

2 – 3 July 2015



Elections and the Media  
Tom Brownlee



Neutral



Neutral

Which is the odd one out - and why?

Daily Mail  
Thursday, May 8, 2014  
www.dailymail.co.uk 60p

**Little boy who he went to Hell – then came**  
SEE PAGE 24  
How big brand shops and restaurants sell ritually slaughtered meat – but don't label it

**MILLIONS ARE EATING HALAL FOOD WITHOUT KNOWING IT**

SUPERMARKETS and restaurant chains are selling halal meat to Muslim customers without telling them. It's been revealed that many of the most popular brands in the UK are in line with Islamic food law but aren't letting people know because the meat

**DAILY Mirror** Friday, March 29, 2013  
LONDON 2012 40p

**Totally axed**  
BBC pulls the plug on Total Wipeout

Your ultimate guide to cracking Easter eggs... from just 98p

**OUT-OF-TOUCH TORIES**  
**EVERYBODY WAS KUNG FUEL FIGHTING**  
Forecourt fisticuffs after No10 petrol panic

**Kate the clothes swapper**  
FREE TICKETS

Neutral





Scarfolk Council public information for the public

# "Lock doors, windows and portcullises"

## Watch out!

There's a  
politician  
about



Politicians steal the dreams of children,  
which they store in an ancient jar that can only be opened  
with magick words uttered by a dark spirit or your local, self-  
appointed member of parliament.

For more information please reread this poster



## Elections and the media

A Cross Media Study of Politics



# AIMS

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- To identify some of the propaganda techniques used during recent referendum and election campaigns
- To be able to analyse propaganda texts using the media studies conceptual framework
- To consider politics as a cross media study

# ELECTIONS AND THE MEDIA

1. Direct/ Overt communications from parties to electorate eg posters, party election broadcasts, leaflets, Youtube videos
2. Indirect/ Covert communications through media ('spin') eg stunts, walkabouts, press events, leaks and briefings, photo opportunities, interviews: *The Thick of It, House of Cards*
3. Media reporting and commentary eg BBC News, leader debates, press: watch dog or attack dog? Issues of influence, objectivity, bias, pluralism and partisanship
4. Non party communications eg Russell Brand's 'Trews', Twitter, etc. Networks versus hierachies?

# HOW WOULD YOU DEFINE POLITICS?

'One meaning of politics relates to the running of governments and governmental affairs ... (but) politics is not just a term that is related to governmental power but is a word that can be used to describe any social relations involving authority or power. As the media generally can be seen to have both authority and power and it is at the heart of the society we live in, we can see that the media is in itself inherently political' (Hendry, *Politics and the Media: Media Factsheets*, Curriculum Press)

# **ROLE OF THE POSTER**

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## **10 Golden Rules # 8: Pass the blink test**

'Politics can be complicated and boring, but a great ad can make it seem simple and engaging. In order to do so, it needs to be understood in the blink of an eye. Posters will always be important because if you can't sum it up in five or six words then chances are your message isn't right.'

*Sam Delaney, Mad Men and Bad Men (2015)*



# EARLY PROPAGANDA 1

- 1 Do you recognise this image?
- 2 If yes, put it into context and explain its purpose
- 3 It was very effective at its time. Using what you have learned so far about mise en scene and target audience, explain why it might have had a powerful impact on its target audience.
- 4 This is an early example of propaganda: try to define the term

- ✖ Direct address, including finger pointed at spectator and the use of personal pronouns (Yes. Your country needs YOU).
- ✖ Fixed male gaze.
- ✖ Hierarchy and deference; signifiers of class, position and authority through the military uniform the flamboyant: hyper masculine moustache
- ✖ Kitchener's military and social authority over his male audiences
- ✖ Appeals to masculine pride and patriotic duty

# PROPAGANDA



**Definitions:** information, especially of a biased or misleading nature, used to promote a political cause or point of view.

'Media texts that are intended to convince people to accept or reject an idea.'  
(Bennett)

Based on both reason (the head) and emotion (the heart)

# EARLY PROPAGANDA 2

Do you recognise this political figure?

