

UNIVERSITY OF LATVIA  
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES  
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**COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ANTI-IMMIGRATION  
RHETORIC OF UNITED KINGDOM'S POLITICAL  
PARTIES – LABOUR PARTY AND UNITED  
KINGDOM INDEPENDENCE PARTY**

**APVIENOTĀS KARALISTES POLITISKO PARTIJU  
(LEIBORISTU PARTIJAS UN APVIENOTĀS KARALISTES  
NEATKARĪBAS PARTIJAS) PRETIMIGRĀCIJAS RETORIKU  
SALĪDZINOŠĀ ANALĪZE**

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## Anotācija

Apvienotā Karaliste ir iecienīts imigrantu galamērķis jau kopš 20.gs. sākuma, taču no brīža, kad Apvienotā Karaliste īstenoja Eiropas Savienības noteikumu par darba ņēmēju brīvu pārvietošanos visā Eiropas Savienības teritorijā, imigrācijas problēma ir kļuvusi daudz aktuālāka sabiedrības vidū, kas ir iemesls partiju imigrācijas retoriku atspoguļošanai politisko partiju programmās un partiju viedokļu apmaiņai medijos, kā arī daudz mūsdienīgākā pieejā – mājaslapās, blogu ierakstos un sociālo portālu publikācijās. Tika analizētas divas partijas – Leiberistu partija un Apvienotās Karalistes Neatkarības partija, to publicētās partiju programmas, blogu ieraksti partiju mājaslapās un preses relīzes. Teksti tika analizēti no kritiskās diskursa analīzes viedokļa, rezultāti tika interpretēti un apskatīti plašāka mēroga kontekstā. Pētījums atklāja, ka dažādi viedokļi imigrācijas jautājumā tikai daļēji nozīmē atšķirīgu valodas lietojumu.

**Atslēgvārdi:** retorika, Apvienotā Karaliste, imigrācija, politiskās partijas, kritiskā diskursa analīze.

## **Abstract**

The UK has been a popular immigrant destination since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; however, since the UK has put into practice EU rule about free movement within the whole EU territory, immigration has become more topical within the society of the UK, which is the reason why anti-immigration rhetoric can be found in programmes of political parties and public opinion exchanges, as well as more modern approaches – home pages, blog posts, social website publications. Two parties were analysed – Labour Party and UKIP, their published programmes, blog posts and press releases. Critical Discourse Analysis was applied to the corpus, the results were interpreted and analysed in a broader context. The research showed that different opinions towards the issue influences the language used only partly.

**Key words:** rhetoric, UK, immigration, political parties, Critical Discourse Analysis

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## **Glossary**

CDA – CDA

DA – Discourse Analysis

PDA – Political Discourse Analysis

UK – United Kingdom

UKIP – United Kingdom Independence Party

## Introduction

The United Kingdom (UK) has always been an ethnically diverse country partly due to its legacy of empire, but since it became a member of the European Union (EU) in 1973 and opened its borders to immigrants from the EU member states in 2004, the percentage of non-British nationals residing in the UK has increased. Despite the fact that on average 200,000 immigrants from the EU member states have entered the UK every year since 2004 (Online 1), the EU countries are not the only source of long-term immigration. The same number of people enter the UK every year as asylum seekers or illegally from non-EU member countries, mostly from the ones in the Middle East, Central Asia and Africa. The numbers are rising; therefore, it is considered an issue in the UK, and the majority of UK's nationals believe that the level of immigration must be reduced (*British Social Attitudes Survey*, 2013).

As this issue is topical, every UK's political party has stated a general opinion and possible actions and solutions to immigration in the UK to address their voters. The opinions and approaches vary; some parties have more of a softer approach and are not so negative, while some others have more drastic ideas and are opposed to immigration, but the opinion would always be clearly stated in the party's policies. One of the most straightforward opinions belongs to the UKIP, which is a Euro sceptic right-wing political party. The UKIP believes that immigration is number one issue in the UK and is forming its pre-election campaign on the basis of immigration issues. A more democratic and softer approach is presented by the Labour Party. It is a centre-left political pro-European party and, in contrast to the UKIP, the Labour Party has been elected in the Parliament and also has been the Parliament majority. The Labour Party has dealt with the immigration issue before, as it had the majority role when the immigration issues first occurred and is believed to have acted irrationally, which resulted in the issue expanding to its current levels. Nowadays, the Labour Party admits its previous mistakes and turns its attention to the immigration issue as well as other topical issues in the UK.

Although the Labour Party and the UKIP agree on some issues, in general the Labour Party states that UKIP's approach is too radical, and it is in contradiction to the values of a democratic country, sometimes even being too racist. The UKIP has described the Labour Party as a political force which has capitulated in front of immigration and now is humiliating itself trying to resolve their mistakes with vague promises.

**The research question is:** How do the approaches to immigration of the Labour Party and the UK Independence Party affect their discourse?

**The goal** of this research is to prove that different approaches to resolving the immigration issue affect the language used in anti-immigration rhetoric.

**The enabling objectives** are:

1. to study and analyse the theories on Discourse Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis and Political Discourse;
2. to collect the available programmes, opinions, press releases and blog posts related to immigration of both parties on the Internet and to research the rhetoric of immigration of the Labour Party and the UK Independence Party
3. to interpret and compare the results and draw conclusions.

The thesis consists of three chapters. Chapter I gives an insight into discourse, discourse analysis and its theoretical perspectives – critical discourse analysis and political discourse analysis, also explaining rhetoric. Chapter II explains the overall attitude in the UK towards immigration and the history of the Labour Party and the UKIP providing the historical background for the empirical analysis. Chapter III is the analysis of the material – the programmes available on the party websites, the planned and presented actions of the Labour Party and the UKIP, blog posts and press releases.

# **Chapter I**

## **Discourse Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis, Politics and Language**

Chapter I presents Discourse Analysis and its two approaches – Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Political Discourse Analysis (PDA). It shows the use of analyses, theoretical approaches and strategies. It also explains Politics and language use in politics, also giving an insight in PDA.

Discourse can be described in various ways. At the most general level discourse can be defined as ‘a behavioural unit which has a pre-theoretical status in linguistics; it is a set of utterances which constitute any recognizable speech event.’ (Crystal, 2008: 96) Hawthorn (1992) explains discourse as

a linguistic communication seen as a transaction between speaker and hearer. While text is also a linguistics communication (either spoken or written) seen simply as a message coded in its auditory or visual medium. (Hawthorn, 1992:189)

Discourse must also be observed from the viewpoint of context and the reason for this is that its structure ‘reflects the whole complex process of people interacting with one another in live situations and within the structure of social forces.’ (Fowler 1996: 93)

Context plays a crucial role in how people interact and how the language in use is formed. It influences any kind of social process, including politics. Context is ‘a missing link between discourse, communicative situation and society [...]’ (van Dijk, 2008:1) Context is the core of discourse, as it reveals the cultural background, the linguistic background and the background of the situation.

### **1.1.Discourse Analysis**

DA is a very general term; it can be described ‘in different ways in different academic areas. Also different types [...] are used in a variety of different disciplines’ (Gee, 2014:17). It is said that ‘DA can be used in such fields as ‘linguistics, anthropology, and philosophy, [...] also included are disciplines [...] such as communication, cognitive psychology, social psychology, and artificial intelligence’ (Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton, 2001:23). As it is so widely used in different fields, it is very hard to give one precise definition; however, the

existing definitions have some common characteristics; therefore, the definitions can be divided into certain categories, which according to Jaworski and Coupland (1999:1-3) are '(1) anything beyond the sentence, (2) language use, and (3) a broader range of social practice that includes non-linguistic and nonspecific instances of language'. The authors also point out that discourse analysis 'combines the detailed analysis of language, in particular instances of its use, with the analysis of social structure and cultural practise' (Coupland, Jaworski, 2001:134), meaning that discourse analysis does not include just the analysis at language level, but also refers to background and context.

As DA is so widely used, it has different theories and approaches however, according to Wetherell, Taylor and Yates (2001: 5), there are six general approaches for DA: Conversation Analysis, CDA and Critical Linguistics; Foucauldian research; Discursive Psychology; Interactional Sociolinguistics and the Ethnography of Communication; Bakhtinian Research.

In this research the author will be focusing and applying CDA. It is not a DA theory, however frameworks of CDA can successfully be applied to the analysis.

## **1.2.Critical Discourse Analysis**

CDA is a 'well established field in social sciences.' (Fairclough, Mulderrig, Wodak, 2011: 357) 'The purpose of CDA is to analyze opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language.' (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000:447). CDA

studies real, and often extended, instances of social interaction which take (partially) linguistic form. The critical approach is distinctive in its view of (a) the relationship between language and society, and (b) the relationship between analysis and the practices analysed (Wodak, 1997:173).

