BREXIT

- The U.K.'s withdrawal from the EU.

Contextualising the EU referendum in the U.K.

through socio-historic rhetoric.

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Abstract

The U.K.'s withdrawal from the EU, also known as 'Brexit', was a historical moment for EU & U.K. relations. It represented the culmination of many underlying narratives within the U.K. that resulted in a referendum and the exit from the EU.

The thesis seeks to demonstrate that the outcome of the referendum vote was not capricious, but rather a response to a recurring historical narrative within the U.K., which was successfully harnessed by the Leave campaign in order to secure the public's vote.

In order to demonstrate the underlying narrative within the U.K. several selected key speeches by key figures in British politics were chosen for the analysis with the purpose of providing a perspective to the vote. The speeches represent periods in which the U.K. have had significant relations to Europe and the analysis begins in 1946 after WWII, with Winston Churchill. Europe was in ruins after WWII and the British felt that they had saved the continent from total domination. Therefore, the two speeches by Churchill were chosen to demonstrate the mind-set with which the British viewed the outcome of the war and their role in the rebuilding of Europe.

The analysis focuses on the rhetoric employed by the selected political figures and seeks to prove that the narrative regarding the EEC/EU and the U.K.'s position, is a recurring theme throughout the speeches thereby contributing to a historical and social mind-set concerning the EU.

The hypothesis stipulated that the thesis would try to demonstrate the links between the historical development of Euroscepticism and the rhetoric employed leading up to the referendum. The findings demonstrate that there are certain key topics that each of the political figures analysed address, these included British sovereignty, identity and economy. These topics recur throughout the speeches analysed and therefore support the hypothesis that the outcome of the vote was greatly influenced by the socio-historic rhetoric articulated by key figures in British politics. Therefore the vote to withdraw from the EU can be traced back to an ambivalent history between Europe and the U.K. which essentially ingrained itself within the British cultural narrative, thereby influencing the public upon their vote.

Due to the scope of political rhetoric and the vast number of speeches only a small slice were selected for the analysis. They represented key figures within British politics which reflected the U.K.'s relationship to the EU. Further investigation into the outcome of the referendum vote could include a larger scope of political rhetoric in conjunction with an analysis of the demographics of the vote in order to present further perspective.

1. Introduction:

The thesis will try to demonstrate links between the historical development of Euroscepticism and the rhetoric used during the campaign accounting for the result of the 2016 referendum.

In this paper, I will seek to contextualise the EU referendum vote through a socio-historic perspective of the period leading up to the referendum. I will do this by analysing certain speeches held at various key moments by key figures in order to provide arguments and insights into the outcome of the vote. The speeches chosen will seek to demonstrate that the outcome of the referendum vote was influenced by pre-existing history and cultural narrative within the U.K.

When analysing the speeches the paper seeks to prove that the rhetoric used by the main advocators behind the "Leave" campaign triggered emotions and cultural associations in the voters which led to the result of the U.K voting to leave the EU. The paper will present a historical perspective of the relationship between the EU and the U.K. with supplementary historical speeches by Winston Churchill, Margaret Thatcher and Tony Blair respectively. These have been chosen because they each represent relational ties between the U.K. and the EU. The choice of topic is fuelled by an interest in the rhetorical devices employed as well as the social-historic influences that led to this unprecedented event.

I argue that emotion is a rhetorical tool used by politicians, which I define as a means of influencing the addressee in order to impose a point of view and to determine acting hereafter.

The Leave campaigns capitalised on a need to define Britishness as an identity and to regain their 'sovereignty' from the EU. They appeal to the public through pathos and framing the EU negatively. Thus, the paper seeks to illuminate the acceleration of these feelings in conjunction with the rhetoric put forth by the Leave campaign.

The leave campaign was run on two parallel fronts. Vote Leave Take Control, comprised of several MP's as well as former Mayor of London, Boris Johnson and former Secretary of State for Justice, MP Michael Gove. They advocated for "taking back control" by curbing immigration and more importantly by gaining independent sovereignty. Leave.EU, spearheaded by the outspoken MEP Nigel Farage and endorsee Aaron Banks, sought to propel their campaign by appealing to the pathos of the people and focusing on immigration. They did this by promoting a nativist identity crisis as the sole proponent of their campaign, claiming that the EU was the main antagonist behind increased immigration, loss of British identity, jobs, and ultimately control of their country.

In stark contrast to the Leave campaign, the Remain campaign, led by PM David Cameron, sought to unify a divided conservative party as well as convince the British people that remaining in the EU was the right move for Britain. Cameron initiated the referendum after promising to hold a referendum on U.K membership of the EU during his 2013 Bloomberg speech.

David Cameron called for the EU referendum to fulfil his campaign promise of 2013, but failed in taking into account public opinion, national sentiment and not least, the power behind the Leave

campaign's rhetoric. This ultimately led to his campaign losing and his own position as an authority-bearing figure within the government.

The study of the socio-historic narrative is an interesting topic as the U.K. has had an ambivalent relationship to the EEC and the EU since it joined in 1973. It was also the second largest economy in the EU, which represents a major blow to the union and its members. It was an event that was unforeseen by many Britons and Europeans alike. It also marks the first time in the history of the EU that a full member state has invoked article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty, a withdrawal from the union. Given the power and financial influence that Great Britain holds within the EU as well as on a global platform, this marks a historical change that will have unknown reverberations throughout the world.

The hypothesis stated in the introduction is that the Leave campaign was able to clinch victory in the referendum due to their employment and appellation to pathos in the voters. They were able to do this by garnering the public opinion of the EU and related issues of discontent and solely frame the EU as the perpetrator of their problems. This was based on an ambivalent historical relationship to the EU and a feeling of national identity that was harnessed by the Leave sides to convince the voters to break free of the "shackles" of the EU.

The thesis will therefore look at the effect of pathos in rhetoric. When pathos/emotions are activated by symbols or events it is relevant to state that cultural narratives have a large role in how people react to the information given to them. Cultural narratives are important to note in this case, because they help a community reinforce societal norms, preserve its history and strengthen their identity through shared knowledge and experience. (Reference.com) This theory is therefore interesting to look at when discussing the historical progression of EU scepticism in the UK and how it has been an underlying narrative in British history and rhetoric.

Rhetoric in politics is the "be all end all" of political careers and campaigns alike, without rhetoric politics would not exist. As the world becomes increasingly connected and updated through media sources, televised and social, the importance of rhetoric and its effective use becomes paramount.

The analysis will utilise several methods of analysis in order to decipher the rhetoric. This is because there are a several 'layers' within rhetoric that can be analysed, and to analyse just one would be merely scratching the surface. Therefore, this paper will analyse the speeches in the context of their socio and historical ties at the time rather than performing an in-depth discourse analysis of all the linguistic features of the speeches.

2. Methodology:

The methodology and research paradigms are outlined in the following section. The research paradigm utilised in this paper falls under the epistemological theory of social constructivism. The choice of research paradigm and research approach to the paper will be justified and explained in the sections below, demonstrating the specific value of the chosen research design in relation to the thesis topic.

2.1 Research approach

I have chosen a qualitative research approach to the paper. Selecting a research design depends on the type of research you are conducting and whether you are using words (qualitative) rather than numbers (quantitative). According to Creswell (2014), *qualitative research* is an approach used to explore and understand the meaning that individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. This is very relevant to the topic at hand as it is an inductive form of study, relating to individuals and their mind-set in relation to a major referendum, which is essentially a reflection of individual and group meaning.

Mack et al. (2005) define qualitative research as seeking to answer a question, explore a phenomenon, describe, and explain relationships. It seeks to understand a given research problem or topic from the perspectives of the local population it involves.

Qualitative research involves providing complex textual descriptions of how people experience a given research issue. It provides information about the "human" side of an issue – that is, the often contradictory behaviours, beliefs, opinions, emotions, and relationships of individuals (Mack et al. 2005)

Creswell (2014) also states that those who engage in this form of inquiry support a way of looking at research that honours an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of rendering the complexity of a situation.

This method of research was therefore chosen because it aims to provide information about the behaviours beliefs, opinions and meaning that the key players from each side of the Brexit ascribed to the referendum.

2.2. Research reasoning.

This paper will be utilising a form of inductive reasoning. I have chosen this approach because it aims to generate meanings from the data set collected in order to identify patterns and relationships to build a theory. The inductive approach does not prevent the researcher from using existing theory to formulate the research question to be explored. This means that rather than creating a hypothesis to prove or disprove, as is the case with deductive reasoning, one observes the data and then formulates a theory after the analysis. Inductive reasoning is reasoning in which the premises are viewed as supplying strong evidence for the truth of the conclusion, the truth of the conclusion of an inductive argument is *probable*, based upon the evidence given. Therefore

this form of reasoning aptly suits the nature of the research because it is based on probable evidence.

Trochim et al. (2006) states that inductive reasoning begins with specific observations and measures, where the researcher begins to detect patterns and regularities. This leads to formulating tentative hypotheses that can be explored which ends up with developing some general conclusions or theories.

2.3 Research Approach

Regarding the approach to the research, this paper will be viewing the data and analysis through an interpretivist approach. An interpretivist approach usually focuses on meaning and may employ multiple methods in order to reflect different aspects of the issue.

Interpretivists are interested in the ways communities, cultures, or individuals create meaning from their own actions, rituals, interactions, and experiences. Interpretivist scholars also wish to interpret local meanings by locating them into a broader historical, geographical, political, linguistic, ideological, economic, and cultural milieu. (IGI Global Publishers)

Brexit involved not only the rhetoric used by the two campaigns but also included an underlying historical British narrative. Therefore, in order to include the socio-historic dynamic to the paper I have chosen this research approach provides an adequate frame in which to analyse the data.

2.4 Norman Fairclough's Discourse Analysis Method

Norman Fairclough, a well-renowned linguist created a three dimensional model of discourse analysis. The first is the *Text,* or linguistic *description*, which is the object of analysis (including verbal and visual texts) (Janks 1997).

The second is the *discursive practice,* or *interpretation*; the macro sociological tradition of analysing social practice in relation to social structures, (Fairclough 1992) or as Janks (1997) phrases it: The processes by means of which the object is produced and received (writing/ speaking/designing and reading/listening/viewing) by human subjects.

The third dimension of the model is the *social practice* and *explanation*, which is the social practice part of the model. It deals with explanation behind the production and interpretation of "the socio-historical conditions which govern these processes." (Janks 1997)

Fairclough (1992) states that "the discursive constitution of society does not emanate from a free play of ideas in people's heads but from a social practice which is firmly rooted in and oriented to real, material social structures."

Fairclough argues that every instance of language use is a communicative event with three dimensions. Discourse can often change one's viewpoint of certain things, it creates meaning and is connected to power. Communication is a social phenomenon created within certain social paradigms, e.g. an office setting will have its own jargon or an electric company who have a specific set of word groups unique to them.

Fairclough's inner circle in his three dimensional model is called "Text". This area of the model represents descriptive words and can be viewed as the *micro-level* of the three as it focuses on the metaphoric structure and rhetorical devices used in the text. (Matos 2013) This is the choice of words we use to describe something, which then determines our interpretation of the given object/subject. This means that the word-choice and the way we put together the text/speech exposes our opinion of what we are talking about.

This is an important factor when analysing the rhetoric of the speeches given by the various political leaders in the analysis. It provides insight into how each word and description of events reflects the individual's position on the subjects, i.e. if the EU was termed as being a "leech" on the economy, rather than a "boost" to the economy. The choice of words is also connected to *framing*. People can *frame* certain things using their choice of words in order to invoke certain emotions and perceptions from their audience. *Framing* will be explained and defined in the theory chapter of the paper.

The second dimension is discursive practice, which analysing the production of the texts and in this dimension the focus is on the text. This is the *meso-level* of the three and consists in looking at the text's production and consumption and the power levels involved. (Matos 2013) It seeks to illuminate whether the text has drawn inspiration or "borrowed" passages from other speeches in the creation.

Social practice is the third dimension, this focuses on the norms and the social structures in society. This is the *macro-level* of analysis, which places the discourse in a contextual realm. It looks at the implications of the meaning of the text in a socio-cultural, historical, economic, political and environmental context. Matos (2013) defines it as an "analysis of social and cultural practices which *frame* discourse practices and texts".

The analysis of the speeches will be combined with the socio-historical narrative at the time of the speeches in order to give context to the references and rhetoric used in the speeches.

3. Theory

Due to the multi-faceted nature of communication and rhetoric, a number of theories must be simultaneously applied in order to adequately analyse the rhetoric presented by the various parties involved. It would not be possible to create a multi-dimensional analysis pertaining to all the underlying messages without utilising several theories that each highlighted important individual aspects of the rhetoric and the meaning behind it. The following thought from Foucault (2002) aptly describes the conundrum: "Discourse in general, (…) is so complex a reality that we not only can, but should, approach it at different levels and with different methods". Therefore, this paper will be employing several approaches to the rhetoric as stated above.

As Wodak & Meyer (2001) state: "CDA (Critical discourse analysis) must not be understood as a single method but rather an approach, which constitutes itself at different levels, and at each level a number of selections have to be made". With this thought process in mind, the paper seeks to employ several theories to support the analysis of the rhetoric, including.

The first theory is Aristotle's modes of persuasion, which seeks to introduce the fundamentals of rhetoric and illuminate the relevant aspects of ethos, pathos and logos in communication and rhetoric. This theory will be introduced to lay the foundations for the analysis, with each text and speech being related to each of the modes of persuasion in order to demonstrate the tactics used by the speakers.

The second is framing theory, by George Lakoff, which seeks to illuminate that every word spoken about a subject and topic seeks to evoke a frame about the topic a certain way. This is a very relevant theory as the Remain and Leave campaigns both debated EU membership and whether it was positive or negative and framed it as such in their speeches. Framing will be expanded upon in in detail further on in theory section.

In order to expose the rhetorical tactics employed by the politicians the theory of repetition must be included which can be used as a power tool in political rhetoric. The theory states that the element of truth and validity to a statement is perceived as increased when it is repeated several times and by several individuals. This is a fundamental part of many politician's rhetoric, as they are able to promote their beliefs and visions in the public's brains through constant reminders and repetition.

To analyse the rhetoric behind many of the speeches presented it is critical to gain an understanding of in/outgroups. The mentality behind and in and outgroup is that of difference and solidarity only achieved by creating a common "enemy" with differences to one's own group or nation in this case. This concept is explained further on and will be employed to display the rhetoric used that pits Europe against the U.K. creating in-and-outgroups.

3.1 Theory of Knowledge – Social Constructivism

The epistemological element to the thesis is core to the way that the knowledge and information is interpreted. Rather than starting with a theory (as in post-positivism), inquirers generate or inductively develop a theory or pattern of meaning.

Some meaning can be described as being subjective meanings, which are negotiated socially and historically. Knowledge is not simply imprinted on individuals but is formed through interaction with others, and through historical and cultural norms that operate in individuals' lives, hence, a *social construct.*

Social constructivism focus on the specific contexts in which people live and work, in order to understand the historical and cultural settings of the participants.

Therefore, it is important to note that I recognize that my own background shapes my interpretation and how I position myself in relation to the research. Therefore I also acknowledge how my interpretation stems from my personal, cultural, and historical experiences.

Crotty (1998) says that, humans engage with their world and make sense of it based on their historical and social perspectives—we are all born into a world of meaning bestowed upon us by our culture. Thus, qualitative researchers seek to understand the context or setting of the

participants through viewing the social and historical backgrounds and gathering information personally. Crotty (1998) also states that the basic generation of meaning is always social, arising in and out of interaction with a human community. The process of qualitative research is largely inductive, with the inquirer generating meaning from the data collected in the field.

Political rhetoric can make or break political campaigns. The importance of the manner in which politicians present their message and political beliefs is paramount to public reception.

Aristotle defined rhetoric as *"the ability to discover the available means of persuasion"* in each of the three kinds of oratory: deliberative, judicial, and epideictic.

3.2 Aristotle's three modes of persuasion

In order to give a foundational perspective to the art of persuasion I to look at one of the first philosophers concerned with the topic, one of the fathers of rhetoric, Aristotle.

Aristotle presents three kinds of persuasion in rhetoric:

The first kind depends on the personal character of the speaker(ethos); the second on putting the audience into a certain frame of mind(pathos); the third on the proof, or apparent proof, provided by the words of the speech itself(logos). Persuasion is achieved by the speaker's personal character when the speech is so spoken as to make us think him credible.

-Aristotle "Rhetoric" 4th Century BC

The first element in Aristotle's modes of persuasion is ethos. Ethos, which is the credibility of the speaker, is achieved by what the speaker says and not what people think of his character before he speaks. However people who have formed pre-judgments are more likely to be swayed if they view the speakers character as having amiable characteristics. *His character may almost be called the most effective means of persuasion he possesses,* states Aristotle. The speaker must project confidence; dress appropriately; know the subject; be well prepared; build rapport with the audience (Aristotle). The credibility of the speaker is determined in several ways. The quality of the message needs be "worthy of belief". It is worthy of belief when the speaker recognizes the audience's needs and motivations; contains all the necessary facts; is meaningful, clear, logical; avoids careless mistakes; is honest and ethical. (Aristotle)

In order to persuade an audience about *facts* the speaker/orator needs a quality of *logos.* The word *logos,* the root of the word *logic,* is the act of persuading through reasoning based on evidence. Logos is necessary where facts, statistics and figures are presented by the speaker and the credibility of the argument lies within the truthfulness of the facts presented.

Pathos is what many politicians appeal to when there are sensitive issues on the line, such as immigration, economy and sovereignty in the case with Brexit. Pathos appeals to audience's and listener's emotions, beliefs and feelings. Most importantly, an appeal to pathos causes an audience not just to respond emotionally, *but to identify with the communicator's point of view*.

Rhetoric used by politicians is a form of persuasion and a means to convince the audience and public of the credibility behind their words and their political beliefs. As Ost (2004) phrases it "there are always grievances out there capable of being mobilized." Ost (2004) continues on by saying that parties define the grievances of the public as "an enemy that each party promises to challenge if and when it gains power."

3.3 Lakoff's Framing

One of the theories we will be employing is UC Berkley, linguistics professor, George Lakoff's *Framing* theory. Lakoff's celebrated work "The All New Don't Think of an Elephant!: Know Your Values and Frame the Debate" (Lakoff 2004) where he discusses *framing* in the context of the 2004 general election in the U.S. and how the conservatives use language and framing to dominate politics in the U.S.

Lakoff introduces *framing* as a common concept within marketing and that they (the marketing profession) use "knowledge about the mind, the brain, language, imagery, emotions, the framing of experiences and products, personal and social identity… in order to teach courses on how to market most effectively" (georgelakoff.com)

He states that "Frames are mental structures that shape the way we see the world." (Lakoff 2004) "All words are defined relative to conceptual frames. When you hear a word, its frame (or collection of frames) is activated in your brain." (ibid.)

Having two parallel scenes of action (for/against) regarding the *act* (referendum) ultimately leads to the opposing sides singling out areas where they are able to present the topic (EU) in vastly different manners, thereby *framing* the same topic through two different scopes.

