit.*, p.44..

Figure 6. Headline in *Daily Express* (27/5/2016)

We can never bring down immigration while in EU

THE release of official immigration figures yet again brought bad news for the Prime Minister yesterday.

PUBLISHED: 00:01, Fri, May 27, 2016 | UPDATED: 08:31, Fri, May 27, 2016

© Daily Express

We will be drawing the main similarities and differences between the two editorials and then going into further detail for each one of them.

Let us first take a look at both headlines. Both articles are about immigration, and although only the Daily Express article states it clearly with the word ‘immigration’ in the headline, the Daily Mail mentions control of the borders and leaves little to interpretation. As stated previously, a common technique used in editorials is to create a sense of consensus by using the pronoun ‘we’. In doing so, the paper rallies the readers to its cause and creates a group that shares the same opinion on the issue discussed. It also empowers readers to feel as if they had the power to change the situation. Both headlines aim to urge the public to take action. This technique is especially visible in the first headline with the modal verb ‘must’. In the second one, the phrase “we can never” indirectly has the same effect, since it states a dead-end situation and implicitly offers the solution, which is in this case to leave the EU. The solution offered to the reader is implied in the headline: if we vote to leave the EU, we will be able to bring down immigration. As John Todd points out, “[m]odality has the insistence of a speaker who has assumed a position of authority.”¹²⁰ Both headlines convey a sense of negativity and pessimism for the future. The Daily Mail talks about a crisis and the Daily Express closes all doors to a possible improvement of the situation while the UK is a member of the EU.

Let us now go into the details of both articles.

Emotionally loaded words

The vocabulary used in these editorials is symptomatic of a trend in tabloids to make readers react to emotionally loaded words. Writers will use these words to generate a negative response, but, since “the text relates to something outside the reader’s

¹²⁰ Todd, J., *op. cit.*, p.211.

immediate experience [...] then the reader has no choice but to accept the information as translated through the text.”¹²¹ In “Crisis that proves we must control borders”, negatively emotionally-loaded words are used to describe a poster made by the advertising agency Saatchi and Saatchi for the Operation Black Vote group. Operation Black Vote is a militant group that aims to ensure racial justice and equality in the UK.

Figure 7. OBV Poster, 2016



The words ‘tasteless’, ‘disgusting’, ‘repulsive’, ‘misguided’ and ‘horrible slur’ in the editorial all denote extremely negative emotions. Here, the reader is assumed to share the same emotions, though he might not have had the same reaction to the poster initially. The writer asserts that “almost anyone glancing at the poster for the first time will assume the aggressively gesticulating and tattooed skinhead is supposed to represent a Brexit voter.”¹²² That is however a very personal opinion, since the poster does not give any description or detail about the man on the photograph. It simply shows a woman of colour being aggressively pointed at by an angry-looking white man. The poster denounces racism in a referendum campaign that was more geared towards the white British population. The reader is assumed to share the opinion of the writer and that might influence him in his perception and opinion on the poster. After triggering anger in the reader, the writer then tries to trigger emotions of fear. With the following sentence, he appeals to people’s need to protect their children: “[...] this time the racism is directed against the white working class, many of whose children suffer from over-crowded schools and hospitals, to which mass immigration is a significant contributory factor.”¹²³ He also implies that the working class is a victim of injustice, to which people usually react to in a strong manner. Most of the

¹²¹ Reah, D., *op. cit.*, p.45.

¹²² Daily Mail Comment, “Crisis that proves we must control borders.” *Daily Mail*, 27 May 2016, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3611884/DAILY-MAIL-COMMENT-Crisis-proves-control-borders.html>. Accessed 21 May 2017.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

readership of the Daily Mail is part of the working class and will feel insulted by the poster simply because the editorial told them they should feel that way.

Authority figures

Often, editorials will quote politicians and other important figures in the debate they are addressing. In the Daily Express and the Daily Mail, almost only quotes that support their main argument will be written. Boris Johnson is very often cited as well as other members of Ukip.

“Boris Johnson put it perfectly when he said that a vote to remain would mean *kissing goodbye permanently to control of immigration.*”¹²⁴ Here the writer identifies with Boris Johnson, a leading figure of the far-right wing party Ukip, by describing his comment as ‘perfectly put’. In doing so, he establishes the Daily Express’s political stance and shows that it supports the party. The theme of loss of control is once again present in this quote.

Numbers

Using numbers is a very efficient way to give more weight to a claim. They are present in most the articles related to immigration and a few examples can be found in both of the editorials we are analysing here. They both present the reader with numbers of migrants; sometimes from the EU, sometimes in general. Numbers are sometimes associated with a word that will help the reader appreciate how high the number is, such as in: “Last year a record 270,000 EU citizens chose to move to Britain”¹²⁵. The number 270,000 might not evoke anything for most people, but adding the fact that it is a record number supports the point of the writer that it is too much. Numbers, taken out of their context, have very little meaning. But the writers know how to use them to make their arguments sound more scientifically proven.

Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions are used very frequently in editorials and have two functions. First, they are a way to make assertive statements in disguise. Second, they enable the writer to create a dialogue with the reader. Since rhetorical questions only have one possible answer though, the writer is able to put the answer in the mouth of the reader. For example, in the Daily Mail editorial, the writer ends his article with a series of three questions:

¹²⁴ Express Comment. “We can never bring down immigration while in EU.” *Daily Express*, 27 May 2016, www.express.co.uk/comment/expresscomment/674333/We-can-never-bring-down-immigration-EU-referendum-Brexit-UK. Accessed 20 May 2017.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

What changed Mr Cameron's mind? How did this once 'firmly Eurosceptic' Conservative morph into a supporter of the undemocratic, unaccountable, out-of-date, monstrously centralising Brussels bureaucracy?

