To what extent were the politics of national identity and populism reflected in Vote Leave's audiovisual advertisements, and how were rhetorical appeals employed to engage with these concepts?

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ABSTRACT

The UK’s 2016 referendum on EU membership has proven to be the most momentous political event in recent decades, producing profound effects upon both the private and public lives of citizens across the nation. Since the 'Leave' result was announced, a great deal of attention has been devoted towards establishing the various factors which influenced this outcome. The politics of national identity and populism have widely been identified as playing an important role in the formation of Eurosceptic attitudes and, subsequently, shaping the referendum result. As such, a more detailed study of these concepts is required. The primary issues associated with both populism and national identity are identified as patriotism, nationalism, anti-elitism and sovereignty; therefore, Vote Leave's advertisements are examined with a view to establishing the extent to which these particular themes were employed. The four themes are all utilised, however, findings suggest that they were not featured equally within Vote Leave’s advertisements. Appeals to anti-elitism and patriotism were employed as main themes in several advertisements, whereas, surprisingly, the issues of immigration and sovereignty were not. Therefore, a rhetorical analysis was applied to advertisements which used anti-elitism and patriotism as main themes. Using Aristotle’s three modes of persuasion – ethos, pathos and logos – as a framework, this thesis then examines the ways in which credibility, emotion and logic are employed to maximise the persuasive effect of these adverts and encourage audiences to vote Leave.

INTRODUCTION

The United Kingdom’s decision to withdraw from European Union (EU) membership was announced in the early hours of June 24th 2016, news that concurrently produced public feelings of elation and despair in almost equal measure. Surprise at this result, however, was a largely universal response from both sides of the campaign. Indeed, just hours
before the announcement, even pro-Leave figurehead Nigel Farage seemed to concede defeat, stating it “looks like Remain will edge it” (Spector et. al, 2016, no pagination). In the aftermath of the ‘Brexit’ vote, therefore, a great deal of attention has been devoted towards establishing the major factors which contributed towards this rather unexpected and momentous political event. Media pundits, politicians and academics have all discussed these factors extensively and from various different perspectives. These explorations have highlighted the complex nature of the referendum and demonstrate the interrelationship between many contemporary economic, social, cultural and political issues. However, while it seems that the Leave victory was influenced by a complicated network of factors, examination of the result has identified how the politics of national identity and populism played a dominant role in the referendum in particular. Research conducted by Carey (2002) demonstrated how perceptions of national identity are important in determining attitudes towards the European Union (p. 387), an observation which has since been echoed by many scholars who all note that Leave voters tend to possess significantly stronger notions of national identity than those who supported Remain (Curtice, 2016; Hobolt, 2016; Swales, 2016; Ashcroft et. al, 2016; Clarke et. al, 2017). In addition, many academics have acknowledged the rise of right-wing populism in British politics in recent years (Moffitt et. al, 2014; Vines, 2015; Berman, 2016; Deacon et. al, 2016) and recognise that populist appeals played an instrumental role in mobilising a core group of Leave voters (Goodwin et. al, 2016; Freeden, 2017; Newman et. al, 2017). In light of these findings, it therefore seems important to better understand how concepts of national identity and populism were used in media content throughout the referendum campaign.

This thesis will focus on the campaign of the ‘official’ pro-Leave group, ‘Vote Leave’, with
specific analysis of their audiovisual appeals which were widely disseminated across social media platforms and used in the referendum's television broadcasts. In order to place this thesis in the correct context, the theoretical framework will first examine the historical relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union, with a view to gaining insight into the political dynamics which formed the foundation of the Leave vote. Furthermore, the politics of national identity and populism must also be explored in greater detail so as to establish the primary arguments which shape these discourses. A brief examination of political advertising will also be explored, in order to better understand the major features of persuasion which are employed in this arena. Finally, Vote Leave's advertisements will be studied using a rhetorical analysis, where Aristotle's three modes of persuasion – ethos, pathos and logos (credibility, emotion, logic) – will provide a framework for discussion. In sum, the aim of this thesis is to establish the extent to which the themes surrounding the politics of national identity and populism were reflected within advertisements, and then examine the ways in which these themes were enhanced through the rhetorical tools of ethos, pathos and logos.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A History of British Euroscepticism: Context of the Referendum

For the purposes of this paper and the analysis of themes within the Vote Leave campaign, it is first important to recognise the broader context of the referendum itself. As such, an exploration of the historical relationship between the UK and the EU, and the presence of Euroscepticism within British politics is necessary. In 1990, George (1990) described Britain as the EU’s ‘awkward partner’, reluctant to fully engage with the
European project and principally opposed to the political structure of the Union. This observation has garnered significant academic attention over subsequent years, with authors examining Britain’s complex relationship with the EU and discussing the roots of British Euroscepticism. Wall (2008) suggests that British opposition towards European intervention in domestic policy can be traced back to the Tudor era, as Henry VIII’s Reformation was not only a rejection of Roman Catholicism but of Continental encroachment as well (p. 205). Indeed, by breaking with Rome and establishing the Church of England, King Henry ‘tapped into a popular sense of England’s island identity which has stayed with us ever since’ (Wall, 2008, p. 205). It is this perception of national identity - both political and cultural - which has formed the basis of Eurosceptic attitudes since Britain became a member of the EU in 1973. Daddow et. al (2016) suggest there are several factors which have contributed towards the UK’s ‘awkward’ relationship with its European neighbours; these include Britain’s difficulties in adjusting to the EU’s methods of governance, a historical tendency to favour the British Commonwealth, and a sense of nostalgia which has fuelled negative attitudes towards particular member states and produced a lack of enthusiasm for greater EU integration (no pagination). In particular, Gifford (2008; 2014) cites the decay of British imperialism as a catalyst for the formation of attitudes which have subsequently been expressed through a rise in populist politics and, ultimately, Euroscepticism. Within a ‘context of imperial decline’, Britain has consistently sought to redefine its national identity as a powerful and influential state (Gifford, 2008, p. 10). This objective is difficult to achieve when the nation is part of a political and economic union which can exercise considerable power over Britain from across the Channel. As a result, pessimistic attitudes towards the European Community have been reinforced over time and permeated mainstream British politics. The tendency of British politicians to
appease Eurosceptic voters has landed them with a persistent struggle to make a positive case in favour of EU membership. Indeed, Buller (1995) observes how ‘British governments have continually and consistently failed to embrace the federal European project’ (p. 38). This is arguably the key distinction between British Euroscepticism and that of other member states; that opposition to the EU has been a longstanding and mainstream feature of British politics, transcending party boundaries and motivating politicians on both the left and right of the political spectrum to engage with voters through Eurosceptic messages. Indeed, Blumler (2016) draws comparisons between the 1975 and 2016 membership referendums, observing how ‘both major parties were divided on the issues… hence the formation of cross-party umbrella organisations to do battle with each other’ (p. 11). This demonstrates the various perspectives from which Eurosceptics view the EU as a threat to British culture and domestic governance.

With regards to the background of the 2016 referendum in particular, observations suggest that the period following the 2010 General Election produced a noticeable manifestation of Euroscepticism within British politics. An intake of Conservative MPs ‘for whom Euroscepticism was a matter of political faith’ (Gifford, 2014, p. 512) facilitated the growth and influence of this faction already present in parliament, while the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) gained ‘serious momentum’ from 2011 onwards (Ford et. al, 2014, p. 3). Both these circumstances put significant pressure upon the government to place the issue of EU membership high on the political agenda. Thus, a form of Euroscepticism emerged which was perhaps more pronounced than ever before. For some people, this political phenomenon provided David Cameron with justification to grant the British people a referendum on EU membership, while others voiced opposition to a
potentially risky manoeuvre which ‘followed a decade or so during which the net rating… of the EU became significantly more negative in the UK’ (Menon et. al, 2016, p. 175).