On the Leave side, the focus was on the restrictions the EU implements on the UK, how further more control can be obtained by severing ties. In contrast, the remain side's main focus was on the benefits that the EU provides and why leaving it would cause financial and political chaos. As Lakoff importantly notes "Reframing is changing the way the public sees the world. It is changing what counts as common sense. Because language activates frames, new language is required for new frames."

Framing is an important term to discuss in the context of Brexit as it was the deciding factor between the two sides of the referendum. It was not a political election where each candidate argued on behalf of their own party's strong areas; it was essentially a nation-dividing topic that was framed in two different ways by both campaigns. When looking at the referendum, the framing of the EU became essential to each of the opposing sides. In congruence with Fairclough's three-dimensional model of analysis; their choice of words, language and social setting helped to create the frames and propel their viewpoints on the EU.

3.4 Repetition as a rhetorical tool in politics

Hasher et al. (1977) conducted an experiment to study the effects of repetition titled "Frequency and the conference of referential validity". The study aimed to prove that the perception of a repeated statement increases a person's subjective impression. Koch (2013) who was interested in repetition in political discourse cites the *Truth Theory* by Arkes et al (1991) which states that: "Repeated perception leads recipients to mistakenly believe that they have heard the statement before from different sources. Over the course of socialization, people learn to more readily believe statements that originate from numerous independent sources."

The truth effect is strongest when participants are uncertain about a statement's validity. Although repetition by itself does not increase validity, repetition from a second, independent source does increase the convergent validity of a statement. (Unkelbach, 2007) So, when people remember that they have encountered a statement before but fail to remember the source they show a truth effect. (Unkelbach, 2007)

3.5 Creating identity: Ingroup vs Outgroup.

Tajfel and Turner (1986) were lauded for their study of *social identity theory.* They introduced the phenomenon of In-group vs Outgroup where they stated that a person might act differently in varying social contexts according to the groups they belong to, which might include a sports team they follow, their family, their country of nationality, and the neighbourhood they live in, among many other possibilities.

When a person considers themselves part of a group, like being a member of a football fan club, that group is known as the *in-group* for them. In contrast, other groups that an individual does not feel associated with are known as outgroups, such as fan clubs from rival teams. This is a form of *social categorization,* which individuals subscribe to in order to define themselves and consequently their behaviour. This can be a variety of different categorisations for example: *nationality*, British/non-British, *profession*, CEO/ builder, and *political affiliation* pro-EU/Eurosceptic.

Tajfel and Turner state that positive social identity is based to a large extent on favourable comparisons that are made between the in-group and (some relevant) outgroups. The evaluation of one's own group is determined with reference to specific other groups through social comparisons in terms of value-laden attributes and characteristics. This means that people are constantly evaluating their own group by comparing it to other groups in society, in terms of wealth, status and social positioning in society. This is an important aspect to look at when discussing Brexit and the value the British place on sovereignty and retaining their status as a global superpower.

Laclau and Mouffe present a theory on discourse that breaks down the discourse into smaller parts for analysis. They introduce the concept of nodal points which are focal points in a text from which other words are given meaning.

Jørgensen, M. W., & Phillips, L. J. (2002) explain Laclau and Mouffe's theory well:

[W]e will call *articulation* any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice. The structured totality resulting from the articulatory practice, we will call *discourse.* The differential positions, insofar as they appear articulated within a discourse, we will call *moments.* By contrast, we will call *element* any difference that is not discursively articulated. – Jørgensen & Phillips (Laclau and Mouffe 1985)

Signs are words whose meanings have not yet been fixed and are given meaning through the *nodal points.* A nodal point is a privileged sign around which the other signs are ordered; the other signs acquire their meaning from their relationship to the nodal point. (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002)

Nodal points can be viewed as reference points from where elements in a discourse derive meaning. For example in political rhetoric, *control* is given meaning in a different sense, when talking of *democracy* there are multiple elements that can be linked and contextualised to the *nodal point*. "Self-control", can mean self-governance, border control, independence from EU *control* etc. Therefore, the *nodal point* can be viewed as the reference point from where all other elements of the discourse gain their context. Therefore "nodal points are privileged signifiers or reference points in a discourse that bind together a particular system of meaning or *chain of signification*." (ibid.)

Laclau and Mouffe state that discourse is formed by fixation of meaning within a certain domain. All of these "signs" explain Jørgensen & Phillips are *moments, which* can be viewed as knots on a fishing-net, their meaning being fixed through their differences from one another. These *moments* are given meaning through *articulation* which is "any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice." (Norval, A. J., & Stavrakakis, Y. 2000)

4. History of EU & U.K. relations

Britain's ambivalent history with the EU can be traced back to 1961, four years after the founding of the EEC, where 4 countries attempted to join the EEC; Denmark, Norway, Ireland and the U.K. Europe was still fragile in the wake of the WWII and tensions were still high. The U.K. had not attempted to join at an earlier stage due to a variety of reasons. The U.K. already had many trade interests and bonds abroad through its former colonies, the Commonwealth and a special relationship with the U.S. These connections and bonds gave the U.K. solid political and economical options that other European countries possessed to a far lesser extent. Therefore,

their position economically was much stronger than the other smaller nations who sought to join the EU, like Denmark, Ireland and Norway.

The European Economic Community (EEC) a group of 6 founding members, the "inner six", created the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951, whose purpose was to create a common market for trading coal and steel between the countries to minimize competition between other European countries.

This led to the creation of the EEC in 1957, which was essentially an expansion upon the ECSC. The treaty creating the EEC signed in Rome in 1957 and was consequently called the Treaty of Rome. The EEC was the first step in the direction of creating the EU, which was a union that introduced the annulment of trade tariffs and sought to create a union with a common belief in peace and cooperation.

4.1 The U.K. attempts to join the EEC.

The applications from the four nations, Denmark, Norway, U.K. and Ireland, were received by the EEC and were voted on by the founding members. However, the U.K.'s application was rejected, as France, under the steerage of President Charles De Gaulle, vetoed their application. Denmark and Ireland were so economically tied to the U.K that they did not wish to join the community without the U.K in tow. (Bache, Ian and Stephen George 2006)

The reason for the veto came as a direct attack on Britain. De Gaulle stated in a press conference that Britain's activities were mainly industrial, commercial and not agricultural and that it is bound up by its trade to "often the most distant of countries" (Grant 2008).

"The nature, structure, circumstances peculiar to England are very different from those of other continentals" said De Gaulle (Grant 2008). De Gaulle questioned the effort by the British to contribute to an economic union citing that fact that they had trade interests in other parts of the world including U.S, which De Gaulle viewed as a threat to the union. The close relationship between the U.K and the U.S posed a potential threat to the union, De Gaulle claimed, stating that if the UK were to join it would "seem like a colossal Atlantic community under American dependence and direction" (Grant 2008). Therefore, De Gaulle vetoed the application of the U.K. and as a result of this EEC rejected their application.

In order to contextualise the EEC and the power that France maintained at the time one must take a look at the other members. The "inner six" of the EEC, as they were known, consisted of Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands and West Germany. After the spoils of WWII West Germany and Italy had to tread carefully and diplomatically when approaching any political situation, which meant that France was able to act as a figure of power within the Community to an extent.

The other members of the EEC were not opposed to British membership but De Gaulle remained defiant and after the U.K, re-submitted their application in 1967, De Gaulle once again vetoed it

claiming that Britain would require "radical transformation" and that "The present Common Market is incompatible with the economy, as it now stands, of Britain." (BBC Archives)

Only after De Gaulle left his post as President in 1969, following a failed Senate and government reform did the U.K resubmit their application. France now under new leadership through President Georges Pompidou was not opposed to the U.K. joining and this set in motion negotiations for the three countries, Denmark, Ireland and the U.K. to join the EU and in 1973, they were officially granted membership of the EEC.

5. Rising Euroscepticism in the U.K

Being a sovereign nation has been at the core of British identity for centuries. After invasions by the Romans, the Vikings and the Normans, the Britons were able to build up their country as a nation and form their own identity. The British were able to establish themselves as one of the most powerful empires on the planet. The history and sense of self-identity that the Colonial status brought with it is still largely ingrained in the minds of the Britons. Therefore there has always been a sense of Empirical Greatness in the self-image of the Brits.

With the European Communities Act of 1972, which essentially gave EU law supremacy over the law of the individual member states including the U.K. there was a cession of sovereignty.

After officially joining of the EEC in 1973 and later on the EU, the sense of self-control began to slowly ebb away bringing about a rising feeling for them to strengthen their position as an independent powerful sovereign state.

5.1 The influence of the media

One cannot take the media's role for granted in any sense. Britain's media has contributed to a Eurosceptic atmosphere amongst its readers. Given that large newspapers are able to set the tone and frame the politics within the U.K. they are able to influence the readers heavily.

The media can essentially control and sway public opinion by alluding to certain viewpoints and omitting others. Their political affiliations is undeniable and whether a widely read tabloid chooses to publish negative or positive stories about a campaign or candidate is essentially up to them and the political persuasion of their owners.

Four groups within the British printing press; the Daily Mail Group, Rupert Murdoch who controls the Sun and the Times, Richard Desmond, owner of the Express and the Star, and the Barclay brothers who control the Daily Telegraph and the Spectator, own 75% of the daily newspapers sold in the U.K.

An example of political affiliation within the press can be seen through the affiliations of the two owners. Rupert Murdoch, who was an outspoken Eurosceptic and supporter of the Leave campaign, commented on the result of Brexit, saying the withdrawal from the Union was like "a prison break….we're out" (The Independent 2016)

Whilst Richard Desmond owner of the *Daily Express* and the *Star* is a public supporter of British independence from the EU and his multiple donations to UKIP underline this fact. As recently as 2015 Desmond donated a whopping £1 million of his personal funds to the party. (BBC 2015)

5.2 Public Opinion of the EU in the U.K.

Turning our focus back to the U.K., public opinion of the EU has fluctuated in nature, from observing the EEC project from the side-lines to finally joining it and being a founding member of the EU as we know it today. Labour held a referendum on whether the U.K. should remain a member of the EEC two years after joining the in 1975, and the remain side won with a convincing 67 % voting to remain within the EEC.

The EU represents a massive trading partner for the U.K. with 44% of UK exports going to the EU, and 48% of foreign direct investment coming into the U.K. from the EU. (The Economist 2016)

However, the European Union as a concept has not been favourably viewed and according to EuroBarometer polls from 2006 (Europa.eu), when asked the question: *"Do you ever think of yourself as not only (British), but also European? Does this happen often, sometimes or never?"* 67% of Brits answered that they *never* feel European*.*

This trend extends into the European Parliament where, according to the EuroBarometer Polls of 2015, a year before the referendum vote, only 34 per cent of Britons said that they trusted the European Parliament. (EuroBarometer 2015) This goes hand in hand with the question of the EU parliament and transparency where a whopping 63% of EU citizens feel that they are not informed about the European Parliament's activities. (EuroBarometer 2015)

The number one reason for people voting Leave was: "The principle that decisions about the U.K. should be taken in the U.K." (Lord Ashcroft Polls 2016). The second most important reason was, that the U.K. could regain control over immigration and its own borders, whilst the third was that remaining in the EU meant the U.K. had little or no choice about how the EU expanded its membership or powers. The number one reason for remaining in the U.K. according to the Remain voters was that, the risks of leaving the EU looked too great when it came to things such as economy, jobs and prices, which is what Cameron focused on in his speeches to the public.

Immigration was a major topic during the referendum and several references were made to the U.K. feeling burdened by immigrants from poorer EU countries enrolling on their welfare system. The EuroBarometer of 2015 asked Britons if a "European social welfare system harmonised between the Member States would strengthen your feeling of being a European Citizen" the UK had the lowest percentage of the entire EU vote, with only 30% saying it would strengthen their feelings of being an EU citizen. (EuroBarometer 2015) These can be viewed as one of many signs of the growing Eurosceptic feeling in the U.K.

5.3 The 2016 referendum: How it started.

Taking into account all of the above, it is important to ask why Cameron, a public supporter of UK membership of the EU, call for a referendum, potentially jeopardising his own position as PM?

After the election of David Cameron as PM in 2010, there was a surge in number of Eurosceptic Tories who applied pressure on Cameron to call for a referendum on the EU. This was in part influenced by EU talks on creating a closer fiscal union in the wake of the debt crisis in the Eurozone. After a petition signed by 100,000 people in 2011, (BBC 2011) including Conservative MP's and MEP's, calling for a referendum on EU membership was presented to Cameron, he was forced to bring the unsettling case before the Parliament for a Commons debate.[1] The motion called for a referendum on "whether the UK should stay in the EU, leave it or renegotiate its membership." (BBC 2011)

After a five-hour debate, the motion was defeated 483 votes to 111. Despite the Tory, Liberal Democrats and the Labour MP's being instructed to oppose it, a total of 79 (BBC 2011) Tory MP's voted in favour of a referendum.

The Euroscepticism in the Conservative party did not dwindle despite the overwhelming victory and in 2013 as part of Cameron's campaign speech for re-election Cameron stated that if the conservatives won, he would hold an in/out referendum so that the people of Britain could "have their say". (BBC 2013)

6. Background of the Leave and Remain campaigns

6.1 Leave Campaign

The Leave campaign consisted of two parallel running campaigns, which consisted of the officially recognised "Vote Leave, Take Control" campaign and the privately funded LEAVE.EU campaign founded by businessmen Aaron Banks and Richard Tice. They were both responsible for producing materials supporting their cause, however the British government only endorsed "Vote Leave, Take Control" as the official opposition.

The *LEAVE.EU* campaign, funded and founded by Aaron Banks and Richard Tice, was put in the charge of CEO Liz Bilney, who chose to remain out of the public spotlight. Previously known as "The kNOw" a play on the words 'NO' (to the EU), the campaign rebranded itself (leave.EU 2015) to make its intentions unmistakable. The two campaigns were involved in competing missions and there were attempts by Leave.EU to repeal the decision made by the Electoral Commission endorsing the "Vote Leave, Take Control" campaign. However, these were turned down on the basis that Vote Leave "demonstrated that it has the structures in place to ensure the views of other campaigners are represented in the delivery of its campaign" (The Independent 2016).

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[1] Any petition on the government's e-petitions website which gets 100,000 or more signatures must be considered by Parliament for a Commons debate. (https://petition.parliament.uk/)

Leave.EU subsequently filed for a judicial review, but later recalled it stating that "It is time to turn our collective guns on the real opponents in this campaign" (leave.EU 2016)

The *Vote Leave* campaign focused on the economy, immigration and 'taking back control'. The slogan "Vote Leave, Take Control" was used to signify that the UK had little or no influence on how the EU expanded its membership or drew binding decisions. Some of the main advocators behind the *Vote Leave* campaign were, Rt. Hon Gisela Stuart MP, the chairman of the Leave Board, Former Secretary of State for Justice Michael Gove, Mayor of London Boris Johnson, Former Chancellor of the Exchequer Nigel Lawson, MP George Galloway as well as several other prominent MP's and politically active individuals.

The *Vote Leave* campaign also relied heavily on highlighting the negative financial impact that the EU had on the UK and stating that all the money they send to the EU could be used on the NHS instead. During their campaign they released a controversial figure of £350 million, which they claimed that the UK supposedly paid to the EU every week. The premise that the UK would save £350 million a week was a perfect, simple, clear and direct campaign message that was intelligible by all and that was why the figure and the slogan made a lasting impression. Therefore, despite the misleading nature of the figure, it functioned as deliberate political scaremongering.

However following dispute regarding the credibility of the figure, it was consequently disproved and not endorsed by the UK statistics Authority. (Public letter from Sir Andrew Dilnot, Chair of UK Statistics Authority)

A Liberal Democrat MP for North Norfolk, Norman Lamb filed a complaint to the Chair of the UK Statistics Authority, Sir Andrew Dilnot, regarding the premise that the UK sent £350 million a week to the EU. Mr Lamb pointed out that the figure did not take into account the funds returned to the UK or the rebate given to the UK by the EU. Therefore the claims made by the *Vote Leave* campaign were false and should be repudiated by the Statistics Authority.

The Chair of the UK Statistics Authority consequently sent a public reply to MP Norman Lamb stating that "… I consider these statements to be potentially misleading." Sir Andrew Dilnot stated "the £350 million figure, (which) appears to be a gross figure which does not take into account the rebate or other flows from the EU to the UK public sector.." (Sir Andrew Dilnot 2016)

"Given the high level of public interest in this debate it is important that official statistics are used accurately, with important limitations or caveats clearly explained." Stated Chair of the U.K. Statistics Authority, Sir Andrew Dilnot.

6.1.1 Nigel Farage and UKIP

Nigel Farage, the leader of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), played a central role in campaigning for the British exit of the EU. He was one of the main supporters behind the Leave movement and the existence of his party was essentially founded on the very prospect of gaining "independence" from the EU.

Farage ascended through the ranks of British politics with a determined and Eurosceptic frame of mind. He was active in politics from a young age and started off as a member of the Conservative party. However, his Euroscepticism became clear from an early stage in his political career and he left the Conservatives in 1992 in protest of PM John Major signing the Treaty of Maastricht, which was one of the founding treaties of the European Union, as we know it today. (BBC 2006)

A year later in 1993 he became one of the founding members of UKIP with a similar minded group of peers with the aim of running candidates opposed to the Maastricht Treaty in the 1992 general election. (BBC 2006)

With 6 years of experience under his belt, Farage was elected as a British MEP in 1999. It was the first step in his illustrious career as a member of the European Parliament, where he now possessed a much larger stage to present his ideologies and discontent with EU bureaucracy.

In September 2006, UKIP held an election to select new leadership. It was the opportune moment for Nigel Farage to make his mark. He was able clinch the nomination with a total of 45 per cent of the total vote, by pledging to create new guidelines for the party and to increase party presence on a local level and in parliament. Then in 2014, for the first time in 100 years a party other than Labour or the Conservatives clinched the highest amount of votes for the European Parliament when UKIP clinched 24 of the 73 seats available (BBC 2014) boosting their presence in the EU parliament significantly.

Nigel Farage officially aligned himself with the Leave.EU campaign, however he openly stated that he endorsed both campaigns as they were fighting for a common cause "I believe these campaigns are aiming at different audiences and are complementary not contradictory. Ultimately, I hope that we have one campaign that operates on a number of levels." (UKIP.org)

6.2 Remain Campaign

-Britain Stronger in Europe-

Britain Stronger in Europe was the slogan of the official "remain" campaign in the U.K. Brexit referendum. The Remain campaign, which was officially endorsed by David Cameron as well as Chancellor George Osbourne, was intent on proving the value of the EU to the U.K. It was a matter of convincing Eurosceptics that the EU did more good for the U.K. than it took away from them.

Britain Stronger in Europe, or "The IN Campaign Ltd." as it was formally known, was put in the hands of Lord Stuart Rose, the former Marks & Spencer chairman. However Lord Rose chose to avoid the spotlight and was criticized for his lack of involvement and media presence by his remain comrades (The Spectator 2016).

The backing force behind the Remain Campaign consisted of MP George Osborne, Leader of the Labour Party Jeremy Corbyn, MP Jo Cox, to name a few. Several international political leaders also publicly stated their support for the U.K. remaining in the EU, including President Barack Obama,

former U.S Secretary of State and Presidential Candidate, Hillary Clinton as well as German Chancellor Angela Merkel.

