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CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON BREXIT IN BRITISH NEWSPAPERS. A CASE STUDY ON THE *DAILY MAIL*

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Introduction

The UK's membership in the EC, later known as the EU, had been the centre of disputes between British political parties starting in the '70s. A solidly built anti-EU sentiment was born during the following years and legitimised the Eurosceptics' discourse consisting of arguments that emphasised the EU as an old enemy. In this way, the Eurosceptics legitimised a populist discourse on self-identity and de-legitimised a possible EU identity. The EU referendum is one of the promises made by David Cameron before becoming PM. The Conservatives' decision to have a Referendum regarding the EU's membership was determined by many social events, such as the decisions taken by the Blair government and the fear of not losing party members in favour of UKIP. These tensions between political parties and the topics debated in the media emphasised four factors of the EU referendum:

- Political affairs;
- Migration;
- Economic issues, including social welfare and benefits;
- British sovereignty and security of borders.

The study I intend to carry out is a case analysis centred on the theme of Brexit and the UK's stance as an EU member. My significant role in this research is to discover how right-wing media could influence readers by using persuasive strategies to achieve their goals. More specifically, it focuses on the contribution to the media field from a critical discourse analysis perspective that helps to represent and comprehend the strategies used in the EU referendum social context by the British right-wing press through its anti-EU topics. Consequently, the study could be helpful for both future analysts and readers. The approach I adopted for my doctoral dissertation regards analytical research and views to identify and explain the social processes which caused the EU referendum through CDA from the media discourses in this social context. In other words, the texts analysed will be identified and decoded using a multifunctional and multi-levelled framework of analysis of social, political, economic, and cultural realities during

the Brexit campaign from the British newspaper *Daily Mail Online* from April 15 to June 23, 2016. That period represents ten weeks of the campaign.

Shortly, discourse represents the meaning of a language used in a specific social context that is interpreted according to the knowledge of a certain social actor that belongs to a particular community. In addition to language used in a text with or during a dialogue, journalists or social actors attach non-verbal communication through their messages, such as body language, gestures, tone of voice, eye gaze, appearance, etc. So, the main aim of this study is to apply a CDA approach to *Daily Mail's* texts from a micro viewpoint, techniques that derive from Systemic Functional Linguistics, and from a macro perspective, an analysis strategy related to the rhetorical structures of genres. I have appealed to analysis strategies for photographs taken from semiotics and photography for newspaper analysis. Consequently, this study explores rhetoric, linguistic skills such as grammar and vocabulary, and interpretation of the image related to semiotics to analyse *Daily Mail's* institution techniques to convince readers and get votes for the Leavers.

The most important British newspapers, the *Daily Mail* and *Sun*, aligned with the rebellious group from the Conservative Party and UKIP, adopting an ideology that emphasised a much more subjective implication to defend British interests. Daily news favoured right-wing parties on topics like politics, Islamophobia, racism, anti-immigration, and the threat to sovereignty, culture, and economy. Considering the specific context of the EU referendum issue, the pertinent analysis framework provides a complex analysis of the legitimation through the persuasive strategies of the language that the EU membership is a failure, and the EU referendum is seen as the only way to be free. As I have previously mentioned, the study helps the readers decipher and assess newspaper articles empowering them with knowledge and awareness about distorted information and the freedom of being under newspapers or politicians' control.

I briefly present the analysis strategy using the critical discourse analysis under the micro and macro representations umbrella in which the analysis of each factor includes these two representative levels as follows:

- Social actors' discourses (microlevel analysis);
- Assessment of micro-level analysis (microlevel analysis);
- Discourses (macrolevel analysis);
- The rhetorical structure analysis (macrolevel analysis);

- Assessment of the specific factor information (macrolevel analysis).

The analysis framework focuses on the pro-Brexit tabloid newspaper *Daily Mail Online's* articles during the Brexit campaign. In this campaign, *Daily Mail* has the best rate of views and selling (including *the Mail on Sunday* and *Mail Online*, cited in *Daily Metro Media*, March 2, 2017). Moreover, the *Daily Mail's* articles are the most read, and in 2016 the newspaper was awarded the newspaper of the year (*InPublishing*, March 15, 2017). The campaign represents the period during the ten weeks from April 15 to June 23, 2016, and each article from the ten analysed treats more or less one of the main factors which led to the pro-Brexit vote regarding Article 50 (*Press Gazette*, March 1, 2017; *Daily Metro Media*, March 2, 2017). In addition to the data presented above, *Vox* (June 25, 2016) and the *Conversation* (March 14, 2016) highlight the four critical factors that led to Brexit. Therefore, the analysis criteria show that each factor includes a number of articles from these ten according to their identified characteristics. The political affairs and immigration factors include six analysed articles, three for each factor. The other two factors, economics and sovereignty, embed two articles for each.

Still, three more articles from different British newspapers will help see if the information is accurate or not according to the topic developed by the newspaper's journalist(s) and are also mentioned in subchapter 1.4. According to *Mail Metro Media* (March 2, 2017), *Daily Mail's* most-read articles are Saturday and Sunday. Consequently, I will also consider the article most shared in a week and its comments if one article has the same shares as the other. However, on weekdays, another article could be the most shared. Still, I will consider these data according to readers' free time for reading and the presented study. Furthermore, one could check this in the inner of the articles, as a specific section sends the reader to the related articles. Another detail is the possibility of printing the article first on Friday. Still, if it is updated Saturday or Sunday, it will be taken into account and considered as published on these two days.

