



Faculteit Letteren & Wijsbegeerte

Maité Muller

***A Critical Discourse Analysis of reports on UKIP in a  
selection of British newspapers***

Masterproef voorgedragen tot het behalen van de graad van

Master in de Meertalige Communicatie

2016

Promotor Mr. David Chan

Vakgroep Vertalen Tolken Communicatie



## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. Chan for agreeing to be my supervisor on this project when I came to him with the subject of this research. Thanks to him I was able to do research on a subject that I was very interested in and enthusiastic about. I would also like to thank him for his input and his critical but optimistic feedback time and time again. He gave me the freedom to go into the direction I wanted with this research. His own interest in the subject and his enthusiasm made me determined to finish this project successfully.

I would also like to thank the Department of Translation, Interpreting and Communication of the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy for the academic competences it has helped me to acquire over the past five years.

Finally, I am grateful to my parents who gave me the chance of receiving a higher education and who allowed me to pursue an education corresponding to my own interests. Their continuous love and support have meant a lot to me.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>6</b>
<b>1. THEORY</b> .....	<b>9</b>
1.1 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS .....	9
1.1.1 WHAT IS CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS? .....	9
1.1.2 WHY IS CDA A USEFUL APPROACH FOR THE ANALYSIS OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLES? .....	14
1.1.3 WHY IS CDA USEFUL FOR THIS STUDY? .....	16
1.2 JOURNALISM AND OBJECTIVITY .....	17
1.3 NEWSPAPERS IN THE UK – THE PRINT PRESS MEDIA SYSTEM .....	21
1.4 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND .....	23
1.4.1 UKIP, THE UK INDEPENDENCE PARTY .....	23
1.4.2 EUROPEAN ELECTIONS .....	25
<b>2. METHODOLOGY</b> .....	<b>27</b>
2.1 CORPUS.....	27
2.2 METHOD .....	29
<b>3. RESULTS</b> .....	<b>33</b>
3.1 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS .....	33
3.2 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS .....	40
<b>4. CONCLUSION</b> .....	<b>45</b>
<b>5. BIBLIOGRAPHY</b> .....	<b>47</b>
5.1 BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES .....	47
5.2 PRIMARY SOURCES .....	49
<b>6. APPENDIX</b> .....	<b>55</b>

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

DMA – The Daily Mail reporting on UKIP

DMi – The Daily Mirror reporting on UKIP

DT – The Daily Telegraph reporting on UKIP

G – The Guardian reporting on UKIP

CDMa – The Daily Mail reporting on the Conservative Party

LDMi – The Daily Mirror reporting on the Labour Party

CDT – The Daily Telegraph reporting on the Conservative Party

LDG – The Guardian reporting on the Liberal Democratic Party.

These abbreviations are followed by a number which refers to the order in which the articles appear in the corpus (order and bibliography in 5.1 Primary sources).

## INTRODUCTION

This study examines the UK print press coverage of the political party UKIP and its leader Nigel Farage, and more specifically the extent to which such coverage can be regarded as objective. Nigel Farage and UKIP are interesting subjects for the study of the UK print press because of several reasons. Firstly, both UKIP and Nigel Farage tend to generate strongly worded reactions, from positive reactions about Nigel Farage's often colourful utterances to negative reactions about the 'racist' image of the party. For example, one article from the Guardian calls Nigel Farage a 'rock star' (G11) whereas another talks about 'a racist party' (G7). That leads to a second reason, namely, the party and its leader often appear to be treated differently. Positive reactions usually tend to implicate Nigel Farage whereas negative reactions tend to refer to the party or its members. The Daily Mirror in our corpus, for example, describes Nigel Farage as follows: 'UKIP's figurehead', 'his combative public persona', 'an increasingly influential figure in British politics' and 'a bigger and bigger player on the British political stage' (DMi1). The paper tends to be more negative about UKIP and its members: 'UKIP candidates' racist, sexist and anti-gay rants', 'the anti-Semitic postings of Joseph Quirk, UKIP candidate' (DMi8), 'the under-fire party' (DMi10) and 'the calamitous campaign' (DMi11). A third reason is that some titles openly express their support for UKIP or are more likely to report positively on the party whilst others openly express their disdain for the party, such as in the following examples:

The truth about UKIP: Racist jibes, anti-gay rants, derogatory remarks about women and anti-foreign propaganda – Headline of The Daily Mirror on May, 17th 2014. (DMi8)

The deep sense of alienation and distrust revealed in the poll underlines the uphill struggle politicians from the main parties face in trying to convince Ukip supporters that Farage is making simplistic or untruthful claims. – The Guardian on May, 14th 2014. (G8)

A fourth and final reason is the tradition of the popular press to cover the news less objectively than the quality press does. Because the popular press is less formal and uses more colloquial English (Wieland, 2009) they tend to be more negative more quickly. The popular paper, the Daily Mirror, for example, as mentioned above, tends to be less formal when reporting on UKIP: 'racist jibes, anti-gay rants, derogatory remarks about women and anti-foreign propaganda' (DMi8).

In order to detect bias in newspaper articles, this study uses a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) based on the approaches of Ruth Wodak and Norman Fairclough. CDA is a theory used to expose bias, inequality, disempowerment or racism in texts. It often exposes unequal power relations towards minority groups. In this paper, however, it examines whether UKIP is treated unequally, a party whose discourse itself could be the subject of a CDA. The theory is quite often used to study the rhetoric or the language use of right-wing parties as those are gaining more and more support in present-day Europe (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). This research, however, will focus on the journalistic discourse (newspaper articles) and will compare the coverage of UKIP to that of the mainstream parties.

The most important research questions for this study can be listed as followed:

1. To what extent are general news articles biased in the coverage of UKIP and Nigel Farage, compared to the coverage of a mainstream party?
2. What are, in terms of bias, the similarities and/or contrasts in the coverage of right-leaning papers and that of left-leaning papers?
3. What are, in terms of bias, the similarities and/or contrasts in the coverage of the quality press and that of the popular press?
4. What are, in terms of bias, the similarities and/or contrasts in the coverage of UKIP and of Nigel Farage?

The hypotheses to the research questions above are the following and are based on the theories discussed in chapter 1 (1.3 Newspapers in the UK – the print press media system):

1. General news articles covering UKIP and Nigel Farage tend to be more biased compared to articles covering the supported mainstream parties.
2. Right-leaning titles tend to be more positive about UKIP and Nigel Farage and left-leaning titles tend to be more negative.
3. Popular press articles tend to exhibit more bias (positive or negative) towards UKIP and Nigel Farage compared to quality press articles.
4. The British press tends to react more positively towards Nigel Farage and more negatively towards UKIP.

The first chapter of this research is the theory chapter. First it will examine the theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis focussing on three of the most well-known approaches to CDA, those of Norman Fairclough, Teun A. van Dijk and Ruth Wodak (section 1.1.1). The theories of Fairclough and Wodak will be discussed more extensively because this

study's methodology focusses primarily on those two approaches. It will also discuss why CDA is a useful approach for the analysis of newspaper articles and why it is useful for the study in this paper. Section 1.2 will study the notions of journalism and objectivity by examining the journalistic discourse in newspaper articles according to the theory of Fowler (1991) and by examining the term 'objectivity' according to the ideas of Dean (n.d.). The third section of chapter 1 will analyse the print press media system in the UK, focussing on the two main distinctions: popular versus quality press and right-leaning versus left-leaning press. It will also give an overview of the four papers used for the corpus in this study as well as some information on their previous and current political affiliations. Section 1.4 will give a historical background on UKIP and the European Elections, but it will also discuss the main issues UKIP focusses on, the results for UKIP in the last and previous European Elections and the importance of such elections for the party. The second chapter is the Methodology and will cover how the corpus is organised, how it was composed and how it was coded. It will also describe the method or the approach to CDA that was chosen for the analysis in this study. The third chapter contains the results of the quantitative and qualitative analysis and will give an overview of those results. The quantitative analysis will be used to address the research questions while the qualitative analysis will provide additional insight into the research questions' themes, shaped around the stated hypotheses. Finally, chapter 4 is the Conclusion.



# 1 THEORY

## 1.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

### 1.1.1 What is Critical Discourse Analysis?

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a relatively young research method which is used to study the relationship between a text and its social context. It primarily focusses on revealing relationships of disempowerment, inequality, dominance and bias. Furthermore, critical discourse analysts understand that language use might be influenced by a certain ideological point of view and therefore study the interpretation and reception of texts (Richardson, 2007). There are, however, various approaches with regard to CDA. In an interview from 2007, Ruth Wodak, researcher in the field of Discourse Studies and CDA, states these approaches have their own theory and their own methods and methodology. In the next paragraphs three of the most cited approaches to CDA will be discussed in order to extensively illustrate what CDA means, that is the approaches of Fairclough, Van Dijk and Wodak. Aspects of two out of those three approaches (that of Fairclough and Wodak) will be used for the analysis in this research.

The first approach is the ‘dialectical-relational approach’ of Norman Fairclough (1995). According to Fairclough CDA analyses the dialectical relationship between semiosis, which refers to all types of language including for example body language or sign language, and social practices or the social environment. Fairclough’s CDA is primarily focussed on the social change and which effect such change may have on semiosis (Fairclough, 2001). This approach to CDA believes language or semiosis can always be found in social practices. Semiosis is, for example, present in some jobs which require language to be used in a certain way. A shop assistant or a president for example will use a particular semiosis (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Nevertheless, this process also works the other way around as semiosis or language, or rather the people who read or view it, might influence the social environment as well (Richardson, 2007). This research will be analysing newspaper articles and will thus focus on written language rather than on other forms of semiosis. In *Analysing Newspapers* (2007: 37) Richardson describes Fairclough’s approach as ‘a more accessible method’ than others with regard to ‘doing CDA’ and examines the three stages of Fairclough’s analysis, that is a textual analysis followed by a section on discursive practices and one on social practices.

The first stage, the textual analysis, examines the choices the author of a text makes in terms of content by analysing not only linguistic aspects, such as vocabulary or grammar, but also by analysing how a text is organised, for example, how cohesive the text is (Richardson, 2007).

More importantly, however, is what such linguistic aspects or such text organisation means, that is, 'in relation to their direct or indirect involvement in reproducing or resisting the systems of ideology and social power' (Richardson, 2007: 39). This is exactly why CDA is so interesting for the research in this paper, that is, it will be examining whether, and if so, how language in British newspaper articles is used to obtain social power or how certain ideologies are hidden in news articles.

The second stage of Fairclough's CDA is a discourse analysis as it includes discursive practices. The discourse analysis examines the production of a text, the rules a writer has to respect when writing a text in a particular genre, the reception of a text, how readers read and interpret a text, and the social environment in which both processes take place (Richardson, 2007). Both the process of production and that of reception are named 'a two-way street' (Richardson, 2007: 40). The producer or the author can influence a text by encoding a message in it, but the text is able to influence the producer as well as he has to comply with certain conventions of the text, that is, each text genre has its own conventions. With regard to the reading process, a reader at first receives and understands the message, ideological or not, but also decodes the text, meaning he can disagree with the message (Richardson, 2007). The research in this paper will study the production process in detail but will only look at the reception process in general and will be limited to for example studying the public's image of the political party UKIP or to how the public might interpret headlines of news articles.

The third and final stage of Fairclough's CDA includes the social practices or the social environment in which the text is written (Richardson, 2007). In this stage the aspects of the previous stages, textual and discourse analysis, will be critically analysed in terms of ethics and politics. This analysis will expose and question the power abuse or hidden ideologies and could give information about the kind of society it was written in and which effect such text might have on that society (Richardson, 2007). For the research in this paper that means studying how the language use in British newspaper articles on the political party UKIP may or may not influence readers' opinions on that party and therefore also perhaps their voting behaviour.

The second often cited approach to Critical Discourse Analysis is that of Teun A. van Dijk, the so-called 'social-cognitive approach'. In many books, essays or papers on CDA van Dijk himself, however, mentions he does not like to be associated with a certain 'approach', he rather describes his ideas of CDA as guidelines. Van Dijk advocates a diverse CDA, meaning researchers doing CDA should not just copy one's approach or guidelines, but rather implement theories from different people and from different disciplines. This point of view causes his

‘approach’ to also be called multidisciplinary CDA (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). In contrast to the previous approach, Fairclough’s CDA, van Dijk does not analyse the relationship between discourse and its social environment, but the relationship of those two with a third component, that is, cognition (Angermüller, Maingueneau & Wodak, 2014). In the following paragraph these three components or dimensions, the so-called ‘discourse-cognition-society triangle’ (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 98), will be explained in more detail and it will describe what their role is in van Dijk’s CDA.

The first dimension is discourse. According to van Dijk a complete discourse analysis would be too extensive and researchers have to be selective as there are too many aspects or structures to be analysed within a text or discourse. Examples of such structures are lexical choices, stress and intonation, word order or propositions (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Researchers therefore have to make a selection of structures that are relevant for their study. As van Dijk suggests:

if we want to study - as would be typical in CDA – the ways some speakers or writers exercise power in or by their discourse, it only makes sense to study those properties that can vary as a function of social power (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 99).

So it is important to understand how structures are related to their social environment (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). For the research in this paper for example that means selecting those aspects or structures in newspaper articles which can be used to express the author’s opinions or ideologies in order to influence the reader and thus society.

The second component of van Dijk’s CDA theory is cognition, and specifically social cognition (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Social cognition or the cognition of groups or organizations refers to their ideology, attitude and knowledge. These three notions are able to influence discourse or language and consequently how such discourse or language is interpreted (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Nevertheless, discourse and language in turn, may influence the social cognition, as people or groups or organizations obtain their knowledge, ideologies and attitudes from ‘everyday discourse such as, conversations, news reports and textbooks’ (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 114).

The third and final dimension of van Dijk’s CDA is society. When talking about society he pictures two kinds of society: one at a local or micro level and one at a more global level. The first one can refer to, for example, face-to-face interactions, while the latter refers to groups, institutions, organizations, political systems etcetera (Schiffrin, D., Tannen, D., & Hamilton, H. Ehernberger, 2003). According to van Dijk Critical Discourse Analysis is primarily used to study the relationships of power and dominance at a global level, but when doing so it actually

studies discourse at a micro level as it are individuals and their ideologies, attitudes and knowledge which form these groups or organizations (Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

The final approach belongs to probably one of the most cited researchers of CDA, Ruth Wodak, and is called the 'discourse-historical method'. Wodak's approach is interdisciplinary, in other words, she strongly suggests not using just CDA, but combining it with other methods or theories, similar to the multidisciplinary approach of Van Dijk. According to her, an interdisciplinary approach is important to clarify the complex relationship between discourse and society as well as the way in which those two influence each other (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Besides the interdisciplinary approach, Wodak also focusses on a historical analysis, meaning she studies the historical background of the social environment in which a certain discourse appears (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Briefly worded, according to Wodak the discourse-historical approach attempts "to work with different approaches [...] and on the basis of a variety of empirical data as well as background information" (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 65). This approach was initially used for research on the anti-Semitic stereotyped image and later on it was used in a study on racist discrimination and in another one on nation and national identity. (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). The discourse-historical method of Wodak is rather a pragmatic approach to CDA, meaning it does not spend a lot of time on a complex theory but rather explains it through a specific social problem (in the case of CDA one of discrimination, bias, power abuse, etc. or like the ones in the studies mentioned above) and intends to find so-called conceptual tools to analyse such problems (Wodak & Meyer, 2001; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Wodak's approach to CDA is three-dimensional, the analysis happens in three stages. These will be discussed in more detail in the next paragraph.

During the first stage of the analysis the content of the discourse is analysed and signs of power abuse or racist or biased language are marked (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Next, the discursive strategies are studied. These strategies refer to the ways in which language is used to introduce in a discourse what was marked in the previous stage, that is certain ideas or ideologies. Examples of such strategies are nomination, how people are referred to, or predication, what characteristics people are associated with (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). In the third and final stage, the meaning or the objective of such discursive strategies is analysed as well as the linguistic aspects that contribute to those strategies. For example, nomination, how people are referred to, is called the strategy, the objective is to create the notion of 'us' versus 'them' or the notion of in-groups and out-groups, the linguistic tools to create this strategy and objective are, for example, negatively connotated metaphors or generalizations (Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

Wodak's approach can be summarized in certain steps. She emphasizes researchers should first gather information on the social environment as well as background information. Then, they should form research questions relevant for the social problem or phenomena being studied and think about other theories or methods that might be used besides CDA (interdisciplinary approach) to answer these questions (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Next is the analysis of the three stages mentioned in the previous paragraph, categorizing the discursive strategies and examining what they mean or what they are intended for. After this analysis Wodak suggests drawing up a diagram containing the topics of a specific text (what is being talked about in a text) so researchers can get a clear view of the , if present, personal opinion or ideologies of the author. The final step would be to interpret these results while linking them to the research questions and social problem (Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

After having discussed three of the most cited approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis and having clarified the overall goal or objective of CDA, the research in this paper will be primarily leaning on the approach of Norman Fairclough and that of Ruth Wodak. These theories provide ways of analysing the corpus, British newspaper articles on the political party UKIP, efficiently and in-depth. The textual analysis described in the paragraph of Fairclough's approach can be used to detect ideological or biased language in the articles. The discursive strategies Ruth Wodak uses in her theory, can be used then to examine the meaning of such ideological language. Just as Wodak's approach suggests, this paper will be giving a historical background on the political party UKIP and on the period in which the newspaper articles were written (European Elections) as well as information on the social context in which the newspaper articles were written, meaning information on the role of journalism in today's society and on the British print press media system.

### 1.1.2 Why is CDA a useful approach for the analysis of newspaper articles?

“Critical Discourse Analysis has become an established discipline, institutionalized across the globe in many departments and curricula” (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 4). In an interview from 2007 Ruth Wodak talks about new research areas CDA is being used in, especially in the analysis of the new media genres, such as film, SMS but above all social media networks which seem to have a huge impact on today’s society (Kendall, 2007). Nevertheless, the research in this paper uses CDA to study one of the traditional media genres, that is printed press. The following paragraphs will discuss why CDA is a useful approach for the analysis of newspaper articles.