CDA does not have a fixed set of ways how to analyse a text, it focuses on the text from a social approach, it is problem oriented and there is no set of specific rules how CDA should be applied, nevertheless, Fairclough (1992:73) gives a framework which can be used. The framework includes three inter-related dimensions. (ibid)

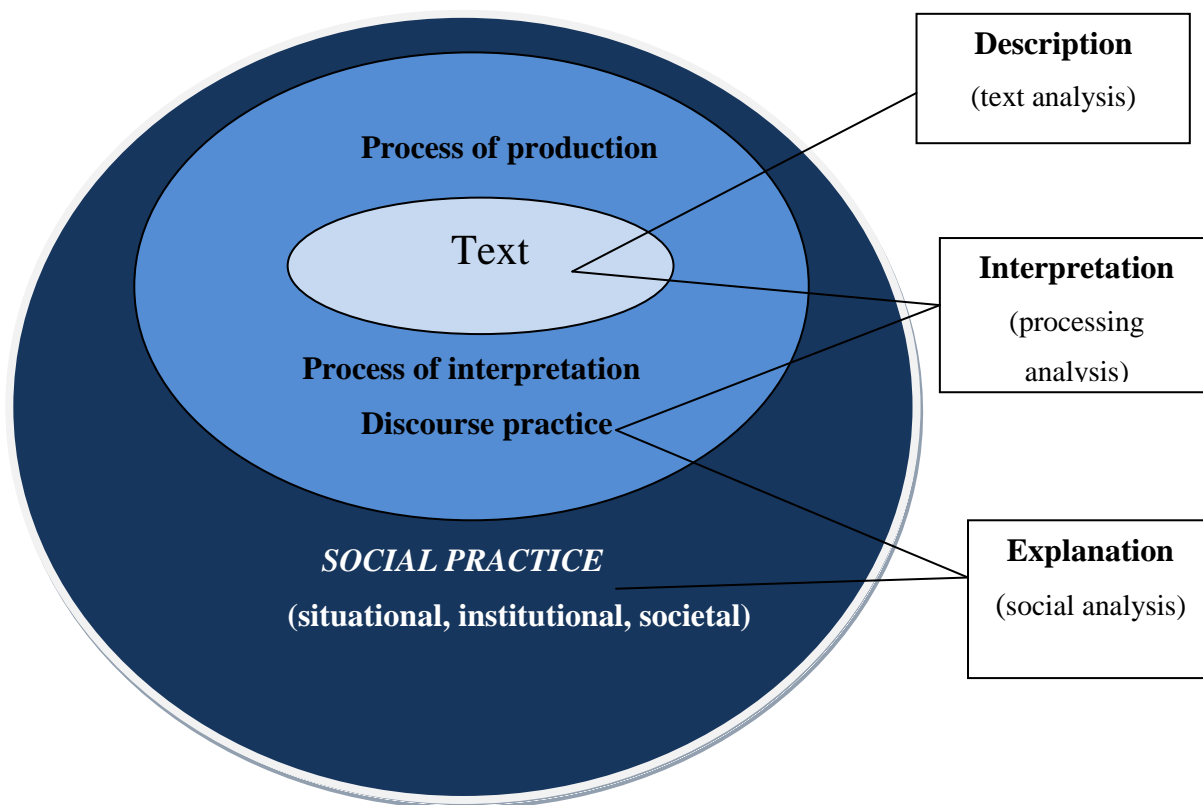


Figure 1.1 Fairclough's three dimensional conception of discourse

The first dimension of the framework is text. This dimension focuses on analysing the text and focusing on the language which the text is written in, its formal and semantic features. Attention must be paid to the used vocabulary and grammar, sentences and word construction. According to Cots (2004:5) ‘These utterances, speech acts or statements contribute to conveying or interpreting a specific message.’ The text represents an act of communication. McGregor (2003) explains that

It [the text] also involves the presentation of facts and beliefs (often ideological), the construction of identities of participants discussed in the communication, and strategies to frame the content of the message. (2003:21)

Fairclough (1992:73) distinguishes four aspects of text analysis in: vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structure. These four aspects must be applied in an ascending order of importance, text structure would be considered the least important, followed by cohesion, followed by grammar and finally vocabulary is the most important in text analysis. Fairclough (ibid) explains that vocabulary

can better be addressed as ‘wording’, ‘lexicalization’, and signification’ because the way in which people “reword” events maybe dependent entirely upon their place(s) historically, geographically and/or socially. (1992:7)

These four grammar aspects are based on Halliday's (1985) systemic functional grammar

which suggest analysing: lexicalisation; patterns of transitivity, the use of active and passive voice; the use of nominalisation, the choices of mood, the choices of modality or polarity, the thematic structure of the text, the information focus and cohesion devices.

The second dimension is the analysis from the point of view of expression and perception, when analysing linguistic means attention should be paid to speech acts, coherence and intertextuality.

It [discursive practice] defines the rules and norms of socially acceptable behavior and of specific roles or relationships used to produce, receive, and interpret the message. It tells us how to think, act, and speak in all the social positions in life' (McGregor, 2003:n.p.)

The third dimension turns the attention to 'the ideological effects and hegemonic processes in which discourse is a feature. Hegemony concerns power that is achieved through constructing alliances and integrating classes and groups through consent' (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000:449). It focuses on social analysis, how respoken, retold or rewritten texts are influenced by the change of power and different resistance activities.

The goal of social practice element is to discover the extent to which discourse is shaped by an, at the same time, influences social structures and the nature of the social activity of which it forms part. (Cots, 2003:339)

Wodak suggests five questions which should be answered when applying CDA :

- 1.How persons are named and referred to linguistically?
- 2.What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?
3. By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimize the inclusion or exclusion of others?
- 4.From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attributions and arguments expressed?
5. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly, are they even intensified or are they mitigated? (2001:302)

According to these five questions, Wodak (2007:195) suggests five strategies involved in self positive (in-group)and negative other (out-group) presentation - referential/nomination, predication; argumentation, perspectivation /framing/discourse representation and intensification/mitigation.

The referential/nomination strategy looks at the construction of the text in in-groups, which is a social group where a person is a member, and out-groups, which is a social group which the person is not involved with. It uses metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches. It categorises people by them being members to different groups; it is purely looking at the

membership, not to the person itself, and the person itself has no qualities, personality or emotions. (ibid)

The predication strategy looks at how people are labelled more positively or negatively because of the role they play in the society. It looks at the person from different stereotypical views. (ibid)

The argumentations strategy looks at how positive and negative attributions towards discrimination and oppression are being justified with different arguments. The strategy includes such issues as racism, sexism, feminism the topos of danger and threat. (ibid)

The perspectivation, framing or discourse representation strategy turns the attention to the point of view of the speaker/writer and the involvement of the speaker/writer in the discussed problem. It is shown with a description, narration, and quotation and reporting about the event or problem. (ibid)

The intensification and mitigation strategy is used in order to emphasise certain problem or the opposite – make the problem seem less important. (ibid)

CDA makes use of rhetorical means, mainly metaphor, metonymy and synecdoche. Metaphor is a figure of speech which describes one thing as another different thing, while still emphasising their similarities. It is said that ‘in classical theories of language, metaphor was seen as a matter of language not thought. Metaphorical expressions were assumed to be mutually exclusive with the realm of ordinary everyday language [...]’ (Lakoff, 1992:1) as it can be seen, the modern definition and the classical understanding of metaphor is contradicting. At the beginning of literacy, metaphor truly was used only in poetry or novels ‘where one or more words for a concept are used outside of its normal conventional meaning to express a similar concept.’ (ibid) In time, this definition was narrowed down and metaphors were put into categories and it was announced that despite previously stated that ‘metaphor [...] [is] a matter of language not thought’ (ibid), language is also a matter of language.

Metonymy ‘is a figure of speech in which a thing or concept is called not by its own name but rather by the name of something associated in meaning with that thing or concept.’ (Online 2) Lakoff explains that

Metonymy is understood as a conceptual process in which one conceptual entity, the „target, is made mentally accessible by means of another conceptual entity, the ‘vehicle’, [...] In principle, either of the two conceptual entities related may stand for the other, i.e., metonymy is basically a reversible process. (1987:2)

Metonymy, just as metaphor, does not exist just in the literary world. Metonymy plays a very significant role in various fields such as grammar, narration, pragmatics, etc., and according to many scholars has been underrated.

There are three types of metonymy: conventional metonymy, antonomasia and synecdoche. Conventional metonymy is very common and is used in everyday language. Antonomasia is when a title is used instead of a proper noun the other way round. Synecdoche is when an element is used instead of the whole object. (Online 3)

Synecdoche is a figure of speech when an element of a whole object is used to represent the whole object and vice versa. ‘Synecdoche is often used as a type of personification, by attaching a human aspect to a non-human thing.’ (Online 4)

Main types of synecdoches are macrocosms and microcosms. Macrocosms imply that a whole object is referred to an element of the object. Microcosms is the opposite, an object is referring to the whole object. (Burke, n.d., 426)

### **1.3. Politics and Language**

If translated from Greek, the term politics means “of, for and relating to citizens”. The Oxford Dictionary explains politics as ‘The activities associated with the governance of a country or area, especially the debate between parties having power.’ It is considered by many scholars that politics has evolved from the very beginning of human race and language has evolved from the fact that to achieve the political activities humans had to develop a form of communication – language. Aristotel believes

[...] it is evident that the state is a creation of nature, and that man is by nature a political animal ... Now, that man is more of a political animal than bees or any other gregarious animals is evident. Nature, as we often say, makes nothing in vain, and man is the only animal whom she has endowed with the gift of speech. (Page)

Politics can be approached from two aspects – the explicit understanding of politics and the implicit understanding of politics. According to Chilton (2004:3), the explicit viewpoint of politics sees it as ‘[...] a struggle for power’, and the implicit viewpoint sees politics as ‘[...] a cooperation, as the practises and institutions that a society has for resolving

clashes of interest over money, influence, liberty, and the like.’ Furthermore, Arend (1958) develops this in two understanding of politics – public and personal. She differentiates which aspects of politics belong with the public – government, work, culture, and which aspect belong with person himself – business, trade unions, domestic life.

Politics consists of ‘the phenomena of conflict and cooperation.’ (Online 5) Different opinions on the same topic, different needs, goals, objectives keeps politics in constant movement. However, the complete opposite, having the same opinions, same needs, goals and objectives can make people co-operate, because in order to achieve bigger influence it is needed to work together with others.

It is inevitable that language and politics are an inseparable unit. Politics uses language and its possibilities in such genres as speeches, debates, pre-election campaigns, interviews, blog posts, press releases. ‘Politics necessarily includes persuasion, rhetoric, deceptive devices [...]. (Wodak,n.d.:578).

### **1.3.1 Political Discourse Analysis**

PDA studies

[...] the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions, such as presidents and prime ministers and other members of government, parliament or political parties, both at the local, national and international levels. (van Dijk n.d.:16-18)

The most frequent distinction in PDA is the micro and macro levels: ‘At the micro level there are conflicts of interest, struggles for dominance and efforts at co-operation between individuals, between genders, and between social groups of various kinds.’ (ibid). According to Jones (1994:5), ‘at the micro level we use a variety of techniques to get our own way: persuasion, rational argument, irrational strategies, threats, entreaties, bribes, manipulation – anything we think will work.’ In contrast to micro level, macro level analyses the outcomes of interactions, and Chilton (ibid.) explains that in macro level

There are the political institutions of the state, which in one of the views of politics alluded to above serve to resolve conflicts of interests, and which in the other views of politics alluded to above serve to resolve conflicts of interests, and which in the other view serve to assert the power of a dominant individual (a tyrant) or group [...]. Such state institutions in a democracy are enshrined in constitutions, in civil and criminal legal codes, and [...] in precedent practice. Associated with these state institutions, are parties and professional politicians, with more or less stable practices; other social formations – interest groups, social movements – may play upon the same stage. (2004:3)

In PDA, it is very important to understand that not only the language processes such as speeches and documents are important, but also the context – political ideologies and

systems. These characteristics separate PDA from any other discourse approach and help when PDA is applied. Van Dijk (n.d.:16-18) suggests that when PDA is applied the following aspects should be defined: societal domain or field; political systems; political values; political ideologies; political institutions; political organizations; political groups; political actors; political relations; political processes; political actions; PDA; and political cognition . When all of these aspects are defined, ‘The specifics of PDA analysis therefore should be searched for in the relations between discourse structures and political context structures.’(ibid.) However, where in other approaches of discourse analysis any rhetoric means can be a way to emphasise or express, in PDA rhetoric means can be a way of attacks or confrontations, praising and criticising, protesting and approving.