Discuss the significance of wardrobe

Low Angle: what is the emotional impact on the spectator?

Benito Mussolini, leader of Italian fascists

Military authority and power through uniform, framing, facial expressions, lighting

Politics of gesture, including the 'visionary gaze' and low angled photograph connoting (male) power and authority



# PHOTOMONTAGE: EXAMPLES OF SATIRE AND OPPORTUNIST READINGS



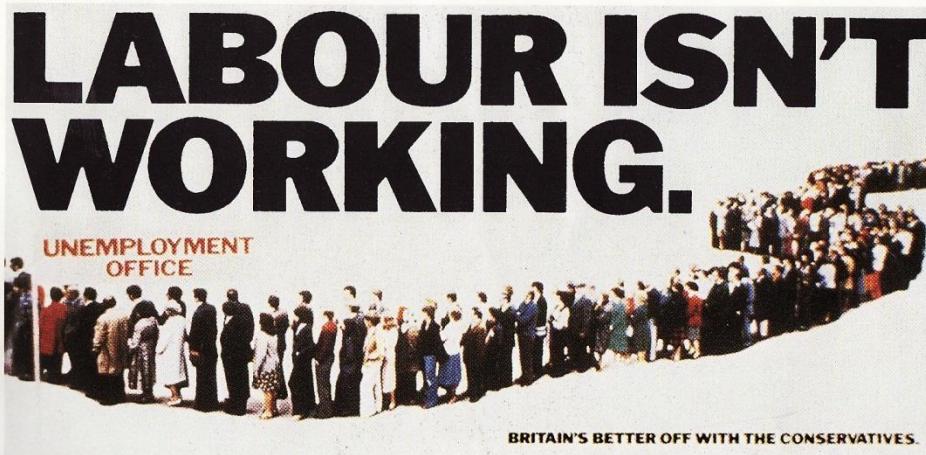
# EARLY PROPAGANDA 3

**LABOUR ISN'T  
WORKING.**

UNEMPLOYMENT  
OFFICE



**BRITAIN'S BETTER OFF WITH THE CONSERVATIVES.**



Early example of an 'attack ad'

Play on words 'Labour isn't working'

Period of high unemployment - approaching one million in 1978

Saatchi and Saatchi, advertising agency employed by a political party

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The Labour Party was highly suspicious of political advertising: "selling politics like soap powder." (Denis Healey (1979)

Delaney (2015), *Mad Men and Bad Men*



# "Suspicious? You should be"

## Watch out!

### There's a politician about



Politicians prey on the vulnerable, the disadvantaged and those with an infantile sense of pride in a romanticised national identity which was fabricated by a small to mid-sized advertising agency.

For more information please reread this poster



## Agenda setting and framing:

'Weak' Labour leader held to ransom by Scottish nationalists, trade union barons and other malign forces

## WHAT IS THE MESSAGE?

Gormless Miliband will be in the pocket of ruthless Salmond

Miliband depicted as a small rodent; Salmond as a mafia chief?

SATURDAY, APRIL 4, 2015

www.dailymail.co.uk

90p



BUMPER  
EASTER BANK  
HOLIDAY PUZZLES

## FREE INSIDE Six-page brain teasing Easter puzzle special

STARTS PAGE 57

As crowds hail her 'Queen of Scots' after TV triumph,  
Sturgeon tells Red Ed: We'll call the shots now!

# MOST DANGEROUS WOMAN IN BRITAIN

By James Chapman  
Political Editor

NICOLA Sturgeon was hailed 'Queen of Scots' last night after upstaging her English rivals in the TV election debate.

Adoring Edinburgh crowds greeted the return of the SNP leader whose success drained the life from the claims of a nationalist breakthrough on May 7.

If her party manages to secure more than 40 parliamentary seats, Miss Sturgeon is likely to become first minister and in position to decide who forms the next government. A deal with Labour could – for the first time since 1924 – hand power to a party that came second in a general election.

Miss Sturgeon said the question for Ed Miliband now was "would he be prepared to vote for the SNP in the new parliament, rather than the other way round."