Can it be that after six years in power, the Prime Minister has come to feel all too at home with the remote, pampered elite which dominates the EU, and shrinks from anything which might upset it?¹²⁶

The last question is in this case the answer to the two previous ones. The writer raises doubts about the change in the Prime Minister's stance on the European Union and gives the reader an answer in the form of a question. The phrase 'can it be that...' here means 'this is what happened'.

“How do the paltry restrictions on in-work benefits obtained by David Cameron as part of his EU renegotiation even begin to deal with this problem?”¹²⁷ Here the question could be completely rephrased to say: “The paltry restrictions on in-work benefits obtained by David Cameron as part of his EU renegotiation do not even begin to deal with this problem.” The meaning of the sentence would be exactly the same, except for the fact that a rhetorical question is far more engaging for the reader, even if it does not actually give him the opportunity to answer.

Assertive statements

The three following statements are found throughout the Daily Express editorial and clearly show the argumentative process behind them. First, the author claims that staying in the EU will increase the number of immigrants in the UK. Then, he employs a discourse of fear with the word 'disastrous' but stays vague on why this would be something negative. To end the article, the author turns his opinion (or the stance of the newspaper) into a statement and indirectly asks the reader to vote to leave the EU.

The idea that we can bring down immigration while staying in the EU is a fantasy. [...]

This would be a disastrous result. [...]

Getting out of the EU has never been more important.¹²⁸

After analysing both of these articles, we can assert that “[t]hese editorials clearly employ a discourse of fear, with repeated reference to loss of control, powerlessness, and waves of immigration [...].”¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Daily Mail Comment, *op. cit.*

¹²⁷ Express Comment, *op. cit.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ Todd, J., *op. cit.*, p.93.

5. A biased voice: Nigel Farage

Nigel Farage is a politician who was the leader of the populist libertarian United Kingdom Independence Party (Ukip) from 2006 to 2009 and from 2010 to 2016. He was first a Conservative but, when Ukip was created in 1993, he joined because of its “campaign for Britain’s withdrawal from the European Union.”¹³⁰ The party gained a lot of popularity from 2010 onward because of him and his way of identifying with the working class. During the EU referendum campaign, he was seen as the face of the Leave side. He was under a lot of controversy for some of his statements on immigration.

On June 16th, 2016, Nigel Farage unveiled a new poster for the Leave campaign. On it, the title “Breaking point: the EU has failed us all” and a picture of a crown of what seems like migrants and refugees. It was actually “a photograph taken in October of migrants being moved to a refugee camp along the border between Slovenia and Croatia.”¹³¹ So, the picture had actually nothing to do with the UK but was used to push pro-Brexit views. The poster was highly criticized and even compared to Nazi propaganda. “Within hours, Twitter users had pointed out the image’s inadvertent similarity to Nazi propaganda footage of migrants shown in a BBC documentary from 2005.”¹³²

¹³⁰ Kellner, Peter: “Nigel Farage”, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 12 July 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Nigel-Farage>.

¹³¹ Tharoor, Ishaan: “New pro-Brexit ad gets linked to Nazi-era propaganda”, *The Washington Post*, 16 June 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/06/16/new-pro-brexit-ad-gets-linked-to-nazi-era-propaganda/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.2ccafb555f55.

¹³² Stewart, Heather and Rowena Mason: “Nigel Farage’s anti-migrant poster reported to police”, *The Guardian*, 16 June 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/16/nigel-farage-defends-ukip-breaking-point-poster-queue-of-migrants>.

Figure 8. Twitter post



© The Guardian

A few days after the referendum result that the British people wanted the UK to leave the EU, he resigned as party leader. He said it was because he had achieved his goal but it seems odd that he would leave the battle to someone else after fighting for so long.

On June 21st, 2016, only two days before the referendum, the Daily Express published a lengthy editorial written by Nigel Farage, entitled “Why we must vote LEAVE in the EU referendum”¹³³.

¹³³ Farage, Nigel, Express Comment: “Why we must vote LEAVE in the EU referendum”, Daily Express, 21 June 2016, <https://www.express.co.uk/comment/expresscomment/681776/nigel-farage-eu-referendum-brexit-vote-leave-independence-ukip>.

Figure 8. Nigel Farage



© Daily Express

Farage's article illustrates all of the techniques we have mentioned previously in this dissertation. The pronoun 'we' appears on 29 occurrences and 'us' on seven. By implying that the readers are part of the same group as himself, he creates a sense of consensus. He implies that every reader agrees with what he wrote. That means that people who identify with him on one characteristic are more likely to adhere to what he says. Since he represents the image of a father, of the working class and of patriots, his discourse will appeal to similar people. On the subject of immigration, the phrase 'get our borders back' occurs in the first sentence of the text's body, then the word 'border(s)' is mentioned four more times throughout the text. He only directly names migrants or migration three times in the text, but he uses other words to indirectly write about the same subject.

Open-door migration has suppressed wages in the unskilled labour market, meant that living standards have fallen and that life has become a lot tougher for so many in our country. We must leave the European Union so that not only can wages increase for British workers but so that living standards rather than declining can start going up.¹³⁴

Here Farage makes a significant shortcut by linking migration to lower living standard for the British people. Then he says that leaving the EU will improve their living standards. The economic issues that the UK is facing are much more complex than what he implies here. This is, again, an example of leaving the EU being presented as the solution to all problems, especially the economic ones.