#### **1.4.Rhetoric**

Rhetoric has been studied from ancient times, which is why rhetoric includes a variety of definitions.

Aristotle defines rhetoric as ‘the faculty of discovering in any particular case all of the available means of persuasion.’ More modern definition comes from Campbell, who perceives rhetoric as ‘art or talent by which discourse is adapted to its end. The four ends of discourse are to enlighten the understanding, please the imagination, move the passion, and influence the will.’ The understanding of rhetoric and what it includes has changed throughout times, however it has maintained its main functions – to analyse how the language is used for a certain purpose.

According to Aristotle, main purpose of rhetoric is persuasion and this is why rhetoric is so unique. Aristotle (2005:5-6) points out three kinds of persuasion for spoken communication that can be applied also to written texts – personal character, hearers (readers) emotions and argumentation. The character of the speaker (writer) influences the effectiveness of persuasion – the main goal is to prove that the speaker/writer is genuinely interested in the topic and is willing to act. Hearers (readers) emotions can be influenced by choice of words, intensification or mitigation and as a result the hearer (reader) will perceive the text more positively and the persuasion would be easier to achieve. Argumentation can be achieved through different types of arguments according to the topic. To achieve this effectively, Aristotle (2005:6) also suggests three means to successful persuasion – reason logically, understand human character and understand the emotions. Logical arrangement, logical conclusions and rational argumentation can influence the listener (reader) and

persuade more effectively. Understanding human character includes understanding what is considered good and bad, understanding the moral values and various beliefs of different groups of people. Understanding human emotions ‘is to name them and describe them, to know their causes and the way in which they are excited.’ (Aristotle, 2005:6)

Campbell shows a different approach to rhetoric, firstly Campbell believes that rhetoric is a ‘universal art of communication.’ Secondly, Campbell (1963:np) presents four types of discourse, which are actually a part of his psychological theory, but can also be applied to discourse, and they are based on functions as mind – understanding, imagination, emotion and will. Understanding type includes making the audience understand through introducing it to the topic, providing facts and arguments and persuading the audience that the topic is worth the attention. Imagination type is used to paint a mental image in the minds of the audience, this can be achieved through predictions or promises. Emotion type uses various ways to address emotions, for example, patriotism for the immigration issue or sympathy for the benefit system issue, which can be achieved through choice of wording, mitigation and intensification. Will theory is focusing on addressing the will for action and/or the will to change, it uses motivation and inspirational quotes.

Nowadays rhetoric is a widespread phenomenon. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century rhetoric is used not just as a written or spoken way of communication or a way of political persuasion, but also in arts, music, social media and mass media. Its purpose depends on the situation, the topic and the way of expression, it is not limited only to political use, nowadays it can be used also in every day communication about a variety of topics. Political rhetoric has evolved and now it does not just deal with pre-election campaign manifestos or speeches of the party leaders, nowadays politics is using mass-media sources such as the Internet and television. The Internet is a very convenient way to present the information to the masses in a very easy and fast way and has become a part of rhetoric as technological and social means for politicians to pass information and communicate with the public. Political parties have their own home pages, where they can publish any kind of information and let the members of the party to create blogs, where they can express their opinions and inform the people. Using the Internet for political rhetoric has proven to be very effective, more and more of the public use the Internet as their only source for forming a political opinion. This also helps the political parties to communicate with other political parties and debate more actively and frequently. It is much easier for political parties to form their rhetoric using the Internet, because it is easier

and faster to gain corresponding information, to see public opinions and actions of the opponents to form the intended rhetoric.

## **Chapter II**

### **Overall attitude towards immigration in the UK and the history of Labour Party and UKIP**

Chapter II deals with how immigration is perceived in the UK and gives an insight in to the history of the Labour Party and the UKIP, how and when the parties were founded and how their attitudes towards immigration have been through the times.

#### **2.1. Overall attitude towards immigration in the UK**

Immigration is a choice made by many people for various reasons; some people do it for political reasons, some do it for economic reasons and some do it just to change the environment around them. Nowadays, 231 million people or 3.25 % (Online 6) of the population are considered to be immigrants A survey in 2012 revealed that 7% of the world's population or 45 million people would prefer to live in the UK. (Online 7)

The UK or officially the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland has been a very influential and powerful country, which has continuously developed, and nowadays the UK has the sixth largest economy by Gross Domestic Product (World Development Indicators database, World Bank, 2014) and currently ranks 14th by the Human Development Index (Human Development Reports, United Nations Development Programme, 2014), which implies that the country has high income per worker. Also, the UK is an island and is located relatively close to a lot of countries, which makes the UK a popular destination for immigrants.

Immigration in the UK has been very diverse. It is considered that immigration in the UK began in the Middle ages (Online 8), when the UK conquered a lot of new colonies, which included African and Mediterranean countries, and even though it was not voluntary immigration, the first immigrants entered the UK in the 16th century. At that time, the British society accepted immigrants mainly because of the reason they would be used as slaves or in better cases entertainers. These immigrants were just an addition to the UK as they would pose no threat to the economy or British nation itself, as immigration was controlled and the number of immigrants was not high. It all changed in the 18th century as the UK would rapidly gain a lot more power, influence and money, and the merchants were in need of more workforce, so the number of immigrants was growing rapidly. This kind of immigration would continue up until the 19th century, when the number of immigrants would be enough to

revolt and fight against this kind of immigration and enslavement, which resulted in banning slavery. However, this leads to another immigration source – India and Eastern countries. A lot of British merchants and richer part of society would bring people from India and other Eastern countries to work as servants, and the numbers of these immigrants were enough to make their own communities, which was a threat to the British society. This continued in the 20th century, when World War I and World War II and the shortages of soldiers and workers led to the immigration of Indians, Poles and others, most of them stayed in the UK. During these times, this kind of immigration was welcome, as the UK did not have enough workers in many different fields and immigration would fill it. This, however, started mass immigration because the immigrants who had already settled in the UK would be joined with their families and friends. This would result in growing racism and prejudice towards the immigrants for the first time in UK's immigration history (Blinder, *UK Public Opinion toward Immigration: Attitudes and Level of Concern*, 2014).

In 1973, the UK joined the European Union (Online 9), however, strict control rules on entering the country would be in order and the government would protect the interests of the British citizens, but this did not stop immigration; a lot of immigrants would move to the UK from South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Asia joining their families and friends who had already settled in the UK. Also, the situation in African and Middle Eastern countries made a lot of people become fugitives, and the UK was one of the most accepting countries and welcomed all asylum seekers.

In 2004, the UK opened its borders to workers residing in the European Union (Online 10), which meant that any European Union national could easily move to the UK for work with no restrictions, and the number of immigrants entering the country rises each year. Even though the British society has had a negative attitude towards the immigration since the middle of the 20th century, high level of concern and negativity towards immigration is fairly recent (Blinder, 2014, *UK Public Opinion toward Immigration: Attitudes and Level of Concern*,).

The current data about immigration shows that 240,000 European Union nationals enter the UK every year (*Migration Statistics Quarterly Report*, August 2014) and 12% of the population are foreign born (*Migration Statistics Quarterly Report*, August 2014). While the numbers do not seem so high taking into consideration that the population of the UK is 64 100 000 people (*Population Estimates...*, 2013), most of the British citizens are very negative towards the levels of immigration.