David Cameron was the driving force behind the Remain campaign. His position as PM gave him the spotlight he needed for his rhetoric to be heard. However, his position regarding the EU could perhaps be viewed as neutral to the extent that it could be perceived as ambivalent at some stages and this continuance in his rhetoric made his stance unclear. It was only when he feared he would lose his position as PM that he directly appealed for the public to vote Remain.

6.3 The demographic composition of the voters.

There was an historical turnout for the Brexit vote on June 23rd 2016 and in order to contextualise this, we must take a short look at the demographics. The vote was painstakingly close with a 51.9% Leave vote to a 48.1% Remain vote. The turnout for the referendum was greater than that of the last general election in 2015 with a 70% voter turnout and just over 33.5 million votes cast. An overview of the demographics and voting statistics presents several trends that can be analysed.

An interesting feature to note was the clear regional divide within the U.K. regarding remaining or leaving. The only regions to vote more than 50% remain were pro-European Scotland who voted with an overwhelming 60%, to remain, Northern Ireland, as well as metropolitan London.

Due to the political construction of the U.K., Scotland has not been able to make these decisions on its own, and the result of the referendum has consequently sparked several calls for a second independence referendum in Scotland. As recently as September 2014, the Scottish held an independence referendum, where a 55% majority voted to remain a member of the U.K. rather than separating and becoming an independent country. The Scottish people voiced that the U.K. provided financial and economic security to Scotland and therefore voted to remain.

The outcome of the Brexit vote took many people by surprise with a majority of population taking for granted that the U.K could actually leave the EU and therefore the result led to great shock not only amongst the British people but also around the globe. McNair, (1999) sums up voting and opinion polling very well when he states that: "Opinion polling may generate a demonstration effect, 'cueing' undecided voters on which party the majority is supporting, and thus becoming self-fulfilling prophecies." This can be argued to be the case with the EU referendum in the U.K., where the polls unsuccessfully predicted that the remain side were in the lead and the public and many politicians took the outcome for granted.

6.3.1 Political parties and the way they voted:

The politics of the vote and the parties that backed each side were just as important as the vote itself because of the implications and repercussions a Brexit would have on the make-up of the parliament as well as numerous internal power struggles.

How Britain voted

By 2015 GE vote

Remain | Leave

42% 58%
63% 37%
70% 30%
4% 96%
75% 25%
64% 36%

Lord Ashcroft Polls
@LordAshcroft
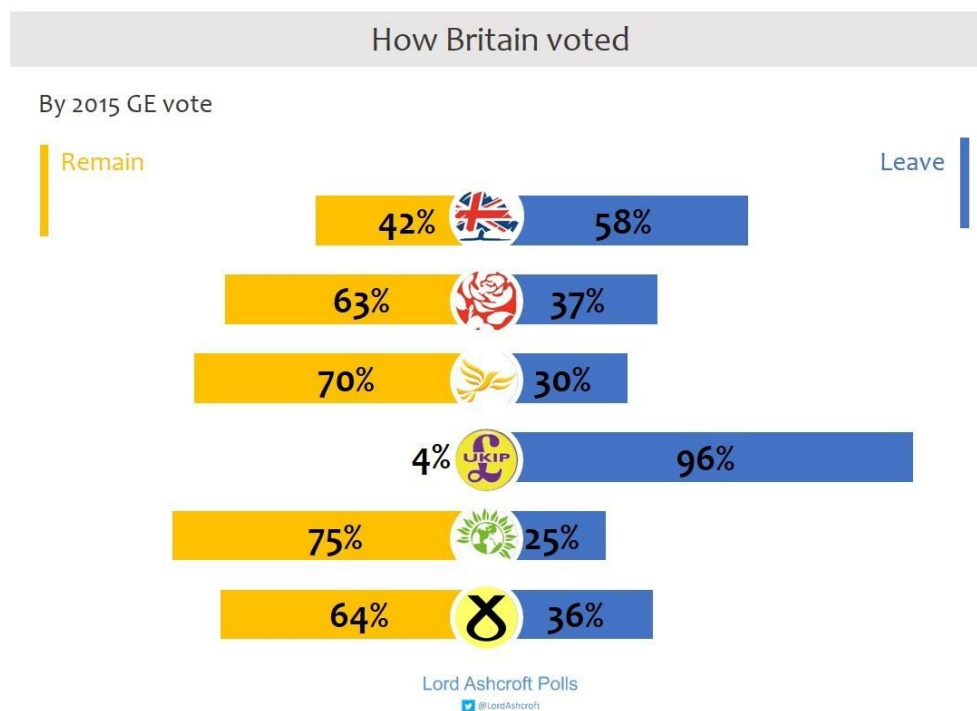
One of the surprising elements of the vote was how the individual party's members voted under the referendum. Taking a look at the six largest parties in the government at the moment, gives us an interesting insight and some surprising outcomes. David Cameron's Conservative Party was interestingly very split leading up to the vote, and on referendum day, voted a surprising 58% Leave to a 42% Remain going against his own wishes.

The Labour Party, spearheaded by Jeremy Corbyn, voted 63% Remain 37% Leave. The Liberal Democrats 70% Remain 30% Leave. UKIP unsurprisingly voted 96% Leave and 4% Remain, although it begs to question the intentions of the 4% Remain voters. The Greens voted 75% Remain and 25% Leave whilst the Scottish Nationalist Party (SNP), who have always had pro-Euro leniency, voted 64% Remain against 36% Leave.

7. The theoretical approach to the analysis.

Rhetoric, as Aristotle phrased it: "an ability, in each case, to see the available means of persuasion" (Aristotle, Rhetoric 1355). Rhetoric is alpha and omega to political campaigns as it reveals the type of person and political views that the politician encapsulates. Ethos, is a reflection of their credibility and moral beliefs, logos, reveals their argumentative base, and pathos reveals their emotional side and how they appeal to the emotion in the public.

The main goal of political rhetoric is to convince potential voters of the validity behind the politician's case and why they should vote for you, essentially a form persuasive reasoning. Rhetoric is a tool used to shape the thoughts and actions of the public in a way that can create a wave of opinion through evoking certain emotions in them.

In order to grasp the concept of politicising certain debates and promoting individualised viewpoints I have decided to utilise Linguistics professor George Lakoff's (2014) framing theory. Lakoff's framing theory states that every word invokes a frame. He uses the example of an elephant with his students. As soon as you say "Don't think of an Elephant" one is immediately drawn to think of an elephant, because, as Lakoff (2014) says: "When we negate a frame, we evoke the frame." Therefore framing theory is relevant when analysing rhetoric because of the persuasive nature of rhetoric. In order to sway the public politicians must evoke the frame that they seek to promote by using certain rhetoric. Research conducted by Eagley and Chaiken (1993) suggests that eliciting emotions can motivate changes in attention, opinion, and behaviour.

Hot Cognition Theory (Lodge & Taber 2005) contends that almost any object- social groups, politicians, policy issues –triggers automatic positive or negative effects based on a person's past evaluations of the object. Lodge and Taber (2005) claim that with repeated co-activation socio-political concepts become positively or negatively charged and this affective charge becomes directly linked to the concepts in long-term memory. Thereupon "feelings" come to mind spontaneously upon mere activation of the object represented in long-term memory, be it a person, group, issue, event, symbol, or idea. This is important to note when addressing the British narrative, which relies heavily upon historical contextual references which trigger the public to perceiving the EU negatively and the U.K. favourably.

Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model of discourse analysis will be employed to analyse the text from three different levels. The first of these levels is the textual level, which focuses on the lexical choices of the writer, including the use of metaphors, synonyms and other linguistic choices that shape the text. Metaphors will will be discussed briefly and when relevant, but the main focus of the paper is to illuminate the use of pathos and the socio-historic narrative in the U.K. relating to their identity and relationship to the EU.

The second level looks at discourse practice, as discussed in the theory section of the paper. This level is focused on highlighting connections of the speeches to other texts, borrowed passages and references whilst drawing parallels between them.

The third level is concerned with the historical, socio-cultural, economic, political and environmental context, which is of more relevance to the paper and will be used as the underlying method for contextualising the speeches.

7.0.1 The main actors of the Brexit referendum

The key members that will be analysed are, former PM David Cameron, whose decision it was to call for the referendum, Nigel Farage, Boris Johnson, as well as the historical context through Tony Blair, Margaret Thatcher and Winston Churchill.

When campaigning about the same focus area, there emerges a tendency towards the art of persuasion because it does not resemble a typical campaign where candidates go head-to-head

and play on their personal strengths. This means the orators from both sides of the referendum must persuade and convince the public to vote according to the speakers beliefs on the matter. Persuasive rhetoric and framing played an important role in the outcome and were key to the arguments presented.

7.1 Identity framing: In/out-groups.

As mentioned under the theory section of the paper, Tajfel and Turner hypothesise that there are pressures to evaluate one's own social group positively through in-group/out-group comparisons. In doing so members of the in-group tend to minimise the differences between the in-group members and thereby increasing homogeneity and a sense of union. This incites a predisposition to view one's own in-group with a level of positive bias in comparison to the outgroup.

On a more macro level, this type of social identity also takes place on a scale of national identity where nationalism takes on a defining role in the relationship between your own nationality (in-group) and another nationality (outgroup).

Gaining support requires each party to mobilize popular emotions against its proposed 'Other' Ost (2004) states, which is an element of importance when discussing the relationship between the U.K. and the EU, which the latter being framed in a negative way by the Leave campaigners in order to gather support to leave the EU.

Tajfel and Turner (1986) also mention economic and social status play a role in relation to in and outgroups. "An unequal distribution of objective resources promotes antagonism between dominant and subordinate groups." This can be related to the relative amount of migrant workers coming to the UK in search of work because their home countries are not as economically advanced. This creates an unequal social and economic status between the social groups and the in-coming immigrants are viewed as subordinate due to their economic inferiority.

7.2 Framing theory: Framing Brexit in a pluralist manner

We will be using Lakoff's framing theory in order to illuminate the way in which the politicians each frame the topics that they discuss, advantageously or persuasively.

"Because language activates frames, new language is required for new frames. Thinking differently requires speaking differently" Lakoff (2004) says. The speeches include several terms used to describe the EU in Brussels which each give a "coloured" (opinionated) view of the EU. There are also several references to the older "frames" of glory and the British Empire, used specifically to evoke emotions and instil pride within the audience.

Another interesting perception George Lakoff states, is that a basic principle of framing is not to use the language of the opposition, because then you are entering their "frame". "Their language picks out a frame – and it won't be the frame you want" (Lakoff 2004)

Burke (1969) defines metaphor as a *literal* device that also has a *realistic* purpose. A metaphor, Burke states, is a device for seeing something *in terms* of something else.

Burke points out that metaphors are more than just literary devices and can be used as descriptive elements, but they also "perspectivise" reality. Burke states that in order to *translate* metaphor from the "literal" to "realistic" one could substitute the term *metaphor* for *perspective.*

He explains that we are able to tell something about the viewpoint of another person by the type of metaphor they use to describe the object or subject with and we are able to gain a picture of the complete perspective.

8. Analysis of the rhetoric

The following section will focus on the analysis of the rhetoric, beginning with selected historic rhetoric and continuing through to the Leave & Remain campaings and their rhetoric before the referendum vote.

In order to give a socio-historic perspective I will include historic speeches given by previous Prime Minister's on the subject of the U.K. and the EU. This will be to demonstrate that there has been a British narrative recurring through history, which can be used to provide understanding and explanation to the outcome of the vote. The rhetoric of the selected PM's Winston Churchill, Margaret Thatcher and Tony Blair, will be analysed below, starting in a chronological order from 1946 after WWII and leading up to Brexit. This has been a conscious choice in order to give a historical perspective of the U.K.'s national sentiments towards Europe after the devastating effects of WWII as well as the rebuilding of Europe and the trust between its nations. Therefore a select few speeches which have relevant political and rhetorical references to Europe have been chosen in order to demonstrate a pattern and a national narrative which led to the eventual outcome of the British referendum.

In order to create a cohesive overview of the nodal (focal) points and the related signs (references) in the speeches, the relevant nodal points from each speech will be presented in a schematic table with the corresponding "signs", i.e. the phrases which are given meaning from the nodal point. The nodal point acts as the point of reference from which the other signs in the network gain meaning. Therefore I have split the table into two parts, the nodal point(s) and the reference in the speeches, in the form of direct quotes from the speakers relating to the topic. This means that I have focused in topics relevant to the subject at hand such as, British sovereignty, Defiance, Relationship to the US/EU etc. This will give a clear indication of the important reference (nodal) points used in the speeches and seek to help the reader gain a scope of the relevant aspects and to provide context.

Historical rhetoric

8.1 Churchill Speech 1946 – The Sinews of Peace (The Iron Curtain Speech)

The Sinews of Peace, or "The Iron Curtain Speech" as it came to be popularly known, was a historic speech made by Winston Churchill on March 5th 1946 at Westminster College, in Fulton, Missouri, USA. The speech marked a ploy to rejuvenate the European continent and attempt to create a world peacekeeping governance called the United Nations Organisation.

Nodal Points	Reference in speech and signs
Relationship between the US & U.K.	"a special relationship between the British Commonwealth and Empire and the United States" "Neither the sure prevention of war, nor (…) rise of world organisation, will be gained without (…) the fraternal association of the English speaking Peoples" "mutual security by the joint use of all Naval and Air Force bases in the possession of either country all over the world" "I feel eventually there will come the principle of common citizenship"
Call for a United Nations Organisation	"If the Western Democracies stand together in strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter, their influence for furthering those principles will be immense and no one is likely to molest them" "the decisive addition of the United States and all that that means, is already at work" "(…) we should work (…) for a grand pacification of Europe, within the structure of the United Nations and in accordance with its Charter."
British defiance	"our absolute victory in arms" (Of the conclusion of WWII) "(..) what strength I have suffering and suffering shall be preserved for the future glory and safety of mankind." " Our supreme task and duty is to guard the homes of the common people" "the Liberated Europe we fought to build up" (pg6)

The speech came after the end of WWII at a time where world politics and nations were in a fragile state. Europe had been overrun and bombed and there was a need for peaceful coexistence and Churchill viewed greater influence by the U.S. as the answer. Therefore the speech focused greatly on bringing the world closer together and introducing the first blue prints for a United Nations which would be used to prevent any form of similar aggression in the future.

During the speech, Churchill introduces a famous term, "the special relationship". It is a term, which he uses to describe "a special relationship between the British Commonwealth and Empire and the United States". The *special relationship*, a common history and language are what Churchill promotes as a binding agent between the two nations.

Churchill states that the crux of his speech is about the fraternal association of English-speaking peoples, and without it, prevention of war and the creation of a peaceful world organisation would not be possible. The first nodal point is the relationship between the U.K. and the U.S. and the "signs" and statements hereafter take their meaning from this. In terms of Aristotle's modes of persuasion, Churchill uses *pathos* to create a sense of *familiarity* between the two nations, using the emotionally laden word *fraternal* to describe the relationship between the U.K. and the U.S.

The *special relationship* has since been used to describe relations between the United States and the U.K. on numerous occasions including the first time that the U.K. attempted to join the E.U. where Charles de Gaulle famously vetoed their application to join the EU. He stated that the *special relationship* between the U.K. and the U.S. posed a threat to the union and that if the U.K. were to join, the union would be "under American dependence and direction" (Grant 2008).

The wariness behind De Gaulle's statement stemmed from scepticism regarding Churchill's apparent desire for the U.S. and the U.K. to become joint superpowers. Churchill expresses that the fraternal relationship between the U.S. and U.K. should be expanded to "mutual security by the joint use of all Naval and Air Force bases in the possession of either country all over the world" (Churchill 1946). De Gaulle stated in 1961 that the "special relationship" could develop into "a colossal Atlantic community" and given Churchill's bombastic statement "Already we (UK & US) use together a large number of islands; more may well be entrusted to our joint care in the near future" (1946) this could be easily be seen as intent to create "a colossal Atlantic" empire as De Gaulle previously stated was his fear.

The intent behind Churchill's speech is clear. The formation of an even closer union between the U.S. & U.K. with mutual beneficial reciprocity. Churchill mentions that the U.S. supports Canada, a British Commonwealth country, with a permanent defence agreement and that the U.S.'s support should be "extended to all British Commonwealths with full reciprocity." (Churchill 1946) In this statement uses a form of *logos* to argue for the U.S. to extend their defence support to the U.K. and its protectorates. He uses a simple argument, if-then. *If* the U.S. already supports a British Commonwealth country, Canada, *then* the support should extend to all British Commonwealths.

The division of Europe after WWII was one of great concern for many Europeans, especially in Western Europe considering the mass power gained by the Russians after they swept over Eastern Europe with a controlling hand. As Churchill famously phrased it in his 1946 speech: "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent."

Despite the "special relationship" Churchill still viewed Europe fondly, and speaking of France after WWII he said: "All my public life I have worked for a Strong France and I never lost faith in her destiny, even in the darkest hours." (Churchill 1946)

The next nodal point in the speech is *United Nations,* from which several signs are contextualised in Churchill's appeal. Churchill calls for an organised United Nations front in order to quell any impeding repetition of the world wars.

"If the Western Democracies stand together in strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter, their influence for furthering those principles will be immense and no one is likely to molest them." (ibid.)

Churchill uses the U.S. joining the United Nations as a sign of their belief in the project "the decisive addition of the United States and all that that means, is already at work". Churchill uses the United Nations as a signifier of peace stating that "(…) we should work (…) for a grand pacification of Europe, within the structure of the United Nations and in accordance with its Charter." Here Churchill introduces the first concept of a joint organisation of nations that can help to secure and protect world peace, essentially an early form of the United Nations as we know it today.

The next nodal point is *British defiance*. The signs related to the nodal point are cautionary messages to any prospective enemies: "Let no man underrate the abiding power of the British Empire and Commonwealth" (ibid.) "..do not suppose that we shall not come through these dark years of privation as we have come through the glorious years of agony..". Churchill incites a feeling *British defiance* reinforcing tradition and values stating "70 or 80 millions of Britons spread about the world and united in defence of our traditions, our way of life, and of the world causes which you and we espouse". (ibid) This is a reinforcement of the British narrative of being a strong and powerful nation within the world with its own identity.

Churchill continues to express the unprecedented nature of the relationship between the U.S. and the U.K. and even goes so far as to say that "…I feel eventually there will come the principle of common citizenship.." (Churchill 1946). A bold statement that leaves Britain's European allies wanting to seek reassurance of their own relationship and ties to the U.K. This is an example of Tajfel and Turner's *In-group vs Out-group* which states *positive social identity is based to a large extent on favourable comparisons that are made between the in-group.* Here Churchill *frames* the *in-group* as being the U.S. and the U.K. and by referring to their relationship as fraternal, sharing a common history and language English. The outgroup in this case being all countries, including Europe, who are not the United States or the United Kingdom. He sought to garner the support of

the U.S. by *framing* their relationship as a bond closer than ally, and one of family, appealing to pathos and familiarity.

Churchill endearingly refers to U.S. and the special relationship more so than any other European nation mentioned in the speech. Granted the location, one can account for the bias, but regardless of the location, the effort Churchill places into the US-U.K. relationship is in stark contrast to the any mention of creating a closer relationship between Europe.