Furthermore, Cameron’s promise to renegotiate a better deal for Britain’s EU membership in February 2016 is now widely viewed as a major miscalculation. Glencross (2016) suggests that the media’s portrayal of the negotiations being ‘under the tutelage of German Chancellor Merkel’ further damaged British pride and national identity, creating the impression that Britain was being bossed around by Germany (p. 19). Ultimately, the government’s renegotiated terms fell short of Eurosceptics’ expectations and only reinforced perceptions that the EU wielded too much power over Britain and was unwilling to reform. Swales (2016) has conducted a detailed analysis of the referendum vote, producing findings which highlight the complex nature of British Euroscepticism. Part of this complexity comes down to the fact that voting intentions were not decided in accordance with traditional party affiliations. Conventional left-right politics were not engaged within the debate and therefore the referendum should be viewed as a battle of ‘identity’ politics rather than party politics (Swales, 2016, p. 2). In this sense, the EU referendum result is a symptom of the ‘culture wars’ which have been playing out in Britain for some time (Swales, 2016, p. 27). Again, this observation demonstrates how populist rhetoric and national identity played central roles in shaping this political event. This brief exploration of British Euroscepticism has highlighted how such attitudes have permeated and influenced British politics for decades, and allows for a greater understanding of the context of the referendum debate. As previously noted, this widespread British Euroscepticism has been largely expressed through concerns surrounding national identity and manifested within populist rhetoric. Therefore, the next step is to examine these themes in greater depth.
The Politics of National Identity

The aim of this thesis is to examine the role of populist rhetoric and the politics of national identity within the Vote Leave campaign. In order to undertake this study, it is therefore important to establish what I mean by each of these concepts in terms of this thesis and why these themes are relevant in the context of the referendum. Sandelind (2015) notes the complex concept of national identity by explaining that it ‘means different things to different people’ (no pagination). These differences, she observes, determine whether or not one possesses an ‘ethnic-cultural identity’ or a ‘civic national identity’. The former are more likely to feel negative towards immigration since they tend to emphasise the importance of being born in Britain and conforming to British culture, whereas the latter are more concerned with respecting British values and institutions (Sandelind, 2015, no pagination). This explanation demonstrates how the concept of national identity encompasses elements of both nationalism and patriotism. Viroli (1997) discusses this point and is keen to highlight the distinction between the two; while nationalism stresses an attachment to the ethnic and cultural ‘homogeneity of a nation, patriotism refers to the love of the republic and the political institutions that sustain it’ (p. 1). Hence, a strong sense of national identity does not necessarily encompass both of these attitudes; one can possess strong feelings of patriotism without also possessing xenophobic inclinations and an objection to immigration. While nationalism and patriotism generally concern the cultural and social aspects of national identity, arguments surrounding political national identity are usually expressed in terms of sovereignty. Indeed, those who advocate sovereignty primarily seek to maintain the independent political identity of their home nation. It is important to note that there can be a nationalist element to some sovereignty
arguments since, as Barker (1994) notes, in most instances, a foreign body is identified as the main obstacle to achieving national independence (p. 135). However, even in these cases, the concern is not so much with the cultural or social differences of the foreign body, but more the fact that a nation should possess political autonomy. Ultimately, conceptions of national identity can be expressed and categorised in various ways, however the predominant themes which emerge are patriotism, nationalism – generally expressed through an opposition to immigration – and sovereignty. As such, these themes will all be of interest when examining Vote Leave’s advertisements.

With regards to the 2016 EU referendum in particular, many academics have unearthed important findings which demonstrate the role of national identity in greater detail. Years before the referendum, Carey (2002) observed how strong feelings of national identity significantly shape and influence attitudes towards the European Union and further EU integration. This argument was supported by Wellings (2010) who recognised a strong correlation between Euroscepticism and individuals who identified themselves as ‘English’ rather than ‘British’ or ‘European’. It is therefore not particularly surprising that, since June 23rd, many scholars have concluded that arguments surrounding conceptualisations of national identity were widely cited as major political issues for Leave voters. Indeed, Swales (2016) notes that while objective demographics give an indication of voting preferences, subjective feelings of national identity were ‘equally, if not more strongly, associated with the Leave vote’ (p. 2). According to both Hobolt (2016) and Clarke et. al (2017), individuals who subscribe to an exclusive national identity - particularly those who identify as ‘English’ - were significantly more likely to vote Leave than Remain. In line with these findings, a range of scholars (Ashcroft et. al, 2016; Goodwin et. al, 2016; Seabrook,
2016; Stoker et. al, 2016; Swales, 2016) all note that many Leave voters view immigration as a threat to national identity and the primary cause of the ‘dilution of national character’ (Seabrook, 2016, no pagination). Indeed, 88 per cent of individuals who believed immigration was the most important political issue in the referendum campaign voted Leave, with a genuine belief that leaving the EU would lead to a fall in immigration (Swales, 2016, p. 13). In contrast to these arguments, less nationalistic expressions of national identity were also evident throughout the referendum debate. Various pro-Leave arguments often placed emphasis upon traditional British alliances with the Commonwealth, suggesting that Britain should explore trading relationships with countries across the world instead of focusing on the EU bloc. Gifford (2014) has observed that these kinds of messages allow for a greater breadth of appeal and mean that ‘Eurosceptics cannot be dismissed as out of touch, narrow nationalists, or ‘little Englanders’ because… they remain open to transnational alliances’ (p. 522). In addition, a great deal of campaigning was devoted to the NHS, one of Britain’s most cherished institutions. These arguments can be seen as reflections of more civic and patriotic expressions of national identity. Furthermore, studies have confirmed that Leave voters placed the issue of sovereignty just above immigration on the political agenda (Freeden, 2017, p. 8; Swales, 2016, p. 13). These individuals believed that there had been a gradual erosion of British political independence and wanted to ensure that the law-making process was firmly rooted in Westminster (Swales, 2016, p. 5). In sum, it is evident that each element of national identity previously discussed significantly contributed to the EU referendum result.
The Politics of Populism