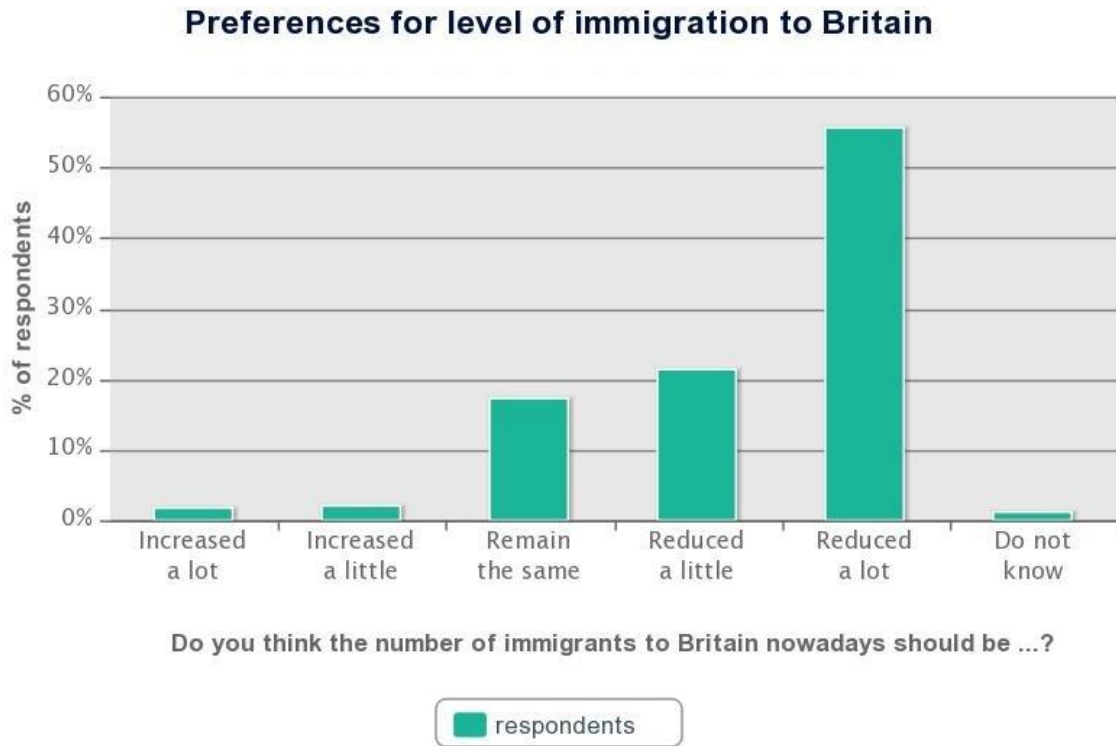
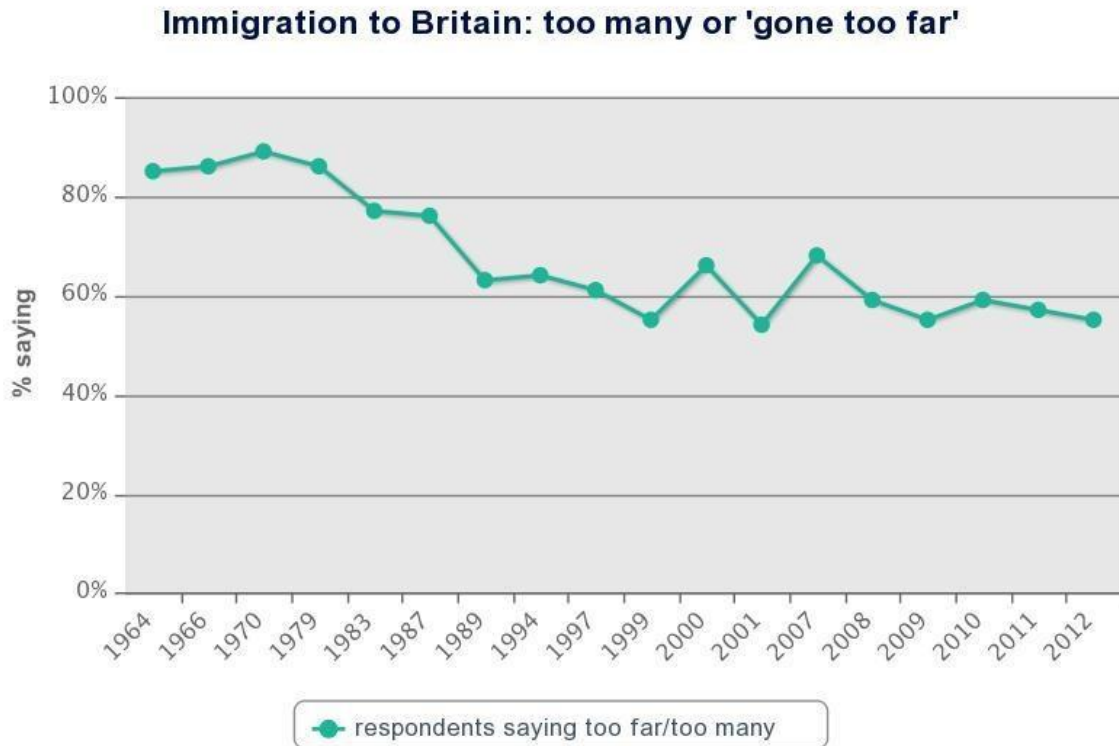


Figure 2. 1 Preferences for level of immigration in the UK

Figure 2.1 shows the overall attitude towards immigration of the British society in 2013 (Blinder, 2014, *UK Public Opinion toward Immigration: Attitudes and Level of Concern*)

More than a half of the British society believes that immigration must be reduced a lot, and a fifth of the population believes that immigration should be reduced a little, from which emerges that 77% of the British population have a negative attitude towards immigration, and only 23% are satisfied with the current situation.

Despite that the overall attitude nowadays is very negative, this has not always been the case, throughout the history the attitude towards immigration has been diverse.



*Figure 2.2 Immigration to Britain : too many or “gone too far”*

Figure 2.2 shows the percentage of respondents who consider that immigration has went too far and that there are far too many immigrants in the UK from 1964-2012 (Online 11).

Changes in the attitude can be explained by the events and overall situation in the current year; for example, in the 1960’s, the percentage is so high because of racism and the following decrease was a result of civil rights activism. The constant changes from 2000-2012 can be explained by the constant additions to the EU member states and the number of immigrants in the UK rising and more people making use of EU Free Movement regulations.

Figure 2.2 shows that in 2014 more than half of British citizens believed that immigration should be reduced a lot, in 1970 it was almost 90%. The attitude seemingly is getting better; however, in the past 20 years immigration has become a more and more discussed issue in the media and politics.

## Immigration among the public's most important issues

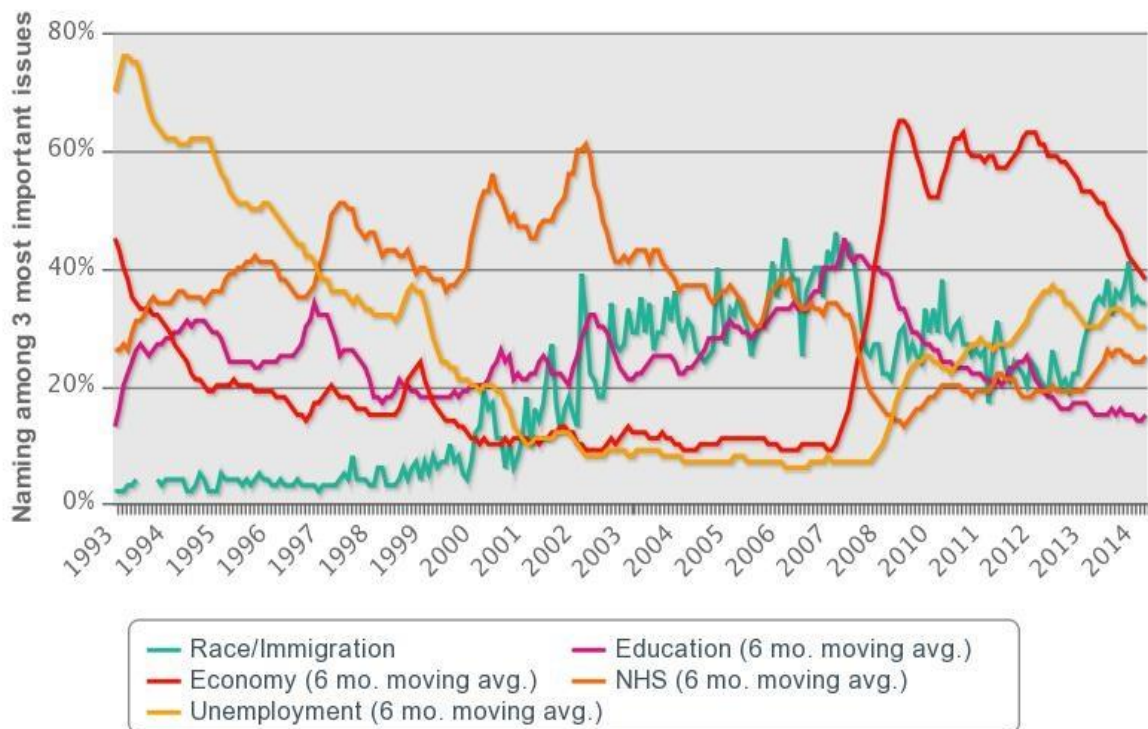


Figure 2.3. Immigration among the public's most important issues

Figure 2.3 shows the percentage of people considering immigration number one issue in the UK from 1993 – 2014 ((Blinder, 2014, *UK Public Opinion toward Immigration: Attitudes and Level of Concern*)

Immigration is considered to be one of the main issues in the UK, although it is not the only issue that concerns the British citizens. Throughout 1993 – 2014, the percentage of British citizens considering that immigration is one of the main problems in the UK increased rapidly, and 40% of the British citizens considered immigration to be one of top 5 problems in the UK in 2014.

The attitude towards immigration in the UK is evidently negative. In different periods of time, it has decreased and increased due to various events and opinions, still it has always maintained to be widely discussed and very influential in the political field.

### 2.2. The Labour Party

In February 1900 Conference on Labour Representation trade union members, smaller social party members and labourers united to form a new political force called Labour Representation Committee. The new committee struggled to evolve in the first years of its

existence; however, this changed right before World War I, when Labour Party was joined by constituency parties and if the election would not have been postponed because of the war, the Labour Party would have had a record number of members participating in the election.

(Online 12)

The first government which the Labour Party was voted into started its existence in 1924. The Labour Party started its first participation in the government with a few modest goals and succeeded. Legislations on housing, unemployment, social taxes, benefits, insurance and education were passed with the help of the Labour Party. Despite the success, the Labour Party lost 40 seats in the government as consequences of rumours that the Labour Party was co-operating with Russian communist movements. (ibid)

In 1929, Labour Party joined the government for the second time in its existence. This government was not successful for the Labour Party, the world was dominated by the economic crisis and all the legislations was passed on before it had to be abolished. The government was forced to cut benefits and increase taxes, which finally split the government and the second government in which the Labour Party took part split. (ibid)

The elections in 1931 were very unsuccessful for the Labour Party, it got 52 seats. During this time, the Labour Party joined the left-wing parties and also experienced a split, a part of the members formed Independent Labour Party. The following elections up till the 1945 General Election were equally unsuccessful for the Labour Party, however the Labour Party took part in the coalition during World War II time governments. (ibid)

In 1945, World War II ended and a General Election was organised in the UK. The Labour Party came up with a manifesto 'Let Us Face the Future', where the Labour Party discussed its planned actions towards fighting 'five 'evil giants' of want, squalor, disease, ignorance and unemployment' (Let Us Face the Future, Labour Party manifesto 1945). It resulted in the Labour Party becoming the majority in government with 393 seats and could enact the planned throughout the next five years. Despite the success, in the next elections the Labour Party only achieved a very low number of seats and would act as a minority for one year, when the government was dissolved. The emergency election in 1951 turned out to be more successful and Labour Party achieved its highest percentage of votes in its history – 48.8% of the votes, however, this was not enough to achieve the majority and couldn't join the government.(ibid)