Therefore, because Churchill focuses more heavily on the relationship between the U.S. and the U.K. rather than on its continental cousins, the special relationship takes centre stage in Churchill's speech. The responsibility for defending Europe, Churchill states, is a triumphant burden that Britain accepts with pride. The European continent is viewed as a necessary trading partner, but not as a political union or community.

However, the notion of a united Europe was introduced in a speech Churchill gave a couple of months later at the University of Zurich, where he introduced the concept of a *United States of Europe* in the form of a political coalition.

8.2 Churchill: United States of Europe 1947, University of Zurich, Switzerland

Nodal Points	Reference in text and signs
Union of Europe	"recreating the European fabric" "We must build a kind of United States of Europe" "must be the friends and sponsors of the new Europe"
Historical ties	"the origin of most culture of arts" "the home of all the great parent races of the Western world"

Half a year after his famous "Iron Curtain" speech Winston Churchill gave a speech at the University of Zurich in Switzerland where he defined his vision of a future Europe.

In the speech, he employs a lot of praising words, where he *frames* Europe as a "noble continent", "the origin of most culture of arts" and "the home of all the great parent races of the Western world". The nodal point here is the *history* of Europe and how Europe is bound together culturally and ethnically, the signs *origin of arts* and *home of great parent races* are given meaning through the nodal point of European heritage. Here Churchill is essentially establishing rapport with Europe through ethos by bringing up a common background in an attempt to highlight similarities.

Then he introduces a very interesting concept when he says "We must build a kind of United States of Europe."(winstonchurchill.org) According to Fairclough's three-dimensional discourse analysis, the referencing to and incorporation of other social elements, an existing form of union in the U.S., bring context to the discourse presented. If we are to identify the *nodal point* as being *union*, the signifiers *united and states* create a chain of equivalence that eventually lead the audience to deduce that the *United States of Europe* is a reference to forming a duplicate of the United States of America.

In relation to uniting the countries of Europe, he metaphorically describes "recreating the European fabric" and "to provide it with a structure under which it can dwell in peace, safety and freedom" (ibid.). The important word here is structure, as this clearly indicates a formalised union of Europe and governing that provides foundations for the principles of peace, safety and freedom.

Churchill talks of inciting a will power within Europe to recreate the European fabric through a union and that the majority of the countries adopting the idea that would make them "as free and happy as Switzerland is today." (ibid.) Here he uses the neutral country of Switzerland as a benchmark for freedom and happiness in Europe and proposes the momentous gathering of all European nations under a common structure, one of the first suggestions of a united European union.

Churchill seeks to present an open format for his proposed union of European states by stating that "If at first all the States of Europe are not willing or able to join a union we must nevertheless proceed to assemble and combine those who will and who can". (ibid.)

He continues on by saying that "Great Britain, the British Commonwealth of Nations, mighty America — and, I trust, Soviet Russia, for then indeed all would be well — must be the friends and sponsors of the new Europe and must champion its right to live." (ibid.) It is very important to note the way that Churchill structures the words relating to the nodal point *union.* It is a clear signal that the *new Europe* will be a coalition of continental Europe, not including the United Kingdom. Churchill states that the U.K. will support the union and champion its right to live, but more remarkably does not include the U.K. in the proposed union. "The first step in the re-creation of the European family must be a partnership between France and Germany"(ibid.) Churchill states and that there can be no revival of the rest of Europe if these two countries are not in their own right revived.

 In his speech Churchill reinforces, that the U.K. is in its own right a union of nations under the British Commonwealth and therefore does not need the support of a European Union to safeguard and protect its assets. This historical feeling of a strong, independent sovereignty is echoed in the speeches of the Leave campaigners, in so much as, being independent of the EU and a sovereign state is paramount to their cause.

8.3 Margaret Thatcher: on U.K. Rebate

Nodal Point	Reference in speech & signs
Britain's contribution to the EU	"we want our money back" "Europe's biggest benefactor" "cannot go on filling the coffers of the Community"

Margaret Thatcher could be considered a Eurosceptic at heart and because of her negotiations the U.K. have the great rebate that they have today. She was known as the Iron Lady who did not bend on her foreign policy and that was no different when it came to the EU. Therefore this speech was chosen as it represents disagreement between the EU and the U.K. regarding the economy of the Union.

Thatcher attended a European Council meeting at Fontainebleau in 1984, where the EU granted a massive rebate to the U.K. upon her request. It was one of Thatcher's most famous heroine-like political actions during her career and it marked a firm unyielding stance from Britain towards the EU. The focus point from which the signs are given meaning is *contribution,* namely the British financial contribution to the EU. The *signs* related to the nodal point are *rebate, money back, filling the coffers*, which Thatcher uses in her rhetoric to express dissatisfaction with the monetary exchange between the U.K. and the EU.

Thatcher demanded that the U.K was to receive a massive rebate regarding deficit between the amount of money that the U.K paid in to the EU and what it received in return. "Edward Heath's government did not decide on a payment plan when it negotiated." (BBC 1984) Therefore the discussion of a rebate had been an on-going topic in parliament. The rebate was a significant triumph for Thatcher is that it constituted 66% of the difference between the monetary exchange between the EU and the U.K. (European Parliament 2016)

Thatcher had previously stated that if the rebate was not accepted, she would veto any further actions to increase spending within the EU and would not contribute Britain's payments to Europe until the rebate was settled. (BBC 1984) The main reason behind the request for the massive rebate was the fact that the "UK tended to get back less than other countries because of its relatively small farming industry - and the fact that so much of EU spending was on farming subsidies." (BBC 2005)

The rebate was a result of several appeals of protest from Thatcher including her famous statement "we want our money back" during a 1979 European Council meeting in Dublin, where she stated that Britain could not "go on being Europe's biggest benefactor" (margaretthatcher.org).

Thatcher's rhetoric during the Dublin conference focused heavily on the fact that Britain's contribution to the EU was disproportionate in relation to their economy. As one of the 'poorer' members of the Community, Thatcher stated "We (…) cannot go on filling the coffers of the Community" (Thatcher M, 1979). Here Thatcher uses metaphoric tools to strengthen her point using the word "coffer" to indicate that Britain is filling up the chests of the community with their own money as a donation and not seeing any return on their investment. This statement came only 6 years after joining the EU, which at the time consisted of only nine members including the U.K.

However, the rebate did not sit well with her European counterparts with the Greek Leader Andreas Papandreou stating, "It would be a great relief if Britain left the EEC". (BBC 1984)

This is evidence of a historical dispute with the EU over the financial exchange between the two that has been on-going and was also a major theme of the Leave Campaign's rhetoric with claims of Britain sending £350 million a week to the EU, which they claim could be saved by leaving the EU.

8.4 Thatcher: House of Commons statement 1990:

Nodal point	Reference in speech & signs.
British Sovereignty	"no no no" "back door to a *federal Europe"* "We do not try to have a kind of united states of Europe" ""We have *surrendered* some of them to the Community" "We prefer greater economic and monetary co-operation, which can be achieved *by keeping our sovereignty.*" "The way to balance out the different views of Europe, as we have traditionally done throughout history, is by retaining our national identity."

The following statement from House of Commons debate on October 30th 1990, discussing the Treaty of Rome and the European Single Currency, has been chosen in order to perspectivise Thatcher's views on the EU and her internal discussions with the British parliament.

The speech demonstrates Thatcher's disdainful view on having a politicised and monetary union with the EU. In the speech, given at the House of Commons Thatcher was fighting the plans for the European Parliament to be the democratic body of the Community, the Commission to be the Executive body and the Council of Ministers to be the Senate, laid forth by President of the

Commission, Jacques Delors. To which she stated infamously stated: "no no no". The suggestion was a source of a lot of dissent in parliament as well as with the public and the expressive tabloid, *The Sun,* printed a front page, titled "Up yours Delors", leaving little doubt about their thoughts on his suggestion (*The Sun* November 1990).

She also references to Churchill's speech indirectly saying, "We do not want a United States of Europe." This is an example of the second dimension to Fairclough's model. Fairclough states that discursive practice seeks to illuminate whether the text has drawn inspiration or "borrowed" passages from other speeches in its creation, which is the case with Thatcher's reiteration. When Churchill presented the notion in his United States of Europe speech in Zurich he did not include the U.K. in the plans for the union, but viewed the U.K. as an ally of the union providing support from the sidelines. The underlying focal point from which all the signs take their meaning is *sovereignty.* Thatcher continually combats the loss of sovereignty and the establishment of a common monetary union.

 "What is being proposed now—economic and monetary union—is the back door to a *federal Europe*, which we totally and *utterly reject***"** "The House will come to uphold its powers and its responsibilities" "We have *surrendered* some of them to the Community, and in my view we have *surrendered* enough". Here Thatcher employs the word *surrender,* which laden with pathos. She uses it because she knows what emotions it evokes, taking Britain's history into account, and compares a union with the EU to a *surrender*. This again relates back to Britain's proud position as champion of WWII as well as the British Commonwealth.

"We do not try to have a kind of united states of Europe"(ibid.) says Thatcher in contrast to former PM Winston Churchill who brought up the notion in his speech in 1946 at the University of Zurich. Churchill's vision at the time can be argued as being a way to bring Europe together through an economic and semi-political Europe in order to prevent any future tragedy to befall the continent. Churchill's vision, was before its time and indeed he did predict and call for a European Union in its fundamental right. However, the battle that Thatcher faced on her home front was one that Churchill could not predict, given the fact that he did not envision the U.K. as part of the Union in the first place.

Becoming a *federal Europe* and similar in governmental structure to the United States and Britain losing *sovereignty* and *control* was a major talking point for Thatcher and the conservative party which can be seen as a recurring narrative on through to the referendum in 2016.

The case presented by the Leave Campaign during the referendum in 2016, focused on the fact that Britain needed to be able to make sovereign decisions and laws without the involvement of the EU whilst maintaining economic cooperation and trade. Thatcher expressed this, already in 1990, when she stated "We prefer greater economic and monetary co-operation, which can be achieved *by keeping our sovereignty*."

Chancellor of the Exchequer, Nigel Lawson said "taking many democratic powers away from democratically elected bodies and giving them to non-elected bodies". To which Thatcher replied

in agreement "I believe fervently that that is true…which is why I shall have nothing to do with their definition of economic and monetary union." (House of Commons Oct 29th, 1990).

Culture and how to define oneself within Europe plays a significant role in her rhetoric. Thatcher states that "If we did not retain our national identities in Europe, the dominant people in Europe would be German. The way to balance out the different views of Europe, as we have traditionally done throughout history, is by retaining our national identity." When using Fairclough's three dimensional model, that moves from *text-interaction-context* the message behind Thatcher's rhetoric is clear. It is an appeal to retaining and reinforcing a sense of "Britishness" and national identity in the face of a European Union which many considered to be breaking down the values of culture and identity through promoting a *federal Europe.* The *interaction* stage here reveals that she is responding to the appeals for a stronger sense of identity within Britain. She also brings in *pathos* and tries to incite fearful emotion when she talks of the dominant people in Europe being German, an indirect reference to the tragedies of WWI & WWII.

The *context* here, which relies on socio-cultural, economic and political conditions, reveals a growing trend within the United Kingdom for a sense of identity created by highlighting their own differences to the EU. In-group vs Outgroup as discussed by Tajfel and Turner, states that *the evaluation of one's own group is determined with reference to specific other groups through social comparisons in terms of value-laden attributes and characteristics*.

"It is one thing to have a United States of America from a newly settled country, but it is a different thing for ancient nation states, each with its own traditions" Thatcher stated (House of Commons 1990). Clearly bringing forth the history and traditions of Europe as impossible to consolidate into one large mixing pot.

8.5 Margaret Thatcher: The Bruges Speech.

Nodal Points	Reference in text and signifiers
EU dominance of national sovereignty	"We have not successfully rolled back the frontiers of the state in Britain, only to see them re-imposed at a European level with a European super state exercising a new dominance from Brussels."
	"To try to suppress nationhood and concentrate power at the centre of a European conglomerate would be highly damaging"
	"Our aim should not be more and more detailed regulation from the centre"
	"Let us have a Europe which plays its full part in the wider world"

This speech was chosen as it highlights the battle for British independence of the EU already at this stage in the late 80's. This was one of Thatcher's most famous speeches about Europe and the U.K. It was a speech, which many have regarded as one of her defining moments. The speech was given in Bruges, Belgium, less than 100km from the EU Parliament in Brussels.

"You have invited me to speak on the subject of Britain and Europe. Perhaps I should congratulate you on your courage (…) it must seem rather like inviting Genghis Khan to speak on the virtues of peaceful coexistence!"

The speech begins with Thatcher drawing on common history to display the cultural bond that the U.K. has had with Europe through its history. Thatcher mentions that Britons are historically related to Celts, Saxons and Danes and that Britain has drawn cultural riches from Europeans, and in turn, Europeans have drawn cultural inspiration from them.

Her discourse begins with an introduction to the historical and cultural ties that Britain and Europe share before she stresses "We have not successfully rolled back the frontiers of the state in Britain, only to see them re-imposed at a European level with a European super state exercising a new dominance from Brussels."

"To try to suppress nationhood and concentrate power at the centre of a European conglomerate would be highly damaging and would jeopardise the objectives we seek to achieve." The notion of having a super-state run by a bureaucracy in Brussels is far from Thatcher's vision and on several occasions and in speeches states that she is against losing sovereign power and that a federal state of Europe is the worst possible outcome of the Union.

In order to contextualise Thatcher's speech in a historical and social aspect we will employ Fairclough's three-dimensional model. The first level of Fairclough's model focuses on the textual level. Thatcher employs words that evoke a negative connotation; *re-imposed* and *dominance* are associated with a form of surrendering. The antonym of dominate is to *submit*, and Thatcher hereby places the U.K. as the *submitter* and the EU as *imposing dominance* on the U.K. Thereby also positioning the EU as having a derogatory relationship to the U.K.

The second level, focuses on the power relations involved in the discursive practice. The power balance indicated in her speech reflect an opinion of EU *subjecting* the U.K. to their *dominance,* thereby establishing an uncomfortable power distribution of between the two, highlighting the EU as the stronger force, making the U.K. *submit* to their will.

"Our aim should not be more and more detailed regulation from the centre: it should be to deregulate and to remove the constraints on trade." "Europe never would have prospered and never will prosper as a narrow-minded, inward-looking club." The focus here is clear, a de-regulated EU is what Thatcher ultimately desires. The most important part of the EU is the ability to trade and grow economically without the political binds that the EU presents in the form of a supra-nation.

Fairclough's third dimension is the social practice level, or macro level, which are the social and cultural practices that frame the discourse. In a historical context the speech comes 4 years after

the rebate Thatcher secured for the U.K. at the Fontainebleau conference, where she battled for a rebate regarding the return on investment for the U.K.'s contributions. Thatcher said that the U.K. did not gain as much from the EU as they put into the EU and that it was bad for business.

Thatcher suggested a Western European Union that could act as an alternative to NATO, which she viewed as a union that could break down barriers for trade and can increase cash-flow between countries by creating a free market within Europe.

During the speech, *the special relationship* is brought up by Thatcher stating that she wishes to preserve the *"Atlantic Community"* which is a reference to the strong ties between the U.K. and the U.S. She concludes by stating, "Let us have a Europe which plays its full part in the wider world, which looks outward not inward, and which preserves that Atlantic community that Europe on both sides of the Atlantic." In referring to *Atlantic Community* Thatcher is drawing inspiration from and 'borrowing' from Churchill's Sinews of Peace speech where he talks of "our people on both sides of the Atlantic". Fairclough's model describes this as the discursive practice level, which seeks to illuminate whether the text has drawn inspiration or "borrowed" passages from other speeches in the creation.

This is an important factor to note because it is a form of continuing the British mind-set and narrative which holds the US in high esteem and places them as closer allies than the EU. The U.K. being one of the United States' closest allies in Europe considers the U.S. to be a major partner within defence and trade and conforming to EU statute at the cost of losing the U.S. as their closest ally is of no interest to the U.K.

8.6 Tony Blair: Address to the European Parliament, June 2005

Nodal point	Reference in speech and signifiers
Pro-European	"My first vote was in 1975 in the British referendum on membership and I voted yes." "my party had a policy of withdrawing from Europe, I told the selection conference that I disagreed with the policy." "The idea of Europe, united and working together, is essential for our nations to be strong enough to keep our place in this world." "not just a common market in which we trade but a common political space in which we live as citizens." "The people of Europe are speaking to us. They are posing the questions. They are wanting our leadership. It is time we gave it to them."

"I am a passionate pro-European. I always have been. My first vote was in 1975 in the British referendum on membership and I voted yes." (Blair 2005)

This speech was included in order to give context to another more EU-lenient government leader in the U.K. Tony Blair addressed the EU parliament on 23rd of June 2005 seeking to advocate for U.K. presidency of the EU. Blair was a pro-European Labour Prime Minister who sought to strengthen relations with the EU after decades of Eurosceptic traditions in the government. Blair begins his speech by reiterating historical references where he attempts to present and demonstrate his commitment to the EU. This is an indication and appellation to *ethos.* He does this by bringing forth a number of examples from his political career to support his claims in order to establish credibility, the focal point of *ethos,* which seeks to persuade the listener that the speaker can be trusted and believed.

Mr Blair uses the speech to reassure the audience that his faith and work have always lain within creating closer ties between the EU and the U.K. He refers to the 1983 election where he states he stood alone in his party as the only advocator for the EU. This can be seen by the following statement where Mr Blair points out an instance where we went against his own party policies in favour of the EU. "my party had a policy of withdrawing from Europe, I told the selection conference that I disagreed with the policy." (BBC 2005)

Blair employs discursive practice in his speech, the third level of Fairclough's model, by using socio- historical references to himself, which display a form of trust and credibility to his claim and statement. According to Aristotle's modes of persuasion ethos is present when the quality of the message is "worthy of belief". It is worthy of belief when the speaker recognizes the audience's needs and motivations; contains all the necessary facts and is clear and logical. In order to achieve belief and trust in the audience Blair is providing solid facts that show his support of the EU. "*My first vote was in 1975 in the British referendum on membership and I voted yes*" ergo, his positive sentiments and allegiance to the EU are presented as a logically acceptable argument to the audience.

8.6.1 Economic or Political affiliation.
"I believe in Europe as a political project. I believe in Europe with a strong and caring social dimension. I would never accept a Europe that was simply an economic market."(Blair 2005) His stance towards the EU functioning as an economic political project do not align with Thatcher's sentiments, where she profusely rejects the notion of a federal Europe and views the EU solely as an "economic and monetary co-operation" which can be achieved *by "keeping our sovereignty*." (Thatcher 1990) In contrast, Blair views the EU as being "not just a common market in which we trade but a common political space in which we live as citizens." (Blair 2005.) He views the need for Europe to stand together in more than just an economic union as fundamental to the success of the Union. "The idea of Europe, united and working together, is essential for our nations to be strong enough to keep our place in this world."

The political backgrounds of Blair and Thatcher as well as their party affiliations play a role in their sentiments regarding Europe, Thatcher being a right wing conservative, focuses mainly on the economic benefit and gain of the EU as opposed to Blair who views the EU as a social and political 'common space'.