In order to demonstrate CDA is a more useful method for analysing texts or newspapers, Richardson (2007) compares CDA with quantitative content analysis, which used to be the generally adopted approach. Richardson (2007: 15) focusses on three shortcomings of quantitative content analysis compared to CDA, visualized in the following list:

<b>Critical discourse analysis</b>	<b>Quantitative content analysis</b>
<i>offers interpretations of the meanings of texts</i>	<i>derives meaning from textual features after having quantified them</i>
<i>situates what is written or said in the context in which it occurs</i>	<i>summarizes patterns or regularities in texts</i>
<i>argues that textual meaning is constructed through an interaction between producer, text and consumer</i>	<i>argues that textual meaning is ‘read off’ the page by all readers in exactly the same way</i>

Quantitative content analysis focusses on coding and quantifying categories from which one then derives whether a newspaper article contains ideological or biased opinions (Richardson, 2007). In CDA this system is merely the basis of its analysis. It is used to label and organise data but once they have that data it focusses on examining what it means in relation to the social environment the article was written in (Richardson, 2007). Richardson (2007) intends to clarify this with an example from his own research on the representation of Islam in newspaper articles. According to quantitative content analysis, when a newspaper article on Islam contains more than the average number of negative references, such as ‘violence’, Islam must be negatively presented. CDA, however, might do a count of such negative references, but will also be examining who is being negatively referred to. Islam might just as easily be the victim of ‘violence’, depending on the context in which the article was written (Richardson, 2007). In other words, the biggest difference between both approaches is that quantitative content

analysis focusses on content while CDA asks further questions and thus focusses on context (Richardson, 2007).

The previous paragraph explained why Critical Discourse Analysis is a useful approach for analysing newspaper articles. Why it is interesting to apply CDA to journalistic discourses (or why journalistic discourses might be ideological) will be discussed further on in this paper.

### 1.1.3 Why is Critical Discourse Analysis useful for this study?

As mentioned before in this paper, Critical Discourse Analysis is used to examine discourses in order to reveal ideological, racist or discriminatory opinions of the author and examines the effect those discourses have on the social environment, or in other words, on a specific social problem. It is a theory that is used to be critical of those in power, and those who are thus able to abuse such power, and to defend those who are the victim of racism, discrimination, bias, etc., usually minority groups (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). The research in this paper does not, however, examine the effect of a biased discourse on a ‘minority group’ but the effect of it on the representation of a political party, and whether or not that representation is objective, for example, in comparison to that of another party.

This study will critically analyse the discourse used in newspaper articles of several British newspapers on the right-wing political party UKIP. Later on in this paper a historical background of this party will be presented to give a clear view of what it stands for and how it is perceived in British society. The discourse of this political party itself could be the subject of a CDA. According to Wodak and Meyer (2009) CDA is quite often used to study the rhetoric or the language use of right-wing parties as they are gaining more and more support in today’s Europe. This research, however, will focus on the journalistic discourse (newspaper articles) and whether or not it is able to report objectively on a right-wing party. To test each of the chosen newspapers’ objectivity in this research, the discourse used in the articles on UKIP will be compared to that of articles on another party. That other party will be the party that gains the support of the newspaper examined, as newspapers tend to affiliate with a certain left- or right-wing party (more details in 1.3). The comparison of both discourses could then indicate whether or not such affiliation effects, or rather causes bias towards, UKIP. Objectivity might not only depend on affiliation with a certain left- or right-wing party, but also on the difference between quality and popular press (examined more closely in section 1.3), as the popular press seems to “have the liberty” to express its affiliations more clearly. The next section in this paper will be devoted to the notion of journalism and objectivity.



## 1.2 Journalism and objectivity

“Particularly the language of the mass media is scrutinized as a site of power, of struggle and also as a site where language is apparently transparent. Media institutions often purport to be neutral in that they provide space for public discourse, that they reflect states of affairs disinterestedly, and that they give the perceptions and arguments of the newsmakers” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 6).

“According to Jäger “the self-descriptions of newspapers, for example, as ‘independent’ or ‘non-partisan’ should always be regarded with distrust” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 50).

“Newspaper coverage of world events is presented as the unbiased recording of ‘hard facts’. [...] Roger Fowler challenges this perception, arguing that news is a practice, a product of the social and political world on which it reports.” (Fowler, 1991).

The above quotations are just a few examples of findings or conclusions of CDA studies that have examined the objectivity of media or newspaper coverage. Because the research in this paper will be examining newspaper articles, the next section is devoted to the journalistic discourse of newspapers, what it intends (or pretends) to be and what it actually is, focussing on Roger Fowler’s *Language in the News – Discourse and Ideology in the Press* (1991), followed by some ideas of Walter Dean, director at the Committee of Concerned Journalists, on what objectivity actually means.

Fowler (1991) discusses four aspects that influence or are relevant for the construction of the news or the journalistic discourse: bias or representation, news values, stereotypes and social and economic factors in news selection. All four aspects will be discussed in further detail in the next paragraphs.

The first aspect is ‘bias or representation’. Fowler (1991) does not mean to say that all newspapers are biased but that they do represent the news from a certain point of view. Each newspaper has its own style, in terms of content as well as presentation because each newspaper also has a different readership and they represent the news according to that (Fowler, 1991). That difference in readership also causes the news in a specific newspaper to be ‘selected’, as some subjects mentioned in *The Times* might not be of any interest for the readership of *The Mirror* and vice versa (Fowler, 1991). A newspaper can be called biased when its ideologies become obvious due to, for example, word choice or just the general attitude of the article. For example, the political preference becomes clear when a newspaper refers to the political leader as ‘Mr. Gorbachev’ or as ‘Gorby’ (Fowler, 1991: 4). This is of interest for the research in this paper, as different British newspapers will be examined as well as their attitude towards the political party UKIP.

The previous paragraph talked about the fact that newspapers ‘select’ the news they report on. The next aspect has to do with the criteria according to which that selection happens, the so-called ‘news values’ (Fowler, 1991). These news values determine whether or not a certain event is worth reporting on, or in other words, whether or not it is “newsworthy”. Fowler (1991: 13-14) gives the list of Galtung and Ruge which contains criteria an event has to fit to be newsworthy, the more criteria it fits the more likely it is reported on in the newspaper. For example, one of the criteria is “relevance”, meaning, in case of British newspapers, relevant for British society. Another one is “proximity”, if an event is close to British territory, it is more likely to be mentioned in the paper.

The third aspect to have an influence on the way news is represented, are stereotypes. News events often confirm stereotypes and the stronger the stereotype, the more likely the event will be reported on in the paper (Fowler, 1991). According to Fowler (1991: 19) there is a “productive interaction between the news media, the public, and official agencies in the formation and application of stereotypes”. Possible news events might fit the criteria mentioned in the previous paragraph, but they are even more likely to be reported on when they affirm a certain stereotype (Fowler, 1991). Stereotypes are something this research will come across as well, for instance, when looking at the representation of Nigel Farage, stereotyped a ‘clown figure’ or a ‘beer drinker’. So whenever he does or says something that fits that stereotype, it is very likely to be reported on.

The fourth and last aspect relevant in the news selection process are the social and economic factors (Fowler, 1991). The economic factor refers to the fact that the newspaper industry is a business and that it therefore has to make profits. This obviously has an influence on which news events they report on (sensational stories) and how they report on them (exaggeration). The social factor that has an influence on the representation of the news does not refer to the content but to the people who get to express their opinions in newspapers, that is usually the powerful or prominent ones (Members of Parliament, judges, politicians, CEO’s, etc.) (Fowler, 1991). Because the discourse or the type of language common for these people occurs so often in the papers, newspapers tend to copy or adopt this language as well as the ideological ideas or attitudes in it (Fowler, 1991).

It must be said that on several occasions Fowler (1991) mentions that the processes described in the previous paragraphs usually happen automatically. He does not mean to attack the newspaper industry and say that newspapers deliberately represent ideological

language or ideas but simply wants to study this type of language that people get in touch with on a daily basis (Fowler, 1991).

In the previous paragraphs an overview was given of the aspects Roger Fowler believes could influence the objectivity of the journalistic discourse, but the next paragraph will examine what such 'objectivity' really means, especially for a journalistic discourse, focusing on an article written by Walter Dean on bias and objectivity called *The lost meaning of 'objectivity'* (n.d.).

It appears 'objectivity' was not one of the starting principles of journalism but it was only evoked at the beginning of the twentieth century when it was realised journalists were biased, intentionally or not. Objectivity was then created to make journalists aware of biased language and to make them avoid it in their journalistic discourse by looking for methods or tools that ensure objective language (Dean, n.d.).

In his article Dean especially refers to objectivity as discussed by Walter Lippmann, considered to be one of the founders of modern journalism in the twentieth century. Lippmann was one of the first journalists who went to look for those methods mentioned in the previous paragraph, which could ensure an objective representation of the news. He was in favour of one universal method of 'doing' journalism to ensure objective news representation (Dean, n.d.). According to Lippmann it was not enough to give room to columnists or other sections, such as opinion pieces, where journalists are allowed to express their biased opinions and to assume then that the rest of articles must be objective. But he also admitted that even if one objective method was to be found, it remains the method that is objective and not the journalist (Dean, n.d.). This means that a journalist might use objective language to report on a certain news item but that the content of the news article itself may still show signs of bias. For example, when journalists select the sources that represent their own point of view, or when they quote only the people who share their personal opinions. Some elements of objective language are presented in the following list:

<b>Tools for objective language</b>	
Word choice (Fowler, 1991)	A positive or negative nominalisation (meaning a reference) can give away the author's attitude towards someone (see example of Gorbachev in the discussion of Fowler's theory on objectivity mentioned above)
Adjectives (Rogers, 2015)	Subjective adjectives (positive or negative) give away the author's feelings (e.g.: best or worst)
Different viewpoints (Rogers, 2015)	There are two sides to each story, give a voice to both supporters and opponents
Race or sexual orientation (Sutherlin, 2012)	Do not mention one's race or sexual orientations in an offensive context, it is allowed when it is relevant to the article's subject
Gender (Sutherlin, 2012)	Do not use the generic 'he' or 'she', avoid gender-specific terms

Even though there are many specific tools such as the ones mentioned in the list above, Dean (n.d.) comes to the conclusion, as Lipmann suggests, that there still does not exist one method of 'doing' journalism. It even seems that no methods of reporting objectively are being taught to journalists in training. There are many strategies but they seem to have never been combined into one 'method', meaning there also does not exist one way to verify whether one reports objectively or not (Dean, n.d.).

### 1.3 Newspapers in the UK- the print press media system

The British print press system is very diverse and knows two main distinctions, that of popular versus quality press, and that of left- versus right-leaning press. In the following paragraphs these two distinctions will be examined briefly followed by an overview of the papers studied in this research and a description of where they belong in terms of those two distinctions.

The first distinction to be made between British papers is that of quality and popular papers. Wieland (2009) created a checklist with characteristics of both the popular press, or the *tabloids*, and the quality press, also called *broadsheet*. There are differences between, for example, the lay-out and composition of a quality or popular paper as well as between the language and word choice. Popular papers intend to be “eye-catching” whereas quality papers choose a more neutral lay-out, quality papers use formal language whilst popular papers might use colloquial English (Wieland, 2009). The main difference is probably the type of news items the papers aim to report on. Quality papers focus on national and international news with attention for politics whereas popular papers tend to focus on personal stories and gossip (Wieland, 2009). According to a study of Wring & Deacon (2010: 453) British newspapers can be divided into three categories in terms of quality:

‘Quality’ titles refers to the following: the Guardian, Observer, Telegraph, Sunday Telegraph, Times, Sunday Times, Financial Times, Independent, Independent on Sunday; ‘midmarket’ means the Mail, Mail on Sunday, Express, Sunday Express; and ‘populars’ is a synonym for the so-called ‘red tops’, which are the Sun, News of the World, Mirror, Sunday Mirror, People, Star and Star on Sunday.

The second distinction between British newspapers is that of left- and right-leaning papers. These terms refer to the affiliations of newspapers with a certain left- or right-wing political party. According to the study of Wring & Deacon of the 2010 General Elections, British newspapers have made no effort to hide those affiliations. Their study shows an overview of all the British papers, the political parties they affiliate with and to what extent (strong-moderate-weak). In the next paragraphs only the results of the papers of interest for this research will be discussed, that is, The Daily Mail, The Mirror, The Telegraph and The Guardian.

*The Daily Mail* is what Wring & Deacon (2010) refer to as a ‘midmarket’ paper, meaning neither a quality nor a popular paper, but somewhere in between. The study shows that out of the last five General Elections it supported the Conservative Party (right-wing) four

times. During the General Elections of 2010 their support of the Conservatives was labelled 'strong'. The Daily Mail was founded in 1896 and belongs to the papers with large circulation in Britain (Encyclopaedia Britannica, n.d.).

According to the Wring & Deacon study *The (Daily) Mirror* is considered to be a popular or a 'red top' newspaper and a strong supporter of the Labour party. The paper's own website says it focusses on (the latest breaking) news, sport and showbiz stories. The paper was founded in 1903 and is one of the papers with the largest circulation in the UK (Encyclopaedia Britannica, n.d.). Wring & Deacon's study (2010) shows the paper has been in support of the Labour Party (left-wing) for the last five General Elections in Britain.

The third newspaper that will be examined in this research is *The (Daily) Telegraph*. The paper is described by Wring & Deacon (2010) as a quality newspaper giving moderate support to the Conservative Party (right-wing). During the previous General Elections their support to the Conservatives was labelled strong. The Daily Telegraph was founded in 1855 and even though it does not have the same large circulation as the papers mentioned above, it is considered to be one of the most well-known and read quality newspapers together with The Times and The Guardian (Encyclopaedia Britannica, n.d.).

Finally, the fourth newspaper is *The Guardian*. The Guardian, as already mentioned in the previous paragraph, belongs to the quality newspapers and gave its (moderate) support during the General Elections of 2010 to the Liberal Democrats (considered centre-right). The General Elections before, however, it had shown to be in support (ranging from weak to strong) of the Labour Party (left-wing) (Wring & Deacon, 2010).

None of the newspapers mentioned above are in full support of UKIP, but some are more supportive than others. According to Kellner (2014) readers of so-called right-leaning papers are more sympathetic towards UKIP, more specifically, 20 % of the Daily Mail readers support UKIP, as do 17 % of the readers of the Daily Telegraph. The readers of more centre or left-leaning papers are far less supportive of the party. According to the article only 7 % of the readers of the Daily Mirror are likely to vote for UKIP, and only 1 % of the Guardian's readership would vote for the party (Kellner, 2014).

## 1.4 Historical Background

The first chapter of this paper examined three approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis, one of which is the approach of Ruth Wodak who explains the importance of a historical analysis of the social environments in which the discourse studied appears. This research focusses on the discourse used in news articles reporting on the political party UKIP during the European Elections of 2014. According to Wodak's approach that means examining and understanding UKIP, for example, where it comes from, what it stands for, etc., to be able to study what characteristics of the party the authors of news articles focus on and to be able to conclude whether that choice is biased or not. The same will therefore also be done with the European Elections, in order to understand their purpose and importance.

### 1.4.1 UKIP, the UK Independence Party

The UK Independence Party or UKIP was founded in 1993 when it became the new name for the Anti-Federalist League established by Alan Sked in 1991. UKIP was created out of the opposition to the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 and thus opposed Britain's membership of the European Union (Hunt, 2014). UKIP's first success took place during the European Elections of 1999 when the party, led by Michael Holmes, won its first three seats in the European Parliament. In 2002 former member of the Conservative Party Roger Knapman became the party's leader and in 2004 the party gained the support of show host Robert Kilroy-Silk during the European Elections of that year. UKIP's support grew that year but after Knapman and Kilroy-Silk ended up in dispute over the party's leadership, Kilroy-Silk left the party (Hunt, 2014). It was in 2006 that Nigel Farage became the party's leader. He was successful at the European Elections 2009 but stood down later that year to focus on obtaining a seat in the House of Commons, as until then UKIP had still not been successful at General Elections. Nevertheless, he returned to the position of party leader in 2010. Nigel Farage began increasing the party's membership figures and started focussing on other issues, besides leaving the European Union, such as immigration, which gained the party even more support (Hunt, 2014). In 2013 UKIP performed very well at by-elections and the local elections of that year would become the best local elections for the party so far by ending up the third biggest party. The success remained in 2014, especially when the party won the European Elections with a 27.5% of the total of votes cast (Hunt, 2014).

The UK Independence Party focusses on three main issues: immigration, the protection of the British national identity and Britain's exit from the European Union, especially because of

Brussels' control of the British economy and laws. These issues can also be found in the party's so-called 'Constitution' (The Constitution, 2012). With regard to immigration the party clearly states that its policies will "ensure proper control over the United Kingdom's borders". In the party's manifesto (UKIP Manifesto 2015, 2015) UKIP claims it is not against migration but it wishes to reform the system. Nevertheless, the party has been accused many of times of being racist and many of its members have had to be reprimanded or even removed from the party for unfortunate or controversial statements. Nigel Farage does intend, however, to avoid being linked to the far right (Hunt, 2014). The party's constitution says it:

[...] does not discriminate against or in favour of any person on the grounds of their race, religion, ethnic origin, education, beliefs, sexual orientation, class, social status, sectarianism or any other basis prescribed by law (The Constitution, 2012).

The second main issue of UKIP is that of protecting the British identity. In the party's manifesto (UKIP Manifesto 2015, 2015) UKIP promotes the British culture and it states to be against multiculturalism, instead it encourages patriotism and celebrates so-called 'Britishness'. The party's constitution states:

The Party further believes that the integrity of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (hereinafter "The United Kingdom") should be maintained (The Constitution, 2012).

The third main issue of the party is a so-called 'Brexit', that is the withdrawal of Britain from the European Union. According to its manifesto (UKIP Manifesto 2015, 2015) UKIP is not against Europe but it does seek political and economic independence from the European Union. The party claims British legislation with regard to employment, businesses and immigration is in the hands of the EU as well as the country's economy and several important industries such as the fishing, farming and energy industry. The party is very clear on this issue in their constitution:

[...] the only laws that should apply within the jurisdiction of the United Kingdom are those wholly made by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. To that end it shall be the policy of the Party that the United Kingdom shall cease to be a member of the European Union and shall not thereafter make any Treaty or join any international organisation which involves in any way the surrender of any part of the United Kingdom's sovereignty (The Constitution, 2012).



