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**A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF FOUR BRITISH
NEWSPAPERS' ARTICLES**
STUDY CASE: BREXIT

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Master
degree in **Science of language**

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Abstract

This research is about a critical investigation of the language used in online news to report “Brexit” event. By analyzing four online newspapers articles, which are published by two of the most popular national and local British news outlets: “The Daily Express” and “The Guardian”. The purpose of this study, is to understand how the words chosen by the journalists contribute to create particular meanings, or representations of the event; and if through these representations any hidden ideologies are put forward. The analysis of this research is generally qualitative depending on observation, and also quantitative in some areas. The framework used to carry out the research is by adopting two main models of Critical Discourse Analysis. First, Fairclough’s Sociocultural approach; whereas the second is Van Dijk’s Socio-cognitive approach. Findings reveal that both papers’ reports create polarity of positive in-group and negative out-group ideologies through many discursive strategies which include positive and negative labeling, depersonalization, evidentiality, dramatization and disclaimer.

Key words: CDA, Brexit, Fairclough’s Sociocultural approach, Van Dijk’s Socio-cognitive approach, online news, discursive strategies.

Dedication

I dedicate this humble work to my late father, who unfortunately did not stay in this world long enough to see this moment. To my dear sister and her lovely family who welcomed me in the UK to do this work. To my dear mother and my little sister. To my darling who always supported me. To my friend Safiyah in the UK.

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List of Abbreviations

DA: Discourse Analysis

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

PD: Political Discourse

UKIP: United Kingdom Independence Party

PM: Prime Minister

MP's: Members of Parliament

SNP: Scottish National Party

NHS: National Health Service

ECSC: European Coal and Steel Community

General Introduction

Within the last few decades, in attempt to apprehend what constitutes knowledge of language, a remarkable shift of interest in the sentence and its components to a concern with stretches of language that transcend sentence boundaries and extend far to include the world in which language is used has arisen. This relatively new approach, known as Discourse Analysis, occupies a body of literature, which probes into its nature, methods, scope and applications in a number of fields; such as politics and media.

Generally, media collect data from sponsors, and sell it to hybrid audiences(consumers). Making sense of this information requires routine-based work or templates to input data into them in order to produce news. Without such everyday work, the cost of news production would outweigh the benefit of selling the news. Therefore, news values are norms to define what is more important and most appealing to the audience. It is argued that the more out of norm or unusual the news, the more attractive they will be to the audience and the more captivated they will be by the media and presented as news. Thus, the media tend to focus on news with human interest; such as political conflict and controversy.

This research work aims at critically analyzing the discourse of British newspapers, that cover the political event: Brexit. Since the latter attracted widespread attention in the UK including that of mass media. Several discourses emerged from the media who reported on the day to day the event. Most news reporters claim to be objective in their reports. To them, reporting involves giving the exact representation of facts and events. On the contrary, many media scholars are of the opinion that objective news reporting is not possible; since language which is the major tool in reporting is an embodiment of ideology. In other words, language news is never innocent, free or neutral, but reflects beliefs and ideologies of the users. What is obtained is that discourse is often manipulated to represent conflict others and events based on the perceptions and ideologies of the reporters.

This study, therefore, aims to answer the following questions: first, what are the hidden ideologies and the strategies used by reporters to represent the given issue?. Second, what kind of representation is given to describe both, the event and its actors?. Therefore, this study analyses salient discursive practices deployed by the British newspapers, in representing the event of Brexit, with a view to unveiling underlying ideologies in the dichotomous categorization of the actors and their actions. Insights are drawn from Van Dijk approach to

analyze how strategies are manipulated to create polarity of in-group favouritism, and out-group derogation.

The study is divided into three chapters, the first one is devoted to introducing the theory of Critical Discourse Analysis, with regard to the notion of ideology, media discourse and political one. The second chapter gives space to the European Union and United Kingdom membership, followed by a background on the main event “Brexit”. Also, it explains the methodology of the work. It further, sheds light on the framework of analysis. The last chapter is dedicated to analyzing the selected articles through two analytical parts: the text analysis, by adopting Fairclough’s CDA model; and the discursive practice analysis; through Van Dijk’s approach. Finally, the findings are noted and discussed.

Chapter One

Theoretical Frameworks

1.Introduction:

Language as an important tool for media uses it mostly to influence attitudes and beliefs in our everyday lives. Apart from the fact that most of our social and political knowledge and beliefs about the world are derived from the dozens of daily media reports, language in news reports is often manipulated to influence and form our opinions and world views on issues. These reports became the concern of many linguists and sociologists; therefore, they started to analyze different texts in both media and political fields through what is called CDA. This chapter introduces the Theoretical Framework of CDA. It opens with defining discourse, Discourse Analysis (DA), and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). It further presents the notion of ideology. Subsequently, it narrows the analytical framework developed by Fairclough, and the sociocognitive approach advanced by Van Dijk. The chapter closes with a brief overview of the notion of both political and media discourse.

1.1 Discourse, DA and CDA:

To clarify how CDA works, basically it is necessary to provide some definitions and background knowledge of the discipline.

1.1.1 Definition of Discourse:

The word discourse itself has a number of complex uses. It refers to a symbolic human interaction in its many forms, whether directly through spoken or written language or via gestures, pictures, diagrams, films, or music. It is defined by Van Dijk (1997) as a form of language use that can be spoken or written, or better a communicative event. Fairclough (1995) extended the meaning of discourse by including visual images and non-verbal communication. Further, the word discourse is the general idea that language is structured according to different patterns that people's utterance follows when they take part in different domains of social life, familiar examples being "medical discourse", "media discourse" and political one. Discourse analysis (DA) is the analysis of these patterns.

1.1.2 Discourse Analysis:

The term Discourse Analysis was first introduced by Zelling Harris in 1952, as a way of defining the study of connected written and spoken language, and constitutes today a term for different analytical approaches. Most types of Discourse Analysis aim to offer a

better understanding of the sociocultural aspects that characterize and influence texts (Kress,1990), they each rely on specific approaches which can be classified mainly into non critical and critical. Non critical approaches focus on descriptive goals, illustrating and explaining language use (Johnstone,2008); critical approaches, on the other hand, are interested in why specific word choices are made, aiming to reveal power structures in the language and understand how these shapes and are shaped by society (Fairclough,1995). Further, Discourse Analysis studies structures and patterns of language across texts, taking into account the social and cultural contexts in which they are used (Paltridge,2006).

1.1.3 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA):

During the twentieth century, much of discourse analysis was essentially non-critical, which is to say that it did not present a critique of social practices. It had three main purposes (1) to identify and describe how people use language to communicate; (2) to develop methods of analyses that help to reveal the categories of discourse and the essential features of each; (3) to build theories about how communication takes place. Subsequently, many Discourse Analysts started to see discourse both as a product of society and also as a dynamic and changing force that is constantly influencing and re-constructing social practices and values, either positively or negatively. Thus, they needed to address and analyze discourse practices in critical ways. Therefore, it is named critical discourse as it takes consideration of the context of language use to be crucial to discourse; further, it takes an interest in the relation between language and power (Wodak,2001). The term CDA was defined by many scholars, according to Van Dijk (1998) CDA is a field that is concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias. It examines how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts. On the other hand, Fairclough (1995) “relationship between the use of language and the exercise of power are often not apparent, and it is through CDA that the researcher can identify them”. Researchers of this field of study go one step further than just observing and describing language use in particular contexts, they consider their work as a political and moral task, and see themselves as agents of change (Van Dijk,1997). As research method, CDA is a way of studying any kind of text critically to see how it influences or is influenced by society. In addition, (Van Dijk,1997) described CDA as “A new cross discipline that comprises the analysis of text and talk in virtually all disciplines of the humanities and social sciences”. According to Bloor (2007): “CDA examines practices

and customs in society both to discover and describe how they work and also to provide a critique of those practices”.

Research in CDA has covered areas such as organizational analyses (Mumby and Clair1997), pedagogy (Chouliaraki 1998), mass communication and racism, nationalism and identity (Chouliaraki 1998; Van Dijk 1991; Wodak et al ,1999), mass communication and economy (Richardson 1998), democracy and politics (Fairclough 1995,1998,2000).

Bloor. M & Bloor. T (2007) summarized the main theoretical objectives of Critical Discourse Analysis:

- To demonstrate the significance of language in the social relations of power.
- To investigate how meaning is created in context.
- To investigate the role of speaker/ writer purpose and authorial in the construction of discourse.

1.2 Ideology:

When working on a discourse critically; it is important to be aware that most discourse used by members of a group tends to be ideologically based. In fact, the notion of ideology was invented by French philosopher Destutt De Tracy at the end of the 18th century. This term influenced many social practices, and one of these are language use and discourse. Van Dijk (2006) one of the most figures who tackled such issue, he defined ideology as a multidisciplinary framework that combines a social, cognitive, and discursive element, in the attempt to clarify the notion and its theoretical function in Critical Discourse Analysis. According to him, ideologies are a system of beliefs that define the social identity of a group, controlling and organizing its actions, aims, norms and values (Van Dijk,2006). Further, he claimed that ideologies are expressed, reproduced, acquired and confirmed through social practices, the most important of which are language and discourse. It is through written and spoken language in fact that members of a social group share ideologically based opinions (Van Dijk,2000).

Van Dijk (2006) states that: “ideologies are not any kind of socially shared beliefs, such as sociocultural knowledge or social attitudes, but more fundamental or axiomatic. They control and organize other socially shared beliefs. Thus, a racist ideology may control attitudes about immigration”. On the other hand, ideologies are not always negative; there are racist as well as antiracist.

The relation between ideologies and discourse is complex and often quite indirect. Such discourse depends on ideologically based contexts, on the way participants interpret events subjectively, or more directly on general group beliefs that are ideologically controlled. Journalists for instance, form a social and professional group, they recognize themselves as part of this group, and share an occupational ideology which is one of the basic values of a journalistic such as, immediacy, credibility and legitimacy.

1.3 Approaches to CDA:

There are actually numbers of theory contribute in the field of CDA; such as the one proposed by Wodak (1989,2001) known as Discourse Historical approach; Fairclough's (1989,1995,2003) Sociocultural approach and Van Dijk's (1991,1995,1998,206) Socio-cognitive approach. Each theory serves different focus.

This section of the chapter is devoted only to two models, which will be applied in this research to analyze the communicative event. First, Fairclough's Sociocultural model also known as (three-dimensional approach); whereas the second is on Van Dijk's model.

1.3.1 Norman Fairclough's Sociocultural approach:

CDA theory suggested by Fairclough is called 3D theory; since he believes that CDA is unified as a three-dimensional framework. He assumes that any case of language is a communicative event which is comprised of three dimensions (1) is a text which is can be a speech, writing, visual images or a combination of these; (2) it is a discursive practice which involves the production and consumption of text; and (3) it is a social practice. Besides these three levels of discourse, Fairclough developed three stages of CDA which are description, interpretation and explanation.

1.3.1.1 Description:

This stage of the framework will take a main part and will be used in this research; whereas the other stages will be explained only.