Tony Blair states that Thatcher's tax rebate of 1984, will not be negotiated away - as long as France and other EU members refuse to reform the way the EU spends its money. He claims that even with the rebate the UK still contributed two-and-a-half times as much as France over the past decade. Without the refund, it would have been 15 times more.

The need for an open dialogue with the peoples of Europe is the only way that the EU project can succeed claims Blair, "The people are blowing the trumpets round the city walls. Are we listening?" The symbolism behind blowing trumpets represents the people's complaints to the government of the EU. This use of metaphor is also indicative of the concept of the European parliament as a stronghold or castle, which gives the perspective of a non-open forum and parliament.

As an example of the public's frustration with the EU, Blair uses the rejection of the establishment of a common European Constitution by the Netherlands and other countries in 2005, stating that "..the Constitution became merely the vehicle for the people to register a wider and deeper discontent with the state of affairs in Europe." Fairclough's third dimension refers to the context of the speech and how the socio-cultural, economic conditions determine the production and interpretation of the discourse. The rhetoric here is a response to the socio-cultural and political conditions of the public protesting a common constitution and Blair references to the failed attempt stating that it is indicative of a greater social and political discontent taking form through the rejection of bringing Europe politically closer.

"Don't let us kid ourselves that this debate is unnecessary; that if only we assume 'business as usual', people will sooner or later relent and acquiesce in Europe" says Blair referring to the discontent with the EU and the need to tackle it. "The people of Europe are speaking to us. They are posing the questions. They are wanting our leadership. It is time we gave it to them." Blair raises the issue of people displaying discontent with the EU and addresses the need to appease and open dialogue with them, for they will not "relent and acquiesce". The strained relationship with the EU is made clear here, and Blair attempts to warn the EU that if action is not taken to solidify the relationship that people will 'blow their trumpets', a metaphor used to indicate that people will voice their concerns and protest if changes are not made.

Blair moves on to talk about the relationship to the United States and refers to the need for a close relationship. As one of Britain's greatest allies, the US is a recurring British narrative in the political addresses analysed so far. He states that the only way Europe can remain an economic player on the world stage is to cooperate with them. "A strong Europe would be an active player in foreign policy, a good partner of course to the U.S. but also capable of demonstrating its own capacity to shape and move the world forward."

He also addresses migration and presents two sides of the coin. "Migration has doubled in the past 20 years. Much of the migration is healthy and welcome. But it must he managed." He acknowledges that migration is 'healthy', a positively charged word, that insinuates growth and prosperity through contribution of bright minds to the economy. However, he also states that it must be 'managed'. Here he is using a polite metaphor, 'manage', saying that it needs to be controlled and curbed, given that it has doubled in the past 20 years.

This reflection on border control is an indication of immigration being an issue also during Blair's tenure as PM and one that only became an issue after the U.K. opened up its borders to free movement after the 1992 Maastricht Treaty. The narrative of EU immigration was not an issue of debate for Thatcher because the EU had not introduced the free movement of labour at that stage of its development, and the main contention points with the EU at that stage were sovereignty and mutually beneficial economic exchange. However this became a topic in the British narrative with the Leave campaign capitalising on the growing number of immigrants in the U.K. as a threat to their social security and jobs. Cameron was also forced to address the issue despite his EU-leniency.

9. Cameron's rhetoric for the Remain Campaign

The rhetoric leading up the referendum was filled with various historical references, recurring narratives and controversial topics. Cameron who fought to remain in the EU utilised a number of different rhetorical devices in his rhetoric, including Aristotle's modes of persuasion ethos, pathos and logos. The Leave side, in which Nigel Farage and Boris Johnson are the most notable characters focused mainly on pathos in their rhetoric. They appealed to the emotions of the people, by talking unfavourably of the immigration into the U.K., framing the EU in a negative light as well as presented misrepresented economical figures.

"It is wrong to ask people whether to stay or go before we have had a chance to put the relationship right."

– David Cameron, Bloomberg, 2013 (*retrieved from The Independent 2013*)

Nodal points	Reference in speech
British Identity	"Our geography has shaped our psychology" "We can no more change this British sensibility than we can drain the English Channel." "Across the continent, in silent cemeteries, lie the hundreds of thousands of British servicemen who gave their lives for Europe's freedom."
Sovereignty	"we have proved that some powers can in fact be returned to Member States." "I say to the British people: this will be your decision." "Of course Britain could make her own way in the world, outside the EU, if we chose to do so." "We will have to weigh carefully where our true national interest lies."
Economic risk with EU	"there is a crisis of European competitiveness, as other nations across the world soar ahead." "Britain shapes and respects the rules of the single market but is protected by fair safeguards, and free of the spurious regulation which damages Europe's competitiveness."
Need for change	"I want the European Union to be a success. And I want a relationship between Britain and the EU that keeps us in it." "there is a gap between the EU and its citizens which has grown dramatically in recent years. And which represents a lack of democratic accountability and consent" "I want us to be at the forefront of transformative trade deals with the US, Japan and India as part of the drive towards global free trade"

Cameron's position regarding the EU was ambivalent because he attempted to appease the public by mentioning both positives and negatives without providing a definitive stance until very close to referendum day. His position was not made clearer in his speech at Bloomberg's London Headquarters, January 23rd, 2013, where he addressed the relationship between the EU and the UK. This speech was therefore chosen because it displays a level of undecidedness which may have attributed to the loss of confidence in Cameron and his stance towards the EU.

His speech marked a fateful turn of events, a glimmer of hope for Eurosceptics and a way to silence the increasingly loud voices coming from the benches of his own party and cabinet. The idea of an open referendum vote presented a platform from which politicians such as Boris Johnson and Nigel Farage could openly voice their views on the EU. It was an indication of an important and tumultuous period for the British people and government.

The possibility to remain within the EU and have access to the U.K's biggest export market is an inevitable part of the British economy and Cameron made this clear by highlighting the economic advantages as opposed to the political advantages with the union. Cameron gave a warning message in his speech stating that calling for a vote now (2013) "would be an entirely false choice". It was impossible to know "what sort of EU will emerge from this crisis" said Cameron referring to the financial crisis and the situation in Greece at the time. (The Independent 2013)

He argued that it was premature to call a referendum before having a chance to "put the relationship right", which is indicative of his personal preference for a negotiation process with the EU rather than a permanent severing of their partnership. Cameron here appears to be using a mediation strategy attempting to find common ground. This can be viewed as a *plural agreement,* which, according to Bohman (1996) means that each side could agree for different reasons and that the outcome of the case would be a moral compromise, in which the reasons of all parties are recognised and taken up as part of the overall solution.

Bohman (1996) classifies this type of strategy as *deliberation*. Deliberation, Bohman states, *is a 'joint cooperative activity'* of exchanging reasons, for the purpose of resolving problematic situations' i.e. the relationship to the EU. The theory states that the agents involved in deliberation should be conceived as a plural agent, composed of many agents (the public) with different perspectives and interests.

Cameron also utilises borrowed passages from Churchill in his speech, when he references the Iron Curtain speech saying: "What Churchill described as the twin marauders of war and tyranny have been almost entirely banished from our continent. Today, hundreds of millions dwell in freedom, from the Baltic to the Adriatic". This discursive practice is known as *intertextuality*. It refers to the ways that texts refer to or incorporate aspects of other texts within them (Baker & Ellece 2011). It is also falls under the second dimension of Fairclough's model, which focuses on borrowed passages, and historical references that compromise a given text. In this case, referring freedom *from the Baltic to the Adriatic,* in this manner is an appeal to pathos and ethos, because it

is a triumphant exclamation that the Iron Curtain has been lifted and that the EEC played a role in uniting Europe. Cameron is hereby ascribing credibility, ethos, to the EU by highlighting their achievements in order to frame them as a positive union which instils peace within its union. It is also a continuance of a British narrative, where Cameron is referencing back to Churchill in order to trigger responses in people's memory, and thus associate the positive "freedom, from the Baltic to the Adriatic" with the EU.

However, Euroscepticism has been steadily growing within the U.K. and Cameron does not deny this, acknowledging their tumultuous relationship to the EU. "I know that the United Kingdom is sometimes seen as an argumentative and rather strong-minded member of the family of European nations" states Cameron, trying to put a plaster on a growing wound. Thatcher also acknowledged the strained relationship between the U.K. and the EU when she addressed leaders in Bruges, where she exclaimed "it must seem rather like inviting Genghis Khan to speak on the virtues of peaceful coexistence!" (Thatcher 1988). The differences and disagreements between the U.K. and the EU are acknowledged by both these conservative leaders, in an attempt to vocalise the tensions of the British people and to indicate to the EU that there is room for improvement within their relationship. The recurring theme of social identity through the feeling of 'us vs them' has been repeated in the narrative presented so far and it is important to note the continuance as it represents a British mind-set which has been carried on for generations.

<u>Britishness as an identity</u>

"Our geography has shaped our psychology"

-David Cameron, Bloomberg, 2013

Therefore it is important to address identity, which played an important role during the referendum campaign and in the years leading up to it.

"We can no more change this British sensibility than we can drain the English Channel." Here Cameron addresses British identity stating Britain's belief and traditions will not change under influence by the EU. Using this dramatic metaphor Cameron creates a picture of the impossible, using the draining of the English Channel as a metaphor for the defiance of Britain's culture and tradition. "For us, the European Union is a means to an end – prosperity, stability, the anchor of freedom and democracy, it is not and end in itself."

As Cameron states "We have the character of an island nation – independent, forthright, passionate in defence of our sovereignty." Here Cameron uses words appealing to pathos in his rhetoric, *independent, forthright, passionate, defence of sovereignty.* These words all invoke pathos, as they appeal to basic human instinct for freedom and survival, *independence,* not having a master, and *defence* are specific words used to create an image of an independent nation not willing to submit to a centralised European form of rule.

Cameron also seeks to appeal to pathos in the following statement, "Across the continent, in silent cemeteries, lie the hundreds of thousands of British servicemen who gave their lives for Europe's freedom" highlighting the sacrifice or British servicemen for the sake of Europe. Cameron

reinforces Britain's commitment to Europe as a continent (rather than a political entity) by referencing WWII and the British contribution to liberating Europe. There is an element of pathos and logos in the statement as Cameron uses the sacrifice of the servicemen as a form of *proof* and logic for his argument to prove that Britain supports the European continent.

Fairclough's third dimension of discourse which analyses how society affects and reflects the text can be used to view Cameron's speech here. He uses historical references, and intertextuality referencing to Churchill's Iron Curtain speech when he says "we have played our part in tearing down the Iron Curtain and championing the entry into the EU of those countries that lost so many years to Communism."

He continues by saying he does not want to isolate Britain and "pull up the drawbridge", using a metaphorical reference to Britain as a castle island surrounded by the North Sea, "But I do want a better deal for Britain, not just a better deal for Europe." His focus here is on the essence of a British sovereign state creating their own rules and not having to adhere to the EU in Brussels. Cameron acknowledges the public discontent relating to the law-making body in Bruseels saying that "People are increasingly frustrated that decisions taken further and further away from them" and as a plea to the EU he implores "Europe's leaders have a duty to hear these concerns".

EU economy

In continuance of his plea for a more open dialogue between the EU and its member states, Cameron points out that "there is a gap between the EU and its citizens which has grown dramatically in recent years. And which represents a lack of democratic accountability and consent". Despite his pro-EU stance Cameron states that the EU needs to be held accountable and employs language that frames the EU negatively saying that there is a *gap* between the government and the citizens of the EU as well as bringing in credibility and *ethos* by denouncing the lack of accountability.

Cameron's main focus during his speech is the economy which he places a lot higher up on the scale of importance than immigration which many voters considered to be equally frustrating claiming that immigrants also took jobs and money away from the U.K.

He addresses the economic crisis and states that "there is a crisis of European competitiveness, as other nations across the world soar ahead. If we don't address these challenges, the danger is that Europe will fail and the British people will drift towards the exit". Although the financial part of the withdrawal from the EU played a big role in the final vote, the top 3 reasons why Leave voters voted the way they did not include the economy, with the number one reason for the Leave vote being that the decisions about the U.K. should be taken in the U.K.

Five principles for a new European Union

After summing up the troubles with the European Union, where Cameron claims there is a lack of communication with the people, a lack of transparency, the burden of the Eurozone on other none Eurozone countries and a lack of competitiveness. "(In Britain) public disillusionment with the EU

is at an all time high" warns Cameron. He presents five principles which he believes will benefit the relationship between the U.K. and the EU and silence the Eurosceptics.

The first of the principles is *competitiveness*, which has been a recurring theme for the rhetoric presented by both the Eurosceptic of pro-European politicians. It is the core that the British economy and self-image revolves around, the ability to still uphold a strong economy in an age where the Empire can no longer provide this wealth.

Cameron brings forth the notion of a single market and points out that despite the terminology used to describe the European market there are still many steps to be taken to truly become a single market. He brings up the point that in the 21st Century services in sectors such as energy and the digital realm need to be uniform. He brings forth the point that shopping online is a fundamental part of the digital revolution and in some parts of Europe they are not able to access certain deals because of where they live. He concludes by stating "I want completing the single market to be our driving mission." (ibid.)

Britain's outward look on trade and cooperation has caused some doubts as to her commitment to the EU, especially with De Gaulle vetoing their application to the EU twice, citing that they did not display their dedication to the EU and their special relationship to the US posed as more of a threat than an asset. Cameron builds on this fact and the need for global cooperation as the only way to increase competitiveness "I want us to be at the forefront of transformative trade deals with the US, Japan and India as part of the drive towards global free trade. That means creating a leaner, less bureaucratic Union," (ibid.)

His second principle is *flexibility,* which he claims can be obtained by creating a structure that can accommodate all members of the union from north to south and from west to east. Some countries want closer political and economic integration "And many others, including Britain, who would never embrace that goal." Cameron proclaims that not one-size fits all in the EU and some countries including the U.K. do not all want the same level of integration and the EU shouldn't assert that they do.

He continues by stating that he recognises the big institutional changes that have to be made by the Eurozone countries and that those countries who are not part of the Eurozone should recognise this. Conversely, Cameron says, this understanding should be transferred to those outside of the Eurozone and Britain will also make "changes that we need to safeguard our interests and strengthen our democratic legitimacy". (ibid.)

The EU parliament told the U.K. that they could not pick and choose regulations based on their needs as an individual country and that it would be the unravelling of the EU. He counter argues "far from unravelling the EU, this will in fact bind its Members more closely, because such flexible, willing cooperation is a much stronger glue than compulsion from the centre." Again there is reference to compulsion from the centre, a recurring theme that the bureaucracy of Brussels is what upsets many Britons and the main slogan from the Leave campaign, namely "Take Back Control".

Additionally the EU's mantra of "An ever closer union" does not ring true within the U.K. and Cameron and his stance on the matter is clear. The ever closer union to which Cameron says there are two interpretations, one being a closer union of people, and the other a move towards greater centralisation among states and institutions compounded by the European Court of Justice, which is not an objective for Britain. The fact that there are some nations that wish to have a closer political union with the EU should not depend on the other member states wishes Cameron argues, and that all states should have the right to pursue political proximity to the union within their own right. He says that "we would be much more comfortable if the (Maastricht) Treaty specifically said so freeing those who want to go further, faster, to do so, without being held back by the others." "So to those who say we have no vision for Europe, I say we have. We believe in a flexible union of free member states who share treaties and institutions and pursue together the ideal of co-operation" (ibid.)

Cameron moves on to this third principle stating that there should be a power balance between the member states and the EU. "Countries are different." "We cannot harmonise everything" He then leads on to give an example of the NHS and how working hours of doctors in the U.K. should not be set in Brussels "irrespective of the views of British parliamentarians and practitioners." (ibid)

His fourth principle is that of democratic accountability and to increase the role of national parliaments. This he claims is not a "European demos" and the national governments are the institutions that should have the democratic legitimacy and accountability in the EU.

The fifth principle Cameron proposes is *fairness.* He continues with the call for fair judgement of non-Eurozone countries by saying that any new arrangements within the Eurozone "must work fairly for those inside it or outside of it." (ibid.) Cameron's idea of the EU is one that provides an economic yield to all its members without any members having to carry the burden for others, i.e. problems with the Eurozone causing fiscal laws to be altered that could affect non Eurozone countries negatively.

After presenting the five principles to achieve equal power distribution and an economically competitive EU, Cameron moves on to present the anguish of the British people in relation to the EU and its directives. He incites that if changes are not made within the EU and that if the EU parliament does not become more transparent, the British people will reject the EU. "That is why I am in favour of having a referendum" says David Cameron who, given our expose of the Conservative party and their wishes to call for a referendum earlier in the paper, is succumbing to the wishes of the party as well as the vox populi.

This is an early warning sign presented by Cameron, who had strong hopes for an economically beneficial partnership between the U.K. and the EU.

However, Cameron continues, "A vote today between the status quo and leaving would be an entirely false choice." "while the EU is in flux, and when we don't know what the future holds and what sort of EU will emerge from this crisis is not the time to make such a momentous decision about the future of our country."

Cameron appeals to the logos in these statements, framing a potential vote as being an impromptu solution to a far larger problem, that can be solved by helping to shape the future of the Union. He says that he wants the choice to be a "real" one, "in which Britain shapes and respects the rules of the single market but is protected by fair safeguards, and free of the spurious regulation which damages Europe's competitiveness." If we analyse the words used by Cameron here, they appeal to ethos and pathos in several ways. The use of the words *protected* and *safeguards* appeal to the ethos of the EU body. The words appeal to an ethical level, which seeks to receive fair and ethical treatment from the EU, in the form of protection and safety.

The words *free*, *regulation* and *damage* all appeal to pathos in the sense that words all appeal to basic human needs for freedom, not to be controlled by others, and to be free from pain (*damage)*. These are carefully chosen words that indicate sentiments of pathos well. They are juxtaposed to *safeguard* and *protected*, relating to ethos, which are two of the founding mode's of persuasion in Aristotle's rhetorical theory. *Spurious* having two meanings, either plausible but false and/or intended to deceive is a powerful word in this context.

Cameron breaches the subject of creating a new settlement where there is more flexibility for member states and importantly "respecting national differences". Here the indication of a sovereign independent nation is brought up again. The notion of national pride runs deep in the British mind-set, as discussed earlier, and this is an earlier for which the U.K feel that they need to put their foot down. They are adamant about retaining *control* of their sovereignty and the regulations that they enforce within their own borders. "we have proved that some powers can in fact be returned to Member States."

Look at what we have achieved as Britain:

Cameron seeks to appeal to a 'soft' resolution to the relationship by reiterating the accomplishments that the U.K. and EU have already accomplished. "Ending Britain's obligation to bail-out Eurozone members. Keeping Britain out of the fiscal compact. Launching a process to return some existing justice and home affairs powers. Securing protections on Banking Union. And reforming fisheries policy"
This is indicative of Tajfel and Turner's theory of the way social identity is created, which is by contrasting one's own group to another group, thereby enhancing the "in-groups" own traits.

Taking a diplomatic stance on the matter Cameron says, "So we are starting to shape the reforms we need now. Some will not require Treaty change." Cameron is trying to dissuade from a formal process of ratifying the Maastricht Treaty again and is trying to present an alternative solution.