Chapter 1: An Overview of Brexit and the Political Context

My PhD dissertation structure begins with chapter 1, *An Overview of Brexit and the Political Context*, which represents the UK's social context anchored in controversy and numerous political debates since 1972, when the UK accepted to join the EC starting on January 1, 1973. In this chapter, I aim to overview the European referendum context to comprehend better the later analysis of the newspaper articles treating the topics that involve political,

economic, and cultural factors. So, the context knowledge helps me relate the information to the approaches used in discourse analysis and interpret the articles. These works relate to the David Cameron government and, from a historical perspective, are linked to the other two PMs, Winston and Thatcher's stances concerning the EC. In the beginning, Margaret Thatcher supported the UK's integration into the EC. Her implication could be seen in the 1975 referendum through the Yes campaign wearing a sweater with the flags of countries from the European Economic Community. The first issue she met during her mandate as PM was linked to the EEC budget, in which the UK had to pay the EEC for the agricultural sectors, a field in which the UK was disadvantaged compared to other countries in the EC. Next, the concept of British Euroscepticism highlights that this relates more to English than other nationalities of the UK. According to Smith (2006: 1), the term Euroscepticism generally stands for a philosophical ideology that implies a negative attitude from an intellectual viewpoint detaching from an emotional involvement that represents certain "doctrines and ideals" regarding issues and doubts linked to the EU membership.

For a better comprehension of the Brexit context, I could mention that in 1950 the UK was invited to adhere to the EC and rejected the proposal. In 1960, the politicians changed their point of view as they saw the fast growth of France and Germany. So, starting on January 1, 1973, after 1972, the Accession Treaty for the UK to adhere to the EC was signed. After two years, Britain renegotiated the EC membership terms, and the UK succeeded. Moreover, a referendum took place in the UK for its EC membership. The UK asked for one more favour, the rebate of the budget, and the EC agreed again. The EC states replaced EC with the EU, and the ungrateful UK asked for a few more treaties again, and the EU unbelievably agreed. However, in July 2012, the UK, through a "Fresh Start Project", pushed its luck when more than one hundred MPs elaborated a paper, "Options for Change", that consisted of a lowering of the EU budget, a remake of the Common Agricultural Policy, and return the structural funds. In April 2016, this project was explained in detail in "Manifesto for Change", demanding several aspects to change to the EU treaties: "new legislation for financial services, abolition of Strasbourg seat of the European Parliament, the repatriation of all social and employment legislation" (2017: 119). Consequently, in 2013 Prime Minister David Cameron requested to renegotiate the EU membership through a referendum. The implication of other politicians such as Nigel Farage and members of his party, Boris Johnson and Michael Gove, set the EU's membership in danger. The

patience of the EU could have a limit, and certain new agreements could imply North Ireland and Scotland, jeopardising the integrity of the EU and the UK.

Chapter 2: A Discourse Analysis Framework for Newspaper Articles

In the second chapter, I review the essential theories used in critical discourse analysis to answer a social event like the EU referendum. I aim to relate these approaches to the present research, identifying through media and political discourse the causes which determined Brexit. The strategies used in this chapter will help me later, along with other approaches from chapter 3 that include the genres and styles used in media, to interpret *Daily Mail's* articles correctly in chapter 4. The following sections of this chapter reflect an unreplaceable approach for my research in the analyses of articles. The second chapter starts with an adopted approach from a macro perspective analysis inspired by Fairclough (1989: 110). The second major work whose approach attaches a micro perspective strategy for decoding words is Halliday's and Eggins' SFL or functional grammar strategies for interpreting different texts. I also attach van Dijk's methods of analysis of the discourse using the well-known speech acts that help to highlight the link between discourse and the context.

CDA, as a qualitative approach, describes, interprets, and explains how Brexit discourses build, endorse, and legitimise the social injustices imposed by the EU (Fairclough, 1989: 110). This approach incorporates the previous strategies correlated to the social practices of texts, which associate with particular historical contexts. The word discourse in Fairclough's (2003: 26) terms corresponds to "three main ways of social practice". The social practice relates partially to the language used in a particular genre. It outlines genres as "ways of acting", discourses as "ways of representing", and styles as "ways of being". O'Regan starts from Fairclough's three-dimensional stages, adding a new stage to critical discourse analysis, and I will include them in the analysis later. The four dimensions elaborated by O'Regan are:

- Descriptive interpretation;
- Representative interpretation;
- Social interpretation;
- Deconstructive interpretation (O'Reagan, 2006: 156).

The context is an essential part of the discourse that gives meaning to a particular word, phrase or clause used in specific circumstances according to a certain culture [My emphasis].

According to van Dijk (1992: 190), the context could take format from semantics that clarifies the meaning of a sentence from syntax. Namely, during the interpretation of sentence(s), the reconstruction of meaning takes place and involves different "objects" such as participants, buildings, relations, streets, cities, etc. These elements present in sentences get the semantic interpretation and could also be called "objects", but taking account of their significance, they are known as "acts". In addition to speech acts, Halliday (2004:107) states that a speech function could reflect a double sense, one of "receiving" and another of "demanding" information. The simple "act" seen as the simple (inter)action between two participants becomes very complicated as the politician or journalist "is not only doing something himself but also demanding something" from the public or readers (Halliday& Matthiessen, 2004:107). Secondly, it refers to the knowledge of "the states of context". According to Halliday, the context states are identified with the support of the "three aspects" of context, "field, mood, and tenor" (cited in Eggins, 2004: 99), whose features emphasise register used, the types and order of sentences and the status of the social actors involved.