As it has been mentioned above, description, interpretation, and explanation are the three stages of discourse analysis. In the descriptive stage linguistic features such as choices in vocabulary, grammar (passivization) and text structure (thematic choice) should be analyzed. Fairclough (1989:26) claimed that: "description is the stage which is concerned

with formal properties of text”. According to him linguistic features of the text should be explored in the descriptive stage so that it can be understood.

For him, the section of vocabulary deals with the choice of different words; whereas grammar is about the grammatical features, and finally the textual structures part concerns with the whole structures of the discourse.

1.3.1.2 Interpretation:

In this stage discourse is not only regarded as text, but also as discursive practice; which means a part from analyzing linguistic features and text structure, attention should be drawn to other factors, such as intertextuality. Subsequently, these factors will link the text to its context.

1.3.1.3 Explanation:

The analysis in the explanative part is in reference to the historical, social, and cultural contexts. Besides that, the hidden issues like ideology and power will be explained.

1.3.2 Teun Van Dijk’s Socio-cognitive approach :

For Van Dijk it is the socio-cognition and personal cognition that mediates between society and discourse. In other words, this cognition interfaces between discourse structures and social structures, and it is employed to analyze how discourse strategies are manipulated to create contradiction or what Van Dijk called polarity of in-group favouritism and out-group derogation. As well as uncover the ideological differences in the representations of events and participants in the conflict. Critical Discourse Analysis preoccupies with the study of implicit ideology; in order to make clear the mysterious connections between discourse practices, social practices and social structures.

Van Dijk’s model offers a framework on dichotomous categorization of people in the media for reflecting the basic ideological strategy of “positive-self representation and negative other- representation”. The framework states that in-group favouritism and out-group derogation are semantic macro-ideological strategies used to create division between “good and bad, superior and inferior, US and THEM” and so on. According to Van Dijk (2006), the macro ideological strategies are discursive ways to either enhance or mitigate “our/their” bad characteristics, and as a result mark discourse ideologically. Van Dijk goes further by suggesting some of the discursive strategies for realizing positive-self representation and

negative other representation. Such as, generalization, polarization, actor description, categorization, euphemism, evidentiality, hyperbole, lexicalization, metaphor, self-glorification, presupposition and victimization. These strategies are utilized in news reports to construct polarity as well as social inequality and bias; and it will be more explained in the second chapter.

Discourse strategies have different ideological cases. Here, ideologies are systems of beliefs which are shared by the society, and which indirectly influence the personal cognition, beliefs and attitude of group members in the act of comprehension and production of discourse. Ideologies are in most cases, socially acquired and often lead to different mental representations. According to Van Dijk (1995), “mental representations are often articulated along US versus THEM dimensions, in which speakers of one group will generally tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms, and other groups in negative terms” (p.22). In order to analyze and make explicit the contrastive dimension of US versus THEM, the study adopts Van Dijk’s model to examine the discursive strategies in the reports. It also examines the formal linguistic structures, lexical and syntactic choices employed to emphasize polarized group actions and opinions.

Van Dijk believes that one who desires to make transparent such an ideological dichotomy in discourse needs to analyze it in the following way:

- Examining the context of the discourse: historical, political, or social background of a conflict and its main participants.
- Analyzing groups, power relations and conflicts involved
- Identifying positive and negative opinions about US vs THEM.
- Examining all formal structure: lexical choice and syntactic structure, in a way that helps to emphasize polarized group opinions.

Each country has his own media house that shows favouritism and prejudice to a specific group in their reports. The assumption here is that news reports are ideologically embedded socio-cognitive and political practice. Thus, ideologies of specific groups are encoded in their language use and presented to media consumers in society in news reports.

The media is an organization that is controlled by both external and internal influences. This control plays a great role in determining which stories are valuable as news, and how they are presented to the audience. According to Dennis and Merrill (1984), at the

organizational level, “The well-trained editor or news director makes judgements reflecting prevailing journalistic practices and the specific needs of the audience as perceived by upper management” (p.137). Consequently, factors such as individual, media routines, organizational, extra media, and ideological combine to influence and shape production of media contexts (Shoemaker & Reese,1996). Specifically, media ideology is a feature of a group, community or organization and is not exclusively a property of individuals and their belief systems. That is, the ideologies of the owners or sponsors of the mass media combine to influence mass media content, especially in news gathering, selection, editing and transmission. Media ownership can be private that belongs to an individual or a group, on the other hand, to a government.

1.4 Media and Discourse:

The influence and range of the mass media has been increasing over the past century, with increased numbers of newspapers, television channels, and the introduction of the internet. Economic competition has become fiercer. As Fairclough (1995) points out “media language should be recognized as an important element within research on contemporary processes of social and cultural change”. He further points out that media discourse is subject to tension between the public and private, as well as tension between information and entertainment. On the other hand, editorials are attempting to persuade readers to share the opinions expressed in the text, which is linked to the ideological stance of the newspaper and its principals.

1.4.1 Online Media:

Since this study aims to analyze online articles; it is necessary to introduce the notion of online media. It is a term referring to requests for access to content anytime, anywhere, on any digital device as well as feedback interactive users, creative participation, and community building around media content, as well as the real time generation aspect. It is a simplification of the form of media outside the five conventional media-television, radio, magazines, newspapers and movies. Instead, it contains all these properties and anyone can connect easily and access to it.

1.4.2 Mass media and construction of reality:

Political events have always attracted the attention of mass media as a cover story. This happens because politics is in the era of mediation. In fact, political actors are always trying to attract journalists to get their media coverage.

In the framework of forming public opinions, the mass media generally perform three activities at once. First, it uses the political symbols (language of politics). Second, it implements framing strategies. Third, it performs the function of the media agenda. When these three actions are applied, a media may be influenced by various internal factors in the form of a specific editorial policy concerning a political force, the political interests of media managers, media relations with certain political forces and external factors such as market pressures of readers or viewers, prevailing political systems and other external forces.

1.5 Political Discourse:

The use of language in terms of political context draws the idea of the sub-branch of CDA namely political discourse (PD, henceforth). What makes PD differs from CDA is by delimiting the subject matter of the analysis as being concerned with either formal or informal political context and political actors containing politicians, political institutions, government, political media and political supporters operating in political environment to achieve a certain political goal. Accordingly, PD is used for CDA focusing on political matter.

Van Dijk (1998) claims that: “Political Discourse is identified by its actors or authors, viz, politicians”. For him, the largest part of studies of Political Discourse is about the text and talk of professional politicians, or political institutions. Such as, president and prime ministers, and other members of government, parliament or political parties; both at the local, national and international levels. Here are some studies of politicians that uses a discourse analytical approach (Carbo.1984; Dillon et al.1990; Harris.1991; Holly1990 and Maynard 1994).

Conclusion:

To sum up, the first part attempted to provide a concise explanation on CDA and its major models. Then the second part revealed how media discourse is affected by a political practice. For that reason, a political stance is taken when reporting the news by journalists. The next chapter demonstrates the most known member ship in history, the UK and the European Union; which later ended in a way that was described as a hard divorce.

Chapter Two

Methodology

Introduction:

This chapter introduces the analysis part. At the beginning it tries to provide a review on the European Union and its relation to the UK; then a background on the issue of Brexit and how does it start. The study attempts to critically investigate journalists' discursive practices in their reports. In this respect, it is necessary to introduce the context of the discourse; which is the online websites of newspapers "The Guardian and Daily Express", and obviously their political stance to extract their ideologies. In addition, this chapter includes descriptions of the data to be analyzed. It is followed by a description of the process of the analysis which is dichotomized into two main parts. By adopting Fairclough's model, a textual analysis is conducted as the first part of the analysis; whereas the second part is dedicated to the analysis of the discursive practices that is used in news reports introduced by Van Dijk in his Socio-cognitive model.

2.1 Contextual components:

This section is devoted to introduce briefly a review on the European Union, and how does it is formed. On the other side, it provides the difference between GB and the UK; and recounts the issue of Brexit and how does it start.

2.1.1 The European Union (EU): A review

The European Union is an economic and political partnership including 28 independent states in Europe. The aim of the Union is to bring different European countries to forge closer economic and industrial cooperation. The idea of the United European community was based on the weakness of European countries after the continent witnessed two World Wars causing the fall of the European hegemony around the world. In 1950, Robert Schuman French minister proposed the formation of the Union. His proposal allowed for the creation of an integrated coal and steel industry of Western Europe called the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). There are certain symbols which represent the Union such as, the EU constitution, European Union flag and the European Anthem (ode of joy) which symbolize European unity and solidarity. The EU has seven fundamental institutions which include: European council, European commission, council of ministers, European parliament, court of justice of the EU, Union Central Bank (ECB) and court of Auditors

2.1.2 Great Britain and the UK:

Great Britain is a geographical term, and it includes the three main countries on the main island: England, Scotland and Wales. Whereas the UK is the political entity of four main countries which includes: England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. This is a sovereign state, and the full term for the UK is “The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland”. It is been in this form since 1922.

2.1.3 Brexit:

Brexit is a portmanteau of the words Britain and exit. It is in general the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union. On the 23rd of June 2016, there was a referendum. 51.9% voted to leave the EU, and 48.1% voted to remain. There was a turnout of over 70%, which equates to about 30 million of people. The Brexit vote has shaken modern politics forever, with the UK set to be the first country to leave the Union after 47 years of membership.

