Brexit and Columns

The Rhetorical Figures that are used in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Mail*

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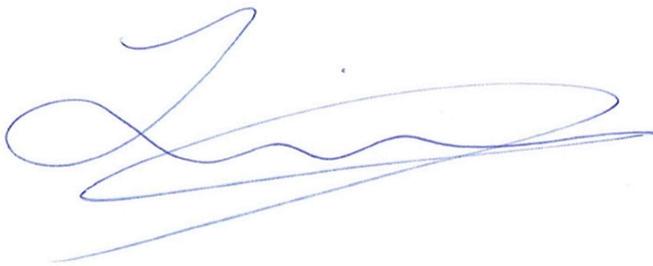
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Abstract

This research will deal with newspapers and their columns on Brexit from January 2015 up till December 2016. The newspapers that will be discussed are *The Guardian* and *The Daily Mail* and their columnists John Crace and Stephen Glover. The rhetorical figures of each column are collected and the percentages of use is calculated. From these data, the most common rhetorical figures can be deduced and most their function will be described. To understand the theoretical frame of the research, background information on columns and interpreting rhetorical figures is given as well. The claim of this study is that each author uses different rhetorical devices in their columns, since their both on a different side in the Brexit discussion.

Key Words: Brexit; Columns; Rhetorical Figures; The Guardian; The Daily Mail; Politics

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Introduction

The referendum on 23 June 2016 led Great Britain to leave the European Union or in short, Brexit. With many responses on social media and newspapers around the world, Brexit has been one of the most discussed topics worldwide. Especially British stars are concerned with the topic and they use social media to express their feelings with their fans, spreading out the awareness of Brexit even more. Actor Hugh Grant was shocked saying that "Brexit was a fantastic example of a nation shooting itself full in the face".[1] The news was also shared by J.K. Rowling who said: "I don't think I 've ever wanted magic more".[2] Even popstar Niall Horan had to share his vision with his fans saying that: "It's a sad day. The economic impact that this is going to have is definitely going to make those voters regret their decision."[3] The posts show that these British stars were on the side of the Remainers, the ones that did not want to leave the EU. Along with these three examples, there were more tweets that held a strong negative attitude towards the outcome of the referendum. In search of famous tweets by the ones that did want to leave the EU, the Leavers, it shows that there are less of them. Does this mean that the majority of Britain or at least famous Britain wanted to stay? Probably not, these outbursts do not show the mean of the population. The outcome of the referendum is in line with earlier research that displayed that the British were not positive about being in the EU, which is called Euroscepticism. A study by Hobolt reveals that ever since the European Union was formed, Britain has been the most Eurosceptic country.[4] Based on these findings, an exit might have been

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[1] "One year on from Brexit, a world changed," *The Day Online, June 23, 2017, http://theday.co.uk/politics/one-year-on-from-brexit-a-world-changed.*
[2] J.K. Rowling, Twitter Post, June 23, 2016, 21:07, https://twitter.com/jk_rowling/status/746192965568077824.
[3] Niall Horan, Twitter Post, June 24, 2016, 1:29, https://twitter.com/niallofficial/status/746258825519468544?lang=nl .
[4] Sarah B. Hobolt, "The Brexit Vote: a Divided Nation, a Divided Continent," *Journal of European Public Policy* 23, no. 9 (2016): 1260, doi: 10.1080/13501763.2016.1225785.

expected. According to the study, this Euroscepticism is led by worries about immigration and lack of job opportunities.

It is exactly these two aspects that are used in the Brexit-Leave campaign and which made this campaign so effective.[5] Another study by Bachmann tells that the effectiveness of the campaign lays in the fact that it spoke to the lower classes and therefore the masses.[6] The masses were reached by triggering people's fear of immigration, which is reflected in the key slogan "Take Back Control". A strong subjective quote in Bach's research states that: "Brexit is caught up with right-populism, racism, ultra-nationalism, socio-economic inequalities and outright misery across Europe."[7] Although Bach sounds negative towards the strategy of the Leave campaign, it did work for gaining the most votes.

Next to the argument of immigration, economics played an important part in the Brexit discussion. Bach already found this in his research, but a study by Becker looked further into the socio-economic aspects that influenced the voters. She found demographics to be an important factor.[8] For instance, the poorer regions of Britain were proved to be more threatened by the European trade.[9] Since trade between EU countries is so easy, these lower class Britons are afraid to lose their jobs to immigrants. Leaving the European Union would lower the risk of decreasing job opportunities and with this unemployment. This shows that the Leave camp links the economic argument of less job opportunities to its other great argument of immigration.

Economics did not only play a major part in the Leave campaign, it was also one of the main aspects on the side of the Remainers. Their campaign focused on how Britain is

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[5] Sarah B. Hobolt, "The Brexit Vote: a Divided Nation, a Divided Continent," *Journal of European Public Policy* 23, no. 9 (2016): 1260, doi: 10.1080/13501763.2016.1225785.
[6] Veit Bachmann, "Brexit geopolitics," *Geoforum* 77 (2016): 49, doi:10.1016/j.geoforum.2016.10.001.
[7] Ibid. 47.
[8] Sascha O. Becker, "Who voted for Brexit? A Comprehensive District-level Analysis," *Economic Policy* (2017): 629.
[9] Ibid. 615.

economically dependent on the European Union and how the British economy would collapse if Britain were to leave the EU.[10] Contrary to their opponents, the Remainers stated that unemployment would be the consequence of leaving the EU instead of staying. Britain's EU membership would increase job opportunities. The economic risk of leaving the EU led to their slogan "a leap in the dark", which indicates the danger of the blunt effects of leaving.[11]

Not only substantive arguments as these were important for both the campaigns, the faces behind the campaigns were relevant as well. The Conservative Party is a party with some populistic methods, being specifically concerned with media-appearances.[12] Since there was division within the party, there were two main characters from the Conservative Party who hit the headlines. David Cameron dominated the news with 25% of the media-appearances promoting the Remain campaign. The Leave side had the charismatic Boris Johnson who showed up in 19% of the news items. The Labour Party, on the other hand, only appeared in 6% of the media occurrences with Jeremy Corbyn as its main character supporting the Remain side.[13] Though the Remainers were represented the most during the campaign, it was of no use looking at the outcome. However, the numbers do show that the media played a major role during the Brexit discussion.

The role of the media is not only manifested in the headlines and news items with appearances of politicians, it is also clarified by the amount of articles written on the politicians. The difference here is that the politician did not choose to be in this news item. The media appearances are meant for positive publicity, but the news item can also entail a critical or

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[10] Sarah B. Hobolt, "The Brexit Vote: a Divided Nation, a Divided Continent," *Journal of European Public Policy* 23, no. 9 (2016): 1260, doi: 10.1080/13501763.2016.1225785.
[11] Ibid.
[12] "Monthly reach of Daily Mail and The Mail on Sunday newspapers in Great Britain from October 2016 to September 2017, by demographic group (in 1,000s)," *Statista,* 2018.
[13] Ibid. 1261.

negative message. A specific medium where personal opinion, either positive or negative, can be expressed is in the column. Nowadays, columns are a regular feature in newspapers, but it was not until the nineteenth century that columns gained popularity.[14] They used to be forbidden in the eighteenth century, since expressing personal opinion in newspapers was not allowed due to so called libel laws.[15] Ever since the columns were allowed in newspapers, they developed from witty pieces on light material to places of discussion on any subject.[16] These discussions are led by personal opinion and therefore columns are "places where the public space moves very close to the personal, and the personal involvement of the author is part of this." [17] This means that the author determines the style of the column. Since the style is depending on the author, the column is hard to pin down in any category. In the nineteenth century, columns were full of allegories and wit, but nowadays the author can use all types of rhetorical devices to bring across their message. When looking for research on columns, there is only some information on the history of columns and their use of irony.[18] However, there is not much information on contemporary columns and their rhetoric. Van Belle states that this is due to the fact that the contemporary column cannot be classified in one style or category.[19] That is what makes them interesting for this present research, since little is known about contemporary columns and especially the rhetorical devices that are used.

For doing research on contemporary columns, a contemporary topic is needed. There are many articles that have been written about Brexit and there are still articles that are being written on the topic. An article by Gamble displayed some of the effects of Brexit long after the

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[14] Hilde van Belle, "The Correlation between Style and Argument in Newspaper Columns," in *Bending Opinion, Essays on Persuasion in the Public Domain* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011), 189.
[15] Ibid. 188.
[16] Ibid. 190.
[17] Ibid. 187.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid. 185.

referendum, where he stated that "Brexit has dominated British politics since the referendum, and is likely to go on dominating for the rest of this Parliament and even beyond".[20] This means that Brexit will remain an important topic for upcoming elections. With this, the media will remain keeping a close eye on the matter. That is why this present study will take a look at columns on Brexit. Both the Leave and the Remain campaign had their own strategies and arguments, therefore it can be assumed that columns on either the Leave or Remain side also have their own way of expressing opinion. Combining the two would therefore be interesting for looking more closely at the rhetorical figures that are used in columns.