During the next twelve years Labour Party would not receive a lot of votes, neither it would achieve the majority and form a government. During this time Labour Party had come

up with a new manifesto 'The New Britain', where the party was focusing on resolving economic and social problems. Throughout 1964-1970 the leader of the Labour Party was Harold Wilson and the Labour Party achieved most of its goals which were set in the manifesto. All throughout 70's, the leader of Labour Party was Harold Wilson, and he did not achieve the majority in the government once. (ibid)

In 1979 General Election Labour Party once again suffered a defeat. Members of the Labour Party were disappointed about the constant defeats and the party experienced another split, part of the members formed the Social Democratic Party in 1981. Labour Party continued to take part in elections, however, did not succeeded in the following elections up until 1997. Members of the party were frustrated with the constant failures and the party experienced some reforms. The new leader Tony Blair started modernisations and reforms in order to succeed. A new manifesto 'New Labour, New Life for Britain', which included planned actions towards resolving issues in 'education; crime; health; jobs and economic stability.' (New Labour, New Life for Britain, Labour Party manifesto 1996) With the help of Tony Blair and with the reforms and changes, and the new campaign, in the General Election in 1997 the Labour Party finally achieved the majority with 418 seats. Tony Blair remained the leader of the Labour Party until 2010. During these years Tony Blair and the Labour Party managed to resolve many issues – Labour Party introduced the Decent Homes programme, which was aimed at upgrading the council housing, the New Deal programme, which offered help for unemployed young men and women, found resources to fund education and public services more effectively. This period of time is to be considered to be one of the most successful in the history of its existence. (ibid)

'Labour bequeathed a public realm that shone. They renovated, restocked and rebuilt schools, hospitals and clinics, arts and sports venues, parks and museums. J.K. Galbraith once talked about private affluence and public squalor; now there was plenty of the former, despite the recession, but much less of the latter. Public spaces no longer felt second-best or the shabby poor relations of commerce. Sober academics talked of a renaissance of England's northern cities, and you could say the same of Glasgow and Belfast. For years to come, civic buildings will stand as monuments to the Labour era.' (Toynbee, P., and Walker., D., 2010)

In 2010 the Labour Party came up with a new manifesto 'A future fair for all'. From this point onwards the Labour Party experienced a continuous change of leadership. Nowadays the leader of Labour Party is Ed Milband. For the next General Election in 2015 the Labour Party has come up with a more focused programme than it had used before – the

Labour Party is targeting the middle class working people proposing planned actions towards resolving immigration and overall welfare.

### **2.3. United Kingdom Independence Party**

The UKIP was founded in 1993 by Alan Sked and members of Anti-Federalist League. From the very beginning of the establishment, the main goal of this party has been to withdraw the UK's membership of the EU, which attracted some Conservative Party members and Euro-sceptics. It took part in the General Election in 1997, however, it did not succeed at the first try. After this failure the leader of the UKIP left, accusing its members of being racist and influenced by the far-right parties. Despite the misfortunes, the UKIP took part in the European Parliament election in 1999 and gained 7% of the votes, which was equivalent to 3 seats. (Online 13)

The UKIP took part in General Election in 2001, however, it only achieved a very low percentage of votes and did not participate in the Government, which led to a party reorganisation and the party became a private company. The UKIP took part in the 2004 European Parliament Elections and received 10% of votes and 12 of its members could become members of the European Parliament. The UKIP also took part in the General Election in 2005 and despite the high number of candidates it received only 2.3% of votes, which meant that once again the UKIP could not take part in the Government. Despite all the efforts, the UKIP could not gain the support it needed. (ibid)

In 2009, the UKIP took part in the European Parliament Election and received 16.5% of votes, which was equivalent to 3 seats in the European Parliament. UKIP had become more popular, however, in 2010 General Election the UKIP received 3.1% of votes, which was an increase, even if the UKIP once again could not take part in the Government. This year had been very difficult for the UKIP lost its leader Lord Pearson, who was replaced by Nigel Farage. (ibid)

From 2010 the UKIP experienced a rapid growth in amount of members. The UKIP was able to put forward 1217 candidates for By Elections and was successful, its members would be the second or third in the constituencies. The UKIP also took part in 2014 European Parliament Elections, where it received an astonishing percentage of votes – 27.5% of the voters had voted for The UKIP. This resulted in 24 seats in the European Parliament. (ibid)

Nowadays the UKIP is mainly focusing on the immigration issue and trying to prove that a membership in the EU is not necessary as it does not benefit the UK at all, it

forces its legislation and rules upon the UK. The UKIP has issued a manifesto 'Create an Earthquake' in 2014 which the UKIP expresses its concerns towards immigration and listing the benefits of leaving the EU. The UKIP's election campaign for 2015 General Election is also focused on the immigration issue and the EU influence on UK. (ibid)

## **Chapter III**

### **Analysis of Anti-Immigration Rhetoric**

Chapter III explains methodology used in carrying out the research study, giving special emphasis to the analysis and interpretation of the obtained data.

The presented paper uses CDA as the primary research. The author will be applying the CDA methods developed by Fairclough and Wodak. Fairclough (1992) has introduced a three dimensional framework for analysing discourse - the first dimension analyses the text from the point of linguistic features and the 'organisation of concrete instances of discourse' (Blommaert, 2005:29), which includes vocabulary patterns, grammar, the use of the passive voice, cohesion and text structure (ibid.)

The second dimension takes the point of view of expression and perception, speech acts, coherence and intertextuality (ibid); anything that links the text to social context. The third dimension turns the attention to ideology and hegemony in which the text was written, i.e. social analysis, how respoken, retold or rewritten texts are influenced by the change of power and different resistance activities.

Applying this analysis, it is very important to take into consideration social practices, i.e., 'social and political inequality' (Fairclough, 1995). Wodak (2001) presents a distinction between in-groups and out-groups, in this case, in-group being the British and the political party and the out-group – immigrants. Wodak (ibid.) proposes five strategies: the referential/nomination strategy, predication strategy, argumentation strategy, perspectivation/framing/discourse representation strategy and intensification/mitigation strategy. The Referential/nomination strategy includes the use of metaphors, metonymies, synecdoches, and the use of pronouns. The Predication strategy includes a variety of stereotypes and labels used for both the in-group and out-group. The Argumentation strategy turns the attention to how positive and negative actions and statements are justified. The Perspectivation/framing/discourse representation strategy expresses involvement of the speaker/writer of the text and what is the point of view of the speaker/writer. The Intensification/mitigation strategy deals with how the text is presented, if linguistically the text is intensified and made seemingly more important, or the complete opposite – if the text is mitigated or made seemingly less important.

The Labour Party and the UKIP are diverse in a lot of aspects. The Labour Party has experienced the majority and has been leading the government; the UKIP is fairly new, and previously was the majority party for the UK in the European Parliament. Both parties consider immigration issue a serious problem and present their plans of resolving it in their pre-election campaigns.

Both parties have homepages where they present immigration rhetoric in various ways. The Labour Party presents the anti-immigration rhetoric in the issues section, the blog section and press release section. The issues section includes a sub-section *Tough and fair immigration rules*. (Text 1) This text is a statement of previous actions, the current situation and planned actions towards resolving this issue and is 339 words long. The blog section includes a post by the leader and Prime Minister candidate of Labour Party - Ed Milband, called *Our Immigration Reform Bill will set out our new approaches to make a real difference* (Text 2), where he presents *Immigration Reform Bill*, which explains the planned actions of Labour Party after being elected as the majority in May 2015. This text is 567 words long. Press release section includes a speech made by Yvette Cooper, who is a Member of Parliament representing Labour Party. This speech is called *Labour's approach to immigration* (Text 3). This text is fairly long, it consists of 3936 words and has nine subsections, where Yvette Cooper debates the pros and cons of immigration, as well as explaining the immigration system today, the progressive approach which will change immigration, Europe, stronger UK borders and smarter immigration controls, exploitation, being fair and actions of other political parties.

The UKIP introduces its anti-immigration rhetoric in the section *Learn About*, in the subsections *Policies for People* and *Where We Stand* and in the *News&Media* section a press release called *Steven Woolfe: "UKIP's ethical Migration policy"*. *Policies for People* consists of subsections which refer to the according matter, including immigration, this subsection is called *Controlling and managing our borders* (Text 4) This text is 166 words long and presents the planned actions of the party. The text *Protect Our Borders* (Text 5) can be found in the *Where We Stand* section, it is fairly short – 82 words, and here the UKIP introduces its opinion on changes that need to be done towards immigration. The text *Steven Woolfe: "UKIP's ethical Migration policy"* (Text 6) is a press release by Steven Woolfe, who is a Member of the European Parliament representing the UKIP. It is 756 words long and presents UKIP's migration policy. These texts will be analysed using Critical Discourse Analysis.

### 3.1. Labour Party

Text 1 *Tough and fair immigration rules* is divided into three parts. The first part refers to the past events, solutions to the problems of the past and the situation nowadays. In this part, to describe the past, the simple past tense is used, e.g., *Labour got things wrong on immigration in the past*. To describe the situation nowadays and to describe the solutions of the problems, the present tense is used - the simple present, e.g., *Britain needs immigration rules that are tough and fair*, and the present continuous, e.g., *but net migration is rising, not falling*. The second part of the text is purely the description of the situation and the significance of the problem, only the present tenses are used – the simple present, e.g., *Illegal immigration, which isn't even part of the Tories' net migration target, is a growing problem*, - the present continuous, e.g., *the Tories are doing nothing*, and the present continuous, e.g., *Fewer people are being stopped at the border*. The third part is about the planned actions to resolve the problem, which is written in the future tense e.g., *We will ensure migrants better integrate into British society; We will cut illegal immigration*. The use of *will* instead of *going to* might signal a promise.

Text 2 and Text 3 have mixed tenses throughout the text and is not consistent, past, present and future tenses are used next to each other in no particular order. Text 2 explains the planned actions; therefore, mainly the text uses the future tense, e.g., *I will not be a Prime Minister that puts either those jobs and businesses or our national interest at risk.*; once again to describe the future the verb *will* is used as a promise, however, in cases where the text gives an insight into the actions and plans of the opponents, past and present tenses are used, e.g., the past - *David Cameron promised to cut net migration into this country to tens of thousands*, and the simple present - *Now David Cameron is also saying he is ready to leave the European Union and have Britain turn its back on the rest of the world*. Here two tenses are used to show that the past promise was not fulfilled.