Before that, how does everything start? In 1961, the UK applied to be a member of the EU for the first time. At that time the block was called The European Economic Community as was mentioned above; otherwise it was known as the common market. Its aim was to bring about economic integration, but the UK’s inclusion in the common market faced an opposition from within the group, mainly from the French president Charles De Gaulle; when he vetoed the UK’s application in 1963 and again in 1967. He doubted Britain’s commitment to the Union’s political objectives, and believed its economy was not compatible with those of its six existing members at that time. However; in 1969 France elected a new president, and the UK succeeded in joining the group in 1973. After two years of joining, the UK held a referendum on whether it should remain in the European Economic Community; as a result, 67% of voters favored continued membership. In the years that followed, the EU transformed from a trade arrangement to more of a political alliance. While the UK has benefited from so called opt outs, which essentially means the UK does not have to participate in certain European policies. For instance, the UK did not join the Schengen area in 1985, maintaining a border that has passport controls. It also opted out of a monetary union in 1992, keeping its currency, the pound Sterling, instead of the Euro. The introduction of the Euro was part of a wide-ranging agreement called the Maastricht Treaty which was signed by the UK along with 11 other member states. It expanded the EU’s remit as an economic community to include foreign affairs, justice and policing. Ultimately, it was the framework

for the modern EU, but for Eurosceptics it was an unacceptable transfer of powers from the UK parliament to Brussels, and threatened further divisions in the conservative government. However; a long period of economic growth under pro-European Prime Ministers maintained enough support for the EU and the single market, meaning that calls for another EU referendum were put on the back burner for nearly 20 years. Nonetheless, there was growing dissatisfaction with the level of bureaucracy in Europe. In 2004, the entry of 10 new countries into the EU also led to more questions in the UK about the country's level of immigration. In the 10 years that followed, the number of EU migrants living in the UK almost doubled. This, along with the fall in household incomes after 2008 financial crash, that has been seen by some as contributing to a groundswell of resentment toward European migrants. It was an issue that the major political parties were slow to recognize and respond to. As a result; support for the anti-European party UKIP (United Kingdom Independence Party) and its leader Nigel Farage started to grow rapidly. By 2014, several surveys suggested that the party was being supported by up to 16% of the electorate. Many conservative party candidates were concerned about their supporters switching allegiance to UKIP and pleaded with Prime Minister David Cameron to promise an EU referendum in his campaign manifesto, to avoid the risk of defections from within his own party, and the conservatives won the election with an overall majority. As divisions within the party started to become more evident, Cameron promised a referendum by the end of 2017. However; he tried first a re-negotiating with the EU; some of the terms of Britain's membership. He emerged from the talks with a deal, but that was not enough to convince Eurosceptics. For many, the process gave the impression that Brussels was inflexible and unwilling to make big concessions to keep Britain in the Union. Thus, PM David Cameron, had to deliver on his manifesto promise and set a date for a referendum which was the 23rd of June 2016 with a simple question, whether to remain in or leave the European Union? David Cameron stated: "I will go to the parliament and propose that the British people decide our future in the Europe". On the morning of Friday 24th of June 2016, Cameron announced his intention to resign as a Prime Minister, after he failed to convince the British public to stay in the European Union. Subsequently, the conservative party leadership election was announced. Then Theresa May became the leader of the party on 11th of July 2016. In her first speech as a Prime Minister, she coined this phrase: "Brexit means Brexit". This phrase was as a promise to the people of the UK that she will deliver Brexit. It was her way of showing her determination and pledge to the British people, that she would indeed take Britain out of the EU. Later, her Brexit deal was voted down in parliament, and she lost a second parliament vote in 12th of March 2019. In last attempt to pass her Brexit

deal, she lost a third vote; when she announced her resignation from the leadership of the conservative party on 24th of May 2019. After that, Boris Johnson becomes her successor. In the 2019 general election, Johnson led the conservative party to its biggest parliamentary victory since 1987, by winning 43,6% of the vote-the largest share of any party since 1979. Johnson is a controversial figure in British politics. Supporters have praised him as humorous and entertaining, with an appeal stretching beyond traditional conservative voters. Conversely, his critics have accused him of dishonesty, lying, elitism and of using racist language.

2.2 British newspapers and their political stance:

Britain has some of the most interesting newspapers in the world. Basically, Britain's press can trace its history back more than 300 years. The first true newspaper published in Britain was the Oxford Gazette, which was published in 1665. The following centuries, several newspapers appeared; such as The Guardian and The Daily Express. Here is a brief history of the two most famous newspapers in Britain.

2.2.1 The Guardian:

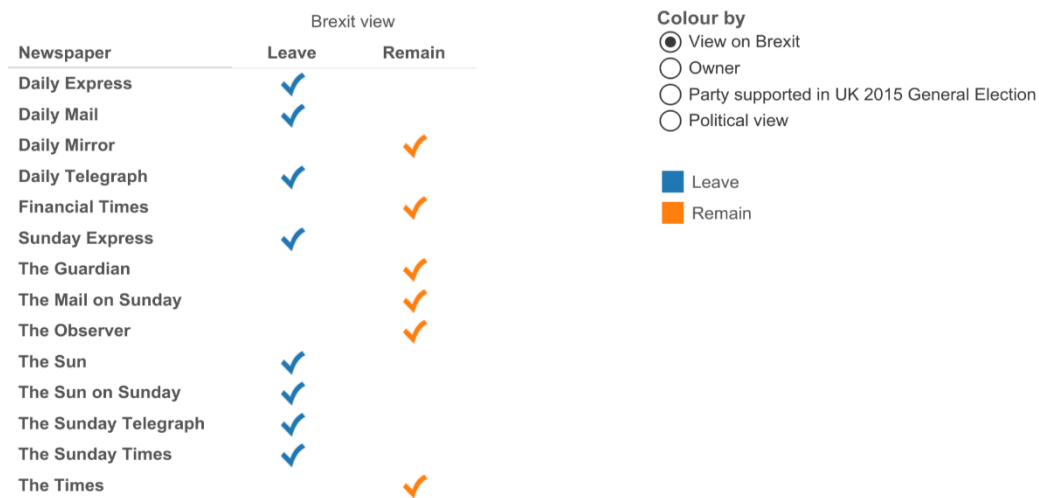
One of Britain's most popular papers is The Guardian, which used to be The Manchester Guardian. It was founded in 5th of May 1821, by textile traders and merchants. In its early years, The Guardian had a reputation as "an organ of the middle class". In April 2011 Media Week reported that The Guardian was the fifth most popular newspaper site in the world. Concerning its political orientation, it underwent a decisive change after the second World War; leading to a gradual alignment with Labour party and the political left wing in general. The paper's readership is generally on the mainstream left of British political opinion. A poll was taken between April and June 2000 showed that 80% of Guardian readers were Labour party voters. In 2017 election, The Guardian endorsed the Labour party. Then, in the 2019 European election, it invited its readers to vote for pro-EU candidates without endorsing specific parties. The guardian is described by its fans as: intelligent, interesting, informative, well written and great for politics.

2.2.2 The Daily Express:

It is a daily national tabloid newspaper in the UK; it was founded in 24th of April 1900. Since its foundation, The Express has been at the forefront of the news, and a fundamental part of the fabric of British life, crusading for truth, dignity, and bringing

millions of readers informed coverage of the most important world events in both print and online. The paper’s editorial stances have often been seen as aligned to the UKIP party, Euroscepticism and many other right-wing factions, including the right wing of the Conservative party. The newspaper declared its support for the Conservative party at every general election since World War two. Daily Express online group stated that: “We are a proudly conservative newspaper on the center right of British politics, but our core loyalty will always be to our readers above any political party or movement”.

Where do newspapers officially stand on Brexit?



Left-click on the name of a newspaper to see a popup with a direct link to that newspaper's editorial on the subject, if one was found so far.

Circulation

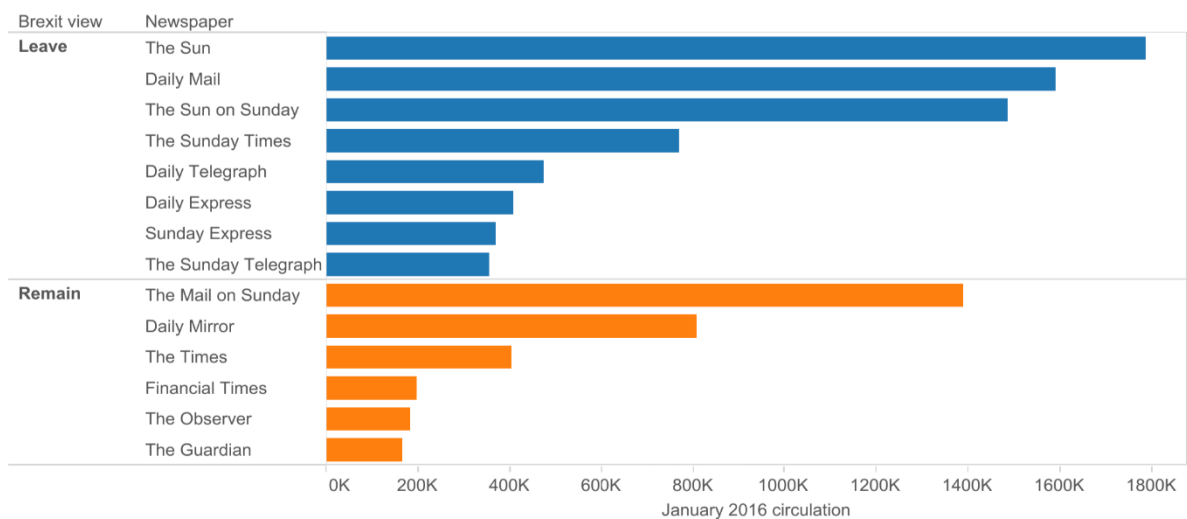


Figure 1. The British newspaper stance on Brexit

2.3 Methodology:

The present study covers an investigation of the British event Brexit. It is a combination of both political and media discourse genre. It is a qualitative study attempts to analyze four newspapers online articles (see data description). By adopting Fairclough's and Van Dijk approach, the research tries to integrate linguistic and social analyses of discourse.

The reason behind choosing those articles, is to show the split of the opinions in the UK. Since there are papers that is pro-Brexit and the other part against. The aim of analyzing those articles, is to reveal what ideologies are implied in the words used by the journalists; and to show how the event is described. Also, what kind of identities are set up for the Conservatives and Labour parties used by journalists to display the conflict between them. In other words what Van Dijk called Us vs Them dimensions. Basically, the analysis in general is a qualitative research depending on a personal observation inside the British society, with the assistance of British people; mainly who have interest in politics and reading newspaper constantly. This analysis is also a quantitative in some parts of considering the frequencies of words and forms.

2.4 Data description:

The data selected and analyzed in this study, consists of online newspaper articles covering the event of Brexit; that took place on January 31st, 2020. Specifically, the data are collected from 4 articles; which were published between November 2019 to the 1st of February. The articles were selected from the most popular national and local British online newspapers which are "The Guardian and The Daily Express". The criteria I used to select the sources was by their circulation; since that implicates their popularity, and therefore a higher number of readers. Particularly, I have chosen two articles from The Guardian; one was published on November before the general election 2019; which was completely against Brexit and describe it as risk that threatens The UK; while the 2nd was on the day of the election 12th of December 2019, which doubted that PM Boris will do it in real. On the other hand, the other two articles, were selected from The Express, and published after the general election. They were supported and celebrated the day of Brexit in general. Specifically, one article was the night of Brexit 30th of January 2020, and the other one was after the win of Boris February 1st, 2020, and indicates that the future of The UK will change.

N:	Article title	Date	Source	Author
01	You'd never know it, but the future of The United Kingdom is at stake	Wed 27 th Nov 2019 Last modified 3 rd Feb 2020	The Guardian Online website www.theguardian.com	Martin Kettle Columnist and Chief political leader writer
02	This is a Brexit election. But Boris Johnson will not get Brexit done	Thu 12 Dec 2019	The Guardian Online website www.theguardian.com	Martin Kettle
03	Brexit is here! Francois's so excited he just can't hide it like a kid before Christmas	Thu, Jan 30, 2020	The Daily Express Online website www.express.co.uk	CIARAN. MC GRATH Political reporter
04	We'll be a truly United Kingdom, vows Boris as the UK leaves the EU	Sat, Feb 1 st , 2020	The Daily Express Online website www.express.co.uk	Macer Hall Political editor

Table 1.DataTable

2.5 Contextual analysis:

The process of conducting a CDA of the articles; is through the analysis of text and its social dimensions. For that reason, the analysis in this study is divided into two parts: the textual analysis and the discursive practices analysis.