"If the SNP is a big force in Westminster we can make sure that our policies do not just sell out on its values like the last Labour government did," said the steely first minister.

David Cameron's claim that devolution between England and Scotland would be as grave a danger as it was in last year's independence referendum were able to shrug off. "There's a difference between the SNP and other parties they want to break up



Lapping it up: SNP leader Nicola Sturgeon basks in the limelight while out campaigning for the election in Edinburgh yesterday

Turn to Page 4

TUESDAY, APRIL 21, 2015

www.dailymail.co.uk

60p



## How I'll blackmail England for £148 billion by the most dangerous woman in Britain

PAGES 8-11

## Student work:#HaleElection

Designed by Shakil Choudhury



**VOTE LIBERAL DEMOCRAT**

RHS MOCK ELECTION 2015

**VOTE CAMPFIELD**

WHILST IN A COALITION:

- WE BROUGHT YOU **1.2M** NEW APPRENTICESHIPS!
- WE STOPPED THE CONSERVATIVES NEEDLESSLY SPENDING **£100 BILLION** ON RENEWING TRIDENT!

**STRONGER ECONOMY.  
FAIRER SOCIETY.**

A young man in a dark suit and red tie stands in front of the poster, wearing a small yellow Liberal Democrat button badge on his left lapel.



**Green Party**



**A vote for Green Party is a vote  
for a sound economy,  
sustainable infrastructure, and a  
brighter future for Great Britain.**



Scarfolk Council public information for the public

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## Watch out!

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Politicians prey on the vulnerable, the disadvantaged and those with an infantile sense of pride in a romanticised national identity which was fabricated by a small to mid-sized advertising agency.

For more information please reread this poster



Free the people, free the country, free Europe

## Vote UKIP

For the first time in a hundred years, there is real change on the horizon

### We will:

Invest an extra £1.5 billion into mental health services

Wave tuition fees for vital subjects at university

Take those on minimum wage out of tax altogether

Leave the EU and take back control of our borders





A vote for  
**COMMUNISM**  
is a vote for  
NEW ALLIANCES

[HTTPS://WWW.YOUTUBE.COM/PLAYLIST?LIST=PLC\\_QYZ3Z6QN6TZ3JUZ-IG3Z9GTBCIXB0V](https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLC_QYZ3Z6QN6TZ3JUZ-IG3Z9GTBCIXB0V)





ONLY TOGETHER CAN WE CRUSH OUR CAPITALIST OPPRESSORS!  
**VOTE COMMUNIST**

*We pledge...*

- An end to austerity
- Removal of the wasteful Trident scheme
- Additional taxes on big businesses and the rich
- An escape from US imperialism
- Withdrawal from the EU and NATO



**VOTE COMMUNIST**  
*"Lenin lived, Lenin lives, Lenin will live!"*

# **DIRECT COMMUNICATIONS: BROADCAST MEDIA**

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# THE PARTY ELECTION BROADCAST

Early examples!



Harold MacMillan (10 February 1894 – 29 December 1986)  
Conservative Party 1955



Neil Kinnock  
Labour Party 1987

# REFERENDUM BROADCASTS

## Yes or No?

- 1 What is the key message of your referendum broadcast?
- 2 How do the producers use media language - mise en scene, camera, music, direct address - to appeal to the audience?
- 3 Identify the target audience(s)

# THE WOMAN WHO MADE UP HER MIND



Equilibrium/ status quo

Disruption!

Can you apply Todorov's narrative structure to political broadcasts?

Recognition and attempts to repair disruption



Climax!

Resolution and new equilibrium established

# Todorov's Narrative Structure

- Equilibrium: domestic chores
- Disruption: the referendum
- Recognition of disruption
- Attempts to repair - how to vote (and get the kids to eat their cereal)?
- Risks and gambles
- Resolution/ Decision: 'that will be a no from me'
- New equilibrium: 'time to get to work'



## Representations of gender

Mother's natural place is in the kitchen  
Lank hair and lack of make up indicates ordinariness and domesticity



## Audience Positioning

Directly addressing the audience  
Confessional/ conspiratorial relationship with the female viewer  
Taking a break from domestic chores to speak to an unseen friend  
An every (Scottish) woman people can relate to or identify with



# Media language: Cutaways

Married - the norm?