In addition to national identity, as previously noted, Euroscepticism is often manifested within populist political movements. Therefore, it is necessary to examine populism in greater detail with a view to establishing the ways in which populist rhetoric was employed throughout the referendum campaign. Strictly speaking, populism is a neutral ideology, primarily concerned with promoting the best interests of the ‘ordinary’ working individual. However, despite this apparently simple objective, it is a complex and multidimensional political expression. For many academics, the primary characteristic of a populist party is its appeal to ‘the people’ and a clear opposition to ‘elites’ who are perceived as ‘depriving (or attempting to deprive) the sovereign people of their rights, values, prosperity, identity and voice’ (Albertazzi et. al, 2008, p. 3). Regarding the specific demographics that tend to engage with the politics of populism, DiTella (1965) notes that populism is ‘a political movement which enjoys the support of the mass working class and/or peasantry…. it is also supported by non-working class sectors upholding an anti-status quo ideology’ (p. 47). From this observation, it is evident that populism has a potentially extensive and widespread appeal since it's predominant message can resonate with masses of any given population and even cut across the class divide. The language of populist rhetoric which focuses upon contrasting ‘the people’ with ‘the elites’ is of particular interest to academics since it is so vague and yet apparently so effective. Canovan (1981) explains that ‘the people’ is an invaluable phrase for politicians because it ‘manages to be both empty of precise meaning and full of rhetorical resonance’; the term manages to convey ‘a sense of solidarity and harmony’ without ever establishing to whom exactly it refers (pp. 285-286). By employing this kind of rhetoric, politicians are able to broaden their appeal by creating connections with a large group of voters. Populist opposition towards ‘elites’ generally
argues that those in positions of power are detached from the majority of the population, and disinterested in promoting the best interests of the masses. Often, these messages even engage with discourses that imply these ‘elites’ are unaccountable, corrupt and immoral. Regarding the EU referendum, several studies and scholars suggest that Leave voters used the ballot box to express their frustrations with politicians. Hobolt (2016) observes how the referendum played out as a ‘battle between ordinary people and the political establishment, in line with the populist idea of a fundamental division between ‘the pure people’ and the ‘corrupt elite’ (p. 1266). Many voters believed that EU politicians were unaware of the local issues and cultural traditions which were important to them. This is supported by Dodds (2016) and Newman et. al (2017) who argue that many Leave voters felt abandoned and betrayed by both the Brussels and Westminster political establishments. Indeed, Swales (2016) found that individuals who agreed with the statement ‘politicians don’t listen to people like me’ were significantly more likely to vote Leave than Remain (p. 20).

Anti-elitism is largely understood as the primary strand of populist ideology, however, there is another element of populist discourse which has become increasingly obvious over recent decades. While Moffitt et. al (2014) stress that populism can be a feature of parties both on the left and the right of the political spectrum, McGuigan (2002) notes the term ‘populism’ is now mostly associated with right-wing organisations and nearly always carries negative connotations (p. 1). Indeed, the rise of right-wing populism across Europe - and Britain in particular - in the past decade has been noted by many academics (Moffitt et. al, 2014; Vines, 2015; Berman, 2016; Deacon et. al, 2016). In some ways, this form of populism has many parallels with nationalistic expressions of national identity. Berman
(2016) has observed how some populist rhetoric has become increasingly shaped by elements of nationalism which oppose globalisation and express ‘xenophobic rejections of foreigners’ (p. 188). As such, populist rhetoric exercises not only an anti-elitist discourse, but also arguments which relate to an ‘us versus them’ attitude regarding migrants. In this sense, populism can often encompass an element of right-wing nationalism, which also demonstrates the notable overlap between the politics of populism and national identity. This brief examination of populism and national identity has uncovered the main themes of these two political and cultural discourses. It will be interesting to examine the extent to which these themes - patriotism, nationalism (primarily opposition to immigration), anti-elitism and sovereignty – were reflected within Vote Leave’s advertisements, as well as the ways in which rhetorical appeals presented them.

Persuasion in Political Advertising

Political advertising has become an essential process within democratic societies because it is the means through which political parties and pressure groups can communicate their messages and persuade audiences. Indeed, Garnham (2004) notes that the mediation of political advertisements ‘lies at the heart of the democratic process’ (p. 357). These methods of political communication are therefore hugely important for the welfare of society, acting as the provision of information upon which people develop their political affiliations and cast their votes. In an ideal world, one may argue that communicative material with such consequential power should be solely objective and factual in order to truly facilitate democracy, however, in reality, the primary feature of political advertisements
is persuasion. This is supported by Kaid et. al (2001) who observe that ‘the essence of politics is ‘talk’ or human interaction… such interaction may be formal or informal, verbal or nonverbal, public or private, but it is always persuasive (p. viii). As such, it useful to examine the various elements of persuasion which are present within political advertising.

Today we live in increasingly mediated societies, meaning that the major contemporary modes of political communication are audiovisual. Richardson (2002) has observed this, explaining that ‘each new generation of campaign advertising is marked by ever more skilled uses of audiovisual rhetoric’ (no pagination). For this reason, political advertisements on television and online platforms have received significant recognition from many scholars. Audiovisual messages utilise both language and imagery by nature, a combination which Alps (2006) believes offers the most effective and persuasive means of communicating with audiences (p. 22). The rhetorical value of language has been documented for centuries with particular attention being paid to devices such as assonance, hyperbole, metaphors and repetition as methods of enhancing persuasion. Indeed, Schmidt et. al (1986) note that ‘language appears to be one of the most overt and easily identified features’ within persuasive encounters (p. 1). However, according to several other scholars, the rhetorical merit of imagery has been comparatively neglected. With regards to political rhetoric in particular, visual content has long been a central component of political advertising, playing a central role in constructing the image of politicians and campaigns (Schill, 2012, p. 118). This is supported by Baker (2009) who states that visual messages within politics are now more important than ever (p. xxiv). Imagery is so widely employed because it possesses a quality which allows audiences to connect with visual messages in ways which are more immediate than with language. As
Schill (2012) observes, visual content is ‘uniquely equipped’ to produce an almost instantaneous emotional response, and this effect is even more pronounced with moving imagery than with the still (pp. 126-127). This highlights the importance of studying the content of political audiovisual advertisements in particular.

Since political advertising is a persuasive endeavour, it seems appropriate to engage with Aristotle’s ‘Rhetoric’, a renowned study of persuasion which also highlights the close relationship between rhetorical tools and political communication. Within these writings, Aristotle outlined his modes of persuasion - ethos, pathos and logos - which have been used as guidelines in the study of rhetoric ever since. The ethos of an argument is related to the character of the individual or collective body promoting a particular message. In order to effectively persuade audiences, the source of the message must be portrayed as reliable and credible. According to Finlayson et. al (2014), the ethos of a political argument may be established by emphasising the qualities of honesty, decency, intelligence or kindness of a political figure, but importantly may also demonstrate that the individual ‘understands and appreciates the life and experience of those to whom they are speaking, [and] the extent to which they… share such experience’ (p. 7). This latter point is interesting because it suggests how ethos helps to create a more meaningful connection with audiences by portraying similarities between the candidate and voters. With regards to this thesis, this observation is especially significant as it relates to the language of populism. Indeed, as previously noted, anti-elitism and ‘us versus them’ depictions are key characteristics of this political style, and populist leaders are generally careful to place themselves within the virtuous ‘us’ category to enhance their message. Aristotle’s second mode of persuasion is pathos, the element of an argument that concerns emotional
appeals. Emotions are powerful tools for advertisers since, they are able to ‘attach’ to the personalities and experiences of the audience in a unique fashion (Diamond et. al, 1984, p. 133). Baker (2009) observes that today, political advertisements are especially ‘constructed to appeal to our emotions, not our intellect’ (p. xxiv). Emotive appeals are effective at forming meaningful connections between a political cause and the electorate; as such, they are largely regarded as central to the effectiveness of political campaigns (Brader, 2005, p. 388). These kinds of advertisements employ emotive rhetoric in order to evoke feelings such as fear, anxiety, anger, pride, disgust, joy and nostalgia which will resonate with the audience and therefore maximise persuasive effect. Finally, logos is the last of Aristotle’s modes of persuasion; ‘this is a form of quasi-logical appeal rooted in the pre-existing opinions of the public being addressed’ (Finlayson et. al, 2014, p. 7). In contrast to pathos, logos is associated with using reason as a means of bolstering an argument. Within political advertisements, logical proof relies upon factual information and other more objective, statistical data to substantiate the point (Kaid et. al, 2006, p. 450).

