A CORPUS-ASSISTED STUDY OF BRITISH NEWSPAPER DISCOURSE

ON THE EUROPEAN UNION AND A POTENTIAL MEMBERSHIP REFERENDUM

by

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Abstract

This thesis reports a Corpus-Assisted study of British newspaper discourse on the European Union in light of the forthcoming membership referendum, focussing on the discursive construal of British and European identity, representation of social actors and evaluation of the EU, in a corpus of articles from a variety of national newspapers. The thesis offers a theoretical and methodological review of scholarship in the fields of Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics arguing that a combination of quantitative and qualitative techniques is productive. Further, consideration of what is absent from a corpus is shown to enhance interpretation. The thesis argues that notions of national identity represent a significant barrier to development of a supra-national EU identity and that this is perpetuated through the construal of the EU as 'other' in quasi-national terms with characteristics drawn from French and German stereotypes. Additionally, backgrounding of EU institutions and practices, combined with almost total absence of reference to EU citizens and a focus on the discourse of conflict, conspires to ensure negative evaluation of the EU even in publications supportive of membership. Further, it is argued that dichotomised notions of Eurosceptics and Europhiles do not sufficiently convey the complexity of sentiment apparent in the discourse.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1   Background to the Thesis

> "It is time for the British people to have their say. It is time to settle this European question in British politics. I say to the British people: this will be your decision".

> David Cameron, 2013[1]

In his much anticipated 2013 Bloomberg speech David Cameron committed to offering a referendum on British membership of the European Union. He expressed a wish that Britain remain in the EU, but under a 'new settlement'. However, whilst Cameron's stated position may be in support of membership, his support is certainly qualified and dependent on change 'in keeping with the mission for an updated European Union'. His 'vision' is that the European Union becomes less bureaucratic, with national government taking back powers in a flexible network of Nations whose relationships with The EU need not all be the same but reflect national needs rather than EU requirement. He defines the 'main overriding purpose' of the European Union as to 'secure prosperity', referring to a global 'race for the wealth and jobs of the future'. The extent to which other European leaders agree with this is unclear as is the extent to which the vision must be enacted in order to maintain Cameron's support for membership. Also unclear is the precise nature of changes that would satisfy the vision.

As well as defining the European Union, David Cameron also makes a number of assertions defining Britain and the British people. He suggests that 'our geography has shaped our psychology' and that 'we have the character of an island nation - independent, forthright, passionate in defence of our sovereignty'. This character is presented as fixed as he notes 'we can no more change this British sensibility than we can drain the English Channel'. He claims that 'for us, the European Union is a means to an end - prosperity, stability, the anchor of freedom and democracy both within Europe and beyond her shores - not an end in itself'. Cameron's speech links British attitudes towards the European Union with aspects of national

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[1] *EU speech at Bloomberg. Full text available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/eu-speech-at-bloomberg*

identity; 'we' view the European Union, and 'our' membership of it, in a certain way because of specific, unchangeable aspects of being British. But to what extent are these national characteristics universally accepted in Britain and is that specific view of the European Union an inevitable consequence the way we view ourselves?

Assertions about national identity and a lack of clarity in qualified support for British membership of the European Union raise important questions as to how the debate will play out in the lead up to a referendum. Whereas arguments have traditionally been defined in terms of being 'Eurosceptic' or 'Europhile', neither description adequately describes the position of the current Conservative British government. Arguably, following renegotiation with the European Union on the nature of British membership, the details will become more specific and positions more polarised. In the meantime, how will British newspapers, also traditionally labelled as Eurosceptic or Europhile, react and convey this development, and to what extent are aspects of national identity significant? As an English woman, married to a Swede who has lived and worked for much of his adult life in Britain, these are the questions which provided the motivation for this study.

1.2   Aims of the Thesis

The broad aim of this thesis is to investigate discursive representation of the European Union and British membership of it in the British media in light of the possibility of an 'in / out' referendum being offered to the people in 2017. Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics methodologies are employed to facilitate the work. Specifically, the thesis falls within the paradigm of Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) first defined by Partington and arising in particular from the work of Stubbs (cited in Partington, Duguid & Taylor, 2013:10).

The corpus built for the thesis (hereafter the EURef Corpus) is compiled of newspaper articles published from 2010 to 2014 which specifically mention the possibility of an EU Referendum. CADS is particularly characterised by the way in which initial examination of corpus data informs and directs further study and the formulation of specific research questions. Preliminary investigation of the EURef Corpus and texts emphasised the significance of British and European social actors and British and EU entities most frequently represented in the EURef corpus and suggested that issues of identity are an important element

of the discourse. As will be shown in the next Chapter, this corresponds with scholarship in the area and consequently led to the decision that this thesis will focus on notions of identity. First, the ways in which British and European identity are discursively constructed in the corpus will be considered and second, how British and European social actors are represented. Since a key aspect in the construal of national identity, derived from Tajfel's Social Identity Theory, lies in defining the 'out-group' or 'other' (Billig, 1995:56), the ways in which the European Union and its institutions are evaluated in the corpus will also be examined.

It has been suggested that the future of Corpus Linguistics is that of 'methodological triangulation' (Baker, 2006:15) and that a consequence of this is 'theoretical triangulation' whereby more than one theoretical position is used in interpreting data (Marchi & Taylor, 2009). Therefore, a further aim of this thesis is to consider the extent to which corpus techniques are useful and can extend insights gained via a number of frameworks developed for qualitative Discourse Analysis. To this end, each of the analytical chapters (four, five and six) will address different frameworks and the concluding chapter (seven) will reflect on challenges encountered and insights gained.

In summary, the aims of this thesis are:

- To investigate discursive representation of the European Union and British membership of it, in British Daily and Sunday newspapers, in light of the possibility of an 'in / out' referendum being offered in 2017.

- To do this by focusing on social actors and entities in three aspects. First, the construction of British and European identity, second, the representation of Social Actors and third evaluation of the European Union.

- To reflect on the extent to which corpus techniques are useful and can extend or assist in gaining insights via qualitative theoretical frameworks developed for Discourse Analysis.

1.3   Thesis Overview & Research Questions

The present study is divided into six chapters. Following this first introductory chapter, the second chapter offers a review of literature in a number of areas.   First, in order to clearly delineate the theoretical underpinnings of the study, the chapter begins with a discussion on various definitions of 'discourse' and the development of Critical Discourse Studies. It continues by examining the use of Corpus Linguistics in discourse analysis and offers a critical evaluation of this approach. The reasons for defining this work as a 'Corpus-Assisted Discourse Study' (CADS) are also discussed. A defining feature of CADS is the consideration is given to information outside the corpus which enables the researcher to more appropriately contextualise findings (Partington, Duguid & Taylor, 2013). Accordingly, the second section of the chapter begins by providing background regarding British membership of the European Union, current public opinion on membership gained from survey data and on parliamentarians' views on membership. Next, literature on Britain's membership of the EU, both within linguistics and across social science disciplines is examined. Following a broad outline of this work, scholarship addressing ideas of national identity as a barrier to the development of a wider European identity will then be discussed. I will argue that whilst holding a 'supranational' European identity needn't be a threat to British identity, this does seem to represent a significant barrier to support for the EU. Further, an up to date, comprehensive corpus based study is required to enhance understanding of these issues in the lead up to a referendum on British membership. The final section of the literature review considers work which specifically examines British media attitudes to the European Union.

Collection of data for the EURef corpus and preliminary investigations undertaken to define the focus of the study are the subject of Chapter Three. First, a general overview of the British newspaper market is provided and justification for the study of newspaper texts, even as newspaper readership falls and social media as a source for news increases, is made. The collection of data and building of the EURef corpus is discussed in the last part of this section. The second part of the chapter goes on to describe how information on the diachronic distribution of the articles in the corpus, plus analysis of word frequency data and keywords undertaken, informed the development of this thesis. A critical evaluation of the methods used is also offered. The results of the preliminary investigations detailed in Chapter Three emphasise the significance of social actors, both British and European, human and official entities, which lead to the decision to focus on national identity and the development of three specific research questions:

Q1)   How are British and European identities construed in the EURef Corpus?

Q2)   How are British and European social actors represented in the EURef Corpus?

Q3)   How is the EU and British membership of it evaluated in the EURef Corpus?

In all three cases, differences between publications will be addressed.

Chapters Four, Five, and Six are analytical and are concerned with with each of the three research questions detailed above in turn. The discursive construction of British and European identity is examined in Chapter Four and draws on Wodak et al.'s (2009) 'interwoven framework' of macro-topic areas and strategies utilised in the enactment of national identity and on the concept of 'Banal Nationalism' proposed by Michael Billig which holds that significant aspects of identity formation are found in the 'routine deixis' of first person pronouns (1995:11).

Representation of British and European social actors - both politicians and citizens - are examined in Chapter Five. With reference to Theo van Leeuwen's 1996 'sociosemantic' taxonomy of potential ways in which social actors may be represented in a text, the chapter also considers the significance of 'News Values', following Bednarek & Caple (2012), both in terms of which actors are selected for inclusion in news articles, but also the ways in which those selected for inclusion are represented. This raises the issue of absence in a corpus, a matter not yet addressed in the literature (Taylor 2013). Since it is possible to identify, in this case, those holders of political office and institutions which are not significantly represented in the corpus, as well as those that are, it is possible to draw conclusions regarding reasons for and the consequences of those decisions. This also offers the possibility of extending van Leeuwen's taxonomy to include more systematic consideration of those he describes as 'radically excluded' from texts (1996:39).

Chapter Six, the last analytical chapter, deals with evaluation of the European Union in the corpus. The study of evaluation is vast and complex and as such, a study of this size could not hope to examine the issue in full. The chapter will instead focus on three aspects. First, the overall stance taken with regard to the European Union, second, whether this stance is averred by the publication, attributed to others or attributed and then reclaimed by the publication and finally, the issues prioritised by each stance identified will be identified.

Finally, Chapter Seven draws together conclusions of the earlier analytical chapters reflecting on the methodologies employed. I will argue that historically based notions of national identity represent a significant barrier to the development of a supra-national EU identity and that this is perpetuated through the construal of the EU as 'other' in quasi-national terms with characteristics drawn from French and German stereotypes. Additionally, backgrounding of EU institutions and practices, combined with almost total absence of reference to EU citizens and a focus on the discourse of conflict, conspires to ensure negative evaluation of the EU even in publications supportive of membership. Any pro-EU argument must be made in the context of a problematised relationship characterised by conflict. Further, it is argued that dichotomised notions of pro and anti-EU, Eurosceptics and Europhiles do not sufficiently convey the complexity of sentiment apparent in the discourse.

Chapter Two: Background and Literature Review

2.1   Aims of the Literature Review

The aim of this literature review chapter is first to define terms and give a rationale for the choice of methods used in this thesis and then to provide information on scholarship to date in the field. Accordingly, the chapter is divided into two sections. The first deals with the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of the thesis, namely Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics, and the second section addresses historical background and scholarship around the European Union and British membership, both within the field of linguistics (e.g. Calas-Coulthard, 2007; Fairclough 2010; Fowler, 1991; Wodak, 2011) and more broadly within political and social sciences (e.g., Copsey & Haughton, 2014; Hawkins, 2012; Risse, 2010; De Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2006; Fligstein, 2008)

2.2   Theoretical and Methodological Review

2.2.1   Introduction

The term Discourse is used in various and interrelated ways across linguistic and social science research. Most broadly, it is used to describe language use around a particular topic or within a specific genre. Of relevance to this study are the notions of political discourse (e.g. Chilton 2004, Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012) and media discourse (e.g. van Dijk, 1988; Fowler, 1991; Bell, 2002; Fairclough 1995). These concepts are also defined in various ways in the literature and it would not be possible in a thesis of this length to address this issue in depth. That this thesis sits within the domain of media discourse analysis, as it is a study of media (newspaper) texts, I take as self-evident. I also take the view, perhaps less evident, that it represents political discourse analysis. Given the potential for media coverage to influence the results of a referendum on EU Membership, and the extent to which that coverage may be ideologically based, rather than subscribing to the narrow view that political discourse is defined in terms of actors; as discourse coming from political elites, I follow van Dijk who takes a broad view that political discourse should be defined 'contextually'. That is to say it 'includes the discourse of all … groups, institutions or citizens as soon as they participate in political events' (1997:15).

Corpus Linguistics (CL) may be defined as the study of language through the examination of 'some set of machine-readable texts [the corpus], which is deemed an

appropriate basis on which to study a specific set of research questions,' (McEnery and Hardie, 2012:1). The use of corpus techniques is by now widespread in many areas of linguistic study offering, as it does, 'a different quality of linguistic evidence' which is to say evidence derived from actual examples of language as it has been used rather than examples derived from introspection (Tognini-Bonelli, 2004). CL has been influential in disciplines ranging from dictionary compilation, phraseology and lexicography to language teaching, genre studies and, most significantly for this thesis, discourse analysis (Hunston 2002:96). In this case a corpus of British newspaper discourse, which deals with the question of a European Union referendum, is to be studied to answer questions regarding the way the EU and British membership of it are represented.

To clarify the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of this thesis, the following section of the literature review chapter discusses approaches to the analysis of discourse and critical discourse studies as well as the use of Corpus Linguistics methods. Further, critical evaluation of the advantages and disadvantages of such approaches is offered as the basis for the decision to locate this study within the paradigm that has been termed 'Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies' (CADS) (Partington et al. 2013). I will argue that there are considerable benefits to this approach which is characterised by the triangulation of various methodologies traditionally associated with Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics and that there is considerable scope for further exploration of the way in which CADS can develop and inform theory in the field.

2.2.2   Discourse and Critical Discourse Studies

Within linguistics, the term 'Discourse' has been defined in various ways which reflect underlying views about language. It has been described as language 'beyond the clause', in a structural sense (Martin & Rose 2003) which is concerned with the way language may be organised in different ways to create meaning (Partington et al, 2013). Brown and Yule consider it 'language in use' (cited in Baker, 2006:3) and Blommaert refers to 'language-in-action'(2005:2). These ideas raise questions regarding what language 'not' in use might be, recalling and differentiating it from earlier traditions of linguistic study, such as Chomsky's Generative Grammar, which privileged the analysis of ad-hoc devised examples of language and introspective analysis.

Discourse may also be viewed in a functional sense as 'language that is doing some job in some context' (Halliday cited in Partington et al. 2013:2) whereby, according to Halliday's influential theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics, formal features of language ('lexico-grammar') realise three 'metafunctions': the 'ideational' metafunction which 'construes' human experience, the 'interpersonal' metafunction which enacts 'personal and social relationships' and a third, facilitating, 'textual' metafunction which serves to organise the discourse creating 'cohesion' and 'continuity' in a text. Lexical and grammatical choices relating to the three metafunctions act together to enable the expression of meaning. By taking this view of 'grammar as a system' it is possible to see grammar as an 'insightful mode of entry to the study of discourse' (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014: 10-31). Such a view underpins much of the discourse analysis work cited in this thesis and also highlights why corpus tools, which can quickly and easily show multiple instances of specific grammatical forms, can be so fruitful in the study of discourse.

The study of 'language in use', whilst arguably more meaningful than the study of examples derived from introspection, is not unproblematic. An analyst can only study discourse after the fact, that is 'language-which-was-used', and moreover has no direct access to the intentions of the producer or the effect on a recipient. It may be possible to identify underlying ideology in discourse, but it is quite another thing to make assertions as to its influence or significance (Anderson & Weymouth, 1999:179). As a consequence of what Widdowson terms the 'functional fallacy' (1998:139) any inference of 'mental or social process' from the analysis of text (either written or verbal) is inevitably fallible (Partington et al, 2013 p.3). This has further been described as the 'central problem of hermeneutics' - that the study of discourse can only be the study of 'a set of traces' (Stubbs, 2007:145), which necessitates an interpretive act on the part of the analyst. In addition, there cannot be a single defined 'discourse' on any particular subject or concept because 'humans are diverse creatures; we tend to perceive aspects of the world in different ways' (Baker, 2006:4) and as such one reader of a text may perceive its meaning very differently from another. It is necessary, therefore, for an analyst to proceed with extreme caution in drawing conclusions as to the potential for texts to influence, say, voting intentions. When analysis of news discourse is undertaken, it is also important to keep in mind that 'news' is not simply an incontestable representation of an event. It is the result of a 'constructive' process (Fowler, 1991:25) which is a 'socially and culturally determined...partial... ideologically framed report of the event' (Caldas-Coulthard, 2007:273).

That discourse is constructed according to specific perceptions of the world is central to concerns over both who has access to potentially influential discourse and who has the power to construct it. The notion that discourse has the potential to produce and reproduce 'unequal relations of power' (Fairclough, 1989:1) is in turn central to critical linguistics in general, but most specifically to Critical Discourse Analysis (e.g. Fairclough 1995, Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) which seeks to systematically and explicitly analyse and understand the function of language in 'constituting and transmitting knowledge; in organising social institutions or in exercising power' (Wodak cited in Baker et al, 2008:280) and the way in which various linguistic forms can be used to do this. The political objective of CDA practitioners, 'to develop ways of analysing language which address its involvement in the workings of contemporary capitalist societies' (Fairclough 2010:1), has led to criticism. The danger of over interpretation and the construction of meaning by 'university educated' analysts, which simply wouldn't be perceived by 'less' educated readers, is raised by O'Halloran & Coffin (2004:276) and Stubbs notes the concern that analysts 'find what they expect to find' citing Widdowson's suggestion that 'interpretation in support of belief takes precedence over analysis in support of theory' (in Stubbs 1997). The potential for this is apparent with Fairclough's recent assertion that the 'manifesto' of CDA should shift from 'critique of [linguistic] structures' which perpetuate neo-liberal capitalist society towards a critique of 'strategies' adopted in the modification of that society following the banking crisis of 2008 (2010:15-17). Such an 'agenda' (a word which Fairclough himself uses) appears to shift the aims of CDA away from an exposition of the relationship between language and power in society towards an explicit intention to effect social change according to the beliefs of the analyst. As such, concerns expressed by Koller and Mautner in 2004 regarding the selection of texts for analysis which are not necessarily typical but 'arouse the analyst's attention', appear increasingly significant (cited in Baker et al 2008:281). Of course, large numbers of influential studies in CDA should not be dismissed outright as a result of these concerns and numerous researchers have incorporated methods, such as those used within Corpus Linguistics, which mitigate these issues and will be discussed further in the next section of this literature review.

In conclusion, having outlined some of the complexities in defining 'discourse' and some concerns regarding academic rigour sometimes levelled at Critical Discourse Analysis, following Partington et al. I take the view that whilst the present study certainly sits within the 'critical' tradition, in so far as it seeks to illuminate the ideological underpinnings of media coverage of a potential EU membership referendum, I prefer the term 'Discourse Analysis'

rather than CDA on the basis that I do not approach the study with the aim of effecting social change, rather, my aim is to illuminate on the basis of the definition that 'discourse analysis studies how language is used to (attempt to) influence the beliefs and behaviour of other people' (Partington et al, 2013:5). More specifically, as previously stated, the thesis may be defined as a Corpus-Assisted Discourse Study and the following section gives reason for this, an outline of the development in CorpusLinguistics and the benefits it affords the study of discourse.

2.2.3 Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics

The broad variety of uses for CL techniques is perhaps the reason for some disagreement regarding the nature of Corpus Linguistics; whether it is a 'methodology', or a 'theory', a 'theoretical approach' (Teubert, 2005:2) or a 'concept in linguistic theory' (Stubbs, 1993:23-24). Related to this is the traditional binary distinction that corpus studies may be termed 'corpus-based', where Corpus Linguistics is seen as a methodology 'to expound, test or exemplify theories and descriptions that were formulated before large corpora became available', or 'corpus-driven', where observation of corpus evidence leads to hypothesis and then to theory (Tognini-Bonelli, cited in McEnery & Hardie 2012:150). In practice, the distinction between the two approaches is less clear. McEnery and Hardie note the example of a corpus-based researcher intending to apply a particular scheme to their analysis, but find that having done so refinements to the scheme are needed. Work would then proceed in manner which could be described as corpus-driven (2012:150).

Following Partington et al, central to the present study is the view that whilst the use of corpora in linguistics is 'not a theoretical advance in itself', theories of language use may be developed or enhanced through the use of corpus tools (2013:7). The most significant example of this for Discourse Analysis is the understanding from Sinclair's work that language is processed in chunks and the idea of semantic prosody; that consistent experience of lexical items or phrases in positive or negative circumstances, effectively primes our understanding for future encounters (Sinclair, 1991; 1994, cited in Hunston, 2007:249). In addition, I would agree that the use of Corpus Linguistics methodology in Discourse Analysis studies offers considerable benefits in three ways; in the reduction of the impact of researcher bias, through quantification of the 'incremental effect of discourse' and in the identification of counter-examples showing 'resistant' or changing discourse (Baker 2006:10-14).

First, with regard to the reduction of researcher bias, it has been argued that total objectivity simply isn't possible (Burr, cited in Baker, 2006:10, Gouveia, cited in O'Halloran and Coffin, 2004:276). Decisions made at all stages of research design may be influenced, subconsciously or otherwise, by bias or preconceived ideas. Interpretation of results can never entirely rule out an element of subjectivity on the part of the researcher. Nevertheless, transparency of methodology enabling replication of the study, the careful selection of representative texts for inclusion in a corpus, the possibility of analysing a large amount of data and selection for close reading through the statistical techniques offered by CL can go a long way to answering concerns about 'cherry picking' items for analysis which confirm bias or preconceived ideas.

Secondly, the possibility of quantifying phenomena, found through either statistical analysis or close reading, may strengthen an argument about the existence of covert underlying ideology in discourse, based on the concept of 'lexical priming' (Hoey, cited in Baker 2006:13) whereby word meaning is developed through the cumulative effect of repeated use. A further incremental effect found in discourse is that of 'semantic prosody', originally proposed by Sinclair (1991 cited in Hunston, 2007:249) first used by Louw and referred to by Stubbs as 'discourse prosody', which, as noted above, is the process by which words and phrases take on positive or negative connotation as a consequence of repeated co-occurrence with other words or phrases (cited in McEnery and Hardie, 2012:136). Evidence for semantic prosody can only be provided through analysing a large number of examples and intuition is insufficiently reliable to do this (Hunston, 2002:142).

Finally, the use of corpora facilitates the study of large numbers of text over time. This diachronic aspect allows the development of discourse to be traced and contextualised, as changes can be seen through 'counter-examples' found in a corpus which might otherwise have been missed when studying just a small number of texts or have been mistakenly identified as 'hegemonic discourse' (Baker, 2006:14). Such counter example can then be searched for and development of the discourse traced. The increased likelihood of finding these exceptions in the discourse also help contextualise the significance of findings and minimising the danger of over or under interpretation (O'Halloran & Coffin, 2004:276).

As previously noted, this thesis falls within the paradigm of Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) first defined by Partington and arising in particular from the work of Stubbs

(1996, 2001, cited in Partington, Duguid & Taylor, 2013:10). The description of this type of work as 'corpus assisted' is not uncontroversial insofar as it has been suggested that the word 'assisted' implies a 'subservient' role of the corpus in the analysis (Baker et al. 2008:274). I would argue that on the contrary, the corpus is central to the work undertaken but there are also other important defining aspects. CADS, an essentially comparative approach, is characterised by engaging with the corpus in a number of different ways including close reading which may then direct further study. The incorporation of data from outside the corpus in order to contextualise findings, a feature of the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) advocated by Wodak (2011:39), is also key in CADS (Partington, Duguid & Taylor, 2013:12). The process of initial analysis driving the development of research questions and further study, and the triangulation of both qualitative and quantitate techniques of CL, (C)DA, and DHA, is described by Baker et al. as 'virtuous research cycle' (2008:295), which is summarised in the diagram below
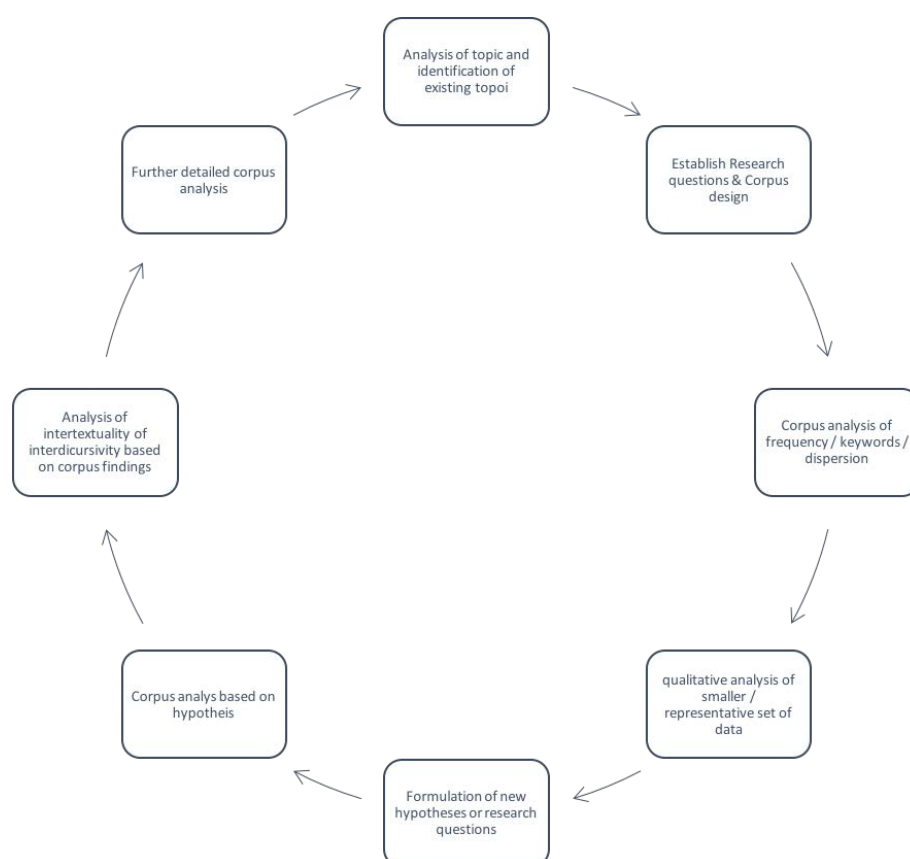
Figure 2.1   **Virtuous Cycle of Research (adapted from Baker et al. 2008:295)**

Whilst the Baker et al. study (2008) specifically looks at the methodological synergy of Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics, the approach outlined above neatly encompasses the processes which Partington, Duguid & Taylor (2013) term Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies and the importance they put on both corpus-external data and in allowing corpus results to develop hypotheses and new research question. That said, CADS does not align itself with any particular school of discourse and explicitly rejects the notion of working with an overarching political agenda (Partington, Duguid, & Taylor, 2013:10). Political motivations aside however, the benefits of combining and triangulating different approaches are considerable as to do so effectively provides checks and balances for each approach.

In addition to CL methodologies addressing concerns regarding Discourse Analysis techniques, some concerns about Corpus Linguistics methodologies are also addressed by methodological triangulation. The combination quantitative and qualitative techniques can counter Widdowson's concern that Corus Linguists are likely to privilege those types of analysis which computers do well (such as counting things) rather than conducting more complex analysis (cited in Baker, 2006:7). In addition, much corpus-based discourse analysis focuses on what has been written, rather than what could have been written or expressed in another way (Baker et al. 2008:296). Consideration of wider context can inform understanding of potential alternatives enabling conclusions to be drawn as to the reasons for this. In addition, the issue of absence in a corpus can be addressed. Very little consideration has been given in the literature to that which might be missing from discourse studied in a corpus, with work instead focussing on what is there to be counted and analysed (Taylor, 2013), an issue which will be discussed further in Chapter Five. In short, Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics both benefit considerably from the 'cross pollination' of theory and method (Baker et al., 2008:297) and research produced using such a combined approach has the potential to be stronger as a result.

2.3   Scholarship on the European Union

2.3.1 Introduction

Scholarship on the European Union is discussed in the following part of this literature review chapter. There has been a great deal of academic interest across social science disciplines in British membership of the EU resulting in a large body of work, dating back to the 1960s, that has potential significance for this thesis. To further contextualise the issues

surrounding Britain's membership of the EU, the most significant work both within linguistics and more broadly across social science disciplines is discussed. In the first of three sections, historical context around Britain's relationship with the European Union will be discussed. I will argue that Britain's status as 'the awkward partner', a phrase first coined by Stephen George in 1990, continues to be relevant today reflecting national concerns.