Clasped and splayed  
fingers connoting inner  
turmoil?



Grasping the situation?



'Most of all I want what's best for the children.'

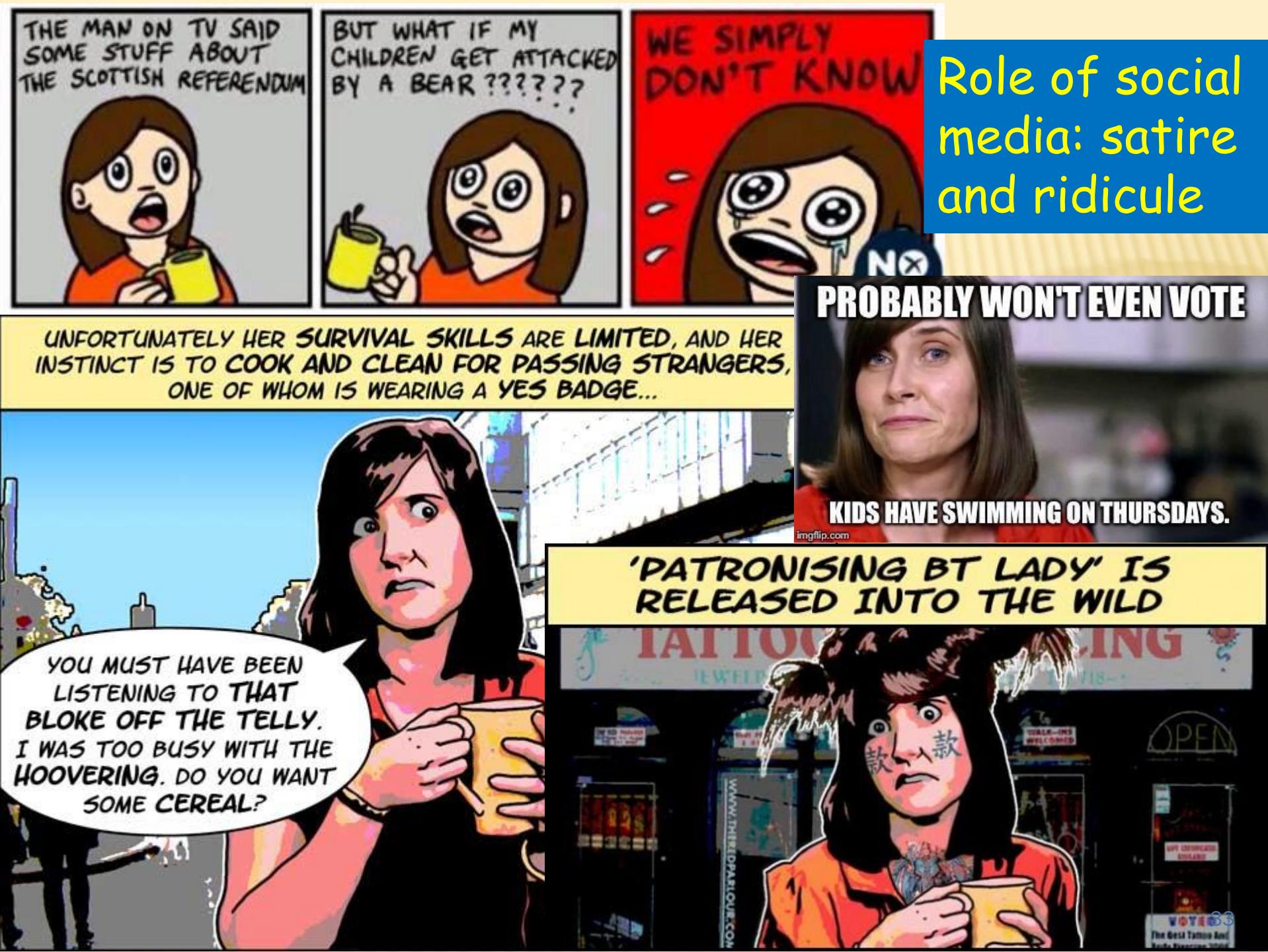
## Ideology

Women are practical and child oriented, unswayed  
by promises by that 'guy off the telly.'

