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Debating Migration: the Brexit referendum in newspaper opinion pieces

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**Debating Migration: the Brexit referendum in
newspaper opinion pieces**

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Abstract

On the 23rd June 2016, the UK public voted to Leave the EU in a close contest, with 51.89% advocating Leave and 48.11% optioning to Remain. In the aftermath of the vote, a rise in hate-crime was revealed signalling the fractious political climate at the time. Therefore, this paper reviews the discursive contribution of the UK online newsprint media during the EU referendum - with an emphasis on how migration-related arguments featured at different stages of the campaign. Political deliberations are supported by the media, who publish argumentative pieces in support of a certain outcome. Focusing on the comment pages of *The Telegraph*, *The Daily Mail*, *The Guardian* and *The Mirror*, this study provides an overview of how each campaign developed migration-arguments to support a Remain/Leave vote. This paper will demonstrate how the Discourse-Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis can be used in conjunction with argumentation theory to examine how the representations of the circumstances surrounding an argument support a conclusion. Due to the influential capacity of the media, examination of what representational and argumentative strategies were relied upon will provide an insight into how the media contributed towards the public debate of the EU referendum and describe how migrants were objectified for political success.

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1. Introduction

On the 23rd of June 2016, Britain voted to Leave the European Union in a tightly contested referendum where 51.9% of the public voted Leave and 48.1% voted Remain, with a difference of just over 1 million votes separating the two groups (Corbett, 2016: 11). This small difference reflects how the EU referendum polarised the public. The outcome meant that Britain would no longer be governed by EU legislation.

David Cameron initiated the EU referendum to quell Conservative party tensions relating to EU membership. When he was elected in 2010, he pledged to substantially reduce migration, but was unsuccessful - instead, targeting international students and the immediate family of British Citizens - rather than asylum seekers (Blinder & Allen, 2016: 7). This increased public mistrust towards politicians and exacerbated the feeling that migration concerns were being ignored. Furthermore, the mainstream rise of the Eurosceptic UKIP in British politics and Donald Trump in the USA relied on the promotion of anti-migration sentiment and an alternative to conventional politics, thus emboldening a public desire to reduce migration. These factors contributed to the appeal of Brexit.

Corbett (2016) has argued that the Remain campaign relied on apocalyptic scenarios, earning the nickname 'project fear', but it was not enough to frighten the working class with nothing left to lose into voting Remain (2016: 19). He asserted the Leave campaign targeted voters that were white working-class (2016: 15), with emotive campaigns appealing to nationalism and populism (2016: 20) that found resonance by promoting distrust towards migrants (2016: 22). Corbett's analysis reveals an increase in hate crime the week before and the week after Brexit by 42% (2016: 21). Moreover, a poll on Leave voters' reasons for voting suggested 81% opposed multiculturalism (2016: 23).

Corbett's findings illustrate how the attitudes promoted during the public debate feed into societal tensions, providing justification for examining the role of migration in the arguments surrounding the EU referendum. Considering the aforementioned rise in hate-crime, this research will ask: did the media employ arguments that could have legitimised animosity towards migrants during the EU referendum campaign?

In this thesis, I investigate how newspaper editorials and op-ed articles recruited different representations of immigration to make their arguments for a Leave or Remain vote. Although Leave narrowly triumphed, parts of the UK were strongly Remain regardless of media arguments - including Scotland and Northern Ireland - however, consideration of these issues will be excluded for future research.

1.1 Overview of Structure

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the previous research relating to the portrayal of migration in the media. Chapter 3 outlines my methodological approach. Then, chapters 4-7 contain my analysis of each of the newspaper publications: *The Telegraph*, *The Daily Mail*, *The Guardian*, *The Mirror*. In chapter 8 I summarise my findings and suggest avenues for future research.

1.2 Preview of Findings

Beginning with the Leave campaign, *The Daily Mail* strategically intensified its migration focus in the latter half of the campaign, with the arguments becoming more ethno-nationalistic. *The Telegraph* presented migration as a security-threat more than any other newspaper in the study, but mainly relied on more sophisticated forms of racism, such as the argument that migrants are responsible for economic inequalities. Remain newspapers, on the other hand, made concessions that migration needs managing - which weakened their argument. *The Guardian* reacted to specific migration arguments from Leave, which counter-productively kept migration at the top of the agenda. *The Mirror* was conflicted about addressing the (supposed) migration concerns of its working-class readership and advocating remaining, so its lukewarm case to Remain was based on a populist conception of working-class grievances.

2. Literature Review

This chapter of the thesis integrates previous research to explain how populism factored into the EU referendum campaign and, describes the media's influence on political decisions. Finally, it explains how immigration has historically been represented in the media.

2.1 Populism

Populism's rhetoric is built upon the assumption that citizens have requirements that are being overlooked by the political mainstream; therefore, populist politicians present themselves as prioritising the citizens' interests (Rubio-Carbonero & Zapata-Barrero, 2017: 221), often situating themselves alongside poorer members of society who have found themselves excluded (Stavrakakis, 2013: 26).

According to Stavrakakis (2013: 27-30), due to the absence of consistent criteria that permits the categorisation of political movements as ideologically 'populist', a discursive framework has been promoted whereby strategies to represent society and politics are viewed as an indicator of populism. Significant factors that indicate populism include whether a discursive practice is expressed in a way which is centred around 'the people'. Additionally, the degree to which the representation offered is 'predominately antagonistic', in the sense of dividing society into 'the establishment vs the underdog'. This division is in opposition to mainstream political discourses that maintain the 'social fabric' and promote 'technocratic solutions'. Based on his conception, the ideological fluidity of populism makes it difficult to identify, but examination of the representational strategies embedded within the discursive practice are key indicators of whether a political strategy can be considered populist.

Schoor (2017: 666) examined the political speeches of three US politicians: Donald Trump, Bernie Sanders and Hillary Clinton. Her findings demonstrate how populism is ideologically featured across the political spectrum based on how 'the people' are described. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Trump's overall style is populist (2017: 671) as exhibited by Trump claiming that his supporters are better than the out-group, by acknowledging his old elite allegiances but conveying he is now with the people and creating animosity between the people and out-groups such as migrants, the media and opposing politicians (2017: 668). Conversely, Clinton demonstrates populism by occasionally referring to herself and the people as 'we', but her style overall demonstrates elite pluralism (2017: 669). Sanders mixes elements of populism and pluralism (2017: 671), for example, creating a dichotomous in-group of the people alongside an out-group of politicians, the media and Wall Street, whilst implying 'the people' is composed of diverse groups with common interests

(2017:670). In addition, Trump and Sanders adopt the populist technique of blaming their political adversaries for dividing the people (2017: 672).

Right-wing populism is the construction of fear by parties who assign scapegoats as responsible for social problems (Wodak, 2015: 1). The strategy of assigning a scapegoat epitomises how populism aims to provide simplistic answers to complex developments (Pelinka, 2013: 8; Wodak, 2015: 4). Evidence suggests migrants were assigned as scapegoats for inequalities within British society during the EU referendum campaign (Corbett, 2016: 22) and this designation contributed towards voter intentions (Corbett, 2016: 23), validating my research focus on migration-related arguments. Other populist campaigns have scapegoated immigrants, such as the US focus on Mexicans or the Dutch Freedom party on Islam (Pelinka, 2013: 15) - Muslim integration tends to feature prominently in European right-wing populism (Betz, 2013: 72) - suggesting that an opponent of 'the people' is found depending on the political context. Furthermore, the European Union is perceived as instigating globalisation and a threat to national identity, depicting the institution as antagonistic to right-wing ideals (Pelinka, 2013: 16).

Persuasion is most effective when targeting people who belong to specific groups (Marko, 2013: 201). Often, the working classes are those targeted by populist parties (Pelinka, 2013: 10). If the working class are depicted as suffering due to the presence of migrants, it could have detrimental consequences for societal relations, as evidenced in the post- and pre-Brexit rise in hate crime.

Nigel Farage - a key-figure in the Leave campaign - and other leaders of right-wing populist parties convey empathy towards the overlooked citizens (Wodak, 2015: 124) and attempt to distance themselves from the elites by emphasising authenticity and relatability (Wodak, 2015: 131). So, populism's charismatic leaders present themselves as opposing the wealthy elite and align themselves with the less affluent. However, Wodak emphasises the disingenuous nature of this politically-motivated self-presentation, because Farage is a banker from a wealthy background (2015: 124). During the EU referendum, Farage, Boris Johnson and Michael Gove acted as charismatic right-wing populists (Corbett, 2016: 15) intent on 'taking back control' from elites (Corbett, 2016: 22). Consequently, how these individuals featured in the media's arguments to Remain and Leave will be relevant.

External events, such as 9/11 and the 7/7 bombings have energised the far-right's voice on issues of religion, culture and immigration in the UK (Solomos, 2013: 122). These events accommodate Wodak's perspective that 'collective memories' and apprehension towards strangers remain dormant until other factors, such as socio-political developments, trigger support for right-wing

populist movements (Wodak, 2015: 32). In the context of the UK, Conservative austerity measures have exacerbated the divide between rich and poor, creating discontent. Politicians use and stoke the discontent felt by many towards migrants to support their political aims. The next section will elaborate on the media's role in politics.

2.2 The Media's Role

An interdependent relationship exists between politics and the media because the media depends on politicians for stories (Wodak, 2009: 19) and politicians depend on the media to promote their policies (Mohd Don & Lee, 2014: 702). This interdependence underscores that having access to the media allows dominant groups to reproduce dominance (Van Dijk, 1991: 32), meaning that elites can control their own representation in the media (Van Dijk, 1991: 40). Examining editorials which are crafted by those with the most journalistic power - alongside op-eds - which tend to be authored by elites with preferential access to the media, will allow a clearer understanding of how elites contributed to the EU referendum debate.

Another important aspect of the referendum is the media coverage of Leave and Remain campaigns. The influential capacity of the media stems from its 'symbolic power' (Van Dijk, 1987: 203), which indicates information disseminated through the media has resonance. The mass media has considerable societal influence, on political decision-making to how we relate to one another and by providing interpretative frameworks for societal problems (Altheide, 2016: 5). This influence stems from the media ideologically representing events rather than passively describing them (Van Dijk, 1987: 203; Altheide: 2016: 206). This exemplifies the importance of analysing the media's behaviour, particularly against the contextual backdrop of significant events like the EU referendum, which has massive implications for society.

The press generates profits by selling audiences to advertisers (Fairclough, 1995: 42; Richardson, 2006: 77). Newspapers are therefore multifunctional because they are commodities and have the capacity to perpetuate ideologies for social control (Fairclough, 1995: 47). Evidence of social control is visible in the mass reproduction of racist ideologies (Van Dijk, 1987: 203), for instance, the media reconstructs minorities negatively with regularity which contributes towards the racist ideologies manifest in society (Van Dijk, 1987: 221). Such stories published by the press confirm stereotypical views of minorities, heightening the insecurities of the readers (Fairclough, 1995: 251; Richardson, 2006: 84). Accordingly, in the next section I outline some of the ways in which immigration and immigrants are represented in media discourse.

2.3 Representations of Migration in the Media

An immigrant refers to someone who permanently settles in a foreign country, whereas a migrant moves from one place to another (e.g. between EU member states). A refugee is someone who has fled conflict to another country, whereas asylum seekers are those seeking residence and protection from foreign countries. Despite these differences, the media uses the terms synonymously (Baker et al, 2008: 288), illustrating how the UK press conflates refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants (RASIM). RASIM are at a disadvantage to find the sociocultural environment where they have arrived tarnished with negative preconceptions (Sammut et al, 2017: 2). Research on the media's coverage of migration-related topics has elaborated on which associations are relied upon to create discontent towards migrants.

Synergising Corpus Linguistics methods with CDA, Baker et al analysed a corpus of British news articles about RASIM from 1996-2005 (2008: 274). Using collocation categories, the author found that refugees and asylum seekers were featured alongside the topic of residency, implying the UK press over-emphasises RASIM entering the country; and a negative stance towards RASIM was the predominant perspective adopted (2008: 287). Based on Baker et al's (2008) data, Khosravini found typical strategies of positive representations involved elaborating on personal circumstances to humanise RASIM (2014: 514). However, when external events occurred in closer proximity to the UK, the press responded with negative portrayals which heightened tensions (2014: 515).

Topoi provides one method of discussing representations of immigration. Topoi are the justification strategies used to validate an argument (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001: 75). An investigation into the behaviour of the Irish print media, focusing on 2500 articles related to illegal immigration, found that the most common topoi deployed in a positive or negative manner was topos of control (52%). Other prevalent topoi included: danger (12%), culture (7%), economic (8%) and humanitarian (9%) (Burroughs, 2014: 171).

Representations that depict RASIM as a danger or threat to the native population are prominent in the media. Adopting CDA to review South African newspaper coverage of Zimbabwean immigrants Banda & Mawadza (2015: 53) found that immigrants were constructed as terrorists/criminals via assigning them agency in negative actions and employing possessive pronouns to initiate positive-self negative-other presentation. Immigrants were also constructed as a cholera liability (Banda & Mawadza, 2015: 57). These representations were used to create panic amongst citizens, which was then used to legitimise anti-migrant regulations and laws (Banda & Mawadza, 2015: 61). This study exemplifies how negative portrayals of immigrants are used by the media to create public anxiety and secure political legislation.

Likewise, media constructions of migrants as a health risk depict them as a danger/threat. The Canadian media exhibited panic-inducing representations of non-natives (Adeyanju & Neverson, 2007: 87) which served to reinforce negative stereotypical assumptions amongst the public towards African immigrants (Adeyanju & Neverson, 2007: 102). This illustrates the media's role in the perpetuation of negative stereotypes. The case of a Congolese woman suspected of carrying Ebola was used to portray immigration as a health risk (Adeyanju & Neverson, 2007: 80). The negative reaction increased alongside the coverage, resulting in white supremacy groups arriving at the hospital (Adeyanju & Neverson, 2007: 81). This demonstrates Banda and Mawadza's (2015: 58) claim that newspapers grant xenophobes a voice and embolden racist members of society.

Allusions to criminality also comprise the topos of danger/threat. Migrants have been associated with illegality in both the Dutch (Van Dijk, 1987: 212) and UK Conservative press (Van Dijk, 1992b: 243). Analysis of *Cambridge Evening News* headlines suggested that quotes from authority figures were used to associate Eastern European migrants with crime (Rasinger, 2010: 1027). This demonstrates how the UK local press negatively constructs migrants. Similarly, the Canadian newsprint media targeted Sri-Lankan refugees, associating them with illegality in order to legitimise their detainment and create a political atmosphere in which overhauling the refugee policy would seem necessary (Bradimore & Bauder, 2011: 638). This showcases how modifying the political climate with anti-migration sentiment primes an audience for an argument (Richardson, 2006: 161).

The above research demonstrates how producing a representation of migration as a threat/danger to the native citizens - through criminalisation or otherwise - is a popular tactic of the media to create an atmosphere of anxiety and panic towards migrants.

Another representational strategy of the media is an appeal to a topos of economic threat. The reliance on constructions of migrants as economic competition is emblematic of the subtler techniques that modern racism relies upon (Van Dijk, 1992a: 112). Zimbabwean migrants were scapegoated as an economic threat alongside constructions of immigrants as stealing jobs in their negative portrayal by the South African media (Banda & Mawadza, 2015: 60).

The construction of migrants as an economic threat is replicated in the UK media. Spigelman focused on the UK press coverage of immigration after Poland joined the EU in 2004 (2013: 98). His findings demonstrated how the UK press framed Polish migrants negatively, particularly through constructing them as an economic threat (2013: 110). 'Workers' proved to be the most common collocate (2013: 106). Also, migrants were assigned negative traits such as 'job-grabbing' and 'unqualified' (2013: 109). These findings demonstrate how the UK media attempts to construct Poles as a threat to the

employment of native citizens. As Spigelman concludes, the media does not represent immigrants simply as people aiming to better their circumstances (2013: 110).

Razzaq (2012) focused on the Malaysian newsprint media in the context of the government's legislation programme. The Malaysian government offered an amnesty to migrants who had entered the country illegally, but when they came forward, they were deported (2012: 115). Using the discourse-historical approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009) and Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic network (2008), Razzaq found representations of migrants included competition to local workers; threat to social security; and having a negative economic impact (2012: 128). Stereotyping and negative predication were strategies of signalling 'otherness' of migrants, alongside support from authority figures (2012: 128). To justify the Malaysian government's exclusion of migrant workers, topos of numbers was used as an argumentation strategy in constructing migrants as job competitors (2012: 122). Topos of disadvantage was also initiated, with the implication that if migrants were removed economic growth would no longer be prevented (Razzaq, 2012: 126). Depicting migrants as competition to natives and having a detrimental effect on the economy creates the impression that their presence is undesirable. Mohd Don and Lee adopted the same methodology but focused on the opinions of political elites in the Malaysian media and how their recontextualised quotes represent migrants (2014: 703). The paper illustrates the importance of elites in perpetuating the representations of refugees and asylum seekers as victims, threats, illegals - depending on the political agenda (2014: 703). In relation to my research, elites may not merely have their voices recontextualised, but may exert greater influence through authoring the comment pages.

Besides depicting migrants as an economic threat/disadvantage, other representational strategies invoke different topoi. For instance, a topos of burden has been found in Catalanian political discourse (Rubio-Carbonero & Zapata-Barrero, 2017: 222). Whereas, Van Dijk's research on UK press Conservative editorials found migrants featured alongside themes of cultural difference or detrimental immigration levels (1992b: 243). This thematic choice demonstrates how modern racism may negatively represent a group's culture as opposed to race - providing subtler forms of discrimination (Van Dijk, 1997: 33). Depicting migrants as problematic, rather than hostile, is another subtler variation (Van Dijk, 1997: 31; Mohd Don & Lee, 2014: 695).

Negative depictions are not restricted to RASIM, however. Helleiner and Szuchewycz (1997) found Irish travellers have been targeted by the Irish press in study. Since the 60s, travellers have been subjected to evictions and harassment (1997: 112). Analysis revealed newspaper editorials functioned to maintain and reinforce the existing racist perceptions, exhibited by representing attacks on travellers as supporting government action; characterising travellers as a problem; and

protecting the reputation of the city by praising officials, disapproving of the attack but blaming travellers (1997: 124). These findings illustrate the importance of editorials in shaping perceptions and how some editorials legitimise institutions with authority, such as the government.

Metaphors establish 'mental representations' that equip us with an ideological perspective of the world (Chateris-Black, 2014: 211), 'characterising our worldviews' (Lakoff, 2002: 63). Thus, metaphors can provide insight into the ideological essence of discourse. Furthermore, metaphors which become common can influence how we organise society (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 164), therefore metaphorical representations of migrants can also inform our interpretation of societal hierarchy. Santa Ana's data-driven analysis of the 1994 anti-immigrant referendum in California, USA found the dominant metaphors used by the media were 'IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS', 'IMMIGRANTS ARE COMMODITIES', 'IMMIGRANTS ARE DEBASED PEOPLE' and 'IMMIGRANTS ARE WEEDS' (1999: 198). Constructing immigrants like this represents them as less than human beings (1999: 217).

Polish workers are demonised as a flood coming to steal jobs (Spigelman, 2013: 110), a metaphorical construction echoed concerning Zimbabwean migrants (Banda & Mawadza, 2015: 55) and Eastern European migrants (Rasinger, 2010: 1026). The flood metaphor creates the impression that the disaster needs containing, extinguishing any elements of compassion (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 169). Such findings support the view that this metaphor constitutes a representational strategy deployed to dehumanise migrants. My research will monitor which metaphors were deployed during the EU referendum campaign and how they supplement the arguments to Remain/Leave.

Migrant voices were absent in much of the media coverage (Mohd Don & Lee, 2014: 702; Banda & Mawadza, 2015: 56; Bradimore & Bauder, 2011: 656) or underrepresented (Teo, 2000: 23). When migrants are silenced, public knowledge/debate can be influenced (Bradimore & Bauder, 2011: 647); therefore, the suppression of migrant voices is a discriminatory strategy. However, it is not expected that migrant voices will appear in the editorial/op-ed format.

The Leave campaign's anti-immigration stance drew accusations of racism from Remain, therefore, denials will populate the discourse. Van Dijk believes racism denials are a discursive component of positive in-group presentation (1992a: 89). Denials are not a defensive procedure; the press can utilise the denial as an attack on opponents by suggesting they are 'ideologically blinkered' (1992a: 107), oversensitive or exaggerating (1992a: 89). The most effective denial strategy is the reversal employed by the UK tabloids that claims, 'we are not the racists, they are' (1992a: 93). Van Dijk claims that the more disclaimers and denials, the more racist the discourse is likely to be (1992a: 89), so evidence of these strategies is indicative of racism.

2.4 Liberal and Conservative Representations of Migrants

Over the preceding 50 years, the UK press has devoted increased attention to issues surrounding immigration (Khosravinik, 2014: 501), which exemplifies the salience that immigration-related discourse has in the media. When RASIM feature as a topic, representations usually convey negativity, for instance, both the liberal and conservative press dehumanise them; however, the liberal newspapers tend to promote representations that humanise by highlighting their plight comparatively more (Wodak, 2015: 85). Through considering factors including quoting minorities, producing relevant topics for minorities and promoting anti-racist and anti-establishment views, liberal newspapers like *The Guardian* exhibit less racism towards ethnic minorities in comparison to the conservative press (Van Dijk, 1991: 247). Nonetheless, the liberal press is culpable of subtler forms of racism (Van Dijk, 1991: 249) and of objectifying RASIM as an issue to be debated, thus reflecting a conservative ideology (Baker, et al, 2008: 293). Another finding conveys that the liberal press is more inclined to individualise immigrants and encourage empathy, whereas the conservative press does not, instead, using strategies that accentuate the difference between immigrants and the British (Khosravinik, 2014: 513), in some cases, relying on portraying minorities as a threat to safety (Van Dijk, 1987: 219). These findings suggest the liberal and conservative press reproduce racism, but the liberal press is more likely to combat the negative attitudes concerning RASIM and minorities.

2.5 Tabloid and Broadsheet Representations of Migrants

Distinctions exist between how the broadsheet and tabloid formats represent RASIM, for example, tabloids (98.1%) were found to adopt a more negative stance than broadsheets (75.6%) from 1996-2005 in the UK (Baker et al, 2008: 290). Moreover, broadsheets were more likely than tabloids to challenge negative representations of RASIM and demonstrated more balance via positive and negative arguments (Baker et al, 2008: 290). These findings support the claim that tabloids are notable for negatively representing migrants, although broadsheets have been found to adopt the language of tabloids when describing migrants (Blinder & Allen, 2016:31). Other findings suggest tabloids prefer to rely on referential strategies, predication strategies and metaphors to relate negative topoi (Khosravinik, 2014: 515), whereas conservative broadsheets are more reliant on more implicit forms of negative representation, employing some predication but forms that are more dependent on insinuation and implicature (Khosravinik, 2014: 516).

3. Methodology

This thesis aims to describe the argumentative shifts that occurred within the political context of the EU referendum, and specifically the role immigration played within this debate. The first section outlines the overarching theoretical perspective, followed by a description of how my data was gathered, and finally, how my data was analysed.

3.1 The Discourse-Historical Approach

Discourse is recognised as language use (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 258), whether that is spoken or written forms of linguistic interaction (Young et al, 2018: 7). My research will be theoretically-rooted in viewing discourse as a form of social practice (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997:258; Titscher et al, 2000: 156; Wood & Kroger: 2000: 4). This affords great importance to how reality is represented in discourse because of the implications it can have for groups in society if negative representations are re-circulated and perpetuated, hence my focus on migration-related arguments.

CDA is a method of social research that considers texts and discourse alongside social processes and change, allowing the examination of the relationship between discourse and society (Fairclough, 2012: 9; Razzaq, 2012: 117; Shojaei et al, 2013: 860). Texts are an indicator of social action (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 10). My research will examine newspaper texts to discover how the discourse surrounding the EU referendum attempted to persuade voters and contribute towards societal change. A key argument of CDA is that social movements and important political processes include a linguistic and discursive component (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 271), in the sense that social change is partly constituted linguistically. Therefore, this research will consider how the media's linguistic and discursive contribution develops over the course of the EU referendum. The relationship between discourse and society is described as 'dialectical', in the sense that, 'discourse constitutes society and culture, as well as being constituted by them' (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 273; Richardson, 2006: 28). Therefore, discourse has the capacity to shape society, and society discourse.

Typically, CDA investigates the role of discourse in perpetuating or resisting social inequality (Richardson, 2006: 115; Titscher et al, 2000: 147; Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 9) by identifying discursive evidence of ideological shading (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 4). The theoretical approach is consequently an ideal tool for investigating newspaper discourses, which often reinforce inequality (Richardson, 2006: 6). Discourse relies on ideologies to exert these aspects of social inequality (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 88) which function to legitimise discriminatory practices (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001: 1). Ideologies are defined as a composition of attitudes or values (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 8), which represent social reality in a specific way, whilst contributing to constructions of identities of social actors,

events and groups of social actors (Fairclough, 2009: 280). Gradually, ideologically saturated discourse can result in changes in people's consciousness (Fairclough & Wodak, 2009: 280) through conveying assumptions concerning social life (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 258). This epitomises the transformative power of discourse, suggesting that it can change how people perceive the world. It will be essential to monitor what attitudes are reproduced at different stages of the EU referendum campaign, the political motivations for promoting such attitudes and how they facilitate arguments to Remain/Leave. Critical approaches, like CDA, have the capacity to enlighten and allow human beings to resist manipulation (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 9). This exemplifies how CDA possesses the ability to increase societal awareness of how the media relies on discursive strategies to exert control.

According to Machin and Meyr (2012: 4), the field of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) consists of three main epistemological and ontological approaches. Fairclough's approach (1992; 1993; 1995; 2001) inspired by Halliday's (1985) Systemic-functional linguistics, Teun Van Dijk's 'Socio-Cognitive Approach' (1991; 2012; 2014) and Ruth Wodak's 'Discourse-Historical Approach' (DHA) (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). They all share the perspective that a dialectical relationship exists between discourse and society (Richardson, 2006: 37). However, the DHA (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 100) emphasises the examination of discursive change over time, presenting itself as the ideal analytical perspective to track the discursive trajectory of the EU referendum campaigns.

The DHA is a framework that allows the identification of concealed power dynamics because it integrates knowledge about the historical, political and social contexts in which the discursive events are rooted (Richardson & Wodak, 2009: 255). The approach thus emphasises the incorporation of contextual knowledge to enhance the interpretation of texts (Razzaq, 2012: 118). Reisigl & Wodak outline 3 levels of critique that the DHA underscores: 1) "Discourse-immanent critique", such as inconsistencies at the textual level; 2) "Sociodiagnostic critique", which denotes the manipulative nature of discursive practices and is where contextual knowledge is integrated and; 3) "Prospective critique" refers to suggesting communicative improvements for society (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001: 32-33). These critical guidelines are aligned with the ambitions of this paper because I will consider the linguistic realisations of the discursive strategies present in the text, within the political context of the EU referendum and ultimately, improve societal awareness regarding the manipulative and sometimes discriminatory practices of political discourse.

The next section demonstrates how a corpus was created consisting of newspaper editorials and op-eds, which enabled an overview of the argumentative themes that developed across the 10 weeks of referendum campaigning, and how representative articles were selected for discussion. Integrating a

corpus approach helps to reduce researcher bias (Baker et al, 2008: 277; Hart & Cap, 2014: 5) because texts are selected based on quantitative data, rather than selecting texts that support my research. Section 3 outlines the set of concepts used to analyse the data and explicates the structures of argumentation used to legitimise a vote to Remain or Leave.

3.2 Data Selection

My study is concerned with how the online newsprint media contributed towards the discursive and argumentative character of the EU referendum. As the previous chapters established, analysing newspaper campaigns is valuable because the media is an important vehicle for developing, shaping and changing social attitudes (Richardson, 2006: 116). My data is concerned with contributions from the newsprint media that fall within the dates that signal the beginning and the end of the official EU referendum campaigns, which are the 15/04/2016 to the polling day on the 23/06/2016. My research will consider the two opposing campaigns. To produce a balanced representation of the EU referendum campaign, this research will include data from publications that represent both sides of the EU referendum debate. Also, to account for any differences in how different newspaper formats campaigned to Remain or Leave, my research will include data from the tabloid and broadsheet formats. Accordingly, the online newsprint publications that represent a Leave perspective in my data are *The Telegraph* (broadsheet) and *The Daily Mail* (tabloid), whereas, the Remain campaign is represented by *The Guardian* (broadsheet) and *The Mirror* (tabloid). My data pool is focused on editorials and op-eds because they represent the explicit political view of the newspaper or author (Van Dijk, 1993: 266), and their primary function is to make an argument (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012: 17; Van Dijk, 1992b: 244). Although the chosen newspapers overwhelmingly advocate for Britain to either Leave or Remain - as is evident in the editorials published during the campaign - the op-eds sometimes supported an alternate stance to the newspaper's editorial view.

Van Dijk investigated the argumentative structure of tabloid editorials covering minorities (1992b: 234). His findings suggest the arguments are not merely a persuasive account about the riots involving black youths, but as a means of reproducing the marginalisation and control of black people, in addition to legitimising racism (1992b: 256). Based on these conclusions, the editorials that argue their case based on a negative conception of migration, perpetuate the subordination of migrants in the UK.

Newsbank provided a searchable archive for most of the newspapers, except *The Daily Mail*, which required a manual search through its own archives. The corpus was constructed by reading all the editorials and op-eds published during the EU referendum campaign from each of the online

newspapers. The texts deemed related to EU membership were added to the corpus, whereas the texts that did not exhibit associations with EU membership were excluded from the data. Once the corpus was constructed, individual op-eds were coded based on their thematic content. Four prominent themes were identified: migration, the economy, social/cultural consequences and security (see table 1). Editorials were coded for multiple themes and the co-occurrence of themes was an important aspect of the analysis. Other themes, outside the four main categories, were accounted for if they were discussed in relation to the main themes. For instance, the murder of Jo Cox received coverage towards the end of the campaign, so this theme was placed in a separate category marked 'other'. Keeping a running total of these different themes allowed the identification of trends and shifts during the different stages of the campaign and across each publication. Significant thematic patterns or deviations from the pattern directed my data selection towards texts which are symptomatic or representative of those trends or shifts. Texts chosen for close analysis were selected by consulting the database for texts which were published during the dates where the thematic shifts occurred. Then, the texts within that period were filtered based upon including the themes represented in the shifts. In the next section, I outline the theoretical framework used to analyse argumentation in these texts.

Coded themes	Examples of relevant issues
Migration/Immigration	Freedom of movement, migration/immigration policy, migration/immigration levels, refugee/asylum seeker resettlement
Economy	Jobs, trade, welfare, economic growth, housing, healthcare, education
Social/Cultural Consequences	Demographic change, cultural enrichment, cultural dilution
Security	Terrorism, criminality, violence

Table 1. Thematic coding of the op-eds and editorials.

3.3 Analytical Framework

My theoretical framework will rely on the DHA (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009) branch of CDA because it emphasises the shifting context in which discourse occurs. My focus is on how arguments develop over time, hence why my framework will synergise the DHA with Fairclough & Fairclough's approach

to argumentation (2012). This research will highlight the theoretical intersection between the context of action/circumstances involved in argumentation and CDA's ability to demonstrate how these circumstances are portrayed in the premises of arguments (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012: 81). Therefore, the analysis presented will describe the way in which immigration is represented and how that representation is used to support an argument concerning the EU.

Section 3.3.1 will describe the conceptual apparatus employed to analyse the representation of immigration. Following this, section 3.3.2 will outline the methods used to analyse the arguments produced based on these representations.

3.3.1 Representation

CDA furnishes several conceptual frameworks for describing the how texts represent events and situations. My research combines two of these: Reisigl & Wodak's (2009: 94) and Van Leeuwen's (2008: 35- 54) approaches. The discursive strategies are summarised in Table 2:

Discursive Strategies	Explanation
Referential Strategies	How social actors/groups are constructed via categorisation.
Predicational Strategies	Refers to traits/attributes associated with social actors/groups.
Argumentation Strategies	Relates to the justifications regarding positive/negative evaluations or claims for the inclusion/exclusion of social actors/groups. These strategies are labelled "topoi", which are defined as "content-related warrants" initiated to justify a claim (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001: 75).
Framing	Alludes to the perspective expressed regarding the discursive event being covered.

Intensification/Mitigation	Denotes the degree of certainty/vagueness of what is being discursively conveyed or degree of 'illocutionary force'.
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Table 2. Framework of representational strategies.

My research adopts a simplified version of Van Leeuwen's (2008) extensive model. This is because the incorporation of the model in its entirety would unnecessarily complicate the CDA aspect of the analysis, where the application of the DHA is sufficient. Therefore, some terminology from Van Leeuwen's (2008) model is incorporated into my research to assist in the explanation of 'Referential Strategies' identified within the data. For instance, 'aggregation' refers to the quantification of social actors (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 37). An extract from a text included in *The Telegraph* campaign discursively represented a group of social actors as 'hundreds and thousands of people'. This example of aggregation foregrounds the scale of the group of social actors referred to, which could validate or contribute towards a certain discursive construction of events. Thus, adopting aspects of Van Leeuwen's (2008) model provided specific terminology to assist in the explanation of discursive strategies.

Reisigl and Wodak (2009: 32) define 'Referential Strategies' as linguistic references to 'persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions'. More specially, Van Leeuwen (2008: 35-54) suggests the following ways of categorising, which are extracted from his 'Sociosemantic Inventory':

Relational Identification: classification of social actors via relationships to one another.

Nomination/Categorisation: representation of social actors via their unique identity, or by grouping actors through common traits or identities.

Functionalisation: identification of a social actor via foregrounding occupation or activity they perform.

Classification: identification of social actors via Western criteria e.g. age, ethnicity, religion. This form of representation functions as a 'Predicational Strategy'.

Like Van Dijk, Van Leeuwen believes discourse can impact upon social cognitions (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 6), influencing how a reader may understand the world.

3.3.2 Argumentation

Representations are important because they direct an argument towards a specific conclusion, thus fulfilling an argumentative function (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012: 116). Representations, then, are part of the premises of practical arguments (Fairclough & Fairclough: 2012: 116) and are essential to the argumentative claims made during the EU referendum.

Stemming from the pragma-dialectical perspective that argumentation is concerned with "resolving a difference of opinion based on merits" (Van Eemeren, 2013: 62), Fairclough and Fairclough demonstrated how CDA could be enhanced when used in conjunction with argumentation theory (2012: 17). The theoretical fusion was based on Fairclough's CDA approach - the 'Dialectical-Relational Approach' (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012: 78), whereas, this paper will attempt to theoretically combine the DHA with argumentation theory. Combining two disciplines to investigate the relationship between discourse and society complements the notion that CDA requires a multi-disciplinary and multi-methodical approach (Titscher et al, 2000: 145; Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 2).

An argument is a collection of statements, consisting of a claim for action and premises. Premises provide supporting reasons towards a claim for action, which function as justifications for the claim (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012: 36). These concepts factor into the deliberative procedure of practical reasoning - concerning what is the correct course of action to take when practical problems are presented (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012: 35). In the context of the EU referendum, practical reasoning is initiated when the British public are presented with claims that Britain should either Remain or Leave the EU.

To identify and structure the arguments presented in the EU referendum, this research will adopt the framework and terminology established by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012: 45-48), which are summarised as follows:

- 1) Claim: constitutes what course of action the agent should take.
- 2) Goal: refers to a 'future states of affairs' that is informed by the values.
- 3) Values: determine how the claim for action facilitates the goal, as well as, determining which circumstances are relevant to the presentation of the argument.
- 4) Circumstances: function as premises to provide a "context of action" that govern what action can be taken. The circumstances presented reflect the undesirable situation that is amendable by performing the claim and achieving the goal.

Representations share a relationship with each of these argumentation structures. According to Fairclough and Fairclough, circumstances represent reality in specific ways, functioning as premises that factor into deliberating the correct course of action (2012: 87). So, the representation of circumstances is essential to the argumentative claim. Whereas, the values govern the selection of relevant circumstances which are discursively represented in a manner complementary to the claim being made (2012: 46). Representations of the goal are labelled 'imaginaries', which denotes a future scenario (2012: 103).

Fairclough and Fairclough (2012: 35) categorise argumentation as relying on two types of reasoning: on the one hand, 'practical reasoning' is concerned with what is the correct course of action for an agent to take. On the other hand, 'theoretical reasoning' is argumentation relating to the truth of what is proposed. This research mainly considers arguments that evoke practical reasoning because most of the claims are somewhat related to whether voting to continue or discontinue Britain's EU membership is the correct course of action to take. However, analysis of Text B (Figure 2) and Text H (Figure 12) involve argumentative claims that are concerned with theoretical reasoning and are exceptions. This deviation from considering argumentation involving practical reasoning was made because Text B and Text H dispute the validity of specific claims made by the opposition campaign. Therefore, to show how the arguments interact and shift over the course of the EU referendum campaign - a focus of this study - it was necessary to consider some arguments that rely upon theoretical reasoning.

3.3.3 Summary

In chapters 4-7 I use the analytical methods outlined above to investigate the representations of immigration in the Brexit debate and how they were mobilised in aid of arguments for and against leaving the EU.

4. Telegraph Analysis

The Telegraph is a broadsheet. Throughout the EU referendum campaign, the newspaper advocated leaving the EU.

4.1 Key trends in *The Telegraph* coverage

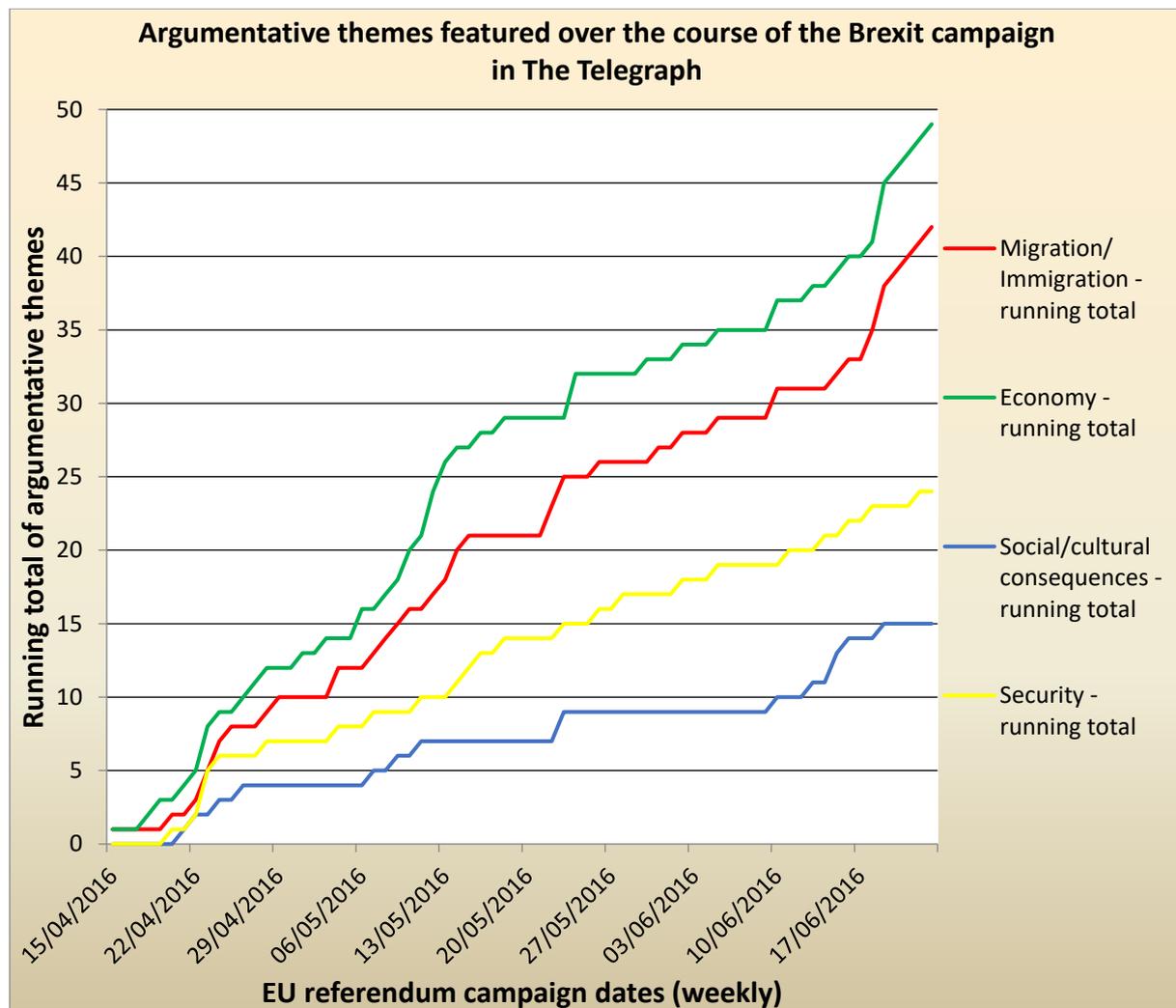


Figure 1. Thematic overview of *The Telegraph* campaign.

Considering the data (Figure 1), the argumentative themes featured in the Telegraph's Brexit campaign maintain a steady trajectory throughout. The economy consistently appears most frequently, followed by migration, then security and finally, the social/cultural consequences of leaving the EU.

In this chapter I analyse three texts from *The Telegraph*. The first features the dominant themes of the economy and migration. As Figure 1 demonstrates, by far the most important themes in *The Telegraph*'s coverage of the referendum are immigration and the economy. Both grow at a similar

rate and closer inspection of the data reveals that both themes tend to be paired together in the newspaper's comments pages. Therefore, I will examine an editorial typical of *The Telegraph's* focus on migration and perform an in-depth analysis of the discourse to determine how the theme is characterised in the context of the Brexit campaign.

The second text is authored by Nigel Farage. The op-eds tend to replicate the editorial pattern of pairing immigration with the economy and Farage is a Leave advocate and a key figure in the campaign, so his discursive contribution will provide valuable insight.

Another deduction that can be made from Figure 1 the data is that *The Telegraph* featured the argumentative theme of security comparatively more than any of the other online newspaper publications featured in this study. The final analysis therefore examines an op-ed demonstrating the relationship between migration and security.

4.2 'Time for an honest debate on the impact of migration on public services': The Telegraph editorial stance

Text A) The Telegraph (7th May, 2016), 'Time for an honest debate about the impact of migration on public services':

This editorial (see appendix) embodies *The Telegraph's* stance throughout the EU referendum campaign. It reflects the desire of the conservative broadsheet to centre migration as a decisive argument in the reasoning of the voters. Text A foregrounds the negative impact that migration has on the economy, whilst also promoting the notion that refusing to discuss the negative impact could constrain the referendum debate.

I will consider how the representational choices - evident in the language - supplement the claim, taking inspiration from Reisigl and Wodak's selection of discursive strategies (2009: 94). Aspects of Van Leeuwen's (2008) representation of social actors will elaborate on the referential strategies employed. Then, I will reconstruct the argumentation used in the text by borrowing from the structure of argumentation proposed by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012: 45).

4.2.1 Representation

The editorial (see appendix A) establishes that pro-EU membership arguments are based on the notion that migration is economically beneficial for Britain. However, according to *The Telegraph*, these supposed benefits are intangible:

1.1 Pro-EU luminaries including Mark Carney of the Bank of England speak airily of the benefits of “flexible labour markets” and the effect on abstract concepts such as gross domestic product of the arrival of hundreds of thousands of people in this country every year.

