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Master's thesis

**MASS-MEDIA COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES
IN BREXIT COVERAGE**

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Western European Languages”
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«Допущено до захисту»

Протокол засідання кафедри англійської філології

та міжкультурної комунікації

Протокол № 11 від 24.05.2021

Завідувач кафедри _____ д. філол. н., проф. Белова А.Д.

KYIV – 2021

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INTRODUCTION

Globalization processes and rapid development of the information society determine an extremely important role of the mass-media in the life of the world in general and individual countries in particular. The mass-media are called the “fourth power” because of their influence on citizens’ opinions and social-political processes.

In the XXI century, when the vast majority of people have access not only to printed sources, but also to television, online media and social networks, the perception of information is becoming a continuous process. Within the states all possible media are involved in the struggle for the population’s attention and support. This struggle is exacerbated on the eve of election campaigns, important decisions for the country, such as referendums, voting, etc. At the interstate level, the media can serve both to establish friendly diplomatic relations between countries and to become powerful means of info-war, which is currently being waged on a larger scale than military hostilities.

The media make a huge impact on the recipient of information with the help of various linguistic and extralinguistic means which realize a number of communicative strategies and tactics. Today linguists actively study the communicative strategies of mass-media discourse because of the increasing influence it exerts on the public. The issue of speech influence and communication strategies in different types of texts, including mass-media discourse, have been investigated by such scholars as A. D. Bielova, N. V. Kondratenko, A. V. Korolova, T. Y. Kovalevska, V. Kozlova, T. B. Maslova, L. V. Pavlova, O. O. Selivanova, O. L. Shevchuk, Y. A. Sternin, L. V. Sukhovetska, O. S. Yssers), among them there are foreign linguists as R. M. Blakar, D. Bolinger, K. Burke, T.A. van Dijk, K. Kellermann, R. Lakoff, R. E. Sanders, R. J. Watts and others.

Brexit campaign is actively explored not only in political and media studies but by linguists as well. They have analysed Brexit impact on linguistic education in

Europe (T. Kozak, E. O. Sniehirova), the phenomenon of Brexit discourse (D.V. Nestorenko), the manipulative effect of Brexit discourse (S. Sushko).

However, the communication strategies of Brexit discourse haven't been studied enough yet. The **relevance** of the topic may be explained by the need to explore the mechanisms of influence on public opinion by the media.

The object of the paper is mass-media Brexit discourse.

The subject of the paper is mass-media communication strategies in Brexit coverage.

The purpose of this paper is to perform a comprehensive analysis of communication strategies in Brexit coverage.

This purpose predetermines fulfillment of the following **objectives**:

- to define the methodological basis of theoretical study of communication strategies in Brexit mass media coverage;
- to specify the notion of the communication strategy, mass media discourse, Brexit discourse;
- to identify and classify communication strategies of Brexit mass-media discourse;
- to distinguish and characterize the language means of communication strategies representation in Brexit mass media coverage.

Data sources: 60 samples from the articles published during the Brexit campaign representing communication strategies.

The methods used in the research:

- the continuous sampling method was used to pick up data fragments for analysis of communication strategies;
- the method of quantitative calculations was used to establish the most common communication strategies represented in the media coverage of Brexit;
- the discursive analysis was used to analyse the specific features of Brexit mass media discourse;

- semantic and stylistic analyses as well as the descriptive method were used to distinguish and characterize the language means of communication strategies representation in Brexit mass media coverage.

The theoretical significance of the paper consists in the expansion of the studies of communicative strategies and tactics in modern linguistics. The obtained results may contribute to the further development of communicative linguistics, pragmatics, media-linguistics as well as cultural studies.

The practical significance. The findings of the thesis may be used in further study of communication strategies of mass-media discourse, as well as the reference materials for students writing their research papers (essays, term and diploma papers, etc.).

The results of the research were presented in the article of the Ukrainian scientific journal “Language and Culture” (2020).

The structure of the paper. The thesis consists of Introduction, Three Chapters, Conclusions, Bibliography and Annexes.

1. THEORETICAL ASPECTS FOR THE RESEARCH OF MASS MEDIA COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES

1.1. The concept and classification of communication strategies

The study of communication strategies is performed based on the theory of speech genres and occupies an important place in modern paradigm of linguistic science. Linguists seek to investigate language and speech aspects, to identify significance of language in human relations, to realize individual's role in designing of communication situations, to consider implementation of the speech act, as well as its interpretation in terms of speech strategy, tactics, etc. [46, p. 725].

The study of the language behavior of communication participants certainly addresses the issue of the communicative strategy as a basic constitutive characteristic of a certain type of discourse. The concept of the communicative strategy is one of the central ones, because it is the main component of both addresser and the addressee's intentions. The strategy determines interactive characteristics of a communicative situation [68].

In an interdisciplinary aspect, the concept of the strategy is marked by a significant level of abstraction and covers the whole area of human behaviour, mainly in conflict situations, where direct way of achieving goals of both parties interacting with each other is unattainable. So, in the most general form, the strategy is a kind of interaction with the opponent according to certain rules that allow to reach the desired goal [72].

The term "strategy" came from the military sphere, and originally meant specific rules of warfare that should lead to victory over the enemy. Nowadays, the term is applied in many spheres of human activity, including linguistics. Since a person has many goals related to this aspect of his/her life, it is of great importance to study strategic phenomena in language. If communication is based on a certain conflict of interlocutors' goals, has certain limitations in time and space, and is

characterized by the possibility of choice and certain rules, while the main means of achieving goals is speech influence, then such communication is called a strategic one [73].

Natural human communication in most cases has all the necessary features attributed to the phenomena of strategic nature. Thus, communication always has a purpose and is designed in order to achieve this purpose; it unfolds linearly and therefore involves solving problems that arise in the process, the need for control by the speakers over the compliance of their actions, the “strategic” task of communication, etc. However, if any conscious and purposeful communication is called strategic, the terms “strategic communication” and “communication” become synonymous.

Thus, to be called “strategic”, communication must have a number of differential features that would make it possible to distinguish it from the background of communication as a whole. The features of “strategic” communication, unlike all other non-strategic types of communication, include:

- the existence of some conflict;
- the predominance of a strategic way to solve it;
- the use of speech influence as a way to resolve conflict [14, p. 24].

The communication strategy is an element of strategic communication. It is defined as realization of speaker’s intentions, his/her global and local goals. Basically, it is an optimal realization of the speaker’s intentions to achieve a specific goal in a specific situation [72].

Many scholars write about the correlation between the speaker’s communicative strategy and practical goals. M. L. Makarov defines the communicative strategy as a series of decisions of the speaker, communicative choices of certain language actions and language means; implementation of a set of goals in the structure of communication [27]. According to O. O. Selivanova, the communicative strategy is a type of behaviour of one of the partners in a situation of dialogic communication, which is conditioned and correlated with the project of

achieving global and local communicative goals within a typical scenario of functional-semantic representation of interactive type [37]. J. DeVito considers communicative strategies primarily associated with the speaker's objectives, the intention to regulate the recipient's behaviour, affect the recipient's decision-making process and transform the recipient's worldview [58].

Another important element in the definition of the communication strategy is that of a certain plan designed by the speaker in the process of communication. For example, E. P. Pereverzev believes that the communication strategy includes outlining the course of speech communication in accordance with the conditions of communication and personal traits of the communicators, as well as the direct implementation of this plan [34]. O. V. Gorina considers the communication strategy to be a set of theoretical moves planned and implemented by a speaker during communicative act, aimed at achieving a communicative goal [6].

In this paper we define communication strategy according to O. S. Issers, as a set of speech actions aimed at achieving communicative goals [15, p. 53]. In other words, the process of communication is directed by the speakers' (both a sender and a recipient) communication intentions.

Strategy as a notion is analysed in the domains of military science, economics, political science, psychology, media studies and linguistics. The strategic approach in these areas appears to be based on the general knowledge and cognitive models of the society and the individual, believes M. Adolphsen [51].

Mass media discourse as an integral part of social, personal and professional relationships is capable of forming society outlook and world perception of individuals. One can state that the main communicative intention of mass media discourse is that of informed policy-making. Mass-media communication strategy in Brexit coverage reflect policies of various media institutions as well those of political power. Different, often conflicting, conceptions of this phenomenon are cultivated. Therefore, we may say that the goal of our investigation is to explore a set of speech actions aimed at forming the social concept of Brexit among the public.

The key components of the communicative strategy include a goal, a certain plan as well as means of its achieving. The conditions and the result of the plan's realization are also worth mentioning.

When talking about the notion of the communication strategy, it's important to mention the communicative tactics [2]. While the strategy defines long-term goals and how one is planning to achieve them, the tactics are much more concrete and they are often oriented toward smaller steps and a shorter time frame along the way. They involve specific plans and resources. Thus, one can state that a strategy is constituted by a specific set of tactics, which, in their turn, are formed of communicative moves regarded as tools of implementing a specific speech tactics [78].

There is no generally accepted typology of communication strategies as, due to the variety of communication situations, there is a problem of choosing an optimal criterion for their stratification [50]. According to O. S. Issers, comprehensive classification of individual strategies is a rather complex matter due to the diversity of most communicative situations [15, p. 18].

T. van Dijk and W. Kinch singled out the following types of communicative strategies [7; 8]:

- propositional strategies, which involve constructing sentences based on semantic interpretation, i.e. recognizing the meanings of words and syntactic structures;
- local coherence (connectivity) strategies aimed at establishing links between the facts set out in the sentences, based on the linear arrangement of sentences, explicit means of communication and knowledge that are obtained from previous sentences and stored in long-term memory;
- macro-strategies, which allow scientists to form the above-mentioned sequence of sentences so that the addressee could guess the general subject of the message having received only a minimum of information within the first sentences;

- schematic strategies related to the existence of traditional forms of sentences organization, which provide generalized syntax of the meaning and macrostructure of the message text;
- production strategies, which provide for the development of a plan of semantic macrostructure of the message based on elements of common knowledge of communicators and communicative context;
- stylistic strategies that allow to select and interpret language tools based on contextual information (e.g., formality of communication, types of communicators, etc.), ensuring stylistic coherence of speech, adherence to a certain register;
- rhetorical strategies that increase the effectiveness of verbal communication and promote understanding of discourse, drawing attention to important concepts, means of global and local communication, pragmatic aspects, etc.;
- non-verbal strategies needed to process non-verbal information (e.g., gestures, facial expressions, posture);
- conversational strategies that implement social and communicative functions of discursive units, speech acts, i.e. provide a variable role of the speaker depending on the social characteristics of communicators, as well as nonverbal communication information and the specifics of the situational context [7; 8].

The peculiarity of communication strategy is their flexibility and dynamics, as in the process of communication speech behaviour undergoes constant adjustments depending on the context of the discourse, which is constantly supplemented and changed [28, p. 82]. T. B. Maslova points out that the structure of the communication strategy depends on a number of pragmatic factors – the degree of communicators acquaintance, their gender, social roles, national and cultural features, as well as communicative competence, which determines the means of speech chosen by speakers.

O. S. Issers identifies a class of pragmatic (communicative-situational) strategies, which include: from a typological point of view – general and special strategies; from a functional point of view – basic (semantic, cognitive) and auxiliary

strategies. The general strategy is usually implemented through special ones, while the main (basic) strategy is the most significant in terms of the hierarchy of motives and goals. Auxiliary strategy contributes to the effective organization of language interaction, the optimal impact on the recipient. O. S. Issers also believes that the main purpose of strategies description is to identify typical tactics that implement a strategy [15, p. 20]. In this paper, we divide communicative strategies into main and auxiliary ones, and describe them in terms of typical tactics applied.

In reference to communication effectiveness, modern linguists write about cooperative strategies, those based on the harmonization of relations in order to achieve a common goal (strategy of politeness, cooperation, compromise), and confrontational strategies used to expose differences between interlocutors and create a speech conflict (strategies of aggression, discrediting, coercion). In addition, some researchers distinguish communicative rivalry characterized by the desire to gain intellectual advantage in the dispute and thus increase their own status [37, pp. 603-605]. The idea of cooperation and confrontation was applied in this thesis to describe the mass media strategies when addressing Brexit supporters and opponents.

We consider O. N. Parshyna's classification of strategies and tactics to be the most comprehensive and elaborated one. It is based on the ultimate goal, which means the idea of the result to be achieved in relation to the recipient [33]. The scholar identifies the following strategies and tactics:

1. The strategy for creating the image:

- a) the tactics of identification (involves the demonstration of symbolic belonging to a particular social, political or status group);

- b) the tactics of solidarity (used to evoke a sense of similarity of views, interests and goals, the desire to achieve the effect of psychological harmony between the speaker and the audience);

- c) the tactics of opposition (division into "our" and "alien").

2. Power struggle strategies:

1) undermining the authority of an opponent, defaming and denigrating the object of discrediting in the eyes of the audience:

- a) the tactics of accusation;
- b) image tactics;

2) tricks aimed at persuading the addressee to accept the position of the speaker through deception, even considering the lack of logical basis of the issue:

a) methods of demagoguery (high-sounding speech, empty promises, unproven facts, hyperbolization of one's own virtues);

b) manipulative tactics, politeness, hyperbolization, distraction from the main problem;

3) belief in the absence of substantiation of various accusations:

- a) the tactics of justification (the actions of the speaker are explained);
- b) the tactics of appeal (rejection of the accusations, and at the same time refutation of the negative assessment and marking of one's own position);
- c) the tactics of criticism.

3. Strategies for retaining power (informing the citizens of the country about the most important events in various spheres of life), include tactics for recognizing the existing problem, focusing on positive information, explanations, instructions on how to solve the problem, unification, etc.

4. Strategies of persuasion:

1) persuasion through argumentation:

a) the tactics of reasonable assessments (use of judgments by which the speaker objectively assesses the subject and justifies his/her position);

b) the tactics of contractual analysis (using convincing arguments to compare facts, events or phenomena, results and forecasts, etc.);

c) the tactics of pointing to the future (forecasting the development of events, expression of strategic goals, positions, intentions of the speaker);

d) the tactics of illustration (use of facts and examples in speech);

2) influence, in order to induce certain actions:

- a) the tactics of promise;
- b) the tactics of appeal [33].