Then, Farage writes in a much more positive way: "We are just hours away from the opportunity of a lifetime: the opportunity to get our country out of the European

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

Union and in doing so get our borders back, our democracy back and for us to embark upon an exciting future as an independent nation.”¹³⁵ He presents leaving the EU as an opportunity, as something exciting that the British people have the power to do all by themselves. After years of being told that they have lost sovereignty over their country, the British people are given a solution to take it back. He continues his speech of empowerment with the following reference:

“A few days after the EU referendum it’s the 100th anniversary of the Battle of the Somme. We should never forget just how much generations have sacrificed.”¹³⁶

The Battle of the Somme is one of the biggest battles of World War I. It was also extremely bloody; “On the first day alone, the British suffered more than 57,000 casualties, and by the end of the campaign the Allies and Central Powers would lose more than 1.5 million men.”¹³⁷ That is why Farage refers to it as a sacrifice. The link with the EU referendum and immigration control is however not quite clear. He seems to imply that staying in the EU would be a threat to the UK’s democracy and that it would be disrespectful to the generations who have made sacrifices to ensure it. It is also a call for the Brit’s sense of patriotism and nationalism.

Farage then goes on an argumentative rant about Turkey, which he mentions ten times. He argues that Turkey is about to become a member of the European Union and that that would have disastrous effects on the UK: “That would be completely wrong for our country, which already has an infrastructure at breaking point. Just think what that would mean: net migration would be even higher, perhaps up to 400,000 net per year or even half a million each year.”¹³⁸ Here he uses figures to support his main argument, but they are completely invented, as is demonstrated by the use of the word ‘perhaps’. Using figures is a popular rhetorical device to make a text sound more serious and to give it scientific weight. As stated previously, this kind of slight misinformation tends to stick with the reader. Most people will not verify the figures Farage mentioned and it would be difficult to verify them anyway since they are a speculation on what would happen in the future if the UK remains in the EU and if Turkey is granted membership in the EU. Farage also mentions “open borders with the likes of Poland and Romania.”¹³⁹ In his sentence, he does not directly belittle or insult these two countries, but simply by writing the phrase ‘with the likes of’, he implies that it is a very negative thing to share borders with them. There is no explanation in his text as to why it would be a threat but this simple sentence is enough to make the reader feel threatened.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ “Battle of the Somme”, History.com, 2009, <https://www.history.com/topics/world-war-i/battle-of-the-somme>.

¹³⁸ Farage, N., *op.cit.*

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

It seems rather unethical to have a party leader write an editorial in a newspaper, even if it is clear that an editorial represents an opinion and not facts. As discussed previously, editorials reflect the stance of the whole newspaper. Nigel Farage is not a journalist, he is a politician with clear intentions of influencing people's decision on the referendum vote. It is his job to convince people and to gain their trust, but it is not fair for other politicians that he benefits from a special platform to do so. It is therefore unethical on both of the Daily Express and Farage's part to take advantage of the situation. The Daily Express uses Farage to be read by more Eurosceptics and Farage uses the newspaper to reach a greater audience to influence them in their vote in the referendum. After analysing this article, the resemblance with other editorials from the Daily Express is striking, as if Nigel Farage had written all of them himself.

IV. Conclusion

In this dissertation, we have found that newspapers and readers certainly influence each other. The methods used by writers of news articles and editorials to attract readers are very similar to rhetorical methods of persuasion. Readers influence the press indirectly because they will buy newspapers that address the topics they are interested in and, in a way, that makes them more attractive. Advertisers will therefore put pressure on the newspapers to give in to the public's demands. We can also take politics into account, which have an influence on the press but whose agenda is also greatly influenced by the press and by the public in general. It can be looked at as a system with three actors that all have an influence on each other. However, it is not a balanced relationship, seeing as the press has a much stronger power over the public than the other way around. The relationship between the two is mostly a one-way street, since the feedback is very limited. Although newspapers depend on their readership to survive, it is easier for them to rally the public to a common cause and turn them into regular readers rather than trying to adapt to each and every type of reader. "The mass audience is so large and diverse that conscious attempts to cater to it could be counter-productive"¹⁴⁰. The goal for newspapers is to have a bigger readership but, in the process, they might also influence people's opinion. We can therefore say that newspapers have a strong influence on the public but that is not their primary goal and is simply a by-product of their commercial interests.

Therefore, it is important to be careful when reading articles and editorials and to take everything we read with a pinch of salt. The best way to verify information is to search for it from several different sources. Of course, there should be more regulations to verify the content of articles and an independent commission that would not be made up with news editors themselves. However, since the freedom of the press has to be ensured, it is the responsibility of the reader to keep a critical mind. To ensure that the public has the necessary tools to read the press while keeping a critical mind, education is of paramount importance. It has been proven that quality newspapers are read by upper and middle classes, while tabloids have a readership made primarily with people of the working class¹⁴¹, who received a lower level of education.

Some interesting findings have been made in this paper on how a current event, in this case the EU referendum, confirmed theories about the relationship between British tabloids and their readerships that have been formulated in the past. The analysis carried out in this dissertation had some limitations. The fact that only a limited number of articles could be analysed means that it does not reflect all articles published by the Daily Mail and the Daily Express. It simply shows that the trend that

¹⁴⁰ Bell, A., *op.cit.*, p.90.

¹⁴¹ Bell, A., *op. cit.*, p.109.

many have criticised in the past is still ongoing currently. However, it would be naïve to think that tabloids by themselves changed the fate of the UK. Therefore, more research could be done about the actual effect of tabloid articles and editorials on the people's decision in the 2013 referendum campaign. It would also be interesting to conduct research on the so-called 'quality' newspapers to find out how they covered the EU referendum campaign and if they use similar techniques. Anderson and Weymouth point out that, "[a]lthough the tabloids are in large part responsible for the more extreme forms of distortion and xenophobic outbursts, they are by no means alone. [...] *The Times* and the *Telegraph* are quite capable of including in their coverage of Europe representations of dubious origin and intent."¹⁴² From what we have researched and seen in order to write this dissertation, it seems like the British press is not ready to change in the foreseeable future.