To create the impression that the pro-migration arguments are unfounded, the editorial grants 'Mark Carney' semiformal nomination (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 40-41) and recontextualises his description of the economic benefits of migration. Recontextualisation refers to extracting an element of one discursive context into another (Wodak & Meyer: 2009, 90); this is achieved by taking the benefit realised in the direct quotation of "flexible labour markets" and omitting the surrounding explanatory discourse to create obfuscation. As the quote relies upon economic discourse of a technical nature, it represents the reality of the supposed benefits as being intangible to the average voter. The verb phrase 'speak airily' produces the impression that Carney is promoting arguments nonchalantly, without much thought. Portraying Mark Carney as one of the 'Pro-EU luminaries' also characterises his perspective as biased. Other representational choices such as predicating 'gross domestic product' as an 'abstract concept' reiterates the construction of the economic benefits of migration as being impalpable. Also, the referential strategy of naming the group of social actors as 'hundreds and thousands of people' is an example of aggregation, defining the group as a quantity (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 37). By highlighting the scale of migration - which is intensified by the determiner, 'every' - with its underwhelming benefits the editorial further criticises Carney's claims. Overall, the discourse promotes the notion that the economic benefits of migration are unrelatable to the average voter.

Text A conveys the negative consequences of migration as the manifestation of economic issues. The editorial represents schools/public services as overstretched:

1.2 Parents unable to send their children to their preferred schools or whose offspring are taught in overcrowded classrooms could be forgiven for wondering whether the alleged economic benefits of a liberal migration policy are being reflected in the resources available to the state education system.

'Parents' and 'children' - two vulnerable groups which would evoke public sympathy - are functionalised (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 42), operating to highlight their kinship ties which emphasises their human qualities and foregrounds them as victims of migration. Allocating the “native” population as the victims echoes the discursive strategy previously found in discriminatory discourses against another minority group - travellers (Helleiner & Szuchewycz: 1997: 124). Their

strife is evident in the inability of parents to 'send their children to their preferred schools', as well as the negative predication of classrooms as 'overcrowded', with both constructions denoting a shortage of educational resources due to migration. Representing migration as inhibiting the education of children promotes negative attitudes towards the presence of migrants.

Another representation present in Text A is that politicians are restrained from discussing the negative impacts of migration because of liberal ideologies:

1.3 It remains true that those who ask questions about immigration and its effects run the risk of sneers or worse from the BBC and other "liberal" institutions. Public debate has been constrained, and public policy has been worse for it.

The 'BBC and other "liberal" institutions' are categorised together and predicated as exhibiting left-wing bias. The rhetorical strategy employed here resembles that of right-wing populist movements who claim that mainstream media institutions conspire to propagate a liberal ideology at odds with the interests of the people (Wodak, 2015: 4). According to the editorial, those who dare speak out against migration 'run the risk of sneers or worse', where 'worse' here implies an accusation of racism. Representing those with right-wing attitudes towards migration as the victims of slanderous accusations is indicative of another discursive strategy of right-wing populist movements (Wodak, 2015: 68). Furthermore, the conjunction 'and' signifies a causal relationship between 'Public debate' - which is predicated as 'constrained' - and 'public policy', which is evaluated as 'worse for it'. This strategy implies that the liberal values driving the dilution of negative migration discourse are having a detrimental effect on implementing policy measures to combat the impact of migration.

4.2.2 Argumentation

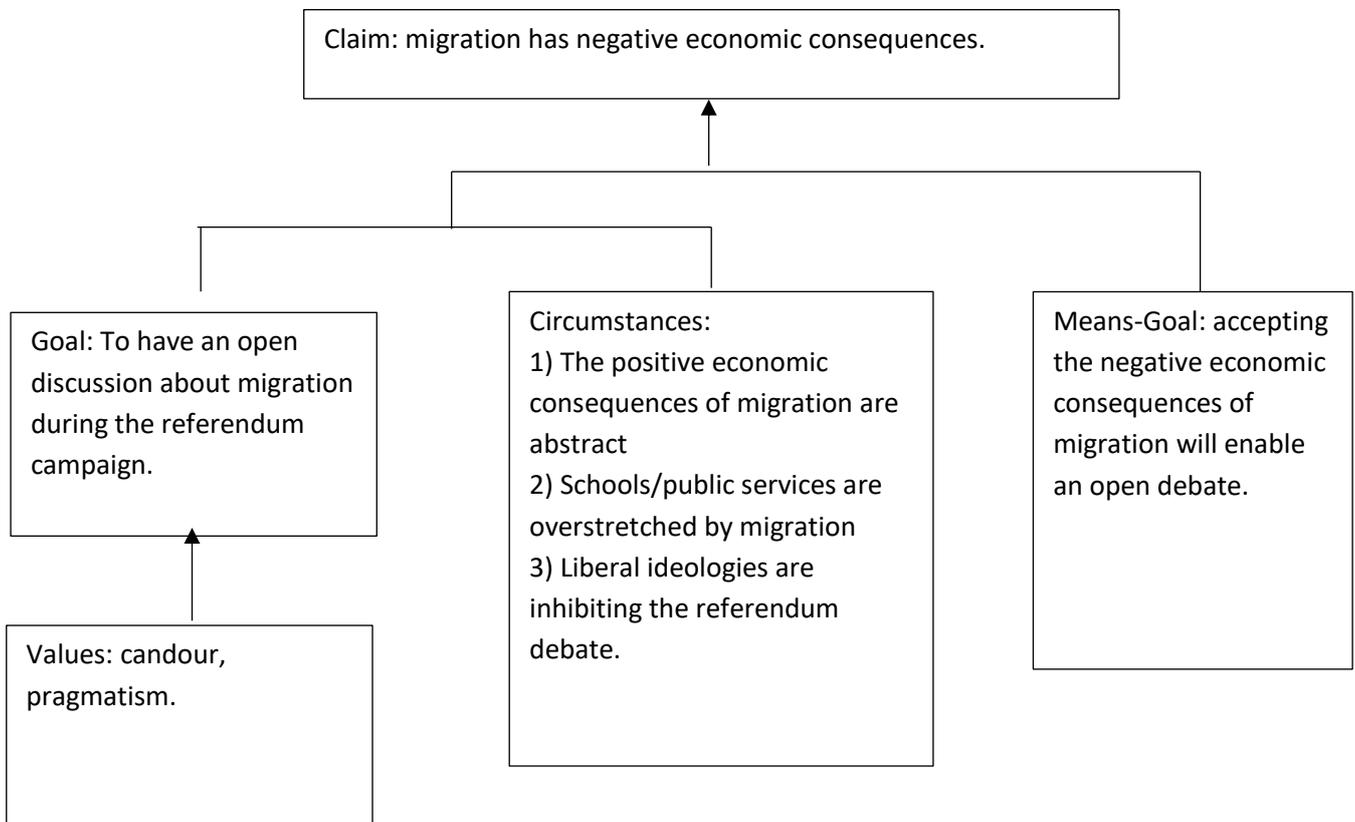


Figure 2. Argumentation structures in Text A.

Figure 2 demonstrates the argumentation structures evident in Text A. The claim is that migration has negative economic consequences. Fairclough and Fairclough assert that the goals of an argument are recognised as imagined futures, which are informed and driven by a set of values (2012: 45). So, the goal is to take the opportunity of the EU referendum to have an open discussion about immigration. Driving this goal are the values of candour and pragmatism. The means-goal structure denotes that accepting that migration has negative economic consequences will enable a candid debate about migration. Circumstances are discursively represented in a manner which is complementary to the claim being made (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012: 46), which I will demonstrate below.

Firstly, depicting the economic benefits of migration as imperceivable, reduces the relevance of the promoted economic benefits to the average voter. Doing so draws on a pragmatic view of the economic consequences of migration to assist the claim.

Secondly, text A portrays migration as having a negative impact on educational resources. Outlining the negative economic impact of migration is a pragmatic assessment of the argued real impact of migration. The impact is represented as reducing the likelihood that a parent would be able to send their child to the chosen school and diminishing the quality of teaching. Foregrounding the negative impact migration has on children and parents - two vulnerable groups - elicits sympathy towards their struggle and creates animosity towards migrants. Representing migration's effect on public services as impacting upon families complements the claim that migration has a negative economic impact.

The final circumstance attacks anti-racists, evoking a defensive strategy employed by the right-wing press (Van Dijk, 1992a: 108). Liberal ideologies are constructed as preventing the discussion of migration's negative impact. Those who promote a negative viewpoint of migration are portrayed as vulnerable to accusations of racism. This portrayal may persuade voters to disregard any accusations of racism as merely stemming from a liberal disposition, whilst creating scepticism towards any migration arguments produced by liberal institutions. The suggestion that the balance of the debate is compromised, functions to support the claim that migration has negative economic consequences, a notion which should be accepted in the EU referendum to maintain a candid discussion. Outlining racist accusations as jeopardising the sincerity of the debate, echoes an argumentative strategy of racism denial because it depicts racist accounts as providing an 'honest' debate about migration (Van Dijk, 1992a: 89).

4.3 Immigration and the economy

Text B) Nigel Farage (10th June 2016), 'Don't let David Cameron and George Osborne fool you: here's what my vision of Britain really looks like'

Nigel Farage was, at the time of the op-eds publication, the leader of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) and a vocal advocate of leaving the EU. This article (see appendix) was published in response to campaigners of Remain attempting to dissuade voters from leaving the EU by claiming that if the UK did then it would become "Farage's Britain". This insinuates that the country would adopt his and his party's far-right attitudes. Farage countered this suggestion by defining his own vision of post-Brexit Britain in *The Telegraph*, which featured the implementation of an Australian-style immigration system.

4.3.1 Representation

Text B characterises remain voters as attempting to define 'Farage's Britain' due to their inability to produce original arguments:

2.1 Clearly, they are reluctant to talk about why they don't think Britain is good enough to thrive outside the EU and are instead seeking to define what my vision is for Britain. I'm sorry, but I'm not going to allow that to happen. So here is my vision for the country that I love.

Remain campaigners are referred to with the pronoun 'they'. The adjective 'reluctant' is used as a predicational strategy (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 94) to create the impression that the Remain campaign is unenthusiastic about producing original arguments. Text B represents these arguments as coming from the perspective that 'Britain is [not] good enough to thrive outside the EU', implying pessimism. In contrast to Remain's unenthusiastic pessimism, Farage is represented as passionate about Britain's future, signified by the predication of Britain as 'the country I love'.

In addition to Farage's belief that migration levels are too high, Text B proposes an Australian-style immigration system to reduce migration:

2.2 My vision for our post-Brexit migration system is really quite simple: an Australian-style system that allows those we need to come with work permits, but which brings down numbers significantly to sensible levels.

Farage's vision for migration reform is evaluated as 'quite simple', implying the system is uncomplicated to implement. Referencing the migrants as 'those we need' implies a distinction

between desirable and undesirable migrants, whilst also dehumanising them as mere labourers whose belonging is determined by the natives, signified by the collective pronoun 'we', reducing them to their functional role in the UK economy. The conjunctive 'but' demonstrates how the implementation of this model would reduce migration to 'sensible levels'. Also, aggregating (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 37) the migrants as 'numbers' compounds the dehumanising strategies the discourse employs when representing migrants. Dehumanising strategies thus feature in the construction of migration reform in Farage's post-Brexit imaginary.

Right-wing populism is the construction of fear where scapegoats are proposed and blamed for damaging society (Wodak, 2015: 1) and involves finding an opponent for the people (Pelinka, 2013: 7). In Text B, migrants are scapegoated. For example, a reduction in migration is depicted as increasing wages for British labourers:

2.3 So it is part of my vision that after a Leave vote, by controlling our borders and stopping a flood of unskilled migrant labour into the country, wages would rise for British workers.

Central to Farage's future vision is 'stopping a flood of unskilled migrant labour', which utilises the common metaphor of a natural disaster to dehumanise migrants and assign them destructive qualities (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001: 59; Spigelman, 2013: 99). Predicating the 'migrant labour' as 'unskilled' constructs the group of social actors as inherently problematic. More so, he suggests reducing migration means that 'wages would rise for British workers'. The modal verb 'would' conveys the belief that reducing migration produces a positive impact on wages with a degree of certainty. 'British workers' are categorised as those who would benefit from reducing migration, echoing a populist strategy employed by mainstream parties (Richardson & Wodak, 2009: 264). The strategy categorises workers as 'British', classifying who benefits by nationality (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 42), thus establishing nationalistic boundaries. These strategies represent the migrants as scapegoats for socio-economic failures (Wodak, 2015: 2), establishing a topos of finance (Wodak, 2015: 53) - in the sense that the presence of migrants is placing the British at a financial disadvantage.

In addition, Text B promotes the notion that reducing migration would diminish the burden placed on economic resources:

2.4 Post-Brexit Britain would also mean our infrastructure was no longer bursting at the seams. By controlling numbers, we could plan ahead. Families could get their kids into the local school, ensure that they could see a GP far quicker and look realistically at getting on the housing ladder.

The container metaphor 'bursting at the seams' is used to portray the current state of Britain's 'infrastructure' as unable to cope with migration levels. Aggregation (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 37) is again used to dehumanise the migrants as a mere statistic, evident in referencing the migrants as 'numbers'. The verb 'controlling' reiterates the dehumanising representation; it achieves this by reducing the migrants to an entity that requires regulation, suppressing their humanity. One result of reducing migration is highlighted as meaning 'families could get their kids into the local school', which implies that migration levels are inhibiting their education. 'Families' and 'kids' represents the social actors via functionalisation (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 42), foregrounding their maternal and paternal relationship to emphasise their human qualities and evoke sympathy. Also, doctors' appointments are evaluated as being attainable 'far quicker', suggesting that migration is diminishing the availability of healthcare. Associating the negative economic impact of migration as affecting 'families' evokes sympathy and emphasises the requirement to reduce migration. This construction evokes a topos of burden (Wodak, 2015: 53) because the presence of migrants is constructed as a hinderance on economic resources that should be eased.

Text B suggests that the EU is discriminatory towards non-EU migrants:

2.5 After leaving the EU we would be able to treat all who wanted to come here on an equal basis, strengthening our proud ties to our kith and kin in the Commonwealth. It is shameful that we have discriminated against those countries in favour of the EU

The implication here is that the EU migration policy is discriminatory towards non-EU member states, suggesting they are not treated 'on an equal basis'. Referencing 'the commonwealth' has connotations of Britain's colonial history and could be interpreted as an attempt to resonate with people through a nostalgic memory of Britain (Wodak, 2015: 183). An affinity is promoted in the discourse using relational identification (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 43), between Britain and the Commonwealth, through representing them as 'kith and kin', suggesting a shared family connection. Likewise, the association is positively evaluated as 'proud', cementing the affinity. The verb 'discriminated' implies the EU is prejudiced, whereas predicating the discrimination as 'shameful' invites outrage regarding being favourable towards EU migrants at the expense of non-EU migrants. In anticipation of racism accusations, Farage unexpectedly draws upon egalitarian discourse to perform a racism reversal (Van Dijk, 1992a: 93) by accusing the EU of discrimination

Pelinka states that right-wing populist strategies that promote anti-elitism are usually directed at those who are responsible for mass migration (2013: 9). Farage's op-ed promotes anti-elitist attitudes through the representation of the EU as undemocratic:

2.6 Being represented on the world stage by EU bureaucrats who think that they know what's best for us – that would end too.

Farage uses the collective pronouns 'they' and 'us' to create distance between the reader and the elite, whilst simultaneously categorising himself as included in 'us'. This echoes another populist strategy of portraying himself as the ordinary person. The referenced 'EU bureaucrats' contains connotations of the EU comprising an elite group, who prioritise procedure and regulation over the interests of the people. Through representing the perspective of the 'EU' as 'think[ing] that they know what's best for us', Farage foregrounds the level of disconnect between the EU and the public. The verb 'think' suggests that their judgement does not reflect the interest of the people.

4.3.2 Argumentation

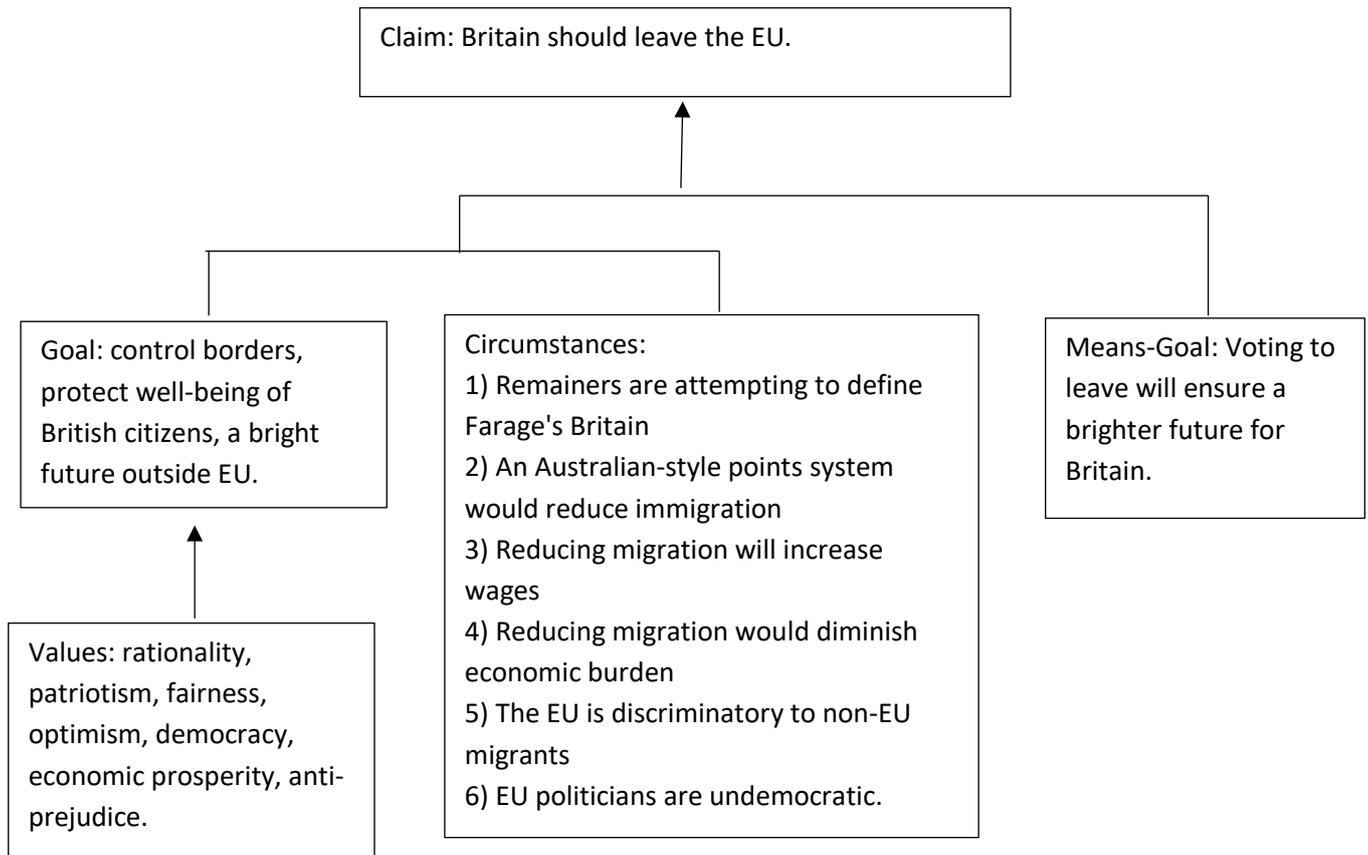


Figure 3. Argumentation structures in Text B.

Figure 3 demonstrates the argumentation structures involved in Text B. As the figure illustrates, Farage makes his claim by providing a vision for post-Brexit Britain. In Fairclough and Fairclough's argumentation framework, this is labelled an 'imaginary': a discursive representation of a potential future depiction of social reality (2012: 103) outside of the EU, which functions as the goal premise of his claim to Leave the EU (2012: 104). The imaginary/goal of Farage's argument is informed by the values of rationality, patriotism, fairness, optimism, democracy and economic prosperity. The means-goal structure conveys that a vote to Leave will ensure a future for Britain akin to Farage's imaginary. I will elaborate on how the circumstances assist Farage's claim to Leave below.

Representing the Remain camp as resorting to defining Farage's vision creates the impression that Remain is argumentatively bankrupt. Remain is constructed as pessimistic, whereas Leave is constructed as optimistic about Britain's future. This optimism regarding Britain operates to provide a more hopeful future if Britain leaves the EU, facilitating the claim to Leave, whilst also, categorising any negative Remain arguments as stemming from pessimism. Furthermore, emotive phrases like, 'the country I love', draw on a discourse of patriotism and resonate with nationalist ideologies.

Implementing an Australian-style immigration system to rationally reduce migration to 'sensible levels' is represented with dehumanising strategies. The system is intended to exclude migrants from entry to the UK, so dehumanising the migrants assists in reasoning that leaving the EU and implementing the system is an acceptable course of action.

Another circumstance depicted is that reducing migration would result in increased wages for British labourers - signalling a patriotic perspective. This draws upon populist strategies which assign responsibility for socio-economic failures (Wodak, 2015: 2). Representing migrants as creating a financial disadvantage aids the claim to Leave the EU based on reducing migration and alleviating the financial disadvantage. This may resonate most with the less affluent parts of society.

Likewise, representing migrants as a burden on economic resources complements the claim to Leave the EU due to the necessity to reduce migration and alleviate the burden. Foregrounding families as those suffering from the economic shortages, elicits sympathy in Text B's efforts to persuade and foregrounds values of fairness.

Taking an anti-prejudice view, the EU is constructed as discriminatory towards migrants. Farage and the Leave campaign have been accused of discriminatory tactics towards migrants. So, this strategy counters these accusations by depicting the EU as the genuine racists for discriminating against non-EU migrants. Reversing racism accusations is recognised as the strongest form of racism denial (Van

Dijk, 1992a: 94), thus, this strategy has the capacity to convince voters of Farage's innocence and assign prejudiced qualities to the EU.

The final circumstance associates undemocratic values with the EU. Representing the EU, as not reflecting the interest of the people, assists the claim to Leave because it implies that the political decisions of EU membership are not beneficial for the public.

4.4 Security

Text C) Con Coughlin (27th April, 2016), 'Open borders bring terror to our doorstep'

Con Coughlin is *The Telegraph's* defence editor. His op-ed (see appendix) outlines the threat that the migrant crisis poses to British and European safety and is critical of the EU's migration policy, depicting it as vulnerable to terrorism.

The op-ed demonstrates how security tended to feature as an argumentative theme alongside migration, as well as showcasing how Turkey potentially joining the EU was factored into arguments about security and migration.

4.4.1 Representation

Text C portrays the migrant crisis as a terrorist threat to Europe:

3.1 The only concern for the majority of people fleeing war-ravaged countries such as Syria and Iraq is to find sanctuary from violence. But for those few of more malign intent, Europe's biggest refugee crisis since the end of the Second World War has provided a unique opportunity – to infiltrate Europe's heartland with terror cells.

Two opposing constructions of migrants are offered. Initially, the 'majority' are evaluated as 'find[ing] sanctuary from the violence', foregrounding the plight of the refugees. In contrast, more sinister traits are assigned to 'those few of more malign intent'. This construction establishes the criteria for good and bad refugees, inviting suspicion regarding the motivations of refugees through the association of terrorism. Furthermore, a discourse of espionage is drawn upon, exhibited by the verb 'infiltrate', which produces connotations of refugees harbouring ulterior motives for gaining entry to Europe. Categorising (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 94) the refugee crisis as an 'opportunity' implies that terrorists are exploiting the refugee crisis. Overall, these strategies conflate the two groups, creating public anxiety towards refugees arriving in Europe. Previous research on refugees in Canada found those who are in desperate need of aid tend to be dehumanised and characterised as a risk to be managed (Bradimore & Bauder, 2011: 646), which is evident in the reframing of the

migrant crisis as a security issue, functioning to criminalise migrants (Bradimore & Bauder, 2011: 647).

Similarly, the presence of migrants in Europe is constructed to heighten the terrorist threat the migrant crisis poses:

3.2 Thanks to the EU's hapless response to the migration crisis which erupted last summer, it is estimated that thousands of jihadists trained in the latest terrorist techniques have been able to make their way undetected through Europe after obtaining new identities and passports.

This extract uses the aggregation (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 37) 'thousands of jihadists' to emphasise the scale of the terrorist threat, whilst predicating them as 'undetected', and in possession of 'new identities and passports', which encourages a sense of suspicion. That they are 'trained in the latest terrorist techniques' highlights the threat they pose, further creating anxiety about the security service's ability to contain it.

Echoing far-right discourse (Richardson & Wodak, 2009: 253), the admission of Turkey and Serbia to the EU is depicted as a potential threat to security:

3.3 It was the failure of these, as well as other Balkan states, to monitor properly the flood of refugees fleeing across the Syrian border that enabled Isis to penetrate the migrant routes in the first place. Therefore, the Government's policy of encouraging them to join the EU, whereby they can benefit from its open-borders policy, is likely to make it even more difficult for intelligence agencies to track terrorists criss-crossing the continent.

The pronoun 'these' refers to Turkey and Serbia, which are categorised alongside the 'other Balkan states' as increasing vulnerability. They are blamed for failing 'to monitor properly the flood of refugees'. Like Farage, Coughlin uses a metaphor of natural disaster to dehumanise refugees, backgrounding their plight. The verbs 'enabled' and 'penetrate' foreground how the lack of vigilance enforced by these countries has left Europe vulnerable to terrorism from 'Isil'. 'Terrorists' are evaluated as becoming 'even more difficult' to monitor if these countries join the EU - an outcome intensified by the adverb 'likely'. The prospect of Turkey and the Balkan states joining is constructed as increasing vulnerability to terrorism, consequently producing attitudes of trepidation amongst the public surrounding EU membership.

Due to Western intervention in Syria and Iraq, Text C constructs Isis as increasing its operations across Europe:

3.4 Intelligence officials believe the bombings in Paris, Brussels and Istanbul are part of a deliberate attempt to intimidate the civilian populations and encourage them to put pressure on their respective governments to change tack.

Coughlin uses indirect speech to frame the proclamation from the functionalised 'Intelligence officials' (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 42). Here, the functionalisation foregrounds the security-related occupation of the source of the information, serving to validate the assertion that the bombings are an attempt to put pressure on governments to change their foreign policy. The 'bombings' in 'Paris, Brussels and Istanbul' are foregrounded, evoking recent collective memories of terrorist atrocities. Referencing 'civilian populations' alongside the verb phrase 'to intimidate' promotes the notion that confrontation is the aim and the population is the target. These strategies, once again, elicit panic by representing the population as under terrorist threat.

4.4.2 Argumentation

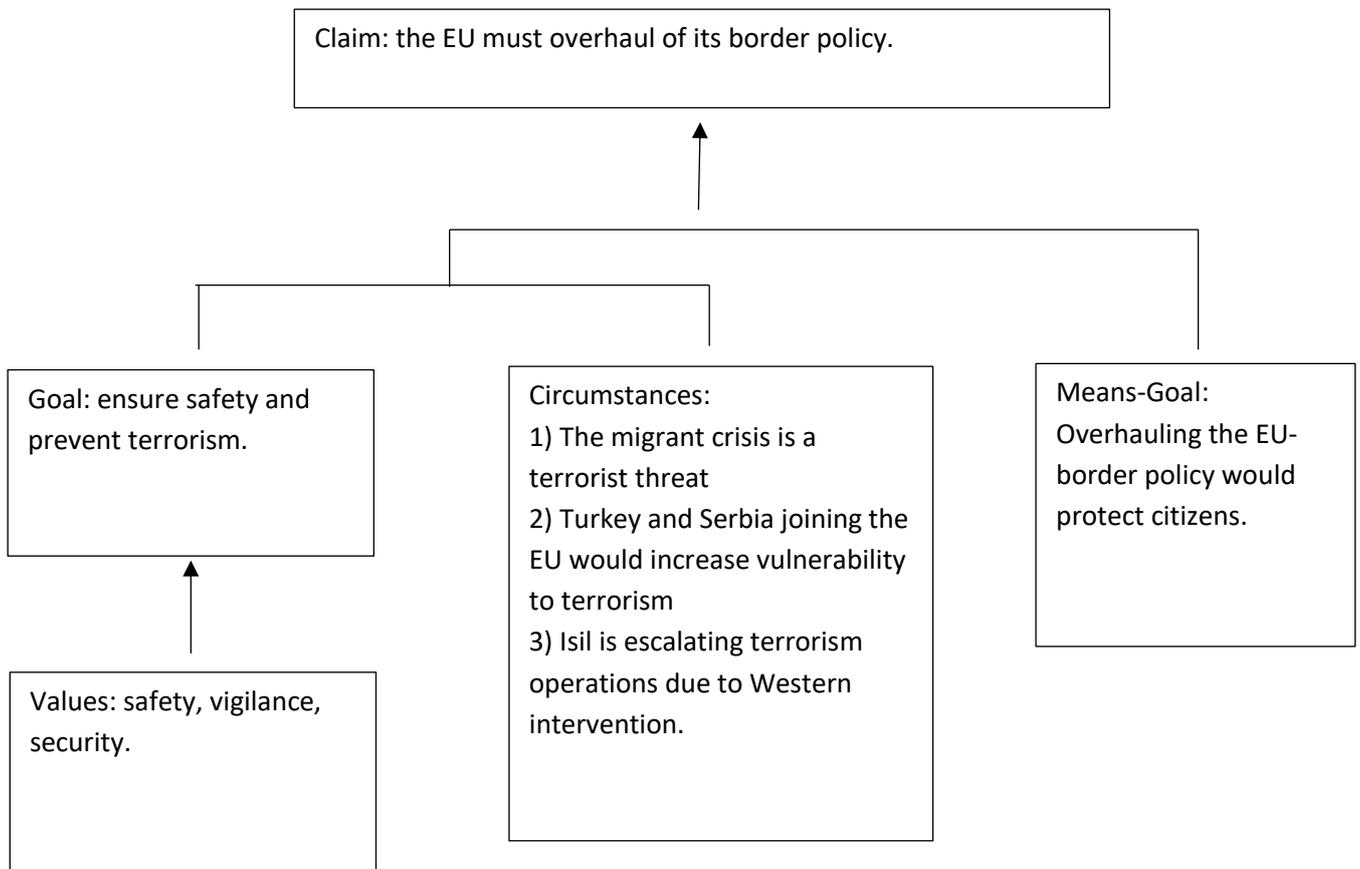


Figure 4. Argumentation structures in Text C.

Figure 4 outlines the argumentation structures present in Text C. The claim is that the EU must overhaul their border policy. The goal of this claim is to ensure safety and prevent acts of terrorism. Safety, vigilance and security are the values fuelling this goal. The means-goal structure symbolises that an overhaul of the EU border policy would ensure civilian safety. Below, I analyse how the circumstances are depicted in a manner which assist the claim.

The portrayal of the migrant crisis as a terrorist threat stimulates public anxiety. Text C confounds refugees with terrorists, inviting suspicion regarding their motivations for coming to Europe. Although foregrounding the plight of some of the refugees acts as a disclaimer (Van Dijk, 1992a: 89) against accusations of unfair generalisations, it nonetheless suggests that new arrivals to the country should be treated with suspicion. This strategy reproduces the notion that refugees could pose a security threat and encourages vigilance. By framing the migrant crisis as a terrorism threat, the claim for a radical overhaul of the EU's migration policy appears a necessary safety precaution. Political argumentation reliant on fear is used to control (Marko, 2013: 203) and gain support for political agendas (Young et al, 2018: 44), so Text C creates apprehension surrounding migration to align the public with a Leave vote.

Another circumstance in Text C presents Turkey and Serbia joining the EU as a potential security risk. Doing so accompanies the claim that the EU's border policy requires adjustment by intensifying the urgency of the matter if these countries become members. By suggesting that these countries cannot vigilantly monitor arriving refugees, the discursive strategies create panic to persuade voters through trepidation.

The final circumstance analysed refers to the construction that Isis is escalating its terrorism operations due to Western intervention. Text C suggests that civilians are vulnerable to reactive acts of terrorism, with the intention to intimidate. This emits panic by aligning the population as under terrorist threat and makes a preventive course of action, such as a change to EU policy, seem unquestionable to prioritise safety.

In *The Telegraph's* coverage of the referendum, the themes of security and migration are woven together in order to associate EU membership with the threat of terrorism. This strategy is likely to incite panic and fear in voters. Despite making no explicit claim to Leave the EU, publishing such a text during the referendum campaign suggests it is politically motivated to persuade electors to vote Leave; particularly because the 'radical overhaul' is unlikely after David Cameron had recently - at the time of the article's publication - negotiated new EU terms for Britain. Instructing the public to

be suspicious towards migrants could have negative consequences for social cohesion, encouraging discriminatory attitudes towards migrants.

4.5 Summary

The Telegraph relies on arguments about migration to justify its advocacy for a Leave vote during the EU referendum campaign. These arguments are made from the perspective that migration is negative. Usually, they are paired with discussions concerning the economy. However, *The Telegraph* also combines anti-migration arguments with a discourse of national security more than any of the other newspapers included in this study.

The editorial (Text A) and the op-ed (Text B) promote the negative economic consequences that migration has. They both foreground the plight of families, who are constructed as the victims of migration. In addition, both texts anticipate accusations of racism, with Text A suggesting such accusations dilute the honesty of the public debate, whereas Farage reverses them by branding the EU guilty of discriminatory behaviour. Therefore, the editorial and op-eds pursue the discussion of migration and the economy with similar, albeit, not identical strategies. Situating anti-migration arguments with economic arguments is reflective of the mechanisms that mainstream right-wing politics employ to justify anti-migration policies, which Richardson and Wodak believe conceals racist political goals (2009: 256). The ideology promoted in these texts reflects how economic issues can be weaponised to breed waves of xenophobia (Pelinka, 2013: 8), which could have a negative impact on societal relations between migrants and the local communities.

Text C demonstrates how *The Telegraph* promoted public anxiety regarding terrorism when marrying discussions of security and migration. It aims to create panic by conflating those involved in the migrant crisis with terrorists, encouraging voters to be sceptical of migrants. This is illustrative of how fear was used during the campaign as a tool to persuade the British public that a Leave vote would provide safety. Adeyanju and Neverson believe that the media cannot be fully culpable for inciting fear because they are based upon pre-existing apprehensions (2007: 82). However, the decision to exploit these apprehensions - such as referencing recent acts of terrorism for political gain - outlines the manipulative intentions of the text.

5. Daily Mail Analysis

The Daily Mail is a tabloid, which advocated Britain voting to leave the EU.

5.1 Key Trends in The Daily Mail Referendum Coverage

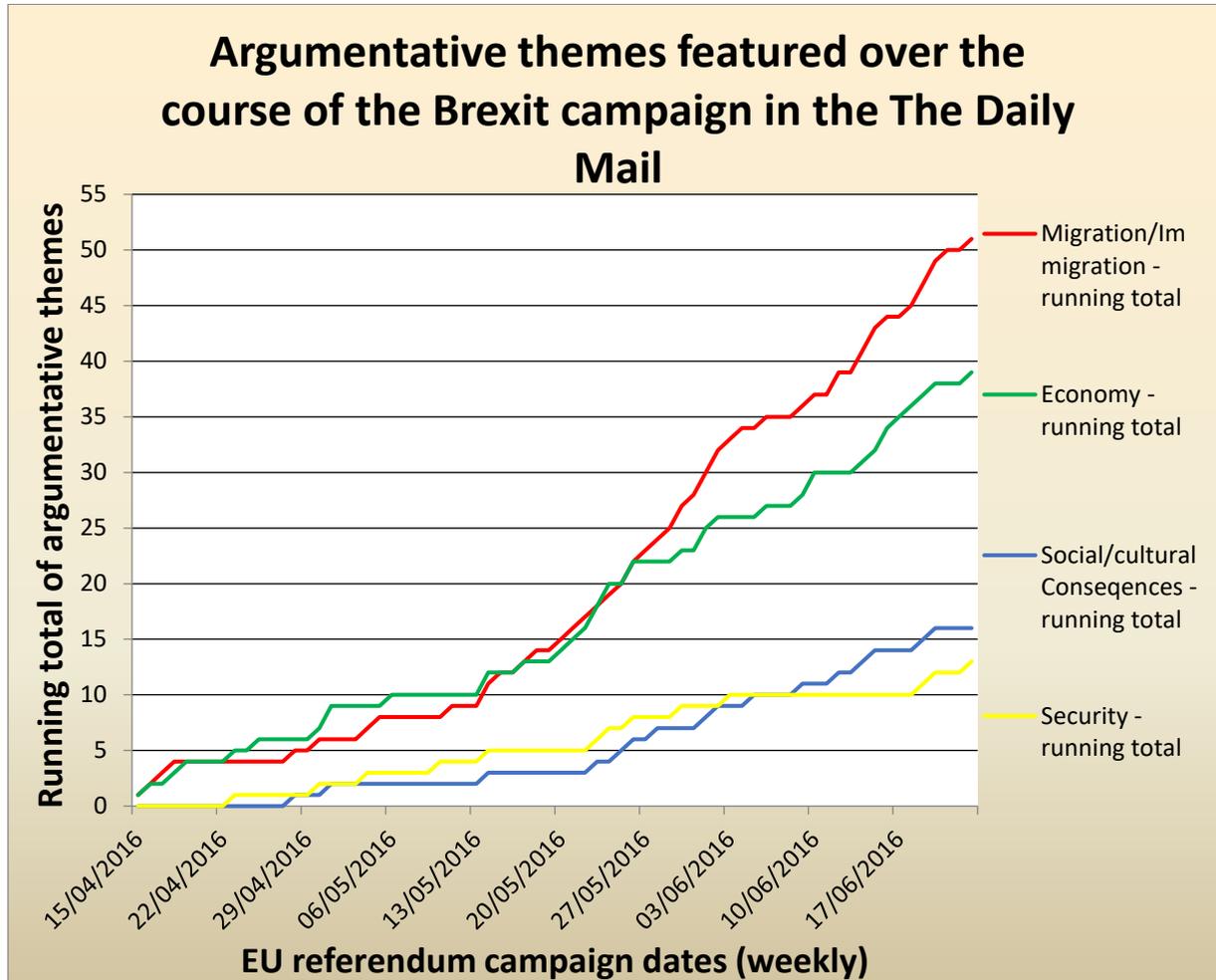


Figure 5. Thematic overview of *The Daily Mail* campaign.

Following the same method as the previous chapter, Figure 5 displays the amount of times each argumentative theme was included in *The Daily Mail's* publication of editorials and op-eds during the EU referendum campaign. Over the ten-week period, migration was the dominant theme of the newspapers campaign.

Echoing the results conveyed in Figure 5, the editorial stance of *The Daily Mail* heavily relied on migration as an argumentative theme (63.4%) in the newspaper's efforts to advocate leaving the EU. This was followed by the economy (48.8%); security (12.2%); and social/cultural consequences (9.8%). This shows how the editorials drove the migration focus.

Considering Figure 5, the economy appeared to feature at similar levels in comparison with migration up until the 27/05/2016, where migration overtakes the economy as the most prevalent theme. This would signify that there was an increase in the emphasis that *The Daily Mail* was placing on migration in the referendum campaign, whereas *The Telegraph* campaign maintained a relatively consistent inclination towards migration-based arguments - promoting economic arguments more than migration throughout. Furthermore, before the 27/05/2016, *The Daily Mail* editorials featured migration as a theme considerably less (37.5%) than afterwards, when migration became much more frequently evident in the discourse of the editorials (82.3 %). Therefore, it can be deduced that *The Daily Mail* initiated migration arguments with increased regularity in the editorials towards the end of the campaign.

Based on the increase in editorial focus on migration, analysis of *The Daily Mail* will include an examination of two editorial texts, from before and after migration overtakes the economy to examine any difference between how migration is represented. Text D will examine an editorial from before 27/05/2016. The political context at the time meant that *The Daily Mail* had to mitigate its usual anti-immigrant rhetoric. In September 2015, the body of a Syrian toddler washed up on a beach in Turkey. Aylan Kurdi and his family were attempting to cross the Mediterranean Sea to flee from the perils of the refugee crisis before their inflatable boat capsized a short time after leaving the shore. The photograph of Kurdi's corpse circulated around the world, prompting a new-found sympathy for those involved in the refugee crisis. This alteration in the public mood restricted the negativity of immigration discourse promoted in the media, meaning that newspapers like *The Daily Mail* had to convey more sympathy in immigration discourse. However, as Figure 5 demonstrates, after 27/05/2016 the paper intensified its anti-immigration message with an increase in the number of articles including this theme. Indeed, these articles were frequently coupled with other themes relating to the ethnic and cultural tensions engendered by immigration. Thus, Text E of my analysis will include an editorial that embodies the right-wing ethno-nationalist discourse of immigration.

Finally, for Text F, I will consider how the op-eds are also fuelling the argumentative shifts that occur over the course of the graph by monitoring how the op-eds promote anti-migration Leave arguments. Richard Littlejohn reiterates the anti-immigrant sentiment but conveys it through the construction of a demographic threat to Britain. Littlejohn is an important figure in *The Daily Mail's* coverage of Brexit because he contributed more than any other op-ed author, therefore his final coverage of migration will comprise Text F.

5.2 The Daily Mail editorial stance on migration

Text D) The Daily Mail (28th May, 2016), 'The Mail's always been robust on migration. But we MUST give these lost children sanctuary':

As conflict in Syria escalated, the migrant crisis worsened and countries within the EU began offering refuge to the Syrian victims. Labour proposed that Britain should follow suit and offer 3,000 migrant children refuge, however, this proposal was rejected in the House of Commons because of concerns that people trafficking would be encouraged. Consequently, the rejection of the proposal prompted a swell of public support for the reversal of the decision. *The Daily Mail* takes an uncharacteristically sympathetic approach to the plight of the migrant children by reflecting the public mood and advocating the acceptance of the child refugees. Nonetheless, the text (see appendix) stresses a limit on the number of children offered refuge and blames EU immigration levels for preventing the assistance of a larger number of refugees. The aim of Text D is to align itself with the public sympathy for refugees and produce the attitude that EU migration policies prevent further humanitarian efforts.

5.2.1 Representation

Text D represents the plight of the child refugees to encourage sympathy:

4.1 Many will be cold, hungry and frightened. As the victims of people traffickers who have them at their mercy, all will be hugely vulnerable to sexual abuse and other forms of vile exploitation.

Here, the children are referenced (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 94) as 'the victims of people traffickers', which serves to highlight the helplessness of the children, whilst also casting the 'people traffickers' as the perpetrators. The children are sympathetically predicated as 'cold, hungry and frightened', portraying them as deprived of the necessities of shelter, food and safety, a portrayal which is intensified by the certainty conveyed in the modal verb 'will'. Evaluating the refugee children as 'hugely vulnerable to sexual abuse' and 'vile exploitation' constructs them as in desperate need of refuge in the UK to guarantee their safety from abusive practices. This discursive construction reiterates the need for the reversal of the proposal and makes an emotive plea for the acceptance of child refugees by foregrounding the danger they are in. A topos of danger (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001: 77) is initiated in the sense that Britain must provide refuge to the Syrian children to prevent further harm to them.

Text D suggests several factors implying that a limit should be imposed on child refugees offered access to Britain. For instance, extract 4.2 demonstrates how *The Daily Mail* is reluctant to ostracise

readers who may adhere to the newspapers anti-immigration stance by suggesting migration has left Britain overpopulated:

4.2 this paper fully understands ministers' reluctance to open the doors of these overcrowded islands to those who have no legal right to our hospitality.