Had Cameron been able to receive further cessions from the EU regarding immigration and economy he would have been able to return triumphantly and silence the eurosceptics, if not for a while. He reinforces that it is a public choice and one where he is merely the orchestrator of change by stating: "I say to the British people: this will be your decision."

Cameron states (2013) that the 2015 Conservative Party manifesto will request a mandate to negotiate a new settlement between the EU and the U.K. Once the manifesto has been negotiated then Cameron will pledge to hold a simple "in-out referendum".

Cameron then makes good on his earlier statement and promises that "if a Conservative Government is elected we will introduce the enabling legislation immediately and pass it by the end of that year." This is a clear ploy for re-election as well as a convincing move to demonstrate to the people that he is a trustworthy character and will follow through with his promise, if they in turn, show him support and re-elect his government. This is a display of ethos, as it is a reflection of an ethics related to holding a promise and giving the public that which they desire and in a seemingly straightforward manner. Although Cameron's stance on the EU was an indication that he was a more EU lenient than against when he stated: *"I want the European Union to be a success. And I want a relationship between Britain and the EU that keeps us in it."* An indication that the referendum promise was a political ploy to get re-elected based on his belief that the U.K. would not vote to Leave the EU if he was in favour of remaining.

A diplomatic presentation

Cameron adopts a diplomatic stance after presenting a favourable referendum option where he encourages people to make the decision with "cool heads" an appeal here to *logos*, using their logic rather than being fuelled by their emotions (pathos) which can lead to people make rash decisions based on emotional fluctuations.

His appeal to logos continues when he appeals to both campaigns calling for the "need to avoid exaggerating their claims." Political strategy is littered with exaggerations and claims there is quite often a very fine line between the truth and deceit.

After imploring the public to use "cool heads" when voting and making decisions about the country's future, Cameron presents two sides of the coin regarding a potential exit from the EU. His presentation of the referendum and of a potential exit from the EU becomes diplomatic and slightly ambivalent when he lists both positive and negative aspects of Britain remaining within the EU.

By using ambiguous statements such as "Of course Britain could make her own way in the world, outside the EU, if we chose to do so." Cameron does not appear to claim allegiance to any side of the fence. It leads the public to believe that Cameron does not have an official position on the vote and thus sows seeds of doubt in their mind. If the Prime Minister cannot project a clear message of intent, then how too can the people trust in him to do what is best for the country.

Britain first, is the message Cameron is trying to present with a diplomacy he states: "We will have to weigh carefully where our true national interest lies." Whilst adding that alone, "Britain will be able to make her own decisions". The ambiguous nature of his presentation does not yield a definitive position or opinion of the EU and when he states that the U.K. are tied by "a complex web of legal commitments" his message shifts as he tries to *frame* pulling out of the EU as an

arduous legal process that will be difficult to break. Using the metaphor 'tied by a web' Cameron positions the U.K. as a fly within a great (EU) spider's web. Thus creating an image of a helpless United Kingdom being absorbed by the legal commitments of the EU's web.

<u>An ambivalent ending</u>

The Bloomberg speech created a stir among Leave and 'Remain' supporters alike. The speech did not clearly present Cameron's stance on the subject and his ambivalent approach to the process revealed great insecurity on his part as well as behind the scenes in the Conservative Party.

Cameron's speech was reflective of a divided Conservative party and a divided. He appealed to logos through stating the many facts about the mutual benefits of the relationship and if it were to end there would be a lot of unnecessary work involved which could be solved with a settlement agreement. He appeals mostly to logos and in some cases to pathos when talking of the historic relationship between the EU and the U.K. and the 'sacrificing' of British lives for the freedom of Europe.

His presentation of the EU was diplomatically tailored with no clear indication of his personal viewpoint, stating that there were both positives and negatives to being a member of the EU. The only advice that Cameron seemed to give inquisitive voters was that the referendum should not be held immediately and that the government should be given adequate time to negotiate a settlement with the EU "for all our countries to thrive" (Bloomberg). He presents a loose plan for the negotiations with his Five Principles of flexibility, competitiveness, power flow back to member states, democratic accountability: having a bigger and more significant role for national parliaments and finally fairness for countries operating outside of the Eurozone.

But the presentation of his speech leaves readers and listeners with an ambivalent feeling. Cameron attempts to account for both sides of the coin, stating that there are negative aspects to the EU that can be changed, but at the same time saying that there are several reasons to remain, which does not indicate a definitive position where he would employ persuasive rhetoric aimed solely at remaining in the EU. The speech was one which sought to please all the citizens of the U.K. with one sweep, but ultimately it left a rather hollow feeling of insecurity coming from the Prime Minister whom the country looked to for guidance and wisdom.

<u>9.2 Cameron's letter of appeal to the EU President, November 2015.</u>

Nodal Points	References in letter
Economy	"financial stability and supervision is a key area of competence for national institutions like the Bank of England for non-Euro members." "the burden from existing regulation is still too high"

	"fulfil its commitment to the free flow of capital, goods and services." "reducing the draw that our welfare system can exert across Europe"
Sovereignty	"First, I want to end Britain's obligation to work towards an "ever closer union" "It is very important to make clear that this commitment will no longer apply to the United Kingdom." "I want to do this in a formal, legally-binding and irreversible way." "Europe where necessary, national where possible." "a new arrangement where groups of national parliaments, acting together, can stop unwanted legislative proposals."
Immigration	"we have got to be able to cope with all the pressures that free movement can bring" "reduce the current very high level of population flows from within the EU into the UK." "when new countries are admitted to the EU in the future, free movement will not apply to those new members" "addressing ECJ judgments that have widened the scope of free movement"

"A new settlement for the United Kingdom in a reformed European Union"

-David Cameron's Letter to Donald Tusk

David Cameron had been losing popularity within the conservative party with several Eurosceptic members voicing their dissatisfaction. During his speech at the Bloomberg HQ in London in 2013, Cameron promised to hold a referendum on whether the U.K. should remain a member of the EU or leave the EU. It was a ploy to gain re-election in the 2015 General Election, with his personal hope being that a settlement agreement would sway Eurosceptics towards voting to remain in the EU. A year before the referendum a EuroBarometer 2015 poll showed that only 20% of Britons felt that the EU parliament conjured up a positive image. (ec.europa.eu)

Before setting a date for the referendum, Cameron paid several visits to the EU to try to appeal to the EU parliament with a number of ratifications regarding the U.K.'s involvement, in response to

the growing Euroscepticism within the U.K. and his promise of an EU referendum vote. He sent a letter of appeal to the EU parliament on November 10th 2015 with the purpose of gaining some cessions from the EU in order to appease the Eurosceptics.

In the letter, titled "A new settlement for the United Kingdom in a reformed European Union", Cameron raised four main points addressed to President of the European Council Donald Tusk. He also copied the letter to President of the European Commission Jean-Claude Juncker, the President of the European Parliament Martin Schulz and all Heads of State and Government in the European Council.

This can be viewed as one of many warning signs that came from the U.K. regarding their membership of the EU and proved to be pivotal as Cameron had been counting on a settlement that would convince and suffice people's calls for increased self-governance of the U.K.

Economic Governance

The first point in the letter addresses economic governance, where Cameron asks for protection of non-Eurozone countries like the U.K. in order to ensure no discrimination between trade with Eurozone and non-Eurozone countries. Cameron points out that the ECB acts as financial stability for Eurozone countries, and similarly the Bank of England should be able to perform the same for countries outside the Eurozone. This argument is a clear indication that Cameron wants to ensure that the U.K. will continue to have investment in its financial centre of London and benefit from its position as a financial powerhouse in Europe.

Competitiveness

Cameron reinforces the need for competitiveness in his second point and the need for an increase new trading strategies involving American, China, Japan and ASEAN. He notes that "the burden from existing regulation is still too high" and that the EU could go much further to "fulfil its commitment to the free flow of capital, goods and services." Using the word *burden* frames the relationship and the EU regulations as a hindrance to U.K. trade interests.

Cameron also addressed the role of the EU parliament and called for the enhancement of national governments as a counter balance. His suggestion was "a new arrangement where groups of national parliaments, acting together, can stop unwanted legislative proposals." Considering the rife that this would cause within the EU this proposal would probably never have seen the light of day. However, this is a clear indication that the U.K. feels solitary in its frustration. The ability to push back on EU legislations with a sizeable force behind it would help to serve the U.K. without singling itself out as unruly and as the only country contesting EU legislature.

Sovereignty

The third point focuses on the increased desire for transparency regarding decisions taken by the EU parliament. Cameron called for "Europe where necessary, national where possible." reiterating the need for a more subsidiarity. Under Article 5 of the Lisbon Treaty, the principle of subsidiarity

states that "It aims to ensure that decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizen and that constant checks are made to verify that action at EU level is justified in light of the possibilities available at national, regional or local level." (Europa.eu)

David Cameron addresses sovereignty in his letter to the EU president Donald Tusk where tackles the EU mantra: "an ever closer union". He introduces the topic without any polite preamble stating, "First, I want to end Britain's obligation to work towards an ever closer union as set out in the Treaty." This clear statement of intent seeks to loosen the grip of the EU over British sovereignty and is indicative of the recurring narrative focused retaining national sovereignty as a matter of pride and a display of strength for Britain. "It is very important to make clear that this commitment will no longer apply to the United Kingdom." This is another very clear indication of the pride and self-image that the U.K. maintains.

Cameron vocalises British narrative where Britain feel they are able to stand on their own without any obligations to the EU. He goes even further to request that the U.K. opting out of an "ever closer union" should be "legally-binding and irreversible" (ibid.). The public nature of the letter was a clear attempt to show Eurosceptics in the U.K. that Cameron was fighting for more independence from the EU and in doing so, he hoped that the letter may be a way to convince voters that he was fighting for changes to the relationship.

Immigration

Immigration was the second most important factor (Lord Ashcroft Polls) for leave voters and Cameron tackled this in his letter by proposing methods for curbing the burden that many EU citizens place on the U.K. economy.

Cameron stated that Britain is an open and trading nation but that it was imperative to "reduce the current very high level of population flows from within the EU into the UK." "We have got to be able to cope with all the pressures that free movement can bring" said Cameron referring to the influx of over 300,000 immigrants a year coming into the UK, stating that it was not sustainable and that the U.K. needs to be able to exert greater controls on arrivals from inside the EU.

Unfortunately, in many countries across the EU, welfare tourism is a common problem and in the UK alone 19% of EU migrants, claim tax credits and 28% claim child benefits compared to UK nationals who claim 12% and 18%, respectively (Institute for Employment Studies 2016). Cameron states that in order to reduce the flow of people coming into the U.K. they need to start by "reducing the draw that our welfare system can exert across Europe." The introduction of the new EU members in 2004 brought a massive influx of migration to the U.K. and Cameron suggests that "when new countries are admitted to the EU in the future, free movement will not apply to those new members" until their own economies are closer aligned to existing members. Another of Cameron's proposals for curbing EU immigration was that citizens of the "EU must live here (in the UK) and contribute for four years before they qualify for in-work benefits or social housing" (bid.)

The exponentially increasing immigration to the U.K. from other EU countries coupled with the mass immigration from the war-torn Middle East has put a strain on schools, public services and hospitals in the U.K. Cameron calls for "addressing ECJ judgments that have widened the scope of free movement". He points out that it is the European Court of Justice who introduced the regulations and that they should be tightened in order to stop abuse.

<u>Next steps</u>

In the conclusion Cameron states that he will be prepared to "campaign with all my heart and soul to keep Britain inside a reformed European Union" if agreement is reached on the four points presented in his letter. The metaphor used here, *heart and soul,* is an appeal to pathos bringing forth emotions and indicates that Cameron is aware that his position as Prime Minister is related to the outcome of the vote. His statement of intent is atypical of his party's history, with the Conservatives not typically displaying pro-EU sentiments. He continues with his rhetoric within pathos using the word *concern,* stating the U.K. is the EU's second largest economy and that if an agreement is reached it will show the world that the EU "is flexible enough to accommodate the concerns of its members."

Here Cameron employs words displaying his position toward the EU more clearly than in his ambivalent Bloomberg speech. He expresses his personal dedication to the EU by utilising the metaphors *heart and soul,* which indicate his personal belief in the EU and their success. He implores the EU to address the U.K.'s concerns "and provide a fresh and lasting settlement for our membership of the European Union." Two years after his Bloomberg speech Cameron appears to have a more favourable and definitive stance towards the EU, with a letter intended to bring forth a reaction from the EU as well as seeking to appease potential voters in the U.K.

<u>9.3 Cameron's last minute appeal to the public</u>

Nodal points	Reference in speech
British pride	"We aren't any old country. We're a special country – one whose language, whose values, whose influence is felt the world over." "When we're in these organisations, we become an even bigger force in the world, with a bigger influence in the world. "Brits don't quit. We get involved, we take a lead, we make a difference, we get things done." "That's why we negotiated and enhanced our special status."

	"…remember how far we've come, and how much more we can achieve…"
Consequences	"Above all, it's about our economy. It will be stronger if we stay. It will be weaker if we leave." "Above all, being a member of the European Union is about our economic security." "Expert after expert – independent advisers, people whose job it is to warn Prime Ministers – have said it would shrink our economy." "And it's also about our national security, too. I've seen first-hand, in these dangerous times, how we can better cooperate with our friends and neighbours." "Just you – taking a decision that will affect your future, your children's future and your grandchildren's future."
Stronger with EU	"It amplifies our power." "I've seen it time and again – at a very practical level – that we're safer in Europe than out on our own." "I believe, very deeply, from my years of experience, that we'll be stronger, we'll be safer, we'll be better off inside Europe. "How, alongside key allies like the French and the Germans, we're more effective at facing down threats and keeping people safe." "At the heart of that is the Single Market – 500 million customers on our doorstep…"

"Today I want to pause and speak to you very directly, and personally, about the momentous decision that this country faces in just two days' time."

-David Cameron, June 21st, 10 Downing Street. (The Independent 2016)

David Cameron gave his last speech to the public regarding the EU referendum at 10, Downing Street on June 21st, 2016 where he presented his final plea to the public to remain in the EU. His rhetoric was divided between appealing to the emotions of the voters as well as convincing them of his own beliefs on the consequences. He commenced by appealing to pathos stating that he wanted to speak directly and 'personally'. Taking into account the his position as Prime Minster was on the line, this was an emotionally charged speech, not only for himself but also for his own

beliefs for the U.K.'s best interests. He employed a lot of persuasive rhetoric in the speech, using pathos logos and ethos, in an attempt to reinforce British pride, present the facts of leaving the EU as well as the danger it might present to the economy and finally why it would be better to remain.

Therefore, in order to appear convincing in his speech he used ethos in his speech saying "For six years, I've had the responsibility and the honour of being your Prime Minister. And I want to tell you why, doing this job, I feel so strongly that Britain should remain in Europe."(The Independent 2016) Presenting his credentials in the form of his tenure in office holding the role of Prime Minister he presents credibility to ensure that the message he is about to deliver is worthy of belief. Amossy, (p.60-62, 2000) says argumentation is successful when it appeals to the audience with solidarity, engagement and goodwill.

I have split the speech up into three focus areas; British Pride, the consequences of leaving the EU and finally Cameron arguing for Britain being stronger in the EU.

British Pride

"We aren't any old country. We're a special country – one whose language, whose values, whose influence is felt the world over."

The first focus area for Cameron is British pride. He wants to assure the public that Britain will be able to hold on to her identity and status in the world even if choosing to remain a member of the EU.

By reinforcing Britain's status in the world as being special and influential, he seeks to appease the many voices of the Leave campaign who claimed that Britain was losing her identity and being taken over by the EU, imposing their laws and controlling the U.K. The status of Britain as being special and influential is part of a recurring British narrative brought forth from the colonial era.

"Brits don't quit. We get involved, we take a lead, we make a difference, we get things done." Taking lead has been at the forefront of the British colonial mind-set for many years and after WWII where Britain felt it had helped to save Europe from Nazi rule, the pride and feeling of strength was reinforced. So when Cameron says *Brit's don't quit* there are many underlying messages that can be interpreted from this including an appeal to the pathos in the listeners appealing to fight for a chance to remain, in what Cameron believes is, a good union with the EU.

Consequences of an exit

"Above all, it's about our economy" says Cameron, returning to a recurring theme in the narrative of previous Prime Ministers who placed weight on the economic value of the EU above all else. "It will be stronger if we stay. It will be weaker if we leave." declares Cameron. Leaving, he says "That's a huge risk to Britain – to British families; to British jobs – and it's irreversible." Here he is using a form of pathos to incite the emotions in the voters using words such as *weaker, risk* and *irreversible*. By connecting these words to Britain, jobs and families Cameron is attempting to highlight the consequences and create an emotional reaction. This leads him on to talking of national security, where he says "I've seen it time and again – at a very practical level – that we're

safer in Europe than out on our own." This is a simple form of a security threat. Cameron frames the exit of the EU as a security risk to Britain and its people, again appealing to pathos, through fear.

"Expert after expert – independent advisers, people whose job it is to warn Prime Ministers – have said it would shrink our economy." Declares Cameron. This is a clear indication of a technocratic statement where he appeals to ethos. By referring 'experts and advisers' Cameron is attempting to bring ethos into his argument. It is an attempt to establish credibility by quoting well-acclaimed and respected sources such as "experts and advisers".

<u>Stronger with the EU</u>
Cameron says "my job is to protect our country, to protect you, to protect your children." "I would not be standing here, encouraging you to vote to remain in the EU, if I thought the EU stopped me from doing that." Once again he is relying on ethos, using his own credibility as Prime Minister hoping that his status will sway the voters. He continues by saying that he believes Britain will be stronger in the EU "I believe, very deeply, from my years of experience, that we'll be stronger, we'll be safer, we'll be better off inside Europe." Here he uses *ethos,* using his *years of experience* as a case in itself for the people to believe and trust in him.

He then plays upon people's fears of safety and security, appealing here greatly to *pathos* stating "How, alongside key allies like the French and the Germans, we're more effective at facing down threats and keeping people safe." He uses the two great powers of Germany and France as an arguing point for the ability to keep Britain safer. A good example of *pathos* is the persuasive nature of rhetoric used to incite emotions in people by playing on their fears. Using words like *facing down threats* is indicative of a strength move, where a combined force of allies with Britain would be able to *overcome* a threat. Cameron indicates that this would only be possible if allies such as Germany and France were disposed to assist the U.K. He appeals to a basic human need for safety thus inciting an emotional response to *threats* and then presenting the solution to *safety*, which is remaining in the EU.

Cameron's rhetoric was ambivalent and indecisive during his Bloomberg speech where he attempted to give a diplomatic presentation of the two sides of remaining within the EU and withdrawing. His stance was reflective of political environment at the time, a referendum had yet to be called for and he wanted to remain neutral. His decision to call for the vote is indicative of a re-election ploy as well as a belief that the U.K. would not withdraw from the EU. As Cameron began to realise that the Leave campaign was gaining serious support his rhetoric changed and he became more openly pro-EU and before referendum day went so far as to say that he would campaign to remain with his heart and soul. His indecisive stance turned out to be vulnerability and the Leave campaign were able to garner more support through their rhetoric and referral to a narrative in the British mind set that triggered emotions within the voters and swayed their view of the EU.