As we can see, the basic principles of classification of communication strategies consider the ways of creating a logically constructed, coherent, compositionally and stylistically designed message that has a certain impact on the recipient, using various means of speech, according to the purpose and specific communication conditions [35].

Based on T. van Dijk and W. Kinch's idea of macro-strategies and O. S. Issers's idea of basic and auxiliary strategies, in this thesis we single out macro-strategies (cooperative and confrontational), used to achieve the main communicative goal in mass media coverage of Brexit, and micro-strategies (persuasion and image making) which help to carry out macro-strategies [7; 15].

A more detailed study of communication strategy takes place within certain discourses (political, advertising, scientific, etc.), where communication is regulated both in content and form, and communicators are guided by the status-role rules of speech behaviour. In our paper, we deal with mass-media discourse of Brexit and its communication strategies. Therefore, we turn to the question of defining the concept and essence of mass-media discourse.

1.2. Main structural and communication features of mass-media discourse

The concept of discourse nowadays is one of the basic concepts of modern linguistics. The very idea of discourse reflects the course of linguistic thought in recent decades. In general, discourse is a complex multifaceted phenomenon, which has attracted the attention of experts in various fields of linguistics. However, within different linguistic paradigms, the term "discourse" may have different meanings, which make this concept one of the most controversial in modern linguistics.

There are many definitions of discourse, the key one being a human dialogue with the outside world. L. J. Phillips and M. V. Jorgensen define discourse as a

special way of communicating and understanding the world around us (or some aspect of the world) [16, p. 18]. Discourse is interpreted as a complex communicative phenomenon that includes social context, information about the participants of communication, knowledge of the process of texts production and perception [59]. Discourse, according to T. van Dijk, is a complex communicative event, an essential component of socio-cultural interaction, the characteristic features of which are interests, goals and styles [60, p. 56].

In this thesis, we consider the definition given by B. M. Gasparov as the most appropriate interpretation of the discourse concept. The linguist correlates discourse with communicative space. Together these two phenomena and the interaction of all their aspects form holistic communicative environment in which speakers seem to be immersed in the process of communicative activity [5, p. 297].

Scholars note that the analysis of discourse is focused on the linguistic knowledge based on the context of not only linguistic, but also extralinguistic nature [52, 2011]. Y. M. Karaulov states that discourse is a complex communicative phenomenon which, in addition to the text, includes such extralinguistic factors as knowledge of the world, thoughts, attitudes and goals of the addressee [18, p. 95].

V. I. Karasyk [17] interprets the concept of discourse as “speech immersed in life”, i.e. in a situation of communication, emphasizing the fact that discourse combines a coherent text, a whole number of extralinguistic parameters and a social context that creates an idea of the communication participants, the processes of creation and perception of information.

It is possible to speak of unlimited number of discourses, including television and radio discourse, newspaper, theatre, literature, film discourse, discourse in the field of public relations, advertising, political, religious, social and political discourses, etc. This paper analyses the mass-media discourse whose structural-semantic and communicative-pragmatic features are realized in its speech genres.

Keeping in mind the definition of discourse as the communicative space, we may say that mass-media discourse is a thematically focused, socially conditioned

speech and thinking activity in the media space. Media discourse is a coherent verbal or non-verbal, oral or written text together with socio-cultural, pragmatic, psychological factors, expressed through the media. It is an action of participating in socio-cultural interaction and reflecting the mechanism of consciousness of communicators [48, p. 305].

Mass media discourse is a functionally conditioned type of discourse, a set of processes and products of speech activity in the field of mass communication in all their diversity and complexity of their interaction [9, p. 182]. Mass media discourse is considered to be a reality created by the media, which mediate the production, storage and dissemination of socially important information [26, p. 15]. Mass media discourse is also interpreted as a hierarchically organized, multilevel complex of texts, in which texts of smaller structural and semantic volume are included in larger textual wholes (texts of the press, radio, television, Internet) [10, p. 138].

The main features of mass media discourse are: group correlation (the addressee shares the views of the group); publicity (openness and focus on the general public); focus on creating contradictions followed by discussion; staging and mass orientation, which involves the simultaneous impact on several groups [11, p. 27–40]. We can affirm that mass media texts on Brexit are addressed to both supporters and opponents of this social phenomenon with the aim of persuasion or certain image making. The editors can reach a wide public thus leading to the change of their opinions, affiliations, values, and even behaviour.

The mass media nowadays is one of the most important spheres of human activity as well as language functioning. For a modern individual it is impossible to be completely separated from the media. Only physical isolation from civilization may provide such a chance when the media, which are available on television and computer screens, on the Internet and newspapers, on the radio and in the streets, become inaccessible. The media have such prevalence because they are the most important lever of manipulation, influence on consciousness, opinions, thoughts of

the population. The media are called the “fourth estate”, because publications on the Internet and in newspapers form public opinion and even determine human’s fates.

Such a powerful impact of the media on people becomes possible due to its huge reach in society as well as its special tool – language, because language has always been and will remain the most important channel for transmitting information and influencing the recipient of this information. The linguistic model of the world constructed by a journalist, reflects political, ideological and socio-cultural situations, group and public interests, etc. The emotional manipulation of the readers occurs through persuasion, the editor brings the recipients into a certain psychological state by offering logical and emotional arguments [67].

The language of the mass media is guided by general literary norms. It also is capable of reproducing certain social and linguistic stereotypes [19, p. 123].

The characteristic features of mass media discourse which facilitate stereotypes endorsement are:

- openness and focus on socially resonant facts and their conceptual and emotional development;
- open social evaluativeness [40, p. 62], which allows to create a modelling effect;
- an open worldview position, which ensures representation of socio-evaluative judgments (opinions) and ideological support of “events of social thought” (ideas discussed by society and proposed social projects);
- evaluative-ideological modality and the associated focusing strategy, the regulation of the focus of thought on certain fragments of social practice and the evaluation strategy;
- “political and ideological modus” [19, p. 36] of the formation and formulation of thought, information content and its coding;
- “interstyle toning of presentation” [38, p. 160], the use of multi-style means and methods for the representation of social reality.

In modern society, the media plays a particularly important role. The general constructive principle of a newspaper or other news message is the alternation of factually concrete and generalized material, figurative and abstract, logical and emotional. Unlike fiction, the media rarely uses such a technique as fiction, although, in general, the degree of the author's originality depends on the text genre [20].

In addition, the stylistic features of mass media texts (emotivity, colloquial elements, etc.) are opposed to the scientific and official-business styles (the absence of figurative emotive language, terminological vocabulary and special phraseology inherent in the official business and scientific styles).

As any other communication phenomena, mass media discourse performs certain functions. In particular, scholars single out the following functions of mass media discourse:

- informative;
- regulatory (combines ideological function, functions of social control and manipulation of public consciousness);
- educational;
- entertaining;
- phatic (establishing contact between the author and the audience);
- advertising [10, p. 22–23].

Linguists also talk about persuasive and manipulative functions of the media as they not only play an important role in presenting new information about the world, in ensuring communication dynamics, in maintaining social balance; but at the same time, can have a destructive effect, becoming an instrument of consciousness manipulation [44, p. 79].

The media always keep up with the times and cover the most current events which take place in the country and worry society. In peacetime, the newspapers and other types of the media can pay attention to minor events or focus on foreign policy aspects. However, if there is a serious internal problem causing controversy in the society or having historical significance for the country, all citizens' attention, as a

rule, is drawn to this topical issue. That explains why the Brexit phenomenon received such a wide coverage in the British media.

Various political forces launched big campaigns to influence public opinion and form appropriate attitude to the problem. In order to understand and explain the communication strategies used in Brexit media coverage, we need to explore the phenomenon of Brexit discourse in detail.

1.3. The Brexit discourse in the English-language mass media

For Great Britain, the most significant event of recent years has undoubtedly been the phenomenon of Brexit (from “Br” (Britain) + “exit”), which is the UK’s exit from the EU. A referendum held in Britain in 2016 on the issue of the Kingdom’s withdrawal from the European Union split the country into two camps: each side took a tough, uncompromising position. The internal confrontation was widely covered by both national and international media. In order to understand the peculiarities of Brexit coverage in the British media, it is necessary to understand the political preconditions and possible consequences of this political event [29, p. 136].

In a referendum on 23 June 2016, the citizens of the United Kingdom decided not only the future of their country, but also the future of the European Union. 51.9% of participants voted in favour of Britain’s exit from the EU [61; 62].

Brexit, as one of the most important decisions of Great Britain at the present stage of the country’s history, undoubtedly had its causes. The United Kingdom has always been a specific country in Europe due to its historical past and geographical location, which distinguished Britain from other European countries. In other words, there has always been Europe, and there has always been England, which has never been completely European. These differences were one of the reasons for the largest disintegration process on the territory of the European continent [31]. According to A. Halliday et al., Brexit-interest pursuit means maximizing UK-interest while EU-interest pursuit maximizing EU-interest [63].

According to I. V. Yakoviuk, Great Britain actually joined the EU on special terms, which it consistently defended in the future, staying away from most integration processes. By joining the EU, Great Britain actually continued the age-old traditions of British geopolitics, preventing the political consolidation of Europe [49, c. 26].

As for the very concept of “Brexit”, this name essentially characterizes in general all the actions associated with the procedure of withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union.

The process began in 2015, when members of the Conservative Party and the United Kingdom Independence Party said that the British had no opportunity to speak for themselves since 1975 (when the issue of the country’s membership in the EEC was first put to a national referendum) [45, p. 87].

Some scholars believe that the process started as early as in 2013, when the former British Prime Minister David Cameron gave his much controversial speech (known as Bloomberg Speech) on the British relationship with the European Union. Many arguments of the "remain and leave campaigns" can be traced back to that speech [35].

A. V. Zhydkov believes that the catalyst for the mood of the British population, aimed at leaving the EU, has largely been the British media. Although in the UK most of the media remain a platform of liberal intellectuals with the appropriate political orientation, they have successfully contributed to the polarization of the population, making Brexit possible. The media quickly divided the British into supporters of EU membership and opponents. The “In / Out”, as well as “Camp Remain / Camp Leave” dichotomies were launched and successfully promoted in the information space [12].

It is also important to pay attention to the social characteristics of those people among British population who supported Brexit. The analysis of statistics compiled by Lord Ashcroft’s Agency shows that Brexit was supported by low- and middle-income English rural dwellers aged 35 and over, with more than 37% saying dissatisfaction with EU membership was “long overdue” [61; 62].

The British media researcher M. Berry points out that the media offered to this category of citizens simple messages that fit into the formula “get back in control” – a derivative of the classic media strategy KISS (Keep it simple, stupid) [53], i.e. “Make it simple, unreasonable and primitive” to gain support in the widest possible audience. According to the scholar, a similar strategy was already used by conservatives during the 2015 election campaign and proved its success [53].

In other words, the national media motivated the country’s population to feel “deprived”, and politically passive citizens were encouraged to come to the polls and “finally” determine the future of Britain, “make” the establishment hear your voice, form an “alternative” future. The bet on the conformist population brought dividends in the form of support for Brexit: for example, a high turnout of British, who had rarely gone to the polls before, was recorded in the referendum.

As for the possible consequences of this disintegration process, one can predict that they will occur for both the United Kingdom and the EU. Researchers of disintegration processes point to the existence of both negative and positive consequences.

Among the negative consequences, there is the need to reorient production – in any case, the exit from the union, which has a common economic policy associated with the abolition of preferential terms of trade and investment [13, p. 95].

This consequence essentially gives rise to others, namely, social and political instability, challenges related to reorientation to other markets, especially difficulties with non-EU trading partners, economic stagnation and uncertainty [31].

However, realizing obvious losses, some countries choose the course of disintegration, and this is primarily due to the existing benefits of disintegration, among which researchers highlight the following:

- free choice of policy, not limited by the conditions and values of the integration association – the EU as a powerful integration association exists to ensure many common goals, which in some cases forces states to give up national interests [13, p. 96];

- the ability to defend interests of domestic producers and consumers – in conducting a successful trade, monetary and fiscal policy of the state, the abandonment of existing trade agreements allows to renew tariff barriers, protect domestic producers from competition and restore economic stability in the economy;
- preservation of cultural values and traditions – Great Britain is very proud of its past, having being a superpower, an empire and a dominant player in the international arena. Due to significant migration processes in the country, there was a spread of foreign cultures, traditions and beliefs, which, according to many rather conservative Britons, leads to the suppression of national culture.

Researchers of disintegration processes indicate that these processes “allow to preserve their own cultural values and features of national traditions, without the need to lead to unification” [13, p. 97].

Preservation of Great Britain’s cultural values and traditions was one of the most actively exploited reasons for Brexit in the British media. As A. V. Zhydkov points out, the national identity theme formed the basis of many agitation campaigns of both Brexit opponents and supporters, mainly because it is closely related to one of the most pressing issues in modern Europe – the problem of poorly controlled migration [12].

Given this controversy and the importance of the Brexit phenomenon for the whole country, the discussions and disputes over Britain’s exit from the EU, the consequences of this phenomenon have been widely covered in the British media. As one of the main topics of publications over the past few years, Brexit has given rise to a whole separate discourse, which includes both political texts (speeches and speeches by politicians who spoke for and against Brexit) and journalistic texts [69].

The discourse of Brexit represents the language of the official ‘leave’ and ‘remain’ campaigns in the Brexit referendum.

According to A. V. Zhydkov, both Brexit and the subsequent election campaign in the United States in 2016 demonstrated an example of skillful speculation of facts and figures, the successful creation and dissemination of unverified “viral

information” through the media, which in the modern era of telecommunications technology is a particularly effective tool for manipulating public sentiment [12].

The role of the media in covering Brexit is difficult to overestimate, as they are the main source of information for the population.

Conclusion to Chapter One

The first chapter offers theoretical background for the research of the mass media communication strategies in Brexit coverage. The communication strategy is a basic element of discourse and is defined as a set of speech actions aimed at achieving communicative goals. It is possible to talk about five basic components of any communication strategy: a goal, a plan of achieving the goal, means of achieving the goal, the conditions and the result of carrying out the plan.

The communication strategy is predetermined by the addresser’s and the addressee’s intentions. In mass media discourse the main communicative intention is policy-making. To achieve its strategic goal different communication tactics are used. The means used by the communicants depend on such pragmatic factors as the degree of acquaintance, gender and social roles, national and cultural features, communicative competence.