2.5.1 Textual analysis:

This section will be analyzed by adopting Fairclough's model. Mainly, the descriptive stage as it was explained in the first chapter. The textual analysis starts with presenting lexicalization and vocabulary in articles' discourse, since it is the major dimension that creates discourse meaning. Lexicalization or lexical choice refers to the choice (among many choices) of words used in news report. A journalist's choice of words generally serves to indicate something about the subject of the discourse, and the author's opinion of it. As

Van Dijk (2000) explains: “when there are options of lexicalization, choosing one word rather than another often has contextual reasons, such as the opinions of the speaker about a person, a group, or their actions”.

Syntax is another key element in the text to be analyzed. It is studied by identifying the choice of pronouns, conjunctions, modal verbs and sentence structures. The study of pronouns contributes to labelling the speakers as either inclusive, exclusive or neutral because they reflect nouns and humans (Fairclough,2003). In the selected articles, the identification of pronouns aims to show either positive, or negative labelling of both Conservative, and Labour parties.

Modality is a major linguistic element that should be analyzed in a discourse. It aims to identify speaker’s or writer’s commitment to truth, negation, obligation, potentials and recommendations. In addition, it is important to look at the cohesion to see how simple sentences are linked together. On the other side, a light should be on the construction of news’ titles. Conboy (2007) reports that headlines serve three main functions: they provide a brief overview of the main news, they constitute an indicator of the style and values of the news outlet, and finally they catch the attention of the reader.

2.5.2 Discursive practice analysis:

This part of analysis is devoted to the discursive practices used by journalists or their participants in the articles. Basically, it is suggested by Van Dijk in his socio-cognitive approach. Starting with the main used element which is labelling, it is a linguistic process of identifying and describing a person or group of people with specific labels or tags. Positive or negative labels are ascribed to people depending on the perceived social attitudes associated with the people or group. While positive labels approve of a group’s activities and ideologies; negative labels condemn such activities as well as attack a group’s ideologies. On the other hand, journalists mostly use what is known as evidentiality. The latter is the use of evidence of proof to make opinions, claims or points of view more plausible, reliable and credible in news articles. According to Van Dijk (2006), providing evidence and giving credibility to opinions influence the mental models of recipients/readers by persuading them to accept views as real and true.

Another discourse strategy that is founded in the reports, is hyperbolism. For enhancing meaning, hyperbolism is used for ideologically biased polarization of “Us vs Them” dimension. In representing “self and others”, certain hyperbolic items or expressions

are used for positive impression formation and negative acts magnification. The expressions help in constructing the preferred mental model which tends to emphasize the negative deeds of the other party. On the other side, speakers/writers tend to use depersonalization strategy. It involves implicit generalization of self's views by suppressing the actual advocates of the opinions. In depersonalization, there is no explicit inclusion of precise references to the doers or speakers of a particular discursive action or opinion. Thus, the speakers or doers are mystified and suppressed; while their opinions or actions are foregrounded. Another powerful political and ideological tool, is hedging and vagueness. As the well-known example of diplomatic language shows. According to Van Dijk (2006.p52): "we may hedge or be vague when we do not know a precise answer to a question, and yet do not want to appear ignorant. But we may also hedge a discourse for political reasons. For instance, when precise statements are contextually inappropriate or simply politically incorrect". A politician or journalist may oppose immigration for instance; however, may hedge such an opinion lest he or she be accused of racism. Both in political and media discourse, vagueness may imply mitigation, euphemism and indirectly also a denial.

The journalist or the political speaker in the articles, uses a discursive practice called "distancing". It is one of the ways to express Us vs Them polarization in talk, by words that imply distance between in-group speakers, refer to out-group speakers. This familiar socio-cognitive device may for instance be expressed by the use of demonstrative pronouns, instead of naming or describing the others.

Furthermore, disclaimer is a key element that is usually founded in news reports. A very typical of any type of prejudiced discourse is the semantic move of the disclaimer, of which the apparent negation is the best known "I have nothing against x, but...". Van Dijk called this an apparent negation; because it is only the first clause that denies adverse feelings or racism against another group; while the rest of discourse may say negative things about the others. The negation in such a case primarily serves as a form of positive-presentation of face keeping. Speakers want to avoid that the recipients have a negative opinion about them because of what they say. There are several types of disclaimer; such as apparent concession, apparent denial, apparent apology and many others.

Conclusion:

The chapter at the beginning has provided an overview of the formation of the European Union and its relation to the United Kingdom. The latter has an eventful history of events; while the current one is mainly Brexit. Therefore, the event became daily reported in the British newspapers. For that, and based on the CDA framework, the discursive practices used by the journalists will be the subject of the practical issues in the following chapter. Further, the analytical part and the study as a whole tries to show different representation of the event that creates different ideologies.

Chapter Three

Data analysis and Findings

Introduction:

The present chapter critically assesses the selected articles from two different papers, by adopting Fairclough's model of CDA that is devoted for text analysis only. While the second part of the analysis tries to uncover different discursive practices, by using Van Dijk's model. More interestingly, this part of the study tries to show the hidden realities, that are mostly covered by fake media news; where journalists use different persuasive techniques to convince their readers and increase their paper's popularity. Further, each journalist gives a different representation of both the actors, and the main event Brexit.

3.1 Data Analysis:

The analysis aims to provide all the opinions and ideologies, that are hidden in the articles. Based on Fairclough's model, and Van Dijk approach the study is divided into two main steps. First, the text analysis that is concerned with the language features in both papers. It deals with vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structure. Second, the discursive practice analysis is concerned with a set of discourse strategies that are proposed by Van Dijk to express a social and political structure. Thus, it extracts a conflict and contrast between different groups.

3.1.1 Text Analysis:

This part of the analysis is concerned with vocabulary, grammar, and cohesion used in both papers. Vocabulary is studied in terms of specific word frequency. Grammar is studied by identifying the choice of pronouns, conjunctions, and modal verbs. Cohesion on the other side, is studied by analyzing the texts structure as a whole.

3.1.1.1 Vocabulary:

This part is concerned with a specific word choice to describe actors, and a focus on verb choice too. Further, an example of identity and belonging words will be discussed here. First, the most used verbs in Boris' speech was a good choice to address the audience about what the government have achieved, are doing and will do in different aspects of affairs. Those verbs can also arouse the British people's confidence toward the Prime Minister, and his government and to get their support in policies or measures in his following plans.

Second, Actors may be described as members of groups or as individuals, by first or family name, function, role or group name, as specific or unspecific, by their actions or attributes, by their position or relation to other people, and so on. The following table shows

both descriptions used by the two papers. The choice of such description will be explained more in another discursive strategy namely “labelling”.

The Daily Express	The Guardian
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Prime Minister Mr. Boris Johnson • Brexiteer Mr. Francois • Remainder Terry Christian • Remainers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boris Johnson/ only Johnson • The Tories/ Conservatives • Labour government • The Scottish National Party

Table 2.Actor Description

The figure below shows the frequency of words that express the identity and belonging (The UK, Britain, country, EU, bloc, and new era). The reason behind choosing the following words will be discussed more in positive-self representation strategy.

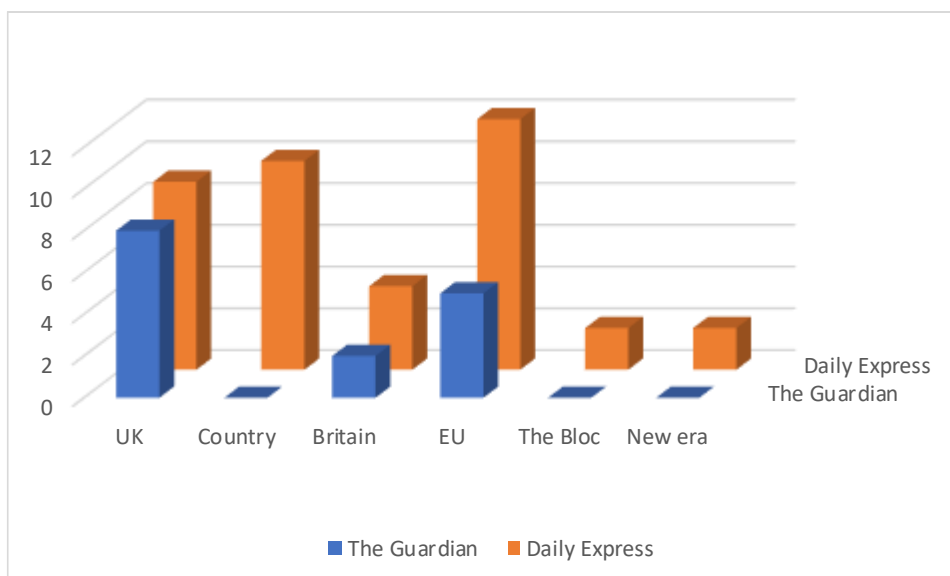


Figure 2. The frequency of identity and belonging words

3.1.1.2 Grammar:

This part is concerned with the grammar and the text structure in both papers. Starting with choices of pronouns, conjunctions, then modal verbs that are selected and analyzed. Following that, the tenses used throughout the articles are analyzed. Lastly, some text structures are chosen to be discussed such as, repetitive patterns and cohesion.

3.1.1.2.1 Pronouns:

The most used actors containing in the articles of Express are I, we, and our. Those choices are not actually selected randomly. The use of actor I reflects the ideology that Boris is the best person to lead UK with his plans and policies. While the use of actor (we) and (our) is believed to persuade the audience that either he and the audience are in the same level and the same position to build a better UK. Fairclough says that when the pronoun we is used by the leader as part of the led, it assimilates the leader to “the people” possibly as a humbling tactic.

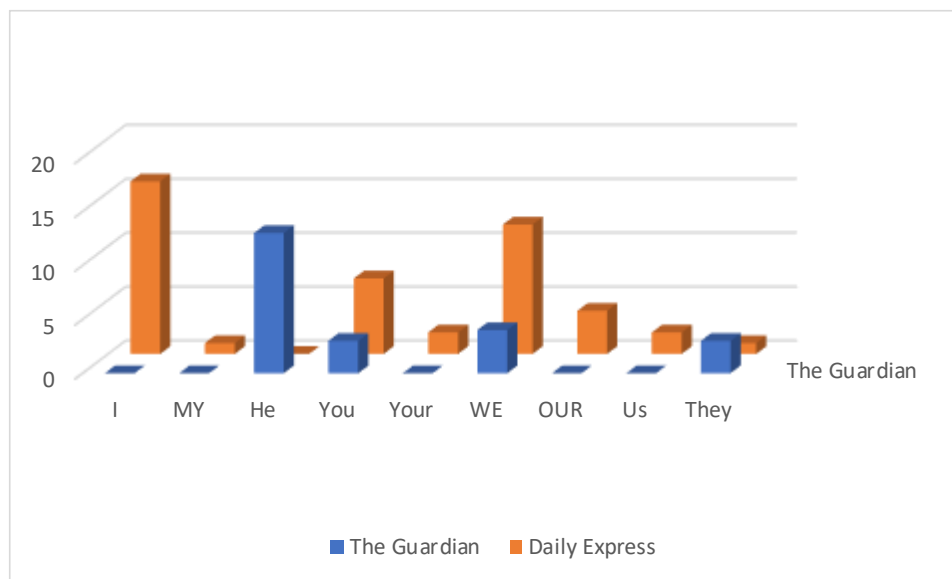


Figure 3. The frequency of pronouns

3.1.1.2.2 Conjunctions:

The conjunction but is the most used in The Guardian; it suggests a contrast. It is used as a conjunction to connect two phrases or clauses. More precisely, it is used for joining two ideas or statements when the second one is different from the first one, or seems surprising after the first one.