Often, logos requires the viewer or listener to use their own intelligence or skills of deduction in order to interpret information and follow an argument. Finlayson et. al (2014) explain that the rhetorical value of a logical claim relies upon there being a premise already existing within, and supplied by the audience itself (p. 8). In this sense, logos can require greater engagement from the audience than appeals to ethos or pathos, and also means that political leaders or parties must be confident that the listener has sufficient prior understanding of a subject in order to process the argument in the desired way.

Through discussing the various tools of persuasion which are employed in political advertising, this thesis has been provided with the necessary foundation upon which the content of Vote Leave’s audiovisual advertisements can be compared and examined.
METHODOLOGY

In order to conduct a fair study of Vote Leave’s broadcast content, it was necessary to source as many of the organisation’s advertisements as possible. I established that there were ten different short films used for the official referendum television broadcasts and displayed on Vote Leave’s online media platforms. Each advertisement was carefully analysed to correctly determine the themes and messages within each one. A brief description of each advertisement is presented in figure 1:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Duration</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 British ‘Heroes’</td>
<td>Describes the various technological, scientific and political contributions made by notable British individuals throughout history. The advertisement encourages viewers to feel pride in their home nation and ignore ‘those who talk Britain down’.</td>
<td>00:01:50</td>
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<td>2 £50m Competition</td>
<td>An unusual format; starts by promoting a real competition whereby entrants could win £50m by correctly guessing the outcome of matches in the 2016 European Football Championships. Two builders – Gary and Kevin – are portrayed in the pub, discussing the EU and the competition. In the next scene they are depicted in a large house with expensive paintings; the elite class are subtly mocked before the two men begin talking about the financial rewards which EU bureaucrats enjoy.</td>
<td>00:02:24</td>
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<td>3 ‘Meet Mark Carney’</td>
<td>Focuses on Mark Carney (Governor of the Bank of England) and his close affiliation with senior politicians and financial institutions. The</td>
<td>00:01:29</td>
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<td></td>
<td>advertisement seeks to highlight the alleged corruption of Carney and Goldman Sachs who it cites are responsible for the 2008 financial crash. It is also stated that Goldman Sachs has a vested interest in the UK remaining part of the EU.</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Turkey's accession</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Brief sequence with no visuals, just white wording on a black background; the narrator states that the Prime Minister, David Cameron, 'cannot be trusted on Turkey' and is actively involved in facilitating Turkey's accession to the EU.</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>'David Cameron cannot be trusted' [Turkey accession extended]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>An extended advertisement with the same premise as above; that 'David Cameron cannot be trusted on Turkey'. Cameron's apparently contradictory positions on Turkey's EU accession are portrayed. Initially he is depicted explaining that Turkey's membership 'is not remotely on the cards'; this is followed by a split screen which places footage of the Turkish parliament in chaos next to Cameron giving a speech where he claims that he wants to help Turkey 'pave the road from Ankara to Brussels'.</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>EU Brussels to Strasbourg</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Seeks to highlight the wastefulness of the EU by explaining the move of the EU parliament from Brussels to Strasbourg every month. The narrator explains how the logistics of this move cost huge sums of money and have negative impacts on the environment.</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>'Who do you trust?'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Depicts various politicians such as Edward Heath, Margaret Thatcher, Harold Wilson, John Major and Tony Blair, outlining their positions on Britain's EU membership and the various promises that were made. After each statement, the following frame</td>
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demonstrates how this promise was reneged upon, suggesting that politicians cannot be trusted.

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>NHS 'in danger'</th>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Focuses on the NHS, explaining the important place of the institution within British society as it 'protects us throughout our lives'. It is then claimed that the NHS 'is in danger' and that viewer can save the NHS by voting to leave the European Union.</td>
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<th>NHS: in vs out of EU</th>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Portrays what seems to be a mother and daughter relationship; the mother appears to be unwell so the younger woman takes her to hospital. The screen is split in half for the subsequent duration of the advertisement, comparing the hospital experience inside versus outside of the EU. Inside the EU, the waiting room appears more cramped, the nurses are stressed and there is a long waiting time; outside the EU, there are fewer patients in the waiting room, the nurses are smiling and the mother can be seen almost immediately by a doctor.</td>
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<th>St. Thomas Hospital</th>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Opening sequence displays St. Thomas Hospital in London apparently disintegrating into flames with building debris flying high into the air. A vibrant graphic representation of Europe then appears, showing the flags of each country, and dialogue begins; 'Every week the United Kingdom sends 350 million pounds of taxpayers' money to the EU...that's the cost of a fully-staffed, brand new hospital'. This sum is then discussed in terms of the UK's education and science and research budgets. It is suggested that this money could instead be used to build new schools and hospitals, invest in</td>
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</table>
After examining the content of every advertisement, five separate themes were discovered; anti-elitism/betrayal, sovereignty, nationalism (opposition to immigration), patriotism/British pride, and economic concerns (primarily the notion that money sent to the EU was being squandered). The main theme and sub-theme(s) of each advertisement were then identified; these results are displayed in figure 2. The aim of this thesis is to examine the extent to which the politics of national identity and populism were reflected in Vote Leave's advertisements, and to understand how rhetorical appeals were applied to them, therefore a qualitative method of analysis is required. Within the theoretical framework, it was established that political advertising is a primarily persuasive endeavour, as such, rhetorical analysis emerges as an appropriate methodology. Rhetorical analysis is a form of textual analysis; texts being, in this sense, 'literary and visual constructs' which create meaning (Hall, 1975, p. 17). Selzer (2003) defines rhetorical analysis as an interpretive methodology which seeks to fully understand the studied message and examine 'how that message is crafted to earn a particular response' (p. 282). This can result in the comprehensive evaluation of any given text, however, it is important to note the potential limitations of this method as well. As an interpretive activity, rhetorical analysis is generally a personal reading of material, which means that there will oftens be an element of subjectivity within the results of the analysis itself. This is supported by Selzer (2003), who observes that one must be aware that their rhetorical analysis 'will always be somewhat partial and incomplete, ready to be deepened, corrected, modified, and extended by the insights of others' (p. 303). In order to provide a more objective foundation for this methodology, Brennen (2013) explains that rhetoricians must have a
thorough understanding of the context of their material, considering the relationships between the text and its producer as well as the intended audience and desired reception of the text (p. 215). Indeed, Howell (1991) also emphasises the importance of placing a text within its broader context. He recognises that critically assessing material which has been 'isolated' and artificially fixed is problematic, since the meaning of a text is greatly influenced by ‘the network of relations in which it is articulated’ (p. 261). With regards to political advertising, Johnston (2006) observes that rhetorical analysis is particularly useful for examining how content is connected to larger factors and outside influences of a campaign (p. 17). This further highlights the relevance of this methodology for this thesis, since the aim is to establish the ways in which the politics of national identity and populism have been reflected in Vote Leave’s advertisements. Without acknowledging the context of the Vote Leave’s broadcasts and the various political and social factors at work, it would be hard to establish any meaningful analysis of the material at hand. As previously discussed, Aristotle’s three modes of persuasion - ethos, pathos and logos - can provide a useful structure for a rhetorical analysis. Indeed, Dean (2005), English et. al (2011) and Bronstein (2013) have all employed this methodology for their research into different instances of political advertising. In particular, just months after the referendum result, Crines (2016) used the Aristotelian framework for his brief analysis of the referendum campaign. Within this thesis, the three modes of persuasion will also be used as guideline for discussion since they comprise the main elements of rhetorical appeal.