Moreover, the transitivity process of systemic functional linguistics (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 179) clarifies the meaning of the choices of verbs in a text and the real intention of the journalist(s). I will utilise as a sample strategy for critical discourse analysis the following *Daily Mail's* text (June 19, 2016) which could be found analysed entirely in my research work.

Process		Examples	Percentage	Total
Relational	37	"She only *had* one side in mind".	31.62%	
Material	31	"As we *move* into the final few days of the campaign".	26.5%	
Verbal	24	"They *said*".	20.51%	
Mental	21	"I *suspect* in some quarters".	17.95%	**117**
Existential	2	"*There is* no end to the stunts set up to ensure ".	1.71%	
Behavioural	2	"How they *laughed*".	1.71%	

Chapter 3: News Genres and Style in Media Discourse

The third chapter reviews the essential theories used in news discourse to comprehend and explain a social event such as the EU referendum. I aim to embed these approaches into the discourse analysis framework presented in chapter 2, recognising the type of strategies used by journalists that led to Brexit through newspaper articles. Chapter 3 includes journalists' genres and styles as persuasive strategies in newspaper articles. One of the most important works I adopted in this chapter for a macrostructure analysis is van Dijk's, highlighting that news discourse stands for a specific ideology. Van Dijk (2009: 194) pays careful attention to the news discourse, mentioning that ideology is the foundation of this discourse. The ideological characteristics reflect in "social dimensions of news" through the journalistic methods of assembling information and the interaction beyond individual experience and various discourse strategies. News discourse stands out as an interdisciplinary process that embraces the different types of schemata linked to a specific genre that stands for a social practice of a particular social institution. Bell mentions that genre refers to a particular type of text with specific characteristics, such as news, reportage, and interview. Van Dijk (1988: 53) focuses more on the text structure from a macro-level viewpoint, which is represented by the social practice, in this case, paragraphs of the text, and identifies the following categories:

- Headline;
- Backgrounds;
- The context;
- History;
- Consequences;
- Verbal reactions;
- Evaluation;
- Expectation.

A media genre is a specific type of text which implies a particular register according to specific conventions used in this field. News as a genre starting from van Dijk's (1988: 44) features is proposed by Bonini (2009: 208) as a rhetorical structure about which an analyst could say that it is occurring, is ongoing, or took place yesterday, but something related will also happen tomorrow. In contrast to news, according to Mogoș & Danciu (2011: 84), reportage

stands for that type of genre that aims the information regarding an indisputable essential fact that happened in immediate proximity. However, the rhetorical structure of the reportage genre, which I have identified in my research, is more complex but, at the same time, could be explained and detailed as follows:

- Opinion reportage consists of arguments given as a framework for a research survey. This type is called "reportage from the interview" (Bonini, 2009: 209).
- Coverage reportage is the most confusing genre with the news genre and is defined by social context as the article source implying a series of events and an "indefinite duration of facts" (Bonini, 2009: 211).
- Profile reportage stands for "the notoriety" of the actors or objects involved in the text.

Other media genres used by journalists, along with those I have mentioned previously, could be the interview, didactic reportage, research reportage, retrospective reportage, investigative reporting, photographic reportage, itinerary reportage, product reportage, editorial or column, and review (Bonini, 2009: 209).

The linguistic choices used in an article from a newspaper are referred to as "media stylistics" (Lambrou & Durant, 2014: 503). This type of strategy pays attention to how the choices of words persuade the audience. The choices adopted through the stylistics reflect that the editing process stands for a text which reflects a particular social actor or institution. Moreover, the style stands in stylistics as a description, implying specific features of the language. These features represent the register and text layout on the page in contrast to other types of writing that include a particular genre. Additionally, the journalist uses a formal style but prefers to adopt a casual attitude for a persuasive effect. Consequently, the analyst should identify if the journalist pays attention to the text from a spoken or written perspective. The style used in a text by a specific journalist or politician is analysed through comparison in different contexts to see if this uses other words or intonation. In this case, an analyst could identify his style in similar contexts as "a style variation" that overlaps with the concept of "selection and choice" (1988: 72). The journalists direct their opinions to a particular type of "ideology, norms, values and beliefs" (van Dijk, 1988: 74) due to the style adopted in the article reflected in specific rhetorical phrases and structures. The style outlines the common lexis according to the topic compressing the information in the sentences and nominal groups. The nouns are those that

carry much more information or conniving presuppositions. Another feature of the style is the layout of the text on the page, taking account of van Dijk's schematic categories from a macro viewpoint presented above and his reference to "nominalisation" (1988: 77).

The context of the topic of the article, which abuses confident lexical choices and is represented through a specific lexical style by journalists, is classified by van Leeuwen (2008: 23; see also Mădroane, 2004: 153) in "sociosemantic categories". These categories help decode and interpret journalists' positions, ideologies, and stakes of certain institutions they represent. They outline social actors and the meaning of social actions. The social actors could be represented negatively starting with the headline, such as in the following examples:

- Abstraction: "criminal notifications".
- Functionalisation: "criminals" from "foreign criminals".
- Categorisation: "foreign"
- Classification and categorisation: "Poles and Romanians".
- Association-dissociation: "their citizens" or "their court orders" in contrast to "our membership".