#### 1.4.2 European Elections

European Elections are organised every five years in order to elect the members of the European Parliament (MEPs). They are organised in all countries part of the European Union and people can vote for members of their country's national political parties. Every country is assigned a fixed number of MEPs primarily according to their population, for example, for the United Kingdom in 2014 that was 73 (European Elections, n.d.). The European Parliament consists of 751 MEPs chosen from the 28 member states of the European Union. Once the MEPs are elected they can become part of a European political party, one that affiliates with the national political party they belong to. In order to form such European party it has to consist, however, of 25 MEPs or more, who have to come from at least 7 different member states. If they fail or do not wish to become member of a European political party they will receive the label 'non-attached' (European Elections, n.d.). Being elected member of the European Parliament is important because the decisions made there affect the home country, especially in terms of legislation and budgetary matters. This is especially the case since the Lisbon Treaty, signed in 2007 but only implemented for the first time during the elections of 2014 (Adhami et al., 2014). Treaties over the years have increased the (legislative) power of the European Parliament in order to limit the power of the European Commission, the institution that originally held all the power, and to obtain a more democratic image. The Treaty of Lisbon extended the power of the European Parliament even further and granted it legislative power in areas such as immigration and public health services, but it also made sure that the European Union needs the European Parliament's permission for every international agreement it makes (Adhami et al., 2014).

UKIP has been successful at every European Election it participated in since 1999, when it became fourth in the UK and won its first three seats with almost 7% of the votes. In 2004 it became the third party in the UK, receiving more votes than the Liberal Democrats with almost 16% of the votes, which accounted for 12 seats. In 2009 UKIP got close to 17% of the votes, it ended up second after the Conservatives and it won another seat (Norsk Senter For Forskningsdata, 2015). In 2014 UKIP achieved its best result when it won the elections with 27.5%, obtaining 24 seats in the European Parliament (UK European Election Results, n.d).

The European Parliamentary Elections of 2014 were especially interesting for UKIP because it was the first time the elections were held according to the Lisbon Treaty signed in 2007. This treaty, as mentioned before, extended the (legislative) powers of the European Parliament in several new areas. One of which of special interest to UKIP, that is immigration. Immigration, as mentioned in the previous section (background on UKIP), is one of the main issues the party

campaigns on. If the party succeeded in joining a European political party that would give it a bigger chance of truly influencing the legislative decisions in the area of immigration, as members of European parties are granted larger budgets, more speaking time in the parliament and also more status (Bearder, 2014). Nigel Farage refused to join the far-right political parties of Marine Le Pen, the French National Front, and of Geert Wilders, the Dutch Party for Freedom in a European political party (Bearder, 2014). Instead he intended to form a new Europe of Freedom and Democracy (EFD) party, a European party that was established for the European Elections of 2009. Farage renamed the party Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy (EFDD). He originally succeeded in finding members from six other member states to form such party (, as mentioned before a European party has to consist of at least 25 MEPs from at least 7 different member states). As it states on the party's own website (<http://www.ukip.org/index>) the new EFDD party was to be formed by members of the following national political parties: UKIP, Italy's Five Star Movement, Lithuania's Order and Justice Party, the Sweden Democrats, the Free Citizen's Party of the Czech Republic, the Latvian Farmers' Union and an Independent MEP from France. The party existed for a few months until the only Latvian MEP, Iveta Grigule, decided to leave the party and the number of participating member states came back down to six (Bearder, 2014). It was in October of 2014 that the party announced in a press release it regained a seventh participating member state with Polish MEP Robert Iwaszkiewicz joining the EFDD party (<http://www.efdgroup.eu/>).

## 2 METHODOLOGY

### 2.1 Corpus

The corpus in this study consists of articles on UKIP or Nigel Farage and articles on the mainstream political party that the paper in question adheres to. This will make it possible to detect contrasts or similarities in terms of bias in the treatment of the parties.

For the composition of the corpora articles were taken from four different newspapers, all well-known in the UK: two quality newspapers (The Daily Telegraph and The Guardian), one mid-market newspaper (The Daily Mail) and one popular newspaper (The Daily Mirror). The diversity of these newspapers will allow us to analyse differences in the coverage of two political parties between popular and quality press, but also between so-called left- and right-leaning newspapers (the affiliations of the newspapers were discussed 1.3 on the British print press media system).

The articles used for the corpora date from the European Parliamentary Election period in 2014. According to an article from Wring & Deacon (2015), *Pints and pratfalls: for UKIP, all publicity is good publicity*, an article on the presence of UKIP in the British print press, British newspapers reported 4.25 times more on UKIP during the European Parliamentary Elections of 2014 than they did during the general elections of 2010. A survey was conducted in order to determine the number of articles on UKIP that appeared in online editions of newspapers during the run-up to the elections (the month of April), the election period itself (May) as well as the aftermath (June). Similarly, the total number of online articles about the mainstream political party supported by a given title was also counted (appendix 1). For both surveys opinion pieces were counted separately. The corpus consists of general news articles, opinion pieces were excluded because they are openly subjective.

After the survey a selection was made of 10 to 15 articles per newspaper covering UKIP or Nigel Farage. For the mainstream political party supported by the newspaper in question a selection of only 5 articles was made, because the focus of this study remains on UKIP and Nigel Farage and the articles on the mainstream party were just selected to make a comparison. The exact number of articles per newspaper can be found in appendix 3.

During the analysis newspapers will be referred to with the following abbreviations: DT (The Daily Telegraph), G (The Guardian), DMa (The Daily Mail) and DMi (The Daily Mirror). The articles retrieved from each newspaper will be given a number. When referring to articles on

UKIP, for example, DMA5, that means The Daily Mail, article 5. References to articles on the party supported by the paper will receive the first letter of the party supported before the abbreviation of the newspaper: LDMi (Labour for the Daily Mirror), CDMa (Conservatives for the Daily Mail), CDT (Conservatives for the Daily Telegraph) and LDG (Liberal Democrats for the Guardian), also followed by the number of the article in question.

## 2.2 Method

A Critical Discourse Analysis based on the approaches of Ruth Wodak and Norman Fairclough (discussed in 1.1.1) is used to analyse the newspaper articles from the corpus and to examine whether they are written objectively. The next section describes those aspects of Wodak's and Fairclough's approach that were introduced to the CDA used in this research. Those aspects will later on be divided in a quantitative and a qualitative analysis followed by an explanation of the coding system that will be used for the analysis.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the approach of Ruth Wodak includes the study of discursive strategies to detect biased language. Three of those discursive strategies will be examined in this research as well: nominalisation, framing and predication. Nominalisation, refers to every title or name given to the political party (either UKIP or the party supported by the paper), as well as the names given to its leaders, its members, or any other association that may reflect positively or negatively on the party or its leader. The second strategy, framing, refers to how a political party (or its leader or members) are reported on or described. As there is a wide range of linguistic tools to contribute to the process of framing, this research will only focus on quotations: quotations can represent the point of view of the party or that of the opposition. Quotations in this study do not necessarily have to be full sentences, quoted terms or words will also be considered as a quotation. The third and final strategy taken from Wodak's approach, predication, is about the recurring themes surrounding a political party or its leader or members, and which are often turned into stereotypes by newspapers.

In addition to the discursive strategies of Wodak, the CDA in this research is also influenced by the approach of Fairclough. The first stage of Fairclough's CDA, as seen in chapter one, focusses on a textual analysis and how a text, or in this case a newspaper article, is organised. Headlines, for example, are the first thing readers read and usually set the tone for the rest of the article. Therefore the headlines, and particularly the wording, of each article in the corpus will also be analysed. A second aspect of Fairclough's approach and of interest for this research is his focus on all types of semiosis, that is, he does not intend to study just written language, but also other types of language, such as visual language. Many of the articles in the corpus are accompanied by pictures which can represent a positive or negative image of a political party or leader as well. Therefore the CDA in this research will also give a brief analysis of the images used in the news articles.

This research will analyse the aspects mentioned in the previous paragraphs both quantitatively and qualitatively. The first part of the analysis, the quantitative analysis, includes counting the different nominalisations that appear in an article and how many of those have a positive connotation, a negative or a neutral one. It also means counting how often one nominalisation appears in the same article and indicating whether that nominalisation reflects on UKIP or on Nigel Farage. Nominalisations, as mentioned above, not only include the terms or titles used to refer to the party or its leader, but also any other association. For example, in DMA1 (The Daily Mail article 1) 8 different nominalisations were found, 4 of them with a positive connotation, 4 of them with a negative one. The nominalisation ‘Mr Farage’ was used 6 times and can be labelled as positive because ‘Mister’ implicates a level of respect. When talking about Farage’s wife, the author preferred the term ‘his German wife’ 5 times. This is labelled as a negative reference since the author clearly chooses to emphasize the fact that Farage’s wife is German despite the anti-European character of his party.

The second aspect of the quantitative analysis is that of framing which, in this research, means counting the number of positive and negative (or neutral) quotations or utterances of the party’s leader or its members or from others about the party. In order to get a clear view of the balance between positive and negative quotations the words of each quotation will be counted. For example, DMA7 contains 11 quotations, 6 of which reflect positively on UKIP or Nigel Farage, 4 of which negatively and 1 of which was labelled as neutral. The positive quotations exist of 464 words, the negative quotations of 18 words, and the neutral one of 2 words. An example from a positive quotation from DMA7 is the following:

They called him a Right-wing extremist, a nutter, away with the fairies, he’ll never get anywhere and what happens? They won one by-election, a schoolmistress way out West, who resisted every bribe and temptation to rejoin the Conservative Party. (The Daily Mail, 26 May 2014)

This quotation can be labelled positive for UKIP because it speaks against the party’s critics and mentions the party’s success in a by-election. An example of a negative quotation from DMA7 is one cited from David Cameron who calls UKIP members “*fruitcakes, loonies and closet racists*” (The Daily Mail, 26 May 2014). The fact that they repeat a quote that speaks negatively of UKIP, its members or its leader is considered negative for the party and thus labelled as such.

The results of the quantitative analyse of the nominalisations and the quotations can be found in appendix 4,5,6 and 7 respectively and in the corresponding excel files. The articles in those

files are referred to with the codes as explained before in this section. The nominalisations and how many times they appear in the article, are listed per article. The total number of nominalisations can be found below each article in a different colour. They are also divided into three tables, indicating whether they reflect positively (+), negatively(-) or neutrally(?). The letter 'U' or 'N' appears after each nominalisation to indicate whether it reflects on UKIP or on Nigel Farage. The quotations were counted for each article as well. The list also shows how many of the quotations reflect positively (+), negatively (-) or neutrally (?) and how many words those three categories are each given in total per article.

The second part of the analysis, the qualitative analysis, consists of examining the discursive strategy 'predication' from Ruth Wodak's approach to CDA, as well as studying articles' headlines and images following the example of Norman Fairclough's approach. The first aspect of the qualitative analysis examines the articles' headlines. Headlines are the first to be read and tend to give an impression of the tone that is set for the rest of the article. Headlines can reflect positively or negatively, or both, on a party or its leader. The headline of G1, for example, is "*Ukip is the party with most reasons to be cheerful ahead of European elections*". This headline is considered positive because it acknowledges the probable success of the UKIP in the upcoming elections. Headlines can also be both positive and negative. G5, for example, heads "*Ukip likely to come out top in European elections, warn Hain and Tebbit*". This headline starts on a positive note but ends with a negative aspect, that is the term 'warn', which implies UKIP's probable success is something to be warned of. An overview of all headlines can be found in appendix 8.

The second aspect is the analysis of images used in the articles. Both images on UKIP and Nigel Farage and images on the mainstream parties and its leaders will be examined. The analysis will discuss whether some images reflect positively or negatively on the party or the leader in question. Many of the articles studied adopt the same kind of images of the parties and its leader. Appendix 9 shows a list of which images can be found in which articles.

The third and final aspect of the qualitative analysis is predication, which refers to several recurring themes which often lead to the use of stereotypes by newspapers. When reading through to the articles a selection of three of those recurring themes or stereotypes was made (overview in appendix 10):

- UKIP and Nigel Farage are racist
- UKIP members are dubious
- Nigel Farage and UKIP tend to be popular with the working class voters

The first two stereotypes of this list are considered negative, the third stereotype can either reflect positively or negatively on the party and its leader. An example of the negative stereotype “UKIP and Nigel Farage are racist” is the party’s immigration campaign which newspapers tend to call racist. The Daily Mirror, for example, confirms this stereotype by mentioning the following in DMi6:

Critics say the posters, which cost UKIP £1.5million and were paid for by millionaire former Conservative party donor Paul Sykes, resemble those once produced by the British National Party. (The Daily Mirror, 21 April 2014)

The paper compares UKIP’s immigration campaign to that of the far right British National Party and thereby confirms the stereotype of their campaign being racist.

The results of the qualitative analysis will primarily be used in the next chapter to discuss some remarkable results that either confirm the answers to the research questions provided by the quantitative analysis or that contradict them.



### 3 RESULTS

#### 3.1 Quantitative analysis

The following figure gives an overview of the results of the number of positive, negative or neutral nominalisations as well as of the number of words given to either positive, negative or neutral quotations in articles on UKIP as well as in articles on the supported mainstream parties. The last column indicates the share of all four newspapers together.

<b>N</b>	<b>DMa</b>	<b>DMi</b>	<b>DT</b>	<b>G</b>	<b>Total</b>
+	30.35 %	31.74 %	29.13 %	12.18 %	25.85 %
-	4.91 %	12.61 %	3.90 %	7.65 %	7.27 %
Neutral	64.74 %	55.65 %	66.97 %	80.17 %	66.88 %
	<b>CDMa</b>	<b>LDMi</b>	<b>CDT</b>	<b>LDG</b>	
+	25.55 %	39.02 %	18.18 %	7.19 %	22.49 %
-	2.92 %	4.07 %	6.6 %	10.07 %	5.92 %
Neutral	72.53 %	56.91 %	75.76 %	82.73 %	71.98 %
<b>Q</b>	<b>DMa</b>	<b>DMi</b>	<b>DT</b>	<b>G</b>	<b>Total</b>
+	54.12%	26.81%	40.09%	47.71%	42.18 %
-	25.26%	54.73%	29.06%	39.82%	37.22 %
Neutral	20.62%	18.46%	30.85%	12.47%	20.51 %
	<b>CDMa</b>	<b>LDMi</b>	<b>CDT</b>	<b>LDG</b>	
+	60.53%	52.93%	63.77%	62.78%	60.00 %
-	13.95%	29.87%	28.02%	28.45%	25.07 %
Neutral	25.52%	17.20%	8.21%	8.78%	14.93 %

Figure 1: Overall results of the nominalisations and quotations analysis

The first research question is “To what extent are general news articles biased in the coverage of UKIP and Nigel Farage, compared to the coverage of a mainstream party?”. Examining the last column of figure 1, the total share of all four papers together, the results of the nominalisations show that 66.88 % of the references in general news articles on UKIP or Nigel Farage are objective compared to 71.98 % of neutral references in articles on the supported mainstream parties. This means that general news articles on UKIP or Farage are slightly more biased in their nominalisations, either positively or negatively, than articles on the supported mainstream parties. The results of the quotations analysis, on the other hand, show that general news articles on the mainstream parties give more room to quotations (positively or negatively),

indicating bias, with only 14.93% neutral quotations, compared to articles on UKIP or Farage, with 20.51% neutral quotations.

Examining some papers separately, the Daily Mirror especially proves to be more negative in its nominalisations in articles on UKIP or Farage (12.61%) than in articles on the Labour Party (4.07%). One of the negative nominalisations the Mirror uses, for example, is: “UKIP: Racist jibes, anti-gay rants, derogatory remarks about women and anti-foreign propaganda” (DMi8). The paper’s coverage is also in line with the hypothesis when looking at the quotation results, by giving largely more room to negative quotations in articles on UKIP or Farage (54.73%) than to negative quotations in articles on Labour (29.87%). In DMi7 a protester says the following about UKIP:

I think UKIP are disgraceful and blatantly racist. It's just breeding hatred. Unfortunately some people find these buffoon characters appealing. They need to see past this very clever mask and see Nigel Farage for what he is. (The Daily Mirror, 1 May 2014)

The Daily Telegraph coverage, on the other hand, refutes the hypothesis by referring even more positively to UKIP or Farage (29.13%) than to the Conservative Party (18.18%), the party it is said to be sympathetic towards. It refers to UKIP, for example, with “the biggest challenge to Britain’s main parties for decades” (DT10).

The second research question is “What are, in terms of bias, the similarities and/or contrasts in the coverage of right-leaning papers and that of left-leaning papers?”.

<b>N UKIP</b>	<b>RIGHT</b>	<b>LEFT</b>
+	29.74%	21.96%
-	4.41%	10.13%
Neutral	65.86%	67.91%
<b>N Party x</b>		
+	21.87%	23.11%
-	4.76%	7.07%
Neutral	74.15%	69.82%
<b>Q UKIP</b>		
+	47.11%	37.26%
-	27.16%	47.28%
Neutral	25.74%	15.47%
<b>Q Party x</b>		
+	62.15%	57.86%
-	20.99%	29.16%
Neutral	16.87%	12.99%

Figure 2: Results of nominalisations and quotations of left- and right-leaning titles on UKIP and on the supported mainstream parties

The nominalisations show that, although both the right- and left-leaning press refer more positively than negatively to UKIP or Nigel Farage, the right-leaning press does use even more positive and less negative nominalisations than the left-leaning press does. Looking at the references to the supported mainstream parties, left-leaning titles are indeed slightly more positive about their mainstream party (23.11%) than about UKIP (21.96%), and less negative about the mainstream party (7.07%) than about UKIP (10.13%). The results of the right-leaning titles are surprising as they use even more positive nominalisations for UKIP or Farage (29.74%) than for the mainstream parties they are sympathetic towards (21.87%). The right-leaning press uses about as many negative references for their mainstream parties as they do for UKIP. The most remarkable result between right- and left-leaning titles examining the quotations is that of the words given to negative quotations in articles on UKIP or Nigel Farage. Right-leaning press gives 27.16% of the total words of quotations to negative ones, compared to 47.28% in articles on UKIP of the left-leaning press, confirming the hypothesis that left-leaning titles are more negative towards UKIP or Farage than right-leaning titles.

Comparing, for example, the Daily Mail (right-leaning title) to the Guardian (left-leaning title), there is indeed a difference in bias. The Daily Mail refers largely more positively to UKIP or Farage (30.35%) than the Guardian does (12.18%). Looking at the quotations, the hypothesis is confirmed as well, with the Daily Mail giving less room to negative quotations about UKIP or Farage (25.26%) than the Guardian (39.82%). In G4, for example, the Guardian quotes a student commenting on UKIP:

Ukip have come along today and are giving easy answers to the fears that people have, whipping up racism against migrants and people who come to this country. They're using that to gain political advantage out of a horrendous situation. I don't think Farage believes a word he says. (The Guardian, 22 April 2014)

The third research question is “What are, in terms of bias, the similarities and/or contrasts in the coverage of the quality press and that of the popular press?”.