Preliminary investigation of the EURef Corpus suggests that issues of national identity are significant in the discourse[2]. This is in accordance with scholarship in the area which has identified attachment to nation as a significant barrier to identification with the European Union. The second part of this review will therefor consider significant literature relating to British national identity as a barrier to integration with the European Union, arguing that notions of British national identity are the key to our 'awkwardness'.

Finally, I offer a review of works most closely related to this thesis that specifically address the issue of British Media discourse on the European Union. I argue that much of the work done in this area relies on the binary distinction between Eurosceptic and Europhile arguments, but that this does not sufficiently describe the range of opinions on the EU membership that appear in the discourse. There is a need for a comprehensive corpus study to more fully address this issue.

2.3.2 British Membership of the EU

That Britain should be contemplating leaving the European Union is generally seen as unsurprising given that the relationship with the EU has always been an uneasy one. Britain has been characterised as 'an awkward partner' (George, 1994 [1990]), and historical context is a key issue in explaining this position. Whereas Germany, for example, benefitted from the concept of a 'European idea' after 1945 as a way of leaving the Nazi ideology of nationalism behind and reassuring their neighbours of good intentions in the spirit of cooperation, Britain has arguably perceived the idea of being a 'mere member of a community' rather than an 'imperial power', rather negatively (Good et al, 2001:xii). In addition, Britain's membership began in 1973, as Economic recession took hold and as a consequence, some of the 'positive connotations' of membership did not take on the same significance as they had for founder members and it has further been proposed that Britain's geographical position, as an island

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[2] See Chapter 3 for details of preliminary corpus investigations

state off the coast of mainland continental Europe, along with the relationship with the USA is a significant factor (George, 1994:5).

From the earliest days of European cooperation following World War 2, there have been tensions. Following the 1951 agreement creating the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), participation in which British Prime Minister Clement Attlee declined, the Treaty of Rome was signed in 1957 by the 'inner six' European countries creating the European Economic Community (EEC) or Common Market. The treaty was designed to allow free movement of people, goods and services across the borders of those original signatories: France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg. The European Free Trade Association (EFTA) was founded by the 'outer seven' non-EEC European countries who were unwilling or unable to join the EEC, to promote closer economic cooperation and free trade in Europe. The countries were Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. In 1973 Britain, having left EFTA, along with Denmark and Ireland, entered the EEC in the first enlargement taking membership to nine countries. Britain had first applied to join the common market in 1963, arguably for pragmatic reasons rather than due to principle (George, cited in Risse, 2010:83), but concerns over Britain's commonwealth ties, domestic agricultural policy, and close links to the US saw the application vetoed by French President, Charles De Gaulle, who did the same again in 1967. Within a year of joining the Labour Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, sought a renegotiation of membership terms over issues including the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), the UK contribution to the EEC Budget, the goal of Economic and Monetary Union, the harmonisation of Value Added Tax (VAT), and Parliamentary sovereignty in pursuing regional, industrial and fiscal policies.[3]

In 1975 a referendum asked the public 'Do you think the UK should stay in the European Community (Common Market)?' and with over 67% of the vote, the result was a resounding 'Yes'. Harold Wilson's Labour government, supporting a yes vote, had emphasised the most important benefits of membership as food prices, money, and jobs, following their renegotiation of membership terms. They also sought to reassure voters that Britain's Parliament would not lose 'supremacy' or have to 'obey laws passed by unelected faceless bureaucrats sitting in their headquarters in Brussels'. The 'No' campaign on the other

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[3] Further information from the National Archives available at
http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/cabinetpapers/themes/eec-britains-late-entry.htm

hand considered the central issue to be one of remaining 'free to rule ourselves in our way' stating that 'the Common Market ... sets out to merge Britain with France, Germany, Italy and other countries into a single nation' making Britain 'a mere province'. Further, they cited market manipulation resulting in increased food prices, threats to British jobs, particularly in the Iron and Steel industry, as well as the dangers of an increasing trade deficit. The arguments then were broadly made in three areas: national identity and sovereignty, the economy (including prices and trade) and finally jobs. [4]

More recently, British public opinion polls on European Union membership vary considerably. Some polls suggest that the British public's support for membership of the European Union may have reached an all time low since the 1975 vote. The 2010 Eurobarometer poll shows that just 27% of British respondents feel Britain has benefitted from EU membership: a significantly lower figure than in Europe as a whole (50%) or other EU countries such as Germany (49%) or France (46%). That said, Copsey and Haughton have shown that over time Eurobarometer data suggest that whilst support for the EU in Britain among the majority of voters ebbs and flows, die hard 'Europhiles' seem to outnumber 'Eurosceptics' (2014:77). In addition, Pew polling in May 2013 found that whilst those with a favourable view of the EU had fallen EU-wide to 45%, Britain was not far behind with 43% expressing a favourable view. It is by no means clear, then, that the British public is as anti-European as might be imagined.

Despite the uneasiness of Britain's relationship with the European Union, it should also be remembered that majority view in parliament today would support continued membership. The European Union (Referendum) Bill 2013-14 makes provision for an 'in/out' referendum on continued membership of the EU in 2017. It is the stated aim of the Conservative party, following victory in the 2015 General Election with 331 seats, to negotiate a new settlement for Britain in the EU and remain in the single market. Labour (232 seats) and the SNP (56 seats), as well as the Liberal Democrats (8 seats), all support staying in the European Union. The UK Independence Party (UKIP), which now holds one seat, believes that 'only outside the EU can we start to solve the problems our country faces'. [5] Party policy aside, there are claims from the 'Conservatives for Britain' group, founded by MP Steve Baker, that over 110 Conservative MPs would support a vote for Britain to leave the EU. [6] Even with the

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[4] 1975 YES and NO campaign leaflets available here: http://www.civitas.org.uk/eufacts/1975ref.php
[5] UKIP 2015 manifesto available here: http://www.ukip.org/manifesto2015
[6] Conservatives for Britain website here: http://conservativesforbritain.org/about/

support of the UKIP MP and few dissenting Members from other parties, this would still only represent a small, if vocal, minority of parliamentarians.

As Risse notes that 'British leaders have consistently rejected strengthening supranational institutions of the EU' (2006:300) and have negotiated more 'opt outs' than any other member state. This has resulted in a relationship that has been described as 'semi-detached' (Copsey & Haughton, 2014:76). The threat of a British exit comes at a time when the European Union has never been more Anglophone with considerable concessions and privileged terms having been negotiated. Exit is also threatened despite overwhelming parliamentary support and with public satisfaction not far off the EU average. With levels of public and parliamentary support for the EU such as they are, we might expect that British newspaper coverage would reflect this situation with support for, or opposition to, the European Union broadly following party political lines with pro-EU and anti-EU sentiment relatively equal.

2.3.3 British Support for the EU

Numerous explanations have been given in the literature for Britain's status as 'an awkward partner' in the European Union, a phrase coined by Steven George in his book of the same name first published in 1990. By the time of a second edition though, he suggested that 'the prospects were that Britain would not in the future appear to be an awkward partner in the EC', citing changes within the European Union such as the EU wide public scepticism on notions of a federal Europe and the admittance of Scandinavian members who tended to share a view of Europe closer to Britain's, as well as strains in the 'Franco-German alliance'. (George, 1994:260-261). Nevertheless, 20 years later, Britain is faced with the very real possibility of a referendum vote leading to exit from the European Union. One particular explanation for this, often noted in the research, is the effect of a resistant British national identity.

The European Union is a political construct, membership of which may be viewed as superordinate to nationality, consisting as it does of 28 member states, and subordinate to global citizenship within a 'nested' identity framework (Medrano & Gutiérrez, 2001). The acceptance of this hierarchy as part of an individual's personal view of their identity is by no means assured however. The most recent Euro-barometer research (Autumn 2014) suggests that only 18% of UK citizens definitely consider themselves European citizens with a further

32% feeling European 'to some extent', giving a total of 50% (see Table 2.1 below). This is compared, perhaps more significantly, to the fact that in answer to how individuals define themselves, the UK is unique in the EU with a majority of UK citizens (58%) defining themselves as British only with a further 33% prioritising nationality over EU citizenship in their own identity. At 39% the UK has by far the lowest proportion of citizens who identify 'European' as any aspect at all of their personal identity (Table 2.2 below). It should be noted however, that this represents an increase in the last 10 years as 2004 Euro-barometer data showed that 65% of Britain's considered themselves as having a national identity only. Fligstein argues convincingly that it is the British people's deeply ingrained sense of national identity that is behind successive British governments reluctance regarding European integration given that a strong sense of national identity, to the exclusion of a European identity, strongly correlates with negative views on the European Union (Fligstein, 2009:142-144).

Table 2.1: Do you feel you are a citizen of the European Union

	Yes, Definitely	**Yes, to some extent**	**No, not really**	**No, Definitely not**	**Don't know**
UK	18%	32%	31%	18%	1%
EU28	26%	40%	24%	11%	2%
Germany	30%	44%	17&	8%	1%
France	23%	40%	22%	14%	1%
Sweden	32%	44%	15%	8%	1%

Source: Eurobarometer 82 - European citizenship - autumn 2014

Table 2.2: Do you see yourself as…?

	(Nationality) only	**(Nationality) AND European**	**European AND (Nationality)**	**European ONLY**
UK	58%	33%	4%	2%
EU28	39%	51%	6%	2%
Germany	30%	56%	9%	2%
France	36%	56%	7%	7%
Sweden	31%	63%	4%	2%

Source: Standard Eurobarometer, 81 Spring 2014

The disparity between 52% of UK citizens who feel they are classified as European, at least in part, and only 33% who define themselves as such, suggests that some British citizens

feel that 'being European' is something imposed on them, a notion expressed in David Cameron's 2013 speech committing to an in / out EU referendum. This raises questions, beyond the scope of this study, regarding the nature of individual identity and interaction between nested identities. Arguably, different aspects of identity, local, national and supranational, needn't be mutually exclusive – it's not an either or choice when it comes to being British or European (Castiglione, 2009:33). Carey, like Fligstein, argues that attitudes towards the European Union can, at least in part, be explained by the strength of an individual's affiliation to nation and shows that 'a strong national identity leads to a decrease in support for the EU' (2002:397). Notwithstanding debates about this and the necessity for a distinct European identity among citizens for the success of the European project (see Kohli, 2010), the extent to which citizens associate themselves with the EU, or see it as a threat to other aspects of their identity, is likely to influence the result of any forthcoming referendum with Copsey and Houghton describing identity as a 'fundamental building block of Eurosceptic opinion in the UK' (2014:81).

Fligstein suggests that positive notions of a European identity reside primarily with elites, 'educated, professionals, managers, and other white-collar workers' who have access and opportunities to travel to work and socialise in the wider Europe (2010:123). This being the case, we might expect broadsheet newspapers to be more supportive of the European Union in general than tabloid publications. Further, this also raises questions as to why this should be more of a problem for Britain than other countries. Having conducted a meta-analysis of Eurobarometer data, Carey notes considerable diversity in conceptions of national identity across the EU and finds that across the UK, there are differences in the extent to which the Scottish, Northern Irish, Welsh and English conceive their identity, with the English considerably less likely to consider themselves European (Carey, 2002:406). This is perhaps not surprising when the identity related discourse of the British elite tends to relate to English identity constructions of the late 18th Century. De-colonialisation, it is argued, leads to the dominance of notions of sovereignty and institutions such as the Parliament and the Crown being important aspects of collective identity in ways that are incompatible with visions of federal Europe (Risse, 2010:82). Further evidence for the incompatibility of British national identity with European identity and support for the European Union can also be found by the fact that political leaders' support for the EU tends to be legitimised through language of national and economic interest, rather than being identity-based, and narratives of identity remain with British nationalists and the anti-EU lobby (Risse, 2010:83).

Hardt-Mautner's 1995 study shows the significance of 'separation and distance' in British press discourse, emphasising Britain's isolation both in physical, geographical terms and in 'non-material forms' including the political and economic differences between Britain and other European countries. Issues of identity were found to be particularly salient however, not just in terms of suggesting that British identity was under threat, but also by characterising Europeans as 'other' and playing on historical stereotypes particularly of the French and Germans (1995:199).

2.3.4 British Media Attitudes to Europe

The importance of media coverage and its influence on the development of public opinion about the European Union, as well as political issues in general, is well documented in the literature. The European Commission itself has identified the news media as the most significant source of information on the process of European integration and De Vreese & Bloomgardten (2006:421) attest to this noting that the majority of European citizens 'identify news media as their preferred and most important source of information' and arguing that 'mediated information' must therefore be influential. The significance of the effect of media coverage has further been demonstrated by studies that attributed the Labour Party General Election defeat of 1992 to a sustained pre-election anti-Labour campaign by *The Sun* (cited by Baker et al, 2013:05). Although not all studies support this assertion, Newton and Brynin found that 'newspapers have a statistically significant effect on voting, larger for Labour than Conservative sympathisers, and larger for the 1992 than the 1997 election', (2001:265). This is particularly significant for an EU membership referendum, in the light of survey data which suggests that public opinion is 'not settled one way or the other' (Copsey & Haughton, 2014:77).

It is notable that at the time of the 1975 referendum, in which 67% of voters supported continued EEC membership, almost all the British national press supported a 'yes' vote (Bainbridge cited in Daddow 2012:1222). Not all articles were overwhelmingly supportive though. Even in the early 1970s evidence of an anti-EU trend can be found and the view of *The Sun* has been described as 'cautiously optimistic' then, shifting to 'aggressive opposition' within 20 years, by which time the discourse is of 'Euro idiots' and 'dreamers', 'federalists' and the 'boring Brussels bureaucrat Jacques Delores' (Hardt-Mautner, 1995:180). Whereas in the 1970s an 'inside-outside' dichotomy, to be expected with the referendum of the time, was emphasised, by the 1990s it had become a 'centre vs. periphery' issue and Hardt-Mautner

notes three main strategies by which the national newspapers, and in particular *The Sun,* were 'increasing rather than reducing anti-European sentiment': first, by emphasising separation and geographical distance from continental Europe, second, as already noted, by suggesting that British national identity was under threat and third, by expressing prejudicial attitudes towards France and Germany in particular (1995:199).

By the end of the 1990s, the British media is described as 'overwhelmingly Eurosceptic' (Carey & Burton, 2004:626). Anderson & Weymouth's 1999 study of British newspapers during the 1997 General Election campaign and Britain's 1998 Presidency of the EU divides the press in to 'Eurosceptic' (*The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Express*, and the *Daily Mail*) and 'pro-European' (*The Independent*, *The Guardian*, *The Financial Times* and the *Daily Mirror*). Their findings show that the 'pro-European publications' did not offer unreservedly pro-European commentary but characterised that commentary as cautiously supportive rather than against the European Union per se. Similarly, Marchi and Taylor's corpus-assisted diachronic study of British newspaper discourse in 1993 and 2005 finds that whereas *The Times* and *The Telegraph* show a 'marked antagonism' towards the European Union, *The Guardian* 'tends to be more informative and have a generally friendly attitude' (2009:220).

The idea that some publications can be characterised as 'pro-EU, whilst others are anti-EU' is clearly overly simplistic. A generally supportive stance on European Union membership doesn't necessarily translate as absolute support for all things EU. Oberhuber et al. note that whilst *The Telegraph* in 2003 did exhibit a Eurosceptic position, *The Guardian* and its Sunday counterpart, *The Observer,* could not be described as explicitly pro-Europe. Rather, the way EU integration was progressing was criticised and an 'interminable consultation process' bemoaned (2005:257). The complexity of the position of nominally 'pro-EU' publications is further illustrated by a study of *The Guardian* which showed that whilst general qualities and the long term achievements of the EU were valued, 'current political performance alongside the insufficiently democratic nature of its institutions' were questioned (Hurrelman, 2007:20). Partington (forthcoming[7]) concludes that dichotomising sentiment about EU membership in the British Press in terms of 'pro-EU' or 'anti-EU' is unrealistic. His

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[7] Pre-publication draft kindly provided by Alan Partington. See Bibliography citation.

Corpus-Assisted Discourse Study offers a more nuanced picture of views expressed in newspaper discourse which may be summarised as follows:

1)   Die-hard Pro-EU idealists: uncritical of the EU.

2)   EU optimists: may agree that some reform is necessary.

3)   EU 'looseners': see the as EU not fit for purpose and advocate ad hoc engagement.

4)   Die-hard anti-EU critics: want Britain to leave

It is interesting that the 'EU Optimist' position reflects that of David Cameron in his 2013 Bloomberg speech[8] committing to an EU referendum following negotiation of a 'new settlement', and one wonders about the point at which (presumably somewhere between positions 2 and 3 above) a vote to stay in the EU becomes a vote to leave. Maier and Rittberger who studied the influence of press articles with a 'positive or negative tone' on public support for Macedonia's accession to the EU. They concluded exposure to negative tone about Macedonia, regardless of the specific issues covered in the article, led to a decrease in support for their membership (2008:254). Arguably then, support for Britain's continued membership which is qualified and therefore ultimately casts the European Union (albeit reluctantly) in a negative light, may lead to the conclusion that it is in Britain's best interests to leave the EU.

Whatever the position of different publications on the question of European Union membership, the amount of coverage also has an impact on public understanding of the EU which has implications for the Eurosceptic argument of 'democratic deficit'. Marchi and Taylor note 'the decreasing visibility of Europe' in British broadsheets between 1993 and 2005 and the implication expressed by De Vreese et al. that lack of news contributes 'to a lack of legitimacy' of the EU (Marchi and Taylor, 2009:222). It has been noted that media coverage of European affairs is 'virtually absent' other than during important events such as summits; a national referendum is of course a 'key event' in the lead up to which coverage may be substantial (de Vreese et al. 2006:481). However, even during significant events, the nature of coverage is significant. The British press has been seen to discursively distance Britain from the European Union. During the 2009 G20 summit, British press coverage included only minimal references to EU institutions for example, in marked contrast to Italian and French press and the duration of British television reporting of the 2007 50th Anniversary of the

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[8] *EU speech at Bloomberg. Full text available at:*

https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/eu-speech-at-bloomberg

signing of the Treaty of Rome was only around 25% that of the French (Thornborrow, Haardman, & Duguid, 2012:99-111). Given the importance of press coverage in the development of public opinion on the European Union, the consequence of this is that opportunities for British citizens to learn about EU processes, thereby addressing concerns about democratic deficit, is limited in comparison to other member states.

Most recently, issues of separation and national identity appear to have become increasingly significant. In the light of the electoral success of right-wing nationalist parties throughout the EU, demonstrated through a considerable increase in the share of the vote for UKIP at the 2015 British General election, Daddow suggests that broad media support for the European project in the 1970s has now developed into 'vigorously partisan hostility bordering on a nationalist and in some areas xenophobic approach to the coverage of European affairs' (Daddow, 2012:1219). Like Hardt-Mautner, Hawkins characterises the current British media approach as one which paints the EU as a 'foreign power' dominated by a 'Franco-German alliance' with discourse largely 'structured around the ideas of separation and threat'. He argues that his qualitative discourse study shows that even in the 'left wing press', where there is evidence of a more positive counter-discourse, the 'influence' of Eurosceptic narrative is still apparent 2012:577). Such stark conclusions in light of Partington's forthcoming corpus-assisted study perhaps require some clarification. What is not clear is the extent to which this is an issue and whether hostility towards the EU is the result of the influence of Eurosceptic narrative per-se, or whether pre-existing concepts of British national identity are simply thrown into relief in the face of economic difficulties since the banking crisis of 2008, continued EU enlargement and the move towards 'ever closer union'. In addition, the notion of Eurosceptic 'influence' implies a deliberate process, a conclusion which would be challenged by Fowler who assets, 'The newspaper does not select events to be reported and then consciously wrap them in value laden language which the reader passively absorbs, ideology and all.' (1991:41)

2.4   Conclusion to the Literature Review

Research has shown that Britain continues to represent the 'awkward partner' of the European Union. Numerous explanations from the influence of colonial history and issues dating back to World War two, to the British relationship with the USA and geographical isolation as an island west of mainland Europe, have all been cited as reasons for this. Research suggests that these issues are all part of a resistant British National identity which represents

significant barrier to the development of a European identity and support for membership of the European Union.

Whilst a number of discourse studies have been undertaken which explore these issues, the methodologies of the most recent have been largely qualitative. I would argue that in an increasingly multicultural Britain, and following the EU expansion of recent years and the crisis in the Eurozone since 2008, there is a need for a more current study which combines qualitative and quantitative methodology. Furthermore, as reflected in David Cameron's EU Referendum Speech (2013) and in press discourse, it is clear that a Eurosceptic vs. Europhile dichotomy is an inadequate characterisation of the debate on EU membership and evaluation of the EU and its institutions, yet with the exception of Partington (forthcoming) this has not been the focus of study in the literature on media discourse. As such, a gap exists to further explore this area.

It is my assertion that taking a Corpus-Assisted Discourse approach will offer a fuller understanding of how British national identity is currently realised in British newspaper discourse and how this has the potential to influence the debate on European Union membership ahead of a referendum. In addition, the combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques employed in this Corpus-Assisted Discourse Study will give an enhanced understanding of the complexities of 'qualified support' for membership, thereby offering an original contribution to research in the field.

Chapter Three: Data and Preliminary Investigation

3.1 Introduction

A corpus may simply be described as a number of computer encoded texts collected with a view to conducting analysis according to a researcher's needs. Issues such as the content, size, and representativeness of the texts collected all need to be considered when designing and compiling a corpus in order to adequately address research questions (Baker, 2006; Hunston, 2002). This chapter first details the design and compilation of the EURef Corpus and then goes on to give an overview of preliminary investigations undertaken.

3.2 Data

The data for this study come from a selection of British national daily and Sunday newspaper articles. Such texts have the considerable advantage of being readily available in a searchable format which facilitates the compilation of a corpus. However, it could be argued that digital news channels, the development of online media content and the advent of social media and blogging sites have significantly reduced the importance of newspapers in the dissemination of news in Britain. Nevertheless, National Readership Survey data suggest that around 30% of adults regularly read daily and Sunday newspapers[9]. Furthermore, news organisations have responded to the growth of the online market and publish internet versions of their papers which are often free to access. Furthermore, The NRS estimates that 'mobile adds a 67% audience reach to news brand footprints'. As such, I would argue that newspapers still offer a worthwhile source of news texts for study.

The following two sections of this chapter will first offer background to the nature of the British newspaper market and discuss limitations of newspaper texts in corpus studies and then go on to describe the process of building the EURef corpus, including noting the challenges and limitations encountered.

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[9] National Readership Survey available here: http://www.nrs.co.uk/latest-results/nrs-print-results/newspapers-nrsprintresults/

3.2.1 British Newspapers

British newspapers have traditionally been seen as divided along party political lines and in terms of readership with tabloids catering for a 'working class' reader and broadsheets for the 'middle' and 'upper class'. More recently, they have been divided using categories based on the socio-economic status of reader into 'popular', 'mid-market' and 'quality' publications as used by the Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC).

Newspapers for inclusion in the EURef corpus were selected to ensure a broad spectrum of political affiliation and readership (see table 3.1 below). Whilst for the purpose of analysis publications are divided into 'Broadsheet' and 'Tabloid', the latter category encompasses ABC's 'mid-market' category which includes *The Daily Mail* and *The Express*. Again, for the purposes of comparative analysis, publications are divided into left-leaning and right-leaning although some caution is required here as it should also be noted that party political affiliations needn't be fixed, as shown by the Sun's 1997 support for a Labour vote in the general election despite their longstanding right-leaning tradition. Furthermore, no assumptions have been made regarding pro or anti-European stance since, as noted previously, such distinctions appear to be overly simplistic. In addition, political affiliations don't necessarily translate to a pro or ant EU position. In 2004, for example, *The Sun* was identified by Carey & Burton (2004:628) as Labour but Anti EU and *The Mirror* as Labour but Pro-EU.

Table 3.1:   ***Publications included in the EURef Corpus***

	Left-Leaning	**Right-Leaning**
Tabloid	*The Daily Mirror* *(incl' The Sunday Mirror)*	*The Sun* *(inc'l The Sun on Sunday)* *The Express* *(incl' The Express on Sunday)* *The Daily Mail* *(incl' The Mail on Sunday)*
Broadsheet	*The Guardian* *The Observer* *The Independent*	*The Telegraph* *(incl' The Sunday Telegraph)* *The Times* *The Sunday Times*

It is important to recognise that there are aspects of newspaper texts which will not be retrievable in the EURef Corpus but which may influence reception of the texts by readers or reveal ideological motivations of news producers. Perhaps most obviously, images are lost. Cartoons and photographs combine with text in newspapers to create meaning and may be used simply as illustration, but also have the potential to offer evidence, create sensation and convey evaluation (Bednarek & Caple, 2012:114-117). The effect of these may be considerable as seen by the recent response to the wide publication of an image of a drowned three-year-old refugee from Syria which resulted in an outpouring of public sympathy, fundraising, and demands for European governments to do more. Also not apparent from the corpus itself is the position and layout of the individual articles within publications. Front page articles are clearly more prominent than those somewhere past the middle and position on the page as well the size of headlines impact the likelihood of an article being read. Some metadata relating to this (such as page number) are retrievable though the original text files of articles but other information (such as position on the page) is not. In addition, those receiving news online have more control over the articles they see resulting in changes in the way readers interact with news content (Tewksbury & Althaus, 2000:472). Particular care must be taken, therefore, in attributing significance to findings when comparing publications.

3.2.2   The EURef Corpus

The EURef Corpus can be described as a specialised, diachronic corpus in that it contains just newspaper texts referring to a British EU membership referendum across almost five years (Baker, 2006:26-7). Articles from twelve Daily and Sunday national newspapers were downloaded from the online archive at www.lexisnexis.com. Through experimentation, the search term ((European Union OR EU) AND Referendum AND NOT (Scotland OR Ukraine)) was used to select articles for the years 2010 - 2013 and up to 31st August for 2014. This search term would not, of course, have captured articles referring to the European Union which did not mention the possibility of a British EU referendum. As such, the corpus cannot be said to represent all discussion of the European Union during the period under study, and therefor all potential influence on readers' opinions of the EU. Removing the 'referendum' focus of the search, however, would have significantly increased the articles returned, making it necessary to shorten the time frame examined in order to keep the project within word count and timeframe limits.

The text files (.txt) delivered from LexisNexis comprised a single file for all articles for each year. The text files were split using TextWedge software (Carter 2011) into individual articles, and these were saved by publication and by year with file names designating publication, year, month and file number. This allows for the easy selection of specific publications and timeframes for analysis as required.

Manual review of the articles resulted in the deletion of a number of duplicates and articles dealing with referendums elsewhere in the EU or historical plebiscites. The decision regarding what constitutes a duplicate was not always a simple one. Articles were often duplicated, sometimes with small changes, across different publication editions on the same day. In this case, for reasons of consistency, early or national editions were kept with later and regional edition duplicates deleted as these did not represent additional opportunities for individuals to see the article in question. In other cases, articles appear to have been duplicated, or closely duplicated with content repeated, on different days and even in different publications. In these cases, the duplicates were left in as they represented a further opportunity for a reader to see the article which, I would argue, increases the impact of that text. Finally, the presence of numerous 'reader's letters' were noted and the decision made to retain them. Whilst these are not texts produced by news reporters or columnists, I argue that the selection of which letters to print reflects the editorial policy of publications and the appearance of such texts, which are often particularly evaluative, have the potential to influence readers.

The resultant corpus comprises over 5400 newspaper articles with around 3.2 million word tokens (see table 3.2 below). *The Express* returned the most articles (1928) and the most words (675,089) with *The Daily Mirror* and *The Sunday Mirror* combined returning the fewest words (65,959) and *The Observer* producing the fewest articles (93). It is noteworthy that the category 'left leaning tabloid' represents a relatively small proportion of the corpus with only 168 articles and 65,959 words. The 'right-leaning tabloid' category, however, is by far the largest at 1,463,809 words representing almost 45% of the whole corpus.