10. Leave campaign rhetoric.

The rhetoric and narrative referred to by the Leave campaign is important to note, because it relies heavily on pre-existing narratives and triggering old ingrained beliefs about British identity and sovereignty.

The leave was campaign dominated by the two parallel running campaigns, the Leave.eu campaign featuring the slogan "Leading the way (UK), out of the EU", and the officially recognised campaign, "Vote Leave, take back control". Below are selected speeches by the main advocators Nigel Farage and Boris Johnson. Nigel Farage, officially backed both campaigns and his rhetoric during the referendum campaign will be analysed as it played a pivotal role in the outcome. His expression of discontent in the EU parliament is also touched upon in order to indicate that the discontent with which Farage showed towards the EU was part of a long term narrative which had been in place long before his support for the Leave campaign. Boris Jonson, who was the Mayor of London at the time had a huge audience and he used it to his advantage when he toured for the Leave campaign, essentially going against David Cameron and his wishes.

10. Boris Johnson

Therefore, in order to give perspective to the Leave side, Boris Johnson is a powerful character to analyse. His rhetoric coupled with his influential column in the Daily Telegraph were an open forum for him to express his discontent with the EU.

He surprised many when he left Cameron's side to campaign for the Leave side of the referendum, in what many believe was a political ploy to take over from Cameron as Conservative Party Leader. Johnson was also one of the main advocators of the Leave campaign and used his position as Mayor of London and known face to that advantage.

Johnson had an active column at The Daily Telegraph where he would contribute his political views, one of these columns addressed the Remain campaign as using scaremongering to sway voters. He employs rhetoric based mainly on *pathos* referring to the EU as a scary and a disaster to independent sovereignty.

10.1 "Don't be taken in by Project Fear – staying in the EU is the risky choice"
- Column by Boris Johnson, 26th February 2016, The Telegraph

Nodal Points	Reference in Speech
EU as a threat	"Project Fear" "Are you frightened? Have they spooked you yet?" "we will continue to sit trapped like passengers in the back seat of some errant minicab with a driver who cannot speak

	English and who is taking us remorselessly and expensively in the wrong direction."
	"It isn't Brexit that presents the economic risk; it is the Euro.."
	"the Schengen area is like a sign welcoming terrorists to Europe"
(Loss of) Sovereignty	"We do the bidding of the Euro-elites"
EU as a failure	"the euro that proved to be a nightmare"
	"Instead of recognising this disaster for what it is - the result of an over-centralising plan to fuse diverse economies into one, the EU is determined to keep going in the wrong direction."

I chose to look at this column as it very demonstratively depicts the Remain campaign and the EU in a negative light, where Johnson *frames* the EU with several derogatory adjectives. According to Norman Fairclough, there are several types of assumptions in texts and Johnson employs this in his text. He uses Propositional Assumptions, which Fairclough describes as: assumptions about what is, or can be, or will be the case (Fairclough 2003) Fairclough also describes Value Assumptions: assumptions about what is good or desirable.

Johnson refers to the Remain campaign as the agents of "Project Fear" and opens his article with a 'loaded' rhetorical question. "Are you frightened? Have they spooked you yet?" This displays a number a *propositional assumptions* displaying the EU in a negative light and using language that *presupposes* that the public and his readers are *frightened* and *spooked.* In doing so he associates the EU with negativity and something to be feared.

Using this rhetoric, he is *framing* the Remain side as the antagonist asking the public whether they feel scared of the campaign, alluding to the concept that his own views and Leave campaign are ethical and just. The use of the words *frightened* and *spooked* appeal to the pathos in the readers as they seek to evoke emotions fright in the readers and thus associate them with the Remain campaign.

Johnson uses his language very figuratively when describing the U.K's relationship to the EU, bordering on racist and xenophobic. He describes the U.K. remaining in the U.K., as "we will continue to sit trapped like passengers in the back seat of some errant minicab with a driver who cannot speak English and who is taking us remorselessly and expensively in the wrong direction." In his rhetoric, he employs figurative and metaphorical language to appeal emotionally through pathos to his readers in order to convey a message of fear.

He positions the U.K. as being a *passenger*, someone who is typically not in control of the direction being taken, and *errant,* meaning straying from the right course. He portrays yet another image of

a negative relationship when he says the U.K. are *trapped*, with a driver who cannot speak *English*, a reference to restrictions on U.K. law-making requiring EU acceptance and the EU parliament being placed in Brussels. "We do the bidding of the Euro-elites" Here Johnson is making a number of *value assumptions* of the EU using metaphorical language to create images of an invisible upper class that dictates orders to the U.K. His clear distinction of Euro-elites also appeals to his ethos and credibility in the role of being the voice of the people.

Johnson continues his point stating that people now fighting to remain in the EU are the same people "who prophesied disaster if Britain failed to join the euro" and issued "blood-curdling warnings". He uses the metaphor *blood-curdling* to undermine the Remain campaign, trying to show that they are indecisive and associate negative feelings with them.

"the euro that proved to be a nightmare" It isn't Brexit that presents an economic risk argues Johnson, it is the Euro and "the federalising attempts to save it that are the real long-term threat to security and stability."

He highlights failed attempts by the EU to maintain stability within the union citing instances in Yugoslavia and Ukraine, where the union failed to uphold peace and become a "military guarantor of peace in Europe". By referencing the EU's lack of success in certain areas, Johnson is invoking a frame of the EU as being as failing to live up to their promises.

Johnson addresses Euroscepticism in the EU.

"Instead of recognising this disaster for what it is - the result of an over-centralising plan to fuse diverse economies into one, the EU is determined to keep going in the wrong direction." The discussion of sovereignty is also very important in Johnson's column and he plays upon British sentiments of having an independent and trading nation without a political union with the EU. He states that *centralising diverse economies into one* is a disaster for the U.K. and mentions Francois Hollande calling for a tighter political and fiscal union having consequences for Britain, because they are not members of Eurozone. "It isn't Brexit that presents the economic risk; it is the Euro" says Johnson.

He criticizes a border free Europe and the Schengen zone saying that it makes it harder for security services to do their job and that a border free Europe makes it easier for terrorists to move around. Then he quotes Ronald K Noble, the former head of Interpol, saying that "the Schengen area is like a sign welcoming terrorists to Europe".

"Whatever the risks of Brexit, they are eclipsed by the problems of remaining in a political construct that has changed out of all recognition since we joined in 1972." The reference here is to the U.K. joining the EEC in 1972 before it became the EU in 1992 where the EEC focused mainly on the trading possibilities presented by an economic community rather than one of political persuasion. Since the signing of the Maastricht treaty in 1992 the narrative within the U.K. has

changed regarding the EU because of the introduction of free movement of labour and closer political ties.

However, Johnson's tone changes when he suggests that the U.K. needs a new partnership and deal with "our friends in the EU". Using 'friends in the EU' is indicative of a shift to a friendlier more coaxing tone, because Johnson recognises that leaving a door open for trade agreements if the U.K. decides to leave the EU is crucial.

He concludes in dramatic fashion stating that it is a "once in a lifetime opportunity" to make a decision to jolt the EU into the reform it needs to make. He says it is the only way that Britain can control its borders save money (£8 billion a year he claims) and strike up new profitable trade deals. "Let's call it Project Hope" Johnson says, directly *framing* the Leave campaign as the answer to Britain's problems and also presenting an alternative to the Remain campaign which he dubbed "Project Fear". The smart juxtaposition of the two "Projects" frames the two campaigns in very different lights, with 'hope' on one side, represented by Johnson and the Leave campaign and "Fear" on the other, represented by the remain campaign.

10.2 Boris Johnson: Closing remarks at BBC EU Debate June 21st

The BBC hosted the final live debate on the EU in London on June 21st 2016. The Leave politicians present were Boris Johnson, Labour MP Gisela Stuart and Energy Minister Andrea Leadsom. The Remain campaign was represented by, TUC boss Frances O'Grady, Scottish Tory leader Ruth Davidson and Sadiq Khan, Mayor of London. (express.co.uk)

Nodal Points	Reference in speech
Britain can stand alone	"we on our side (leave) who offer hope"
	"us who believe in Britain"
	"They say we have no choice but to bow down to Brussels, we say they are woefully underestimating this country and what it can do"
	"I believe that this Thursday can be our country's independence day."
Take back control	"control of our borders, of huge sums of money, £10 billion a year net, of our tax raising powers, of our trade policy"
	"of our who law-making system, the democracy that is the foundation of our prosperity."

Johnson was invited to give the closing remarks at the debate for the Leave side and he proceeded to use the moment for a final battle cry that brought standing ovations from the Wembley

audience and was lauded as a "defining moment of the campaign" by the Spectator (22nd June 2016).

<u>Britain strong alone</u>

"I think you'll agree there is a very clear choice between those on their side (Remain) who speak of nothing but fear of the consequences of leaving the EU and we on our side who offer hope" (Express.co.uk 22/06/2016) said Johnson, using a framing technique to associate the two sides with hope and fear.

Johnson had under the campaign dubbed the Remain side as "Project Fear", which is also present in the previously analysed newspaper column. He claimed that the remain side were focusing on the negative consequences of leaving the EU and inciting fear into the public rather than focusing on Britain being able to stand on their own.

The "Leave, Take Back Control" campaign focused heavily on being able to create an independent Britain which would be able to practice its own law-making rights and exercise border control. "They say we have no choice but to bow down to Brussels" Proclaimed Johnson who cleverly uses words that place the U.K. in a position of weakness having to *bow down*, and positioning Brussels as the power that the U.K. must bow to. This is a natural appeal to *pathos*, creating an enemy, which Britain must fight against to regain their rightful place. The appeal to British pride and their history is reflected in his remark "they are woefully underestimating this country and what it can do" referring to the Remain side voicing their concerns about the British economy taking a hit after a withdrawal.

<u>Taking back control</u>

"Those who have been endlessly rubbishing our country and running it down and those of us who believe in Britain" (ibid.) This juxtaposition of the two campaign sides, creates a stark divide between what Johnson terms as people 'rubbishing' and 'running it down' the country and his own campaign who 'believes' in Britain. These are strong accusations to make and Johnson attempts to create *frame* the Leave side as believing in Britain's best interests, which he believes, are best served leaving the EU. In the statement he compares Remain supporters to defectors of Britain claiming that they are rubbishing the country and that they do not believe in Britain creating a nationalistic feeling imposing that the Leave campaign are the only side with Britain's best interests at heart.

 "If we vote Leave we can take back control of our borders, of huge sums of money, £10 billion a year net, of our tax raising powers, of our trade policy and of our who law-making system, the democracy that is the foundation of our prosperity." (ibid.)

By reiterating certain areas that had been debated throughout the campaign, such as border control, return of money and being able to make their own laws, Johnson continues the narrative of the campaign by repeating these aspects again. Unkelbach (2007) states that repetition in politics is an important tool, which leads people to believe that there is truth behind the statement. Unkelbach states that the truth effect is strongest when participants are uncertain about a statement's validity. Although repetition by itself does not increase validity, repetition

from a second, independent source does increase the convergent validity of a statement. So, when people remember that they have encountered a statement before but fail to remember the source they show a truth effect. (Unkelbach, 2007)

"If we stand up for democracy, we will be speaking up for 100's of millions of people around Europe, who agree with us, but who currently have no voice", here Johnson is attempting to appeal to ethos, stating that the U.K. wanting to leave the EU is a credible action that other members of the EU are also rumbling about. He attempts to justify the U.K.'s actions by stating that they are leading the way for other EU members who wish to leave.

"If we Vote Leave and take back control, I believe that this Thursday can be our country's independence day." (Ibid.) The term independence day, also utilised by Farage, is used for dramatic effect bringing forth with it all the associations with the word. By framing the referendum this way Johnson is invoking a frame of Britain freeing itself from an oppressor, and by doing so, attributing negative associations to the relationship between the U.K. and the EU. As Lakoff (2004) states in his framing theory: "When you hear a word, its frame (or collection of frames) is activated in your brain." Using a phrase such as independence triggers a collective narrative of WWI & WWII, which the British felt they took on their own shoulders and recalling that they were one of the few countries to remain independent during the two World Wars.

Johnson references several times to "us" and "them" in the speech. It is a move that creates a divide between two side and the voters by highlighting their differences in order to *frame* the remain side as being anti-British and not believing Britain can survive without the EU. Johnson's rhetoric is filled with framing and references to the national narrative in which he seeks to invoke feelings of courage and uprising against the EU which he frames as an oppressor and a dictator removing democracy and law-making from the U.K.

11. Nigel Farage

Nigel Farage was a key figure during the referendum campaign and long before it. Therefore his rhetoric is important to note as it has been anti-EU from the founding of UKIP and is clear through his speeches in the EU parliament and during the campaign.

Throughout his tenure as an MEP in the European Parliament, Nigel Farage has been actively engaged in questioning and ousting prominent parliament members for corruption and receiving inducements. He was arguably one of the fore-figures for the Leave Campaign despite not being directly affiliated with the official Leave campaign. One could even argue that he was the poster boy and face of the Eurosceptic Leave movement in the U.K.

Farage, like to Johnson, relies heavily on *pathos* in his speeches and uses metaphorical references to enhance and *frame* his points. Both Farage and Johnson relied heavily on the historical Eurosceptic narrative in the British mind-set, citing a loss of sovereignty and an influx of immigration straining the British economy, as the burdensome chains placed on them by the EU.

11.1 Farage's discourse in the European Parliament

This section will explore Farage's speeches in the EU parliament where he addresses several aspects of the EU as well as confronting the EU presidents for their lack of engagement. These speeches are important as they mark an open forum in the parliament where Farage is publicly exposing many uncomfortable facts about the EU, which he requests the presidents to account for. His rhetoric is a sign of increasing Euroscepticism, which is echoed by several other members of the EU parliament and large portions of the U.K. parliament including the Cameron's Conservative party.

11.2 Farage addresses President of the European Parliament Martin Schulz

Nodal points	References in speech
EU corruption	"modern day Europe would dream of having a big powerful job that was decided by a full open process". "a banana republic" "We want a Europe of trade, we want a Europe of cooperation … We do not a Europe that seeks to be a global-superpower"
EU president	"political fanaticism from the chair" "…are we going to get the Martin Schulz we have got to… snarling, angry, unable to control his temper, intolerant of anybody with an alternative point of view. Somebody who is contemptuous of free referendums where people have the temerity to vote No. Somebody who is anti-British to his fingertips and does not like free markets."

The first speech we will look at is Nigel Farage giving an open address to President of the EU Parliament Martin Schulz on the day of Mr Schulz's inauguration, 17th January, 2012. (UKIP YouTube Channel) During his address Farage brings up many areas of EU controversy, corruption as well as the election processes in the EUP. The brash nature of Farage's European Parliament addresses sums up his character as a person well. He is against the EU establishment and the loss of individual national sovereignty. His words to President Schulz, clearly reflect his distaste for the election process as well as Mr. Schulz as a political leader.

He begins by bringing up the controversial nature of Schulz's election as the EU president of the Parliament exposing the non-election process by which he attained power. The president of the

parliament gets elected solely based on MEP votes and not by a popular vote within Europe, (Europa.eu) leading to a lot of factions of political bodies that gather together who often juggle power and nominees between them.

He uses irony saying that nobody in "modern day Europe would dream of having a big powerful job that was decided by a full open process". (UKIP MEPs YouTube Channel) He discredits Schulz by saying that the EU should expect "political fanaticism from the chair" and that "only a banana republic" would elect an overtly political president such as Mr. Schulz. Here Farage questions the democratic processes in the EU by comparing it to a "banana republic" containing no legitimate election processes.

He then goes on to attack Mr. Schulz further by asking a rhetorical question about his character as a person and political leader in the parliament:

 "…are we going to get the Martin Schulz we have got to… snarling, angry, unable to control his temper, intolerant of anybody with an alternative point of view. Somebody who is contemptuous of free referendums where people have the temerity to vote No. Somebody who is anti-British to his fingertips and does not like free markets."

Farage seeks to discredit and attack Schulz on a personal level by using negative adjectives to describe him, whilst stating the he is anti-British 'to his fingertips'. This metaphor gives an image to the reader/listener that Mr. Schulz is detrimental to British interests within the EU, including free-markets, which Britain prioritizes above a common EU community.

"We want a Europe of trade, we want a Europe of cooperation… We do not a Europe that seeks to be a global-superpower". The underlying tone for Farage's rhetoric here is that of and of greater trading possibilities without compromising on national sovereignty reflecting the rhetoric of Boris Johnson who claims the EU is not transparent in its dealing.

Farage also rejects the notion of a political union within the EU stating that he does not want a Europe under the "so-called Community method". This was core to the Leave campaign where they stressed that Britain did not want to be part of a federal Europe and a political community. The speech, given at Mr Schulz's inauguration day is indicative of Farage's contention with the EU and its leaders long before the U.K. referendum was announced thereby highlighting a recurring narrative of Euroscepticism from Farage.

11.3 Farage addresses Mr Rompuy

European Parliament, Strasbourg - 24 November 2010 (Europarl Youtube Channel)

Nodal Point	Reference in speech
EU dominance	"obsession with creating a Euro state to destroy democracy" "If you rob them of their democracy, then all they are left with is nationalism and violence."

Farage does not attempt to conceal his contempt towards the EU as an institution and not least the presiding presidents. In this speech, Farage addresses Herman van Rompuy the President of the European Council at the time, using tones of irony and an undermining exposé of failures to highlight Rompuy's unsuccessful first year in office.

He employs multiple strategies to gain an audience when addressing the EU parliament one of which is *framing*. Farage seeks to frame the EU as a poorly functioning institution that does not provide benefits to its members. His *framing* of the EU as a failure and an overbearing control hub recurs through his rhetoric and during his address to van Rompuy even goes so far as to say "We want the whole thing consigned to the dustbin of history."

He opens his speech by saying "Just look at these faces. Look at the fear. Look at the anger. Poor old Barroso here looks like he's seen a ghost." In attempting to oust van Rompuy's as an incompetent leader, he points to the MEP's in the chamber saying "look at the fear." In doing so he ascribes the MEP's emotions that they do not necessarily posses, thereby *framing* von Rompuy as a being negative, inciting fright and a lack of confidence. "They're beginning to understand that the game is up" and that they want to preserve any trace of democracy that is left. His technique is similar to that of Johnson's who also asks a rhetorical question saying "have they spooked you yet?" giving qualities to the EU and the remain side which they do not necessarily posses, thus create an image of them as negative and to be feared by evoking a frame through their questions.

The narrative of retaining sovereignty within the EU is also a contention point for Farage at this stage in 2010 before any solid talk of a referendum. He proclaims that van Rompuy has an "obsession with creating a Euro state to destroy democracy". Using the phrase 'destroy democracy' Farage attempts to frame van Rompuy as a form of dictator going against the basic rights of having a democracy and says that he should therefore be held accountable for the actions of the EU.

The right to retain sovereignty and national identity are already brought up at this stage by Farage years before the referendum and his intentions are thus made clear from a historical point of view

as he continues his narrative into the campaign to leave the EU under the referendum. He ends with an ominous prediction: "If you rob people of their identity. If you rob them of their democracy, then all they are left with is nationalism and violence."