The columns that will be investigated for the research are from *The Guardian* and *The Daily Mail,* since both newspapers are known to have different political opinion and might therefore have a different position in the Brexit discussion. During the 2015 elections, *The Guardian* supported the Labour Party.[21] *The Daily Mail,* on the other hand, supported the Conservatives in the 2015 elections together with some support for UKIP.[22] The specific columnists that are chosen for the research are John Crace from *The Guardian* and Stephen Glover from *The Daily Mail*. For the research, as least variables as possible are wanted. This is because any variable could be an interfering factor for the results. If there is one male and one female, this might affect the style of writing or the opinion. The same goes for age. A younger person is likely to have a different political position as an older person, because they are in different phases of their lives and find other points on the political agenda to be important. Crace

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[20] Andrew Gamble, "British Politics after Brexit," *Political Insight* (2017): 5, doi: 10.1177/2041905817702715.

[21] "The Guardian view: Britain needs a new direction, Britain needs Labour," *The Guardian Online,* May 1, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/may/01/guardian-view-britain-needs-new-direction-needs-labour.

[22] "Send the shameless Madame Fifi packing," *The Daily Mail Online,* April 16, 2015, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3041019/DAILY-MAIL-COMMENT-Send-shameless-Madame-Fifi-packing.html.

and Glover are both males who are in their sixties. [23] [24] Both the authors have their weekly columns and are known for their political opinion. Crace's columns are called 'The Political Sketch' and Glover mostly writes about British and American politics and next to that holds a strong opinion on emigration and emancipation. [25] [26]

As stated by van Belle, there is still a lot to discover about contemporary columns and especially the rhetorical devices that are used.[27] To find out more about this modern rhetoric, a much discussed contemporary topic is used: Brexit. Along with the fact that the topic is still relevant, it is shown that the discussion was frequently discussed in the media together with their arguments that involved both immigration and economics. The aim of this thesis is to shed some light on the rhetorical figures that are used on columns. Since *The Guardian* and *The Daily Mail* have taken different political positions in the 2015 elections, it is expected that both the newspapers will use different arguments together with different rhetorical devices to bring across their message. Altogether this leads to the following research question: 'What is the position Crace from *The Guardian* and Glover from *The Daily Mail* take in the Brexit discussion and what rhetorical devices do they use to formulate their opinion and to persuade their readers?' The hypothesis of the research is that John Crace in *The Guardian* will be on the Remain side and that he will use satire and irony as was done in the nineteenth century. Stephen Glover will be part of the Leave side and will probably convey his message by talking into people's fears and being more direct in his speech.

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[23] "John Crace Profile," *The Guardian Online, 2018,* https://www.theguardian.com/profile/johncrace.
[24] "Stephen Glover for Daily Mail," *The Daily Mail Online, 2018,* http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/columnist-244/Stephen-Glover-Daily-Mail.html.
[25] "John Crace Profile," *The Guardian Online, 2018,* https://www.theguardian.com/profile/johncrace.
[26] "Stephen Glover for Daily Mail," *The Daily Mail Online, 2018,* http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/columnist-244/Stephen-Glover-Daily-Mail.html.
[27] Hilde van Belle, "The Correlation between Style and Argument in Newspaper Columns," in *Bending Opinion, Essays on Persuasion in the Public Domain* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011), 185.

To find out more about columns and rhetorical figures, the first chapter will deal with the history of columns and rhetoric. The second chapter goes into detail about contemporary reading of rhetorical figures leading to the third chapter that explains the methodology that is used for this research; the contextual reading introduced by Fahnestock. The last chapter will show the results of the conducted research followed by a conclusion and discussion.

Chapter 1- Columns

1.1: Research on columns

When doing research on columns, it becomes clear that there is not much known about columns and especially on contemporary columns. The reason for this is partly due to fact that the contemporary column does not fit into one specific category.[28] As Willem Bekius claims, this is because "a column doesn't have any characteristics, because a column doesn't exist. A series of columns does. And even then, it's difficult to define specific characteristics."[29] He states that the only thing that defines a column is their length. Next to this, he notes that a column cannot stand on its own, but needs to be linked to other columns by the same author, hence the term series. Other handbooks go deeper into the length of the column, mentioning that a column has a regular place in a paper and the same number of words.[30] All these characteristics are empirical and have nothing to do with the content. There is a discussion on what the aim of the column is. Some say that it is a persuading article, others say it is just an argumentation. Either way, the books all seem to agree with the fact that a column must be compact in its length. Though the format is compact, the form can be anything. One can write a poem, an imaginary letter or an anecdote. Anything goes for a column when it comes to form.[31]

In 1922, Grant Milnor Hyde is the first who tries to pin down the column, saying that the main thing a column does is interpreting the news. He notices that:

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[28] Hilde van Belle, "The Correlation between Style and Argument in Newspaper Columns," in *Bending Opinion, Essays on Persuasion in the Public Domain* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011), 185.

[29] Willem Bekius, *Werkboek Journalistieke Genres* (Bussum: Coutinho, 2003), 143.

[30] Hilde van Belle, "The Correlation between Style and Argument in Newspaper Columns," in *Bending Opinion, Essays on Persuasion in the Public Domain* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011), 185.

[31] Ibid.

" In general, during wars and other periods of national stress, the editorial has wide influence; then it is likely to be argumentative. In periods of calm and quiet industry,

its importance subsides, and it becomes a thoughtful expository interpretation

of events. However much it may rise and fall, it is likely to continue to be an essential

part of every newspaper."[32]

With this statement, Hyde is one of the first to acknowledge the power of the column and its importance in the news and national debate. He also states that a column might be either argumentative or informative. It all depends on the type of news or debate.

Though its importance is becoming clear, the aim of the column is still not determined. Not only is it the topic of the columns that decides whether it is informative or argumentative, it also depends on the author. Columns are "places where the public space moves very close to the personal, and the personal involvement of the author is part of this." [33] Since the column is so personal, the aim of the column is whatever the author wants it to be. In other words, if the author wants to write an argumentation the column is argumentative. If the author wants to write something for information, it is rather informative. However, a reader can only interpret or suggest what the main goal of the columnist is. It is not likely that the author of the column states whether the column is motivational or informative. For this reason, the reader is also of great importance when determining the aim, since the aim is the interpretation of the reader. This interpretation, however, is closely related to the reason the reader is reading the column. If the column is read for entertainment, one might find it informative or funny. When the reader wants

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[32] Grant Milnor Hyde, *Journalistic writing. Textbook for Classes and Handbook for Staff of Student Newspapers, Magazine and Yearbook* (New York: Appleton-Century Company, 1946), 269.

[33] Hilde van Belle, "The Correlation between Style and Argument in Newspaper Columns," in *Bending Opinion, Essays on Persuasion in the Public Domain* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011), 187.

to be influenced by the same text, it will likely be interpreted as argumentative.[34] This lack of precise characteristics and goal are the main reasons why columns are neglected when doing research.

1.2: The history of columns

Even though little is known about contemporary columns, there is some information on the history of the column. Columns first appeared in the seventeenth century, where columns were "a place where literature and opinion were intertwined."[35] They were not part of the newspaper yet because of censorship; newspapers had specific licenses and rules. An example of this is that British newspapers had to write only in favour of the British monarchy. These rules were called libel laws. Because of this censorship, the columns had to be published in pamphlets instead of newspapers. [36] It the eighteenth century authors first started to use satire and allegories to give their critique on certain topics. Well-known British examples of these are Jonathan Swift, Richard Steele and Joseph Anderson, and Daniel Defoe.[37] Since it was still illegal to give critique and there was much censorship, pseudonyms came into being. Swift's Scriblerus Club is an example of this use of pseudonyms. All the authors of this club wrote under the pseudonym of Martinus Scriblerus and they wrote mostly about 'the abuse of learning.'[38] Another thing they did to prevent themselves from going to jail was using so called innuendos. These innuendos could

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[34] Hilde van Belle, "The Correlation between Style and Argument in Newspaper Columns," in *Bending Opinion, Essays on Persuasion in the Public Domain* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011), 188.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Stephen Greenblat et al., *The Norton Anthology of English Literature,* 9th ed. (London: Norton, 2012), 2465.

be interpreted in various ways. All they had to do in court was explain the innuendo in the right way, and they were free to go.[39]

In the nineteenth century, newspapers became less restricted and there was more freedom and room for political opinions. This is when the first columns as known nowadays appeared. Most of these witty pieces dealt with social and cultural life.[40] They turned out to be so popular that they quickly got their own pages in the newspaper. The topics of these columns were very light-hearted, such as witty pieces on books and literature, or gossip.[41]

Halfway through the nineteenth century, however, there was a turn in the tone of the columns. As an aftermath of the enlightenment, people started to feel the urge to discuss more serious topics such as politics, culture and education.[42] Where in the first half of the century writing about politics was mostly witty, they wanted to make people aware and wanted changes in society. They started looking for the fine line between language and meaning, a form of rhetoric.[43] This was further practised in the twentieth century, when the *rhetorical turn* took place. This is the period in which scholars rediscovered rhetoric and found that rhetoric was not only meant for speech as Aristotle instigated, but it was also useful for written texts and theories. [44] With this, a change of writing style came in order. Columns were now not only the place for giving one's opinion, it also turned out to be the place for convincing others.[45]

Nowadays, the topics of the columns are not just politics and culture anymore. It is a form of communication about any subject one wants to discuss. The news covers all the facts, but it is

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[39] Hilde van Belle, "The Correlation between Style and Argument in Newspaper Columns," in *Bending Opinion, Essays on Persuasion in the Public Domain* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011), 189.
[40] Hilde van Belle, "The Correlation between Style and Argument in Newspaper Columns," in *Bending Opinion, Essays on Persuasion in the Public Domain* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011), 189.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid. 190.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid. 192.
[45] Ibid.

the column that can make up for the "blind spot in journalism".[46] In addition, the news is restricted by a so called "traditional low style of writing".[47] This term means that news articles are all the same style and just a depiction of the facts, so the author does not need any creativity to write these. That is what makes columns so different than any other newspaper articles. In columns, any style and subject is possible. It is a place for creativity in writing. "They are 'the places of risks."[48] Where columns started as a place for opinion, it is now a place for experimenting writing styles. The focus changed from opinions that "could be uttered under the shelter of style devices like irony, metaphor, satire, hyperbole and so on," to "places were stylistic devices are free to use".[49]

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[46] Ibid. 197.
[47] Ibid. 197.
[48] Hilde van Belle, "The Correlation between Style and Argument in Newspaper Columns," in *Bending Opinion, Essays on Persuasion in the Public Domain* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011), 197.
[49] Ibid. 187.

