

A very English Brexit: A comparative analysis of the immigration debate in the news media of the four UK nations

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Declaration

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of Bachelor of Arts (Honours). This work is substantially my own, and where any part of this work is not my own, I have indicated this by acknowledging the source of that part or those parts of the work.

Abstract

This thesis compares the immigration discourses in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland during Britain's EU referendum. It has been speculated that immigration was influential in the decision to leave the European Union 23 June 2016. The decade prior to the referendum, immigration increased following EU expansion to include central and eastern European states. Migration is concentrated in south-east England with little inward migration to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Using a discourse analysis of 1476 newspaper articles from each UK nation, the thesis finds anti-immigration sentiment disseminated during the campaign to be bound in English experiences and positive experiences specific to individual nations. A sense of possessiveness in British services and culture is linked to contemporary English nationalism, informed by feelings of lost power to devolved governments, the EU and opposition to immigration.

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Abbreviations

European Union – EU

European Economic Area – EEA

European Economic Community – EEC

Global Financial Crisis – GFC

National Health Service – NHS

United Kingdom – UK

Key: ■ Majority leave ■ Majority remain ■ Tie ■ Undeclared

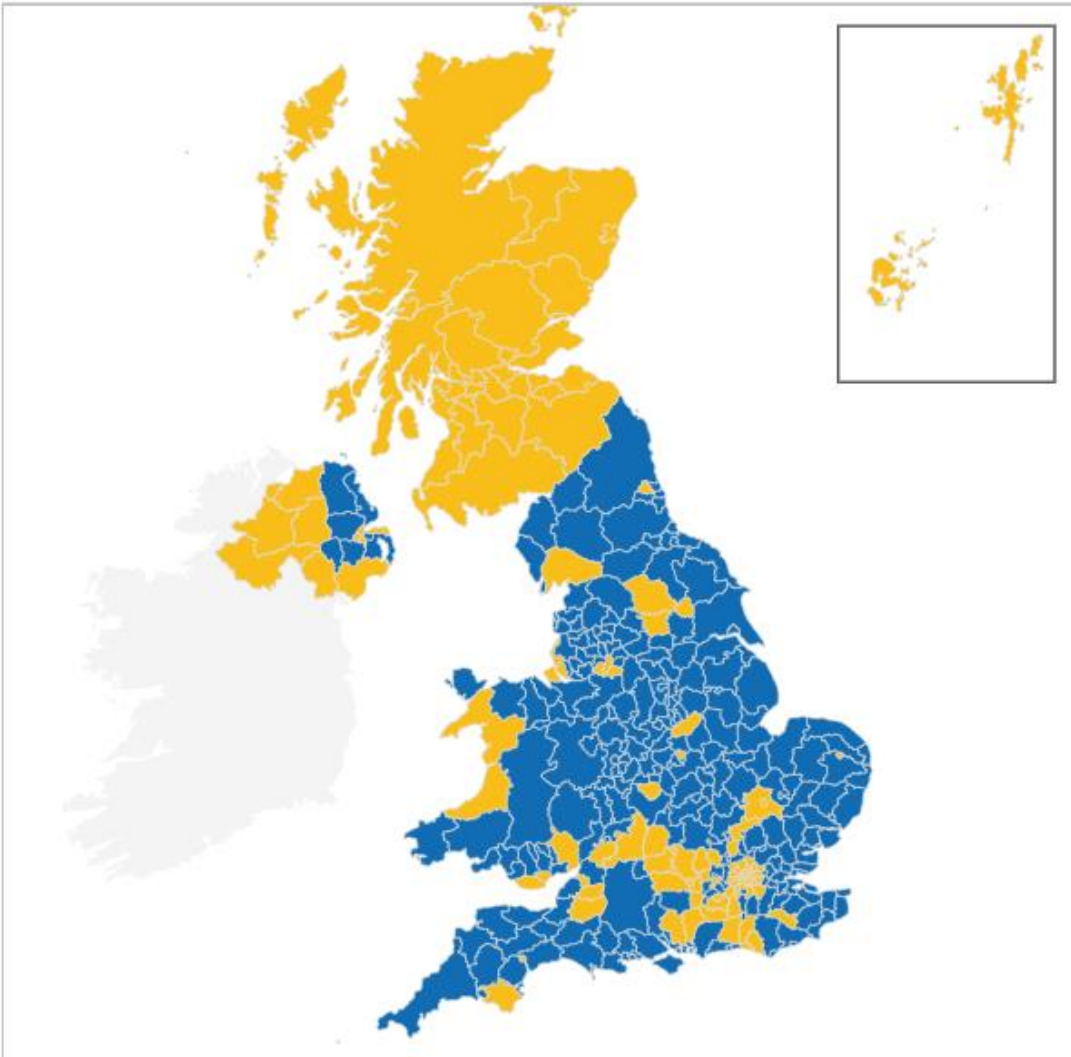


Figure 1 EU referendum Results (BBC 2016b)

Introduction

A 43-year-old relationship was brought to a close when Britain voted to leave the EU 23 June 2016. Nigel Farage claimed it to be Britain's Independence Day as the country got back control of its laws, borders and trade. The result surprised many as polls predicted a nearly evenly divided public, with the undecided expected to vote for the status quo. Instead, Leave's message that the EU was holding back Britain economically, imposing on its sovereignty and forcing upon it mass migration, resonated with the majority of voters as 52% to 48% voted Out. This highly divisive referendum saw fractures run along the major political parties. The Conservatives were split between the pro-EU prime minister David Cameron and prominent Tory, former London Mayor Boris Johnson campaigning for a British exit or Brexit as it was dubbed. Jeremy Corbyn a known Eurosceptic, lead a mostly united Labour party in a meek Remain campaign.

These divisions ran deeper into the structure of the United Kingdom. Scotland was the only unified nation with all constituents voting In with an overall result of 62% to 38%. England had the highest Leave vote 53.4% to 46.6%. The Welsh vote was similar with 52.5% to 47.5% in favour of Leave. Northern Ireland was the only other nation to vote Remain, 56% to 44% (see figure 1).

In the decades before the referendum UK politics became increasingly volatile. The Northern Ireland peace agreement signed in 1998, brought to an end a three-decade conflict between pro-reunification nationalists and pro-British unionists. This was followed by a transfer of Westminster powers to newly devolved governments in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Consequently, nationalism in Scotland rose but in 2014, 55% of Scots voted to remain in the UK in an independence referendum. The accession of ten central and Eastern European countries in 2004 to EU membership resulted in increased immigration. Accumulated with the GFC and Eurozone crisis, Euroscepticism in Britain rose creating an environment suitable to Brexit.

The Remain campaign issued dire warnings about the implications of leaving the EU, while Leave attacked EU foundations as detrimental to Britain. The EU is founded on the four pillars of free movement of: goods, capital, services and labour. With economic warnings benefitting Remain, Leave focused on immigration. Immigration was highly exploitable being named the number one issue in Britain in numerous YouGov polls (Thielemann and Schade 2016, p.139). It was declared out of control despite EU citizens numbering approximately 3 million (Arnorsson and Zoega 2018, p. 4) and non-EU immigration controlled by the government. The victory of Brexit and centrality of immigration to its argument signals public resonance with anti-immigration sentiment.

The UK however, is not a unified block as immigration experiences differ across the country. In 2015, 13.5% of Britain's population was foreign-born. Ninety-two percent of the foreign-born population lived in England, 36.8% in London and 12.8% in the south-east. In contrast, 4.3% of foreign-born people lived in Scotland, 2.2% in Wales and 1.4% in Northern Ireland (Vargas-Silva and Rienzo 2018). Intergroup contact theory and the Halo effect would suggest that increased interaction with the immigrant 'other', would decrease prejudices and therefore anti-immigration sentiment. In the EU referendum areas with high immigration would therefore be expected to vote Remain and those with low immigration Leave. However, this was not the case.

England with the highest percentage of migrants and thus the most contact voted to Leave, albeit London that voted Remain. Wales was the only nation to follow the theories assumptions having low immigration and voting Leave. Scotland and Northern Ireland on the other hand, both with low migrant populations voted Remain. These seemingly contradicting results makes dubious the relativity and effectiveness of the immigration debate unanimously across the UK.

This thesis seeks to decipher the immigration narrative across the UK and within each nation. In doing so it identifies and explains similarities or differences in the immigration debate relative to

each nation. It will also convey the dominant themes related to immigration and the representation of migrants. Newspapers will be the primary source of immigration discourses because in selecting newspapers based in: England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland their origins are identifiable facilitating comparison.

In identifying the major themes related to immigration, this thesis will give an in-depth description and analysis of each theme and will distinguish between the national discussions and between newspapers. The thesis finds a core English experience that influenced anti-immigration sentiments expressed in the Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish peripheries. Negative sentiments in each newspaper referenced to either England, Britain or the UK. In contrast, immigration experiences specific to nations tended to be conveyed positively. The Englishness of anti-immigration in the Brexit context is underpinned by the migrant demographics in England and the subsequent high vote to Leave.

Method

This thesis will analyse eight newspapers; two from Northern Ireland, two from Scotland, two from Wales and two English based papers with UK wide distributions. The articles are sourced from *Factiva* and were selected within a specific timeframe between 21 February 2016, the day following David Cameron's announcement of a referendum date, and 22 June 2016, the day before the referendum. The article selection was narrowed further with a word search. All articles within the timeframe and containing the word 'immigration' were selected for analysis. Articles containing the both words 'EU' and 'immigration' was too narrow, as this thesis seeks to determine what perceptions around all immigration were disseminated during the EU referendum campaign.

The search turned up a large number of articles for analysis. From Northern Ireland; 30 articles were selected from the *Belfast Newsletter*, and 81 from the *Irish News*. From Wales; 54 from the *Daily Post*, and 140 from *The Western Mail*. From Scotland; 318 from the *Scottish Daily Mail*, and 205 from *The Herald*, and from England; 438 from the *Daily Mail* and 210 from *The Times*.

A combination of content and discourse analysis will be carried out using the program *NVivo 11*. Frequency lists, of the top 150 words were produced, except for the *Belfast Newsletter* where the selection of articles was too small and therefore the 75 most frequent words were recorded. This was also the case for the *Irish News* and *Daily Post*, therefore the 100 most frequent words were recorded. Irrelevant words were removed from the lists at the researcher's discretion. Themes will be collated from these lists and will inform coding in the discourse analysis. The discourse analysis will discern the context of each theme and build the immigration narrative. The content revealed a large amount of the articles were not solely focused on immigration, as they discussed a different issue with immigration relating to a few sentences or paragraphs. Articles whose primary focus was not immigration were not coded.

Articles

Two newspapers were selected from each country; one supporting Remain and the other Leave, except for Wales where there was no Welsh based Leave newspaper. The position of each newspaper can be seen in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1.: *EU Referendum position of each newspaper*

Leave	Neutral	Remain
Daily Mail	Daily Post	The Times
Scottish Daily Mail		The Herald
Belfast Newsletter		Western Mail
		Irish News

England has no national newspaper that is distributed England wide and only within England.

The *Daily Mail* and *The Times* were chosen to represent the English discussion. They have UK wide distribution but are based in London and therefore expected to serve mostly an English audience.

No independent Scottish paper supported leave, instead they were Scottish based equivalents of UK papers such as the *Scottish Sun* (variant of *The Sun*) or the *Scottish Daily Mail* (variant of the *Daily Mail*). Although *The Sun* has the highest circulation in the UK, the Scottish equivalent could not be sourced on *Factiva* and thus the *Scottish Daily Mail* and *Daily Mail* were selected to facilitate comparison.

Similar to England, Wales has regional not national newspapers. The *Daily Post* is based in North Wales and has the highest circulation. The *Western Mail* also with high circulation is based in Cardiff, South Wales.

Papers from Northern Ireland were not only selected for their referendum position. Their political position was considered due to the unique circumstances in Northern Ireland. The

Belfast Newsletter is a unionist newspaper and supported Leave, whereas the *Irish News* is nationalist and supported Remain.

Background

Britain and the European Union

The EEC, later to become the EU, was founded in 1951 with the desire to integrate the European powers to prevent another war. Britain however declined an invitation to join. Britain applied to join in 1961 because its economy had stagnated but the French and German's flourished. The application was rejected by the French President Charles de Gaulle on suspicion that Britain was more committed to the US than Europe (BBC 2014). A second application was rejected 1967. Britain made a third attempt at membership and with the departure of de Gaulle from the French Presidency, the application was accepted in 1973.

Membership was divisive and within two years of joining the EEC, Britain held a referendum on its membership. Then, the major parties (except the far right of the Conservative's and far left of Labour) and all national papers supported Britain in the EEC (BBC 2014). The 1975 referendum returned a result 67% in favour of continued membership.

Euroscepticism in Britain's political institutions was never eliminated, especially in the Conservative party, and following the 2008 Financial Crisis under a pro-Europe Labour party Euroscepticism gained new grounds. The 2010 General Election brought the Conservatives back to power in a coalition with the Liberal Democrats and the anti-Europe United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), received only 3% of the vote. Over the next five years UKIP campaigned for the withdrawal of the UK from the EU and received 13% of the votes in the 2015 General Election (BBC 2015).

Under pressure from the rise of UKIP and Eurosceptic backbenchers, David Cameron promised to hold a referendum on EU membership if the Conservatives were re-elected in 2015. The Conservatives won an unexpected majority and with no need for a coalition Cameron was unable

to eliminate the referendum promise through negotiations (Wright and Cooper 2016).

Subsequently, Cameron was forced to forge on with his gamble, promising a referendum by the end of 2017. In February 2016, following the conclusion of lengthy negotiations in Brussels to redefine Britain's membership, Cameron announced a referendum would be held 23 June 2016 and that he and his government would be advocating Remain.

Literature Review

A Referendum Overview

The surprising success of Leave in the EU referendum has resulted in a plethora of works attempting to understand its success. Studies have shown that higher education, youth and higher incomes have negative correlations with Leave, whereas lower-skills, the elderly and lower incomes have positive correlations (Hobolt 2016, Curtice 2017, p.33-34, Fox and Pearce 2018, Arnorsson and Zoega 2018, Zhang 2018, Goodwin and Heath 2016). The latter group have been referred to as the 'left behind', a perception based on a combination of economic and cultural factors (Goodwin and Heath 2016). Clarke, Goodwin and Whitely maintain that the those in a higher socio-economic situation tended slightly more to Remain (2018, p.454). They also found age to be the most significant indicator with the young more inclined to Remain and older people to Leave but determined education, gender and social class insignificant factors (2018, p.460). Furthermore, Leave supporters were more likely to vote than Remain supporters (Whitely 2017, p.4 and Zhang 2018). Zhang (2018, p.313) furthers this argument, suggesting Leave was more effective in mobilising support than Remain. In addition, she finds positive correlations between high unemployment in England and Wales with Leave and university education in Scotland and Northern Ireland with Remain (Zhang 2018, p.313). The resulting vote appears to be based on diverse and volatile factors.

Research has also suggested that votes were influenced by a cost and benefit analysis. Whitely (2017, p.40) indicates that people became disillusioned with mainstream parties' due relative deprivation where they felt the national economy was improving but not their own financial situation.

Geographic location also proved to be a significant factor in influencing votes, as large English cities tended to vote remain but non-metropolitan and the countryside Leave (Hobolt 2016, p.

1273, BBC 2016a). According to Arnorsson and Zoega (2018, p.15), London being the biggest beneficiary of globalisation was pro-Remain and the “Brexit vote was a protest... by the rest of the country against free trade and free immigration”. However, all constituencies in Scotland voted remain and eleven of eighteen in Northern Ireland (BBC 2016a).

Northern Ireland is perceived to be mostly pro-Remain due to the ease of travel within the island of Ireland and thus no desire for border controls if the UK were to leave the customs union and single market (Arnorsson and Zoega 2018, p.15). In addition, Scotland is considered pro-EU because the EU is seen to facilitate independence (Arnorsson and Zoega 2018, p. 15, Clarke, Goodwin and Whitely 2017, p.451).

Academic works have also drawn links between identity, Euroscepticism and the Leave vote (Hobolt 2016, Henderson, Jeffery, Wincott, and Jones 2017, Curtice 2017, Clarke, Goodwin and Whitely 2017). Haesly (2001) found diversity in the strength of support for the EU in Scotland and Wales, determining it to be stronger in Scotland and that EU support in Wales was sometimes used to differentiate from the English (Haesly 2001, p. 97). Their Euroscepticism was linked to a sense of Britishness when they favour a British identity over a European (Haesly 2001, pp. 93-94). This contrasted with other studies that linked a British or European identity with Remain and English identifiers with Leave (Henderson, Jeffery, Wincott, and Jones 2017, p.639 and Clarke, Goodwin and Whitely 2017, p. 453). It has been speculated that a British identity is more inclusive and English exclusive (Goodwin and Heath 2016, Hobolt 2016, p.1269, Clarke, Goodwin and Whitely 2017). It is therefore expected that a British identity is less likely to encourage fears about cultural competition with migrants.

Scholars have also argued that contemporary English nationalism is a response to the redistribution of powers, to the EU and devolved governments in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland while no such government exist in England (Hobolt 2016, p. 1269). Henderson, Jeffery,

Wincott, and Jones (2016, p.643) agree but include hostility towards European integration, concern about immigration and support for right leaning political parties. It is thus expected that hostility to immigration and the EU will be strongest in English newspapers.

Immigration and the Referendum

Analysis of the referendum has proven that immigration and the economy were dominant issues in the campaign. Curtice (2017, p.27) describes the former as the “Achilles Heel” of the Remain campaign. Much of the speculation that immigration played a central role in Brexit’s victory, has been supported by academic research indicating positive correlations between desires to control immigration and a Leave vote (British Electoral Study 2016 cited in Curtice 2017, p. 29, Hobolt 2016, p. 1270, Clarke, Goodwin and Whitely 2017). The British Electoral Survey found that 58% of respondents supported a reduction of immigration and 55% believed this could be achieved through Brexit (British Electoral Study 2016 cited in Curtice 2017). In addition, older people were more inclined to this view and people with negative immigration attitudes more likely to promote the benefits of leaving (Clarke, Goodwin and Whitely 2017, p. 460). In a pre-referendum study, McLaren and Johnson (2007) find that in relation to immigration, people desire control because they fear its impact on the values and ways of life of society regardless of their individual experience.

A number of studies measure the effects of interaction with migrants and attitudes towards migrants. Rydgren and Ruth (2013) found that anti-immigration sentiments are strongest in areas bordering areas of high immigration but not within. The results of the EU referendum contradict this theory, with the exception of Wales which has comparatively low inward migration to neighbouring England voted Leave. In contrast, while London voted remain and bordering constituents Leave, the south-east with the second highest immigrant population voted Leave.

Scotland and Northern Ireland also dispute the theory by voting remain despite low inward migration. This anomaly is best explained through local-level analysis and intergroup contact theory.

Thomas Pettigrew (1998) theorised that long sustained, rather than short term contact with the out-group can influence perceptions to form positive attitudes. Though he does warn that individuals with extreme prejudice may avoid contact with the out-group negating its effect. On an individual level, positive interaction with migrants correlated with a Remain vote and negative with Leave (Meleady, Seger and Vermue 2017). However, local-level analysis reinforces the necessity of long term sustained contact. Goodwin and Milazzo (2017, p. 453) found that “in more than one-quarter of all Leave seats, the foreign-born population doubled in the 10-year period before the vote, compared to an equivalent figure of 20% of Remain seats. In a further 10% of Leave seats, the non-British population more than tripled.” These figures correspond with the expansion of the EU in 2004 to include central and Eastern European countries and coincides with the rapid and short-lived rise of UKIP between the 2010 and 2015 general elections.