From a functional point of view, communication strategies may be divided into basic (macro-) and auxiliary (micro-) strategies. For the purposes of our research we divided basic or macro-strategies into cooperative and confrontational ones. Speakers use cooperative strategies to reach cooperation or compromise on Brexit issues, while confrontational strategies are employed in the media to show differences between Brexit supporters and opponents or to discredit those whose points of view don’t coincide with the writer’s. The communicative tactics are the tools of the strategies realisation. They are the means used to gain objectives set out by the media.

The characteristic features of mass media discourse are publicity, openness, evaluation, multimodality which are effective in helping the mass media to perform

informative; regulatory; educational; entertaining; phatic and advertising functions. The modern media are widely used to mold stereotypes, create desired images, persuade and manipulate the public opinion. We analysed persuasion and image making strategies as auxiliary (micro-) strategies used along with cooperative and confrontational strategies to create the necessary image of Europe and the UK as well as to shape the readers' or viewers' opinion in favour of or against Brexit.

This thesis analyses the growing body of works on Brexit as a populist and nationalist project, as well as UK and international media conceptualisation of the phenomenon. Brexit discourse represents the language of the official 'leave' and 'remain' campaigns in the British media. The national media helped to create Eurosceptic's movement, discussed both negative and positive consequences of disintegration processes, and, finally, motivated the citizens to come to the polls.

2. MASS-MEDIA COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES IN BREXIT COVERAGE

The media texts sampled for the research of the communication strategies were the online weekday editions of national titles between February 2016 and February 2020. Two of these online sources supported Leave (*the Daily Mail, the Independent*) and two supported Remain (*the Guardian, the BBC News*). The analysis of communication strategies is also based on a wider content analysis of TV and newspaper coverage during this period. This produced a dataset of **60** samples taken from newspaper articles published shortly before or in the process of the referendum campaign.

We begin our analysis by outlining two macro-strategies implemented before, during and shortly after the referendum. Cooperative strategies were the most numerous ones (**13,8%** of all the samples analysed) (Annex 1) and they are used to incur cooperation from the audience. The confrontational strategies (**6,6%**) (Annex 1) are aimed at discrediting those of different opinions. Strategic communication is implemented in tactical ways, so we analysed specific tactics or steps within the framework of communicative media strategies. We follow this with the analysis of micro-strategies of persuasion (**8,4%**) and image making (**7,8%**) (Annex 1) which support the macro-strategies. Finally, we look at the linguistic means of the strategies representation in the English-language mass media taking into account extra linguistic factors such as pictures, video clips, colours, fonts, and subtext.

2.1. Cooperative communication strategies

Brexit topic is one of the most controversial not only in the UK, but also in the entire world community, therefore politicians and journalists, covering this issue, use various strategies and tactics of communication influence on recipients.

The strategy of cooperation is aimed at achieving constructive results and establishing friendly atmosphere of communication. Among the samples we analyzed, the majority of fragments (**13,8%**) illustrated cooperative strategies (Annex 1) which can be explained by the desire of British political institutions and media organizations to keep communication in harmony and look for common ground rather than differences. Based on classifications of communicative strategies described in the first chapter, we singled out the following cooperative strategies and tactics (Annex 1):

- **the strategy of ingratiation (10,2%)** (including the tactics of focusing on positive information; the tactics of pointing to the future; the tactics of promise);
- **the strategy of power retention (3,6%)** (including the tactics of recognizing the existing problem and the tactics of explanations and instructions).

The main task of the cooperative communication strategy is to maintain a harmonious communication process, avoiding confrontation and open conflicts. For that purpose, politicians and the media may use the strategy of ingratiation. Ingratiation is the strategy that includes friendly, helpful communication behavior and emphasizes on getting someone in a good mood. Ingratiating behaviour is intended to make people like you [25].

For instance, in publications supporting the Remain, we can observe how **the cooperative ingratiation strategy** is used: (3) *Should we continue to forge our future as a proud, independent nation while remaining a member of the European Union, as we have been for the last 43 years?* (TDCSAB, URL). The attention of the readers is drawn to the prosperity of the United Kingdom as a member of the EU, thus **the tactics of focusing on positive information** is actualized [90].

The tactics of focusing on positive information in the mass media appeal to the facts of the economic and social development of Great Britain, using them as a convincing argument to remain in the EU, because it is in this status that the United Kingdom has reached such heights: (4) *We are part of a single market of 500 million*

people which Britain helped to create. Our goods and, crucially, our services – which account for almost 80% of our economy – can trade freely by right (TDCSAB, URL).

Another popular cooperative strategy in the discourse of Brexit is **the strategy of power retention** which is used to exert power, i.e. the capacity to influence the actions, beliefs, or behaviour of the audience. Politicians use this strategy to pose as confident professional leaders who know their ways around and can take responsibility for the nation. **The tactics of recognizing the existing problem**, and **the tactics of explanations and instructions** are often implemented to realise this strategy.

For example, facing the complex problem of choice for the country and the people, Theresa May mainly uses **the cooperative strategy of power retention**. First of all, she uses **the tactics of recognizing the existing problem**, for example: (22) *I have just come from chairing seven hours of cabinet meetings focused on finding a route out of the current impasse – one that will deliver the Brexit the British people voted for, and allow us to move on and begin bringing our divided country back together* (BTMESF, URL). The word *impasse* is used to describe a situation in which progress is impossible, especially because the people involved cannot come to an agreement [82]. The politician promises that the British people will move on as a result of this important event. Thus, she seeks to show that the situation is under control. In addition, **the strategy of ingratiation** is actualized with the help of **the tactics of pointing to the future** – *to move on and begin bringing our divided country back together*.

It is well known that the former British Prime Minister Theresa May was a supporter of the so-called “soft Brexit”, which provided for the creation of a free trade zone with the EU for industrial and agricultural goods on common rules, as well as the creation of a joint customs territory. Her desire for compromise prompted Theresa May to choose the path of using more harmonious strategies in communicating with the public.

However, it should be noted that Theresa May's position is covered in the British media comparatively less widely than the positions of the opponents discrediting her. Since Brexit has turned into a real confrontation within Great Britain, the cooperative strategy in its discourse seems to be doomed to failure.

The cooperative function is performed by the recognition of the existence of the conflict and the problem itself. It is this cooperative tactics (**the tactics of recognizing the existing problem**) that is most often used in publications highlighting Theresa May's position, for example: (23) *This is a difficult time for everyone. Passions are running high on all sides of the argument* (BTMESF, URL) [92].

Let us also analyse the publications covering the positions of the opponents of Britain's exit from the EU. For example, David Cameron's position, who advocated Britain's remaining within the EU. We found out that British politicians who have fought against Brexit also tend to avoid using the confrontational strategy of discrediting their opponents and seek to play a "fair" political game, to act in a harmonious dialogue with the people and the opposition. This was reflected in the publications of the mass-media supporting their view on the issue. In particular, the strategies of power retention and ingratiation are used as a means of influencing the reader.

Considering the cooperative approach of British politicians and the mass media in persuading the British not to vote for Brexit in the referendum, it is important to note that this mass media campaign is less likely to seek to discredit the opposition. Aggressive discrediting is a marker of the confrontational communication strategy. At the same time, defenders of Britain's EU membership more often use **the tactics of explanations and instructions** to realise **the cooperative strategy of power retention**. For example, David Cameron expressed belief in the Britons' decision to vote for remaining in the EU [90]: (21) *They will, as usual, weigh up the arguments, reflect on them quietly, discuss them with friends and family, and then, calmly and without fuss, take their decision* (TDCSAB, URL).

In this case, we can note his attention to the life of ordinary people, the desire to demonstrate understanding of their needs and values. The illustrated above strategy contains the appeal to the key values of the British – the family, as well as to the accuracy and deliberateness inherent in the British mentality.

In the process of cooperative strategies implementation, several tactics may be used at once. For example, **the tactics of explanations and instructions** gives people a choice and implicitly points to the future: (19) *There are various ways we could achieve this. One would be to require a new country to reach a certain income or economic output per head before full free movement was allowed* (TDCSAB, URL). The speaker wants to show that it is the choice of people, not politicians, which will lead to the implementation of certain actions, but also indirectly points to the future promising economic prosperity in case of the population's right choice.

In the media texts on Brexit, the attention is often focused on the consequences of the nation's decision. Not only explanations and instructions are given in order to induce certain actions, but also **the tactics of pointing to the future** is used within the framework of **the ingratiation strategy**. The following example is based on Boris Johnson's position expressed in the BBC News edition where he emphasizes positive effects of Brexit for the UK, encouraging people to vote for Brexit: (6) *The UK's EU membership referendum (Brexit) is a "once-in-a-lifetime chance to vote for real change", Boris Johnson has argued as he declared support for an exit* (EURTVRCBJ, URL). In this sentence, **the tactics of pointing to the future** is implemented with the help of the prominent, eloquent phrase *once-in-a-life time chance*, which is synonymous with the Brexit process. The Cambridge Dictionary interprets the expression as follows: "a wonderful opportunity that you are not likely to get again" [80].

Mr. Johnson emphasizes that such a chance comes only once and the British must take advantage of such luck. An extraordinary, rare, exceptional opportunity that will bring success and prosperity to the UK, Brexit is a unique opportunity to leave the European Alliance, in which social commitments, economic and political

problems far outweigh the benefits. This is a part of **the power retention strategy** focusing on **the tactics of explanations and instructions**. Boris Johnson extends his opinion on the absolute, unconditional need to leave the EU: (18) *This is a moment to be brave, to reach out – not to hug the skirts of Nurse in Brussels, and refer all decisions to someone else. This is the only opportunity we will ever have to show that we care about self-rule* (EURTVRCBJ, URL).

The politician claims that Brexit is a time for determination, courage, bravery, confidence, unshakable faith in a bright future, without fear of difficulties and negative consequences. Brexit is the moment when the whole British nation must accept the idea that the best-case scenario is Britain without the EU. The original metaphor *not to hug the skirts of Nurse in Brussels* testifies to Johnson's repeated sexist statements towards women, but at the same time adds emotional colouring to his words making them more persuasive. He is deeply convinced that in no case can the responsibility for Brexit be shifted to anyone, but he, as the leader of the United Kingdom, is ready to take the responsibility. Using the adverb *only*, Johnson again emphasizes the uniqueness of such a chance, the uniqueness of such an opportunity that the British people have ever had.

Johnson's main goal is to show that Brexit is a win-win situation for the British so he uses **the ingratiation cooperation strategy**, namely the **tactics of pointing to the future**: (7) *Mayor of London Boris Johnson has said leaving the EU would be a "win-win game for all", urging those backing exit to "hold our nerve and vote for freedom"* (EURTVRCBJ, URL). The former mayor of London notes that leaving Europe is a positive consequence for both sides – both for Britain and the EU. Thus, he speculates, because experts in the field of international economics have long argued that in the event of the successful Brexit both sides will suffer huge losses. The phrase *vote for freedom* is an example of Johnson's populism. The pathos of the speaker in the use of the word *freedom* is absolutely convincing, because the concepts of freedom, liberty, lack of political and economic oppression will find a response in every British heart. For any nation the key issues of national unity, culture, language

and freedom are invaluable treasures for which it is possible to rise to the struggle and make crucial decisions without hesitation. Thus, Boris Johnson knows how to appeal to the people, what communicative strategies and tactics of influence can be used for this purpose.

In conclusion, it's worth noting that the cooperative strategies can be manipulative and based on falsehood, although they are positively perceived by readers. The mass media, in this case, broadcast the positions of the leaders of Brexit discourse, who represent two polar opinions.

2.2. Confrontational communication strategies

Confrontational strategies were the least represented in our sample data. They account for only **6,6 %** of all the fragments (Annex 1). The confrontational strategy is considered insufficiently effective in British politics. Politicians use mostly harmonious ways of communication with the population and opponents in the discussion of the Brexit problem. According to S. Handa, one of the main features of the British national character is politeness: "One states his view, and then shuts his mouth and pays attention" [64].

Aggression is not the key priority among British politicians, public figures or ordinary people. Tolerance and compromise are mentioned by the journalist as the values of the nation: "Compromise, it is often said, is a boring, beige virtue – but the distinctly British art of compromise is bound up with our identity" [64]. Still some UK's politicians aggressively pursue their goals, don't hesitate to get involved in the conflict and implement confrontational communicative strategies and tactics.

In 2016 and later, in the course of disputes on Brexit and the ways of its implementation, a serious information campaign was launched to discredit the positions of such politicians as Theresa May and David Cameron. Their opponents resorted to mostly conflicting communication as, among others, their main intention was to discredit the above-mentioned public figures' views.

Based on the classifications of communication strategies and tactics discussed above, we single out the following confrontational strategies (Annex 1):

- **the strategy for the struggle for power (4,8%)** (including the tactics of discrediting the opponent, the tactics of accusation, and the tactics of criticism);
- **the strategy of contrast (1,8%)** (including the tactics of opposition).

In their struggle for power, the fiercest critics of Brexit accuse their opponents of being populists, thus, undermining their authority as public servants and their ideas as worth voting for. For example, *BBC News* journalist Nick Robinson pays attention to the obstacles that hinder Brexit's plan [96]. His article "10 Things That Stopped Brexit Happening" describes in detail the existing problems around the Brexit process: (26) *Brexit might lead to a slippery slope where others, and particularly those under the sway of populists, might decide to follow what the British have just been doing* (R10TSBH).

In the given sentence, Robinson notes that the situation with Britain's withdrawal from the European Union could lead to deterioration in the situation, and, more dangerously, could further complicate the situation [96]. The builders of such a slippery, unreliable road were the populists, and the phrase *the sway of populists* is the proof of that. In this case, we observe the example of the **strategy for the struggle for power** when the position of those opposed to Brexit is mainly based on the assertion that the very idea of Brexit is populist. They accuse their opponents of populism, which is a kind of political insult, using **the tactics of accusation and discrediting the opponent**.

On the other hand, the ardent defender of the Brexit idea, Nigel Farage, also uses confrontational strategies when discussing this issue [88]. He is often quoted in the British media, for example: (30) *The former Ukip leader Nigel Farage described it as a sellout* (NFTRULB, URL). The word *sellout* has a negative connotation in English, being defined as a situation in which someone does not do what they have promised to do or what they should do [90]. **The tactics of criticism** is used in the given example of the confrontational strategy.