¹⁴² Anderson, P., *op. cit.*, p.185.

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VI. Appendices

Appendix A: Selected articles for analysis, classified in chronological order

BOMBSHELL REPORT: Mass immigration is costing Britain £17BILLION each year

MASS immigration is costing British taxpayers £17billion a year, a bombshell report warned last night.

By **MACER HALL, POLITICAL EDITOR**

PUBLISHED: 00:01, Tue, May 17, 2016 | UPDATED: 09:03, Tue, May 17, 2016

But it said the UK could save £1.2billion by quitting the EU.

A detailed study of the costs of migration to Britain set against its benefits showed an overwhelmingly negative impact on the Treasury.

The burden of public services, benefits and pensions for migrants and their families far outstrips the income from what they pay in taxes.

Migrants contributed £89.7billion in taxes but received £106.7billion in public spending during 2014-15, the report shows.

The cost to taxpayers included a staggering £20billion paid in working-age benefits.

The crippling £17billion annual shortfall – equivalent to nearly £63 for every UK household – was estimated in a report published by population think tank Migration Watch UK.

Lord Green of Deddington, chairman of the think tank, said: “This report shows EU migration is not making the positive fiscal contribution that has so often been claimed.

“Furthermore, it is adding to the rapidly increasing pressures on housing and public services.

“It also contributes a population increase of half a million every year – roughly a city the size of Liverpool.”

The estimate of £89.7billion contributed by migrants included £42.3billion in income tax and national insurance, £28.5billion in VAT and other indirect taxes and £18.9billion in business rates and other related levies.

The figure of £106.7billion public spending on migrants in the same year included £8.8billion in state pension, £18.6billion for NHS treatment and £18billion on education.

The only way to control migration and save money is by voting to leave the EU

Steven Woolfe

Migrant families benefited from £39.9billion spent on policing, roads and other public services and infrastructure.

They also received £21.4billion in working-age welfare payments, including jobless benefits, housing benefit and tax credits.

Non-European migrants were the greatest burden on the taxpayer, according to the report.

Migrants from within the European Economic Area – which includes the EU, Norway, Lichtenstein and Iceland – contributed £31.2billion in taxes.

They benefited from £32.4billion in public spending, a net cost of £1.2billion which could be avoided by leaving the EU.

Those from outside Europe contributed £58.5billion in taxes while benefiting from £74.2billion in public spending, a net cost of £15.7billion.

The higher cost for non-Europeans was thought to be because most had been in the UK longer.

Ukip MEP and migration spokesman Steven Woolfe said: “This report highlights what Ukip has been saying for four years. It shows the real cost of [immigration](#) to be astronomical.

“It is unaffordable when we see a rising national debt and public services under pressure. It also highlights the long term effects of migration on pensions.

“Ultimately, the British taxpayer will be forced to pick up the bill for the reckless migration policy.

“This report also highlights a fundamental problem with the UK’s migration policy whilst in the EU.

“We do not have the ability to limit the number of migrants who don’t make a net contribution.

“The only way to control migration and save money is by voting to leave the EU. It is the only option if we want to control our borders.”

Tory MP Tom Pursglove agreed the report showed the need to quit the EU in next month’s referendum, adding: “On June 23 the British people have an opportunity to take back control of our borders and have controlled immigration. “

“A vote to remain in the EU is a vote for uncertainty and a vote for uncontrolled immigration.”

A Government spokesperson said: “These figures do not take account of the contributions to the UK economy that migrants have made over their lifetimes.

“Data released by HMRC only last week showed recently-arrived EU migrants paid £2.5billion more in tax than they received in tax credits or child benefit in 2013/14.”

DAILY MAIL COMMENT: Immigration and a corrosion of trust.

By [DAILY MAIL COMMENT](#)

PUBLISHED: 01:27 BST, 30 May 2016 | **UPDATED:** 07:19 BST, 30 May 2016

Boatloads of migrants are picked up by British rescue teams off the Kent and Sussex coast. Asylum seekers smuggle themselves to East Lincolnshire aboard ships from Germany. Calais’s chief coastguard says the Channel is becoming ‘the new Mediterranean’.

A confidential National Crime Agency report warns that small, unpoliced ports and marinas around the country are now a wide-open back door into Britain.

And our Border Force admits it has just three boats to patrol 7,700 miles of coastline.

In the face of such an obvious fiasco, how can anyone seriously claim Britain is in control of its borders? And what value do official statistics have when we know that for every migrant caught, many more sweep in under the radar then disappear into our thriving black economy?

The migration debate, which the Prime Minister has tried so shamefully to suppress in this EU referendum campaign, exploded on to centre stage yesterday.

In a devastating letter, leading Conservatives Boris Johnson and Michael Gove urged Mr Cameron to admit that his manifesto pledge to reduce net migration ‘to the tens of thousands’ is impossible while Britain is in the EU.

In a pointed rebuke, they said clinging to this bogus promise was ‘corrosive of public trust in politics’.

And they challenged him to ‘confirm’ that a remain vote would mean permanently accepting the principle of free movement and the European Court’s ultimate authority over who should be allowed to live in this country.

Meanwhile, employment minister Priti Patel piled on the pressure by accusing Remain campaigners — clearly referring to Messrs Cameron and Osborne — of not caring about immigration because they are so rich they’re insulated from its effects.

It’s impossible to overstate the seriousness of these charges. For senior ministers and the former London Mayor to make such overt attacks on their leader’s integrity is almost unprecedented.

How ironic! Mr Cameron called this referendum to unite the Tories. In fact, the party is more fractured today than ever and it’s hard to see how it will heal itself without major blood-letting.

Of course, Mr Cameron has himself to blame for this unholy mess. From trying to sell his feeble attempts at renegotiation as major reforms to suggesting that Brexit could trigger a third world war, he has treated the voters like fools.

