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**Qualitative critical analysis of media discourse
around Brexit**

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**Qualitative critical analysis of media discourse
around Brexit**

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Prohlašuji, že jsem práci zpracoval(a) samostatně a použil(a) jen
uvedených pramenů a literatury.

Plzeň, 2020.....

I would especially like to thank my supervisor PhDr. Alice Tihelková Ph.D. for her valuable advice and factual comments that helped me complete this bachelor thesis.

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1. Introduction

The Bachelor thesis is concerned with the topic of Brexit. The blending of “Britain” and “exit,” refers to the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European Union. This all is happening at the present time of the decision of the voters in the referendum held on 23rd of June in 2016.

This work deals with the importance of the British press and its impacts on the British society. It is generally presupposed that the press which is focused on right-wing voters is mostly eurosceptical in its opinions, which resemble the opinions of Conservative party. On the other hand, the press which is focused on left-wing voters, is assumed to support Britain’s staying in the European Union.¹ This thesis seeks to examine whether this presupposition is valid, using a corpus of newspaper articles from both the right-leaning and the left- leaning papers.

In addition to quality press, the corpus also includes articles from tabloid press, which is popular among working-class readers due to its crime reporting and illustrations, which make it attractive to approach and due to its small size, which makes it effortless to carry. Tabloids usually tend to be sensational, writing about items such as gossip about celebrities. However, there are also tabloids that distribute serious information. On the other hand, broadsheets are supposed to provide readers with more in-depth coverage of serious topics.²³

The thesis is divided into a theoretical and a practical part. The theoretical part is divided into three main chapters. The first chapter will provide information about Great Britain and its EU

¹Greenslade, Roy. “Does Britain's Rightwing Press Really Want to Bring about Brexit?” The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, February 8, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/media/greenslade/2016/feb/08/does-britains-rightwing-press-really-want-to-bring-about-brexit>.

²Rogers, Tony. “Differences Between Broadsheet and Tabloid Newspapers.” ThoughtCo. ThoughtCo, January 28, 2020. <https://www.thoughtco.com/broadsheet-and-tabloid-newspapers-2074248>.

³OAKLAND, John. British Civilization: an Introduction. London: Routledge, 1998, 275.

membership: when Britain joined the European Union, under what conditions and why its membership has always been problematic.

The second chapter presents basic facts about the factors which led to the European Union withdrawal referendum, such as British euroscepticism, high cost of the membership, immigration or fears about British sovereignty.

The third chapter incorporates an overview of the British press. For the purpose of this bachelor thesis, there will be explained the difference between broadsheets and tabloids and also information about ownership and political orientation within selected newspapers and magazines, which are: *The Guardian, Mirror, Daily Mail, The Daily Telegraph, The Sun and Spiked*.

The practical part contains an analysis of selected British media. In this part, the media mentioned above and their articles concerned with the topic of the Brexit and its possible impact are analysed. The aim of this bachelor thesis is to compare these media and point out which media are supporters of the Brexit and which media are clearly against it, based on the information collected from the articles of each newspaper. The practical part is divided by the individual periodicals, where in each article of particular periodicals there was sought a common theme the way Brexit was presented in selected media, especially with emphasis on selected rhetorical turns aiming on different parts of society, whether Brexit was perceived as a threat and for what reason or if it was mentioned as a positive thing that would be beneficial for Britain. The selection criterion was primarily the availability of articles from selected media.

Due to topicality of this matter, a large amount of printed sources referring to the Brexit does not exist yet. As noticeably useful have shown me to be the Internet sources, these are online versions of British printed newspapers or trusted online magazines.

The timeline of events starting with the referendum is presented in the first Appendix, together with a more in-depth explanation of what happened. In addition, the second Appendix refers to the political system of Great Britain.

2. Theoretical part

2.1. Great Britain as a member of European Union

The first idea for the formation of what later became the European Union appeared after 1945 after World War Two, for the purpose of European integration in order to prevent its countries from harming each other as they had done in the war and to enable them to prosper instead.⁴

Since the beginning of European integration, the United Kingdom preferred cooperation based on an intergovernmental principle to maintain its sovereignty. Efforts to create a political union were not seen as desirable by the United Kingdom. Instead, the United Kingdom preferred cooperation with the individual countries especially in the economic field. This was the reason why Great Britain decided to focus on relations with Commonwealth and The United States of America than with Europe. The majority of the society saw Great Britain that time as a global power and integration into Europe did not appear to them as a project worth undertaking.⁵

In the year 1951, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was founded in order to introduce joint coal mining and steel production. Great Britain showed willingness to negotiate membership in the community, but in the end decided to refuse to join. In addition, later in 1957, it rejected an invitation to join the six founding nations (Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg) of the European Economic Community in signing the Treaty of Rome.⁶

During the 1960s, British politicians questioned the British position in the world. It is necessary to consider what change Britain has undergone since the end of the war - a devastated country using the ration system in the post-war years and giving up its advantage in the overseas territory.

⁴Wilson, Sam. "Britain and the EU: A Long and Rocky Relationship." BBC News. BBC, April 1, 2014. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26515129>.

⁵Says., Alan Ashton. "How Did We Get Here? A Brief History of Britain's Membership of the EU." European Futures, April 7, 2018. <https://www.europeanfutures.ed.ac.uk/how-did-we-get-here-a-brief-history-of-britains-membership-of-the-eu/>.

⁶Wilson, Sam. "Britain and the EU: A Long and Rocky Relationship." BBC News. BBC, April 1, 2014. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26515129>.

Seeing the huge economic growth in the countries of the European Economic Community, the government changed its mind and in 1961 applied to be a member of the EEC. This time Britain did not succeed primarily due to a veto vote of France, led by President Charles de Gaulle. In addition, the same result occurred in the second attempt in the year 1967.

Finally, Britain managed to become a member of European Economic Community on 1 January 1973, under the Conservative government of Edward Heath who lost his power shortly afterwards. When the Heat government ended in 1974, the Labour Party came into power. At that time, Labour was struggling with a split in the member's opinion in European integration. To hold his party together, the new prime minister, Harold Wilson, made a twofold promise: he would renegotiate the terms of membership, then put them to the people in a referendum.⁷ The membership was supported with 67% of votes.

However, Britain still tended to euroscepticism and had issues with EEC budget. In the year 1992 with the Maastricht Treaty, the European Union was established. Great Britain stayed as a member despite refusing the single currency (the euro).⁸⁹

Euroscepticism has a long history in Britain. Already after World War II, Winston Churchill had a vision of an integrated Europe. However, he saw France and Germany as the main countries that must lead the unification, which the subsequent British governments did not like. In 1961, the Conservative Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, applied for membership of the European Economic Community. At this time, Labour party was considerably eurosceptic. Hugh Gaitskell even said that joining federal Europe would be "the end of Britain as an independent European state, the end of a thousand years of history". The request was vetoed by France for ten years. However, in 1973 Britain became a member. In 1974, with the permission of Prime Minister Harold Wilson, people were again asked about membership after renegotiating the terms. The

⁷"Britain Decides: the First European Referendum." HistoryExtra, November 7, 2019. <https://www.historyextra.com/period/modern/britain-decides-the-first-european-referendum/>.

⁸Wilson, Sam. "Britain and the EU: A Long and Rocky Relationship." BBC News. BBC, April 1, 2014. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26515129>.

⁹Says., Alan Ashton. "How Did We Get Here? A Brief History of Britain's Membership of the EU." European Futures, April 7, 2018. <https://www.europeanfutures.ed.ac.uk/how-did-we-get-here-a-brief-history-of-britains-membership-of-the-eu/>.

campaign was led by a eurosceptic cabinet, with Michael Foot and Tony Benn in charge. After counting the votes, Britain remains a member with 67% of the vote. However, eurosceptic views that the integration project was replaced by Franco-German ambitions remain, which subsequently resulted in the fall of Margaret Thatcher. Afterwards, on 16 September 1992, when John Major's government had to withdraw the pound from exchange rates, which resulted in an even greater impact on MPs' views on the European Union.¹⁰¹¹

The whole issue of euroscepticism escalated during years. In addition Conservative party was facing a huge threat of losing next elections, in which case big amount of its voters would leave to the rival party of Nigel Farage – UKIP. As a result, David Cameron from the Conservative party took advantage of current mood in the country in order to solve the threat ahead of him, when he promised to announce an in/out European Union referendum in 2007, if he would be elected as a Prime minister. As he promised, things have happened and on 31. January 2020 Great Britain left the European Union.¹²¹³

¹⁰Helm, Toby. “British Euroscepticism: a Brief History.” The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, February 7, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/feb/07/british-euroscepticism-a-brief-history>.

¹¹Stafford, Chris. “The Road to Brexit: How Euroscepticism Tore the Conservative Party Apart from Within.” The Conversation, November 19, 2019. <https://theconversation.com/the-road-to-brexit-how-euroscepticism-tore-the-conservative-party-apart-from-within-108846>.

¹²Denis Macshane, *Brexit: How Britain left Europe* (London: I.B.Tauris& Co., 2016), 114

¹³John Rentoul @JohnRentoul. “Brexit Didn't Come from a Campaign of Lies.” The Independent. Independent Digital News and Media, November 11, 2016. <https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/brexit-david-cameron-didn-t-make-a-mistake-in-promising-an-eu-referendum-a7409006.html>.

2.2. Which factors decided the result of the referendum?

On June 23, 2016, a referendum was held in the UK on leaving the EU with 72.2% of eligible voters. The British with a 51.9% majority (17.2 million votes) were in favor of leaving the EU. Despite the fact that the outcome of the referendum is not legally binding, the UK government decided, in accordance with the outcome of the referendum, to announce its intention to withdraw from the EU on 29 March 2017. The decision of the British people to leave the European Union was influenced by many factors. The main reasons for the outcome of the referendum are the long-standing euroscepticism that was supported by the Conservative Party, United Kingdom Independence Party and also the media, the issue of immigration, fears about British sovereignty and high costs of EU membership.¹⁴¹⁵

2.2.1. Politics of David Cameron and the critical stance of Conservative Party towards the pro-European policy

During the Labour Party rule, the Conservative Party leaders took a very critical stance towards the pro-European Labour Party policy. This is a relatively common example where the two main parliamentary parties contradict each other on European issues, which, of course, could not contribute to greater public support for European integration. In 2005, David Cameron became Conservative Party leader. This new Conservative leader initiated a series of actions in his political career, responding to rising Eurosceptic voices. One example is his well-known promise of in/out referendum on EU.¹⁶In 2013, David Cameron promises in his speech that if he wins

¹⁴“Co Je to ‘Brexit?,” VládaČeskérepubliky online, accessed April 16, 2020, <https://www.vlada.cz/cz/evropske-zalezitosti/brexit/casto-kladene-dotazy-167933/>.