The metaphor that BRITAIN IS A HOUSE is evident - similar to previous research on metaphorical representations on migrants (Santa Ana, 1999: 199) - in the expression 'to open the doors of these overcrowded islands', which has connotations of Britain being a property, inviting protective attitudes regarding the presence of outsiders. Predicating the British islands as 'overcrowded' evaluates Britain as being at full capacity, implying that a limit on the number of refugees is the most practical option. Also, denoting those who wish to come to Britain as having 'no legal right' provides a topos of law (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001: 79) in the justification of denying access to migrants in the future and the possessive pronoun 'our' used in conjunction with 'hospitality', implies native British people are not legally required to receive strangers in a friendly manner - reflecting the newspaper's ideological view. In addition, functionalising (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 42) 'ministers' highlights the governmental authority of social actors who oppose the resettlement of refugees, granting credibility to this perspective.

The article reiterates the need for a limit by outlining the economic negatives of migration:

4.3 we have been viciously attacked as 'racist' by a bien pensant liberal elite, cocooned in their prosperous postal districts, who have never had to compete for low-paid jobs, affordable housing, school places or hospital beds with migrants who have arrived in unprecedented numbers

The assertion that migrants are an economic burden is prevalent here in the referencing of economic areas where the presence of migrants is causing a shortage. Those accusing the Leave campaign of racism are denoted by the pronoun 'who', suggesting they are resorting to the accusations from a position of being unaffected by the economic competition from migrants. Use of the verb 'compete' also cements the impression that migrants are rivalling British people for economic resources. Representing 'migrants' in this manner, categorises (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 40-41) them as sharing the function of being in competition with British citizens for economic resources.

Likewise, the discourse depicts the public as being alarmed by the effect migration is having on society - a view which the editorial claims to give voice to:

4.4 Nobody has been more robust than this paper in giving voice to public concerns over the impact of mass, unrestricted immigration on the social fabric of this country

This extract relies on the noun phrase 'the social fabric' - a euphemism that mitigates the explicitness of the insinuation - to imply that immigration is causing a dilution of the white British population. The rhetorical strategy relies on calculated ambiguity to protect the author against accusations of racism because it could be interpreted in a variety of ways. Predicating immigration as 'unrestricted' heightens the scale of the insinuated threat. Constructing 'the impact' as being open to interpretation maintains deniability. Nonetheless, the discourse possesses a racist undertone which reiterates the need for a limit on the number of refugees arriving by suggesting that too many would lead to further deterioration in the ethnic make-up of society. 'Public concerns' are also highlighted, manufacturing a consensus opinion to construct the public as wary of migration's impact on the demographic. Together, these strategies reproduce the attitude that migration poses a threat to the demographic configuration of Britain.

Angela Merkel, the German Prime Minister, responded to the crisis by offering refuge to 800,000 migrants. The text frames her response as causing more deaths because it encourages further people trafficking:

4.5 In the inevitable stampede to enter Europe from Africa and the Middle East, countless men, women and children drowned in people traffickers' unseaworthy boats... Mrs Merkel's misguided benevolence has left her with blood on her hands

The metaphor that MIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS has been used previously to represent migrants (Santa Ana, 1999: 198). The metaphor is evident in the noun 'stampede', which implies that migrants are less than human, serving to dehumanise them, whilst constructing them as a herd of animals that needs to be controlled. Associating these qualities with immigrants is likely to negate attitudes which promote a greater humanitarian response to the crisis. In addition, 'Mrs Merkel' is formally nominated (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 40-41) and her act of offering refuge is predicated as 'misguided', which highlights how *The Daily Mail* is constructing being too charitable towards the refugees as well-intentioned but ultimately incorrect. This notion is reiterated with the euphemism that she has been left with 'blood on her hands', which attributes culpability for migrant casualties. Ideologically, this corresponds with the importance of a limit on refugee numbers by insinuating being too compassionate towards refugees is a harmful attitude. This partial ideological compromise - of recognising the good intentions - is a product of the sympathetic climate around immigration and showcases how the public mood influences the discursive construction of immigration.

Another circumstance conveyed is that the EU prevents offering a greater proportion of the victims refuge in Britain. After depicting Britain as having a history of offering sanctuary to refugees, the text constructs that EU migration is inhibiting aid:

4.6 For the rules of free movement have obliged us to give homes to millions of settlers from the safe countries of Europe, leaving precious little room for those in real need of our compassion.

A categorical distinction is created between those migrants 'from the safe countries of Europe' and those 'in real need of compassion', which encourages scepticism towards EU migrants by attributing their presence as 'leaving precious little room' for refugees - also implying Britain is overcrowded. This constructs EU migrants as preventing aid because they do not have genuine reasons for coming to Britain. 'The rules of free movement' are a reference to the EU policy on migration, which explicitly associates the issue of EU membership with the migrant crisis. This implicitly suggests that to provide help to refugees in need, Britain should Leave the EU. This is a combination of two representational strategies: firstly, the construction of positive migrants to convey some sympathy in an attitudinal climate where a complete negative representation would be unfavourable to the public. Secondly, the negative representation of migrants is softened by the parallel positive representation and allows the restatement of *The Daily Mail's* usual negative standpoint on migration.

5.2.2 Argumentation

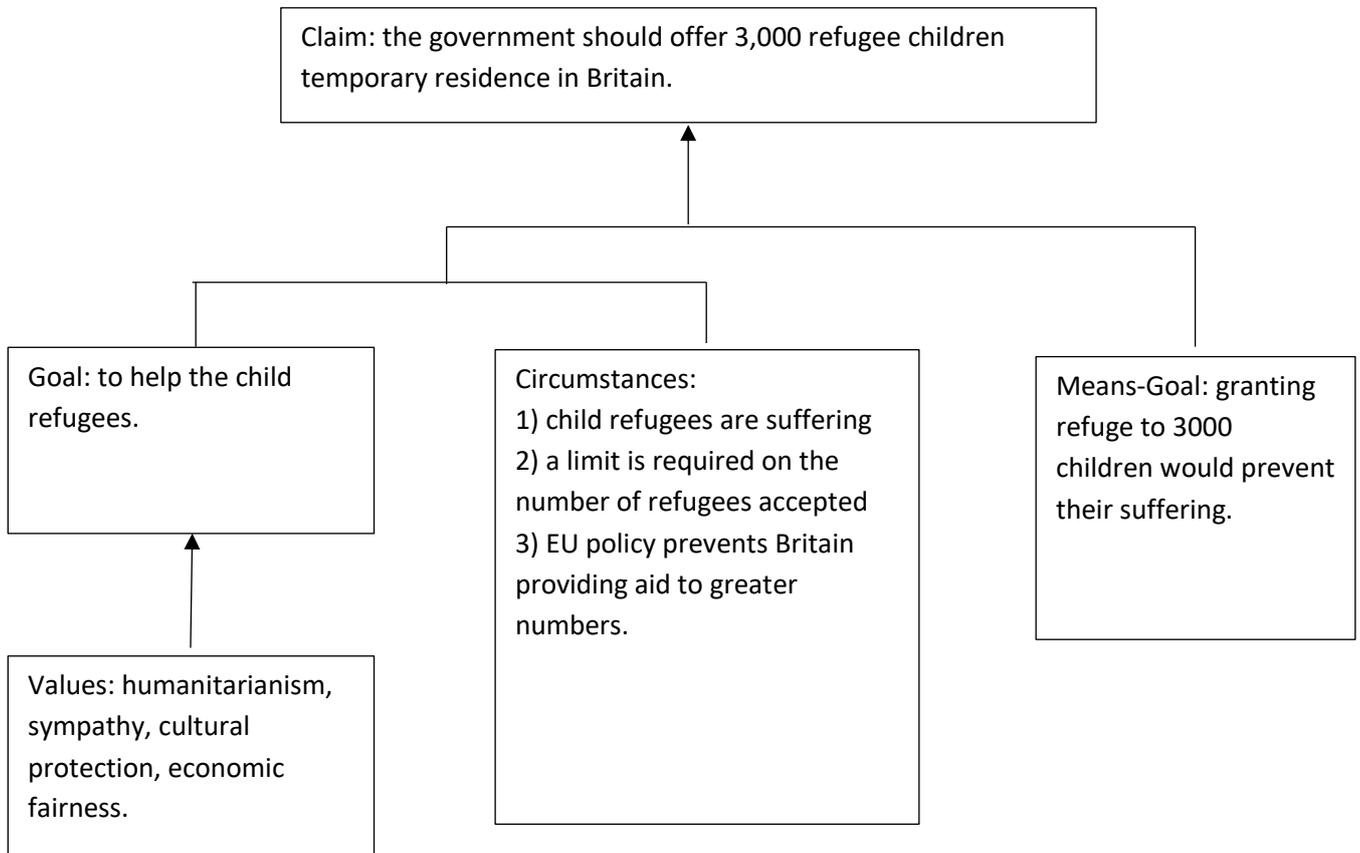


Figure 6. Argumentation structures in Text D.

As figure 6 displays, Text D claims that the government should offer a limited amount of refugee children temporary residence in Britain. The goal is to help the child refugees - an objective informed by the values of humanitarianism, sympathy, legality, cultural protection and economic fairness. Offering 3000 refugee children residence will achieve the goal of helping them. The circumstances that facilitate the claim are described below.

Constructing the children as deprived of the necessities of human survival, such as shelter and food, is an emotional representation of events that aligns children as the victims of the migrant crisis. Portraying children sympathetically is likely to assist in the reasoning that the government should reverse its decision and offer refuge to the children.

Several representations establish that a limit is required on the number of refugees that Britain accepts. Firstly, the construction that migrants are causing a strain on economic resources is made by associating migration with jobs, housing and schools. Representing the circumstances like so supports the implementation of a limit to reduce the strain. Secondly, the value of cultural protection is evident in the implication that migration has a negative effect on the demographic of Britain. This circumstance is likely to persuade readers with nationalistic values that a limit is the suitable option to prevent further ethnic dilution. Finally, blaming migrant deaths on Angela Merkel for demonstrating too much compassion operates to validate the humanitarian implementation of a limit on refugees accepted, supposedly to prevent further tragedy.

The final circumstance the established is that EU policy restricts offering refuge to those who need it most. The implication represented is that EU migration prevents more aid being offered to refugees entangled in events like the migrant crisis, evoking values of humanitarianism. Representing a relationship between the two validates the need for a limit, whilst also advocating leaving the EU if the humanitarian efforts are to be continued.

5.3 Text E) The Daily Mail (2nd June, 2016), 'National identity is central to EU vote':

After the discovery of a lorry in Britain containing illegal migrants, Text E (see appendix) suggests EU migration is too high. Text E is symptomatic of *The Daily Mail's* intensified thematic focus on migration after the 27/05/2016. The discourse represents migration as having negative economic consequences and detrimental to the dominance of Britain's white population.

5.3.1 Representation

Text E asserts on several occasions that the effects of migration are reasons to Leave the EU. First, migration is represented as being too high:

5.1 Heaven knows net legal migration is high enough, with the Office for National Statistics putting it at 333,000 in 2015. Of these, 184,000 came from the EU alone, adding a population of Colchester's in a single year.

'Heaven knows' positions *The Daily Mail's* anti-immigration perspective, relying on a colloquialism to depict the belief that migration is too high, and portraying the belief as common-sense in the mould of populist strategies (Wodak, 2015: 2). Including the 'Office for national statistics' as the source of the data legitimises the information. That the migrants in question are reduced to numbers via aggregation (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 37), also removes any mention of their individual characteristics and dehumanises them as a quantity, easing the performance of exclusionary policies. Furthermore, the explicit comparison between the levels of migration and the population of Colchester attempts to emphasise the scale of migration, intensifying the urgency of action. Thus, the writer draws on a topos of number (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001: 79).

The effects of such high levels of migration are represented in the discourse as threatening the ethnic composition of Britain:

5.2 As a former Oxford professor of demography spelled out in Saturday's Mail, even if these figures told the whole story, white English-speakers will become a minority in Britain by the 2060s.

This construction promotes the attitude that the cultural and racial difference of migrants poses a threat to the national identity of Britain, invoking a topos of culture (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001: 80) to justify leaving the EU and reforming migration policies. Functionalising (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 42) the source of the claim as an 'Oxford professor of demography', highlights the social actor's expertise to add credibility to the assertion of a cultural threat. Some nationalist ideologies define national identity based on ethnicity, excluding those who do not possess this characteristic (Wodak, 2015: 70). *The Daily Mail* constructs the ethnicity that belongs as 'white'. In addition, possessing the mother tongue is also a nationalist criterion in modern politics (Wodak, 2015: 74). Categorising the threat as impacting upon 'white English-speakers' establishes the demographic which is under threat, a threat cemented with the strong modal verb 'will' regarding becoming 'a minority'. Constructing reality in such a way could incite and reproduce racist attitudes towards non-white, non-English-speaking migrants, because they are being represented as usurping the dominant race and dominant language - a threat to a nationalistic notion of what it means to be British.

Likewise, 5.3 demonstrates the discursive promotion of panic regarding the cultural threat migration is depicted as posing:

5.3 What is certain is that if nothing is done to curb the numbers, Britain will cease to be recognisably British even sooner than the officially recorded trends suggest

Once again, the migrants are aggregated (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 37) in a dehumanising manner, referenced by 'the numbers', defining them as a problematic statistic. The writer also suggests that demographic changes mean Britain 'will cease to be recognisably British', which continues the coupling of British national identity and culture with ethnicity found in extract 5.2. The cultural threat is intensified with the adverbs 'even sooner', as well as the conditional 'if nothing is done', which serves to spread anxiety surrounding migration and spurn people into voting Leave to negate the cultural threat. Extract 5.2 functions to discursively convey that migration is a cultural threat to an ethnically-driven idealisation of Britain, and then extract 5.3 intensifies that threat.

Text E repeats the commonplace Leave argument that mass migration is a strain on the economy:

5.4 What we can surely predict is that mass migration will put increasingly intolerable pressure on jobs, housing, schools, healthcare and other public services.

The adverb 'surely' in the verb phrase 'can surely predict' intensifies the high degree of certainty with which the writer makes their prediction. The use of the collective pronoun 'we' includes the reader by assuming the attitude is common knowledge. Also, the effect on the listed resources is evaluated as 'intolerable pressure', implying that the economic foundations that support many would break under the strain of mass migration, something likely to incite panic and potentially animosity towards migrants. The representation of such an impact invokes a topos of economic burden (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001: 78) to advocate leaving the EU and reducing migration.

5.3.2 Argumentation

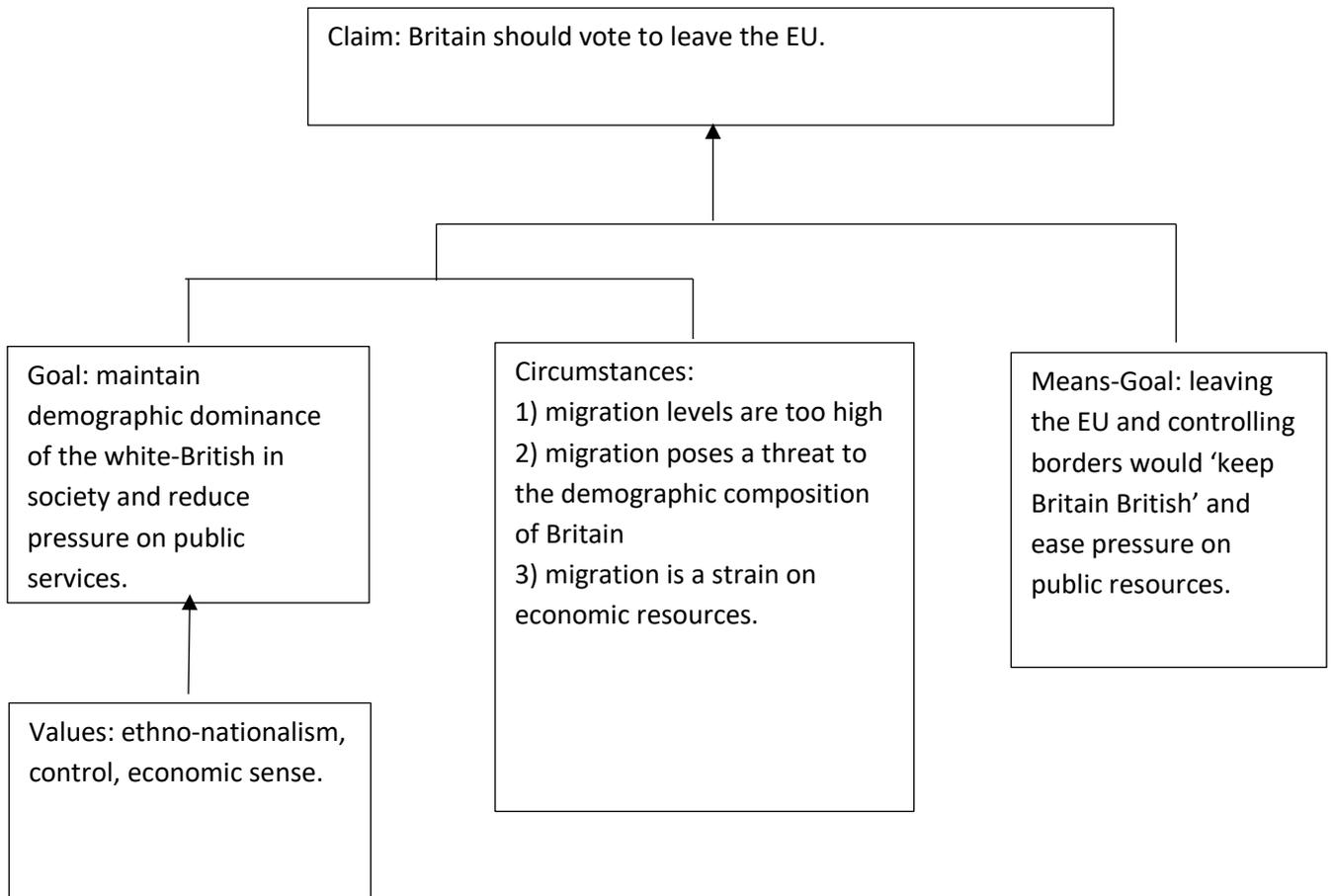


Figure 7. Argumentation structures in Text E.

As figure 7 shows, Text E claims to Leave the EU, with the goal of retaining the white-ethnic dominance in British society and reducing the economic strain of migration. Informing this goal are values of patriotism, ethno-nationalism, control and economic sense. The means-goal structure denotes that Leaving the EU will ensure ethnic protection and ease pressure on public services. The circumstances accommodating the claim are summarised below.

Representing the current migration levels as being too high, particularly comparing the level to the equivalent of Colchester, contributes to the impression created that migration levels are uncontrolled. Depicting migration levels as being too high supplements the potential effectiveness of the other circumstances because the volume of migrants amplifies the negative social and economic effects represented in the discourse.

Discursively constructing migration as posing a demographic threat evokes attitudes of ethno-nationalism to assist in reasoning that leaving the EU would maintain white-British dominance. White, English-speaking British people are depicted as potentially becoming a minority. This circumstance is likely to resonate with people of nationalistic perspectives and, reproduces the attitude that migrants are overrunning Britain, imploring ethnic protection of the white, dominant group to assist the reasoning of leaving the EU.

Representing migration as straining economic resources foregrounds the value of economic sense. This assists the claim of Brexit to reduce the pressure migration places on economic resources.

Comparing the two editorials reveals similarities, such as the argument that migrants are an economic strain and that migrants pose a demographic threat. However, Text D utilises ambiguity to maintain deniability when insinuating that migrants pose a demographic threat. In contrast, Text E explicitly constructs the ethnic and cultural characteristics that migration threatens, demonstrating an overt racial element to its argumentation. Another major difference between the texts is that Text D argues that children refugees warrant sympathy, whereas Text E exhibits no sympathy towards migrants. These differences illustrate how the editorials published before the argumentative shift occur in a political climate where *The Daily Mail* felt obliged to soften its anti-immigration stance, whereas afterwards, the anti-immigration stance intensifies alongside the volume of articles on migration to achieve the political goal.

5.4 Op-ed symptomatic of argumentative themes

TEXT F) Richard Littlejohn (20th June, 2016), 'Our last chance to escape from the disaster movie unfolding across Europe: Richard Littlejohn on the stark choice facing Britain in Thursday's referendum'

Richard Littlejohn is a regular columnist for *The Daily Mail*. This text (see appendix) was written in response to a Nigel Farage led protest of flotillas down the river Thames against EU membership and the EU fishery policy. The protest was interrupted by a counter-protest which was pro EU and led by celebrity Bob Geldof. Protestors exchanged viewpoints, with Geldof even accusing Farage of disingenuously posing as concerned for the interests of ordinary people.

This op-ed repeats this framing. Littlejohn argues that the protest was an example of the battle between the elite and the ordinary people and an example of the 'intellectual snobbery' demonstrated in the Remain campaign's tactics. EU membership is represented as being disastrous because of the economy and the handling of the migrant crisis. Regarding migration, the text aims to disseminate the belief that migration poses a cultural and economic threat to Britain and counter-accusations of racism from the Remain campaign.

5.4.1 Representation

Text F portrays EU membership as detrimental to the economy and British culture:

6.1 Angela Merkel's suicidal, unilateral decision to invite millions of Middle Eastern and North African migrants to take advantage of Europe's open borders and advanced welfare systems will have cultural and demographic repercussions for decades to come.

A relationship is conveyed between the presence of migrants and negative consequences for culture and the economy, signified by the strong modal verb 'will' to convey certainty. 'Angela Merkel' receives semi-formal nomination (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 40-41) and her decision to offer refuge to those affected in the migrant crisis is negatively evaluated as metaphorically 'suicidal', intensifying the potential consequences. Moreover, the verb phrases used to describe her offer - 'invite' and 'to take advantage of' - suggests migrants are opportunistic. Constructing the migrants involved, as 'Middle Eastern' and 'North African' identifies them via their place of origin, highlighting their foreignness and defining them as not belonging in Britain. Referencing the exploitation of 'advanced welfare systems' constructs migrants as motivated to claim benefits and drain the UK's economy - with 'advanced' denoting that Europe has superior and desirable welfare support compared to non-EU nations. The effects of this exploitation of borders and welfare are vaguely described as 'cultural and demographic repercussions', which is a euphemism that suppresses the racial explicitness of the insinuation that migration is a threat to Britishness. The effect of these strategies is the promotion of attitudes that represent migrants negatively, relying on topoi of culture (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001:80) and economic burden (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001: 78) to justify their exclusion from Britain via leaving

the EU. Such associations could direct animosity towards refugees fleeing the terrors of their war-torn homeland and perpetuates the view that EU membership is undesirable.

Similarly, Text F constructs the human rights laws of EU membership as preventing the extradition of criminal migrants:

6.2 A vote to remain will also shackle us to the pernicious Human Rights Act, which prevents us deporting foreign rapists, murderers and terrorists.

Voting to Remain is equated with the protection of the functionalised (Van Leeuwen, 2008:42) 'rapists, murderers and terrorists', which evaluates the migrants in question as being criminal. In conjunction, 'foreign' acknowledges that the threat comes from outside Britain, encouraging trepidation towards foreigners already in the country and those who may arrive. The verb 'shackle' possesses connotations of being a prisoner to EU human rights legislation and it is predicated as being 'pernicious', serving to construct the EU's policies as favourable to criminals. This extract exemplifies how EU membership is disastrous by promoting the belief that Britain is vulnerable to criminal foreigners whilst it remains in the EU.

Text F aligns itself further with a Leave perspective by constructing Remain campaigners as misrepresenting Leave campaigners, slandering them with accusations of racism:

6.3 But rather than address these serious matters, the pro-EU brigade have decided simply to scream 'racist' at those worried about the scale of immigration. They have no convincing arguments or solutions so they resort to knee-jerk smears instead.

As was set in chapter 2, Van Dijk (1992a: 89) claims that denials of racism are part of a strategy of positive in-group presentation. Attacking the anti-racism of the opposition has been identified as a defensive right-wing strategy (Van Dijk, 1992a: 108). The rebuttal involved in denying racism often relies on counter-accusations of exaggeration or oversensitivity (Van Dijk, 1992a: 89). Denials of racism are evident in extract 6.3, which categorises such accusations as cynical 'knee-jerk smears'; implying racist accusations are automatic rather than logical. The effect of this construction implies that supporters of a Remain position are resorting to accusations of racism out of argumentative desperation, whilst simultaneously validating the reproduction of negative attitudes towards migrants without fear of being branded racist.

Regarding the flotilla protests, Littlejohn chooses to construct the situation as a stand-off between the elite (Geldof and Remain voters) and the working-class (Farage and Leave voters):

6.4 On one side, the vested interests of Luvvie Land, big business, merchant banks and almost the entire political class. On the other, ordinary working people excluded from the system and the corridors of power and condemned to suffer from the worst excesses of the EU juggernaut.

Littlejohn creates a discursive opposition between, on the one hand, the 'big businesses, merchant banks', 'the entire political class' and 'the vested interests of Luvvie Land' (a form of dog-whistle homophobia which aligns support for the Remain cause with a bohemian point of view) and, on the other, 'ordinary' and 'working' people who have been 'excluded from the system and the corridors of power'. In a populist manner, the elites and those with economic power are thus cast as the opponents of ordinary people (Pelinka, 2013: 7). These contrasting representations discursively frame the EU referendum as a choice between remaining and supporting elites or leaving and supporting those from the less affluent parts of society. In addition, the ordinary man is 'condemned', reinforcing the attitude that the working-class are being punished by the EU. Littlejohn excludes the specifics of 'the worst excesses of the EU juggernaut', however, we can assume due to the other attitudes promoted in the text this probably relates to EU policies, such as migration.

5.4.2 Argumentation

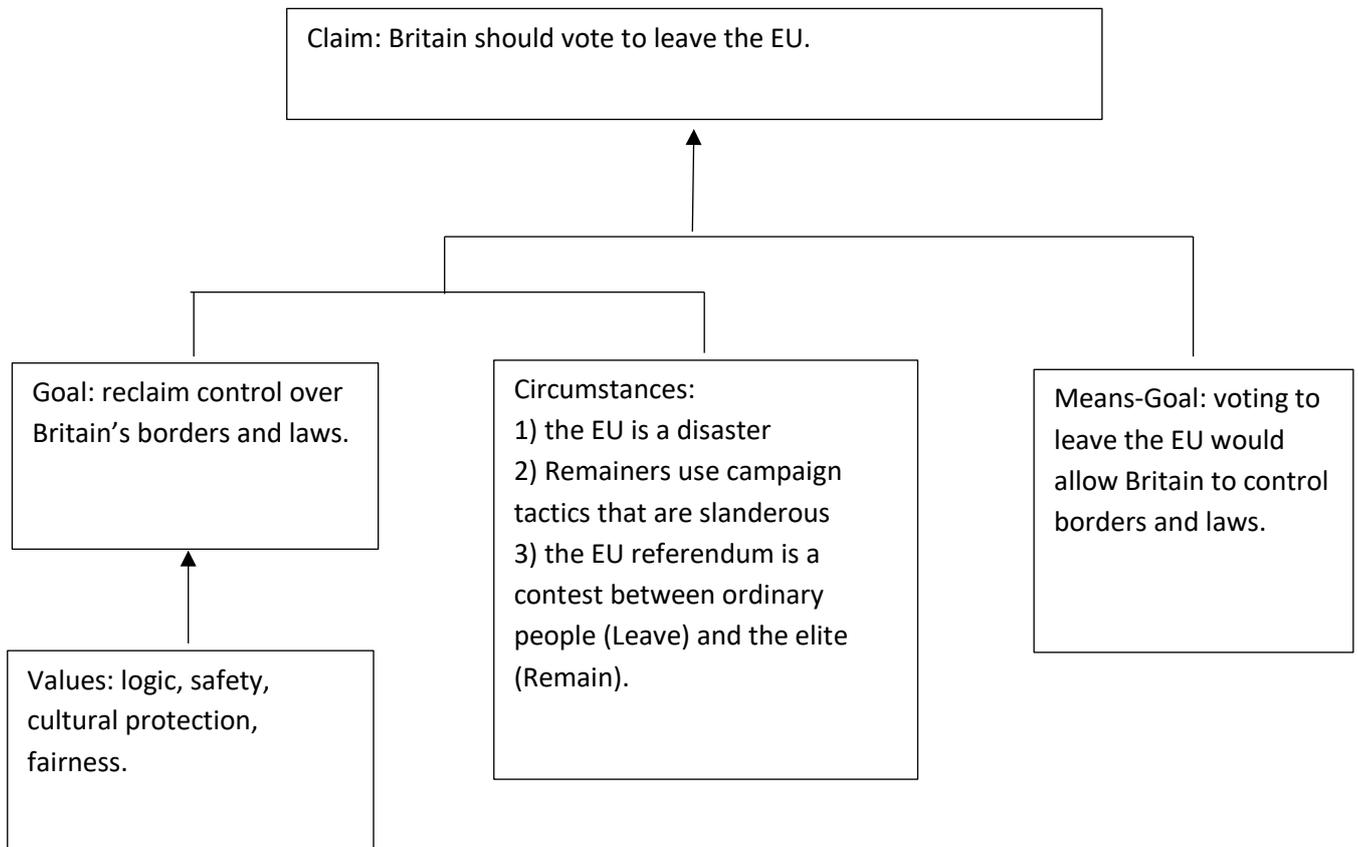


Figure 8. Argumentation structures in Text F.

As figure 8 denotes, Text F claims Britain should Leave the EU. The goal is to reclaim control over Britain's borders and laws, which is driven by the goals of logic, safety, cultural protection and fairness. The means-goal structure suggests that voting to Leave would allow legislative reform. The circumstances are expanded on below.

EU membership is constructed as disastrous by representing EU-instigated migration as a threat to economic resources, culture and safety. Angela Merkel's humanitarian response to the migrant crisis is conveyed as a threat to the demographic composition of Europe and as an invitation to exploit the welfare system. Depicting the current EU led migration policy in this manner complements the claim because there is an implication that if Britain were to Remain, migration could usurp the dominant ethnic population and drain economic resources. This circumstance depicts the EU migration policy as a threat and is likely to resonate with people of a prejudiced or nationalist disposition, that Britain must Leave the EU to exclude migrants and the negative consequences of their presence.

Secondly, the circumstance that remain campaigners are employing nonlogical accusations of racism towards Leavers regarding their anti-immigration stance debunks such accusations. Constructing claims of racism as stemming from argumentative desperation not only reduces the argumentative force of these assertions, but also validates an anti-immigration argument.

The final circumstance involves framing the debate as between the ordinary people and the elite, echoing populist strategies. Representing the two sides with imbalance implies that EU membership is unfair to the underprivileged. This is likely to resonate with the less affluent parts of society who have suffered from Conservative austerity measures. Framing the debate like this complements the claim to Leave the EU because it would address the unfavourable treatment of the less prestigious members of society. Argumentation is often utilised in a manner which is directed at persuading a specific audience (Van Dijk, 1992b: 248), therefore constructing the 'ordinary working people' as unfairly suffering from elite interests demonstrates who the discourse is intended to persuade. Alternatively, if the readers are already convinced of their voting inclination, these reasons provide argumentative ammunition to be used in the public arena.

5.5 Summary

The Daily Mail EU referendum campaign illustrates how external events, such as the publication of the Aylan Kurdi photograph, can shape the media's representation (Bauder, 2008: 108). In this instance, the swell of public sympathy for those involved in the refugee crisis placed discursive restrictions on the Daily Mail's usual anti-immigration stance, softening their approach somewhat. As the editorial focus shifted to migration - in response to the polls which signified a Remain lead

throughout April and May - the campaign began to associate the presence of migrants with a demographic upheaval through the promotion of an ethnic and cultural threat. Supplementing these negative associations, the op-eds function similarly, with Littlejohn's text promoting anxiety over demographic and cultural dilution. Overall, the migration arguments appear to become more concentrated over the duration of *The Daily Mail* campaign. However, negative attitudes concerning migrants contradict societal values of tolerance - a context heightened by the Aylan Kurdi photograph - so, vagueness and mitigation pervade the discourse (Van Dijk, 1992a: 115).

Wodak has argued that right-wing parties such as UKIP have flourished because immigration, as a topic, 'attracts voters' (2015: 87). So, *The Daily Mail's* intensification of migration-focus could be intentional. A Survation poll (2016) suggested that although the gap was narrowing before the surge, Remain was still in the lead, whereas, YouGov (2016) suggested the contest was finely poised. So, perhaps these factors triggered the shift in migration focus.

According to the opinion polls recorded on the EU referendum, a marginal vote to Remain seemed to reflect the public mood before the thematic shift, whereas after 31/05/2016, the Leave campaign began to make headway. A YouGov poll tracker (2016) demonstrates such findings, registering a Remain lead throughout early May, before Leave established itself as the most likely course of action throughout the majority of June. Similarly, a YouGov survey on Good Morning Britain (2016) echoed the findings, demonstrating a Remain lead throughout April and May, before June reflected a Leave vote becoming the more likely option. In a Survation poll (2016), Remain lost support towards the end of May and Leave gained support. Following this, the Survation poll became tightly contested in the final 2 weeks, with the lead switching between the two sides. These findings correlate with the increase in migration as a theme demonstrated in *The Daily Mail*, suggesting a reliance on argumentation involving migration influenced the public. Also, it accounts for the migration counter-surge demonstrated in *The Guardian*, which may have been to combat the Leave campaign's migration arguments.

Considering all *The Daily Mail* texts, the politics of nationalism is prevalent in the discourse. Wodak acknowledges that belonging to a nation is usually defined by ethnicity as oppose to citizenship (2015: 70) and this ethnic criterion (white) - or the threat that people of different ethnicities pose to the dominant population - is consistently promoted in all *The Daily Mail* texts. This suggests *The Daily Mail's* Leave campaign relied on nationalist sentiment in the negative construction of migration.

6. Guardian Analysis

The Guardian is a broadsheet that campaigned for Britain to remain part of the EU.

6.1 Key Trends in The Guardian Referendum Coverage

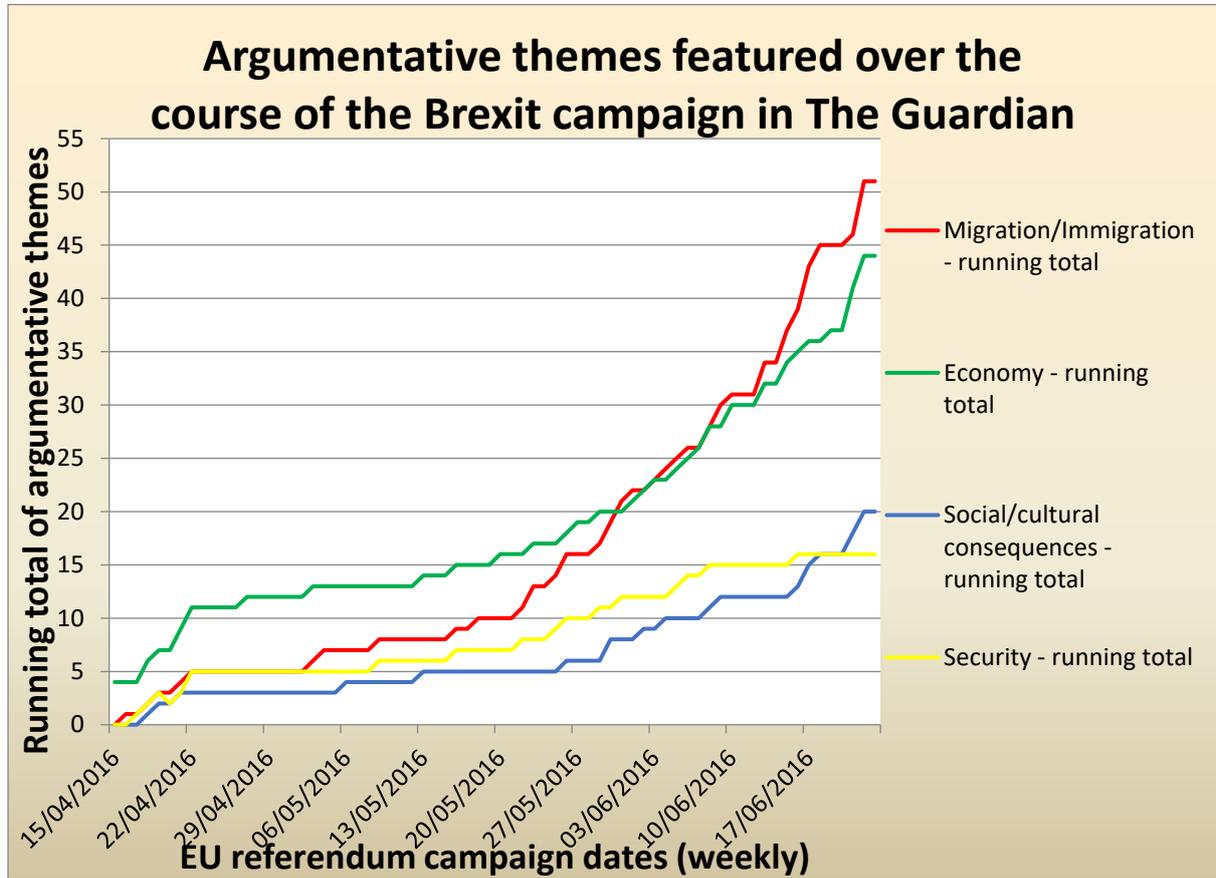


Figure 9. Thematic overview of *The Guardian* campaign.

As per the previous chapters, Figure 9 demonstrates the frequency of each argumentative theme over the course of the EU referendum campaign, including editorials and op-eds. Thematically, migration featured most frequently overall during *The Guardian*'s EU referendum campaign.

For the initial six weeks of the campaign, the data shows that the economy was the most featured argumentative theme. This reflects *The Guardian*'s belief (and that of Remain) that economic arguments provided the strongest motivation to Remain in the EU.

However, from the 31/05/2016, Migration begins to overtake the economy. This thematic shift occurs at a similar stage to the Daily Mail's (Figure 5) increase in migration focus as an argumentative theme, suggesting a relationship between the two shifts in data, which is explored in the summary of this chapter.

Based on the shifts in the leading argumentative themes, the selection of texts for analysis will be representative of the two stages of the campaign: the first, when the economy is the most prevalent theme and then the second, when migration becomes the leading theme. So, for the initial stage, Text G was selected for analysis because it showcases the economy featured in conjunction with migration arguments. An op-ed was selected for Text G because the editorials - during the first stage when the economy is the dominant theme - did not feature migration as a co-occurring theme. Text G is authored by former Labour politician Peter Mandelson, who held an EU position from 2004-2008 as Britain's trade commissioner.

Following this, Text H and Text I were selected because they were published during the second stage, i.e. when migration becomes the most prominent theme. The reason for selecting Text H is because it illustrates the editorial focus on migration after the shift and it is written in response to the Leave campaign's proposal for the implementation of the Australian-style immigration system regarding immigration, thus demonstrating how counter-arguments contributed in the surge. Likewise, Text I composed by economist Andrew Graham was selected because it exhibits how the op-eds contributed to the shift in migration focus by producing discourse in response to opposition arguments. Text I responds specifically to suggestions from the Leave campaign that migration has a negative effect on the economy. Thus, Text H and I contribute to the uptake in migration arguments by responding to the specific points made by Leave campaigners.

6.2 Op-ed coverage of the economy as the leading theme

Text G) Peter Mandelson (3rd May, 2016), 'Why is the Brexit camp so obsessed with immigration? Because that's all they have':

Peter Mandelson is a former Labour politician who held cabinet positions under Tony Blair and Gordon Brown. From 2004-2008, he held a prestigious role within the EU as Britain's trade commissioner. Mandelson advocates Britain voting to Remain. He suggests the Leave campaign is resorting to negative migration arguments because they have lost the economic argument. Based on this, he highlights the strength of the Remain campaign in comparison to the Leave campaign at this stage. Text G (see appendix) aims to present the Remain economic argument as superior to Leave's migration argument.

6.2.1 Representation

Text G depicts the current argumentative landscape. The Leave campaign is represented as resorting to migration arguments because it has lost the economic argument:

7.1 Those campaigning to get Britain out of the EU are gradually being forced to abandon a strategy based on economic argument in favour of Nigel Farage's long preferred dog-whistle tactics.

Here, the verb phrase 'being forced to abandon' implies the Remain camp are having success with the 'economic argument', to the extent that the Leave campaign are resorting to a deviation from strategy. Foregrounding the UKIP politician 'Nigel Farage' through semi-formal nomination (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 40-41), positions the strategic migration focus as borrowing from his right-wing playbook. Mandelson's evaluation of the strategy as 'dog-whistle tactics' suggests a coded use of rhetoric that plays on the prejudices of voters. Such implications construct the Remain campaign as having the advantage at this stage by discrediting the Leave campaign's change of tactics as born out of necessity.

Likewise, the economic case is represented to reiterate why Leave has changed strategy:

7.2 Leave campaigners had no answer to the Treasury's finding that Brexit would cost every household an average of £4,300 a year.

Referencing the source as 'the Treasury' adds economic credibility to the claim. Proposing that 'Brexit' would result in financial implications for 'every household' - a categorising device that defines the impact as inescapable - employs a topos of finance (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001: 78) to suggest that a Remain outcome would avoid the negative financial implications of a vote to Leave outcome. Also, depicting Leave as having 'no answer' to the findings promotes the attitude that the economic argument is settled in Remain's favour.

Mandelson paraphrases a recent *Daily Mail* article by Michael Gove to demonstrate the Leave campaign's overreliance on anti-migrant arguments. Gove was the Secretary of State for Justice, Lord Chancellor and a prominent exponent of leaving the EU:

7.3 In a disturbing echo of Ukip's last party political broadcast, which told numerous untruths about Turkey, Gove asserted that 77 million Turkish Muslim citizens would soon be using the NHS, and Albanian criminals were about to flood Britain.

The proclamations that '77 million Turkish Muslim citizens would soon be using the NHS' as well as that 'Albanian criminals were about to flood Britain' are negatively predicated as 'a disturbing echo of UKIP's last party-political broadcast' and containing 'numerous untruths'. The aforementioned 'party political broadcast' inaccurately claimed Turkey would join the EU and that they would take a large proportion of EU economic resources when they do. Predicating (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 94) in such a manner, depicts the assertions as tinged with prejudice - due to the comparison with UKIP -

and fallacious. Using a flood metaphor - with its attendant dehumanising effects - highlights the panic-inducing strategy of the Leave campaign's switch to migration arguments. In conjunction with this, reiterating Gove's assertion that the migrants involved are 'Muslim', 'Turkish', 'Albanian' and 'criminal' outlines the racial, anti-Muslim dimension of the Leave campaign's strategy, as well as depicting Gove's willingness to associate criminality with the migrants in question. These strategies discursively construct the Leave campaign's focus on migration as discriminatory, functioning to discredit the strategic switch to migration arguments.

Mandelson constructs migration as requiring management and distinguishes between migrants who are welcome and those who are not:

7.4 I believe that British people want an immigration system that is fair and managed. They don't want anyone taking us for a ride, but people who come here to work hard, pay their taxes and support our public services (like the 120,000 EU nationals working in our health and social care system) should be welcomed.

Although a positive construction of how migrants should be treated, Mandelson distinguishes between good and bad immigrants. He achieves this by constructing one group positively as migrants who 'work hard, pay their taxes and support our public services', whereas, he constructs the undesirable migrant as those who 'take[ing] us for a ride'. Echoing *The Daily Mail* and *The Telegraph's* arguments, discursively categorising the two groups as opposite promotes the ideology that some migrants are unwelcome and prone to opportunistic behaviour at the expense of Britain, evidenced in the use of the pronoun 'us'. Therefore, although positively maintaining that migrants who contribute 'should be welcomed', Text G still promotes the notion that migrants can be a parasitic drain on the economy. This construction demonstrates how an apparent positive perspective on migration can also promote attitudes that reinforce negative preconceptions. Representing some migrants as problematic to society could be interpreted as a subtler demonstration of discourse containing elements of racism (Van Dijk, 1997: 31). More so, the discourse suggests remaining would result in Britain allowing a better class of migrant (who pay taxes, work hard, support public services). This is exclusionary because it portrays the generalised characteristics of migrants as opposing these qualities (i.e. migrants who do not pay taxes, do not work hard, do not support public services). This echoes the discursive strategies initiated to represent Irish travellers, to gain support for political action that would attract a better class of travellers (Helleiner & Szuchewycz, 1997: 124).