<b>N UKIP</b>	<b>Popular</b>	<b>Quality</b>
+	31.05%	20.66%
-	8.76%	5.78%
Neutral	60.20%	73.57%
<b>N Party x</b>		
+	32.29%	12.69%
-	3.50%	8.34%
Neutral	64.72%	79.25%
<b>Q UKIP</b>		
+	40.47%	43.90%
-	39.99%	34.44%
Neutral	19.54%	21.66%
<b>Q Party x</b>		
+	56.73%	63.28%
-	21.91%	28.24%
Neutral	21.36%	8.50%

Figure 3: Results of nominalisations and quotations of popular and quality titles on UKIP and on the supported mainstream parties

The hypothesis says popular press is expected to be more biased than quality press. The results of the nominalisations confirm that, with the quality titles referring more objectively to UKIP or Nigel Farage (73.57%) than the popular titles (60.20%). Quality titles also use more neutral terms when referring to the supported mainstream parties (79.25%) compared to the popular

titles (64.72%). Looking at the quotations about UKIP or Farage, however, there is little difference between popular and quality press. They both seem to be giving a similar amount of room to positive, negative and neutral quotations, meaning the popular press is not particularly more biased than the quality press in its quotations about UKIP or Farage. And when looking at the quotations about the supported mainstream parties, the hypothesis is even contradicted with the quality titles giving less room to neutral quotations (8.50%) than the popular titles (21.36%).

Comparing, for example, the Daily Mirror (popular) and the Daily Telegraph (quality), the nominalisation results (figure 1) show that the Daily Mirror refers indeed less objectively to UKIP or Nigel Farage (55.65%) than the Daily Telegraph does (66.97%). The quotations also confirm the hypothesis, with the Daily Telegraph giving more room to objective quotations about UKIP or Farage (30.85%) than the Daily Mirror (18.46%).

The fourth and final research question is “What are, in terms of bias, the similarities and/or contrasts in the coverage of UKIP and of Nigel Farage?”. Due to the extent and length of the research results, the difference in coverage of UKIP and that of Nigel Farage will only be based on nominalisations.

<b>DMa</b>	(+)	(-)	(?)
Nigel Farage	46.67%	10.00%	43.33%
UKIP	6.82%	9.09%	84.09%
<b>DMi</b>	(+)	(-)	(?)
Nigel Farage	39.39%	25.76%	34.85%
UKIP	24.07%	20.37%	55.56%
<b>DT</b>	(+)	(-)	(?)
Nigel Farage	54.72%	3.77%	41.51%
UKIP	36.73%	9.18%	54.08%
<b>G</b>	(+)	(-)	(?)
Nigel Farage	39.06%	9.38%	51.56%
UKIP	9.47%	18.95%	71.58%
<b>Total</b>	(+)	(-)	(?)
Nigel Farage	44.96%	12.23%	42.81%
UKIP	19.27%	14.40%	66.33%

Figure 4: Results of nominalisations used for UKIP and for Nigel Farage for each newspaper

Examining the average result (of the four papers together), general news articles do refer more positively to Nigel Farage (44.96%) than to UKIP (19.27), confirming the hypothesis. Especially the Daily Mail reports more positively on Farage (46.67%) than on UKIP (6.82%). When referring to UKIP, the Daily Mail appears to be preferring neutral nominalisations (84.09%). Also the Guardian adopts 39.06% of positive nominalisations for Farage, compared to only 9.47% positive references to UKIP. Remarkably, the Daily Mirror, left-leaning and popular, refers quite positively Nigel Farage (39.39%) but also to UKIP (24.7%).

The following figure will give an overview of how the research questions can be answered after the quantitative results:

Research questions	Quantitative results
To what extent are general news articles biased in the coverage of UKIP and Nigel Farage, compared to the coverage of a mainstream party?	<p><u>Nominalisations:</u> general news articles on UKIP or Nigel Farage are more biased than articles on the supported mainstream parties</p> <p><u>Quotations:</u> general news articles on UKIP or Nigel Farage are not more biased, on the contrary, they are even less biased than articles on the mainstream parties</p>
What are, in terms of bias, the similarities and/or contrasts in the coverage of right-leaning papers and that of left-leaning papers?	<p><u>Nominalisations:</u> both right- and left-leaning press report more positively than negatively on UKIP or Nigel Farage, the right-leaning press does so even more</p> <p><u>Quotations:</u> right-leaning press reports more positively on UKIP or Nigel Farage and left-leaning press more negatively</p>
What are, in terms of bias, the similarities and/or contrasts in the coverage of the quality press and that of the popular press?	<p><u>Nominalisations:</u> general news articles on UKIP or Nigel Farage of the popular press are more biased, positively or negatively, than those of the quality press</p> <p><u>Quotations:</u> general news articles on UKIP or Nigel Farage of the popular press are not particularly more biased, positively or negatively, than those of the quality press</p>
What are, in terms of bias, the similarities and/or contrasts in the coverage of UKIP and of Nigel Farage?	<p><u>Nominalisations:</u> all four newspapers studied report more positively on Nigel Farage than on UKIP</p>

### 3.2 Qualitative analysis

The first aspect of the qualitative analysis are the general news articles' headlines on UKIP or Nigel Farage and on the supported mainstream parties. An overview of all articles' headlines can be found in appendix 8. The first research question seems to be hard to answer with qualitative results, firstly, because it asks to what extent articles on UKIP or Farage are more biased compared to articles on the supported mainstream party. Without numbers it is rather hard to say which articles are 'more biased (positively or negatively)'. Secondly, very few of the headlines can be labelled 'neutral', they all seem to reflect either positively or negatively on the party in question. The results seem to differ for each paper. The Daily Mail results cannot confirm the hypothesis as its headlines are positively biased in both the articles on UKIP or Farage and the articles on the Conservative Party. The Daily Mirror is also rather biased in both cases, negatively in articles on UKIP and positively in articles on the Labour Party. The headline of DMi11, for example, "Nearly 38% of voters UNAWARE European elections take place on Thursday", can be considered negative because the term 'unaware' in capitals implies that if UKIP won the European Parliamentary Elections it would not be representative because a large part of the population is not informed of the elections. The Daily Telegraph adopts both positive and negative headlines on UKIP or Farage, and mostly positive headlines on the Conservative Party. The Guardian, finally, is mostly negative in its headlines on UKIP, and both positive and negative in its headlines on the Liberal Democrats. The headline of LDG3, for example, says "Nick Clegg rejects call to quit if Lib Dems wiped out in European elections". This headline is considered negative because 'Nick Clegg rejects call to quit' rather depicts Nick Clegg as a stubborn politician still willing to lead the party despite calls from his own party to quit.

Comparing the headlines of the left- and right-leaning press, the results are similar to those of the quantitative analysis. Left-leaning papers do indeed start off their articles with more negative headlines. The headlines of the Daily Mirror and the Guardian are indeed mostly negative, those of the right-leaning press are both negative and positive (Daily Telegraph) or mostly positive (Daily Mail).

Comparing headlines of the popular press to those of the quality press, the results correspond to those of the nominalisations, that is, the popular press is more biased, positively or negatively, than the quality press. The Daily Mail and the Daily Mirror have either positive or negative headlines, while the quality titles, the Daily Telegraph and the Guardian are fifty-fifty in some cases. For example, the Telegraph is neither overly positive nor overly negative in its



headlines on UKIP or Farage. DT1, for example, heads “European elections: Conservatives face poll humiliation as one in three Tory voters defects to Ukip”, considered positive for UKIP. The headline of DT11, on the other hand, says “British Asian Ukip youth leader quits 'racist' and 'terrifying' Ukip”, considered negative for the party. The same goes for the Guardian with its headlines on the Liberal Democrats.

The analysis of the headlines did not allow to provide results for the fourth research question (UKIP versus Nigel Farage). No division between headlines on UKIP and headlines on Farage was made due to the extent and length of the results already acquired.

The second qualitative aspect are the images used in the general news articles. Appendix 9 shows a list of which images can be found in which articles. The images seem to confirm the hypothesis to the first research question. All four papers show more bias in their images of Farage compared to images of other party leaders, using several less serious images of Farage compared to the neutral ones of the mainstream party leaders. The articles on UKIP or Nigel Farage often include images of Farage laughing heartily or with a pint of beer, while pictures of other leaders are mostly neutral or depict them giving interviews or speeches or smiling modestly. The two images below taken from articles of the Daily Mail illustrate the difference.



Left image: 27 May 2014 (DMA9), right image: 27 May 2014 (CDMa3)

Nevertheless, the frequent use of images of Farage smiling or with a pint of beer can be interpreted as an attempt to depict Farage as a more ‘affable’ politician, a politician that stands more closely to the people, in which case it reflects positively on Farage.

There is little difference in the use of images between left- and right-leaning press. It is possible right-leaning titles introduce the images to depict Farage as an ‘affable’ politician, as mentioned above, and left-leaning titles do so to depict him as a less serious politician, but this research has no evidence to support such a statement. There also seems to be no difference in the images of the popular and quality press. The quality titles do seem to use fewer images than the popular ones, but no quantitative analysis of this aspect was made due to the extensive results this research already provided.

Very few articles use images of UKIP, the party itself. Most images in articles on UKIP or Farage depict the party leader. The images that do reflect on the party, mostly reflect negatively. The following image is an example taken from DMA3.



Image: 21 May 2014 (DMA3)

The third and final aspect of the qualitative analysis is predication, referring to recurring themes, often turned into stereotypes, on UKIP and Nigel Farage. In section 2.2 Method, we discussed the three recurring themes selected. This research did not study stereotypes on the supported mainstream parties because they would have been taken from only 5 articles, which could have led to a distorted conclusion. Only 5 articles on the mainstream parties were introduced into the corpus because the prime focus of this research is on UKIP and Nigel Farage. This section will therefore not contribute to the answer to the first research question.

The hypothesis to the second research question says right-leaning titles are expected to be more positive about UKIP and Nigel Farage and left-leaning titles more negative. The quantitative results showed they are either both mostly positive (nominalisations) or the right-leaning press is indeed more positive than the left-leaning press (quotations). The results of the analysis of the recurring themes correspond to those of the quotations analysis. Although the right-leaning

titles also introduce negative ‘stereotypes’, the left-leaning titles do so more intensely. The Daily Mirror seems to focus particularly strongly on the racist image of UKIP and Nigel Farage, and the Guardian appears to focus on the dubious character of the party’s members:

(...) the decision of a prominent Asian woman to quit the party saying it had “descended into a form of racist populism” (...) Sanya-Jeet Thandi, who was chairwoman of UKIP’s London youth wing, said: “The direction the party is going is terrifying.” (The Daily Mirror, 17 May 2014)

At the weekend, Ukip became embroiled in a fresh racism row following revelations that William Henwood, a local election candidate for the party in Enfield, north London, had said Lenny Henry should emigrate to a "black country" after the comedian and actor suggested ethnic minorities were poorly represented on British television. (The Guardian, 27 April 2014)

One remarkable example of a negative recurring theme by a right-leaning title is that of the Daily Telegraph in DT3:

He thinks he can do it on the back of working class voters, many of whom have never voted Tory, angered by immigration and disaffected with politicians who speak a language they don't recognise. Academics have dubbed Ukip’s base the “left behind” voters – typically older, typically male, typically northern, less likely to be university educated, who feel they no longer recognise or have a role in modern Britain. (The Daily Telegraph, 23 April 2014)

The results of the quantitative section for the third research question (popular versus quality press) say popular titles are more biased, positively or negatively (nominalisations) or popular titles are not particularly more biased (quotations). The examination of the three recurring themes shows that all papers make use of biased themes (positive or negative), and that the popular titles, similar to the results of the quotation analysis, are not particularly more biased. The Daily Mirror does focus on the ‘racist image of UKIP and Nigel Farage’ in several articles, but the Guardian also frequently mentions ‘UKIP’s dubious candidates’. A qualitative analysis of the recurring themes does not seem to prove popular titles are more biased, positively or negatively, than quality ones.

Looking at the fourth and final research question (UKIP versus Nigel Farage), the recurring themes do mostly seem to reflect on the party or its members rather than on Nigel Farage. A fourth possible recurring theme could have been Nigel Farage’s presentation as an ‘affable’ man, but, as mentioned in the section on the images, it would be hard to tell if the intention is truly to depict him as affable rather than to depict him as a less serious politician (since the theme mostly would have contained statements on Farage’s drinking or his appearances in bars). Nevertheless, the analysis of the three themes selected does confirm the hypothesis that

the British press seems to be more negative about UKIP and more positive about Nigel Farage considering the negative stereotypes surrounding UKIP are emphasized more strongly.

## 4 CONCLUSION

Both the results of the quantitative analysis and the qualitative analysis show that not all research questions can be answered unambiguously. The hypothesis to the first research question, “general news articles on UKIP or Nigel Farage are more biased than articles on the supported mainstream parties”, is supported by some of the aspects examined, but not by others. The analysis of the nominalisations and of the images shows general news articles on UKIP or Farage are indeed more biased than articles on the mainstream parties. The quotations analysis, on the other hand, indicates the opposite, meaning articles on the mainstream parties are more biased.

The second research question is “What are, in terms of bias, the similarities and/or contrasts in the coverage of right-leaning papers and of left-leaning papers?”. The hypothesis was that right-leaning titles tend to be more positive about UKIP and left-leaning titles more negative. This hypothesis seems to be confirmed. The analysis of nominalisations shows both right- and left-leaning titles are rather positive, but the right-leaning titles are even more positive. The analysis of quotations and headlines confirms right-leaning titles are more positive and left-leaning titles more negative. The analysis of the recurring themes or ‘stereotypes’ shows right-leaning titles also introduce negative stereotypes, but emphasize them less than left-leaning titles do.

The hypothesis to the third research question is general news articles on UKIP or Farage from the popular press tend to be more biased, positively or negatively, than articles from the quality press. The aspects examined do seem to confirm that hypothesis, although some do so more strongly than others. The analysis of the nominalisations and the headlines concludes that the popular press is indeed more biased, positively or negatively, than the quality press. The analysis of the quotations shows that the popular press is more biased, but compared to the quality press the difference is rather small. The results of the recurring themes or ‘stereotypes’ are not conclusive, as both the popular and the quality press introduce negative stereotypes, the one not particularly emphasizing them more than the other.

The fourth and final research question is “What are, in terms of bias, the similarities and/or contrasts in the coverage of UKIP and of Nigel Farage?”. The hypothesis says the British press tends to report more positively on Nigel Farage and more negatively on UKIP. The results of the nominalisations analysis suggest that hypothesis is correct. With regard to the images and recurring themes or ‘stereotypes’, the results should be handled more carefully. The Results chapter mentions that if the images try to depict Farage as an ‘affable’ man, rather than a less

serious politician, the hypothesis can indeed be confirmed. This research has, however, not found a way to determine the papers' intentions with certainty with regard to this aspect. The analysis of 'stereotypes' is confronted with the same uncertainty regarding the intentions of depicting Farage. Nevertheless, the negative stereotypes surrounding UKIP are more numerous and emphasized more strongly, confirming the hypothesis the British press is more negative about UKIP than about Nigel Farage.

This research seems to confirm some of the assumptions about journalism and objectivity, such as the different treatment of topics by the left- and right-leaning press or by the popular and quality press. At the same time this research has shown those differences are not always as strong as expected and critical nuancing is necessary. This research has chosen to focus on the UK Independence Party, a controversial party, meaning biased opinions, either positive or negative, are to be expected perhaps. Further research on this subject could be interesting. It would be interesting to see if there is also a difference between the coverage of two of the mainstream parties. This research also made a selection of aspects to study bias in newspapers, but there are many more aspects that can be studied and which could also provide interesting results.