¹⁵“Brexit: All You Need to Know about the UK Leaving the EU,” BBC News online. BBC, February 17, 2020. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887>.

¹⁶Denis Macshane, *Brexit: How Britain left Europe* (London: I.B.Tauris& Co., 2016),114,216.

again in the next parliamentary elections, he would let the public vote on staying in the EU. If citizens decided to remain in the European Union, Cameron would require reform and the return of some powers back into British hands.¹⁷

2.2.2. Euroscepticism and the United Kingdom Independence Party

Euroscepticism, which was supported by the public media and the expanding UKIP (United Kingdom Independence Party), is starting to grow in Britain. UKIP was founded in 1993 and its goal is detaching Great Britain from the European Union. Eurosceptic UKIP was growing stronger and it became increasingly apparent that Conservative Party voters were switching to UKIP. In 2014, this party even surpassed the Conservative Party in the European Parliament elections and finished first. This was mainly due to the aversion towards European Union and calls for immigration restrictions.

2.2.3. Immigration

In 2010, a series of protests, demonstrations, rebellions and civil war in the Middle East and North Africa have caused a new and huge wave of immigration in Europe. Not only the British government, but also the EU itself has failed in the reception of these immigrants or refugees in the eyes of many voters. The concerns over immigration were reinforced as a result of a series of terrorist attacks taking place not only in the UK but also in Europe's cities. This provoked fear and strong emotions that greatly influenced the results of the referendum.¹⁸

¹⁷“EU a Velká Británie: Historie vztahů a cesta k referendu,” Euroactiv online, 2016, April 16, 2020, <https://euractiv.cz/section/aktualne-v-eu/linksdossier/eu-a-velka-britaniehistorie-vztahu-a-cesta-k-referendu-000142/>.

¹⁸Steve Corbett, “The Social Consequences of Brexit for the UK and Europe: Euroscepticism, Populism, Nationalism, and Societal Division,” *The International Journal of Social Quality* 6, no. 1 (January 2016), <https://doi.org/10.3167/ijsq.2016.060102>.

On the other hand, the British generally did not like the arrival of European migrants either. In May 2004, the European Union was enlarged by another ten states from Central and Eastern Europe. Britain expected a sharp increase in the arrival of new migrants, however, the real numbers were up to twenty times higher than expected.¹⁹ The EU guarantees free movement throughout its member states to all its citizens so they can either travel freely or decide to move or work permanently in another state. Following the financial crisis in 2008, the United Kingdom experienced a strong influx of workers from all over Europe (mainly citizens from Lithuania, Italy, Poland and Romania). According to some, migrants are willing to work at a lower wage and therefore the British are losing their jobs.²⁰²¹

Immigration was one of the key themes of the referendum, which affected not only the UK but all of Europe. The argument that Britain cannot influence the number of migrants that will enter the country if Britain continues to be a member of the EU has mainly influenced lower-income voters. EU opponents have raised questions about how migrants have influenced British society over the last decade and what can happen in the coming years if their influx does not cease.²²²³

2.2.4. Fears about British sovereignty

According to some, such as the British Minister of Justice Michael Gove, the EU is losing importance and moving in a dangerous direction. It is gradually withdrawing national powers and

¹⁹Consterdine, Erica. "The Huge Political Cost of Blair's Decision to Allow Eastern European Migrants Unfettered Access to Britain." *The Conversation*, March 10, 2020. <https://theconversation.com/the-huge-political-cost-of-blairs-decision-to-allow-eastern-european-migrants-unfettered-access-to-britain-66077>.

²⁰Timothy Lee, "Brexit: the 7 most important arguments for Britain to leave the EU," *Vox online*, 2016, Accessed April 15, 2020. <https://www.vox.com/2016/6/22/11992106/brexit-arguments>.

²¹Steve Corbett, "The Social Consequences of Brexit for the UK and Europe: Euroscepticism, Populism, Nationalism, and Societal Division," *The International Journal of Social Quality* 6, no. 1 (January 2016), <https://doi.org/10.3167/ijsq.2016.060102>.

²²Denis Macshane, *Brexit: How Britain left Europe* (London: I.B.Tauris & Co., 2016), 114, 216.

²³Andrew Glencross, *Why the UK voted for Brexit: David Cameron's great miscalculation*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK., 2016), 15.

interfering with their economies, in favor of Brussels. The UK is, according to critics, able to maintain its economic position without the EU and its regulations. Michael Gove sees the EU as an organization that, according to his own words, prevents the UK from making critical decisions for itself. Furthermore, Boris Johnson, a former mayor of London, claims that EU membership is even contrary to parliamentary sovereignty. It also makes strong statements that the EU is moving towards the same goal as Hitler, to create a European super continent.²⁴ According to him, despite the threats that Brexit entails, regaining control of the country is of paramount importance.²⁵

2.2.5. High costs of EU membership

High membership fees to the European Union were another reason that convinced some British to leave. In fact, the UK was the third largest payer to the EU budget (19 billion in 2016). The UK contributed even more than it received from the Union. Brexit advocates believed that a better solution is to keep all the money and let Parliament decide on their use.²⁶

²⁴Ross, Tim. "Boris Johnson: The EU Wants a Superstate, Just as Hitler Did." The Telegraph. Telegraph Media Group, May 14, 2016. https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/14/boris-johnson-the-eu-wants-a-superstate-just-as-hitler-did/?fbclid=IwAR1MZx32Y8O2w0L4Q9YeVN1fLGfPZt5NG9NCS8eP4Uu0w_8gJWURcbcIjI.

²⁵"Long Read: Why Britain Really Voted to Leave the European Union," University of Essex online, accessed April 16, 2020, <https://www.essex.ac.uk/research/showcase/long-read-why-britain-really-voted-to-leave-the-european-union>.

²⁶KateřinaHejdová, "Historie, Identita, Ale iStrach a Peníze. 8 Důvodů, PročBritovéVolili v Referendu Brexit," Forum24 online, June 24, 2016, <https://www.forum24.cz/historie-identita-ale-i-strach-a-penize-8-duvodu-proc-britove-volili-v-referendu-brex-it/>.

2.3. The British Press

Print media began to develop in Britain from the eighteenth century. Initially, these media faced several problems: illiteracy, poor traffic, censorship restrictions. However, with the growing literacy across the country after 1870, a much larger market began to emerge in this area. This led to the popularization of print media, which have so far focused mainly on the middle and upper class. With the growing demand for print media, owners gradually began to realize what social and political influence they could achieve in this direction.²⁷

The British press can be categorized according to the quality of the information it provides, the format and also the popularity. Another criterion divides press into regional and national groups.

2.3.1. Broadsheets

Broadsheets represent a quality source of information in the print media. They provide detailed information on national and international news and analyze current events and ideas in newsrooms and articles. They have a large-sheet format and are therefore larger and also more expensive than tabloids.²⁸

The Guardian was founded in 1821 as *The Manchester Guardian*. It represents the British national daily newspaper and is written in the Berlin format. The fact that the medium is left-wing focused was later the reason for the use of the "Guardian Reader" epithet, which refers to a section of society with liberal and left-wing views. *The Guardian* falls under *The Manchester*

²⁷OAKLAND, John. *British Civilization: an Introduction*. London: Routledge, 1998, 270,271.

²⁸OAKLAND, John. *British Civilization: an Introduction*. London: Routledge, 1998, 275.

Guardian, which is owned by Scott Trust, same as its sister newspapers *The Observer* and *The Guardian Weekly*.²⁹

The Daily Telegraph, another broadsheet representative, which was launched in 1855 and is owned by David and Frederick Barclay. The medium holds traditionalist, centre-right political orientation. Furthermore it supports the Conservative Party in UK elections. *The Daily Telegraph* holds its position of the best-selling broadsheet in Britain. Besides classic newspaper, they decided to inaugurate Europe's first daily web-based newspaper in 1994.³⁰

2.3.2. Tabloids

As was mentioned in the introduction, tabloids attract attention mostly of lower working class of readers. Tabloids tend to provide crime reporting and condensed stories, which are easily consumed by everyday readers. However, with time tabloids have made progress and nowadays provide politics as well. The small size which allows them to carry without any effort, together with attractive approach and eye – catching headlines, tabloids stand a popular position of printed media among people.³¹

The first tabloid in this bachelor's thesis, *Mirror*, belongs to the "red top" newspaper and was founded in 1903. Its current owner is the Trinity Mirror Group. The newspaper tends to be left – wing oriented. On 4 May 2010, *Mirror* published an illustration of Conservative Leader David Cameron with a giant red cross through his face together with the headline read "How to stop him". Thus it is no surprise that the medium permanently supports Labour Party.³²³³

²⁹“Broadsheets.” Paperboy Online Newspaper Directory. Accessed May 4, 2020. <https://www.thepaperboy.com/uk/uk-newspaper-guide.cfm>.

³⁰“Broadsheets.” Paperboy Online Newspaper Directory. Accessed May 4, 2020. <https://www.thepaperboy.com/uk/uk-newspaper-guide.cfm>.

³¹Rogers, Tony. “Differences Between Broadsheet and Tabloid Newspapers.” ThoughtCo. ThoughtCo, January 28, 2020. <https://www.thoughtco.com/broadsheet-and-tabloid-newspapers-2074248>.

³²Broadsheets.” Paperboy Online Newspaper Directory. Accessed May 5, 2020. <https://www.thepaperboy.com/uk/uk-newspaper-guide.cfm>.

³³OAKLAND, John. *British Civilization: an Introduction*. London: Routledge, 1998, 272

The Sun, another "red top" tabloid is considered to be the biggest-selling newspaper in the United Kingdom. The right-wing oriented newspaper was established in 1964 and belongs to News Group Newspapers with owner Rupert Murdoch. Supporting the Conservative Party, The Sun used its influence on sixth May 2010 to make people to vote for David Cameron for the purpose of saving Britain from "disaster".³⁴

The second biggest-selling daily newspaper, *Daily Mail*, was launched in 1896 for the first time. The Right-Wing oriented, Pro-Conservative and Eurosceptic newspaper comes under the *Dail Mail* and General Trust plc. *Daily Mail* supports the Conservative Party. Due to its conservatively biased headlines, it is often called as the "Daily Fail".³⁵

The corpus also includes the British online magazine *Spiked*. Created in 2000 and edited by the social commentator Brendan O'Neill, it focuses on politics, culture and society. Its orientation can be described as libertarian and it focuses on issues of freedom and state control, science, technology, education and culture. Some of its contributors (such as the sociologist Frank Furedi) come from the British academia.³⁶

³⁴“Broadsheets.” Paperboy Online Newspaper Directory. Accessed May 5, 2020. <https://www.thepaperboy.com/uk/uk-newspaper-guide.cfm>.