The audiovisual nature of the advertisements under analysis means that they comprise both language and imagery, therefore both of these elements must be assessed. When examining the rhetorical effect of language, rhetoricians should try to understand how
arguments are reinforced through the use of linguistic devices such as hyperbole, repetition, metaphors and metonyms which enhance analogies and associations (Brennen, 2013, p. 215). In addition, inclusive language such as 'we', 'us' and 'you' all directly appeal to the viewer or listener, making them part of the narrative and creating a connection between the speaker and the audience. As previously discussed, the rhetorical value of imagery has often been overlooked in the study of persuasion, however, scholars have identified several key points which could be considered when undertaking a rhetorical analysis of visual content. When examining imagery within a rhetorical context, the researcher can pay attention to a whole range of various components. Brennen (2013) notes that visual elements such as colours and typefaces are often of interest to rhetoricians (p. 216) while Berger (1998) recognises that ‘balance’ - ‘the physical arrangement' - of imagery is also important (p. 73). Here, Berger (1998) contrasts formal and informal balance; the former possesses a static quality, with 'sophistication, elegance, and understatement', while the latter ‘tends to be more visually exciting’ (p. 74). Hill (2004) notes that visual content is a central element of political advertising, and claims that a vast range of visual materials can be productively examined to establish their rhetorical merit, however, ‘representational images… that represent a recognizable person, object or situation’ have particular rhetorical value as they influence the ‘beliefs, attitudes, opinions and sometimes actions of those who view them’ (p. 25). As opposed to more abstract imagery, the majority of political advertisements will use representational visual content which can instantaneously evoke associations, emotional responses and meaning.
**FINDINGS**

**Initial Results**
After initially analysing all of Vote Leave's audiovisual advertisements, five main themes were established, these are displayed in figure 2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description/Theme</th>
<th>Anti-elitism: betrayal, corruption, distrust</th>
<th>Patriotism/pride</th>
<th>Nationalism: Immigration opposition</th>
<th>Sovereignty</th>
<th>Economics: money sent to EU 'wasted'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 British 'Heroes'</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2 £50m Competition</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>3 'Meet Mark Carney'</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>4 Turkey accession</td>
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<tr>
<td>5 'David Cameron cannot be trusted' [Turkey accession extended]</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 EU Brussels to Strasbourg</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 'Who do you trust?'</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8 NHS 'in danger'</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 NHS: in vs out of EU</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 St. Thomas Hospital</td>
<td></td>
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Key: X = main theme; x = sub-theme(s)  

Four of these themes - anti-elitism/betrayal, nationalism, sovereignty and patriotism - have
already been identified in the theoretical framework as major elements of the politics of national identity and populism. This finding in itself reflects the extent to which these discourses played a central role in the referendum campaign. Results from figure 2 demonstrate that seven of the ten advertisements can be categorised as using one of these four topics as the main theme. Furthermore, eight out of ten use at least one of these four themes as a sub-theme. Given that the politics of national identity and populism have been widely recognised as influencing the Leave vote, one may have expected that the themes of sovereignty, anti-elitism, patriotism and nationalism would each dominate at least one advertisement, however this does not seem to be the case.

Anti-elitism is the most frequently employed appeal, identified as the main theme within five out of the ten advertisements. This is an interesting result which highlights the populist nature of Vote Leave's appeals. Patriotism was noted as a main theme in two advertisements, but is expressed in different ways. In contrast, nationalism (opposition to immigration) and sovereignty were not identified as main themes in any advertisement. This is an unexpected finding since both immigration and sovereignty have been widely cited as two major issues which influenced the Leave vote (Ashcroft et. al, 2016; Goodwin et. al, 2016; Stoker et. al, 2016; Swales, 2016; Freeden, 2017). It is important to note, however, that nationalism and sovereignty were identified as sub-themes in four and two out of the ten advertisements respectively. This suggests that these issues were still significant elements of Vote Leave's campaign. This thesis is primarily concerned with examining the rhetorical appeals of themes associated with national identity and populism, therefore the following analysis will evaluate advertisements where the main themes are directly associated with these political discourses. To allow for a more in-depth analysis,
advertisements 1, 2, 5, and 8 will be examined since they also possess sub-themes which particularly relate to the politics of national identity and populism. Appeals to the issues of immigration and sovereignty were evident in these particular advertisements, but to a lesser degree, therefore these themes will be discussed accordingly.

The Politics of National Identity: Patriotism

British ‘Heroes’

The first Vote Leave advertisement to be examined was entitled ‘Heroes’, and undoubtedly had a strong patriotic appeal. As previously established, patriotic attitudes are generally perceived as more positive expressions of national identity. Feelings of patriotism are evoked through pride in the history, institutions and shared values of one’s homeland and contribute towards a strong sense of civic national identity. This advertisement demonstrates a highly emotive and seemingly cinematic quality, carefully employing language and imagery to explicitly appeal to voters’ patriotic inclinations. Focusing upon the achievements of some of Britain's most notable and successful individuals, the advertisement explains how their contributions have positively affected both Britain and the rest of the world. Opening with the word ‘Heroes’ written on a plain black background [fig 3], a female voice narrates:

“Isaac Newton is the most influential scientist in world history; he invented modern physics, first discovered the law of gravity and laid the scientific foundation for the industrial revolution. Nelson and Wellington’s leadership saved Britain from invasion and saved Europe from Napoleon's tyranny. Florence Nightingale invented modern nursing. Charles Darwin first developed the theory of evolution, revolutionising our understanding of human history. James Maxwell first wrote the equations that describe electricity, magnetism
and light. Emmeline Pankhurst won women the right to vote. Churchill’s leadership saved Britain, Europe and the world from Nazism. Aneurin Bevan created the NHS. Alan Turing helped break the Nazis’ secret codes which shortened World War Two; his work on modern digital computers is the basis for the information revolution.

These British heroes changed the world. Don’t believe those who talk Britain down, who say we’re too weak to control our own affairs. Let’s take control.”

[Transcript of ‘Heroes’ film for Vote Leave referendum broadcast]

The sentences used are relatively short and succinct, which allows for the description of so many individuals within a film lasting just one minute and fifty seconds. This aids the ethos of this patriotic appeal since, as Berger (1998) notes, the ethos of an advertisement can be achieved by ‘associating one’s point of view with famous individuals’ (p. 152). By discussing such well-known figures, Vote Leave are not only able to establish a patriotic connection but also directly associate their campaign with these individuals. While the film cannot say that these individuals agree with Vote Leave’s political position, it nonetheless creates an attachment between their message and these successful British figures. The primary rhetorical mode in this advertisement however, is pathos; this is achieved through both language and imagery. The emotive content of the language is significant, seeking to evoke a strong sense of pride within the audience which is further enhanced by the repetitive nature of the narration. Indeed, words such as ‘invented’, ‘discovered’, ‘revolution’, ‘developed’ and ‘created’ are all used (sometimes more than once) throughout, in order to highlight the fact that these individuals were pioneers of their time. In particular, the word ‘first’ is used repeatedly in order to emphasise Britain’s place at the forefront of scientific and industrial advancements. This also strengthens the argument that these British individuals are innovators and modernisers of the world. Furthermore, patriotic sentiments are enhanced by portraying these Britons as guardians of the nation and
saviours of the world. By referring to ‘Napoleon’s tyranny’, ‘invasion’ and ‘Nazism’, Vote Leave are able to evoke associations with war, terror and evil, and amplify the emotional effect by juxtaposing these phrases with the word ‘saved’. This rhetoric almost suggests to the audience that they have a debt of gratitude towards these great individuals who came to the rescue in times of need. Additionally, the ‘advertisement arouses feelings of pride by noting Aneurin Bevan who created the NHS - one of the most recognised and respected British institutions. This is another emotional appeal, reminding viewers of the historical place of the NHS within society.