The campaign led by Nigel Farage to defend the idea of Brexit and to persuade the British to vote for Brexit is quite aggressive. This information campaign abounds in the use of strategies and tactics of confrontational communication [88].

Farage uses **the strategy of contrast** namely, **the tactics of opposition**, by including in his speeches lexemes that serve as linguistic markers of division into “friends” and “aliens”. In particular, publications devoted to this public figure in the discourse of Brexit often point to the fact that Nigel Farage himself has long supported the policy of Britain’s exit from the EU, while other members of Parliament did not approve of this idea: (31) *Well I have to say, you’re not laughing now, are you? The reason you’re so upset, you’re so angry, has been perfectly clear, from all the angry exchanges this morning* (NFDFPBSEP, URL).

The personal pronoun *you* helps the politician to distance himself from those who are of different opinion.

Let us look at some more examples of N. Farage’s use of confrontational strategies [88], namely **the tactics of accusation and discrediting the opponent**: (28) *The biggest problem you’ve got and the main reason the UK voted the way it did is because you have by stealth and deception, and without telling the truth to the rest of the peoples of Europe, you have imposed upon them a political union* (NFDFPBSEP, URL). In this case, lexical units of negative connotation (*stealth, deception, impose*) are used to undermine the authority of the political opponent. The author of the publication points out that Brexit challengers are not sincere in their words and actions, they hide the truth. In addition, in this passage Farage accuses the opponents of acting against people’s will and forcing them to take certain actions.

Confrontational strategies and tactics are powerful tools in Nigel Farage’s hands, who is one of the main figures in Brexit discourse. He categorically points out the failures in the actions of Brexit opponents, noting that they did not cope with many of the most important problems in Britain. In addition, the politician is sure that all these issues arose in the country because of the policy of the European Union, in particular, because of the policy of tolerant and hospitable attitude towards refugees

from other countries [88]: (24) *Where the enemy are at their absolute weakest is on this whole question of open door migration, the effect that it's had on the lives of ordinary Britons over the course of the last decade and the threat that it poses given the new terror and security threat that we face in the west. I'm sorry to say that at the moment they don't appear to have done it* (EURNFTLCFM, URL).

This statement points to the inconsistency of the policy of the defenders of Britain's membership in the EU, because they have already failed to cope with the tasks assigned to them and allowed the emergence of a terrorist threat in the country, thus, undermining their authority and positive self-image. The given above fragment illustrates **the strategy for the struggle for power** and the **tactics of discrediting the opponent**.

The tactics of discrediting the opponent is one the most favourite among British politicians because it can often be implicit, so they don't have to confront their opponents directly, thus, saving their face and posing as objective and unbiased professionals unlike their rivals. The defender of Britain's membership in the EU, David Cameron, enumerates economic and social problems and in such a way indirectly accuses and undermines the authority of those in charge [85]: (25) *In terms of the future, our country has a hung parliament where no party has an overall majority and we have some deep and pressing problems – a huge deficit, deep social problems, a political system in need of reform. For those reasons I aim to form a proper and full coalition between the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats* (EURFTDCLDPBR, URL).

In this case, the problems of the country and the political system needs are revealed. He also demonstrates the desire of the EU membership defenders to form the “correct” coalition, manipulating the audience in their favour: *for those reasons I aim to form a proper and full coalition*.

The tactics of accusation is used to implement **the confrontational strategy for the struggle for power**. In this case, the media or political representatives use words of negative connotation: (29) *He accused the Remain campaign of a*

"remorseless torrent of propaganda", attacking the OECD and the International Monetary Fund as "overpaid useless people" and President Obama of "parroting the Number 10 line" after he spoke out against a UK exit (EURNFTLFCFM, URL). In the given example, Nigel Farage is quoted attacking his opponents with such words as *remorseless torrent of propaganda*, *overpaid useless people*, even the President of the USA is accused of parroting the British Prime Minister. Despite the fact that emotive words are considered to be subjective, they are effective tools in confrontational political communication [86].

The confrontational communication strategy of contrast is also quite often used in Brexit discourse. This strategy presupposes **the tactics of opposition** which is actualized in the division into "our" and "alien". The opposition "friend or foe" is quite explicit in situations of obvious social division and exacerbation of social relations. Within the framework of Brexit political context, the words referring to the core of this opposition are actively used, in particular, the key words-representatives of the opposition "our / alien" – *we / they* [57].

Thus, for example, the opposition *we – they* reflect the conflict between "us" (in this case, people who support the idea of Great Britain's integration into the European Union) and "others" (politicians who promote the ideology of leaving the EU) [97]: (32) *We should hold on to our fury, against those who for the sake of their career or a pet dogma, were prepared to wreck everything. On this day when we mourn what horror the Europe before the European Union was capable of, we should say loud and clear of those that did this: we will not forget them* (FWGJ).

Here, the role of the pronoun *we* as a marker of "our" is largely realized due to its repeated repetition, as well as opposition to "alien" within the micro-context. It is noteworthy that, as a rule, the authors of analytical articles in the serious British mass media editions (such as *The Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph*) refrain from using explicit language means that openly express rejection of the "alien", which is dictated by the desire to give publications an analytical, objectified nature and also by the desire to be in line with the ideology of tolerance.

However, in the new political context associated with the Brexit referendum, even the quality British press (the so-called “quality press”) is replete with analytical comments using the above-mentioned linguistic means, explicitly expressing the relationship of opposition and the conflict between “us” and “foes”.

All in all, we came to the conclusion that British politicians as well as the British mass media avoid using confrontational strategies in Brexit discourse. The most popular tactics used in case of conflicting communication is that of discrediting the opponent and the tactics of opposition by which the speakers separate people into “*us vs them*”, thus, appealing to age-old mentality of irrational group favouritism. It makes their audience feel privileged and has a stronger influence on their minds.

2.3. Persuasion strategies

Although all communication strategies are largely built on the impact on the audience and persuasion, the persuasion strategy should be considered separately as it takes the second place in our corpus of discourse samples (8,4%) (Annex 1). The strategy of persuasion includes the following tactics:

- the tactics of appealing to emotions;
- the tactics of creating trust;
- the tactics of appealing to logic (Annex 1).

For example, **the tactics of creating trust** results in the positive positioning of the Tory party which is reinforced by appealing to logic as some objective facts are given: (46) *For whenever we are tested as a nation, this party steps up to the plate. Seven years ago, our challenge was to repair the damage of Labour’s great recession – and we did it. The deficit is down. Spending is under control. And our economy is growing again* (AUWC, URL).

In general, it should be noted that in Brexit discourse, politicians and journalists use strategies of persuasion widely. For example, *The Daily Mail’s* British

journalist Niall Koenig is investigating the possible consequences of breaking off relations between Britain and the EU without a joint agreement [87].

In his article “Will Brexit Hit Britain’s Fresh Vegetable Supplies?” the author appeals to the readers’ emotions when predicting Brexit consequences: (35) *The UK will become a “third country”. If it’s a hard Brexit, a soft Brexit, a medium Brexit it really doesn’t matter – you will become a third country and by definition that will mean custom formalities* (KWBHBFVS, URL). The idea of becoming a “third country” is introduced by **the communicative tactics of appealing to emotions**.

Distinguishing between the concepts of hard Brexit, soft Brexit and medium Brexit, the author nevertheless concludes that such a division of concepts is not important, because in any case customs formalities cannot be avoided. However, The Cambridge Dictionary [80] provides some definitions of these concepts:

- *hard Brexit* means that in the event of a severance of ties between the UK and the EU, Britain gains full control over legislative processes and immigration issues;
- *soft Brexit* allows to stay on good terms with the EU and maintain all the developments that have been implemented in the past;
- *medium Brexit* will mean finding compromises on both sides, including in the direction of migration policy.

Persuasion may be implicit in Brexit discourse. Besides, very often all three communicative tactics are used in the media to influence the audience. O. Dmitracova, *The Independent* journalist, analyses in detail the potential threats and possible negative consequences of Brexit for the UK economy. Her article “Brexit Is Hurting the UK’s Productivity – and Wages with It” deals with the forecasts of key British banks on the state of the currency and other economic indicators in the event of the UK leaving the EU [84]. The article reveals another negative side of Brexit – a sharp and significant decline in economic indicators: (47) *The latest official data, covering the first three months of this year, shows that productivity in fact fell 0.2 per*

cent compared with a year earlier. And the Bank of England chalks the problem up to one main culprit (DBHUKPW, URL).

In the given fragment, all three tactics of persuasion strategy were applied. **The tactics of appealing to logic** was realized through argumentation, the writer used convincing arguments to compare facts, events or phenomena, results and forecasts. Along with the word *Brexit*, the author uses the noun with a characteristic evaluation – *culprit*. Dictionary.com interprets *culprit* as follows: “a person or other agent guilty of or responsible for an offense or fault” [79]. In other words, the Brexit process is compared to an offender, criminal, villain, a person who causes irreparable damage and is dishonest in his / her actions. **The communication tactics of appealing to emotions** was employed to cause negative associations and feelings. In such linguistic context, it can be understood that Europe perceives Brexit as the insult, considers it a contemptuous, bad act that devalues and undermines the notion of pan-Europeanism. Perhaps this comparison is somewhat categorical, but banking analysts attribute the decline in British economic productivity to Brexit. By mentioning the Bank of England, the author strives to add weight and credibility to her words, thus using **the tactics of creating trust**.

Political journalist A. Woodcock is a regular columnist for *The Independent* [91]. His article “Labor Infighting Over Brexit and Corbyn’s Future Overshadows Crucial Pre-Election Conference” focuses on the worldview of British parties around the Brexit process: (36) *It is frustrating. We could be within weeks of an election and we want to use this conference to parade some of our great policies, and all everyone is talking about is Brexit and disunity* (WLIIBCOCPEC, URL). The lexeme *frustrating* names this emotion directly and, therefore, appeals to the public’s emotions. In this sentence, the author uses the terms *Brexit* and *disunity* as synonyms creating certain attitude among the readers. Woodcock describes Brexit and the lack of a common goal, disagreement, as characteristics of the current party backstage talks. The noun *disunity* is defined in the following way: “lack of agreement among people which prevents them from working together effectively” [91]. That means that

the relations between the EU and Britain, which for years had been built on the principles of unity, equality, close cooperation, over time turned into antagonism, controversy and apathy.

Another example of **the tactics of appealing to emotions** we found in the article “My Dad, Harry Leslie Smith, Once Inspired Labour Conference. But This Brexit Fudge Would Have Saddened Him” by J. M. Smith published in *The Independent* [89]. In the title the author uses the phrase *Brexit fudge* and immediately sets the tone of the whole article, making the reader understand his disapproval of the Brexit process: (37) *And I know what he’d have thought this year: he’d have wanted to see the party rally to fight against an untenable, devastating Brexit* (SMDHLSOILC, URL). To describe the Brexit process, J. M. Smith uses emotive adjectives *untenable*, *devastating*, which are associated with something completely unacceptable and destructive. Using the verb *to fight against*, the author argues that Brexit must be fought, that everything must be done to prevent Britain from leaving the European Union [89].

Here’s one more quote from the article: (38) *This is no time to see which way the wind is blowing. Brexit was foisted on this nation by those who seek to excessively profit from our misery, and it has become an existential crisis* (SMDHLSOILC, URL). The word *misery* has a negative connotation. The author uses the verb *foist on*, suggesting that Brexit is an artificial process created by those people who want to speculate on the subject of suffering and poverty. J. M. Smith notes that Brexit has turned into an *existential crisis*. The Cambridge Dictionary gives the following definition to the adjective *existential*: “relating to a philosophy (system of ideas) according to which the world has no meaning and each person is alone and completely responsible for his or her own actions” [80]. This phrase suggests that Brexit has contributed to the development of an existential crisis in Britain, during which the British must choose their future, realizing that they are solely responsible for their choice.

If we are to consider probably existentialism as a philosophical trend, then one of the main postulates of this movement is the opposition of the individual to the hostile society, which imposes its ideals and beliefs. It is obvious that such opposition and such confrontation is reminiscent of Britain's relations with the European Union.

W. Keegan's article "Brexit Is a National Tragedy in the Service of Narrow Self-Interest" in *The Guardian* discusses the economic implications of the referendum for the British economy [100]. In the headline, the author, using **the tactics of appealing to emotions**, compares Brexit to a national tragedy. Dictionary.com defines *tragedy* as: "a lamentable, dreadful, or fatal event or affair; calamity; disaster" [78]. Thus, the writer expresses deep concern for the British nation. The use of the noun *tragedy* reinforces the fact that Brexit will have an unhappy ending for the UK.

In the following paragraphs, W. Keegan resorts to the **tactics of creating trust** and quotes professional economists when writing about the situation around Brexit [100]: (45) *There is now abundant evidence that no form of Brexit would be chosen by any sane administration, and many of us – as is clear from public demonstrations – have not yet given up hope that in the end the best Brexit is indeed no Brexit* (KBNTSNSI, URL).

That means, that thousands of British people are tired of all the speculation, and believe that the best possible solution is still the absence of Brexit. Using the phrase *sane administration*, economists emphasize that any prudent manager understands that no agreement will be able to eliminate the many problems and shortcomings that Brexit will cause to the British economy. The adverb *indeed* emphasizes that the phrase *the best Brexit is indeed no Brexit* actually characterizes the course of the problem and shows possible ways to solve it. No matter what kinds of negotiations are held, no matter what kinds of agreements are signed, Britain will still suffer huge losses resulting from its decision to leave the European Union.

The emotive words *chaos*, *apocalyptic* are used to describe Brexit and realise **the persuasive tactics of appealing to emotions** in J. Harris's article "Brexit May

Feel Apocalyptic – but Radical New Ideas Are Taking Root” published in *The Guardian* [101]. The author draws his conclusions on three years of chaos surrounding the British referendum. The definition of *apocalyptic*, used in the headline to characterise Brexit, is interpreted by The Cambridge Dictionary as: “showing or describing the total destruction and end of the world, or extremely bad future events” [80]. Brexit is compared to an apocalypse, which in Greek means “revelation”: (39) *Three years of chaos have opened space for big, bold progressive thinking, offering a new sense of hope* (HBMFA, URL).