³⁵“Broadsheets.” Paperboy Online Newspaper Directory. Accessed May 5, 2020. <https://www.thepaperboy.com/uk/uk-newspaper-guide.cfm>.

³⁶“Spiked.” Powerbase. Accessed May 6, 2020. <https://powerbase.info/index.php/Spiked>.

3. Practical part

3.1. British press and Brexit campaign

The British press has a very specific role in the relationship between British people and their government. There has always been a very strong demand for the independence of the press, so the British citizens could be receiving the correct and objective information. However, the press also formed the opinion of the people, both before and after the referendum. The absolute independence and objectivity is not possible in journalism, the general focus and preference has been always influenced by the owner.³⁷ According to Brian McNair, Professor of Journalism, Media and Communication at Queensland University of Technology, 80 percent of grown-up Britons read at least one national newspaper on regular basis and 75 percent pays attention to Sunday edition.³⁸

A strong commercial press was created by the possibility of advertising in the United Kingdom. This enables the press to work independently. Although the newspapers have no official connection with political parties, they have the opportunity to sympathize with certain parties and defend a clear political orientation. Seeing the comparatively strong parallel press in Britain, readers buy newspaper depending on their political orientation. The diversity of opinions in the British press is depended on the extent of ownership pluralism and to what extent medium owners decide to take a part on influencing of partiality of their newspapers. The strong link between ownership and partiality has led to concerns about plurality due to the big amount of newspaper ownership in the UK market.³⁹

³⁷OAKLAND, John. *British Civilization: an Introduction*. London: Routledge, 1998, 270,271.

³⁸Press Reference. Accessed May 5, 2020. <http://www.pressreference.com/Sw-Ur/The-United-Kingdom.html>.

³⁹“United Kingdom.” *Media Landscapes*. Accessed May 6, 2020. <https://medialandscapes.org/country/united-kingdom>.

It is obvious that the result of the referendum was strongly influenced by the media presentation of the problems in contemporary British society. Migration, dramatic cuts in public services, labour market offering short-term or part time jobs, and other issues have been a topic for public or private discussions for a long time. Most of the citizens of the British countries keep a high respect for the printed or virtual newspaper, thus the articles about the pros and cons of Brexit had a wide influence. Some people, unfortunately, do not realize how strongly can a specific choice of language and expressions influence their opinion.

Hinde, Programme Director for Journalism and Publishing at London College of Communication, pointed out another characteristic of the British press it is considerably politically engaged. This engagement “goes beyond the traditional opinion pages, where commentators peddle the paper’s editorial line. Over the last couple of decades opinion has increasingly leached into reporting, such that on some issues, many newspapers make little or no pretence of objectivity.”⁴⁰The problem is that the most aggressive commentators are usually on the right of politics. Also those who put all the responsibility for problems of Britain on the shoulders of European Union have a very strong voice. Some of them “proclaim a view of the world that combines revolutionary fervour for free-market, small-government economics with ultraconservative nostalgia for the mono cultural, socially stratified, deferential (and partly imaginary) Britain of the 1940s and 1950s.”⁴¹

⁴⁰Hinde, Simon. “Brexit and the Media.” *Hermès, La Revue*. C.N.R.S. Editions, May 26, 2017. https://www.cairn-int.info/article-E_HERM_077_0080--brexit-and-the-media.htm.

⁴¹Hinde, Simon. “Brexit and the Media.” *Hermès, La Revue*. C.N.R.S. Editions, May 26, 2017. https://www.cairn-int.info/article-E_HERM_077_0080--brexit-and-the-media.htm.

3.2. Analysis of the selected media

3.2.1. The Guardian

This newspaper has shown strong pro-European opinions since the beginning of the Brexit campaign. In 2016, the editors continued to resume the real consequences of the British exit, both in editorials and comments of different authors. While the paper aims at objective journalism, there was a clear bias on the part of the editors in relation to Brexit. To back the line adopted, opinions of various professionals were included. For example, the paper gave space to the former British Prime Minister Tony Blair, a lifelong supporter of the EU. According to Blair, “Leaving the EU means making huge choices between economic security, through membership of the single market and the customs union, and the ending of shared sovereignty, but the Brexiteers continue to live in a fantasy land of denial.”⁴² Many editors agree that “there are flaws in the way that Europe is constituted and led. The EU is a union of nations working together, it is not and never will be a United States of Europe, and so its leadership is bound to depend on the imperfect leadership of all these countries.”⁴³ Pointing out the issues of the citizens, who have been affected by stuck wages, job insecurity no hopes of a fair deal in connection with increasing immigration, the editors showed the importance of solving these problems.⁴⁴

⁴²“Blair, Clegg and Heseltine: Why We Need Another EU Referendum | Tony Blair, Nick Clegg and Michael Heseltine.” The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, October 17, 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/oct/17/we-need-another-eu-referendum-tony-blair-nick-clegg-michael-heseltine>.

⁴³Editorial. “The Guardian View on the EU Referendum: Keep Connected and Inclusive, Not Angry and Isolated | Editorial.” The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, June 20, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/20/the-guardian-view-on-the-eu-referendum-keep-connected-and-inclusive-not-angry-and-isolated>.

⁴⁴Editorial. “The Guardian View on the EU Referendum: Keep Connected and Inclusive, Not Angry and Isolated | Editorial.” The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, June 20, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/20/the-guardian-view-on-the-eu-referendum-keep-connected-and-inclusive-not-angry-and-isolated>.

Nevertheless, the reason why this referendum has taken place lies also in the diversity of the nations within Britain, as editorial staff of the Guardian has noticed.⁴⁵ The fact of Scotland referendum about leaving Britain added further insecurity to the British position in the EU. In their opinion, “there is no crisis in Europe which is so serious that it would be better for the British prime minister to be outside the EU knocking on the door pleading to be heard rather than inside the room sorting things out.”⁴⁶ The results of Britain leaving the EU could be much worse, than the political leaders have told to the citizens, and the political victors of this process would be rightwing Tories, including ruthless plutocrats, who want independence from Brussels in order to restore Britain and make money as they choose. This obvious accusation was made to stress the negativity of political attitudes and lack of the real solutions of the economic and social situation following the Brexit.

The Brexit will have also a major effect on the general understanding of Britain by foreign countries. As stated by Jonathan Freedland in an article called “We Have Woken Up in a Different Country,” “physical geography has not changed, but the psychological geography has. That new view of Britain could percolate through, affecting our creative industries, our tourism and eventually our place in the world.”⁴⁷ For a person with international interests, this could mean decreased level of contacts outside of Britain and fewer possibilities to cooperate on international markets. The authors understand the process of Brexit as a threat which will damage all layers of a shared European culture. Leaving the EU will not enhance Britain’s place in the world, it will destroy the last pieces of a decent cooperation with the nations inside and outside the EU, hardly built after the fall of colonial Britain. This opinion may support the indecisive citizens to vote against the Brexit.

⁴⁵Editorial. “The Guardian View on the EU Referendum: Keep Connected and Inclusive, Not Angry and Isolated | Editorial.” The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, June 20, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/20/the-guardian-view-on-the-eu-referendum-keep-connected-and-inclusive-not-angry-and-isolated>.

⁴⁶Editorial. “The Guardian View on the EU Referendum: Keep Connected and Inclusive, Not Angry and Isolated | Editorial.” The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, June 20, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/20/the-guardian-view-on-the-eu-referendum-keep-connected-and-inclusive-not-angry-and-isolated>.

⁴⁷Freedland, Jonathan. “We Have Woken up in a Different Country | Jonathan Freedland.” The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, June 24, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/24/eu-referendum-britain-different-country>.

Since the announcement of referendum results, the left-leaning media have been consistently criticizing right-leaning politicians. The push of Brexit without having a clear resolution of a better future is something the Guardian journalists find unacceptable. In their opinion, “Mrs May decided, without even consulting her cabinet, to go for an extreme model of Brexit. She sought a mandate for this in a general election and didn’t get one.”⁴⁸ She repeated the opinion, that “Mrs May’s embrace of Brexit realities is inconsistent. On Wednesday she emerged into Downing Street to say there were only three options available for Britain.”⁴⁹ The extreme model should bring the biggest problems, fall of British economy and difficulties in establishing the new international relations with the other European and non-European countries. The responsibility of the chosen manner of Brexit was put solely on the right wing of the right political parties which won the elections in 2015, after 23 years. Many of the strong opinions on the right-wing strategy were made even in editorials of this newspaper, increasing the effect of the message on the readers.

The result of the Brexit referendum did not cause such an economic fall as predicted in the preceding months. The editors of this newspaper have admitted this, and despite keeping their anti-Brexit stance, they published the real economic figures. In an article written by Richard Partington, admission was made that “economists made forecasts for seven of those barometers before their release, and in five cases the outcome was better than expected.”⁵⁰ However, none of the economists possessed any structured document about the plans of political discourse after the 31st of January 2020, when the process of Brexit should finish. Several articles are dedicated to the problem of Northern Ireland and the future of the relations with the Republic of Ireland. Northern Ireland, together with Scotland, could start the active campaign for its own separation, which would further destroy the picture of Britain and its people in the eyes of the other nations.

⁴⁸Editorial. “The Guardian View on Brexit: Now Is the Time to Change Course | Editorial.” The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, March 28, 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/mar/28/the-guardian-view-on-brexit-now-is-the-time-to-change-course>.

⁴⁹Editorial. “The Guardian View on the Tories and Brexit: the Fantasy Is Finished | Editorial.” The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, November 16, 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/nov/16/the-guardian-view-on-the-tories-and-brexit-the-fantasy-is-finished>.

⁵⁰Partington, Richard. “The Brexit Economy: Is the Worst of the 2017 Slowdown over?” The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, November 28, 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2017/nov/28/the-brexit-economy-is-the-worst-of-the-2017-slowdown-over>.