Finally, the EU referendum is framed as a choice between economic success and controlled migration or, economic instability and prejudice (extract 7.5):

7.5 On the remain side, we must strain every sinew to persuade people that inside the EU they can have both economic prosperity and managed migration. Whereas, outside, we would be swapping economic security for Farage and Vote Leave's vision of Britain: closed, inward-looking, intolerant and anti-foreigner.

The decision to vote Remain is constructed as entailing 'economic prosperity and managed migration', whereas a vote to Leave is constructed as sacrificing 'economic security for Farage and Vote Leave's vision of Britain'. Aligning voting to Leave with Farage's 'vision of Britain' repeats the associations of voting Leave with attitudes of prejudice, something which is cemented by explicitly predicating (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 94) the vision as 'closed, inward-looking, intolerant and anti-foreigner'. This construction highlights the threat of economic instability and the acceptance of prejudiced attitudes if EU membership is discontinued, serving to present a Remain vote as the most economically viable option, and representing it as a supposedly non-racist way of managing migration. In addition, the strong modal verb 'must' used in relation to 'strain every sinew,' in an effort 'to persuade', represents the requirement to argue a Remain case as urgent.

6.2.2 Argumentation

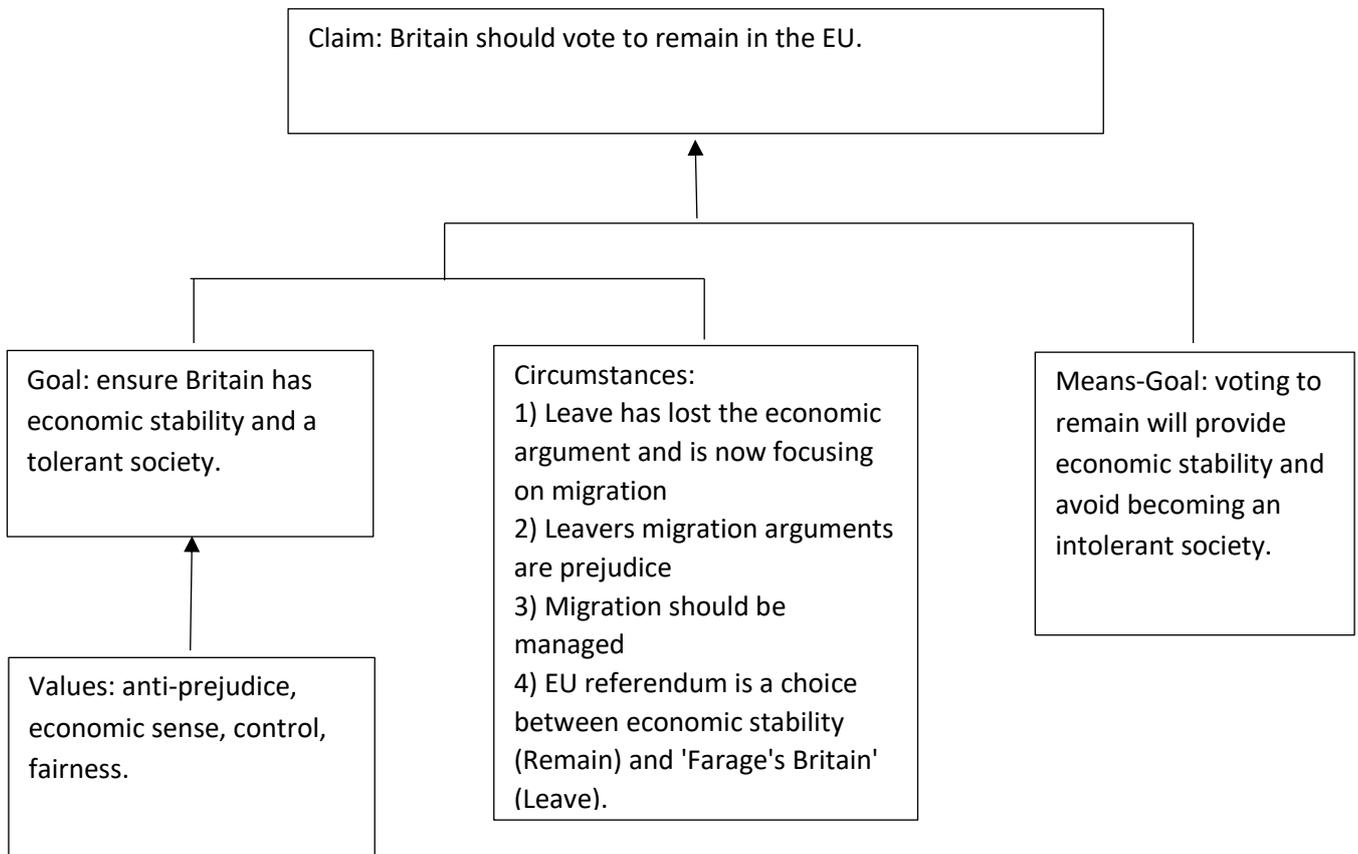


Figure 10. Argumentation structures in Text G.

As figure 10 shows, Text G claims to vote Remain with the goal of a tolerant society and economic stability. Driving the goal are values of anti-prejudice, economic sense, control and fairness. The means-goal relationship suggests that a Remain outcome will guarantee the goal. The circumstances supporting the claim are elaborated on below.

Constructing reality as the Leave campaign succumbing to Remain's economic arguments and forcing the Leave campaign to intensify its migration focus constructs the Remain campaign as having the advantage. Equating the change of approach to Farage's anti-immigration tactics reduces the arguments as stemming from a prejudiced perspective, presenting Leave advocates as susceptible to accusations of racism. In addition, representing the economic arguments as impacting everyone includes all readers as negatively affected in the event of Brexit. Argumentatively constructing the Leave campaign as having no response to these economic arguments aims to certify that the economic argument is decided in Remain's favour, complementing the claim to Remain in the EU.

The representation of the Leave migration arguments as being prejudiced is achieved through the intertextual reference (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 90) to Michael Gove's assertions in *The Daily Mail*. The discursive strategies Gove utilises are repeated: metaphorical association with a natural disaster and associations of criminality. Such assertions are evaluated as fallacious and akin to a UKIP perspective. Negatively predicating Leave's migration arguments in this manner - as lies and discriminatory - complements the claim to Remain by discrediting the arguments to Leave the EU.

Migration is portrayed as requiring management by differentiating between migrants who wish to contribute economically and those who wish to take advantage of Britain economically. Constructing the identities of migrants as undesirable attempts to resonate with readers who view migration as an issue. So, by constructing Remain's approach to migration as to be managed by welcoming only contributing migrants, Mandelson offers a comparatively less-racist approach to Farage's methods, thus, complementing the claim to Remain in the EU.

Finally, Mandelson simplifies the EU referendum vote as between managed migration and economic stability or Farage's Britain and economic instability. Drawing on the right-wing symbol of Farage justifies voting to Remain by rejecting his ideals. Mandelson proposing 'managed migration', again, attempts to provide a supposed non-racist method of excluding migrants who do not contribute economically. This may resonate with some voters who feel migration is an issue but fear voting Leave because they may be branded racist. Framing a Remain vote as so, complements the claim.

6.3 Editorial/Op-ed coverage of response to the Leave campaign's migration arguments

Text H) The Guardian (1st June, 2016), 'The Guardian view on the EU debate: it's about much more than migration':

This editorial was published in response to a Guardian ICM poll which indicated voter intentions at this stage were leaning towards a Leave vote, replicating the findings of the YouGov and Survation polls mentioned beforehand. Text H (see appendix) assumes that this was due to Leave keeping migration top of the campaign agenda. In response to this, the text deconstructs the Leave argument for the implementation of an Australian-style immigration system. The Australian system provides a visa to the applicant if they qualify based on factors such as age, language-capability and qualifications etc. Text H aims to demonstrate the unsuitability of the Australian system and encourage a greater Labour contribution to the Remain cause.

6.3.1 Representation

Text H establishes the current situation as the EU referendum campaign enters the final month:

8.1 Leave has managed to keep immigration at the top of the news agenda for most recent days, and may now have both the poll ratings and a higher proportion of supporters firmly intending to vote, to vindicate that choice. On Wednesday, with Michael Gove and Boris Johnson committing to the points-based immigration system favoured by Ukip, they tried to do it again.

Using the modal verb 'may' to invite speculation, *The Guardian* creates the impression that Leave has gained the advantage. Predicating (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 94) Leave voters as 'firmly intending to vote' complements this representation of reality by constructing Leave campaigners as motivated, suggesting that a more proactive approach is required from Remain campaigners. The 'points-based immigration system' that is referenced as maintaining the migration focus is depicted as being 'favoured by Ukip', which due to the reputation of the party, provides connotations of it being based on far-right ideals and unfavourable to immigrants. Furthermore, constructing the points-system as preferred by the right-wing UKIP suggests the system is politically opposed to the left-wing readership of *The Guardian*.

Text H constructs the points-based immigration system as unsuitable in several ways. For instance, 8.2 promotes the belief that the system is racist:

8.2 The campaigning value of the Australian reference is obvious enough, though the campaign will deny it. It is a code for friendly white Anglo-Saxon people who speak English.

Depicting the immigration system as based on ethnicity highlights its racist criteria. The discourse suggests the system would prioritise people who it evaluates as 'white Anglo-Saxon people who speak English', which excludes many migrants because of ethnicity and language proficiency. Suggesting that such a policy has 'obvious' 'campaigning value' because it is racist constructs Leave advocates as being of a prejudiced disposition. Such a representation constructs the proposed system as playing upon the heightened anxiety surrounding immigration created by the Leave campaign and thus, eliciting racist attitudes. In addition, Leave activists and supporters are constructed as in denial about the racial dimension of their campaign.

Furthermore, Text H outlines the points-based system's unsuitability by representing the system as an ineffectual means of reducing immigration levels:

8.3 If Britain operated the system in the way used by Australia, which is trying to boost its population, annual immigration to the UK would rise, not fall.

This extract outlines the impracticality of the system, using the conditional 'If' to hypothetically apply the system to Britain. It discursively establishes the different migration goals of Australia and Britain (from Leave's perspective) and represents the system as the wrong means to achieve the Leave campaign's goal of reducing migration, conveying that UK immigration 'would rise' and have the opposite effect with the modal verb 'would' conveying a degree of certainty. Therefore, the belief promoted is that the system is an unsuitable method of reducing migration. Nonetheless, the tacit assumption that reducing migration levels is a desirable outcome of policy is evident.

Finally, the text constructs the implementation of the points-based system as having negative economic consequences:

8.4 A point-based system would, in addition, make it almost inconceivable that the EU would – or could – consent to an open-borders trade deal with Britain. It has not made such a pact with any other state in the European free-trade area. The EU would be far more likely to start placing restrictions on UK access to EU markets.

Here, the implementation of the immigration policy is constructed as restricting a post-Brexit EU trade deal, evaluating the likelihood as 'almost inconceivable'. The possibility is represented in the modal verbs 'would- or could', which are used together to construct the EU as unwilling and unable to provide 'an open-borders trade deal', because it has not made 'such a pact' with other nations. The discourse constructs the scenario of the EU 'placing restrictions on UK access to EU markets as comparatively 'far more likely', functioning to intensify the notion that the policy would result in negative economic consequences.

The editorial also represents Labour politicians' lack of discursive contribution to the campaign as attributable to the recent shift in the polls:

8.5 One reason why leave may be making headway with voters is that Labour is not pulling its weight in the remain campaign. The consequence of that is that the remain campaign takes on a largely Conservative tone rather than reflecting the interests of other classes, viewpoints and groups.

The idiom that 'Labour is not pulling its weight' portrays the politicians as not contributing to the Remain cause. As a result, the Remain campaign is constructed as adopting a 'largely Conservative tone', an evaluation which implies the conservative politicians supporting Remain are not able to connect with some voters. The adverb 'rather' highlights the disadvantages of a conservative tone, which are constructed as excluding 'the interests of other classes, viewpoints and groups' - assumedly, the working-class that the populist strategies of the Leave campaign are targeting. Therefore, this extract represents the absence of Labour politicians and the presence of Conservative politicians as hindering the support for Remain, encouraging Labour politicians to be more proactive to connect to working-class concerns. Extract 8.5 contains a degree of irony because extract 8.3 implies that immigration should be lower, so *The Guardian* somewhat contributes to the aforementioned 'Conservative tone', despite criticising that aspect of the Remain campaign.

6.3.2 Argumentation

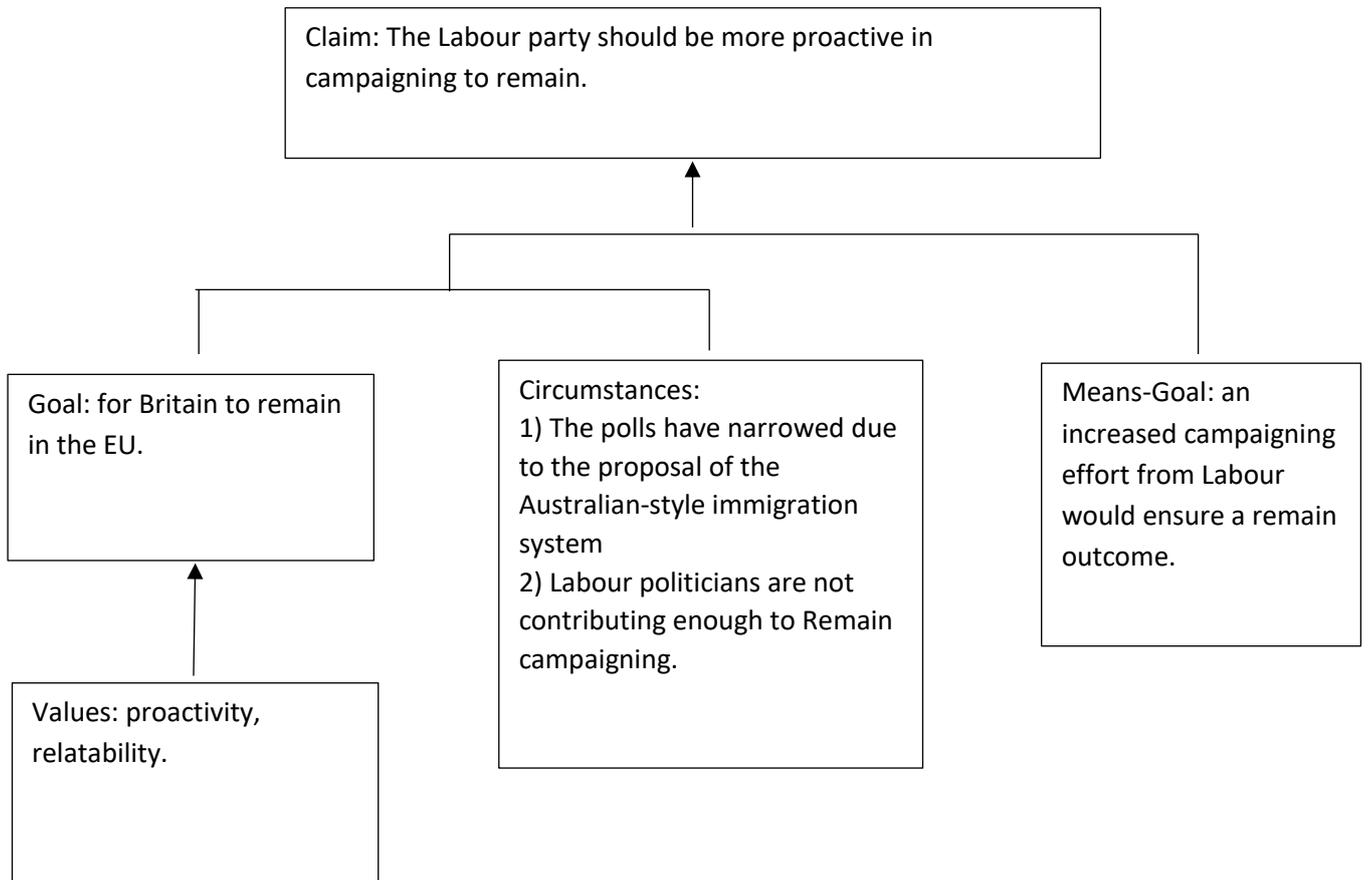


Figure 11. Argumentation structures in Text H

Text H contains two argumentative claims. Firstly, figure 11 demonstrates the claim that the Labour party should take a more proactive presence in the campaign, with the goal of Britain remaining in the EU. Driving this goal, are the values of proactivity and relatability. An increased Labour presence would increase the likelihood of a Remain outcome. The circumstances supporting the claim are relayed below.

Text H maintains that due to the proposal of the Australian-style immigration system, migration is now at the forefront of the argumentative agenda, resulting in the polls reflecting an advantage to the Leave campaign. Representing the circumstance as the Leave campaign being in an advantageous position - and composed of highly motivated voters - reinforces the need for Labour to provide a more proactive Remain case.

Then, Labour politicians are represented as not contributing enough for the Remain cause. This construction is aided by the belief that Labour's inactivity has created a conservative tone, meaning that the Remain camp is struggling to connect with working-class voters, as oppose to the Leave campaign's adoption of populist strategies. Outlining the shift in the polls as the fault of Labour politicians is an effort to stir them into action, therefore complementing the argumentative claim of the text - that Labour must do more to achieve the goal of remaining in the EU.

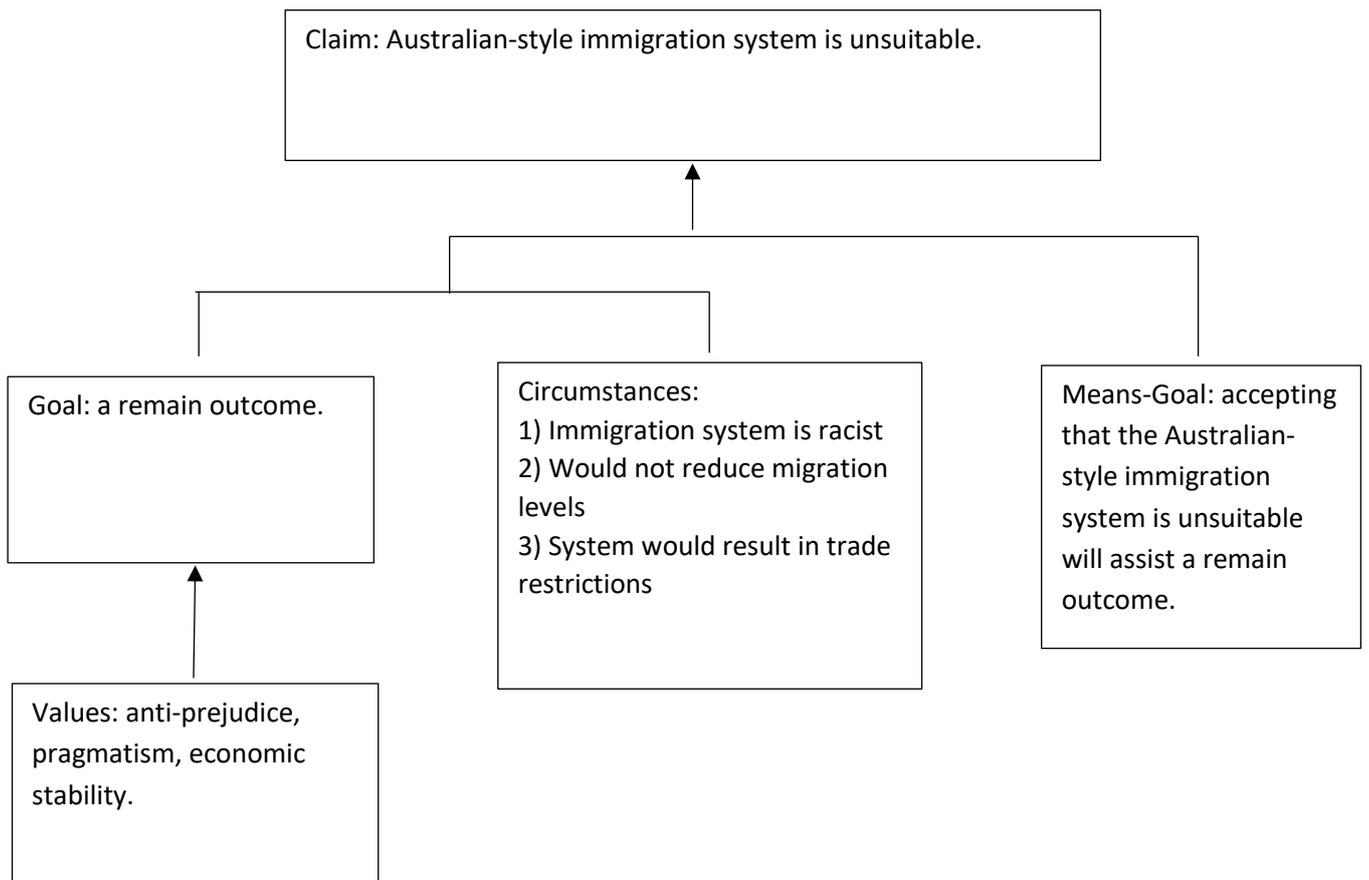


Figure 12. Argumentation structures in Text H.

The second argumentative claim in text H - evident in figure 12 - claims that the Australian-style immigration system is unsuitable, with the goal of achieving a Remain outcome. The values motivating this goal are anti-prejudice, economic stability and pragmatism. Accepting the unsuitability of the system will help achieve the goal. Next, I discuss the circumstances supporting the claim.

Text H counters the proposal of an Australian-style immigration system by highlighting its unsuitability. Initially, the system is characterised as a racist means of approaching immigration, which suggests immigrants would be treated unfairly on a basis of their ethnicity. This supplies Remainers with the argumentative ammunition to object against the Australian-style immigration system on the basis that it is discriminatory. Also, depicting Leavers as in denial of this fact anticipates the argumentative denial of racism. The construction of the circumstance in this manner may resonate with the societal values of anti-prejudice.

Secondly, the representation that the system would not reduce immigration levels depicts the proposal as impractical in relation to the aim of reducing immigration. This association argumentatively responds to the proposal by constructing the means as not resulting in the intended goal, supporting the claim.

Thirdly, the policy is discursively constructed as having detrimental economic consequences. This entwines the economic issue of trade with immigration and implies that the implementation of the points system is inherently tied to trade policy. Such an association is likely to persuade voters who have placed importance on economic motivations to Remain. Also, it reflects the Remain campaign's desire to further an economic agenda, whilst simultaneously disputing the practicality of the points system.

6.4 Text I) Andrew Graham (17th June, 2016), 'If you think the UK will be in control after Brexit, dream on':

Andrew Graham is a political economist, a proponent of Remain and a director of the Scott Trust – the organisation which owns *The Guardian*. Text I (see appendix) makes an economic case for remaining within the EU. In doing so, the text responds to some of the Leave arguments centred around the supposedly negative impact migration has on the economy. The aim of Text I is to reiterate the economic strength of the Remain argument and to refute suggestions that migrants are detrimental to the economy by depicting migrants in a more positive manner and by attributing the blame for economic failures elsewhere.

6.4.1 Representation

In the event of a Remain vote, Text I presents Britain's membership within the EU as important to success:

9.1 Don't let's sell ourselves short. We should not underestimate how much our leadership, inside the EU, can make this massive region, right next door to us, work better, for us all.

Graham utilises the inclusive pronouns 'we' and 'our' to directly address Britain, which is also complemented by the modal verb 'should' to give the discourse an advisory tone. The use of the verb 'underestimate' implies Britain is undervaluing the importance of its presence in the EU. The presence is referenced as 'leadership', which functionalises (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 42) Britain as capable of enhancing the membership of other nations. Text I predicates (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 94) the EU as a 'massive region, right next door to us', which is a construction that presents the EU as in such close proximity and large scale that abandoning such relations would be nonsensical. These linguistic strategies promote the attitude that Britain is fundamentally important to the success of the EU and vice versa.

Another representation included in Text I is that a vote for Brexit would be bad for the economy:

9.2 Outside, for firms from abroad, we become a cul-de-sac. This is not just a guess. The chief executives of several major businesses are saying so. And, as less capital investment comes in, so the pound will fall, import prices will rise, and everyone on a wage or pension will be worse off.

Regarding how attractive Britain is to investors, the figurative comparison to a 'cul-de-sac' creates connotations of an isolated Britain outside the EU. The source of such a comparison is referenced as coming from functionalised (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 42) 'chief executives' and 'several major businesses', providing validity. The conjunctive clauses 'so' as well as 'and', outline a relationship between 'investment', 'the pound', 'import prices' and 'wages', demonstrating the negative economic chain reaction of a leave vote. Evaluating the effects as 'everyone' will be 'worse off' evokes a topos of finance (Wodak, 2001: 78), suggesting voting to Remain would avoid a reduction in personal finances.

At times, the Leave campaign has relied on discourse that associates migrants with negative economic consequences. Text I responds to such associations by promoting the belief that migrants are wrongly held culpable for economic shortcomings. For instance:

9.3 I recognise the anger that is venting itself on immigration. However, the loss of jobs and the downward pressure on the wages of the low skilled is more the result of international

trade than it is of immigration (eg cheap coal in China is a main cause of the demise of the steelworks in Port Talbot).

A relationship is represented between negative economic effects and 'international trade'. Effects like 'loss of jobs' and 'downward pressure on wages' are evaluated as 'more the result of' trade, a belief cemented by the comparison with the conjunction 'than'. The example of 'cheap coal' as the cause of the struggles at 'the steelworks' is foregrounded. Also, predicating (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 94) the effected as the 'low skilled' includes the working-class groups who are targeted by Leave arguments. This extract promotes the notion that immigration is not the defining cause of economic problems.

Furthermore, rather than portraying migrants as parasitic, they are represented as contributing to the economy:

9.4 Yes, there are indeed communities where job prospects are poor, where getting a GP appointment feels impossible, where schools are overcrowded and cheap housing non-existent. These communities need help with planning and resources. But, on average, migrants pay more in taxes than they take in housing, social services, education or health.

This representation of reality accepts the objections regarding economic shortages by negatively predicating (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 94) the resource availability. For example, getting a doctor's appointment is branded 'impossible', job prospects 'poor', schools are depicted as 'overcrowded' and affordable housing is 'non-existent'. The shortcomings, constructed as occurring in communities that 'need help with planning and resources', suggests that poor management from government and councils are culpable for economic strains, rather than migration. The representation that migrants are not to blame is strengthened by the portrayal of migrants as greater economic contributors (they 'pay more taxes than they take'), thus combatting negative representations of migrants by appealing to economic topos.

Likewise, extract 9.5 demonstrates how the text represents the strain on public services as attributable to austerity measures:

9.5 One of the more unedifying aspects of this campaign is observing Michael Gove and Boris Johnson, both members of a government that has been imposing cuts in public services, having the gall to blame this on immigration.

'Michael Gove and Boris Johnson' are semi-formally nominated (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 40-41) as the culprits who helped 'impose cuts in public services', which is a reference to the imposed Conservative austerity measures. 'Having the gall' to blame these economic constraints on

'immigration', portrays the politicians as audaciously employing such campaign tactics. Also, immigrants are cast as the victims of the underhand political strategies, evoking sympathy. Evaluating the strategy as 'unedifying' highlights the hypocritical action of blaming migrants for the results of Conservative austerity measures. This construction depicts the prestigious Leave campaigners as unscrupulous in the attainment of a vote to leave the EU, whilst also absolving the migrants of having a negative impact upon public services.

Graham outlines the negative consequences of a Brexit vote by representing the outcome as possibly encouraging another Scottish referendum and the dismantling of the UK:

9.6 If your heart is telling you to risk the breakup of the kingdom, think what your Queen might tell you about where your true loyalties and commitments should lie.

Nominating (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 40-41) the 'Queen' in this representation of the EU referendum decision foregrounds the implication that she would be less favourable towards a Leave vote because of the possible 'breakup of the kingdom'. Referencing the queen suggests remaining would be the patriotic option. Therefore, the discourse draws on Conservative strategies to illustrate the necessity of a Remain vote.

6.4.2 Argumentation

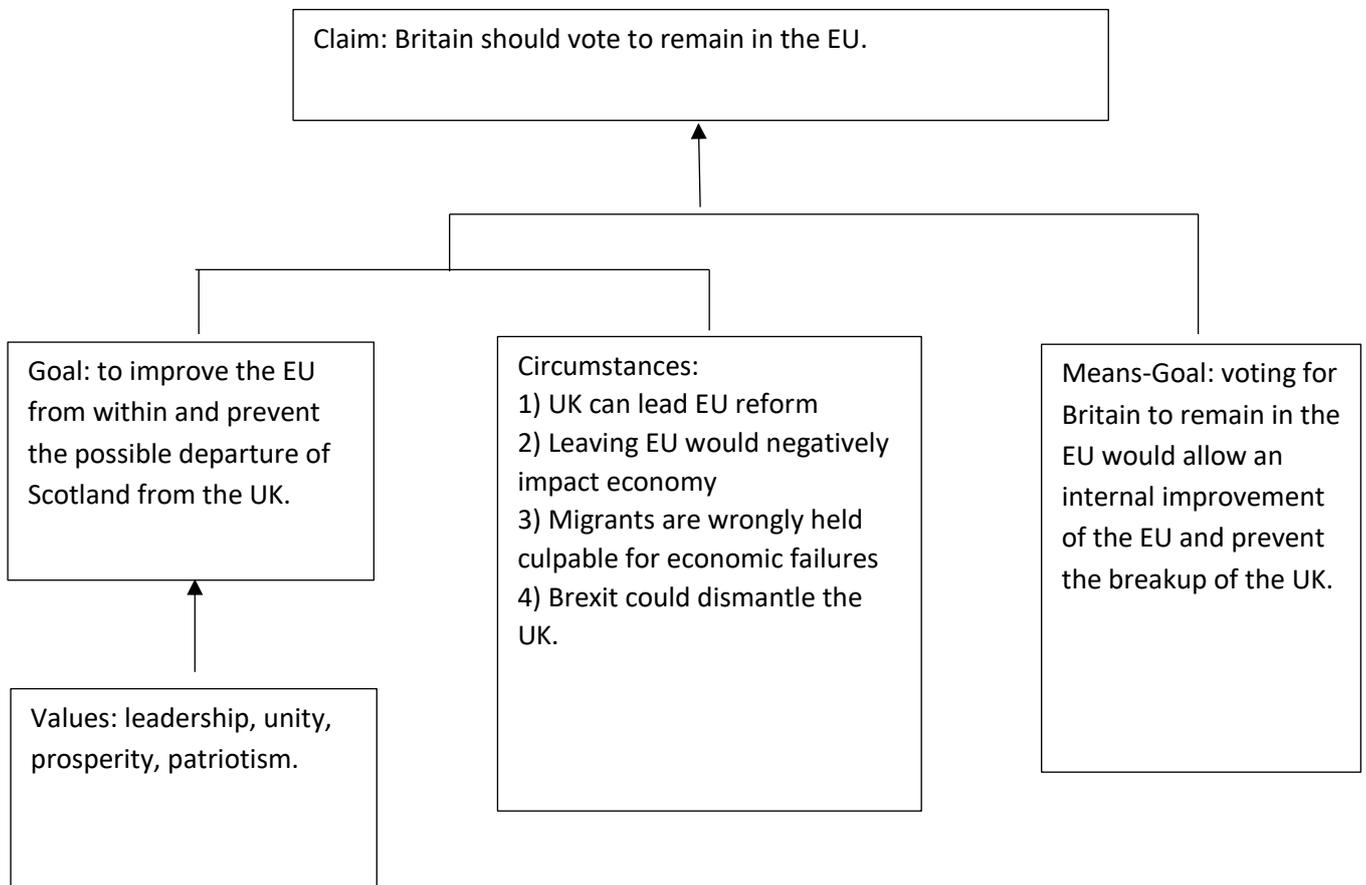


Figure 13. Argumentation structures in Text I.

Figure 13 illustrates that Text I claims that Britain should vote to Remain, with the goal of improving the EU and preventing another Scottish referendum. Driving this goal are values of leadership, unity, patriotism and economic prosperity. The means-goal structure denotes that a Remain vote would prevent the breakup of the UK and improve the EU. Next, I will outline how the circumstances support the claim.

The UK's importance to EU reform is represented as a circumstance. This representation implies Britain would be influential in improving the EU to benefit EU-member countries and the UK itself. This circumstance complements the claim to Remain by highlighting Britain's capacity for influence which would be lost in a Brexit outcome.

The negative economic consequences of Brexit are represented as a circumstance. These consequences are outlined to demonstrate everyone will be financially worse off. Argumentatively, this circumstance resonates with people who value prosperity to complement the claim to Remain. This circumstance also repeats one of the Remain campaign's most prevalent arguments: that Brexit will negatively impact upon the economy.

Several representations establish that migrants are wrongly held culpable for economic failures. For instance, the downward pressure on wages for the low-skilled is attributed to trade rather than migration. Argumentatively, the discourse attempts to alleviate some of the anti-migrant animosity propagated by the Leave campaign. Demonstrating that the economic consequences are stemming from other factors besides migration weakens the claim to Leave the EU and strengthens remaining.

Similarly, the Leave argument that migrants do not contribute economically is contested in the depiction of migrants contributing more than they use regarding economic resources. Although the economic failings are represented as genuine, portraying migrants contributing depicts migration as having positive economic consequences. This suggests the culpability for the economic strains lies elsewhere. Nonetheless, the portrayal of migrants having a positive effect on the economy complements the claim to Remain in the EU.

In addition, migrants are absolved from being blamed for the strain on public services, instead the blame is placed on austerity measures. This complements the claim to Remain in the EU because the anti-immigrant sentiment that the Leave campaign have created is conveyed as misplaced. This is reinforced by Gove and Johnson - prominent Leave campaigners - who are portrayed as deceitfully blaming migrants for Conservative austerity cuts, implying they should be held accountable.

The final circumstance manufactured is that Brexit could dismantle the UK by encouraging Scotland to separate. Drawing on a patriotic reference to the Queen, the discourse implies that the true

patriots advocate keeping Britain together, therefore assisting the claim to Remain.

Argumentatively, this circumstance attempts to hijack the patriotic sentiment of the campaign for the Remain cause, whilst also constructing Leavers as disingenuously patriotic. Additionally, threatening the break-up of the UK may counterintuitively persuade supporters of Scottish independence that a Leave outcome is desirable.

6.5 Summary

The Guardian's EU referendum campaign demonstrated a reactive shift of migration arguments in response to the Leave campaign's increase in public support, as was demonstrated in the polls. *The Guardian* increased the frequency of editorials/op-eds featuring migration to provide positive migration counter-arguments to the negative migration arguments promoted in *The Daily Mail*. This shift is reflected in the three texts analysed over the duration of the campaign. Initially, Text G responded to anti-migration arguments by vaguely branding them fallacious or invoking Farage to associate prejudice with the Leave tactics. However, after the surge in migration as an argumentative theme, Texts H and I respond more specifically to the anti-migration arguments promoted by the Leave campaign.

Khosravinik suggests that Liberal discourse tends to lack a clear direction when it comes to argumentation and instead, functions as a defensive measure in the coverage of migrants (2014: 514). My analysis of *The Guardian* revealed that the newspaper pursued an economic case in attempting to garner support for remaining in the EU. However, after the Leave campaign began to gain traction using migration arguments, *The Guardian* responded by tailoring its arguments in a defensive manner. While economic reasoning was used defensively to debunk some of the Leave campaign's claims, it nonetheless produced the positive representation of migrants contributing more than they take (Text I).

7. Mirror Analysis

The Mirror is a tabloid newspaper whose readership is predominantly working-class. *The Mirror* advocated a remain vote throughout the EU referendum campaign.

7.1 Key Trends in The Mirror Referendum Coverage

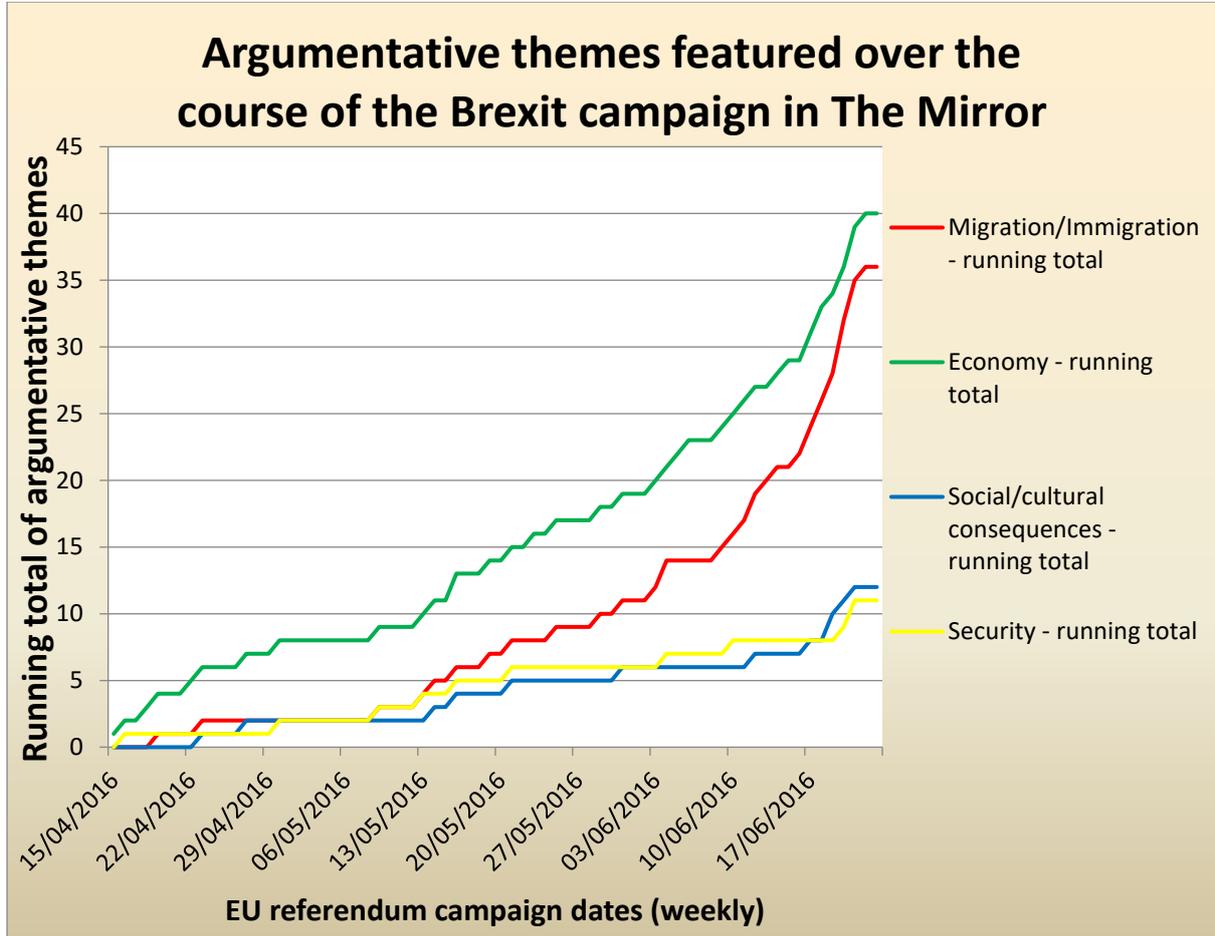


Figure 14. Thematic overview of *The Mirror* campaign.

Figure 14 showcases the frequency of argumentative themes featured over the course of the EU referendum campaign. The economy maintained its position as the most dominant argumentative theme throughout the campaign. Migration remained the second most dominant theme throughout the campaign and finished the campaign almost level with the economy. Considering the trajectory of the economy and migration, the two themes were often used in conjunction, particularly towards the conclusion of the campaign. Social/cultural consequences ended the campaign as the third most dominant theme, closely followed by security.

Thematically, migration co-occurs with the economy 63.63% of the time, whereas it co-occurs with the social/cultural consequences of Brexit 18.18% of the time, and security 18.18% of the time. For

this reason, the following analysis focuses on the thematic relationship between the economy and migration in *The Mirror*. However, migration rarely featured in the early stages of the campaign, particularly in conjunction with other themes. So, this chapter will analyse 2 texts (instead of 3) and focus on the later stages of the campaign, where migration was more prominent.

There is a thematic relationship between the migration and the economy because *The Mirror's* readership mainly consists of a working-class demographic. This demographic was the target audience of the populist arguments promoted by the Leave campaign. As was demonstrated in chapters 4 and 5, the Leave campaign promoted populist strategies that contributed towards the notion that migration has a negative influence on the less affluent members of society. In response to these populist arguments, *The Mirror* attacks the Conservative government for creating economic inequality, whilst conceding that immigration is an issue. In this chapter, I examine how the editorials demonstrate this argumentative strategy. Thus, Text J was selected because it demonstrates how migration featured alongside the economy as part of *The Mirror's* campaign strategy.

Text K will demonstrate how the op-eds advocate a Remain position after the surge in migration focus towards the end of the EU referendum campaign. The text features the economy - the most prevalent theme throughout - alongside migration, to explore how the op-eds contributed to the late surge in both themes. Unlike the editorials, Text K showcases how the op-eds responded to Leave's populist anti-migration arguments by attributing economic deficiencies as stemming from Conservative policies without conceding that migration is problematic. My reasoning for selecting this text was also informed by the fact that Text K was authored by associate editor Kevin Maguire - the most frequent contributor to the op-ed publications.

7.2 Editorial coverage of migration's effect on the working-class

Text J) *The Mirror* (21st June, 2016), 'Why the Mirror is backing Remain for the sake of our great nations':

The Leave campaign promoted the argument that migration has a negative impact on the UK. This populist sentiment targeted working-class voters - who encompass *The Mirror's* readership.

This text (see appendix) is the final editorial from *The Mirror's* EU referendum campaign and thus provides a lengthy summary on the reasons why the newspaper believes its readership should Remain in the EU. The editorial alleviates some of the blame that the EU and migration has received for economic shortages and attributes them as stemming from Conservative rule. However,

concessions are made to the Leave campaign about immigration levels. The aim of Text J is to promote a working-class case for remaining in the EU.

7.2.1 Representation

Text J demonstrates the conflicted nature of its stance on the EU referendum, by conveying the difficulty in advocating a Remain vote:

10.1 This newspaper has a long and proud history in fighting for what is right and fair for our readers. But no editorial judgment could have been harder for us than this.

Here, the editorial decision-making process is motivated by 'what is right and fair' for its readers. Relational identification (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 43) is used to represent the readership as 'our readers', foregrounding a supposed rapport between them and the newspaper. Addressing 'our readers' specifically, elicits connotations of a typical Mirror reader (working-class, Labour voter). The conjunction 'But', frames the 'editorial judgement' as being made based on fairness. This judgement is evaluated as '[no judgement] could have been harder for us', creating the impression that there are positive and negatives to remaining in the EU, attempting to convey a degree of balance in the argument.

More so, Text J displays migration as a legitimate concern for its readership:

10.2 For, in truth, the European Union is a difficult organisation to support with great enthusiasm. It is far from perfect. We understand concerns over uncontrolled immigration – and we will push for change if we remain in.