Instead of honestly debating the key issues — sovereignty and migration — he has resorted to scaremongering about the supposed economic effects of Brexit.

In doing so, he has sided with the political elite over ordinary working families, whose lives have been radically changed by mass migration, both culturally and because of the unbearable pressures it has placed on public services. Johnson and Gove are spot on in their analysis that this transformation happened without democratic consent.

They are also right that the only way to stem the migrant flow is to regain control of our borders. For Mr Cameron to pretend that can happen while we remain within the EU insults the intelligence.

- In 1981, 364 economists signed a letter saying Mrs Thatcher’s monetary reforms would be disastrous. Britain’s economic recovery began almost immediately and, following a programme of tax cuts and union reforms, experienced a boom. Yesterday, nearly 600 economists made similar doom-laden predictions about the results of leaving the EU. They were spectacularly wrong in 1981, why should anyone believe them now?
- Has Tony Blair become a comedian? We ask only because his claims that he never wanted Britain to join the euro and that he is not a rich man are so ludicrous they are laughable.

DAILY MAIL COMMENT: Crisis that proves we must control borders

By DAILY MAIL COMMENT

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The tragic scenes of boats laden with migrants capsizing in the Mediterranean, and new figures showing net arrivals in Britain from the EU running at record levels, demonstrate the appalling, indeed almost overwhelming, dimensions of the crisis

which is now unfolding.

Brussels officials have warned that about 800,000 more people have gathered in Libya and are hoping to make the perilous journey to Europe.

Meanwhile, according to the Office for National Statistics, 178,000 EU migrants took advantage of free-movement rules to come to Britain to work last year, including 77,000 who had no job offer.

How do the paltry restrictions on in-work benefits obtained by David Cameron as part of his EU renegotiation even begin to deal with this problem?

Yet he still refuses to abandon his pledge to cut net migration to the 'tens of thousands' – a target which yesterday's figures confirm is a ridiculous fantasy.

The overall figure for net migration to Britain last year was 330,000, or over three times Mr Cameron's target.

As Boris Johnson and others point out, the only way to take back control of our borders and put power back in the hands of the British people is to vote on June 23 to leave the EU.

A disgusting smear

The repulsive poster of a snarling white skinhead trying to intimidate a serenely smiling Asian lady has understandably provoked a storm of protest, and ought never to have seen the light of day. This tasteless and misguided stunt was dreamed up by the advertising agency Saatchi and Saatchi for the pressure group Operation Black Vote, which somehow deluded itself that this was an acceptable way to encourage ethnic minorities to vote in the EU referendum. Last night, the Charity Commission demanded an explanation about why OBV says it is a charity when it is not. But the Cabinet Office, the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust and the Esmée Fairbairn Foundation, which all help fund OBV, also have questions to answer. Rowntree has already been investigated by the Charity Commission over its £300,000 support for Cage, a Muslim 'human rights' group which are apologists for IS executioner Jihadi John. Almost anyone glancing at the poster for the first time will assume the aggressively gesticulating and tattooed skinhead is supposed to represent a Brexit voter.

This is a horrible slur on millions of peaceable and well-mannered citizens – including many of immigrant descent – who want Britain to leave the EU. If the poster had been done the other way round, with a hateful-looking Asian gesticulating at a gentle white lady, it would immediately have been dismissed as racist: and that, unfortunately, is exactly what this poster is, except that this time the racism is directed against the white working class, many of whose children suffer from overcrowded schools and hospitals, to which mass immigration is a significant contributory factor.

Has Dave gone native?

How tantalisingly revealing that Steve Hilton, who was David Cameron's closest political friend and the architect of Tory modernisation, now says the Prime Minister's 'whole instinct' always used to be for Brexit. What changed Mr Cameron's mind? How did this once 'firmly Eurosceptic' Conservative morph into a supporter of the undemocratic, unaccountable, out-of-date, monstrously centralising Brussels bureaucracy?

Can it be that after six years in power, the Prime Minister has come to feel all too at home with the remote, pampered elite which dominates the EU, and shrinks from anything which might upset it?

We can never bring down immigration while in EU

THE release of official immigration figures yet again brought bad news for the Prime Minister yesterday.

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They revealed that the annual net migration of EU citizens reached a joint record high. And let us not forget that these numbers have been compiled using a method that has in the past consistently and drastically underestimated the number of people coming here.

The idea that we can bring down immigration while staying in the EU is a fantasy. Last year a record 270,000 EU citizens chose to move to Britain. The year before that it was 264,000.

When rumours started swirling that Andy Tippett, a teacher at Devonport High School for Boys in Plymouth, was about to leave, an online petition calling for him to stay quickly attracted hundreds of signatures. Whether he goes or not at least he knows that his pupils think he's in a class of his own.

And even with the threat of Brexit to focus their minds the Eurocrats have refused to give us any say over who comes here. Boris Johnson put it perfectly when he said that a vote to remain would mean "kissing goodbye permanently to control of immigration".

This would be a disastrous result. It is only a matter of time before the eurozone crisis deepens and even more people flee to Britain in search of jobs.

Meanwhile how long will it be until the migrants from Africa and the Middle East are granted citizenship by their new European homes? When that day comes they too will be free to come and live here. Getting out of the EU has never been more important.

'I want to get to England...I will try EVERY night' The Albanian migrants heading for UK

GROUPS of Albanian migrants have bragged how at least 50 of their countrymen are making it to Britain illegally every week.

By **GILES SHELDRIK, EXCLUSIVE**

PUBLISHED: 00:01, Thu, Jun 2, 2016 | UPDATED: 11:21, Thu, Jun 2, 2016

A brazen gang loitering in beachside tents awaiting smuggler boats to take them to Britain yesterday said paper thin border security is behind the success rate.