Reporters of this newspaper have been trying to prove that “Brexit is often sold by its most committed supporters on the right as a constitutional version of the economic doctrine of Thatcherism, a clean break with the failed policies of the past”⁵¹, which is an illusion and cannot be taken seriously.

The June article “Britain is now a remain nation. We can halt this rush to Brexit” written by Polly Toynbee included the critical pointing to the acting of the Labour party members: “Labour’s failure to take the strong remain stance that growing numbers of its shadow cabinet, and most members, support leaves an empty chair where Labour should be.”⁵² Polly Toynbee used the expressions like “phoney solutions” or “waffly claim” to show the unbelievable inability to finally agree on the Brexit conditions. But it does not mean the editors possibly agree with the Brexit itself. In this point, they started to use the expressions with the strong emotional context in the headlines, for example: The great British Brexit robbery: how our democracy was hijacked, which can implement even some illegal connections in the background.⁵³

In the Article “The great British Brexit robbery: how our democracy was hijacked” there were pointed out the opinions of different sides, all of them proving the dangers and difficulties connected to the future after Brexit. Carole Cadwallader even loudly pronounced the idea that the whole Brexit process “reveals a critical and gaping hole in the political debate in Britain. Because what is happening in America and what is happening in Britain are entwined. Brexit and Trump are entwined. The Trump administration’s links to Russia and Britain are entwined.”⁵⁴ This suggestion of a possible conspiracy and unexplained connections is further dividing the nation as

⁵¹Editorial. “The Guardian View on Brexit: the Beginning of the End.” The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, December 4, 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/dec/04/the-guardian-view-on-brexit-the-beginning-of-the-end>.

⁵²Toynbee, Polly. “Britain Is Now a Remain Nation. We Can Halt This Rush to Brexit | Polly Toynbee.” The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, June 25, 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/jun/25/britain-remain-brexit-tory-party>.

⁵³Cadwalladr, Carole. “The Great British Brexit Robbery: How Our Democracy Was Hijacked.” The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, May 7, 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2017/may/07/the-great-british-brexit-robbery-hijacked-democracy>.

⁵⁴Cadwalladr, Carole. “The Great British Brexit Robbery: How Our Democracy Was Hijacked.” The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, May 7, 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2017/may/07/the-great-british-brexit-robbery-hijacked-democracy>.

the supporters will possibly try to deny those accusations. There is no positive effect mentioned in the articles.

It can be argued that the Guardian coverage of Brexit is likely to resonate with readers who are cosmopolitan and strongly opposed to the whole process of Brexit. They are generally university educated, they like to look for the small details within the bigger picture, and despite possessing quite a distinct world view, they still look for other pieces of information. The reporters have been trying to show different sides of the everyday outcomes caused by this decision, but it is obvious that they do not have much positive to say. The election of the new Prime Minister has not made any difference to the negative attitude of the editors, as obvious from this year's article by William Keegan called Brexit "is seen as a crisis, not as an opportunity."⁵⁵ With respect of the strong criticism of right-wing politicians, the Guardian can be argued to sell its opinions more to the-left wing readers who have international connections and who feel they need to remain in the EU. Within the Brexit issue, The Guardian is clearly against, its arguments including the single market, economy and cooperation with other nations.

⁵⁵Keegan, William. "Brexit Is a Crisis, Not an Opportunity. But Well See That Too Late | William Keegan." The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, February 9, 2020. <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2020/feb/09/brexit-crisis-not-opportunity-see-that-too-late>.

3.2.2. Mirror

This newspaper is a tabloid whose editors mainly focus on attracting attention of their readers. Historically, its editors were strong supporters of EU existence and the leading part of Great Britain in this union of nations. In months previous to the date of referendum, the paper delivered several articles portraying the dark future outside the EU, citing some general historical facts, such as, “It was post-war economic pressures which forced us to give up an empire we could no longer afford. Now we are contemplating leaving our biggest trading partner, an economic bloc richer than either China or the US.” According to Nigel Nelson, Britain will return back 2000 years ago, the wars over power among nations will start again and there will be no peace in the country.⁵⁶ In contrary to the Guardian, there were very few arguments about the economic state, the focus was put more on the national sovereignty and relations with the other states.

The reporters, who write the articles, focus more on selective information which could have a personal interest to their readers. Their intention is to draw attention by using overrated descriptions. The night of Brexit referendum was “dramatic and nerve-wracking night”, the Scottish citizens voted “overwhelmingly in favour”.⁵⁷ However, the Guardian and other reporters have noticed that there is no real argumentation whether the Brexit should or should not be supported. The Mirror newspaper have been supporting the Labour party more than 70 years and became a fervent cheerleader for Tony Blair’s New Labour, but, as per the Guardian’s view, their “overall coverage was low-key. It did not fight the remain corner with anything like the passion and commitment evident among the pro-leave titles.”⁵⁸ In comparison with the Guardian, the attitude towards Brexit is described in stronger words and more emotional expressions. As

⁵⁶Nelson, Nigel. “@NigelNelson Analyses Our 2,000 Years of 'Complicated' Relations with Europe.” mirror, February 20, 2016. <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/britains-relationship-europe-always-been-7408175>.

⁵⁷Melville, REUTERS/Toby, REUTERS/Issei Kato, and Getty. “Britain Votes for Brexit in Historic EU Referendum That Has Split the Nation.” mirror, December 2, 2016. <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/britain-votes-brexiteu-referendum-8271100>.

⁵⁸Greenslade, Roy. “Why the Daily Mirror Is Having to Tread a Brexit Tightrope | Roy Greenslade.” The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, September 30, 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/media/commentisfree/2018/sep/30/daily-mirror-brexite-tightrope-labour-split-second-eu-vote>.

previously mentioned, while the Guardian keeps the language in a neutral position, Mirror strongly sympathizes with the proclaimed “we”. This pronoun, “we”, stands for the citizens of Britain, with no distinction whether they vote for Brexit or against it. Editors of this newspaper tried to show they identify with the “ordinary people” by including them into a big unified group where all people are potentially endangered by the political decisions.

The certain unfairness of the referendum results was supported by the new Brexit survey held in the end of 2018. These results were presented to support the possibility of the second national referendum. Mirror redactors pointed out the fact that the 50 % of respondents would not vote for the Brexit anymore, and 55 % of people felt they had not received enough relevant information prior to the Brexit referendum in 2016.⁵⁹ The description of the results was written by the editor of Politics in Mirror, however, there have been no further details about the circumstances of the survey, so the relevance is not high. Also, the real impact on the readers is disputable: they are not supported to think about current situation, they are even more convinced about the fair outcome of referendum.

Another characteristic feature of the newspaper is a focus on small things rather than a description of a complex situation, which is a procedure called “episodic framing” in media analysis. During the year 2018, the articles published in Mirror evoked and strengthened the feeling of uncertainty that “holidaymakers have been stocking up on euros as Brexit draws nearer,”⁶⁰ or “flight prices are falling, and it's leaving airlines desperate.”⁶¹ People, already convinced about the wrong course of referendum, have the possibility to see the disaster coming according to the Brexit discussions. There has been no suggestion of any solution within the government, no way of how the nation can find its own identity after the process is finished. The

⁵⁹REUTERS), (Image: and (Image: Guy Bell/REX/Shutterstock). “Huge Survey Finds More than Half of People Now Want a Vote on May's Brexit Deal.” mirror, December 11, 2018. <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/more-half-people-now-want-13716126>.

⁶⁰Shaw, Vicky. “Thousands of Holidaymakers Cashing in on Euros as Brexit Countdown Begins.” mirror, February 18, 2019. <https://www.mirror.co.uk/money/thousands-holidaymakers-cashing-euros-brexit-14013704>.

⁶¹Getty. “Flight Prices to Europe Fall as Low as £9.99 as Brexit Uncertainty Continues.” mirror, March 28, 2019. <https://www.mirror.co.uk/money/flight-prices-europe-fall-low-14152367>.

Guardian reporters have tried to suggest some possible ways of how things could happen, even with the possible loss for Britain. Mirror reporters show only a small piece of the whole picture, pointing out the threat which may be hidden in the political decisions. Instead of showing the opinions or stories of the readers, as it was published in the Guardian, there are shown several polls or survey results which have a disputable validation for the readers.⁶²

This main rhetoric paper is evidently focused on the negative side of Brexit, documenting the process of discussions and political meetings by short sentences, where the expressions are used out of context sometimes. The sentences are used in short columns, not in long articles. Also, the headlines are used for gaining the attention. The expressions used are very implicit: “What on earth happened last night and what happens now?” or „What happens next after Theresa May's deal suffers crushing defeat.“ The aim to shock is done by stressing the unwanted consequences of Brexit, for example „lorries could be stacked on roads leading to Channel ports, supermarket shelves may be emptied and vital medicine supplies might be disrupted, according to worst-case scenarios.“⁶³ These messages might not be published with the aim of creating panic, but some readers may take it as a threat.

In conclusion, this newspaper is usually bought by people who need to receive the news in short and easy understandable sentences. The information is supported by the coloured pictures which are selected to support the strength of the message. It is not completely invalid, but the lack of source quotations and no complexity proves it to be more for non-academic people. The Mirror supports staying in the European Union, showing the advantage of free traveling and price of flying, the negative results of Brexit. In addition, the newspaper points out the uncertainty of what would follow the implementation of Brexit.

⁶²REUTERS), (Image: “Huge Brexit Poll Shows Majority for Leaving EU as Deal Talks Go down to Wire.” mirror, October 16, 2019. <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/huge-brexit-poll-shows-majority-20601556>.

⁶³Hall/epa-Efe/rex, Neil, Darren Staples/POOL/EPA-EFE, and Getty. “What Happens next for Brexit after Theresa May's Deal Suffers Crushing Defeat.” mirror, March 13, 2019. <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/brexit-what-happens-next-after-14125079>.

3.2.3. Daily Mail

This newspaper showed more support to the Leave party, which was pro-Brexit. But, it also mentioned the extreme overspending of funds during the campaign. The main problem was that “the Remainers have failed to articulate a single positive reason for staying in the EU.”⁶⁴ There have been several valued points in the comments, which helped people to make a decision. However, there has not been any specific author assigned to the most of the articles. Also, most of the information given in the articles is not quoted enough for readers to verify the facts.