Table 3.2 Articles in the EURef Corpus

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014 to Aug 31	TOTAL Articles	Total tokens	Ave words/article
The Observer	2	20	28	25	18	**93**	**97,366**	1,047
The Telegraph	22	49	57	120	67	**315**	**288,094**	915
The Independent	18	66	83	158	88	**413**	**291,218**	705
The Sunday Times	3	28	18	78	53	**180**	**176,666**	981
The Mirror / Sunday Mirror	5	30	32	67	34	**168**	**65,959**	393
The Mail / Mail on Sunday	50	151	136	229	143	**709**	**579,169**	817
The Sun	15	64	133	203	94	**509**	**201,674**	396
The Guardian	30	91	186	224	112	**643**	**520,324**	809
The Times	18	77	106	161	120	**482**	**356,266**	739
The Express	118	627	448	492	243	**1,928**	**675,089**	350
TOTAL	**288**	**1,203**	**1,227**	**1,757**	**972**	**5,447**	**3,259,702**	598

The uneven proportions in different sections of the corpus raises questions regarding 'representativeness' and 'balance'; two attributes generally considered desirable in corpora built for the purpose of analysing discourse but which are often problematic (McEnery & Hardie, 2012:10). The corpus can certainly be said to be representative of national British daily and Sunday newspaper discourse around the subject of an EU referendum in so far as the search terms used to compile the corpus ensure that this is the case, but it cannot necessarily be said to be represent discourse about the European Union in a broader sense since there will inevitably be articles discussing the European Union but which don't mention a referendum and therefore would not be included in the corpus. Perhaps more significantly, with so much of the data coming from right-leaning tabloids, the corpus cannot be said to be balanced if a balance corpus is defined as one where each category (left-leaning, right-leaning, tabloid, and broadsheet) is of equal size. However, as Hunston notes, such a definition is problematic when for example, tabloids tend to publish shorter articles than broadsheets and the two types of publication tend to focus on different types of news (2002:28). Any attempt to balance the corpus in terms of number of words per category risks the resultant corpus being less representative. Furthermore, the lack of balance in the corpus represents an interesting finding in and of itself. This thesis is essentially comparative in nature and that the left-leaning tabloid *The Daily Mirror* dedicates so few column inches to this issue, and considerably less than the right-leaning *Express,* is significant when considering the extent to which newspaper coverage facilitates understanding of the issues surrounding EU membership, as discussed in the previous chapter.

3.3   Preliminary Investigations

3.3.1 Introduction

In keeping with Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies methodology, this section of the Chapter details preliminary investigations undertaken in order to gain some insights into the discourse found in the corpus and an idea of significant topics covered, in order to help determine the focus of the thesis. Analysis was conducted in three areas.

1)   By looking at the number of articles by month and reading selected articles during peak times, the dates of significant events were established and in addition, differences in coverage by individual publications by month was examined (events summarised in Table 3.3 below).

2)   A simple frequency list was compiled in order to establish and categorise key topics in the discourse.

3)   Keyword lists by publication were created to identify significant differences in topic and emphasis. The following three sections of this chapter cover each of these stages in turn.

The following two sections of this chapter describe the results of each in turn.

3.3.2   Distribution of Articles

Figure 3.1 (page 34 below) shows the distribution of articles by month for the duration of the EURef Corpus. In 2010, following a small increase in articles just before and during the general election, coverage falls until a significant peak in October when a motion asking for a referendum on EU membership was defeated in the House of Commons. The number of articles then continues with relatively high frequency through November and December.

During the first half of 2011, having fallen away sharply in January and February, the number of articles appear to reflect the progress of the European Union Act 2011[10], which came into law in July 2011 and provides that 'a referendum would be held before the UK could agree to an amendment of the Treaty on European Union ('TEU') or of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union ('TFEU'); or before the UK could agree to certain decisions already provided for by TEU and TFEU…if these would transfer power or competence from the UK to the European Union'. Discussion peaks in June and July before falling away again as parliament goes into recess for August, and rising sharply again towards the end of the year in the lead up to David Cameron used the British veto to block EU-wide treaty changes designed to support the Euro.

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[10] European Union Act 2011 available here: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2011/12/contents

The number of articles per month declines in January 2012, peaking again in May to July as the possibility of an EU Membership referendum is mentioned alongside reports on the Eurozone crisis involving Greece and Spain in particular. Then, other than slight falls in the summer of each year, coinciding with parliamentary recess, significant peaks are seen in January and May 2013; the former being David Cameron's speech at Bloomberg, committing to an in / out membership referendum and the latter coinciding with local by-election victories for the UK Independence Party (UKIP).

Looking in more detail at the frequency of articles by publication reveals that *The Express* is somewhat exceptional in its coverage. Publishing both more often and at times outside those detailed above, the Express is explicitly anti-EU. The increased coverage is explained by what it terms a 'crusade' against membership stating, 'The famous and symbolic Crusader who adorns our masthead will become the figurehead of the struggle to repatriate British sovereignty from a political project that has comprehensively failed people right across Europe' (*The Express*, November 25th 2010) This receives considerable attention over the next year, as can be seen below (see Figure 3.2, page 35 below), with continued coverage throughout keeping the number of *Express* articles elevated.

Table 3.3: **Significant events triggering coverage in the EURef Corpus**

May 2010	General Election
October 2010	Cameron defeats EU referendum motion
November 2010	Gov't tables EU Bill for Referendum
Jan 2011	Debate of EU Bill (to have referendum lock)
March 2011	referendum lock agreed by Government
July 2011	European Union Act, 2011
October 2011	MPs agree to debate in / out referendum
December 2011	David Cameron vetoes EU Treaty change
May-Jul 2012	Eurozone Crisis
January 2013	Cameron's Bloomberg Speech
May 2013	UKIP by Election victories

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Figure 3:1 Monthly Distribution of Articles in the EurRef Corpus
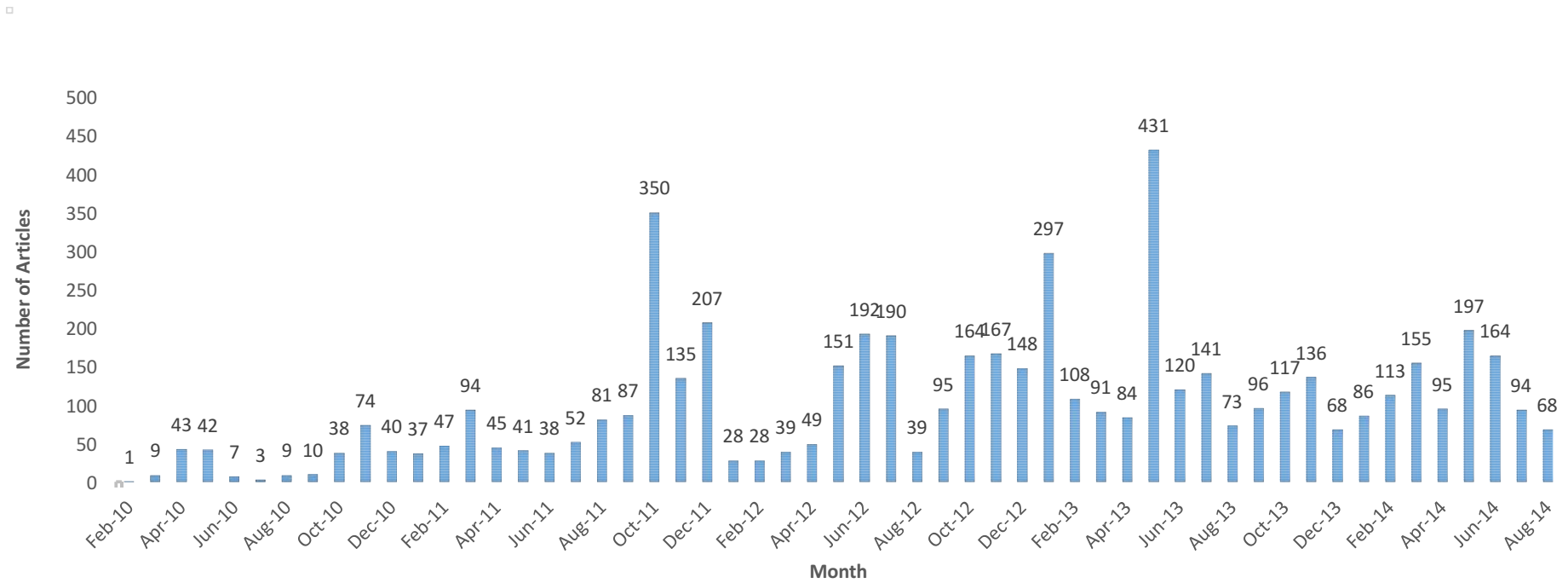
Figure 3.2 Monthly total of article in the EURef Corpus by publication.
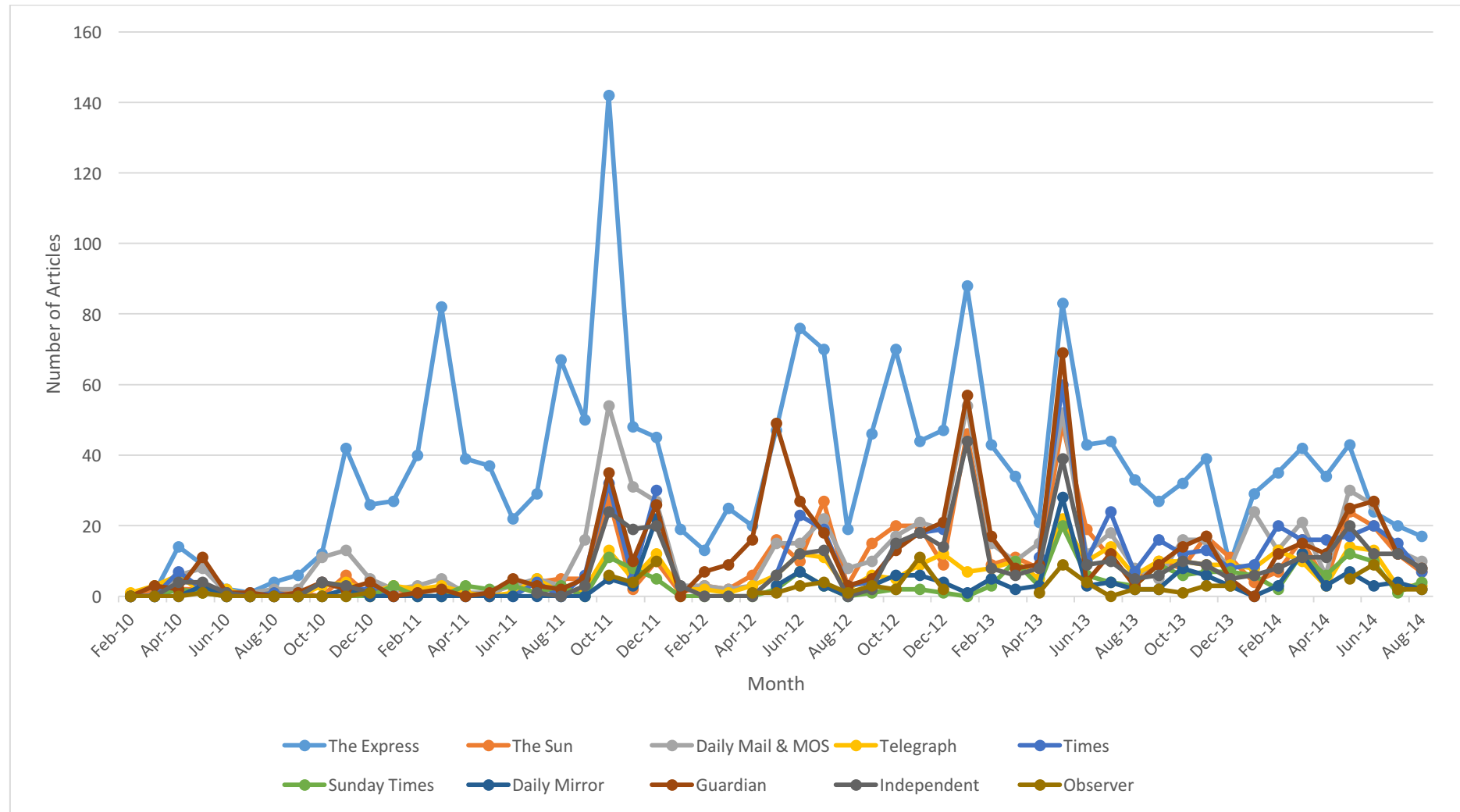
3.3.3 Frequency and Keyword Analysis

In order to gain an understanding of the most frequent or dominant discourse areas within the debate over Europe, first a simple raw frequency wordlist for the corpus was generated using the corpus query software AntConc (Anthony, 2014). A 'stop-list' of the frequently occurring function words was used and following manual exclusion of metadata words (such as 'copyright' and 'publication' along with reporter's names) a list of the 200 most frequent lexical words was produced (see Appendix 1).

Whilst a frequency list such as that above can give information regarding the general content of a given corpus, and is useful for directing further study, it cannot reveal how the identified topic areas are discussed or the different approaches taken by individual publications. In addition, given the relative over-representation of right-leaning tabloids already noted, arguably the lexical choices of these publications would be over represented in the list. To address this, a keyword analysis of each publication was carried out.

Keywords are defined as those words which are 'more frequent in a text or [sub] corpus under study than it is in some (larger) reference corpus' (McEnery and Hardie, 2012:245) and, more specifically, 'a word which occurs with unusual frequency in a given text. This does not mean high frequency but unusual frequency, by comparison with a reference corpus of some kind' (Scott, cited by Gabrielatos & Marchi, 2012). As such, keywords may be said to represent what is distinct about that given set of texts, text or sub corpus. Keywords for each newspaper were established using AntConc (Anthony, 2014) with the whole corpus used as a reference corpus. In this way, it is possible to establish what is particular about the linguistic choices of each of the publications in question as compared to all the publications. In the first instance, for each newspaper, the 200 words with the highest 'keyness' scores were selected using the Log Likelihood (LL) statistical measure available in AntConc (Anthony, 2014). Those words that constitute 'metadata' (columnist's names, dates etc.) and common function words were excluded and then, in order to mitigate the case of relatively infrequent words nevertheless scoring a high LL, the 100 least frequently used words on each list were excluded, leaving between 35 and 86 keywords per newspaper (see Appendix 2).

The frequency word list from the whole corpus was examined along with keyword lists from each publication, and the words divided into three thematic categories (Table 3.4 below). This gives a broad view of the dominant topics or discourse areas around the newspaper representation of the EU referendum debate. Whilst many of words found are of course inevitable, based on the selection parameters for building the corpus (Referendum, EU， Politician's names etc.), the list does serve to reveal which issues and entities are being discussed most in relation to EU membership and a potential referendum. As well as individual politicians and entities representing both Britain and Europe, keywords denoting political process were significant, again not surprising given the nature of the corpus. Beyond the entities and political processes identified in the frequency list it is apparent that, as in 1975, issues of economy, finance and trade including jobs are significant.

Table 3.4 Thematic categories of frequent and keywords

Categories	Sample of Frequent / Keywords
Entities, individuals or groups	Cameron, Labour, Electorate, Tory, public, Britain, minister, UKIP, Clegg, Miliband, Eurosceptics, people, President, Europe, immigrants, EU, Merkel, Eurozone, Brussels, Germany, Junker, Eurocrats, France
Political process	summit, reform, referendum, policy, bill, debate, elections, politics, majority, power, treaty, vote, rules, deal, campaign, powers, membership, support,
Economy, Finance and trade	Euro, trade, economic, (per)cent, business, budget, tax, financial, free trade, money, currency, billion, cost, spending, market, jobs, work

3.4 Focus of This Study and Research Questions

Having established that issues of national identity are significant in influencing support for the European Union, and based on the fact that the largest thematic category for frequent terms and keywords is that of 'Entities, Individuals and Groups', it was decided that these areas would be the focus of this thesis. Three specific research questions pertaining to various aspects of the construal of British national identity will be addressed. In order to do this, a number of terms found relating to Groups and Entities as well as individuals, from both Britain and Europe will be analysed. Table 3.5 below shows terms found in the 'Entities, Individuals and Groups' category.[11]

Table 3.5 Groups / Entities and individuals: Frequent and Keywords of the EURef Corpus

	Groups / Entities	**Individuals**
British	Britain, Cabinet, Coalition Commons, Conservative Downing (street), England Government, Labour Liberal, Democrat, Lib Dem Ministers, MPs, Parliament* Parties, **People**, **Public** Tory, Tories, Ukip Westminster	**David Cameron**, Ed Miliband, George Osborne, Nick Clegg, Nigel Farage, Prime Minister, Sir, Mr* Chancellor*,
European	**Brussels, Commission, EU,** Europe, European Union, Eurozone **France,** German, **Germany** Greece, Members* Parliament* **immigrants,**	Chancellor* **Junker Merkel** Mr*Mrs President

* refers to items which may represent British or European

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[11] Items in bold are those specifically examined in the analysis. Throughout this thesis, word forms under examination will be indicated in **bold.**

Three research questions developed as a result of these preliminary investigations will be investigated in turn in the following three chapters.

Q1)   How are British and European identities construed in the EURef Corpus?

Construction of British identity in the various publications will be analysed through the use of **we** and **our**, and EU identity will be examined through the metonymic use of **Brussels** as well as the representations of **France** and **Germany**.

Q2)   How are British and European social actors represented in the EURef Corpus?

Representation of British and European politicians David **Cameron** and Angela **Merkel** will be examined in some detail and consideration given to which other EU politicians, such as Claude **Juncker,** are selected for inclusion in the corpus and under what circumstances. The representation of citizens will be studied through the terms **British**, **people** and **public** as well as **migrants** and **immigrants**. The only EU institution found in the frequency list is **Commission**, so the significance of the relative absence of other institutions will be examined.

Q3)   How are the EU and its institutions evaluated in the EURef Corpus?

Ways in which the European Union and its institutions are evaluated in the corpus will be analysed by focussing on the use of **EU** as the most frequent term of reference found in the corpus with a comparison of left and right-leaning publications.

Chapter Four: Construction of British and European Identity

4.1   Introduction

> "I know that the United Kingdom is sometimes seen as an argumentative and rather strong-minded member of the family of European nations. And it's true that our geography has shaped our psychology. We have the character of an island nation: independent, forthright, passionate in defence of our sovereignty. We can no more change this British sensibility than we can drain the English Channel."
>
> David Cameron, 2013

David Cameron's references to British identity in his Bloomberg speech on the European Union in 2013 draw on aspects of geography and notions of British sensibility which have long been identified as barriers to acceptance of the European Union as a supranational authority incorporated into 'our' sense of who 'we' are in Britain. Of the many ways that national identity is expressed perhaps the most important are, as exemplified by David Cameron, the way 'we' describe 'ourselves'. This chapter draws on Michael Billig's concept of 'Banal Nationalism', which emphasises the routine 'flagging' of nationhood in everyday discourse and considers nationalism an ideology of the first person plural, 'which tells us "us" who "we" are' and thereby also prescribes 'who "we" are not' (1995:78). He argues for detailed study of pronouns such as 'we' or 'our' because their deictic reference 'embeds' notions of nationhood and does so 'unobtrusively, running up the flag so discreetly that it is unnoticed' (p.107).

This chapter further investigates ways in which newspapers present national and European identity by drawing from a theoretical framework on the discursive construction of national identity developed by Wodak et al. (2009 [1999]). Although their work was developed focusing on Austrian nationality, Wodak et al. argue that 'the methodological and theoretical framework...is also applicable to investigations of the discursive construction of national identities other than Austrian alone' (p.186). I will show that in addition, the framework may be applied to the discursive representation of the European Union, which is construed in a 'nation-like' but negative way as 'the other' in the EURef Corpus. Specifically, in the context of debates around joining the EU, Wodak et al. showed that a pro-EU Austrian press sought to transform conceptions of national identity to embrace 'Europeaness' as an aspect of being Austrian. The present study finds no such accommodation in British national

newspapers. Instead, I will argue that the EU is construed in a way that leaves 'Europeaness' in opposition to and consequently as incompatible with British national identity.

In order to address the research question 'How are British and European identities construed in the EURef Corpus?' the analysis will look at three areas. First, use of the words **we** and **our** will be examined. Wodak et al., like Billig, flag the importance of the deictic 'we' in the creation of 'in-groups'. **We** is the 23rd most frequent item in the EURef corpus occurring 15,434 times. Secondly, to establish ways in which the European Union is construed, the numerous ways in which the EU is referred to will be discussed and the significance of metonymy examined, which is evident in the EURef corpus through the use of the term **Brussels** to stand for The EU. Finally, the country names **Germany** and **France** appear significantly more often than other European countries and they are often used together in a way which suggests a 'Franco-German alliance'. The significance of this in defining the EU as 'other' will be discussed.

The following section will outline in more detail the theoretical frameworks on which the analysis draws and then an outline of the method of analysis is provided. The chapter continues by offering a Summary of Findings and in the Discussion section which follows, details of the three aspects of analysis will be given.

4.2   Theoretical Framework

The theoretical underpinnings of this chapter come from the concept of 'Banal Nationalism' (Billig, 1995) and from the taxonomy developed by Wodak et al. which explains the different ways national identity may be discursively constructed (Wodak et al. 2009). The following section offers an outline of these concepts.

Michael Billig notes that deictic terms, such as 'we' and 'our' can be ambiguous and as such, the first person plural pronoun suggests 'a harmony of interests and identities' provided that 'we' do not specify what is signified by 'we' (1995:90). Billig further asserts that what he terms 'the deixis of homeland' effectively 'shut[s] the national door' on the outside world by 'unmindfully' reminding 'us' who 'we' are and therefor who 'we' are not (1995:109). Such terms are 'anchored' to the time and place of their utterance (Brown & Levinson cited in

Billig, 1995:106) and so must be interpreted according to the context in which they take place. This is particularly complex in newspaper reporting where 'we' might invoke the newspaper itself, including or excluding its readership, or a broader notion of 'we British'. In addition, those cited in a news text, whether quoted or paraphrased, may be referring to 'we in the government' or any other number of inclusive groupings up to and beyond nation. It has been suggested that national identity is under pressure from supra-national identities (such as the European Union) and sub-national identities as exemplified by the Scottish independence campaign (Billig, 1995:133). This being the case, we would expect to find an array of identities reflected in the use of 'we' found in news texts. In order to establish the extent to which this holds true, a survey of the use of 'we' will be undertaken. Rather than applying an existing taxonomy, one will be developed based on what is found in the survey, the details of which are outlined in the Method section which follows this one.

Wodak et al. (2009) identify an 'interwoven framework' of five macro-topic areas and four strategies, which may be realised using a wide range of linguistic forms, in the enactment of national identity. Their analytical framework is based on several underlying hypotheses, which this study also adopts. First, it is given that 'nations are mental constructs ... perceived as discrete political entities'. Secondly, national identities are discursively produced, reproduced, contested and negotiated. Thirdly, it is assumed that 'national identity' is a concept of 'similarity' of behavioural conventions, shared attitudes and common dispositions among group members gained through collective experience and socialisation. This is achieved via everyday practices such as education, sport, and political process as well as, importantly for this study, through media coverage. Fourthly, 'institutional and material social conditions' both influence and are influenced by discursive practices and 'different social fields' may contradict each other. This is connected to the fifth assumption, which is that national distinctiveness and intra-national uniformity tend to be emphasised in discursive constructions of identity and differences generally ignored. In turn, the sixth assumption is that rather than there being a single national identity, there are in fact numerous identities which are constructed according to setting, audience and topic (Wodak et al., 2009:3-5).

The five macro-topic or 'content' areas salient in the discursive construction of national identity noted by Wodak et al. (2009) are summarised in Table 4.1 below which is adapted from De Cillia, Reisigl & Wodak. 1999.

Table 4.1   ***Macro-Topic Areas in the Discursive Construction of National Identity***

The idea of *'homo nationalus'* and a *'homo externus'*:	Referring to an emotional attachment to country and citing national mentality and behavioural disposition. This content area emphasises biographical genesis (birth place, upbringing, residence) and includes the tendency to activate national identity in certain situations (such as on holiday abroad).
The narrative of a collective political history	Includes reference to myths of genesis and origin and the citation of mythical figures. There may also be reference to political triumphs, times of flourishing & prosperity, decline, defeat and crisis.
The discursive construction of a common culture	Referring to common language, religion, arts, science and technology as well as everyday culture (sport, clothes, cooking, drinking etc).
The discursive construction of a collective political present and future	Includes reference to citizenship, political virtues and values, current political achievement, present and future political problems, as well as potential aims, crises and threats.
The discursive construction of a national body	This would include reference to national territory and its boundaries, natural resources and landscapes, materialised results of development planning – structure and arrangement as well as architectural artefacts and in addition, national representatives, such as sportsmen.

(De Cillia, Reisigl & Wodak. 1999:158)

A single text may draw on more than one of these 'macro-topic' areas and may do so by utilising any of four possible 'strategies' either singly or in combination. As noted above, Wodak et al. (2009) relates to Austrian nationality and their assertion is that the same theory may be applied to other countries. Where they offer examples specifically relating to Austria and its specific historical context, I have made changes to reflect how such strategies might be employed with regard British nationality and its relationship with the EU in table 4.2 below (adapted from De Cillia, Reisigl & Wodak. 1999). These macro-topics and strategies may be realised through numerous linguistic forms, both 'lexical units and syntactic devices' (Wodak et al. 2009:35).

Table 4.2   *Discursive Strategies in the Construction of National Identity*

Constructive strategies	Linguistic acts which seek to build and establish a particular kind of national identity. Primarily by establishment of a national 'we-group', i.e. 'we-British', which appeals to national solidarity and denotes belonging whilst at the same time implies a marginalisation of 'them-groups' and a distancing from 'others'. Such a strategy might most obviously be employed to construct British national identity as separate from Europe in support of a Eurosceptic stance, but could equally be used to express the idea that British national identity can include 'being European'.
Perpetuation and justification strategies	This describes attempts to maintain and reproduce national identity, generally in the face of a threat. In the case of Britain and the EU this threat may come, for example, from a perceived loss of national power or from a threat to national identity from immigrants.
Transformation strategies	Such a strategy would seek to transform the meaning of established aspects of national identity. A pro-European argument, for example, might emphasise 'European' scientific aims of which Britain is a part or foreground common historical, cultural or religious ideas as compared to 'others' in the wider world.
Dismantling or destructive strategies	This is a strategy which aims to 'de-mythologize or demolish' an element of national identity. A specific challenge to the idea that to be 'British' denotes exclusively white, Christian citizens may be said to fall into this category, as would one which dismissed a 'world-leading' mentality based on a colonial past as irrelevant in this day and age.

(Adapted from De Cillia, Reisigl & Wodak. 1999:160-161)

4.3   Method

Construction of British identity in the various publications is analysed through the use of **we** and **our,** and EU identity is examined through the use of **Europe** and metonymic use of **Brussels** as well as use of country names **France** and **Germany.**

The term **we** was studied by selecting a random sample of 100 occurrences for each newspaper using Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al. 2014). Concordance lines list occurrences of a word under study along with a prescribed number of words either side (Baker, 2006:71) and assist the analyst in identifying patterns of use which would not be otherwise discernible or

obvious to intuition (Hunston, 2002:20). Concordance lines were examined and, where necessary, expanded to establish context since the nature of **we** in a given concordance line was not always apparent until co-text was seen, generally due to anaphora or 'referring back to an expression' (Baker, 2006:90). Each of the samples was categorised according to the use of **we**. Consideration of who was included and excluded by the **we** reference led to the development a taxonomy of seven categories as detailed in the Discussion section below.