Chapter 2-Theory on Rhetorical Figures

The previous chapter has shown that columns developed from a text with satire and irony, to a text where any rhetorical device could be used. This was all instigated by the last half of the nineteenth century, when columns became more about serious topics. There became a fine line between style and argument, or with other words: language and meaning. Not only was it the column that made progress throughout the years, it is also the rhetorical figures that changed ever since it first appeared in Aristotle's book *Rhetoric.* How did the interpretation of rhetorical figures change over time and how should it be read in contemporary writing?

It was not until after the *rhetorical turn* in 1969 that the ambiguous line between style and argument was first explored by Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tytica in their book *The New Rhetoric.* The authors argue in their book that a rhetorical figure can be interpreted both as an argument or as a form of style, but that it is the context that determines which one of the two is most applicable.[50] Therefore, a rhetorical device cannot be studied in isolation and is not merely stylistic or argumentative. A rhetorical figure first and foremost stylistic, but it can also be used as a tool for transmitting the argument.[51] When the rhetorical figure of sarcasm is used, it firstly serves as a way of making the text more appealing; it is part of aesthetics. However, sarcasm could also imply that the author does not agree with a certain idea or person. In this case, the figure is both stylistic and argumentative. According to Perelman and Olbrechts-Tytica, a rhetorical device needs to contain the following two characteristics: the first is that it should be a discernible structure and the second is that its use stands out in the text because it is different

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[50] Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation,* trans. John Wilkinson and Purcell (London/Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969), 169.
[51] Ibid.

from the rest of the text.[52] To see whether a figure stands out, the whole text should be examined. Therefore, interpreting a rhetorical figure is a dynamic process which cannot be studied in isolation.

A few years later, Olivier Reboul makes some additions to this theory. He does agree on the fact that a figure cannot be interpreted in isolation, but he does not think that it should stand out from the rest of the text. [53] If a figure can stand out from the text, than this means that there should be such a thing as 'normal text'. However, according to Reboul, language does not have a norm. What is normal for one reader does not have to be normal for the other. He rather states that next to argumentative, the figure should have an entertaining factor, giving emotion a part as well.[54] Taking the example of sarcasm again, this means that next to showing the reader that the author does not agree with a certain idea, sarcasm is a way of adding fun into the text. Combining both the emotion and the argument, he comes to the term of *functional aesthetics.*[55] A figure adds value to the text by its emotion, style and argumentation. Once the figure is left out, the statement makes less sense. He dismisses Perelman and Olbrechts-Tytica's idea of 'normal language' by stating that "rhetorical figures are most persuasive when they're not perceived as such."[56] Thus, the theory of interpreting rhetorical figures in a text is now as following: A figure is stylistic, argumentative and adds emotion to the text and is therefore functional. This figure can only be studied in context and this works best when this figure is not seen as a rhetorical figure that stands out from the rest, but as a part of the whole.

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[52] Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* , trans. John Wilkinson and Purcell (London/Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969), 171.
[53] Olivier Reboul, *Introduction à la rhétorique. Théorie et pratique* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1991), 71.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid. 72
[56] Ibid. 73.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Jeanne Fahnestock further explores this idea of functionality and especially Reboul's idea of emotion as an extra dimension of the rhetorical figure. In her opinion, anything that is said is interpreted with emotion. Emotion is always there and it cannot be switched off. That is why a rhetorical figure and emotion cannot be separated.[57] In this way, rhetorical figures contain several extra values to a text since "the rhetorical figures are considered to be sources of emotion, charm, vividness, force or elegance."[58] These added values do not occur all at once in a figure. There is not just one specific element that belongs to a certain rhetorical figure. For this reason, according to Fahnestock, every device holds endless possibilities of expressions.[59] Trying to find the best expression that belongs to the device, is to read as many of the same sort of devices written by the same author. This means that when the rhetorical figure is read in its context and dynamics of the different texts, the best interpretation can be established.[60] Fahnestock explains that this is why a rhetorical figure is the embodiment of an argumentation; because it holds style, meaning and expression all together. Therefore, it is seen as the most important part of the argumentation.[61]

 Altogether, a rhetorical device is the link between language and meaning. To understand a rhetorical device is to understand its style, its argumentation and the added expression and emotion behind it. Expressions are open to infinite interpretations depending on each reader. Therefore, the best way to study a rhetorical figure is to study its whole context, since the meaning of the figure depends on its context. Nonetheless, to study one specific text is not enough. To determine what the added value of the figure is and what the emotion behind it is, one

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[57] Jeanne Fahnestock, *Rhetorical figures in science* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 18.
[58] Ibid. 18.
[59] Ibid. 26.
[60] Ibid. 36.
[61] Ibid.

must read a line of texts by the same author and even then, it is up to the interpretation of the reader.

Chapter 3- Methodology

3.1 Earlier Research on Rhetorical Figures

Even though rhetorical figures in columns are an understudied topic, there is some research on rhetorical figures in speech. For my own research, I will take a study by Jaap de Jong and Bas Andeweg as a guideline for my methodology.[62] They investigated the rhetoric in ministerial speeches in The Hague to find out which devices were used most. They compared them to speeches from 15 years ago, but this is irrelevant for this present study. At first, they spoke to the speechmakers to find out what they thought were the most important aspects of speech. The speechmakers considered the following aspects to be most important; quotes, explicit examples, humour, anecdotes and addressing the reader correctly.[63] Next to this, there were some textual elements they found important as well, namely sentence length and speech length. The speechmakers also said that the opening and the closing of the speech should be the best part, since this is where most of the convincing takes place.[64] However, in their research, de Jong and Andeweg examined the whole speech. The rhetorical figures that they used as a starting point were the following thirty-six figures, based on a publication by Braet: addressing, amplification, anecdote, antitheses, anticipation, chiasm, quotation, climax, complex sentence, contrast, dubitation, ellipsis, enumeration, euphemism, exclamation, repetition figure, humour, hyperbole, inversion, irony, litotes, metaphor, metonymy, paradox, preterition, rhyme, soundbite, proverb, synonym, expression/saying, understatement, example, prophesy, question, pun, self-correction.[65]

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[62] Jaap de Jong and Bas Andeweg, "Professionalising Speech Production," in *Bending Opinion, Essays on Persuasion in the Public Domain* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011), 159.
[63] Ibid 163.
[64] Ibid. 163
[65] Ibid. 165.

The analysis was conducted by four analysts, who all got their own set of speeches. While reading, they tagged the different style figures and counted them afterwards. What is interesting is that they counted a relative frequency instead of an absolute frequency. This means that if the same device occurred several times in one speech, it would be counted as one. The reason why this was done is because this gives a better image of how common a certain figure is throughout all the speeches.[66] The frequency was compared with the length of speech, so the amount of figures per 1000 words could be calculated. By statistics, ANOVA in SPSS, it was determined whether the differences between occurrence was significant. They found that the following thirteen figures of speech were significantly more common in contemporary speeches: expression/saying, soundbite, repetition, metaphor, example, antithesis, ellipsis, humour, metonomy, questions, climax, irony and self-correction.[67]

Next to figurative speech, they also examined things so called *benevolent* techniques. These are techniques for addressing the audience and making the speech more appealing to them. An example of this is giving compliments. Since this is only relevant for speeches in public and not for texts, I did not engage these findings in the chapter.

When neglecting the *benevolent* techniques and body language, both columns and speeches come down to arguments, emotion and style. That is why the methodology used by de Jong and Andeweg can be used as a starting point for my own research.

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[66] Jaap de Jong and Bas Andeweg, *Professionalising Speech Production* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011), 166.
[67] Ibid. 178.

3.2 Explicit Methodology

My research will combine Fahnestock's theory on rhetoric with de Jong and Andeweg's methodology. As a summary of chapter two, Fahnstock's theory suggests that a rhetorical figure could not be read in isolation, it is even suggested that one could only understand the meaning of the figure after reading a series of columns by the same author. This is why, for this research, I looked at a series of columns on the same topic and from the same author. Step one of the research was therefore reading all the collected data to see what the author's style is and to try to interpret these styles and its meaning. After this, close-reading of each column was executed. While close-reading, de Jong and Andeweg's thirteen most common rhetorical figures were taken into account: expression/saying, soundbite, repetition, metaphor, example, antithesis, ellipsis, humour, metonomy, questions, climax, irony and self-correction.[68] However, two of these will be neglected since these are only applicable for speech in person. These two are soundbite and self-correction. Since it is not likely that these eleven devices will be the only ones used, other figures that occur systematically will be taken into account as well. The rhetorical figure should contain the following elements, as suggested by Fahnestock: meaning, style and emotion. Per column, each rhetorical device is counted. Just as with de Jong and Andeweg, a figure that is used several times in the column will be counted as a relative number. First of all, because this gives the best representation of how common the device is. Secondly, the calculations of the percentages would not be correct. De Jong and Andeweg chose to use statistics, because they had to compare two sets (the new and the old ministerial speeches). I, however, will use percentages to calculate the number of occurrences for each rhetorical device. When a figure were to be counted absolutely,

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[68] Jaap de Jong and Bas Andeweg, *Professionalising Speech Production* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011), 178.

the percentages would not be correct and it might even be possible that there would be more figures than columns.