Kailyard - thrift, hard work and modesty - values  
at the forefront

Household finances like a country's finances

# Role of social media: satire and ridicule





How do the Liberal Democrats try to communicate their election campaign message?

LOOK  
LEFT

LOOK  
RIGHT

THEN CROSS

 Vote Liberal Democrats 

# YES SCOTLAND

BBC



# BETTER TOGETHER



# UK ELECTION / STUDENT WORK



**UKIP**

## Vote UKIP

Free the people, free the country, free Europe

For the first time in a hundred years, there is real change on the horizon

**We will:**

- Invest an extra £1.5 billion into mental health services
- Waiver tuition fees for vital subjects at university
- Take those on minimum wage out of tax altogether
- Leave the EU and take back control of our borders

## COVERT PROPAGANDA: PHOTO OPPS



ASSOCIATED PRESS



© Getty Images

# WHAT IMAGE ARE WE GETTING OF CAMERON?





**'He has got a lifespan of five years and keeps going round in circles: Nick Clegg meets Humpty the hedgehog'**

Read

more: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3018328/He-got-lifespan-five-years-keeps-going-round-circles-Nick-Clegg-meets-Humpty-hedgehog.html#ixzz3cq9cxZoi>

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# PRINT PLATFORM

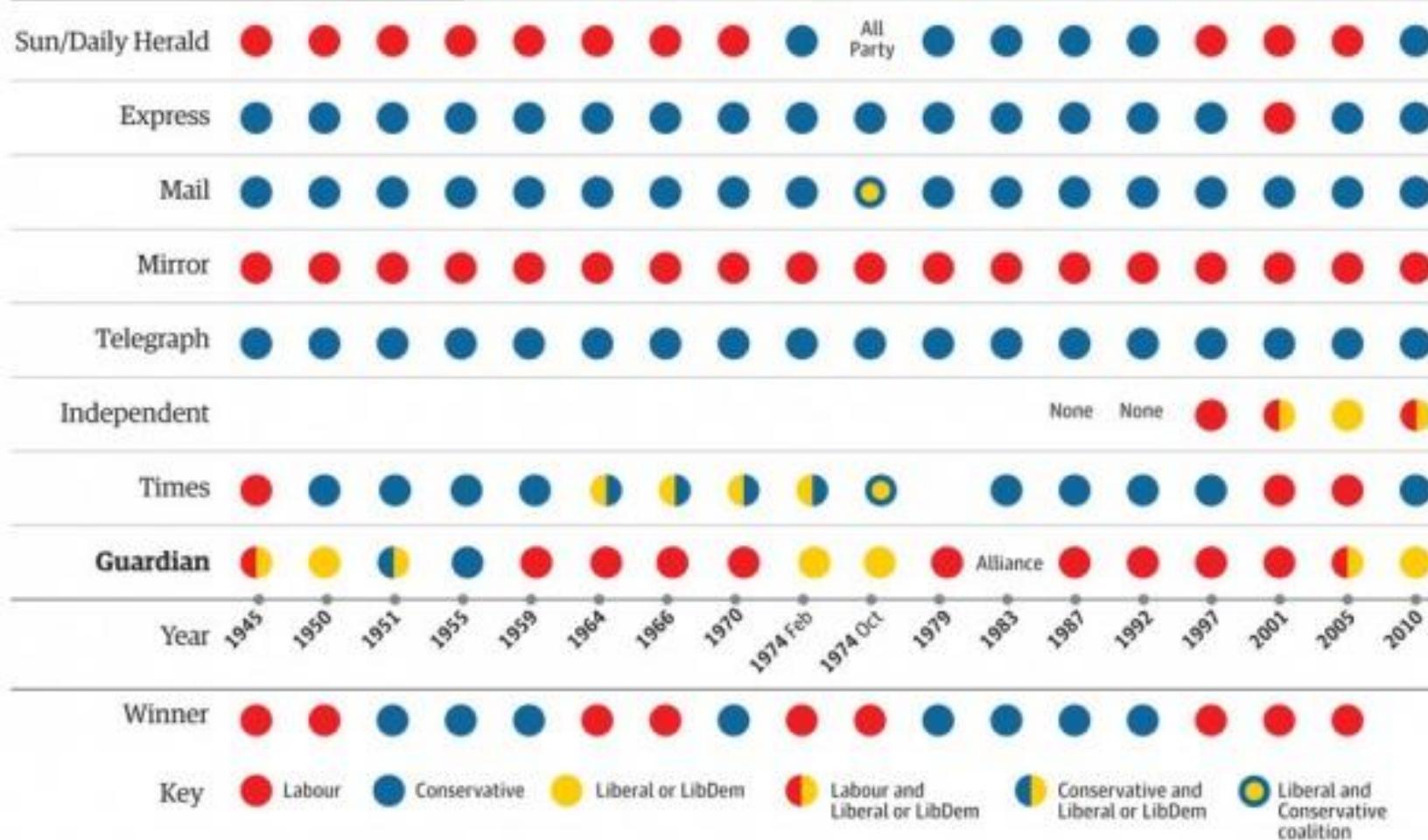
Who reads the papers Yes Prime Minister



# **FREE SPEECH AND A PARTISAN PRESS**

'Newspapers have always been partisan, which means they are aligned to one party. They report the news in ways that shows their chosen party in the best light. Traditionally *The Times*, *The Express*, *The Telegraph* and *The Mail* have supported the right wing of British politics with *The Guardian* taking the centre-left position and *The Mirror* being more left wing. Audiences have particular ideological expectations of these papers and are often accessing them because of the political views they hold  
(Hendry, *Politics and the Media*)