Daniel Hopkins (2010) stipulates that support for anti-immigration policies are strongest when simultaneously communities experience a rapid immigration increase and immigration is a publicly salient issue. In their study on immigration and support for European integration, De Vreese and Boomgaaren (2005, p. 65) maintain that “anti-immigration sentiments tap people’s readiness to show negative out-group bias and therefore to oppose further European integration”. Immigration is the most visible impact of the EU on Britain and as such the short-lived popularity of UKIP may be indicative of a protest to European integration, influenced by sudden demographic changes revealed by Goodwin and Milazzo (2017).

A number of studies discuss the myths surrounding immigration (Thielemann and Schade 2016, Portes 2016, Arnorsson and Zoega 2018). A Mori poll taken in June before the referendum revealed that on average, the public vastly overestimated the number of EU citizens living in the UK (Arnorsson and Zoega 2018, p.6), likely fuelling belief in overcrowding and pressures on public services. Likewise, the actual impact on wages is minimal (Thielemann and Schade 2016, Portes 2016) and migrants contribute more in taxes than they claim in benefits (Arnorsson and Zoega 2018, p.6). This positive fiscal impact can be attributed to migrants generally being better educated, young and employable (Portes 2016, p.17), reinforcing the notion that the economy rather than benefits is the main pull factor to the UK (Thielemann and Schade 2016).

Media

It is clear from previous research, that negative perceptions and desires to control immigration increased the probability of an individual voting Leave. As demonstrated by intergroup contact theory, perceptions can be influenced by negative or positive interactions with the out-group and no or limited contact can enhance wariness. What these studies have failed to address is where and how these perceptions are disseminated.

The news media and public opinion are part of a symbiotic relationship (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989 cited in Scheufele 1999, p.105). While media informs the public, journalists are not free from cultural norms which inevitably influences the construction of journalism (Gamson 1989). Thus, the media can be attributed to enhancing and disseminating pre-existing anti-immigration sentiment.

Stuart Gietel-Basten (2016) argued that Leave's campaign material, such as the 'Breaking Point' poster, linked pressures on infrastructure and social services to immigration. Similarly, on *Vote Leave's* website an image indicates with an arrow that the population of Turkey, bordering Syria and Iraq will come to Britain if Turkey joins the EU (Vote Leave 2016). The Leave campaign was clearly a prominent producer of anti-immigration rhetoric. However, how many people actually accessed Leave campaign sources directly? Instead, this thesis argues sections of the British press that reinforced anti-immigration, had a greater impact on opinion formation because they are accessed by the public daily.



Figure 2 *Vote Leave's Map of Turkey, Syria and Iraq* (Vote Leave 2016)

Loughborough University conducted a study of media coverage throughout the campaign. The study found three main focuses: the drama of the campaign, the economic implications of leaving the EU and immigration (Loughborough University 2016). Initially, economic news exceeded news about immigration but as the referendum neared the coverage gap narrowed. The media was also found to cover news favourable to their Remain/Leave position. This resulted in a coverage gap of 60%:40% in favour of Leave campaigners and arguments. Circulation

exasperated this gap 80%:20%, again in favour of Leave (Loughborough University 2016). Economic arguments tended to favour the Remain campaign whereas immigration favoured Leave and this was reflected in the media's coverage of the campaign, as immigration was given less coverage by the Remain media (Loughborough University 2016). Based on results from this study we expect Leave leaning newspapers to depict immigrants negatively and stereotypically, exacerbating negative effects of immigration on British culture and society. In contrast, it is hypothesised that newspapers supporting remain will focus on the economic benefits of migration.

Findings

Content Analysis

An initial content analysis of the articles was undertaken to determine the word frequencies of each newspaper. The results of this extraction can be found in **appendix 1.1**. Previous research on Romanian migrants in the British press revealed key frames to be: education, economy, politics, social benefits, employment, national security, and EU policy (Cheregi 2015, p. 292). Similar themes are identified in the EU referendum.

Across the eight newspapers the word ‘Europe’ appeared in the top ten most frequent words, and the word ‘European’ in the top twenty in the Scottish, Welsh and English newspapers. In both the Irish newspapers the word ‘European’ was in the top ten and ‘Europe’ in the top twenty. This indicated, as expected that immigration was consistently being discussed in relation to the Europe during the campaign months.

The economy and security were identified as major themes across all papers. As see in table 2.1, economy has the greatest number of associated terms for every paper, except in the *Belfast Newsletter* where security has the greater number of associated terms. Security is consistently the second largest concern across the newspapers, except in the *Belfast Newsletter* where it is the highest. Prominent terms associated with the economy were identified as: jobs, workers, trade, businesses, services (public), financial, benefits and markets. The focus on particular economic aspects varied between papers and regions. The most prominent words associated with security included: border, control, police, illegal, crisis, peace, war and deportation.

Table 2.1: Number of economic and security terms

Newspaper	Number of economic terms	Number of security terms
Daily Mail	26	23
The Times	24	17
The Herald	26	13
Scottish Daily Mail	26	20
Daily Post	18	8
Western Mail	24	13
Belfast Newsletter	8	11
Irish News	19	12

It was expected that immigration, particularly in Leave papers, would conjure diction such as ‘crime’ and ‘fraud.’ However, fraud never featured, and ‘criminals’ was only used in the two versions of the *Daily Mail*, as shown in table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Frequency and rank of ‘crimes’ and ‘criminals’ in the *Daily Mail’s*

Newspapers	Frequency		Rank	
	Crimes	Criminals	Crimes	Criminals
Daily Mail	86	125	132	86
Scottish Daily Mail	47		137	

Northern Ireland is the only part of the UK which shares a land border with the EU. This border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland is of particular significance to the peace process that ended the conflict in Northern Ireland. Thus, it was of great concern to the Northern Irish newspapers. The word ‘border’ was ranked third and fifth in the *Belfast Newsletter* and the *Irish News* respectively showing a greater concern for it than the economy (see table 2.3).

Table 2.3: Frequency of border and economy in Northern Irish newspapers

Newspaper	References to border	References to economy
Belfast Newsletter	59	31
Irish News	127	27

Governance was another notable theme throughout the newspapers. The diversity of terms was not large, the most frequent being: government, laws, policy, illegal, independent and ruling. Sovereignty did not feature as often as expected, occurring in only *The Herald* and the *Daily Post's* 150 most frequent words. Overall the Scottish papers had the greatest interest in governance (see table 2.4).

Table 2.4: *Number of Governance terms per newspaper*

Newspaper	Number of Governance terms
Daily Mail	6
The Times	9
The Herald	10
Scottish Daily Mail	9
Daily Post	7
Western Mail	7
Belfast Newsletter	3
Irish News	4

Research suggests that Scotland has a positive relationship with the EU because it is seen as a means to achieving independence (Arnorsson and Zoega 2018, p. 15). Evidently ‘independence’ featured highly in the Scottish papers. It appears 172 times within *The Herald* ranked at 14 and within the *Scottish Daily Mail* it was used 105 times and ranked at 50. The content analysis does not reveal its relation to immigration and whether the discourse is positive or negative.

Democracy was a concern for the Scottish and English papers but not the Welsh nor the Northern Irish. It was mentioned 45 times across both Scottish papers and 48 times across both English papers. Furthermore, ‘sovereignty’ only featured in *The Herald* and *The Times*. This is particularly interesting as it has been suggested that sovereignty was a major concern of the referendum campaign (Hobolt 2016, 1271 and Clarke, Goodwin, and Whiteley 2017). It should be considered that connotations of sovereignty may instead be used and alluded through in other debates such as control.

Education is a consistent topic across Scottish, Welsh and English papers but is not mentioned in either of the Northern Irish papers. Education is mostly discussed in relation to schools with some mention of university. There is not much diversity in terms with the highest being four in *The Herald*.

The terms ‘war’ and ‘peace’ unexpectedly reoccur across the selected papers. War was mentioned in six papers, an average of 81 times and peace in three papers, an average of 19 times. A brief analysis of the location of ‘war’ revealed it was often used in relation to WWII. This may be attributed to the EU being created post WWII to ensure peace, it could also be used in relation to the ongoing Syrian civil war and the refugee crisis.

France and Germany were the most commonly mentioned EU member states. Unexpectedly, despite increased immigration following the EU’s expansion in 2004, no central or Eastern European member state featured in the top 150 or top 75 frequent words. As shown in table 2.5, Turkey was the most frequently mentioned non-EU country and Albania had a high occurrence in the *Daily Mail*. These countries are currently bidding for EU membership and given the negative imagery of Turkey on *Vote Leaves* website, this discourse is presumed to be negative. It is presumed that the occurrence of America is related to the 2016 presidential election where immigration was a controversial issue.

Table 2.5: Countries and frequencies featuring in the 150 or 75 most frequently occurring words

Newspaper	EU Member states (frequency)			Non-EU members (frequency)			
	France/French	Germany/German	Italy/Italian	Turkey/Turkish	Albania/Albanian	America/American	China/Chinese
Daily Mail	225	239		138	180		
The Times	72	50		69		129	
The Herald		30		51		27	
Scottish Daily Mail	113	171		67		44	
Daily Post							
Western Mail	61		39	23			
Belfast Newsletter							19
Irish News						19	

As ‘England’ has the highest number of immigrants it was speculated to be potent across all newspapers, however, it only occurs in six of eight newspapers and comparatively low frequencies to ‘Scotland’ and ‘Wales’. Britain instead occurred in all papers with relatively high frequencies. Within the newspapers there appears to be little discussion on the other UK nations, except *The Times* which mentions all four (see table 2.6). Notably the frequencies related to Northern Ireland could not be distinguished from those relating the Republic of Ireland and should thus be examined with caution.

Table 2.6: Frequencies and occurrence of UK nations and nationalities

Newspaper	Britain/British	England/English	Scotland/Scottish	Wales/Welsh	Ireland/Irish
Daily Mail	1584	230			
The Times	714	104	70	70	106
The Herald	293	91	661		30
Scottish Daily Mail	828	108	257		
Daily Post	101	11		116	16
Western Mail	238	56		472	
Belfast Newsletter	36				124
Irish News	129				176

Discourse Analysis

A combination of the results from the content and discourse analysis determined the themes of the following sections. The themes to be discussed are: control and the border, followed by the economy; jobs and services, and health services. Then security; crime and deportation, terrorism and illegal immigration. This will be followed by: refugees, asylum seekers and the migrant crisis, then communities and culture. The final sections will discuss: housing and education.

Control

The discourse analysis demonstrated that holistically the main concern was control; controlling the numbers and type of migrants (skilled or unskilled, asylum seekers/refugees, EU or non-EU). In the year to June 2015 net migration was 336,000, increasing the controversy of a Conservative promise to reduce it below 100,000. In their criticism, the *Daily Mail*¹ and the *Scottish Daily Mail*² depicted David Cameron as incompetent and dishonest. They and *The Herald* (Gardham 30/05/2016) portrayed the promise as a failure of democracy because it eroded public trust.³ Consequently, Brexit and the end of free movement was conveyed as the only means to lowering net migration.⁴ This was reaffirmed by Steve Hilton, Cameron's former aide, who wrote in the *Daily Mails*, that the PM was advised in 2012 that net migration below 100,000 was not possible while Britain was an EU member (Hilton 21/06/2016a and Hilton 21/06/2016b). As Cameron

¹ Slack 21/06/2016, Daily Mail Comment 20/06/2016, Daily Mail Comment 04/06/2016, Groves 01/06/2016a, Doyle 16/04/2016a and Slack and Martin 12/05/2016a.

² Slack and Roden 21/06/2016, Slack and Groves 03/06/2016 Slack 10/06/2016b, Martin 30/05/2016 and Slack 25/02/2016.

³ Slack 21/06/2016, Hilton 21/06/2016a, Hilton 21/06/2016b, and Doughty and Slack 27/05/2016.

⁴ Groves 11/05/2016a, Slack and Duncan 28/04/2016, Daily Mail Comment 18/04/2016, Groves 01/06/2016b, Doughty and Slack 27/05/2016 and Doughty 26/02/2016.

reasserted the promise in the 2015 manifesto, Hilton’s revelation clarified Cameron’s untrustworthiness.

Furthermore, the *Daily Mails* (Slack and Martin 12/05/2016a and Slack and Martin 12/05/2016b) and the *Western Mail* (Churcher and Williamson 27/06/2016) suggested that the current rate of immigration did not have public consent. MP Ian Duncan Smith writing in the *Daily Mail* explained that the vast number of migrants prevented the government from carrying out its elected duty, to provide homes and services for the British people (Duncan Smith 23/04/2016). The *Daily Mail* thus, urged its readers to vote Leave to “put power back” in their hands (Daily Mail 27/05/2016).

The promise was also discussed by *The Times*, *The Herald* and the *Western Mail*. They deemed it unrealistic⁵, with *The Times* stating it “should never have been made” (Johnson 14/06/2016). As net migration stood three times higher than the stated goal, *The Times* (Aldrick 18/05/2016) and the *Western Mail* (Jones 18/06/2016) stated that it fuelled anti-immigration sentiment because communities feared being “swamped”. Studies have observed that EU-referendums generally reflect the level of support for the domestic governments (Hobolt 2016 and p. 1264, Whitely 2017), though Curtice (2017, p. 33) believes this was not the case in the Brexit referendum. Despite Curtices’ observation, the unsurmountable criticism towards David Cameron’s immigration record, may have encouraged readers to judge Britain’s relationship with the EU based on the government's immigration performance.

⁵ Elliot 30/05/2016, Settle 26/02/2016, Stockings 17/06/2016, Settle 03/06/2016, Gardham 30/05/2016, Western Mail 03/06/2016b and Western Mail 03/06/2016a.

The two *Daily Mails* were determined to undermine the government's credibility. In refusing to release statistics on arrivals and National Insurance (NI) numbers, needed by foreigners to work in the UK, they accused the government of covering-up the true scale of migration.⁶ Once released it was revealed that since 2010, 919,000 EU migrants had arrived but 2.2 million NI numbers issued. The *Daily Mails* claimed that officials had been left "in the dark" over the true scale of pressure on services because migration had been vastly undercounted (Slack 04/04/2016 and Slack and Martin 12/05/2016a and Slack and Martin 12/05/2016b). However, *The Times* (The Times 14/05/2016) and the *Western Mail* (Smith and Jones 13/05/2016) clarified that the discrepancy was due to short term migration. That is, many NI numbers were inactive and belonged to migrants who had stayed for less than a year and therefore not utilising British services.

Though figures were used to describe the number of migrants in Britain, more visual comparisons were often used. The number of migrants were often compared to the size of towns or cities. For example, population projections were likened to "adding a city the size of Bristol to the population each year" these comparisons were frequent in the *Daily Mail*⁷ but also featured in the *Scottish Daily Mail* (Groves 21/05/2016b, Scottish Daily Mail 06/06/2016, Slack 20/05/2016b), the *Daily Post* (Smith 27/05/2016) and the *Western Mail* (Williamson 07/06/2016). These similes visualised a concentration of migrants rather than their dispersal, which encouraged perceptions of unsustainability and overwhelmed infrastructure and services.

⁶ Slack and Doyle 14/03/2016, Slack and Doyle 12/03/2016a, Scottish Daily Mail 14/03/2016 and Slack and Doyle 12/03/2016b.

⁷ Drury and Slack 14/06/2016, Drury 10/06/2016, Daily Mail 06/06/2016, Doughty and Doyle 26/05/2016, Groves 21/05/2016a, Slack 20/05/2016a, Drury 04/06/2016, Duncan Smith 23/04/2016, Doughty 31/03/2016, Slack 30/03/2016.

Britain not only wanted to control the numbers but the ‘type’ of immigrants. Brexit leaning newspapers advocated for an Australian-style points system to bring net migration below 100,000 and bring skilled migrants with “good” English. Though this description is broad, the archetype migrant is revealed through a closer examination of the discourse. There was implicit and explicit negative discourse on the number of Eastern Europeans now living in the UK (Drury 10/06/2016 and Doughty 26/02/2016). The *Scottish Daily Mail* said that “the number of EU nationals working in the UK had rocketed” and went on to specify Romanian and Bulgarians (Slack 25/02/2016). Similarly, the *Western Mail* singled out undercounting of A8 countries (Smith 27/04/2016). Likewise, the possibility of Turkey joining the EU was predicted to add too many to Britain’s population (Groves 21/05/2016a, Groves 21/05/2016b, Hughes 14/06/2016 and Settle 21/05/2016). Britain’s desire to control migration was not only to let more skilled English speakers in but to limit certain nationalities. This archetype will be discussed in greater detail throughout the thesis.

Though the discourse around control was overwhelmingly negative, the Remain newspapers did provide a counterargument. *The Times* (Aldrick 18/06/2016 and Charter and Keeley 14/06/2016) and *The Herald* (Boswell 17/06/2016) asserted that immigration was necessary for the British economy and the *Western Mail* specified its benefit to the Welsh economy (Edwards 21/06/2016). This counterargument was weakened however, by the lack of persistence compared to Leave and its acknowledgment of the need to control immigration. These papers with the addition of the *Daily Post* (Williams 13/05/2016) and exception of *The Herald*, claimed that Brexit would not change net migration figures. As observed by the attendant of a focus group, non-EU migration which can be controlled, is currently higher than EU immigration, thus questioning what would change post-Brexit (Coates 14/06/2016).

The two Scottish newspapers engaged in two debates specific to Scotland. The *Scottish Daily Mail* argued that Brexit would see the number of EU migrants arriving in Scotland “slashed”. As population decline is a concern in Scotland, this was justified in claiming that unskilled migration would decrease while skilled migration, beneficial to the economy, would increase (Roden 13/06/2016). *The Herald* interestingly did not discuss population decline in relation to control. Instead reported a statement by Michael Gove claiming that Brexit would deliver increased immigration control to Scotland but noted the scepticism of First Minister Nicola Sturgeon (Gardham 14/06/2016).

Border

The majority of the discourse surrounding the border was negative. The Remain side seldom interjected with a counter argument and was instead more likely to publish negative material. After the Northern Irish papers, the *Daily Mail* had the most interest in the border, followed by *The Times* and the *Scottish Daily Mail* with limited interest from the *Western Mail*, *The Herald* and the *Daily Post*. The discourse in the Northern Irish newspapers will be discussed under the subsection *Irish Border*.

The discourse established a sense that Britain had lost control of its borders and Brexit was necessary to regain control. The *Daily Mail* utilised a number of adjectives describing Britain’s borders as: porous, lax and open⁸. In one article Britain’s borders were likened to a “sieve” (Drury 09/06/2016) and in another was compared to leaving the “back door... open” (Greenwood, Martin, Brown and Hughes 30/05/2016). The newspapers maintained that the current border conditions facilitated the movement of illegal immigrants and terrorists (see

⁸ Drury 08/06/2016, Drury and Slack 03/06/2016 and Brown 31/05/2016, Daily Mail Comment 30/05/2016, Slack 25/04/2016a, Littlejohn 24/06/2016 and Slack 06/04/2016.

sections on *Illegal Immigration and Terrorism*). Border controls were deemed necessary for Britain's defence and security. A focus on the English Channel, expressed concern about smugglers landing in small English harbours and Europe's Schengen area comprising 26 countries and permitting travel without border controls, was deemed a terrorist risk to Britain despite being non-Schengen.