To analyse use of **Europe** and **Brussels,** concordance lines were examined and collocation analysis undertaken. The same procedure was followed to ascertain how country names **France** and **German**y are used. Collocation may be defined as 'the statistical tendency of words to co-occur' (Hunston 2002:12) and is useful for Discourse Analysis based on the J R Firth's notion that the meaning of a word is not an inherent property of that word, but rather is derived from 'characteristic associations' in which it participates (cited in McEnery & Hardie, 2012:122). Collocation is calculated using statistical measures available in concordancing software, generally MI-score or T-Score. The former compares the actual co-occurrence of an item with what would be expected to occur randomly and is a measure of the 'strength of collocation' with the latter taking into account the size of a corpus and offering a measure of the certainty that the collocation is significant (Hunston, 2012:73). Co-occurrence is defined as being within a certain distance of the word under investigation (node word). Unless otherwise stated, all collocation analyses undertaken in this thesis are based on T-score + / - 5 words from the node word. T-score was selected because of the fact that the measure takes the size of a corpus into account and the publication sub-corpora in the EURef corpus are not of equal size. Whilst this means that comparison of 'absolute T-scores' across sub-corpora is not reliable (Hunston, 2012:73), I am mainly concerned with t-score ranking in the analysis. Furthermore, using T-Score rather than MI-score avoids potentially infrequent combinations of words, which are highly idiomatic, appearing high in the list.

The next section details the analysis and is followed by a concluding section discussing the main findings.

4.4   Analysis

4.4.1   We and Our - Pronoun use

> '...people want to know the answer to some crucial questions: what is in Britain's national interest? What is our attitude to any proposals for treaty change? What do we want in return? ...and what does it all mean for our future relationship with the EU'
>
> (David Cameron in The Times, December 7th 2011)

David Cameron's use of 'we' and 'our' in this article written for *The Times* carefully positions himself as one of the 'people'. The deixis of political and media discourse is complex however. As Billig notes '... "we" typically are not merely the speaker and the hearers: "we" may be the party, the nation, all reasonable people and various other combinations.' (1995:106). In addition, whatever a writer's intention, a reader may or may not include themselves in that writer's 'we'. Furthermore, though the readers of the newspaper article are the ones being addressed, Cameron appears to refer more broadly to the people of Britain as a whole. Linguistic studies distinguish between uses of the first person plural pronoun based on whether they include or exclude the writer (or speaker) and / or the addressee and, as Fairclough notes, in political speeches in particular, 'there is a constant ambivalence and slippage between exclusive and inclusive "we"', (2000:35) as a rhetorical device for both the formation of 'in' and 'out' groups and for making the border between the two less clear. Newspaper texts, which are likely to quote others' use of deictic terms as well as their own, offer an array of possibilities.

In order to establish how **we** is used in the EURef corpus, a random sample of 100 occurrences from each publication was selected and manually coded according to who was included in and excluded from the reference. It should be noted that the intended reference was not always apparent from the concordance line alone. It was often necessary to expand the concordance, even as far as the full article, to establish the appropriate category. Even then, references were often vague and shifted within the same article from, for example a 'we' denoting a political party to a 'we' referring to the nation as a whole, a phenomenon termed 'a wondering "we"' by Petersoo (2007:429). Furthermore, it should be noted that an analysis of this type represents an attempt to infer the intentions of the writer and no assertion can be made as to whether a reader would either include themselves in a given 'we' so an element

of subjectivity is inevitable. For the purposes of this study, a 'we' was categorised according to the specific case found in the random selection of concordance lines without reference to any shift elsewhere in the article, but in the qualitative analysis which follows, consideration was given to such shifts. The survey revealed seven broad categories as detailed in Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3: 'we' types found in the corpus

'National We'	A broad speaker-inclusive and addressee-inclusive category which refers to the British population as a whole.
'British Political We'	Generally through quoted speech, speaker inclusive / addressee-exclusive where politicians denote themselves and their party or parliament as a whole.
'European Political We'	As above, but quoting EU politicians and political entities of other European countries or European groups which exclude Britain (eg. Eurozone).
'Newspaper We'	Speaker-inclusive and addressee-exclusive denoting the newspaper itself.
'All Inclusive We'	Speaker and addressee inclusive category which includes Britain and the British people as part of Europe.
'Commentator We'	Where entities such as research organisations are quoted, speaker-inclusive and addressee-exclusive.
'Idiomatic we'	Use of phrases such as 'here we go again' which are non-specific.

Most significantly, there was only a single instance of an 'all-inclusive' European 'we', from a British commentator, found across the sample of 100 concordance lines from each of the 10 publications (4.1 below). The article in which the inclusive 'we' appears is from *The Observer* in June 2013 and was written by Will Hutton. It discusses the lack of media interest in a European Union fishing agreement that serves as an example of the EU working well to solve a problem 'that can only be solved by European countries acting together'. Throughout the rest of the article Hutton does not use 'we' when referring specifically to the British until the end where he states 'it is much better for Britain's fishing industry... that we are in the EU'. The few other examples of an 'all-inclusive we' found in the corpus represent quotation of EU politicians, such as Angela Merkel. In these cases, the rest of the text effectively negates the inclusive representation by placing the quote in more national contexts. When German Chancellor Angela Merkel is quoted in *The Daily Mail* (4.2), for example, this is preceded by the assertion that British Prime Minister David Cameron is "locked in a stand-off" with her. This effectively excludes Britain from her inclusive 'European we' said to be creating fiscal

union and also characterises Britain's relationship with Europe as problematic and the EU as acting without British agreement.

> (4.1)   'Yet the entire EU is based on the principle that there are common European interests, extending from how we fish our seas to how we explore space, that are underpinned by the notion that member states do not discriminate against each other.' (*The Observer*,   June 2nd 2013)

> (4.2)   'Yesterday Mrs Merkel went further, announcing: "we are not only talking about a fiscal union, we are beginning to create it", she said.' (*The Daily Mail*,   December 3rd 2011.

This effective absence of an 'all inclusive we' could be considered a consequence of the fact that all publications in the EURef Corpus are national. However, whilst Fligstein's (2009:156) suggestion that national media coverage of the EU is likely to be 'filtered through national debates and self images' is certainly true, Dugales and Tucker find that French and European press regularly present a concept of European identity that does not distinguish nationality (2012:94), which suggests that this is a somewhat British phenomenon. In the EURef corpus the 'British National We' and the 'British Political We' are by far the most prevalent representing around 80% of uses (see Table 4.4 below). Right-leaning tabloids use the highest proportion of the 'National We' with *The Express* the highest at 71% and left-leaning broadsheet *The Independent* the lowest at 40%. This is due to the tendency of right-leaning tabloids to emphasise the 'National We' more often in opinion pieces and when quoting British politicians, compared to left-leaning broadsheets still likely to emphasise politicians stating the position of their own party, but less often purporting to speak for the nation.   In either case, the cumulative discursive effect of such an overwhelming predominance of 'we British' presented as 'not European' is considerable. Even where texts are supportive of the EU, the separation of 'us' and 'them' subtly undermines the argument.

Table 4.4 Survey of 'we' in each publication

	National We %	British Political We %	Newspaper We %	Other Group We %	EU Political We %	Idiomatic We %	All Inclusive We %
Express	71	13	10	4	2		
Sun	72	15	9	1	3		
Mail	65	28	1		4	1	1
Mirror	48	41		6	3	2	
Telegraph	47	35	4	6	2	5	
Times	48	35	1	5	1	3	2
Sunday times	57	27	6	5	3	1	1
Guardian	45	32	3	8	9	3	
Observer	43	40	3	6	7	1	1
Independent	40	44	1	7	4	3	

By far the majority of uses fall within the categories of 'National We' or 'British Political We'. The 'British Political We' invariably quotes or paraphrases British politicians, and the 'National We' is often a result of newspapers asserting a notion of identity which assumes consensus of their readers (Fowler, 1991:48). This is particularly true of right-leaning tabloids. It is clear that *The Express* goes beyond a 'we' that includes just itself and its readers when it claims that the 'vast majority' object to EU policies (4.3) which go against 'common sense' and from which it is necessary that 'we heal ourselves' (4.4). Embedded in a notion of 'common sense' are a set of values which, according to *The Express,* determine that rulings of the European Court of Human Rights, and EU freedom of movement rules are wrong and lead to British people 'suffering'. The Daily Mail also purports to speak for a nation in danger of being exposed to 'un-British principles' with the implication that British sovereignty is threatened and the assertion that the European Union is 'undemocratic'. All of these perpetuate a sense of British identity that values democracy and 'common sense' and which, it is implied, are not part of the identity of the EU 'other'. This is in accordance with the idea of 'homo nationalus' citing national mentality and behavioural disposition, which is construed using a strategy of 'Perpetuation', which tends to be employed in the face of a threat (De Cillia, Reisigl & Wodak. 1999:158). Such a strategy of course distances Britain from the EU and completely ignores the fact we participate in all of the criticised processes.

(4.3)   '... We were denied a referendum because the Labour Party knew what the electorate's response would be. As a result, we are suffering the consequences of policies upon us, such as immigration and human rights, which the vast majority of people do not want.' (*The Express*, November 30, 2010

(4.4)   'Wake up, everyone, and demand a referendum on the EU, that we heal ourselves before giving billions in overseas aid and that outrages against common sense propounded by human rights laws.' (*The Express*, December 31st 2010)

(4.5)   '…we will be sucked irrevocably into a supranational body that operates on un-British principles, that is undemocratic, that does not serve our interests and which compels us to do increasing numbers of things we do not wish to do, and which may not be for our benefit.' (*Mail on Sunday* October 23rd 2011)

Left-leaning and right-leaning Broadsheets appear fairly similar in their use of categories of 'we' until a closer examination is made of the way a different stance on EU membership impacts the deployment of the term. David Cameron's assertion that 'we' are a 'trading nation' (4.6) constructs British identity in accordance with the idea of 'homo nationalus' and, in quoting David Cameron, *The Times* arguably supports his assertion, with the quotation appearing in an article with the headline 'Cameron Defends the City and Threatens to Squeeze Eurocrats' (20th October 2012). It is interesting that in a later opinion piece, *The Times* takes the view that being a 'trading nation' is 'our only viable economic future' but appears somewhat cynical that this can be achieved within Europe (4.7). The 'macro topic', which may also be categorised as the discursive construction of a collective political history (De Cillia et al. 1999:158), alludes to a colonial past, but the second *Times* article explicitly shifts this to the macro topic of a collective future. The discursive strategy remains one of 'perpetuation' rather than one of 'transformation' however. The maintenance of an historical trait is seen as essential and this aspect of national identity (that we were a trading nation) becomes increasingly entrenched rather than changed to reflect a modern age. An appeal to an historical aspect of identity can be found in *The Sunday Telegraph* too, but here the argument is explicitly pro-EU suggesting, in effect, that we can remain more British, allowing us to 'strengthen our [existing] culture' by being in the European Union. This predominance of perpetuating strategy, in all its various forms, is in contrast to a predominance of transforming strategy found in Austrian media discourse on European Union membership (Wodak et al. 2009:200). Having noted the construal of identity through the use of 'we', it is nevertheless true that most uses in the EURef Corpus do not overtly define British

national identity. Rather, there is a cumulative effect within and across articles which build on one another.

(4.6)   '... we are a trading nation; we need European markets to be open [Mr Cameron] said.' (*The Times* October 20 2012)

(4.7)   This country's relationship with Europe has changed irrevocably, and rightly, but how does Mr Cameron now propose to create the outward-looking, open, trading nation, founded on secure alliances that is our only viable economic future?' (*The Times* December 10th 2011)

(4.8)   '…The EU helps the UK to strengthen its culture as a global, sophisticated, open, trading nation. The City of London changed from being an airless, old boys' club to being a global powerhouse because foreigners flooded in with new energy, new ideas and a new openness.' (*The Sunday Telegraph,* June 2nd 2013)

Another way of defining 'us' comes through the use of the pronoun 'our'. It is notable that *The Express* states the EU 'will never end <u>its</u> rules' (my emphasis) implying that they are not <u>our</u> rules and that 'self-government' has been lost (4.10). Examination of the collocates of **our** in the EURef Corpus is revealing (see tables 4.5 and 4.6, p. 52 below). The words **borders** and **shores** are particularly significant in right-leaning publications, which relates to the discursive construction of a national body and includes reference to national territory and its boundaries (De Cillia et al. 1999:158). Reference to 'borders' and 'shores', as exemplified by *The Sun* (4.9 below) evoke the tradition of an island mentality which Mautner suggests signifies 'safety, defence against intruders, secludedness and by implication difference' (2001:7). The left-leaning *Mirror* also refers to power having to be regained but does so by attributing concerns to the Prime Minister (4.11), which arguably distances the newspaper from the stance. Indeed, 'powers' is not a significant collocate in *The Mirror* or any other left leaning publication suggesting that the 'island mentality' often quoted as a barrier to support for EU membership, is a particular concern of the right-wing press.

Table 4.5: Collocates of 'our' in right leaning publications

Tabloid			Broadsheet		
The Sun	**Express**	**Daily Mail & MOS**	**Telegraph**	**Times**	**Sunday Times**
Borders Interests Relationship Future Membership Own	Shores Neighbours Destiny Coupons Borders Masters	Borders Partners Lives Control Interest Own	Partners Relationship System Membership Economy Country	Partners Relationship Own Membership Future Country	Relationship Economy Own Today Future Country

TABLE 4.6   Collocates of 'our' in left leaning publications

Tabloid	Broadsheet		
Mirror & Sunday Mirror	**Guardian**	**Observer**	**Independent**
Main *Trading* *Partners* *Country* *Relationship* *Economy*	*Partners* *Interests* *Own* *Our* *Relationship* *Economy*	*Neighbours* *Partners* *Influence* *Future* *Our* *Relationship*	*Interest* *Relationship* *National* *Membership* *Country* *We*

(4.9)   '... It is no accident that [Boris Johnson] has written a new book on the great man's life to be published next month – just in time to Tory party conference. Is it possible that he sees the next battle for Britain looming in the 2017 in out referendum, with him plainly in a Churchillian role a staunch defender of these historic island shores.' (*The Sun,* July 21, 2014)

(4.10)   '... The Prime Minister wants a new treaty to regain power over our borders before Britain holds a referendum on EU membership in 2017.' (*The Mirror*, December 21, 2013)

(4.11)   '... The EU will never and amend its rules to allow Britain to take back control of its borders, fisheries, employment regulations, welfare system or much else besides. The only way that self-government can be restored is by leaving the EU altogether.' (*The Express*, October 4, 2013)

Also significant in collocates of **our** across all publications are metaphorical terms around the idea of relationship ('partners' / 'neighbour' etc). I would argue that conceptualising Britain and the EU as in a relationship further separates 'us' from 'them' where the relationship is viewed as flawed and in need of redefining. Furthermore, examination of n-grams with 'relationship' using AntConc (Anthony, 2014) shows that 'relationship with the EU' is the most frequent reference in the EURef Corpus, but the trigrams 'relationship with Europe' and 'relationship with Brussels' are also very frequent. Indeed, the frequency of the two trigrams combined (550) is higher than that of 'relationship with the EU' (435) (see Table 4.7 below). The polysemous nature of 'Europe' and metonymic use of or 'Brussels' to stand for the EU arguably further distances 'us' from 'them'; an issue discussed in more detail in the next section.

Table 4.7 N-Grams of relationship

Rank	Freq	Cluster
1	1319	Relationship with
2	635	Relationship with the
3	453	Relationship with the EU
4	341	Relationship with Europe
5	209	Relationship with Brussels
6	108	Relationship with the European
7	103	Relationship with the European Union
8	93	Relationship between
9	41	Relationship between the
10	28	Relationship with the EU and

4.4.2 Polysemous Europe and Metonymic Brussels

As noted in the previous section, the words **Europe** and **Brussels** are frequent collocates of **relationship** and are used, in this case, to refer to the European Union. The term 'Europe'' is polysemous in so far as it may be defined, among other things, as a geographical area or a political entity that currently constitutes 27 nations. In fact, one study identified 18 prototype interpretations of the term which include 'a landmass situated in the northern hemisphere', 'countries grouped by political criteria', and 'countries grouped by geographical

area' as well as 'The EU divided into subsets' and 'continental countries different from the UK and Ireland' (Williams et al. 2012:81). It is beyond the scope of this study to conduct a detailed analysis of the ways in which 'Europe' prototypes are activated in the EURef corpus, but the latter definitions - of a European Union which may be divided into subsets and as an entity other than Britain appear significant. This is particularly the case in discussions of **immigrants** and the **Eurozone,** both terms found to be significant in the preliminary investigations carried out for this study. Eastern Europe is presented as problematic, both in terms of immigration (4.12 below) and subsidies paid by western European nations including Britain (4.13) and the Eurozone is a major dividing factor between Britain and France (4.14). Whilst there is a counter discourse to be found in left-leaning Broadsheets, the Guardian still highlights national concerns being at odds with EU policy and budgeting (4.15) and the *Independent* characterises a more cohesive view of Europe as something only likely to be realised in the next generation (4.16). In the case of both **immigrants** and **Eurozone**, the terms of the debate are of separate factions within a wider Europe. It is not just the term 'Europe' which is polysemous. So, it seems, is the European Union.

(4.12)   … 'What will they do? Where will they go? … if yet another tsunami of immigration is launched at our shores from eastern Europe.' (*The Express* November 29ᵗʰ 2013)

(4.13)   … 'Britain does not receive cash back on grants paid from Brussels to countries such as Poland and Estonia. Payments to western Europe are subject to the rebate negotiated by Margaret Thatcher in 1984. The eastern Europe exemption will cost Britain up to £1.9bn over the seven-year period of the next EU budget…' (*Sunday Times*, November 4th 2012)

(4.14)   … 'The first EU summit since February 2010 not to be hijacked by the Greek debt drama and its threat to the single currency saw clashes between David Cameron and the French president, Nicolas Sarkozy, over competing visions of how to secure growth. There was further wrangling over the Eurozone's bailout fund … and growing unease over the new fiscal pact aimed at forestalling a rerun of the debt crisis.' (*The Guardian*, March 3rd 2012)

(4.15)   … 'National lobbies were bought off essentially by ransacking planned funding for digitalisation, broadband investment, hi-tech, research, transport networks, and infrastructure. Some euros 50bn was raided from these areas in order to accommodate competing national claims on the two biggest items in the budget - the CAP and the cohesion funds that go mainly to eastern Europe and the less developed parts of the union.' (*The Guardian* February 9th 2013)

(4.16)   … 'young Britons seem to be less spooked by immigration than older Britons and more open to the potential benefits of European integration, too, starting with the free movement of labour. Perhaps they are the first generation of Britons to grow up practically devoid of the old sense of Britain as an island, and thus as a society that is intrinsically separate from, and different to, those of continental Europe.' (*The Independent*, December 16th 2013)

Arguably, if Europe is dividable (into Eastern..., Western..., Continental...) then Britain leaving the EU is less significant than if it were construed as a consistent whole. The United States' pledge of allegiance, recited daily in schools, comes to mind: 'One Nation … indivisible'. The discourse of the European Union certainly does not present a united and indivisible proposition. In the examples below, Britain (and British people) are presented as quite distinct from continental Europe (4.17). Even a largely pro-European tone in *The Times* (4.18) differentiates 'mainland' Europe, and emphasises the significance of the differentiation.

> (4.17)   … 'here's no imminent threat of military conquest, just the prospect of economic ruin. And once again our fate is tied up with turmoil in Europe. Churchill was, of course, in favour of binding the nations of Continental Europe closer together. But he didn't intend Britain to be part of it. (*The Daily Mail,* November 4th 2011)

> (4.18)   ... When Mr Cameron makes his speech he should pick the location carefully. In a continent where symbols are important, making it on mainland European soil and at a great trading city, such as Antwerp or Rotterdam, will underline both his commitment to Europe and to a more open Europe. (*The Times,* 26 Nov, 2012)

Brussels appears high in the EURef Corpus frequency list and is frequently used metonymically as an alternative or shorthand way to refer to the EU which, I argue, only serves to emphasise British separation. Dugales and Tucker note the way in which 'Brussels' is used in this way 'to represent the decision-making institutional Europe' (2012:44) which is supported by the significance of the collocate **summit** with Brussels being the location of summit meetings of the European Commission (see Tables 4.10 and 4.11 on page 58 below). It is by no means clear however that **Brussels** always stands for the European commission specifically. 'Brussels employment laws' (quote 4.22 below) for example, would appear to refer to the legislative role of the European Parliament, which has its administrative offices in Luxembourg and is just as likely to meet in Strasbourg as Brussels.

> (4.19)   '…it's time Brussels acknowledged that "ever closer union" is not in the interests of all EU member states.' (*The Sunday Telegraph*, 2 June 2013)

> (4.20)   'The economic problems of the Eurozone have revitalised the anti-Brussels agenda.' (*Mail on Sunday,* October 2nd, 2011)

> (4.21)   'The Prime Minister has hinted he could offer a referendum ... on the terms of a new deal with Brussels rather than letting voters opted to leave the EU. In the wake of last week's Brussels budget summit.' (*The Express,* November 28th 2012)

> (4.22)   'It pays the European trade union Congress to demand more Brussels employment laws.' (*The Daily Mail,* August 15th, 2012)

Tabloids tend use the term **Brussels** somewhat more frequently than broadsheets in the EURef Corpus, which may suggest that it is partly used as a colloquial form or simple shorthand to refer to the European Union, (Dugales and Tucker (2012:47). Right-leaning newspapers, however, generally use **Brussels** more frequently than the left-leaning publications and this is particularly clear when comparing frequency per million tokens between the tabloids (Table 4.8, below), suggesting that the term does serve rhetorical purpose for those publications as a way of distancing the workings of the EU. Analysis of collocates shows that **powers** is significant in all newspapers. Interestingly, this is particularly strong with left leaning publications where **powers** is the top collocate for all. Teubert notes concern in Eurosceptic discourse about power being handed over to Brussels (2001:57) but it would seem that the discourse has changed and is now of transfer of powers 'back' to Britain 'from' Brussels. The issue appears to be most significant in *The Daily Mirro*r where **Brussels** collocates with **powers** more than 26% of the time, considerably more than any other publication (see Table 4.9 below). This is despite *The Mirror* being a left of centre tabloid that might be expected to promote a pro-Europe ideology.

Table 4.8: BRUSSELS - Rounded frequency per million

Right Leaning Broadsheet		Left Leaning Broadsheet		Right Leaning Tabloid		Left Leaning Tabloid	
Telegraph	858	Guardian	727	Sun	1322	Mirror	997
Times	1025	Observer	935	Mail	1297		
S. Times	1019	Independent	877	Express	1590		

TABLE 4.9: Frequency of BRUSSELS and the collocate POWERS by publication

		Brussels #	Brussels / Powers #	Brussels / Powers %
Left Leaning Broadsheet	Guardian	507	49	9.66%
	Observer	118	11	9.32%
	Independent	337	59	17.51%
Right Leaning Broadsheet	Telegraph	332	48	14.46%
	Times	480	66	13.75%
	Sunday Times	239	18	7.73%
Left Tabloid	Mirror	95	25	26.31%
Right Leaning Tabloid	Mail & MOS	988	197	19.93%
	Sun	398	67	16.83%
	Express	1684	149	8.85%

The examples below from *The Daily Mirror* (4.23-4.25) speak of difficulties that the Prime Minister faces, express agreement with the leader of the opposition and discuss the possibility of an EU referendum, all of which are arguably inward looking national concerns. The focus of the articles is to criticise the British government but Brussels is still negatively presented as an entity to which Britain has 'lost powers' which we need to 'claw back'. Our relationship with Europe is characterised as having a 'widening rift'. Whilst there is no explicit argument against membership of the EU, indeed the *Daily Mirror* could be considered pro-EU, the terms of the discussion nevertheless problematize the EU and characterize Britain's relationship with it as antagonistic, thus effectively contributing to an anti-EU position. I would also argue that this contributes towards construing the European Union in a nation-like way in opposition to Britain. The 'strategy' is a 'constructive' one and builds a picture of the EU as having specific political 'values', and 'aims' (De Cillia, et al. 1999:158) of gaining power and increasing political union, against British wishes. That Brussels is positioned as a counterpart to Westminster, the British national seat of power, further strengthens the notion of the EU being 'nation-like'.

> (4.23)   '...on a torrid day for the PM, his promise to use the summit to claw back powers from Brussels fell to pieces when German leader Angela Merkel made clear she would make no concessions to Britain in the talks.' (*The Daily Mirror,* 8 December 2011)

> (4.24)   '... Ed Miliband's decision to only hold a vote if Britain loses more powers to Brussels is the better one, but the Eurosceptics will not see it this way.' (*The Daily Mirror*, 17 March 2014)

> (4.25)   '... Mr. Osborne underlined the widening rift with Europe by suggesting a deeper political union with the transfer of more powers from Westminster to Brussels could trigger a vote at home.' (*The Daily Mirror*, 8 June 2012)

The same negative associations are of course found in right-leaning publications. However, whereas other significant collocates in left-leaning press point to discourse of **powers to** and **from** Brussels, *The Daily Express* in particular is additionally concerned with **unelected bureaucrats**, **interference** and **meddling** (see Table 4.10 below). Teubert notes in his study of Eurosceptic discourse, 'it may not be immoral to be a bureaucrat but it is always the others and not ourselves that we call bureaucrats' (Teubert 2001:49). Such terms may be described as 'stigma keywords' which are those words used to 'implicate adversaries' (Hermans, cited in Teubert 2001:49).

TABLE 4.10: Collocates of 'BRUSSELS' in Right Leaning publications

Tabloid			Broadsheet		
The Sun	**Express**	**Daily Mail & MOS**	**Telegraph**	**Times**	**Sunday Times**
powers	ties,	claw	summit	powers	powers
power	bureaucrats	repatriate	powers	Westminster	relationship
back	links	ties	from	summit	back
from	anti	powers	in	relationship	from
with	powers	summit	Britain	from	with
more	interference	relationship	with	back	Britain
Britain	meddling	renegotiate	by	with	in
Mr	summit	Westminster	to	in	will
in	unelected	power	as	Britain	Cameron
to	rule	from	has	more	on

TABLE 4.11: Collocates of 'BRUSSELS' in left leaning publications

Tabloid	Broadsheet		
Mirror & Sunday Mirror	**Guardian**	**Observer**	**Independent**
powers	powers	powers	powers
summit	summit	summit	summit
from	from	from	back
back	in	in	from
more	Britain	Cameron	in
would	Cameron	with	at
Mr	with	on	Britain
to	at	for	Mr
said	on	as	to
Cameron	and	to	Cameron

The difference between *The Express* and *The Mirror* lies in the way the former explicitly makes the argument against EU membership whereas the latter reports that an argument is being made. In *The Express*, power is judged to have been 'indiscriminately' given to Brussels from whom we have to endure 'interference' and the metaphorical 'avalanche of regulations' which gives the impression of a dangerous unstoppable force in danger of subsuming us (4.26-4.28 below). Evaluation is indicated through 'attitudinal terms' (White, 2004:236). These terms are not quoted or attributed to other sources, but rather represent the particular Anti-EU perspective of *The Express,* which not only positions the EU as a threat to Britain but also conveys a sense of extreme urgency. Furthermore, the collocational pair

Brussels and **powers** occurs 149 times from 2010 to 2014 meaning that *Express* readers are frequently exposed to such evaluations[12].

> .
> (4.26) 'We must recover all those powers indiscriminately handed over to Brussels by the previous government.' (*The Express*, November 30th, 2010)
>
> (4.27) 'Never a day goes by without some kind of interference from Brussels bureaucrats in our everyday lives.' (*The Express,* August 3rd, 2011)
>
> (4.28) 'The long anticipated speech – to be delivered in central London venue – will cheer Tory backbenchers tired of the growing avalanche of regulations and meddling from Brussels and frustrated by government betrayals of referendum pledges.' (*The Express* January 23rd, 2013)

The metonymic use of the term 'Brussels' then, effectively backgrounds individual institutions and the workings of the EU. Arguably, the consequence of this is to make the EU less identifiable and so seem less accountable, playing to a Eurosceptic argument that the EU is undemocratic. It also de-emphasizes the fact that Britain is a part of the institutional body that constitutes 'Brussels', whether that is elected British MEPs sitting in the European Parliament or the British Prime Minister representing the country at EU summit meetings. Furthermore, Dugales and Tucker note the 'social-psychological' potential for this use of 'Brussels' to evoke 'the notion of foreignness' placing The EU firmly on continental European soil and separate from Britain (2012:46). This, combined with the extent to which Brussels is negatively associated with a loss of power, even within publications that are broadly supportive of European Union membership, conspires to boost anti-EU stance and severely curtail any pro-EU argument.