In addition to the sociosemantic categories, van Leeuwen (2008: 138) also pays careful attention to the interpretation of the photographs. He considers that the analyst or the viewer needs specific techniques to identify the meaning of the "representation" of a photograph classified in three dimensions. The first dimension entails "the distance", which refers to the shot that could be taken from closely or further. The second is "the relation" and comprises two sub-dimensions, one of "involvement and the other of detachment". The involvement outlines two viewpoints, "a frontal angle" and an "oblique angle". The second sub-dimension of the relation is "one of power" and corresponds to the other three sub-dimensions. The sub-dimensions reflect the viewer's manner of interpreting the photograph from above, the eye level, and from low to high. The last dimension, which is one of "interaction", serves for the relationship between the photojournalist, onlooker, and social actors in the photograph. Consequently, if their eyes meet, they interact; if not, there is no way of communication. In other words, if the social actors from the photograph look directly at the viewer, they look to communicate with him, know each other, or are close to him; if not, they are just like any other, simple strangers.

Chapter 4: The Micro-level Analysis of *Daily Mail's* Articles during the Brexit Campaign

In this chapter, I will include van Leeuwen's sociosemantic categories, which, together with Halliday's transitivity process, I will use in micro-critical discourse analysis. Those support the interpretation of journalist lexical choices from nominalisations. In other words, in chapter 4, the text interpretation reflects a pertinent analysis linked to functional grammar and lexical choices mentioned previously. I will also use Kress & van Leeuwen's strategies for interpreting the photographs of articles appealing to semiotics and functional grammar.
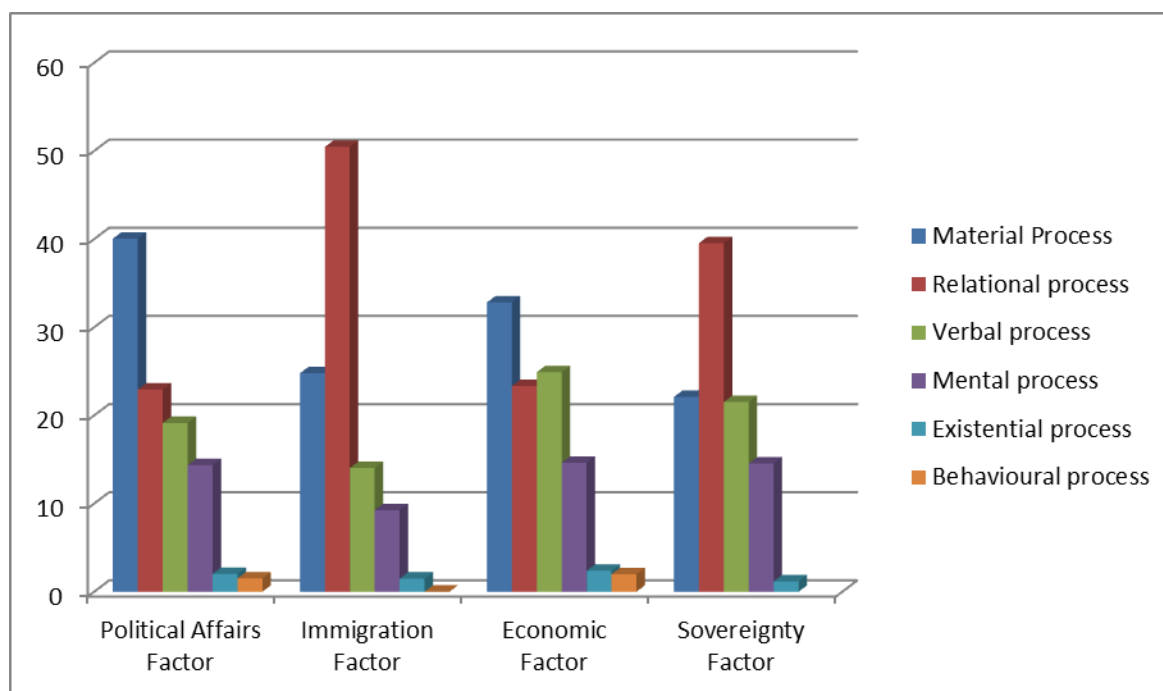
Figure 1 Representation of Micro-level Analysis through the Transitivity Process

Considering SFL in the analysis of the political affairs factor from a micro-viewpoint, the percentage of 40.05 (see Figure 1) reflecting the material process embodies the persuasive strategy of acting that the readers should take. In other words, the material process stresses the instigation of taking action against bad political decisions and harmful possible future consequences. This analysis, taken as a whole, overthrows calculations due to the high percentage of material process and echoes the need for action and changing the readers' behaviours. The *Daily Mail's* articles reflect a strong connection with the readers. The journalists prefer to discredit the Remain camp and the EU before the referendum through the relational

process (22.92%). The interaction between newspaper and reader results in a productive effect for leavers, ensuring the readers follow the right path. In the same order, the process provides the interaction between social actors and how the journalists describe the outer world from their perspective superposed with other social actors chosen by them. Additionally, specific data outline the reaction to certain social effects through the verbal process (19.14%) and emphasise the interest and position through the journalistic style linked to the institution's stake. However, the mental process that denotes human qualities such as rationality and affection stays low at 14.36%. This percentage does not ensure strong objectivity and the right decisions to take.