The counterarguments were scarce coming only from *The Times* and the *Western Mail*. *The Times* argued that loss of the single market would be greater than achieving border controls (Collins 27/05/2016) and maintained that reciprocal controls from the EU would affect Britain's access to Europe (Barton 31/05/2016). The *Western Mail* published one emotive defence asserting closed borders to be isolationist. The article argues that borders are arbitrary because cultures "meld into one" and that Brexit would mean pulling "up the drawbridge" to "Little Britain, jealously guarding the things" imagined "to be British". Therefore, open borders facilitate knowledge sharing and "lasting security" (Wightwick 20/06/2016). The effects of these discourses were limited due to the lack of persistence and their engagement with the negative discourse.

The Irish Border

The UK's only land border was a concern only in Northern Ireland and seldom mentioned in other papers. The Remain campaign speculated that checkpoints would return to the 500km border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, but the Leave campaign said this was not necessary because of pre-existing arrangements.

Free movement arrangements have existed between Britain and the Irish Republic, under the Common Travel Area (CTA) since 1922. Under the CTA British and Irish citizens not only have

the right to travel between the two countries but also reside, study and access social welfare (Maher 2017). Leave argued that due to this arrangement Brexit would not affect movement between the states. Remain argued that circumstances had changed, with Britain and Ireland both part of the EU's custom union eliminating checks on goods crossing the border (Belfast Newsletter 20/04/2016). This is not covered under the CTA. Moreover, the CTA was established while neither country was a member of the EU. As such Remain feared a hard border to prevent EU citizens moving unhindered across the border from the Republic in a post-Brexit situation (Kennedy 17/06/2016, Belfast Newsletter 20/04/2016 and Mackinlay 23/02/2016).

Despite this concern, discourse around the Irish border concentrated more on the jobs and economies of border communities. The *Irish News* was apprehensive about the impact of border controls to the Northern Irish economy. It argued that leaving the customs union and disrupting the flow of goods would devastate local businesses and economies (Manley 07/06/2016, Manley 04/06/2016 and Irish News 22/06/2016) many of which trade with the EU and the Republic.

Moreover, the *Irish News* was expressly concerned with the possible impact on commuters. It is estimated that up to 30,000 people commute across the border daily (McHugh 27/05/2016) and checkpoints would be a considerable disruption. The reliance by many on a soft-border for employment lead to fears of increased unemployment (Manley 07/06/2016 and Belfast Newsletter 15/06/2016). In addition, both newspapers suggested that shopping on either side of the border, which relies on no checkpoints could be affected, further impacting local economies (Mackinlay 23/02/2016 and Irish News 20/06/2016). As such, the *Irish News* concluded that:

“An argument that seems to be based on 'trust me, it will all be fine' is not likely to persuade people in Northern Ireland with genuine concerns about the reinstatement of any measures that would impact on the free movement of goods and people across the border” (Irish News 02/06/2016).

The salience of an open border to the peace process resulted in much discussion about its disruption if border controls returned. The arguments were not specific to any newspaper. Some articles argued that free movement and peace were taken for granted (McKinney 25/05/2016, Belfast Newsletter 28/04/2016 and Mackinlay 23/02/2016), while others maintained that Britain and Ireland’s commitment to cooperation would be unaffected by Brexit (McHugh 27/05/2016). Overall the *Irish News* published more material on the border than the *Belfast Newsletter*. This suggests that Irish border controls were a greater concern to the Remain than Leave but may also be indicative of their political positions, as the *Irish News* being nationalist is more likely support closer relations with the Republic, than the unionist *Belfast Newsletter*.

Economy

Jobs

The discourse pertaining to jobs was most prolific in the English papers and the *Scottish Daily Mail*, which echoed the *Daily Mail* rather than an independent Scottish analysis. The major themes to emerge were job competition, wages and skills.

The discourse around migrants ‘stealing jobs’ was addressed as a class issue. The two *Daily Mails* accused the “cocooned elite” of not understanding the stresses of the working-class who “competed” with migrants for low paid jobs (Daily Mail Comment 28/05/2016, Groves 11/05/2016a and Daily Mail Reporter 12/03/2016). The *Scottish Daily Mail’s* repetition of the *Daily Mail* (Groves 11/05/2016b) and the focus on the UK (Rainford 10/05/2016) indicates that it is influenced by its English variant rather than Scotland. Scotland and Wales suffer from aging populations and therefore, *The Herald* (Boswell 17/06/2016, Stockings 17/06/2016, Brown 29/02/2016) and the *Western Mail* (Wightwick 20/06/2016, Jones 18/06/2016 and Phelps 11/06/2016) maintained that migrants were necessary to counter staff shortages.

The discussions around migrants ‘stealing jobs’ was interconnected with lower wages and skills. Unskilled EU migrants were deemed to be filling low pay jobs, negatively impacting on wages. To emphasise this the *Daily Mail* repeated the phrase “downward pressure on wages” (Daily Mail Comment 01/06/2016, Doughty and Doyle 26/05/2016, Slack and Doughty 13/05/2016 and Groves 11/05/2016a). The *Scottish Daily Mail* also repeated this phrase (Groves 11/05/2016b) and others similar (Roden 13/06/2016 and Slack 13/05/2016). Studies, however have shown the impact on lower wages has been minimal (Thielemann and Schade 2016, Portes 2016). This was only acknowledged by *The Times* (Johnson 14/06/2016, Collins 27/05/2016, and Aldrick 18/05/2016).

In April 2016 the government increased the National Living Wage (NLW) by 50p to £7.20 per hour to increase annually to £9 per hour by 2020 (Allen 01/04/2016). Though this rise was welcomed by higher wage campaigners, it was criticised by the English newspapers as a “magnet” for EU migrants (Drury 04/05/2016a and Fisher, Savage, Chorley, and Ceccon 02/04/2016). The *Daily Mail* claimed that the NLW would attract workers from Eastern Europe where wages are significantly lower, undercutting its benefit for the British (Drury 13/04/2016, Duncan Smith 23/04/2016 and Drury 04/05/2016a). The *Daily Mail* wrote that “countries with vast historical differences in wage rates and living standards have been brought together in a common labour market” (Drury and Slack 21/06/2016) fuelling perceptions that low paid workers from the continent threaten British ways of life. *The Times* echoed this sentiment in one article (Fisher, Savage, Chorley, and Ceccon 02/04/2016) but countered it in another stating that the NLW was a “good retort” to “downward pressure on wages” caused by immigration (Collins 27/05/2016).

Low paid workers were the biggest beneficiaries of the NLW (Allen 01/04/2016) but the Leave campaign maintained that an oversupply of unskilled EU workers nullified its benefits. In disregard for non-EU immigration being higher, the immigration system was deemed “an economic disaster” (Hilton 21/06/2016a) because unskilled EU labour was favoured over skilled non-EU labour (Daily Mail Comment 01/06/2016). David Cameron’s former aide Steve Hilton was quoted in the *Daily Mail* saying that “Britain was 'turning away brilliant Chinese scientists, Indian mathematicians, Russian scientific geniuses just so we can import unlimited numbers of Hungarian waiters” (Doughty and Doyle 26/05/2016). Stereotyping EU migrants as unskilled contributed to perceptions of an oversupply of unskilled labour and an undersupply of beneficial non-EU skilled labour despite EU migration being lower.

These stereotypes of EU migrants were furthered by repeated descriptions of “cheap nannies, plumbers, cleaners, caterers and manual workers” (Daily Mail Comment 28/05/2016, Groves 11/05/2016a and Daily Mail 28/04/2016). *The Times* even specified nationalities (Ford 14/06/2016) claiming “the Polish plumber, Slovakian fruit picker and Czech nanny had arrived” and the *Daily Mail* sarcastically commented, “And by the way, darling, I’ve got the most wonderful Polish cleaner” (Daily Mail Reporter 12/03/2016). The *Scottish Daily Mail* was the only non-English paper to encourage these stereotypes, however the articles were reprints from the *Daily Mail* (Scottish Daily Mail 28/05/2016 and Groves 11/05/2016b) indicating job competition is an English concern.

Services and Welfare

The discourse generated around services tended to be references within articles rather than whole articles. It was most prominent in the English newspapers, specifically the *Daily Mail* also mirrored by the *Scottish Daily Mail*. In the peripheral newspapers the issue was marginal. *The Herald* was neutral while, the *Western Mail* took a greater interest than the *Daily Post* and neither of the Northern Irish papers were concerned.

A large and repetitive discourse ensued with EU migration portrayed by the *Daily Mail*, *Scottish Daily Mail*, and to some extent *The Times*, as putting “pressure” or “strain” on public services. The word “pressure” was used fourteen times by the *Daily Mail*⁹ and seven by the *Scottish Daily*

⁹ Harris, 21/06/2016, Doyle, 13/06/2016, Hardman 11/06/2016, Drury, 10/06/2016, Daily Mail Comment, 02/06/2016, Daily Mail Comment, 30/05/2016, Slack and Doughty, 13/05/2016, Groves, 11/05/2016, Gove, 30/04/2016, Doyle, 18/04/2016, Doyle 16/04/2016a, Daily Mail Reporter, 12/03/2016, Slack, 11/03/2016 and Groves, and Fryer, 05/03/2016.

*Mail*¹⁰. While “strain” was used seven times by the *Daily Mail*¹¹ but only twice in the *Scottish Daily Mail* (Martin 30/05/2016 and Evans 23/02/2016). Furthermore, these adjectives sometimes preceded a list of services such as: jobs, housing, schools and health care (Daily Mail Comment 02/06/2016 and Daily Mail Comment 01/06/2016). Its effect was to establish a sense of helplessness and overwhelming due to mass migration and encourage the reader to link saving these British services with immigration control. The *Western Mail* critics this manipulation, warning its readers that “people have been led to believe that the quality of their public services and their economic ills are caused by migrants and by voting to leave the EU, immigration into the UK will be significantly reduced” (Edwards 21/06/2016). What the Leave papers omitted and the Remain papers failed to emphasise, was the poor response of the government to population growth. *The Times* was the only paper to make limited mention of this aspect (Johnson 14/06/2016 and Aldrick 18/06/2016). Ironically, it also argued that the “sorts of numbers” coming, made effective planning impossible (Elliott 30/05/2016). The lack of a counter argument lent itself to facilitating scapegoating migrants.

Studies have demonstrated that the Remain campaign focused on economy (Curtices 2017, p. 27).

Correspondingly, *The Time* and the *Western Mail* were the most persistent papers in emphasising migrants considerable tax contribution over benefit claims. Compared to the circulation of Leave newspapers, dissemination may not have been as effective. Regardless, the *Western Mail* argued that despite the “usual picture painted... of EU migrants merely coming... to sit on their backsides doing nothing but using our public services... migrants actually put in £2.5bn more... than they took out in benefits” (Jones 18/06/2016). *The Times* also vigorously supported this view (Aaronovitch 14/06/2016, Johnson 14/06/2016 and Collins 27/05/2016) but in one article

¹⁰ Roden, 13/06/2016, Slack and Groves, 03/06/2016, Slack, 13/05/2016, Groves, 11/05/2016, Doyle 16/04/2016b, Doughty, 26/02/2016 and Slack, 25/02/2016.

¹¹ Daily Mail Reporter, 20/06/2016, Daily Mail Comment, 01/06/2016, Groves 01/06/2016a, Doughty, and Doyle, 26/03/2016, Daily Mail Comment, 21/05/2016, Daily Mail Comment, 16/04/2016 and Doughty, S, 31/03/2016.

questioned whether this would be a short-term or long-term benefit, depending on how long migrants stayed (Aldrick 18/05/2016). In contrast, an article published in both the *Daily Mail* (Slack 17/05/2016a) and the *Scottish Daily Mail* (Slack 17/05/2016b), migrants were accused of taking more than they contributed. However, as this claim was debunked by Thielemann and Schade (2016) and the Remain campaign and was thus not a central argument for Leave, instead they tended to agree to discredit the governments EU negotiations.

Prior to the referendum David Cameron underwent negotiations with the EU. He secured a seven-year emergency brake on benefits during which migrant's access to in-work benefits would be phased in over four years. Despite Cameron claiming that migrants claim benefits "from day one" (Western Mail 26/02/2016) Remain and Leave papers argued that few migrants take out benefits and were instead drawn by job opportunities. Thus, they disputed its likely effectiveness in reducing net migration (Drury 04/05/2016a, Duncan Smith 23/04/2016, Slack 01/03/2016, Coates 14/06/2016 and Drury 04/05/2016b).

Stereotypes of migrants committing benefit fraud were contained to the two *Daily Mail* tabloids. EU migrants were not persistently labelled benefit frauds, instead this was reserved mainly for Albanian criminals. The *Daily Mails* ran seven stories over a period of four months about a "one-legged Albanian double killer" on benefits (Wright 20/06/2016, Jones and Wright 09/06/2016, Littlejohn 24/05/2016a, Wright 21/05/2016, Greenhill 09/06/2016 and Littlejohn 24/06/2016b). They reported that Saliman Barci, wanted for double murder in Albania, was living in the UK. He was not working but selling cocaine and living in a rent-free house on £2,000 benefits a month. The perceptions built around Albanian criminals will be discussed further in the section *Crime and Deportation*.

Discourse on services and welfare in Northern Ireland differed to that of the other newspapers. Rather than discussing EU and non-EU economic migrants they sympathised with the hardships of asylum seekers dependent on handouts because they can neither work nor claim benefits (Archer 24/02/2016). The only reference to the referendum quotes Theresa May supporting the benefit brake (Smith 26/02/2016). The lack of interest in services and benefits in Northern Ireland indicates that the problems faced by services in England either do not extend to Northern Ireland or immigrants were not scapegoats.

Health Services

The discourse pertaining to health services was mostly negative with minimal positive interjections. The *Daily Mail* dominated the discourse with the *Scottish Daily Mail* replicating its analysis. *The Times*, *The Herald*, and the *Western Mail* all took a limited interest, but published both arguments. The *Daily Post* had two insignificant references and the Northern Irish newspapers none.

The repetition of “pressure” or “strain” blamed immigrants for problems in the health service. These adjectives were most prolific in the *Daily Mail* and were used in conjunction with; hospitals, healthcare, GP services and the NHS. “Pressure” was utilised fourteen times in the *Daily Mail*¹² and “strain” five times¹³. Furthermore, the *Daily Mail* (Groves 21/05/2016a), *The Times* (Fisher, Savage, Chorley and Ceccon 02/04/2016) and the *Scottish Daily Mail* (Groves 21/05/2016b) speculated that the National Living Wage would exasperate these strains by attracting an influx of migrants, as would EU expansion to include the likes of Turkey and Albania (Groves 21/05/2016b, Groves and Stevens 02/06/2016, Groves 21/05/2016a and Gove 30/04/2016). Leave exploited issues in Britain’s health service and misrepresented their remedy through the cessation of free movement.

¹² Drury 10/06/2016, Daily Mail Reporter 05/05/2016, Slack 04/04/2016, Daily Mail Comment 04/06/2018, Daily Mail Comment 02/06/2016, Daily Mail Comment 01/06/2016, Groves and Stevens 02/06/2016, Drury 25/03/2016b, Drury and Slack 14/06/2016, Slack and Martin 20/06/2016, Slack 20/06/2016a, Groves and Stevens 02/06/2016, Groves 21/05/2016a and Gove 30/04/2016.

¹³ Groves 01/06/2016a, Daily Mail Comment 21/05/2016, Slack 11/05/2016, Gove 30/04/2016 and Slack 02/04/2016a.

GP services were deemed to be under particular strain. The working-class were depicted as bearing the brunt of service pressures¹⁴ as the *Scottish Daily Mail* (Scottish Daily Mail 05/04/2016) and the *Daily Mail* (Borland 08/04/2016) revealed people waited up to three weeks for an appointment and four million forced to queue on the same day. A resident of Shirebrook, England was quoted in the *Daily Mail* saying “You try to get an appointment at the health centre and it is booked solid, and when you go all the names being called out are Polish. They love the health service” (Tweedie 07/05/2016). A similar statement was made in a letter to the *Western Mail* (Roberts 16/06/2016). These comments indicate a sense of possession towards the health services where British people should be prioritised. As English nationalism is linked to anti-immigration (Henderson, Jeffery, Wincott, and Jones 2016, p.643) the lack of engagement in this possessive discourse by non-English newspapers, suggests they do not have the same sense of possession or the issue disproportionately affects England where immigration is higher.

Positive impacts of migrants on the health service were only expressed in the *Western Mail* and *The Herald*. These arguments were seldom diversified with the principle argument being the necessity of foreign workers for NHS functioning (Churcher and Williamson 27/05/2016, Orr 03/06/2016, Stockings 17/06/2016, Devlin 15/06/2016 and White 22/06/2016 and Preston 02/06/2016). The papers stipulated that recruitment of foreign nurses was facilitated by EU free movement, without which the NHS could not function. In contrast, the *Daily Mail* and *The Times* argued that recruiting nurses from overseas was a “get out of jail... free card” for the government’s failure to train nurses domestically (Ford 25/03/2016 and Drury 25/03/2016b). The *Daily Mails* perpetuated the dangers of foreign doctors recounting the accidental overdose of a patient by a German doctor with insufficient English. Brexit was thus urged so Britain would not

¹⁴ Daily Mail 28/04/2016, Daily Mail 28/05/2016, Daily Mail 27/05/2016, Daily Mail 28/04/2016 and Scottish Daily Mail 28/05/2016.

be forced to adopt European Professional Cards, that would regulate doctor's standards (Martin 02/04/2016a and Martin 02/04/2016b). In contrast, the *Western Mail* while emphasising the necessity of foreign staff to the Welsh NHS, praised the Welsh Refugee Doctors Training Scheme. It trains refugee doctors to work for the NHS and the *Western Mail* described it as "we have helped them, they have helped us" (Edwards 21/06/2016). The Welsh and Scottish support of foreign workers reinforces the different frustrations of each nation. While England is vexed with 'too many' patients, Scotland and Wales focused on staff shortages.

Deviating from its norm the *Scottish Daily Mail* acknowledged the different situations between Scottish and English health services. It wrote that:

"the elderly population north of the Border is growing faster than the UK average, making it crucial to raise enough public funds for key services such as the NHS, an objective thrown into doubt by the relatively slow rate of migration. South of the Border... the country faces severe strains on essential services and resources, as well as public disaffection, unless politicians... bring down record immigration rates" (Grant, 31/03/2016).

This extract clearly states that issues with immigration were an English concern while in Scotland it is necessary. Despite this acknowledgement, the vast majority of articles in the *Scottish Daily Mail* disseminated anti-immigration sentiment by presenting English concerns as affecting Scotland. The English concern of immigration is furthered by *The Herald* which had limited but positive discourse.

The Times was the only paper concerned about the impact of Brexit on British citizens living and travelling in the EU. It stated the free healthcare of the 2 million Britons living in the EU, faced an uncertain future and British travellers would no longer have access to the European Health Insurance Card, providing them with free emergency medical treatment within the EEA (Charter

and Keeley 14/06/2016). No other newspaper discussed how the EU facilitated access to healthcare for Briton's. Instead they concentrated on its impact within Britain.

Security

Crime and Deportation

Crime and deportation were often discussed in conjunction of each. The two *Daily Mails* were the most prolific in these discourses with *The Herald* contributing to deportation. Neither the Welsh or Northern Irish papers nor *The Times* took interest. Racism and prejudice ran throughout the discussions. Sex offences and murder were the most common crimes discussed with fixation on Albanians, Polish and Romanians. The failure to deport such criminals was compared to the deportation of Australians, Canadians and white African's.