4.4.3 A Franco-German Alliance

The only European country names appearing in the corpus frequency list are **Germany** (1719), **France** (1169) and **Greece** (1190). Greece is mentioned almost exclusively in relation to their financial crisis and its impact on the Euro, but the relationship between France and Germany is particularly significant in the corpus as evidenced by analysis of collocates. The most significant collocate for each is the other. Using a span of +/- 4, **France** and **Germany** collocate 392 times with a T-Score significance of 19.73. In both cases, the next most significant collocate has a T-Score of around 8. The phrase **France and...** appears 279 times in the corpus and 61% of the time **Germany** is the next word. The next most frequent country

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[12] See Chapter Six for detailed consideration of evaluation in the EURef Corpus

name collocates are **Italy**, **Spain** and **Greece** with just 16, 11 and 11 occurrences respectively. The phrase **Germany and...** appears 250 times and is followed by **France** 50% of the time.

A closer examination of articles shows Germany and France represented as acting together, often in opposition to Britain's wishes. They are variously our 'competitors', who 'demand' and 'react angrily' (4.30) as well as letting 'Greece get away without paying' (4.32) suggesting that they have control over European decisions and lending support to the assertion that media discourse about Europe is dominated by the idea of a 'Franco-German alliance' which poses a threat to Britain (Hawkins, 2012). These depictions, whether in right-leaning anti-EU tabloid, or left-leaning, pro-EU broadsheet, downplay the involvement of other EU countries in decision making and de-emphasise the workings of the European Union.

(4.29)   'Mr Cameron said he was sure there would be treaty change. However, one report yesterday suggested Germany and France were hardening their stance. They have already turned down an offer to join the foreign office led review of what EU powers should be returned to member states.' (*The Express*, April 8, 2013)

(4.30)   'Downing Street was forced to bring forward the speech by four days after France and Germany reacted angrily to reports that it would take place on 22 January.' (*The Guardian,* January 15, 2013)

(4.31)   'The Chancellor makes it clear that Britain will not be bullied by France and Germany into giving up its same key areas such as regulation of financial services.' (*The Sunday Telegraph*, July 24, 2011)

(4.32)   'If Germany and France lets Greece get away without paying its debts then there's no way the money owed by Italy and Spain is safe.' (*Daily Mirror*, since November 2011)

(4.33)   'Reports emerged last week, after a brutal sell-off in bond markets sent Italy's borrowing costs soaring, that France and Germany had discussed the idea of a smaller Eurozone, with weaker states such as Greece encouraged to leave, and the inevitable creation of a two-tier EU.' (*The Observer,* November 13, 2011)

In order to define national identity, it is necessary to define the 'foreigner' (Billig, 1995:79). If the metonymic use of the term 'Brussels', as shown in the previous section, serves to background the workings of the European Union, I argue that the focus on France and Germany defines Europe as 'other' in specifically national terms. It is significant that the *Daily Mail* defines 'Europe' as distinct from Britain utilising the topic of a 'collective history' and a 'constructive' strategy (De Cillia et al. 1999:158) by selectively building EU identity in the national image of some of its members. It is not always overtly done, but by recalling European history of 'revolutions' (France) and 'reunifications' (Germany), the European Union is presented in national Franco-German terms even without mentioning those countries (4.34). Furthermore, the national characteristics emphasised are related to war and conflict.

(4.34)   'EVERY few decades, the British people realise that continental Europe matters to them whether they want it to or not. Its revolutions, reunifications and power struggles often appear remote, but eventually, and sometimes violently, reach across the narrow Channel to alarm and shake us.' (*The Mail on Sunday*, October 23rd 2011)

Elsewhere, references are much more explicit and the character of France and Germany, and thereby the European Union, is construed in part through the activation of stereotypical representations of those countries. Drawing on van Dijk's 'topic classes' found in racist discourse, Hardt-Mautner's 1995 study on the British Press and EU integration identified three topic areas of stereotyping emphasising difference between 'us' and the French and Germans (Hardt-Mautner 1995:186-186), all of which are apparent on examination of concordance lines of **Germany** / **German** or **France** / **French**. First, there is reference to national dress or food, second, deviant spelling to mimic foreign accents and third, construction of a fundamental difference between a pragmatic and 'down to earth' British political ideology and a 'grand vision' of a 'federal' Europe.

An example of reference to national dress or food can be found in the mention of 'Grand Fromage/s' (4.35) (4.36) which recalls the somewhat derogatory English term 'big cheese' to describe French officials who are described as a 'class' suggesting that not only that French visions of the EU are incompatible with those of the British, but that their aims are distinct from ordinary citizens. Interestingly, in the second example, the term is used to describe a British Lord who is a supporter of EU membership and was once an EU Commissioner. Arguably, using a French term associate him with the European Union in this way implies that his support for the EU makes him less British. It is necessary to compile a list of search terms in order to find references to European food and dress in a corpus. That list, relying as it does on the knowledge the analyst brings, or that which may have been found in other research, may not be sufficiently comprehensive to capture all instances. In this case, single examples were found of 'Wurst', 'Baguette', 'garlic' and 'Croissant' were found. References to German and French language are also found. It is interesting that whilst the German and French titles 'Frau',' Herr' and 'Monsieur' do not occur often in the EURef Corpus (seven, fourteen and eight times respectively), where they do, the use appears insincere since they are often combined with additional rather scathing national references, in all cases emphasising the 'foreignness' of those discussed. The phrase 'Monsieur Elf et Securite' (4.39) utilises deviant spelling to expresses contempt for the European Health and Safety at Work directive and 'Frau-Europa' in reference to Angela Merkel is a less than flattering reference

(4.38). Perhaps surprisingly, with the exception of one occurrence of **Monsieur** in *The Sunday Mirror* and four examples of **Herr** in Tabloids, all other references appear in Broadsheet publications. German terms of endearment found in the Independent are used to characterise a response from Angela Merkel which it is then said, didn't happen (4.41) as if to suggest that she would never be so friendly to Britain.

> (4.35)   '…The French official class is still wedded to the dream of Europe as a French jockey on the German horse... No wonder the Grand Fromages who run the French state are increasingly neuralgic.' (*Sunday Telegraph,* May 5, 2013)

> (4.36)   '…Lord Richard (Lab), once a grand fromage of the European Commission, was a living bifurcation of ennui and vexation, disdain and dismay brought together in the same vinaigrette bottle and given a brisk shaking.' (*Daily Mail*, January 11th 2014)

> (4.37)   '…WHAT EU chief José Manuel Barroso knows about Britain could be engraved in large letters on the back of a stale croissant.' (*The Sun,* September 15th 2013)

> (4.38)   '… It may be tempting to want to think of Merkel as the re-elected Frau Europa. But, unless she shows otherwise, the larger reality is that she is the re-elected Frau Deutschland. (*The Guardian,* December 19th 2013)

> (4.39)   '…We choose how long we want to stay on the job, Monsieur "Elf et Sécurité". '(*The Sunday Times,* November 25th 2012)

> (4.40)   '…Most of us recoil in horror as we watch Monsieur Sarkozy saying: "Just one more wafffer-thin [sic] power grab..." as he pushes yet another treaty change at Britain like the maitre d' in Monty Python's The Meaning of Life' (*The Sunday Mirror,* December 11, 2011)

> (4.41)   'Repatriation of powers? Opt-out from the social contract? Kein problem, mein liebe. Major treaty changes to allow domestic parliaments a veto on EU legislation? Naturlich, Prime Minister. Anything you need to win that 2017 referendum and get those rebels off your back! Except the last part didn't happen.' (*The Independent,* February 28, 2014)

Whilst terms relating to French and German food, drink and language are found, it should be noted that they are not particularly frequent. Nevertheless, I would argue that the cumulative effect of occasional 'jokes' about food and drink, plus references to foreign language combine with the much more significant category of 'national mentality' to detrimental effect. The words 'dictate' and 'domination' have negative connotations in the British psyche and have long been found in anti-EU discourse (Teubert, 2001:58; Mautner, 2001:18). Both the *Daily Mail* and *The Express* resort to to the use of these terms which not only emphasise fears about the loss of British sovereignty, but also recall the horrors of WWII with all the stereotypical negative connotations about Germany that entails (4.42). Furthermore, I would argue that reference to bullies offends British sensibilities about fair play

and decency (4.43) with right wing tabloids *The Sun, The Daily Mail*, and *The Express* all characterising the French and Germans this way. Perhaps one of the most significant terms in the EU debate is 'federal'. It has been pointed out that for some countries, such as Germany, 'federal' is generally seen as a good thing, but in Britain it has a distinctly negative prosody (Mautner, 2001:12; Teubert, 2001:5).

> (4.42) '…Alongside the EU commission, the government of German Chancellor Angela Merkel now dictates the shape of the EU. The path of integration is also the road to German domination.' (*The Express,* November 21, 2011)

> (4.43 '…The Franco German bullies insist that everyone continues to buy into the mad fantasy that both the euro and the EU can survive.' (*Daily Mail,* November 5, 2011)

> (4.44) '…The original Franco-German plan for the EU constitution envisaged that the Union should gradually take over national powers and create a single European state. The Lisbon treaty was a federalist treaty drafted in this spirit…' (*The Times,* October 28th, 2011)

> (4.45) '…The smart money has to be on a Berlin-Paris accommodation that allows Hollande to save face while advancing the German federalist agenda.' (The Guardian, October 15th 2012)

> (4.46) '…the Euro elite's faith in their great project remains undaunted. Despite the palpable costs of federalist idealism, the leaders of Germany and France seem determined to keep moving towards their dream of "ever-closer union".' (*The Daily Mail,* July 23rd 2011)

The consequence of the focus on France and Germany in the EURef Corpus is to define the European Union in nation-like, negative and stereotypical terms. This is achieved as a result of the fact that the European Union is not otherwise strongly defined thanks to polysemous references to Europe and the backgrounding effect of the metonymic Brussels as noted in the previous section of this discussion. Furthermore, since Britain, as also previously noted, is so strongly construed as separate from the European Union, I would argue that this effectively leaves a vacuum – a need to define the 'other' - which is ultimately filled by a Franco-German identity in the absence of a consistent alternative. Since that which is threatened (Britain) is construed in 'national' terms, then 'that which threatens it' is also construed in the same way.

4.5   Conclusions on the Construction of Identity

Analysis shows that British and European identities are constructed in such a way as to make the two mutually exclusive. This is achieved partly through the development of a discourse prosody that depicts an almost wholly British 'us' set against a European 'them'.

There is, quite simply, no significant discourse of 'we' defined as European. Even where occasional allusions to Britain as part of Europe exist, most often through quotation of EU politicians such as Angela Merkel, they are surrounded both within individual texts and in the corpus as a whole with national references, negative depictions of those who make such statements and even outright derision. The absence of a constructive strategy building on notions of British identity which incorporate the supra-national EU is notable. Instead, the overall emphasis tends to be of perpetuating traditional notions of British identity and the result is to nullify a concept of 'we' beyond national boundaries, even in publications broadly supportive of EU membership. Whereas evocation of national identity is more overt in right-leaning publications, that is not to say that it is absent from left-leaning ones. Even where publications are explicitly supportive of EU membership, any pro-EU arguments put forward have to operate within an environment that discursively constructs the European as 'other'; as 'them', in opposition to 'us'.

Further, within the context of a Europe (and European Union) 'separate from us', is the construction of Europe in nation-like terms utilising many of the topics and strategies noted by Wodak et al. (2009) This takes the form of depicting Europe in Franco-German national (stereotypical) terms. The construal of the EU as a quasi-national entity, combined with relatively vague and stereotypical depictions of the EU and other European nations, along with the detrimental effect of polysemous reference to a dividable Europe, effectively serves to limit the success of presenting pro-EU argument in the press. Hardt-Mautner's assertion that 'the Eurosceptic side is adept at mobilizing anti-European sentiment' whereas 'the Europhile camp seems to have nothing to offer in reply' (1995:204) is only part of the issue. The present study suggests that even where pro-EU arguments are offered, they will inevitably be presented in a wider context that depicts the European Union as a foreign power, separate from Britain, and this leads to discourse which is fundamentally resistant to a more broadly construed British national identity as part of the EU.

Having established the significance of a European Union construed as a nation-like entity and 'other' to Britain, the following chapter goes on to consider the representation of social actors, both British and European, in the EURef Corpus.

Chapter Five: Representation of Actors

5.1   Introduction

This chapter further develops an understanding of the construction of collective identity within the EURef Corpus by focusing on the representation of social actors, humans and institutions, and comparing how different newspapers present the British and Europeans. A central tenet of (critical) Discourse Analysis is that language encodes ideology and is thereby important in 'delimiting social groups' (Fowler, 1991:4). As such, which individuals and groups are referred to in news texts about the European Union, and the way this is done, potentially has significant impact on public perception of the EU and of their position within it. In addition, the way in which social actors are represented combines with other parameters, such as evaluation, metaphoric expression and modality in texts to act as a building block for the establishment and maintenance of collective identity (Koller, 2012:23). Furthermore, as van Leeuwen notes '…representations include or exclude social actors to suit [publication's] interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended.' (1996:41).

Initial analysis of the EURef Corpus showed that social actors (entities, individuals and groups) represent the largest set of the most frequently used lemmas in the corpus. Human actors in the EURef Corpus frequency list include British politicians as well as politicians from other European countries and terms to refer to citizens. It quickly becomes apparent that relatively few politicians from EU countries other than Britain are mentioned and that terms referring to citizens almost exclusively represent British rather than European people. Van Leeuwen notes the importance of exclusion in the representation of social actors and notes that 'radical exclusion' leaves no trace in the discourse (1996:38.). Corpus methods offer considerable benefits in this case as it is possible to establish people and entities who are frequently mentioned, but also to search for named individuals in specific political roles, or for specific synonyms likely to return reference to European Union citizens.

To address the research question 'How are British and European social actors represented in the EURef Corpus?', this analysis will first consider representations of British and European politicians. Mention of British Prime Minister David **Cameron** will be compared to that of the German Chancellor Angel **Merkel** and Jean-Claude **Juncker**, Head of the

European Commission. In addition, specific searches of proper names will be undertaken, to identify EU politicians; their relative absence in the corpus will be discussed.

Secondly, representations of European Union institutions will be studied. EU institutions are relatively infrequently mentioned in the corpus, with only the European Commission and the European Parliament appearing in the EURef Frequency list. The representation of the Commission and the European Parliament will be analysed and possible reasons for and consequences of the relative absence of other institutions discussed.

Finally, the three terms from the frequency list that refer to the general public, **people** **public** and **voters**, will be examined. The N-Gram **European People** appears only 56 times in the EURef Corpus and in all but six cases refers to the German 'European People's Party'. In order to attempt to characterize representation of European people the word **citizen**, a synonym of **people** will be studied. Further, **immigrant** and **migrant** will be considered as keyword analysis initially undertaken suggests that discussion of European people in the context of immigration to Britain is taking place within specific publications.

5.2   Theoretical Framework

Theo van Leeuwen developed a 'sociosemantic' taxonomy of potential ways in which social actors may be represented in a text. He proposed sociological categories of representation 'tied to specific linguistic or rhetorical formulations' noting that theories and methods of discourse analysis are generally 'formally neat but semantically messy… or semantically neat and formally messy' (1996:33-34), as there is no neat correlation between the sociological categories which such analysis seeks to illuminate and the formal linguistic categories which supply evidence. Potential ways of representing actors are signified by 21 'systems', which offer 'either-or' choices. An actor, for example, may be included or excluded from a text and (if included) may be 'personalized' or 'impersonalized'. Those systems are located in a network where the mutually exclusive choices are apparent, as are those choices that may be 'simultaneous'. As noted, an actor may be included in a text and either 'personalized' or 'impersonalized', but there may also be 'Activation' or 'Passivation' of that included actor.

Figure 5.1 Representation of Social Actors: system network (reproduced from van Leeuwen, 1996:66)
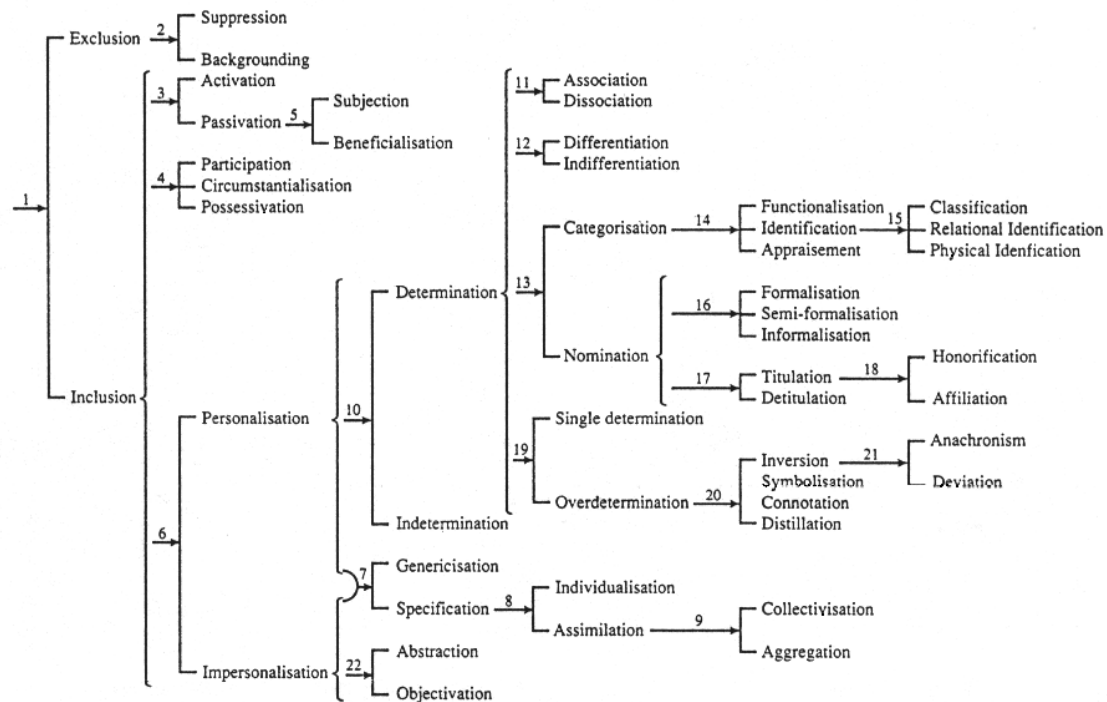
The system network was not developed for corpus studies but rather to facilitate more detailed analysis of individual texts, and indeed it does not lend itself to corpus analysis since the system network categories are functional rather than based on specific linguistic forms. As such, the present study does not attempt to offer complete scrutiny of all aspects of actor representation found in the EURef Corpus. Nevertheless, using corpus methods does prove fruitful in analysis both of the predominance of particular social actors in the discourse and for the identification of salient aspects of their representation. Specifically, this study focuses on 'inclusion' and 'exclusion'; the extent to which certain actors are backgrounded or suppressed in texts. As previously noted, the study of absence in a corpus has not been explored in the literature (Taylor, 2013), but in this case, where potential actors such as EU politicians are known, it is possible to search and establish patterns of exclusion.

In addition, theories of 'news values' were found to be important in explaining the representation of actors as well as the absence of certain actors in the corpus. News values may be defined as the criteria by which people and events are selected for inclusion in news publications. From a discursive perspective, such values influence the way those events and social actors are portrayed or 'constructed through discourse' (Bednarek & Caple, 2012:45). Variously categorised by researchers within linguistics and sociology, Fowler describes news values as 'probably more or less unconscious in editorial practice' (1991, p13). Following Bednarek & Capel, this study will consider categories of news values derived from Bell's 1991 study (in turn developed from Galtung and Ruge, 1965) and defined as 'values in news actors and events' (cited in Bednarek & Capel, 2012:41). There are nine categories of news values to consider. The following Table (5.1) outlines the key linguistic devices used in the construal of each category from a discursive perspective.

TABLE 5.1: Summary of News Values

VALUE	MEANING	KEY LINGUISTIC DEVICES
Negativity	Negative aspects of an event	Construed through negative vocabulary; negative evaluative language; reference to negative emotion
Timeliness	Relevance of event in terms of time	Reference to time; verb tense and aspect;
Proximity	The Geographical or cultural proximity of an event	Reference to place; reference to nation and community; first person plural pronouns
Prominence	The status of the individuals or nations involved (including quoted sources)	Evaluative language indicating importance; role labels;
Consonance	The extent to which aspects of a story fit in with stereotypes that people may hold	Evaluative language indicating expectedness; conventionalised metaphors; comparison; repetition;
Impact	The effects or consequences of an event	Evaluative language relating to importance or impact of an event; intensification and quantifications relating to the impact of an event; reference to emotion caused by an event or the effects / impact of an event
Novelty	The unexpected aspects of an event	Evaluative language indicating unexpectedness; comparison; reference to surprise
Superlativeness	The maximised of intensified aspects of an event	Intensification and quantification; reference to strong emotion; intensifying metaphor and simile
Personalisation	The personal or human interest aspects of an event	Reference to emotion; quotation; reference to individuals

(adapted from Bednarek & Capel, 2012, pp.219-223)

5.3   Method

This analysis will first consider representations of British politicians and politicians of other European Union countries, specifically British Prime Minister David Cameron compared to those of the German Chancellor Angel Merkel and Jean-Claude Juncker, Head of the European Commission. In addition, specific searches of proper names will be undertaken, to identify EU politicians. Through the use of frequency counts and the examination of concordance lines, their relative absence in the corpus will be discussed. Secondly, representations of European Union institutions will be studied. Only the European Commission and the European Parliament appear with any regularity in the corpus. The relative absence of other EU bodies will be analysed.

Two terms from the frequency list that refer to the general public, **people**, **public** and will be examined. Concordance lines will be examined, and expanded where necessary, and collocates of the node words under investigation will be established. The N-Gram 'European People' appears only 56 times in the EURef Corpus and 50 of those refer to the 'European People's Party'. In order to attempt to characterise representation of European people the word **citizen**, a synonym of **people,** will be studied. Further, **immigrant** and **migrant** will be considered as keyword analysis initially undertaken suggests that discussion of European people in the context of immigration to Britain was taking place within specific publications.

The following section details the analysis, after which conclusions will be drawn regarding the representation of social actors in the EURef Corpus.

5.4   Analysis

5.4.1   Their Politicians and Ours

Unsurprisingly, the most frequently mentioned politician in the EURef Corpus is the British Prime Minister, David Cameron, followed by Deputy PM, Nick Clegg, and Labour leader, Ed Miliband. Leader of the anti-EU UK Independence Party (UKIP), Nigel Farage, also appears as does the Chancellor of the Exchequer, George Osborne. Only two politicians from other EU countries appear. The most frequent is German Chancellor, Angela Merkel. She holds no specific EU office but is the European Union's longest serving national leader and has been named by Forbes Magazine as the most powerful woman in the world in 2015[13]. The second is Jean-Claude Juncker, a former Prime Minister of Luxembourg and currently the President of the European Commission: from 2005 – 2013, he was President of the Eurogroup which comprises finance ministers of the Eurozone countries.

Table 5.2   All Politicians appearing in the EURef Frequency List

Politician	Position	Nationality	Frequency
David **Cameron**	Prime Minister	British	16,199
Nick **Clegg**	Deputy PM	British	3,006
Ed **Miliband**	Labour Leader	British	2,976
Nigel **Farage**	UKIP Leader	British	2,341
Angela **Merkel**	Chancellor*	German	1,939
George **Osborne**	Chancellor	British	1,387
Jean-Claude **Juncker**	Eurogroup President And European Commission candidate	French	978

Cameron and **Merkel** collocate 218 times in the EURef Corpus (+/- 5; T-Score 14.15) which is more than the 209 instances of **Cameron** and **Osborne** (T-score 14.12) and fewer than only Nick **Clegg** (359; T-Score 18.15) and Ed **Miliband** (269; T-Score 15.49) signifying not just her significance as a representative of the EU in British newspaper discourse, but also suggesting that she is central to the British Prime Minister's dealings with the European Union.

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[13] http://www.forbes.com/profile/angela-merkel/

Their relationship is often presented as antagonistic with them at 'loggerheads' (5.1), and her 'less than pleased' (5.2). She is depicted as berating Cameron (5.3) and the Eurozone crisis is seen as an insurmountable issue between them (5.4).

(5.1)   '…Mr Cameron and Mrs Merkel remained at loggerheads on proposals for a European financial transaction tax, which Mrs Merkel wants but Mr Cameron fears would harm the City.' (*The Times*, November 19, 2011)

(5.2)   '…The German chancellor has been less than pleased with what she saw of Cameron in opposition. So the old Etonian has his work cut out if he wants to develop a meaningful relationship with the east German pastor's daughter.' (*The Guardian,* May 22nd 2010)

(5.3)   '…ANGELA Merkel has publicly slapped down David Cameron for issuing threats to leave Europe if he does not get his way over choosing the new European Commission president.' (The *Daily Mail,* June 11th 2014)

(5.4)   '…DAVID Cameron and Angela Merkel tried to put on a united front at their meeting yesterday, but their forced bonhomie could not mask the bitter divisions in their thinking on the Eurozone crisis. (*The Daily Mail,* November 19th 2011)

There are, however, occasions when Merkel is represented as an ally, supporting Cameron on issues of austerity (5.5) and migrant benefits (5.6) and giving the 'green light' to renegotiate EU membership terms (5.7). Despite receiving support from Merkel in some areas, mostly relating to the economy, it is important to note that conflict in the EU is still emphasised. It is necessary to 'drag' the EU to cut its budget and discussions over migrant benefits are characterised as a 'battle'. In her support is also positioned as strategic in that she wants to avoid 'an embrace of economic death' and therefore needs Britain's support. The importance of negativity in news values is evident. Negativity is sometimes described as 'the basic news value' (Bell, 1991 cited in Bednarek & Capel, 2012:42) and the extent to which Angela Merkel is presented in negative contexts is striking.

(5.5)   '…Cameron and Merkel finally drag EU into the age of austerity: Northern Europeans win the day as EU budget is cut.' *(The Guardian*, February 9th 2013)

(5.6)   '…Merkel supports Cameron in battle over migrant benefits.' (*The Times*, July 3rd, 2014)

(5.7)   '…ANGELA Merkel will this week give the green light to David Cameron's attempt to renegotiate Britain's relationship with Brussels. … She wants Britain in. She doesn't want to be stuck in an embrace of economic death with [French president] Francois Hollande.' (*The Daily Mail*, February 24th 2014)

In addition to the frequency with which **Merkel** collocates with **Cameron**, the collocational pair **Merkel / Sarkozy** is equally significant (201, T-Score 14.15). Nicholas Sarkozy was president of France until 2012 when François Hollande replaced him. The are a further 33 collocates of **Merkel / Hollande.** This is perhaps not surprising having established the discursive construction of a Franco-German alliance in the EURef Corpus in the previous chapter of this thesis. Perhaps predictably, Merkel and the French president are represented as working together to the detriment of Cameron and to the exclusion of other EU countries. These negative representations only served to reinforce the construal of Europe in quasi nation-like terms as the 'other'. Risse suggests that Europe is constructed as a 'friendly other' (2010:83), but evidence from the EURef Corpus suggests a somewhat more antagonistic relationship with David Cameron being 'snubbed' (5.8) by France and Germany joining forces in negotiation to gain support.