<u>11.4 Farage on Immigration</u>

Farage and Leave.EU founder Arron Banks, shared a common vision for the U.K.'s future as well as a common goal in withdrawing from the EU. They both wanted Britain to leave the EU and they both wanted to focus on the immigration issues the country is undergoing. Farage was also associated with a number of PR stunts related to immigration during the referendum campaign including being pictured in front of a UKIP poster with images of 'immigrants' on it with the text "Breaking Point" printed across the front.
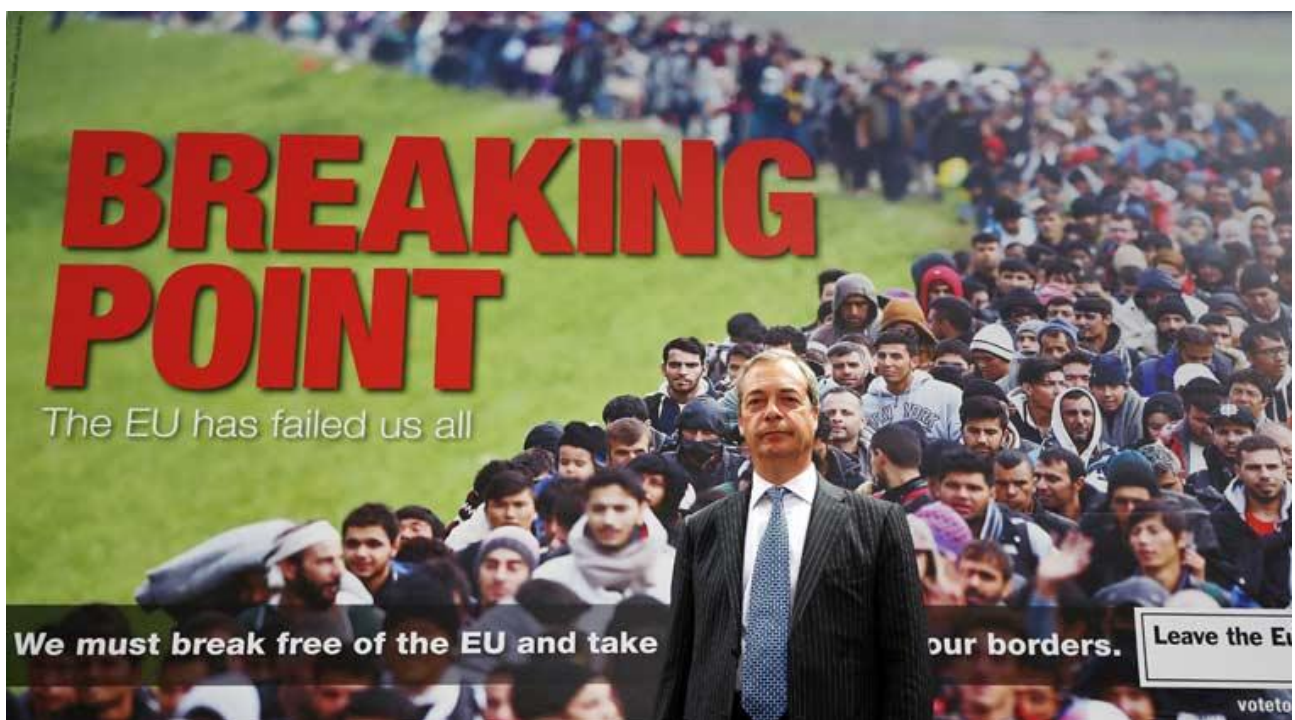
"We must break free of the EU and take back control of our borders."

The poster, which caused a lot of political outrage and a media frenzy depicts Farage in front of a poster with immigrants on a road with the title Breaking Point. However many people were outraged as they appeared to be Syrian and Middle-Eastern immigrants and not EU-immigrants which Farage claimed leaving the EU would stop.

Arron Banks kept a journal of his meetings with Farage and Leave.EU organisers which he later published. The memoir, which Banks published after the EU referendum vote was aptly titled: *The Bad Boys of Brexit: Tales of Mischief, Mayhem & Guerrilla Warfare in the EU Referendum Campaign*.

Nodal Point	Reference in *Bad boys of Brexit*
Immigration	"Theresa May says it's difficult to control immigration as part of the EU. She's wrong – it's not difficult, it's impossible" "If we are to leave the EU this issue must be at the front and centre of the Brexit campaign" "The only way we can control immigration is by leaving the EU." "We should not have to pay for the EU's and Mrs Merkel's errors."

In his memoirs, Banks recounts that after touring all over Britain with his campaign, Farage stated that "immigration was a massive issue among working-class and lower-middle-class voters." (Banks 2016)

Banks states that Farage recognized the importance of the economy and sovereignty, "but he was adamant that deepening public concern about mass migration was the key to Brexit." (ibid.)

Farage told banks that he believed the Conservatives would avoid talking about immigration therefore the plan for Leave.EU and the team behind them was to "be as provocative as required to keep immigration at the top of the agenda" (ibid.). If one looks at the rhetoric by Johnson of the Conservative party and official Leave side campaign, his main arguing points are related to the economy and a regaining of sovereignty from the EU as demonstrated in the analysis above. Johnson's focus on immigration was not as targeted as Farage's rhetoric, and Farage took advantage of that and played the devil's advocate in the campaign.

"The only way we can control immigration is by leaving the EU."

-Nigel Farage (Express Apr. 29th 2016)

Farage's anti-immigrant rhetoric can be seen in various forms through direct attacks on the EU as well as on leaders within the UK and other European countries, including attacking Theresa May and blaming Chancellor Angela Merkel for having an open border policy. Speaking of immigration Farage said "If we are to leave the EU this issue must be at the front and centre of the Brexit campaign". (ibid.)

"Theresa May says it's difficult to control immigration as part of the EU. She's wrong – it's not difficult, it's impossible." Said Farage during a high profile event in London April 29th 2016. (express.co.uk Apr 29th 2016) Farage also accused the Vote Leave campaign of putting too much effort into reacting to Government scaremongering rather than stressing the dangers of staying linked to Brussels.

"We should not have to pay for the EU's and Mrs Merkel's errors," he said, referencing the attacks faced in Germany blaming their open border policy welcoming in immigrants. He

continued by warning that migrants responsible for mass sex attacks in Germany on New Year's Eve could get the right to come to Britain.

His sight also turned to David Cameron claiming that Cameron was not competent to negotiate a deal with the EU to hand back control to the U.K. "A lot of people trusted him and believed him when he talked about getting a better deal for Britain – and frankly it was never true."

"David Cameron has basically said things to get votes. He won office in 2010 and 2015 by telling the British public things that he knew not to be true" Farage said, in reference to Cameron's pledge in 2010 to hold an in/out referendum should he be re-elected.

11.5 Nigel Farage: Last speech before referendum day:

‘It's us versus the Establishment - go and vote for Britain'

Nodal points	Reference in speech
Sovereignty	"United States of Europe". "Let's stop pretending what this European project is, they have an anthem, they're building an army, they've already go their own police force and of course they've got a flag." "I want us to live under British passports and under the British flag." "Vote with you heart, vote with your soul, vote with pride in this country and its people and together we can make tomorrow our independence day." "A big day in our national history, a day that is good for us and a day that is good for the rest of Europe too because other nations will follow us."
Appeal to the common man	"this referendum is the people versus the Establishment." "I thought the sight of a multi-millionaire former rock star shouting abuse, making a variety of hand gestures - not directed just at me, that would have been ok - but directed at our fishermen" "It's the vested interests, it's the rich, it's the big business, it's those that are doing very nicely thank you against pretty much everybody else.

	"I've been travelling round the country and I have met a lot of people who agree with what we are trying to do but either haven't voted for 10 years, or 20 years, or ever voted in their lives." "We can do better than this, tomorrow we can vote for real change." Tomorrow we can vote to put power back in the hands of the people, we can vote to take control of our country back"

"This referendum is actually quite simple, this referendum is the people versus the Establishment."

Nigel Farage June 22nd 2016 (Express.co.uk)

Nigel Farage gave his final rallying call to UKIP voters in London on June 22nd a day before the referendum vote. In what can be viewed as characteristic fashion for Farage, he delivered a speech appealing to emotions of the listeners relying upon inciting the fear of losing British identity, sovereignty and pride.

The pride emanating from Farage is clear in his opening words when he claims responsibility for mobilising the referendum: "I have to say with some degree of pride, that without us this referendum would never ever have happened, it is in many ways our referendum". (Express.co.uk Jun 22nd 2016)

His pride in UKIP and the Leave voters was enforced when talked of their bravery to stand up for their country and that Leave and UKIP voters would "crawl over broken glass to get down to that polling station tomorrow".(ibid.)

The implications of voter turnout are vital to any election and in order to mobilise voters politicians must convince voters with their rhetoric and by persuading voters to vote in certain ways in order to achieve their desired result. Farage understands this and acknowledges that "This is a turnout referendum, this is about who actually feels strongly enough to go out and vote" and he exclaimed that voters had the "opportunity to make a difference".(ibid.)

Farage evidences another example of the continued British political narrative when he employs terminology utilised by Thatcher asking voters to decide whether they wanted to remain in the EU or wanted a "United States of Europe".(ibid.) Fairclough calls this *discursive practice*, which shows whether the text has drawn inspiration or borrowed passages from other speeches in the creation. In this case, Farage reiterating the concept of a United States of Europe, which Thatcher also condemned, is an indication of a continued British narrative against a politicised form of union in Europe.

Independent sovereignty is one of the most prominent recurring elements in the British narrative and Farage also fights this fiercely stating that the EU is trying to create a supra-nation: "Let's stop

pretending what this European project is, they have an anthem, they're building an army, they've already go their own police force and of course they've got a flag." Farage presents this using *logos*, he refers to all the essential elements which make up a state, an anthem, which appeals to emotion and bonding of people, an army, which is essential for self-preservation and a flag, which is the final indication of any state claiming sovereignty. Farage states these factors in a logical manner to try and indicate to the public that the EU is trying to take over these roles from the U.K. and that they should not be allowed to do so. "I want us to live under British passports and under the British flag." Farage says appealing to a sense of British identity and pride in the public.

In order for politicians to be successful they also have to have a certain element of charisma in order for their rhetoric to affect their public. Farage has managed to do this well and has consistently cultivated his image as a man of the people, gleefully smiling with a regular 'pint' in his hand as a ploy to cultivate his image. He attempts to appeal to the common man through displays of *ethos.* In the speech he mentions an episode of his support of "Britain's ailing fishing industry" by floating up the Thames with a group of them to create awareness, when he was verbally abused by a "multi-millionaire". "I thought the sight of a multi-millionaire former rock star shouting abuse, making a variety of hand gestures - not directed just at me, that would have been ok - but directed at our fishermen" says Farage. His use of the words 'multi-millionaire' juxtaposed to 'Britain's ailing fishing industry' is a powerful example of his appeal to *ethos*, amongst his supporters. He pits the rich against the poor in a classic battle of classes and states, "It's the vested interests, it's the rich, it's the big business, it's those that are doing very nicely thank you, against pretty much everybody else." Creating this contrast he is displaying instances where he appears to be attacked for supporting the common people thereby strengthening his own position as fighting for the good of the common man and the U.K.

The voter turnout for the referendum was historically high at 72% and was greater than that of the last general election. This was due to the mobilisation of voters in part by successful campaign trails but also because of the persuasive rhetoric employed by Farage and other Leave advocates. Farage claimed that his mobilisation of voters would be "key to Leave winning" and said, "I've been travelling round the country and I have met a lot of people who agree with what we are trying to do but either haven't voted for 10 years, or 20 years, or ever voted in their lives."

Farage uses dramatic prose to incite the voters, bombastically stating, "Tomorrow we can vote for real change. Tomorrow we can vote to put power back in the hands of the people, we can vote to take control of our country back". The key terms here are *power in the hands of the people,* and *control of our country.* Farage plays on the rhetoric dominated by the Leave campaigns, which was the focus of taking back control from the EU. He uses the metaphor putting power back into the hands of the people, a phrase which has been used by many before him in order to convince the people that by voting Leave that they will be able to gain a voice.

As a final appeal to pathos in his speech Farage appeals to the sense of "Britishness" and identity by concluding: "Vote with you heart, vote with your soul, vote with pride in this country and its people and together we can make tomorrow our independence day."

"A big day in our national history, a day that is good for us and a day that is good for the rest of Europe too because other nations will follow us."

The narrative of Farage and Johnson is congruent here, with both of them appealing for "independence" as well as stating that other European nations will follow Britain's lead out of the EU. They both seek to reinforce their points by stating that other European nations will follow suit, to indicate that Britain is not on her own in making this decision and to create a sense of *ethos* and credibility behind their statements, despite their statements having no solid foundations.

12. Leave.EU "Today is our independence day" narrated by Nigel Farage.

Nodal point	Reference in speech
Britain's identity	"They think we're better off letting other people make our decisions for us"
	"We are a great country, a proud country, a brave country."
	"We are big enough to stand on our own two feet. We are strong enough to make our own mark on the world."
	"…brave enough to make our own decisions, live under our own laws, bear our own failures and forge our own success"
	"Let's believe in ourselves and let's make June the 23rd independence day."

Leave.EU released a propaganda video on their YouTube channel titled "Today is our independence day" on June 23rd 2016, the day of the EU referendum vote. The video, which is narrated by Nigel Farage, is a rally cry to edge on the public to vote Leave.

The video features a collage of images and clips with a patriotic theme and tries to promote the message that Britain has lost its way due to the EU and the way to forge success is to "stand on our own two feet" (Leave.EU YouTube Channel). The Leave.EU channel's purpose with the video is the hope that supporters of the Leave campaign and Farage, will be swayed by the message and the narration. Purposefully using a well-known voice like Farage is a very clear move by the Leave.EU campaign as they are aware that Farage brings ethos and credibility to the video and the message.

Sovereignty being the underlying recurring theme in the Leave campaign rhetoric is also the focus of the video. The narration of the video starts off with "There are some people who think our best days are behind us" and it continues on "They think we're better off letting other people make our decisions for us". After Farage says this in the video a short clip of former European Parliament President, Martin Schulz is shown where he says *"The United Kingdom belongs to the European Union".* A clever juxtaposition intended to incite reaction from the viewers through pathos and bring negative association to Martin Schulz. Farage continues by countering this statement mentioning Britain's bravery and the greatness of the country saying "We are a great country, a proud country, a brave country"

Farage is playing on the notion of the U.K. gaining "independence" from the EU thereby positioning the UK as the victim. He says "we are brave enough to make our own decisions, live under our own laws, bear our own failures and forge our own success". Here he uses the word "brave" to incite pathos in the public and also to rally a feeling of "standing up" to the EU who he positions as the oppressors.

He concludes by saying "Let's believe in ourselves and let's make June the 23rd independence day." The slogan "Independence day" is also used by Farage in his final rallying speech to UKIP supporters in London the day before the referendum. Coining the phrase independence day in this fashion *frames* the referendum and vote in a specific manner that places the EU as an oppressor and an entity which has forcibly taken control from the U.K. The word independence evokes a frame of voting for freedom without taking into account the benefits presented by being a member of the EU.

13. Conclusion.

This thesis set out to contextualise the EU referendum vote in the U.K. on June 23rd 2016. There have been many reasons given regarding the outcome of the vote through the various demographics of the voters including, age, sex, education, geographical location etc. However, this thesis sought to explain the outcome of the vote through socio-historic contextualisation by looking at the history between the U.K. and the EU through the rhetoric employed by key figures at key moments prior to and during their membership.

The outcome of the vote came as a shock to many, however the paper seeks to demonstrate that the result of the vote was not entirely 'out of the blue', given the underlying narrative of Euroscepticism within the U.K.

The analysis of the speeches and material, seeks to prove that this Eurosceptic tendency has long been imbedded within the British cultural narrative. The results of the analysis reveal several recurring talking points within the rhetoric of the speakers. These included British sovereignty, identity and economy, all of which were reasons the Leave voters gave for wanting to leave the EU. The speeches of all the Prime Ministers as well as UKIP leader Nigel Farage and putative

Conservative leader Boris Johnson reinforced Britain's role as a strong and independent nation that valued its own sovereignty above its membership of the EU.

The Leave campaign focused on reactivating the underlying cultural narrative of Euroscepticism, which has been reinforced in the U.K. through decades of political rhetoric and public discourse. They triggered emotions within the voters by appealing to nationalist pride as well as the threat of losing their sovereignty and used rhetoric which consisted of "us vs them" as scare tactics when addressing the public. They posed a difficult question to the public asking them whether they wanted Britain to have its own rules and control over the country and if they did not respond with voting Leave, then they were viewed as "anti-British". Leave framed the EU as a scapegoat for the U.K's difficulties with immigration and lack of sovereignty and presented the withdrawal from the EU as the solution to the problem.

The two campaign sides each framed the EU in opposite ways, the Leave side attempted to *reframe* the EU as having a negative impact on the U.K. As evidenced by the speeches analysed above, they did this by describing the EU as domineering, attempting to overrule British traditions as well as taking away decision making powers from the U.K.
Lakoff notes the following about framing: "Reframing is changing the way the public sees the world. It is changing what counts as common sense. Because language activates frames, new language is required for new frames." When placed in a socio-historic context the rhetoric and topics of discontent, reveal themselves as recurring through historic rhetoric and a pattern begins to emerge. Several Prime Ministers quote and reiterate each other for dramatic effect, with historic references to Britain's position as a world power as well as saving Europe during two world wars. These are techniques employed in order to reinforce the underlying narrative and to provide credit to their speeches. The chosen method in the thesis aptly displays an ongoing narrative within the U.K. that affirms the theory that Euroscepticism had long been an underlying theme in the political rhetoric.

Future outside the EU

The U.K. is still committed to the EU budget up until 2020, meaning that in effect they will still be contributing to the EU for the next three years because they had agreed to do so before the referendum took place. (House of Commons Library). There are also several pension plans that will continue and leaving the EU within the two-year timeframe, after invoking article 50, will not cut all economic contributions to the EU. Many voters were unaware and not informed that the U.K. would have to keep contributing to the EU even after withdrawing and these are facts that were strategically left out of the Leave campaign's rhetoric.

When the U.K. joined the EEC in 1973 the main focus point was on the trading possibilities presented by an economic community rather than a political union. Upon the signing of the Maastricht treaty in 1992 where the community went from being economic to a more political union, the narrative within the U.K. changed. Due to the introduction of free movement of labour

and closer political ties there were several political and social layers that became necessary to address. The U.K. were a proud nation who were not used to being part of a political union unless they were at the helm, as is the case with the British Commonwealth.

Despite the end of the colonial era, the British have held on to a strong sense of pride and determination regarding their sovereignty and place in the world. Therefore, British independence and sovereignty have been the recurring narrative throughout the 43 years of their membership of the EEC&EU. This has articulated and framed the EEC&EU, historically and up until the referendum, which essentially created the basis for the vote to leave. The analysis was therefore able to provide foundations for the hypothesis that the EEC&EU had been a topic of contention ever since they joined in 1973 and that the EU referendum was not spontaneous, but merely a response to several decades of an underlying Eurosceptic narrative within the U.K.

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