## 5 BIBLIOGRAPHY

### 5.1 Bibliographical References

- Adhami, S., Lannon, E., & Chamon, M. (2014). The 2014 Elections of the European Parliament.. University of Ghent, Faculty of Law.
- Angermüller, J., Maingueneau, D., & Wodak, R. (2014). *The discourse studies reader: main currents in theory and analysis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Bearder, C. (2014). Ukip's European Parliament group has collapsed: what does this mean? *NewStatesman*. Retrieved from <http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2014/10/ukips-european-parliament-group-has-collapsed-what-does-mean>
- Daily Mail. (n.d.). In *Encyclopædia Britannica online*. Retrieved from <http://www.britannica.com/topic/Daily-Mail>
- Dean, W. (n.d). The lost meaning of 'objectivity'. In *About us, Journalism Essentials guides*. Retrieved from <https://www.americanpressinstitute.org/journalism-essentials/>
- European Elections. (n.d.). Retrieved from [http://www.euoparl.org.uk/en/your-meps/european\\_elections.html](http://www.euoparl.org.uk/en/your-meps/european_elections.html)
- European Elections. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.euoparl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/20150201PVL00036/Elections>
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis : the critical study of language*. Harlow [etc.]: Longman (Pearson Education).
- Fairclough, N. (2001). *Language and power*. 2nd ed. Harlow: Longman.
- Fowler, R. (1991). *Language in the news : discourse and ideology in the press*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Hunt, A. (2014, November 29). UKIP: The story of the UK Independence Party's rise. *BBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-21614073>
- Iwaszkiewicz, R.J., Farage, N., Borrelli, D. (2014, October 20). *EFDD Group back with a bang. Normal transmission resumed*. Retrieved from <http://www.efddgroup.eu/newsroom/press-releases/item/efdd-group-back-with-a-bang-normal-transmission-resumed>
- Kellner, P. (2014, February 24). Where UKIP gets its support. Retrieved from <https://yougov.co.uk/news/2014/02/24/where-ukip-gets-its-support/>
- Kendall, Gavin (2007). What Is Critical Discourse Analysis? Ruth Wodak in Conversation with Gavin Kendall [38 paragraphs]. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 8(2), Art. 29. Retrieved from <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0702297>
- Norsk Senter For Forskningsdata (NSD). (2015, August 4). European Parliament Elections. [Nesstar webview]. Retrieved from [http://www.nsd.uib.no/european\\_election\\_database/election\\_types/ep\\_elections/index.html](http://www.nsd.uib.no/european_election_database/election_types/ep_elections/index.html)
- Richardson, J. E. (2007). *Analysing newspapers : an approach from critical discourse analysis*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rogers, T. (2016, April 28). Here Are the Things You Need to Know About Objectivity and Fairness. Retrieved from <http://journalism.about.com/od/ethicsprofessionalism/a/objectivity.htm> . Consulted on 2016, January 10.
- Schiffrin, D., Tannen, D., & Hamilton, H. Ehernberger. (2003). *The handbook of discourse analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Sutherlin, E. (2012, July 6). Writings news: How to stay unbiased and objective. Retrieved

- from <http://www.examiner.com/article/writings-news-how-to-stay-unbiased-and-objective>
- The Constitution. (2012). Retrieved from [http://www.ukip.org/the\\_constitution](http://www.ukip.org/the_constitution)
- The Daily Telegraph. (n.d.). In *Encyclopædia Britannica online*. Retrieved from <http://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Daily-Telegraph>
- The Mirror. (n.d.). In *Encyclopædia Britannica online*. Retrieved from <http://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Mirror-British-newspaper>
- UK European Election Results. (n.d.). *BBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/events/vote2014/eu-uk-results#orb-banner>
- UKIP Manifesto 2015 [PDF]. (2015). Retrieved from <http://www.ukip.org/manifesto2015>
- Wieland, B. (2009, March 11). Newspaper articles: broadsheet vs tabloid, checklist mit den Merkmalen von broadsheets und tabloids [PDF]. Retrieved from <https://mrwieland.wordpress.com/2009/03/11/newspaper-articles-broadsheet-vs-tabloid/>
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2001). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage.
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2009). Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory, and Methodology. In Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (2nd ed.) (1-33). London: Sage.
- Wring, D., & Deacon, D. (2010). Patterns of press partisanship in the 2010 General Election. *British Politics (2010)* 5, 436–454. doi:10.1057/bp.2010.18
- Wring, D., & Deacon, D. (2015, March 19). Pints and pratfalls: for UKIP, all publicity is good publicity. Retrieved from <http://theconversation.com/pints-and-pratfalls-for-ukip-all-publicity-is-good-publicity-38885>



## 5.2 Primary sources

### Articles from the Daily Mail:

- DMA1 - Chapman, J., Chorley, M., Gayle, D. (2014, April 30). So, Nigel Farage, whose job is your German wife taking? Ukip leader is confronted over controversial posters by a question that hits close to home. *The Daily Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2610639/Nigel-Farage-job-German-wife-taking.html>
- DMA2 - Duell, M. (2014, April 27). Ukip surges into lead in European election contest: Poll gives Nigel Farage's party 31% support after bruising week of controversies. *The Daily Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2614326/Ukip-surges-lead-European-election-contest-Poll-gives-Nigel-Farages-party-31-support.html>
- DMA3 - McTague, T. (2014, April 30). Ukip on course to win more than HALF of votes in some areas despite 1 in 3 voters saying Farage's party is racist. *The Daily Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2616981/Ukip-course-win-HALF-votes-areas-despite-1-3-voters-saying-Farages-party-racist.html>
- DMA4 - Associated Press. (2014, May 19). British Euroskeptics say: We're not racist. *The Daily Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/ap/article-2632781/British-Euroskeptics-say-Were-not-racist.html>
- DMA5 - Chorley, M. (2014, May 21). I would do a deal with the devil to get an EU vote, Farage says as he reveals plan to paper over 'cracks' in Ukip's one-man band. *The Daily Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2634925/I-deal-devil-EU-vote-Farage-says-reveals-plan-paper-cracks-Ukips-one-man-band.html>
- DMA6 - Chapman, J., Groves, J., Stevens, J. (2014, May 22). Ukip closing in on victory: Poll puts Farage seven points ahead on day of crucial EU vote. *The Daily Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2635609/Ukip-closing-victory-Poll-puts-Farage-seven-points-ahead-day-crucial-EU-vote.html>
- DMA7 - Walters, S. (2014, May 26). Now I will destroy the Tory party': In a crowing interview, Nigel Farage reveals he will quit politics... once he's got the UK out of the EU. *The Daily Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2638377/Now-I-destroy-Tory-party-In-crowing-interview-Nigel-Farage-reveals-quit-politics-hes-got-UK-EU.html>
- DMA8 - Adams, G. (2014, May 26). 'It looks like we've won a great victory,' said Farage. 'Right then, where's the bar?'. *The Daily Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2639233/It-looks-like-weve-won-great-victory-said-Farage-Right-wheres-bar.html>
- DMA9 - Roden, A. (2014, May 27). Now I'll stop Scotland splitting from the UK,' vows Farage as he says he will take on Alex Salmond over independence after Euro election triumph. *The Daily Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2640457/After-European-election-triumph-Farage-vows-tackle-Scotlands-First-Minister-Alex-Salmond-save-Britain.html>
- DMA10 - Donnelley, P. (2014, May 31). Most of Ukip's four million plus supporters intend to vote for them again in general election, poll reveals. *The Daily Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2644659/Ukip-wont-just-vanish-Most-four-million-plus-supporters-intend-vote-general-election-poll-reveals.html>
- DMA11 - McTague, T. (2014, June 1). Farage's plan for Britain: Tax free minimum wage, a grammar school in every town and help for the rich. *The Daily Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2645262/Farages-plan-Britain-Tax-free-minimum-wage-grammar-school-town-help-rich.html>
- DMA12 - Chorley, M. (2014, June 9). 'Britain isn't Britain without Farage with a pint in one

hand and a mystery woman in the other': Gordon Brown mocks UKIP leader. *The Daily Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2653052/Britain-isnt-Britain-without-Farage-pint-one-hand-mystery-woman-Gordon-Brown-mocks-UKIP-leader.html>

DMa13 - Stevens, J. (2014, June 12). Nigel Farage facing £20,000 fine as election watchdog probes failure to declare £200,000 worth of donations to party since 2001. *The Daily Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2656482/Nigel-Farage-facing-20-000-fine-election-watchdog-probes-failure-declare-200-000-worth-donations-party-2001.html>

DMa14 - Steere, T., Cohen, T., & Stevans, J. (2014, May 31). Ukip's voters will still back the party at the general election, casting doubt on Tory claims that supporters were 'lending' their votes to Nigel Farage. *The Daily Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2644441/Ukips-voters-party-general-election-casting-doubt-Tory-claims-supporters-lending-votes-Nigel-Farage.html>

DMa15 - Cohen, T. (2014, May 21). We could have joint Tory-Ukip candidates in 2015, says Farage: Leader says some eurosceptics would be open to the idea. *The Daily Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2635644/We-joint-Tory-Ukip-candidates-2015-says-Farage-Leader-says-eurosceptics-open-idea.html>

CDMa1 - Chorley, M. (2014, May 11). Cameron will call for Britain to LEAVE the European Union if he fails in bid to claw powers back from Brussels. *The Daily Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2625356/Cameron-says-I-EU-election-plea-sceptical-voters-want-change-dont-believe-promises.html>

CDMa2 - Chapman, J. (2014, June 30). Liars, turncoats and cowards! Top Tories blast European allies but PM gets a boost in the polls. *The Daily Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2675842/Liars-turncoats-cowards-Top-Tories-blast-European-allies-PM-gets-boost-polls.html>

CDMa3 - Martin, D. (2014, May 27). Brussels is too big and too bossy, Cameron tells EU leaders (including Kinnock's daughter-in-law). *The Daily Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2640795/Europe-big-bossy-interfering-David-Cameron-vows-block-pro-EU-candidate-Brussels-job-wake-UKIPs-election-success.html>

CDMa4 - Martin, D. (2014, June 7). Newark win is blueprint for beating Ukip, boast Tories: David Cameron told to stick to 'optimistic' message after by-election win. *The Daily Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2651218/Newark-win-blueprint-beating-Ukip-boast-Tories-David-Cameron-told-stick-optimistic-message-election-win.html>

CDMa5 - Martin, D., & Chapman, J. (2014, May 23). Cameron under pressure to strike deal with Ukip as jubilant Farage boasts he's heading for Euro triumph. *The Daily Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2637767/Cameron-pressure-strike-deal-Ukip-jubilant-Farage-boasts-heading-Euro-triumph.html>

#### Articles from the Daily Mirror:

DMi1 - Burrows, B. (2014, April 2). Nigel Farage: Nine things you DIDN'T know about the much-talked about UKIP leader. *The Daily Mirror*. Retrieved from <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/nigel-farage-profile-nine-things-3341200>

DMi2 - Mudie, K. (2014, April 5). Nigel Farage fails to turn TV debate victory over Nick Clegg into votes. *The Daily Mirror*. Retrieved from <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/nigel-farage-ukip-leader-fails-3378985>

DMi3 - Smith, M. (2014, April 12). Watch Nigel Farage squirm under questioning about his

- £2m expenses on Have I Got News For You?. *The Daily Mirror*. Retrieved from <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/video-watch-nigel-farage-squirm-3404236>
- DMi4 - Eady, P. (2014, April 15). UKIP's Nigel Farage could face expenses probe after receiving EU cash to pay for office he uses RENT-FREE. *The Daily Mirror*. Retrieved from <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/ukips-nigel-farage-could-face-3414955>
- DMi5 - McTague, T. (2014, April 16). Nigel Farage defends EU handouts: UKIP leader says he'll spend how he likes. *The Daily Mirror*. Retrieved from <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/nigel-farage-defends-eu-handouts-3417783>
- DMi6 - Norris, M. (2014, April 21). Nigel Farage slammed over new UKIP anti-immigration poster campaign branded 'racist' by critics. *The Daily Mirror*. Retrieved from <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/nigel-farage-defends-alarming-new-3438987>
- DMi7 - Smith, R. (2014, May 1). EU chicken! Nigel Farage chickens out when the Mirror ruffles his feathers. *The Daily Mirror*. Retrieved from <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/eu-chicken-nigel-farage-chickens-3479899>
- DMi8 - Glaze, B. (2014, May 17). The truth about UKIP: Racist jibes, anti-gay rants, derogatory remarks about women and anti-foreign propaganda. *The Daily Mirror*. Retrieved from <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/truth-ukip-racist-jibes-anti-gay-3558058>
- DMi9 - Bond, A. (2014, May 20). Nigel Farage news round up: Today's top stories on the controversial politician. *The Daily Mirror*. Retrieved from <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/nigel-farage-news-round-up-3577867>
- DMi10 - Bond, A. (2014, May 20). UKIP European election news round up: 4 top stories from today's campaign trail. *The Daily Mirror*. Retrieved from <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/ukip-european-election-news-round-3577132>
- DMi11 - Beattie, J. (2014, May 20). Nearly 38% of voters UNAWARE European elections take place on Thursday. *The Daily Mirror*. Retrieved from <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/nearly-38-voters-unaware-european-3578021>
- DMi12 - Beattie, J. (2014, May 20). UKIP is still on course to win European elections despite disastrous week for Nigel Farage. *The Daily Mirror*. Retrieved from <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/ukip-still-course-win-european-3578631>
- DMi13 - Beattie, J. (2014, May 26). Nick Clegg 'clinging on' to Liberal Democrat leadership following UKIP European election triumph. *The Daily Mirror*. Retrieved from <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/nick-clegg-clinging-on-liberal-3611314>
- LDMi1 - Moss, V., & Glaze, B. (2014, May 25). Ed Miliband 'on course to be Prime Minister' after big gains in marginal seats, says poll. *The Daily Mirror*. Retrieved from <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/ed-miliband-on-course-prime-3604910>
- LDMi2 - Robson, S. (2014, May 18). Labour will raise minimum wage: Ed Miliband's pledge to 'significantly' boost pay. *The Daily Mirror*. Retrieved from <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/labour-raise-minimum-wage-ed-3567433>
- LDMi3 - Lyons, J. (2014, May 6). Mirror Election Poll: Ed Miliband is just a single point ahead of the Tories. *The Daily Mirror*. Retrieved from <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/general-election-2015--ed-3505658>
- LDMi4 - Routledge, P. (2014, May 24). Labour to toughen up on UKIP after surpassing expectations in local elections. *The Daily Mirror*. Retrieved from <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/labour-toughen-up-ukip-after-3598224>
- LDMi5 - Lyons, J. (2014, June 19). Top Ed Miliband adviser defects to Lib Dems after describing Labour leader as "really weak". *The Daily Mirror*. Retrieved from <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/top-ed-miliband-adviser-defects-3726156>

Articles from the Daily Telegraph:

- DT1 - Ross, T. (2014, April 19). European elections: Conservatives face poll humiliation as one in three Tory voters defects to Ukip. *The Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/conservative/10776305/European-elections-Conservatives-face-poll-humiliation-as-one-in-three-Tory-voters-defect-to-Ukip.html>
- DT2 - Nigel Farage launches Ukip European election campaign in Sheffield. (2014, April 22). In *the Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10779971/Nigel-Farage-launches-Ukip-European-election-campaign-in-Sheffield.html>
- DT3 - Holehouse, M. (2014, April 23). Nigel Farage takes his message to the country. *The Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10782059/Nigel-Farage-takes-his-message-to-the-country.html>
- DT4 - Waterfield, B. (2014, April 24). EU elections: German Eurosceptics snub 'ridiculous' Ukip. *The Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/eu/10784826/EU-elections-German-Eurosceptics-snob-ridiculous-Ukip.html>
- DT5 - Hope, C. (2014, May 16). Ukip might lose Euro elections because of mistaken identity, says Nigel Farage. *The Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10836886/Ukip-might-lose-Euro-elections-because-of-mistaken-identity-says-Nigel-Farage.html>
- DT6 - Ford, R., & Warren, I. (2014, May 26). Ukip has torn up the map. *The Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10857198/Ukip-has-torn-up-the-map.html>
- DT7 - Dominiczak, P. (2014, May 29). Nigel Farage: David Cameron will 'fall at first hurdle' in bid to reform EU. *The Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/nigel-farage/10861542/Nigel-Farage-David-Cameron-will-fall-at-first-hurdle-in-bid-to-reform-EU.html>
- DT8 - Kirkup, J. (2014, May 30). Ukip vote in European elections no flash in pan according to new poll. *The Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10866335/Ukip-vote-in-European-elections-no-flash-in-pan-according-to-new-poll.html>
- DT9 - Graham, G. (2014, May 21). Nigel Farage: People will not vote for 'one man band' Ukip in a general election. *The Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/nigel-farage/10846511/Nigel-Farage-People-will-not-vote-for-one-man-band-Ukip-in-a-general-election.html>
- DT10 - Kirkup, J., & Swinford, S. (2014, May 25). Ukip storms European elections. *The Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10855972/Ukip-storms-European-elections.html>
- DT11 - Graham, G. (2014, May 13). British Asian Ukip youth leader quits 'racist' and 'terrifying' Ukip. *The Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10828481/British-Asian-Ukip-youth-leader-quits-racist-and-terrifying-Ukip.html>
- DT12 - Fifield, N., & Agencies. (2014, June 7). UKIP demands more seats in House of Lords. *The Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/10883287/UKIP-demands-more-seats-in-House-of-Lords.html>

- DT13 - Agencies. (2014, May 26). Ukip is on its way to Westminster, claims Farage. *The Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10856680/Ukip-is-on-its-way-to-Westminster-claims-Farage.html>
- CDT1 - Ross, T. (2014, April 12). Tories face coming third behind Ukip in Euro poll. *The Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/conservative/10762889/Tories-face-coming-third-behind-Ukip-in-Euro-poll.html>
- CDT2 - Ross, T. (2014, May 10). David Cameron tells Eurosceptics: trust me I get it. *The Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/david-cameron/10822553/David-Cameron-tells-Eurosceptics-trust-me-I-get-it.html>
- CDT3 - Dominiczak, P. (2014, May 12). Tories gain their first opinion poll lead for two years. *The Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/conservative/10826277/Tories-gain-their-first-poll-lead-for-two-years.html>
- CDT4 - Graham, G. (2014, May 26). David Cameron: Nigel Farage wants to 'destroy' the Conservatives. *The Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/david-cameron/10856133/David-Cameron-Nigel-Farage-wants-to-destroy-the-Conservatives.html>
- CDT5 - Kirkup, J., & Swinford, S. (2014, May 21). Trust me, no need to vote Ukip, says David Cameron. *The Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/david-cameron/10848066/Trust-me-no-need-to-vote-Ukip-says-David-Cameron.html>