(5,8)   '…David Cameron has been dealt a major blow after Angela Merkel and Francois Hollande snubbed a special UK exercise to assess the impact of EU laws and regulations on Britain and the rest of Europe.' (The Guardian, April 2nd 2013)

(5.9)   '…I dread to think what will be the outcome of this new treaty dreamed up by Angela Merkel and Nicolas Sarkozy.' (*The Express,* December 7th 2011)

(5.10)   '…In return for David Cameron endorsing their plan to save the euro, the power couple of Merkel and Sarkozy were expected to back down from demanding further regulation of the City of London.' (*The Daily Mail,* December 2010)

The only other EU politician to appear in the EURef Frequency list is Jean-Claude Juncker. On November 1st 2014 he assumed the office of President of the European Commission and it is notable that it is exclusively in the lead up to this appointment that reference is made to him in the last few months of the corpus timeframe. The key to this, as shown by examples 5.11 and 5.12 below, is that Juncker's appointment was controversial in the UK with David Cameron attempting to block his appointment. David Cameron is the participant in negatively loaded processes 'accused' and 'clashed' and in *The Express,* European leaders are 'anointing' Juncker suggesting no democratic process has taken place and affording him no agency. It is the controversy that makes Junker newsworthy, rather than the role he plays in Europe. This is confirmed by the relative absence of his predecessor, Jose-Emanuel Barroso, President of the EU Commission from 2004 to 2014, who was mentioned only 324 times in the corpus compared to 978 mentions of Juncker (see table 5.4 below).

(5.11)   'David Cameron last night accused European leaders of pushing Britain towards an EU exit by anointing veteran Eurocrat Jean-Claude Junker to the top post in Brussels' (*The Express*, June 28th 2014)

(5.12)   'David Cameron clashed again yesterday with Angela Merkel over the top job in the EU… The Prime Minister's remarks were confirmation he is seeking to block Jean-Claude Juncker from becoming president of the European commission' (*The Guardian* , June 3rd 2014)

Examination of references to EU officials who don't appear in the EURef Frequency List was undertaken (see Table 5.3, p.75 below) and further emphasises just how important news values of controversy and negativity are.   Herman van Rompuy, President of the European Council, has 302 mentions in the corpus 70 of which (23%) come from *The Express* (see quotes 5.13 and 5.14 below). Negativity is construed through the use of evaluative vocabulary and emotion ('provoked outrage', visceral loathing'). Furthermore, the values of Prominence ('Top Eurocrat', 'EU…president), and Superlativeness ('sinister' 'loathing') signify the newsworthiness of the story. By contrast, only four mentions of Van Rompuy appear in *The Observer* (34 per million, compared to 88 per million in *The Express*). In two of these, he is mentioned in passing only in terms of his role as the person 'charged with banging heads together' regarding the controversial election of Jean-Claude Junker (*The Observer,* 22 June, 2014) and in another, he is simply referred to as having been advised by British MEP Richard Corbett. Van Rompuy himself simply isn't construed as newsworthy; indeed, *The Observer* goes so far as to describe him as 'hitherto invisible' (5.15).

(5.13)   '…Top Eurocrat Herman van Rompuy provoked outrage yesterday by declaring his ambition to become leader of a "United States of Europe". ' (*The Express* ,   September 7th 2011)

(5.14)   '…The Euro federalists have a visceral loathing for any concepts of patriotism or national identity, their hatred summed up by the recent outburst by the EU's sinister president Herman van Rompuy. "Egoism leads to nationalism and nationalism leads to war," he said, adding: "the time of the homogeneous nation-state is over". That is the real spirit of the EU.' (*The Express,* January 20th, 2011*)*

(5.15)   '… The British are increasingly seen as an irritation and even an irrelevance. On Friday David Cameron rushed between overseas meetings with three key players… Angela Merkel, leader of the only country with the economic heft to sort the mess out; Jose-Manuel Barroso, the Portuguese president of the European commission which is charged with giving Brussels plan for salvation; and Herman Van Rompuy, the hitherto invisible president of the European Council of ministers, the inter-governmental body that will adopt the plan.' (*The Observer*, November 20th 2011)

The Presidency of the Council of the European Union is an office held by EU nations in a six-month rotation. The Head of State for the Country in office chairs most meetings of the Council, which is one of the three institutions involved in making EU legislation. It is the body in which national governments 'defend their own country's national interests' yet Heads of State in post between 2010 and 2014 were, in total, mentioned only 113 times. Victor Orban, Prime Minister of Hungary which held the post in 2011, is mentioned 13 times. All but one of these occurs in mid 2014 where he is named as supporting David Cameron's objection to Claude Juncker's election as President of the EU commission. He was not mentioned at all in relation to his Council role. Donald Tusk, Polish Prime Minister and Council of the EU President in 2011, was the most mentioned (33 times) but again, not in relation to this role. Most references (82%) are in 2014 with regard to his candidature for the Presidency of the European Council and specifically about the leaking of a recording in which a Polish Minister ridicules David Cameron (see 5.16 below). It is interesting to note the way in which this article connects derision of Cameron by Polish officials and a defeat over the appointment of Juncker. It is Cameron's perceived failure and divisions within the EU generally, rather than the European politicians themselves, which are construed as newsworthy. This is in keeping with a tendency in the left-leaning publications to frame articles on a failure by or challenge faced by the Conservative Prime Minister. Nevertheless, the effect is still to highlight difficulties and represent the European Union in terms of conflict.

(5.16) '…on the tape…the spokesman for the Polish Prime Minister, Donald Tusk, claims Tusk "fucked him (Cameron) up good" during a conversation with the British prime minister over plans to curb access to benefits in the UK. The tapes were leaked as Cameron acknowledged that he was on course to lose his battle to prevent Juncker from being nominated by EU leaders as the next European commission president at a summit in Brussels later this week.' *(The Guardian,* June 24th, 2014)

Table 5.3 Mentions of Officials of the European Union

| EU Official	Office	Nationality	Frequency
Jose Manuel Barroso	President of the European Commission (2004-2014)	Portugal	324
Jean-Claude Juncker	President of the European Commission (2014 – to date)	Luxembourg	978
Herman van Rompuy	President of the European Council (2009-2014)	Belgium	311
Jerzy Buzek	President of the European Parliament (2009-2012)	Poland	1
Martin Schultz	President of the European Parliament (2012-2014)	Germany	2
Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero	President of the Council of the European Union (2010)	Spain	6
Yves Leterm	President of the Council of the European Union (2010)	Belgium	0
Victor Orban	President of the Council of the European Union (2011)	Hungary	13
Donald Tusk	President of the Council of the European Union (2011)	Poland	33
Helle Thorning-Schmidt	President of the Council of the European Union (2012)	Denmark	16
Demitris Christofias	President of the Council of the European Union (2012)	Cyprus	0
Enda Kenny	President of the Council of the European Union (2013)	Ireland	14
Dalia Grybauskaite	President of the Council of the European Union (2013)	Lithuania	5
Antonis Samaras	President of the Council of the European Union (2014)	Greece	0
Mateo Renzi	President of the Council of the European Union (2014)	Italy	21

5.4.2 EU Institutions

Governance in the European Union is undertaken by a number of institutions. Heads of EU member states sit on The European Council, which sets guidelines for the general development of the Union. The Council of the European union is the chief decision making body, on which one Minister from each of the member states sits, that discusses and ultimately adopts EU legislation and defines EU foreign policy. Decisions are taken in consultation with The European Parliament, whose members represent and are elected by citizens of the nation states, and The European Commission, which represents the interests of the EU as a whole, generally proposes new laws, and is a politically independent 'college of commissioners' appointed by each member state.   In addition, there are various advisory committees as well as the European Court of Justice.

Article 10 (2) of the post-Lisbon Treaty on European Union (TEU) states: 'Citizens are directly represented at Union level in the European Parliament. Member States are represented in the European Council by their Heads of State or Government and in the Council by their governments, themselves democratically accountable either to their National Parliaments, or to their citizens'[14]. Nevertheless, there is much academic debate regarding 'democratic deficit' in the European Union which has been discussed using systems theory terminology: 'output effectiveness for the people… input participation by the people… and throughput judged in terms of the efficacy, accountability and transparency of the EU's governance processes along with their inclusiveness and openness to consultation with the people' (Schmidt, 2013:2). Arguably, only through understanding of the roles of EU institutions will people feel that processes are accountable and transparent. This suggests that the extent to which the media makes the structure and organisation of the European union clear in the discourse is particularly important to a pro-EU argument.

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[14] Full text of the TEU available at: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX:12012M/TXT

Figure 5.2   *Organisation of EU Institutions*
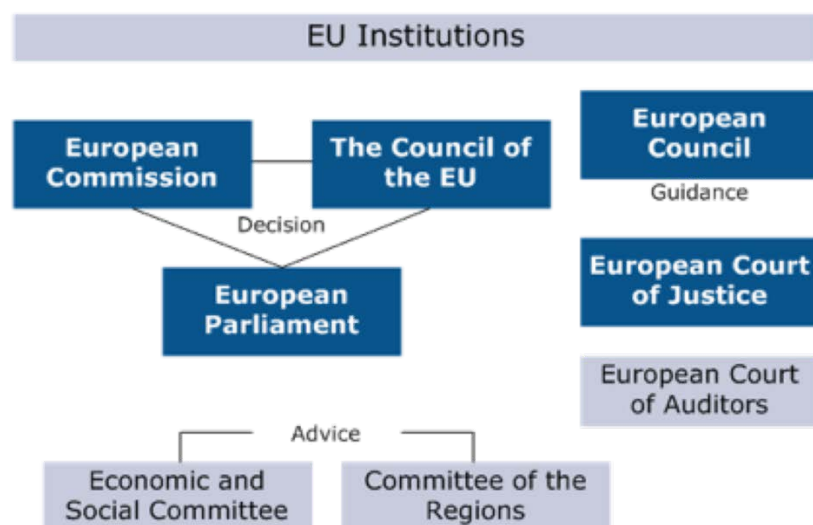
Source: http://www.dadalos-europe.org/int/grundkurs4/eu-struktur_1.htm

Dugales and Tucker (2012), in their corpus-based study about representation of EU institutions in the UK IntUne Corpus, found that it was the European Commission which received most frequent mention in the UK press, giving the impression that it was 'the heart of EU governance'. Their study also noted much confusion and ambiguity regarding the European Council (consisting of heads of state) and The Council of the European Union. In the EURef corpus, the terms **commission** (1221) and **parliament** (2524) both appear in the top 200 frequency list although it should be noted that **parliament** is mostly used to refer to the UK parliament so that figure deceptively high. The terms 'EU* Commission' and 'EU* Parliament' are found a similar number of times in the corpus; 711 and 611 respectively, which may be explained by the European Parliamentary Elections in early 2014 and significant coverage of the rise of UKIP. All other institutions are mentioned significantly fewer times (see Table 5.4 below). In fact, all EU institutions, including the Commission and the European Parliament, are relatively <u>infrequently</u> referred to across the whole corpus, compared to more general ways of discussing the EU, and where the other institutions are mentioned it tends to be in reference to a quote made by the head of that organisation. This can be compared to 13,674 instances of **The EU** and 2,085 of **the European Union** in the corpus. It seems clear that such vague reference to the European Union in the press serves to background the

workings of the organisation and limits readers' potential to understand how the European Union functions. This in turn provides an opportunity for anti-EU assertions regarding a lack of transparency and 'democratic deficit' and significantly undermines any pro-EU argument.

Table 5.4   Mentions of EU Bodies by publication (raw frequency & normalised frequency per million

	EU* Commission Raw / Per M'	EU* Council Raw / Per M'	EU* Parliament Raw / Per M'	EU* Court of Justice Raw / Per M'	Council of the EU* Raw / Per M'
Observer	25 / 215	8 / 69	20 / 180	1 / 9	0 / 0
Express	146 / 161	29 / 32	142 / 156	17 / 19	2 / 2
Independent	82 / 229	22 / 61	99 / 277	5 / 14	0 / 0
Sunday Times	32 / 149	15 / 70	35 / 163	17 / 79	1 / 5
Daily Mail	122 / 177	22 / 32	86 / 125	17 / 25	0 / 0
Times	91 / 208	32 / 73	76 / 174	13 / 30	0 / 0
Telegraph	56 / 160	29 / 82	53 / 151	13 / 37	2 / 6
Guardian	123 / 193	50 / 79	118 / 186	13 / 20	1 / 2
Mirror	2 / 23	2 / 23	5 / 58	1 / 12	0 / 0
Sun	29 / 109	4 / 15	19 / 72	3 / 11	0 / 0

The European Commission and European Parliament are mentioned, as might be expected, more frequently in Broadsheet publications and particularly infrequently by the left-leaning *Mirror*. Examination of expanded concordance lines for 'Eu* Commission' and 'Eu* Parliament' in the *Mirror* shows that where the institutions are mentioned, the context is one of criticising Prime Minister David Cameron (4 out of 7 times) or criticising Ed Miliband for equivocating on the EU issue (2 of 7). The articles are broadly supportive of the EU but are about national rather than international concerns. Even where explicit support for the European Union is expressed (see 5.17 below) this is done using deviant spelling to mimic the French language which, as already noted, is a feature of nationalistic, even racist discourse. Moreover, references are confusing when Sarkozy, Merkel and Cameron are described as 'in the European Parliament' (5.18) when none of these National leaders have a role there. In short, despite its pro-EU position, readers of the Mirror can gain no understanding of EU governance from reading their paper.

(5.17)   '…With polling day for the European Parliament elections only eight weeks away, the campaign had yet to spark into life… A Europe without its social dimension would be a different kettle de poisson. That's why Ed should get out of bed and start fighting for it… In 1975 I voted no, today I would vote yes.' (*The Daily Mirror* March 28th 2014)

(5.18)   '…The word from Brussels is chancer Cameron's poised to hop back into bed with French President Nicolas Sarkozy and German Chancellor Angela Merkel in the European Parliament.' *(The Daily Mirror*, May 26th 2010)

Left-leaning Broadsheet, *The Guardian,* mentions the European Parliament and the European Commission considerably more frequently than *The Mirror* (193 per million vs. 23). Whilst less confusing in their use of the terms, specifying an alliance with Merkel's party in the EU Parliament rather than referring to her personally for example (5.19), still the main focus of the articles is criticism of Cameron rather than explicit EU support or an explanation of roles. Furthermore, articles appear which are written, for example, by Anti-EU politicians such as Conservative MEP Daniel Hannan (5.20). Arguably, a more educated reader might be expected to have more understanding of the roles and as such, writers for the Guardian perhaps see no need for explanation, but nevertheless, the paper still refers to EU business in homogeneous terms. This also serves to background British involvement. As part of the European Union British MEPs sit in the European Parliament and there are British representatives in all institutions. Decisions made within the EU are done so with 'our' input.

(5.19)   '…There are things about David Cameron that make Angela Merkel sad. There are other things he does that leave her baffled. His decision to abandon the alliance with her party in the European parliament, for example. Or his insistence that he Britain will not be contributing to a trillion-dollar fund to save the euro, even though the currency's collapse would be a disaster for Britain.' (*The Guardian,* May 22nd 2010)

(5.20)   '…It would be absurd to hold a referendum on electoral reform but not on the bigger question of EU membership. You can't decentralise power in the UK while centralising it in Brussels. You can't oppose quangos while subjecting our country to the biggest quango of the lot, the unelected European commission.' (*The Guardian,* May 10th 2010)

Representation of European Union institutions then, may be said to be vague and incomplete. There is relatively little chance of those reading tabloid publications gaining any meaningful understanding of the workings of the EU and in the broadsheets, even where coverage is supportive of EU membership, simplistic or passing references to institutions, without clarification or explanation, act as a barrier to understanding and result in a failure to address assertions of democratic deficit.

5.4.3 British and European People

The word **people** is has a frequency of 1375 per million in the EnTenTen corpus[15] and appears more frequently in all publications of the EURef Corpus. It is found most frequently in *The Express* (2542 per million) and other tabloids and least frequently in the broadsheet publications with the lowest being *The Independent* (1420 per million), signifying that discussion of 'people' is significant to discourse around the European Union. **People** is most often modified by **British** ranging from 24% of the time in *The Express* and 22% in *the Mirror* to 10% in *The Guardian* and 9% in *The Sunday Times*, suggesting that this is a particular feature of tabloid papers. **British** is also the most frequent and statistically significant collocate for **people** in all publications.

As the examples below from *The Express* show, the British people are represented as a generic group who are 'enraged', 'want a referendum', question their freedom, and 'have had enough' (5.21-5.24 below). According to van Leeuwen's taxonomy, this represents 'assimilation' through the use of the plural mass noun. Assimilation maybe termed 'aggregation' when participants are treated as statistics, either with definite or indefinite quantities as in '70 per cent of British people'. Such a strategy is used in order to 'manufacture consensus opinion' (1996:49). Fowler describes the communication of the 'ideology of consensus' in the press as 'a crucial practice in the management of its relations with…individual readers' (1991:49). A majority anti-European sentiment is assumed as fact and is intensified through use of the news value 'superlativeness', which is activated through the use of emotional language ('enraged', 'had enough').

(5.21)   '…All recent opinion polls make it clear that more than 70 per cent of British people want a referendum and today more than half would vote to leave the EU.' (The Express, October 192011).

(5.22)   '…judging by the hundreds who wrote to me during my campaign, …people up and down this country … all want to get back the freedom we thought that we as British people had, but which has now stealthily been robbed from us.' (The Express, November 26 2010)

(5.23)   '…Cameron, despite his pre-election commitment to stand up to them, is a pussycat when he sets foot in Brussels and seems to think he knows best against the wishes of the British people to make a decision on the EU.' (The Express, July 16 2012)

(5.24)   '…The fact we might be out-voted is neither here nor there. There is a principle involved. The British people have had enough.' (The Express, May 24 2011)

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[15] Available at Sketch Engine, (Kilgarriff et al. 2014)

By contrast, generic reference to **British People** in *The Sunday Times* is much less frequent with 153 per million compared to 630 per million in *The Express* and in addition, the impact of assimilation is often hedged through, for example, the use of 'if' clauses (5.25). Where aggregation is employed this tends to be found in readers' letters, which serves to distance the newspaper from the assertion (5.26, 5.27). Alternatively talk is of what the British People have been offered or whether they will be 'persuaded' (5.28). In this example, the grammatical role allocation makes 'British people' the goal rather than the actor. In van Leeuwen's taxonomy this is termed 'Passivisation' (1996:43) which serves to background the people and foreground the political actors who do the offering and persuading, and is a particular feature of 'middle-class oriented' newspapers (1996:47)

(5.25) '…The EU is required to negotiate exit terms within two years with any nation that decides to leave. If the British people reach that conclusion in 2017, we will still be scrambling out of the exit negotiations as we run into the subsequent election.' (*The Sunday Times* May 25th 2014)

(5.26) '…THE vast majority of British people want our government to take us out of the European Union.' (*The Sunday Times* October 9th 2011)

(5.27) '…The British people voted for a free trade agreement, never for political or financial union.' (*The Sunday Times* December 18th 2011)

(5.28) '…"European leaders have simply got their heads in the sand about the problems that Europe faces and they are going to have to work much, much harder to persuade the British people that they really understand the need for reform".' (*The Sunday Times* June 29th 2014)

If 'people' are invariably British, this raises the question as to the representation of the citizens of other EU countries. There are 105 instances of **EU* Citizens** in the EURef Corpus. Examination of the concordance lines shows that references are almost entirely related to the rights of EU citizens to move to Britain and benefits payable to such people. Once again then other Europeans are represented in terms of conflict where there are objections to the right to free movement of labour enshrined in EU law and concern over the payment of benefits. In addition, the flood metaphor, well established in the literature (Charteris-Black, 2006; Baker, Gabrielatos, and McEnery, 2013), is used to construe superlativeness, negativity and impact news values (5.31). The idea of citizens of other EU countries 'over here' also raises the issue of proximity. In the same way that use of the first person plural pronoun 'we' delineates Britain

in national terms, the representation of the citizens of other European countries as a threat further separates 'us' from 'them'.

> (5.29)   '…In fact 1,020,000 EU citizens have taken jobs here, four times the number of British nationals working on the continent.' (*The Express*, May 6th 2010)
>
> (5.30)   '…Theresa May is examining wide-ranging curbs on the European Union's free movement of workers, including access to the UK for dependants of EU citizens, and fresh curbs on access to benefits for EU citizens.' (*The Guardian,* 8th October, 2012*)*
>
> (5.31)   '…following the grotesque underestimate by the Labour government of the numbers of Poles and other East European citizens who would take advantage of the same right when it was granted in 2004, there is a mood of near panic in ministerial circles at the public reaction should there be a further tidal wave of immigration from the east.' (*The Independent,* 29th January 2013)

The representation of other EU citizens as a threat is further supported when collocates of **migrants** and **immigrants** are examined. **Benefits** is a top 10 collocate for both and whilst there is evidence of a counter discourse (5.32), the issue is still framed in terms of cost and conflict (5.31). It appears to be the recent expansion of the European Union that gives cause for concern. **Migrants** are **from Eastern Europe, Bulgaria, Romania** and **immigrants** are additionally from **North Africa** which highlights discourse of the EU as a 'gateway' for illegal immigration from further afield. I would argue that the effect of this representation of EU citizens from countries other than Britain is to dehumanise them. They become an anonymous mass of potential immigrants, and a threatening one at that. In the same way that the institutions of the EU are backgrounded in such a way as to prevent understanding, the same is true of the people of other European countries who threaten us.

> (5.31)   '…The problem with all of this is not only the troublingly xenophobic tone increasingly - and ever more unthinkingly - dominating the public discourse. It is also that the suggestion Britain is in danger of being swamped by immigrants, particularly benefits-scrounging immigrants, is simply not true.' (*The Independent*, December 19th 2013)
>
> (5.31)   '…But [Juncker] has drawn a line at renegotiating the core value of freedom of movement across the 28 member states - an issue over which Mr Cameron frequently clashes with Brussels, most recently with plans for tougher rules for migrants claiming benefits in the UK.' (*The Independent*, May 12th, 2014)
>
> (5.32)   '…41 per cent of voters believe that immigration is the biggest issue facing Europe. As the nation used as a gateway to Europe by illegal immigrants from north Africa, Italy is infuriated by the EUs reluctance to help stem the tide.' (*The Express,* October 24th, 2011)

5.5   Conclusions on the Representation of Actors

News values appear significant both in the selection of news and then in the representation of actors who are included in the corpus. Negativity is noteworthy both in terms of determining who and which EU institutions are represented in the EURef corpus but also in terms of how they are represented. European politicians who are included tend to be at the centre of a specific controversy and are not not represented in terms of their role, as evidenced by the fact that not all holders of a given role are represented. The exception is Angela Merkel, Chancellor of Germany, who is the most frequently mentioned European politician despite not holding a specific EU office. Nevertheless, negativity still characterises representations of her either as an adversary, or as a politician focussed on her own national interests. Representation of European Union institutions is vague and limited. Tabloid publications offer no meaningful explication of the workings of the EU and in the broadsheets, even where coverage is supportive of EU membership, simplistic or passing references to institutions act as a barrier to comprehension and result in a failure to address assertions of democratic deficit.

The general public is represented most frequently in the right-leaning tabloids where they are 'British people' largely presented as a homogeneous anti-European group who are 'ordinary' and 'working' and threatened by the EU which they wish to leave. Their representation in broadsheet publications is somewhat different in that they are often backgrounded through the use of passive grammatical constructions. Where their collective view is asserted, this tends to be through reader's letters thus distancing the newspaper from the assertion. In all publications 'people' are almost invariably British whereas Europeans, where they are occasionally referred to, are 'citizens'. This representation however, is inherently negative as these are 'migrants' and 'immigrants' dehumanised and a threat to Britain.

The combined effect of backgrounding European people, EU entities and politicians and the roles they play there, along with negative and combative portrayals, serves to create a sense of the EU as undemocratic, uncontrolled and to an extent, unknown. By glossing over the fact that British politicians are present and involved in the decision making processes of the EU, the idea that the EU is something 'done to us' is fostered.

Chapter Six: Attitudes Towards the EU

6.1 Introduction

> "we urgently need to address the sclerotic, ineffective decision-making that is holding us back. …creating a leaner, less bureaucratic union, …can we really justify the huge number of expensive peripheral European institutions? Can we justify a Commission that gets ever larger? Can we carry on with an organisation that has a multibillion pound budget but not enough focus on controlling spending and shutting down programmes that haven't worked? …why is there an environment council, a transport council, an education council but not a single market council?"
>
> David Cameron, 2013[16]

Two significant functions of evaluative language are to express the opinion of the writer (or speaker) and to construct and maintain relationships (Hunston & Thompson 2000:6). Despite his stated support for membership of the European Union, David Cameron is highly critical of bureaucracy in the EU that he evaluates as too large, slow, expensive, and inappropriately focussed. Where opinion is expressed, this is of course subjective and is also 'located within a societal value-system' (Hunston, 1994:210). Further, in constructing relationships, evaluation can be seen as a 'device for interpreting the world' (Bednarek, 2006:4) and as 'as a building block for the establishment and maintenance of collective identity' (Koller, 2012:23). Cameron's ambiguous use of the pronoun 'we' construes a society which agrees with his evaluation. The implication is that in Britain we value efficiency and seek to minimise bureaucracy in a way that the European Union, at least as it currently stands, does not. This evaluation of the EU driven by the sense of British identity which, as previously discussed, Cameron explicitly conveys elsewhere in this speech, leads him to a qualified support of European membership, which raises questions as to when a vote in favour of European Union membership becomes a vote against. It also challenges the validity of a binary dichotomy of pro- or anti-EU distinction within which the EU membership debate generally takes place.

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[16] David Cameron's EU speech at Bloomberg available at:

Of particular significance for the present study is the persuasive potential for evaluation of the European Union found in newspaper texts, which offer the word-view of the publication and its writers along with the group identity this implies, and positions the reader to accept such evaluations. As such, this chapter will focus on specific aspects of evaluation found in the EURef Corpus with the aim of clarifying the issue raise by Partington (forthcoming) of 'qualified' support for the European Union, and how this is represented in the press. Evaluation, described by Hunston as a 'slippery and context dependent aspect of language' (2012:10), has been approached in a number of ways in discourse analysis. Unlike the previous two analytical chapters of this thesis, which sought evidence in the EURef Corpus based on existing taxonomies of identity construction and actor representation, this chapter takes a different approach. In order to answer the third research question, 'How are the EU and its institutions evaluated in the EURef Corpus?', I aim to categorise the different perspectives on the European Union and British membership found. Analysis will be informed by various linguistic theories relating to evaluation. The following section will outline the theoretical background of work most pertinent to this thesis, and by which the analysis is informed.

6.2   Theoretical Considerations

Writer (or speaker) opinion has been widely studied and variously described in linguistic studies as 'evaluation', 'appraisal' and 'stance' so it is important to clarify use of the term in the context of this study. Biber et al use 'stance' to mean the expression of 'personal feelings, attitudes, value judgements or assessments' (1999:966-986). Martin & White use the term 'appraisal' in extending the study of 'affect' which they define as the means by which writers and speakers 'positively or negatively evaluate the entities, happenings and states-of-affairs with which their texts are concerned', including not just overt expressions of the writer's stance but also 'those means by which they more indirectly activate evaluative stances and position readers/listeners to supply their own assessments' (Martin & White 2007:2). Hunston & Thompson define evaluation as: 'the broad term for the expression of the speakers or writers' attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about.' (2000:5). It is this definition and term which is adopted as this chapter investigates newspaper attitudes towards the European Union.

The study of evaluation is difficult because there is no 'set of language forms' and it is often expressed 'cumulatively and implicitly' (Hunston, 2012:3) or indirectly (Martin & White, 2007). Critically, for corpus studies, Hunston notes that it is impossible to fully answer Discourse Analysis questions about evaluation using corpus techniques. (2012:167). The question 'how is the EU evaluated?' is a functional one rather than being related to any specific linguistic form, and the only way to give a complete answer would be to manually annotate each article. However, whilst it may not be possible to offer a comprehensive study of how evaluation of the EU is enacted in the whole EURef Corpus, it is possible to use corpus tools to select articles for closer analysis and, as a first step, develop a framework on which further more qualitative study can be based.