As evidenced by the pronoun 'we', which in this extract references *The Mirror's* editorial team, the newspaper attempts to align itself with its readership by 'understand[ing] concerns'. What 'concerns over uncontrolled immigration' exactly means (economic competition, cultural impact, security threat etc.) is ambiguous, but it could be interpreted as reproducing the Leave campaign's representation of working-class people as apprehensive about migration. Predicating (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 94) immigration as 'uncontrolled' suggests that immigration levels are too high and problematically managed. Text J makes a discursive commitment with the strong modal verb 'will', alongside the verb phrase 'push for change', regarding campaigning for controlled immigration in the event of the condition - 'if we remain'. Therefore, these linguistic strategies represent the readerships' migration concerns as legitimate, with the discourse promising to reflect these concerns in the public arena if the readership supports a Remain vote.

While Text J acknowledges ‘concerns’ over immigration it dismisses voting to Leave the EU as a remedy to alleviate them concerns:

10.3 We may gradually regain some greater control of our borders. But remember less than half of immigrants to Britain actually come from the EU.

This representation makes the concession that leaving would 'regain some greater control of our borders'; although the portrayal is mitigated with the adverb 'gradually' to imply leaving would not create instantaneous change. However, EU migration is depicted as equating to 'less than half of [the] immigrants [that come] to Britain'. While it is accepted that voting to Leave would reduce immigration from EU member states, a vote to Leave would not reduce migration levels from non-EU nations where most immigration to Britain comes from and thus, not remedy supposed concerns.

An effort is made to define patriotism as cooperation with other nations:

10.4 For proud and patriotic Brits want their country to stand strong alongside other nations on the world stage as we have done throughout history.

'Brits' are named and predicated as 'proud and patriotic' if their perspective is aligned with a willingness to 'stand strong alongside other nations'. This alludes to cooperation with nations in the EU. A topos of history (Wodak, 2015: 53) is invoked through the association that Britain - referenced by the inclusive pronoun 'we' - continues to do so, 'as we have done throughout history'. This promotes the notion that historically, Britain cooperates in allegiance with other nations, as they would do in an EU partnership. Categorising this as patriotic creates the representation that it is patriotic to work together, as opposed to in isolation outside the EU.

A discursive effort is made to attribute inequality and economic shortcomings to Conservative government policy, as oppose to the EU:

10.5 It is our own Tory government, not Brussels, which has starved our schools and hospitals of funds, failed to act on zero hours contracts, failed to build enough houses and allowed the gap between rich and poor to grow to unseen levels.

A distinction is made between the culpable parties, attributing blame at 'our own Tory government' and absolving the EU through 'not Brussels'. The verb 'starved' implies suffering when referencing funding for 'schools and hospitals', which negatively portrays the Conservatives as imposing austerity measures that have impacted upon vulnerable groups in society - children and the sick. Relational identification (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 42) is utilised in the uses of the pronoun 'our'. First, to direct blame closer to home - at 'our' government. Secondly, to construct protective attitudes over

'our schools'. The Conservatives are represented as having 'failed' on two accounts: 'to build enough houses' and 'act on zero hour contracts', thus depicting them as contributing to a lack of housing and an exploitation of the unemployed. The verb 'allowed' implies that the Conservatives are willing to allow inequality between the two groups that the extract evaluates as 'rich' and poor'. This is intensified by the verb phrase 'to grow' and the evaluation of inequality at 'unseen levels'. Overall, the strategies attribute Conservative rule as responsible for inequality between the rich and poor, as well as economic shortcomings, as oppose to the fault of the EU.

Text J associates the negative economic consequences of a Leave vote as impacting upon The Mirror's readers:

10.6 There will be less money than ever before to sustain our cherished NHS. And the price of food, drink, petrol and clothing could rise by as much as £580 a year as the value of the pound collapses.

Referencing the 'NHS' in conjunction with the inclusive pronoun 'our' establishes a shared affinity - using relational identification (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 42) - for the healthcare service between the reader and *The Mirror*. This affinity is cemented with the evaluation of the service as 'cherished'. NHS funding is outlined as being under threat with the assertion that it would have 'less money than ever before', a representation intensified by the modal verb 'will'. Portraying the NHS as severely underfunded in the event of a Leave vote aims to associate economic consequences as impacting upon a popular institution.

In addition, the negative economic consequences of leaving the EU are explicitly linked with impacting upon working-class communities:

10.7 Who always suffers? Those who can least afford it, that's who. The hard-working core of our society. The disadvantaged, not the silver-spooned.

Here, opposing identities are constructed concerning who would be affected by the economic consequences of Brexit. On the one hand, those suffering are constructed as working-class. They are evaluated (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 94) as 'who can least afford it', the 'hard-working core of our society' and 'the disadvantaged'. In contrast, 'the silver-spooned' are constructed as unaffected. Therefore, the economic consequences of a Leave vote are represented as creating ramifications for the working-class.

In the event of Brexit, Text K warns its readers could lose the protective legislation that the EU provides:

10.8 Your right to maternity leave, paid-holidays, pensions for part-time workers and a 48-hour week are all at risk. We sincerely fear a Leave vote will only heap more hardship on our readers' lives.

The legislations in question are included as 'maternity leave', 'paid holidays', 'pensions' and a '48-hour week'. Establishing these entitlements as 'your right' addresses the reader directly with a second person pronoun and foregrounds what privileges the EU provides to the voter. Evaluating the privileges as 'at risk' creates a sense of concern about a Leave outcome. Furthermore, the pronoun 'we' is used to frame *The Mirror's* perspective. A 'Leave vote' is evaluated as being 'sincerely fear[ed]'. This fear is constructed as stemming from 'more hardship' on the readership - identified with the possessive pronoun 'our' when referring to 'readers' lives'. The verb 'heap' implies that the readership is already suffering 'hardship', which would only be increased by the removal of protective EU legislation in a Leave vote.

7.2.2 Argumentation

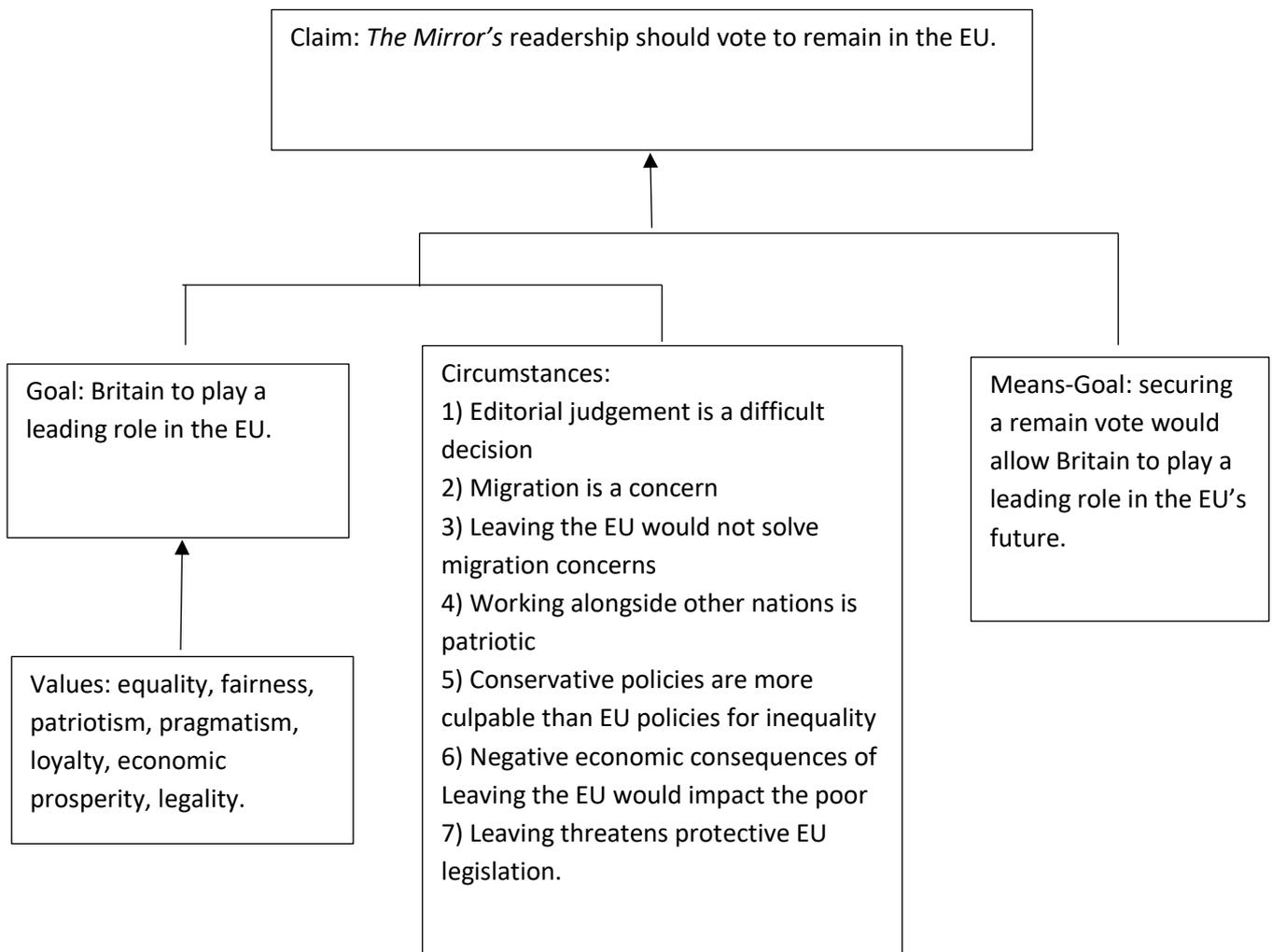


Figure 15. Argumentation structures in Text J.

As figure 15 shows, Text J claims that *The Mirror's* readership should vote to Remain, with the goal of Britain playing a leading role in the EU. Informing this goal are values of equality, fairness, patriotism, pragmatism, loyalty, economic prosperity and legality. The means-goal structure outlines that remaining in the EU would allow Britain to exert a leading influence. The discursively crafted circumstances that support the claim are described below.

Demonstrating the difficulty in arriving at the editorial decision - to Remain - attempts to avoid ostracising any readers who have been influenced by the populist techniques of the Leave campaign. Leave promoted the sentiment that EU policies have created economic shortages and accentuated the divide between the working-class and the upper echelons of society. For instance, *The Telegraph* editorial position (Text A) and Farage's op-ed (Text B) promote attitudes that suggest migration levels negatively impact upon educational and healthcare resources, housing acquisition as well as creating downward pressure on low-skilled wages. Furthermore, *The Daily Mail* editorial line (Text D and Text E) reproduces the same sentiments and the op-eds (Text F) depict migrants as intending to exploit the welfare system. Therefore, Text J advocates a Remain vote but concedes that some factors of remaining may be disadvantageous to its working-class readership. This positions *The Mirror* as loyal to its readerships' concerns, which softens its alignment with a Remain vote.

Additionally, conceding that migration is a valid concern attempts to appease the anti-immigration sentiment that the Leave campaign promoted amongst the working-class. In the representation of this circumstance, Text J pledges to campaign for controlled immigration in the event of its readers voting to Remain. Conveying that immigration concerns will be discursively voiced after a Remain vote is secured, intends to persuade segments of the readership with immigration concerns that they can be resolved, as well as supporting a Remain vote.

Leaving the EU is represented as not solving migration concerns because the majority do not come from the EU. This circumstance denotes that voting to Leave is not a pragmatic remedy for the immigration concerns because it would not prevent migration from elsewhere. This may be persuasive to voters who are motivated by migration concerns. Representing a Leave vote as an unsuitable response to migration concerns supports the claim to Remain.

A willingness to operate alongside other countries is represented as typical of a patriotic British person in Text J. Drawing upon patriotic values attempts to resonate with readers whose voting intentions are motivated by national pride. The Leave campaign associated a vote with patriotism. Farage's *Telegraph* op-ed (Text B) included reiterations of national pride, whereas all *The Daily Mail* texts analysed contained the more nationalistic suggestion that migration would diminish

Britishness. So, patriotic argumentation is crafted on the assumption that the typical Brexit voter is patriotic and thus, demonstrates a willingness from *The Mirror* to acknowledge values of patriotism are important to reader's voting intentions.

This definition of patriotism - as a cooperative trait - counters the nationalistic patriotism of the Leave campaign. This redefinition of a patriotic outlook attempts to categorise remaining as aligned with history. Furthermore, initiating patriotic arguments signals *The Mirror's* belief that the readership possesses patriotic values - adhering to the constructed working-class ideals reproduced in *The Daily Mail*.

Establishing that the Conservatives are to blame for economic failures as opposed to the EU is likely to resonate with the Labour-supporting readership of *The Mirror*. Argumentatively, this redirects the animosity for the EU towards the Conservative party, strengthening the case to Remain within the EU.

The negative economic consequences are depicted as impacting upon the poorest. First, the NHS is represented as being underfunded in the event of leaving. Portraying the NHS as vulnerable is likely to resonate with the less affluent that rely on free healthcare and because the institution has high sentimental value to many British people. Secondly, the ramifications are conveyed as having a more prominent effect on the working-class compared to the rich. These circumstances will be more persuasive to people from less affluent backgrounds, therefore resonating with a typical *Mirror* readership to Remain.

Suggesting that protective legislation would be threatened by a Leave vote is assisted by foregrounding the plight of the readership. This aligns the editorial with the struggles of the working-class and implies the removal of legislation would worsen these struggles. Thus, the claim to Remain is supplemented by the guaranteed protection of legislation.

7.3 Op-ed coverage: late surge in migration and the economy

Text K) Kevin Maguire (12th June, 2016), 'EU referendum Leave campaigners dishonestly shifting blame for problems of their own making':

Kevin Maguire is the associate editor for *The Mirror* and has previously held a position at *The Guardian*. Maguire endorsed a Remain vote throughout the EU referendum campaign. Text K (see appendix) insists that economic failures and social inequality, created from Conservative policies, are being wrongly blamed on migrants to generate working-class support to Leave the EU. The text counters specific Leave arguments relating to the proposal of migration policies similar to

Australia/Norway, in addition to the argument that migration has a negative effect on the economy. The aim of the text is to promote the idea that Leave campaigners are deceitfully blaming migrants for economic failures that have been created by Conservative policies.

7.3.1 Representation

The illustration of legitimate working-class grievances reflects Maguire's attempt to align himself with the demographic of the readership:

11.1 Working class families are right to be furious that in a Britain where one-in-five struggle to put food on the table, a fabulously wealthy elite squirrels away fortunes in tax havens.

Predicating (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 94) by classifying (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 42) the 'families' as 'working-class' signals the foregrounding of the demographic typically associated with *The Mirror's* readership. Framing the families as 'right to be furious' signifies the author's attempt to align himself with their perspective, validating their point of view. A construction of 'Britain' as rife with inequality is achieved through the statistic that 'one-in-five' are enduring difficulty in feeding their family. The verb 'struggle' highlights the toil of the working-class. The idiomatic 'put food on the table' conjures up the notion that working-class inequality is denying those suffering from providing the mere necessities. In addition, the construction of a 'fabulously wealthy' group, comprising the 'elite', highlights the abundance of riches and foregrounds class difference. The verb phrase 'squirrels away' implies that there is an abundance of wealth held by the elite, which the less affluent are being selfishly deprived, highlighting class divide. Referencing the amount as 'fortunes' denotes a large amount of wealth and representing the fortunes as being held in 'tax havens' invites connotations of greed, particularly with the verb phrase's evocations about excess. Overall, then, this representation suggests working-class discontent is correct and stemming from class inequality.

Another representation in the discourse is that migration and the EU are being unjustly held responsible for economic problems:

11.2 Yet the biggest con in British politics is to blame grotesque inequalities, low wages, poor jobs, bad housing, an ailing NHS, struggling schools and every other problem on migration and the EU.

The conjunction 'yet' frames the misrepresentation of migrants as 'the biggest con in British politics', which relies on hyperbole to accentuate the unfairness of blaming migrants in politics. Various economic injustices such as 'inequalities', 'wages', 'housing', 'schools' and the 'NHS' are foregrounded as being unfairly blamed on migrants. The predication preceding these nouns, such as

'poor', 'bad' and 'ailing, negatively evaluate the state of economic resources. The adjective 'grotesque' also highlights the absurd levels of inequality. This extract promotes the ideal that migrants are wrongly blamed for failures in British politics.

Likewise, Text K warns against working-class families supporting Brexit out of misplaced blame for migrants:

11.3 Leavers hope working class families will cut off their noses to spite their faces in an anti-migrant, anti-EU backlash. Don't fall for it.

The categorised (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 40-41) 'Leavers' are constructed as relying on 'hope' in relation to the support of 'working-class families', which suggests the Leave campaign's attempts to create tension between the working-class and migrants as integral to a Leave victory. The certainty that this is what the Leave campaign is attempting to do is signified with the modal verb 'will'. The idiom 'cut off their noses to spite their face' denotes how a Leave vote would be a self-destructive act in the pursuit of revenge against the migrants, explicated in the referenced 'anti-migrant, anti-EU backlash'. The implication is that a Leave vote, borne out of anti-migrant sentiment, would be detrimental to working-class families. The imperative 'Don't fall for it' addresses the working-class readership, repeats the idea of Brexit being a con and warns against voting to Leave through insinuating that blaming migrants is a deceitful political tactic.

Conservative policies are represented as being culpable for poverty and healthcare underfunding:

11.4 Migrants and the EU didn't create food banks or starve the NHS. Both were made in Britain during Tory rule.

'Migrants and the EU' are positioned as being innocent regarding economic failures, a perspective signified by the verb 'didn't'. The verb dismisses their guilt regarding two highlighted failures: 'create food banks' and 'starve the NHS'. The verb 'create' implies poverty has been manufactured, rather than it being a feature of society, and 'starve' has connotations of purposefully depriving the NHS of resources. The failures are attributed to being 'made in Britain', absolving the EU of any guilt. Constructing the failures as occurring 'during Tory rule' suggests Conservative policy measures contributed to symptoms of poverty and a created the shortage of economic resources. This association suggests Conservative policies have stimulated inequality in Britain.

The discourse responds to the Leave argument that a migration system like Australia/Norway would cut migration. Text K associates Leave campaigners with the trait of dishonesty:

11.5 They even lie about cutting migration when it's higher in Australia and Norway.

The pronoun 'They' refers to Leave campaigners. The adverb 'even' is used in conjunction with the verb 'lie', conveying surprise that 'cutting migration' - a key pledge of the Leave campaign - is unachievable through the means proposed. This is established because 'Australia and Norway' are included to represent the countries whose migration policies are being offered as a template by the Leave campaign. However, migration is evaluated as 'higher' in these countries, thus, representing the implementation of such policies as an ineffectual means of achieving decreased numbers of migrants. Based on these models, the Leave campaigners' inability to reduce migration is attributed to their dishonest nature.

Also, Text K mitigates the impact of migration on low-income wages and suggests Conservative policies as more detrimental to the working-class. Iain Duncan Smith – the secretary of state and work pensions (at the time) - asserted that migration causes downward pressure on low-skilled wages. This assertion is referenced:

11.6 Jobs expert Jonathan Portes corrected IDS, pointing out the fall for the semi-skilled and unskilled was 0.4%, less than 1p in every Pound. Nothing compared with cash lost to Tory tax rises, growth-destroying austerity and benefit snatches from the working poor.

Here, 'Jonathan Portes' is functionalised (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 42) as a 'Jobs expert', to strengthen his validity as a source. Equating the negative effect of migration on wages as 'less than 1p in every pound', portrays the impact as insignificant. Representing the response as having 'corrected' Iain Duncan Smith ('IDS'), defines IDS's claim that migration has negative impact on low-skilled wages as incorrect. After representing the impact as insignificant, 'Nothing compared with' is used to frame the negative impact of migration as palling in comparison to Conservative injustices against the working-class. Such as, predicating the 'tax rises' as 'Tory' signifies who is responsible for reducing the finances of the working-class. Evaluating (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 94) the 'austerity' measures as 'growth-destroying' suggests Conservative policies are constraining the working-class. Likewise, referencing the 'working-poor' implies the policies are punitive to the vulnerable. Suggesting that the policies involve 'benefit snatches' imply nastiness when removing resources from those who need it most. Therefore, the discourse produces the attitude that Conservative policies are more detrimental than migration on the working-class.

7.3.2 Argumentation

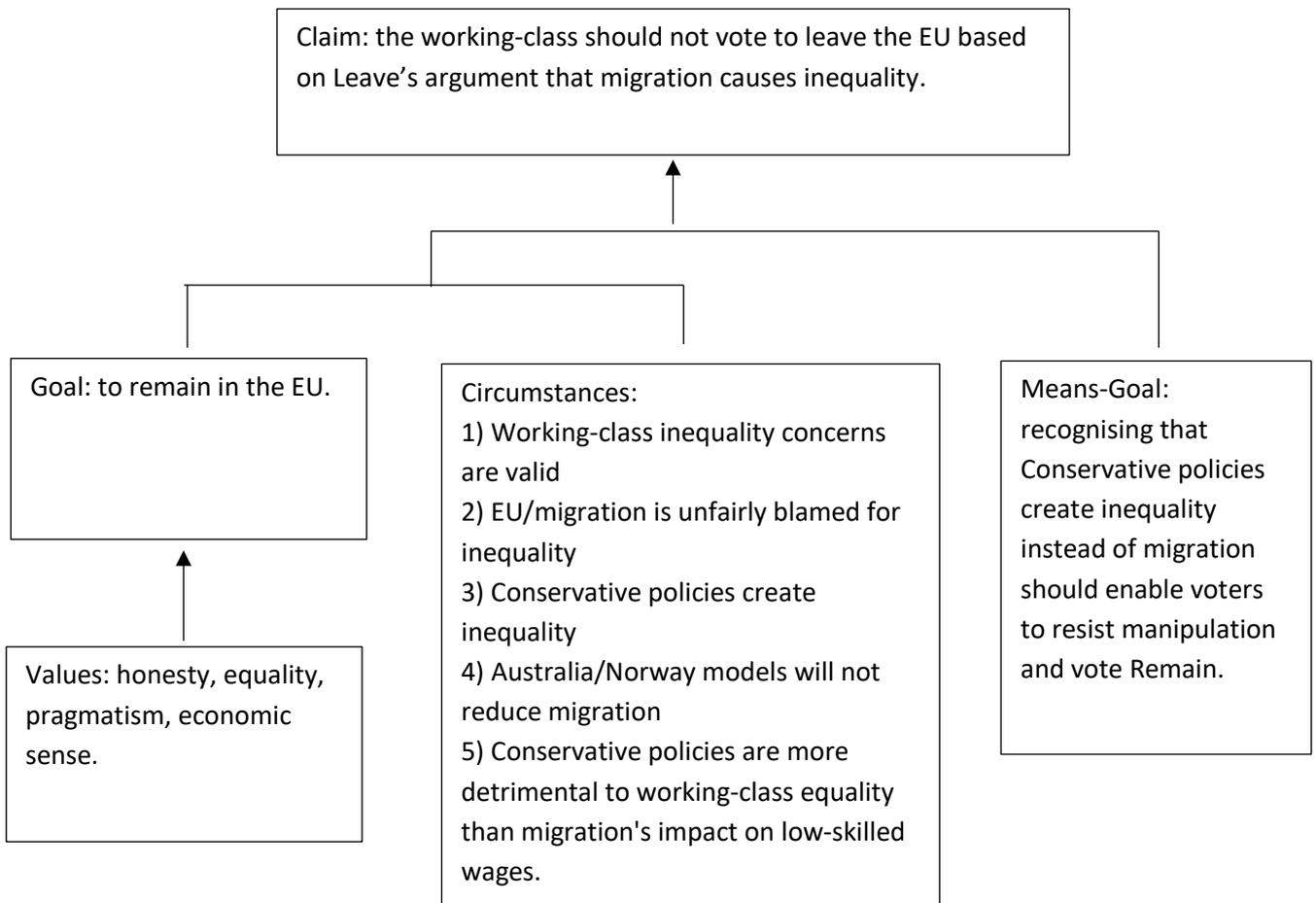


Figure 16. Argumentation structures in Text K.

As figure 15 shows, Text K claims that the working-class should not vote to Leave based on migration causing inequality. The goal to Remain in the EU is informed by the values of honesty, equality, pragmatism and economic sense. The means-goal structure demonstrates that recognising Conservative policies are culpable for inequality will prevent voters being manipulated. The circumstances assisting the claim are elaborated on below.

Portraying working-class concerns surrounding economic failures and inequality as valid is an effort by Maguire to acknowledge the genuineness of the readerships' concerns. This circumstance accepts that the working-class are struggling. However, in the same construction, there are accentuations of class difference, between the poor and affluent that alludes to where the divide stems. Accepting the working-class are right to be angry complements the claim because it admits the existence of inequality before explicating the cause in the other circumstances.

Another circumstance constructs the EU/migration as dishonestly blamed for inequality. Blaming migrants for inequalities is represented as politically manipulative, strengthening the claim to ignore Leave's argument that migration creates inequality. In addition, reiterating that working-class families could suffer further hardship if they advocate a Leave vote, could dissuade the working-class from allowing negative representations of migration to motivate their vote.

Then, Conservative policies are depicted as responsible for inequality. Constructing Conservative policies as liable for inequality is likely to resonate with a readership assumed to be composed of Labour-voting, left-wingers. This circumstance supports the claim to resist blaming inequality on migration by positioning the Conservative party as the genuine culprits.

To reduce migration, models of Australia and Norway were proposed by the Leave campaign. These models are represented as unsuitable because migration is higher in these countries. Outlining the unsuitability of the models in reducing migration is exhibited as a testament to the dishonesty of Leave campaigners. Representing them as dishonestly flaunting an unsuitable migration model assists the claim because it showcases how the migration arguments promoted are unfounded.

The final circumstance present in Text L is that Conservative policies are more detrimental to working-class equality than migration's negative impact on low-skilled wages. Depicting the impact of migration on wages as insignificant responds to IDS's argument, as well as, implying he has exaggerated migration's impact for the Leave cause. This solidifies the claim that Leave is duplicitously blaming migration. Furthermore, Conservative austerity measures are depicted as being worse for the working-class than migration's impact on wages, which may resonate with the readership. So, depicting the Conservative policies as more detrimental to the poor than migration

assists the claim by suggesting that migration is not the primary cause for reproducing class inequality.

7.4 Summary

The Mirror's opinion sections combined the themes of migration and the economy in their discursive contributions to the EU referendum debate. The editorial stance argued that inequality stemmed from Conservative austerity policies, as opposed to immigration. The op-eds followed suit, attempting to outline how economic failures were being dishonestly attributed to migrants when Conservative policies are culpable. Evidently, *The Mirror's* editorial stance attempted to acknowledge the anti-migrant sentiment promoted amongst the working-class readership, whilst also advocating remaining in the EU. On the other hand, the op-ed analysed proved to be a notable exception in the coverage because it refused to make concessions about the negative impact of migration.

The editorials demonstrated how *The Mirror* made tacit concessions about problematic migration levels but suggested that inequality between the rich and the poor is caused by Tory policies. Making these concessions regarding migration, are part of *The Mirror's* attempt to align itself with what the newspaper believes to be working-class concerns; accepting reservations about immigration and relying on the readership's anti-tory stance to argue a case for remaining. The editorial stance is conflicted because despite campaigning to Remain, it supports the readership's reservations about migration; even accepting that the publication is unconvinced that Remaining is the best option for its readers. The Leave campaign's focus on the negative impact of migration on the economy deepened working-class sensitivities that *The Mirror* was obligated to acknowledge. Nevertheless, this weakened *The Mirror's* claims to Remain because it supports a Leave perspective on migration. The relationship between a newspaper and the reader is supposed to allow the reader to recognise themselves, their needs and their values (Richardson, 2006: 121), thus, *The Mirror* adhered to the assumed image and priorities of a working-class voter. Although *The Mirror* and *The Daily Mail's* orientation to the referendum was very different, they fundamentally shared the same representation of working-class concerns.

8. Conclusion

A key focus of this study was to examine how the media featured migration-related arguments throughout the EU referendum campaign and how these arguments developed and how they interacted with one another.

My findings indicate that migration-related arguments and representations played a prominent role in the online newsprint media's discursive contribution to the EU referendum debate. Based on the texts analysed, each campaign featured migration differently: 1) *The Telegraph* campaign was consistent in its use of negative migration arguments, mainly using them in conjunction with economic arguments, but also using migration arguments in a security context more than the other newspapers; 2) *The Daily Mail* campaign demonstrated a pattern of escalation, with negative migration-related arguments becoming gradually more frequent and explicitly reliant on ethno-nationalism in the latter half of the campaign; 3) *The Guardian* campaign produced positive counter-arguments to Leave's migration arguments, which counter-productively kept migration at the forefront of the public debate; 4) *The Mirror's* conflicted Remain campaign tailored its arguments to the (supposed) migration concerns of its working-class readership - based on the populist Leave conception of working-class grievances.

8.1 Interaction between *The Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* campaigns

There was significant interaction between *The Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* campaigns. Their relationship is defined by two stages: before the 27/05/16 and after the 27/05/16.

8.1.1 Before 27/05/16

Due to the political climate, *The Daily Mail* began their campaign uncharacteristically conveying sympathy towards child refugees (Text D), albeit with a limit on the number offered refuge, citing reasons such as a demographic threat, a shortage of economic resources created by migration and framing EU-migration as preventing further humanitarian efforts.

Early in the campaign, *The Guardian* promoted economic arguments. For example, *The Guardian* depicted the EU referendum as a choice between economic stability or 'Farage's Britain', with the proposal of a somewhat less-racist approach to managing migration (Text G).

8.1.2 After 27/05/16

In response to the polls, *The Daily Mail* campaign then switched strategies by escalating the negative migration sentiment (Text E) and by framing migration more explicitly as a demographic threat to

the white-English speaking nationalist ideal of Britishness. This impression was joined by the claim that migration levels are too high and a strain on economic resources. The escalation in strategies was epitomised by abandoning euphemisms ('social fabric') for more explicitly ethno-nationalistic discourse ('white', 'English-speaking'). The ethno-nationalist sentiment was reproduced in the op-eds (Text F), alongside allusions to migrants aiming to take advantage of the welfare system and populist strategies that frame the debate as the ordinary person vs the elite. Throughout *The Daily Mail* campaign then, ethno-nationalist sentiment becomes more explicit alongside the volume of migration-related opinion pieces.

The Guardian campaign promoted economic arguments until *The Daily Mail's* focus on migration intensified following the 27/05/16. This shift coincided with *The Guardian* producing more migration-related arguments. The editorials (Text H) and the op-eds (Text I) began to respond to specific Leave arguments. For instance, Text H brands the proposed Australian-style immigration system (proposed in Text B) racist and Text I suggests migrants contribute economically more than they take (in response to the economic disadvantages of migration promoted in *The Telegraph*: Texts A, B and *The Daily Mail*: Texts D, E, F). Responding to specific migration-related Leave arguments assisted the Leave campaign's strategy - to keep migration salient in the public debate. Similarly, Lakoff (2004: 33) makes the point that denying your opponent's framing and arguing against their view has the opposite effect of reinforcing the framing. Thus, reinforcing the argument that is being contested.

8.2 The Telegraph

The Telegraph maintained a consistent and steady thematic trajectory throughout. Editorials drove the migration focus, which attempted to foreground migration in the public debate alongside the economic strain that migration places on schools (Text A). Supporting these arguments, the op-eds (Text B) coupled migration with economic arguments including the associations that reducing migration would increase wages and diminish the burden placed on schools, healthcare and housing. *The Telegraph* campaign also framed the migrant crisis as a terrorist threat and thus a security issue (Text C) comparatively more than any other publication. This illustrates how *The Telegraph* contributed arguments that foreground migration's negative economic impact and arguments associating migrants with terrorism, evoking trepidation.

8.3 The Mirror

The Mirror editorials and op-eds tailored their arguments to its working-class readership and both attribute blame for inequality to Conservative policies. The editorials make concessions that

migration is a concern, even pledging to campaign later for reform if readers agree to vote Remain (Text J). These concessions adhere to Leave's representations of the working-class as aggrieved by migration, showcasing how *The Mirror* editorials catered their arguments to the populist Leave campaign conception of working-class priorities (evident in *The Telegraph* - Text B & *The Daily Mail* - Text F). Conversely, the op-eds refuse to make such concessions, instead placing blame for inequality solely on Conservative policies (Text K). Nonetheless, *The Mirror* reproduces the conception of working-class people promoted by Leave, so arguably *The Mirror* editorial stance contributed to the perpetuation of working-class grievances that Leave arguments are based upon.

8.4 Differences between the formats

The tabloid and broadsheet formats that supported a Leave vote demonstrated similarity and variation in the discursive strategies used to negatively represent migrants. *The Telegraph* (Texts A and B) and *The Daily Mail* (D, E and F) both utilise economic issues to breed xenophobia (Pelinka, 2013: 8), demonstrating subtler modern forms of discrimination (Van Dijk, 1992a: 112). However, *The Daily Mail* campaign relied on representing migrants as a demographic threat (Text D), which becomes more explicit throughout the campaign (Text F), even constructing the ethnic (white) and cultural (English-speaking) identity that determines Britishness (Text E). Even when *The Telegraph* constructed the migrant crisis as a terrorist threat (Text C), it favoured subtler conflation strategies, which nevertheless create panic but foregrounds the migrants' plight too - mitigating the construction. Therefore, the tabloids supplemented their arguments to Leave with more explicit forms of racism than the broadsheets.

The tabloid and broadsheet formats that advocated remaining both contributed towards a conservative tone surrounding migration. *The Guardian* promoted the need to manage migration, dichotomised good/bad migrants to presuppose some migrants do not contribute economically (Text G) and implied that migration should be lower (Text H). Similarly, *The Mirror* made concessions that migration is an issue (Text J) to incorporate the supposed concerns of its readership. However, *The Guardian* produced the sole unreservedly positive construction in the texts analysed, suggesting migrants contribute economically more than they take (Text I). Nevertheless, both formats attributed blame to Conservative policies as opposed to migration for economic shortages (Texts I, J and K), but these constructions redirect blame rather than providing overtly positive constructions of migration. Considering the influential capacity of the media, perhaps the lack of outright positive constructions of migration weakened the argument to Remain. This point emphasises how the mainstream media all operate to a narrow agenda to the exclusion of non-establishment voices. Furthermore, the mainstream media's exclusion of a left-wing anti-EU position reiterates this.

8.5 Populism

The Leave campaigns adhered to the right-wing populist strategy of assigning scapegoats for failures in society (Wodak, 2015: 1), by assigning migrants as scapegoats, often for economic failures (Texts A, B, D, E and F). Also, the Leave campaign (Text B and F) cast the white working-class as 'the people' whose grievances go unvoiced, something which was reiterated by *The Mirror's* assumption that their working-class readership shared these constructed concerns (Text J). The ethno-nationalist sentiment of *The Daily Mail* campaign illustrated the right-wing nature of the populist strategies identified. These observations agree with Corbett's findings (2016), which suggested the Leave campaign targeted white, working-class voters (2016: 15) with a nationalist sentiment (2016: 20) based upon negativity towards migrants (2016: 22).

8.6 External events

External events shaped the discourse and were shaped by the discourse. For instance, the Aylan Kurdi image which created a climate of sympathy towards migrants, mitigated the Leave representations and arguments - encouraging *The Daily Mail* to convey a degree of sympathy towards child refugees (Text D). In addition, the polling results which signalled a Remain lead ignited an intensification of the ethno-nationalist discourse from *The Daily Mail*. On the other hand, some external events were framed as symptomatic of the narratives, including how the Bob Geldoff and Nigel Farage flotilla protests were framed as emblematic of the populist strategy that denotes the elites vs the ordinary person (Text F). Likewise, the lorry discovered transporting illegal immigrants was integrated as a testament to the cultural threat posed (Text E). These findings demonstrate how external events can mould the discourse and how external events can be interpreted as manifestations of a campaign narrative.

8.7 Final summary

My findings demonstrate the salience of migration arguments in political discourse. My research has shown how minority groups - such as migrants - are demonised for political purposes. As the necessity for political success grows, the media intensifies racist attitudes thus, threatening societal harmony between migrants and British citizens. Harmful attitudes graduate from implicit forms (e.g. economic disadvantages) to explicitly racist ethno-nationalism. Although this stemmed from the Leave press, the Remain press accommodated prejudiced attitudes with problematic concessions about migration and the objectification of migrants.

My findings suggest that the mainstream media did employ arguments that legitimised animosity towards migrants during the EU referendum campaign. They did so by associating migration with

negative societal consequences, with different discursive strategies employed in the argumentation of the different newspaper publications included in this research. However, it should be reiterated that these representations only circulate discriminatory attitudes towards migrants and should not be interpreted as responsible for directly causing acts of hate-crime. Nonetheless, the anti-migrant arguments and representations create a climate where discriminatory behaviour towards migrants becomes legitimate.

8.8 Contribution to Research

This study demonstrates how the media reproduces migration-related arguments as a political campaign strategy and that such arguments can be intensified at specific stages to contribute to altering the political outcome. Considering important political junctions, like the EU referendum, this study demonstrates how negative attitudes are circulated at the expense of minority groups to achieve a political goal. The rise in hate-crime after the EU referendum (Corbett, 2016: 21) demonstrates how the circulation of such attitudes can contribute to societal tensions when social groups are cast as the villains responsible for societal inequality. Considering the resurgence of right-wing populism across Western societies, political strategies that scapegoat minority groups warrant investigation, so we enhance our understanding of the political motivations fuelling these strategies and how these strategies are deployed.

Uniquely, this study considers how migration-related arguments develop over the duration of a political campaign, which demonstrates how arguments/representations shift at different stages and how contextual elements influence the discourse. In addition, this research demonstrates how combining the DHA (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009) with argumentation (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012) can be a useful methodological synergy in examining how discourse develops over time and how representational devices are initiated in describing the circumstances supporting an argument.

8.9 Future Research

Future research into the relationship between the media's contribution to political discourse and society should bridge the gap between the ideological message promoted by the media and how readers interpret such texts (besides how a researcher assumes they would). Previous research has already begun this endeavour (Browse, 2016; Fausey & Matlock, 2011; Hart, 2013). This would enhance our understanding of how alternative readerships interpret and create meaning and what readers from different political perspectives deem discursively salient; in addition to how discourses impact upon the debate around immigration. This would further develop our understanding of how the news media influences the perception of important political issues.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Time for an honest debate about the impact of migration on public services – Telegraph View

Although they are often reluctant to say so clearly, the argument that many in the Remain campaign make for continued British membership of the European Union is rooted in the claim that mass immigration is good for Britain. Pro-EU luminaries including Mark Carney of the Bank of England speak airily of the benefits of “flexible labour markets” and the effect on abstract concepts such as gross domestic product of the arrival of hundreds of thousands of people in this country every year.

They do not mention the other effects of mass migration, such as the impact on public services. As we reveal today, the free movement of people from elsewhere in the EU has contributed to significant growth in the number of children that our schools must accommodate and teach. Parents unable to send their children to their preferred schools or whose offspring are taught in overcrowded classrooms could be forgiven for wondering whether the alleged economic benefits of a liberal migration policy are being reflected in the resources available to the state education system.

This problem is particularly acute in areas where migrant workers have congregated in large numbers: local councils in such places are still not properly compensated by central government for the resultant effect on public services. Last year’s Conservative manifesto rightly promised a new “Controlling Migration Fund” to ease pressure on services. That promise should be implemented as quickly as possible.

One reason that Whitehall’s financial mechanisms have not adjusted to deal with the impact of immigration is that the politicians who oversee those mechanisms were wary of talking about those impacts. It remains true that those who ask questions about immigration and its effects run the risk of sneers or worse from the BBC and other “liberal” institutions. Public debate has been constrained, and public policy has been worse for it.

The EU referendum is therefore to be celebrated, because it offers an opportunity to have a sensible, open and fact-based national conversation about the immigration that comes with EU membership. Leave campaigners such as Priti Patel have joined that debate over school places. We hope that the Remain camp will show equal candour when discussing this vitally important issue.

Appendix B

Don't let David Cameron and George Osborne fool you: here's what my vision of Britain really looks like – Nigel Farage

Isn't it striking that even those who support EU membership rarely speak with any passion about why they believe that we should allow the majority of our laws to be made by the unelected European Commission? Rather than defending their support of the full EU army that is coming if we Remain, they seek to deny its very existence. The likes of David Cameron and Nick Clegg seem in complete denial about the reality of EU membership.

The Remainers' latest attempt to divert attention from their own lack of belief in the EU is their talk of "Farage's Britain". We've heard it from both Mr Cameron and George Osborne. Clearly, they are reluctant to talk about why they don't think Britain is good enough to thrive outside the EU and are instead seeking to define what my vision is for Britain.

I'm sorry, but I'm not going to allow that to happen. So here is my vision for the country that I love.

The principle of self-government is more important to me than anything else. So many fought and died to preserve our democracy. It is precious. Yet our birthright has been handed away by the political establishment. Central to my vision of Britain after June 23 is that our Parliament is sovereign, empowered and able to make all of the big decisions, rather than leaving it to those unelected old men in Brussels.

By leaving the EU, we would once again be a proper democracy. We would once again have the ability to govern our own country. For example, when it comes to migration policy, it would be up to our elected MPs to debate and decide just what level of migration our country needs.

My vision for our post-Brexit migration system is really quite simple: an Australian-style system that allows those we need to come with work permits, but which brings down numbers significantly to sensible levels. The post-war average rate of net migration was between 30,000 to 50,000 per year. That to me seems a sensible level, rather than the hundreds of thousands every year that we've seen under Mr Cameron's premiership.

By taking back control of our borders, our country can gain all the benefits of migration while ensuring that never again do our own people have their living standards pushed down. The suffering for millions of ordinary, decent British folk caused by EU open-door immigration may be a price worth paying for Mr Cameron and his friends so that they can attend fancy summits with the

overpaid EU elite, but the social and financial cost of uncontrolled migration to British workers will never be acceptable to me.

So it is part of my vision that after a Leave vote, by controlling our borders and stopping a flood of unskilled migrant labour into the country, wages would rise for British workers. The minimum wage would no longer be the maximum wage for so many of our citizens. Our younger generation would have a proper chance of getting their foot in the door, with employers encouraged to train them, rather than simply relying on cheap migrant workers.

Post-Brexit Britain would also mean our infrastructure was no longer bursting at the seams. By controlling numbers, we could plan ahead. Families could get their kids into the local school, ensure that they could see a GP far quicker and look realistically at getting on the housing ladder. The fact that we now, as a country, have to build a new house every four minutes – just to cope with demand caused by current levels of migration – is a scandal.

The vision for Brexit Britain is a global one. The way that we have treated many of our traditional allies in the world by locking ourselves into the inwards-looking EU is a disgrace. After leaving the EU we would be able to treat all who wanted to come here on an equal basis, strengthening our proud ties to our kith and kin in the Commonwealth. It is shameful that we have discriminated against those countries in favour of the EU. That would end. We would no longer be acting as Little Europeans, but a Global Britain.

Being represented on the world stage by EU bureaucrats who think that they know what's best for us – that would end too. My vision is a Britain engaging in global trade, forging ahead with new relationships and deals that would make Britain an engine room for job creation, rather than being constrained by the EU's outdated customs union.

So there you go: that's my vision. A strong Britain, controlling our borders, looking after the well-being of our own citizens first and leading on the world stage, rather than being dragged along and told what to do by Angela Merkel and Jean-Claude Juncker. We are a great country and amazing possibilities await us outside of the EU.

The hopelessly pessimistic Remain side say we can't do any better than we are at the moment. I am far, far more optimistic about this country and its future outside of the EU. Let's make June 23 our Independence Day.