This methodology will be applied to two series of columns by two different authors. When all the percentages are calculated, the numbers will be compared to see if there are any differences between the two authors. Next to differences between the authors, the percentages depict the style of each author.

3.3 Assembling Data

The columns are all on the same topic, since as little variation as possible is wanted between the two series of columns. The topic that is chosen for this examination is Brexit. Brexit is a much discussed topic worldwide, with stars giving their opinion on social media and many media appearances by the politicians.[69] The topic is still relevant today since it "is likely to go on dominating for the rest of this Parliament and even beyond."[70] Because Brexit is a subject that is important in the media, I expect to find many columns on the matter as well. Next to this, the topic leads to several opinions and discussion. Therefore I hope to find columns that are different in opinion and with this difference in rhetorical figures. By choosing this topic, I hope to find a large dataset and also be a valuable extension to a topic that is still a point of discussion nowadays.

The columns that are chosen for the research are from *The Guardian* and *The Daily Mail,* since both newspapers are known to have different political opinion and might therefore have a different position in the Brexit discussion. Numbers show that 80% of *The* Guardian's readers are

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[69] Sarah B. Hobolt, "The Brexit Vote: a Divided Nation, a Divided Continent," *Journal of European Public Policy* 23, no. 9 (2016): 1261, doi: 10.1080/13501763.2016.1225785.

[70] Andrew Gamble, "British Politics after Brexit," *Political Insight* (2017): 5, doi: 10.1177/2041905817702715.

from ABC1 social class, also known as the middle class.[71] During the 2015 elections they

supported the Labour Party.[72] Their target audience are the Progressives who are "affluent

forward-looking individuals, curious about the world and embrace change and technology."[73]

These Progressives are mostly young adults.[74] *The Daily Mail* was on the side of the

Conservatives in the 2015 elections and they also showed some support for UKIP.[75] Statistics

show that almost 70% of their readers is from ABC1 social class, this is in line with *The*

*Guardian'*s social class. [76] They do not have a self-claimed target audience, however, the

numbers tell that their audience are mostly women from 45 up till 65 years old.[77] The differences

between the two are clear. Since they both have a different political background, it is expected

that they take a different stance in the Brexit discussion. By choosing newspapers that differ so

much, I hope to find results that are significantly different. Also, I hope that I can make

conclusions on which rhetorical devices are used most by different sides in the Brexit discussion.

        After choosing the newspapers, the two authors are chosen. When looking for authors, I

wanted authors that are both concerned with politics and would also frequently write about it in

their columns. Next to this, I wanted the authors to be both of the same age group and sex. This

would lead to as little variation as possible and therefore little interfering factors. Male and

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[71] "Monthly reach of The Guardian and The Observer in Great Britain from October 2016 to September 2017, by demographic group (in 1,000s)," *Statista,* 2018.

[72] "The Guardian view: Britain needs a new direction, Britain needs Labour," *The Guardian Online,* May 1, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/may/01/guardian-view-britain-needs-new-direction-needs-labour.

[73] "Audience Profile," *The Guardian Online,* 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/select/audience-profile.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Daily Mail Comment, "Send the shameless Madame Fifi packing," *The Daily Mail Online,* April 16, 2015, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3041019/DAILY-MAIL-COMMENT-Send-shameless-Madame-Fifi-packing.html.

[76] "Monthly reach of The Guardian and The Observer in Great Britain from October 2016 to September 2017, by demographic group (in 1,000s)," *Statista,* 2018. https://www.statista.com/statistics/380710/daily-mail-the-mail-on-sunday-monthly-reach-by-demographic-uk/.

[77] "Monthly reach of Daily Mail and The Mail on Sunday newspapers in Great Britain from October 2016 to September 2017, by demographic group (in 1,000s)," *Statista,* 2018. https://www.statista.com/statistics/380710/daily-mail-the-mail-on-sunday-monthly-reach-by-demographic-uk/.

females might have different style of writing either with or without a different poltical opinion. The same goes for younger people in comparison with older people. Moreover, younger people are likely to have different political opinion, since they grew up in a different generation. This led to the following two authors: John Crace for *The Guardian* and Stephen Glover for *The Daily Mail,* who are both 60 years or older. [78] [79] John Crace has his own weekly column called *the Political Sketch* and is now known for his book *I, Maybot*, about Theresa May.[80] Stephen Glover is known for his columns on subjects like politics, immigration and economics. [81] It is expected that they will both write plenty of columns on the matter of Brexit and that they will both use different techniques in their writing.

The aim target for the columns to range from January 2015 up till December 2017. The reason for this is that 2015 is where the first discussions on the referendum occurred. The end of 2017 was chosen so I could still read about the aftermath of the referendum. However, it turned out that the first column did not appear until October 2015. Thus, this is the starting point of the research. The endpoint changed as well, it became December 2016. This is due to the fact that in 2017, the discussion was not about staying or leaving the European Union, but more about who is a good or bad politician and worries about the future. Besides, there were not that many columns on the topic anymore. That is why December 2016 is the endpoint, because it would still be relevant for this study and still show some of the aftermath of Brexit.

After the first glance, it seemed that Crace had 51 columns on the subject. However, this changed into 46 columns, since after close-reading some columns turned out to be not specific

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[78] "John Crace Profile," *The Guardian Online, 2018,* https://www.theguardian.com/profile/johncrace.
[79] "Stephen Glover for Daily Mail," *The Daily Mail Online, 2018,* http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/columnist-244/Stephen-Glover-Daily-Mail.html.
[80] "John Crace Profile," *The Guardian Online, 2018,* https://www.theguardian.com/profile/johncrace.
[81] "Stephen Glover for Daily Mail," *The Daily Mail Online, 2018,* http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/columnist-244/Stephen-Glover-Daily-Mail.html.

enough on the subject of Brexit. For example, they were more about one specific person but not concerning Brexit. For *The Daily Mail* this turned out to be a number of 22 columns. The amount is almost halve Crace's columns, this is due to the fact that Glover also writes on worldwide politics and subjects that do not involve Brexit such as the housing market.

Chapter 4- Results

After applying the theory and the methodology, I found the following results that will be presented in this chapter. Next to the eleven rhetorical figures found in the de Jong and Andeweg's study, each author had some of their own specific styles and devices. Per author, each of these extra rhetorical figures are named and explained with examples. After this, a table with the numbers and percentages is presented, from which some conclusions are drawn. The first author that is discussed is John Crace from *The Guardian,* then it is up to Stephen Glover and *The Daily Mail.* Lastly, the two are compared to each other.

4.1.1 Crace's Rhetorical Devices

Along with de Jong and Andeweg's eleven rhetorical figures, there were some extra devices that Crace uses. These are, in no specific order: contrast, famous quotes, addressing the reader, nicknames, alliteration, theatricality, sarcasm, mock conversations and themes. Firstly, each of these figures are discussed individually.

Contrast is when two opposites are used in one sentence and therefore the two emphasise each other. For example, Crace uses the sentence: "The prime minister said an awful lot that meant very little."[82] The two contrasting words in the sentence are 'an awful lot' and 'very little'. In this way, there is emphasis on how much David Cameron was talking, however, what he said did not make any sense. By putting it like this, the emptiness of his speech is more underlined than when Crace would formulate it like: "The prime minister gave a speech without much content." He does this again in another columns claiming that the: "Prime minister's speech on

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[82] John Crace*,* "David Cameron on the EU: can't it just be a bit nicer ... please?," *The Guardian Online,* Nov 10, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/nov/10/david-cameron-on-the-eu-cant-it-just-be-a-bit-nicer-please.

EU council meeting showed he had little to say about the bloc, but he took all the longer to say it."[83] The 'little' emphasises the 'longer', again to show the reader that Cameron does not have anything essential to say on the matter of the European Union. Throughout his columns, contrast is used several times. Not only to elaborate on speeches, but he also uses contrast to make fun of personal aspects of the politicians.

Quotes are a known style device, however, Crace mostly uses very famous quotes. An example of this is when he uses Neil Armstrong's famous line:"…even the most limited of progress in EU renegotiations can feel like one giant leap for mankind."[84] When Armstrong spoke these words, something great happened in the world. The first man on the moon was a big deal. Crace uses the line to make fun of the EU negotiations. By using the phrase, he puts emphasis on how little is happening in these discussions. So little is happening, that even the slightest change is seen as a big progress, just as landing on the moon was one big progress for mankind. The quotes are not only used as a way of making fun of something or someone, he also uses quotes for making the text more appealing. In a column from 15 November, he already gets into the Christmas mood by using lines from *Last Christmas* by *Wham!*: "Once bitten, twice shy," is his opening line. He finishes the column while referring back to the Christmas theme: "Instead, he chose to invite everyone in the room to the Bank's Christmas party. I'm holding my breath."[85] In this context, the quote seems to have less of a mocking function than with Armstrong's phrase.