The transitivity process analysis of SFL stresses the journalists' desire to create a strong bond with their readers before the EU referendum through the immigration factor. Reflecting on this relational process (50.45%, see Figure 1), the analyst could notice that they align with the institution's interests emphasising adversity to other social actors such as immigrants, the EU, and the Remain camp. The relational process reflects the desiderative effect on how the newspaper readers and the journalists interact. The classical strategy of immigration could be seen in the material process (24.78) related to the previous one and consists of communication with their readers, creating a connection, and making them reflect over and after acting. The percentage of this process highlights the readers' actions that they should take aligned with journalists' stances.

The *Daily Mail's* journalists prefer to discredit the Remain camp and their economic arguments using the transitivity process representative for action. The percentage of the material process, 32.81 (see Figure 1), amplifies the instigation of taking action by resorting to fear. The journalists depict the Remain camp and the EU's bad political decisions specific for the familiar readers, using language related to actions that amplify protectionist measures for harmful possible future consequences. The journalists use social actors to support their information through the legitimation of authority, reflecting the reaction to the economic factor through the verbal process (24.9%). This process emphasises social actors' interests and positions for plausible social effects. Journalists must write credible information appealing to stylistic skills demonising the EU before the referendum through the relational process (23.32%). The interaction between journalists and readers overlaps with the newspaper's position regarding the EU budget and describes the incompetence of the PM. The two social actors, Johnson and Gove, ensure the credibility of the information and, consequently, the newspaper's good faith.

Through the relational process (39.54%), the transitivity process analysis emphasises the sovereignty factor (see Figure 1) that journalists use to build a strong bond with their readers before the EU referendum. The aim of the relationship is a productive text effect through which the analyst could identify the readers and the *Daily Mail* (inter)action according to the plausible topic of defending national security and giving the desired result. The percentage of the second process, the material one, of 22.09 indicates the advice of the articles for readers overlapped with the direction of acting against the pretended EU army invasion and Remain camp who used Jo Cox's murder to its advantage. The information given outlines a reaction and support for truth through the verbal process (21.51%) and aligns with the interest and journalists' styles that defend readers' cause and national interests. The great disappointment relates to the lower rate of a mental process (14.54%) that involves arguments that pale in contrast to (inter)action processes. However, the targeted readers reflect characteristics of taking action and are not predisposed toward rational thinking. In addition to the mental process, the existential process (1.16%) describes the outside world's perception with its context and possible issues revealed by the journalists. The reduced percentage says that such descriptions are avoided, firstly through verbs and second through circumstances. Similarly, the behavioural process (1.16%) is reduced due to the verbs linked by the body action features and gets negative connotations as it is used to describe the opponents with irony in the Remain camp.

Chapter 5: Macro-level Analysis of *Daily Mail's* Articles during the Brexit Campaign