Text 3 is the overall attitude of the Labour Party towards immigration, the history of immigration and also planned actions towards resolving this issue, accordingly the texts use past, perfect and future tenses, e.g., *Immigration has been important for Britain over many centuries; Even though countries who turn their backs completely on international talent and trade lose investment and jobs; There will be no 'Go Home' ad vans on our streets under a Labour government*.

Text 1, Text 2 and Text 3 have both active and passive voice. The active voice is mainly used when referring to the Labour Party or the UK, e.g., *Labour will take a different approach*. Passive voice is used mainly to refer to the EU or immigrants, e.g., *Fewer people are being stopped at the border, more people are absconding and fewer foreign criminals are being deported; fewer are being caught and sent home, and the number of people here illegally is growing*.

All three texts are written from the viewpoint of the Labour Party. The Party refers to itself as *we* and sometimes uses *Labour Party*, especially when it comes to admitting previous mistakes, e.g., *Labour got things wrong on immigration in the past*, however this can also be used for the opposite, i.e., to present the Labour Party as the one who will resolve the issue, e.g., *And Labour is the only major party prepared to deal with the exploitation that undercuts wages and responsible businesses*. The use of the pronoun *we* can change from the Labour Party to referring to the UK, e.g., *So what do we all need to do?*, however sometimes the Labour Party refers to the UK as *Britain* e.g., *Britain needs immigration rules that are tough and fair*. When it comes to immigrants, these texts distinguish several groups of immigrants – illegal immigrants, legal immigrants coming from the European Union and legal immigrants entering the UK with visas, however to address the issue mainly the terms *migrants/migrant workers* are used, this distinction *legal* and *illegal* only appears when the issue of illegal entry in the UK is mentioned.

In terms of metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches the texts do not include a lot of these; in fact, in Text 1, Text 2 and Text 3, only a few could be found. The texts are very formal; the main ideas are mostly expressed by facts and descriptions in order to create seriousness and formality.

The richest and most colourful rhetorical means can be found in the sentence '*It's [the immigration] now at 243,000, higher than last year, and the Tories' target is in tatters*'. This is a metaphor, because the target is not an object, it is a mentally desired goal, which, of course, cannot rip in to tatters. This metaphor is used to emphasise the failure of the Labour Party's opponent – the Tories.

*The Tories are doing nothing to tackle the undercutting of local workers' conditions*. This metaphor emphasises the fight that should be done by the Tories; it shows the attitude of the Labour Party towards the previous actions of the Tories. The same kind of metaphor is used again in the sentence '*We will tackle the exploitation of migrant workers*.' Here the fight

and the power devoted to it is referred to the Labour Party and its efforts in the field of immigrant employment.

Text 1, Text 2 and Text 3 have a variety of words are used describing people who are now residing in the United Kingdom, but were born and lived in a different country – immigrants, migrants, migrant workers, non-British citizens; however, in this example - *banning recruitment agencies from hiring solely from overseas*, Text 1 uses a word that is associated with countries located in great distance. This is a metonymy, overseas is a noun that is used instead of foreign countries, they are similar in their meaning; however, they are not synonyms, also the noun overseas is more poetic. The Labour Party has used this word to emphasise that foreign countries are something unknown, undiscovered and are not similar to the United Kingdom.

The distinction between *the Labour Party, the UK, the British* and *migrants/migrant worker/legal/illegal migrants* indicates that the Labour Party and the UK is the in-group and immigrants are the out-group. The Labour Party as the in-group is positioning itself in a positive light. The Labour Party states that it is a democratic and Pro-European party and that their attitude towards immigration is *'tough and fair'*. However, when it comes to their immigration rhetoric, the Labour Party blames itself and the Tories; and surprisingly it does not put any blame on immigrants. The Labour Party admits that it 'got things wrong on immigration in the past' (Text1); 'The Tories have let people down on immigration'(Text1) and 'David Cameron promised to get immigration down to the tens of thousands, but net migration is rising, not falling.', suggesting that the British Government has made many mistakes in terms of both legal and illegal immigration. Although the party puts the blame on itself, the Tories and the Prime Minister, it still considers that the immigrants have taken the advantage and are abusing the opportunities given to them. Even though the main definition of democratic is 'elating to the idea that all people should be treated equally' (Merriam Webster Dictionary) and the Labour Party positions itself as democratic, the attitude towards immigration is rather negative. The planned actions presented clearly indicate that even though these actions are as the party calls them 'tough but fair', the British Citizens and the immigrants from any other country will not be treated equally, e.g., *the reinstatement of fingerprint checks at the border* [for non British nationals], which clearly puts the immigrants in the out-group.

Judging from the planned action of the Labour Party, i.e., *Earned entitlements: people coming here won't be able to claim benefits for at least two years*, the Labour Party has a very

widespread and stereotypical view of the immigrants. Firstly, as mentioned above, the Labour Party considers that immigrants abuse their benefit system. The common opinion is that the immigrants from the European Union move to the United Kingdom just because of the benefit system and use it to claim for the Job Seekers Allowance (unemployment benefit), Child Support benefits and Disability benefits (Online 14); therefore, the Labour Party suggests that the European Union nationals will have to be residents of the United Kingdom for two years before claiming any kind of benefits. Secondly, the Labour Party agrees to the common opinion that immigrants are occupying the work places that could be filled by British citizens (Online 14) . Most of the immigrant workers are employed by work placement agencies, warehouses and factories, i.e., places that are undesirable for the British citizen (Online 15) furthermore, it is still considered to be one of the biggest issues in the United Kingdom. The Labour Party expresses its opinion by stating that the party will ‘require every firm hiring a migrant worker from outside the EU to offer an apprenticeship in return.’(Text 1) Despite all the seemingly negative stereotypical views, the Labour Party still has also a positive approach and is willing to help immigrants, which can be observed in Text 3, e.g., *And respect works both ways. Those who come here legally, who contribute to our communities and work hard to give their families a better life should never be targets of abuse or disrespect.* In its immigration rhetoric, the Labour Party is planning to help integrate the immigrants into the British society by making English language courses accessible to anyone and also taking care of the immigrants in the field of employment, i.e., making sure that immigrants are not taken advantage of by paying less than the minimum wage and exploiting in terms of working hours and health and safety.

When the Labour Party states its immigration rhetoric, it might seem as at this present moment the Labour Party is not involved in this issue. The proposed plan of actions, where the party states that ‘Labour got things wrong on immigration in the past’ (Text 1) shows that at some point the Labour Party has been involved in resolving this issue, maybe not even fully involved, and, unfortunately, has failed to succeed and at this present time has stated its position, but is not involved in this matter. Despite this, as the immigration rhetoric reaches the question of solution, the point of view of the Labour Party is much different, here the party is very involved, the party uses the pronoun *we* and acts as the saviour and a solution to this problem for British citizens.

### 3.4. UKIP

The UKIP presents three sources for its anti-immigration rhetoric. Text 4 one focuses on the policies; Text 5 is a statement of the party's beliefs and Text 6 is a speech made by a member of the party. Text 4 is written to explain what the UKIP has planned to do to solve the issue and for that the simple future is used, e.g., *will leave the EU*, and the conditional future is used when UKIP is presenting its plans if the conditions change, *would not seek to remain in the European Free Trade Area (EFTA) or European Economic Area (EEA) while those treaties maintain a principle of free movement of labour*. Text 5 is devoted to describing the current situation and is written in the simple present, e.g., *we are the EU's largest export market: they depend on us for jobs*. Text 6 explains the overall attitude of UKIP, therefore, it includes present and future tenses, e.g., *Evidence from the EU own a migration report that says mass low skilled migration negatively affects the poorest in the UK; will not ignore the concerns of the people and their number one concern is Immigration*.

All three texts include both the active and passive voice. Text 4 includes the active voice, e.g., *will leave the EU, and take back control of our borders*, and passive voice, e.g., *Work permits will be permitted to fill skills gaps in the UK jobs market*. The active voice is used when the attention is paid to the United Kingdom, and the passive voice is used when the subject is foreign countries or foreign people. In Text 5 only the active voice is used, e.g., *this means private health insurance, they should pay into the pot before they take out of it*. Text 6 also includes only active voice, e.g., *Thirdly, we believe that Europeans should receive the same treatment as non-European; We need to have selective and a skills based policy that balances the needs of economic growth and society*.

An important part of these texts is modal verbs. When the text mentions foreign people, it is mostly used with the modal verb *must*, e.g., *Those coming to work in the UK must have a job to go to, must speak English, must have accommodation agreed prior to their arrival, and must have NHS-approved health insurance.; Proof of private health insurance must be a precondition*.

The UKIP makes a clear difference between themselves and immigrants in terms of pronouns, presenting the immigrants as the out-group and UKIP as the in-group. This can be observed in how the party refers to itself; Text 4, Text 5 and Text 6 all include the pronoun *we* used for the UKIP; e.g., *We will extend to EU citizens the existing points-based system*, and when the main focus is on the immigrants, it can be observed that the pronoun used all

throughout the texts is *they*, e.g., *Migrants will only be eligible for benefits (in work or out of work) when **they** have been paying tax and NI for five years; **they** must pay into the pot before they take out of it.*

As mentioned above, the sources of UKIP's immigration rhetoric includes two main subjects – the UKIP and the immigrants (sometimes mentioned as the EU citizens, migrants and also illegal immigrants). However, there are three other less mentioned objects – the European Union, the United Kingdom (rarely Britain) and the British, which also acts as the in-group. In all three sources, immigrants are referred to in different ways – using the pronoun *they*, e.g., ***they** should pay*, using the term immigrants, e.g., *health insurance must be a precondition for **immigrants***, the terms *migrants*, e.g., ***migrants** will only be eligible for benefits when they have been paying tax*, and when the focus is on the European Union in terms of immigration, the term *EU citizens* is used, e.g., *We will extend to **EU citizens***. The term *illegal immigrants* is used only once in the statement – ‘*will not offer an amnesty for **illegal immigrants** or those gaining British passports through fraud.*’ (Text 6). When it comes to describing the United Kingdom and the main population, these sources refer to them as the *UK*, e.g., ‘*will reinstate the primary purpose rule for bringing foreign spouses and children to the **UK**.*’ (Text 6), and *the British*, e.g., *and remove those which hamper **British** prosperity and competitiveness.*

Another way how the party acts as the in group can be observed in Text 5. This text includes a synecdoche , e.g., – *will leave the EU, and take back control of our borders*, where the party, which is only an element of the United Kingdom and cannot unanimously leave the European Union, is used to symbolise the whole and emphasise that UKIP is the united group of the Party, UK and the British citizens.