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[83] John Crace, "David Cameron on the EU: sobbing, whimpering and not that much else." *The Guardian Online,* Oct 19, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/oct/19/david-cameron-on-the-eu-sobbing-whimpering-and-not-that-much-else.

[84] John Crace, "Cameron's recollection of EU summit is a Christmas miracle," *The Guardian Online,* Jan 5, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jan/05/jon-crace-camerons-recollection-of-eu-summit-is-a-christmas-miracle.

[85] John Crace, "Brexit? I've no idea what's going on either, says Mark Carney," *The Guardian Online,* Nov 15, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/nov/15/mark-carney-bank-of-england-brexit-treasury-select-committee.

However, by using a line from a song that is seen as 'cheesy', he does create a feeling of recognition and it decreases the gap between the governor and the reader.

Humour is a rhetorical device that is used in de Jong and Andeweg's research, but it is a term that covers more subcategories. Nicknames are mentioned so often in Crace's columns, that they get their own category in the analysis. Crace is very creative when making up names for the ministers. First of all, he rarely mentions the surnames. David Cameron is mostly just David or Dave in his columns. By doing this, he decreases the distance that a reader might feel between a politician and a regular British person. It makes the ministers more human. Besides, calling Cameron 'Dave' is also a way of mocking the prime ministers false informality. In other news articles he is called 'Call Me Dave' for instance, again emphasising his self-claimed informality. Boris Johnson becomes just Boris, but Crace prefers the use of BoGo. On his birthday he even calls him 'birthday boy Boris',[86] which is also a form of alliteration. These nicknames have little to do with the personalities of the ministers, but he does also makes up names that are suiting for a certain personality. After the referendum, when Theresa May becomes prime minster, he refers to her almost robot-like way of acting without emotion: "Inside the Maybot, the last shards of the real Theresa were fighting to get out."[87] In another columns it is lord chancellor Michael Gove, who wants to be seen as 'just a person' so badly, that Crace calls him 'Everymike'.[88] In the analysis, this category is called 'nickname'.

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[86] John Crace, "Nice Mike and birthday boy Boris do their bit for the new, kinder politics," *The Guardian Online,* June 19, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/19/nice-mike-and-birthday-boy-boris-do-their-bit-for-the-new-kinder-politics.

[87] John Crace, "Theresa struggles to take back control – from her own Maybot," *The Guardian Online,* Nov 8, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/08/theresa-may-struggles-take-back-control-maybot-india-brexit.

[88] John Crace, "'Everymike' doesn't let the facts get in the way of his leave argument," *The Guardian Online,* June 3, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/03/michael-gove-eu-referendum-sky-news-vote-leave-debate.

With theatricality is meant a form of dramatizing that is used as a form of mocking. It is an exaggeration of a situation by which the futility of the situation is shown. In contrast to a hyperbole, it is not an exaggeration by one word or a sentence. It is a feeling of drama throughout the whole text. It is a form of sarcasm, but used so often by Crace that it needs its own category. Events are described almost as in an act of a play. An example of this is: "Somewhere in the back office, there was a sound of barrels being scraped."[89] There is no literal scrapping of barrels, he just implies that the opposition is ready to 'attack' Cameron and his Remain campaign. When reading the rest of the text, it becomes clear that this so called 'attack' is not taken seriously by Crace. He even compares leader of the Social Democratic Party David Owen and Boris Johnson with Hitler, remaining in the theme of war and attacking. He also uses theatricality to mock Cameron once more. Opening with: "There was a noise, followed by a few gasps as a young woman collapsed near the back of the room. David Cameron strode over to check she was OK, the concern on his face entirely genuine."[90] He ridicules Cameron's quest to be Britain's hero, saving everyone from 'Project Fear' by using 'Project Fact'.[91] Although, Cameron states to be about facts, he scares people in such a way that a young woman faints. From these examples it can be deduced that Crace is not literal and only uses this formulation to make fun of the situations and the accompanying persons.

Another figure that is used frequently by Crace consists of a made-up conversation, mostly between politicians. He imagines how a discussion would have been, but in such a way that the politicians involved are being satirised. The style of the conversation is written in the

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[89] John Crace, "Dr Death tells chilling tale of the Great Plot Against Britain," *The Guardian Online,* May 19, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/19/dr-death-david-owen-great-plot-against-britain-eu-referendum.

[90] John Crace, "Cameron's Project Fact: Brexit to leave us weak, worse off and dead," *The Guardian Online,* Feb 29, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/feb/29/camerons-project-fact-brexit-to-leave-us-weak-worse-off-and-dead.

[91] Ibid.

same way as found in novels; He draws a setting and introduces his characters, and then he turns to the conversation with 'quotations'. To explain more explicitly what is meant, the example of the conversation between George Osborn, Vince Cable and Ed Balls is given:

George knocked back a couple of stiff drinks. One down, one to go. Nothing for it, better to get it over and done with.

"Hi Vince."

"What do you want?"

"It's me, George Osborne."

"I know exactly who you are. What do you want?"

"Just a chat. To catch up. How's the last year been?"

"Why don't you just get to the point?"

"I want you to join me and say something nice and remainy."

"Still the same cynical George whom I know and hate."

"So you'll do it? Great. 10 o'clock at Stansted. Don't be late."

"It will be just you and me, won't it?"

"Oh absolutely, Vince. Got to go."[92]

It is obvious that first of all, Crace would never know this telephone conversation. Secondly, it would never have gone like this. They discuss a plan for the Remain campaign that would have never been on the telephone and they would never use a phrase like "say something

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[92] John Crace, "George calls in Ed and Vince to try to convince the Eurosceptics," *The Guardian Online,* May 16, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/16/ed-balls-vince-cable-george-osborne-remain-sketch.

nice and remainy." By formulating the conversation and the decisions they make so simple, he implies that there is not much thought behind their plan. Throughout his columns, this type of writing is used several times, including the introduction and the quotation marks. This style will be called 'mock conversation.'

A very typical thing Crace does in some of his columns is sticking to a certain theme and then returning to it several times in the text, as was the case with the Christmas theme in the columns about the Bank of England. In the example of Christmas, it is most likely used to make the text more fun, however, most of the times it is used satirical. A good example of this is when he calls David Johnson 'Dr. Death', and in the text he refers to everything as a disease: "Dr Death had taken the nation's pulse and the prognosis was not good."[93] In this way, Crace again ridicules a person or situation. The example of David Johnson displays that he is not taken seriously by Crace and that all he does is scare people with facts that are not based on anything. Returning to the same topic in the same column will be referred to as 'theme'.

Though Crace uses lots of humour in the form of sarcasm and irony to make his point, he sometimes says what he thinks in a direct way. In most of the cases, this means that he criticises both the Leave and the Remain side: "It takes a lot to make David Cameron look the ideal poster boy for the Stay in Europe campaign. But somehow the Leave Europe campaign has managed to do it."[94] He is obviously not fond of Boris Johnson as the main character of the Leave Campaign, though he also does not like Cameron. In other texts he simply calls an idea or speech 'stupid'. In my study, this is called 'direct'.

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[93] John Crace, "Dr Death tells chilling tale of the Great Plot Against Britain," *The Guardian Online,* May 19, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/19/dr-death-david-owen-great-plot-against-britain-eu-referendum.

[94] John Crace, "David Davis spells out his EU strategy: be more like Canada," *The Guardian Online,* Feb 4, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/feb/04/david-davis-spells-out-his-eu-strategy-be-more-like-canada.

The last figure that is found is called wordplay. This is a rhetorical figure that is well known but not mentioned as most important by de Jong and Andeweg. Crace plays with words or makes up words to create a fun context. The wordplay is part of his humour and functions more as a stylistic device rather than meaningful. An example of this is when he uses the term 'deja EU' instead of déjà vu.[95] Though, in some of his texts the wordplay is a way of making fun of someone. He uses words that go along with 'sheep', when talking about Chris Grayling: "He rather sheepishly rose to his feet. Just as you might expect from a sheep in sheep's clothing."[96]

4.1.2 Data

All the extra rhetorical devices are explained, now the data can be presented. The number of columns is relevant to calculate the percentage of use for each rhetorical figure. If there is any device from de Jong and Andeweg that is not used, this will be left out from the data. The amount of columns from the period of October 2015 till December 2016 is 46. There are more columns on the topic of Brexit, but those were not specific enough or did only mention a person involved in the debate, but not the debate itself.

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[95] John Crace, "Cameron returns to parliament for another round of deja EU," *The Guardian Online,* Feb 3, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/feb/03/eu-negotiations-david-cameron-trots-out-lines-convince-mps.

[96] John Crace, "The voice of Brexit speaks and the pro-EU camp cracks open the champagne," *The Guardian Online,* Jan 14, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jan/14/chris-grayling-brexit-european-union-referendum.