## Main national newspapers' support elections from 1945 - 2010



Source: Twentieth-Century British Political Facts 1900 - 2000 and British Political Facts Since 1979, David and Gareth Butler

THE  
**MAN WHO HATED BRITAIN**

**O**N A ROLL again? Not a young Labour MP, David Miliband, in Number 10 Downing Street, but his father, Tony, in the same office, in 1976. The man who gave him the job, and educated, and nurtured him, and made him the man he is today, has died. But last night Labour leader Ed Miliband paid tribute to his father, and to the principles he believed in, in a speech that will have shocked many people. As it is the traditional birthday of the Labour Party, the speech was well-timed. It was also well-received. The Labour leader's speech was a homage to the Marxist father he idolised. So what did Miliband Snr really believe in? The answer should disturb everyone who loves this country.

**SATURDAY REPORT** by Geoffrey Levy

The Miliband bros: David with his son and daughter, Ed and Cordelia, in 1976. A disgruntled Tony Labour leader has been forced to make a speech in defence of his principles



# OOPS! I JUST LOST MY ELECTION



## Representations of gender

- Election pun/ innuendo - suggesting impotence
- 'Mili's (girl's name) never necked a pint' or engaged in other 'young male rituals'
- Captioned: 'Ed sipping a half last year'
- But '*admitted* blubbing at films, the last being gay rights movie Pride'



# Rupert Murdoch's global empire What News Corporation owns

Key



SOURCE: NEWS CORP



## Murdoch's UK operations

### Reach across platform

Millions of people, at wholesale level, 2010

#### TV

BBC	33.5
ITN	21.9
Sky	11.7
Radio	
BBC	34.2
Sky	33.4
3.1 Other	

#### Press (AIR)

News Corp	14.5
DMGT	7.3

6.8 Trinity Mirror Group

4.2 Northern & Shell

#### Online (monthly)

BBC	12.0
DMGT	5.5

4.6 News Corp

4.5 Guardian Media Group

## How Murdoch's operations compare in the UK

Total revenues, 2010 or latest available



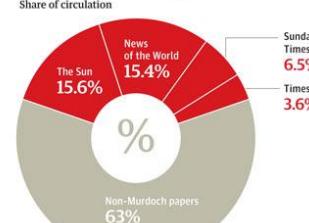
## BSkyB: where does the money come from?