The second noticeable conjunction is “yet”, it is used only in the Guardian paper to say that something or someone is the best or the worst. In addition to the conjunction “if” that is used to introduce possible or impossible situations or conditions and their results. The situations or conditions can be real, imagined or uncertain.

The figure below shows the frequency of the three conjunctions used in all articles.

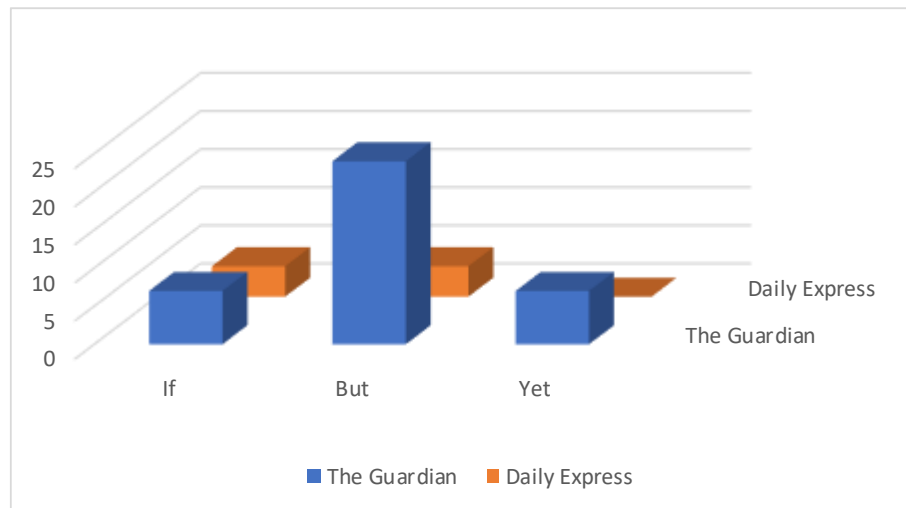


Figure 4. The frequency of conjunctions

3.1.1.2.3 Modal verbs:

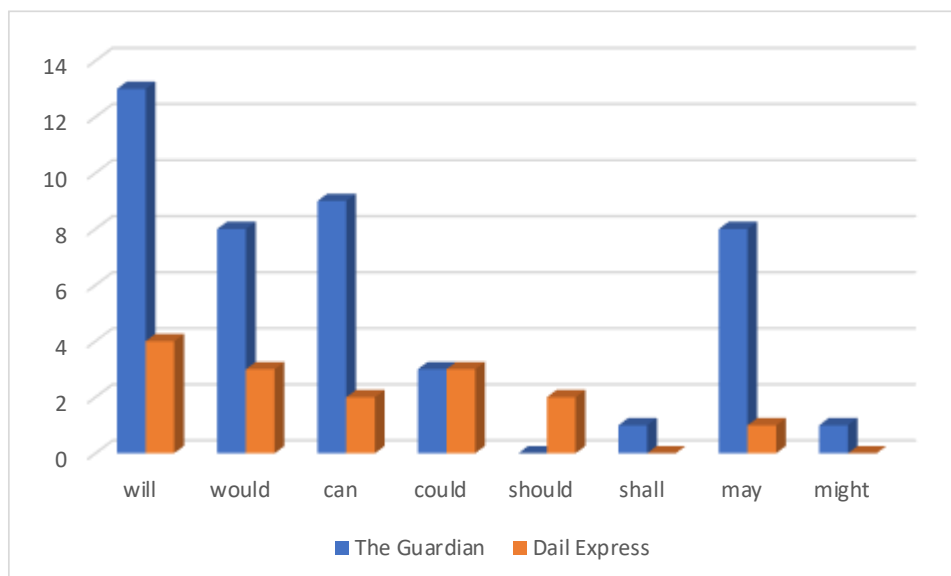


Figure 5. The frequency of modal verbs

The figure below shows the frequency of modal verbs in both affirmative and negative forms. These verbs are selected to construct their aims and meanings. They can be used to reflect a decision, prediction, hope, ability, certainty or uncertainty of either the journalist or his participants. It is visibly that the future modal “will” is the most used in both newspapers. In Daily Express is used by Boris Johnson to refer to certainty in sentences such as:

- ‘We’ll be a truly United Kingdom’
- ‘I know that we will succeed’
- ‘we will rediscover muscles that we have not used for decades’

On the other side, the modal “would” shows a remote probability that the issue of Brexit will never be sorted. In the following sentences:

- ‘A moment they thought would never come’. Boris meant here anyone who doubt that Brexit will really happened.
- ‘There is a third group who had started to worry that the whole political wrangle would never come to an end’.

In the second Express’ article Brexiteer Mark Francois uses ‘would’, as a pledge or promise for British people. By saying that: “500.000£ would be donated to charity”. According to Van Dijk, this is to show their good things, i-e Conservatives.

As a contrast, The Guardian’s journalist uses the modal “will” to express uncertainty and impossibility. Mainly about Boris, and his party to represent him negatively in sentences like:

- This is a Brexit election. But Boris Johnson will not get Brexit done.
- All Tory MPs who are elected today will be bound to a manifesto that asserts “We’ll get Brexit done in January, and we will not extend the implementations period beyond December 2020”. While the journalist says those pledges are **untrue and unachievable**.
- Johnson will not be able to secure a new trading relationship with the EU.

Furthermore, the modal of future is used in the Guardian to suggest predictions and decisions in the following sentences:

- The votes will decide which it shall be (decision)
- It will take many more months or years (prediction)
- The UK will no longer exist (prediction)

Would is also used in The Guardian paper to deliver probability. Such as:

- There would be no checks
- Northern Ireland’s unionists are now in revolt against a Brexit deal that would cut them off from Britain.

- Corbyn would not allow the SNP to hold a 2nd independence referendum.

The second most frequent modal is “can”; it is used mostly in The Guardian to express ability. More specifically to represent negative things about “THEM”; in the following sentences:

- The Tories’ central campaign theme is unachievable: they created this mess and can deliver only division and destabilisation.
- Johnson cannot get Brexit done. All he can deliver is the worst consequences of Brexit.
- Brexit can be stopped and Johnson can be thrown out.

3.1.1.2.4 Tense:

Reporting news in the selected articles does not stand on the use of one tense only, but on many. Noticeably, in The Daily Express **the simple past** was used by the author to report the events that had happened in the first article (see appendix) Such as: “The last 60 minutes of the UK’s EU membership ticked away on a clock projected on to the Number 10 brickwork, accompanied by a dazzling light show”. On the other side, **the present simple** was used mostly when Boris Johnson speaks; in sentences like: “Now is the time to use those tools to unleash the full potential of this brilliant country and to make better the lives of everyone in every corner of our United Kingdom.”. However; the most used tense was **the future**; it was used by Boris to give pledges and promises to his community. These are some examples: “Whatever the bumps in the road ahead, I know that we will succeed”; “We will rediscover muscles that we have not used for decades”. Said Mr. Boris. Concerning the second article, the journalist used also **the simple past** to report the events; and **the present continuous** when Brexiteer Francois speaks about his celebration plan saying: “I am staying up and I am going to watch the sun rise on a free country”.

For the Guardian, the journalist used **the present simple** to report the day of the general election; which was 12th December 2019. After that he used **the future** to talk about expectations that could occur in the future. For instance, when he said: “the United Kingdom as we know it will no longer exist”, “Even if there is a trade deal, it will take many more months or years”. In other statements, the journalist used **the present perfect** and **the simple past** to report what Boris made. In a sentence like: “Of all the fraudulent remarks Johnson has made in the campaign, none is potentially as lethal as the airy assurance he gave last week”.

that there would be no checks or tariffs in either direction on goods travelling between Britain and Northern Ireland”.

3.1.1.3 Structures:

The most noticeable features will be discussed, when analyzing the selected articles. First, the repetitive forms, then analyzing text structure.

3.1.1.3.1 Repetitive patterns:

There are some repeated expressions in both papers. First, The Guardian where the journalist insisted on the idea that Boris Johnson cannot deliver Brexit, and will not extend the transitional period which he promised that he will do it only in a few months. Noticeably, he repeated this sentence many times: **“This is a Brexit election. But Boris Johnson will not get Brexit done”**. In addition, the journalist insisted that Boris’ pledge is totally a lie by saying: **“he will not get Brexit done after all, not without a breakdown with the EU. gutting Brexit “done” – is a trick”**. In the same respect, Martin said: **“Get Brexit done” has been the “strong and stable” of the 2019 campaign. The slogan is brilliantly succinct and well chosen. But it is a fraud”**. The intention from repeating these ideas, is to give a negative representation about Boris and his party too saying that: **“The Conservatives created this mess, and they appear incapable of solving it”**. In the same context, he repeated the following sentence: **“they created this mess and can deliver only division and destabilisation”**.

On the other hand, The Daily Express shows the contrast by reporting Conservatives’ triumphalism, and celebrations on the day of Brexit as a response to their opponents. Mainly Brexiteer Francois when he said: **“Yes - obviously at the moment I am like a kid with four days to Christmas”**. This utterance was repeated also by the journalist; and it was as the main title of the report. In addition to that, Francois vows to celebrate this occasion to show for Remainers that Brexit happened for real. By repeating the following saying: **“ “Those who don’t want to celebrate, don’t and in the morning the sun rises on a free country, global Britain and we all get on with it; and I am staying up and I am going to watch the sun rise on a free country.”**

3.1.1.3.3 Cohesion and text structure:

When analyzing a text structure of a newspaper; the first thing to see is the headline. In general, each article has a headline, that summarizes the newspaper's opinion, printed on top and in bold characters. It is accompanied by pictures. All headlines are written to be easier to read, simple, and impactful. It is also written as a complete sentence. According to Van Dijk (1995), "headlines in newspapers, taken as prominent expressions of the overall meaning or gist (semantic macro-structure) of a news report in the press, form a special discourse category that is probably more likely to express or convey ideological content". The headlines are also followed by a subhead or subtitle which precedes the main text, or a group of paragraphs. It contains the essential and the most interesting elements of the event. It is well chosen so that, it allows readers to explore more the topic that raises their curiosity to finish the whole article.