Their ramshackle camp precariously perched on and beneath a crumbling cliff top yards from the open beach in Dieppe is one of the new launchpads to the UK. It is home to 150 eastern European economic migrants desperate to join friends and family who have already made it across the English Channel. One boasted how he slipped into Britain on the back of a lorry two years ago and worked as a plasterer before he was caught and returned home to Albania.

England is a good country, for me there is lots of opportunity to work

Jimmy Korbi from Tirana

But he said that having once again made his way up through northern France to Normandy, he and his colleagues would seek to exploit Britain's "non-existent security" across the south coast of England.

He said that smugglers were using French fishermen to ferry scores across the Channel to within sight of the English coastline.

Jimmy Korbi from Tirana said: "I would say more than 50 Albanians reach Britain every week from northern France.

"Some of my friends paid £7,000 to get across. I made it to the UK the first time by hiding underneath a lorry and worked for two years but boat is the best way now. "England is a good country, for me there is lots of opportunity to work."

His candid admission shatters the myth the UK border is safe and secure exposing it as a revolving door to thousands who want to plunder jobs and benefits.

Fluent English speaking Jimmy, 24, said he was shopped to Border Force earlier this year and was put on a flight back to Albania. But immediately after he was repatriated he headed back to Dieppe - the port from where he stowed away in 2014 - to prepare a fresh assault. His detailed first-hand explanation sheds fresh light on the rush to reach Britain where millions of cash-in-hand jobs are waiting in the black economy.

The camp in Dieppe, 120 miles south of Calais, gives the men a strategic view of the ferry port and miles of unprotected beach. Ferry crossings to the Sussex port of Newhaven 75 miles away take four hours but a trip on a rigid inflatable can be done in half the time.

Colleague Igor Ogazidede, 16, said: "A friend told me he had made it to England on Tuesday night. I want to go because I have family who are there working on the black market. It is easier to try here than in Calais."

The camp sits just 150 yards from the bustling ferry terminal.

Yesterday migrants were able to loiter at the port entrance unchallenged, keeping in constant communication with those who had crossed the Channel via mobile phones.

Landi Iskurti, 20, said: "I want to get to England for a job and better life. I will try every night."

Smugglers have turned to rhibs and fishing vessels because the traditional method of stowing away on lorries is seen as outdated and unsophisticated. Sources say the lucrative trade in human trafficking along the northern French coast alone is now worth £6 billion a year.

Criminal networks masterminding the rocketing trade pay fishermen around £1,000 per trip, pocketing 90 per cent of the £7,000 handling fee.

Calais, where thousands of migrants still live in the notorious “Jungle” camp, was once the favoured smuggling route.

But armed gangs now transport their human cargo along an unprotected coastline stretching from Calais to Cherbourg.

The racket is so lucrative “moneyed migrants” are taken across the Channel close to the English coast before they are transferred to smaller dinghies to make the journey ashore.

Brussels bureaucrats have given Albania, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Turkey approval in principle to be the next to join the EU club, making them “candidate countries”.

Ukip MEP Mike Hookem said: “If you think things are bad now, just wait until these countries join and get free movement to the UK.

“We already know the large percentage of crimes carried out in Britain are by foreign gangs exploiting EU open borders and treating this country like a giant pocket to pick.

“Can anyone point to a candidate country which didn’t succeed in joining political union?”

No official figures for the number of illegal crossings attempted are available, but the Daily Express was told as many 400 migrants could be trying to reach the UK each week by boat.

An official in Dunkirk said: “It is rapidly spiralling out of control. These networks can easily bring in £500,000 in cash every month.

“The gangs are made up of mainly Albanian criminals, with plenty of accomplices who have British passports.

“They have a constant supply of customers. These are economic migrants too, not poor people fleeing war and persecution. If something isn’t done soon then we can expect a disaster.”

Ukip MEP Diane James said: “The EU’s hopeless migrant strategy creates a human hide and seek for people smugglers. Remember, Calais investment is principally funded by UK taxpayers, but has merely moved the problem elsewhere in northern France.”

Vote Leave chief executive Matthew Elliot said: “This is a miserable and chaotic situation the blame for which lies squarely at the doors of the EU.

“Their disastrous open borders policy means literally millions of people are moving across the continent, vulnerable to exploitation by criminal gangs.

“With our generous National Living Wage and benefits system it’s not surprising migrants are attracted to our country. It is British people who suffer the consequences of uncontrolled migration and the only way to take back control is to vote to leave on June 23.”

Huge boost to EU exit hopes: Bookmakers slash odds as polls swing towards leave vote

BOOKMAKERS slashed the odds on a Brexit vote again yesterday after a new surge in bets on the EU referendum's outcome.

By **MACER HALL**

PUBLISHED: 15:41, Mon, Jun 6, 2016 | UPDATED: 09:45, Tue, Jun 7, 2016

Punters were putting their money on Britain voting to quit the EU after opinion polls gave the Leave campaign the lead.

Coral cut the odds on a Brexit from 5/2 to 7/4, while those for Remain lengthened from 1/7 to 2/5. William Hill shortened the Brexit odds from 12/5 to 21/10, with Remain at 4/11.

"If the swing continues at this rate it is not impossible that Brexit could touch favouritism before June 23.

The latest move by the bookies came after Leave odds were drastically cut last week.

Coral said just 10 per cent of bets in the last two days were on Britain staying in the EU.

Spokesman David Stevens said: "Ten days ago the odds were so firmly in favour of Remain there was talk of bookies paying out early. But since then the money has come in for Leave to such a significant degree, we are hardly taking a bet of any note on Remain. And the gap between both sides is narrowing all the time."

William Hill spokesman Graham Sharpe said last night: "Monday has been a one-way traffic day in the EU Referendum market, with the overwhelming proportion of bets placed on Brexit for amounts of up to £600.