While the narration has been carefully crafted to appeal to patriotic sentiments of viewers, it is the combination of language with vivid imagery which generates the most emotional persuasive effect. Indeed, the visual content in particular is hugely emotive, and a clear demonstration of pathos. The advertisement utilises what Berger (1998) would refer to as ‘informal balance’, which creates a visually exciting experience for the viewer (p. 74). As figures 4-10 demonstrate, the footage is reminiscent of a photo album or scrapbook, layering portraits with other relevant images at jaunty angles and using wording in an array of fonts and styles. Patriotic appeals to British pride are particularly evident in the use of the Union Jack flag [see fig. 8] and the famous NHS logo [fig. 9]. These kinds of images act as visual cues which prompt emotional responses; as Hill (2004) notes, such images are internalised and associated with specific values and therefore ‘can be used to trigger its associated emotions’ (p. 35). Furthermore, the image of Winston Churchill using the ‘V’ sign while addressing crowds [fig. 8] reminds viewers of the Second World War and Britain’s victory. Combined with the narration, this portrays the former Prime Minister not only as the defender against Nazism but also as a protector of Britain. Addison (2005)
notes that Churchill is the only politician of the twentieth century to become universally recognised as a national hero (p. 3). Indeed, by using such an iconic image of this famous British leader, Vote Leave are able to greatly enhance the advertisement's patriotic appeal. Furthermore, the phrase 'we shall never surrender' speaks to the collective strength of the nation in times of adversity. The emphasis here is that Britain is a nation to be proud of, a nation of leadership and a restorer of peace. The visual presentation of this Vote Leave advertisement also specifically adds a strong sense of nostalgia. Indeed, a sepia effect is used throughout to add to the historical tone and enhance the nostalgic mood of the film. Furthermore, all of the portraits are black and white and some frames portray aged newspaper clippings [fig. 7] and handwritten letter extracts [fig. 5]. Parry-Giles et. al (2000) cite nostalgia as a powerful rhetorical and emotive tool which establishes resonance with an audience and connections between a political cause and its audience (p. 421). Significantly, the overt appeal to nostalgia indicates that older generations are the intended audience of this particular advertisement since, as Brader (2005) notes, nostalgia is used as a form of positive emotional appeal 'associated with success and good times' of the past (p. 391). Furthermore, the frequent references to World War Two and the British victory would suggest that the advertisement has specific resonance with individuals who actually experienced these events. The ‘Heroes’ advertisement is an endeavour to evoke pride in Britain’s heritage and contributions to momentous world discoveries. By creating an enthusiastic and positive tone, viewers are encouraged to believe that voting to Leave the EU is a patriotic gesture, and reassured that Britain can be extremely successful as an independent nation.

The logos, or logic, of Vote Leave’s argument is demonstrated in the final few sentences,
when the viewer is presented with a birds-eye image of the United Kingdom emerging through the clouds [fig. 11]. At this point, the narrator refers to the opposing argument, proclaiming ‘These British heroes changed the world. Don’t believe those who talk Britain down, who say we’re too weak to control our own affairs’. This statement counters the Remain position by juxtaposing the word ‘weak’ with the previous and extensive description of British ‘heroes’ who ‘changed the world’. Berger (1998) explains how discrediting the opposing side of one’s argument is an important rhetorical tool (p. 151) and we can see this being implemented here in order to devalue claims that Britain could not succeed as an independent nation outside of the EU. Overall, the language and imagery used in this advertisement has very significant emotive and rhetorical merit, describing Britain as a strong and capable nation which has made invaluable contributions to the development of the modern world.

'The NHS is in Danger'

Three of Vote Leave’s advertisements were directly focused upon the welfare of the NHS, however, only one could be identified as a distinctly patriotic appeal; the other two were primarily concerned with the economic argument that too much money was being sent to the European Union. The 'Heroes' advertisement evoked patriotism through a highly positive appeal, focusing upon the achievements of British people, whereas this advertisement is concerned with emphasising the need to protect the NHS, Britain’s most respected public institution. Therefore, this advertisement is associated with the discourse of civic national identity. The primary aim is to ensure viewers recognise the importance of the NHS within British life, while also outlining the various ways in which EU membership has negatively impacted upon the institution. By using the NHS as a focal point, Vote
Leave were able to greatly expand their intended audience since they were referring to a public organisation which virtually all British people recognise and have direct experience with. In this sense, this particular advertisement has the potential to resonate with all viewers to at least some degree. The predominant rhetorical appeal throughout this advertisement is again pathos, however, in comparison to 'Heroes', the emotional effect is more negative. The sequence begins with a simple instruction which appears on screen; 'Help save the NHS on June 23\textsuperscript{rd} [fig. 12]. This is a direct appeal to the viewer, including them within the narrative, and instantly implying that the NHS is struggling. What follows is a clever visual effect whereby multiple presentations of the NHS logo come together to create the portraits of Winston Churchill, Clement Attlee and Aneurin Bevan [figs. 13-14]. This demonstrates to the audience that these three individuals were instrumental in developing the NHS. Again, the use of Churchill here is significant since, as previously noted, he is a widely respected national figure; this further emphasises the association between the NHS and British success. The narrator then states; 'at the end of the war, Britain created the NHS; it protects us throughout our lives, but, it's in danger'. This kind of language is not usually employed when describing public organisations, however, by explaining that the NHS 'protects us' and is 'in danger', Vote Leave are able to personify the institution. The word 'protect' serves to portray the NHS as an almost parental figure which cares for the British people throughout their entire lifetime, while 'danger' evokes a sense of vulnerability. This is a clear emotive appeal which tries to enhance the audience's attachment to the NHS. The following frame uses a large NHS logo where the letters are formed by black and white pictures of nurses, a doctor, and a small child being treated [fig. 15] This emphasises the historical place of the NHS in society and enhances the notion that the NHS has been caring for people for decades. From here, however, the more
negative emotional appeals begin; it is suggested that the plight of the NHS 'will get worse... the EU plans to let in another five countries'. The audience are then asked to:

"Imagine what will happen when you're paying for Euro bailouts...
Imagine what will happen to public services when Albania, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Turkey join the EU"

Here, we see the implication that the addition of these countries to the EU would cripple British public institutions and have an adverse effect on the NHS. This is an interesting argument because the question of EU expansion was widely contested by the Remain camp. By asking audiences to 'imagine', Vote Leave avoids distinctly telling the audience the potential outcome of these accessions and instead encourages the audience to reach their own conclusions. The image of a doctor holding a patient's hand [fig. 16] demonstrates the caring nature of the NHS, which would supposedly be compromised by potential economic bailouts and an influx of migrants. Indeed, here there is a subtle element of nationalist discourse as well. The logos of this particular advertisement is achieved through the use of statistics, primarily the frequently espoused phrase that 'every week we send 350 million pounds to Brussels' [fig. 17]. It is suggested that this money is enough to build a new hospital every week. This is a relatively straightforward logical appeal; the 'NHS is in danger' and the reason for this is the cost of EU membership which can be rectified if the viewer votes to leave the European Union. Finally, ethos is established through visual content which seeks to demonstrate the reliability of Vote Leave's claims. The advertisement's credibility is enhanced through the use of graphics which depict complicated and technical graphs and calculations [figs. 16-18]. This validates Vote Leave's argument by suggesting that their position has been authenticated
through extensive research.