Appendix C

Open borders bring terror to our doorstep – Con Coughlin

The only concern for the majority of people fleeing war-ravaged countries such as Syria and Iraq is to find sanctuary from violence. But for those few of more malign intent, Europe's biggest refugee crisis since the end of the Second World War has provided a unique opportunity – to infiltrate Europe's heartland with terror cells.

Thanks to the EU's hapless response to the migration crisis which erupted last summer, it is estimated that thousands of jihadists trained in the latest terrorist techniques have been able to make their way undetected through Europe after obtaining new identities and passports.

The result, so far as Britain is concerned, is that the leaders of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (Isil) have succeeded in setting up a network of sleeper cells throughout the UK which can be activated to conduct terrorist attacks on a similar scale to those recently experienced in Paris and Brussels.

In short, to use the terminology familiar to MI5 and MI6 officers, Isil leaders have succeeded in "weaponising" the refugee crisis for their own nefarious purposes.

James Clapper, the US Director of National Intelligence, earlier this week revealed the existence of sleeper cells in the UK, as well as other European states such as Germany and Italy. He believes Isil has been able to infiltrate the country by taking advantage of Europe's porous borders.

If that is indeed the case, then many people will be sympathetic to questions raised by Iain Duncan Smith, the former work and pensions secretary, about the wisdom of the Government spending nearly £2 billion to help countries such as Turkey and Serbia join the EU.

It was the failure of these, as well as other Balkan states, to monitor properly the flood of refugees fleeing across the Syrian border that enabled Isil to penetrate the migrant routes in the first place. Therefore, the Government's policy of encouraging them to join the EU, whereby they can benefit from its open-borders policy, is likely to make it even more difficult for intelligence agencies to track terrorists criss-crossing the continent.

Planting terror cells throughout Europe certainly makes perfectly good sense for Isil's leadership at a time when they find their self-styled caliphate in northern Iraq and Syria increasingly under pressure from the West and its allies.

In the past year, it is estimated that Isil has lost between 30-40 per cent of the territory it captured during the summer of 2014, and now governs a population of around six million, instead of the nine million it previously controlled.

Air strikes carried out by the US-led coalition have forced the terrorists to abandon key positions in both Iraq and Syria, and the constant war of attrition against Isil's infrastructure has undermined its financial wellbeing.

Until recently Isil generated an estimated \$80 million in revenues from its lucrative oil-smuggling operations. But this has now fallen to around \$56 million as a result of the coordinated assault on the group's oil smuggling routes, particularly along the Turkish border. As a result, the terrorists have been forced to introduce new revenue-raising wheezes, such as charging exit taxes for anyone desiring to leave caliphate-controlled territory. On-the-spot fines have also been introduced for anyone unable to recite verses of the Koran.

This escalation of the campaign against Isil's heartland in Syria and Iraq – and its success – has led to its leadership seeking to extend its campaign of terror across Europe. Intelligence officials believe the bombings in Paris, Brussels and Istanbul are part of a deliberate attempt to intimidate the civilian populations and encourage them to put pressure on their respective governments to change tack.

The best way to prevent Isil and other terror groups from activating their terror cells is to stop them from arriving in the first place.

But to do that the EU must undertake a radical overhaul of its open-borders policy, rather than extending it and allowing yet more terrorists to travel freely across the European continent.

Appendix D

DAILY MAIL COMMENT: The Mail's always been robust on migration. But we MUST give these lost children sanctuary

Tonight, as for many months past, thousands of unaccompanied child refugees from war zones, some just six years old or even younger, will be sleeping in appalling squalor on the streets or in the makeshift camps of supposedly prosperous and civilised Europe.

Many will be cold, hungry and frightened. As the victims of people traffickers who have them at their mercy, all will be hugely vulnerable to sexual abuse and other forms of vile exploitation.

Indeed, the conditions in which they subsist are a stain on our European partner nations, which have shirked their treaty obligations to process asylum claimants at their point of entry into the EU, accept responsibility for those who qualify and deport those who do not.

It cannot be stressed too strongly that, under international law, the UK has no duty to these children, however wretched or desperate they may be. For this reason, and for others besides, this paper fully understands ministers' reluctance to open the doors of these overcrowded islands to those who have no legal right to our hospitality.

Equally, we recognise why on Monday night, the Commons voted by a majority of 18 to reject a Labour proposal that Britain should offer a welcome to 3,000 of these children travelling alone.

But while we understand the arguments for hardening our hearts, we believe that in the exceptional circumstances of this crisis, it would be wrong to do so. True, we have no legal or treaty obligation to lift a finger to help. But our moral and humanitarian duty cannot so easily be shrugged off.

Let the Mail be absolutely clear. Nobody has been more robust than this paper in giving voice to public concerns over the impact of mass, unrestricted immigration on the social fabric of this country.

For our pains, we have been viciously attacked as 'racist' by a bien pensant liberal elite, cocooned in their prosperous postal districts, who have never had to compete for low-paid jobs, affordable housing, school places or hospital beds with migrants who have arrived in unprecedented numbers since Tony Blair threw open our borders.

Indeed, mass migration has been nothing but a bonus for our sneering critics, parading their right-on consciences while they enjoy all the benefits of cheap nannies, plumbers and office cleaners.

So, no, nobody appreciates better than the Mail why so many decent people in this country believe we simply cannot take more immigrants, no matter how young or vulnerable.

Nor for one moment do we question the motives of David Cameron and those MPs who joined him in rejecting the Opposition's plan. Still less do we endorse yesterday's intemperate attack on the Prime Minister by Labour's Yvette Cooper, who accused him of 'putting this House and this country to shame'.

On the contrary, Mr Cameron has nothing whatever to be ashamed of. In his approach to this crisis, he has repeatedly shown himself anxious to offer the most practical help possible, while he and British taxpayers have devoted more resources to saving and improving war refugees' lives than almost all our partners put together.

In particular, the Prime Minister has been careful to avoid the catastrophic mistake made by Angela Merkel, when she recklessly promised homes in Germany to 800,000 migrants.

Her motives may have been at least partially selfless (though Germany, unlike Britain, suffers an acute labour shortage). But the effects of her open invitation were as tragic as they were predictable.

In the inevitable stampede to enter Europe from Africa and the Middle East, countless men, women and children drowned in people traffickers' unseaworthy boats.

It is a harsh judgment, but nonetheless true, that Mrs Merkel's misguided benevolence has left her with blood on her hands.

Clearly, Mr Cameron fears that if Britain were to promise a welcome to thousands of unaccompanied children, this would have similar unintended consequences.

The risk is that many more desperate parents would send their young to make the dangerous journey alone, in the hope of claiming their human right to join them later. Hence, the Prime Minister's insistence that we should limit our offer of asylum to refugees in camps adjoining war zones (indeed, it is much to his credit that he is investing so much in improving conditions in those camps — at last, a respectable use for Britain's bloated overseas aid budget).

But while the Mail respects his argument, we believe that the plight of these unaccompanied children now in Europe — hundreds of them on our very doorstep in the Channel ports of France — has become so harrowing that we simply cannot turn our backs.

It is not their fault, after all, that they've been sent halfway round the world alone to search for a better life, often after seeing family members slaughtered.

As Tory MP Stephen Phillips put it so movingly in the Commons, before joining four of his party colleagues in voting for Labour's motion: 'These children are already in Europe, and they are at risk as I stand here and speak to the House.

'They are alone and far from their families. They are frequently without help or access to those who might help or protect them. Their lives are miserable and brutish, and at least half of them have experienced or seen violence that we can only dream of in our nightmares — or rather, hope that we do not.'

Every instinct of our hearts must surely be to play our part, looking after at least some of these neglected children until, God willing, conditions become safe enough to return them to their families in their homelands.

As for the danger of encouraging more refugees to send their children on the perilous journey alone, the Mail sees why Mr Cameron is worried. But with the right safeguards in place, and rigorously adhered to, it's a danger that can and must be surmounted.

First, it is essential that any offer of asylum to unaccompanied children in the Channel coast camps, many of whom have relatives in Britain, must be a one-off amnesty. A limit must be set on numbers, and stuck to.

To avoid cruelly raising false hopes, it must also be spelt out with absolute clarity that the offer is restricted to children who have already journeyed across Europe, and it will not be repeated or kept open.

Clearly, strict checks must also be made to establish that those granted asylum are genuine refugees from war zones, and really the age they claim to be. Meanwhile, the ultimate aim — again, to be spelt out clearly — must be to return the great majority to their home countries.

This is why the priority must remain for the EU to follow Britain's example and redouble its efforts to build civilised refugee camps in the Middle East, as close to displaced families' homes as safety allows.

This paper knows that Mr Cameron is a proud and often stubborn politician, who doesn't like to be seen to change his mind.

But on Tuesday night, the House of Lords offered him a painless opportunity to have second thoughts, when it voted by a majority of 107 to amend the Government's proposals.

Under the Lords' admirable and moral compromise, the UK would agree to accept unaccompanied child refugees already in Europe, with the numbers and other details of the scheme to be fixed by the Home Secretary. This paper hopes the Prime Minister will accept the amendment without further argument.

True, the pressures of our relentless population growth mean he cannot afford to make more than a gesture — accepting perhaps a few hundred of the most vulnerable lone children from the camps of Calais and Dunkirk. But every sinew of our hearts tells us it's a gesture that must be made — while every child we take will mean a life of hope in place of despair.

Mr Cameron should consider that of all the countries in the Europe, Britain has the longest established tradition of offering sanctuary to refugees from war and oppression.

He may also care to reflect on the deep irony that nothing makes it harder for us to honour that noble tradition than our membership of the EU. For the rules of free movement have obliged us to give homes to millions of settlers from the safe countries of Europe, leaving precious little room for those in real need of our compassion.

But that is an argument for another day. For the moment, frightened children are suffering in the squalid camps of France. And they need what help we can give.

Appendix E

DAILY MAIL COMMENT: National identity is central to the EU vote

As yet another cargo of suspected illegal migrants is stopped in the south east, the Mail has a question: for every boat and lorryload intercepted, how many more slip through undetected?

Heaven knows, net legal migration is high enough, with the Office for National Statistics putting it at 333,000 in 2015.

Of these, 184,000 came from the EU alone, adding a population the equivalent of Colchester's in a single year.

Indeed, as a former Oxford professor of demography spelled out in Saturday's Mail, even if these figures told the whole story, white English-speakers will become a minority in Britain by the 2060s.

Yet with dozens of Albanians and Africans caught in West Sussex and Kent over the past ten days alone – and many more waiting in France to try to cross – we can only guess how illegal migration is accelerating the demographic upheaval.

What is certain is that if nothing is done to curb the numbers, Britain will cease to be recognisably British even sooner than officially recorded trends suggest.

Yet to Remain campaigners and the multinational bodies that support them, migration and national identity are mere side-issues in the referendum, paling to insignificance beside the great god of Gross Domestic Product (which tells us almost nothing about living standards).

As Remain's strategist Ryan Coetzee tweeted: 'No policy on immigration is the right policy if it crashes the economy.'

Meanwhile, the OECD stoked up the scaremongering, warning that by 2020 Brexit could cut the UK's GDP growth by 3 per cent and the EU's by 1 per cent.

Leave aside that the think-tank's record of crystal ball-gazing is eccentric to say the least, (remember how it said Britain would suffer outside the catastrophic euro?). Forget, too, that the OECD gets hefty financial backing from Brussels.

The truth is that nobody can foretell the economic consequences of Brexit with certainty – though this paper believes the gains could be considerable.

What we can surely predict is that mass migration will put increasingly intolerable pressure on jobs, housing, schools, healthcare and other public services.

We also know the only way to begin controlling it, and so keep Britain British, is to regain control of our borders.

This cannot be brushed off as a side-issue. It is absolutely central to the question voters will answer on June 23.

Appendix F

Our last chance to escape from the disaster movie unfolding across Europe: RICHARD LITTLEJOHN on the stark choice facing Britain in Thursday's referendum

The sun will come up on Friday morning whatever the result of the referendum. But Leave or Remain, Britain will never be the same country again.

We face a stark choice. Do we vote to become once more the ultimate masters of our own destiny, with the power to make our laws and control our own borders?

Or do we conclude that we are incapable of running our own affairs and are better off as a meek dependency of an ever-expanding European superstate?

That's the nub of the argument, not the wildly alarmist horror stories which have characterised the risible propaganda pumped out by Remain. This has always been about democracy and self-determination, not money. You can't put a price on independence and national sovereignty.

Only a fool would predict the result with any certainty, even at this late stage. But if Remain prevails, we will have missed an historic opportunity to escape from the disaster movie unfolding across Europe. The EU has brought economic ruin to some member states and condemned a generation of young people to a lifetime of unemployment.

Angela Merkel's suicidal, unilateral decision to invite millions of Middle Eastern and North African migrants to take advantage of Europe's open borders and advanced welfare systems will have cultural and demographic repercussions for decades to come.

It's no good arguing that because Britain is not part of the Schengen free-movement treaty, we will be unaffected by this huge population upheaval. Once the newcomers have been granted EU citizenship we shall be powerless to prevent them moving here if we decide to stay.

Already our so-called 'partners' are giving migrants assisted passage to Northern France, from where they try daily to enter Britain illegally. A vote to remain will also shackle us to the pernicious Human Rights Act, which prevents us deporting foreign rapists, murderers and terrorists.

But rather than address these serious matters, the pro-EU brigade have decided simply to scream 'racist' at those worried about the scale of immigration. They have no convincing arguments or solutions so they resort to knee-jerk smears instead.

Remainers always seek to seize the moral high-ground and portray their opponents as xenophobic extremists. Just look at the reprehensible manner in which some of them have tried to blame the Brexit campaign for the ghastly murder of the young Labour MP Jo Cox and have exploited her death for their own political ends.

There is an intellectual snobbery about Remain, which was on graphic display last week when Bob Geldof and a boatload of sneering sycophants tried to disrupt a protest by fishermen complaining about the destruction of their industry by the EU bureaucracy.

This ship of fools — endorsed by Call Me Dave and financed by PR mogul Matthew Freud — summed up the disdainful attitude of the Europhiles towards those who want to Leave.

On one side, the vested interests of Luvvie Land, big business, merchant banks and almost the entire political class. On the other, ordinary working people excluded from the system and the corridors of power and condemned to suffer from the worst excesses of the EU juggernaut.

A woman in a leopard-print outfit waved her matching stiletto-heeled shoe in the direction of the Brexiteers, tongue poking out for good effect like a precocious four-year-old brandishing her new dolly in the face of a less-fortunate classmate.

Her fancy footwear probably cost more than most of these fishermen bring home in a month, hampered as they are by strict quotas and outright bans imposed by unelected bureaucrats in Brussels.

At the centre of it all, multi-millionaire Geldof himself, an ocean-going hypocrite in a Sybil Fawcett hat and an expensive designer shirt, flicking V-signs at the proles. Geldof, of course, came to prominence as a global charity campaigner through Live Aid, a worthy attempt to alleviate poverty in Africa.

Surely if he really was on the side of the underdog and the dispossessed, Geldof would be lining up alongside Britain's hard-hit fishermen — not traducing them from the deck of a luxury cruiser in the company of a motley crew of metropolitan muppets.

But this wasn't about fishing rights, it was about Geldof and the Remain campaign flaunting their imagined intellectual superiority in the face of the peasants who want to leave the EU.

Put aside the fact that Geldof, as an Irish citizen, shouldn't even be allowed to vote in this referendum. Why should he give a monkey's about 1,000 years of British history and liberty? He's also a non-dom, which means that, unlike the rest of us, he can avoid paying UK tax on his international earnings.

If he wants a say in Britain's future, surely the least he can do is pay all his taxes here.

The same goes for Richard Branson, currently residing in the Virgin Islands. So many of those instructing us to vote Remain represent their own selfish interests — whether parasitic merchant banks such as Goldman Sachs or Christine Lagarde, the former French finance minister who now heads the International Monetary Fund.

They all claim to be able to see the future, but none of them foresaw the global financial crash in 2008 and most warned of the dire consequences for Britain if we didn't join the euro. They were wrong then and they're wrong now.

As I have conceded previously, there was an honourable case to be made for remaining in a reformed EU. But there is no reform on offer. David Cameron was humiliated when he tried to squeeze a few modest concessions from our 'partners'.

He returned with the worst deal since the Red Indians sold Manhattan for a string of beads — giving the lie once and for all to the claims about Britain's 'influence' in Europe.

Shortly before those negotiations he said he was prepared to lead the Leave campaign if he didn't get what he wanted.

So why the change of heart? My guess is that he's already looking to his post-No 10 future, which is likely to revolve around a few well-remunerated consultancies from global companies such as, er, Goldman Sachs.

As for Boy George, author of the most ridiculous, blood-curdling warnings, maybe he fancies a lucrative sinecure at the IMF or the World Bank. Whatever the result of the referendum, he can forget about succeeding Cameron as Prime Minister after his disgraceful conduct during this referendum campaign.

But what's in it for William Hague, the worst of the EU turncoats, who built a career on his hostility to the entire European project but now urges us to Remain? Nato secretary-general, perhaps? Something at the UN, so he can carry on hobnobbing with Angelina Jolie?

Note also the stark contrast between vast, multi-national corporations lobbying for Remain — so they can use their heft in Brussels to stifle competition — and those home-grown entrepreneurs who have risked their own money and built their own businesses from the ground up, most of whom now favour leaving the EU.

Then there are those other self-regarding Establishment grandees siding with Remain simply because they can't stand the prospect of Boris Johnson becoming Prime Minister. They're pathetic.

Actually, while some sections of the Leave campaign have also been guilty of strident scaremongering, Boris, along with Michael Gove, has conducted an uplifting, optimistic campaign — unlike the hysterical prophets of doom on the Remain side, who think we are all too stupid to be trusted to make the right decision.

Trying to frighten the elderly into thinking they were going to lose their pensions if they dared to vote Leave was especially despicable.

Of course, getting out of the EU contains an element of risk. But no more so than voting to stay In.

One thing which is certain is that if we vote Remain, Brussels will take it as a signal to power ahead with ever closer union, locking us tighter still into an anti-democratic, corrupt federal straitjacket from which there is no escape.

How you vote on Thursday depends on whether you have confidence that Britain — one of the most successful trading nations the world has ever seen — can be trusted to run her own economy, cut her own deals, pass her own laws and control her own borders, free from foreign interference.

I think we can, indeed must, even if those currently in power don't.

Watching those hardy fishermen on the Thames last week, I was reminded of Churchill's statement: 'If Britain must choose between Europe and the open sea, she must always choose the open sea.'

Vote Leave!

Appendix G

Why is the Brexit camp so obsessed with immigration? Because that's all they have - Peter Mandelson

Since having its economic arguments blown apart, Vote Leave has had no other option but to rely on xenophobia

Though the early skirmishes of a campaign will not determine the result, the battle lines of the EU referendum contest are being firmly established. Those campaigning to get Britain out of the EU are gradually being forced to abandon a strategy based on economic argument in favour of Nigel Farage's long preferred dog-whistle tactics. This is now developing into a contest between the economy and immigration. But for a while, it did not look like the campaign would be fought along such predictable lines.

Unlike Farage's provisional wing, the official wing of the leave campaign initially shied away from pandering to xenophobia and using anti-immigration rhetoric to galvanise support. After all, Boris Johnson used to talk of the "massive" benefits of immigration and once backed an amnesty for illegal immigrants, and has repeatedly called for Turkey to join the EU, something that is not going to happen any time soon.

Johnson is not alone. According to colleagues, Michael Gove used to take a decidedly emollient position on immigration in cabinet discussions against Theresa May's harder line. Dominic Cummings, the campaign director, used to say that their side "does not need to focus on immigration". Gisela Stuart, Labour's lonely Vote Leave chair, has previously described migration as a "force for good" and believes Ukip feeds "discontent, despair and division" in its attitudes towards foreigners.

Stuart must have winced then, when she opened Saturday's Daily Mail to see Gove's sinister piece on EU expansion that had the justice secretary's name on it but could have been penned by Farage himself. In a disturbing echo of Ukip's last party political broadcast, which told numerous untruths about Turkey, Gove asserted that 77 million Turkish Muslim citizens would soon be using the NHS, and Albanian criminals were about to flood Britain.

From Johnson questioning President Obama's "part-Kenyan ancestry" to EU migrants being blamed for the problems in everything from British schools to our health service to our prisons, every recent Vote Leave intervention has had immigration at its heart.

Should we be disappointed by this change in tone? Yes. Should we be worried? No. As Vote Leave spokesman Robert Oxley once perceptively said: “The one thing you know is that people care more about their jobs than they do about migration.” Swallowing the nasty Ukip strategy wholesale may energise the rightwing base of the leave campaign but I cannot see it being enough to persuade more than half of the voting public to take a leap in the dark in quitting the EU. People want to know what will happen to their jobs, their pay packets and their weekly shopping bill more than they want to hear abusive rhetoric and nationalistic myths.

Why the change in strategy then? Because what little economic credibility leave campaigners had was shredded by George Osborne and Obama in the space of a week. First the Treasury showed that quitting the EU’s single market would take 6% out of our GDP and leave a £36bn black hole in our public finances. Leave campaigners had no answer to the Treasury’s finding that Brexit would cost every household an average of £4,300 a year. Obama then stepped in to make it clear that, once out of the EU, the rest of the world did not offer salvation. Even America, he said, Britain’s special friend, would put us at the back of the queue in future trade priorities.

The leave campaigners knew they could not afford to cede the economy entirely and so rustled up a motley crew of economists to fly in the face of all credible international and domestic economic analysis and suggest we would actually be better off outside the EU. In doing so, they embraced the Treasury’s worst-case scenario of moving to trade based on simple World Trade Organisation rules, which would increase the per-household loss from Brexit to an eye-watering £5,200 a year.

Leave’s economic case is dissolving. It has forced Johnson, Stuart and Gove to pretend they were secret Kippers all along. By throwing in the towel on economics and putting the end of free movement before Britain’s future prosperity, they are endorsing Ukip’s sugar-daddy, Arron Banks, in accepting that the huge economic cost of doing so is “a price worth paying”. When tested with the public, almost no undecided or wavering voters agree.

Does this mean the remain campaign is home and dry? Absolutely not. It must not tire in spelling out Britain’s trade gains and job benefits from being in Europe’s single market. People in Britain – and elsewhere in Europe, for that matter – are rightly concerned about current levels of migration and the impact these have on our way of life and on public services. That’s why the arrangements negotiated by David Cameron to make welfare entitlements for EU nationals more conditional in Britain are being viewed enviously by other member state governments. But it is not the only thing the public worry about.

I believe that British people want an immigration system that is fair and managed. They don't want anyone taking us for a ride, but people who come here to work hard, pay their taxes and support our public services (like the 120,000 EU nationals working in our health and social care system) should be welcomed. I also believe the public value even more highly an economy that is growing, creating jobs and keeping prices low.

On the remain side, we must strain every sinew to persuade people that inside the EU they can have both economic prosperity and managed migration. Whereas, outside, we would be swapping economic security for Farage and Vote Leave's vision of Britain: closed, inward-looking, intolerant and anti-foreigner. That's the difference between patriotism – love of your own country – and nationalism: hatred of other people's countries.

Over the course of the campaign, I hope that the British public will see through the narrow, divisive arguments peddled by the leave campaign. Polling evidence suggests that, if we get our arguments across effectively, economics will trump immigration as the deciding consideration for most voters. That's why the remain campaign, at this stage in the race, is in a better place than those who would have us leave.

Appendix H

The Guardian view on the EU debate: it's about much more than migration

The leave campaign is increasingly focused on immigration alone. Labour has a vital role in ensuring that remain's alternative focuses on wider issues

In the light of this country's recent history, few readers will rely over much on the political opinion polls. Nevertheless, those polls can be right as well as wrong. The message of this week's Guardian-ICM poll is that opinion in the EU referendum contest has swung towards the leave option. An average of the most recent opinion surveys by all the polling companies also suggests the gap between the two sides has narrowed, with remain still in a narrow lead. Both sides suspect they know why this has happened, assuming it has. Leave has managed to keep immigration at the top of the news agenda for most recent days, and may now have both the poll ratings and a higher proportion of supporters firmly intending to vote, to vindicate that choice. On Wednesday, with Michael Gove and Boris Johnson committing to the points-based immigration system favoured by Ukip, they tried to do it again.

It is not in dispute that the leave campaign wants to curb immigration. Their entire campaign is based on promoting public anxiety about unrestricted EU migration, which they now promise to end. So it is important to challenge their preference, even in their own terms, for a so-called Australian-style points system to shut the gates. The campaigning value of the Australian reference is obvious enough, though the campaign will deny it. It is a code for friendly white Anglo-Saxon people who speak English. There's a similar reflex at work in the attention devoted by Wednesday's document to maintaining the travel rights of the Irish. But the points system, as practised in Australia, is open-ended, operates of necessity alongside a temporary visa system, and does not cap the overall numbers. If Britain operated the system in the way used by Australia, which is trying to boost its population, annual immigration to the UK would rise, not fall. Even Migration Watch UK, normally a faithful ally of any move to restrict the numbers coming into Britain, says the system would trigger a "disaster" here.

It beggars belief that the leave campaign seriously embraces such an approach. If a post-Brexit Britain imposed a work permit requirement on EU nationals coming to Britain, it is hard not to assume that a post-Brexit-EU would impose equivalent restrictions on British nationals seeking to work in the EU. A point-based system would, in addition, make it almost inconceivable that the EU would – or could – consent to an open-borders trade deal with Britain. It has not made such a pact

with any other state in the European free-trade area. The EU would be far more likely to start placing restrictions on UK access to EU markets.

If the system promoted on Wednesday by the leave campaign was in fact adopted, the risk of dire economic consequences would therefore be high. No government other than a Ukip government would take such a risk with the fortunes of the British economy or the workforce. It is a mark of the increasing recklessness of the Conservative Brexiters that they should even contemplate such an approach. David Cameron and George Osborne were right to point all these things out on Wednesday. Nevertheless, Mr Gove's and Mr Johnson's decision to adopt a very different immigration policy to go with their already very different EU stance is a choice with big implications for the Tory party after 23 June. It signals that Mr Cameron will have even more difficulties bringing his party back under one umbrella than he would have had in the first place.

But why was the Labour party not at the forefront of the remain counterattack too? The job of making the case against the leave campaign cannot just be left to Mr Cameron and Mr Osborne, who are not only unpopular with a lot of their own Tory voters and activists but unpopular with those of other parties too. This demands a distinctively Labour input, aimed at ensuring that Labour voters turn out to vote, of the sort that the TUC made on Wednesday.

One reason why leave may be making headway with voters is that Labour is not pulling its weight in the remain campaign. The consequence of that is that the remain campaign takes on a largely Conservative tone rather than reflecting the interests of other classes, viewpoints and groups. Too many Labour politicians, from Jeremy Corbyn down, seem too ready to sit on their hands so far. Mr Corbyn is due to speak on Europe again on Thursday, but many others on the Labour side seem to be going through the motions, speaking only to those who agree with them already. This is a dangerous game when so much is at stake for the British people.

Appendix I

If you think the UK will be in control after Brexit, dream on - Andrew Graham

It's a fantasy that the EU will trade with us on our terms. Only by remaining will we have any clout

Almost everyone agrees that the EU is not working well. It is also true that on almost any scenario, whether we are in or out, this region will remain our biggest and closest market. Whether it thrives or not is, or should be, of fundamental interest to us. All that matters is whether it thrives more or less by the UK being out or in.

For some, the only way to reform the EU is to break it up by our exit. The optimism of such a view is impressive. History is hardly littered with good examples of destruction leading smoothly to regeneration. Fine, perhaps, for the rich and powerful, who can, and will, ride out the many bumps along the way. But if you have few resources to fall back on and/or need to work, it is a risk you might prefer to avoid.

The alternative view is that the UK could, and should, play its full role as a key leader in reforming the EU. Those who favour exit argue that EU reform is near impossible, but they ignore the following: the UK has achieved change (eg Thatcher's rebate on the budget, Major's opt-out from the euro, Blair keeping us out of Schengen, and Cameron's agreement to no more political integration); if the vote is to remain, the UK has a wholly new platform from which to lead the debate for reform; and recent polls show that citizens in every EU country are significantly disenchanted. Whether politicians like it or not, they will have to adjust.

Don't let's sell ourselves short. We should not underestimate how much our leadership, inside the EU, can make this massive region, right next door to us, work better, for us all.

I totally understand the general cynicism about economists' predictions. I am on the side of those who argue that we have massively overclaimed what we know and have also pretended that economics is an objective science when actually it is shot through with value-laden assumptions. However, though we may not know much, we do know that any increase in uncertainty hits investment.

Following Brexit, there would be a minimum two years (the period laid down in the Lisbon treaty) of uncertainty while we negotiate the terms. Only after this process has ended can the promised trade negotiations begin in full. The Brexiters assert such deals will be quick and easy – but with zero supporting evidence. Meanwhile, just about everyone who might actually know warns that the deals will take years. Pointing this out is not “project fear”, it is just reality.

Michael Gove and Boris Johnson campaigning for Vote Leave – ‘both members of a government that has been imposing cuts in public services, and having the gall to blame this on immigration’.

Photograph: Getty Images

Following Brexit, the likes of Tata, Nissan, Honda and Unilever will face a relatively greater incentive to make their new investments not in the UK but in mainland Europe. They are in the UK now because as an EU member we are a gateway to the 500-million-people EU market. Outside, for firms from abroad, we become a cul-de-sac. This is not just a guess. The chief executives of several major businesses are saying so. And, as less capital investment comes in, so the pound will fall, import prices will rise, and everyone on a wage or pension will be worse off.

What happens because of, and beyond, this short-term economic hit, is a matter of professional judgment. Mine is that the “mess” is likely to run far wider than economics.

Perhaps the sunny uplands will arrive quickly and peacefully. Personally, I doubt even the existence of the uplands. But, uplands or not, there is a big economic ditch in the way.

I recognise the anger that is venting itself on immigration. However, the loss of jobs and the downward pressure on the wages of the low skilled is more the result of international trade than it is of immigration (eg cheap coal in China is a main cause of the demise of the steelworks in Port Talbot).

Yes, there are indeed communities where job prospects are poor, where getting a GP appointment feels impossible, where schools are overcrowded and cheap housing non-existent. These communities need help with planning and resources. But, on average, migrants pay more in taxes than they take in housing, social services, education or health.

With the imposition of austerity since 2010, public services are under pressure, entirely separately from the demands of migrants. One of the more unedifying aspects of this campaign is observing Michael Gove and Boris Johnson, both members of a government that has been imposing cuts in public services, having the gall to blame this on immigration.

At the start of the campaign, the issue that worried me most was the increasing loss of control to Brussels and the European court of justice. Pooled sovereignty sounds fine, but where does the real power lie and what would happen post-Brexit? But consider the current arrangements. All decisions by the Council of Ministers – the supreme executive body in the EU – on matters concerning the treaties of the EU require unanimity. Thus, on many of the really big issues, such as the admission of Turkey, Britain can exercise a veto. This is a massive protection. And even where there is qualified

majority voting, EU records show that Britain has been outvoted in only 2% of cases since 1999. No situation except complete autarchy would give you more control than this.

What about the claim that 60% of UK law comes from Europe? Research by the House of Commons library concluded that the figure lies anywhere between 15% and 53%. But as already indicated, even where the law is initiated within the EU, the vast majority is with our prior agreement.

In 2014 the supreme court judge Lord Reed addressed the question of the European court of justice. The court he describes is a far cry from the all-powerful supremo that is frequently claimed. It has “to rely on national courts to secure the effective implementation of EU law”, and there is a “collaborative rather than a hierarchical or competitive relationship between national apex courts and the court of justice”. There is no sense of the UK supreme court being pushed around or of great conflicts.

There could be a deep disagreement between parliament and an EU court. But it was parliament that passed the 1972 European Communities Act. What parliament has passed, parliament can repeal. This is our ultimate backstop.

But the purpose of a backstop is precisely that – only to be used as a last resort. To argue that because a deep conflict might arise in the future we should exit the EU now, is akin to a married person choosing to be divorced today purely because the need for a divorce might arise in 10 years’ time. Few marriages would survive such logic!

Now consider a post-Brexit world, in which we are supposedly “in control”. But this assumes everyone wants to trade and make political arrangements with us entirely on our terms. It’s a fantasy.

There is the real possibility of Scotland demanding another vote to leave the UK. John Major and Tony Blair, appearing together, warned that a vote to leave the EU would “jeopardise the unity” of the UK. So the “we” might become merely England and Wales.

At this point we enter the territory of who do we think we are and who do we want to be. The part of this debate that most puzzles me is the number of those favouring Brexit who claim their heart dominates their head. If your heart is about a deep sense of loyalty and commitment to the values and ideas the UK has stood for over centuries, I am entirely with you. But if your heart is telling you to risk the breakup of the kingdom, think what your Queen might tell you about where your true loyalties and commitments should lie.

Appendix J

Why the Mirror is backing Remain for the sake of our great nations

The Mirror certainly has its issues with the EU but after the most divisive, vile and unpleasant political campaign in living memory we say vote Remain for your jobs, your NHS, your pensions and your children

On Thursday we have the chance to change the course of Great Britain. How we vote will decide not just our future but that of our children, our grandchildren and all those who follow.

We know that no Mirror reader takes this responsibility lightly. And that hour upon hour of debate has gone into it in homes, workplaces, pubs and cafes across Britain in recent weeks.

Because not only is this the most important decision for decades. It is also the most difficult.

This newspaper has a long and proud history in fighting for what is right and fair for our readers. But no editorial judgment could have been harder for us than this.

For, in truth, the European Union is a difficult organisation to support with great enthusiasm. It is far from perfect. We understand concerns over uncontrolled immigration – and we will push for change if we remain in.

We feel our readers' sense of insecurity over pressure on our public services.

But although the EU is flawed, it cannot carry the can for many of frustrations felt by many people up and down the country.

It is our own Tory government, not Brussels, which has starved our schools and hospitals of funds, failed to act on zero hours contracts, failed to build enough houses and allowed the gap between rich and poor to grow to unseen levels.

It is the hard working people of this country who have had to battle to survive the recent recession caused by reckless bankers whose wrongdoing went largely ignored by the establishment.

And perhaps it's not surprising that, after years of the rich getting richer at the expense of others, some voters may wish to vent their fury by ticking the Leave box. But today we reason with those people to think again.

Because this newspaper's true aim is the same as it has always been. We want only what is best for our readers. After much consideration, our view is that it is better for the people of this country if we stay in the EU.

Do not be fooled.

Leaders of the Leave campaign, Boris Johnson and Michael Gove might try to pass themselves off as regular guys who care for ordinary people – but that is an illusion.

And with the likelihood one of them could soon be Prime Minister in the event of a Leave vote, the situation is perilous.

The NHS will never be safer in the hands of these free-marketeers who have already inflicted so much damage on our children's education and care for the disadvantaged, disabled and the jobless. Nor should we believe hard won workers' rights, guaranteed by our membership of the EU, would be protected if we were to leave.

Your right to maternity leave, paid-holidays, pensions for part-time workers and a 48-hour week are all at risk. We sincerely fear a Leave vote will only heap more hardship on our readers' lives.

Almost every economic expert agrees leaving Europe will most likely spark a recession more savage than the last one, putting a million jobs at risk, leaving yet more young people out of work.

Rising interest rates would make it even harder for them to find a home. Experts also forecast pension pots will be hit hard and public services, already stretched to breaking point, will be slashed further.

There will be even fewer shops, pubs and libraries on our high streets. The losses to the public purse will dwarf the sums we currently pay in EU subs within weeks.

There will be less money than ever before to sustain our cherished NHS. And the price of food, drink, petrol and clothing could rise by as much as £580 a year as the value of the pound collapses.

To those who cry "Project Fear" we say that no-one can truly predict the outcome of leaving. We simply cannot ignore the combined weight of every living Labour leader, every living Prime Minister, the TUC, the country's biggest unions, most major employers and nine out of 10 economic experts telling us that our economy will suffer.

Leave campaign leaders might be financially secure enough to cope with any "blip" in the economy – a "blip" even they admit will happen.

But they cannot tell us how big the “blip” will be or how long it will last.

So we ask this question: Who will suffer?

Who always suffers?

Those who can least afford it, that’s who. The hard-working core of our society. The disadvantaged, not the silver-spooned.

We believe we have a duty to tell you the truth as we see it. It’s a truth supported by almost every major employer from Vodafone, BMW and Easyjet and Microsoft to almost every Trade Union including Unite, Unison and the GMB.

Almost three quarters of businesses expect to see trade hit if we leave the EU. But what could be the benefits of leaving Europe?

We may gradually regain some greater control of our borders. But remember less than half of immigrants to Britain actually come from the EU.

Moreover, if we wish to continue trading with our European neighbours we’ll almost certainly have to continue to accept freedom of movement.

That is the deal Norway and Switzerland have had to accept. To access the market of 500million people within the EU countries, they still have to abide by Brussels rules and pay into the EU pot.

We are kidding ourselves if we think the UK can get preferential terms when it comes to negotiating a new agreement.

We would be lumbered with the worst of all worlds, having to accept EU migrants but with no say at the top table.

As for ‘regaining our sovereignty’? About 13 per cent of our laws are created in the EU. The big stuff; laws on defence, health and education will continue to be made where they always have been – at Westminster.

We always have been and always will be a sovereign nation. But one which has the confidence and boldness to work in partnership with other countries to achieve our goals.

We believe the Leave campaign has manipulated the patriotism of the working people of this country. And this must be exposed.

For it is the working people of this nation who made Britain Great. It is the working people who laboured in the mills and mines that powered the engines of Empire.

It is the working people sent “over the top” who won us two world wars against unimaginable odds. It is the working people who still now staff the hospitals, the factories, the schools and the fields and who have dragged this country back on to its feet after raging recession.

And working people should not allow Farage and co to trade the Great Britain they built for a diminished “Little England”. We should not permit this great nation to skulk off into a shadowy corner of the globe, shaking with timidity and bereft of influence, power or economic might.

For proud and patriotic Brits want their country to stand strong alongside other nations on the world stage as we have done throughout history.

Peace in Europe may feel normal to our younger generations but we only have to ask our parents and grandparents to be reminded how recently it lay smoking in ruins. We should never take our peace for granted.

For there are those who would tear Europe apart again.

It can be of no surprise to anyone that Russia’s expansionist President Putin is a keen advocate of Brexit.

So there are indeed many issues for us still to consider before voting.

Many of us are caught between what we would like to be true and what we know to be true. We might like to think Brexit would lead to a dramatic reduction in immigration, more money to spend on the NHS, flourishing high streets and jobs for life for our kids.

That is a mirage. It won’t.

So instead we must focus on what we know to be true. Which is that leaving the EU will almost certainly plunge us into years of economic hardship. Is that really a risk worth taking?

Great Britain remains one of the finest nations on earth. We are even Greater in Europe. We are too good to shuffle off to the international sidelines, impoverished economically, culturally and influentially.

We must continue to play a leading role in Europe and to continue the work of building a European Union which reflects our desires and demands.

For our children' futures. For all our futures. We urge you to vote Remain.

Appendix K

EU referendum Leave campaigners dishonestly shifting the blame for problems of their own making

Mirror columnist Kevin Maguire on the shameful dishonesty of blaming immigration and the EU for poverty created and exacerbated by hateful Tory policies

Working class families are right to be furious that in a Britain where one-in-five struggle to put food on the table, a fabulously wealthy elite squirrels away fortunes in tax havens.

To be angry when low wages and temporary and zero hours contracts mushroom in a country where pay explodes for the golden few calling the shots.

To protest they cannot secure a council house or decent privately-rented home, let alone afford one of their own, in a land where Russian oligarchs drive up prices laundering- dirty money in towers of rapacity.

They are right to be worried when hospital waiting lists lengthen- and good schools are full while the richest pay for private medical care and education.

Yet the biggest con in British politics is to blame grotesque inequalities, low wages, poor jobs, bad housing, an ailing NHS, struggling schools and every other problem on migration and the EU.

The lies invented by Tory-dominated Project Fib to create a backlash against similarly- exploited, often downtrodden, workers in Britain from other countries is the mother of all deceptions.

The Quit zealots don't want to be out of Europe to raise wages, build council homes or pump cash into the NHS.

Tory hucksters Boris Johnson and Michael Gove voted for the austerity punishing working families, while Nigel Farage wanted to privatise the NHS.

Or take Iain Duncan Smith who imposed the Bedroom Tax on the disabled- and battered women.

Suddenly he sheds crocodile- tears by claiming migrants cut wages by 10%.

Jobs expert Jonathan Portes corrected IDS, pointing out the fall for the semi-skilled and unskilled was 0.4%, less than 1p in every Pound.

Nothing compared with cash lost to Tory tax rises, growth-destroying austerity and benefit snatches from the working poor.

Labour and the trade unions desperately- want Britain to Remain in Europe to protect wages, jobs and job rights.

Migrants and the EU didn't create food banks or starve the NHS. Both were Made in Britain during Tory rule.

They even lie about cutting migration when it's higher in Australia and Norway.

I wish David Cameron wasn't campaigning to remain in Europe. His vision isn't mine. And I know on 24 June, win or lose, Tories will continue to rule.

But Leavers hope working class families- will cut off their noses to spite their faces in an anti-migrant, anti-EU backlash. Don't fall for it.

Want Johnson, Gove, and IDS unleashed as Farage laughs? Me neither.