Despite the referendum's EU context, non-EU citizens tended to be demonised. Albanians particularly were conflated with murder and gang activity. The *Daily Mail* and *Scottish Daily Mail* ran several human-interest stories about Albanian murderers escaping to the UK.¹⁵ Saliman Barci described as a "one-legged Albanian double murderer", was posed as a threat to the British public with graphic descriptions of his murders in Albania and quotes from his wife explaining that he always carried a knife (Daily Mail 21/05/2016). Another subject, Avni Metra a henchmen for an Albanian mafia-style gang, who "gouged out the eyes and cut off the ears" of one victim, now resides among the commuters of "tranquil" London (Jones and Wright 09/06/2016). The *Daily Mail* revealed this "shadowy Albanian" regularly beat his wife and in specifying dozens of pairs of "surgical gloves" the reporters saw in his home, they suggest is a burglar or "more chillingly" a hitman (Jones and Wright 09/06/2016).

Imagery of Albanian criminals was not contained to the tabloids but also legitimised by the MP and Leave campaigner Michael Gove. He published in the *Daily Mail* an article titled, 'Think the

¹⁵ Wright 20/06/2016, Jones and Wright 09/06/2016, Littlejohn 24/05/2016a, Wright 21/05/2016, Greenhill 09/06/2016 and Littlejohn 24/06/2016b.

EU is bad now wait until; Albania joins’ (Gove 30/04/2016). In dubbing Remain the “Albanian option” and Leave the “British option”, he cites Albania’s “problems with organised crime” as a reason to Leave the EU before they join. He further explains that “one in twenty” people in Britain’s prisons are Albanians, costing the taxpayer £18 million a year, “And that’s before Albanian citizens even have the right to move to the UK!” Another article published in the *Daily Mail* (Littlejohn 24/05/2016a) and *Scottish Daily Mail* (Littlejohn 24/05/2016b) warns readers that by voting Remain “three million of Saliman Barci’s fellow Albanians will gain unrestricted access to Britain”. This overt use of racism was used to generate Leave votes with xenophobia that conflated crime with the Balkans and falsely promises leaving the EU will protect Britain from non-EU migration which Britain controls.

The focus on non-EU migrants was somewhat extended to *The Times* where it expressed concern over the possibility of a Turkish visa waiver. Turkey wanted, in exchange for the EU returning refugees, visa free access to Europe. *The Times* suggested this would result in “criminals and terrorists” obtaining “fraudulent Turkish passports... to gain access to Europe” (Phillips, 07/06/2016). Britain, however, would be exempt from such a deal because it is outside the Schengen area.

Despite a non-EU focus, EU migrants were also associated with crime. A pattern of division and prejudice against certain EU nationalities emerged from this discourse, as they tended to be non-Western and from central and Eastern Europe. The apparent inherent criminality of these regions and their unlimited access to Britain was blamed for lowering living and safety standards:

“And we all know exactly how Romanian beggars, pickpockets and cashpoint robbers have made such a valuable contribution to the vitality of our richly diverse communities.” (Littlejohn

24/05/2016a and Littlejohn 24/05/2016b)

“...many people are fed-up with the ever increasing levels of immigration, crime and taxation in Britain, and indeed see them as linked. An increasing number of those able to leave Britain are doing so to seek better living conditions and opportunities for themselves and their families elsewhere in the world.” (Cole, 20/06/2016)

The *Daily Mail* published two articles containing a list of criminals, their crimes and their nationalities. The accused were mostly from the EU and its purpose was to garner Leave votes by suggesting free movement made British people unsafe. Under each article was a short and graphic subheading such as: “boy who stabbed headmaster to death”, “KICKED HER HUSBAND TO DEATH” (Daily Mail Reporter 07/06/2016), “THE AXE MURDERER” and “THE PAEDOPHILE AND RAPIST” (Daily Mail 03/06/2016b). Of the 21 crimes listed, six were committed by Poles, two by Romanians, three by Lithuanians, and two Slovaks. The other nationalities named were: Italian, French, German and Congolese (Daily Mail Reporter 07/06/2016 and Daily Mail 03/06/2016b). Furthermore, the Polish were singled out in other articles and labelled, rapists (Tweedie, 07/05/2016), “thugs” (Littlejohn 24/05/2016a and Littlejohn 24/05/2016b) and “villains” (Western Mail 03/06/2016a). The Northern Irish newspapers were the only ones to not engage in this prejudice discourse rather the *Irish News* criticised it (Holmes, 25/04/2016).

The concentration on Eastern European nationalities is extremely selective and suggestive of the nationalities welcome in Britain. An article discussing the foreign-born nationalities in English and Welsh prisons focuses, to the top one and three, being Poles and Romanians respectively. However, the second largest was Irish (Drury and Slack 03/06/2016). Significantly, unlike Poles and Romanians the Irish were not subject to demeaning and stereotypical labels and were of no further interest in other articles and newspapers. The omission of the Irish from the criminal discourse reveals a conscious or subconscious prejudice that establishes subliminal messages against non-Western European cultures.

In addition to migrants already in Britain the newspapers stoked fears of refugees in Germany. In her study of masculinities and the War on Terror, Bhattacharyya (2008) explained that women's rights were exploited to defend military action against an enemy with different and inflexible values. Bhattacharyya identifies the depiction of Middle Eastern men as sexually dysfunctional and belief that sexual freedoms in the west facilitate its cultural tolerance. Middle Eastern and African migrants are similarly depicted with the *Daily Mail*, *Scottish Daily Mail* and *The Times*, exploiting sexual assaults on women in Cologne on New Year's Eve 2015, to assert the need for border controls to protect British women.¹⁶ Thus, women's rights are used as a measure of social development and the superiority of the west against the migrant.

Britain's deportation system was continuously portrayed as incompetent and unfair. *The Times* (Ford 25/03/2016) and *Daily Mail* (Daily Mail Reporter 25/03/2016) did blame appeals or lack of resources, however most articles blamed Europe. In the most emotive attack the *Daily Mail* wrote:

"FREE movement rules have left Britain powerless to kick out some of the EU's worst killers,

rapists and drug dealers....

The 'rights' the criminals enjoy as EU citizens means we cannot deport them despite their

despicable crimes.

British courts - bound by Brussels regulations - have ruled their right to live where they like

trumps our elected Government's desire to boot them out.

...the number of foreign criminals the Government had failed to deport was enough to fill a

'small town'.

¹⁶ Reid 08/04/2016a, Doyle 14/03/2016a, Stevens, 11/03/2016 and Stevens, 09/03/2016, Reid 08/04/2016a and Doyle 14/03/2016b and Waterfield, 14/06/2016.

...leaving us stuck with some of Europe's worst criminals... more evidence of how EU membership makes us less safe. Free movement of people allows unelected judges in the rogue

European Court to decide who we can and can't deport.

'This puts British families at risk. It squanders UK taxpayers' money on keeping them in prison. Outside the EU, we can take back control of our borders, deport more dangerous criminals, and strengthen public protection.' (Slack, Doyle, and Drury 07/06/2016)

The comparison of criminal populations to a “small town” was also used in *The Herald* (Settle 03/06/2016) and claims that Britain was “stuck with... Europe’s worst criminals” was echoed in another *Daily Mail* article, stating that Britain “is crawling with foreign criminals” (Littlejohn 24/05/2016a). The imposition on sovereignty is also alluded to as Brussels has disregarded Briton’s safety by leaving the government “powerless” to remove threats. The Council of Europe’s, European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) is cited as the reasons for Britain’s failure to deport criminals (Littlejohn 24/05/2016a, Drury 20/05/2016, The Times 07/05/2016a, Littlejohn 24/05/2016b, Cole 23/05/2016 and Cole 24/05/2016). It was not specified that the Council of Europe and thus the ECHR are separate entities to the EU. Therefore, unless already known readers were subjected to an illusion that the EU was preventing deportations. Only the *Irish News* (Connolly 30/05/2016) and *The Times* (Simpson and Ford 18/03/2016) mentioned the extradition of wanted criminals to the UK, all other arguments revolved around the impact of foreigner criminals in Britain.

The positive or negative portrayal of deportation subjects had distinctive characteristics.

Negative stories reported on murderers, sexual predators or fraudsters who had not been deported and generally came from Eastern Europe, Albania, the Middle East or Africa. These

stories were published in the *Daily Mail*¹⁷, *The Times* (The Times 07/05/2016b), *Scottish Daily Mail* (Martin and Drury 02/06/2016b, Littlejohn 24/05/2016b and Drury, 28/05/2016) and *The Herald* (Hughes 07/06/2016). In contrast, positive stories generally criticised the attempts to deport Australians, Canadians or white Africans.

The *Scottish Daily Mail*, *The Herald* and the *Daily Mail* gave exceptional attention to two families living in the Scottish Highlands; the Brain's from Australia and the Zielsdorf's from Canada. The Brain's moved to Scotland after being enticed by a government program attracting people to the Highlands, to mitigate population decline. The initial visa on which they moved to the UK was scrapped the following year and they failed to meet the new visa requirements. The Zielsdorf's upon moving to the Highlands reopened the only shop in a small village and failed to meet their visa requirements because they could only afford to employ one permanent staff member rather than two. The deportation notices issued to both families was met with anger from the public, newspapers, MPs, MSP and the Scottish First Minister.

The families were described in the *Daily Mail* (Allen 01/06/2016) and *The Herald* (Donnelly 06/06/2016) as "hard-working families from kith-and-kin countries" making invaluable contributions to their communities. While the church going Zielsdorf's (Kane 28/05/2016) poured investment into their community, the Brain's "... totally immersed themselves in Highland culture" as both parents worked, and their son learnt Gaelic. *The Herald* drew attention to the fact that the Brain's son (seven) spoke fluent Gaelic, a dying language and symbolic of Scottish culture (Donnelly 06/06/2016, Devlin 03/06/2016, Devlin 26/05/2016, Russell 13/05/2016 and Russell 02/04/2016). The Scottish papers argued that Westminster was not attentive to the needs of Scotland, by requiring the removal of working age and Gaelic speaking

¹⁷ Drury and Slack 03/06/2016, Tweedie 19/03/2016, Littlejohn 24/03/2016, Wright 21/05/2016, Daily Mail Reporter 07/07/2016, Daily Mail 03/06/2016b, Tweedie 07/05/2016 and Greenwood, 07/05/2016.

people when both are in short supply (Donnelly 06/06/2016, Devlin 03/06/2016 and Weldon 30/05/2016).

The families compatibility to Scottish society was highlighted when a description of their invaluable contribution was immediately followed by, “meanwhile in overcrowded London, a drug-dealing, Albanian double-murderer is granted legal aid to avoid extradition” (Daily Mail Comment 02/06/2016). Furthermore, MP Ian Blackford was quoted saying, “people who are here and are making a contribution to our economy, and who want to stay and live here, are being forced out” (Allen 01/06/2016). Mr. Brain was also quoted saying “we thought we were Theresa May’s poster family for successful immigrant candidates” (Russell 02/04/2016). This is opposed to the Eastern Europeans and Albanians who do not want to be in the UK, do not immerse themselves culturally and only come to commit crime.

A white Zimbabwean woman issued a deportation notice was also met with outrage. The *Daily Mail* considered it ridiculous she would be deported because she “didn’t know enough about Britain”, despite her father “being schooled to UK standards and having relatives who fought for Britain in the Boer war and Second World War” (Dolan 19/03/2016). According to the reports, the woman and her husband had failed to meet immigration requirements because they did not organise a test “proving” they could speak English (Dolan 19/03/2016). The *Daily Mail*’s double standards are exposed as they have lamented other nationalities for not meeting the same requirements. The ‘problems’ with migration are summed up in the following:

“... post-war... immigrants generally... from the colonies and dominions of the Empire... were... not only imbued with British values but, regardless of their skin colour, shared many of the behaviours of the society they joined...”

But many of these engines of integration have disappeared, just at a time when record numbers are arriving from all over the world, bringing with them practices, religions, attitudes and languages that have never been a significant part of British life... ” (Phillips, 11/05/2016).

The openness towards migrants from Britain’s Empire “regardless of skin colour” is evidently located in the past. The *Daily Mail* claimed that hiring Indian doctors to reduce staff shortages without taking a bridging course, could be “a most dangerous thing’ as there are considerable gaps in... language... and British culture” (Borland 08/04/2016) but it was ridiculous that a white Zimbabwean had to prove she spoke English.

The necessity of demonstrating British values and loyalty was further expressed by the *Daily Mails* criticism of the deportation of Afghani’s, who had served as interpreters for the British Forces in Afghanistan. They reported that one interpreter had committed suicide when issued with a deportation notice and deemed their treatment as “shameful” because they had risked their lives for British soldiers (Williams, Brown, Boyle 04/05/201, Brown, Williams, Boyle 03/05/2016, Doyle 26/03/2016 and Brown 03/05/2016). In contrast, Afghanis who had not served the British army were portrayed as terrorists (Brown and Greenhill 11/05/2016a and Brown and Greenhill 11/05/2016b).

The Herald was the only paper to criticise the attempted deportation of a non-western Ghanaian national. Lord Elias Mensah Apetsi described as an “award-winning student” had been granted asylum after fleeing Ghana ten years prior (Bynorth 21/03/2016 and Brennan 30/04/2016).

Though *The Herald* published two articles supporting his stay in Scotland it did not surmount to the seven articles published in regards to the Australian and Canadian families threatened with deportation.

Terrorism

Concerns about terrorism were sustained by the *Daily Mail* and its arguments repeated in the Scottish equivalent. *The Times* was neutral, whereas *The Herald* was critical of conflating immigration and terrorism. Both the Welsh and Northern Irish papers were disinterested.

All newspapers, except the Northern Irish and *Daily Post*, discussed terrorists exploiting the migrant crisis. They argued that terrorists were pretending to be refugees to gain access to the Schengen area where they could move freely. The November 2015 Paris attack and the 2016 Brussels attack were cited as evidence because a number of the perpetrators entered Europe via Turkish and Greek migrant roots.¹⁸ In addition, the *Daily Mail*, *The Times* and the *Scottish Daily Mail* reported that two Afghani's, who were granted refugee status in Italy had since been suspected of plotting terrorist attacks in the UK and were on the run.¹⁹ Thus, Europe's free movement rules were portrayed as sacrificing the safety of its citizens.

Britain does not partake in the Schengen agreement, yet it was exploited as a reason to leave the EU. Schengen was described as leaving Britain "wide open"²⁰ to crime and terrorism and was "like hanging a sign welcoming terrorists to Europe" (Slack 06/04/2016). Europol's claim that 5,000 jihadists entered Europe in 2015 was not questioned, but used to imply an imminent threat,²¹ from terrorists who could enter Britain irregularly via the Channel or by "waltzing" through border control (Slack 30/03/2016). MP and Brexit campaigner David Davis said, "the border of Syria is now at Calais" (Slack 06/04/2016). EU free movement was blamed for

¹⁸ Reid 28/05/2016a, Martin 17/05/2016a and Slack and Duncan 28/04/2016, Sheridan 06/04/2016, Reid 28/05/2016b and Martin 17/05/2016b and Western Mail 31/05/2016b.

¹⁹ Brown and Greenhill 11/05/2016a, Brown and Greenhill 11/05/2016b and Willan, Hamilton and Burgess 11/05/2016.

²⁰ Greenwood, Martin, Brown, and Hughes 30/05/2016, Sheridan 06/04/2016, and Slack 06/04/2016.

²¹ Slack and Groves 08/06/2016a, Slack and White 09/03/2016 and Slack and Groves 08/06/2016b.

‘forcing’ Britain to “import risk” because they could not carry out proper background checks on unprecedented numbers of “jihadist” with EU citizenship (Peev 31/03/2016a, Peev 31/03/2016b and Slack 06/04/2016). As such Britain’s EU membership was portrayed as making Britain vulnerable to terrorism.

The Times both criticised and boasted about links between the EU and terrorism. One article went so far to claim that Turkey wanted EU membership to complete its goal of converting Europe to Islam (Phillips 07/06/2016). *The Herald* was the most sceptical but did not explicitly reject these links, instead casting doubt by referring to them as “claims” (Settle 17/06/2016, Boswell 17/06/2016 and Settle 31/05/2016). The weak counterargument exasperated the terrorist threat and facilitated its manipulation to encourage Leave votes. The lack of a Scottish, Welsh or Northern Irish voice demonstrated that fears of terrorism were an English concern. *The Herald* alludes to this, writing that “polls have long shown Muslim integration in Scotland is facilitated by lower settlement numbers, lower fears of terrorism and quite welcoming social attitudes” (Bonino 02/05/2016). England’s much higher rate of immigration including Muslim immigration may have exasperated fears of terrorism.

The Northern Irish papers both published the same article by an Ulster UKIP candidate Alan Day. The two papers showed little concern for terrorism, citing that under a new CTA agreement signed in May 2016, extra security at airports and ferry ports between the island of Ireland and Britain would minimise the threat (Day 01/06/2016a and Day 01/06/2016b). Thus, for Northern Ireland EU membership did not pose a terrorist threat.

Illegal Immigration

The *Daily Mail* continued to dominate in the debate on illegal immigration and the *Scottish Daily Mail* with the second highest references again repeated its perspective. All other newspapers were interested to a lesser extent. The key themes that emerged from the papers were: an unprotected English coast, migrants on the French coast and illegal workers. The government was often blamed for illegal immigration, though at times blame was laid on the EU and used to promote Leave.

Repeated words and phrases set the tone of the debate around illegal immigration. The unrelenting reference to “illegal” by all papers and the diction of “sneak”²² in the *Daily Mails* implied a clandestine nature in the irregular entry methods of migrants, thereby establishing feelings of uneasiness or untrustworthiness. In addition, the immigration system was described as a “merry-go-round” by the *Daily Mail* (Martin 03/06/2016, Martin and Drury 02/06/2016a and Liddle 14/03/2016). This pertained to migrants who continually attempted to reach Britain by irregular methods, even after being caught or deported. The description created a sense of hopelessness in the current immigration system.

The “merry-go-round” of immigration was supposedly facilitated by the EU because it ruled migrants could not be jailed when caught entering a country illegally, giving them ample opportunity to try again. *The Times* argued this ruling “undermined boarder security” and “trumps” the law of sovereign nations (Waterfield 08/06/2016) and weakened efforts to deter migrants from crossing via the Channel tunnel. Similar sentiments were argued in the *Daily Mail* (Drury 08/06/2016). Both newspapers argued that because this law undermined sovereignty, it was necessary to leave the EU to secure up Britain’s borders and laws.

²² Martin 03/06/2016, Daily Mail Comment 31/05/2016, Martin and Drury 02/06/2016a, Camber 13/04/2016 and Drury 08/06/2016.

The *Daily Mail* perpetuated that the EU's "borderless" Schengen area facilitated the movement of thousands to the French coast ready to breach the English border.²³ The *Daily Mail* described the French coast as "springboard to Britain" (Drury 11/06/2016 and Drury and Levy 24/03/2016) from where "13,000 would-be illegal immigrants" had "laid siege to Britain's borders in a single month" (Slack and White 09/03/2016). Such statements and the repetition of thousands on the French coast implied that migrants are preparing for an invasion of Britain, an invasion facilitated by the EU and the government.

The British government was accused of leaving the English coast along the Channel exposed because only three boats patrolled 7,000 miles coast, compared to the 600 boats in Italy (Drury 09/06/2016). This vulnerability was confirmed by the rescue of migrants in the Channel. The rescue of eighteen Albanian migrants off the English coast was reported prolifically, except in the *Belfast Newsletter*.²⁴ Quiet ports and harbours were deemed to be most at risk and the *Daily Mail* quoted one resident from a serene town saying; "It's quite a worry for all of us. When they come ashore they are in a panic, so who knows what they'll do" (Payne and Allen 31/05/2016). The *Daily Mail* in suggesting migrants might have more "sinister motives" but without clarifying what they could be, exacerbated fears of these migrants (Drury 25/03/2016a and Daily Mail Comment 31/05/2016).