**The Politics of Populism: Anti-Elitism**

'David Cameron Cannot be Trusted'

The theoretical framework outlined anti-elitism as a major discourse within the politics of populism, and as a common element of anti-European populism in particular; this advertisement is a clear example of such rhetoric. The primary aim is to portray the Prime Minister, David Cameron, as untrustworthy by highlighting his approach to the prospect of Turkey's accession to the EU. Indeed, the opening frame boldly states 'David Cameron cannot be trusted on Turkey' [fig. 19]. In this sense, while the overall theme can be categorised as anti-elitist, there is also an underlying element of nationalism within the advertisement as well. This also gives us a better understanding of the intended audience. At first glance, it could be said that the advertisement has a very broad, populist appeal; there is no nostalgic appeal or content that seeks to identify with individuals of a particular socio-economic class, however, the negative portrayal of Turkey's potential EU membership would certainly resonate with viewers who possess more nationalistic attitudes. The logos of this advertisement is achieved by clearly presenting Cameron's two contradictory positions on the prospect of Turkey's EU membership. The context of the advertisement is clear from the beginning, as the Prime Minister is portrayed addressing voters, explaining that Turkey should not be a consideration when casting their votes because accession 'is not remotely on the cards' [fig. 20]. This is then immediately followed by previous footage of a speech where the Prime Minister openly states that he wants to help Turkey join the EU. He is depicted saying: 'This is something I feel very
strongly, very passionately about. Together, I want us to pave the road from Ankara to Brussels' [figs. 21-22]. The excerpts of this speech have been selected so as to emphasise Cameron's desire to see Turkey become part of the EU; highlighting the words 'strongly' and 'passionately' further discredits his claim that the accession is 'not remotely on the cards' while also suggesting that the likelihood of Turkey joining is in fact substantial. While logos is used to demonstrate Cameron's apparent dishonesty, it is again pathos which emerges as the primary rhetorical tool within this advertisement, mainly used to evoke a sense of anxiety and fear. This is largely produced through the visual content. Footage is employed of a fight which broke out between politicians in the Turkish parliament in May 2016 (figs. 21-23). The depiction of chaos and violence enhances the suggestion that Turkey's accession would be damaging to British interests. Significantly, critics of this advertisement, such as Cooper (2016), have noted that the audio of this footage was 'doctored' to include the fake screams of a woman and smashing glass (no pagination). This manipulation highlights Vote Leave's desires to evoke feelings of fear within the advertisement. Furthermore, this footage is juxtaposed alongside Cameron making his speech, creating the implication that he is reckless and does not have the best interests of the nation at heart. Rather than simply using audio of the Prime Minister's speech, the imagery shows him standing in front of the Turkish and United Kingdom flags [figs. 21-22], which again suggests a potentially close future relationship between the two nations.

Within this advertisement, the ethos of Vote Leave's claim is predominantly formed through the negative portrayal of David Cameron who was a major advocate for remaining within the European Union. Depicting him as untrustworthy helps to significantly discredit the remain position. In comparison, by apparently exposing the betrayal of David Cameron, Vote Leave appear more virtuous and the group's credibility is enhanced.
**£50m Competition**

The primary theme of this advertisement is again, anti-elitism, while there is also a subtle element of nationalism with regards to immigration. The aim is to encourage viewers to register to vote and also to demonstrate the apparent differences between the British people and the Brussels politicians. However, the message is presented in a highly unusual format for a political advertisement, with a lighthearted and often humorous tone. Indeed, the audience are informally introduced to Gary and Kevin, two builders who are enjoying a pint of beer in a pub [figs. 24-26] . Their conversation is reminiscent of one between friends, as they discuss who might win the football match which they are watching on the television. It is here that the competition element of the advertisement is introduced, whereby viewers are encouraged to provide their email address and take part to have a chance of winning 50 million pounds. Participants must correctly guess the outcome of every game played in the 2016 European Football Championships and, most significantly, be registered to vote in the referendum in order to sign up. This is a really interesting persuasive technique and also a strong indicator of the intended audience. Indeed, using two builders to deliver the message would suggest that the advertisement is aimed more towards working class viewers than the professional classes; this is compounded by the focus on football which is traditionally considered the sport of this particular socio-economic cohort (Critcher, 1973; King, 2002). Directly engaging with this audience also clearly speaks to the populist discourse within the advertisement since, as previously noted, it is the working classes who generally support and identify with populist movements (DiTella, 1965, p. 47). Ethos is primarily established by using Gary and Kevin, the main protagonists, who are relatable to the target audience. Indeed, rather than using a faceless narrator to deliver the message, the visual presentation of two middle-aged
builders wearing high visibility jackets with dust and paint on their faces [figs. 24-25] portrays them as ordinary working men. This is supported by observations from Finlayson et. al (2014) who, as previously noted, recognise that ethos is often established by demonstrating that the speaker possesses a shared understanding of the lives and experiences of their audience (p. 7). This relatable quality is further enhanced by the casual tone of Gary and Kevin's conversations; they are presented in a way which makes them likeable and encourages the viewer to trust them. In contrast to the primary theme of anti-elitism, the first subtle reference to the issue of immigration is raised within the early dialogue:

K: Gary, Turkey or Albania?
G: *Walking back with a pint of beer* Well they're both joining the EU aren’t they?
K: Yes I know, but which one do you think will win?
G: Well, Turkey's got 76 million people so they should have a good team.

The emphasis on Turkey's population, combined with Kevin's belief that the country is joining the EU, implies the potential number of migrants which would then be allowed to enter Britain. Given that, as previously noted, immigration is currently a major political issue in Britain, this dialogue is an example of pathos, as it creates a sense of anxiety among the audience about the potential effects of a country so large being subsumed into the European Union.

The second half of the advertisement dramatically changes in scenery, as it emerges that the two men have won 50 million pounds. They are pictured in a grand house, wearing smart clothes, reading and eating [fig. 27]. The remainder of the advertisement is predominantly used to mock the 'elite' classes and draw attention to the apparent wealth of
Brussels politicians. Logos is employed here in order to compare and highlight the differences between the ordinary, hard-working builders and the seemingly ostentatious lifestyle of the rich and privileged. This is first demonstrated through a lighthearted joke about the mispronunciation of 'Quinoa', a food now commonly associated with cosmopolitan individuals:

Gary: Fancy some Kin-oh-ah?
Kevin: Kin-oh-ah?.. I think you mean Keen-wah Gary
Gary: I think I prefer chips

The dialogue enhances here the distinction between the two groups, suggesting the two men do not accord with the lifestyle enjoyed by the professional class. The next scene presents Gary and Kevin relaxing wearing cosmetic facial masks [fig. 28], again creating a clear comparison with their previous, more scruffy appearance in the pub. Their conversation then turns specifically to the EU and the salaries of the Brussels politicians:

G: Did you know a member of the European Parliament gets paid 75,000 pounds a year?... and 45 grand expenses
K: Get out! I heard they get 350 euros a day expenses - just for turning up
*Gary sighs*
K: Hey Gazza, we should’ve been MEPs
G: Stroke of luck we won that 50 million eh Kev
K: Ah, I wonder who’s doing our jobs now...
G: Probably someone charging half the price
K: Lucky we got out when we did

The dialogue here highlights the significant financial benefits which MEPs receive, and most significantly, there is an implication that these are undeserved. Indeed, particular reference to the expenses which are paid 'just for turning up' suggests that there is often
no actual work involved. This again demonstrates the pathos of the advertisement, as a sense of inequity and injustice is evoked. The final exchange is particularly interesting as it references the common perception that foreign workers, primarily those in the labour industry, are under-cutting wages and reducing employment opportunities for British-born individuals. This is further evidence of the more subtle arguments concerning immigration within the advertisement, and Vote Leave's objective to provoke feelings of anxiety surrounding this issue. While logos is significantly employed, pathos again emerges as the primary rhetorical tool, used to evoke feelings of anxiety surrounding immigration, as well as a sense of inequity regarding the financial rewards of the Brussels elite.

**CONCLUSION**

The UK's 2016 referendum on EU membership has proven to be the most momentous political event in Britain recent decades, producing profound effects upon both the private and public lives of citizens across the nation. It is therefore appropriate to examine the various influences which shaped the referendum debate and subsequently the result itself. As the official pro-Leave organisation, Vote Leave was a major player in the referendum, therefore their campaign emerges as an important subject for further study. Despite the widespread shock at the vote to leave the European Union, the UK's strained relationship with the European community is in fact not a new phenomenon. Indeed, many scholars have observed that Britain has struggled to fully embrace EU membership as opposed to most other member states. This longstanding ambivalence has permeated mainstream politics over many decades and greatly contributed to a strong sense of Euroscepticism among significant swathes of the population. This observation has provided a helpful
contextual framework upon which we can establish a better understanding of the referendum result and the formation of Eurosceptic attitudes. Recent studies of British Euroscepticism suggest that contemporary anti-European arguments have largely been voiced through rhetoric surrounding national identity and populist ideology. Indeed, scholars have uncovered a close relationship between strong expressions of national identity and Euroscepticism. This correlation was also clearly reflected in the referendum outcome; as Hobolt (2016) and Clarke et. al (2017) note, individuals who subscribed to a more fixed and exclusive sense of national identity were much more likely to vote Leave than Remain. The populist style of politics has also been widely identified as a close associate of Euroscepticism, and subsequently a major contributor to the Leave vote. As such, it was important to further discuss both national identity and populism in more depth. More detailed discussion of these concepts unearthed four key themes; patriotism, nationalism (primarily opposition to immigration), sovereignty and anti-elitism. Arguments framed in terms of patriotism, nationalism and sovereignty were identified as the major expressions of national identity, whereas anti-elitism was recognised as the main feature of populist discourse. From these observations, it was expected that Vote Leave's advertisements would appeal to these four themes, given that national identity and populism have been so widely cited as broad influential factors in the Leave vote. The brief discussion of political advertising outlined how this process is a predominantly persuasive endeavour, seeking to appeal to voters in the most effective way possible. Both language and imagery are important for enhancing rhetorical messages, so therefore, it is important to consider how these elements complement each other within an advertisement. Furthermore, Aristotle's three modes of persuasion were outlined and recognised as an important framework upon which rhetorical appeals can be better understood. Due to the
persuasive nature of political advertisements, it was appropriate to engage with a rhetorical analysis for the purposes of this thesis and examine how Vote Leave employed ethos, pathos and logos to enhance their messages.

Initial results demonstrate that a significant proportion of Vote Leave’s advertisements did reflect the four themes associated with the politics of national identity and populism, however, the pattern of these findings was interesting. Indeed, anti-elitism and patriotism were identified as the main themes in five and two of the ten advertisements respectively, however, content concerning immigration and sovereignty could not be recognised as main themes in any advertisement. This was a surprising result since both immigration and sovereignty have been identified as major political issues for Leave voters; one would expect that Vote Leave’s advertisements would have engaged with these themes on a significant level. It is important to note that these two issues were recognised as sub-themes in several advertisements, meaning that the themes of immigration and sovereignty were employed by Vote Leave but not to the same extent as patriotism and anti-elitism. Given these initial results, the advertisements which used patriotism and anti-elitism as main themes became the primary focus of analysis. Ethos, pathos and logos were all utilised in each advertisement to enhance persuasive effect, however, pathos seems to be the primary rhetorical tool applied. The two advertisements which utilised patriotism as the main theme – ‘Heroes’ and ‘NHS in danger’ – had a highly emotive effect but in different ways. Indeed, while ‘Heroes’ evoked positive emotions of pride, ‘NHS in danger’ sought to heighten feelings of anxiety by stating that a beloved national institution desperately needed the help of the British people. Anti-elitist rhetoric was applied to the other two advertisements analysed; the first argued that ‘David Cameron cannot be
trusted’ while the ‘£50 million competition’ sought to highlight the differences between the ordinary working classes and the Brussels elite. Again, pathos was effectively employed to evoke feelings of betrayal and a sense of injustice among the audience. These findings have highlighted the importance of pathos within political advertisements, and particularly how emotive appeals are important within the themes of patriotism and anti-elitism.

As previously discussed, rhetorical analysis is a personal reading of the material being studied, therefore, elements of the findings are open to the scrutiny of different interpretations. This particular analysis has examined the various ways in which ethos, pathos and logos were used to enhance the appeals of advertisements within the referendum, however, future studies could perhaps establish the actual effects of these appeals on audiences. It would be interesting to measure how the advertisements resonated with audiences, and also to discover whether or not the emotive appeals changed viewer's voting choices. Furthermore, this thesis has only examined audiovisual advertisements, therefore other persuasive means such as speeches, posters and leaflets could be examined to establish whether themes associated with national identity and populism were also utilised in these instances. Ultimately, this study has established that Vote Leave's advertisements reflected the politics of national identity and populism to a significant degree, but not necessarily in the ways expected. The use of pathos within these advertisements highlights the emotive nature of the referendum and suggests that feelings of national pride as well as betrayal and a distrust of politicians greatly influenced the Leave vote. This has been a fascinating study into a very turbulent time in British politics, the ramifications of which are yet to be fully discovered.
FIGURES

[Fig. 3]

[Fig. 4]
Help save the NHS on June 23
David Cameron cannot be trusted on Turkey.
don't think about it. It's not remotely on the cards,

This is something I feel very strongly, very passionately about.

Together, I want us to pave the road from Ankara to Brussels.
Turkish Parliament (Ankara, May 2016)

[Fig. 23]

50millionuk

50millionuk

The competition is open to anyone who is over 18 years of age when they submit their entry, and who is registered to vote in the referendum on the United Kingdom’s membership of the European Union on 23 June 2016. Claims will be verified using the electoral roll and spill-over votes will be expressed to those six who apply, see 50million.uk for more information.

[Fig. 24]

[Fig. 25]
The competition is open to anyone who is over 18 years of age when they submit their entry, and who is registered to vote in the referendum on the United Kingdom's membership of the European Union on 23 June 2016. Claims will be verified using the electoral roll and so entrants must be registered to vote. T&Cs apply, see 50million.uk for more information.


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