On the other side, as is the case for all coherent text and talk, each article has the usual local syntactic and semantic structures that define its grammatically and meaningfulness as a discourse. These structures create differences in both tone and style of each paper. With the use of pronouns such as, "my, our and we" in Daily Express, the journalists make its language charged with victory, confidence, formal and positive representation of the Conservative party. Whereas, the guardian is full of negation, negative representation with the use of adjectives such as; "unachievable, fraud, porky and a lie" and propositions. In addition, the Guardian gives a strong position of the opposition; by using mostly the conjunction "but", which helps to give a coherent sentence in both articles.

3.1.2 Discursive Practice Analysis:

After analyzing the text based on Fairclough's model, this part of the chapter is devoted to extract different discursive practices, that is suggested in Van Dijk's model.

3.1.2.1 Labelling:

In the Daily express paper, the journalist has described Boris Johnson in a formal way; by using words such as The Prime Minister, Mr. Boris Johnson. On the other side, he refers to the Conservative party as Brexiteers; which means someone that is in favor of leaving the EU. High profile Brexiteers examples in Express report are: Mr. Francois, and Brexit party leader Nigel Farage. As for the opponents, the author chooses the word "Remainers" only to refer to them, rather than mentioning the name of specific parties. Such as, Remainer Terry Christian.

On the other hand, The Guardian’s journalist Martin Kettle, attempts to give an informal representation of PM. By calling him only Boris Johnson. Further, he uses the term “Tories” to refer to Brexiteers or more precisely the Conservative party. Basically, in the UK The Tories is the older term of the political party, which is replaced officially by the Conservatives and became more colloquial, and sometimes used also in the media. In Scotland, the word Tory is used predominantly in a derogatory way to describe members and supporters of the Conservative party. Besides that, the journalist determines who are the Remainers. By selecting the well-known parties that favored unionism “The Labour, and The Scottish National Party”.

3.1.2.2 Positive self-description Vs Negative other-representation:

Positive self-representation may routinely be implemented by various forms of national self-glorification. Positive references to or praise for the own country, its principles, history and traditions. These are some sentences in Daily Express that show a positive description: This brilliant country- we’ll be a truly United Kingdom- Our UK recaptured sovereignty- delivering “the biggest revival of our infrastructure since the Victorians. Britain could be both a great European power and truly global in our range and ambitions. Besides that, the choice of British food and drink: “guests supped on English sparkling wine- beef and Yorkshire pudding”, which is a common English side dish- shropshire blue cheese (made only in the UK) and mushroom tarts (British recipe).

The following sentences show a positive description, that are used in Daily Express:Mr. Johnson took a softer tone toward Remainers- “my job is to bring this country together and take us forward” – “making our laws and rules for the benefit of the people of this country” – “leaving the bloc was right, healthy and democratic”, and “vowing to spread hope and opportunity”.

On the other hand, negative other representations used by the Guardian’s journalist; where he attempts to give a bad view on Boris and his party, and he described their actions with uncertainty and lies. By using negative expressions such as: “...getting Brexit done is a **trick**...the 2019 campaign is a **big lie**”. Other statements like: “All the **fraudulent remarks** Johnson has made”, “He will surprise them again by getting a new trade deal, this is another **total porky**”. Generally, the expression “porkies” is a cockney rhyming slang for lies.

3.1.2.3 Example and illustration:

Van Dijk (2006) indicates that discourse about Us vs Them, is characterized by examples and illustrations, often in the form of stories, about our good deeds and their bad behavior. Stories may serve as premises in an argumentation.

In the first article of the Guardian, the journalist gives an interesting example to show the false claim of the Conservatives, saying that: “getting Brexit done is the 2019 campaign big lie to set alongside the lie of the 2016 referendum about the NHS”. Back to that time, **Brexiteer Nigel Farage** said: “we send the EU £50 million a day, let’s fund our NHS instead so vote leave”. **Boris** on the other side repeated that claim constantly saying that: “take back control of huge sums of money, £350 million a week and spend it on our priorities such as the NHS”. Then the party printed that claim on a figure and hang it on the red big bus. Later, that figure was widely disputed, for instance **Sir David Norgrove** the chair of the UK National Statistics Authority who said in a letter that he was surprised and disappointed by the clear misuse of official stats. Following that, Johnson responded angrily to his letter and demanded it was withdrawn, calling it a “willful distortion” of what Johnson said. Thus, that referendum was a big lie to attract people to vote for Brexit.

The second example is extracted from the Guardian’s second article. In the latter, the journalist speaks about Scotland and its willing to deliver an independence referendum again. It was its position since 2017, which increased after Brexit. The journalist attempts to show a good deed from the **Labour party** saying that its leader **Jeremy Corbyn** announced that he would not allow the SNP to hold a second independence referendum in at least the first two years of Labour government. Thus, he wants to preserve the union as a contrast to the Conservative party. Further, the journalist approved Conservative’s position by giving an example which says that there was a polling in YouGov website in June that showed 63% of tory party members were willing to accept Scottish independence and 59% a united Ireland even they show the contrast in their manifesto, and pretend unionism.

3.1.2.4 Evidentiality:

Journalists tend to provide evidences to strengthen their opinions, either directly or indirectly through their participants. In the first article of Daily Express (see appendix), Brexiteer Francois says: “I went shopping at Sainsbury’s in the Rayleigh...I didn’t notice people throwing anything they could lay their hands on into their trolleys”. He also says: “planes are still going fly, ferries are still going to run, the Eurostar is still going to run, life is

still going to continue". These statements were to show that British people are not affected by any change after Brexit as it is supposed to be. In fact a study was made by economists shows that if The UK ends with a hard Brexit which means no-deal with the EU; flights to and from the European Union could be delayed or cancelled, and there are fears that other travel to the continent ferries, coaches and the Eurostar could be disrupted too. On the other hand, Francois mentioned Sainsburys which is known for its expensive prices comparing to other shopping centers in the UK such as Asda and Lidl. Thus, its most customers are probably rich. As a response to that, the Guardian's journalist said: "This may be good enough for voters who simply want to pull the duvet over their heads, or for those who are so wealthy that the uncertainty would not affect them. But it is really terrible news for those who are directly affected by it". Obviously, he means people pro-Brexit which most of them are rich and whatever happen, they will not be affected; unlike ordinary people who started to complain from increased prices straight away after the day of Brexit.

3.1.2.5 Depersonalization:

The doers or participants are mystified in the discourse. Starting with Daily Express where Francois says: "if for any reason we did not hit the target, the money will go to help for heroes". In this statement he meant that he will personally with his members party will collect a specific amount to make Big Ben rings the day of Brexit; whereas if they could not then they will offer this money to "heroes" which is an expression to refer to the NHS team in the UK, that is to show that Brexiteers are trying to improve health section. On the other hand, Boris in the second article says: "we have obeyed the people", where he meant the EU membership by following its rules and conditions for years to make the UK part of this unity. In addition, Boris addressed the Remainers without mentioning them when he said: "there is a third group-perhaps the biggest-who had started to worry that the whole political wrangle would never come to an end".

3.1.2.6 Distancing:

As it was explained in the previous chapter, distancing strategy is founded only in the Daily Express; where Brexiteer Francois refers to Remainers as those people by using the demonstrative pronoun instead of naming them as a kind of racism and denial. Francois said: "all **those** people who tried to terrify us with Project Fear should be bloody ashamed of themselves.

3.1.2.7 Contrast:

Ideologies often emerge when two or more groups have conflicting interests, when there is a social struggle or competition, and in a situation of domination. Cognitively and discursively, such opposition may be realized by various forms of polarization, as the well-known pronoun pair Us vs Them illustrates. (Van Dijk,2006). Obviously, the conflict between the two main parties is expressed in the articles with many statements that are organized by a form of contrast. Starting with Daily Express, where Boris indicates that Brexit is the most appropriate decision in sentence like: “leaving the bloc was right, healthy and democratic”. In other statements, he shows his commitment and pledge to maintain the unity of his country, by vowing to spread hope and opportunity to his community. He said: “my job is to bring this country together now, and take us forward”, in another sentence he said: “I know that we can turn this opportunity into a stunning success”.

As a contrast, the Guardian paper emphasizes that the whole Brexit may be a big gamble and a mistake that threatens the country’s unity. Noticeably, the journalist shows the contrast when speaking on Boris’ actions in sentences such as: “All he can deliver is the worst consequences of Brexit- further destabilization in Ireland, fresh separatist feeling in Scotland, a new iteration of division between leave and remain in England and Wales, more parliamentary conflict, renewed economic uncertainty for business and jobs, and further humiliation of Britain on the world stage”. Further, he shows a negative representation on the whole Conservative party saying that: “The Tories’ central campaign theme is unachievable, they created this mess and can deliver only division and destabilization”, and “those pledges are, respectively, untrue and unachievable. In addition to that, the journalist gives more evidence to enhance his position, by showing that the antagonist party pretend only to support the country’s unity, however; the contrast is obvious in this action. The author says that the Conservative manifesto contains plenty of rhetoric about the UK. It claims that “the United Kingdom is the most successful political and economic union in history” and it says that Conservatives “stand for a proud, confident, inclusive and modern unionism that affords equal respect to all traditions and parts of the community”. But this rhetoric flies in the face of YouGov polling in June that showed 63% of Tory party members were willing to accept Scottish independence and 59% a united Ireland if Brexit could go ahead.

3.1.2.8 Disclaimer:

This discursive strategy is found in the second article of Daily Express; where Boris says: “leaving the bloc was right, healthy and democratic, because for all its strengths and for all its admirable qualities, the EU has evolved over 50 years in a direction that no longer suits this country”. This is an apparent concession that disclaim the whole previous membership that was made between the UK and the EU.

The second example is found in the Guardian; where the journalist says: “Get Brexit done has been the “strong and stable” of the 2019 campaign. The slogan is brilliantly succinct and well chosen. But it is a fraud. This type of disclaimer is expressed with a kind of mitigation, that aims to minimize or soften the semantic load of the expression and it is a very frequent strategy in the journalistic language.

3.1.2.9 Dramatization and hyperbolism:

The following strategies are used in the Daily Express mostly, to exaggerate the facts in one’s favor. First, hyperbolism in expressions like: “the **full** potential to unleash this country”, “make better the lives of **everyone in every corner** of our United Kingdom”, “for **many people** this is an astonishing moment of hope and **there are many** of course who feel a sense of anxiety”, “I understand **all those** feelings”, and finally “delivering **the biggest** revival of our infrastructure since the Victorians”. On the other article, Brexiteer Francois expresses his excitement as the UK leaves the EU by using hyperbolism too: “I can’t wait, I have waited **a lot of my adult life** for this moment”.

Dramatization on the other hand, is a familiar way to exaggerate any fact. In the Daily Express, Boris tend to use expressions that distend the situation of the country; for instance, when he urged Britain to end **the bitter** Brexit, in addition when he says: “when I look at the potential of this country **waiting to be unleashed...**”. Also, he says: “whatever the bumps in the road ahead, **we have obeyed the people**”. Besides that, Francois in the other article supports this claiming saying that: “I am going to watch the sun dawn on a **free country**” The latter statements show that as if Britain was colonized by the European Union and was living in warfare; in fact it was only a unity between the bloc and the UK that was ended with the withdrawal of the latter.