J. Harris, like most of his colleagues, uses the characteristic Brexit synonym *chaos* [101]. Complete three-year confusion and chaotic accumulation of different ideas, as well as the embarrassment of people created a negative connotation around Brexit. A chaos of opinions prevails among British and European parliamentarians, and such a mess does not allow ordinary Britons to formulate any unambiguous position.

The author goes on to compare Brexit to a nightmare and emphasizes that there is not a shred of light or hope for a happy ending: (40) *Who would now dare to find hope in among the Brexit nightmare?* (HBMFA, URL). The rhyme in this sentence adds weight to the emotional appeal of the writer.

Mr. Harris continues implementing **the tactics of appealing to emotions** in the following sentence: (41) *Last week I was at the Labour party conference, where Brexit was are liable source of angst and division, and the often-rancorous atmosphere regularly suggested yet more impending doom* (HBMFA, URL). We can find plethora of loaded words used by the journalist. The process of Britain’s withdrawal from the European Union caused misunderstanding and controversy. The Cambridge Dictionary interprets the word *angst* as: “a feeling of extreme anxiety and unhappiness” [80]. The state of unrest, anxiety and concern is caused by the division of the British into two camps: those who are in favor and those who oppose the severance of relations with the EU [74].

The word *division* is interpreted in The Cambridge Dictionary as: “the act of separating something into parts or groups, or the way that it is separated” [80]. It means that both the British and the EU equally single out Brexit as a phenomenon of the division of the united Europe. From the very beginning, the ideological instigators of Brexit planned to create such an effect of the referendum to raise the spirit of the British, their unity, to inspire hope that Great Britain will exist perfectly well without the EU, which takes millions from their state budget. However, Brexit led to a split inside the nation, as well as created border demarcation problems and many other economic and political difficulties [75].

The expressions *revolutionary project* and *national harm* in the following example show the controversy of the phenomenon: (42) *Since 2016 Brexit has been transformed from the modest and endlessly beneficial readjustment promised by the pro-leave campaigners – £350m extra a week for the NHS, and all that – to a revolutionary project in which national harm might have to be accepted in pursuit of sovereignty* (HBMFA, URL). J. Harris, using the phrase *Brexit has been transformed*, suggests that the process has changed its original form, has become different [101].

The phrase worth of attention is the following one: *modest and endlessly beneficial readjustment*. Dictionary.com defines the adjective *modest* in the following way: “having or showing a moderate or humble estimate of one’s merits, importance, etc.; free from vanity, egotism, boastfulness, or great pretensions” [79]. That means that Brexit was planned as a calm, gradual, moderate process.

Thus, in the context of our research we may say that the communicative strategy of persuasion is one of the most commonly used as it changes the readers’ opinions due to the tactics of appealing to logic and emotions, and the tactics of creating trust.

2.4. Image making strategies

The image making strategy is particularly topical in the period of various information campaigns, as it is capable of influencing voters' minds by constructing a certain picture of reality described by a politician. In this perspective, the role of the media cannot be overestimated. Online publications, social networks, video and audio clips allow the authorities to interact with voters effectively, get a feedback, and even simulate a kind of interpersonal communication. The media can maximize every opportunity to inform, inspire and motivate supporters of political ideas, in our case, Brexit.

Based on the analysis of the communication strategies in Brexit discourse, we singled out **the auxiliary micro-strategy of image making**, which is almost as numerous in our illustrative data as persuasion strategy (7,8%) and can be used in both cooperative and confrontational communicative situations. The strategy includes the following tactics:

- tactics of solidarity (used to evoke a sense of similarity of views, interests and goals, the desire to achieve the effect of psychological harmony between the speaker and the audience);
- tactics of identification (involves the demonstration of symbolic belonging to a particular social, political or status group) (Annex1).

Within the framework of Brexit discourse, the image of Brexit itself is created, as well as the images of individual politicians, who represent polar views of the situation. David Cameron, who advocated the preservation of EU membership, in his speeches often uses **the strategy of image-making** implemented through **the tactics of identification**. The politician uses this strategy to present himself and make a certain impression. The tactics of identification encourages voters to perceive the politician as “their ally” because he voices the issues that worry them [85]. In this case, Cameron can count on the support of those who suffer from the problems that he promises to solve, for example: (58) *I passionately believe that the quality of life matters just as much as the quantity of money... So that is my first priority – a focus on the quality of life. The second priority is this: a culture of personal*

responsibility... I want to replace the European Human Rights Act with a British Bill of Rights (EURFTDCLDPBR, URL).

In his statement, David Cameron announces his priorities (*quality of life, culture of personal responsibility, British Bill of Rights*), implicitly foregrounding his own positive qualities [85].

The Daily Mail describes Brexit as a campaign to improve life in the UK [81]: (52) *This is going to be a battle for Britain, a battle for the future of our country, the sort of country that we want for our children and grandchildren* (ADCEURBB, URL). The image of Brexit is created by using **the tactics of identification and solidarity**. The noun *battle* acts as a motivating factor in the struggle for a better future without the European Union. Phrases such as *a battle for Britain* and *a battle for the future of our country* are associated with the British leader and authority in political discourse – Winston Churchill. Thus, Brexit supporters refer to Churchill’s authority in shaping their own image in the context of Brexit media campaign. There is no doubt that media discourse can influence public opinion, and it is obvious that by using such phrases the author exerts undeniable influence on the audience. The tactics of solidarity is implemented by appealing to goals and priorities the British share – making a comfortable country for their children and grandchildren.

The *BBC News* article “Theresa May Brexit Speech: 12 Key Points” is devoted to a careful analysis of key statements of the then Prime Minister Theresa May’s Brexit policy [94]. From the very beginning of Britain’s withdrawal from the European Union, and even before the referendum, the rhetoric about the future of the state was concise, and therefore many British people formed the idea of the validity of a clear plan of action during Brexit. Theresa May’s position also looks constructive. The politician shapes her own image as an experienced and knowledgeable person who takes a balanced position and knows the situation well: (60) *A smooth, orderly Brexit: We want to have reached an agreement about our future partnership by the time the two-year Article 50 process has concluded. From that point onwards, we*

expect a phased process of implementation. We will work to avoid a disruptive cliff-edge (BTMBS, URL).

The tactics of identification was used by May to demonstrate her belonging to a competent social group of people capable of setting terms and envisioning the future. Her vision of Brexit as a planned, orderly process raised hopes for a good and successful future for the UK. The definition of the word *smooth* is defined by Dictionary.com as: “generally flat or unruffled, as a calm sea” [79]. Over the time, we can see that Brexit is by no means calm, but a tumultuous, unrestrained process that is difficult to control. The adjective *orderly* is defined as “arranged or disposed in a neat, tidy manner or in a regular sequence”. In fact, the order did not exist, as the events around Brexit were chaotic as Brexit was devoid of any order and organization [79].

Accordingly, Theresa May’s statements were unfounded, and time has shown that her position was rather erroneous. Chaos and disorganization of the actions led to the British crisis in Brexit case. However, in their statements, Brexit supporters actively formed the idea of themselves as experts in the situation using identification and solidarity tactics of image making.

The tactics of solidarity is also used to create the image of Brexit in the British mass media discourse. A significant amount of publications and websites seek to portray events related to Brexit as a negative phenomenon that humiliates the entire nation [98]: (48) *In Birmingham people queued for three hours to listen to the former foreign secretary dismissing Theresa May’s Brexit plan as a national humiliation* (ABTB, URL). The expression *national humiliation* is the allusion to the term used in China to describe the period of intervention and subjugation of the Chinese Empire and the Republic of China by Western powers, Russia and Japan in between 1839 and 1949. During this period, China was constantly defeated in war, had to pay large reparations and was divided as a country into several parts. The politicians can skillfully speculate on people’s hope and wishes as well as their fears. The tactics of solidarity here lies in voicing the British people’s fear of losing protection as result of Brexit.

The negative image of Brexit as an artificial process of somebody's cunning plan was created in the media by using **the tactics of solidarity** [98]: (49) *One reason Mrs May's premiership has been so troubled is that she started it by playing to the Brexit gallery, beginning exit negotiations before she had a plan and drawing red lines that have limited Britain's options* (ABTB, URL).

The traditional comparison of politics with theatrical performance helped in creating the negative image which affected the attitude of the readers to the Brexit phenomenon. The metaphorical rethinking of the Brexit procedure as a theatrical performance with its own performers of the main and episodic roles could be traced from the very beginning of this action. Of course, this model turned out to be no less productive as the "Brexit storyline" developed.

Based on the analysis of the selected data sources, we may say that **the tactics of solidarity** is one of the most popular and effective ones. It helps the opinion-makers to bond with the people by showing that they all belong to a great nation and by pretending that they speak on behalf of all Britons. For example: (53) *We want to be an independent, self-governing, normal nation* (EURNFTLCFM, URL). In the given-above excerpt, Nigel Farage uses the personal pronoun *we* to identify with the people he talks to and to stress on their active participation in the political life of Great Britain. Inclusive *we* creates the illusion of the collective power and puts the politician on one level with the rest of the British citizens [86].

The personal pronoun *I* is also used to implement **the tactics of solidarity** when the author expresses his concern for the well-being of the audience: (56) *Let me say at the outset that I understand why many people are wrestling with this decision, and why some people's heads and hearts are torn* (TDCSAB, URL). In this empathic speech David Cameron seem to care for the universal good of his countrymen, he uses metaphor *people's heads and hearts are torn* to show his understanding of their struggle in making the right decision [90].

In an effort to resolve the existing conflict and to reduce tensions in the society, Theresa May [82] also appeals to citizens using **the cooperative tactics of solidarity**

– she demonstrates that she understands the mood of the population using personal pronoun *I*: (50) *I know there are some who are so fed up with delay and endless arguments that they would like to leave with no deal next week* (BTMBS, URL).

So, as we see, an important feature of Brexit discourse in terms of image making is the desire to achieve the effect of psychological understanding between the speaker and the audience by showing similarity of interests and goals. Let us observe how it is realized in the following example: (51) *Bringing new countries in to give them peace and prosperity remains one of the EU's greatest strengths. It will be many years, perhaps a decade, before another country joins. It cannot be done on the same basis as it was in the past. We must put in place new arrangements that will slow full access to each other's labor markets until we be sure it will not cause vast migrations* (TDCSAB, URL). The problem of migration was one of the defining issues in the UK's referendum on EU membership. Politicians emphasized on the fact that they share concerns of ordinary citizens and take measures to solve them.

In the following excerpt, Theresa May also resorts to **the tactics of solidarity**: (57) *This is a decisive moment in the story of these islands and it requires national unity to deliver the national interest* (BTMESF, URL). She does it by appealing to unity as a universal value, the adjective *national* adds weight to her message as well as the rhetorical device of antithesis (*it requires national unity to deliver the national interest*). We came to notice that Theresa May prefers the tactics of solidarity along with the cooperative tactics of promise which characterizes her as a skillful public speaker who knows how to find common ground with the voters and persuade them to support her ideas. In contrast, while she cannot be accused of having no empathy for the fellow citizens, she was often described as showing a lack of compassion for her political rivals.

Thus, the strategy of image making in Brexit discourse is not the main one, but it is used by politicians and the mass media to build public confidence in one or another force. As a rule, this strategy is aimed at forming one's positive image as an

expert, an experienced politician who can confidently promise people the benefits that Brexit (or abandoning Brexit) will bring.

Conclusion to Chapter Two

The second chapter of the paper examines the features of the use of different types of communication strategies in mass media discourse of Brexit. It was found out that there are four main communicative strategies used by British editors and public figures: cooperative, confrontational, persuasion and image making communicative strategies.

Cooperative communication strategies include the strategy of ingratiation (actualized by the tactics of focusing on positive information, the tactics of pointing to the future and the tactics of promise) and power retention strategy (actualized by the tactics of recognizing the existing problem, the tactics of explanations and instructions).

Confrontational communication strategies of Brexit coverage include strategies for the struggle for power (actualized by the tactics of discrediting the opponent; the tactics of accusation, and the tactics of criticism) and the strategy of contrast based on the tactics of opposition.

The persuasion strategy is an auxiliary communication strategy and includes the tactics of appealing to emotions; the tactics of creating trust and the tactics of appealing to logic. The image making strategy includes the tactics of solidarity (used to evoke a sense of similarity of views, interests or goals) and the tactics of identification (involves the demonstration of symbolic belonging to a particular social, political or status group).

All these communication strategies and tactics are implemented in the discourse of the British mass media and allow the authors of publications on Brexit to realize the communicative influence on the readers.

3. LINGUISTIC MEANS OF REPRESENTATION OF MASS-MEDIA COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES IN BREXIT COVERAGE

3.1. Lexical means of communication strategies representation

The aim of the paper – to investigate communication strategies – requires a comprehensive study of the communication tactics as well as their linguistic markers. Considering the language units of the communication tactics actualization, it is necessary to pay attention to the lexical-semantic, syntactic and stylistic levels of mass media discourse.

We established that the most common linguistic means representing the communication strategies in the mass-media Brexit coverage were **lexemes of positive and negative connotation**. For example: *Well I have to say, you're not laughing now, are you? The reason you're so upset, you're so angry, has been perfectly clear, from all the angry exchanges this morning* [88]. The British politician Nigel Farage uses adjectives *upset*, *angry* for the strategy of contrast, in particular – the tactics of opposition (Annex 2/31). In addition, the adjectives are accompanied by the intensifier *so*. Speaking about his opponents, Farage labels them as “aliens”, distancing from them in this situation by repetitive use of the personal pronoun *you*:

The negatively marked adjectives *stealth* and *deception*, as well as the noun *problem* verbalize the tactics of accusation carried out by N. Farage in the following excerpt (Annex 2/28): *The biggest problem you've got and the main reason the UK voted the way it did is because you have by stealth and deception, and without telling the truth to the rest of the peoples of Europe, you have imposed upon them a political union* [86].

An important role in this passage is also played by the use of the preposition *without* in the phrase *without telling the truth*, where it serves to undermine the authority of a political opponent (it indicates that opponents are not truthful in their words and actions which means that they hide the truth). The verb *to impose* also

carries a negative connotation here, which indicates that the speaker's opponents are acting against people's will, forcing them to take actions.