Paul Dacre, English journalist and the former long-serving editor of the British newspaper the Daily Mail, and his co-operators have made clear that this “paper supports Brexit, with an emphasis on anti-immigration stories.”⁶⁵ As the reporters wrote, one of the main points to leave relied on the financial support of other European countries. Using the fact from the article “Undecided? Read this essential guide giving 20 reasons why you should choose to leave”, Britain paid “far more into the EU budget than it got back — making a net contribution of around £8.5 billion in 2015 (£23 million a day), which is more than we spend on the police service or border controls.”⁶⁶ Another reason lies in the uncontrolled rise of immigrants, which is connected with shortcuts in financing health care and providing a social care to British people.⁶⁷ However, while in 2016, the Daily Mail reporters put forward Brexit as a condition for a better sustainability of health care, two years later the same newspaper warned that the resolution based on a type of deal with the European Union would not have a simple outcome. According to Ben Spencer, Medical correspondent for the Daily Mail, that does not mean a diverse attitude from

⁶⁴Comment, Daily Mail. “Why Britain Could Have a Great Future Outside a Broken EU.” Daily Mail Online. Associated Newspapers, June 22, 2016. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3653385/Lies-greedy-elites-divided-dying-Europe-Britain-great-future-outside-broken-EU.html>.

⁶⁵“Daily Mail Backs Brexit in EU Referendum.” The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, June 21, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/jun/21/daily-mail-backs-brexit-on-eve-referendum>.

⁶⁶Reporter, Daily Mail. “Essential Brexit Guide Giving 20 Reasons Why You Should Choose to Leave EU.” Daily Mail Online. Associated Newspapers, June 22, 2016. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3653526/Undecided-Read-essential-guide-giving-20-reasons-choose-leave.html>.

⁶⁷Reporter, Daily Mail. “Essential Brexit Guide Giving 20 Reasons Why You Should Choose to Leave EU.” Daily Mail Online. Associated Newspapers, June 22, 2016. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3653526/Undecided-Read-essential-guide-giving-20-reasons-choose-leave.html>.

Brexit support, but, by quotation from a leading medical journal, there has been a certain worry that “depletion of the NHS workforce is inevitable, care for UK nationals living in the EU is uncertain, and access to medicines, vaccines, and devices hangs in the balance.”⁶⁸ The worse side of Brexit was shown only after the decision had been made.

The continuity of quite offensive Brexit support of this newspaper was noticed also by other media. Reporters of the Daily Mail created several front pages, with degrading pictures of politicians disagreeing with a hard Brexit. The Independent newspaper has strongly criticised this conduct, stating that “media attacks on those in Parliament or elsewhere who argue against a hard Brexit or who wish for a greater sense of ministerial accountability, are invidious, further inflaming an already polarised situation.”⁶⁹ The situation has reached Parliament and David Cameron requested the dismissal of the chief editor of the Daily Mail.⁷⁰ This did not happen. In the following months, the Daily Mail’s journalists were not afraid to use even the strong words in different connotations, as per their opinion that soft Brexit could kill democracy. The focus was moved from a description of reasons towards blaming different types of influent people for a Brexit delay, with special attention to Theresa May’s negotiations in Brussels.

All these articles were, and still are, fully accompanied with the pictures. The articles from June 2016, showed the campaign for Brexit, together with pictured reasons for voting Yes. Many reporters of Daily Mail hoped for a short fast Brexit. The necessity of further discussion was proof of the inability and inefficiency of their Government. Thus, the reporters came with the controversial campaign, criticised by many other media and journalists, even the politicians. But the short and colourful articles did not change their main ethos. Striking headlines of this newspaper tried to prove their point even in 2018. The editor’s team claimed that “getting a

⁶⁸Ben Spencer Medical Correspondent For The Daily Mail. “Any Form of Brexit Will Hurt the NHS, but a No Deal Will Be Worst, Warns Leading Medical Journal.” Daily Mail Online. Associated Newspapers, February 26, 2019. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6745263/Any-form-Brexit-hurt-NHS-No-Deal-worst-warns-leading-medical-journal.html>.

⁶⁹Will Gore @willjgore. “The Daily Mail’s pro-Brexit Front Page Won’t Do the Damage They Hope It Will.” The Independent. Independent Digital News and Media, December 14, 2017. <https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/daily-mail-brexit-front-page-democracy-parliament-a8110616.html>.

⁷⁰“David Cameron Asked Daily Mail Owner to Sack Paul Dacre over Brexit.” The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, February 1, 2017. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/feb/01/david-cameron-asked-daily-mail-owner-to-sack-paul-dacre-brexit-bbc-newsnight#_=_.

smooth exit from the European Union, doing this in an orderly fashion, is worth tens of billions of pounds to our economy,”⁷¹ and that money could be already invested into the British infrastructure and national investments. Many other articles described the problems which immigrants caused to Britain and the necessity of a full stop to further immigration. This topic showed as a very important, due to the unquoted research in this newspaper.

Characteristic feature of the Daily Mail articles, published in 2018, lies in the cuts of the speeches made by people of different importance. Those cuts were put together to prove the mistakes done by political leaders in reaching Brexit, and very often connected with Theresa May’s actions. Readers did not have the chance to verify any of those cuts as there was no quotation, as to where or when was this speech delivered. The pictures of the politicians accompanied nearly every Brexit article, even if they specifically were not mentioned in the article. The long process of discussions over Brexit deal was showed as a betrayal to British people, who do not wish to get stuck in a “Turkey trap”. Many readers of the newspaper may not understand, what this expression means, but they are sure it is something terrible.

In the end of 2018, the main editor and his team of political commentators published the short article describing the economic situation after Brexit.⁷² The day of Brexit was then set on 31st January 2019, and the economic forecast looked very black. The Daily Mail journalists also added that Government did not agree with this view, pointing out that “since the vote, Leave campaigners have seized on Treasury forecasts produced during the referendum that proved to be wrong.”⁷³ A certain acceptance of the problematic Brexit deal was usually written by a cooperating political commentator, who was signed under the article, while the general response, claiming the necessity of gaining “control of our borders, coastal waters and laws, an end to vast annual payments to Brussels and, ultimately, the power to forge trade deals with the wider

⁷¹Sculthorpe, Tim, and Mailonline. “EU Threatens to Torpedo May's Brexit Deal as She Sweeps into Brussels.” Daily Mail Online. Associated Newspapers, November 21, 2018. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6413195/May-pins-Brexit-hopes-concessions-EU-chief-tea.html>.

⁷²Getty. “It's Official - the Government's Brexit Analysis Has Revealed We'll Be Worse Off.” mirror, November 28, 2018. <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/breaking-brexit-economic-analysis-officially-13656869>.

⁷³Tapsfield, James, and Mailonline. “Every Brexit Option Will Make Britain Poorer, Government Admits.” Daily Mail Online. Associated Newspapers, November 29, 2018. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6437001/Hammond-lashes-dreamers-claim-better-Brexit-deal.html>.

world,”⁷⁴ was usually made by general unnamed commentators. This is also specific for the Daily Mail articles.

As Brexit still did not happen in 2019, the editors of the Daily Mail focused on Theresa May’s unsuccessful discussions in European parliament. The change of Prime Minister’s seat in July 2019, without a proper general election, was seen as a possibility of a faster deal. A specific point was made about the Northern Ireland problematic, which is described quite negatively. Northern Ireland is pictured as an enemy in the British Parliament, slowing the possibility of separation. At the end of 2019, the Daily Mail described the situation as the push from the European Union. Substantial space is given to the actions of new PM Boris Johnson, and his opinions about the future of Britain. Journalists quoted a part of his New Year speech, to support a new beginning as Brexit was set on 31st January 2020. Words of the new PM have found great support in Daily Mail redaction. Their agreed agreed that “leaving will start a new chapter in the history of our country, in which we come together and move forward united, unleashing the enormous potential of the British people.”⁷⁵

The Daily Mail is read mostly by middle class people, who were hit by both the European rules and their break by Brexit. The situation in Great Britain was not optimal, but the situations described in the newspaper showed mostly the worse side of EU membership. The hope put into Brexit was shaken only later, during the three years following the referendum. Daily Mail has admitted some concerns, but they were mainly caused by inefficient government. Readers were not supported in independent thinking; the articles were made with the purpose to support the positive outcomes of Brexit. This media is focused on supporting Yes to Brexit, so the future is based on gaining back freedom for Britain.

⁷⁴Comment, Daily Mail. “DAILY MAIL COMMENT: Britain Will Never Forgive a Brexit Betrayal.” Daily Mail Online. Associated Newspapers, December 5, 2018. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-6461435/DAILY-MAIL-COMMENT-Britain-never-forgive-Brexit-betrayal-vain-arrogant-MPs.html>.

⁷⁵Groves, Jason. “Boris Johnson Is to Urge Britain to 'Turn the Page' on the Divisions Caused by Brexit.” Daily Mail Online. Associated Newspapers, December 31, 2019. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7841413/Boris-Johnson-urge-Britain-turn-page-divisions-caused-Brexit.html>.

3.2.4. The Telegraph

This newspaper does not show such a strong similarity to tabloid media, like the Daily Mail. But their rhetoric is also strongly in favour of Brexit. Before the referendum, there had been several articles supporting the Leavers. Their focus is specifically set on the interest of small and medium businesses which would profit from an independent market. One month before election in the article written by Peter Dominiczak, a letter signed by 300 SME was published in the Telegraph, stating that “it is business - not government - which generates wealth for the Treasury and jobs for our communities. Outside the EU, British business will be free to grow faster, expand into new markets and create more jobs.”⁷⁶ Facts provided in this article tried to look trustworthy and the argumentation tried to be logical. The expressions used are similar like in the previous newspaper. Brexit would mean taking back democracy in Britain when everyone would have a profit from leaving.

The journalists in this newspaper did not hide their identity. Every article has its assigned writer who stated not only the opinion of the sources, but also their own opinion. The support for Leavers is very clear but there was some space given to the verification of this opinion. The problems of Britain in the European Union were also clearly named, but there were no pictures with the leaflets from the Leavers campaign. According to Asa Bennett, in her article “Did Britain Really Vote Brexit to Cut Immigration?,” the importance of solving problems in Britain, for example immigration problems, is accompanied by the discussions and analysis carried out by trusted institutions, for example MigrationWatch.⁷⁷ After the results of the vote, the newspaper published a few articles describing the following reality. There was no lying about the fact that “untying Britain from the old membership is the easy bit. Harder will be agreeing a new trading relationship, establishing what tariffs and other barriers to entry are permitted, and agreeing on obligations such as free movement. Juliet Eysenck mentions in the article “What Happens Now That the UK Has Voted to Leave the EU?” that such a process, EU leaders claim, could take

⁷⁶Dominiczak, Peter. “EU Referendum: More than 300 Business Leaders Back a Brexit.” The Telegraph. Telegraph Media Group, May 15, 2016. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/15/eu-referendum-more-than-300-business-leaders-back-a-brexite/>.