In the fifth chapter, I will analyse the *Daily Mail's* ten articles using the strategies from a macro perspective mentioned in chapters 2 and 3, such as knowledge, genre, and style. The analysis focuses on the ten weeks of the Brexit campaign. Every week includes an article shared the most and emphasises a specific factor aligned with the EU referendum. Each factor embeds two or three articles according to the topic.
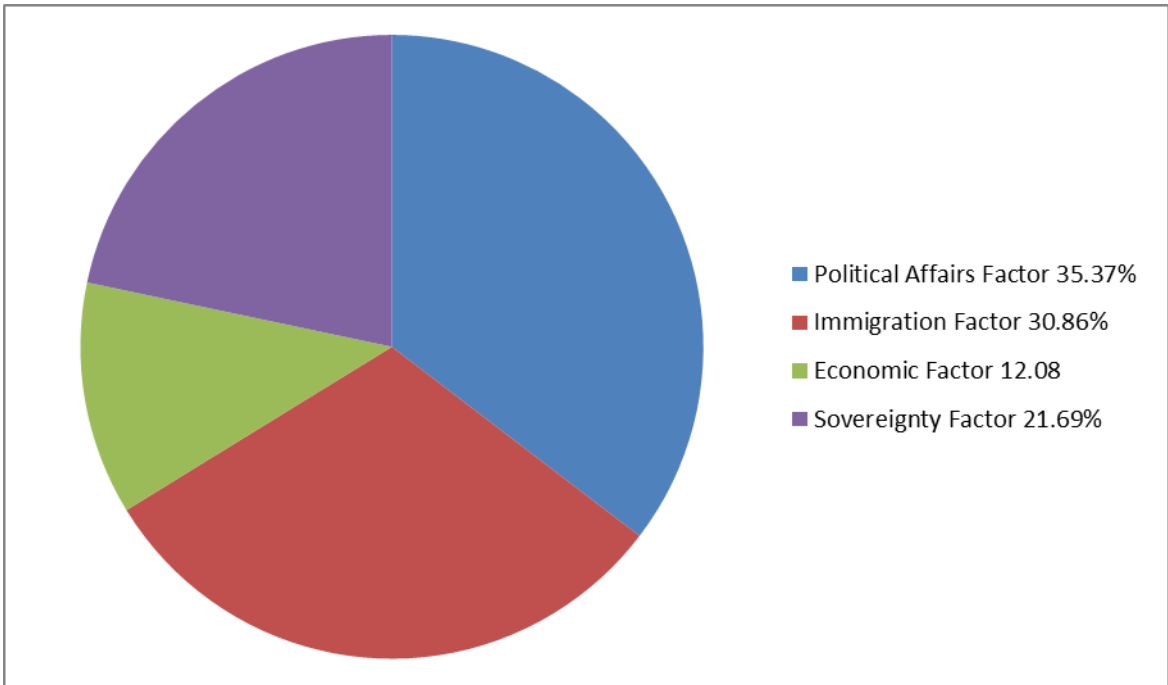
Figure 1 Representation of the Four Factors of the Brexit Campaign
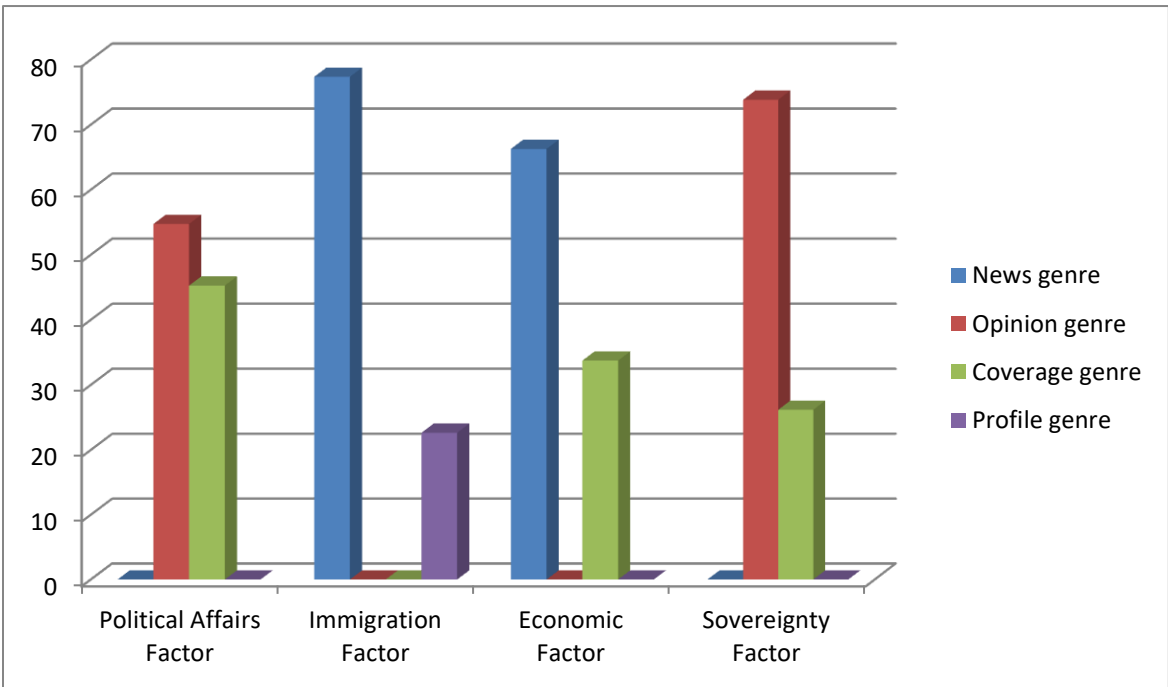
Figure 2 Representations of Media Genres in the Brexit Campaign
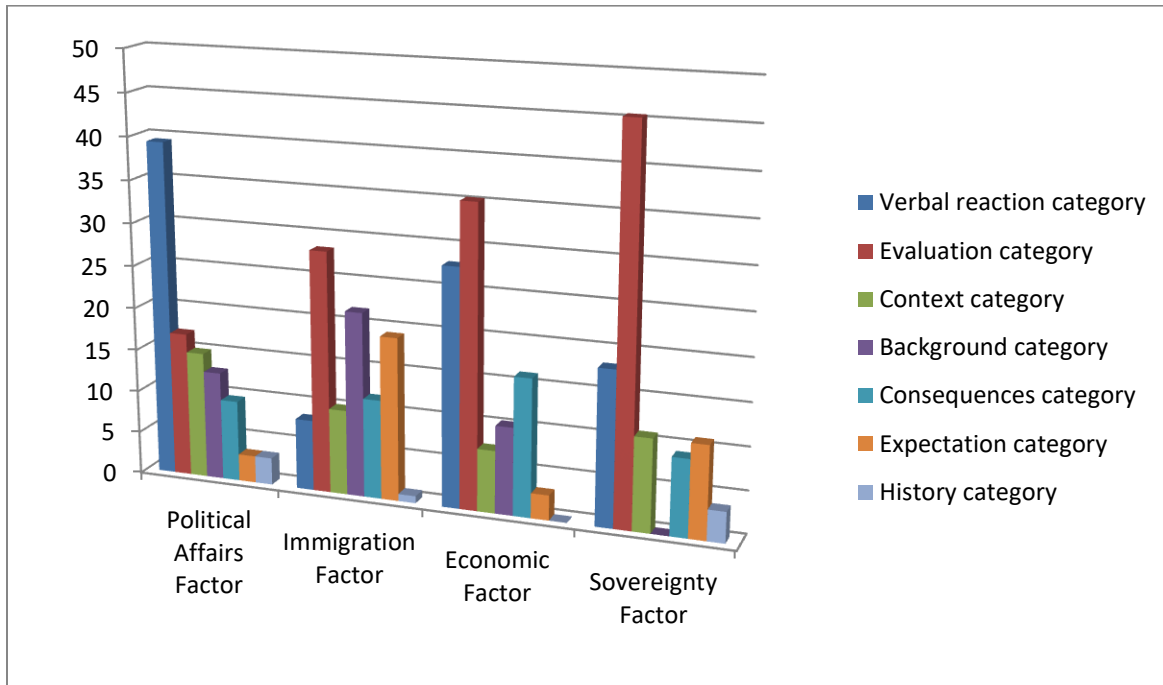
Figure 3 Representation of Macro-level Categories