In the following extract the author uses emotionally-coloured vocabulary with a negative meaning, for example, the nouns *enemy*, *migration*, *terror* and *security threat* to discredit the opponents (Annex 2/24): (24) *Where the enemy are at their absolute weakest is on this whole question of open door migration, the effect that it's had on the lives of ordinary Britons over the course of the last decade and the threat that it poses given the new terror and security threat that we face in the west. I'm sorry to say that at the moment they don't appear to have done it [84].*

In this fragment, the adjective *weakest* intensified by the adverb *absolute*, as well as the adjective *sorry* add to the emotional tone of the sentence which describes the failure of the policy of the defenders of UK membership in the EU, because they have already failed to cope with the tasks assigned to them and allowed the emergence of a terrorist threat in the country.

The following excerpt contains even more words of negative connotation used in the tactics of discrediting the opponent (Annex 2/25): *In terms of the future, our country has a hung parliament where no party has an overall majority and we have some deep and pressing problems – a huge deficit, deep social problems, a political system in need of reform. For those reasons I aim to form a proper and full coalition between the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats [85].* The confrontational tactics is expressed through the use of adjectives (*deep and pressing*, *huge*), nouns (*problems*, *deficit*), and a modal expression (*in need of*).

Words of negative connotation abound in speeches where the authors implement the tactics of appeal to emotion. Brexit is described as a nightmare (Annex 2/40): *Who would now dare to find hope in among the Brexit nightmare?* [92]; as a crisis and misery (Annex 2/38): *This is no time to see which way the wind is blowing. Brexit was foisted on this nation by those who seek to excessively profit from our misery, and it has become an existential crisis* [89]; as angst, division and doom (Annex 2/41): *Last week I was at the Labour party conference, where Brexit was a*

liable source of angst and division, and the often-rancorous atmosphere regularly suggested yet more impending doom [99].

On the other hand, positively coloured expressive adjectives (*proud, independent*) can be employed as part of the cooperative strategy of power retention and one of its most popular tactics of focusing attention on positive information (Annex 2/3): *Should we continue to forge our future as a proud, independent nation while remaining a member of the European Union, as we have been for the last 43 years?* [90].

Theresa May resorts to variety of verbs with positive connotation in her tactics of promise (Annex 2/10): *Whenever we can, we will provide it. And we can confirm today that the government will put the final deal that is agreed between the UK and EU to a vote in both Houses of Parliament* [92].

David Cameron, when talking about voting to leave or retain EU membership, uses positively coloured adverbs modifying the verbs thus realizing the cooperative tactics of explanations and instructions (Annex 2/21): *They will, as usual, weigh up the arguments, reflect on them quietly, discuss them with friends and family, and then, calmly and without fuss, take their decision* [90].

In texts devoted to migration issues, negative evaluative vocabulary is often used to verbalize the confrontational tactics of accusation. In particular, the political forces that fought to keep the UK within the EU (the so-called “Remain campaign”) are described with the phrase *remorseless torrent of propaganda*, which has a strong negative connotation. In one of his publications N. Farage calls The International Monetary Fund *overpaid useless people* (Annex 2/29): *He accused the Remain campaign of a "remorseless torrent of propaganda", attacking the OECD and the International Monetary Fund as "overpaid useless people" and President Obama of "parroting the Number 10 line" after he spoke out against a UK exit* [86].

Such emotionality and intolerance in the politician’s statements may seem to signal of his lack of competence, but in fact this is another way of manipulating the audience. Against the background of more reserved politicians (for example, David

Cameron), emotional Nigel Farage seems more dynamic, as he is “not afraid” to voice the opinion of many British people with the help of expressive or even invective language. Therefore, he quickly wins the affection and sympathy of the public.

Abstract nouns, which could be the language markers of the tactics of identification and solidarity, help politicians to voice the problems relevant to the readers and to promise to solve them, for example (Annex 2/51): *Bringing new countries in to give that the quality of life matters just as much as the quantity of money... So that is my first priority – a focus on the quality of life. The second priority is this: a culture of personal responsibility... I want to replace the European Human Rights Act with a British Bill of Rights [94].*

In this statement, David Cameron by using such abstract nouns as *priority*, *quality of life*, *responsibility* declares his priorities, implicitly pointing out his own positive qualities and implementing the self-presentation strategy.

Theresa May, known for her idea of a ‘soft Brexit’, uses abstract nouns (*co-operation*) and verbs (*collaborate*) of positive connotation to realise the communicative strategies of cooperation, namely the tactics of promise (Annex 2/15): *We will continue to collaborate with our European partners on major science, research and technology initiatives. (16) Co-operation in the fight against crime and terrorism: We want our future relationship with the EU to include practical arrangements on matters of law enforcement and intelligence [92].* The politician call Europeans *partners* thus emphasizing the idea of friendship and cooperation.

Considering the lexical level of actualization of communication strategies, the importance of **terminology** as a lexical means should also be noted. Terminology related to political, economic, financial activities serves as a marker of the tactics of identification (demonstration of competence and knowledge of the issue) and the persuasive tactics of creating trust.

The media texts on Brexit contain such terms as *living standards*, *merchant banks*, *a political union*, *global politics*. A lot of special field vocabulary is used, for

example, from the sphere of national security and the migration sphere. In particular, in the course of criticism of the EU policy on facilitating the migration movements of representatives of Arab states, for example (Annex 2/43): *We don't want to discriminate against them, because they're from India or New Zealand in favour of Romania and Bulgaria – we should be open to the world. We should want people in sensible numbers with skills, trades who haven't got criminal records who are prepared to pay their own medical insurance for at least five years* [86].

In this case, with the help of such technical terminology as *to discriminate*, *criminal records*, *medical insurance* the persuasive tactics of creating trust is implemented – this is a demonstration of the speaker's competence in the social issues mentioned. In an addition, the politician shows his interest and understanding of the problems that concern most of the British thus realizing the tactics of identification.

David Cameron widely and skilfully uses terminology to create trust in the following excerpt (Annex 2/44): *Our membership of the single market is one of the reasons why our economy is doing so well, why we have created almost 2.4 million jobs over the last 6 years, and why so many companies from overseas – from China or India, the United States, Australia and other Commonwealth countries invest so much in the UK* [90]. We note that both terminology and neutral vocabulary in the fragment help to maintain balance and not overload the text with terms that would complicate the perception of the readers:

We can see that the term *international companies* is replaced with the phrase *companies from overseas*, thus avoiding the use of an excessive amount of complex terminology. The ability to skilfully wield various groups of vocabulary within the style of political article demonstrates the politician's competence and ability to speak simply about the complicated things. Thus, the use of terminology in the mass media articles has its own specifics and can actualize communicative strategies of persuasion.

Modal words and **modal verbs** are commonly used to verbalise the image creating tactics of solidarity (Annex 2/51): *Bringing new countries in to give them peace and prosperity remains one of the EU's greatest strengths. It will be many years, perhaps a decade, before another country joins. It cannot be done on the same basis as it was in the past. We must put in place new arrangements that will slow full access to each other's labour markets until we be sure it will not cause vast migrations* [90].

In this case, David Cameron with the help of the modal word (*perhaps*) and the modal verb (*cannot*) tries to predict what may happen in many years after Brexit, and also talks about what actions need to be taken in the future (the modal verb *must*). In this case, we can note the use of time markers (*years, decade*).

We see modal verbs in Theresa May's speeches realizing the tactics of promise (Annex 2/11): *We must strengthen the precious union between the four nations of the United Kingdom. We will work very carefully to ensure that - as powers are repatriated back to Britain – the right powers are returned to Westminster and the right powers are passed to the devolved administrations. We will make sure that no new barriers to living and doing business within our union are created* [82].

The modal verbs help to show that the politician sees positive changes as part of her responsibility, in addition, verbs with positive connotation (*strengthen, work, make sure*) are invaluable elements in implementation of the cooperative strategy of ingratiation. More examples of verbs with positive connotation used by Theresa May: *protect* (Annex 2/12), (13) *guarantee* (Annex 2/13), *ensure* (Annex 2/14) . The usage of modal verbs strengthens the impact of the media text on people, raises the politician's ratings or helps to get the message across.

3.2. Syntactic features of the mass-media Brexit coverage

Considering the markers of the actualization of communication strategies in mass media texts covering Brexit, it is necessary to pay attention to syntax, because

the construction of sentences and the whole text has great importance. First of all, we should note that in the texts of the British media that cover the Brexit case, both simple and complex sentences are used.

While complex sentences are mostly used to express persuasion strategy (appeal to logic, appeal to emotions, creating trust), simple sentences are used in order to rhythmize the text, to emphasize a certain thought or idea. For example, we observe the use of **simple sentences** that separate each thought from the previous one (Annex 2/8): *Above all, it's about our economy. It will be stronger if we stay. It will be weaker if we leave* [83]. The use of simple sentences can serve as a linguistic marker for a variety of tactics. For example, in this case, the author actualizes the tactics of pointing to the future within the framework of the strategy of ingratiation.

Even more expressive means of English syntax are **nominative sentences**. Thus, appealing to the values of the people and the sense of patriotism of the British nation within the framework of ingratiation strategy, the author of the publication uses nominative sentences to list the heroic battles in which the British participated, and in the last sentence focuses on the heroism of the people indirectly identifying with them (Annex 2/59): *Blenheim. Trafalgar. Waterloo. Our country's heroism in the Great War* [85].

The affirmative **parallel syntactic constructions** can be used to give more confidence and win the trust of people, when politicians declare the readiness to solve the existing problems within the ingratiation strategy (Annex 2/9), for example: *Britain can do much better; we can deal with our debts, we can get our economy growing and avoid this jobs tax, and we can build a bigger society* [86].

In this example, the former prime minister of the country argues for his point of view, thereby convincing the audience of the validity of his statements: *Britain can do much better, we can deal with, we can get, we can build*.

The cooperative tactics of explanations and instructions often presupposes the use of parallel constructions (Annex 2/20): *And I think the service our country needs right now is to face up to our really big challenges, to confront our problems, to take*

difficult decisions, to lead people through those difficult decisions, so that together we can reach better times ahead [83]. The speaker indicates possible solutions to the problem (*to take difficult decisions, to lead people through those difficult decisions*) and on the possible results of the solution (*we can reach better times ahead*).

As part of the image-making tactics of solidarity, **enumeration** can be used (Annex 2/53): *We want to be an independent, self-governing, normal nation* [86].

It creates a certain rhythm in the utterance and the politician's words sound concise and business-like.

In addition, various types of **repetitions** are a common means of expressive syntax (Annex 2/54), for example: *Because what the little people did, what the ordinary people did – what the people who'd been oppressed over the last few years who'd seen their living standards go down did...* [88].

In this case, the author repeatedly uses the construction *what the people did* in different variations. Thus, in the first two constructions, the author changes the adjective (*little people, ordinary people*), while in the third one it includes a whole sentence to characterize the people (*people who'd been oppressed over the last few years who'd seen their living standards go down*).

Thus, the syntactic technique of **gradation** is used – the tension builds up by the third construction, focusing the attention of the recipients on the message. This syntactic marker of the communication tactics' actualization is used in order to implement the tactics of solidarity (to show the politician's empathy to the disadvantaged).

Parenthetical constructions are often used in the media coverage of Brexit (Annex 2/1): *It is one of the factors – together with our superb workforce, the low taxes set by the British Government, and our climate of enterprise – which makes Britain such an excellent place to do business* [86].

Although such construction complicates sentences, it plays an important role in realising the tactics of focusing on positive information. The author provides more accurate information by giving clarification.

Another important means of the syntactic level is **the rhetorical question** – it is the key one in Brexit discourse.

The rhetorical question opens up significant opportunities for actualizing a variety of strategies and tactics of communication influence in the mass media discourse. In the following example, the rhetorical question is used as a “hook” by the author who grabs the audience’s attention at the very beginning of the article (Annex 2/31): *Isn't it funny? When I came here 17 years ago and I said that I wanted to lead a campaign to get Britain to leave the European Union, you all laughed at me – well I have to say, you're not laughing now, are you?* [88].

This kind of dialogue with opponents makes the text non-standard. In addition, rhetorical questions serve to actualize opposition tactics and undermine the authority of the political opponent. The politician repeatedly uses this technique throughout the speech, adjusting it to various tactics.

With the help of the rhetorical question, other communication tactics can be realized, for example, the tactics of focusing on positive information: *Should we continue to forge our future ... as we have been for the last 43 years? Or should we abandon it?* [90]; (3) *Who led those negotiations? It was the EU, with Britain playing a central role* [86], etc.

The use of the rhetorical question also serves to implement the tactics of solidarity. This is an important technique for achieving psychological consonance between the author or the politician and the audience, because the question involves the audience in a kind of “dialogue” with the politician, encouraging them to mentally answer it. Rhetorical questions often relate to what is already known to the reader, still they focus their attention on the information.

In the British mass media texts on Brexit the tactics of solidarity helps the author get the readership on their side, show some common ground, stress on likeness and similarity of interests, so the rhetorical question becomes a powerful persuasion tool: *Let's properly judge these organisations: Do they believe in universal human rights – including for women and people of other faiths? Do they believe in equality*

of all before the law? Do they believe in democracy and the right of people to elect their own government? Do they encourage integration or separatism? [85].

This tactics is reinforced by the **anaphora**, which is the repetition of similar words (*Do they...*) at the beginning of each sentence.

Thus, Brexit coverage in the British mass media is characterized by a wide use of various communication strategies and tactics implemented with the help of the expressive syntax employed to achieve the necessary impact on the audience.

3.3. Stylistic level of communication strategies representation

Although the lexical and syntactic markers of the actualization of communication strategies are more numerous in the samples we analysed, the use of stylistic means ensures effective influence on the reader.

Metaphors are one of the most effective means of verbalizing communication strategies in Brexit discourse. In an effort to encourage people to make an important decision by demonstrating positive prospects, N. Farage uses metaphors, for example: *In doing so we now offer a beacon of hope to democrats across the rest of the European continent* [88]. Expressing his opinion on the problem and his vision of the prospects for leaving the EU, N. Farage uses a positively colored trite metaphor *a beacon of hope*, thus marking the future status of Great Britain in the world.