Table 1: Rhetorical devices in John Crace's columns

Rhetorical Figure	Number (*n*=46)	Percentage
Humour	40	87%
Contrast	7	15%
Quotes	5	11%
Addressing	7	15%
Nickname	11	24%
Alliteration	3	7%
Theatricality	6	13%
Sarcasm	8	17%
Repetition	9	20%
Example	3	7%
Irony	7	15%
Metaphor	2	4%
Theme	12	26%
Mock conversation	6	13%
Direct	4	9%
Comparison	2	4%
Wordplay	5	11%

From the table, it is shown that the five most used rhetorical figures are, ranging from high to low: humour, theme, nicknames, repetition, and sarcasm. Humour is seen in most of his columns. It seems to serve as a way to make the text more appealing, but it is mostly used as a way of satirising the politicians. Especially the nicknames are an important subcategory of the humour. It is not one individual figure that creates this satirical feel, it is all the devices combined. Even the device of repetition adds to this, even though repetition is often a figure that is used to merely put emphasise on a topic. An example of a humorous way of using repetition is when Crace makes a mock speech by Cameron in which every sentence starts with the words "let me explain."[97] It is a way of making fun, since the whole point of the columns is that Cameron actually does not

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[97] John Crace, "David Cameron on the EU: can't it just be a bit nicer ... please?," *The Guardian Online,* Nov 10, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/nov/10/david-cameron-on-the-eu-cant-it-just-be-a-bit-nicer-please.

explain anything. Crace somehow finds a way to use all his devices in a fun way, but also in a satirising manner.

All these devices are mixed together and strengthen each other in this way. The figures that go hand in hand the most are wordplay and theme. In one of his columns temperature is an important theme opening with: "only the British passion for hypothermia could have made an unheated, old warehouse…"[98] Then Crace opens the next paragraph with: "The temperature dropped further." He sticks to the theme of temperature, but in this paragraph it is not meant literally. Another figure that is combined with theme is the nicknaming. In one of the columns David is called Chippendave, and the whole text is about hitting the gym and taking of his coat. Even the picture shows a David Cameron undressing. An example of this: "Dave bounded out to the centre of the stage, flexing a few biceps curls. Nice. He threw his arms out wide and his jacket slipped to the floor. He only had to tense his pecs and the shirt would have gone, too."[99] After this column, Cameron is called Chippendave several times. So, not only does it hold a connection in one column, it does so in a line of columns.

4.1.3. Crace's Opinion on Brexit

It seems as if Crace is not just satirising the Leave or the Remain campaign in the whole Brexit discussion, he seems to be critical of everyone. When the first column on the referendum appears, it is Cameron who gets the full attention. He is satirised with nicknames, with mock conversations and so on. During the campaign, the focus switches to Boris Johnson. He is

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[98] John Crace, "Britain Stronger in Europe: scary, risky… and that's just the acronym," *The Guardian Online,* Oct 12, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/oct/12/britain-stronger-in-europe-scary-risky-and-thats-just-the-acronym.

[99] John Crace, "Chippendave Cameron gets EU roadshow moving forward in Slough," *The Guardian Online,* Feb 23, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/feb/23/chippendave-cameron-eu-roadshow-moving-forward-slough.

satirised the most and with him the Leave campaign, since Boris is the Leave Campaign's

"blonde poster boy".[100] This is in line with earlier found numbers that Cameron and Boris

dominated the media the most during the Brexit discussion. Not surprisingly, after the

referendum, it is Theresa May who is the centre of attention.

Looking at all the columns, it is the Leave campaign that is criticised the most, but the

Remain side is ridiculed as well. Especially in the beginning of the discussion when Cameron is

the centre of attention. However, most of the time when the Remain campaign is made fun of, the

Leave campaign is said to be even worse. This was the case with the poster boy comment: "It

takes a lot to make David Cameron look the ideal poster boy for the Stay in Europe campaign.

But somehow the Leave Europe campaign has managed to do it."[101] In this way he makes fun of

both campaigns.

After the referendum, the tone of Crace's columns changes. He is not witty and funny

anymore, he is serious and more informative in his texts. This shows that he disagrees with the

outcome of the referendum and that he is actually worried about Britain's future. "Torrential rain

and flash floods in the south; the weather had been as apocalyptic as many of the politician's

more outrageous predictions. Maybe the EU referendum really was the end of days. It was

certainly the end of the campaign."[102] From its context it is clear that Grace does not mean this in

a theatrical way, he really is concerned about the result. This is the first time the reader can

directly read his position in the discussion; the side of the Remainers.

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[100] John Crace, "BoGo's freedom of conscience trumps anything the EU offers," *The Guardian Online,* Feb 23, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/feb/22/bogos-freedom-of-conscience-trumps-anything-the-eu-has-to-offer.

[101] John Crace, "David Davis spells out his EU strategy: be more like Canada," *The Guardian Online,* Feb 4, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/feb/04/david-davis-spells-out-his-eu-strategy-be-more-like-canada.

[102] John Crace, "Referendum day: rain, floods – but at least the shouting was over," *The Guardian Online,* June 24, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/23/referendum-day-rain-floods-but-at-least-the-shouting-was-over.

4.1.4. Form

Crace uses different forms in his columns, but all the forms seem to characterise him. The mock conversations are a style on their own and seem to be style created by Crace. At other times, he uses a more narrative construction; he writes in third person as someone who sees everything and just writes down what he sees, though these experiences are made up. He rarely uses the first person, which is odd for a column, since it is about one's own experience and opinion. In one of his columns, he even makes up a Brexit dictionary with words that are typical for Brexit. This is also as a form of humour and mocking. He rarely directly states what he thinks, he masks his meaning under a veil of humour that mocks the politicians and their actions.

4.1.5. Immigration and Economics

As shown in earlier research, immigration and economics were the main topics of the Brexit discussion and especially used as an argument in the Leave campaign.[103] Therefore, it is also interesting to look at how many times the two topics were mentioned in the columns. Crace does not write about immigration itself and what his opinion is on it, but he does recognise immigration as an important subject of the Leave campaign: "The leave campaign appears to have accepted it has lost the economic argument and has settled on immigration as its big vote winner. Given that the government has missed every immigration target it has set itself, how was the remain camp going to deal with the subject?"[104] Here, Crace states that the reason the Leave campaign started the argument of immigration, is because they could not win with the argument

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[103] Sarah B. Hobolt, "The Brexit Vote: a Divided Nation, a Divided Continent," *Journal of European Public Policy* 23, no. 9 (2016): 1260, doi: 10.1080/13501763.2016.1225785.
[104] John Crace, "Remain camp deploys secret weapon: a Cable and Rudd double act," *The Guardian Online,* June 1, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/01/eu-refendum-remain-secret-weapon-vince-cable-amber-rudd.

of economics. In one of his columns he shows that he finds it ridiculous that immigration is used as the most important argument. He makes fun of George Osborne in the following: "The chancellor hastily pointed to the equation $In(IFDI_{ijt}) = \alpha_{ij} + \alpha_1 In(Y_{jt}) + \alpha_2 In(Y_{jt}) + \alpha_3 In(DIST_{ij}) + \alpha_4 POP_{it} + \alpha_5 POP_{ij} + \alpha_6 COMLANG_{ij} + \alpha_7 COLONY_{ij} + \alpha_8 BORDER_{ij} + \alpha_9 EMU2_{ijt} + \alpha_{10} EMU1_{ijt} + \varepsilon_{ijt} = \alpha_{ij} + \alpha X_{ijt} + \varepsilon_{ijt}$. [105] The equation is a way of exaggerating the difficulty of immigration. It is not a real equitation and it shows that the importance of immigration is overrated. The words such as colony and pop, probably from 'populistic', are just references to important aspects in the Leave campaign. In this way, he shows that immigration is not that important and is therefore not a good fundament to build a whole argumentation on.

In conclusion, John Crace is most likely to be on the Remain side, even though he makes fun of each and every one. The rhetorical figures that he uses the most are intertwined with humour, and therefore he is satirical and indirect about his opinion. He uses wit and fun as a way of addressing the reader and delivering his message.

4.2.1 Glover's Rhetorical Figures

What is most striking when reading Glover's columns after having read Crace's, is the tone of his columns. These are much more serious and do not seem to have a satirical undertone. Therefore, the rhetorical figures that he uses are different, if not absent. I looked at the same rhetorical devices as Crace used, including the ones that were typical of Crace's style of writing. What can be seen is that Glover uses less of figures. There is no humour, no repetition, no irony, and no wordplay. There are also no themes and mock conversations, but this was expected since

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[105] John Crace, "Leave the EU? Osborne calculates that would lead to Armageddon," *The Guardian Online,* April 18, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/apr/18/leave-eu-george-osborne-calculations-lead-to-armageddon.

this was characteristic for Crace. There are, however, some new devices that he uses. Those are: hyperboles, question tags, and numbers and facts.

With hyperboles is meant an obvious exaggerating. In much of his columns he uses the term 'millions' as a number, while the number cannot be a million. Also, he claims that things are 'the worst' or 'most important' ever, he speaks a lot in superlatives. An example of this: "British people will face the most crucial decision they have been asked to make for at least 40 years, and probably since the end of the Second World War."[106] This style is comparable to theatricality, since it is also a way of dramatizing. However, this tone is serious and Glover does not use this to satirise, but to exaggerate the point that he is making and how important this is.