I consider that the rhetorical structures of the political affair factor from a macro-viewpoint involve different genres, the three articles delivered on the internet corresponded to a total of 24.3 k; two for the opinion reportage genre and one for the coverage reportage genre (see Figures 1 & 2). The political affair factor is one of the four decisive factors that contributed to the Exit of the UK from the EU (see Figure 1). The opinion reportage genre or the reportage from an interview involves a present or past reaction to a wide-ranging topic pretending to stress social actors' objective perspectives. However, in reality, it effaces a high degree of subjectivity. This genre emphasises credibility through the social actors directly involved or not in the Brexit campaign and the EU referendum. The characteristic of the coverage reportage genre highlights a mixt genre between reportage and news, reporting certain information that does not appear without planning, a characteristic of the news genre. This genre involves a much more objective viewpoint to the article and relates to the social actors' stances seen as experts, among others, the

journalists, who seem to be worth following. Moreover, the readers should consider their advice and warnings based on their verbal reaction category used in the text (39.36%).

The three social actors representative of this factor are President Obama, UKIP leader Nigel Farage, and extremist people like Eva Van Housen. The analysis of this factor brings into the public space the foreign interference through American President Obama from the Leave team's attitude. Still, in contrast, the leavers omit their finances and extern relationships with Russian influence. Obama is presented much more through a verbal reaction category regarding the EU issue that stands for the danger of a domino effect in NATO's inner and the EU bloc. The future of the UK correlates to negative representation that entails expectation (3.19%) and consequence (9.57%) categories making readers feel a sense of fear that jeopardise their social security. The evaluation category (17.02%) embeds opinions and amplifies the EU's fear and loss of credibility for British people as these indirectly stand for a conclusion of the data presented. The background category (12.77%) strengthens the clear opinion and belief that certain social actors could threaten the Brexit campaign and the journalist's trusted information exposes the lousy behaviour of certain British.

The headlines of the articles about the immigration factor subtly warn British people to act against outsiders. Considering the stages that compose the genres of articles, the journalists appeal to the rhetorical structures twice for the news genre and once for the profile reportage genre (see Figures 1 & 2). These characteristics are in the headline, summary, narration of elements that compound the topic, and description of these details. The news genre stresses the possible circumstances that created the present situation and leaves room for the interpretation of future consequences. For this factor, David Coleman's immigration topic aligns with characteristics of the profile genre, standing exclusively for the expert position, and his research data which is impossible to deny.

The most used category in this factor is evaluation. It corresponds to a percentage of 28.33 (see Figure 3), which aligns with the conclusion and involves a bias favouring leavers through the numbers and evidence presented. The background (21.67%) supports the news related to the immigration factor appealing to historical arguments aiming the British credibility. Besides, the consequences category (11.67%) is the characteristic that reflects an imaginary or real fact that can change readers' behaviour as a persuasive strategy. The characteristics of the news genre are a highlight in the analysis of the two articles accounting for 16.4k shares, and this

factor adds the expert position of 4.8k, a total of 21.2k shares. The professor's opinion stands out in the most comprehensive article of all ten, and through the data presented the expert legitimates the direction of the discourse.

The macro perspective of the immigration factor is supported by two rhetorical structures that overlap with the news genre and the coverage reportage genre (see Figure 1&2). The two *Daily Mail* articles stress two opinions regarding the economic topic through the two leaders of the Leave camp, one through Boris Johnson and the other through Michael Gove. The news genre mirrors partially through Johnson's remarks standing for 2.8k; similarly, Gove's statements encapsulated in the coverage reportage genre for 5.5k shares. Consequently, the economic factor corresponds to a total of 8.3k shares.

The headlines are a persuasive strategy embedding the security of economic factors linked to the journalists' attitudes. The sentences of summaries stand for the lead of the articles and express the subtopics of the text that reflect social actors' diligence and skill for the UK's issues identifying the privatisation of the NHS. The text structure amplifies the concern regarding the NHS in the Brexit context triggered by the context category, which corresponds to a percentage of 7.35 (see Figure 3). Journalists use these two social actors to discredit Cameron by mentioning the similitude with Gerald Ratner and, consequently, through Gove's remark, the solution that should solve British economic security. This category outlines social actors' (re)actions during the Brexit campaign. It clarifies their position regarding this topic. Besides, the background category reflects a percentage of 10.30, amplifying the issues which link them to the context with other past events in the global context of knowledge. The verbal reaction category accounts for 27.94 and clarifies the social actors' ideological positions. Among these, the economic factor of the Brexit topic emphasises that the British economy could not be secure as long as the EU floods British Justice with coercive laws which eradicate the UK's development. In other words, the expert position and number of the enumerated arguments of the verbal reaction category reflect a populist ideology of not submitting British institutions to the foreign Brussels. The evaluation category (35.29%) defines the specification of campaign time, strengthening social actors' stances through decisive findings of political slippage that they should solve. The 16.18 percentage of consequence category reflects irony and, consequently, incompetence in escaping responsibility and finding solutions, such as fear of losing independence. In contrast to the evaluation category, the expectation category (2.94%) embeds

the predictions of this campaign, the UK and the EU, and the actuality of making the right decisions.