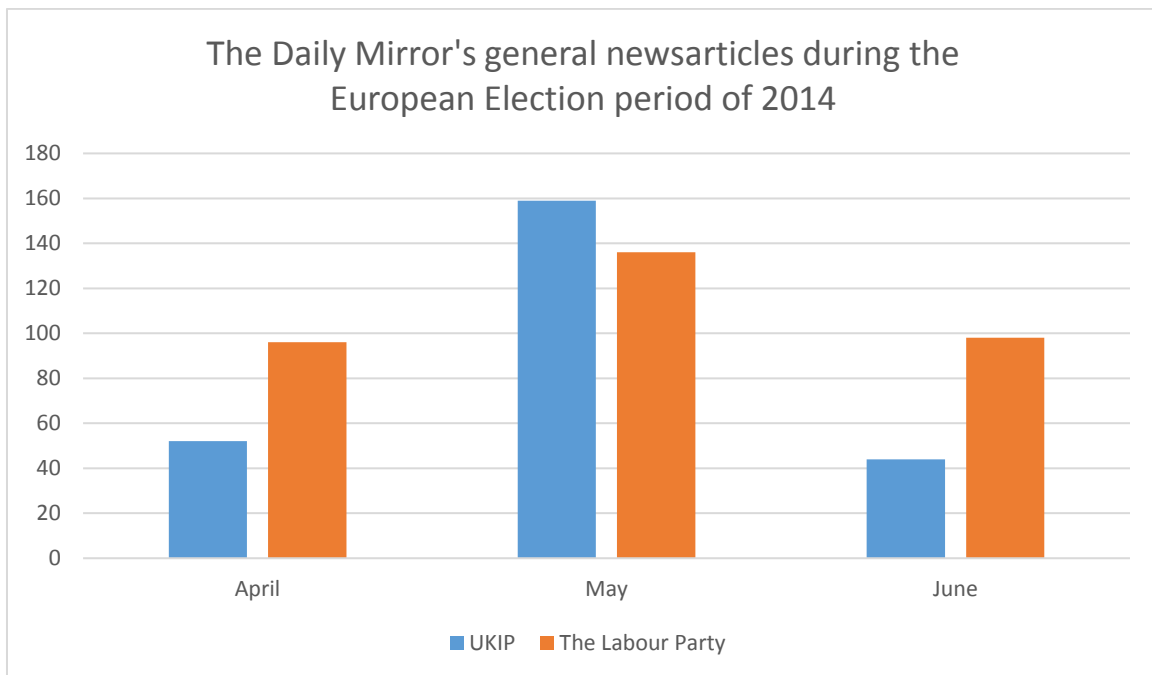
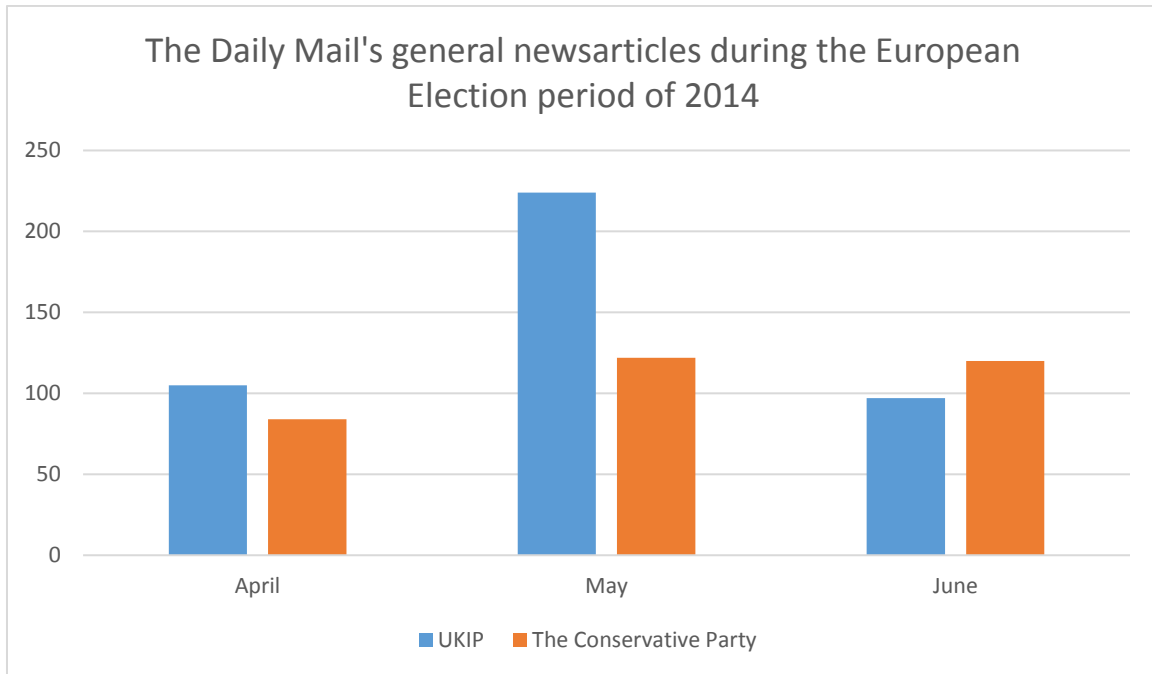
Articles from the Guardian:

- G1 - Wintour, P. (2014, April 10). Ukip is the party with most reasons to be cheerful ahead of European elections. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/10/ukip-party-most-reasons-cheerful-ahead-european-elections>
- G2 - Mason, R. (2014, April 16). Nigel Farage rejects 'outrageous' EU expenses allegations. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/15/nigel-farage-rejects-outrageous-eu-expenses-allegations>
- G3 - Sparrow, A. (2014, April 22). Nigel Farage defends Ukip's election campaign after critics call ads racist. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/21/nigel-farage-ukip-election-campaign-racist-immigration-european-parliament>
- G4 - Wintour, P., & Collier, H. (2014, April 22). Nigel Farage launches Ukip campaign amid criticism of 'racist' rhetoric. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/22/nigel-farage-ukip-european-elections-campaign>
- G5 - Sparrow, A. (2014, April 27). Ukip likely to come out top in European elections, warn Hain and Tebbit. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/27/ukip-likely-win-european-elections-despite-racism-scandals>
- G6 - Wintour, P., Watt, N., & Carrell, S. (2014, April 28). Ukip condemned by cross-party

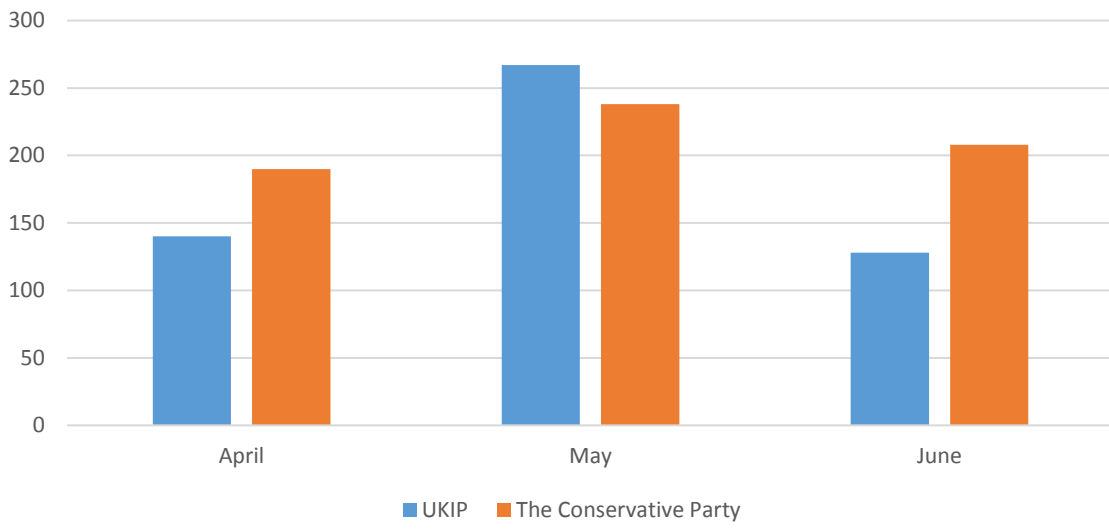
- group for running 'racist' campaign. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/28/ukip-european-election-accused-of-racism>
- G7 - Watt, N., & Wintour, P. (2014, April 30). Ukip soars to top of polls despite Farage ducking byelection battle. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/30/ukip-nigel-farage-top-polls-european-elections>
- G8 - Wintour, P. (2014, May 14). Ukip poll finds fans of Farage more likely to feel alienated and angry. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/may/14/ukip-poll-fans-farage-more-likely-alienated-angry>
- G9 - Mason, R. (2014, May 21). Nigel Farage says Ukip will 'win' in European elections. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/may/21/nigel-farage-ukip-victory-european-elections>
- G10 - Addley, E. (2014, May 25). Nigel Farage keeps low profile before European election results. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/may/25/nigel-farage-keeps-low-profile-before-european-election-results>
- G11 - Addley, E. (2014, May 26). Nigel Farage all smiles as he revels in Ukip's European election success. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/may/26/nigel-farage-arrives-at-southampton-civic-hall>
- G12 - Mason, R. (2014, June 1). Nigel Farage lays out Ukip plans for schools and taxes. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/jun/01/nigel-farage-ukip-schools-taxes>
- G13 - Wintour, P. (2014, June 24). Nigel Farage wants to give voters a greater voice by extending referendums. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/jun/24/nigel-farage-ukip-voters-greater-voice-referendums>
- G14 - Gil, N. (2014, June 24). Nigel Farage condemns 'massive profiteering' in outsourced services. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/public-leaders-network/2014/jun/24/nigel-farage-ukip-public-services-outsourcing-crackdown>
- LDG1 - Mason, R. (2014, April 14). Nick Clegg aims to stay on as Lib Dem leader through next parliament. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/14/nick-clegg-lib-dem-leader-2020>
- LDG2 - Wintour, P. (2014, April 24). Clegg launches Lib Dems as pro-EU anti-Ukip party for European elections. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/24/nick-clegg-lib-dems-anti-ukip-european-elections>
- LDG3 - Mason, R. (2014, May 15). Nick Clegg rejects call to quit if Lib Dems wiped out in European elections. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/may/15/nick-clegg-lib-dems-european-elections>
- LDG4 - Wintour, P. (2014, May 18). Nigel Farage's mask is slipping, revealing his nasty views, says Clegg. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/may/18/nigel-farage-mask-slipping-nasty-views-nick-clegg>
- LDG5 - Watt, N. (2014, May 26). Nick Clegg: now is not the time for me to resign. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/may/26/nick-clegg-now-not-time-resign-lib-dem-leader-election-results>

## 6 APPENDIX

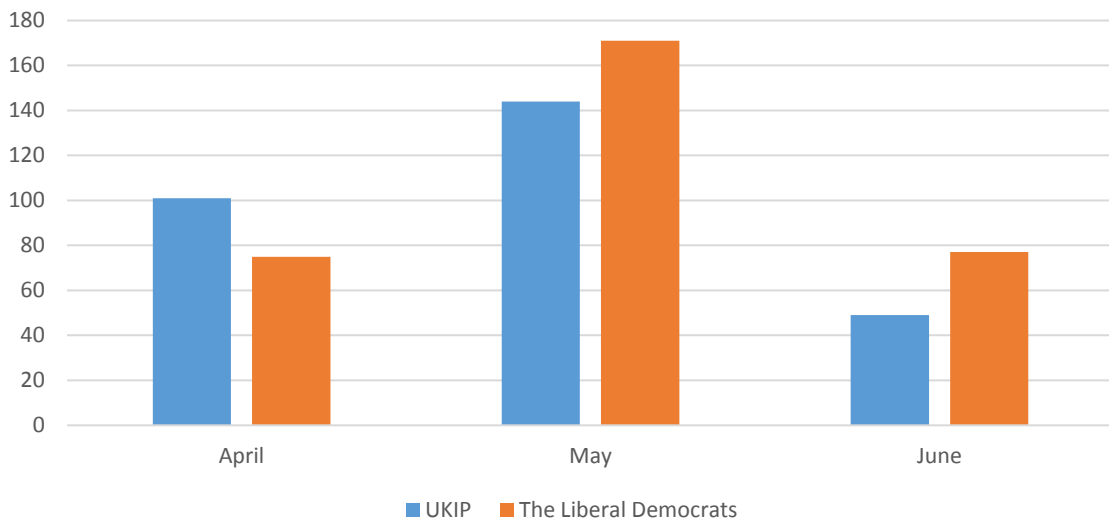
### 6.1 Appendix 1: Survey of articles on UKIP and the supported mainstream party during the European Parliamentary Elections of 2014 (April-June) per paper



The Daily Telegraph's general newsarticles during the European Election period of 2014

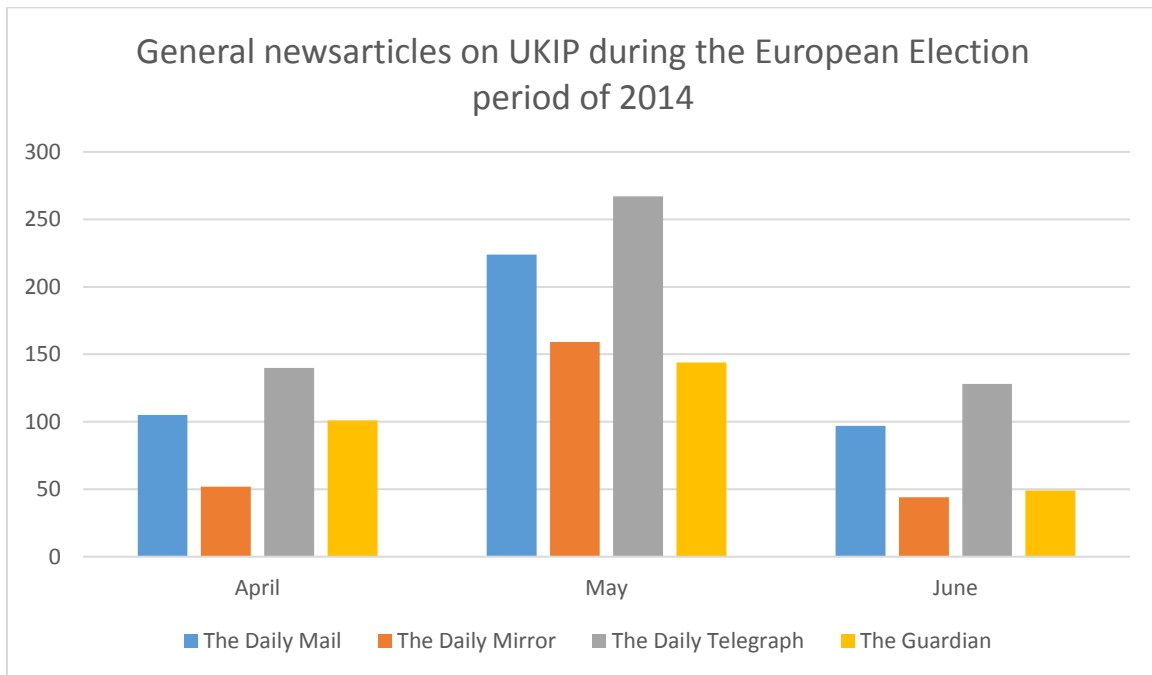


The Guardian's general newsarticles during the European Election period of 2014





6.2 Appendix 2: Survey of the total number of online articles on UKIP during the European Elections of 2014 of all four papers studied.



6.3 Appendix 3: Number of articles selected from the total for each newspaper

Newspaper	Number of articles on UKIP	Number of articles on party supported by paper
The Daily Mirror	13	5
The Daily Mail	15	5
The Daily Telegraph	13	5
The Guardian	14	5

6.4

Appendix 4: Quantitative analysis: nominalisations in percentages

<b>N</b>	<b>DMa</b>	<b>DMi</b>	<b>DT</b>	<b>G</b>	<b>Total</b>
+	30.35 %	31.74 %	29.13 %	12.18 %	25.85 %
-	4.91 %	12.61 %	3.90 %	7.65 %	7.27 %
Neutral	64.74 %	55.65 %	66.97 %	80.17 %	66.88 %
	<b>CDMa</b>	<b>LDMi</b>	<b>CDT</b>	<b>LDG</b>	
+	25.55 %	39.02 %	18.18 %	7.19 %	22.49 %
-	2.92 %	4.07 %	6.6 %	10.07 %	5.92 %
Neutral	72.53 %	56.91 %	75.76 %	82.73 %	

6.5

Appendix 5: Quantitative analysis: nominalisations on Nigel Farage and on UKIP in percentages

<b>DMa</b>	(+)	(-)	Neutral
Nigel Farage	46.67%	10.00%	43.33%
UKIP	6.82%	9.09%	84.09%
<b>DMi</b>	(+)	(-)	Neutral
Nigel Farage	39.39%	25.76%	34.85%
UKIP	24.07%	20.37%	55.56%
<b>DT</b>	(+)	(-)	Neutral
Nigel Farage	54.72%	3.77%	41.51%
UKIP	36.73%	9.18%	54.08%
<b>G</b>	(+)	(-)	Neutral
Nigel Farage	39.06%	9.38%	51.56%
UKIP	9.47%	18.95%	71.58%
<b>Total</b>	(+)	(-)	Neutral
Nigel Farage	44.96%	12.23%	42.81%
UKIP	19.27%	14.40%	66.33%

6.6 Appendix 6: Quantitative analysis: framing: quotations in percentages

<b>UKIP</b>	DMa	DMi	DT	G
+	37,81%	18,67%	31,36%	39,17%
-	44,51%	64,00%	36,44%	44,17%
?	17,68%	17,33%	32,20%	16,67%
<b>Party x</b>	CDMa	LDMi	CDT	LDG
+	50,00%	40,74%	48,49%	52,00%
-	18,18%	37,04%	33,33%	36,00%
?	31,82%	22,22%	18,18%	12,00%

6.7 Appendix 7: Quantitative analysis: framing: words given to quotations in percentages

<b>UKIP</b>	DMa	DMi	DT	G
+	54,12%	26,81%	40,09%	47,71%
-	25,26%	54,73%	29,06%	39,82%
?	20,62%	18,46%	30,85%	12,47%
<b>Party x</b>	CDMa	LDMi	CDT	LDG
+	60,53%	52,93%	63,77%	62,78%
-	13,95%	29,87%	28,02%	28,45%
?	25,52%	17,20%	8,21%	8,78%

Newspaper	Headlines
DMA	<p data-bbox="432 383 1366 524">So, Nigel Farage, whose job is your German wife taking? Ukip leader is confronted over controversial posters by a question that hits close to home (DMA1)</p> <p data-bbox="432 546 1366 636">Ukip surges into lead in European election contest: Poll gives Nigel Farage's party 31% support after bruising week of controversies (DMA2)</p> <p data-bbox="432 658 1366 748">Ukip on course to win more than HALF of votes in some areas despite 1 in 3 voters saying Farage's party is racist (DMA3)</p> <p data-bbox="432 770 1075 804">British Euroskeptics say: We're not racist (DMA4)</p> <p data-bbox="432 826 1315 916">I would do a deal with the devil to get an EU vote, Farage says as he reveals plan to paper over 'cracks' in Ukip's one-man band (DMA5)</p> <p data-bbox="432 938 1382 1028">Ukip closing in on victory: Poll puts Farage seven points ahead on day of crucial EU vote (DMA6)</p> <p data-bbox="432 1050 1374 1140">'Now I will destroy the Tory party': In a crowing interview, Nigel Farage reveals he will quit politics... once he's got the UK out of the EU (DMA7)</p> <p data-bbox="432 1162 1374 1252">'It looks like we've won a great victory,' said Farage. 'Right then, where's the bar?' (DMA8)</p> <p data-bbox="432 1274 1382 1408">'Now I'll stop Scotland splitting from the UK,' vows Farage as he says he will take on Alex Salmond over independence after Euro election triumph (DMA9)</p> <p data-bbox="432 1431 1374 1520">Most of Ukip's four million plus supporters intend to vote for them again in general election, poll reveals (DMA10)</p> <p data-bbox="432 1543 1362 1632">Farage's plan for Britain: Tax free minimum wage, a grammar school in every town and help for the rich (DMA11)</p> <p data-bbox="432 1655 1382 1744">'Britain isn't Britain without Farage with a pint in one hand and a mystery woman in the other': Gordon Brown mocks UKIP leader (DMA12)</p> <p data-bbox="432 1767 1358 1856">Nigel Farage facing £20,000 fine as election watchdog probes failure to declare £200,000 worth of donations to party since 2001 (DMA13)</p> <p data-bbox="432 1879 1390 2013">Ukip's voters will still back the party at the general election, casting doubt on Tory claims that supporters were 'lending' their votes to Nigel Farage (DMA14)</p>