One of de Jong and Andeweg's rhetorical figures was addressing, which means speaking directly to the audience. Glover does this very often, but in a specific way. He speaks to the reader by asking questions to the reader. Sometimes this is in a rhetorical manner, for example with question tags like: "Really?" and in the same column "Do we?"[107] In some cases, though, he answers these questions himself. An example of this is when he asks the following question: "How could a person born at such a time and in such a place not hold Eurosceptic views?"[108] Even before one could think of an answer, Glover already begins the next sentence: "Indeed, apart from a handful of sandal-wearing Lefties with their heads in the clouds, almost everyone over the age of 75 probably thinks the EU constitutes an undemocratic — and unreformable — racket."[109] With the word 'indeed' he implies that every reader would have suggested the same

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[106] Stephen Glover, " Spare us the pious guff, Dave. This is the Christmas message you should have delivered," *The Daily Mail Online,* Dec24, 2015, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3372740/STEPHEN-GLOVER-Spare-pious-guff-Dave-Christmas-message-delivered.html.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Stephen Glover, " I'd be amazed if the Queen wasn't Eurosceptic - and good for her if she had a pop at Cleggie," *The Daily Mail Online,* March 10, 2016, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3485026/STEPHEN-GLOVER-d-amazed-Queen-wasn-t-Eurosceptic-good-pop-Cleggie.html.
[109] Ibid.

thing. Most of these question tags are found as an opening of the column, so they are a way of introducing the topic. Another reason for adding these questions is probably to activate the reader and by answering the questions he gives his opinion. In the data analysis, this form of addressing will be called 'question tags'.

Another device that Glover uses is giving numbers and facts in his columns. Especially percentages on Euroscepticism throughout Europe and numbers on economics. In the column that was published on the day of the referendum, he talks about percentages of people wanting to leave Europe in different countries. "Euroscepticism and loathing for Brussels are on the rise in Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Holland, Denmark, Finland and many other EU countries. Unsurprisingly, they reach their zenith in Greece, where, according to Pew, 71 per cent of respondents have an unfavourable view of the EU."[110] This makes the tone of his columns serious and it is most likely that he uses these data to convince his readers. In the analysis this is called 'numbers and facts'.

Next to devices that are only used by Glover, there are also devices that were found in both Crace's and Glover's columns. The first figure that is used by both is nicknaming. Glover, for example, uses the nickname "blond bombshell" for Boris Johnson.[111] Glover seems to use the nicknames as a way of mocking, but in some contexts the use seems to be more positive, as is the case with the blond bombshell. Contrary to Crace, he rarely mentions the ministers first names. He even calls them Mr. or Mrs. However, the tone of this is almost sarcastic. By calling them Mr.

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[110] Stephen Glover, "Why I'm voting Brexit because it could RESCUE the EU, not destroy it," *The Daily Mail Online,* June 23, 2016, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3655501/STEPHEN-GLOVER-m-voting-Brexit-RESCUE-EU-not-destroy-it.html.

[111] Stephen Glover, "Wild smears against Boris's wife and a crude bid to kill the one man who can swing Brexit," *The Daily Mail Online,* May 19, 2016, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3598039/STEPHEN-GLOVER-Wild-smears-against-Boris-s-wife-crude-bid-kill-one-man-swing-Brexit.html.

or Mrs. he makes fun of the serious position they are in and he implies that they do not do their job correctly. It is used as a way of mocking.

Theatricality was a rhetorical figure that seemed to be typical for Crace, but Glover uses this in some of his columns as well. An example of this is when he talks with almost epic exclamations such as "Praise Be!"[112] It is an exaggeration just as the hyperboles that Glover uses, but were the hyperboles are meant seriously, this is a way of ridiculing certain people.

Directness is already explained in Crace's analysis, but it is more common in Glover's columns. He is much more direct in what he thinks and he speaks his minds literally. "Politicians, of course, have always told falsehoods,"[113] is what he claims. Stating that all politicians do is lying, implying that he is the one who tells the truth. When he is direct, it is mostly negative and with slight exaggerations. The reason for this is probably to persuade the reader from his opinion.

4.2.2. Data

As with the former data, the devices that are not used are left out and Glover's 'new' rhetorical figures are added to the table. Within the period from October 2015 up till December 2016 there are only 22 articles specifically on Brexit. This is due to the fact that Glover also writes about worldwide topics and not only on Brexit, so there are less columns left in the time range.

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[112] Stephen Glover, "Praise be! How sweet it is to hear a PM honour the will of the British people," *The Daily Mail Online,* Oct 3, 2016, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3818867/STEPHEN-GLOVER-Praise-sweet-hear-PM-honour-British-people.html.

[113] Stephen Glover, "Project Fear, untruths on migration, dishonesty by BOTH presidential hopefuls and Blair deceiving us again: How politicians have always perverted the truth but never on this scale," *The Daily Mail Online,* Oct 29, 2016, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3884248/Project-Fear-untruths-migration-dishonesty-presidential-hopefuls-Blair-deceiving-politicians-perverted-truth-never-scale.html.

Table 2: Rhetorical Devices in Stephen Glover's Columns

Rhetorical figure	Number (*n*=22)	Percentage
Question Tag	14	64%
Sarcasm	2	9%
Nicknaming	4	18%
Comparison	3	14%
Quotes	4	18%
Alliteration	3	14%
Theatricality	2	9%
Example	1	5%
Metaphor	3	14%
Direct	9	41%
Hyperbole	7	32%
Facts and numbers	6	27%

What is seen in the table is that the following five figures are used the most: question tag, direct, hyperboles, facts and numbers, and quotes and nicknaming at shared fifth place. These devices, especially the facts and the hyperboles, are there to persuade and activate the reader. All the rhetorical figures are used together to make his plea even stronger. The two devices that are combined the most are his directness together with hyperboles. An example of this is when he states that the both campaigns lacked cohesion: "This has been a dreadful campaign, full of scare stories and lies, and almost totally bereft of anything approximating what might be called statesmanlike vision. I believe our forebears would be ashamed and aghast if they could see the depths to which our great nation has sunk."[114] He starts with stating his opinion and then exaggerates everything by saying that their predecessors would be ashamed. The other devices are not used as a combination, although they are used along each other to add up to Glover's believability and to enlighten his view on the matter. Over all, his tone is very serious and stern, which is caused by the sources he uses and the citations.

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[114] Stephen Glover, "Cameron could scarcely have made a bigger hash of the EU vote if he'd tried," *The Daily Mail Online,* June 16, 2016, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3643995/STEPHEN-GLOVER-Cameron-scarcely-bigger-hash-EU-vote-d-tried.html.

4.2.3. Glover's Opinion on Brexit

Glover is clear about his position in the Brexit discussion. The overall view is that Stephen Glover takes the side of the Leave campaign, but he also talks about Labour or Tories. This implicates that he does not just choose a side in the Brexit discussion, but he chooses a side in the overall political discussion. Glover openly supports the Leave campaign and especially Boris Johnson. Though, sometimes he does criticise him, as in the following statement: "Winston Churchill was a man of boundless political courage. Boris — I hate to say it — has the look of a political coward."[115] He ends the same column with how he still admires Boris. In another column he directly says that David Cameron is the problem: "The fact is that if there is a leading politician who has been an incontinent fount of outrageous and unsubstantiated claims, it is not Boris Johnson but David Cameron."[116] Yet, in another column he says that Cameron does not deserve all the critique and starts blaming Jeremy Corbyn for everything.

Most of his columns are less about the persons involved, but more about subcategories and substantive arguments. He is most clear about his opinion in a column that has the following title: "Why I'm voting Brexit because it could RESCUE the EU, not destroy it."[117] His tone is happier after the referendum, confirming the thought that he supports the Leave side. He is even so excited, that he wants to leave the EU right away. He is concerned that it will take too long before Britain has finally left the EU: "Will Britain ever leave the European Union? Despite the

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[115] Stephen Glover, "Boris must emulate his hero Churchill's courage and lead the 'Out' campaign - or forget about ever being PM," *The Daily Mail Online,* Jan 28, 2016, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3420269/STEPHEN-GLOVER-Boris-emulate-hero-Churchill-s-courage-lead-campaign-forget-PM.html

[116] Stephen Glover, "Cameron could scarcely have made a bigger hash of the EU vote if he'd tried," *The Daily Mail Online,* June 16, 2016, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3643995/STEPHEN-GLOVER-Cameron-scarcely-bigger-hash-EU-vote-d-tried.html.

[117] Stephen Glover, "Why I'm voting Brexit because it could RESCUE the EU, not destroy it," *The Daily Mail Online,* June 23, 2016, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3655501/STEPHEN-GLOVER-m-voting-Brexit-RESCUE-EU-not-destroy-it.html.

appointment last night of leading Brexiteers to the Cabinet, I am still not certain that we will."[118]

Even after the referendum and the result he wanted, he is still not satisfied and wants things to

happen faster.

4.2.4. Form

Throughout his columns, Glover is consistent in the form that he uses. He is direct and

personal. He speaks in the I-form and talks about his opinion, literally opening the sentence with:

"In my opinion…" most of the time. He does not use humour, he wants to convince people and

he does this with facts and numbers. His sentences are shorter and he uses exclamation marks and

capital letters to exaggerate his point. His columns are almost like a plea on what his opinion is

and why other should feel the same about it. He does not change this style into something more

creative like prose or maybe a poem et cetera.