The UKIP is a Euro-Sceptic right wing party. In terms of immigration, the UKIP is very straightforward and does not try to make its statements politically correct, because the party believes that ‘*[...] Political Correctness - it stifles free speech.*’ (Text 4). The party sees any type of immigrants (legal or illegal) in a very stereotypical and negative light, which can be observed in statements presented in Text 6, e.g., *Evidence from successive OECD annual reports that clearly state mass low skilled migration brings no discernible economic benefit in GDP or GNP terms to the UK; Evidence from the EU own a migration report that says mass low skilled migration negatively affects the poorest in the UK. The mounting evidence shows that mass low skilled migration exceeds the cost to the UK economy far in excess of any benefits.* A common belief of this party is that immigrants abuse the fact that the United

Kingdom is a part of the European Union, the immigrants are robbing the country by receiving undeserved benefit, occupying the jobs, are mainly unskilled and disturbing the British society with their languages and traditions, and the main source is the European Union which is pressuring the United Kingdom to spend billions unnecessary and to be the host for unwanted residents. This opinion emerges from the parties planned actions, e.g., *'Make cuts to foreign aid that are real and rigorous.'* (Text 4), and *'[...] by re-introducing border controls that the EU forced us to abandon.'*

Despite the fact that UKIP clearly consider the European Union to be in control of the UK, it does not put itself in the role of sufferer, it is trying to prove the complete opposite that the United Kingdom is the main resource of the European Union and is a necessity to it, the United Kingdom is being abused because it is *'most favoured nation'* status in trade within the EU' (ibid.). The party believes that the UK is capable of being outside of the European Union and be independent but still maintain trading possibilities without having to obey the laws of the EU, which does not benefit the UK in any field. The UKIP positions itself as the hero that will bring back the power to the nation and is a freedom fighter, a fighter for justice, as in the programmes and statements the emphasis is on the UKIP, e.g., *will return to the principles of the UN Convention of Refugees; will leave the EU, and take back control of our borders; will reinstate the primary purpose rule for bringing foreign spouses and children to the UK.* The Party does not blame the United Kingdom or the Government or anyone personally from the United Kingdom; however, the UKIP blames the choice of the United Kingdom to join the European Union in all the nowadays immigration and financial issues.

The party proves their opinion using facts and topoi of number. In many cases where it is explained why membership in the European Union is unnecessary, the sums of money are added for information, e.g., *save £55m a day in membership fees by leaving the EU; will leave the EU and save at least £8bn pa in net contributions.* The sums of money act as descriptive information and at the same time emphasise and support the main idea – membership in the European Union is unnecessary. The same tactics is used when the party is proving their investment in solving the issue, the negative influence of the European Union and the neglect towards the problem from the opponents, e.g., *800,000 jobs we currently advertise to EU workers; all legislation and regulations from the EU (3,600 new laws since 2010) .*

### 3.3. Comparison of Anti-Immigration Rhetoric

The Labour Party and the UKIP both present their Anti-Immigration rhetoric in the official home pages. The Labour Party's home page has the specific issue section where a whole section is devoted to the immigration issue, as well as the blog section where members of the party can make posts and a press release section, where various speeches and opinions are published. The UKIP's home page does not include a specific immigration policy section; the Party expresses their Anti-Immigration rhetoric amongst other issues in the opinion section and policy section, which seems rather odd bearing in mind that the UKIP is very straightforward towards this issue, and its election campaign turns its attention mainly to immigration problems, however the, homepage has a section, where party members can post their opinions and inform the readers about events.

The presented rhetoric of the Labour Party can be divided into three parts – the previous unsuccessful actions of others and the Labour Party itself, the situation nowadays and the planned actions to resolve the issue of immigration. Relating to this, the Anti-Immigration rhetoric is formed of past, present and future tenses, i.e., the past simple, present simple, present continuous, present perfect continuous and future t, e.g., *net migration is rising, not falling; the Tories are doing nothing to tackle the undercutting of local workers' conditions; We will make sure that the system is fair and seen to be fair.* In contrast to the Labour Party, the UKIP in its anti-immigration rhetoric does not refer to the past, it only offers an opinion about the current situation and states what kind of action will be done and to achieve this present and future tenses are used, i.e., the present simple and future simple, e.g., *recognises the benefits of limited, controlled immigration; we will extend to EU citizens the existing points-based system for time-limited work permits.*

All sources that present the anti-immigration rhetoric of both parties contain both – active and passive voices. Both parties use the active voice when it comes to referring to themselves or the UK and its citizens, e.g. *will return to the principles of the UN Convention of Refugees; Britain needs immigration rules that are tough and fair.* When it comes to referring to immigrants, both voices are used – when the Labour Party refers to immigrants as the people who cross the border passive voice is used, e.g., *Fewer people are being stopped at the border,* however, the UKIP has a different approach, the passive voice is used when the attention is being turned to immigrants as people who fill the job places, e.g., *Work permits will be permitted to fill skills gaps in the UK jobs market.*

The UKIP is very straightforward with its opinions, therefore, the source for its Anti-Immigration rhetoric includes the imperative mood to state its opinions and future plans, e.g., *Immigrants must financially support themselves; Britain must leave the EU!* The Labour Party is much less opinionated towards this issue, its anti-immigration rhetoric is written using indicative and subjunctive moods, the indicative mood is used all throughout the text, e.g., *We will ensure migrants better integrate into British society by making sure more migrants learn English*, however, when the Labour Party refers to the mistakes made by Tories, subjunctive mood is used, e.g., *if this was true, the immigration would be down to tens of thousands.*

As mentioned above, the UKIP is very straightforward and opinionated and it can be observed also through the frequent use of modality, e.g., *Those coming to work in the UK **must** have a job to go to, **must** speak English, **must** have accommodation agreed prior to their arrival, and **must** have NHS-approved health insurance.* The Labour Party does not use any kind of modality in their Anti-Immigration rhetoric which can be received as the Party is less demanding and is trying to be more politically correct than UKIP.

The usage of pronouns differs. The Labour Party is trying to avoid using any kind of pronouns, the only pronoun used in the text is *we*, and e.g., *we will control immigration.* In difference to the Labour Party, the UKIP gives a clear distinction between the party and the immigrants, referring to itself as *we*, e.g., ***We** will extend to EU citizens the existing points-based system*, and to immigrants as *they*, e.g., *they must pay into the pot before they take out of it.*

As both the anti-immigration rhetoric is part of election campaigns, they are very formal and any kinds of rhetorical means is not a frequent encounter. The source of anti-immigration rhetoric of the Labour Party mostly consisted of metaphors and metonymies, e.g., *The Tories are doing nothing to **tackle the undercutting** of local workers' conditions; banning recruitment agencies from hiring solely from **overseas**.* The UKIP did not use any kinds of metonymies in their Anti-Immigration rhetoric, yet it was possible to encounter some metaphors, e.g., *will **scrap** the integration project*, and synecdoches, e.g., *will leave the EU.*

Both parties have the clear distinction between the Party/the British/the United Kingdom, which acts as the in-group and the immigrants, which acts as the out-group. Labour Party rarely refers to itself as the *Labour Party*, the UKIP does it frequently, sometimes even blurring the lines and symbolically uniting the United Kingdom, British citizens and the Party as a whole, e.g., *will leave the EU.* However, the Labour Party constantly uses the pronoun

we, which unites the British society and the party in an attempt to familiarise with the voter. When referring to the voter, both parties use the term *the British*, joining together English, Welsh, Scottish, Northern Irish and any other nationality born with British citizenship. Anyone who has come to the United Kingdom to work is referred to as *illegal immigrants* and *immigrants/ migrants/ migrant workers*, however, the term *immigrants* is used as a general terms in anti-immigration rhetoric of the UKIP and it is never specified as it is in the rhetoric of the Labour Party, where the term used depends on the context, i.e., if the context is society, the term *migrant* will be used, e.g., *We will ensure **migrants** better integrate into British society*, and if the context is employment, the term used is *migrant worker*, e.g., *We will require every firm hiring a **migrant worker** from outside the EU to offer an apprenticeship in return*. As it can be seen in the previous example, the Labour Party also distinguishes the immigrants into two parts – immigrants from the EU and immigrants from outside the EU, the UKIP uses the term *immigrants* for any kind of immigration except illegal.

The Labour Party and the UKIP are both popular and influential parties in the United Kingdom. The Labour Party has been in control in the past when immigration in the United Kingdom spiralled out of control, which is why in its anti-immigration rhetoric the Labour Party admit to previous mistakes, e.g., *Labour got things wrong on immigration in the past*, however the current Labour Party does not associate itself with the Labour Party that betrayed the British. The new Labour Party is committed to bringing change and regaining the trust of the British society, by saving the current situation and repairing the damage which is done by the Tories (British political party). The UKIP is fairly new and has not committed any mistakes in relation to this issue, nevertheless the party sees itself as very powerful and influential political force. The party concentrates on this issue, most of its election campaign is based on immigration. The Anti-Immigration rhetoric of UKIP is very strict and sometimes even too harsh, but the Party tries to soften this by claiming that its views are strictly patriotic.

Both parties see immigration as a big issue and they both have similar viewings on immigrants. The Labour Party and the UKIP agree that the immigrants are using the United Kingdom beneficial system for their own gain, the immigration levels must be reduced, illegal immigration must be stopped and the British citizens must be taken care of before the immigrants. However, even though the Labour Party sometimes stereotypes the immigrants, it is also prepared to offer help, i.e., make sure English language courses are available to anyone and to make sure that the minimum wage laws, health and safety rules and working hour limit is not violated in terms of employing immigrants. The Labour Party holds a view that every

immigrant should be entitled for any kind of benefits in 6 months after residing in the UK and should be able to use any public services, i.e., public schools, hospitals and medical institution from the day of arrival. The UKIP sees the immigrants in a different light, even though it's also a very stereotypical view, it is much harsher. The UKIP sees all immigrants as exploiting United Kingdom benefit system, occupying jobs that could be filled with British citizens and taking advantage of the free public services in the UK, which emerges from the parties anti-immigration rhetoric sources, e.g., in difference to the Labour Party, the UKIP considers that - *Immigrants must financially support themselves and their dependents for 5 years. This means private health insurance (except emergency medical care), private education and private housing[...]*, implying not just that the benefit system will be available only in five years after working in the UK, but also any kind of social services will not be available for an immigrant or his dependants before 5 full years of employment. Moreover, the UKIP does not differentiate illegal or legal immigration, its opinion is that they are equally damaging the economical situation in the United Kingdom.