Appendix L – Data from *The Telegraph*

Date	Title	Author	Stance	Gist	Themes	Migration/	Economy	Social/cu	Security	Other
15/04/2016	Labour afflicted by myopia and amnesia	Telegraph view	Leave	Leave are placing the NHS at the forefront of the campaign, but Cameron must not concede privatisation is wrong. States Corbyn is in denial about immigration.	Economy, immigration, political supporters	1	1	0	0	Political supporters
16/04/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1	1	0	0	
17/04/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1	1	0	0	
18/04/2016	Project fear goes into overdrive	Telegraph view	Leave	Obama's intervention about trade and economic arguments put forward are scaremongering.	Economy, Obama intervention	1	2	0	0	Obama intervention
19/04/2016	Cool it, Mr Osborne	Telegraph view	Leave	Accuses George Osborne's Brexit economic forecast of being subjectively tailored to support remain campaign.	Economy	1	3	0	0	
20/04/2016	Our borders must be made more secure	Telegraph view	Leave	The UK should prioritise its own interests ahead of humanitarian responses to migrant crisis. Current policies invites terrorism. Sovereignty would enable us to be more sophisticated.	Migration, security	2	3	0	1	
21/04/2016	Brexit may change forever, but not in the way Mr Gove thinks	Ambrose Evans-pritchard	Remain	Leaving could result in instability across the EU which Putin could profit from. Nationalist movements may rise. Economic uncertainty will occur.	Social consequences, economy	2	4	1	1	
22/04/2016	Barack Obama, our fair-weathered friend, is wrong about the EU	Tim Stanley	Leave	Obama is asking us to abandon sovereignty - something USA wouldn't do. UK security is with nato (not EU), so will not be compromised. EU restricts trade. Migration is making this worse e.g. Germany is becoming more hard-right.	Security, economy, migration, social consequences, Obama intervention	3	5	2	2	Obama intervention
23/04/2016	1) The leave campaign desperately needs to up its game 2) A calm, casual, charming threat from president to his British buddies 3) The man who gave us 'yes, you can' is now telling British voters 'no, you can't' 4) Barack Obama: As your friend, let me say that the EU makes Britain even greater	1) Telegraph view 2) Michael Deacon 3) Charles Moore 4) Barack Obama	1) Leave 2) Leave 3) Leave 4) Remain	1) Response to Obama: over-regulation has weakened UK, security risk due to border measures, UK would easily seal new trade deals. 2) Questions genuineness of special relationship. Despite Obama's economic threats, he will not be president much longer. 3) Eurozone is weak economically, ISIS extremists can infiltrate to easily, migration will rise again when Turkey join, we need to recover our sovereignty. 4) Terrorism is better dealt with together, EU membership benefits trade, UK improves EU (so we shouldn't aim for sovereignty).	1) Security, economy, migration, Obama intervention 2) Economy, Obama intervention 3) Security, economy, migration 4) Security, economy	5	8	2	5	Obama intervention (x2)
24/04/2016	1) We don't need advice from the man who surrendered the world to chaos 2) Cameron's dirty tricks could be his downfall	1) Janet Daley 2) Simon Heffer	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) Obama is bullying. Our democratic values are at risk. He wants us to remain to ensure USA can continue good trade with EU. Allowing Assad to remain in place promotes extremism. EU border checks pose migration issues. 2) Suggests DC is making false immigration promises.	1) Social consequences, economy, security, migration, Obama intervention 2) Immigration	7	9	3	6	Obama intervention
25/04/2016	Safe borders are crucial whichever way we vote	Telegraph view	Leave	Immigration is too high and leaving would enable us to enforce our own border controls.	Immigration	8	9	3	6	
26/04/2016	After 40 years of EU lies, I've had enough	Michael Ancram	Leave	Economic threats are short-term, whereas we need to leave before EU implodes in future as its corroding democratic values.	Economy, social consequences	8	10	4	6	
27/04/2016	Confused by Brexit? Here's why voting remain is the sensible option... for now	Ben Wright	Remain	We may be dragged into eurozone, could be bad for economy. But we should hold another referendum at a later date rather than leave now.	Economy, campaign tactics	8	11	4	6	Campaign tactics
28/04/2016	1) Open borders bring terror to our doorstep 2) We can still keep the EU in check from the outside	1) Con Coughlin 2) Matthew Sinclair	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) EU immigration policy is allowing terrorists access to Europe. 2) We have economic costs inside EU and set an economic example from the outside.	1) Immigration, security 2) Economy	9	12	4	7	
29/04/2016	Our PM has led the fight on people smuggling	Fraser Nelson	Leave	EU has worsened migrant crisis by accepting more which encourages others to risk lives across sea. Cameron is right not to accept more.	Migration	10	12	4	7	
30/04/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	10	12	4	7	
01/05/2016	There is a simple answer to project fear. Let's seize it.	Christopher Booker	Leave	Leave need to present an economic argument to reassure voters. Cites Norway as key example of free trade.	Economy	10	13	4	7	
02/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	10	13	4	7	
03/05/2016	It's time to bust the myths surrounding Brexit	John Longworth	Leave	We don't depend on EU for trade, US would still trade with us. Any barriers would not affect UK as much as others. We need to be free from EU boundaries.	Economy	10	14	4	7	
04/05/2016	1) Turkey doesn't deserve this huge visa regard	1) Con Coughlin	1) Leave	1) EU denies asylum seekers better lives and makes it easier for Turkish citizens/ ISIS militants to move unchecked in Europe.	1) Immigration, security	12	14	4	8	
05/05/2016	2) Migration mistake No editorials/op-eds published.	2) Telegraph view N/A	2) Leave N/A	2) Argues other EU countries are not contributing to migrant crisis, implies countries are difficult to work with.	2) Migration N/A	12	14	4	8	
06/05/2016	1) A Brexit purge of bankers would be bad for everyone 2) London would pay a heavy price for Brexit	1) William Wright 2) Jeremy Warner	1) Leave 2) Remain	1) Presence of wealthy bankers assists economic decisions, we should not lash out at them if we leave. 2) Brexit would be a huge risk economically due to loss of access to single market. We would still feel struggles of eurozone even if we leave. Brexit has no economic argument.	1) Economy 2) Economy	12	16	4	8	

07/05/2016	We should resist Turkey's thin-skinned president rather than pander to him	Charles Moore	Leave	Turkey is growing in influence, Erdogan is an ISIS collaborator, who will join. These are demands to prohibit non-muslim attitudes.	Security, immigration, social consequences	13	16	5	9
08/05/2016	Wanted: An honest debate on migration	Telegraph view	Leave	Migration causes strain on schools, NHS etc. Debate is suffering because we cannot discuss this.	Migration, economy	14	17	5	9
09/05/2016	From a European point of view, Britain offers a unique perspective	Juergen Grossman	Remain	EU membership has contributed to UK's economic success. Staying will improve Europe as a society because integration is progressive.	Economy, social consequences, migration	15	18	6	9
10/05/2016	1) Boris offers a bright vision outside the EU 2) Nation states have been the making of Europe 3) A leave vote would be disastrous for Falklands, Gibraltar and Ulster	1) Telegraph view 2) Alan Sked 3) William Hague	1) Leave 2) Leave 3) Remain	1) EU constrains economy according to Boris Johnson. Immigration is a concern for people. 2) Ever closer union aims to destroy British sovereignty. History suggests UK is better on its own. 3) Economically, smaller affiliations of UK would suffer because they depend heavily on EU for trade.	1) Economy, migration 2) History 3) Economy	16	20	6	9 History
11/05/2016	1) We must face reality over race and faith 2) Europe's people share our anger at EU incompetence	1) Telegraph view 2) Ambrose Evans-pritchard	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) Liberals are refusing to confront the issues of ethnicity, race and culture, which doesn't allow the address of extremism. 2) The economic struggles of Italy & Greece is symptomatic of EU practice.	1) Security, social consequences 2) Economy	16	21	7	10
12/05/2016	1) Big pharma and the EU: an unhealthy state of affairs 2) Shackled to the Eurozone 3) Be honest about aid 4) Brown still in denial over immigration	1) Julia Bradshaw 2) Ambrose Evans-pritchard 3) Telegraph view 4) Howard Shore	1) Leave 2) Leave 3) Leave 4) Leave	outside EU. UK is held back by EU regulations. 2) Italy is struggling economically and it needs sovereignty to recover from EU restrictions. 3) UK is spending too much on foreign aid on corrupt countries such as Afghanistan and Nigeria. 4) Claims that too often legitimate questions about immigration are associated with bigotry.	1) Economy, 2) Economy 3) Economy 4) Immigration	17	24	7	10
13/05/2016	1) The EU is holding our economy back 2) Join the debate, primeminister	1) Howard Shore 2) Telegraph view	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) Leaving would bring economic benefits: employment, competitiveness. Exports are with non-eu nations anyway. Save membership money to secure better deals. 2) Immigration is causing a strain on national resources (NHS, schools), issue should take centre stage.	1) Economy 2) Immigration, Economy	18	26	7	10
14/05/2016	1) The establishment rallies to the cause 2) Open borders are a gift to organised criminals	1) Telegraph view 2) Anthony Stansfield	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) Analogy of David (Brexiters) vs. Goliath (wealthy elite). Suggests leavers need to concentrate on immigration. 2) Population increase from migration is causing a strain on public services. Sovereignty would solve border vulnerabilities that allow Eastern European criminals entry & Islamic terrorism.	1) Immigration 2) Migration, economy, security	20	27	7	11
15/05/2016	Ask the Greeks who really runs Europe	Simon Heffer	Leave	Remaining would leave us open to dangers of uncontrolled migration, Turkey joining. EU regulations mean Germany runs Europe.	Migration, security	21	27	7	12
16/05/2016	1) We need the bug battalions to help buttress Europe's peace dividend 2) EU economic debate is far from settled	1) Sir Roger Carr 2) Telegraph view	1) Remain 2) Leave	1) To ensure peace we need to remain so we can maintain security. 2) EU business set-up prioritises everyone else over UK.	1) Security 2) Economy	21	28	7	13
17/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	21	28	7	13
18/05/2016	1) We will be bound by EU votes for decades 2) Can we trust EU to safeguard our security?	1) Telegraph View 2) Con Coughlin	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) EU is in economic turmoil, which we must escape from and make our own laws. 2) Being in the EU leaves us vulnerable to security threats because we can't ensure information doesn't fall into wrong hands (Putin).	1) Economy 2) Security	21	29	7	14
19/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	21	29	7	14
20/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	21	29	7	14
21/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	21	29	7	14
22/05/2016	1) Lack of migration controls puts a liberal tradition at risk 2) The EU debate must be fearless and frank	1) Liam Halligan 2) Telegraph view	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) EU has mishandled migration which is causing hard-right views across Europe. Sovereignty would allow us to control migration. 2) Defends Boris Johnson's Hitler remarks. We should be able to talk about immigration freely.	1) migration, social consequences 2) Immigration	23	29	7	14
23/05/2016	1) The European Union and the euro: this is a marriage made in hell 2) We need to talk about immigration	1) Roger Bootle 2) Telegraph view	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) We will suffer if the euro breaks up, but more so if we are in the EU. Border controls another positive of sovereignty. 2) Turkey is an issue. Anyone who mentions immigration is branded a racist, which could result in rise of right-wing hate groups.	1) Immigration, social consequences 2) Immigration, security, social consequences	25	29	9	15
24/05/2016	1) Brexit would damage important trade links with Asia 2) Like wagging a dogs tail to make you happy, EU exit warnings are flawed 3) A sad display of pessimism on Brexit	1) Lloyd Dorfman 2) Patrick Minford 3) Telegraph view	1) Remain 2) Leave 3) Leave	1) Leaving would jeopardise trade links with Asia. 2) Leaving would promote liberal trade, which would be beneficial. 3) We can have single market and not have EU disadvantages - best of both worlds.	1) Economy, 2) Economy 3) Economy	25	32	9	15
25/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	25	32	9	15
26/05/2016	A crisis without end	Telegraph view	Leave	Turkey will get EU access, which is dangerous. EU has failed migrants.	Migration, security	26	32	9	16
27/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	26	32	9	16
28/05/2016	Secret EU army is a dangerous delusion	Telegraph view	Leave	EU army is a dangerous proposition.	Security	26	32	9	17
29/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	26	32	9	17
30/05/2016	The experts agree Brexit will hurt the UK and it's time leave listened	Victor Blank	Remain	Economy is most important aspect of UK's future.	Economy	26	33	9	17
31/05/2016	We must do more to protect our borders	Telegraph view	Leave	Migration is an issue regardless. Outside of EU we can enforce more effective restrictions and laws.	Migration	27	33	9	17

01/06/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	27	33	9	17
02/06/2016	Leave now has a rallying issue: immigration reform	Telegraph view	Leave	Outside EU we can impose our own immigration laws, granting control. Patriotic right and working class left will give UK what it deserves.	Immigration, economy, security	28	34	9	18
03/06/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	28	34	9	18
04/06/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	28	34	9	18
05/06/2016	The migration question that can't be answered	Simon Heffer	Leave	EU/Merkel make up migration rules as they go along, we can enforce better laws. Migration is causing a strain on infrastructure, thus migration should be key focus.	Migration, Germany, economy, security	29	35	9	19 Germany
06/06/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	29	35	9	19
07/06/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	29	35	9	19
08/06/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	29	35	9	19
09/06/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	29	35	9	19
10/06/2016	1) Don't let David Cameron and George Osborne fool you: here's what my vision of Britain really looks like 2) David Cameron's beloved single market is a ploy designed to subjugate British rights	1) Nigel Farage 2) Charles Moore	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) Leaving would give us true democracy. Points system would reduce immigration. Cameron supports elite. Youth will have more opportunities. Infrastructure will be better off (immigration). EU isolates us from world. 2) Camerons is making UK choose between economy and immigration. However, we should be able to use sovereignty to decide both of these individually.	1) Social consequences, immigration, economy 2) Economy, migration	31	37	10	19
11/06/2016	David Cameron: A vote for Brexit will cost pensioners dear if funds to pay for pension 'triple lock' dry up	David Cameron	Remain	Remaining would give us better security, access to single market, lower taxes, better schools, better retirements. Leaving would have economic shock and guarantees nothing.	Security, economy	31	37	10	20
12/06/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	31	37	10	20
13/06/2016	1) Status quo is not an option with the EU 2) Brexit vote is about the supremacy of parliament and nothing else: why I am voting to leave the EU 3) Not only can Britain leave the EU and have access to the single market, we'd actually get a better deal An EU army is not just a stupid idea - it's a grave threat to our own security	1) Telegraph view 2) Ambrose Evans-pritchard 3) Norman Lamont	1) Leave 2) Leave 3) Leave	1) EU has not provided any reasons to stay. 2) Sovereignty is key issue. But, youth should decide because they have to live with consequences. 3) We would still have access to single market and also we'd get better trade deals inside/outside eurozone.	1) Cameron's EU deal 2) social consequences 3) Economy	31	38	11	20 on.
14/06/2016	An EU army is not just a stupid idea - it's a grave threat to our own security	Con Coughlin	Leave	An EU army would clash with NATO, which could compromise our security.	Security	31	38	11	21
15/06/2016	1) The referendum is a wake-up call: if Europe does not bend it will break 2) If Britain leaves the EU, it really will become the superstate of every Brexiteers nightmares.	1) Juliet Samuel 2) Simon Hix	1) Remain 2) Remain	1) Give EU opportunity to change instead of leaving and giving immigration hating nationalism a chance to rise. Possibly leave at a later date. 2) EU's removal of trade barriers promotes democracy and human rights, but accepts shortcomings. Sovereignty will leave elites in charge. Long-term says we should stay.	1) Immigration, social consequences 2) Economy, social consequences, protective legislation	32	39	13	21 n
16/06/2016	1) IMF siffers from groupthink on subject of EU 2) I am a former M16 chief and a lifelong patriot. Here's why I'm voting remain.	1) Paul Marshall 2) John Sawers	1) Leave 2) Remain	1) Debunks IMF economic forecast based on previous failings. 2) EU improves security, job opportunities. Immigrants adapt to our culture and make a positive contribution.	1) Economy 2) Security, immigration, economy, social consequences	33	40	14	22
17/06/2016	We face a very serious decision next week - but not a terribly difficult one	Charles Moore	Leave	History tells us we don't need to be governed by someone else because we've never failed in the past.	History	33	40	14	22 History
18/06/2016	1) Will vote leave's blunders lose us the day? 2) We must vote leave to create a Britain fit for the future	1) Christopher Booker 2) Telegraph view	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) In future, when ever closer union becomes more restricting, sovereignty will be validated. Accepts leaving will not solve immigration issue. 2) Membership is expensive, detrimental to jobs. Outsider EU nations demonstrate trade success. Immigration is an issue and we can control our own borders. Make our own laws. Staying is dangerous with instability in other nations (e.g. Turkey).	1) immigration 2) Economy, immigration, security	35	41	14	23
19/06/2016	1) The EU empire is going to fail. On Thursday, we can protect Britain from the chaos of its death throes 2) Please vote leave on Thursday because we'll never get this chance again 3) An abject, self-imposed humiliation awaits if this proud country walks away 4) Throw off EU shackles and thriving British economy will do even better	1) Simon Heffer 2) Boris Johnson 3) David Cameron 4) Andrea Leadsom	1) Leave 2) Leave 3) Remain 4) Leave	1) We will be punished economically if UK leaves via threatening budget. Foreign ruling powers are corrupt. Immigration is too high. Sovereignty will allow UK to solve all this. 2) IMF predictions are untrustworthy. Points system would solve immigration. EU trade restricts us. Elites control us from brussels. We can change via sovereignty. 3) Economy is under threat if we leave. Leaving would tarnish our tolerant nature. We will have less of an influence on migration from outside EU. Mentions Jo Cox. 4) Economy is outperforming forecasts. Saved money will be spent on NHS.	1) Economy, immigration 2) Economy, immigration 3) Economy, social consequences, migration, Jo Cox 4) Economy	38	45	15	23 Jo Cox
20/06/2016	1) Vote leave to benefit from a world of opportunity 2) Britain needs Brexit so it can decide its own fate without asking permission from European judges	1) Telegraph view 2) Sueella Fernandes	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) Non-EU nations can still trade with EU without membership costs. EU army is dangerous. Ever closer union will further decrease sovereignty. We no longer have to be on the periphery. 2) UK should be able to make its own decisions, regulations and laws.	1) Economy 2) Immigration	39	46	15	23
21/06/2016	1) Brexit isn't about nostalgia. It's about ambition. Trust me, I'm a historian 2) If you want to be in a reformed EU, then you have to vote leave	1) Tim Stanley 2) Phillip Johnson	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) EU will become more controlling in the future. Eurozone is in economic trouble. 2) Voting to leave (even if you want to stay) will allow us to renegotiate at a later date. Hopefully free movement becomes negotiable.	1) Economy 2) Migration	40	47	15	23
22/06/2016	You don't need to trust politicians to vote for Brexit. Just trust yourself.	Julia Hartley-Brewer	Leave	It's not racist to think immigration is not causing a strain on public services. Ignore politicians/elite, trust yourself.	Immigration, economy, security	41	48	15	24
23/06/2016	With some sadness, I'll vote to Leave an undemocratic and decaying institution that stopped helping Europe some time ago	Fraser Nelson	Leave	Argues George Osborne's forecast is economic hyperbole. Cites unemployment in Spain as an example of an instable economy in the EU. Accusing immigration concerns as being in league with Marine Le Pen is ignorant of the working class neglect. EU is a nice idea but no longer viable.	Economy, immigration	42	49	15	24

Appendix M – Data from *The Daily Mail*

Date	Title	Author	Stance	Gist	Themes	Migration/Immigration - running total	Economy - running total	Social/cultural Consequences - running total	Security - running total	Other
15/04/2016	Daily Mail Comment: Even Jeremy Corbyn doesn't believe what he says	Daily Mail Comment	Leave	Questions Corbyn's honesty. Suggests immigration is placing a strain on national resources (NHS, schools).	Immigration, economy, political supporters	1	1	0	0	Political supporters
16/04/2016	Daily Mail Comment: Portrait of a nation struggling to cope	Daily Mail Comment	Leave	Immigration is placing a strain on national resources (NHS, schools, housing), also migrants are operating as criminals.	Immigration, economy	2	2	0	0	
17/04/2016	1) History teaches us we CAN'T stand aside from Europe... as Wellington, Churchill and yes, even Lady Thatcher would confirm 2) Peter Hitchens: A drug ravaged criminal or Nick Clegg 3) Dan Hodges: Not scared of leaving the EU yet? You soon will be as the stronger in brigade crank up their most powerful weapon - 'project fear'	1) Dan Snow 2) Peter Hitchens 3) Dan Hodges	1) Remain 2) Leave 3) Leave	1) We have more influence in EU. Leaving would only worsen migrant crisis. 2) We must leave in order to grant any political clout to left/right. 3) Project fear is winning due to Leave Campaign's failings.	1) Immigration 2) Political influence 3) Campaign tactics	3	2	0	0	Campaign Tactics, political influence
18/04/2016	Daily Mail Comment: Children betrayed by migration boom	Daily Mail Comment	Leave	Immigration is too high, resulting in school and public services shortages. It will only increase once Turkey joins EU.	Immigration, economy	4	3	0	0	
19/04/2016	1) Daily Mail Comment: Stop treating us like children Mr Osborne 2) Why I'd rather live under labour than stay in the EU with a pro-Brussels Tony puppet in number 10, by Richard Littlejohn	1) Daily Mail Comment 2) Richard Littlejohn	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) Demonstrates scepticism towards Osborne's negative economic forecast in the event of leaving EU. 2) Labour voters shouldn't be worried about human rights legislation being lost, they can change this when they're in power.	1) Economy 2) Protective legislation	4	4	0	0	Protective legislation
20/04/2016	No editorials/op-eds published	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	4	4	0	0	
21/04/2016	STEPHEN GLOVER: Why is Obama telling us to give up on OUR sovereignty when he's never surrender a drop of his own?	Stephen Glover	Leave	Suggests it's hypocritical for a president of a sovereign nation, such as USA, to advise us to reject sovereignty. He is only pursuing US interests, because we help combat anti-American attitudes.	Obama intervention	4	4	0	0	Obama intervention
22/04/2016	Daily Mail Comment: At last a step towards rescuing British steel/ None of his business	Daily Mail Comment	Leave	Claims the US president has no right to tell the UK what to do, he's being hypocritical.	Obama intervention	4	4	0	0	Obama intervention
23/04/2016	1) Daily Mail Comment: The President is the last man we should heed 2) PETER OBORNE: Culture of dishonesty that's eating away the soul of the Tory party	1) Daily Mail Comment 2) Peter Osborne	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) Dismisses Obama's claims that EU keeps UK safe and claims Obama facilitated the rise of ISIS. Accuses Obama of hypocrisy regarding sovereignty. 2) Accuses Cameron of dirty tactics (mistreatment of Saïd Khan, overspending on campaign, project fear).	1) Security, Obama intervention 2) Economy	4	5	0	1	Obama intervention
24/04/2016	PETER HITCHENS: America isn't our special friend. It ruined our Navy, Empire and Future	Peter Hitchens	Leave	Like previous presidents, Obama is serving his own interests, not the UK's. Claims CIA were involved in formation of EU.	Obama intervention	4	5	0	1	Obama intervention
25/04/2016	Daily Mail Comment: Why the trade pacts with the US is no big deal	Daily Mail Comment	Leave	Dispels Obama's threat that UK would suffer with trade deals if we exited EU. Promotes idea of negotiating on our own terms rather than with Brussels.	Economy, Obama intervention	4	6	0	1	Obama intervention
26/04/2016	No editorials/op-eds published	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	4	6	0	1	
27/04/2016	No editorials/op-eds published	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	4	6	0	1	
28/04/2016	Daily Mail Comment: The Mail's always been robust on migration. But we MUST give these lost children sanctuary	Daily Mail Comment	Leave	States we must make an exception and allow child refugees entry. Cites EU's mishandling of issue as making it worse and states we would be better off deciding on our own who deserves access to Britain. Reiterates claim that too much immigration destroys social fabric.	Immigration, social Consequences	5	6	1	1	
29/04/2016	No editorials/op-eds published	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	5	6	1	1	
30/04/2016	Think the EU's bad now? Wait until Albania joins: With piercing logic and passionate eloquence, MICHAEL GOVE warns that EU expansion will open our borders to 88 million from Europe's poorest countries	Michael Gove	Leave	Claims immigration is causing shortages of national resources (NHS, schools, housing). EU grants 88 million access to our resources, preventing us from helping most vulnerable. Cites Turkey EU as threat to our safety.	Immigration, economy, security	6	7	1	2	
01/05/2016	1) Bremain? No, the EU is an economic basket case says top author as he reveals the history of Europe's money troubles 2) Why my mother, an Auschwitz survivor, would think us mad to even consider Brexit: A passionate entreaty to stay IN... from the man who turned BP into a global leviathan	1) Dan Atkinson 2) Lord Browne	1) Leave 2) Remain	1) EU membership is bad for economy (e.g. Eurozone, unemployment). EU isn't as successful as it was when Britain joined. 2) Country will be economically worse off if we leave (loss of free trade). We'd abandon the notion of peace that EU promotes. Must stay if we want influence on what affects us.	1) Economy 2) Economy, Social Consequences	6	9	2	2	
02/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	6	9	2	2	
03/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	6	9	2	2	
04/05/2016	Daily Mail Comment: A show of compassion/EU's barmy army	Daily Mail Comment	Leave	Encourages downing street to take child refugees, helping those who need it most. / Remaining in EU would involve approving EU army which could antagonise Putin.	Immigration, Security	7	9	2	3	
05/05/2016	Daily Mail Comment: a humane response to child refugee crisis	Daily Mail Comment	Leave	Insists we should be more compassionate towards child refugees, unlike how the EU is handling situation.	Migration	8	9	2	3	
06/05/2016	1) Daily Mail Comment: How scaremongering has hit the economy 2) QUENTIN LETTIS: I do wish Dave would smile a little more and sneer a lot less	1) Daily Mail Comment 2) Quentin Lettis	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) Suggests economic apprehension is stemming from project fear's negativity, rather than supposed instability leaving would bring. 2) Suggests David Cameron is resorting to scare tactics. Questions his character.	1) Economy 2) Campaign tactics	8	10	2	3	Campaign Tactics
07/05/2016	DOMINIC SANDBROOK: If they don't rediscover the common touch, the Tories are doomed. And there's one woman who can show them how to do it - If Dave and his Old Etonian chums will dare to listen	Dominic Sandbrook	Leave	Argues there is a need for a populist candidate. Criticises Cameron & Corbyn. Claims Cameron is unpatriotic.	Political supporters	8	10	2	3	Political supporters
08/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	8	10	2	3	
09/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	8	10	2	3	
10/05/2016	1) Daily Mail Comment: Project Fear depends this bitter Tony rift 2) Beware the invasion of the toxic caterpillars! David Cameron's absurd Brexit scare stories are insulting the intelligence of voters, writes Richard Littlejohn 3) Cameron's travesty of history: The PM must know it's bunkum to say Brexit raises the threat of war. It just shows panic at no10 historian Andrew Roberts	1) Daily Mail Comment 2) Richard Littlejohn 3) Andrew Roberts	1) Leave 2) Leave 3) Leave	1) Suggests David Cameron is contradicting himself, he cannot be trusted. 2) Suggests Remain scaremongering will result in similar response from Leave. Talks about toxic caterpillars in a derogatory sense as he would about migrants. 3) Involvement with EU in past has failed to prevent war. Brexit and sovereignty is the patriotic option.	1) Politicians 2) Campaign Tactics 3) History, security	8	10	2	4	Political supporters, Campaign Tactics

11/05/2016	Daily Mail Comment: Is Germany calling the shots on the EU?	Daily Mail Comment	Leave	Germany is making decisions on UK's behalf in EU, it's an attack on sovereignty. Claims leave voters are the victims of abuse from remainers. States Turkey will join EU, allowing free movement of 88 million people.	Germany, Immigration	9	10	2	4	Germany
12/05/2016	Daily Mail Comment: Unguarded remarks that reveal so much / Damning donations	Daily Mail Comment	Leave	Remain is backed by funding from wealthy elite, Leave is for the ordinary man.	Political supporters	9	10	2	4	Political supporters
13/05/2016	Daily Mail Comment: Wasted opportunity to rein in the BBC	Daily Mail Comment	Leave	BBC is out of touch with British values. Cameron won't reform BBC because it supports him.	Campaign Tactics	9	10	2	4	Campaign Tactics
14/05/2016	1) Daily Mail Comment: What are you so scared of, Dave? / True voice of elite / Censoring Migration 2) The biggest lie of all: the PM says Brexit could lead to war, but the truth is Europe's more riven with hatred than at any time since 1945 because of the EU 3) SIMON WATKINS: A done deal on staying in the EU, isn't it? 4) The man who is shamefully rigging the referendum	1) Daily Mail Comment 2) Dominic Sandbrook 3) Simon Watkins 4) Peter Osborne	1) Leave 2) Leave 3) Remain 4) Leave	1) Cameron is afraid of debating because he will lose. / IMF economic forecast driven by elite / Government have concealed migration data. 2) We should leave EU because far-right is on the rise (Austria, Hungary), Catalan tensions, Greek instability, financial chaos in Italy, Turkey likely to start a war. Muslims are a source of much of the tension. 3) Economic argument much stronger than sovereignty argument, so we must remain. 4) George Osborne's economic forecast is illegitimate.	1) Economy, Migration 2) Security, Immigration, Social Consequences 3) Economy, Sovereignty 4) Economy	11	12	3	5	
15/05/2016	1) Sorry, dad, you were wrong... for the sake of my grandchildren we must not walk away from Europe says HILARY BENN 2) Why I'm voting for Brexodus: a revelatory call to quit EU from the former leader of the church of England	1) Hilary Benn 2) George Carey	1) Remain 2) Leave	1) EU legislation protects our jobs and rights which would be at risk if we left. 2) Rate of immigration growth is unsustainable, we must control our own borders.	1) Protective legislation 2) Immigration	12	12	3	5	Protective legislation
16/05/2016	Daily Mail Comment: EU imperialism and lessons of history	Daily Mail Comment	Leave	Defends Boris Johnson's useage of Hitler comparison because EU is a totalitarian regime.	Political supporters	12	12	3	5	Political supporters
17/05/2016	1) Daily Mail Comment: Damning proof that EU deal was a charade 2) Balls and Cable? Osborne really is scraping the barrel: The electorate kicked them out in 2015, so why does the chancelor think voters will take any notice of what they say about the EU, asks RICHARD LITTLEJOHN 3) RICHARD LITTLEJOHN: Government by gimmick: Driverless cars! A space port in Cornwall! The pie-in-the-sky policies of a Prime Minister parodied by Brexit	1) Daily Mail Comment 2) Richard Littlejohn	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) Discredits George Osborne's economic forecast as being apocalyptic. 2) Claims double standards on immigration; many wouldn't take immigrants into their own home. Says we shouldn't listen to self-serving politicians and Ryan Air boss - who is most hated man in UK.	1) Economy 2) Immigration, political supporters	13	13	3		Political supporters
18/05/2016	1) Daily Mail Comment: How the BBC cooked up a cynical storm 2) Boris, Hitler and the European Union: Adam Lebor says if anyone is suffering from 'political amnesia' it is the EU grandees and their allies in the British establishment 3) RICHARD LITTLEJOHN: Government by gimmick: Driverless cars! A space port in Cornwall! The pie-in-the-sky policies of a Prime Minister parodied by Brexit	1) Daily Mail Comment 2) Adam Lebor 3) Richard Littlejohn	1) Leave 2) Leave 3) Leave	1) Claims BBC is left-wing and anti-Brexit. / David Cameron is a hypocrite 2) Defends comparison between EU and Hitler. 3) Cameron should apply more focus to immigration, as oppose to his plans to build a space-station.	1) Political supporters 2) Political supporters 3) Immigration	14	13	3		Political supporters
19/05/2016	STEPHEN GLOVER: Wild smears against Boris's wife and a crude bid to kill the one man who can swing Brexit	Stephen Glover	Leave	BBC is bias. Deduces Boris is preferable to Cameron, despite gaffs (Kenyan comment, Hitler comparison) by deconstructing Cameron's arguments.	BBC, political supporters	14	13	3		BBC, political supporters
20/05/2016	Daily Mail Comment: Judges still making mockery of law / Home truths at last / Apocalypse delayed	Daily Mail Comment	Leave	Suggests UK is overpopulated, which EU doesn't recognise. / Pound is on the rise.	Immigration / Economy	15	14	3	5	
21/05/2016	Daily Mail Comment: Britain cannot keep taking EU's millions	Daily Mail Comment	Leave	Immigration is a strain on housing, healthcare, jobs. Suggests parasitic immigrants are defended by EU enforced human rights act.	Immigration, Economy, protective legislation	16	15	3		Protective legislation
22/05/2016	1) IAN BIRRELL: Blips, blunders and bluster... has Boris Johnson lost it? 2) FERDINAND MOUNT: Boris, you leave if you want to. But I was The Lady's policy adviser and I'm not for leaving	1) Ian Birrell 2) Ferdinand Mount	1) Remain 2) Remain	1) Boris is unsuitable to lead the country because of Hitler reference and Kenyan comment. 2) Reducing migration could harm economy because there's no guarantee UK workers would step up to the plate.	1) Political supporters 2) Migration, Economy	17	16	3		Political supporters
23/05/2016	1) Daily Mail Comment: Case for Brexit by a man who really knows / Stoking project fear 2) The left can't stand it but all over Europe and America politicians are on the rise who will put their own countries and culture first. But who will put Britain first?	1) Daily Mail Comment 2) Katie Hopkins	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) EU membership stifles trade and enterprise. We can govern ourselves better. / Disputes idea that NHS patients will suffer if we leave. 2) Immigration leaves women vulnerable to rape due to archaic cultural practices. Immigrants are prioritised for school places. Associates immigrants with ISIS. We need Sovereignty to control all this.	1) Economy 2) Immigration, Social consequences, Economy, Security	18	18	4	6	
24/05/2016	1) RICHARD LITTLEJOHN: One-legged Albanian KILLER on benefits 2) KATIE HOPKINS: I thought Boris was going to save Britain from the EU, instead he has turned out to be a big fat fraud	1) Richard Littlejohn 2) Katie Hopkins	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) Criminal migrants are prioritised in society. They exploit taxpayers money. EU makes us exploitable. 2) Disagrees with economic argument - money isn't everything.	1) Immigration, Economy, Security 2) Economy	19	20	4	7	
25/05/2016	Daily Mail Comment: Why is the PM frit?	Daily Mail Comment	Leave	EU's attitudes towards migration is promoting hatred and division.	Immigration, Social consequences	20	20	5	7	
26/05/2016	1) Daily Mail Comment: Mass migration and our quality of life / Crisis of credibility 2) MAX HASTINGS: It's an unholy mess that's why I'm voting to stay in the EU 3) STEPHEN GLOVER: If dave thinks hiring Sir Phillip Green and Lord Sugar makes him look cool, he needs a reality tsar!	1) Daily Mail Comment 2) Max Hastings 3) Stephen Glover	1) Leave 2) Remain 3) Leave	1) Immigrants are causing strain on national resources and jobs. Also, states many illegal immigrants are gaining entry. 2) States strain on resources as having nothing to do with EU, but does state migration poses a threat to social cohesion. Overall, economic argument more credible reason to remain. 3) Cameron is aligning himself with the elite.	1) Immigration, Security, Economy 2) Economy, Migration, Social Consequences	22	22	6	8	
27/05/2016	Daily Mail Comment: Crisis that proves we must control our borders / a disgusting smear / Has dave gone native?	Daily Mail Comment	Leave	EU's handling of migrants crisis is encouraging more migration. We must leave to regain control. Suggests leavers are unfairly branded racists.	Migration	23	22	6	8	
28/05/2016	Daily Mail Comment: A vote that will define our national identity Not even the immigration Frankenstein can save the Brexit mob now...	Daily Mail Comment	Leave	National identity under threat inside EU, white population will be minority. Turkey joining will make matters worse. We must leave to regain control.	Migration, Social Consequences	24	22	7	8	
29/05/2016	but that won't stop them setting him loose	Dan Hodges	Unclear	Leave campaign will use immigration as key argument.	Immigration	25	22	7	8	
30/05/2016	1) Daily Mail Comment: immigration and a corrosion of trust 2) CHRIS DEERIN: Win the war only to lose the peace - is this the fate of Cameron's myopic pro-EU campaign?	1) Daily Mail Comment 2) Chris Derrin	1) Leave 2) Remain	1) Immigration and controlling borders ourselves are more important than economic arguments. Elite interests vs ordinary interests. 2) Suggests we're better off as a collective. Suspects immigration will become more emphasised because they've lost economic argument.	1) Immigration 2) Immigration, Economy	27	23	7	9	
31/05/2016	Daily Mail Comment: Complacency over an open door to Britain / a very odd couple	Daily Mail Comment	Leave	Suggests the motivations of migrants coming to UK are terrorism and criminal intentions.	Immigration, Security	28	23	7	9	
01/06/2016	1) Daily Mail Comment: Border controls our pm cannot ignore / Don't make us laugh 2) Andrea Leadsom: Living wage makes UK a migrant magnet - and is the poorest Britains who will suffer most	1) Daily Mail Comment 2) Andrea Leadsom	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) Claims David Cameron's broken pledge to reduce immigration numbers has corroded trust for politicians. Failure has put further strain on housing, NHS etc. / Disputes claim that EU is prosperous for UK. 2) Argues that migration effects the poorest in society most negatively (Jobs). Disputes claim that the economy will suffer by suggesting we're the 5th largest economy in the world and we will flourish outside EU trade restrictions. Also, claims society will be fairer after brexit.	1) Immigration, Economy 2) Economy, Immigration, Social consequences	30	25	8	9	
02/06/2016	1) Daily Mail Comment: National identity is central to the EU vote 2) Curbing Migration and what Britain must learn from an Aussie policy that REALLY works, writes ROGER MAYNARD	1) Daily Mail Comment 2) Roger Maynard	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) If immigration levels continue, English speakers will become a minority. We must protect our economy via tighter borders. Says negative economic forecasts are false because it is the unknown. 2) Proposes we adopt the Australian points system for immigration because it will allow only skilled immigrants access. Sovereignty is the way to achieve this.	1) Immigration, Economy, Social consequences 2) Immigration	32	26	9	9	

03/06/2016	Daily Mail Comment: A dumping ground for the EU's criminals	Daily Mail Comment	Leave	Immigrant criminals come to Britain because they know we cannot deport them without having absolute power.	Immigration, Security	33	26	9	10
04/06/2016	PETER OBORNE: Deafening silence of Theresa May: As Britain is hit by a series of immigration crises, where on earth is the home secretary?	Peter Osborne	Leave	Suggests we have been let down on promises to reduce immigration.	Immigration	34	26	9	10
05/06/2016	Sneering Boris as our Brexit PM, propped up by Farage? I call that... Out of order: A characteristically robust warning about a Vote Leave victory by the former Commons speaker, Betty Boothroyd	Betty Boothroyd	Remain	If public votes to leave, Boris and Farage will be in charge, which will have dire consequences for society.	Social Consequences	34	26	10	10
06/06/2016	1) Daily Mail Comment: Stop the insults, give us an honest debate 2) ANDREW PIERCE: Does the EU really need its FIVE presidents?	1) Daily Mail Comment 2) Andrew Pierce	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) Combats economic argument by citing the costs the UK has to pay as part of EU membership - suggesting we'll save on that. Also, claims remain are purposefully concealing key issues: immigration, sovereignty and border control. 2) Suggests EU laws are negatively impacting the most vulnerable in society.	1) Economy, Immigration 2) Protective legislation	35	27	10	10
07/06/2016	No editorials/op-eds published	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	35	27	10	10
08/06/2016	PETER OBORNE: I admire him, but with these rancid attacks on Brexit, John Major has stooped lower than any former PM	Peter Osborne	Leave	Attacks John Major - who supports Remain - suggesting he is bitter for being unable to secure a Tory leadership legacy.	Political supporters	35	27	10	10
09/06/2016	1) Daily Mail Comment: As Brexiters might say: et tu, William? 2) PETER OBORNE: Unpatriotic: The PM should stop talking this country down 3) ALEX BRUMMER: Ignore the 'Remain' camp doom merchants - The UK economy is not stalling despite weakness in the eurozone	1) Daily Mail Comment 2) Peter Osborne 3) Alex Brummer	1) Leave 2) Leave 3) Leave	1) Brands William Hague - a man who once claimed immigration is destroying British identity - as a traitor for calling Brexit a 'fantasy'. 2) Calls Cameron arrogant for suggesting we need the EU as a proponent of sovereignty and dismisses his claim that UK will be worse off economically (GDP, economic growth comparison with EU). Thus, Cameron is resorting to fearmongering. 3) Despite eurozone crisis and weakness across other economies, UK is doing ok, suggesting there is no Brexit panic.	1) Economy, William Hague 2) Economy, campaign tactics 3) Economy	36	28	11	10
10/06/2016	1) Daily Mail Comment: With trade booming, why talk us down? / The guilty parties 2) Nurse! Call a jumble for crippled Britain! Richard Littlejohn says we're powerless to control the pressures of immigration on the NHS while in the EU	1) Daily Mail Comment 2) Richard Littlejohn	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) Lord Bamford claims EU restricts our connection with the world economy. 2) Argues that sovereignty will allow us to rectify immigration issues (strain on resources) and it is a more important argument than economic claims.	1) Economy 2) Immigration, economy	37	30	11	10
11/06/2016	No editorials/op-eds published	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	37	30	11	10
12/06/2016	1) PETER HITCHENS: The British people have risen at last - and we're about to unleash chaos 2) Don't listen to the elite: DOREEN LAWRENCE Labour peer and mother of murdered teenager says the EU protects ordinary people 3) RACHEL JOHNSON: just stop picking on my big brother! (But, sorry Boris, I'm still voting in)	1) Peter Hitchens 2) Doreen Lawrence 3) Rachel Johnson	1) Leave 2) Remain 3) Remain	1) Argues against claim that Leavers are racist. The elite politicians have inflicted immigration on the poor. 2) Membership has not helped UK. 3) Gaining sovereignty would give full control to Tories which would be more dangerous to minorities and working class. Leaving would betray British values. 3) Remain and reduce migration. EU should realise they need us more than we need them.	1) Immigration 2) Social consequences, Migration 3) Migration	39	30	12	10
13/06/2016	No editorials/op-eds published	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	39	30	12	10
14/06/2016	1) Daily Mail Comment: Cameron puts aid before pensioners / how will we cope? 2) It's Gordon Munster - and he's got a bolt loose: Richard Littlejohn says it will take more than a procession of undead PMs to persuade voters to stay	1) Daily Mail Comment 2) Richard Littlejohn	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) Suggests foreign aid is prioritised over budget for pensioners. Also, immigration will rise when Turkey joins EU. 2) Labour voters cannot cope with the cultural consequences and low wage effect of migration.	1) Economy, immigration 2) Social consequences, migration	41	31	13	10
15/06/2016	1) Daily Mail Comment: Labour's head in the sand on immigration / project fear 2) MAX HASTINGS: Despite misgivings, I shall vote remain	1) Daily Mail Comment 2) Max Hastings	1) Leave 2) Remain	1) Argues that EU doesn't help control borders and people are being ignored. Also, you're an idiot to believe scaremongering. Money should be taken from overseas aid budget. 2) Absolute sovereignty cannot be achieved and it will not have the desired effect on immigration. However, accepts immigration needs to be more tightly controlled because it is having an effect on culture and values.	1) Immigration, Economy 2) Immigration, social consequences	43	32	14	10
16/06/2016	1) Daily Mail Comment: Osborne will pay dearly for this desperate threat 2) Chancellor's reckless blackmail: George Osborne has pointed a gun at the economy and said he will fire unless Britain votes to remain in the EU, writes Peter Osborne 3) STEPHEN GLOVER: Cameron could scarcely have made a bigger hash of the EU vote if he'd tried	1) Daily Mail Comment 2) Peter Osborne 3) Stephen Glover	1) Leave 2) Leave 3) Leave	1) Dismisses Osborne's claims about economic downturn by citing how normal it is for pound to fluctuate, employment at all-time high, and would be beneficial to reduce overseas aid budget. Also, reiterates public concerns over immigration which Osborne fails to recognise. 2) Dismisses Osborne's economic claims as bluffing (e.g. reductions in NHS funding, higher income tax). 3) Cameron has made a mess of a campaign, as has leave campaign, but Cameron more so.	1) Economy, immigration 2) Economy 3) Campaign tactics	44	34	14	10
17/06/2016	Daily Mail Comment: Bank chief who can't stop scaremongering	Daily Mail Comment	Leave	Dismisses Mark Carney's - the former bank chief - negative economic predictions.	Economy	44	35	14	10
18/06/2016	1) DR MAX THE MIND DOCTOR: I'm voting out to save my beloved NHS 2) PETER OBORNE: This is NOT the time for ugly political opportunism	1) Dr Max Pemberton 2) Peter Osborne	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) Leaving will benefit NHS & patients because economy will not tank. EU membership fees could be spent on NHS. Most doctors do not come from EU countries. Wealthy elites don't require state services and thus, don't understand. Also, accepts that immigration causes a strain. 2) Argues that Jo Cox's death is being wrongly exploited by remain campaign.	1) Economy, immigration 2) Jo Cox, campaign tactics	45	36	14	10
19/06/2016	1) It's no time to bring the curtain down on the EU: ANDREW LLOYD WEBBER warns that Brexit could be catastrophic for Britain 2) If you vote leave, you won't kick the establishment in the b****s... you'll shoot yourself in the foot: RICHARD BRANSON on why he's voting to remain 3) PETER HITCHENS: There's a faint chance we may get our nation back on 19/06/2016 day... random horror of mental illness.	1) Andrew Lloyd Webber 2) Richard Branson 3) Peter Hitchens	1) Remain 2) Remain 3) Leave	1) Putin has contributed to tensions in Europe via military action in Syria, fuelling migrant crisis. Division is what he wants. We must remain to have influence in Europe. 2) EU facilitates trade, free movement is a benefit, so, Brexit would be detrimental for economy. 3) EU attacks British traditions : currency, measuring system, police system. / Suggests Jo Cox is being used as remain propaganda.	1) Migration, security 2) Economy, migration 3) Social consequences, Jo Cox	47	37	15	11
20/06/2016	1) Daily Mail Comment: Migration - the issue that just won't go away 2) Our last chance to escape from the disaster movie unfolding across Europe: Richard Littlejohn on the stark choice facing Britain in Thursday's referendum	1) Daily Mail Comment 2) Richard Littlejohn	1) Leave 2) Leave	1) Britain is a proud nation and deserves sovereignty to solve migration issue. 2) EU is a disaster economically and in terms of migration policy. Gelfof interrupting Farage is a reflection of the elite vs ordinary man.	1) Migration 2) Migration, economy, social/cultural consequences	49	38	16	11
21/06/2016	Daily Mail Comment: A cynical attempt to fool the public	Daily Mail Comment	Leave	Cites Cameron's failure to reduce migration figures and his failure at EU renegotiation as attempts by him to fool the public.	Migration	50	38	16	11
22/06/2016	No editorials/op-eds published	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	50	38	16	11
23/06/2016	Daily Mail Comment: Day of truth as FOUR remain lies are exploded	Daily Mail Comment	Leave	Deconstructs remain arguments. Cameron wants Turkey to join EU. We would not face tariffs for leaving EU. If we remain we can not carry out further reforms. Debunks claim that migrants are deported if unemployed for 6 months.	Immigration, economy, security	51	39	16	12