Considering sovereignty and borders as a security factor, the macro rhetorical structures of this factor cover two articles that emphasise two types of genres. The first article representing the EU as a social actor through the EU army stands for coverage reportage genre and is shared for 3.9k (see Figures 1&2). The second article superposes with opinion genre (11k shares). It emphasises Katie Hopkins' viewpoint regarding British security due to the UK's sovereignty connected to Jo Cox's murder as a cause of the immigrants' invasion. The two articles delivered in the virtual space internet include 14.9k shares. If the first article reflects a concern from a macro viewpoint, the second one stresses the factor from a micro perspective.

The *Daily Mail's* articles open through rhetorical headlines used as hooks to get readers' attention and raise their curiosity about the topic. The summary of the first article outlines the sovereign factor in a catchy style aligned to the new type of readers that involves short information to be read fast, mainly on social media. The genre of the first article mirrors the journalist's stance and major concerns informing the reader in a persuasive style aiming at the results of the referendum. He appeals subtly to the historical viewpoint that France and Germany are old foes. The opinion genre emphasises an attack against the government, which supports the EU using the popularity of an unfortunate event as evidence.

The context category (10.91%, see Figure 3) stands for significant concerns of the journalists and, consequently, for the readers from which indirectly the effect hits the result of the EU referendum amplifying hate against social actors as the Remain camp and EU's countries such as France and Germany. This factor emphasises journalists' credibility expressed through social actors' authority and verbal reaction categories (18.18%). A few social situations of this category are an MP deleting messages as an act of making quick and bad decisions and Cox's statement for staying in the EU as subtle manipulation of electors.

The information presented through the evaluation category (45.45%) links to the Remain camp; the journalist discredits them, appealing to a description with irony from which the electors are directed to draw wrong conclusions. This category should evaluate objectively, but journalists' viewpoints involve a subjective connotation as a persuasive measure. Besides, the expectation category (10.91%) outlines a high degree of credibility and sincerity that stresses the journalists as freedom fighters. In the end, the expectation category overlapping with the

evaluation strengthens the electors' pretended rationality and gives false hopes through supportive instructions.

Conclusions

The study of *Daily Mail's* articles has aimed to add a helpful, relevant, and required apprehension in critical discourse analysis strategies to highlight the complex and persuasive media discourse. This study has attempted to combine different strategies that belong to various scholars to analyse the text and genre used to convince the electors for a favourable Brexit vote. The analysis and interpretation of the Brexit campaign provide a body of knowledge regarding the strategies of valuable CDA for critics' and readers' relevant analysis and interpretation of a newspaper stance and its articles. I have engaged the study limits in the pertinent analysis of ten articles from *the Daily Mail* during the EU referendum campaign.

The data from the analysis of articles I have done is in *Daily Mail's* online archive. I checked the credibility of the information appealing to other newspapers like the *Sun*, *Guardian*, *Daily Express*, and *Independent*. The data from these ten articles during the EU referendum helped me provide a pertinent analysis as I have embedded it in the historical background of this topic and interpreted it according to critical discourse analysis strategies. *Daily Mail* chooses to amplify a wide range of discursive strategies that raise tensions to legitimise its practices. I did not appeal to the articles from the EU newspapers which involve EU social actors' points of view. However, I have omitted the analysis of the EU side because I focused on the British perspective and populist movement that stalk this liberal country. In other words, the information encapsulated in macro-categories and the rhetorical structures of genres could belong to a past social context that does not account for a specific order. Moreover, the rhetorical structures of journalistic genres do not superpose with a particular category type, do not respect the order of the genre entirely, and do not encapsulate specific lexis within a particular type of genre. Additionally, I could state that certain macrostructures and speech acts, even if they involve a specific theory of meaning, the readers could interpret them differently when it involves a different culture and ideology.

The mentions and interpretations of the past in the newspaper's contents recontextualise the British's glorious history amplifying a negative connotation in which, generally speaking, the pro-Europeans are traitors. The advice and warnings subtly propose a new reform of politics

getting credibility through political figures used as authorities that highlight a positive British representation. The newspaper has recourse to the lack of transparency in the language by shortening the phrases and information. Besides, it catches the readers' attention and covers the real intentions and beliefs of the institution or journalist that uses it. Journalist appeals to a linguistic style that reflects an informal language that mixes colloquial style when addressed to readers and the contrary to others, resorting to irony and offensive words.

The *Daily Mail* represents the authority that disseminates wrong information and influences electors. Thus, not everybody has the power of credibility, as this newspaper and its social actors are involved in the persuasive process. The reader should not omit who represents the pro-Brexit authority in the EU referendum: certain British media, members of parliament with conservative beliefs, and possibly a majority of white people who is afraid they will be in the minority. They belong to the middle class, and possible that almost all are Christians. Hence, they attack the pretended left ideas and the other people who are not like themselves with foreign citizenship, different ethnicities and religions. Moreover, these people are in the minority, possibly lower-class people. Even if the populist politicians and journalists pretend to reject a racist perspective, they support it clearly by legitimising their decisions.

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