"Of all individual bets taken, 71 per cent are for Brexit, albeit 70 per cent of actual stake money is for Remain."

The betting surge follows opinion polls giving Brexit a widening lead.

A YouGov online survey commissioned by ITV's Good Morning Britain show found 45 per cent of voters were ready to vote to leave the EU, up from 40 per cent a month ago.

Of the 3,495 people quizzed, 41 per cent wanted to stay - down one point.

The proportion of "don't knows" had fallen by two points to 11 per cent.

A separate survey by TNS showed 43 per cent for Leave, 41 per cent for Remain and 16 per cent undecided.

In a series of setbacks for the Remain campaign, David Cameron suffered a mauling from a live television audience on Sky News.

Audience members accused him of "scaremongering" and "waffling". It puts the Prime Minister under pressure ahead of tonight's live clash with Ukip leader Nigel Farage on ITV.

Mr Cameron's campaign has also been on the back foot on the key issue of immigration after official figures showed net migration hit a near peak of 330,000 during 2015.

Leave campaigners warned yesterday of a new wave of initiatives and regulations from Brussels.

Justice Secretary Michael Gove - campaigning with fellow Tory Boris Johnson during a visit to soap and hand wash suppliers DCS Group in Stratford-upon-Avon - said an EU Army and a deluge of new rules from the EU's Court of Justice lay ahead.

He said: "A European army is the next big project. It will be used as an excuse by nations who don't spend enough on defence to spend even less. Setting up a rival to Nato is a risk we simply shouldn't take."

He added: "The European Court of Justice isn't a court of the kind we in Britain understand. It's not overseen by independent judges who interpret and enforce laws agreed by a democratically elected legislature. "It's a court with a political agenda - to further European integration, whatever the people think."

Mr Johnson accused the Remain camp of being prepared to give up Britain's democracy.

He said: "They say sacrifice of democracy is worth it for the economic gain. That is morally and practically wrong. Democracy is the vital ingredient of economic success."

Revealed: Migrants try to sneak into Britain at a rate of one every six minutes, official figures show

- **Border officials stopped 84,088 at the British border last year**
- **Alarming rate of detections has more than doubled since previous year**
- **Ex-Cabinet minister Iain Duncan Smith said the figures are 'truly shocking'**
- **Home Secretary Theresa May admits the problem 'shows no sign of easing'**

By [MATT DATHAN, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT FOR MAILONLINE](#)

PUBLISHED: 11:01 BST, 10 June 2016 | **UPDATED:** 02:23 BST, 11 June 2016

Migrants are trying to sneak into Britain at a rate of one every six minutes, it was revealed today.

Official figures showed border officials stopped 84,088 at the British border last year – the equivalent of 230 a day or nearly 10 every hour.

The alarming rate of detections has more than doubled compared to the previous year and were described as 'truly shocking' by former Cabinet minister Iain Duncan Smith.

There were 9,946 illegal attempts at entering the UK in the first three months of this year. The figures – released under a freedom of information request to the [Daily Express](#) – do not include the estimated tens of thousands of migrants who have entered Britain illegally.

With less than two weeks before the June 23 EU referendum, today's figures were used by the Brexit campaign to back-up their argument that leaving the EU will give authorities greater control over Britain's borders.

Steven Woolfe, Ukip MEP and the party's immigration spokesman, said: 'The failure of the EU to control its external borders has seen tens of thousands of illegal migrants attempt to gain access to Britain.'

Alarming, Home Secretary Theresa May warned the sheer number of migrants trying to come into Britain 'shows no sign of easing'.

She said: 'The situation in northern France is a symptom of a wider international crisis, a crisis that shows no sign of easing in the short term.'

'So it is important we redouble our joint efforts to protect our border, move migrants in the region into more suitable facilities in France, and return those not in need of protection to their home countries.'

'The Government has already invested tens of millions of pounds to bolster security at the ports in northern France, and the UK and French governments have been working at pace to implement actions agreed in the joint declaration last August.'

'Security at the Calais port and around the Eurotunnel site has improved significantly as a result.'

Responding to today's figures, which were released after weeks of delay, Mr Duncan Smith told the Daily Express: 'These shocking figures show our ability to secure our own borders is collapsing. This is a direct consequence of the EU's obsession with freedom of movement and insistence on an open border policy.'

'Migration is soaring and the EU has comprehensively failed to deal with the crisis. This now threatens the UK's security.'

The figures show the number of clandestine entries into the UK is rising at an ever-greater scale.

Earlier this year the impact of the migration crisis on Britain last summer was revealed, with figures showing 13,000 migrants tried to enter Britain illegally in July alone.

This was a staggering 1,300 per cent rise from 2012, when the number of people who were caught by UK authorities trying to enter Britain illegally by hiding in lorries, walking through the Channel Tunnel or arriving without visas at ports and airports stood at around 1,000 a month.

In 2013 this monthly figure doubled to 2,000 and in 2014 it doubled again to 4,000, according to figures released by the Home Office.

The sharp rise, uncovered in a Freedom of Information request by the Economist, has been caused by the worsening conflict in Syria, which has seen more than 4 million refugees flee the country since the civil war erupted five years ago.

But the increase in the number of people detected trying to enter the UK is also down to the fact that the attempts at entering Britain are becoming increasingly tenacious.

Franck Duvell, an immigration expert from Oxford University, said most migrants camped in northern France are now prepared to try 11 or 12 times to get to the UK - up from five or six times in 2014.

The rise in the number of illegal entry attempts detected is also caused by a significant tightening in checks of vehicles arriving from across the Channel.

Lorries are X-rayed to check for stowaways, carbon-dioxide sensors are used to detect human activity while sniffer dogs are deployed to patrol ports.