The parties use different approaches when it comes to proving the significance of the problem. Labour Party refers to the past events and blame the current government in neglect and vague promises, e.g. *David Cameron promised to get immigration down to the tens of thousands, "no ifs, no buts", but net migration is rising, not falling*, however, the UKIP uses a variety of numbers, starting from the net migration and ending with United Kingdom membership fees to the EU, e.g., *It's [migration] now at 243,000, higher than last year; which costs the economy £18bn a year.*

### **3.4.Summary**

All texts were analysed with the CDA strategies developed by Ruth Wodak. Text 1, Text 2 and Text 3 belong to the Labour Party. Tenses used throughout the texts are chosen accordingly to the purpose of the text. Text 1 was a general opinion and planned actions, subsequently it included past tense and present tense when stating the opinion, and future tenses were used when the planned actions were presented. Text 2 is a blog post about the planned reform bill that Labour Party is planning to introduce after 2015 General Election, therefore this text mainly consists of the future tense, although for stating Labour Party's opinion about previously introduced bills or actions of other parties past and present tenses are used. Text 3 is Labour Party's overall opinion towards immigration and it consists of all three tenses – past, present and future. All three texts include both active and passive voice,

however a tendency can be observed, when immigrants are discussed mainly passive voice is used. Text1, Text 2 and Text 3 does not include pronouns. Labour Party would refer to itself as *Labour Party* and the UK would be referred to as *the UK/the British*. Immigrants would be referred to as *migrants/migrant workers* and would be divided into two different groups – *legal* and *illegal*. The use of pronouns and also some presented planned actions of Labour Party indicates that Labour Party sees Labour Party and the UK as the in-group and immigrants as the out-group. Text 1, Text 2 and Text 3 differ from the point of view of the involvement, Text 1 includes past facts, which Labour Party does not admit taking part in, Text 2 mostly consists of future promises, in this text Labour Party is fully involved in the situation. Texts are formal register, however, metaphors and a metonymy could be found in the texts, most of which were not referred to immigration. Presented and planned actions towards resolving immigration are based on wide spread stereotypes existing in the British society, for example, a common belief is that immigrants come to the country for the benefit payments, which is why Labour Party suggests a 3 year waiting period before an immigrant can claim benefits.

UKIP uses several ways to refer to itself and UK, mainly *we/UKIP/UK/Britain* and *EU citizens/ migrants/illegal immigrants* referring to immigrants. UKIP acts as an in group which can be observed in the use of pronouns, however, in Text 5 a synecdoche combines an in-group of UKIP and the UK. The rare distinction between legal and illegal immigrants is used very rarely and the use of pronoun *they* signals that immigrants are the out group. UKIP is very anti-immigration and also hold a very stereotypical view, which can be observed in the continuous opinion statements. In Text 4 and Text 5 UKIP has used topos of number to prove the necessity of the planned actions and to turn the attention to the significance of the problem.

Texts published by Labour Party and texts published by UKIP share similarities and have their differences. Both parties have similar opinions about immigrants, however, they have different views on membership in EU. UKIP and Labour Party share a stereotypical view on immigrants, which can be observed in the presented planned actions, Labour Party has a softer approach and try to be ‘tough and fair’, UKIP is open about its negative views on immigration and present very harsh actions towards resolving immigration. Both parties use different tenses to describe their opinions and to present planned actions towards resolving the immigration issue. Labour Party’s texts include past, present and future accordingly to the purpose of the text, past refers to past events and mistakes made by Labour

Party and others, present is the current situation in the country and future is for the planned actions. UKIP's Texts are mostly focused on the current situation and the planned actions and accordingly present and future is mostly used. Both parties also use active and passive voice throughout the texts and mostly use passive voice when referring to immigration. UKIP uses imperative mood in its texts when it is presenting the future requirements which will be applied to immigrants, the same result is made by the use of modality. Both parties use only a few rhetoric means mostly not related to immigration.

Labour Party and UKIP consider themselves as the in-group and immigrants as the out-group. UKIP uses the pronoun *we*, Labour Party achieves this with a different approach, Labour presents a variety of restrictions for immigrants despite stating it is trying to achieve equal rights for everyone.

Labour Party proves the significance of immigration issue with the help of past facts and stating previous mistakes in the field of immigration made by the Labour Party and other political parties, UKIP uses criticism and topos of number. UKIP also uses several stereotypical views to prove the necessity of the action.

## Conclusions

The world nowadays is globalised. It is estimated that there are 231 million immigrants in the world (UNFPA State of the World Population 2013). Many of them have chosen UK as their destination. It is estimated that 7.5 million people residing in the UK were immigrants ("Immigration Patterns of Non-UK Born Populations in England and Wales in 2011". Office for National Statistics.). The UK is a beloved destination for immigrants for various reasons. First of all UK is a multicultural country, many other cultures have settled in the UK, for example, Indian, Chinese and African. Second, the UK offers free health services and education for anyone. Third, UK offers a lot of jobs with a higher pay, minimum wage for people over 21 is £ 6.50 an hour (National Minimum Wage rates).

This situation, however, does not satisfy the British citizens, 77% (Migration Observatory) believe that immigration levels in the UK must be reduced. Also, 40% of the British population consider immigration being the main issue in the UK (Ipsos – MORI Issue Index). As immigration is a very discussed and worrying issue amongst the British citizens, political parties pay special attention to it and provide planned actions towards resolving it in various sources, for example, party homepages, election campaigns and manifestos. Two very opposite political parties in the UK are the Labour Party and the UKIP. The Labour Party is left wing pro-Europe party and believes in equal rights for everyone, it does not consider immigration an issue, however it believes it should be controlled more. The UKIP is a right wing Euro-sceptic political party and its main focus is decreasing immigration levels. Both parties have presented their opinions and planned actions towards resolving immigration on their homepages in various forms, the Labour Party has a special issue section, where it discusses plans towards resolving it, also immigration. The Labour Party's viewpoint about immigration can also be observed in the blog section and press release section. The UKIP also hosts a homepage and its anti-immigration rhetoric can be found in the issue section, in the opinion section and in the news section in forms of speeches of the UKIP's members. As these two parties have contrary opinions and different solutions towards resolving the issue of immigration, the main goal of this paper was to prove that different approaches towards resolving the immigration issue affect the way of expressing anti-immigration rhetoric and the research question was how the different approaches to immigration of the Labour Party and the UKIP affect their discourse.

DA and its approach CDA has proven to be a very effective in the research. CDA frameworks how to analyse and interpret the researched helped to achieve the planned objectives.

Taking into consideration that the number of differences is smaller than the number of similarities, it emerges that different approaches towards resolving the immigration issue does affect the discourse. Significant differences are use of modal verbs and use of pronouns and topos of numbers, the use of these elements in the UKIP's anti-immigration rhetoric does refer to the UKIP having a different approach towards resolving the immigration issue, however the similarities, for example, the common way of referring to the immigrants, putting immigrants in the out-group and rare use of rhetorical means prove the opposite. The number of differences does not rule out the similarities, therefore, different approaches towards resolving the immigration issue only partly affect the way of expressing anti-immigration rhetoric.

During the research it was discovered that every political party in the UK in one way or another had expressed their opinions and presented the planned actions towards resolving the issue. All parties agreed to the general opinion, i.e., immigration in the UK must be reduced, however, the focus differed. The Labour Party consider immigration to be only one of the UK's current problems, therefore does not devote a lot of information about party's opinions towards immigration or its plans towards resolving this issue. In contrast, the UKIP is very focused on the immigration and base most of its campaign on this issue. Parties share similar opinions, however, their planned actions towards resolving the immigration issue are very different. Both parties are very competitive because of this reason and continue making various announcements dedicated to the other party. It was considered that this fact would make the research more diverse, however, it was observed that the opinions were quite similar and also the planned actions towards resolving the issue were similar as well with a few minor differences, which was the cause of debates between the Labour Party and the UKIP.

The parties have presented their anti-immigration rhetoric in different forms. Even though the main source was the same for both parties – party's official homepage, the form of published material varied. The Labour Party has chosen to devote a special issue section, blog section and published speeches of members of the Labour Party, the UKIP has an opinion section, planned action section and press releases. Different forms of anti-rhetoric sources proved to be very inconvenient, as different forms of texts included different purposes, formatting, length and subdivisions, which limited the research in several occasions.

Narrowing down the research material, for example, choosing election campaigns or press releases for all researched parties would be much more efficient.

The Labour Party was established in the very beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the UKIP was established at the very end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, hence it is a fairly new party. The Labour Party has been involved in the immigration issue since the very beginning and it is possible to see the changes of opinions and actions. It can also be observed for the UKIP, however, as it is fairly new, the involvement in immigration history has not been so long, therefore it was not possible to track any changes in the opinions and actions. Suggestively two parties with a similar time of existence would be much more reliable.

## Theses

1. Anti-immigration rhetoric is expressed in various genres.
2. Critical Discourse Analysis frameworks can be used for applying analysis to political texts.
3. Text 1, Text 2, Text 3, Text 4, Text 5 and Text 6 are of formal register, therefore rhetorical means were not commonly used.
4. The Labour Party and the UKIP consider themselves and the British citizens as the in-group, immigrants are considered to be the out-group.
5. The Labour Party and the UKIP share a common stereotypical view about immigrants.
6. The UKIP's absolute negative attitude is expressed through the use of modal verbs and the imperative mood when referring to immigrants.
7. The overall attitude towards immigration in the UK is very negative.
8. Immigration is a very discussed and popular issue amongst UK citizens.
9. The Labour Party has been involved in the immigration field since the very beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.
10. Opinion about immigration and different approaches towards resolving the immigration issue affects the way of expression only partly.

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