The Guardian’s journalist affirmed that Boris’ language is full of drama and hyperbolism when he described him in the following sentence: “The leitmotif of Boris

Johnson's campaign has been Brexit. For someone **who loves to speechify** as much as he does".

3.1.2.10 Hedging and vagueness:

Vagueness strategy is visible in the end of the Guardian's article, to express an indirect opinion by the journalist. The latter invites the people to vote for another party that has a majority and can compete the Conservative party: "the only way to get Brexit sorted is to vote tactically for the party or candidate best placed to defeat the Conservatives", Said (Martin Kettle). In fact, the only party that has such majority in the House of Commons is the Labour party with 202 seats in the British Parliament, comparing to other opposite parties. Thus, the journalist is probably supporting the Labours, but may use vagueness strategy to hide his position.

3.2 Discussions:

Generally, the journalistic language defines the paper's political stance and the hidden ideologies. For the Daily Express, the focus was heavily on the Prime Minister Boris and his supporters; the whole news reports his triumphalism and success to deliver Brexit. The frequency of vocabulary words shows such a positive representation of the Conservative party. In addition to that, the frequency of pronouns used by Boris such as we and our tend to show a self-glorification of the country, and a kind of hidden racism against pro-Europeans. In fact, the whole statements of Boris contain a fake pledge and lies. For instance, when he promised the British people that the whole political wrangle of Brexit will be in the end of December 2020, which is unbelievable to solve such issue in a few months, probably such membership needs a decades to be solved. Moreover, experts see that Boris in the end of this year will finish with a no-deal Brexit which will be a transition to more complex relations with the EU rather than solving it. Another hidden fact, is that Boris' father "Stanley Johnson" has applied for a French citizenship this year, so that he can work and move freely throughout Europe after Brexit. It is inconsequent thing for someone who say that any British citizen do not have to be a part of the EU members or make any relation with it; while his father is applying to be part of the EU, in addition to his mother which was born in Paris. He made all Brits believe that his decision was right and will benefit them all. In the same vein, in the other article Francois claims that everything is still the same after the day of Brexit; and there are not any worst consequences. The truth is that there is a lot of changes especially in

economy that will affect for instance the small businesses and the middle-income citizen unlike wealthy people. Moreover, the day after Brexit is still just a transition period that will end this year, after that other consequences will appear.

Concerning the Guardian articles, it was full of negative representation of the Conservative party, with a focus on its leader Boris. The journalistic language was based on providing many evidences such as stories and examples to show the hidden lies of Boris. Besides that, the journalist attempted to give a proposition in order to solve the whole issue, in other statements he warned the British people from what is coming in the future of the Kingdom. Such as, the Scottish willing independence, and the unity of Northern Ireland with the republic Irish, all these facts is threatening the unity and the stabilization of Britain.

In short, the ideologies of both papers have been expressed either directly, or indirectly to persuade readers or recipients. From a side the Daily Express choose a specific ways to convince the British that leaving the EU was the right thing that will lead the country to a new beginning. Whereas, the Guardian tries to make the readers aware from the risk that surrounds the Kingdom.

Conclusion:

This chapter, has comprised a full critical discourse analysis of the articles. By applying Fairclough's model of CDA, more precisely his first stage of analysis; which is text analysis. The latter has been carried out in terms of vocabulary, grammar and structure. On the other part, an analysis of the discursive practice has taken place, by applying Van Dijk's model, that contains many practices such as; labelling, evidentiality, contrast, example and illustration, and depersonalization.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This study has discussed the newspaper coverage of a political event, mainly in the United Kingdom. It examined instances of manipulation of ten discourse strategies; namely, labelling, positive self-description and negative other representation, example and illustration, evidentiality, depersonalization, distancing, contrast, disclaimer, dramatization and hyperbolism, and lastly hedging and vagueness, deployed by the journalists in their reports. Light has been shed on the use of these strategies in four selected articles, that were written by the two British papers “the Guardian, and the Daily Express”. The study argues that there is a link between those strategies and ideologies; as the strategies embody ideologies. While both papers employ the mentioned strategies, they differ in their use of some of them. Moreover, the use of negative labelling in some areas and positive in others, shows ideological differences in the representation of both actors and the event. Also, the findings of critical discourse analysis of news articles in general have shown that there was such a polarization between in-group favoritism, and out-group derogation. In addition, the journalists have shown their political stance either implicitly, or explicitly.

The framework of analysis was based on two main parts: the text and the discursive practice. The analysis of the latter embodies the discursive practices that Van Dijk suggested in his model. On that outcome, it is highly appropriate to express the contentment about the application of Van Dijk’s framework in this study. It has been the best and the simplest way to show such diversity between two groups.

Generally, Critical Discourse Analysis provides researchers with opportunities to know more about hidden realities. In this respect, this study can go further, to explore such realities, by have a look on the critical analysis of the images used in the reports. The analysis can be done by applying different frameworks and approaches. All in all, CDA has offered many contributions to critical discourse scholars. Since it has a crucial role in language studies; many ways of answering linguistic questions have been improved.

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Appendices

The first article of the Guardian:



Opinion

1. This is a Brexit election. But Boris Johnson will not get Brexit done

Martin Kettle



The Tories' central campaign theme is unachievable: they created this mess and can deliver only division and destabilisation

@martinkettle

Thu 12 Dec 2019 02:00 EST

There is only one reason why today's election is happening: Brexit. Six weeks on, the 2019 election is still a Brexit election. You may want it to be about other things. You may be fed up and distressed with the whole Brexit argument. All this, though, is escapism. What is primarily at stake today is whether Britain leaves the EU on the Conservatives' terms, or whether it doesn't. Today, the nation's votes will decide which it shall be.

The leitmotif of Boris Johnson's campaign has been Brexit. For someone who loves to speechify as much as he does, Johnson's message discipline has been awesome. "Get Brexit done" has been the "strong and stable" of the 2019 campaign. The slogan is brilliantly succinct and well chosen. But it is a fraud.

Johnson did not call the election because he lacked a parliamentary majority for Brexit. A Commons vote on 22 October showed that there was such a majority. But there was no majority for the unconditional departure from Europe that Johnson stands for, and which the rightwing of his party demands. This election is intended to create that majority and to weaponise the Conservatives as the leave party, on Johnson's terms. All Tory MPs who are elected today will be bound to a manifesto that asserts "we will get Brexit done in January", and "we will not extend the implementation period beyond December 2020".

Yet those pledges are, respectively, untrue and unachievable. Getting Brexit done is the 2019 campaign big lie to set alongside the lie of the 2016 referendum about the NHS. It depends on the pretence that Brexit is a defined and deliverable object rather than a set of regulatory relationships

that require negotiation, and which ought ideally to require final approval before they can be implemented. For its part, the December 2020 trade deal pledge is unachievable on the terms set out in the manifesto because the 12 months that lie ahead are not really an implementation period: they are a transition to a complex and unknown new relationship that has not yet been negotiated.

In other words, the central theme of the Conservative campaign – getting Brexit “done” – is a trick. We may think we know the likely result of the election – a Conservative victory. But we cannot know what the Brexit that Johnson promises, if he wins, would actually involve. This may be good enough for voters who simply want to pull the duvet over their heads, or for those who are so wealthy that the uncertainty would not affect them. But it is really terrible news for those who are directly affected by it, particularly in Northern Ireland.

Of all the fraudulent remarks Johnson has made in the campaign, none is potentially as lethal as the airy assurance he gave last week that there would be no checks or tariffs in either direction on goods travelling between Britain and Northern Ireland. This is yet another lie at the expense of Ireland, north and south.

About 75% of goods making that journey – many of them the lifeblood of small- and medium-sized businesses on both sides of the Irish Sea – will be liable to pay tariffs and checks on rules of origin. If the UK crashes out with no trade deal in a year’s time, those tariffs and checks will become more intense, not less. Even if there is a trade deal, it will take many more months or years to set up the systems to implement it, as the [Brexit department leak](#) last week shows.

It has been a familiar Conservative campaign line in the past month that because Johnson surprised the political naysayers by getting a revised withdrawal deal, he will surprise them again by getting a new trade deal. This is another total porky. Johnson got a revised withdrawal deal not because of his toughness, charm or brilliance but because he agreed to maintain the EU single market in Ireland, and create a border in the Irish Sea. He got a deal only because he folded on the EU’s terms.



‘All he can deliver are the worst consequences of Brexit.’ Boris Johnson speaks to the press on his campaign plane. Photograph: Stefan Rousseau/PA

In just the same way, Johnson will not be able to secure a new trading relationship with the EU in a matter of months without making a similar capitulation on the EU’s trade terms. The less he wants to diverge, the shorter the negotiations will be. But most of the Tory party wants Johnson to diverge as much as possible. That means a longer negotiation. The Johnson who wants to get Brexit done might actually be willing to concede to the EU. The party he leads is unlikely to give him that political space. So he will not get Brexit done after all, not without a breakdown with the EU. Unsurprisingly, this is Nigel Farage’s new cause.

I’ve always been Labour, but tomorrow I will be voting tactically | Steve Coogan

This has been an unnecessary election based on a false claim. It is a Brexit election. But Johnson cannot get Brexit done. All he can deliver is the worst consequences of Brexit – further destabilisation in Ireland, fresh separatist feeling in Scotland, a new iteration of division between leave and remain in England and Wales, more parliamentary conflict, renewed economic uncertainty for business and jobs, and the further humiliation of Britain on the world stage. The Conservatives created this mess, and they appear incapable of solving it.

The alternative is not simple either. But it exists – and it is better than anything Johnson will achieve. The alternative is to hold a confirmatory referendum on either the current deal or some other future deal. If the polls

are right, most people today will vote for parties that offer this alternative. The only way to get Brexit sorted is to vote tactically for the party or candidate best placed to defeat the Conservatives. Forget all the rest. If the majority uses its power, Brexit can be stopped and Johnson can be thrown out. That's a warming thought for a winter's day.

- Martin Kettle is a Guardian columnist

The second article of the Guardian:

II. YOU'D NEVER KNOW IT, BUT THE FUTURE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM IS AT STAKE



[Martin Kettle](#)

The upcoming election could trigger the breakup of the union, and yet the main all-UK parties have barely mentioned it

[@martinkettle](#)

Wed 27 Nov 2019 16.30 GMT Last modified on Mon 3 Feb 2020 12.42 GMT



If the Conservatives win a majority on 12 December, as they are favourites to do, they will claim a mandate to “get Brexit done”. As a result, there is an extremely real possibility that, by the time of the next scheduled election in 2024, the United Kingdom as we know it will no longer exist. Scotland may by then have voted to become an independent country. [Northern Ireland](#) may have voted to unify with the Irish republic. But you would hardly know any of this from the general election campaign so far.