The most common nationality of those caught trying to enter Britain are Syrians, Eritreans, Sudanese and Iraqis, many of whom have family in Britain.

No More: The UK cannot take five million more immigrants

This country is full up. We are bursting at the seams.

PUBLISHED: 00:01, Mon, Jun 13, 2016

We are a small island with limited resources that have been stretched to breaking point by the influx of migrants and we simply cannot take any more. But we're going to have to if we stay in the European Union: according to Migration Watch, up to five million more migrants will settle in the UK over the next 20 years.

This is unsustainable madness. We are already in a situation where there is a severe housing shortage, dreadful problems in schools where pupils do not have English as a first language, an NHS which is on the verge of collapse and yet still we let them in, as we are bound to, as the problems grow more and more severe.

When the Prime Minister ventured recently in his woefully inadequate negotiations with European leaders that perhaps there might be some sort of cap on benefits paid to immigrants, he was slapped down.

Countries such as Poland are now telling us what to do and how they must be enjoying that. The time has come to decide. Enough really is enough.

NIGEL FARAGE: Why we must vote LEAVE in the EU referendum

WE cannot afford to risk staying in a political organisation that is ready to admit Turkey and planning deeper integration, says the leader of Ukip

By **NIGEL FARAGE**

PUBLISHED: 07:25, Tue, Jun 21, 2016 | UPDATED: 08:11, Tue, Jun 21, 2016

We are just hours away from the opportunity of a lifetime: the opportunity to get our country out of the European Union and in doing so get our borders back, our democracy back and for us to embark upon an exciting future as an independent nation.

That's what happens if we leave the European Union. We will exit a failed political union, one which is now a disaster zone. We see a migrant crisis utterly out of control. We see a eurozone crisis causing human misery on a shocking scale.

And we see an outdated organisation that has no answers when it comes to many of the problems in the modern world. I've heard a lot through the course of this campaign from the wealthy establishment about GDP. About maintaining the status quo.

Well that might be all right for them with cheaper nannies and chauffeurs but it isn't what's in the best interests of ordinary British workers. Open-door migration has suppressed wages in the unskilled labour market, meant that living standards have fallen and that life has become a lot tougher for so many in our country.

We must leave the European Union so that not only can wages increase for British workers but so that living standards rather than declining can start going up. The wellbeing of those living and working in our country matters to me more than GDP figures.

The EU's open borders make us less safe. As a bureaucratic club it makes us poorer. Membership of this union stops us acting in our own national interest, forcing us to be represented by unelected old men in Brussels.

So we must seize this chance. It is unlikely to ever come again. Before making this historic decision I want those in our country to fully examine just what the consequences would be of a Remain vote.

We know that the European Union is hell bent on further, deeper centralisation. Indeed the plans for a full EU army have been put on ice only until the very day after the referendum.

It is clear that the EU nationalists are biding their time, waiting for a Remain vote before they hike up the EU's budget that we will have to contribute more towards and they will also reveal their full military ambitions.

Most importantly of all though the British people must seriously consider what this European Union will look like in 10 years. Because remaining inside won't just mean open borders with the likes of Poland and Romania. It will mean far more than that.

A few days after the **EU referendum** it's the 100th anniversary of the Battle of the Somme. We should never forget just how much generations have sacrificed.

Our democracy is precious and our right to self-determination is one which has been given away by the political class to the EU and bureuacrats such as Jean-Claude Juncker.

We must seize this chance, this opportunity to take it back. After all, what sort of future do we wish to leave our children and grandchildren?

What sort of future do we wish to leave our children and grandchildren? Nigel Farage

To have a democratic Britain able to make the big decisions in our own Parliament is of huge importance. David Cameron is one of the biggest cheerleaders in the whole of Europe for full Turkish membership of the EU.

He has a long track record on this. The way he has shamefully sought to trick the British people into thinking that this isn't an issue says a lot about how honest he is being. Just look at what he has said and done in the past.

Consider this: in 2010 [David Cameron](#) said he strongly supported full EU membership for Turkey. He even proclaimed that he wanted to pave the road from Ankara to Brussels and that he was angry at the lack of progress in Turkey joining at that time.

In late 2014 Mr Cameron said that the EU was weaker because it didn't have Turkey in it and that he still very much supported membership for Turkey. The British embassy in Ankara boasts on their website of working on Turkey's bid to join and we know that there is a dedicated team working to improve Turkey's prospects of joining the EU.

To top it all we are also handing over more than £1 billion to Turkey and other countries in what is classed as "pre-accession funding": essentially, money the EU forces us to hand over to prepare these countries for full membership. Other countries being funded include Albania and Serbia.

This year will see Turkey, supported by David Cameron and Angela Merkel, gain full visa-free access to Europe, effectively moving the Syrian border to Calais. So when we look at all of the evidence and David Cameron's strong long-term support for Turkish membership, there is no doubt in my mind that if we Remain inside the EU that Turkey will have joined by 2025.

That would be completely wrong for our country, which already has an infrastructure at breaking point. Just think what that would mean: net migration would be even higher, perhaps up to 400,000 net per year or even half a million each year.

A future inside the European Union would mean our population rising even faster at a completely out-of-control and irresponsible rate. This European Union is not one which is standing still. It is expanding in powers, expanding in size and determined to become a United States of Europe.

If we Remain our country will never be the same again. Our public services will be pushed to the point of failure and our national security will be greatly weakened as EU open borders expand further still.

This is a once-in-a-lifetime moment. I believe in this country and its people. We are good enough to thrive on the world stage representing ourselves, our interests and our beliefs as a self-governing nation.

On Thursday we must have the courage to exit the failed EU project and ensure a safer, more prosperous future with us in control of our country's destiny. Together let's make June 23 our Independence Day.