In addition, the *Daily Mail*, the *Scottish Daily Mail*, *The Herald* and the *Irish News* wrote of migrants breaching Britain's borders by hiding in the back of lorries.²⁵ Rhetorical questions were

²³ Drury 11/06/2016, Daily Mail Comment 02/06/2016, Drury 09/06/201 and Reid 04/06/2016.

²⁴ Drury 09/06/2016, Duffin, Kent Smith, Drury and Parker 02/06/2016, Martin and Drury 02/06/2016a, Payne and Allen 31/06/2016, The Times 13/06/2016, Smith 02/06/2016, Settle 31/05/2016, Mitchell 30/05/2016, Daily Post 31/05/2016, Western Mail 31/05/2016a and Irish News 01/06/2016.

²⁵ Drury 25/03/2016a, Drury and Levy 24/03/2016, Slack and Groves 16/06/2016, Inglis 13/06/2016, Smith 09/04/2016a and Smith 09/04/2016b.

used in the *Daily Mail* (Drury 25/03/2016a, Daily Mail Comment 31/05/2016 and Drury and Levy 24/03/2016) and in a letter to the *Western Mail* (Cole 30/05/2016) asking how many illegal immigrants had actually been let through. These questions were designed to warn the British public that an unprecedented number of dangerous ‘illegal’ immigrants could be anywhere in Britain.

Illegal immigration did not appear to be a concern in Scotland because its discourse on the subject was overwhelmingly focused on the UK or England. However, one Letter written to the *Scottish Daily Mail*, noted the discovery of “stowaways” in Fife to indicate the impact of illegal immigration on Scotland. The letter argues that Scots do not understand the English position because though migrants may be welcomed to Scotland they will disappear to England where minority groups are larger, thus the English have a greater concern (Inglis 13/06/2016).

The English newspapers were not interested in illegal workers, instead this was covered by the *Daily Post* and Northern Irish newspapers, as they reported on their arrests. These included a Ukrainian man with fake Latvian ID working on Berwyn prison in North Wales (Roberts 21/05/2016, Roberts 18/04/2016 and Agency Reporter 18/04/2016) and an arrest in a Chinese restaurant in Anglesey, North Wales (Daily Post 26/03/2016). Similar arrests were made in Northern Ireland in Chinese restaurants (Irish News 21/05/2016 and Belfast Newsletter 20/05/2016) and a nail salon (Belfast Newsletter 09/03/2016). Apart from the articles regarding the Ukrainian, the articles were factual rather than emotive. Interestingly, the article regarding the Ukrainian was balanced, explaining that he was good man paying his taxes and sending money to his family (Roberts 21/05/2016). This contrasted with descriptions in the *Daily Mails*, which poised illegal immigrants as dangerous.

Similar to the terrorism debate, the Northern Irish newspapers maintained that the CTA prevented illegal immigration. They stipulated that “enhanced electronic border systems” would

“identify those with no right to enter the CTA” (Day 01/06/2016a and Day 01/06/2016b). This again indicates that the immigration concerns in Northern Ireland are different to those in the rest of the UK. Although the *Irish News* published articles on the English coast and the rescue of eighteen Albanians, it was to a lesser degree than other newspapers.

Refugees, Asylum Seekers and the Migrant Crisis

A study of twitter usage during the referendum revealed that support for Brexit initially peaked during the height of the migrant crisis in 2015. The study stipulates that this “set the tone” for the remainder of the campaign as a greater number of tweets related to Brexit than Remain (Porcaro and Müller 2016). This is reflected in the discourse as articles pertaining to the migrant crisis were constant throughout the campaign period, with many linking it to the EU. All newspapers discussed the migrant crisis, refugees and asylum seekers, except the *Daily Post* where there was no reference to asylum seekers and the *Belfast Newsletter* with no reference to refugees.

According to the *Daily Mail*, the migrant crisis exposed the risk imposed on Britain by the EU (Drury 11/06/2016, Slack 10/06/2016a and Daily Mail Reporter 30/05/2016). The incompetence of the EU was conveyed through the chaos of the Dublin Agreement, which deports irregular migrants to the first EU country they entered, and the failure to reach a new arrangement (Brown 7/04/2016 and Drury 05/03/2016b). The *Daily Mail* and *The Herald* undermined an EU-Turkey deal to return migrants who crossed the Turkish border, by questioning its legality (Stevens 09/03/2016 and The Herald 19/03/2016). The *Daily Mail* even cited that returning migrants could breach their right to seek asylum (Stevens 09/03/2016). Across the newspapers, graphic and emotional descriptions of migrants drowning in the Mediterranean, supported depictions of chaotic and incompetent EU security (Willan 30/05/2016, Pratt 29/04/2016, Scott 01/06/2016, Belfast Newsletter 30/05/2016, Simpson 19/04/2016 and Daily Mail 27/05/2016). The *Daily Mail* proclaimed that navy ships in the Mediterranean acted as “magnets” because it increased migrants’ chances of survival and reaching their destination (Reid 28/05/2016a). The imagery of an EU in chaos over the migrant crisis contributed to perceptions of an EU incapable of meeting the needs of Europe, let alone Britain.

This disregard for security was furthered in criticism of Angela Merkel's 'open door' policy. The *Daily Mail* and a letter in the *Western Mail* (Cole 27/05/2016) stipulated that it was a catalyst for untrustworthy migrants pretending to be refugees (Drury 11/06/2016, Drury and Levy 24/03/2016, Slack and Groves 08/06/2016b, Reid 28/05/2016a and Reid 28/05/2016b). An Iranian's confession that he and many others were economic migrants, who came when "Mrs Merkel said come over" supported this claim (Reid 08/04/2016a and Reid 08/04/2016b). The arrival of unprecedented numbers in Germany was declared a direct threat to Britain because it was simply a "stepping stone" (Drury 05/03/2016a). The evidence being Germany's admittance to losing track of 130,000 migrants (Drury 21/05/2016a and Drury 21/05/2016b). Likewise, the *Daily Mail* (Daily Mail 31/05/2016) and *The Herald* (Settle 31/05/2016) alleged that refugees in Germany and other EU countries, would move to Britain once they received EU citizenship. Thus, it is implied that border controls are necessary to stop migrants using Germany as a 'stepping stone', to illegally enter Britain or if they gain EU citizenship come via free movement. In contrast, *The Times* argued that leaving the EU will not change the effect of the migrant crisis on Britain and argued that as a global player Britain cannot turn its back on the crisis unfolding in the Mediterranean (Sylvester 08/03/2016).

In response to this moral high calling, the *Daily Mail* (Hilton 21/06/2016a, Gove 30/04/2016, Duncan Smith 23/04/2016, Daily Mail 15/03/2016 and Daily Mail Reporter 12/03/2016) and the *Scottish Daily Mail* (Hilton 21/06/2016b and Slack 25/02/2016) insisted the end of free movement would enable Britain to take in more refugees, because as *The Times* put it "what compassionate nation won't take asylum seekers?" (Aldrick 18/06/2016). In appealing to the readers humanity, the *Daily Mails* justify voting Leave by portraying, not Brexit but free movement rules as selfish. Thereby, leaving the EU will facilitate Britain's humanity.

It is not, however the EU preventing Britain from taking in more refugees but the UK parliament. The parliament's decision not take in 3000 refugee children from Europe's migrant camps, united both English and Scottish newspapers plus the *Western Mail* in criticism. Instead of portraying these children, like adult migrants, as untrustworthy the *Daily Mails* portrayed them as brave and vulnerable and in desperate need of "sanctuary" (Daily Mail 28/04/2016 and Slack and Peev 04/05/2016). Evidently, it seems Britain should be wary of a mass of migrants because they are deceitful and dangerous, but children do not pose this same threat and in helping genuine refugees, Britain was portrayed as humanitarian.

Nigel Farage's 'Breaking Point' poster exploits fear of a mass of migrants, by depicting a line of refugee men on the Croatia-Slovenia border accompanied by the slogan 'breaking point' (see figure 3). It received condemnation from both campaigns. While criticism in *The Herald* (Gardham 20/06/2016 and Settle 17/06/2016) and *The Times* (The Times 17/06/2016) drew on comments from both Remain and Leave politicians. The *Irish News* was more impassioned. It declared the debate in Northern Ireland "fairly measured", citing the poster as evidence of "mudslinging" in Britain and condemned it "distasteful, misleading and potentially dangerous" (Irish News 21/06/2016). Attempts to differentiate the politics of Farage from Boris Johnson and Michael Gove, was evident in the Remain papers but also in the *Daily Mail*, which neither criticised nor condemned the poster (Slack 20/06/2016b). Akkerman (2011, p. 932) found that the tabloid press is oriented towards an elitist perspective. This suggests that in distancing itself from the populist Farage, the *Daily Mail* wants to be associated with more reputable figures like Johnson and Gove. Despite this, the posters depiction of a mass of non-white men correlates with the *Daily Mail's* rhetoric about the dangers of immigrant men.



Figure 3 Nigel Farage's 'Breaking Point Poster' (Safdar 2016)

The majority of the arguments outlined so far were dominated by both *Daily Mails* and discussed to a lesser extent in other newspapers. There were, however a number of discourses specific to the peripheral nations. The Scottish *Herald* proudly boasted about its commitment to asylum seekers and refugees. An article attested that Scotland was more welcoming to migrants than England because it was a “nation of migrants”, having experienced emigration and was a “junior partner” of the Empire. In addition, its commitment to socialism enabled Scots to look beyond migrants for misfortunes, to “unequal distribution of wealth” (MacWhirter 21/06/2016). Another article stipulated the UK had a “moral obligation” to assist people fleeing wars in which it was “complicit” (Scott 01/06/2016). This humanitarian attitude continued with criticism of inadequate housing and treatment of asylum seekers and refugees in Glasgow (Devlin 19/03/2016). *The Herald* found issue with neither Glasgow hosting all 4000 of Scotland’s asylum seekers (Settle 12/04/2016 and Smith and Jones 02/06/2016) nor Scottish local authorities being earmarked to host asylum seekers, though it did warn that the concerns of councils must be addressed (Settle 12/04/2016). *The Herald* was evidently proud of Scotland assisting refugees; a contrast to the *Daily Mails* where it was considered a burden and threat.

The *Western Mail* expressed similar pride in hosting asylum seekers and refugees. It boasted that three Welsh cities; Cardiff, Swansea and Newport were amongst the top 10 places in the UK, with the highest number of asylum seekers per head (Sands 02/06/2016). Notably the negative discourse was contained in a letter asserting it was unreasonable for “bogus asylum-seekers” to “better their lives” in Britain (Cole 27/05/2016). Only the *Daily Post* failed to draw links between the migrant crisis and the EU referendum instead it discussed successful Asian refugees following their expulsion from Uganda in 1972 (Sheibani 21/06/2016). The *Daily Post*'s dialogue pertaining to contemporary issues may have been excluded in the article selection process, if it occurred outside the timeframe or did not contain the word immigration. This suggests the paper is disinterested in wider political issues.

Asylum seekers received particular attention in the Northern Irish newspapers. Identical articles were published in the *Irish News* and *Belfast Newsletter*, on two failed asylum cases; one of a Chinese man (Belfast Newsletter 18/04/2016 and Irish News 16/04/2016) and the other an Iranian Kurd (Belfast Newsletter 24/03/2016 and Irish News 25/03/2016). The outcomes were not questioned, as the newspapers implicitly supported the untrustworthiness implied by the judges. In addition, the intense Albanian dialogue usually found in the *Daily Mails* was touched on in the *Irish News*, as it repeated a warning that Albanians were not refugees but economic migrants (Irish News 01/06/2016). Despite this, the discourse towards asylum seekers was mostly positive, with one article criticising the length of time taken to process cases, leaving asylum seekers in limbo and without stable housing (Archer 24/02/2016). In Northern Ireland discourse around asylum seekers and refugees was not emotive nor negative suggesting its concerns are detached from those in Britain.

Communities and Culture

The impact of immigration on communities and culture was very much an English concern. The two *Daily Mails* dominated the discussion exasperating fears of a diminishing ‘British’ culture. The dialogue in *The Times*, *The Herald*, and the two Welsh papers was limited but they did not share these concerns, instead depicting a positive impact. Significantly, the discussion of “British” culture and communities actually alluded to England.

New migrants were deemed a threat to British culture. This assertion was maintained through repetition in the *Daily Mail*²⁶ and *Scottish Daily Mail* (Slack 04/06/2016b, Grant and Slack 25/04/2016b) of immigration damaging British social cohesion/fabric. The *Daily Mails* cited concern that the East End Borough of Newham had the lowest white-British population in the country (Hardman 21/05/2016). Non-white migration to the area had increased since 1991 but white-British remains the largest ethnic group at 17%, 29% including other white ethnicities (Jivraj 2013). The *Daily Mail* in an article titled, ‘*Death of the Cockney*’ reports white working-class Cockney’s moving in droves to Essex because the East End is unrecognisable (Hardman 21/05/2016). Tony, the son of a Jamaican immigrant is reported to be making this move so his daughter can celebrate Christmas and be raised to British values (Littlejohn 2/05/2016a, Hardman 21/05/2016 and Littlejohn 27/05/2016b). The use of Tony and other non-white subjects to represent East Enders is suggestive of the good versus’ bad migrant.

Post-war British Empire migrants are characterised as ‘good’ migrants. Specifically, they shared British values (Littlejohn 27/05/2016a, Littlejohn 27/05/2016b and Phillips 11/05/2016). Today the British Empire migrant has been whitened. One article titled, ‘*Briton’s prefer migration from commonwealth...*’ asserts that Britons would “support freedom of movement” from

²⁶ Slack 04/06/2016a, Daily Mail 28/04/2016, Daily Mail Reporter 12/03/2016, Slack 21/06/2016, Hilton 21/06/2016a and Hardman 11/06/2016.

Australia, Canada and New Zealand (Daily Mail 15/03/2016). This assessment completely ignores the 50 other non-white countries making up the Commonwealth. This bias towards white commonwealth migrants is implied by a Newham resident stating that he “could be in Baghdad”. For a short-period between 1920 and 1932 Iraq was governed as a British Mandate. Though not a significant period compared to the colonies, the bias towards white-commonwealth migrants applies. Moreover, Iraqis do not compose a significant minority in Newham. Indian, African and Bangladeshi comprise the top three minorities and as Islam is not the major religion in two of these it indicates that the comment conflates non-white migrants with Muslims (Jivraj 2013).

The devastation of white Cockney culture is projected to affect the whole country. The *Daily Mails* cite Oxford Professor David Coleman predicting “white Britain” to be a minority by 2060. Coleman argues as the non-white population increases, the need to “adapt” to British culture will be extinguished and “Britain would... become unrecognisable to its present inhabitants” (Coleman 28/05/2016 and Scottish Daily Mail 28/05/2016). Another article maintains leaving the EU will save British national identity (Daily Mail Comment 02/06/2016). The EU, however is predominately white and western and therefore should not pose a threat to British values.

Turkish bid for EU membership is considered to threaten White Christian European culture. The *Daily Mails* constantly emphasise Islam’s predominance in Turkey alluding to incompatible values (Drury and Slack 14/06/2016 and Stevens 09/3/2016). This was furthered by linking “Muslim men” and sexual assaults (Reid 08/04/2016a, Reid 08/04/2016b and Reid 05/03/2016). The incompatibility of values was explicitly expressed by Michael Gove in the *Daily Mail*:

“There has to be a better way for Britain to protect our vital interests.

I support controlled migration — I believe Britain is strengthened by new people, new ideas and new cultures. But you can have too much of a good thing. And allowing millions... to come here from the Balkans and Turkey is too much” (Gove 30/04/2016).

Turkey’s bid for EU membership is exploited by the Leave newspapers, who urge a Leave vote to protect British culture before Muslim Turks get free movement rights. Though counterarguments were limited *The Herald* stated the focus on Turkey was “to stir people’s worst instincts and scratch raw prejudice”, specifically the focus on its Muslim population (Smith 24/05/2016).

In addition to cultural changes, mass migration was predicted to change Britain physically. The *Daily Mails* melancholy predicted that the “nature and character of Britain would change” (Slack 20/05/2016b) if the “green belt” is “concreted” for new houses and communities.²⁷ Though all references referred to “Britain’s” countryside, a green countryside is commonly recognised as an English characteristic. Indeed, Christopher Bryant (2006, p. 170) identifies a “green and pleasant land” as central to “English cultural nationalism”. As the *Scottish Daily Mail* and not *The Herald* perpetuated this fear it asserts its ties to the *Daily Mail* and England, indicating that concerns for community and culture were an English and Leave matter.

The engagement of other national and Remain newspapers was primarily positive. *The Times* tended to give balanced assessments, acknowledging concerns but remarking overall society had been enriched by immigration (Sylvester 21/06/2016, Collins 27/05/2016, The Times 14/05/2016 and Johnson 14/06/2016). Furthermore, it published comments by a Polish immigrant stating she

²⁷ Drury and Slack 14/06/2016, Daily Mail, Daily Mail, Groves and Stevens 02/06/2016, Scottish Daily Mail 06/06/2016 and Groves 30/04/2016b.

had come to Britain to experience its culture, countering arguments that Eastern European migrants do not want to integrate (Charter and Keeley 14/06/2016).

The Herald continued the positive discourse in relation to Scottish communities and culture. Though the majority of discourse pertained to the contribution of Australian and Canadian families threatened with deportation (see section *Crime and Deportation*), it was evident that immigration was crucial to community repopulation. One article extended this contribution to Spanish, Portuguese, Polish and Eastern European migrants and stipulates that Brexit is stronger in English communities where residents and immigrants compete for jobs (Smith 24/05/2016). Furthermore, *The Herald* maintained that racism was not part of Scottish political culture. It argued that English politics was more prone to racism, citing the lack of anti-immigration rhetoric in the Scottish independence referendum, compared to the EU referendum that suggests Turks are criminals (MacWhirter 21/06/2016).

The *Daily Post* was not concerned about communities and culture, but the *Western Mail* was especially positive. It published articles praising the impact of Italian migrants in Wales, attributing them to enriching Welsh communities, simultaneously developing and integrating into Welsh culture (Western Mail 09/04/2016 and Devine 18/06/2016). Italian cafes were even described as the “heart” of most communities (Devine 18/06/2016). Polish migrants were even attributed to community enrichment (Devine 18/06/2016). Historian Martin Johnes was quoted saying immigration has “defined Wales... It changes cultures, but a culture that stands still is a culture that isn't going to survive”(Devine 18/06/2016). This positivity was continued in the defence of Eastern European migrants, after a Welsh UKIP candidate linked them to litter because of different “cultural attitudes” and not being aware of the “hygiene problem” (Shipton 18/03/2016). The *Western Mail's* immigration pride leads it to assume that many Welsh are “unconvinced by... efforts... to portray immigration... as a threat” (Devine 18/06/2016). However, Wales voted Leave. This suggests that the paper either does not reflect public opinion

or there are other reasons Wales voted out. Moreover, the *Western Mail* is a Cardiff based newspaper which voted overwhelmingly for Remain and therefore may not reflect the wider Welsh community, where other papers may be read.

Housing

The *Daily Mail* continued to dominate the discourse regarding immigrant impacts on housing availability and its analysis repeated in the *Scottish Daily Mail*. All other newspapers had very little concern for housing, with *The Herald* and the *Irish News* discussing it in relation to asylum seekers (see the section *Refugees, Asylum Seekers and the Migrant Crisis*).