	We could have joint Tory-Ukip candidates in 2015, says Farage: Leader says some eurosceptics would be open to the idea (DMa15)
DMi	<p>Nigel Farage: Nine things you DIDN'T know about the much-talked about UKIP leader (DMi1)</p> <p>Nigel Farage fails to turn TV debate victory over Nick Clegg into votes (DMi2)</p> <p>Watch Nigel Farage squirm under questioning about his £2m expenses on Have I Got News For You? (DMi3)</p> <p>UKIP's Nigel Farage could face expenses probe after receiving EU cash to pay for office he uses RENT-FREE (DMi4)</p> <p>Nigel Farage defends EU handouts: UKIP leader says he'll spend how he likes (DMi5)</p> <p>Nigel Farage slammed over new UKIP anti-immigration poster campaign branded 'racist' by critics (DMi6)</p> <p>EU chicken! Nigel Farage chickens out when the Mirror ruffles his feathers (DMi7)</p> <p>The truth about UKIP: Racist jibes, anti-gay rants, derogatory remarks about women and anti-foreign propaganda (DMi8)</p> <p>Nigel Farage news round up: Today's top stories on the controversial politician (DMi9)</p> <p>UKIP European election news round up: 4 top stories from today's campaign trail (DMi10)</p> <p>Nearly 38% of voters UNAWARE European elections take place on Thursday (DMi11)</p> <p>UKIP is still on course to win European elections despite disastrous week for Nigel Farage (DMi12)</p> <p>Nick Clegg 'clinging on' to Liberal Democrat leadership following UKIP European election triumph (DMi13)</p>
DT	<p>European elections: Conservatives face poll humiliation as one in three Tory voters defects to Ukip (DT1)</p> <p>Nigel Farage launches Ukip European election campaign in Sheffield (DT2)</p> <p>Nigel Farage takes his message to the country (DT3)</p>

	<p>EU elections: German Eurosceptics snub 'ridiculous' Ukip (DT4)</p> <p>Ukip might lose Euro elections because of mistaken identity, says Nigel Farage (DT5)</p> <p>Ukip has torn up the map (DT6)</p> <p>Nigel Farage: David Cameron will 'fall at first hurdle' in bid to reform EU (DT7)</p> <p>Ukip vote in European elections no flash in pan according to new poll (DT8)</p> <p>Nigel Farage: People will not vote for 'one man band' Ukip in a general election (DT9)</p> <p>Ukip storms European elections (DT10)</p> <p>British Asian Ukip youth leader quits 'racist' and 'terrifying' Ukip (DT11)</p> <p>UKIP demands more seats in House of Lords (DT12)</p> <p>Ukip is on its way to Westminster, claims Farage (DT13)</p>
G	<p>Ukip is the party with most reasons to be cheerful ahead of European elections (G1)</p> <p>Nigel Farage rejects 'outrageous' EU expenses allegations (G2)</p> <p>Nigel Farage defends Ukip's election campaign after critics call ads racist (G3)</p> <p>Nigel Farage launches Ukip campaign amid criticism of 'racist' rhetoric (G4)</p> <p>Ukip likely to come out top in European elections, warn Hain and Tebbit (G5)</p> <p>Ukip condemned by cross-party group for running 'racist' campaign (G6)</p> <p>Ukip soars to top of polls despite Farage ducking byelection battle (G7)</p> <p>Ukip poll finds fans of Farage more likely to feel alienated and angry (G8)</p> <p>Nigel Farage says Ukip will 'win' in European elections (G9)</p> <p>Nigel Farage keeps low profile before European election results (G10)</p> <p>Nigel Farage all smiles as he revels in Ukip's European election success (G11)</p> <p>Nigel Farage lays out Ukip plans for schools and taxes (G12)</p>

	<p>Nigel Farage wants to give voters a greater voice by extending referendums (G13)</p> <p>Nigel Farage condemns 'massive profiteering' in outsourced services (G14)</p>
CDMa	<p>Cameron will call for Britain to LEAVE the European Union if he fails in bid to claw powers back from Brussels (CDMa1)</p> <p>Liars, turncoats and cowards! Top Tories blast European allies but PM gets a boost in the polls (CDMa2)</p> <p>Brussels is too big and too bossy, Cameron tells EU leaders (including Kinnock's daughter-in-law) (CDMa3)</p> <p>Newark win is blueprint for beating Ukip, boast Tories: David Cameron told to stick to 'optimistic' message after by-election win (CDMa4)</p> <p>Cameron under pressure to strike deal with Ukip as jubilant Farage boasts he's heading for Euro triumph (CDMa5)</p>
LDMi	<p>Ed Miliband 'on course to be Prime Minister' after big gains in marginal seats, says poll (LDMi1)</p> <p>Labour will raise minimum wage: Ed Miliband's pledge to 'significantly' boost pay (LDMi2)</p> <p>Mirror Election Poll: Ed Miliband is just a single point ahead of the Tories (LDMi3)</p> <p>Labour to toughen up on UKIP after surpassing expectations in local elections (LDMi4)</p> <p>Top Ed Miliband adviser defects to Lib Dems after describing Labour leader as "really weak" (LDMi5)</p>
CDT	<p>David Cameron tells Eurosceptics: trust me I get it (CDT1)</p> <p>Tories gain their first opinion poll lead for two years (CDT2)</p> <p>David Cameron: Nigel Farage wants to 'destroy' the Conservatives (CDT3)</p> <p>Trust me, no need to vote Ukip, says David Cameron (CDT4)</p> <p>Tories face coming third behind Ukip in Euro poll (CDT5)</p>
LDG	<p>Nick Clegg aims to stay on as Lib Dem leader through next parliament (LDG1)</p>



	<p>Clegg launches Lib Dems as pro-EU anti-Ukip party for European elections (LDG2)</p> <p>Nick Clegg rejects call to quit if Lib Dems wiped out in European elections (LDG3)</p> <p>Nigel Farage's mask is slipping, revealing his nasty views, says Clegg (LDG4)</p> <p>Nick Clegg: now is not the time for me to resign (LDG5)</p>
--	--

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Article image</b>
DMA	<p>picture of protesters calling Nigel Farage ‘racist scum’ (DMA5)</p> <p>picture of Farage smiling ‘stupidly(?)’ (DMA6, DMA8, DMA9, DMA15)</p> <p>picture of Farage with a large pint of beer (DMA7, DMA8, DMA10, DMA12, DMA13, DMA14)</p>
DMi	<p>picture of Nigel Farage with a funny face (DMi1, DMi5, DMi6)</p> <p>picture of Farage with a pint of beer (DMi1)</p> <p>picture of Farage smiling ‘stupidly(?)’ (DMi10, DMi11, DMi13)</p>
DT	<p>picture of Farage smiling ‘stupidly(?)’ (DT1)</p> <p>picture of Farage with a pint of beer (DT3, DT13)</p>
G	<p>picture of Farage smiling ‘stupidly(?)’ (G1)</p> <p>picture of Nigel Farage with a funny face (G2, G5, G7, G13)</p>
CDMa	<p>picture of David Cameron smiling in the Commons (CDMa2)</p> <p>picture of David Cameron giving an interview (CDMa1, CDMa3)</p> <p>picture of David Cameron looking seriously (CDMa3, CDMa5)</p> <p>picture of David Cameron smiling (CDMa4)</p>
LDMi	<p>picture of Ed Miliband smiling (LDMi1)</p> <p>picture of Ed Miliband making a funny face? (LDMi2)</p> <p>picture of Ed Miliband giving an interview (LDMi4)</p> <p>picture of Ed Miliband with a copy of The Sun (LDMi5)</p>
CDT	<p>picture of David Cameron smiling (CDT1)</p> <p>picture of David Cameron giving a speech (CDT4)</p>
LDG	<p>picture of Nick Clegg giving a speech (LDG1, LDG3)</p> <p>picture of Nick Clegg smiling (LDG4)</p> <p>picture of Nick Clegg giving an interview (LDG5)</p>

6.10 Appendix 10: Qualitative analysis: predication: recurring positive or negative themes or ‘stereotypes’ for each newspaper

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Stereotypes/ recurring themes</b>
DMa	UKIP and Nigel Farage are racist (DMa1, DMa2, DMa4, DMa5, DMa6) UKIP members are dubious (DMa2, DMa4) UKIP and Nigel Farage are popular with the working class (DMa12)
DMi	UKIP and Nigel Farage are racist (DMi6, DMi7, DMi8, DMi9, DMi10, DMi11, DMi12) UKIP members are dubious (DMi8)
DT	UKIP and Nigel Farage are racist (DT2, DT3, DT4, DT9, DT11) UKIP members are dubious (DT11) UKIP and Nigel Farage are popular with the working class (DT3, DT6)
G	UKIP and Nigel Farage are racist (G3, G4, G5, G6, G7, G8, G9) UKIP members are dubious (G5, G6, G7, G8) UKIP and Nigel Farage are popular with the working class (G1)

## Corpus

### DMa1

#### **So, Nigel Farage, whose job is your German wife taking? Ukip leader is confronted over controversial posters by a question that hits close to home** **Mr Farage met his German former government bond broker wife in 1996** **She now works as her husband's secretary, paid for by EU taxpayer cash** **'Nobody else could do that job,' claims Mr Farage in defence of her role**

By [JAMES CHAPMAN](#) and [MATT CHORLEY](#) and [DAMIEN GAYLE](#)  
PUBLISHED: 20:09 GMT, 22 April 2014 | UPDATED: 15:55 GMT, 30 April 2014

Nigel Farage was accused of hypocrisy yesterday over Ukip's 'racist' EU immigration campaign posters because he employs his German wife as his secretary. But as senior figures from the three main parties attacked his party's latest publicity drive, the Ukip leader insisted that no British person could do the taxpayer-funded job taken by his second wife, Kirsten. The anti-EU party is using a £1.5million donation from a multi-millionaire businessman to launch a poster campaign for next month's European elections focused on immigration from the Continent.



'So, whose job is Kirsten taking?' Ukip leader Nigel Farage is asked by the BBC's Nick Robinson whether his German wife is taking a British worker's job, in light of the eurosceptic party's latest ad campaign



Secretary: Kirsten Farage, pictured last year, works for her husband in an EU-funded role

The most controversial billboard carries a warning that 26million are unemployed across Europe, and asks: 'Whose job are they after?' with a large hand pointing at the observer. Ukip's opponents have likened the posters to those used in the past by the far-Right British National Party.

Mr Farage yesterday dismissed the criticism as 'nonsense', but ran into trouble when he was confronted by the BBC's Nick Robinson over his employment of his publicity-shy German wife as his secretary using EU allowances.

'She came here as a highly skilled person earning a high salary paying a very large amount of tax,' the Ukip leader insisted.

'I don't think anybody else would want to be in my house at midnight going through emails and getting me briefed for the next day.

'It's a very different situation to a mass of hundreds of thousands of people coming in and flooding the lower end of the labour market.'

Asked whether a British person could take the position as his secretary, Mr Farage said: 'Nobody else could do that job, not unless they were married to me.'

Mr Farage said his wife earned a 'very modest' wage, of up to £30,000 a year, and worked 'extremely unsociable hours' for 'up to' seven days a week.



'Nobody else could do that job': Mr Farage gave a stout defence of his wife's EU taxpayer-funded role

He pointed out that one in four MPs at Westminster and more than 70 other British Euro MPs also employ a close family member.

Tory former defence minister Nicholas Soames, the grandson of Winston Churchill, became the first senior member of his party to attack the poster campaign, funded by internet and property tycoon Paul Sykes.

His intervention was seen as significant because he chairs a cross-party group on migration which is often critical of government policy.

'At a time when our country really needs to come together, the Ukip advertising campaign is deeply divisive, offensive and ignorant,' Mr Soames said.

Labour MP Mike Gapes, former chairman of the Commons foreign affairs committee, had already said that he hoped the 'racist posters encourage all decent British Commonwealth and EU citizens' to vote for another party in the European elections on May 22.

But he insisted he was not condemning those planning to vote for Ukip in the European elections but the party's poster campaign.

'I stand by my view that this is a racist, xenophobic campaign designed to win votes by whipping up animosity against foreigners living and working and contributing to this country,' he said.

Liberal Democrat president Tim Farron said the posters were 'wrong not just factually but morally'.

Former Labour activist Dan Hodges said Ukip was 'worse' than the BNP, which was now 'finished' as a political force. 'The BNP were racist, but at least they had the courage to be open about their racism,' he added.

Ukip's deputy leader, Paul Nuttall, said Labour MPs were trying to close down a debate over immigration 'by shouting racist'.

He said: 'The fact of the matter is that we've got wage compression in this country, we've got uncontrolled borders. And the only way we're going to get control of our borders is by leaving this club [the EU].'

DMa2

## **Ukip surges into lead in European election contest: Poll gives Nigel Farage's party 31% support after bruising week of controversies** **Ukip is three points ahead of Labour while Tories are in third on 19%** **It's the first time YouGov has given Ukip an outright advantage in race** **Findings suggest Mr Farage has avoided damage from recent furores**

By [MARK DUJELL](#)

**PUBLISHED:** 14:35 GMT, 27 April 2014 | **UPDATED:** 21:39 GMT, 28 April 2014

Ukip has surged into the lead in the European election contest despite a bruising week of controversies, a poll revealed today.

Nigel Farage's party recorded 31 per cent support in YouGov research for a Sunday newspaper, three points ahead of Labour, with the Tories languishing in third on 19 per cent.

It is the first time the company has given Ukip an outright advantage in the race, with ballots due to be cast in less than a month.



Research: Nigel Farage's party recorded 31 per cent support in YouGov research for a Sunday newspaper

The results in the survey for the Sunday Times revealed today are in line with a ComRes poll for the Sunday Mirror and Independent on Sunday last month.

That put Ukip on 30 per cent, Labour on 28 per cent, and the Conservatives on 21 per cent.

The findings suggest Mr Farage has not sustained significant damage from furores over his expenses, 'racist' posters, criticism of misleading campaign literature and dubious comments from activists.

Former Tory donor Paul Sykes, said to be worth £650million, has pledged to plough more money into Ukip after funding one poster campaign.

He told the Sunday Times there would be 'at least another two waves' of adverts before the European elections. 'I'm not giving up,' he said. 'That will warn the Conservatives what is going to happen. We will get more democracy in Britain if it skints me.'



Behind: Ukip are three points ahead of Ed Miliband's (left) Labour, with David Cameron's (right) Conservatives languishing in third on 19 per cent

The poll, which put the Liberal Democrats on 9 per cent and Greens on 8 per cent, came as another Ukip candidate was facing a backlash after suggesting comedian Lenny Henry should emigrate to a 'black country'.

**'I'm not giving up. That will warn the Conservatives what is going to happen. We will get more democracy in Britain if it skinks me'**

*Paul Sykes, Ukip donor*

William Henwood, who is standing in a council election, made the comment in response to a speech by Henry in which he said ethnic minorities were under-represented on British television.

Separate ComRes research for the Electoral Reform Society (ERS) has highlighted disaffection among voters with European institutions.

Some 59 per cent believe the European Parliament does not represent the views of voters, with the number rising to 68 per cent among those aged over 55.

More than half of 18 to 24-year-olds are not planning to cast a ballot next month.



Helping hand: Former Tory donor Paul Sykes (left, with Mr Farage), said to be worth £650million, has pledged to plough more money into Ukip after funding one poster campaign

ERS chief executive Katie Ghose said: 'This year's European elections are receiving an unusual amount of attention.'

**'We already know that nearly three-quarters of Britons feel their voice doesn't count in the EU and it looks like the problem is getting worse'**

*Katie Ghose, Electoral Reform Society*

'With Ukip's rising popularity, the TV debates between Nick Clegg and Nigel Farage, and the Conservatives' promise of an in-out referendum, European politics has seldom been so prominent.

'And yet these results show that people still feel alarmingly distant from European affairs.

'We already know that nearly three-quarters of Britons feel their voice doesn't count in the EU and it looks like the problem is getting worse, not better. It's time to tackle the growing disconnect between the British people and European politics.'



Controversies: Ukip council candidate William Henwood (left) suggested comedian Lenny Henry should emigrate to a 'black country', while another, Andre Lampitt (right), was suspended after making racist remarks

Meanwhile, Ukip launched an investigation into another of its aspiring politicians last night after apparently homophobic and racist comments came to light.

On March 29, the day gay marriage was made legal in the UK, Robert Bilcliff, who is standing to be a councillor in Tamworth, Staffordshire, took to Twitter to declare: 'Sad day for all us straight people.'

A separate Facebook post in July 2012 allegedly made a joke against Muslims. Mr Bilcliff admitted he could see how his comments could be viewed as homophobic and racist, but said he was neither.

A UKIP spokesman said the matter had been referred to the party's national executive with a view to disciplinary action.

Last week builder Andre Lampitt, seeking to become a councillor in Merton, south London, and who featured in a UKIP election broadcast, was suspended after making racist remarks on Twitter that the party said were 'repellent'.