Breakdown of revenues in 2009/10



## News International's UK newspapers

Share of circulation



SOURCE: ENDERS, BSkyB, OFCOM, COMPANY REPORTS

# OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL: WHY MIGHT A LARGE, MULTINATIONAL, CROSS MEDIA INSTITUTION BE HOSTILE TO POLITICAL PARTIES PROMISING HIGHER TAXATION AND CONTROLS ON PRESS INTRUSION?



# THE Sun

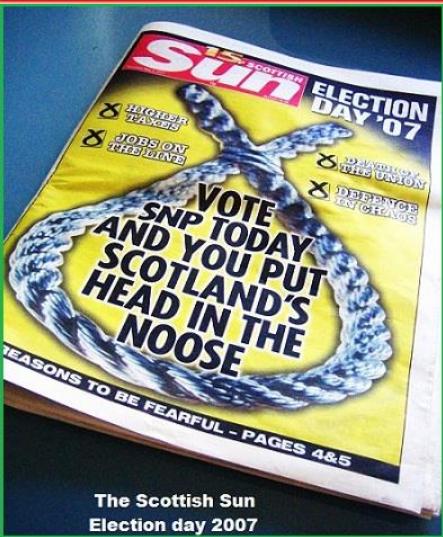
The image shows the front page of 'THE Sun' newspaper from April 12, 1992. The main headline reads: 'If Kinnock wins today will the last person to leave Britain please turn out the lights'. Below the headline is a large, close-up photograph of Neil Kinnock looking slightly to the right with a serious expression. To the left of the photo is a vertical column of text: 'TENNIS HERO ASHE HAS AIDS'. At the bottom left is a red ribbon graphic with the words 'ELECTION SPECIAL'. The bottom right corner features a small photo of a woman with the caption 'GAIL CLOUDS' and the text 'FREE TODAY PLUS THE GREAT AMERICAN COMICS'. The overall layout is typical of a 1990s tabloid newspaper.

The image shows the front page of The Sun newspaper from April 17, 1997. The main headline reads "THE SUN BACKS BLAIR" in large, bold, black letters. Below it, a sub-headline says "Give change a chance". In the top right corner, there is a small graphic of a ballot box with the word "VOTE" written on it. To the right of the graphic, the text reads "An historic announcement from Britain's No 1 newspaper". A portrait of Tony Blair is on the right side of the page. At the bottom right, there is a column of text and a small photograph of a person.

A large, stylized graphic of David Cameron's face occupies the right side of the cover. He has a serious expression, with his eyes looking slightly upwards and to the left. The graphic uses a color palette of blue, red, and white, giving it a poster-like appearance. To the left of the graphic, the word "THE" is written in small capital letters above "Sun". Below the main title, the subtitle "IN CAMERON WE TRUST" is displayed in a bold, sans-serif font. A short political message from Cameron follows, concluding with "Content on Page Two". At the bottom, the headline "OUR ONLY HOPE" is written in large, bold, white capital letters.



# THE Sun



The Scottish Sun  
Election day 2007



THE ECHO FACTOR - SEE PAGES 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14

# SUN(S), APRIL 30, 2015



# IS IT?

**Dissociative Identity Disorder (DID)**, a severe condition in which two or more distinct **identities**, or personality states, are present in—and alternately take control of—an individual. The person also experiences memory loss that is too extensive to be explained by ordinary forgetfulness.

OR?  
OR?

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## cynicism

'sɪnɪsɪz(θ)m/

‘an inclination to believe that people are motivated purely by self-interest; scepticism.’

---

**OR?**

# **DIGITAL MEDIA PLATFORM**

YES WE CAN!

O-BA-MA!



Political  
propaganda  
in the  
digital age

I'M SORRY

The Labour Party retweeted

**David Morrissey** @davemorrissey64 · May 7

Great to support Catherine West in Hornsey and Wood Green.