The word “pressure” continued to be used in conjunction with housing, though to a lesser extent than other themes. It was used five times in the *Daily Mail*²⁸ and four times in the *Scottish Daily Mail*.²⁹ It was declared impossible to build enough houses for migrants arriving at their current rate let alone to accommodate EU expansion to include: Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Albania and Turkey (Gove 30/04/2016, Groves 30/04/2016a and Groves 30/04/2016b). To cope with current levels of migration it was said six houses would need to be built every minute (Daily Mail 03/06/2016a) or 240 everyday (Groves 11/05/2016b). These figures supported the argument that free movement was unsustainable and leaving the EU would mitigate the crisis. Furthermore, the *Daily Mails* criticised an EU “order”, for Britain build more houses as hypocritical, considering EU free movement supposedly caused the housing crisis (Slack 20/05/2016a and Slack 20/05/2016b).

The *Daily Mails* declared young people to be the victims of the housing crisis. Migrants were supposedly “wrecking” their “dreams of home ownership” (Groves 11/05/2016a) by preventing them from getting on the housing ladder or being able to afford rent.³⁰ A class analysis was again

²⁸ Groves and Stevens 02/06/2016, Daily Mail Comment 02/06/2016, Duncan Smith 23/04/2016, Doughty 31/03/2016 and Slack 30/03/2016.

²⁹ Roden 13/06/2016, Slack 19/04/2016, Doughty 26/02/2016 and Slack 25/02/2016.

³⁰ Slack and Martin 20/06/2016, Groves and Stevens 02/06/2016, Salmon 07/06/2016, Groves 11/05/2016b, Rainford 10/05/2016.

adopted, explaining that the metropolitan elites did not have to compete for housing unlike the working class (Daily Mail 28/05/2016, Daily Mail 28/04/2016 and Daily Mail Comment 21/05/2016). In addition, homeless people were also named victims of migration. The *Daily Mail* stated that “community cohesion is eroded when... a family from Eastern Europe gets given a terrace house... ahead of a local lad who is left to 'sleep outside Asda' night after night” (Hardman 11/06/2016).

MP Ian Duncan Smith tried to justify ending free movement as beneficial to migrants themselves. He wrote in the *Daily Mail* that Brexit would end the exploitation of migrants by landlords, who force them to live in cramped accommodation (Duncan Smith 23/04/2016). This argument was not repeated in other *Daily Mail* articles. Instead they deemed houses with multiple occupants to be “grim” and a detriment to local communities because inhabitants were “groups of young men who can prove intimidating” (Tweedie 07/05/2016).

As the *Daily Mails* maintained that migrants fuelled the housing crisis, *The Times* and the *Western Mail* blamed the government. *The Times* acknowledged that migration contributed to the housing crisis but asserted that the government had failed to plan adequately or spent enough on constructing houses (Johnson 14/06/2016 and Aldrick 18/06/2016). A letter in the *Western Mail* reiterated this argument (Phelps 11/06/2016 and Lewis 12/05/2016) but another article argued that Brexit would free funds to build houses (Western Mail 20/05/2016). Likewise, *The Times* also stated the numbers were too vast for effective planning (Elliott 30/05/2016). This engagement with Leave rendered the counterarguments weak and ineffective.

Education

Discourse on immigration and education related to its impact on primary and secondary schools and universities. These issues were only discussed in the English and Scottish newspapers and Welsh *Western Mail*.

The two *Daily Mails* generally did not publish whole articles related to education, rather the discourse was limited to comments within articles. These comments usually described schools as being under “pressure” or strained. The word pressure was used in conjunction with schools in eleven *Daily Mail*³¹ articles and three *Scottish Daily Mail* articles (Roden 13/06/2016, Slack and Martin 12/05/2016b and Grant 31/03/2016). Likewise, the word “strain” was used seven times in the *Daily Mail*³² and three times in the *Scottish Daily Mail* (Groves 01/06/2016b, Slack 02/04/2016b and Evans 23/02/2016). An article titled ‘*Children betrayed by the migration boom*’ portrayed British children as victims (Daily Mail Comment 18/04/2016). The two *Daily Mails* claimed that with large numbers of immigrant children to accommodate, school places were stretched, and British children deprived of their rightful place in the British schools.³³ An us versus them mentality is clearly demonstrated through a sense of possessiveness. Brexit is urged to alleviate these problems and deemed crucial to prevent Turks and Albanians being “eligible” for British school places (Gove 30/04/2016), racializing the possessive discourse.

³¹ Drury 10/06/2016, Daily Mail Comment 04/06/2016, Groves and Stevens 02/06/2016, Coleman 28/05/2016, Slack and Martin 12/05/2016a, Daily Mail Reporter 05/05/2016, Daily Mail Reporter 19/04/2016, Doyle 18/04/2016, Slack 04/04/2016, Doughty 31/03/2016 and Slack 09/03/2016.

³² Groves 01/06/2016a, Martin 14/05/2016, Slack 11/05/2016, Daily Mail Reporter 05/06/2016, Gove 30/04/2016, Doyle 18/04/2016 and Slack 02/04/2016a.

³³ Groves 15/06/2016, Gove 30/04/2016, Doughty 29/04/2016, Duncan Smith 23/04/2016, Doyle 18/04/2016, Daily Mail Comment 16/04/2016, Littlejohn 15/04/2016, Groves and Fryer 05/03/2016, Doughty and Doyle 26/05/2016, Daily Mail Comment 18/04/2016, Slack and Martin 20/06/2016 and Slack 30/05/2016.

In countering the ‘pressure’ discourse, *The Times* asserted migrants have crucial role in maintaining schools. It maintained that a teacher shortage had seen many recruited from the US, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa and criticised government plans to limit their visas (Woolcock 11/06/2016). The British education system was also blamed for disadvantaging British students against better educated migrants and thus called for educational improvements rather than controlled migration (Johnsons 14/06/2016 and Collins 27/05/2016).

In addition to ‘pressures’, immigration was lambasted for changing the ethnic makeup of schools. It was claimed that children were in danger of sexual assault by refugee adults pretending to be minors, contributing to untrustworthiness and suspicion around refugees (Drury 14/04/2016). More prolific was the *Daily Mails* claim that British children were becoming a minority in schools (Phillips 11/05/2016) alluding to fears of a diminishing white Britain. The effects of which can be seen with some schools now serving only halal meat (Drury 10/05/2016). Furthermore, Migrant children supposedly “condemned” British children because English was not their first language (Littlejohn 15/03/2016). To facilitate these students, it is revealed that interpreters are needed to translate lessons to Romanian, Lithuanian, Slovakian and Polish (Littlejohn 15/03/2016). As a result, teachers are struggling to teach, and British children were being “held back by classmates who don’t speak English” (Daily Mail 28/05/2016). The working-class were said to be disproportionately affected, as suggested by one gender-biased statement claiming that “white working-class parents” have to see their “sons sink to the bottom of the heap in schools where English is barely spoken” (Daily Mail Reporter 12/03/2016). The language issue was not addressed in any other paper except *The Herald*. *The Herald*, however praised the diversity and tolerance that the 140 languages spoken in Glasgow schools, brings to the classroom (Scott 02/05/2016).

The Herald's main educational focus was the impact on Scottish universities. In one instance it stipulated that free movement of EU students and educators was the "lifeblood" of Scottish Universities. However, in the same article it asserted that £80m of taxpayer's money, spent each year on free tuition of EU students, will continue as long as Britain remains a member of the EU (Settle 17/05/2016). Nevertheless, *The Herald* was overwhelmingly in agreement that foreign students sustained its universities. The newspaper called for the reinstatement of a two years post-study work visa (Cameron 15/03/2016, Sanderson 10/03/2016, Sanderson 05/03/2016 and Sanderson 27/02/2016). This visa was necessary for countering the impact of Scotland's declining population and boosting the economy. Similar arguments were made in the *Western Mail*, as foreign students were deemed necessary for the maintenance of Welsh universities (Edwards 21/06/2016). One article even singled out Polish students as vital to the "life of Welsh universities" (Devine 18/06/2016). The vitality of funding from foreign students was insufficiently alluded to in the *Daily Mail* (Daily Mail Comment 01/06/2016) and *The Times* (Aldrick 18/06/2016). The Englishness of anti-immigration sentiment is reinforced considering the overwhelming negativity towards migrants and education in the *Daily Mail* and the positivity in *The Herald* and *Western Mail*.

Discussion

The discourse analysis has shown immigration to be one of the most prominent and controversial debates of Britain's EU referendum. It validates findings by Loughborough University (2016), that Leave media had a greater focus on immigration than Remain, and newspaper coverage reflected their Remain/Leave position. This study went further finding that Leave newspapers were almost always anti-immigrant but Remain papers also engaged with these sentiments, consequentially weakening the counterargument. The purpose of Leave newspapers engagement in pro-immigration discourse was to discredit the government, note the calls to bring unaccompanied refugee children to Britain (Daily Mail 28/04/2016 and Slack and Peev 04/05/2016). Although immigration was an overtly Leave concern it was also disproportionality English.

Anti-immigration sentiment was evidently English based, featuring predominately in English newspapers and when occurring in other papers was from a UK perspective. In contrast, positive immigration discourse was nation specific. That is, Scottish and Welsh newspapers - Northern Irish immigration discourse was limited - discussed positively immigrations impact on their respective nations but negative impacts referred to England or the UK. There is evidence here of a core English immigration experience versus that of the periphery. This also reflects the demographic and geographic characteristics of the UK with 84% of the population living in England and immigrants concentrated in London and the south-east. Comparatively, Scotland and Northern Ireland both on the geographic periphery have significantly less immigration as does Wales, though it is less geographically isolated from England. These characteristics evidently impacted the discourse in the newspapers and the referendum results.

The loss of power and control through devolution and European integration, including immigration are described as the drivers of contemporary English nationalism (Hobolt 2016, p.

1269, Henderson, Jeffery, Wincott, and Jones 2016, p.643 and Bryant, pp.189-190). A discourse around in-group versus out-group competition was exposed in the referendum. From the discourse emerged a sense of protection of what was considered British, namely; education, housing, communities, culture, jobs and services. It is through feelings of possessiveness towards these resources and symbols of English or Britishness that identity is expressed. These in-group emotions were conveyed most strongly the *Daily Mail* from an English perspective.

The *Daily Mail*, a London based English newspaper with nationwide distribution dominated the immigration debate with explicitly negative discourse. The *Daily Mail* drove the perceptions that migrants bring crime and terrorism to Britain, put unprecedented pressure on jobs, social welfare, education, health services and housing and adversely changed communities and cultures. Its arguments were implicitly and explicitly published in other newspapers, indicating it initiated or influenced much of the media's anti-immigration discourse. McLaren and Johnson (2007) observed similar influences, as 82% of tabloid readers want immigration reduced, compared to 57% of broadsheet readers. They thus speculate that with a large readership, large numbers of the population take cues from the tabloid press.

The Times being a Remain paper was less interested in immigration and more balanced. Its positive expressions towards migrants demonstrate that not all English arguments were anti-immigration but its engagement with Leave's assertions, reinforces the overarching negativity.

The Times strongest and most consistent counterargument was the economic benefits of migrants. Although it did encourage stereotypes of unskilled EU migrants and skilled non-EU migrants, it insisted that migrants payed more in taxes than they took out (Aaronovitch, 14/06/2016, Johnson, 14/06/2016 and Collins, 27/05/2016). This economic focus continued being the only paper to clarify the minimal impact of migration on wages (Johnson 14/06/2016 and Collins 27/05/2016), an assumption exasperated by the *Daily Mails* (Daily Mail Comment 01/06/2016, Doughty and Doyle 26/05/2016, Slack and Doughty 13/05/2016, Groves

11/05/2016a, Groves 11/05/2016b, Roden 13/06/2016 and Slack 13/05/2016). There were two debates however, in which it did not provide a counterargument. *The Times* made no attempt to relieve fears of illegal immigration, instead contributing to discourse around a vulnerable English coast. Like all other newspapers it was particularly critical of David Cameron's promise to reduce annual net migration to below 100,000. The abundance of immigration articles published by the *Daily Mail* was not matched by *The Times* and the failure to consistently engage positively hindered the communication of a positive English immigration experience.

The *Scottish Daily Mail* was the only peripheral newspaper that matched the *Daily Mail's* immigration coverage, albeit it too was overtly negative and despite being Glasgow based lacked a Scottish focus. Only twice did it acknowledge differences between Scotland and England. One article identified a faster growing elderly population in Scotland than England and the need for migration to mitigate this pressure on the NHS (Grant, 31/03/2016). The other was a letter insisting that stowaways found in Fife were an indication that illegal immigration also affected Scotland, but that illegal migrants welcomed to Scotland would disappear to England (Inglis 13/06/2016). Despite these two examples the *Scottish Daily Mail* assumed that English issues and concerns with immigration affected Scotland.

This thesis cited 30 duplicated articles between the *Scottish Daily Mail* the *Daily Mail*. In some of the repeated articles there was an additional sentence or paragraph related to Scotland. In the Scottish publication of '*Cameron's Migrant deception*', Alan Roden added Nicola Sturgeons comments on inward migration numbers and an independent Scotland using the Euro post-Brexit (Slack 21/06/2016 and Slack and Roden 21/06/2016). In Ian Drury's (31/05/2016a) article, '*UK's open coastline shambles*', the vulnerability of Scottish ports and airfields to illegal immigration was re-centred in the Scottish publication (Drury 31/05/2016b).

The Herald, also Glasgow based, had a greater Scottish focus but was less patriotic than expected. Given the post-independence referendum context and speculations that Brexit would cause a second independence referendum, Scottish nationalism in *The Herald* was expected to be persistent. Instead, it was contained to a few articles, though these expressions were explicit and proud, arguing that Scotland had greater tolerance for migrants because it had experienced oppression and emigration (MacWhirter 21/06/2016 and Bonino 02/05/2016).

Emigration continues to be a problem as Scotland experiences population decline. Migration is thus viewed as a means to mitigating its effects by injecting working age people into communities. The negative impact of migration on communities was discussed in relation to England. It was stated that “dramatic changes” had occurred in Northern English communities (Clark 23/05/2016) and low paid jobs taken by migrants in the east and south-west (Smith 24/05/2016). In contrast, the arrival of Poles and Eastern Europeans in Scotland was equated with the repopulation of schools, churches, communities and boosting the economy (Smith 24/05/2016). Likewise, the threat of terrorism from the migrant crisis was discussed in a British context (Settle 17/06/2016, Boswell 17/06/2016 and Settle 31/05/2016) but when specific to Scotland maintained that Muslim migration to Scotland was facilitated by lower fears of terrorism (Bonino 02/05/2016).

Illegal immigration was also discussed but had a distinctive English focus. Of the five articles that discussed illegal immigration all referred to the English Channel or Calais and four cited the rescue of 18 Albanians off the English coast (Boswell 17/06/2016, Smith 02/06/2016, Settle 31/05/2016, Mitchell 30/05/2016 and Smith 09/04/2016b). Other security issues such as crime and terrorism were of little interest, suggesting that the security threats were of little concern to Scotland.

The Herald had a greater focus on non-EU migrants particularly asylum seekers and refugees which it was proud to host. Unlike, the *Daily Mails* which demonised them as a threat or burden. In recognising the benefits of migrants to Scotland, *The Herald* was not concerned about pressures on schools, housing, and services. Instead it called for the reintroduction of a post-study work visa to encourage migrants to move to Scotland to mitigate population decline, by contributing to the workforce and boosting the economy (Cameron 15/03/2016, Sanderson 10/03/2016, Sanderson 05/03/2016 and Sanderson 27/02/2016). As English immigration concerns are presumed to be Scottish through the precondition ‘UK’ or ‘British’, it becomes apparent that immigration was not a Scottish issue. The relatively low emotive and persistent pro-immigration sentiment suggests that Scots did not vote Remain because they are pro-immigration. The ultimate reason Scotland voted Remain was not captured in the articles studied.

The Welsh voted 53% to 48% in favour of Leave but with the newspapers indicating a different outlook, the Welsh decision to Leave is an enigma. The *Western Mail* was overtly supportive of immigration boasting about the historical influences of Italian migrants to Welsh communities and culture (Western Mail 09/04/2016 and Devine 18/06/2016). It also emphasised EU benefits to Wales which annually receives over £245m in EU funds (Davies 14/06/2016). The *Western Mail* was more patriotic than expected specifying the Englishness of Westminster and the Conservatives. Warning that following Brexit Westminster and the Conservatives were unlikely to replace the money lost from EU funding (Evans 22/06/2016, Wigley 20/06/2016, Bolter 13/06/2016 and Western Mail 13/06/2016).

Of the *Western Mail* articles coded 10 were positive, 11 negative and 8 neutral. Though there was a slight negative tendency only six of these articles advocated for Leave. Moreover, the positive articles demonstrated conviction and persistence in their belief that migration was beneficial for Wales. A number of letters were published in the *Western Mail* and four out seven

were overtly negative (Roberts 16/06/2016, Cole 30/05/2016, Cole 24/05/2016 and Hughes 26/06/2016). Notably, two of these were written by the same person, James Cole. The *Daily Post* was much less interested in immigration than the *Western Mail* and was neutral. Much of its negative discourse also came from letters with four out of five being anti-immigration. Again, three of these were written by James Cole (Coles 20/06/2016, Cole 23/05/2016 and Cole 13/05/2016), and the other was also published in the *Western Mail* (Hughes 22/02/2016 and Hughes 26/02/2016). Despite this, the fact that the majority of letters to the Welsh papers were negative, may indicate the newspaper did not reflect public opinion. This is more compelling considering the Welsh vote to Leave the EU. Therefore, it should be considered that the letters may be a better indication of public sentiment towards immigrants. Furthermore, though the *Western Mail* considers itself the national paper of Wales, it is Cardiff based and its analysis pertained mostly to South Wales. Simon Roberts (2018) articulates that with no independent English language press in Wales, over half of the Welsh population rely on London based media, which has resulted in a ‘democratic deficit’ because of limited news coverage specific to Wales. The circulation of the *Daily Mail* or *The Sun* is much higher than the Welsh regional papers, resulting in the importation of English news and culture (Roberts, 2018). This is reflective in James Cole’s letters which read more like attitudes of the *Daily Mail* than those expressed in the Welsh newspapers.

An English informed view of immigration is further indicated in a BBC investigation into the Welsh town Ebbw Vale, that despite receiving millions in EU funds voted convincingly to Leave. Older residents commented that immigration was one of the main reasons they voted out, despite only 2% of the town’s residents being foreign-born. One student explained that “it’s not the fact that immigration affects our area, it’s the fear of immigration... they see it in London, they see in Birmingham”. Another student explained that he had grown up with immigrants in school and doesn’t have that “same fear” but because “the older generation didn’t experience

that as much, they have that bigger fear... because it's alien to them" (BBC Newsnight, 2017). The lack of an independent Welsh media, as is seen in Scotland and a reliance on English media, explains the gap between the reality of Wales benefitting greatly from the EU and the perceptions of an immigrant threat. Thus, the Welsh vote to Leave appears to be based on English experiences.

It has thus far been demonstrated that immigration was covered less in Remain papers than Leave papers. This is true to English, Scottish and Welsh papers, however the reverse is true in Northern Ireland. The *Irish News* despite being Remain had a much greater interest in immigration than the Leave leaning *Belfast Newsletter*. Significantly neither of the Northern Irish papers was particularly interested in immigrants and instead concerned about possible immigration controls on the Irish border. One possible suggestion to explain the *Irish News*' greater concern for the border, is its nationalist position compared to the unionist *Belfast Newsletter*. The *Irish News* expressed its nationalist position when it referred to David Cameron as the "British prime minister" rather than 'the' or 'the UK' prime minister and referred to Britain as "his country" rather than the UK or 'the' country (Irish News 22/02/2016). Furthermore, border controls were deemed "disastrous" for Northern Ireland and the debate "in England at least" is charged with being too focused on immigration rather than the economic consequences (Irish News 16/06/2016).