In the [leaders’ debate between Boris Johnson and Jeremy Corbyn](#), there was much discussion of Brexit. But there was no discussion about Brexit’s consequences for the parts of the UK – [Scotland](#) and Northern Ireland – that did not vote for it. Nor was there a single word about Brexit’s effect on the unresolved divides in Ireland. This was genuinely remarkable. For the past three years, the issue of Ireland has been at the very core of the argument about Brexit. But now, from the leaders of Britain’s two main parties, there was absolutely nothing. Not for the first time in British political debate, it was as though Ireland simply did not exist.

There is a black hole not just in the election campaign, but in our politics where a unified nation is supposed to be

Yet this conspiracy of inattention ignores two looming existential challenges to the cohesion of the country. The possibility that Scotland and Northern Ireland might cease to be part of a union with England and Wales after Brexit does not emerge from a cloudless sky. The Scottish nationalist government has been clear since 2017 that it is demanding an independence referendum because [it wants Scotland exempted from Brexit](#). On Wednesday [the Scottish National party reiterated its demand for this to happen in 2020](#). Northern Ireland’s unionists are now in revolt against a Brexit deal that would cut them off from Britain. All this has been in the news for months. Yet it forms no part of the mainstream campaign debate.

In last Friday’s [studio quizzing of the four main party leaders](#), in which Johnson and Corbyn were joined by Jo Swinson and Nicola Sturgeon, things improved a little. There was still not a single word about Ireland. But the presence of Sturgeon meant

at least that Scotland formed part of the debate. Significantly, Corbyn announced that he [would not allow the SNP to hold a second independence referendum](#) in at least the first two years of a Labour government. Sturgeon responded confidently that she did not expect Corbyn to stick to that pledge if Labour found itself needing SNP votes in order to govern after 12 December. [Corbyn's own adviser Lord Kerslake said something similar](#) this week.

Perhaps things will improve in the remaining two weeks of the campaign. But don't hold your breath, especially not on a level that remotely measures up to the seriousness of what may be so imminently at stake. In part, that is because the "national" campaigns of the three main parties are aimed overwhelmingly at English voters. Since England provides 533 out of the 650 MPs in the House of Commons (82% of the total), this is not surprising. But it means that even the SNP manifesto launch is treated as essentially a Scottish sideshow. As so often, much of England treats the rest of Britain with [what the historian Ali Ansari somewhat generously calls](#) "a calculated and studied air of neglect". Right now, however, that habit of neglect is potentially lethal.



The Liberal Democrat manifesto is the only one to discuss the UK constitution, but the party 'is not taken sufficiently seriously for its approach to have any possibility of cutting through'. Photograph: Hannah McKay/Reuters

The newly published manifestos of each of the three main all-UK parties help to explain why this is so. But in each case the contribution they make to the poisonous overall effect is different. The Tories are defiant about it. Labour hopes to wish it away. And the Liberal Democrats are not taken seriously. The net effect is to pour petrol on the fires, not to douse them.

The [Conservative manifesto](#) contains plenty of rhetoric about the UK. It claims that "the United Kingdom is the most successful political and economic union in history" and it says that Conservatives "stand for a proud, confident, inclusive and modern unionism that affords equal respect to all traditions and parts of the community". But this rhetoric flies in the face of [YouGov polling](#) in June that showed 63% of Tory party

members were willing to accept Scottish independence and 59% a united Ireland if Brexit could go ahead.

It is also at odds with the contemptuous way that the Tory party under both Theresa May and Johnson has actually handled Scottish and Northern Irish responses to Brexit. That reality was provocatively on show again this week when, with all the absolutist confidence of a lordly Bourbon, Johnson [dismissed any possibility of negotiation with the Scots](#) over a second independence vote. Like May before him, Johnson appears indifferent to – and may even welcome – both the anger that his Brexit deal provokes and the formidable nature of the forces ranged against him, in particular of the SNP.

Labour's problem is altogether different. [Its manifesto](#) has far less to say about the union. Indeed, remarkably in some respects, the words "United Kingdom" do not occur anywhere in its 107 pages. Yet Labour definitely has an ambitious unionist policy. It says it is opposed to Scottish independence, which it says would be "economically devastating". What Scotland needs, Labour says, is not independence but money. Labour promises Scotland "transformative investment" worth "at least around £100bn".

This is classic centralist social democratic unionism of the postwar kind. The Labour Scottish secretaries of earlier eras, people like Willie Ross, Bruce Millan and George Robertson, would have known it for what it is. But Corbyn cannot call it by its name. The anti-imperialist campaigner is in deep denial about the fact that he leads a unionist party pursuing a unionist policy. Many in his party take a similarly ambivalent view about the breakup of the UK. [The Liberal Democrats' manifesto](#) embodies another problem. It is the only one that has detailed new things to say about the way the United Kingdom could work better constitutionally. Swinson's party supports "home rule for each of the nations of a strong, federal and united United Kingdom". It mistakenly stops short of advocating an English parliament, but it is open to devolved parliaments in regions that want them, such as potentially Cornwall or Yorkshire. Yet the difficulty with the Lib Dem proposals is simply that the party is not taken sufficiently seriously for its approach to have any possibility of cutting through.

The net result is a black hole not just in the election campaign, but in our politics where a unified nation is supposed to be. Brexit has accentuated threats to the UK – along with many other wider problems in British politics – that were already gathering well before 2016. Perhaps, as the historian David Reynolds [has recently argued](#), these are rooted in the country's long postwar complacency about its institutions. Be that as it may, the opponents of those institutions are now more articulate and more focused than those who want to reform and defend them with credibility. If none of the main parties can speak effectively for the national union in ways to which majorities in all the component nations can respond, then who else can? For without believable voices to speak for it, the union, as we may be about to discover, could soon be past saving.

The first article of Daily Express:

Brexit is here! Francois's so excited he just can't hide it 'like a kid before Christmas'

A. BREXITEER Mark Francois admitted he was as excited as a "kid before Christmas" prior to Britain's departure from the EU tomorrow - and rejected concerns about "triumphalist" celebrations by vowing to stay up all night to "watch the sun dawn on a free country".

By [CIARAN MCGRATH](#)

08:00, Thu, Jan 30, 2020 | UPDATED: 09:24, Thu, Jan 30, 2020

I can't wait. I have waited a lot of my adult life for this moment

Mark Francois

"That's the most honest way I can describe it.

"I can't wait. I have waited a lot of my adult life for this moment.

"I am going to stay up and I am going to watch the sun rise on a free country.

"The other thing is I went shopping at Sainsbury's in the [Rayleigh](#) Weir on Friday.



Mark Francois is certainly very excited about Brexit



Terry Christian and Mark Francois on GMTV

“I didn’t notice people throwing anything they could lay their hands on into their trolleys.

“Planes are still going fly, ferries are still going to run, the Eurostar is still going to run, life is still going to continue.

“And all those people who tried to terrify us with [Project Fear](#) should be bloody ashamed of themselves.

Big Ben has had its clapper removed as part of a restoration of Elizabeth Tower, and ringing it tomorrow would add an estimated £500,000 to the overall cost, which Mr Francois aimed to raise via his crowdfunding initiative.

He said: “We did it in response to the [PM](#)’s comments on BBC Breakfast where he appeared to encourage a crowdfunding thing.

“The response was amazing. At one point it was coming in at 10k an hour.

“So we got in the end to about £272,000. Unfortunately the House of Commons were adamant that they did not want to do it and I’ve got now power to compel them to do it.

“But the silver lining on the cloud is that we said right from the word go that if for any reason we did not hit the target, the money in the fund will go to Help for Heroes, so that’s what is going to happen



Big Ben will not ring on Friday



Michael Heseltine will not be participating in Brexit celebrations on Friday



UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson

“It was very obvious that the establishment did not to do it.”

Pressed about whether such a move, as well as other events in Westminster and elsewhere to mark Britain’s departure from the block, could be seen as unnecessary triumphalism, Mr Francois said: “That’s what some people have said.

“To me that is nonsense because it is entirely voluntary.

“If you don’t want to celebrate there’s an off-button.”

The second article of Daily Express:

III. WE’LL BE A TRULY UNITED KINGDOM, VOWS BORIS AS THE UK LEAVES THE EU

B. BORIS JOHNSON last night urged Britain to end the bitter Brexit divide and "unleash the full potential of this brilliant country", as the UK quit the European Union.

By MACER HALL, DAILY EXPRESS POLITICAL EDITOR

13:17, Sat, Feb 1, 2020 | UPDATED: 14:20, Sat, Feb 1, 2020

The Prime Minister made his unity plea in a video message shortly before the UK’s EU membership ended on the stroke of 11pm.

Mr Johnson said: “When I look at the potential of this country waiting to be unleashed, I know that we can turn this opportunity into a stunning success.

“Whatever the bumps in the road ahead, I know that we will succeed.

“We have obeyed the people, we have taken back the tools of self-government.

“Now is the time to use those tools to unleash the full potential of this brilliant country and to make better the lives of everyone in every corner of our United Kingdom.”

The last 60 minutes of the UK’s EU membership ticked away on a clock projected on to the Number 10 brickwork, accompanied by a dazzling light show.

Yards away, Brexit Party leader Nigel Farage led a raucous Parliament Square celebration and Leave supporters all over the UK partied into the early hours.



Boris Johnson tries his hand at glass blowing in Sunderland (Image: PA)



Brexit Party leader Nigel Farage led the Parliament Square celebration (Image: Sean Gallup/Getty Images)

Mr Johnson took a softer tone towards Remainers in his address, not once using the word “Brexit”.

He said: “For many people this is an astonishing moment of hope, a moment they thought would never come. And there are many of course who feel a sense of anxiety and loss.

“And then, of course, there is a third group – perhaps the biggest – who had started to worry that the whole political wrangle would never come to an end.

138253833198

“I understand all those feelings and our job as the Government – my job – is to bring this country together now and take us forward.”

Signalling a move to fresh priorities, the Prime Minister insisted leaving the EU was “not an end, but a beginning” and vowed to use the “recaptured sovereignty” to deliver change.

He said leaving the EU meant controlling immigration, liberating the fishing industry, securing free trade deals and “simply making our laws and rules for the benefit of the people of this country”.



Boris Johnson squeezes into a racing car ahead of a Cabinet meeting in Sunderland (Image: PA)

Mr Johnson said leaving the bloc was right, healthy and democratic, because “for all its strengths and for all its admirable qualities, the EU has evolved over 50 years in a direction that no longer suits this country”.

He declared “This is the dawn of a new era in which we no longer accept that your life chances – your family’s life chances – should depend on which part of the country you grow up in.” Mr Johnson said that his new priorities were defeating crime, transforming the NHS, improving education and delivering “the biggest revival of our infrastructure since the Victorians”.

Vowing to spread “hope and opportunity”, Mr Johnson said: “We will rediscover muscles that we have not used for decades”.

He hailed a new era of friendly co-operation with the EU and said Britain could be both a great European power and “truly global in our range and ambitions”.

At a Downing Street reception hosted by Mr Johnson last night, guests supped on English sparkling wine, with fillet of lamb on toast, Shropshire blue cheese, beef and Yorkshire pudding, mushroom tarts and roast chicken skewers.