⁷⁷Bennett, Asa. “Did Britain Really Vote Brexit to Cut Immigration? .” The Telegraph. Telegraph Media Group, June 29, 2016. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/06/29/did-britain-really-vote-brexite-to-cut-immigration/>.

another five years.”⁷⁸ A very good move was made advocating the migrants to stay in their own place. The journalists, such as Mark Sweney, working for the Telegraph were reassured that they are still welcome in Britain, as well as other professionals coming from foreign countries.⁷⁹ However, this did not mean Britain should stay open to all incoming immigrants.

This newspaper expressed certain criticism of Boris Johnson before he was elected Prime Minister. According to Barbara Tasch in the article “Boris Johnson Fails to Provide a Concrete Post-Brexit Plan.”, his speech had also some problematic parts, and, despite the strong arguments of Leavers, even Johnson himself “still does not shed much light on how he plans to achieve any of the promises he made during the campaign.”⁸⁰ Readers and supporters had not gained clearer visions for their future than before speech, and certain discrepancies in Mr. Johnson’s speech did not allow, as per Telegraph’s editor opinion, the citizens of Britain to settle down and be satisfied. The settlements would fit more businesses than the ordinary people, especially with the immigration issues.

The Telegraph had also created the poll for its readers in March 2017. It showed that for a part of British citizens is more important to finish Brexit then to stay undivided. Two months later, another poll showed that two third of respondents wanted to continue with Brexit in all circumstances. Journalists in this newspaper clearly explained the differences between hard and soft Brexit in summer 2016, and there was no proof that the respondents still remembered all important information. Also, the authors of the poll results article were not named, but they stated that “when discussing Brexit and its implications in the campaign the electorate is not two pools of voters split almost down the middle 52/48. Instead, it is instead one massive lake made up of

⁷⁸Eysenck, Juliet. “What Happens Now That the UK Has Voted to Leave the EU?” The Telegraph. Telegraph Media Group, January 31, 2018. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/0/britain-votes-to-leave-the-eu-what-happens-now-that-brexit-is-a/>.

⁷⁹Sweney, Mark. “Brexit-Backing Telegraph Tells Its European Staff They Are Still 'Welcome'.” The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, July 15, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/jul/15/brexit-backing-telegraph-tells-its-european-staff-they-are-still-welcome>.

⁸⁰Tasch, Barbara. “Boris Johnson Fails to Provide a Concrete Post-Brexit Plan.” Business Insider. Business Insider, June 27, 2016. <https://www.businessinsider.com/boris-johnson-addresses-the-nation-in-his-telegraph-column-2016-6>.

Leave and Re-Leave voters and one much smaller Remain pond.”⁸¹ This opinion clearly suggested the unity of British nation in the question of Brexit, despite the fact that reality is different.

The long process of the Brexit deal was reflected in the newspaper issues in 2018. The March article showed one surprising fact – many Leave voters lived abroad and voted for Yes even though they did not plan to return. James Rothwell claims in his article “Brexit, One Year to Go: What's the Verdict from Britain's Most Anti-EU Town?” that the reason to vote for Brexit is in all their cases very similar: they no longer recognised their country, “suddenly there were groups of men all over the place not speaking English, and what was worse was they didn’t have any manners.”⁸² Stories of ordinary people are probably more valuable to British citizens than discussions of the politicians.

There was also certain disappointment from the long-term discussions about the conditions of Brexit in those spring and summer articles. Journalists have not blamed solely Theresa May for not reaching an agreement. In the article “Our Brexit Offer to the EU Has Had to Change, Yes – but It Still Fulfills the Vote to Leave.” was a more detailed description of the EU offers, not acceptable by Britain, and several articles included the notice that “no deal risks people’s livelihoods and threatens the Union.”⁸³ This reflected the necessity of keeping good relationships with EU even after Brexit, as Britain would have to trade with them in the future. The articles printed later in 2018 reflected the different attitudes of the four strongest European countries towards the hard and soft versions of Brexit. This analysis could help especially to the Polish minority living in Britain, as their country was trying to discuss also the conditions of Polish expats staying in the UK.

⁸¹Reporters, Telegraph. “New Poll Suggests More than Two Thirds of People 'Now Support Brexit'.” The Telegraph. Telegraph Media Group, May 15, 2017. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/05/15/two-thirds-voters-now-support-brexit/>.

⁸²Rothwell, James. “Brexit, One Year to Go: What's the Verdict from Britain's Most Anti-EU Town?” The Telegraph. Telegraph Media Group, March 28, 2018. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2018/03/28/put-foot-mrs-may-uks-pro-brexit-town-says-pm-must-get-tougher/>.

⁸³May, Theresa. “Our Brexit Offer to the EU Has Had to Change, Yes – but It Still Fulfills the Vote to Leave.” The Telegraph. Telegraph Media Group, July 8, 2018. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2018/07/08/brexit-offer-eu-has-had-change-yes-still-fulfills-vote-leave/>.

As Brexit did not happen in 2019, the editors of the Telegraph also showed a certain disappointment in their articles. As all other media, they also wished to be done soon and fast, but the required conditions were still not created. However, William Hague, writing for Telegraph pointed that the blame should be put on all the other countries or politicians. “There will be more reasons than ever not to listen to each other. In any forthcoming general election or second referendum our great democracy will have entered the age of the angry crowd, the abusive tweet and the violent incident”⁸⁴, reminded one of the co reporters of Telegraph. To prevent this situation, a new PM was elected without the voice of the people. Boris Johnson’s promises of deal securing showed to be unrealistic, but he was able to reach some form of agreement. Telegraph, however, noticed that some problems had not been solved even after signing Brexit deal, and the question of mutual relations between EU and Britain had not been clear. Especially the situation in Northern Ireland has not been completely closed, and the next four years will be critical.

The Telegraph is the type of newspaper which suits the readers who need a deeper insight to the current Brexit situation. The journalists offer articles of a high quality, with visible sources of information and interesting and valuable comments. Authors are not afraid to criticise the way of how Brexit deal is implemented, and they have found the logical and acceptable reasons for this process to be done. They did not mention much of catastrophic scenarios, nor did they agree with an opinion that Brexit is an elite venture. In the article “Brexit Isn't about the Imperial Past. It's about Our Democratic Future.” the journalists wrote that the result “was forced on the elites by the voters,”⁸⁵ which is quite the opposite from the opinion of the Guardian. Some expression may be considered as too strong or a little manipulative, but most of the articles are well written, sometimes are written by two or three authors in order to mention all the important information. However, the ethos of all chosen articles remains strongly supportive of the Leave vote.

⁸⁴Hague, William. “Brexit Is There on the Table. Take It and Run, While There's Still a Chance.” The Telegraph. Telegraph Media Group, March 11, 2019. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2019/03/11/brexit-table-take-run-still-chance/>.

⁸⁵View, Telegraph. “Brexit Isn't about the Imperial Past. It's about Our Democratic Future.” The Telegraph. Telegraph Media Group, January 19, 2019. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/opinion/2019/01/19/brexit-isnt-imperial-past-democratic-future/>.

3.2.5. The Sun

Their Brexit support reached a dangerous level in a moment of publishing the article written by Tom Newton about “Queen backs Brexit.”⁸⁶ None of the newspaper, mentioned in this review, had touched the topic of possible connection between Queen’s opinion and Brexit referendum. As BBC station claimed, the Queen stayed politically neutral, however, the editor of The Sun did not apologise.⁸⁷ The language used in the articles is similar to other tabloids – use of a familiar pronoun “we” to symbolise a united British nation. European Union was seen as an enemy from the beginning of Brexit campaign. The Sun Journalists motivated their readers to vote Leave in the article “A Vote for Brexit Is All It Takes to Set Britain Free.” as only Brexit could “free us from the stranglehold of the EU superstate which, from its modest beginnings 60 years ago, has grown into a monster engulfing our democracy.”⁸⁸ There is no specific author assigned to the most of the articles, but the editor’s team likes playing with word and its meaning. This is shown in a slogan “beLEAVE in Britain” or pictured descriptions how EU drained the sources of wealth from Britain.⁸⁹

However, there were no arguments in the articles printed around the Brexit referendum. The authors mostly repeated already known information and tried to persuade their readers that “staying in EU will be worse for immigration, worse for jobs, worse for wages and worse for our way of life.”⁹⁰ Short but strong expressions, full of emotional aspects of hard life in EU, are easy

⁸⁶Dunn, Tom Newton. “Revealed: Queen Backs Brexit as Alleged EU Bust-up with Ex-Deputy PM Emerges.” The Sun. The Sun, July 28, 2016. <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1078504/revealed-queen-backs-brexite-as-alleged-eu-bust-up-with-ex-deputy-pm-emerges/>.

⁸⁷“The Sun 'Completely Confident' over 'Queen Backs Brexit' Story.” BBC News. BBC, March 10, 2016. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-35770909>.

⁸⁸“A Vote for Brexit Is All It Takes to Set Britain Free.” The Sun. The Sun, July 4, 2016. <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1306294/a-vote-for-brexite-is-all-it-takes-to-set-britain-free/>.

⁸⁹The Sun. “We Urge Our Readers to BeLEAVE in Britain and Vote to Quit the EU on June 23.” The Sun. The Sun, August 4, 2016. <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1277920/we-urge-our-readers-to-believe-in-britain-and-vote-to-leave-the-eu-in-referendum-on-june-23/>.

⁹⁰The Sun. “We Urge Our Readers to BeLEAVE in Britain and Vote to Quit the EU on June 23.” The Sun. The Sun, August 4, 2016. <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1277920/we-urge-our-readers-to-believe-in-britain-and-vote-to-leave-the-eu-in-referendum-on-june-23/>.

to remember. After the results of referendum were announced, this newspaper focused on pushing politicians towards making a fast deal of leaving. There was little interest in presenting deeper studies or opinions of the economists or other professionals.