Migrants were not scapegoated in the Northern Irish papers because they did not engage in the discourses on: culture, education, health and governance. Moreover, there was very little discussion on EU-migrants; instead discourse pertained to asylum seekers and refugees. Furthermore, a Northern Irish frame predominated with little to no reference to Britain or England. The impact of immigration in England was only reiterated by the *Irish News*, in its warnings the English coast was vulnerable to illegal immigration. All other mentions of the immigration debate were critical of the anti-immigration rhetoric (Holmes 25/04/2016). The

Leave supporting *Belfast Newsletter* does not reiterate the anti-immigration sentiment printed in the *Daily Mail* but neither does it criticise it. The disengagement of the Northern Irish newspapers from the immigration debate and anti-immigration sentiment, demonstrates the impact of its geographic and contextual isolation from England, thereby reinforcing the English origins of the immigration debate.

England was the source of anti-immigration sentiment. These sentiments when expressed in other newspapers reflected analysis and attitudes of the *Daily Mail*, with national experiences generally conveyed positively rather than negatively. Overall the positive discourse failed to match the extent of rhetoric from the Leave campaign nullifying its impact.

Conclusion

The Brexit result of Britain's EU referendum shocked the nation and the world. Yet given its political climate the result may not be so surprising. Euroscepticism had risen in Britain with the onset of the GFC and Eurozone crisis and increased immigration. Accumulated with the 2015-2016 migrant crisis that saw the EU struggle to agree on a solution, the political environment in Britain benefitted Brexit.

The *Daily Mail* and the *Scottish Daily Mail* capitalised on immigration concerns. They informed readers of the pressures and competition that migrants brought to society and services and assured Brexit was the means necessary to ending mass migration and its detrimental impact on Britain. *The Times* while acknowledging these concerns, overall asserted the economic benefit of migration. Similarly, *The Herald* maintained the necessity of migration to Scotland in order to mitigate population decline and did not urge the end to free movement. Likewise, the Welsh *Western Mail* was extremely positive towards migrants praising their contributions to Welsh society. Its North Welsh equivalent, the *Daily Post*, was neutral finding immigration to be a non-issue. Immigration continued to be a non-issue in Northern Ireland. The *Irish News* was the only paper to engage in some of the negative discourse from England but overall it and the *Belfast Newsletter* were positive towards immigrants. However, their major concern was the seamless crossing of people and goods between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland.

A number of dominant themes were discussed in regards to immigration. Overarching was control, be it control of the numbers or type of migrants, or control of England's border. This discourse weaved throughout other major themes: the economy; namely jobs and welfare, security; crime, deportation, terrorism and illegal immigration, the migrant crisis, communities and culture, education, health services and housing availability. Negative discourses across the different national newspapers were similar because it was based on English experiences, where

immigration is highest and to some extent impacted on wages and demographics. Positive discourses differed as they pertained to national experiences and needs, whether mitigating population decline or seamless border crossing in Ireland. This is not to say that Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland are not free of anti-immigration sentiment nor that England should be defined by it, especially considering London with high immigration voted convincingly to Remain.

Attitudes towards immigrants simultaneously reflect the diversity of the UK and the centrality of England to culture and politics. While an overall difference in immigration discourse was prevalent, English experiences penetrated each nation's media discourse. This study, in exposing the dominance and influence of England reinforces the necessity in a post-Brexit Britain, to build an immigration policy that reflects the UK's diversity.

Britain is due to leave the European Union in March 2019. Unlike the assumptions of Remain, Britain will not remain in the single market, instead opting for a 'hard Brexit' and in Scotland there currently appears to be little public support for a second independence referendum. As negotiations continue Britain appears to be heading for a no deal, and there is much discussion around a possible second EU referendum. Regardless of the future Britain's 2016 referendum divided the country between a predominately emotive Leave campaign and a factual Remain campaign. Both these campaigns relied on the negative, whether it be the EU's impact on Britain or the implications of leaving, but ultimately the emotive negative won out against the factual negative.

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Appendix 1.1

Daily Mail top 150 most frequent words

Word	Count	Similar Words
britain'	1149	britain, britain', 'britain
people'	859	people, people', 'people, peoples
leaving	780	leave, leave', 'leave', leaves, leaving, 'leaving
migrants'	685	migrant, 'migrant, migrants, migrants'
trading	608	trade, trade', traded, trades, trading
cameron	557	cameron, camérons
homes	545	home, home', homes
governments	525	govern, governance, governed, governing, government, government', 'government, governments, 'governments, governs
europe'	517	europe, europe', 'europe, 'europe'
english	488	english, english'
remains	480	remain, remain', 'remain, 'remain', remained, 'remained, remainder, 'remainder', remainers, remainers', remaining, remains
works	473	work, work', 'work, worked, working, working', 'working, 'working', works
europeans	467	european, european', 'european, europeans, europeans'
migration'	447	migrate, migrated, migrating, migration, migration', 'migration
labour	445	labour, labour', labourer, labourers, labours
brexiteers	439	brexit, brexit', 'brexit, brexiteer, brexiteers, brexiter, brexiteers
british	435	british, british', 'british, 'british'
borders	415	border, border', 'border, borders, borders'
taking	393	take, take', 'take, takes, taking, 'taking
controls'	384	control, control', 'control, 'control', controlled, 'controlled, controller, controllers, controlling, controls, controls', 'controls'
warns	348	warn, warned, warning, warning', warnings, warns
free	293	free, free', 'free, frees
family	288	families, families', family, 'family, 'family'
worlds	280	world, world', 'world, worlds
brussels'	265	brussels, brussels', 'brussels, 'brussels'
jobs	263	job, job', 'job, jobs, jobs', 'jobs'
schools	262	school, 'school, schooled, schooling, schools, 'schools
housing	261	house, house', housed, houses, 'houses, housing, housing', 'housing
tory	251	tories, tories', tory, 'tory
services	249	service, 'service, services, services'
children	245	children
london	239	london, londoners, 'londoners
forcing	236	force, forced, 'forced, forceful, forcefully, forces, forcing
stays	235	stay, 'stay', stayed, staying, stays
nhs'	233	nhs, nhs', 'nhs
security'	228	secure, secured, 'secured, securing, security, security', 'security'
policy	225	policies, policies', policy, policy'
women	222	women, 'women
deals	219	deal, 'deal', dealing, dealings, deals
attacks	219	attack, attacked, attacker, attackers, attackers', attacking, attacks, attacks'
ruling	212	rule, ruled, 'ruled, rules, rules', ruling, rulings
economics	209	economic, 'economic, economical, economically, 'economically, economics, economics'
economy	207	economies, economy, economy'
osborne	202	osborne
risks'	200	risk, risk', 'risk, risked, risking, risks, risks'
laws	198	law, law', lawful, lawfully, laws, laws'
unions	196	union, union', unions
foreigners	195	foreign, 'foreign', foreigner, foreigners, foreigners'
police	192	police, 'police, policed, polices, policing

benefits	190	benefit, benefit', benefited, benefiting, benefits, 'benefits, 'benefits', benefitting
fears	189	fear, fear', 'fear, feared, fearful, fearing, fears
movement	184	movement, movement', movements, movements'
refugees	183	refugee, refugee', refugees, refugees'
costs	181	cost, cost', costing, costly, costly', costs, costs'
england	180	england, 'england, englanders, englanders'
deporting	180	deport, 'deport, deportation, deportation', deportations, deported, deported', deporting
'we	179	'we, 'we'
johnson	179	johnson
pays	178	pay, 'pay, paying, pays
wars	176	war, war', warring, wars
asylum	174	asylum, asylum', 'asylum
citizens	167	citizen, citizens, citizens'
crisis	160	crisis, crisis', 'crisis'
caring	159	care, care', cared, careful, careful', carefully, cares, caring
money'	153	money, money', moneyed, 'moneyed
hospitals	153	hospitable, hospital, hospitality, hospitals
market	151	market, marketers, marketing, markets
pressure	151	pressure, pressure', pressured, pressures, pressures', pressuring
illegally	150	illegal, illegal', 'illegal, illegally, illegals
taxes	150	tax, tax', 'tax, taxes, taxing
man'	148	man, man', 'man, mans
outsiders	145	outside, outside', 'outside, outsider, outsiders
workers'	143	worker, workers, workers'
better	142	better, better', 'better, 'better'
problems	142	problem, problem', problems
wages'	142	wage, wage', waged, wages, wages', 'wages
turkey	138	turkey
men'	137	men, men', 'men
germany	134	germany
future	130	future, future', futures
corbyn	129	corbyn, corbyn', 'corbyn
humane	129	human, 'human, humane, humanity, humans
courts	127	court, 'court, courts
doctors	127	doctor, doctorate, doctored, doctors, doctors'
criminals	125	criminal, criminal', criminality, criminals
health	125	health
gove	123	gove, goves
france	123	france, france', frances
city	117	cities, city
threat	116	threat, threat', threats, threats'
patients	115	patient, patients, patients', 'patients
blair	115	blair, blair', 'blair, blairs
community	114	'communal, communicate, communicated, communicating, communications, communism, communities, communities', 'communities, community, community', 'community, 'community'
young	114	young
births	113	birth, birthing, births
murders	113	murder, murdered, murderer, murderers, 'murderers, murdering, murderous, murders
dangers	112	danger, danger', dangerous, dangerous', 'dangerous, 'dangerous', dangerously, 'dangerously, dangers
friends	111	friend, friend', friendly, friends, friends', 'friends
boats	108	boat, boats

pensions	108	pension, pensioner, pensioners, pensioners', pensions, pensions'
banks	105	bank, 'bank, banked, banking, banks
child	105	child
german	105	german, germans, germans'
classes	103	class, class', 'class, classed, classes
employs	102	employ, employed, employer, employers, employers', employing, employment, employs
french	102	french
paid	102	paid, paid', 'paid
educational	99	educate, educated, educated', education, education', 'education, educational
spends	99	spend, spending, spends
buildings	97	build, 'build, building, buildings
fund	97	fund, funded, funding, funds, funds'
bills	96	bill, billed, bills, bills'
white	96	white, 'white, whites
mothers	95	mother, motherly, mothers
travel	95	travel, travelled, traveller, travellers, travelling
budgets	94	budget, budget', budgets
albanian	94	albanian, albanians
freedoms	91	freedom, freedoms, 'freedoms
independently	91	independence, independence', 'independence, independent, 'independent, independently
cultures'	91	cultural, 'cultural, culturalism, culturally, culture, culture', cultures, cultures'
released	90	release, released, releases, releasing
target	90	target, targeted, targeting, targets
ports	89	port, portes, portly, ports
town	89	town, town', towns
wrongly	89	wrong, wrong', 'wrong, 'wrong', wrongful, wrongly, wrongs
channel	88	channel, channelling, channels
staff	88	staff, staff, 'staff
woman	88	woman, woman'
financial	88	financial, 'financial, financially, financier, financiers
albania	86	albania, albania'
crimes	86	crime, crime', 'crime', crimes, crimes'
killed	86	kill, killed, killed', killing, killing', killings, kills
reforms	86	reform, reform', 'reform, 'reform', reformed, reforming, reforms, 'reforms'
treasury	85	treasury
price	85	price, price', priced, prices, pricing
parents'	84	parent, parental, parenting, parents, parents'
removing	84	removal, removals, remove, 'remove, removed, removing
merkel	83	merkel
pledge	82	pledge, pledged, pledges, pledging
suffers	82	suffer, suffered, sufferers, suffering, 'suffering', suffers
calais	81	calais
democrats'	81	democrat, democratic, democratic', 'democratic, democratically, democrats, democrats'
company	80	companies, company
gangs	80	gang, ganged, ganging, gangs
terrorists	80	terrorist, 'terrorist, terrorists, 'terrorists
international	77	internal, internally, international, 'international, internationally, interns
savings	77	save, saved, saving, savings, savings'
justice	76	justice
protects	76	protect, 'protect, protected, 'protected', protecting, protection, protection', 'protection', protections, protects
checks	75	check, checked, checking, checks

The Times top 150 most frequent words

Word	Count	Similar Words
services	1475	service, services
people	602	people, peoples
britain	482	britain
leaving	473	leave, 'leave, 'leave', leaves, leaving
community	358	commune, communes, communicate, communicated, communication, communications, communicator, communism, communities, community
brexit	339	brexit, brexiteer, brexiteering, brexiteers, brexiteers'
works	286	work, worked, working, workings, works
labour	281	labour
europe	278	europe
remains	277	remain, remained, remainer, remainers, remaining, remains
governments	248	govern, governance, governed, governing, government, governments, governs
english	247	english, english''
cameron	244	cameron, cameron', camérons, camérons'
educational	242	educate, educated, educating, education, educational
british	232	british, britishness
taking	228	take, 'take, takes, taking
european	220	european, europeans
children	213	children, children', childrens
trumps	202	trump, trumps
trading	201	trade, traded, trades, trading
london	199	london, londoners
migrants	186	migrant, migrants, migrants'
control	178	control, control', controlled, controlling, controls
economic	174	economic, economically, economics
worlds	173	world, worlds
schools	162	school, schooling, schools
homes	153	home, homes
family	150	families, families', family
borders	148	border, bordering, borders
free	148	free, free'
policy	148	policies, policy, policy'
johnson	138	johnson, johnsons
police	138	police, policing
university	133	universal, universally, universe, universities, university
taxes	132	tax, 'tax, taxed, taxes
migration	132	migration, migrations
rulings	128	rule, ruled, rules, ruling, rulings
health	125	health
security	125	secure, secured, securing, securities, security
tory	125	tories, tories', tory, 'tory
jobs	123	job, jobbing, jobs
economy	123	economies, economy
stay	114	stay, stayed, staying, stays
unions	114	union, unions
laws	113	law, lawfulness, laws
deals	112	deal, dealing, dealings, deals
housing	112	house, housed, houses, housing
voluntary	112	voluntary
conservatives	112	conservancy, conservation, conservative, conservatives, conservator

market	111	market, marketeer, marketeers, marketing, markets
young	110	young
ireland	106	ireland
professor	105	professor
forcing	101	force, forced, forceful, forces, forcing
benefits	100	benefit, benefited, benefits
gove	100	gove
industry	99	industrial, industries, industry
international	99	intern, internal, international
carefully	96	care, cared, careful, carefully, cares, caring
nhs	94	nhs
movement	92	movement, movements
foreign	89	foreign, foreigners
workers	89	worker, workers, workers'
better	87	better
city	87	cities, city
company	87	companies, companies', company
attacks	86	attack, attacked, attackers, attacking, attacks, attacks'
courts	82	court, courts
charity	81	charities, charity
pays	81	pay, paying, pays
whiting	80	white, whites, whiting
brussels	80	brussels, brussels'
fears	80	fear, fear', feared, fearing, fears
future	80	future, futures
warnings	79	warn, warned, warning, warnings, warns
american	79	american, americans, americans'
corbyn	79	corbyn
man	78	man, manned, mans
risks	77	risk, risked, risking, risks
democrats	74	democrat, democratic, democratically, democrats, democrats'
outside	73	outside, outsider, outsiders
protection	72	protect, protected, protecting, protection, protective
council	72	council, councils
frances	72	france, frances
problems	71	problem, problems
scotland	70	scotland, scotland'
wales	70	wales
turkey	69	turkey
friends	68	friend, friendly, friends
wars	68	war, warring, wars
england	67	england
travel	66	travel, travelled, traveller, travellers, travelling, travelling', travels
republican	65	republican, republicanism, republicans, republicans'
citizens	64	citizen, citizens, citizens', 'citizens'
develops	64	develop, developed, developer, developers, developing, development, developments, develops
refugees	63	refugee, refugees
students	63	student, students, students'
ukip	63	ukip
clinton	62	clinton, clintons

costs	62	cost, costing, costly, costs
skills	62	skill, skilled, skills
college	61	college, colleges
employment	61	employ, employed, employer, employers, employing, employment
class	60	class, classed, classes
women	59	women, women'
funds	58	fund, funded, funding, funds
wages	58	wage, wages
farage	57	farage
liberation	56	liberal, liberals, liberate, liberated, liberation
regional	56	region, regional, regions
defence	56	defence
independent	56	independence, independent
passport	56	passport, passports
humans	55	human, humane, humanity, humans
illegal	55	illegal, illegally
men	54	men, mens
culture	52	cultural, culturally, culture, cultures
money	52	money
america	51	america
islamic	51	islam, islamic, islamism
reform	51	reform, reformed, reformer, reformers, reforming, reforms
science	51	science, sciences
banks	50	bank, banking, banks
crisis	50	crisis
father	50	father, fathered, fathers
germany	50	germany
strongly	50	strong, strongly
child	49	child, childs
regulator	49	regulated, regulating, regulation, regulations, regulator
wrong	49	wrong, wrongly
asylum	49	asylum
dangerous	49	danger, dangerous, dangerously, dangers
investment	48	invest, investing, investment, investments
brown	48	brown, browne
charitable	48	charitable
freedom	48	freedom, freedoms
osborne	48	osborne
terrorists	47	terrorist, terrorists
justice	47	justice
losing	47	lose, loses, losing
nursing	46	nurse, nurses, nursing
financial	45	financial, financially, financiers
obama	45	obama, 'obama
reduce	45	reduce, reduced, reduces, reducing
hospitals	45	hospital, hospitality, hospitals
finances	44	finance, financed, finances, financing
applying	44	applied, applies, apply, applying
democracy	44	democracies, democracy
killings	44	kill, killed, killing, killings
legally	44	legal, legality, legally