Metaphors can be found in publications on Brexit where the authors resort to the image creating tactics of solidarity to show their psychological consonance with the audience, for example: *Let me say at the outset that I understand why many people are wrestling with this decision, and why some people's heads and hearts are torn* [100]. Metaphorical expressions *wrestling with this decision*, *heads and hearts are torn* are used by David Cameron to demonstrate his understanding of the state of the British nation, their thoughts and experiences of being at a “crossroads” when choosing the future of their country.

Within the tactics of identification and solidarity David Cameron uses war metaphor to describe Brexit: *This is going to be a battle for Britain, a battle for the future of our country, the sort of country that we want for our children and grandchildren* [83].

The passionate Brexit proponent Boris Johnson used metaphor to realise the cooperative tactics of pointing to the future and to inspire the nation to vote for better life: *The UK's EU membership referendum (Brexit) is a "once-in-a-lifetime chance to vote for real change"*, Boris Johnson has argued as he declared support for an exit [93].

Here is another example of metaphor in Johnson's speech who describes Brexit as a positive phenomenon (*a win-win game*): *Mayor of London Boris Johnson has said leaving the EU would be a "win-win game for all"*, urging those backing exit to "*hold our nerve and vote for freedom*" [93].

As for the negative metaphoric representation of Brexit by its opponents, they could be found within the following tactics:

- the tactics of criticism: *The former Ukip leader Nigel Farage described it as a sellout* [93];
- the tactics of discrediting the opponent: *Brexit might lead to a slippery slope where others, and particularly those under the sway of populists, might decide to follow what the British have just been doing* [96];
- the tactics of solidarity: *In Birmingham people queued for three hours to listen to the former foreign secretary dismissing Theresa May's Brexit plan as a national humiliation* [82]; *One reason Mrs May's premiership has been so troubled is that she started it by playing to the Brexit gallery, beginning exit negotiations before she had a plan and drawing red lines that have limited Britain's options* [82].

We observed several cases of **personification** in the texts of British mass media discourse, for example: *And I know what he'd have thought this year: he'd have wanted to see the party rally to fight against an untenable, devastating Brexit*

[89]. Brexit is personified as a war enemy which contributes to the persuasive effect of the tactics of appeal to emotions.

The political phenomenon is described as an unreliable leader who can bring the country into a mess: *Brexit might lead to a slippery slope where others, and particularly those under the sway of populists, might decide to follow what the British have just been doing* [96].

The personification is used here not only to describe Brexit but also, within the tactics of discrediting the opponent, to make people associate populists and advocates of Leave with an unreliable leader leading their country to a slippery slope.

Metonymy may also be extensively used, for example, in cooperative strategies of power retention: *I have just come from chairing seven hours of cabinet meetings focused on finding a route out of the current impasse – one that will deliver the Brexit the British people voted for, and allow us to move on and begin bringing our divided country back together* [90].

Metonymy (*country* for British people) is used to describe the problems the UK faces thus verbalizing the tactics of recognizing the existing problem.

Toponyms often form metonymy and can be used in the media to symbolize government of different countries: *One minute we are urged to follow Norway, the next minute Canada. A few days later Switzerland offers the path forward, until it becomes clear that their arrangement doesn't provide much access for services to the EU's single market – and services, as I've said, are almost four fifths of the British economy* [83]. The suggested fragment demonstrates the use of metonymies to verbalise the tactics of opposition in which the speaker deliberately contrasts *us* vs *them*, *friends* and *enemies*.

Another example of metonymy worth mentioning is the following: *Blenheim. Trafalgar. Waterloo. Our country's heroism in the Great War* [85].

Metonymy used as a language means of the tactics of identification help to concisely describe heroic battles which took place in different parts of Britain in the past and connect them with modern citizens who take responsibility and vote.

As with many other media coverages, the results of Brexit are often exaggerated, so **hyperbole** is a common stylistic device.

For example: *This is a moment to be brave, to reach out – not to hug the skirts of Nurse in Brussels, and refer all decisions to someone else. This is the only opportunity we will ever have to show that we care about self-rule* [92].

Boris Johnson skilfully inserts overstatement into the tactics of explanations and instructions. The idea of Brexit being the last and only chance is quite irrational but it has a persuasive effect on the public as the politician appeals to their emotions.

It should be noted that this stylistic device is one of the favourite ones among populists. It requires no knowledge or evidence and goes straight to the people's hearts. Boris Johnson favours hyperboles and often uses them in his speeches on Brexit. In the following fragment he applies the tactics of pointing to the future: *The UK's EU membership referendum (Brexit) is a "once-in-a-lifetime chance to vote for real change"*, Boris Johnson has argued as he declared support for an exit [92].

Theresa May uses hyperbole to stress on the importance of the moment in her tactics of solidarity: *This is a decisive moment in the story of these islands and it requires national unity to deliver the national interest* [82].

Often hyperbolic claims can be identified by certain words such as *most, best, or worst* as well as *the only, the last*, etc.

In the following sentence, Nigel Farage appeals to the people's emotions with the help of extended hyperbole: *What happened last Thursday was a remarkable result – it was a seismic result. Not just for British politics, for European politics, but perhaps even for global politics too* [87]. The gradation of adjectives from *remarkable* to *seismic* is a creative original device used to persuade the readers in the importance of the Brexit referendum results.

The editors quote Nigel Farage's words containing hyperbole: *He accused the Remain campaign of a "remorseless torrent of propaganda", attacking the OECD and the International Monetary Fund as "overpaid useless people" and President Obama of "parroting the Number 10 line" after he spoke out against a UK exit* [85].

As we can see the accusation tactics is realized with the help of hyperbole (*remorseless torrent of propaganda, overpaid useless people*) which adds weight to the emotional outpouring of the speaker.

Irony may be a persuasive tool of discrediting the opponents: *As a policy to impose poverty on Greece and the Mediterranean you've done very well* [87].

The choice of words, the tone of the sentence helps to get the message across and the implied meaning which is different from the literal is effective in scorning the rivals.

It is also possible to note that such stylistic means are characteristic stylistic “markers” that distinguish one politician from other political figures and become individual features of his / her speech. For example, N. Farage actively uses neologisms coined in the process of Brexit – these are names such as *the Remain campaign, Vote Leave*, etc. Also, the politician often uses metaphors, hyperboles, lexical repetitions, which help him to focus the audience’s attention on certain aspects of the speech.

As we can see, stylistic devices are effective means in representing the communicative strategies and tactics in mass media discourse, since their expressive features allow the publishers to emphasize certain aspects of the statement.

In Brexit discourse, the influence on the addressee is achieved through the use of various expressive means and stylistic devices: metaphors, personifications, metonymies, hyperboles, irony. Their imagery is mainly evaluative, keeping the balance between the logic of the presentation and the emotional expressivity of the message in the mass media. The predominance of negative connotations conveys the mood of British society regarding the fate of Britain and the European Union.

The communication effect of political messages is often enhanced by the extralinguistic component of Brexit representation in the mass media. To highlight the important words different sizes and colours of fonts may be used.

For example, the script of David Cameron’s speech on the EU referendum published at the Conservative Party’s website [81] was well-structured and easy for

comprehension, as all important ideas were grouped under subtitles of different colour. In the article quoting Nigel Farage [95], his most striking expressions were written in a separate line with a bigger font immediately catching the readers' attention.

Some publications insert pictures of the politicians whose views they represent at the beginning of the article [81, 82, 92, 92] or the video clip with the actual speech. Pictures demonstrating the effect of Brexit or some realia connected with it may also be found in the British media. For example, the article by Koenig N. "Will Brexit hit Britain's fresh vegetable supplies?" published in 2019 by *BBC News* [87] is accompanied by pictures of the main means of transporting food in the UK such as ferries and ships as well as the picture of tomatoes which are mostly imported.

All in all, linguistic as well as extralinguistic means may be used in the media covering Brexit. The extralinguistic component such as pictures, colours, fonts emphasize the concepts they implicitly represent.

Conclusion to Chapter Three

The third chapter of the paper analyses the linguistic features of mass media Brexit discourse. The study made it possible to identify language markers of communication strategies and tactics among lexical means, stylistic and syntactic means.

At the lexical level various verbs, adjectives, abstract nouns of positive and negative connotation are mostly used to implement various communication strategies and tactics. The lexical units with positive connotational meaning are used to actualise cooperative and image making strategies, while confrontational strategies are marked by words of negative emotional colouring. The use of special terminology can be effective in influencing the addressee of the text.

Syntactic means include simple and complex sentences that can have different functions and actualize different communication strategies and tactics of the mass

media discourse. In addition, nominative sentences, rhetorical questions, enumeration constructions and repetitions are often used at the syntactic level. They can be especially effective in implementing the strategy of persuasion, namely the tactics of appealing to emotions which is characteristic of mass media discourse of Brexit.

With the help of stylistic devices such as metaphors, personifications, metonymies, hyperboles, irony politicians actualize a number of cooperative and confrontational strategies and tactics.

The difference in the communication style of various politicians is also investigated in the paper. For example, Nigel Farage has a more aggressive style of speech, he often turns to the tactics of discrediting and criticism and uses irony, while David Cameron and Theresa May avoid such strategies and employ positively coloured lexemes to implement the tactics of solidarity, explanations as, among other things, they seek to show respect to the opinion of their political opponents.

In addition, visual elements may be added in the modern media discourse covering the phenomenon of Brexit to enhance the pragmatic effect of the articles.

CONCLUSIONS

In the course of our research, the following conclusions on the features of communication strategies and tactics implemented by authors in mass media discourse during the Brexit campaign were drawn:

The communication strategy is defined as a set of speech actions through which the recipient achieves these goals. In the process of communication, speakers pursue different often conflicting goals, as their intentions may differ. In mass media discourse the main communication intention is policy-making. To achieve the strategic goal different communication tactics are used. For the purposes of our research we have separated basic (macro-strategies) and auxiliary micro-strategies. The tonality of communication in Brexit mass media discourse may be positive or negative. Thus, we have singled out basic cooperative and confrontational strategies which may be used either to reach cooperation or compromise on Brexit issues, or to discredit the opponents. The auxiliary strategies of image making and persuasion help public figures to present themselves in the best light or to persuade their audience in the process of cooperative or conflicting communication of their thoughts.

The characteristic features of mass media discourse are publicity, openness, evaluation, multimodality which are effective in helping the mass media to perform informative, regulatory, educational, entertaining, phatic and advertising functions. Modern media may have a mythical function as they form stereotypes to create the desired impact on the public opinion. Mass media discourse is a functionally conditioned type of discourse, which is a hierarchically organized, multilevel complex of texts (texts of the press, radio, television, Internet).

Brexit is one of the most important events in the modern history of Great Britain. To influence the vote of citizens in a referendum a huge media campaign was launched in the UK. Cooperative and confrontational strategies either supporting or discrediting the so-called Leave and Remain were used to fulfill the communicative

intention of the publishers who, in turn, served the ideology of this or that political party.

Cooperative communication strategies include the power retention strategy (realized by the tactics of recognizing the existing problem, the tactics of justification, the tactics of explanations and instructions), and the strategy of ingratiation (realized by the tactics of focusing on positive information, the tactics of pointing to the future and the tactics of promise).

Confrontational communication strategies in Brexit coverage of mass media discourse include the strategy for the struggle for power (realized by the tactics of discrediting, the tactics of accusation, and the tactics of criticism) and the strategy of contrast (realized by the tactics of opposition).

The persuasion strategies include the tactics of appealing to logic (using convincing arguments to compare facts, events or phenomena and justify one's position), the tactics of appealing to emotions (using emotionally coloured words and stylistic devices to cause certain emotions and attitudes in the audience), and the tactics of creating trust (to show credibility and trustworthiness of the author).

The image making strategy involves the demonstration of symbolic belonging to a particular social, political or status group (the tactics of identification) or emphasizing on similarity of views, interests and goals (the tactics of solidarity).

The communication strategies and tactics in Brexit mass media discourse may be represented by various linguistic markers of lexical, syntactic and stylistic levels. At the lexical level adjectives, verbs, nouns of positive and negative connotation as well as special terminology can be effective in expressing the author's communication intentions such as creating trust or giving promises to the readers.

Simple and complex sentences, nominative sentences, rhetorical questions, enumerations and repetitions are the most popular syntactic means used by the British media in both cooperative and confrontational communication. With the help of stylistic devices such as metaphors, personifications, metonymies, hyperboles, irony

politicians emphasize the important parts in their message, create the desired image, and appeal to the people's emotions.

The phenomenon of Brexit may be visually represented in the mass media by such extralinguistic devices as different sizes and colours of fonts, photos or videos of the politicians whose views the publishers support. Pictures demonstrating the effect of Brexit may also be found in the British media. Extralinguistic means usually accompany or enhance the effect of the linguistic units which serve as tools of communication strategies and tactics implemented in mass media discourse of Brexit.

The prospects for further research may be the study of the features of communicative strategies and tactics in the speeches of British pro-Remain and pro-Leave politicians, as well as the comparative analysis and of Brexit coverage topics in the British mass media of different levels – newspapers, Internet publications, social networks, and television.