A number of studies of evaluative language have sought to specify 'parameters' by which a proposition or entity may be evaluated, relating to, for example, to desirability, veracity, relevance or importance (Hunston & Thompson, 2000; Bednarek, 2006). An attempt was made to analyse data from the EURef corpus similarly, however, it was found that arguments being made about the European Union are so varied, even within a broadly 'pro-EU' argument, that it seemed necessary to take a step back. It has been argued that any study of evaluation may be reduced to the good / bad parameter (Hunston & Thompson, 2000:25) and on that basis, whether British membership of the EU is seen as a good or bad thing would seem a reasonable starting point for analysis. In fact, propositions about the European Union and British membership found in the corpus are much more complex. In some cases, the EU is seen as a good thing being done badly. On that basis, the argument concluded on occasion that continued membership is a good thing for Britain, other times it is concluded that continued membership is a bad thing. This affords with Partington's assertion that a good / bad or Eurosceptic / Europhile dichotomy is insufficient to explain the range of opinion found in the British press (forthcoming). As a result, this analysis will restrict itself to determining what range of stances on the EU and British membership are found in the EURef corpus and which issues are associated with those different positions.

One particular aspect of newspaper discourse which further complicates the study of evaluation is the way in which they may appear through the use of quotes or by representing others opinions. This is termed 'attribution' and is commonly found in media texts as a way in which a publication, or writer, can distance themselves from 'attitudinal assessments' made (White, 2004:236). Alternatively, an evaluative statement may be averred; that is to say the writer 'assumes responsibility' for the evaluation made (Sinclair, cited in Hunston, 2000:178).

This seemingly simple distinction is complicated, however, by the fact that an attributed proposition may also be 'reclaimed' by the by the writer (Hunston, 2000:190) for example, by making evaluative comments on the quote given ('x *rightly* states' or 'y *alleges* that'). Such reclamation may support and thereby intensify evaluative claims, or negate them.

The analysis in this chapter will therefor consider evaluation in three aspects. First, the overall stance taken with regard to the European Union, second, whether this stance is averred by the publication, attributed to others or attributed and then reclaimed by the publication and finally, the issues prioritised by each stance identified will be identified. The following Method section outlines the procedure used to complete this analysis.

6.3   Method

The term EU is the most frequent in the corpus as a whole (23,632 / 7.25 per '000 tokens) followed by EUROPE (10463 / 3.21 per '000 tokens). Examination of N-Grams (multi word units) using AntConc (Anthony, 2014) provides a useful tool for establishing how 'the EU' is most frequently used and providing a manageable number of concordance lines for qualitative analysis. It is the third most frequent trigram 'the EU is...' which proves to be fruitful in giving examples of evaluation to analyse (Table 6.1 below).

Table 6:1   N-Grams of 'the EU…'

Rank	Freq	Cluster
1	745	The EU's
2	633	The EU and
3	647	The EU is
4	285	The EU budget
5	284	The EU in

The complexity of analysing evaluation and the limitations of this study prevent analysis of all occurrences of 'EU is' in all publications, so four publications were selected. The Express, the Guardian, the Mirror and the Telegraph represent both left and right-leaning publications, tabloid and broadsheet. Concordances lines with 'EU is' as the node for those

publications were examined. This included all lines from the *Telegraph* (67), *The Guardian* (60) and *The Mirror* (12) and a random sample of 70 lines out of the 236 derived from *The Express.*

The articles were read to establish the overall position regarding the European Union and British membership. Those which did not evaluate the European Union or British membership of it were discarded and the rest categorised according to the stance taken. In addition, the criteria by which the evaluation was made was noted and, returning to the original concordance line, whether the view expressed there was averred or attributed was noted. Finally, where attribution was found in the concordance line, the full article was checked again to note whether this attribution was reclaimed.

6.4   Analysis

6.4.1 Right-Leaning Press

There are 647 occurrences of **the EU is…** found in the EURef Corpus. 236 appear in *The Express* which could not be clearer in its Eurosceptic position. Of 4407 instances of **the EU** in the express, around 5% (236) are of 'the EU is'. 70 were randomly selected for analysis with four of those rejected due to a lack of evaluation in the article. Of the 66 left, these include a variety of linguistic approaches to evaluation of the EU and our membership of it which are overwhelmingly negative. *The Express* is particularly marked by the fact that a single stance was found across all articles studied that is both ideologically opposed to the EU and would vote to end Britain's membership. Whilst in other publications support for a vote to leave the European Union was found amongst those nevertheless supportive of the EU concept, this stance is not found in the sample of articles studied from *The Express.* The results of this is that the ideological position against the concept of the EU, regardless of the execution of the project, remains undiluted.

The approach of *The Express* is also marked by the large proportion of concordance lines studied which represent attributed evaluation. 36 (55%) are attributed, however the majority (66%) of those are reclaimed. Typically, numerous attributions are found within a single article, these often being quotes from political elites who explicitly express their support for the publication's campaign against EU membership. This is exemplified by an article on

November 25th 2010 with the headline 'Join our crusade to pull Britain out of the EU'. Lord Stoddart is quoted, evaluating the EU negatively as 'an undemocratic and dangerous construct' (6.1 below). As the other examples show, the quote is one of a number used to add weight and imply consensus regarding *The Express* newspaper's own position on the European Union.

> (6.1)   '…"Our Parliament loses power every time an agreement is made. The EU is an undemocratic and dangerous construct".' (Lord Stoddart, cited in *The Express, November 25th 2010*
>
> (6.2)   '…James Pryor, chief executive of the EU Referendum Campaign, said: "When Britain is broke, can we really afford to send GBP 48million a day to Brussels?".' (*The Express,* November 25th 2010)
>
> (6.3)   '…Philip Davies, Conservative MP for Shipley and a founding member of the Better Off Out group of MPs and peers, led the praise for our crusade last night.' (*The Express,* November 25th 2010)
>
> (6.4)   '…Douglas Carswell, Tory MP for Clacton and a leading critic of the EU at Westminster, said: "There are millions of people across the country who will be right behind this crusade…It shows that supporting British withdrawal from the EU is not the preserve of a minority sect but has become part of mainstream opinion".' (*The Express, November 25th 2010)*

It is notable that Douglas Carswell is quoted (6.4 above) as saying that support for leaving the European Union is 'part of mainstream opinion'. This assertion is strengthened in *The Express* by the use of readers letters. Six of these are found in the concordance samples all expressing objection to continued EU membership and in five of those cases the letter expresses agreement with earlier articles or other letters in *The Express* (6.5 and 6.6 below). Of course readers' letters are selected for publication by the editorial team and it must be concluded that there is a strategic aim in their inclusion. The purpose of these readers' letters appears to be twofold; first to imply a public consensus on the debate about the European Union and second to emphasise agreement with the stance of *The Express*. Furthermore, by showing that readers agree with one another, an impression is given of reasoned debate. Of course no dissenting voices are found, rather the worldview and notions of national identity asserted by *The Express* appear supported by elites and desired by the public which in turn allows *The Express* to suggest that it acts out of duty on behalf of that public.

> (6.5)   '…I have to agree with the sentiments contained in the letter from Malcolm Young regarding the Prime Minister ("So many logical reasons why EU is bad for Britain", June 12)'. (*The Express,* June 17th 2013)

(6.6)   '…BRITAIN'S contribution of £750 per household to the wasteful and unaudited EU is absolutely outrageous and something the Prime Minister apparently can do nothing about ("Now you pay £750 a year to be in the EU", July 25). …I would ask David Cameron to get us out of this irrational, unelected and grossly expensive club by holding an immediate in-out referendum, which is what the Daily Express is crusading for.' (*The Express,* July 26th 2012)

(6.7)   '…WELL done, the Daily Express, for your crusade against our EU membership ("Our shocking GBP 13bn bill for EU waste and fraud" November 29).' (*The Express,* November 30th 2010)

Across both attributed elite evaluations of the EU and readers' letters, a wide variety of concerns are expressed. The same is true of the averred evaluations made in *The Express*. Previous chapters of this thesis have noted issues of federalism, sovereignty, and loss of power as well as those of a 'democratic deficit', cost, interference, and unnecessary bureaucracy. All of these are are found within the sample of articles analysed here. It would not appear that any are particularly prevalent. Instead, articles tend to bring together a range of issues. In the example below (6.8), averred evaluation of the EU as 'a monument to political folly' comes at the end of an article with the equally evaluative headline 'Yet again - an EU summit that will achieve nothing' (*The Express,* October 27th 2011). *The Express* asserts that the summit, which aims to address problems with Eurozone debt crisis, is pointless as it will not resolve the issue. The reference to sovereignty and 'national independence' follows an allegation earlier in the article that the Euro was designed as a ruse to force further political integration (6.9). The argument of the article is organised through a series of evaluations which lead from *the Eurozone has a crisis* through *the Euro was designed to ensure political integration* to *integration threatens British sovereignty and economic growth*. I would argue that by connecting different aspects of anti-EU sentiment in this way, each assertion supports the other and makes the overall anti-EU proposition appear more cohesive.

(6.8)   'The EU is a monument to political folly. What we need is not another expensive stitch-up but an end to this disaster zone. The return of national independence across Europe could put us on the road back to freedom and growth'. (*The Express,* October 27th 2011)

(6.9)   'The single currency is destroying Europe because it was never based in economic reality. It was conceived as a vehicle to achieve political unity in Europe.' (*The Express*, October 27th 2011)

The Express, then, is both explicitly and vociferously anti-EU. Evaluative statements are both averred and where attributed, the majority reclaimed. Attributions come from experts, in the form of quotations and 'guest' articles, and from the public via letters, giving the

impression of consensus. Where an opposite view is attributed, the evaluation is reversed and reclaimed via lexis which negatively evaluates the proposition. In addition, specific issues relating to the overall anti-EU stance are brought together in individual articles effectively strengthening the message. The overall impression is of a sustained and strategic approach to communicating and building an attitude towards the European Union which is both against the notion of the EU as well as the execution of the idea.

The approach of *The Telegraph,* a right-leaning Sunday tabloid, is somewhat different. Most notably, a wider range of views on the European Union is found. Of the 68 articles found to evaluate the European Union and British membership of it, 11 (16%) were found to be explicitly pro-EU with an additional 10 which present arguments both for and against British membership of the EU without expressing a preference for either view. One example of the former is a 2011 article by Conservative Politician William Hague, who was the Secretary of State at the time (6.10 below). As one might expect, his stated position on the European Union mirrors that of David Cameron in that issues and concerns about the EU are acknowledged, but benefits of membership are emphasised and a belief in the future of British participation is made clear. Such a view, which I would characterise as 'pro-EU/optimistic', is found in a majority of 'guest' articles appearing in the *Telegraph,* but is not the only stance found. Daniel Hannan is a Conservative MEP whose assertion regarding the aim of the Euro being 'political integration' (6.11 below) is the same as that found in the Express article discussed above (6.8 and 6.9) and in the same way, difficulties with the euro are connected not just with a threat to British prosperity but also to sovereignty referred to as 'independence'. Whilst Hannon stops short of saying that he would vote to leave the European Union, his argument is constructed in the same way and on the same issues as those who more explicitly say they would.

> (6.10) '…Despite everything that is wrong with it … the European Union offers a lot for Britain: free markets across Europe that are of great benefit to our businesses; the means to work together closely in foreign affairs to our mutual advantage; and the spread and entrenchment of freedom, the rule of law, prosperity and stability across Europe.' (*The Telegraph*, July 17th 2011)

> (6.11) '…Monetary union was never meant to be about prosperity; rather, it was about political integration. … If the euro collapses, European integration itself might unravel. In order to stave off this prospect, Eurocrats need a great deal of money - including British money. …The measures being proposed by the European Commission directly threaten our prosperity and our independence.' (*The Telegraph* June 13th 2010)

As well as featuring guest writers who take an anti-EU stance, and in common with *The Express*, the readers letters found in this sample of *Telegraph* articles are generally, although not exclusively, anti-EU. Such letters are generally grouped together with anti-EU sentiment expressed across a range of concerns but of a total of 52 letters contained in the 10 sets found in the sample of concordance lines, 8 of them (15%) express pro-EU sentiment. This is close to the overall proportion of around 16% pro-EU articles found in the concordance samples as a whole noted above. Unlike *The Express* where letters tend to make explicit arguments about aspects of the EU, those in *The Telegraph* more often consist of short comments where evaluation of the the EU is implied rather than explicit. In addition, there is discussion over the technical and practical issues around leaving the EU (6.14), which is absent from the Express. Despite the slightly different style of letter in the *Telegraph,* and the inclusion of alternative points of view, this sample suggests that they are nevertheless selected to support the stance on the European Union found in the publication as a whole.

> (6.12)   '…June 1975 was about parliamentary sovereignty, above all else. …I spent a lot of time in 1974 and 1975 campaigning to get Britain out. Although the EU is against British interests, our people were and are apathetic.' (*The Sunday Telegraph,* July 15th 2012)

> (6.13)   '…SIR - The EU is like the Titanic. Each was created by elites whose belief in themselves was absolute. As the EU's bow begins to dip, the time to get clear of it is running short.' (*Telegraph,* November 6th 2011)

> (6.14)   '…Christopher Booker is right about Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty (July 8) allowing Britain to negotiate an exit over two years, but he ignores the practical consequences. ... It would be an administrative nightmare for the Government. There is only one way to leave. Repeal the European Communities Act 1972, … We would immediately be free.' (*The Sunday Telegraph,* July 15th 2012)

One aspect of coverage in *The Telegraph*, which particularly distinguishes it from that found in the Express, is a number of articles expressing a stance on the EU which could be described as Anti-EU but resigned to staying in. That is to say, commentators who disagree with the idea of the European Union, but would nevertheless vote to remain. What is notable about this stance is that evaluation is made specifically on economic terms. As the example below shows (6.15), the European Union is presented as 'dysfunctional', but the risk to trade makes leaving a potential 'disaster'. (*The Telegraph*, November 17th 2013). In addition, there is a pro-EU but pessimistic view where the idea of the European Union is judged to be a good thing, but with too many powers having been 'handed over', comes a reluctant intention to vote against membership (6.16) Interestingly, as will be shown in the next section, where a

Pro-EU pessimist view is given in the left-leaning press, the EU is evaluated as not federal enough.

> (6.15) '…there is no way that Britain could be given back any powers, because this would breach the most sacred principle on which the EU is founded, that once powers have been handed over they can never be returned. … while the dysfunctional EU is indeed in need of "reform", for Britain to leave it would be a disaster - because this would exclude us from the Single Market that accounts for nearly half of our trade.' (*The Sunday Telegraph,* November 17th 2013)

> (6.16) '…But the facts are shifting in terms of what the EU is, and the extent of its power - which is why my mind is shifting too. I've long supported British EU membership, …unless there's a proper renegotiation, with our national sovereignty considerably restored, I'd regrettably vote to leave.' *(The Telegraph,* June 1st 2014)

EU referendum coverage in *The Telegraph* can be summarised as predominantly, though not entirely, against membership of the European Union. Pro-EU voices include those which are optimistic about renegotiation, in line with the Conservative party view found in David Cameron's 2013 Bloomberg speech, but also those sceptical about renegotiations and would vote to leave the EU. Whilst explicit anti-EU sentiment is found, evaluation is more often implied by an emphasis on conflict within the EU and threats to British prosperity rather than through evaluative lexis. Like *The Express*, letters chosen for publication reflect the stance of the publication although in this case dissenting voices are printed. Nevertheless, the overall impression gained from the sample of articles studied remains, on balance, against EU membership.

6.4.2 Left Leaning Press

Of 3028 instances of 'EU' in *The Guardian*, around 5% (60) are 'EU is…' and they present a much more nuanced picture than either *The Express* or *The Telegraph*. Whilst the overall impression, as might be expected in a left-leaning publication, is largely in support of the EU, a number of articles are somewhat critical of aspects of it. 25 (42%) of the articles studied present an unqualified pro-EU stance with a further 11 articles explicitly pro-EU but somewhat critical. Those articles uncritically in favour of the EU tend to focus on arguments which directly counter anti-EU claims found in right-leaning publications, namely bureaucracy, cost, and 'rights and freedoms' afforded by European courts (6.17 and 6.18 below). Conversely, Articles somewhat critical of the European Union evaluated precisely those issues as problematic (6.19).

(6.17) '…The EU is simply incapable of being the bogeyman the Tory right and the UK Independence party try to put up. Its institutions are small: they employ 47,500 people, 11% of the size of the UK civil service. EU spending is 1% of EU output, or less than a 40th of total public spending.' (*The Guardian,* November 11th 2013)

(6.18) '…We should welcome that he [David Cameron] remembered that the founding principle of the EU is about peace and the wellbeing of its citizens, not just markets. … The single market reduces 27 or more loads of national red tape and it enshrines rights and freedoms for people to work, study, trade and earn in ways that would not exist without supporting courts and mechanisms.' (*The Guardian*, January 24th 2013)

(6.19) '…If the EU is to survive, it needs to be able to adapt, and that means making it easy for powers to be taken away from it and for countries to pick and choose the areas in which they want to co-operate and where they want to retain control.' (*The Guardian* June 11th 2012)

Columnist Martin Kettle writes an opinion piece that predicts the demise of the European Union and exemplifies the pessimistic view also found, as previously noted, in the Telegraph. Citing well-known pro-European commentators with doubts about the EU's future, he describes an EU that 'would get [his] vote' but asserts 'it is not going to happen' (6.20). The implication here is that despite supporting the idea of a European Union, in practice he could potentially vote to leave. It is important to note, however, that Kettle's evaluation of the EU is not what might be termed Eurosceptic. The parameters by which he makes the evaluation are different. Whilst he notes concerns over Eastern and Southern European nations' membership, he believes in a 'single...northern European state' of which Britain would be a part, with shared currency, taxation and defence. His argument is that the European Union has not been federal enough and expresses no concern regarding loss of sovereignty.

(6.20) '…I say this as someone who wanted and wants the European project to succeed, who still believes that our collective interests lie in a single, though smaller, probably northern European federal state with an overarching, directly elected government where appropriate; a single currency; shared tax and social solidarity systems; common defence and security policies; and occupying a single seat at the world's summits. That Europe would get my vote. But it is not going to happen.' (Guardian, 24th June 2011)

On the other hand, the opinion piece by Christine Ockrent (6.21 below) whilst still somewhat critical of the European Union, is nevertheless optimistic. She notes a need for and willingness to compromise and focusses on the aim to keep Greece within the European Union and the Eurozone intact. Her criticism of the EU today, similar to Martin Kettle although less severe, is that 'monetary union [was] forged without the necessary economic and political tools', again suggesting a need for increased federal power.

(6.21) '...the EU is a political process, not a financial transaction or a business takeover. In the course of the past 50 years, how many fatal predictions have been proved wrong? ... many European leaders are now convinced a political compromise has to be found to stimulate growth and save Greece, the Eurozone and, indeed, the whole single market, so crucial to our economies.' (*The Guardian* 25th May 2012)

Notwithstanding the various kinds of support for the European Union found in *The Guardian* articles, there is significant anti-EU sentiment including that from guest writers. Union leader Bob Crow argues strongly for leaving the EU. From a left wing stance, he suggests that 'most Britons' dislike the EU describing it as 'largely a Tory neoliberal project' (6.22) which does not support workers' rights well, in direct contradiction of the evaluation found in other articles (6.18). In addition, despite the left-leaning tendency of the *The Guardian,* criticism of an 'austerity obsessed' Germany invokes reference to World War II by the use of the term 'authoritarian project' which echoes nationalistic tensions more generally associated with right-wing arguments.

(6.22) '…Social EU legislation, which supposedly leads to better working conditions, has not saved one job and is riddled with opt-outs for employers. It is making zero-hour contracts and agency-working the norm while undermining collective bargaining and full-time, secure employment… The only rational course is to leave the EU so elected governments regain the democratic power to decide matters on behalf of the people they serve.' (*The Guardian*, May 18th 2013)

(6.23) '…The result is a coalition between the closer-union Brussels elite and an austerity-obsessed Germany, jointly seeking a pan-European command economy. Germany wants EU commissioners sitting in authority over national budgets, under the aegis of German bankers. This must be the most awesomely authoritarian project to emerge in western Europe since 1945.' (*The Guardian*, October 31st 2012)

To summarise, the left-leaning Guardian presents a complex, generally Pro-EU stance. Of particular interest are those which support the idea of the EU but are critical of its execution and are either sceptical or optimistic about the possibility of the EU project working in the future. It is important to note, however, the stance taken and the evaluative language in these articles do not necessarily use the same parameters as a right wing anti-EU argument - indeed their complaint is that the EU is not federal enough, needing more powers over, for example, taxation and defence. That said, such a pessimistic position potentially positions readers to vote to leave the European Union and ensures that coverage of the European Union is characterised by discourse of conflict.

The discourse of conflict is even more significant in the tabloid *Daily Mirror* which seldom examines the European Union. The conflict highlighted though is centred around criticism of the Conservative party, David Cameron, and the conflict facing them, rather than debating pros and cons of EU membership. The emphasis is on what is referred to as the government's wish to curtail the rights of workers seen as afforded by EU membership (6.24 and 6.25 below). Anti-EU campaigners are characterised using negatively charged lexis as a 'mob' and 'obsessed'. Whilst support for EU membership is implied by this stance, it is not explicitly stated. However, articles are explicit in the view that EU membership is not that important to the British people who are, instead, focussed on domestic issues and that the anti-EU campaign is an 'obsession of a relatively small minority'. (6.24, 6.26).

(6.24) '…Britain's membership of the EU is opposed by vested interests infuriated that Brussels prevents David Cameron from, for instance, axing a legal right to paid holidays and maternity leave. … Europe is a huge obsession of a relatively small minority. But the anti-EU mob is well funded, organised, obsessive and absolutely dedicated.' (*The Daily Mirror,* March 3rd 2014)

(6.25) '…For all their glib talk about reform, the Tories' target is Social Europe – the gradual harmonisation and improvement of employment rights across all 28 nations. Without it, the EU is less attractive to working people. In the 1975 referendum, I voted no. In today's world, where the EU is more on the side of employees than is our own Government, I would vote yes.' (*The Daily Mirror,* March 28th 2014)

(6.26) '…PLEASE can you tell me whether the promise of a referendum on membership of the EU is the most important thing in your life? Is it something you regret was not included in the Queen's speech? If it is I suspect, you might be suffering from a deadly disease. It's a recurring illness - the last outbreak occurred between 1979 and 1997.' (*Daily Mirror,* May 18th 2013)

Of the two concordance lines returned where opposition to the EU is expressed, both are attributed. In the example below (6.27) MP Douglas Carswell is presented as a lone figure attempting to pass 'his own law' and use of the word 'claimed' in relation to his assertions of support evaluate his position as, at best, debatable and at worst, untrue. A third attribution quotes David Miliband discussing the response of the United States to the idea that Britain would leave the EU. Expressing support for membership he says 'They want Britain in Europe and with a strong voice in Europe.' (*Daily Mirror*, March 13th 2014).

(6.27) '…A right-wing MP's one-man bid to pull Britain out of the EU failed in the Commons yesterday. Tory Douglas Carswell hoped to repeal the 1972 European Communities Act by passing his own law. He said being in the EU is like being "shackled to a corpse" and claimed he had the support of most of the population - and even members of the Cabinet.' (*The Daily Mirror,* October 27th 2012)

It has been suggested that in the left leaning press, the terms of the debate are those dictated by a right-wing Eurosceptic agenda (Hawkins, 2012:573) and there appears to be some support for this in the Guardian. However, in the Mirror I would argue that covering EU stories in terms which appear to support British membership appears to focus on difficulties faced by the Conservatives and David Cameron in particular, rather than any attempt to specifically argue for the benefits of the European Union. On the whole, there is little engagement with the EU membership debate beyond the suggestion that a small and insignificant minority wants to leave the European Union in order to facilitate revoking workers' rights. The small number of articles in the Mirror sub- corpus also attests to an editorial decision to minimise the significance of the EU debate. This could not be further from the approach in *The Express* which emphasises the opposite and takes ownership of its 'crusade' to get Britain out.

6.5   Conclusions on Attitudes towards Europe

There are three main finings which result from this analysis. The first confirms that the simple binary dichotomy of 'pro' or 'anti' European Union is insufficient to describe the range of views on the EU and British membership of it expressed in the EURef Corpus. Based on the articles analysed across four publications six different stances on the European Union and British membership are identified ranging from absolute and un-critical support for the EU, which doesn't address any issues or concern about membership, through to absolute rejection of the idea, which either mentions no benefits to membership or asserts that threats and disadvantages outweigh advantages. In between these positions are four further categories (see table 6.2 below). The 'Pro-EU optimist', is supportive of EU membership, acknowledging issues such as the Eurozone crisis and migration, but either considers that the benefits outweigh the problems or are confident of satisfactory solutions being found. The 'Pro-EU neutral', may be said to be supportive of membership, acknowledging difficulties, but makes no assertion as to the likelihood of these being resolved. The 'Pro-EU pessimist' on the other hand, does not expect solutions to be found and on that basis, despite supporting the idea of a European Union, would reluctantly vote to leave. A further set, 'Anti-EU resigned' sees the European Union as flawed and is not optimistic of change, but takes a different view to the

pessimists and would vote for Britain to remain in the EU on the basis that to exit would be worse for Britain than staying. It is interesting to note that agreeing with the concept of the European Union does not necessarily translate into a vote for Britain to remain a member and, conversely, being against the European Union dos not necessarily translate to a vote for Britain to leave.

The second significant finding of this analysis is that the basis on which the European Union is judged and the issues prioritised are not the same in each category. Most notably, those who support the idea of the European Union, but nevertheless feel compelled to vote for Britain to leave, evaluate the EU very differently to those who are 'anti-EU absolutists' and against the idea of the European Union. Whereas the traditional anti-EU argument is based on a range of concerns including sovereignty, cost, and EU bureaucracy, the pro-EU pessimist's view is that the European Union has not been federal enough and more power should reside with a supranational government. In many ways it is the opposite to anti-EU argument but, despite this, their vote in a referendum would be the same. On the other hand, an 'anti-EU but resigned to staying in' argument tends to be based around notions of risk to the economy and influence on the world stage should a referendum take Britain out of the EU. This argument has much in common with the absolutist anti-EU position, but nevertheless the vote in a referendum would be different.

Finally, the third finding is that party political affiliation does not equate with a view on British membership of the European Union, although it does appear to influence those issues which are prioritised. With the exception of *The Express*,   which is explicitly and consistently anti-EU and conducting a 'crusade' for Britain to leave, in fact a range of views were found in all other publications and this is particularly significant in left-leaning press. Whilst *The Mirror* and *The Guardian* were, broadly speaking, found to be pro-EU in their overall stance, there were nevertheless counter-arguments and concerns to be found. The sample studied here is too small to make statistical claims, and certainly the limited discussion of the European Union in *The Mirror* make generalisations difficult to be certain of, but it appears that the pro-EU membership arguments are so fragmented, across at least four different perspectives, including some with very negative evaluations of the way the European Union currently works, that the pro-EU membership argument they make is potentially undermined. In addition, those in the left-leaning press who are for the EU in principle, but can't support continued EU membership for Britain, however reluctantly, further undermine any pro-EU

argument found elsewhere in those publications. Conversely, the explicit and consistent message conveyed in *The Express,* combined with strategic use of attribution to imply considerable levels of support from both the political elite and the general public of their stance, results in the unambiguous assertion that continued membership of the European Union would be disastrous for British citizens on many levels and the only sensible course of action would be to vote to leave the European Union in the forthcoming referendum.

It has been argued that 'Eurosceptic' ideology controls the terms of the EU membership debate resulting in 'the language of conflict' permeating the discourse which serves to perpetuate the predominance of the anti-EU position (Hawkins, 2012:547). I would argue that whilst this is true, it is not the only issue which undermines the pro-EU argument. Complexity in the pro-EU discourse, which certainly warrants further investigation, serves to dilute the message. It does not appear to be the case that the anti-EU arguments are made, and the pro-EU commentators are unable to respond. Rather, support for the European Union is expressed in a number of ways, focussing on different aspects and benefits of membership (or indeed risks of giving up membership) and those who are ideologically 'pro-EU' do not appear to agree amongst themselves whether the project is viable and whether Britain would be better off in or out. Arguably, the result of this is that overall arguments in favour of membership appear disjointed and are consequently less effective than the anti-EU arguments which are more consistently presented.