The Herald 150 most frequent words

Word	Count	Similar Words
leaving	476	leave, leaves, leaving
scotland	428	scotland, scotlander, scotlands
remains	333	remain, remained, remainers, remaining, remains
people	283	people, peoples, peoples'
brexit	276	brexit, brexiteer, brexiteers, brexiteers', brexiter, brexiter's
europe	238	europe
english	234	english
scottish	233	scottish, scottishness
european	222	european, europeans
governments	215	govern, governance, governed, governing, government, government's position, governments, governs
labour	205	labour, labour', labourers
britain	204	britain
works	182	work, worked, working, works
independence	172	independence, independence', independent
taking	145	take, takes, taking
cameron	136	cameron
unions	132	union, unionism, unions
economic	127	economic, economically, economics
snp	121	snp
home	120	home, home', homes
tory	119	tories, tories', tory
world	116	world, worldly, worlds
fears	110	fear, feared, fearful, fears
stay	109	stay, stayed, staying, stays
free	106	free, freeing
control	105	control, controllable, controlled, controlling, controls
policy	105	policies, policy
trading	105	trade, traded, trading
migrants	105	migrant, migrants, migrants'
economy	102	economies, economy
migration	102	migration, migrations
trump	97	trump, trump''
warning	96	warn, warned, warning, warnings, warns
family	95	families, family
refugees	95	refugee, refugees
university	95	universal, universally, universe, universities, universities', university
jobs	89	job, jobs
market	89	market, marketers, markets
british	89	british
sturgeon	89	sturgeon
better	87	better
students	86	student, students, students'
benefits	83	benefit, benefited, benefits, benefitted, benefitting
future	82	future
glasgow	81	glasgow
funds	80	fund, funded, funding, funds
workers'	80	worker, workers, workers'
visa	79	visa, visas
internationalism	79	internal, internally, international, internationalism, internationally

border	77	border, bordering, borders
johnson	73	johnson
services	72	service, services
conservatives'	71	conservation, conservative, conservatives, conservatives'
ruling	70	rule, ruled, rules, ruling
cost	67	cost, costing, costly, costs
deal	67	deal, dealing, dealings, deals
employment	65	employability, employed, employer, employers, employment, employs
children	64	children
risk	63	risk, risked, risking, risks
brussels	63	brussels, brussels'
england	62	england, england', englander, englanders
movement	62	movement, movements
problems	62	problem, problems
farage	61	farage
nhs	61	nhs
gove	60	gove
scots'	60	scot, scots, scots'
ukip	60	ukip
wars	59	war, wars
councils	56	council, councils
force	55	force, forced, forceful, forcefully, forces, forcing
security	55	secure, secured, securer, secures, securing, security
foreign	54	foreign, foreigner, foreigners
housing	54	house, housed, houses, houses'', housing
london	54	london, londoners
pays	53	pay, paying, pays
democrats	53	democrat, democratic, democratically, democrats
protect	52	protect, protected, protecting, protection, protections, protects
parliament	51	parliament, parliaments
turkey	51	turkey
community	50	communication, communications, communities, community
laws	50	law, lawes, laws
exports	49	export, exported, exporters, exporting, exports
hollywood	49	hollywood
westminster	49	westminster
asylum	48	asylum
edinburgh	48	edinburgh
fishing	47	fish, fished, fishing
contributions	47	contribute, contributed, contributing, contribution, contributions
corbyn	47	corbyn
brown	46	brown
attack	44	attack, attacked, attacker, attacks
study	44	studies, studies', study, studying
taxes	44	tax, taxes, taxing
education	42	educated, education, educational
schools	41	school, schooling, schools
outside	40	outside, outsider
opportunity	40	opportune, opportunely, opportunism, opportunities, opportunity
influence	39	influence, influenced, influences

reform	39	reform, reformed, reforming, reforms
skills	39	skill, skilled, skills
citizens	38	citizen, citizens, citizens'
crisis	38	crisis
money	38	money, money'
osborne	38	osborne
proposed	38	proposal, proposals, propose, proposed, proposes, proposing
muslim	38	muslim, muslims
cox	37	cox
earlier	37	earlier
history	36	history, history'
settle	36	settle, settled, settles, settling
banks	36	bank, banking, banks
financial	35	financial, financially, financier
gain	35	gain, gained, gaining, gains
pensions	35	pension, pensioner, pensioners, pensioners', pensions
relationship	35	relationship, relationship'', relationships
seeking	35	seek, seeking, seeks
global	35	global, globally
rejected	35	reject, rejected, rejecting, rejection, rejects
human	34	human, humane, humanely, humanity
obama	34	obama
region	34	region, regional, regions
salmond	34	salmond
young	34	young
losing	34	lose, loses, losing
blame	33	blame, blamed, blaming
republican	33	republican, republicans
industry	33	industrial, industries, industry
sovereignty	32	sovereignty
strongly	32	strong, strongly
potential	31	potential, potentially
affairs	31	affair, affairs
pressure	31	pressure, pressures
prices	31	price, prices, pricing
threats	31	threat, threats
deportation	30	deport, deportation, deported, deporting
developments	30	develop, developed, developing, development, developments
germany	30	germany
ireland	30	ireland
man	30	man, man'
regulations	30	regulate, regulated, regulation, regulations
restrictive	29	restrict, restricted, restricting, restriction, restrictions, restrictive
city	28	cities, city
culture	28	cultural, culturally, culture, cultures
investments	28	invest, invested, investing, investment, investments, invests
successful	28	success, successes, successful, successfully, successive
travel	28	travel, travelled, travellers, travelling
america	27	america, americas
spending	27	spend, spending, spends
wrong	27	wrong, wrongly

Scottish Daily Mail top 150 most frequent words

Word	Count	Similar Words
scottish	696	scottish, 'scottish
britain'	574	britain, britain', 'britain, 'britain'
scotland'	515	scotland, scotland', 'scotland
people'	498	people, people', 'people, peoples
leaving	495	leave, leave', leaves, 'leaves, leaving, 'leaving
worlds	470	world, world', 'world, worlds
remains	354	remain, remain', 'remain, 'remain', remained, 'remained, remainer, remainers, remainers', remaining, remains
cameron	350	cameron, camerons
europe'	348	europe, europe', 'europe
english	347	english, 'english, englishness
migrants'	329	migrant, 'migrant, migrants, migrants', 'migrants
brexiteers	316	brexiteer, brexiteer', 'brexit, brexiteer, brexiteers, brexiter, brexiteers
governments	299	govern, governance, governed, governing, government, government', 'government, governments, 'governments
works	299	work, work', 'work, worked, working, 'working, works
homes	286	home, home', homes
labour	282	labour, 'labour, labourers
europeans	274	european, 'european, europeans
britishness	254	british, british', 'british, britishness, 'britishness'
migration'	230	migrating, migration, migration'
taking	218	take, take', 'take, takes, taking
controls'	197	control, control', controlled, 'controlled, controller, controllers, controlling, controls, controls', 'controls'
tory	180	tori, tories, tories', tory
borders'	176	border, border', 'border, borders, borders'
warnings	166	warn, warned, warning, warning', warnings, warns
stays	162	stay, stayed, staying, stays
free	157	free, free', 'free, freeing, frees
jobs	156	job, job', 'job, jobs, jobs', 'jobs
family	154	families, families', family, family'
policy'	150	policies, policy, policy', 'policy
services	149	service, service', services, services'
johnson	148	johnson, johnsons
brussels'	143	brussels, brussels', 'brussels
attacks	140	attack, attack', attacked, attacker, attackers, attackers', attacking, attacks
security	135	secure, secured, securing, security, security'
trading	133	trade, trades, trading
ruling	131	rule, ruled, 'ruled, rules, rules', 'rules, ruling
economy	127	economies, economy, economy'
housing	126	house, house', housed, houses, housing, housing', 'housing
london	126	london, 'london, londoners
deals	123	deal, deal', 'deal', dealing, dealings, deals
unions	123	union, union', unions
war	123	war, war', warring, wars
laws'	120	law, law', lawful, lawfully, laws, laws'
economics	113	economic, 'economic, economically, 'economically, economics
forcing	112	force, force', forced, 'forced, forces, forcing
'we	110	'we
market	109	market, market', marketers, marketing, markets
osborne	108	osborne
independent	105	independence, 'independence, independent, 'independent

women	105	women, 'women
foreigners	102	foreign, 'foreign, foreigner, foreigners
movement	101	movement, movements, movements'
risk	101	risk, risk', risked, risks, risks'
gove	101	gove, goves
fears	98	fear, fear', 'fear, feared, fearful, fearing, fears
germany	98	germany
pays	98	pay, paying, pays
benefits	97	benefit, benefit', benefited, benefiting, benefits, benefits', 'benefits', benefitting
children	94	children, 'children
better	94	better, better', 'better', betters
refugees	92	refugee, refugees, refugees'
nhs	89	nhs, nhs'
costs	89	cost, cost', costing, costly, costly', costs, costs'
births	89	birth, birthing, births
man	88	man, mans
trumps	85	trump, 'trump, trumps
citizens	84	citizen, citizens, citizens'
workers	84	worker, workers, workers'
deporting	81	deport, 'deport, deportation, deportation', deportations, deportations', deported, deporting
blair	81	blair, blair', blairs
future	80	future, future', futures
outside	80	outside, 'outside, outsider, outsiders
england	79	england, englander'
polices	79	police, 'police, polices, policing
illegal	78	illegal, illegally, illegals
caring	76	care, care', cared, careful, careful', carefully, cares, caring
price	76	price, priced, prices, prices', pricing
hospital	75	hospital, hospitality, hospitals, hospitals'
pressures	74	pressure, pressure', 'pressure', pressured, pressures
city	73	citi, cities, city, city', 'city
germans	73	german, germans
taxes	73	tax, 'tax, taxes
wages'	73	wage, wages, wages', 'wages, waging
problems	69	problem, problem', problems, problems'
snp	69	snp
crisis	68	crisis, crisis', 'crisis'
friends	68	friend, friend', friendly, friends, friends', 'friends
health	68	health, 'health
money	68	money, 'moneyed
threats	68	threat, threat', threats, threats'
turkey	67	turkey, 'turkey, 'turkey'
schools	65	school, schooled, schooling, schools, schools'
france	64	france, france', frances
banks	64	bank, bank', banke, banked, banking, banks
courts	63	court, 'court, courts
cultures	63	cultural, 'cultural, culture, cultures, cultures'
losing	63	lose, lose', loses, losing, losing', 'losing
community	62	'communal, communicate, communicating, communications, communism, communities, communities', community
merkel	61	merkel

reforms	61	reform, 'reform', reformable, reformation, reformed, reforms
wrongly	61	wrong, wrong', 'wrong, 'wrong', wrongly
corbyn	59	corbyn, 'corbyn
target	59	target, targeted, targeting, targets
travelling	58	travel, travelled, traveller, travellers, 'travellers, travelling
humanity	58	human, 'human, humane, 'humane', humanism, humanity, humans
visas	57	visa, visas
investments	57	invest, invested, investing, investment, investment', 'investment, investments
spends	57	spend, spending, spends
paid	56	paid, 'paid
democracy'	56	democracies, democracy, democracy', 'democracy
terrorists'	54	terrorist, terrorist', 'terrorist, terrorists, terrorists', 'terrorists
democrats	54	democrat, democratic, democratic', democratically, democrats, democrats'
international	54	internal, internally, international, 'international, internationally, internment, interns
white	54	white, 'white, whites
doctors'	54	doctor, doctors, doctors'
killing	54	kill, killed, killed', killing, killings, kills
church	53	church, church', churches
class	53	class, class', classes
freedom	53	freedom, 'freedoms
company	52	companies, company
woman	52	woman, woman'
asylum	52	asylum
mothers	52	mother, mothers, mothers', 'mothers
dangers	52	danger, danger', dangerous, dangerous', 'dangerous, 'dangerous', dangerously, 'dangerously, dangers
buildings	51	build, 'build, building, buildings
fund	51	fund, funded, funding, funds
obama	51	obama
bill	51	bill, billed, bills, bills'
french	49	french
justice	49	justice, justice'
financial	49	financial, financier, financiers
child	48	child
murder	48	murder, murdered, murderer, murderers, murdering, murderous, murders
young	48	young
parliament	48	parliament, parliament', parliaments
crimes	47	crime, crime', 'crime', crimes, crimes'
paris	47	paris
pledge	46	pledge, pledged, pledges, pledging
sturgeon	46	sturgeon
euros	46	euro, euro', 'euro, euros
brown	45	brown, browne
employment	45	employ, employed, employers, employing, employment, employs
men	45	men, men'
scots	45	scot, scots
strongly	45	strong, 'strong, strongly
american	44	american, americans
channel	44	channel, 'channel, channels
cox	44	cox
islamic	44	islam, 'islam, islamic
treasury	44	treasury

Belfast Newsletter top 75 most frequent words

Word	Count	Similar Words
ireland	95	ireland, ireland'
leave	60	leave, leave', leaving
border	59	border, borders, borders'
people	49	people
brexit	48	brexit, brexiter
belfast	46	belfast
remains	34	remain, remained, remaining, remains
control	33	control, control', controlled, controls
english	32	english
european	30	european, europeans
johnston	30	johnston
irish	29	irish
trade	28	trade, trade', traded, trading
europe	27	europe
republic	27	republic
union	26	union, unionism
british	23	british
funding	23	fund, funded, funding, funds
working	23	work, worked, working
bbc	18	bbc
security	18	secure, secured, security
fear	17	fear, fear', feared, fears
travel	17	travel, travelling, travels
house	17	house, housing
service	17	service, services
uup	17	uup
government	16	governing, government, governs
taking	16	take, takes, taking
labour	16	labour
wilson	16	wilson
economy	15	economy
free	14	free, freeing
peace	14	peace, peaceful
cameron	14	cameron
communities	14	communities, community
farage	14	farage
kingdom	14	kingdom
sinn	14	sinn
britain	13	britain
tory	13	tories, tory
ukip	13	ukip
jobs	13	job, jobs
asylum	12	asylum, asylum'
checks	12	check, checks
risk	12	risk, risk', risks
chinese	11	chinese
health	11	health
illegal	11	illegal, illegally
man	11	man

citizens	10	citizens
dup	10	dup
future	10	future
ira	10	ira
movement	10	movement
nhs	10	nhs
outside	10	outside
world	10	world
migrants	10	migrant, migrants
stay	10	stay, staying
warned	10	warned, warning, warns
conflict	9	conflict
economic	9	economic
life	9	life
london	9	london
attack	9	attack, attacks
industry	9	industrial, industries, industry
land	9	land, landed
problem	9	problem, problems
rejected	9	rejected, rejecting
conservative	8	conservative, conservatives
better	8	better
china	8	china
corbyn	8	corbyn
independent	8	independence, independent
potential	8	potential, potentially

Irish News top 100 most frequent words

Word	Count	Similar Words
irish	193	irish
leaving	189	leave, leave', 'leave', leaves, leaving
ireland	145	ireland
people	129	people
border	127	border, borders
brexiteers	121	brexit, 'brexit, brexiteer, brexiteers, brexiter
remains	93	remain, 'remain', remained, remaining, remains
european	91	european
english	79	english
union	70	union, unions
britain	68	britain, 'britain
british	61	british
controls	60	control, controlled, controlling, controls
working	50	work, worked, working, works
europe	50	europe
economic	48	economic, economically, economics
taking	48	take, takes, taking
governments	47	govern, governance, governed, governing, government, governments, governs
trump	47	trump
trading	42	trade, trades, trading
cameron	37	cameron
johnson	37	johnson
world	37	world
homes	36	home, homes
travel	36	travel, travellers, travelling
warns	35	warn, warned, warning, warns
economy	33	economies, economy
free	33	free, freeing
investment	32	investing, investment, investments
labour	32	labour, labours
migrants	30	migrant, migrants
movement	30	movement
republican	30	republican, republicans, republicans'
future	29	future
markets	29	market, market', markets
risk	29	risk, risk', risking, risks
services	29	service, services
fears	28	fear, fear', 'fear', feared, fears
infrastructure	28	infrastructure
jobs	27	job, jobs
stay	26	stay, stayed, staying, stays
regional	25	region, regional, regions
city	25	citi, cities, city
bad	24	bad, badly
republic	23	republic
asylum	22	asylum
deal	22	deal, dealing, deals
derry	22	derry
outside	22	outside, outsider

belfast	21	belfast
financial	21	financial, financially, financier
checks	21	check, checks
refugees	21	refugee, refugees
farage	20	farage
south	20	south
democrats	20	democrat, democratic, democrats
security	20	secure, secured, securing, security
police	19	police, polices, policing
american	19	american, americans
potential	19	potential, potentially
london	18	london
man	18	man
customs	18	custom, customers, customs
better	17	better
foreign	17	foreign, foreigners
housing	17	house, houses, housing
laws	17	law, laws
migration	17	migration
policy	17	policies, policy
tory	17	tories, tories', tory
ukip	17	ukip
wilson	17	wilson
building	16	build, building, buildings
force	16	force, forced, forces
community	15	communication, communities, community
paying	15	pay, paying, pays
developments	15	develop, developing, development, developments
exports	15	export, exported, exporting, exports
peace	15	peace, peaceful
problems	15	problem, problems
skills	15	skill, skilled, skills
benefits	14	benefit, benefited, benefits, benefitted
brussels	14	brussels, brussels'
clinton	14	clinton
companies	14	companies, company
conservative	14	conservative, conservatives
corbyn	14	corbyn
funds	14	fund, funded, funding, funds
success	14	success, successful
prices	13	price, prices
attacks	13	attack, attacked, attacker, attacking, attacks
boats	13	boat, boats
court	13	court, courts
island	13	island, islands
protect	13	protect, protected, protecting, protections, protectiveness
costs	12	cost, costs
dup	12	dup
global	12	global
gove	12	gove
implications	12	implications

Daily Post top 100 most frequent words

Word	Count	Similar Words
leave	103	leave, leave', leaves, leaving
people	103	people
wales	77	wales, wales', 'wales
britain	73	britain
brexiteers	57	brexit, 'brexit', brexiteers
english	56	english
liverpool	56	liverpool
working	53	work, worked, working, works
governments	51	govern, governed, governing, government, governments
europe	47	europe, europe'
european	46	european, europeans
remain	44	remain, remain', remained, remainers, remaining, remains
welsh	39	welsh
control	34	control, controlled, controlling, controls
cameron	33	cameron
take	32	take, takes, taking
deal	31	deal, dealing, deals
union	31	union, union', unions
stay	30	stay, stay', stayed, staying
wrexham	30	wrexham
economic	30	economic, economically, economics
trade	30	trade, trading
british	28	british, britishness
future	27	future
world	25	world
economy	24	economy
market	23	market, markets
migration	23	migrated, migration
better	22	better
free	22	free, 'free'
innovators	22	innovate, innovation, innovations, innovative, innovators
jobs	22	job, jobs
migrants	21	migrant, migrants, migrants'
services	21	service, serviceable, services
town	21	town, towns
warned	21	warned, warning, warnings, warns
exports	20	export, exported, exporters, exporting, exports
health	20	health
housing	20	house, houses, housing
labour	20	labour
outside	19	outside, outsider
prison	18	prison
children	17	children
education	17	educated, education
border	16	border, borders
ireland	16	ireland
johnson	16	johnson
tory	16	tories, tories', tory
war	16	war, wars

families	15	families, family
farming	15	farm, farming, farms
industry	15	industrial, industries, industry
successful	14	success, successful, successfully
'security	14	secure, secured, securing, security, 'security
homes	14	home, homes
nhs	14	nhs
policies	14	policies, policy
court	13	court
regulations	13	regulate, regulated, regulation, regulations
water	13	water, waters
assembly	12	assembly
chance	12	chance, chances
illegal	12	illegal, illegally
jones	12	jones
london	12	london
love	12	love, loved, lovely
plaid	12	plaid
subject	12	subject, subjects
young	12	young
benefits	11	benefit, benefited, benefits
conservative	11	conservative, conservatives, conserving
employment	11	employer, employers, employing, employment
farmers	11	farmer, farmers
pay	11	pay, paying, pays
refugees	11	refugees
risk	11	risk, risks
rules	11	ruled, rules, rulings
schools	11	school, schools
trump	11	trump
ukip	11	ukip
citizens	10	citizen, citizens
councils	10	council, councils
developments	10	develop, development, developments
investment	10	invested, investment, investments
man	10	man
money	10	money, money'
movement	10	movement
population	10	population
prosperity	10	prosperity, prosperous
sovereignty	10	sovereignty
training	10	trained, training
workers	10	worker, workers
anglesey	9	anglesey
bali	9	bali
born	9	born
contribution	9	contributing, contribution, contributions
cost	9	cost, costs
democratic	9	democrat, democratic, democrats
england	9	england
foreign	9	foreign, foreigners

Western Mail top 150 most frequent words

Word	Count	Similar Words
people	377	people, peoples
leaving	353	leave, 'leave', leaves, leaving
wales	323	wales, wales'
remains	212	remain, 'remain', remained, remainers, remaining, remains
brexit	183	brexit, brexiteer, brexiteers, brexiter
europeans	176	european, europeans
europe	171	europe
britain	168	britain
english	167	english
governments	153	govern, governance, governed, governing, government, governments
labour	152	labour, labouring
works	151	work, worked, working, works
welsh	149	welsh
economics	135	economic, 'economic, economically, economics
world	121	world, worlds
cameron	119	cameron, cameron'
economy	109	economies, economy
ukip	106	ukip
union	103	union, unions
taking	98	take, takes, taking
control	95	control, control', controller, controlling, controls
jobs	95	job, jobs
deal	93	deal, dealing, deals
markets	84	market, markets
migrants	84	migrant, migrants, migrants'
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