4.2.5. Immigration and economics

What is striking is that much of Glover's columns are not just about Brexit, but he mostly

talks about immigration. In 50% of his Brexit columns, the topic is immigrants and especially on

how Brexit is good for bringing back the numbers of EU immigrants: "Without doubt, the issue

of uncontrolled immigration was a major factor for many of those who voted for Brexit on June

23."[119] He especially mixes his arguments on immigration with facts and numbers: "The

committee pointed out that Italy, whose coastline is 3,000 miles shorter than Britain's, has 600

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[118] Stephen Glover, "If Brexit does mean Brexit, why is Mrs May's new Chancellor saying it'll take six years?," *The Daily Mail Online,* July 14, 2016, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3689255/STEPHEN-GLOVER-Brexit-does-mean-Brexit-Mrs-s-new-Chancellor-saying-ll-six-years.html.
[119] Stephen Glover, "It'll be hard enough to limit legal migrants - but what about the million-plus ILLEGAL ones,"*The Daily Mail Online,* Aug 4, 2016, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3722733/It-ll-hard-limit-legal-migrants-million-plus-ILLEGAL-ones.html.

vessels to protect it from smugglers and illegal immigrants."[120] Another 20% of the columns are about economics. He also uses numbers and facts for this. This is in line with earlier research on the Leave campaign, that their campaign would be focussed on immigration and economics.[121] By using so many numbers, he strengthens the credibility of his arguments and therefore immigration and economics becomes one of Glover's main arguments.

Overall, Glover is direct and personal in what he says. Throughout each column, he gives his own opinion and, even more, he tries to convince others from his opinion. The rhetorical devices that he uses the most fit his goals by creating more credibility in the form of facts, quotes and hyperboles. Next to this, he also tries the activate his reader to start thinking for themselves by asking questions. The nicknames serve as a way of showing both admiration and criticism.

Comparing Glover's analysis to Crace, their style is very different. One is funny and satirical and the other is more serious. The rhetorical devices that they use fit the applied form and therefore differ as well. Crace uses mostly humour and Glover uses facts to deliver his message. A reason for the difference in writing style might be because Crace seems to write his columns mostly for entertainment, while Glover's aim is to persuade and activate the reader. A more detailed conclusion and discussion will follow.

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[120] Stephen Glover, "It'll be hard enough to limit legal migrants - but what about the million-plus ILLEGAL ones,"*The Daily Mail Online,* Aug 4, 2016, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3722733/It-ll-hard-limit-legal-migrants-million-plus-ILLEGAL-ones.html.

[121] Sarah B. Hobolt, "The Brexit Vote: a Divided Nation, a Divided Continent," *Journal of European Public Policy* 23, no. 9 (2016): 1260, doi: 10.1080/13501763.2016.1225785.

Conclusion and Discussion

The results that are drawn from the data indicate that John Crace uses the following rhetorical figures the most, in order from most the least; humour, theme, nicknames, repetition and sarcasm. From these five, three are about adding humour into the column, as well as the other figures that are not in the top five. Because of his use of humour, Crace is less direct in what he thinks about the Brexit discussion, though his opinion can be deduced after reading all the columns. The position that he takes is the Remain side. He delivers his message by being satirical about everyone involved, no matter what side they are on. However, he is more critical of Boris Johnson and his Leave campaign than he is on David Cameron. His position becomes even more clear when reading the columns from the days after referendum. In these columns, his tone becomes more serious and he seems to be worried about Britain's future. The arguments that he uses for his position are not on a certain topic, but they are more about the ministers themselves. He ridicules them by using the rhetorical figures and with this the stances that they take. Crace is creative in his writing style, which also contributes to the message that he wants to deliver and to his humorous way of writing. The goal of his columns is less clear, but it seems as if Crace mostly wants to entertain his audience while giving his opinion, though he does not want to actively persuade the reader. The topics of immigration and economics play a large role in the discussion, but in Crace's columns they come less to the fore. When he does mention them, he is critical of the topics being a valid part of the discussion.

Stephen Glover uses the following rhetorical figures the most: question tags, directness, hyperboles, facts and numbers, nicknaming and quotes. Most of these rhetorical devices are for increasing Glover's credibility and to strengthen his arguments. Especially the numbers and facts add up to this. His style of writing is therefore direct and serious. He is open about his position in

the Brexit discussion; Leave. Everything is written from first-person perspective, which fits the fact that he is open about the position that he takes. The message is delivered by calling out the ministers, or lauding people like Boris Johnson. He tries to scare the readers with facts and hyperboles. After the referendum, he is also worried. Not about Britain's future, but about whether leaving the EU will go fast enough. He uses one form of writing, namely an argumentative column. The goal of his columns is likely to activate the reader and the convince them from his opinion. Since the immigration and economics are specifically a main topic in the Leave campaign, Glover does use the two topics in his plea many times. He states that leaving the European Union can help the problem of too many immigrants and it will also make the British economics fruitful again .

Comparing the two, there are great differences. John Crace uses humour, Stephen Glover uses facts. Crace implies his meaning, Glover directly tells his opinion. Crace writes from a third person perspective, Glover from a first person perspective. Also, their positions in the discussion are different. Crace and *The Guardian* seem to tend to the Remain side and Glover and *The Daily Mail* seem to tend to the Leave side. This is in line with the expectations, *The Guardian* being more of a Labour tabloid and *The Daily Mail* being more of a conservative tabloid. Glover's techniques are the same as seen in the Leave Campaign; using immigration and economics as an argument. Crace was expected to use more wit in his columns and he did this with the use of his rhetorical devices.

Despite the many differences, there are some similarities between the authors. They both frequently give nicknames to the politicians. The reason for this might be that it is a way of ridiculing them, but also because it might attract the reader. The main goal for every newspaper and columnist is still to attract the buyers to read their newspaper. By adding fun elements, the text might become more entertaining and attractive to the reader. Another device that they both

use is theatricality. Again, this device makes the column more fun to read, but Crace also uses it as a way to show sarcasm and Glover is a way of exaggerating.

The main conclusion of the conducted research is that rhetorical figures are a matter of taste and style. Since a column is so personal, it is up to the author what he or she makes of it. It is also a matter of taste which newspaper the reader and the columnist like best, and the columnist probably adapts the style of writing to the newspaper. Crace's style is effective for the audience of *The Guardian* and so is Glover for his *Daily Mail* audience. *The Guardian's* audience probably prefers wit and therefore sarcasm, irony and other forms of humour. *The Daily Mail's* audience is probably more fond of the direct way of addressing the reader with asking questions and giving facts. There is no way to find out which rhetorical figures and style of writing works best, because it all depends on the reader. This is also were the difficulty lies with this research; it is all a matter of taste and interpretation. Rhetoric is something personal, as already said in earlier research on columns. The interpretation of the devices differs per reader. The outcomes suggested here are most likely to be different when read by someone else. Besides, because the rhetorical devices are not read in isolation but seen as an interpretation of the whole column, each interpretation of the whole is different. This is expected since interpretation is the whole reason why columns are not examined so much. A way to decrease this personal bias is by doing the research with more analysists. After the analysists examined the columns, the results can be compared and a mean can be calculated.

Another problem of the analysis might be the number of columns. The intention was to look at columns from the start of 2015, but there were none. It was also the goal to look at columns up till the end of 2017. The problem with this was that there were not much of them, especially in *The Daily Mail.* If there were columns on the topic, they were not about the discussion anymore but more on how Theresa May did as a Prime Minster. Therefore, the

number of columns is less than expected and the percentages might not be the same as when there were more texts. Also, the amount of *Guardian* columns was double the amount *Daily Mail* columns, therefore, it is not an even comparison. *The Daily Mail* needs less occurrences of rhetorical figures to have a higher percentage. If the amount of columns were almost the same, the results would have been more trustworthy.

Something that was taken into account in de Jong and Andeweg's study was the length of the speeches. In this way, the number of rhetorical figures per thousand words was calculated. This gives an even more realistic depiction of how many times a figure is used. In my study, I tried to prevent an unrealistic view of the number by giving a relative number rather than an absolute number. However, de Jong and Andeweg's method is even more precise. Another reason why they were more precise was because they used statistics instead of percentages. With their use of ANOVA they could see whether the differences were significant. In my study, it was just up to me whether or not I found the distinguishes important enough.

One of the main findings was that the rhetorical figures served as a tool for the form of the column. The facts and numbers, for example, amplified the argumentative form in Glover's columns. What may be a follow-up study is to look more at these forms and their corresponding rhetorical figures. This can be done by looking at different columns with the same style, for example the narrative third person form such as Crace's, and find out whether they utilise the same figures. If there is overlap, certain devices might be linked to a certain form, making it easier to categorise columns and interpret them.

A conclusion of the research was that Glover, who is on the Leave side, is more direct while Crace, who is on the Remain side, is more indirect. It is interesting to look at columns from different authors who are on the same side in the discussion to find out whether they use the same directness or indirectness and figures. With this study one can determine whether rhetoric and

opinion are linked. It can be taken even further by looking at different authors in the same newspaper. Are the rhetorical figures used throughout the whole newspaper and does every columnist have to same political opinion? With a study like this, one can see how strongly the author and the newspaper are related. This study will be much broader and bigger and is therefore something that might be an extensive master study.

Hopefully, this thesis is a start to fill the gap that there is in the theory of rhetorical figures in columns. There are many new studies that can build up on the results found in this study. There is so much more to find on different aspects, one could focus on authors, newspapers, rhetorical figures, form or meaning. I think the theory of columns is an interesting one and one that is relevant since columns are an important medium in modern day society. Columns are neglected because they are so personal and open for various interpretations, but I believe it is all the more reason to look at it more closely. Maybe, the interpretation and value of columns can open a new discussion for even more columns.

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