Table 6.2   *Range of stances on The EU and EU membership found in the EURef Corpus*

Position		Argument	Basis of Evaluation	Vote
Ideologically Pro EU	**Absolutist - For**	Discusses benefits of EU membership with no acknowledgement of issues or problems	Economy / peace / world importance	**stay**
	Optimist	Discusses benefits of EU membership, acknowledges problems but either suggests the benefits outweighs these or is optimistic about resolutions	Bureaucracy / inefficiency cost	**stay**
	Neutral	Argues for EU membership, acknowledges issues but makes no assertions regarding resolutions		**stay**
	Pessimist	Believes in the concept of the EU, but is critical of issues and is pessimistic about the possibility of resolution	Not federal enough	**leave**
Ideologically Anti EU	**Resigned**	Assess the EU as flawed but believes that the risks to Britain of leaving, regardless of the results on any renegotiation of terms, are too great.	Economic risk / world importance	**stay**
	Absolutist - Against	Entirely against the idea of the EU and British membership of it.	Sovereignty / cost / democratic deficit	**leave**

Chapter Seven: Conclusions and Reflections on Methodology

7.1   Conclusions

The aim of this thesis has been to investigate discursive representation of the European Union and British membership of it in the British media, in light an 'in / out' referendum being offered in 2017. Having built a corpus of in excess of 5000 newspaper articles, from ten daily and Sunday publications, and working within the paradigm of Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS), preliminary investigations, detailed in Chapter Three, emphasised the importance of social actors, both British and European. This, informed by scholarship in the area, lead to the decision to focus on national identity along with the evaluation of the European Union by addressing three specific research questions.

Q1)   How are British and European identities construed in the EURef Corpus?

Q2)   How are British and European social actors represented in the EURef Corpus?

Q3)   How is the EU and British membership of it evaluated in the EURef Corpus?

Analysis of the construal of British and European identity (Chapter Four) showed that British and European identities are construed in such a way as to make the two mutually exclusive. No significant discourse of 'we' defined as European was found. Where occasional references to Britain as part of Europe exist, they are surrounded with national references. No evidence of a constructive strategy building on the notion of a British identity that incorporates the supra-national EU was found. Instead, perpetuation of traditional concepts of British identity are privileged, effectively nullifying any concept of 'we' beyond national boundaries. This holds true even in publications broadly supportive of EU membership. Although reference to national identity is more overt in right-leaning publications, it is significant in left leaning publications too, so any pro-EU arguments put forward have to operate within an environment that discursively constructs the European as 'other' and sets up 'them' in opposition to 'us'.

Also significant is the construction of Europe in 'nation-like terms'. Particularly noteworthy is the extent to which the European Union is depicted in stereotypical Franco-German ways. The construal of the EU as a quasi-national entity effectively serves to limit the effectiveness of presenting pro EU argument in the press. In addition, the polysemous nature

of the terms 'Europe' and terms such as 'Eurozone' and 'Western Europe' which effectively divide the European Union, contribute to limiting the formation of a homogeneous, supranational EU identity. Consequently, even where pro-EU arguments are offered, they will inevitably be presented in a context that construes the European Union as a foreign power, separate from Britain, leading to the perpetuation of discourse which is fundamentally resistant to a more broadly construed British national identity as part of the EU.

British and European social actors could not be represented more differently. Analysis in Chapter Five shows that the identification of the EU as 'other' in quasi-national terms is further supported by the backgrounding of EU institutions and citizens from other EU countries. The news value of negativity is noteworthy both in terms of determining who and which EU institutions are represented in the EURef corpus but also in terms of how they are represented. European politicians included in the discourse tend to be involved in controversy and not not represented in terms of their role, as evidenced by the fact that not all holders of a given role are represented. Angela Merkel, Chancellor of Germany, is the exception and is the most frequently found EU politician despite the fact that she does not hold EU office. Such prominent representation of Merkel serves to further promote the Germanic stereotype, and negativity still characterises representations of her either as an adversary, or as a politician focussed on her own national interests. Representation of European Union institutions was found to be vague and tabloid publications offer no meaningful explication of the workings of the EU and in the broadsheets, even where coverage is supportive of EU membership, simplistic or passing references to institutions act as a barrier to comprehension and result in a failure to address assertions of democratic deficit.

The general public is represented most frequently in the right-leaning tabloids where they are 'British people' largely presented as a homogeneous non-European group. Their representation in broadsheet publications is somewhat different in that they are often backgrounded through the use of passive grammatical constructions. Where their collective view is asserted, this tends to be through reader's letters thus distancing the newspaper from the assertion. 'People' are almost invariably British in all publications whereas Europeans, where they are occasionally referred to, are 'citizens' who are represented negatively as 'migrants' and 'immigrants' to the extent that they are dehumanised and a threat to Britain.

The combined effect of backgrounding European people, EU entities and politicians and the roles they play there, along with negative and combative portrayals serves to create a sense of the EU as undemocratic, uncontrolled and to an extent, unknown. By glossing over the fact that British politicians are present and involved in the decision making processes of the EU, the idea that the EU is something 'done to us' is fostered.

In addressing the third research question (Chapter Six), investigations into evaluation of the EU in the EURef Corpus found that dichotomising 'pro' or 'anti' European Union does not sufficiently describe the range of views found on the EU and British membership of it expressed in the EURef Corpus. Support for the European Union as a concept does not necessarily translate into a vote to remain in the European Union. Evaluations about the execution of the EU project and the development of the European Union since the last referendum in 1975 were found to be significant. Furthermore, party political affiliation does not necessarily equate with a view on British membership of the European Union, although it does appear to influence those issues which are prioritised. Six different stances on the European Union and British membership were identified ranging from absolute and un-critical support for the EU, which doesn't address any issues or concerns about membership, through to absolute rejection of the idea, which either mentions no benefits to membership or asserts that threats and disadvantages outweigh advantages. In between these two positions are four further categories one of which, the EU-Pessimist, would reluctantly vote for Britain to leave the EU despite believing in the concept. Another stance, the Reluctant Supporter, would vote to remain in the European Union despite being ideologically opposed to the concept. Such a view, whilst apparently outward looking, is nevertheless based on nationalistic concerns and a fear of the negative impact on the British Economy and international standing outside of the European Union.

Significant differences were found when comparing the approaches of different publications. *The Express* is particularly single minded in its approach, both ideologically opposed to the European Union and Britain's continued membership. Other publications, however, offer a broader selection of views although it is true to say that left-leaning publications are broadly supportive of EU membership and right-leaning broadsheets are broadly against. Even in left-leaning publications however, where support for remaining in the EU is evident, coverage may be said to be characterised by the discourse of conflict. This is partly due to issues of news values, as noted above, but it is particularly significant in the

tabloid *Daily Mirror*. The publication seldom examines the European Union, explicitly evaluating the issue as unimportant, but when it does mention the European Union coverage is centred around criticism of the Conservative party and focusses on the conflict facing them, rather than debating pros and cons of EU membership. Arguably, lack of engagement with the issues and an emphasis on party politics has a detrimental effect on the potential to construct a solid pro-EU argument.

In conclusion this thesis finds that, in the British national newspapers, national identity is construed in such a way as to represent a significant barrier to the development of a supra-national European Union identity largely as a result of the perpetuation of historical notions of 'Britishness'. The characterisation of the EU in stereotypical quasi-national ways, combined with the backgrounding of European Union processes and citizens, conspires to construct the European as 'other'. This in turn invites evaluation of that 'other' in terms which emphasis aspects of difference and conflict. In this way, resistance to the development of an EU identity is maintained. Daddow suggests that broad media support for the European project in the 1970s has now become a 'vigorously partisan hostility bordering on a nationalist and in some areas xenophobic approach to the coverage of European affairs' (Daddow, 2012:1219). I would argue that whilst this is true to an extent in some sections of the media – notably, the right-leaning tabloid publications – the issue lies not so much with how we characterise the European Union, but with how we characterise ourselves.

7.2   Reflections on Methodology

This thesis finds that considerable benefit can be gained through the combination of Corpus Linguistics and Discourse Analysis methods, or Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies. Baker asserts that such methods complement each other and offer benefits in three ways; in the reduction of the impact of researcher bias, through quantification of the 'incremental effect of discourse' and the in identification of counter-example showing 'resistant' or changing discourse (Baker 2006:10-14).

Whilst researcher bias can never be entirely eliminated, the focus of this study and the selection of specific items for analysis has been guided by frequency and keyword analysis ensuring that significant aspects of the discourse are highlighted and the 'cherry picking' of articles for close reading is avoided. Inevitably, as results are studied, choices are made as to the direction then taken which are potentially biased, even if subconsciously. But by maintaining a focus on that which is significant or 'key' throughout, this is minimised.

Furthermore, by taking three different approaches to the analysis, looking at the construction of identity, the representation of actors, and through reviewing the complexity of how the EU is evaluated, it has been possible to build a detailed picture, highlighting the incremental effect of each aspect on the other and their relationship in the discourse. The construction of national identity is dependent, in part, on defining who 'we' are and who 'they' are. Actors represented in the discourse contribute to that construction, as does evaluation, and these in turn are dependent on a sense of identity.

I would argue also that an additional benefit has been identified. This is the identification of that which is absent from the corpus. Given that names of political social actors are known it is possible to establish whether they are included in the discourse. Further, by comparing one publication with another has been possible to extend the taxonomy developed by van Leeuwen for the analysis of the representation of social actors to consider those actors who are missing and the discursive effects this has.

Whilst a great deal is gained from working in this way, there are also challenges and limitations. Much of the theory in discourse analysis is based on functional categories and Corpus Linguistics techniques perhaps lend themselves better to finding formal features of discourse. This was most evident in trying to study evaluation of the EU where the analysis of concordance lines, even when expanded, proved insufficient to glean sufficient information to make meaningful observations. There are no short cuts and close reading of selected texts was fruitful.

7.3   Potential for Further Research

There are always limitations on any study and there are a number of areas which were not possible to explore further in this thesis. Having determined that binary oppositions do not adequately capture the complexity of sentiment around the European Union, it would be interesting to broaden the investigation. The analysis started with an attempt to use existing parameter based models to understand how evaluation was working in the corpus, but this proved unsatisfactory. It was noted that that different categories of stances taken on the EU privileged different aspects of membership in their evaluation. It would be interesting to try to establish what kind of parameters of evaluation are significant and the extent to which they differ between groups.

Another dimension not covered in this study is the development of the discourse over time. Discussion of the EU was seen to increase over the four-year period from which corpus data was gathered and, as we head towards an EU referendum in 2017, it is likely to increase still further. Whereas *The Express* has been shown to be fully engaged in the debate actively promoting a campaign to leave the EU, *The Mirror* does not appear to participate in that discussion (although that is not to say that their stance doesn't have to potential to influence it). As the time for a referendum draws nearer, it would be interesting to see whether the evaluative positions found in this study develop.

Perhaps he most interesting questions arising from this study have to do with the relationship between the media discourse studied here, the discourse of political elites and that of the general public. To what extent do those three groups influence and react to each

other? I would suggest that by comparing the discourse of these three distinct groups diachronically and around the single subject of the EU referendum, conclusions could be drawn regarding the influence of one group over another in the development of the debate. Much work addressing public opinion on EU membership is based on analyses of researcher surveys or ongoing programs such as Euro-monitor rather than linguistic studies. Such projects inevitably limit data to those concerns and issues raised by researchers, rather than those prioritised by the public. Moreover, Paul Chiltern notes that linguistic examination of Political Discourse has tended to focus on 'elite(s) exploiting, controlling or distorting language in order to preserve its own position' (2004:198). What such studies do not address however, is the reception of those ideologies by their intended audience. I would argue that a combination of Corpus Linguistic and Discourse Analysis approaches, as successfully demonstrated in the current thesis, could examine both the delivery *and* the reception of political messages, using the same methods which has the potential to provide an understanding of the interaction between political elites, the media, and the public not previously achieved.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Top 200 most frequent words in EURef Corpus

23632	*EU*	2334	*made*	1577	*politics*	1114	*promise*
16199	*Cameron*	2284	*treaty*	1577	*president*	1112	*currency*
13271	*referendum*	2249	*powers*	1575	*ministers*	1112	*plan*
13200	*Britain*	2238	*bill*	1571	*chancellor*	1109	*move*
12305	*Mr*	2217	*policy*	1570	*market*	1107	*real*
10436	*Europe*	2205	*put*	1562	*liberal*	1100	*making*
9760	*party*	2168	*crisis*	1560	*left*	1094	*case*
9705	*European*	2136	*change*	1511	*nick*	1090	*billion*
7858	*tory*	2092	*secretary*	1497	*senior*	1090	*office*
7449	*Labour*	2068	*power*	1494	*Eurosceptic*	1086	*George*
7427	*people*	2028	*Ed*	1485	*hold*	1077	*jobs*
7204	*minister*	2019	*give*	1468	*German*	1075	*cost*
6543	*vote*	2009	*single*	1445	*states*	1072	*law*
6142	*UKIP*	2001	*leave*	1431	*majority*	1070	*system*
6092	*government*	1997	*leaders*	1402	*street*	1061	*summit*
5986	*prime*	1994	*speech*	1396	*big*	1058	*rules*
5900	*British*	1985	*pm*	1389	*set*	1046	*spending*
5834	*David*	1963	*deal*	1387	*Osborne*	1040	*things*
5173	*Brussels*	1953	*future*	1386	*lord*	1038	*leaving*
5113	*election*	1946	*general*	1380	*place*	1030	*Sir*
4775	*MPs*	1939	*Merkel*	1379	*reform*	1023	*including*
4387	*time*	1913	*relationship*	1355	*major*	1016	*leading*
4286	*Union*	1910	*world*	1354	*financial*	1015	*England*
4081	*Tories*	1883	*business*	1332	*free*	1012	*added*
4047	*political*	1872	*immigration*	1323	*trade*	1006	*job*
4001	*back*	1860	*debate*	1318	*position*	1005	*Eurosceptics*
3785	*membership*	1846	*campaign*	1292	*terms*	999	*house*
3745	*year*	1838	*Dems*	1279	*money*	992	*hard*
3669	*euro*	1824	*told*	1270	*leadership*	991	*month*
3620	*country*	1821	*today*	1255	*Nigel*	988	*stop*
3613	*Conservative*	1803	*economy*	1254	*point*	984	*democrats*
3578	*voters*	1794	*poll*	1247	*question*	980	*warned*
3309	*cent*	1788	*conservatives*	1247	*stay*	978	*Juncker*
3277	*public*	1783	*long*	1246	*politicians*	977	*decision*
3249	*Eurozone*	1783	*member*	1226	*pressure*	976	*cut*
3202	*leader*	1779	*clear*	1221	*commission*	964	*chance*
3182	*years*	1777	*foreign*	1219	*called*	963	*control*
3153	*news*	1772	*work*	1215	*cabinet*	961	*Westminster*
3048	*week*	1766	*good*	1214	*state*	959	*ahead*
3006	*Clegg*	1730	*elections*	1200	*independent*	958	*benefits*
2991	*yesterday*	1719	*Germany*	1194	*plans*	957	*interest*
2982	*lib*	1707	*commons*	1190	*Greece*	952	*start*
2976	*Miliband*	1704	*budget*	1169	*France*	949	*high*
2890	*make*	1693	*parties*	1168	*pledge*	944	*show*
2739	*coalition*	1692	*night*	1147	*idea*	938	*important*
2672	*support*	1649	*tax*	1147	*john*	933	*policies*
2524	*parliament*	1649	*win*	1146	*anti*		
2444	*economic*	1643	*opinion*	1141	*call*		
2367	*countries*	1615	*members*	1136	*downing*		
2345	*MP*	1590	*end*	1120	*great*		
2341	*Farage*	1589	*home*	1115	*Dem*		

NB: Function words and metadata words excluded

Appendix 2: Top Keywords by Publication

Mirror & Sunday Mirror Keywords

Keyword	Freq. #	Keyness (LL)		Keyword	Freq. #	Keyness (LL)
pc (per-cent)	112	226.944		small	92	19.017
Conservative	489	69.540		London	492	18.345
Mr	1357	57.864		taxes	71	18.306
however	221	54.208		relationship	230	17.703
businesses	104	54.080		report	93	17.231
week	396	46.853		laws	94	16.338
conservatives	252	42.735		reforms	76	16.253
fox	75	40.484		often	76	16.034
business	256	37.030		more	897	15.895
marriage	116	35.364		large	70	15.068
per	410	32.070		says	261	14.916
interview	74	30.123		talks	86	14.049
cent	395	30.035		renegotiation	101	13.880
global	87	28.897		government	631	13.523
including	147	26.610		ministers	186	12.939
reform	186	26.158		coalition	304	12.925
between	247	21.817		million	114	12.915
last	573	21.060		supporters	89	12.913
countries	282	20.514		Hague	114	12.843
agenda	76	19.664		spending	130	12.508
trade	170	19.021		Lisbon	81	12.343
				court	76	12.065
				recent	95	11.565

The Guardian Keywords

Keyword	Freq. #	Keyness LL
austerity	293	190.571
euros	145	135.958
Greece	391	134.175
Merkel	550	126.208
Hollande	185	98.248
Sarkozy	246	97.551
Berlin	187	92.560
social	244	71.573
Murdoch	73	68.987
Francois	80	63.867
Athens	81	63.506
Greek	167	62.727
German	374	58.992
Irish	96	58.591
crisis	512	58.248
France	311	57.654
French	254	54.220
growth	255	52.830
she	567	51.840
Eurozone	706	51.299
politics	380	47.445
programme	137	44.083
banks	184	43.387
fiscal	225	42.194
anti	286	41.523
Paris	91	40.891
Germany	396	39.869
banking	146	36.369
Europe	1935	34.954
speech	438	33.966
debt	204	32.927
socialist	71	31.290
chief	184	30.990
Greeks	69	29.612

Keyword	Freq. #	Keyness LL
remarks	83	28.922
treaty	481	28.522
Spain	154	27.658
governments	137	27.002
Europeans	106	26.998
Centre	177	26.487
international	151	25.377
bailout	111	25.133
Juncker	229	25.003
against	504	24.859
political	788	24.671
left	339	24.639
unemployment	94	23.321
pact	95	23.024
parties	360	22.785
central	142	22.773
kind	118	22.682
financial	296	22.309
elections	365	21.917
pro	208	21.406
investment	127	21.399
agreement	145	21.203
bank	169	20.744
markets	142	20.615
candidate	127	20.587
summit	236	19.680
measures	140	19.152
Gove	124	19.046
Italy	126	19.031
modern	76	18.674
cuts	170	18.317
her	424	17.219
elected	162	17.178
strategy	143	16.591
president	325	16.503

The Sunday Times Keywords

Keyword	Freq. #	Keyness LL
Berlusconi	75	199.378
Swiss	45	62.573
Switzerland	52	60.695
yougov	47	45.474
Eastleigh	41	37.316
UKIP	451	36.162
city	89	35.489
her	186	35.465
she	206	29.666
week	241	28.515
Italy	60	27.690
seats	88	27.159
China	44	27.064
Farage	190	25.965
from	828	25.334
business	158	24.360
justice	64	22.688

Keyword	Freq.	Keyness
include	57	21.282
exit	80	20.723
says	176	18.843
former	152	18.680
staff	33	18.592
renegotiation	72	18.163
tomorrow	49	16.225
services	66	16.193
Greece	99	14.991
balance	33	13.669
Germans	39	13.320
old	79	13.138
Greek	48	13.136
Lawson	35	12.855
review	37	12.837
left	120	12.173
however	110	12.156
movement	53	10.966

The Telegraph Keywords

Keyword	Freq. #	Keyness LL
pc (per-cent)	112	226.944
Conservative	489	69.540
Mr	1357	57.864
however	221	54.208
businesses	104	54.080
week	396	46.853
article	87	44.089
conservatives	252	42.735
Fox	75	40.484
business	256	37.030
marriage	116	35.364
per	410	32.070
interview	74	30.123
cent	395	30.035
global	87	28.897
including	147	26.610
reform	186	26.158
between	247	21.817
much	316	21.412
last	573	21.060
countries	282	20.514
agenda	76	19.664
trade	170	19.021
small	92	19.017
London	492	18.345
taxes	71	18.306
relationship	230	17.703
report	93	17.231
laws	94	16.338
reforms	76	16.253
those	335	16.044
often	76	16.034
more	897	15.895
large	70	15.068
says	261	14.916
talks	86	14.049
renegotiation	101	13.880
government	631	13.523
ministers	186	12.939
coalition	304	12.925
million	114	12.915
supporters	89	12.913
other	385	12.865
Hague	114	12.843
spending	130	12.508
Lisbon	81	12.343
court	76	12.065
doing	99	11.583
recent	95	11.565

The Times Keywords

Keyword	Freq. #	Keyness LL
Mr.	2185	395.559
Dave	122	92.747
Mrs.	150	73.357
would	1855	46.605
I	1533	45.705
about	997	36.791
Europe	1358	33.433
relationship	301	31.061
however	231	29.368
Sir	175	26.328
Lord	222	25.704
questions	100	25.613
you	721	25.457
market	246	24.713
might	266	22.485
German	227	21.333
European	1229	21.319
Union	573	18.545
rules	168	18.491
office	172	18.267
opinion	242	17.673
policy	315	17.018
Eurozone	441	17.007
Germany	249	16.260
business	270	15.931
party	1209	15.459
commission	184	15.450
Merkel	274	14.836
leaving	158	13.954
single	278	12.547
Liberal	220	11.535
Democrats	147	11.484
position	189	11.343
renegotiation	116	10.885
within	172	10.806
change	287	10.254
although	106	9.933
wanted	117	9.800
president	217	9.760
likely	160	9.654
trade	186	9.551

The Express Keywords

Keyword	Freq #	Keyness LL
EU	7526	925.192
crusade	688	758.069
referendum	4501	715.849
our	2935	568.976
rights	279	373.158
us	1739	368.871
gbp	313	350.329
daily	1038	321.153
people	2336	273.254
petition	331	236.788
we	4254	234.264
all	1518	231.217
Brussels	1684	229.674
membership	1317	228.748
out	3067	226.382
readers	264	225.466
quit	371	209.891
vote	1916	155.854
cost	444	130.402
country	1136	129.245
give	700	122.227
billion	436	118.861
landline	105	117.522
email	167	116.770
taxpayers	261	111.189
texts	108	109.426
midnight	108	106.747
British	1659	103.708
poll	611	99.734
yes	405	93.110
cent	986	90.112
per	1009	87.610
Bone	164	83.639
want	1122	81.934
yesterday	889	79.333
tonight	116	75.116
sovereignty	266	69.906
Britain	3251	64.858
Brown	176	62.890
plus	131	62.732
bail	143	62.487
wishes	125	60.938
campaign	565	57.858
Eurocrats	112	56.957
billions	120	55.974
lines	126	54.391
pledge	383	53.763
listen	130	53.741
decide	247	53.625
let	416	53.471
night	517	53.324
day	502	52.992
massive	156	52.033
democracy	272	48.866
public	898	48.522
politicians	396	48.049
leave	582	45.595
David	1490	43.845
letter	211	43.028
MP	659	41.961
aid	160	41.881
thousands	156	41.077
website	118	39.464
lower	143	38.838
should	1418	37.343
millions	164	36.242
contribution	106	33.556
independence	179	32.968
UK	1393	31.616
Britons	127	29.223
commons	476	28.876
ties	103	28.821
elite	129	28.478
again	390	27.809
cash	173	27.789
building	147	27.752
street	399	27.429
electorate	175	26.687
money	365	26.064
pressure	353	25.939
wish	128	25.878
must	698	25.822
Douglas	146	24.750
Peter	181	24.557
voters	899	23.754
calling	196	23.641

The Sun Keywords

Keyword	Freq #	Keyness LL
PM	691	1112.746
Ed	310	176.880
we	1327	119.244
back	438	110.897
rights	111	96.947
David	570	95.005
red	106	87.327
you	518	82.488
poll	215	71.153
all	495	68.418
immigration	211	58.977
don't	241	58.692
your	160	55.806
get	348	54.724
our	686	53.430
us	429	52.377
Boris	107	50.246
I	921	48.816
Miliband	286	45.263
cent	311	45.121
per	319	44.803
my	201	44.423
give	209	44.183
out	841	43.186
up	561	41.216
pay	112	40.376
must	253	37.303
want	346	37.148
night	175	36.858
voters	318	35.333
wants	148	33.593
can	495	32.300
stop	112	31.462
she	232	31.167
vote	526	30.974
won	145	27.751
they	897	26.124
why	188	25.645
do	396	24.162
says	205	24.129
jobs	112	23.756
stay	125	23.226
every	136	23.220
let	127	21.742
Labour	564	20.194
like	262	20.074
know	138	19.860
referendum	955	19.345

The Independent Keywords

Keyword	Freq #	Keyness LL
Mr.	1625	202.046
liberal	344	187.840
Ms.	107	131.219
democrats	211	109.470
democrat	129	98.150
Eurosceptics	207	98.070
per	464	65.373
cent	450	63.977
speech	282	46.542
some	476	44.798
although	119	37.824
Cameron	1695	35.422
leaders	267	34.226
UK	642	33.448
could	626	32.698
was	1593	29.585
BBC	116	28.238
would	1472	26.103
might	226	24.081
deputy	111	23.899
business	237	22.273
in	5520	19.774
Nigel	163	18.569
Europe	1071	16.981
former	226	14.851
more	901	14.694
Thatcher	101	14.417
told	216	14.308
summit	136	13.985
pro	119	13.828
European	986	13.240
though	124	12.930
his	1499	12.523
elections	203	12.512
Labour	761	11.979
exit	106	10.967
because	358	10.842
less	142	10.330
whether	212	10.291
members	187	10.119
two	332	9.950

The Observer Keywords

Keyword	Feq #	Keyness LL
party	490	106.621
UK	275	55.713
Juncker	78	53.495
his	603	42.660
Tory	337	37.647
European	402	36.450
Eurosceptic	90	33.365
home	91	30.127
backbenchers	57	28.242
he	899	27.510
Eurosceptics	63	26.217
Cameron	595	22.471
Prime	247	22.248
anti	66	22.194
him	140	21.571
ever	78	20.934
been	253	20.591
conservative	159	20.150
Europe	397	20.063

Keyword	Feq #	Keyness LL
now	230	19.964
summit	59	17.757
pro	52	17.112
terms	67	16.372
economic	110	15.238
policy	101	14.903
major	68	14.859
member	84	14.207
Dems	86	14.088
number	54	13.574
says	101	13.517
will	608	13.258
Lib	127	13.201
even	146	12.758
states	69	12.461
other	145	11.884
leadership	61	11.202
under	90	11.160
they	426	10.686
position	61	9.754

Mail & Mail on Sunday Keywords

Keyword	Freq #	Keyness LL		Keyword	Freq #	Keyness LL
he	5112	87.295		dem	262	15.366
powers	570	55.332		me	302	14.837
his	3085	48.737		downing	262	14.273
him	710	41.383		public	679	14.127
who	1876	40.053		MPs	964	13.979
minister	1520	38.522		men	103	13.942
truth	127	36.036		saying	286	13.411
mrs	174	33.562		bbc	177	12.909
lib	678	31.828		children	125	12.799
prime	1261	31.140		osborne	308	12.697
though	256	30.388		clegg	624	12.358
they	2414	30.307		whip	107	12.232
cent	729	28.979		fact	210	11.922
suggested	163	28.768		said	2200	11.813
blair	237	27.959		them	707	11.722
per	744	26.554		source	132	11.578
indeed	168	24.958		political	816	11.441
johnson	228	24.641		used	166	11.392
night	396	24.546		deal	417	11.275
war	218	21.875		days	180	11.061
tory	1574	20.269		committee	156	10.900
insisted	163	19.713		commons	365	10.794
cabinet	288	19.129		government	1195	10.761
her	466	18.392		old	211	10.512
ministers	358	17.803		secretary	438	10.197
whose	158	17.703		accused	118	10.169
million	217	17.554		even	717	10.150
such	680	17.428		Tories	813	9.609
warned	234	16.610		told	384	9.562
one	1425	16.601		forced	139	9.468
Dems	409	16.295		these	403	9.283
sources	109	16.223		law	236	9.250
self	144	16.152		treaty	471	9.195
				deputy	168	9.087

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