Appendix N – Data from *The Guardian*

Date	Title	Author	Stance	Gist	Themes	Migration/Immigration - running total	Economic consequences - running total	Cultural consequences - running total	Security - running total
15/04/2016	1) The Guardian view on the state of the NHS: time for a second opinion 2) We let Jim Davidson quit Britain - we can't lose Ken Livingstone too 3) Will Obama's Brexit intervention make a difference? 4) Brexit won't save the NHS - because the real threat is closer to home	1) Guardian view 2) Marina Hyde 3) Simon Jenkins 4) Martin McKee	1) Remain 2) Remain 3) Leave 4) Remain	1) Dismissal of Boris Johnson's claim promise that Britain's EU contribution would stabilise NHS. Focus on junior doctors dispute. 2) Argues wealthy celebrities who are threatening to move their money abroad if we remain are mistakenly believing anyone cares. 3) Speculates that Obama's intervention will dissuade voters from remaining. 4) Argues the government is more detrimental towards NHS than the EU. Leaving will favour corporations.	1) Economy 2) Celebrity supporter, economy 3) Economy 4) Economy	0	4	0	Celebrity supporters
16/04/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1	4	0	0
17/04/2016	Obama is right on Brexit. But the EU status quo is a hard sell.	Matthew d'Ancona	Remain	Cites pros of EU as free movement, cooperative legislation, environmental collaboration. Claims Brexit will result in an isolated nation that will lose all those things.	Migration, security, environment	1	4	0	1 Environment, cooperative legislation
18/04/2016	1) The Guardian view on the economics of Brexit: a fact-based fear 2) Why should anybody trust George Osborne's Brexit scare figures	1) Guardian view 2) Suzanne Moore	1) Remain 2) Leave	1) Branding campaign project fear is a rejection of reality. EU offers strength in numbers, shared values, mutual protection. Also, UK will suffer economically if leave. 2) Questions truthfulness of George Osborne's character due to previous inaccurate forecasts. Also, claims EU deal to relocate fewer refugees than agreed is inhumane.	1) Security, social consequences, economy 2) Economy, migration	2	6	1	2
19/04/2016	The remain camp needs to change tack to win the EU referendum	Hugo Dixon	Remain	Migration enriches culture. Trade would suffer. The UK could be broken up over border issues (societal). From inside EU, we can help other nations with better trade deals. NHS would suffer in sovereignty.	Migration, social consequences, economy, security	3	7	2	3
20/04/2016	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	3	7	2	2
21/04/2016	1) Barack Obama has a right to be heard on Europe. And Britain should listen. 2) Here is the news: it's usually bad - and that's bad for us 3) Why our landed gentry are so desperate to stay in the EU	1) Peter Westmacott 2) Simon Jenkins 3) Giles Fraser	1) Remain 2) Remain 3) Leave	1) 70 years of post-war stability could be at risk. We can legislate from within. We have a say on environmental issues. Accepts there is room for improvement. 2) Obama has settled economic argument. Questions Boris Johnson's use of 'help-kenyan' (not migration - but racial). 3) EU agricultural policy favours rich via subsidies. EU is a cartel against the poor. EU has mishandled migration crisis.	1) Security, environment 2) Economy, Obama intervention 3) Economy, migration, social consequences (against poor).	4	9	3	3 Obama intervention, environment
22/04/2016	1) By being tough on migration Europe can also be humane 2) It took Barack Obama to crush the Brexit fantasy 3) The Guardian view on a key week in the EU debate: Obama sends the right message	1) Donald Tusk 2) Jonathan Freedland 3) Guardian view	1) Remain 2) Remain 3) Remain	1) Tougher migration policies should be imposed by the EU to dissuade more refugees risking lives on journeys. We cannot let Turkey use refugee crisis to gain traction in EU. Cultural values at risk unless all states follow suit. 2) Debunks comparisons between US & UK sovereignty. Claims Boris Johnson's remarks are racist. Economic argument is most important. 3) Economic uncertainty and geopolitical instability chief concerns.	1) Migration, Social consequences, Security 2) Economy, Obama intervention 3) Economy, security	5	11	3	5 Obama intervention
23/04/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	5	11	3	5
24/04/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	5	11	3	5
25/04/2016	Never mind the EU arguments, just look at who's talking	John O'Farrell	Remain	Compares celebrity backers of each campaign, suggesting its easy to make decision on this basis.	Political supporters	5	11	3	5 Political supporters
26/04/2016	The Guardian view on Obama's Hanover speech: a welcome endorsement of European unity and values	Guardian view David Cameron & Brendan Barber	Remain	A collective Europe promotes democratic values.	Social consequences	5	11	3	5
27/04/2016	On Europe even we can agree: for British workers it's better in	Guardian view David Cameron & Brendan Barber	Remain	Brexit will effect poorest in society via job losses, lower wages, poorer country. Lose many protective rights outside EU (women's rights, paid holidays).	Economy, human rights legislation	5	12	3	5 Human rights legislation
28/04/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	5	12	3	5
29/04/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	5	12	3	5
30/04/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	5	12	3	5
01/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	5	12	3	5
02/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	5	12	3	5
03/05/2016	Why is the Brexit camp so obsessed with immigration? Because that's all they have	Peter Mandelson	Remain	Leavers have resorted to anti-immigration arguments because the economic argument is defeated. Claims argument is weaker. Dismisses Gove's claim immigration strains NHS.	Immigration, Economy	6	13	3	5
04/05/2016	A liberal sigh of disdain could see Britain tumble out of Europe	Rafael Behr	Remain	Leavers adopt an anti-establishment tone regarding issues such as immigration and sovereignty. Accepts issue must not be ignored by remainers.	Immigration	7	13	3	5
05/05/2016	Brexit recycles the defiant spirit of the reformation	Giles Fraser	Leave	Says laws should not be decided outside of parliament by some foreign power.	Western Christianity	7	13	3	5 Western Christianity
06/05/2016	A truth we hate to admit - we are one people in Europe	Natalie Nougayrede	Remain	Suggests European ideals of democracy and collectivism are a strength.	Social consequences	7	13	4	5
07/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	7	13	4	5
08/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	7	13	4	5

09/05/2016	The Guardian view on the EU debate: David Cameron makes a serious case	Guardian view	Remain	Lack of a post-Brexit plan from leave justifies 'project fear'. Accuses Leave of relying on migration argument. Cooperation in Europe is key to stability and terrorism.	Security, migration	8	13	4	6
10/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	8	13	4	6
11/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	8	13	4	6
12/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	8	13	4	6
13/05/2016	1) The Tories BBC haters have been halted. Next, to Europe 2) Why Brexit would be the perfect gift for Vladimir Putin	1) Martin Kettle 2) Garry Kasparov	1) Remain 2) Remain	1) Suggests Cameron should defend BBC like he does EU because it is in public interests. 2) Brexit would grant Putin/Trump the instability they want. Would incite division. Praises free trade aspect of membership, which Putin opposes.	1) BBC 2) Economy, social consequences	8	14	5	6
14/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	8	14	5	6
15/05/2016	Boris Johnson has pressed the big red button marked 'Hitler'. Watch out	Matthew d'Ancona	Remain	Criticises Boris Johnson's 'half-kenyan' comments about Obama. Also, criticises overall conduct of campaign.	Campaign tactics	8	14	5	6
16/05/2016	1) Human rights must be protected against the abuse of power 2) The leftwing case for Brexit	1) Anthony Lester 2) Paul Mason	1) Remain 2) Remain	1) Leaving would result in the removal of key human rights legislation that protects the people. 2) EU central bank favours stagnation over growth. EU allows organised crime. They offer no viable plan to assist refugees. Wants to leave, however, refuses to support Brexit because Tories will have complete power.	1) Protective legislation 2) Economy, security, migration, protective legislation	9	15	5	7
17/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	9	15	5	7
18/05/2016	It ain't easy being a black Brexiteer	Dreda Day Mitchell	Leave	Dismisses migration causing a strain on public services. Wants to leave but has a pop at conduct of Farage etc.	Migration, Campaign tactics	10	15	5	7
19/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	10	15	5	7
20/05/2016	Brexit may be the best answer to a dying eurozone	Larry Elliot	Leave	Combats economic arguments to remain with example of euro currency failure - the real economic argument. EU is full of failing legislation designed by elite.	Economy	10	16	5	7
21/05/2016	Boris Johnson is blond, plays stupid and wants to lead the country. Remind you of anyone?	Hadley Freeman	Remain	Condemns Boris Johnson by comparing him with Donald Trump.	Political supporters	10	16	5	7
22/05/2016	1) The Guardian view on renewed tensions between the EU and Turkey: tough times ahead	1) Guardian view	1) Remain	Turkey agreement has helped reduce numbers of refugees. Disputes Leave's use of issue by saying deal only serves to alleviate humanitarian crisis, not grant EU access to Turkish citizens.	Migration, security	11	16	5	8
23/05/2016	1) How will the Brexiteers react if they lose? Expect bitterness and frustration 2) Vote Leave's campaign of fear will cause lasting divisions - The xenophobic lies of Brexit supporters can only fuel resentment, whatever the referendum outcome	1) Paul Mason 2) Polly Toynbee	1) Remain 2) Remain	1) Suggests reactions to migration will get nastier if Leave loses. Suggests we should respond to areas of high migrant influx with additional resources to sustain wages - but only Labour have fiscal policy to do such. 2) Argues Turkey will not join EU policy of free movement. Debunks claim that new migration policy would allow more Asian migrants by citing Gove's anti-muslim book. Suggests they're posing as having working-class interests.	1) Migration, social consequences 2) Migration	13	17	5	8
24/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	13	17	5	8
25/05/2016	1) My advice to Brexit battlers: forget Hitler, think Wellington 2) A vote to remain in the EU won't be the last we hear of Brexit	1) Beatrice de Graaf 2) John Redwood	1) Remain 2) Remain	1) Outlines historical success of international balance and order, to ensure safety. 2) Implies we want to be part of EU but without the free-movement initiative.	1) Security 2) Migration	14	17	5	9
26/05/2016	1) What, no facts in the EU debate? You cannot be serious 2) A chance to defeat bigotry: that's how you engage with young people with the EU 3) Whatever happens in this referendum, England's disquiet is set to get a whole lot worse	1) Martin Kettle 2) Owen Jones 3) John Harris	1) Remain 2) Remain 3) Remain	1) Remain is winning the economic and security arguments. 2) Leaving is a threat to social cohesion because its based on fear of foreigners. Remain to build a better Europe and defeat bigotry. 3) Population increases and neglect have led to referendum, which will not offer a solution, as it is merely a symptom.	1) Economy, security 2) Social consequences, migration 3) Migration, economy	16	18	6	10
27/05/2016	The Guardian view on the Leave Campaign: show some respect for truth	The Guardian view	Remain	Claims the promise on the Leave bus - that EU membership money would be spent on NHS - is fallacious. Reflective of campaign strategy.	Economy, campaign tactics	16	19	6	10
28/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	16	19	6	10
29/05/2016	The Guardian view on Tory infighting: arming for war against themselves	The Guardian view	Remain	Suggests Leave is focusing on migration because it has lost the security and economic arguments.	Migration, security, economy	17	20	6	11
30/05/2016	1) The Guardian view on cultural ties and Europe: in praise of shared values and deals 2) Why David Cameron should crush the Tory dinosaurs in a revenge shuffle	1) Guardian view 2) Ian Birell	1) Remain 2) Remain	1) If UK loses EU membership and adopts a point system, will lose a proportion of academics and workers from cultural institutions (e.g. museums). Loss of such people will diminish culture. 2) Cameron is a new age Tory. Leave Tories are refusing to embrace modernity and migration/globalisation.	1) Migration, social consequences 2) Migration, social consequences	19	20	8	11
31/05/2016	1) Ridiculing Brexiteers is a sure way to lose the argument for staying in the EU 2) Brexiteers look like villains cornered by Batman in a hall of mirrors	1) Garry Younge 2) Frankie Boyle	1) Remain 2) Remain	1) Freedom of movement and human rights are reasons to remain. Accepts EU is ellist but it is best option. Claims reducing migration wouldn't impact terrorism because most acts committed by UK citizens. 2) Discredits politicians on both sides of debate. Describes migration crisis as desperate human beings who need our help. Criticises Daily Mail's coverage of issue.	1) Migration, protective legislation, security 2) Political supporters, immigration	21	20	8	12
01/06/2016	The Guardian view on the EU debate: it's about much more than migration	The Guardian view	Remain	Immigration would rise if UK adopted Australian points-system, it would limit trade and threaten workforce.	Immigration, economy	22	21	8	12
02/06/2016	I saw postwar Europe unite. We can't let it unravel.	Patrick Stewart	Remain	Economic and social cohesion are the strongest arguments to remain.	Economy, social/cultural consequences	22	22	9	12
03/06/2016	1) Our own bad habits have brought Britain to the brink of Brexit 2) Leave or remain - Britain's fortunes hinge on a Europe in need of repair	1) Martin Kettle 2) Simon Jenkins	1) Remain 2) Undecided	1) EU isn't perfect but we're better as a collective. Leavers are anti-human rights. 2) summarises experience of alternating between leave/remain. Accepts treasury forecast is dodgy. Immigration is inherently linked to economy.	1) Protective legislation 2) Economy, immigration	23	23	9	12
04/06/2016	Imagine Europe in chaos, and freedom just an empty slogan	Natalie Nougayrede	Remain	In the event of Brexit, far-right politicians will have more resonance with anti-immigration rhetoric.	Immigration, social consequences	24	23	10	12
05/06/2016	1) The Guardian view on Europe's future: British scepticism must be in the mix 2) Young people are being stifled. They have to use their vote.	1) Guardian view 2) Zoe Williams	1) Remain 2) Remain	1) To ensure security and democracy UK must remain and improve EU from within. Acknowledges richness of Cameron vilifying migrants in the past. 2) Encourages youth to vote to avoid high debts and worse working conditions.	1) Security, migration 2) economy 3) Political supporters	25	24	10	13
06/06/2016	1) The Guardian view on the EU referendum debate 2) Why would voters trust politicians on the EU? They've lied before	1) Guardian view 2) Aditya Chakraborty	1) Remain 2) Remain	1) Don't let Farage take charge. EU keeps peace, economic security. Could lose Scotland if we leave. 2) Regardless of vote politicians will betray the public. Recognises Leave argument is about blaming migrants or Brussels elite. Implies Leavers will not get what they want.	1) security, economy, Scotland. 2) Migration	26	25	10	14
07/06/2016	There is still time for hope - Brexiteers can be persuaded	Polly Toynbee	Remain	Economic authorities, businesses and unions want to remain. Leave is shamelessly lying. Could lose human rights and environmental laws if we leave.	Economy, human rights, environment	26	26	10	14

08/06/2016	1) Two fingers to the world: Is that your message, Brexiters? 2) Brexit's leaders want to smash the system but they won't pay the price 3) Voters will stick two fingers up to those lecturing about Brexit's dangers	1) Chris Patten 2) Rafael Behr 3) Suzanne Moore	1) Remain 2) Remain 3) Leave	1) UK has assisted EU in faster economic growth. Security measures shouldn't be scrapped. Immigrants will be dissuaded from coming if the economy is ruined. 2) Boris Johnson is self-serving. Gove is attempting to incite mayhem. 3) Not all leavers are racist, it is because they're at an economic disadvantage.	1) Economy, security, immigration 2) Political supporters, social consequences 3) Immigration, economy	28	28	11	15	Political supporters
09/06/2016	1) The Guardian view on the EU referendum: one constituency, but a messy political map 2) It's cruel deceit to blame all our problems on immigration 3) Narrow, nasty, unprincipled: whatever has happened to Michael Gove?	1) Guardian view 2) Owen Jones 3) Martin Kettle	1) Remain 2) Remain 3) Remain	1) Remain should engage with the UKIP hotspots left behind by globalisation. Workers rights are protected by EU. 2) Compares Stockport (Leave) with London (Remain) - despite Stockport having small number of immigrants. Referendum is causing social bitterness because immigrants are being used as a scapegoat for injustice. 3) UK cannot support Michael Gove, a man who has abandoned his principles for populism e.g. did support migration, now condemns it.	1) Human rights legislation 2) Immigration, social consequences 3) Migration, political supporters	30	28	12	15	1) Political supporters, human rights
10/06/2016	1) Leaving EU would not bring immigration under control 2) The Guardian view on Brexit and Ireland: another closure of the mind	1) Dhananjayan Sriskandarajah 2) Guardian view	1) Remain 2) Remain	1) Immigration has been positive. Brexit won't solve issues because free trade & free movement necessary. Will be a different kind of immigration. 2) Leaving would be financially catastrophic for Ireland.	1) Immigration, economy 2) Economy, Ireland	31	30	12	15	Ireland
11/06/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	31	30	12	15	
12/06/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	31	30	12	15	
13/06/2016	1) The Guardian view: Gordon Brown's EU referendum cavalry is dangerously late 2) Brexit supporters have unleashed furies even they can't control 3) We're just 10 days from making the most terrible mistake	1) Guardian view 2) Polly Toynbee 3) Matthew d'Ancona	1) Remain 2) Remain 3) Remain	1) Labour have left it too late to come forward (Gordon Brown), there's no proper opposition to migration focus. 2) Issues attributed to migration are actually due to austerity imposed by Tories. 3) Leave is built on misrepresentation of migration. Campaign is built on grievances that will not be satisfied. Migrant labour is needed.	1) Political supporters, migration 2) Migration, economy 3) Migration, economy	34	32	12	15	Political supporters
14/06/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	34	32	12	15	
15/06/2016	1) The Guardian view on Turkey and Europe: separating facts from fiction 2) The European Union is the worst choice - apart from the alternative 3) The crumbling of the remain vote shows how hollowed out labour has become	1) Guardian view 2) George Monbiot 3) Suzanne Moore	1) Remain 2) Remain 3) Leave	1) Discredits claim that Turkey will join the EU because Turkey missed the deadline. Antidote to fears about migration increase. 2) Privatisation has failed and migrants are blamed for this. Remaining lesser of two evils. 3) Leavers are victims of globalisation, money should be pumped into such towns with high migration. Humanitarian refugee issues need solving.	1) Migration 2) Migrants, economy 3) Economy, migration	37	34	12	15	
16/06/2016	1) I fear dominance. That's why I'm for remaining in the EU 2) The Guardian view on Jo Cox: an attack on humanity, idealism and democracy	1) Simon Jenkins 2) Guardian view	1) Remain 2) Remain	1) Concerned about Germany having control in EU, so remaining is needed to improve from within. Immigration rhetoric is in bad taste. Accepts both sides have fallacies (treasury scaremongering, EU supports crime). Describes economic argument as neutral. 2) Frames Jo Cox's murder as politically motivated. Hateful immigration rhetoric is used because leave camp trying to associate migrant crisis with EU.	1) Immigration, Germany, economy, security 2) Jo Cox, social consequences	39	35	13	16	Germany, Jo Cox
17/06/2016	1) The EU referendum is a battle of the press vs democracy 2) So, Britain, are you ready to enter the United Kingdom of UKIP? 3) Britain is in the midst of a working-class revolt 4) If you think the UK will be in control after Brexit, dream on 5) Jo Cox's legacy should be an end to the downward spiral in our politics	1) Martin Kettle 2) Marina Hyde 3) John Harris 4) Andrew Graham 5) Gordon Brown	1) Remain 2) Remain 3) Remain 4) Remain 5) Remain	1) Frames choice as down to choosing between the press (Leave) or politics (Remain). Attributes some blame to Daily Mail. 2) Voting leave is a vote for Farage, who has scapegoated migrants. 3) Suggests immigration has not been prepared for as evidenced in working class towns, not just racists. But, Brexit will only worsen this. 4) Boris Johnson and Michael Gove helped impose the cuts they now blame on immigration. Issues will not be solved if we leave. 5) Suggests we're not doing enough to tackle prejudice in society. EU referendum has turned into an immigration debate.	1) The media 2) Political supporters, migration 3) Immigration, social consequences 4) Economy, immigration 5) Social consequences, immigration, Jo Cox	43	36	15	16	The Media, political supporters, Jo Cox
18/06/2016	1) The aftershocks of a vote to leave the EU will rebound on Britain 2) If you inject enough poison into the political bloodstream, somebody will get sick	1) Natalie Nougayrede 2) Jonathan Freedland	1) Remain 2) Remain	1) Leaving EU would threaten liberal British values. Acknowledges that migration is an issue because of EU failings. 2) Argues UK needs to change how it operates e.g. poster Farage used.	1) Social consequences, migration 2) Migration, political supporters	45	36	16	16	Political supporters
19/06/2016	The Guardian view on the economics of Brexit: running wild risks is not British	Guardian view	Remain	The pound will suffer; holidays & imports will be dearer. Britain is economically conservative until now.	Economy	45	37	16	16	
20/06/2016	Brexit is a fake revolt - working-class culture is being hijacked to help the elite	Paul Mason	Remain	Leaving will result in more power to the employers and less of the workers.	Protective legislation legislation	45	37	16	16	Protective legislation
21/06/2016	1) Why Ireland is so fearful of our closest neighbour leaving the EU 2) The shocking waste of cash even leavers won't condemn 3) On Friday I'll get my country back. Britain will vote remain 4) A Brexit won't stop cheap labour coming to Britain 5) The Brexit crash will make all of you poorer be warned	1) Edna Kenny 2) George Monbiot 3) Polly Toynbee 4) Len McCluskey 5) George Soros	1) Remain 2) Leave 3) Remain 4) Remain 5) Remain	1) Northern Ireland benefits from EU: trade, growth, jobs, peace. 2) EU enables hate-spreaders like Dacre. Rich are subsidised by EU. 3) Britain does not support bigotry. 4) Brexit would result in loss of jobs, trade issues. Staying promotes social justice and democracy. Acknowledges migration problems for working class communities. Leaving will not slow migration of cheap labour. 5) Economy will be worse off; pound will decline. Rich will be richer but the poor poorer.	1) Northern Ireland, economy, social consequences 2) The media, economy 3) Social consequences 4) Economy, social consequences, migration 5) Economy	46	41	18	16	Northern Ireland, the media
22/06/2016	1) What if the EU is doing the exact opposite of what it's meant to do? 2) Don't vote remain for us Europeans - do it for yourselves 3) Of course UKIP plays the race card. But I'm still voting for Brexit 4) Remain and reform is wishful thinking - the left should vote leave 5) What does this vote mean if one feels utterly powerless in every other way? 6) John Barnes: Gove says I'll be voting leave. He's wrong - and here's why	1) Rafael Behr 2) Matteo Renzi 3) Dreda Say Mitchell 4) Nigel Willmott 5) Suzanne Moore 6) John Barnes	1) Remain 2) Remain 3) Leave 4) Leave 5) Undecided 6) Remain	1) If we leave, instability will spread across Europe. Reckons Turkish/migration argument has been most powerful. 2) Britain will suffer in isolation. Should improve EU from within. 3) EU is unreformable. Working-class interests mean voting out is necessary. EU withdrawal won't effect migration. 4) Leave to escape negative economic cycle of EU. Youth unemployment means migration is needed. Reforming isn't practical. 5) EU is unjust but leave are blaming wrong group. Will decide in ballot box. 6) Disputes Gove's claim that John Barnes supports Brexit. Doesn't believe campaign should be based on immigration because it preys on people's fears about migrants stealing jobs, if so, government should raise minimum wage. UK should be first to help disadvantaged. UK has helped to create many problems in Iraq, Syria etc. Says these people are dehumanised because they look different. Society teaches us who to empathise with.	1) Social consequences migration 2) Social consequences 3) Migration, economy 4) Migration, economy 5) Migration 6) Immigration, economy	51	44	20	16	
23/06/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	51	44	20	16	

Appendix O – Data from *The Mirror*

Date	Title	Author	Stance	Gist	Themes	Migration/migration - running total	Economy - running total	Social/cultural consequences - running total	Security - running total	Other
15/04/2016	Economy's Brexit blow	Unknown	Remain	Doubts about the outcome of EU referendum have led to delays in investments from big businesses.	Economy	0	1	0	0	
16/04/2016	Boris Johnson should follow Jeremy Corbyn's lead in build-up to EU referendum	Mirror View	Remain	Must remain to save jobs, combat terrorism, clean the environment.	Economy, security, environment	0	2	0	1	Environment
17/04/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0	2	0	1	
18/04/2016	Voice of the mirror: Britain would be poorer country if we quit Europe	Mirror View	Remain	Despite hesitancy over George Osborne's previous economic forecast, Britain will suffer outside EU.	Economy	0	3	0	1	
19/04/2016	Voice of the mirror: Britain's EU future is too important to be left to squabbling Tories	Mirror View	Remain	Gove cannot explain economic outcome of Brexit. Staying in single-market like Norway would require acceptance of free movement, and a Canadian style trade deal would involve taxes.	Political supporters, economy	1	4	0	1	Political supporters
20/04/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1	4	0	1	
21/04/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1	4	0	1	
22/04/2016	Barack Obama makes case for Britain staying the EU better than any of our politicians could	Mirror View	Remain	Obama has immense stature and is one of UK's allies, so he should be listened too on trade. Whereas, Putin wants UK out.	Obama intervention, economy	1	5	0	1	Obama Intervention
23/04/2016	How dare Barack Obama tell the British people we must stay in the EU	Carole Malone	Leave	Obama will soon be out of office. US would ever relinquish control. EU is unsafe due to migration. Cultures are changing. Economies are crumbling. EU stifles UK values. Obama has no right.	Obama intervention, economy, migration, social consequences, security	2	6	1	1	Obama Intervention
24/04/2016	Boris Johnson is the UK's Donald Trump - on two flat tyres	Kevin Maguire	Remain	Compares Boris to Trump because of his 'half-kenyan' comments about Obama and other offensive remarks.	Political supporters	2	6	1	1	Obama Intervention
25/04/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	6	1	1	
26/04/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	6	1	1	
27/04/2016	EU referendum will be the most important vote British people cast in their lifetimes	Dan Jarvis	Remain	Brexit would result in Tory government that will remove protective legislation and create injustice for poorest. Referendum is about jobs. History says we should be a collective.	Economy, protective legislation, history, social consequences	2	7	2	1	History, protective legislation
28/04/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	7	2	1	
29/04/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	7	2	1	
30/04/2016	Britain is better in the EU - but we need to focus on the special relationships that matter	John Prescott	Remain	EU helps trade, finance, environment, security. However, accepts Obama is serving USA's interests. EU has maintained peace since WW2.	Security, trade, environment, Obama intervention, History	2	8	2	2	Obama intervention, environment, history
01/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	8	2	2	
02/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	8	2	2	
03/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	8	2	2	
04/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	8	2	2	
05/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	8	2	2	
06/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	8	2	2	
07/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	8	2	2	
08/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	8	2	2	
09/05/2016	Voice of the Mirror: Only a fool would dismiss the role of the EU in keeping the peace for Britain	Mirror View	Remain	EU sustains peace. Cooperation benefits everyone for security. Jobs, security and migration are key topics.	Security, economy, migration	3	9	2	3	
10/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	3	9	2	3	
11/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	3	9	2	3	
12/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	3	9	2	3	
13/05/2016	Brexit has descended to a battle of which politicians can talk the most bull	Brian Reade	Unclear	Outlines hypocrisy in Brexit arguments: Boris sticking up for poor, Cameron preaching pacifism after bombing Syria, Corbyn claiming he's Remain. Says voters will go with instinct.	Campaign tactics, immigration, economy, protective legislation, security	4	10	2	4	Campaign tactics, protective legislation
14/05/2016	The Government's lies on immigration will push more people towards Brexit	Carole Malone	Leave	Government lied about amount of immigration. People against immigration are not racist; they cannot get their kids into schools, losing jobs to foreign labour. Population is exploding. Middle-class don't have to deal with these issues. Implies Gov are lying about other things relating to EU. Suggests controlled migration.	Immigration, economy, social consequences	5	11	3	4	
15/05/2016	Voice of the Mirror: Brexit: we need facts not fiction	Mirror View	Remain	Boris Johnson is a charlatan, he was considering Remain.	Political supporters	5	11	3	4	Political supporters
16/05/2016	1) Voice of the Mirror: Use your vote in the EU referendum and determine Britain's destiny 2) David Cameron writes for the Mirror: don't take a punt on our future - vote to stay in the EU	1) Mirror view 2) David Cameron	1) Remain 2) Remain	1) Cites David Cameron's previous mistreatment of working people as counting against him (starved NHS of funds, shackled unions). But people need to make up their own mind. 2) EU helps trade network (single-market) & security network (combat terrorism). EU provides equality and human rights legislation. Leaving would be bad for jobs, businesses. Poorest most vulnerable during recession. Youth should have option of free movement.	1) Economy, political supporters 2) Economy, security, social consequences, protective legislation, migration	6	13	4	5	Protective legislation, political supporters
17/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	6	13	4	5	
18/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	6	13	4	5	

19/05/2016	Ditching the EU could ease pressure on first time buyers	Graham Hiscott	Leave	If UK leaves, migration will fall along with population, which will provide first-time buyers with cheaper houses. However, there are also long-term risks to reducing the workforce.	Migration, economy	7	14	4	5
20/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	7	14	4	5
21/05/2016	Demonising refugees to boost the Brexit campaign is scandalous	John Prescott	Remain	Cameron rejecting refugees is shameful. Climate change will result in the increased displacement of people. Migrants claim less benefits than natives. Our involvement in foreign wars has worsened issue.	Migration, economy, environment	8	15	5	6 Environment
22/05/2016	Voice of the Mirror: Wise up or we lose out	Mirror View	Remain	Young people must vote in order to prevent the older generation making the decision they have to live with.	Youth	8	15	5	6 Youth
23/05/2016	The leave camp must provide answers to Treasury's recession claims	Mirror View	Remain	Leave isn't offering an economic plan. Brexit would cause a threat to jobs, wages, house prices, investment, trade. Models such as Albania, Canada, Norway are unsuitable. NHS will also be damaged if UK leaves EU.	Economy	8	16	5	6
24/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	8	16	5	6
25/05/2016	Don't let fear of immigration put Britain's security at risk in EU referendum	David Blunkett	Remain	Cooperation is key to economic success. Suggests constructing special zone where security and customs work together to tackle criminals. Says UK should work with partners to tackle issues.	Economy, migration	9	17	5	6
26/05/2016	Voice of the Mirror: Red Car on EU	Mirror View	Remain	Political jousting has limited quality of debate.	Campaign tactics	9	17	5	6 Campaign tactics
27/05/2016	Young people should not be fooled by the old fools in politics	Brian Reade	Remain	Outlines irony of David Cameron of campaigning for youth vote after ignoring and dismissing them in previous political votes. Cites Eddie Izzard's recent political tours.	Campaign tactics	9	17	5	6 Campaign tactics
28/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	9	17	5	6
29/05/2016	1) Don't believe the leave campaign's lies - they're just two fingers up to the public 2) Voice of the Mirror: People smugglers who profit from desperate refugees must be held to account	1) Kevin Maguire 2) Mirror View	1) Remain 2) Leave	1) Bus with £350mil promise to NHS is fallacious because Tories want to starve and privatise NHS. Cost of EU membership is lower than this figure. 2) Calls for tighter sanctions for people smugglers. Stopping smuggling will discourage journeys and stop flow of migrants.	1) Economy 2) Migration	10	18	5	6
30/05/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	10	18	5	6
31/05/2016	So what has the EU ever done for the workers?	Frances O'Grady	Remain	EU has benefits: rights for working people, job opportunities. Less investors if UK leave, EU law helps women active equality. More paid holidays, free movement, parental leave.	Economy, migration, protective legislation, social consequences	11	19	6	6 Protective legislation
01/06/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	11	19	6	6
02/06/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	11	19	6	6
03/06/2016	1) Beware the 'dangerous lies' from Michael Gove and Boris Johnson on the NHS 2) I might be an old, white man but that doesn't mean I'm a cliched Brexit bore 3) Michael Gove finds Sky grilling a sharp learning curve	1) Dave Prentis 2) Brian Reade 3) Jason Beattie	1) Remain 2) Remain 3) Remain	1) Leave claims about NHS are a lie. Unison wants to Remain. Outlines irony of pretending to care about working people after targeting them for years. Leaving will mean even less funding for NHS. Putting jobs at risk for their own personal profit. We need to improve from within EU rather than take a risk. 2) Old white males are not the problem, there are also people such as those from TOWIE. Aligns himself as anti-farage. 3) Argues against Gove's fondness for ordinary people. Gove cannot promise no job losses. Gove implies migration is destroying communities. Gove provided no economic answers.	1) Economy 2) Political supporters 3) Economy, migration	12	20	6	6 Political supporters
04/06/2016	1) We must Remain in the EU but we have to stay true to Labour values 2) EU laws mean we have to kick out decent migrants and allow wrong sort to stay 3) Tory Brexit boys shamelessly feigning concern for common people in their grab for power	1) John Prescott 2) Carole Malone Kevin Maguire	1) Remain 2) Leave Remain	1) Prescott refuses to share stage with people who deny climate change, target the poor and those who don't care about workers rights. Boris will bring even more economic chaos if Leave wins. Promotes idea of free movement. Immigration is an opportunity which enhances economy. 2) EU's immigration laws prioritise criminals over hard-working immigrants. Says it's an abuse of human right laws to protect these people. Outside of EU UK can devise better system. Leavers are aiming to destroy jobs, income, trade at the apparent interests of working people. Corbyn is more nuanced.	1) Environment, protective legislation, economy, immigration 2) Immigration, security, protective legislation Economy	14	21	6	7 Protective legislation (x2), environment
06/06/2016	Hitachi boss says Brexit would 'force rethink' of UK operations and jobs	Hiroaki Nakanishi	Remain	Chairman of Hitachi states it benefits from trade deal inside EU. Trade implications could lead to company withdrawal, which may result in job losses and a lack of investment. Similar companies will do the same.	Economy	14	23	6	7
07/06/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	14	23	6	7
08/06/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	14	23	6	7
09/06/2016	Don't believe con man Boris Johnson's £350m porkie - he's just sticking two fingers up at British voters	Kevin Maguire	Remain	Leaving will result in a points-system for immigration, which would double the immigration figures. Leave bus is a lie (NHS claim). Claims of working class interests are false.	Immigration, economy	15	24	6	7
10/06/2016	Don't believe the Brexit team's lies - Leaving the EU won't stop immigration	Paul Blomfield	Remain	Leaving will not make any difference to immigration. Cooperation is required to tackle migration crisis. Free movement will have to be accepted if UK wants decent trade deal.	Migration, economy, security	16	25	6	8
11/06/2016	1) Vote leave in the EU referendum and you'll get an even more dangerous Tory Government 2) David Cameron bends the rules over EU referendum to suit his own agenda says Carole Malone	1) John Prescott 2) Carole Malone	1) Remain 2) Leave	1) Dismisses Leave's NHS claim of more funding. Boris Johnson in power would result in removal of employment rights, holidays etc. Gove wants privatisation. Social justice at threat under Tories. 2) Disputes claim Leaver's are racist because of immigration issue. Young people shouldn't believe Cameron.	1) Economy, social consequences, protective legislation 2) Immigration	17	26	6	8

12/06/2016	1) Voice of the mirror: Please don't leave us all in the lurch 2) EU referendum Leave campaigners dishonestly shifting the blame for problems of their own making	1) Mirror view 2) Kevin Maguire	1) Remain 2) Remain	1) Threatening the NHS is a reason why people don't trust politicians. Argues immigration should not decide vote. 2) Tory policies have created inequality, not migration, which is a scapegoat.	1) Economy, immigration 2) Immigration, Economy	19	27	7	8
13/06/2016	The people want Brexit and elitist politicians need to start listening to them	David Davis	Leave	Cheap migration is straining NHS, housing, education. Labour isn't standing up for who it represents. Refuses to blame migrants but suggests it's unsuitable for UK. Elite vs Ordinary.	Economy, immigration	20	27	7	8
14/06/2016	The mood swings to Leave: Mirror politics' EU referendum morning briefing	Jason Beattie	Remain	Although union leaders have stated Brexit would be disastrous for jobs and rights, those who have experienced housing and job losses due to migration find this hard to comprehend. Economy vs migration.	Economy, migration, protective legislation	21	28	7	Protective 8 legislation
15/06/2016	Voice of the Mirror: EU meltdown	Mirror View	Remain	Leaving will result in lost jobs, lower incomes as investors prepare to withdraw due to uncertainty.	Economy	21	29	7	8
16/06/2016	Jo Cox's death should cause politicians to reflect on vitriol of EU campaign	Jason Beattie	Remain	Cox was a campaigner for refugees rights and posters like the one Farage publicised would have saddened her. Should make a change in tone of campaign.	Campaign tactics, immigration	22	29	7	8 tactics
17/06/2016	1) Leading Brexiteers are trying to con working-class Labour voters - that's why I'm voting remain 2) Jo Cox's death and why we have to take our country back 3) A vote for Brexit is a vote for life - and if you're in doubt, don't vote out 4) We must never betray the values Jo Cox stood for to honour her memory	1) Brian Reade 2) Fleet Street Fox 3) Voice of the people 4) Carole Malone	1) Remain 2) Neutral 3) Remain 4) Leave	1) The strategy of Leave posing for working class interests has helped Brian decide to vote Remain. Says Leave is based on emotion, not logic which preys on immigrants. Immigration promises are unachievable. Trade with EU requires freedom of movement. EU has faults but now not time to leave. 2) Jo Cox's death is symptomatic of social division. We should vote for the sake of democracy. 3) Outlines who supports what (Trump, Obama, Putin etc). There will be economic turmoil. Migrants contribute financially, however they cause a strain on services. If in doubt, don't vote out. 4) Denies the referendum has had anything to do with Jo Cox. Like Cox, believes should not be abandoned because of event.	1) Immigration, economy 2) Jo Cox, campaign tactics, social consequences 3) Political supporters, migration, economy 4) Jo Cox	24	31	8	8 tactics Jo Cox (x2), political supporters, campaign
18/06/2016	1) Make the EU referendum victory in Europe day and vote Remain for the sake of the future 2) On EU referendum day vot to free Britain from the shackles of Europe and stand on its own two feet	1) Mirror view 2) Carole Malone	1) Remain 2) Leave	1) EU prevents war between partner nations, provides 3 million British jobs. Migrants contribute to NHS. Points-system designed for larger migrant populations. Brexit doesn't address migration numbers. Economic disaster is probable if UK leaves. Figures proposed by both camps not legitimate. 2) EU is economically flawed. Brexit means we can have more control over immigration, help small business held back by EU, help UK fishermen and farmers. Worth it in long run.	1) Economy, immigration 2) economy, immigration	26	33	8	8
19/06/2016	1) The EU protects so many of our freedoms and rights - we have to Remain 2) I want my country back from the liars who are fanatical about trying to drag us out of Europe	1) Julie Hesmondalgh 2) Kevin Maguire	1) Remain 2) Remain	1) EU legislation protects maternity leave, labour rights, prevents domestic violence. Invests in arts/culture, promotes cultural diversity. Human rights decisive. 2) Brexit puts jobs at risk, campaign has promoted hatred of newcomers. Economic inequality exists but because of UK, not Brussels. Immigration is higher outside EU than form within. Norway model incompatible. Reform from within.	1) Protective legislation, social consequences, migration 2) Social consequences, economy, migration	28	34	10	Protective 8 legislation
20/06/2016	1) Gillian Duffy changed the course of an election and now she reveals why she's voting Brexit 2) It is better to risk success if we vote for Brexit than guarantee failure with Remain 3) Nigel Farage has done nothing for Britain - our best hope is he resigns and stays gone this time 4) Nigel Farage MUST apologise and scrap his disgusting "Breaking Point" refugee posters	1) Gillian Duffy 2) Lord Wolfson 3) Fleet street fox 4) Mirror view	1) Leave 2) Leave 3) Remain 4) Remain	1) British identity is under threat. Claims many immigrants are illegal. Leaving will allow us to prioritise UK natives. Thinks trade will not be affected e.g. Aldi. 2) Accepts economic issues are real. Says trade is good inside EU but EU is poor at securing deals with non-EU countries. For Brexit to be a success, requires free trade deals with rest of world. Immigration is causing a strain on healthcare. Leaving is a gamble, staying is a loss. 3) Deconstructs Nigel Farage's remarks over campaign. Dismisses his immigration argument by saying it will be harder to check incomers without EU assistance & points-system is for increasing migration. Vote Leave to get rid of Nigel. 4) Condemns Gove and Farage for spreading scare stories about Turkey joining EU.	1) Social consequences, immigration, economy 2) Economy, migration, campaign tactics 3) Immigration, campaign tactics 4) Immigration, security	32	36	11	9 tactics (x2) Campaign
21/06/2016	1) Leaving the EU would endanger our economy, our security and Britain's influence in the world 2) A Brexit vote is a vote to reclaim your democracy and decisions that affect your life 3) Why the Mirror is backing Remain for the sake of our great nations	1) Alan Johnson 2) Boris Johnson 3) Mirror view	1) Remain 2) Leave 3) Remain	1) EU laws help prevent terrorism. Economic benefits of trade. EU helps prevent unwanted migration. EU has helped sustain post-war peace. EU sustains workers rights. 2) Take back power from Brussels elite. Must Leave to handle migration numbers. EU members is growing in numbers, meaning more people will have access to UK, including Turkey. Promotes point-system for fairer system. More money for NHS. UK can do more trade deals, more jobs etc. 3) Accepts shortcomings of EU and there needs to be change (public services strain). Tory rule is causing class struggles, not Brussels, don't leave them in charge. EU protective legislation protects women and workers. Economy will suffer, according to experts. NHS will suffer more. Many migrants don't come from EU countries, so leaving will not solve much. Other models not applicable. European peace requires collectivism.	1) security, economy, migration, protective legislation 2) migration, economy 3) economy, protective legislation, social consequences, security, migration	35	39	12	11 (x2) Protective legislation
22/06/2016	Who Legend Roger Daltrey: Why I'm voting 'leave' in the EU referendum	Roger Daltrey	Leave	The Euro is a testament to EU's corruption. EU has too much legislative power. Not against immigration but wants it controlled. EU has changed from 70s when it was voted for. Attributes UK's success in 60s (Rolling stones, beatles etc) because Britain was independent.	Economy, immigration, history	36	40	12	11 History
23/06/2016	No editorials/op-eds published.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	36	40	12	11