A characteristic feature of this newspaper consists in the quotations of influential people, regardless of their real opinions. During the general elections in 2017, the Sun reporters came with news from the Parliament. According to Hannah Crouch and her article “It's Been the Issue at the Forefront of the Nation's Minds, but How Will Brexit Affect the General Election?”, without stating the source of this information, the author announced the reason of unsuccessful negotiations: as Theresa May claimed, “anti-Brexit MPs are trying to stop us every step of the way, which is making it harder for us negotiating with Europe.”⁹¹ Similarly, the same logic was used one year later during visit of the US president in Britain. Without any specification there was a part of speech from Donald Trump, given to the Sun journalists in some interview. He “warned Theresa May any attempts to maintain close ties with the EU would make a lucrative US trade deal very unlikely. If they do a deal like that, we would be dealing with the European Union instead of dealing with the UK, so it will probably kill the deal.”⁹² This quotation may sound to the readers as a threat, and the reason of publishing is very obvious – to keep the public united in the aim of leaving EU.

When analysing the headlines themselves, the difference between tabloids and other newspaper was very obvious. The Sun tried to make the headlines very obvious, using strong expressions like “she wrecked it” or “Brexit blast”, so readers already got into a certain mood of opposition even before they started reading the text. As the way towards Brexit showed more and more problems, the editor and his team in The Sun welcomed the new Prime Minister. During the change, The Sun was not in favour of Boris Johnson. In the article “Sajid Tears into Boris & May as He Launches Bid to Become Outsider PM.” written by Steve Clark and Natasha Hawkes, he was even called “yesterday’s news” by another PM candidate, who was also mention in The

⁹¹Crouch, Hannah. “It's Been the Issue at the Forefront of the Nation's Minds, but How Will Brexit Affect the General Election?” The Sun. The Sun, June 8, 2017. <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/3379775/brexit-general-election-2017-conservative-labour-promises/>.

⁹²Editor, Tom Newton DunnPolitical. “I Told May How to Do Brexit but She Wrecked It - US Trade Deal Is off!” The Sun. The Sun, July 13, 2018. <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/6766531/trump-may-brexit-us-deal-off/>.

Sun.⁹³ Journalist in this newspaper also challenged the announced of the new PM Boris Johnson, who was sure the EU will give him a better Brexit deal because his Government will have fresh vigour and conviction. But “BORIS Johnson’s leadership pitch is based on energy and optimism. Fine. What else does he have if his bubble is burst?”⁹⁴, asked the reporters. They were not brave enough to call his cabinet “a house of fools”, like another tabloid did. But, the letters to the EU about postponing Brexit, sent by Boris Johnson, did not receive any understanding response in this newspaper.

In some articles, The Sun reporters tried to reveal shocking information, to prove they know more than they can tell. This information is put in contrast with already know fact. For example, in the article “Boris Johnson Challenges Jeremy Corbyn to Snap Election on December 12 AND Tries to Force His Brexit Deal through First.” written by Alex Hodge and Mark Dathan: “Corbyn insisted he had to wait for the EU to agree to the extension before he backed an election. But the Sun can reveal Labour has already ordered its MPs to abstain from a vote on an election on Monday - effectively blocking one.”⁹⁵ The discussions in the European parliament and among the British politician are interpreted as very intense, while Johnson did not add any further peace and calm attitude.

A tabloid newspaper is suitable for those readers who are satisfied with explicit headlines and small piece of information. Even though the names of the authors are added to the most of the articles, the way of interpretation is very simplified. Most of the texts include the quotations of different politicians without a proper sourcing and lots of pictures with no added value. The readers are not motivated to think about the consequences, they do not need to put different piece of information into a wider context. The main aim of the articles is probably to support of already existing mood of “getting it done” and to create a certain push from the readers towards the

⁹³Clark, Steve HawkesNatasha. “Sajid Tears into Boris & May as He Launches Bid to Become Outsider PM.” The Sun. The Sun, June 12, 2019. <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/9279079/sajid-javid-urges-mps-to-elect-the-leader-of-tomorrow-with-outsider-bid-to-be-next-pm/>.

⁹⁴The Sun. “Boris Says the EU Will Give Him a Better Brexit Deal - but What If He's Wrong?” The Sun. The Sun, June 13, 2019. <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/9283405/boris-johnson-brexit-deal-prime-minister/>.

⁹⁵Hodge, Alex MatthewsMatthewDathanMark. “Boris Johnson Challenges Jeremy Corbyn to Snap Election on December 12 AND Tries to Force His Brexit Deal through First.” The Sun. The Sun, October 25, 2019. <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/brexit/10201234/brexit-news-latest-election-boris-johnson/>.

British politicians. The Sun mentions democratic process of the EU and argued against the accountability and legitimacy of the EU.

3.2.6. Spiked

A special type of journalism is shown in the online medium called Spiked. The writers claim they try to implement more freedom and humanism into their writing, in order to reveal the true reasons behind the political acts. Their articles are always signed and many of them include the opinions of their authors. They also use the pronoun “we”, but in a different connotation. In the Article “Why the Left Should Be Cheering Brexit.” from Paul Embery, trade unionist and author at Spiked, In the sentence “but, for us, Brexit wasn’t just about restoring democracy and self-government, important though those principles are”⁹⁶, the pronoun represents the people in the redaction or the people of the same opinion, not all the people of Britain. The assigned author tried not only to show the situation around Brexit, but also to implement certain questions about the situation after. Finding the answers was done logically, so the readers could follow and express their own opinion, either agreement or disagreement.

It cannot be said if the ethos of this media was more in favour of Brexit or against it. Its journalists let the readers to decide for themselves. Their work was focused on receiving different opinions from various people, mainly writers, philosophers, sociologists and other professionals, such as Steve Roberts, Phil Mullan, Robert Colls. The published articles, such as “After Brexit, What next?” where they expressed their views of continuing situation and opinions about the problems of Brexit and future without EU.⁹⁷ Some of the journalists followed the results of referendum and explicitly wrote that now it is important to fulfil the wish of British people. But it was written with strong emotions or accusations of British politics. “Three years after we voted in our millions to leave the EU, still we’re expected to behave like citizens of the EU. That’s because they really do think they own us.” According to Brennan O’Neill, editor of Spiked and his article “If You Believe in Democracy, Then Vote for the Brexit Party.” The Brussels

⁹⁶Embery, Paul. “Why the Left Should Be Cheering Brexit.” spiked Why the left should be cheering Brexit Comments. Accessed May 12, 2020. <https://www.spiked-online.com/2017/07/07/why-the-left-should-be-cheering-brexit/>.

⁹⁷Authors, Various. “After Brexit, What next?” spiked After Brexit what next Comments. Accessed May 12, 2020. <https://www.spiked-online.com/2016/07/28/after-brexit-what-next/>.

oligarchy really does believe that our democratic vote against it,”⁹⁸ noted the editor of Spiked in 2019. The rhetoric shifted from a mild expressing of opinions to the stronger fight against the machinery of European parliament. The reasons for a change are, however, supported by the facts coming from the situation in politics.

This media or platform is useful to the open minded people who are willing to confront their opinion or to create a new one. As this is mainly an internet media, it is probably more used by young people. Publishing different attitudes towards the Brexit attitude, descriptions of potential outcomes and presentations of the well sourced researches allow the readers to create or change their own opinion. If they feel like discussing, they can do so with a specific author. Acceptance of responsibility for the readers’ reactions by creating a space for discussions make this media very different from the newspaper mentioned above.

⁹⁸O'Neill Editor, Brendan. “If You Believe in Democracy, Then Vote for the Brexit Party.” spiked If you believe in democracy then vote for the Brexit Party Comments. Accessed May 12, 2020. <https://www.spiked-online.com/2019/04/22/if-you-believe-in-democracy-then-vote-for-the-brex-it-party/>.

4. Conclusion

Britain has a history of strong-voiced newspapers with a great deal of power. It is not surprising that their attitudes had a major impact on people's decision about Brexit. Media supporting the Remain side in Brexit focused mainly on the positive aspects of the EU membership. However, especially the tabloids focusing on Brexit process were able to wake up the nationalistic moods in the British. Colourful descriptions of EU draining the British sources, allowing uneducated immigrants to steal jobs and forcing British people to obey the rules created in Brussels undoubtedly helped to decide about the referendum outcome. These types of newspaper build their success on the fact of people's lack of time and will to think about Brexit in depth, without emotions and personal negativity.

In general, the Guardian featured many articles and editorials that highlighted positive aspects of the EU, at the same time criticising the overall media behaviour towards the campaigns and often featuring ironic or sarcastic articles to poke fun at positions of the leave campaign. The journalists offered a deeper view into the situation in Europe, and the failing connections between the problems of Britain and its position in EU. But there were no real solutions of these problems in case Britain stays in EU. The Guardian also featured a series "What has the EU ever done for ...?" which highlighted how the EU subsidized radio or television. This newspaper also reminded the British that Brexit will have very hard consequences for everyday life in Britain, something politicians do not want to discuss. However, the arguments for remain were based more on economic statistics.

The Mirror was also very positive about the EU. However, the Mirror used less space on articles that paint a favourable picture of the EU but instead often argued that the EU protects worker's rights and also stressed the advantages of free travel. While the Guardian journalists tried to provide sources of their information, The Mirror tried to create an atmosphere of a necessity to have another referendum. The presented results of outsourced researches showed that the majority of British people would vote differently and the first No outcome was based on a lack of information. Its argumentation is supported by detailed description of negative results of Brexit.

Similarly colourful description of the future is offered by Daily Mail newspaper. This medium is focused on supporting Leave, so the future is based on gaining back freedom for Britain. Some of

the articles are strongly against EU. Their articles included several valuable points but the way of picturing the members of parliament was offensive and negative. Lack of sources and patience during the last three years also added to the suspicion that their main aim is to finish Brexit process in all circumstances.

Another tabloid, The Sun, is considered as the most in favour of leaving the EU. Many of its articles and editorials dealt with the democratic process of the EU and argued against the accountability and legitimacy of the EU. But its journalists were less offensive than in the case of Daily Mirror.

The Telegraph showed certain empathy to the ordinary people. Journalists offered space to their description of changing British society, which was the main reason of emigration and No voting. Similarly, Spiked provided the option for sociologists and other professionals to see the reasons from human point of view. It is not only the economy and politic will, but also a personal need of global change in society. While first two newspaper's editors believe this change could happen within EU, other media see Brexit a necessary condition for this change.

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6. Abstract

The bachelor thesis is called *Qualitative critical analysis of media discourse around Brexit* and its main purpose is to analyse the attitude of selected media within Brexit issue, describe the relationship between Britain and European Union and characterize the British press.