#VoteLabour



[View photo](#)

4 330 615

**conservativehome**  
the home of conservatism



The Labour Party @UKLabour · 1

Agree?

- 1) Vote Labour
- 2) Find your nearest campaign office and help out tonight: [labour.org.uk/election-day](http://labour.org.uk/election-day)



[View photo](#)

4 265 197

# #WHYIMVOTINGUKIP



Elizabeth Day

@elizabday

Follow

#WhyImVotingUkip Because I'm fed-up of foreigners coming over & denying hard-working British people the right to be Nigel Farage's wife.

10:15 AM - 21 May 2014

↳ 267 ⏪ 267 ★ 141



Vikki Stone

@vikkistone

Follow

#WhyImVotingUkip Because the weather's really starting to pick up, and I don't want it ruined by gays.

10:04 AM - 21 May 2014

↳ 2,877 ⏪ 2,877 ★ 1,756



Nathaniel John

@Nathaniel\_John

Follow

#WhyImVotingUkip because an Oriental gentleman just pushed into the front of the bus queue and got on first

8:37 AM - 21 May 2014

↳ 35 ⏪ 35 ★ 21



incrediblyQ

@incrediblyQ

Follow

#WhyImVotingUkip

Because Farage is just an ordinary bloke & understands common people like me

2:10 AM - 21 May 2014

↳ 166 ⏪ 166 ★ 79



Jamie Karran

@NoDrNo

Follow

#WhyImVotingUkip I heard an African American and 2 (gay?) French robots on the radio telling me to "get lucky". Now I'm scared to go outside

A large group photograph of the Scottish National Party (SNP) leadership and members. They are posed in four rows against the backdrop of the iconic Forth Rail Bridge, a red steel cantilever bridge spanning the Firth of Forth in Edinburgh, Scotland. The group includes men and women dressed in formal attire, such as suits and dresses. In the center of the group stands Nicola Sturgeon, the First Minister of Scotland, wearing a bright red dress. To her left is Alex Salmond, former leader of the SNP. The SNP logo, featuring the letters 'SNP' in white on a blue background with a white diagonal line through it, is visible on the left side of the image. The image is framed by a black border, typical of a social media post.

**SNP**  
#voteSNP #GE15

**Scottish National Party**  
**(SNP)** Political Party

Sign Up

Like

Share

...

**DON'T VOTE. IT ONLY ENCOURAGES THEM**

- ✖ <https://www.change.org/p/bbc-reinstate-jeremy-clarkson>

[HTTPS://WWW.YOUTUBE.COM/USER/RUSSELLBRAND](https://www.youtube.com/user/RussellBrand)



# FILTER BUBBLES

A filter bubble is a result of a personalised search in which a website algorithm selectively guesses what information a user would like to see based on information about the user (such as location, past click behaviour and search history) and, as a result, users become separated from information that disagrees with their viewpoints, effectively isolating them in their own cultural or ideological bubbles, according to Eli Pariser.

# **SPIRAL OF SILENCE**

E Noelle-Neumann: Spiral of silence suggests that individuals have a fear of isolation, which results from the idea that a social group or the society in general might isolate, neglect, or exclude members due to the members' opinions. This fear of isolation consequently leads to remaining silent instead of voicing opinions. Media is an important factor that relates to both the dominant idea and people's perception of the dominant idea. The assessment of one's social environment may not always correlate with reality.

## **MICHAEL FALLON ON ED MILIBAND**

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### **10 Golden Rules # 10: Make it personal**

Bill Muirhead, executive director of M&C Saatchi: 'OK, what are the weapons you'd use against Ed Miliband in an election campaign? Well, he stabbed his brother in the back. And, you know, anyone who does that to his brother, I mean, bloody hell. Imagine what he'd do to the country.'

(Sam Delaney, *Mad Men and Bad Men: What Happened When British Politics Met Advertising*)

# WE MEDIA

- ✖ <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/generalelection/general-election-2015-russell-brand-hits-back-at-david-cameron-with-mocking-tweet-after-pm-dismissed-him-as-a-joke-10210866.html>