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ANNEXES

ANNEX 1

**MASS-MEDIA COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES
IN BREXIT COVERAGE**

COOPERATIVE – 13,8%	CONFRONTATIONAL – 6,6%
Strategy of ingratiation – 10,2%	Strategy for the struggle for power – 4,8%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - tactics of focusing on positive information - tactics of pointing to the future - tactics of promise 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - tactics of discrediting the opponent - tactics of accusation - tactics of criticism
Power retention strategy – 3,6% <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - tactics of recognizing the existing problem - tactics of justification - the tactics of explanations and instructions 	Strategy of contrast – 1,8% <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - tactics of opposition
PERSUASION STRATEGY – 8,4%	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - tactics of appealing to emotions - tactics of creating trust - tactics of appealing to logic 	
IMAGE MAKING STRATEGY – 7,8%	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - tactics of solidarity - tactics of identification 	

ANNEX 2

**EXAMPLES OF REPRESENTATION OF MASS-MEDIA COMMUNICATION
STRATEGIES IN BREXIT COVERAGE**

COOPERATIVE STRATEGIES	
Strategy of ingratiation	
<i>Tactics of focusing on positive information</i>	
1.	<i>It is one of the factors – <u>together with our superb workforce, the low taxes set by the British Government, and our climate of enterprise</u> – which makes Britain such an excellent place to do business (EURNFTLCFM, URL).</i>
2.	<i>Who led those negotiations? It was the EU, with <u>Britain playing a central role</u> (EURNFTLCFM, URL).</i>
3.	<i>Should we continue <u>to forge our future as a proud, independent nation while remaining a member of the European Union, as we have been for the last 43 years?</u> (TDCSAB, URL).</i>
4.	<i>We are part of a single market of 500 million people which Britain helped to create. <u>Our goods and, crucially, our services – which account for almost 80% of our economy</u> – can trade freely by right (TDCSAB, URL).</i>
5.	<i>In doing so we now offer <u>a beacon of hope</u> to democrats across the rest of the European continent (NFDFPBSEP, URL).</i>
<i>Tactics of pointing to the future</i>	
6.	<i>The UK's EU membership referendum (Brexit) is a "<u>once-in-a-lifetime chance to vote for real change</u>", Boris Johnson has argued as he declared support for an exit (EURTVRCBJ, URL).</i>
7.	<i>Mayor of London Boris Johnson has said leaving the EU would be a "<u>win-win game for all</u>", urging those backing exit to "<u>hold our nerve and vote for freedom</u>" (EURTVRCBJ, URL).</i>
8.	<i>Above all, it's about our economy. <u>It will be stronger if we stay. It will be weaker if we leave</u> (DCSEUR, URL).</i>

<i>Tactics of promise</i>	
9.	<i><u>Britain can do much better; we can deal with our debts, we can get our economy growing and avoid this jobs tax, and we can build a bigger society</u> (EURNFTLCFM, URL).</i>
10.	<i><u>Whenever we can, we will provide it. And we can confirm today that the government will put the final deal that is agreed between the UK and EU to a vote in both Houses of Parliament</u> (BTMBS, URL).</i>
11.	<i>We must <u>strengthen the precious union</u> between the four nations of the United Kingdom. We <u>will work very carefully</u> to ensure that - as powers are repatriated back to Britain - the right powers are returned to Westminster and the right powers are passed to the devolved administrations. We <u>will make sure that no new barriers to living and doing business within our union are created</u> (BTMBS, URL).</i>
12.	<i>We <u>will work to deliver a practical solution</u> that allows the maintenance of the Common Travel Area with the Republic of Ireland, while <u>protecting the integrity of the United Kingdom's immigration system</u> (BTMBS, URL).</i>
13.	<i>We <u>want to guarantee these rights</u> as early as we can. We have told other EU leaders that we can offer EU nationals here this certainty, as long as this is reciprocated for British citizens in EU countries (BTMBS, URL).</i>
14.	<i>As we translate the body of European law into our domestic regulations, <u>we will ensure that workers' rights are fully protected and maintained</u> (BTMBS, URL).</i>
15.	<i><u>We will continue to collaborate with our European partners on major science, research and technology initiatives</u> (BTMBS, URL).</i>
16.	<i><u>Co-operation in the fight against crime and terrorism: We want our future relationship with the EU to include practical arrangements on matters of law enforcement and intelligence</u> (BTMBS, URL).</i>
17.	<i><u>A smooth, orderly Brexit: We want to have reached an agreement about</u></i>

	<i>our future partnership by the time the two year Article 50 process has concluded. From that point onwards, we expect a phased process of implementation. <u>We will work to avoid a disruptive cliff-edge</u> (BTMBS, URL).</i>
Power retention strategy	
<i>Tactics of explanations and instructions</i>	
18.	<i>This is a <u>moment to be brave, to reach out – not to hug the skirts of Nurse in Brussels</u>, and refer all decisions to someone else. <u>This is the only opportunity we will ever have to show that we care about self-rule</u> (EURTVRCBJ, URL).</i>
19.	<i>There are <u>various ways we could achieve this</u>. One would be to require a new country <u>to reach a certain income or economic output per head</u> before full free movement was allowed (TDCSAB, URL).</i>
20.	<i>And I think the service our country needs right now is <u>to face up to our really big challenges, to confront our problems, to take difficult decisions, to lead people through those difficult decisions</u>, so that together we can reach better times ahead (EURFTDCLDPBR, URL).</i>
21.	<i>They will, as usual, <u>weigh up the arguments, reflect on them quietly, discuss them with friends and family</u>, and then, calmly and without fuss, <u>take their decision</u> (TDCSAB, URL).</i>
<i>Tactics of recognizing the existing problem</i>	
22.	<i>I have just come from chairing seven hours of cabinet meetings focused on finding a route out of the current <u>impasse</u> – one that will deliver the Brexit the British people voted for, and allow us to move on and begin bringing our <u>divided country</u> back together (BTMESF, URL).</i>
23.	<i><u>This is a difficult time</u> for everyone. Passions are running high on all sides of the argument (BTMESF, URL).</i>
CONFRONTATIONAL STRATEGIES	
Strategy for the struggle for power	

<i>Tactics of discrediting the opponent</i>	
24.	<i>Where the <u>enemy</u> are at their absolute weakest is on this whole question of open door migration, the effect that it's had on the lives of ordinary Britons over the course of the last decade and the <u>threat</u> that it poses given the new <u>terror and security threat</u> that we face in the west. I'm sorry to say that at the moment <u>they don't appear to have done it</u> (EURNFTLCFM, URL).</i>
25.	<i>In terms of the future, our country has a hung parliament where no party has an overall majority and <u>we have some deep and pressing problems – a huge deficit, deep social problems, a political system in need of reform.</u> For those reasons I aim to form a proper and full coalition between the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats (EURFTDCLDPBR, URL).</i>
26.	<i><u>Brexit might lead to a slippery slope</u> where others, and particularly those <u>under the sway of populists</u>, might decide to follow what the British have just been doing (R10TSBH, URL).</i>
27.	<i>As a policy to impose poverty on Greece and the Mediterranean you've done very well (NFDFPBSEP, URL).</i>
<i>Tactics of accusation</i>	
28.	<i>The biggest problem you've got and the main reason the UK voted the way it did is because you have <u>by stealth and deception</u>, and <u>without telling the truth</u> to the rest of the peoples of Europe, you have <u>imposed upon them a political union</u> (NFDFPBSEP, URL).</i>
29.	<i>He accused the Remain campaign of a "<u>remorseless torrent of propaganda</u>", attacking the OECD and the International Monetary Fund as "<u>overpaid useless people</u>" and President Obama of "<u>parroting the Number 10 line</u>" after he spoke out against a UK exit (EURNFTLCFM, URL).</i>
<i>Tactics of criticism</i>	
30.	<i>The former Ukip leader Nigel Farage <u>described it as a sellout</u> (NFTRULB, URL).</i>

Strategy of contrast	
<i>Tactics of opposition</i>	
31.	<i>Isn't it funny? When I came here 17 years ago and I said that I wanted to lead a campaign to get Britain to leave the European Union, you all laughed at me – well I have to say, you're not laughing now, are you? The reason <u>you're</u> so <u>upset</u>, <u>you're</u> so <u>angry</u>, has been perfectly clear, from all the angry exchanges this morning (NFDFPBSEP).</i>
32.	<i><u>We</u> should <u>hold on to our fury</u>, against <u>those</u> who for the sake of their career or a pet dogma, were prepared <u>to wreck everything</u>. On this day when <u>we mourn</u> what horror the Europe before the European Union was capable of, we should say loud and clear of <u>those that did this</u>: <u>we</u> will not forget <u>them</u> (FWGJ).</i>
33.	<i>One minute <u>we are urged to follow Norway</u>, the next minute <u>Canada</u>. A few days later <u>Switzerland offers</u> the path forward, until it becomes clear that their arrangement doesn't provide much access for services to the EU's single market – and services, as I've said, are almost four fifths of the British economy (DCSEUR, URL).</i>
PERSUASION STRATEGIES	
<i>Tactics of appealing to emotions</i>	
34.	<i>What happened last Thursday was a remarkable result – it was a <u>seismic result</u>. Not just for British politics, for European politics, but perhaps even <u>for global politics too</u> (NFDFPBSEP, URL).</i>
35.	<i>The UK will become a <u>“third country”</u>. If it's a hard Brexit, a soft Brexit, a medium Brexit it really doesn't matter – you will become a third country and by definition that will mean custom formalities (KWBHBFVS, URL).</i>
36.	<i>It is <u>frustrating</u>. We could be within weeks of an election and we want to use this conference to <u>parade some of our great policies</u>, and all everyone is</i>

	<i>talking about is Brexit and disunity (WLIIBCOCPEC, URL).</i>
37.	<i>And I know what he'd have thought this year: he'd have wanted to see the party rally to <u>fight against an untenable, devastating Brexit</u> (SMDHLSOILC, URL).</i>
38.	<i>This is no time to see which way the wind is blowing. <u>Brexit was foisted on this nation</u> by those who seek to excessively profit from our <u>misery</u>, and it has become an existential crisis (SMDHLSOILC, URL).</i>
39.	<i><u>Three years of chaos</u> have opened space for big, bold progressive thinking, offering a new sense of <u>hope</u> (HBMFA, URL).</i>
40.	<i>Who would now dare to find hope in among the Brexit <u>nightmare</u>? (HBMFA, URL).</i>
41.	<i>Last week I was at the Labour party conference, where Brexit was a <u>liable source of angst and division</u>, and the <u>often-rancorous atmosphere</u> regularly suggested yet <u>more impending doom</u> (HBMFA, URL).</i>
42.	<i>Since 2016 Brexit has been transformed from the modest and endlessly beneficial readjustment promised by the pro-leave campaigners – £350m extra a week for the NHS, and all that – to a revolutionary project in which national harm might have to be accepted in pursuit of sovereignty (HBMFA, URL).</i>
<i>Tactics of creating trust</i>	
43.	<i>We don't want to <u>discriminate</u> against them, because they're from India or New Zealand in favour of Romania and Bulgaria – we should be open to the world. We should want people in sensible numbers with skills, trades who haven't got <u>criminal records</u> who are prepared to pay their own <u>medical insurance</u> for at least five years (EURNFTLCFM, URL).</i>
44.	<i>Our <u>membership of the single market</u> is one of the reasons why our <u>economy</u> is doing so well, why we have created almost 2.4 million jobs over the last 6 years, and why so many companies from overseas – from China or</i>

	<i>India, the United States, Australia and other Commonwealth countries <u>invest so much in the UK</u> (TDCSAB, URL).</i>
45.	<i>There is now <u>abundant evidence</u> that no form of Brexit would be chosen by any <u>sane administration</u>, and many of us – as is clear from public demonstrations – have not yet given up hope that in the end the best Brexit is indeed no Brexit (KBNTSNSI, URL).</i>
46.	<i>For whenever we are tested as a nation, <u>this party steps up to the plate</u>. Seven years ago, our challenge was <u>to repair the damage of Labour’s great recession</u> – and <u>we did it</u>. The deficit is down. Spending is under control. And our economy is growing again (AUWC, URL).</i>
<i>Tactics of appealing to logic</i>	
47.	<i>The <u>latest official data</u>, covering the first three months of this year, shows that <u>productivity in fact fell 0.2 per cent</u> compared with a year earlier. And <u>the Bank of England</u> chalks the problem up to one main culprit (DBHUKPW, URL).</i>
IMAGE MAKING STRATEGY	
<i>Tactics of solidarity</i>	
48.	<i>In Birmingham people queued for three hours to listen to the former foreign secretary dismissing Theresa May’s <u>Brexit plan as a national humiliation</u> (ABTB, URL).</i>
49.	<i>One reason Mrs May’s premiership has been so troubled is that she started it <u>by playing to the Brexit gallery</u>, beginning exit negotiations before she had a plan and drawing red lines that have limited Britain’s options (ABTB, URL).</i>
50.	<i>I know there are some <u>who are so fed up with delay and endless arguments</u> that they would like to leave with no deal next week (BTMBS, URL).</i>
51.	<i><u>Bringing new countries in to give them peace and prosperity remains</u></i>

	<i>one of the EU's greatest strengths. It will be many years, perhaps a decade, before another country joins. It cannot be done on the same basis as it was in the past. We must put in place new arrangements that will <u>slow full access to each other's labor markets</u> until we be sure it <u>will not cause vast migrations</u> (TDCSAB, URL).</i>
52.	<i>This is going to be <u>a battle for Britain, a battle for the future of our country, the sort of country that we want for our children and grandchildren</u> (ADCEURBB, URL).</i>
53.	<i>We want to be an independent, self-governing, normal nation (EURNFTLCFM, URL).</i>
54.	<i>Because <u>what the little people did, what the ordinary people did – what the people who'd been oppressed over the last few years who'd seen their living standards go down</u> <u>did...</u> (NFDFPBSEP, URL).</i>
55.	<i>Let's properly judge these organisations: <u>Do they believe in universal human rights – including for women and people of other faiths? Do they believe in equality of all before the law? Do they believe in democracy and the right of people to elect their own government? Do they encourage integration or separatism?</u> (EURFTDCLDPBR, URL).</i>
56.	<i>Let me say at the outset that I understand why many people are <u>wrestling with this decision</u>, and why some people's <u>heads and hearts are torn</u> (TDCSAB, URL).</i>
57.	<i><u>This is a decisive moment in the story of these islands</u> and it requires national unity to deliver the national interest (BTMESF, URL).</i>
<i>Tactics of identification</i>	
58.	<i>I <u>passionately believe</u> that the <u>quality of life</u> matters just as much as the quantity of money... So that is <u>my first priority</u> – a focus on the quality of life. The second priority is this: a <u>culture of personal responsibility</u>... I want to <u>replace the European Human Rights Act with a British Bill of Rights</u></i>

	(EURFTDCLDPBR, URL).
59.	<i>Blenheim. Trafalgar. Waterloo. Our country's heroism in the Great War</i> (EURFTDCLDPBR, URL).
60.	<i>A <u>smooth, orderly Brexit</u>: We want to <u>have reached an agreement about our future partnership</u> by the time the two-year Article 50 process has concluded. From that point onwards, we expect a phased process of implementation. We will work to <u>avoid a disruptive cliff-edge</u></i> (BTMBS, URL).