The whole work is divided into theoretical and practical part. The theoretical part has three main chapters. The first chapter provides information about the historical context of Great Britain and the European Union, the second chapter deals with the main factors that led to the referendum of withdrawal from the EU and the third chapter is concerned with the British press. The practical part deals with the analysis of selected British media: *The Guardian, Mirror, Daily Mail, The Daily Telegraph, The Sun and Spiked*.

7. Resumé

Hlavním cílem této práce, která nese název *Qualitative critical analysis of media discourse around Brexit*, je analyzovat postoj vybraných medií v rámci brexitu, popsat vztah velké británie a Evropské Unie a charakterizovat britský tisk.

Celá práce je rozdělená na teoretickou a praktickou část. Teoretická část má tři hlavní kapitoly. První kapitola se věnuje historickému kontextu Velké Británie a Evropské Unie, druhá kapitola pojednává o hlavních faktorech, které vedly k referendu o vystoupení z EU a třetí kapitola se zabývá britským tiskem. Praktická část se zabývá analýzou vybraných britských médií: *The Guardian, Mirror, Daily Mail, The Daily Telegraph, The Sun and Spiked*.

8. Apendices

6.1. Appendix 1 – Chronological timetable of Brexit

UK Votes Leave

23rd June 2016

The UK voted to leave the EU in a referendum. 72.2% of eligible voters took part. 51.9% voted “Leave”, 48.1% voted “Remain”.

Article 50 Activated

29th March 2017

The United Kingdom set off Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty and gained due to this time to negotiate the terms of leaving from the European Union within two years.

Draft Deal Revealed

14th November 2018

The draft Withdrawal Agreement and Political Declaration on the future relationship between the United Kingdom and European Union was published by the Prime Minister Theresa May.

Deal Rejected

15th January 2019

A “meaningful vote” on whether they accept the Withdrawal Deal or not was arranged by the United Kingdom Parliament. The result was rejection by a record margin: 202 votes for and 432 votes against.

Deal Rejected Again

12th March 2019

A second “meaningful vote” on whether to accept the Prime Minister’s Withdrawal Deal & Political Declaration was arranged by Parliament. The result was again rejection by 391 votes against and 242 for.

MPs say No to a No-Deal Brexit

13th March 2019

For the purpose of not leaving the European Union under any circumstances without a deal, Parliament made a voting. Also third voting on whether to accept or not her deal was announced by the Prime minister and was set on date of the 18th March.

MPs vote on Brexit Delay

14th March 2019

MPs voted in favour of requesting an extension to Article 50 negotiations (delaying Brexit day).

EU Leaders Offer Brexit Delay

21st March 2019

An extension to Article 50 negotiations was offered the United Kingdom by the leaders and heads of 27 United Union members. If the Withdrawal Deal would be agreed by the United Kingdom by the 12th April, negotiations would be extended due to passing the necessary legislation. On the other hand, if the United Kingdom did not agree by that date, there would be no further steps towards an agreement with the European Union. There are two primary choices: 1) a significantly longer extension to pursue a new Brexit strategy, involving taking part in European Elections 2) a no-deal Brexit.

UK to Approve Brexit Extension

25th March 2019

The Prime Minister should introduce the European Union's extension proposal to Parliament till 25th March. The House of Commons and the House of Lords will have to pass it before next Friday in order to change the Brexit date, which is currently set in legislation at 11pm on the 29th March.

No Majority on Next Steps

27th March 2019

A range of alternative Brexit possibilities were voted by MPs but none were backed by a majority. The biggest support was noticed in exploring a “Customs Union” with the EU, which was rejected by additional 8 votes. Also a “confirmatory referendum” or “people’s vote” on the final deal was rejected by additional 27 votes.

Prime Minister’s Deal Rejected...again

29th March 2019

Deal of the Prime Minister was denied by MPs by 334 votes to 286.

No Majority on Next Steps...Again

1st April 2019

All alternative plans for Brexit were rejected by MPs. A “customs union” style proposal was rejected by only 3 votes and a “public vote” or second referendum proposal were also refused (by 12 votes). Those were the options with the biggest chance to happen.

Cross Party Talks & Brexit Extension Request

2nd April 2019

A change of Brexit strategy was announced by the Prime Minister. She also appealed to the Labour Party for cross-party talks on making some compromise in Brexit strategy. If a new proposal is agreed, a vote will happen next week ahead of the EU Leaders’ emergency summit. On Friday (5th April) The Prime Minister officially asked for an extension of EU Article 50 negotiations to the 30th June 2019.

Brexit Extension Granted

10th April 2019

The European Union and leaders of United Kingdom agree on a "flexible extension" of negotiations. The United Kingdom should leave the European Union on 31 October (or even earlier if it agrees to the withdrawal deal of the Prime Minister). If the United Kingdom does not take part in the European Parliament elections, it will leave the EU on 1st of June.

New Prime Minister Selected

23rd July 2019

Boris Johnson won the Conservative Party Leadership Contest and is going to be next Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. By this date there are 100 days left before current Brexit deadline, which is set on the 31st of October.

No-Deal Extension Legislation Confirmed

9th September 2019

The queen agreed on a law which forces the Prime Minister to request an extension to Brexit negotiations. Unless a Brexit deal has been agreed by till the 19th October, the Prime minister has to ask for an extension to negotiations to the 31st January. Then it depends only on the European Union whether they decide to accept, decline or put forward another date. The plan is still that the United Kingdom is going to leave the European Union at 11pm on the 31st October.

EU Summit

17th & 18th October 2019

On this date the last major European Union summit ahead of the Brexit deadline on the 31st October took place. Here the new Withdrawal Agreement was agreed by the European Council and it had been renegotiated between the European Union and the United Kingdom. The Prime Minister's task is now to go back to Westminster and secure Parliament's support for the important vote in the issue of Brexit.

Brexit Extension Granted

19th October 2019

The Letwin amendment was approved by the Parliament. Letwin with holds support for the Prime Minister's Brexit deal until the legislation to implement deal (withdrawal Agreement Bill) has been passed. The law in the United Kingdom forced the Prime Minister to send a letter with a request for a three month extension to Article 50, because the Prime Minister was unable make his Brexit deal approved by the parliament by the midnight deadline on the 19th October.

European Union agreed with this requirement and has granted an extension. The United Kingdom is now planned to leave the European Union on the 31st January (or earlier if it agrees to the Prime Minister's withdrawal deal).

UK set for December General Election

29th October 2019

Legislation for a general election on the 12th December has passed through the United Kingdom Parliament.⁹⁹

Result of the General Election

12 December 2019

The Conservative Party gained an 80-seat majority in parliament in general election.¹⁰⁰

Withdrawal of UK

31 January 2020

On this date at 11pm the United Kingdom left European Union due to the deadline, which was set by the Article 50 extension agreed between the United Kingdom and the European Union in October 2019.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹“Brexit Timeline.” Brexit Timeline of Events | Brexit Next Dates | Brexit Key Dates | GBCC. Accessed April 8, 2020. <https://www.greaterbirminghamchambers.com/research-campaigning/brexit-timeline/>.

¹⁰⁰“Election Results 2019: Boris Johnson Returns to Power with Big Majority.” BBC News. BBC, December 13, 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/election-2019-50765773>.

¹⁰¹“Brexit: Johnson Agrees to Brexit Extension - but Urges Election.” BBC News. BBC, October 28, 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-50205603>.

6.2. Appendix 2 – Parliament of Great Britain

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland is a constitutional monarchy. The national power is divided into legislative, executive and judicial power.

The parliament in Britain is considered as the highest legislative authority. It consists of three components; the queen, the House of Lords and the elected House of Commons and each component is formed by different principles. Despite the fact that they meet only in matters of symbolic significance, all components are usually needed to agree on new legislation.

Speciality of Great Britain is that their constitution is not recorded in any written document and instead of that it consists of statute law, common law and conventions. Having no written constitution means that Parliament is able to legislate as it wishes. It can create or transform any law, including the already established convention, which Parliament also can turn into law. Nevertheless Mps are still aware of common law and usually they act according to precedent.

Parliament's main functions include, for example, enacting laws or discussing the main political matters of the day. Another function that cannot be forgotten is examining of government policy and administration, including proposals for expenditure. As a rule, Parliament knows about every important treaty and agreement sooner than it is approved, regardless of the fact that there is no Parliament agreement needed within this issue. It is a royal privilege, to act according to Government advices. A Parliament is in the office for a maximum period of five years. Afterwards the Parliament dissolves, and when the prime minister's council is given to the queen, it issues a general election order. Parliament's ruling period is divided into sessions and each usually lasts one year, starting in October or November.¹⁰²

On the beginning of every session, policies of the Government and its introduced legislative program are sketched out in speech of the Queen. Prorogation finishes every session and this moment closes all parliamentary business irrespective of all not passed bills, which are lost.

¹⁰²Vobr, Ladislav. Great Britain for You: a History of the English People and Their Culture. Ústí nad Labem: Pocket English, 1993.

English Parliament is divided into two Houses, the House of Lords and the House of commons. The House of Lords is made up of Lords Spiritual and Lords Temporal. Lords Spirituals include the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London, Durham and Winchester, and the 21 next most senior diocesan bishops of the Church of England. The Lords Temporal are made up of three stratum – (1) all hereditary peers and peeresses of the United Kingdom, (2) life peers created to assist the House in its judicial duties, as The House of Lords is the final court of appeal for civil and criminal cases in Britain, and (3) all other life peers.

Average number of peers on one sitting is 320. In order to have a conception about attendance, in 1991 the number of members of the House of Lords numbers 1,191.

Based on the advice of the Prime Minister, the Sovereign creates peerages. They are commonly chosen thanks to their service in politics or other sphere of life.

There is no payment for peers, who attend the House. Except for travelling costs, which are covered, peers work in parliament for free. The Lord Chancellor, the head of the House of Lords, sits on the woolsack as ex-officio Speaker of the House. This tradition occurs because the wool was the country's main source of wealth in the past.

Universal adult suffrage elects the House of Commons. 650 MPs belong to this House, where number of women is 44. MPs in this house get salary of 28,970 pounds each year and this office also covers allowance of up to 27,166 pounds. In addition, there can be other benefits, such as: travel allowances, a supplement for London members and provincial members, subsistence allowances as well as allowances for second homes.

The chief officer of the House of Commons is called Speaker. MPs elect him in order to chair the House, even when House of Commons Commission takes responsibility for the administration.¹⁰³

¹⁰³Vobr, Ladislav. Great Britain for You: a History of the English People and Their Culture. Ústí nad Labem: Pocket English, 1993.