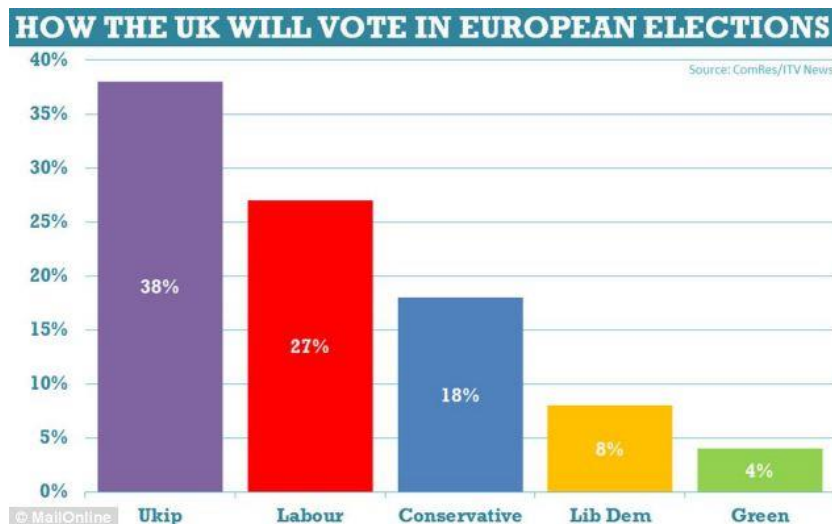


## Ukip on course to win more than HALF of votes in some areas despite 1 in 3 voters saying Farage's party is racist

**ComRes/ITV News poll puts Ukip on 38%, Labour 27%, Tories 18%  
In Eastern region and West Midlands more than 50% say they will vote Ukip  
Lib Dems down to only 3% in Wales and Tories fall to 14% in South West  
32% say Ukip is a racist party and 38% claim they don't have sensible ideas  
Nigel Farage accused of 'bottling it' after refusing to stand in by-election**

By [TOM MCTAGUE, MAIL ONLINE DEPUTY POLITICAL EDITOR](#)  
PUBLISHED: 16:34 GMT, 30 April 2014 | UPDATED: 07:34 GMT, 1 May 2014

More than half of voters in some parts of Britain are planning to vote Ukip in next month's crunch European elections, a new poll has revealed. Overall, 38 per cent of Brits certain to vote in the May 22 election say they will back Ukip. This is 11 per cent higher than Labour - who sit in second on 27 per cent. The Tories trail in third, on just 18 per cent, with the Lib Dems even further back with just 8% support.



A new ComRes survey for ITV News shows 38 per cent of people are planning to vote for Ukip on May 22 in the European Parliament elections



Nigel Farage on the campaign trail in Swansea. Even in Wales, a traditional Labour heartland, almost a third of voters say they are planning to back Ukip

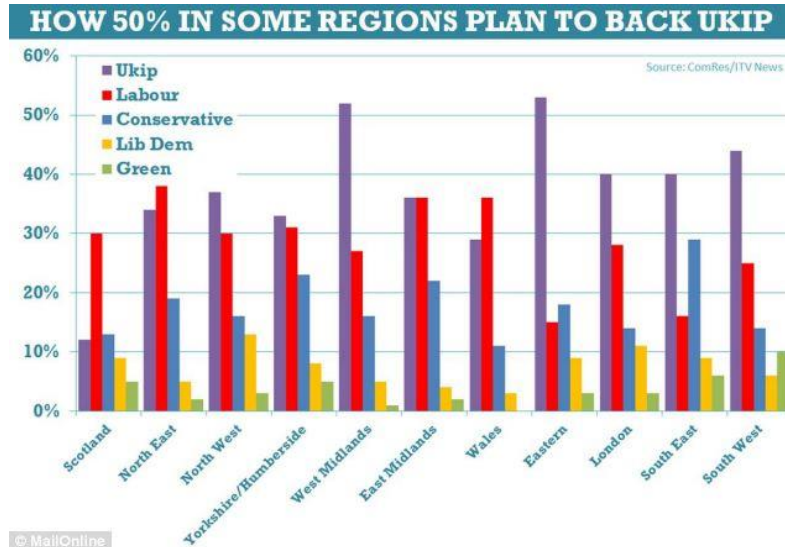
But Nigel Farage's party is backed by half of voters in some of its English strongholds. In the West Midlands, some 52% of voters say they will back Mr Farage's party. In the European Parliament's 'Eastern' constituency - taking in all of East Anglia and counties north of London - support is even higher, at 53%. Across England, support for Ukip has reached 41%, according to the respected pollsters ComRes.

Four in 10 voters in the South East and London are set to back the party, 44 per cent in the South West, 37 per cent in the South West and 36 per cent in the East Midlands.

Even in the traditional Labour heartlands of the North East and Yorkshire, Mr Farage's party is backed by more than a third of the electorate that is certain to vote.

Mr Farage is, however, struggling to break through outside England.

While 29 per cent of Welsh voters say they will back Ukip, this is seven points behind Labour who lead the polls. But in Scotland just 12 per cent support Mr Farage's party, according to the poll.



© MailOnline

In the Eastern region and West Midlands more than half of people say they plan to vote Ukip

Mr Farage's soaring support ahead of next month's election comes despite a third of Brits thinking his party is racist.

The ComRes poll for ITV News reveals 32 per cent think Ukip is racist - including 52 per cent of likely Labour voters at next month's European Parliament elections.

A third of the public say UKIP is more honest than other parties - but four in 10 voters disagree with this.

Brits are also split about whether the party has sensible policies: 38 per cent think not, but 34 per cent think the party does.

But worryingly for the Prime Minister, just under half of 2010 Tory supporters - 48 per cent - think Ukip has sensible policies.

Overall, support for Mr Farage's party is up eight per cent in just a month. Labour are down three per cent and the Tories four per cent.

The party's support also falls dramatically for the next General Election.

A quarter of likely Ukip voters at the European Parliamentary elections say that they are unlikely to vote for the party at the General Election.

Just 55% say that they are very likely to vote for the party in 2015, compared to 90% of Labour voters and 88% of Conservative voters.

Today's poll figures will come as welcome relief for Mr Farage, who faced ridicule throughout the day for refusing to stand for Parliament in an upcoming by-election.

Opponents accused the Ukip leader of 'bottling it' and being 'frit' after announcing he would not be the party's candidate in the Tory seat of Newark vacated by shamed MP Patrick Mercer.

Last night Mr Farage claimed Mr Cameron would have to resign as Prime Minister if he won the seat for Ukip, but today he confirmed he would not be on the ballot paper.

Labour frontbencher Rachel Reeves said: 'I'm not surprised that Nigel Farage doesn't want to fight in Newark.

'He bottles it when there's a real contest, and when he has a chance to prove that people want him as a member of parliament he backs away and he's done that again.'



© Getty Images

Despite soaring support for Ukip, Nigel Farage is not universally liked. In Wales today protesters disrupted his planned walkabout around Swansea city centre

Tory defence minister Anna Soubry said on Twitter: 'Niger Farage is not stupid - he knows he'd lose and runs frit from Newark!'

But Mr Farage claimed that putting his own name forward for the seat would cause a 'distraction' from the party's bid to win the European Parliament elections on May 22.

A by-election has been rumoured since the cash-for-questions scandal broke last summer.

But in a statement outside a pub in Bath this morning, Mr Farage claimed he had not had long to consider whether or not to run.

'I have no doubt that UKIP will throw the kitchen sink at this Newark by-election, but it won't be me doing it and we won't get that huge distraction,' he told BBC Breakfast.

'It was only 12 hours ago that Patrick Mercer stood down so I haven't had long to think about it, but I have thought about it and we're just over three weeks away from a European election at which I think UKIP can cause an earthquake in British politics, from which we can go on and not just win one parliamentary seat but win quite a lot of parliamentary seats.



Nigel Farage expects to top the polls in next month's European election - pushing the Tories into third behind Labour

'And for that reason I don't want to do anything that deflects from the European election campaign so I'm not going to stand in this by-election.

'I want to focus the next three weeks on winning the European elections and also I don't have any links with the east Midlands; I would just look like an opportunist and I don't think that would work.'

Later he appeared to admit part of the reason he did not stand was he did not think he would win.

He told Sky News: 'I'm not sure electorally it would have worked anyway.'

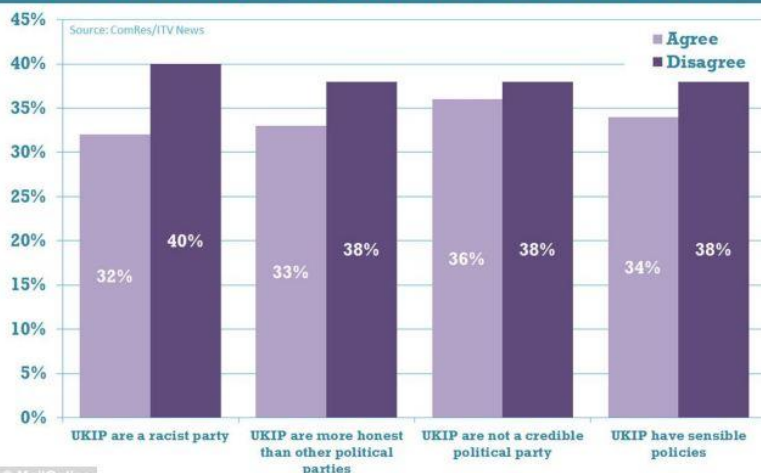
The seat went to Labour in 1997 during the first Tony Blair landslide but returned to the Tories in 2001.

Last night Mr Farage told the BBC that if he stood and won Mr Cameron would 'have to resign' but if he lost Ukip would be finished: 'The bubble is burst.'

The Tories were quick to seize on Mr Farage's decision as proof he lacked the will to fight a difficult election.

Asked on Sky News 'The question is have you bottled it?' Mr Farage replied: 'Yes.'

### HOW 50% IN SOME REGIONS PLAN TO BACK UKIP



© MailOnline

Almost a third of people (32 per cent) think Ukip is a racist party and 38 per cent think they do not have sensible policies

Conservative Cabinet minister Ken Clarke, who represents the neighbouring Nottinghamshire seat of Rushcliffe, said Mr Farage had backed out because he knew he could not win.

'I am not really surprised. Whatever else Nigel is, he is not an idiot and I don't think he'd have the faintest chance of winning in Newark,' Mr Clarke told BBC Radio 4's Today programme.

'I don't think Ukip will get anywhere in the by-election.

'I don't think the residents of Newark - some of whom I know because I used to represent some of the villages there - they're not going to vote for a card who's larking about trying to get protest votes.'

It follows Mr Farage also refusing to stand in the Eastleigh by-election triggered by Lib Dem Chris Huhne's resignation and in the Labour seat of Wythenshawe and Sale.

Local Tories scotched suggestions of Boris Johnson being selected, saying they had already chosen businessman Robert Jenrick to fight the seat.

ComRes interviewed 2,052 British adults online between April 25 and April 27.

## British Euroskeptics say: We're not racist

By [ASSOCIATED PRESS](#)

**PUBLISHED:** 14:34 GMT, 19 May 2014 | **UPDATED:** 14:34 GMT, 19 May 2014

LONDON (AP) — Britain's main Euroskeptic party took out a full-page newspaper ad on Monday to declare that it is not racist, after its leader said Britons should be concerned if Romanians moved in next door.

U.K. Independence Party leader Nigel Farage used the advertisement in the Daily Telegraph to insist "UKIP is not a racist party," and to say that "the vast majority of Romanians who have come to the U.K. wish to better their lives and would make good neighbors."

But he claimed "organized criminal gangs" from Romania were responsible for a large amount of crime in Britain. UKIP wants Britain to leave the European Union. Citizens of the 28-nation bloc can live and work in other EU countries, and UKIP says this has left Britain with little control over its borders.

The party is polling strongly ahead of this week's European Parliament elections, but Farage has been rattled by scrutiny of his comments about Romanians, who gained the right to work without restrictions across the EU at the start of this year.

During a radio interview Friday, Farage restated his belief that Londoners would feel uncomfortable about Romanians moving in next door. Pressed about the difference between Romanians as neighbors and Germans, Farage — whose wife is German — said: "You know what the difference is."

On Sunday Farage said he had not spoken as clearly as he would have liked during the interview.

"I regret the fact that I was completely tired out and I didn't use the form of words in response that I would have liked to have used," he told the BBC.

Prime Minister David Cameron said Monday that Farage had said "some really pretty unpleasant things."

UKIP, which has no seats in the British Parliament, has seen its popularity and profile surge as Britons grow disaffected with the main political parties after several years of austerity.

But it has dumped several election candidates for offensive or racist comments, including one who said black comedian Lenny Henry should move to a "black country" and another who called Islam "evil."

## **I would do a deal with the devil to get an EU vote, Farage says as he reveals plan to paper over 'cracks' in Ukip's one-man band**

**Ukip leader says he would be prepared to back Labour or Tories in coalition  
Says it is 'moonshine' to think Ukip could win the 2015 general election  
But claims he could win enough MPs to hold the balance of power  
After anti-racist 'carnival' was cancelled, admits to feeling the pressure  
Says since the party took a poll lead 'sometimes a few cracks begin to show'**

By [MATT CHORLEY, MAILONLINE POLITICAL EDITOR](#)

PUBLISHED: 09:39 GMT, 21 May 2014 | UPDATED: 16:14 GMT, 21 May 2014



Ukip leader Nigel Farage embarked on a final round of media interviews ahead of local and European elections tomorrow

Nigel Farage today claimed he would 'do a deal with the devil' if it meant securing a referendum on Britain leaving the European Union.

The Ukip leader said he would back a Labour or Conservative minority government if he gets MPs in the Commons next year to ensure the public get a say on the EU.

He also revealed plans to tackle the perception that his party is like a 'one-man band', and conceded that the pressure of the Euro election campaign had meant 'sometimes a few cracks begin to show'.

Polls suggest Ukip will win the European Parliament elections, pushing Labour into second place and the Tories in third.

Local elections are also being held in England, with 4,216 seats and 161 councils at stake.

Mr Farage is increasingly confident that Ukip will win tomorrow's European Parliament elections when results are announced on Sunday night.

He wants to use a victory over Labour and the Tories as a springboard to securing seats in the Commons, claiming Ukip could even hold the balance of power in the event of a hung Parliament.

Mr Farage acknowledged it was 'moonshine' to suggest that Ukip, which has no MPs, could win the 2015 election, but the party would target winnable seats in an effort to hold the balance of power.

He told BBC Radio 4's Today programme: 'I would do a deal, post the next election, I would help a minority party in Westminster, I would do a deal with the devil in those circumstances if it got us a referendum.'

He claimed that Labour leader Ed Miliband would be forced to match the Tory pledge of an in-out referendum if his party does badly in this week's elections.

David Cameron has promised a public vote on membership of the EU by the end of 2017, but Mr Farage was sceptical about the pledge.

Asked if he was saying the Prime Minister was dishonourable, Mr Farage said: 'I'll pass on that.'



© London News Pictures

Ukip leader Nigel Farage, pictured outside the BBC studios today, said he would do a deal with any party that secured an EU referendum



© AFP

Mr Farage is planning to overhaul the Ukip operation this summer to end the perception that the party is a 'one-man band'



© AFP

Mr Farage has faced intense media interest in recent weeks, which he admits has meant some 'cracks' have appeared in the campaign

He said 'one or two' Tory MPs were interested in running as joint Conservative-Ukip candidates in 2015 and he was 'open to having those conversations', but predicted they would be vetoed by Mr Cameron.

Some polls put Ukip ahead in the Euro elections, while others suggest Labour are in the lead.

Mr Farage insisted that Ukip had run a more professional campaign than in the past but he admitted that not everything had gone according to plan.

A 'carnival' staged in Croydon yesterday to prove Ukip is not racist had to be abandoned after a steel band refused to play and protesters drowned out candidates' speeches.

Ukip strategists hoped it would be a 'bold and vibrant' event to defy their critics, but organisers were confronted with protesters likening the party to Nazis.

Mr Farage tore up plans to attend after opponents clashed with party members, the steel band walked out and a Ukip candidate branded Croydon a 'dump'.

Today Mr Farage admitted that 'we all make mistakes in life and things don't always go according to plan' and, because the party had been leading the polls ahead of tomorrow's elections, it had come under sustained pressure and 'sometimes a few cracks begin to show'.

But he insisted the party's popularity would continue beyond the European elections, and promised that a 'higher calibre' of Ukip politicians would help the party act less like a 'one-man band' in future.

'There are now people who don't just lend their votes to Ukip for European elections, they are actually Ukip voters,' he said.

'What I'm going to do over the course of the summer, and remember we are going to have a whole new load of MEPs elected, they will be a much higher calibre than anything we've ever had before.'

'I am going to appoint, over the course of the summer, spokesmen to take on responsibilities for specific areas and they are the people I'm going to push forward.

'I don't think people will vote for us in a general election in numbers if they think it's a one-man band. I intend to change that over the summer.'

The comments will be seen as an admission that the party's success cannot depend on his own personal appeal alone.



A Ukip 'carnival' staged in Croydon yesterday to prove the party is not racist had to be abandoned after protesters clashed with party members

Critics of Mr Farage's leadership style have claimed he prefers to dominate the limelight.

But the pressures of a general election campaign mean he will need a bigger team around him.

Mr Farage insisted that he has had no talks with the Tories directly, adding: 'They don't talk to people like me.

There are no lines of communication open between Tory high command and UKIP. We are considered to be the lower orders.'

But he hinted that local deals could be done with Eurosceptic Tory MPs which would see them run on a joint ticket with Ukip.

'I think that if there is a sitting Conservative – as I say, it could be Labour too – but if there is a sitting Conservative MP who genuinely wants this country to be independent, free, self-governing and they go along to a local UKIP association and say they want to do a deal on that basis and run on a joint ticket, we would be open to that idea.'

However, Labour seized on the comments as proof that a vote for Ukip was actually a vote for the Conservatives.

Shadow Cabinet Office minister Michael Dugher said: 'Nigel Farage has let the cat out of the bag: a vote for Ukip is a vote for the Tories.

'Ukip's policies are more Tory than the Tories. We know David Cameron cut taxes for millionaires - but Ukip want even bigger tax cuts for millionaires. We know it's harder to see your GP under David Cameron, but Ukip think the answer is to charge people to see their GP.

'Whether it's deeper cuts to public services or scrapping workers' rights, we have confirmation that Nigel Farage is actively considering shabby political deals with the Conservatives right across the country, only days after he said he'd do a deal to keep David Cameron in Number 10.

'The message is clear: vote Ukip and you don't only get policies more extreme than the Tories, you also get David Cameron.'



## Ukip closing in on victory: Poll puts Farage seven points ahead on day of crucial EU vote

**Opinium poll has Ukip on 32 per cent, with Labour trailing on 25 per cent  
Tories on 21 per cent, with Lib Dems and Greens a distant fourth and fifth  
Farage says a Ukip triumph will be a 'political earthquake' for Britain**

By [JAMES CHAPMAN FOR THE DAILY MAIL](#) and [JASON GROVES FOR THE DAILY MAIL](#) and [JOHN STEVENS FOR THE DAILY MAIL](#)

**PUBLISHED:** 22:32 GMT, 21 May 2014 | **UPDATED:** 07:15 GMT, 22 May 2014



An Opinium poll for the Daily Mail puts Nigel Farage's Ukip comfortably ahead of Labour, on 32 per cent to 25 per cent

UKIP are on course for an unprecedented victory in today's European Parliament elections - despite Nigel Farage admitting he is 'frazzled' and cannot go on being the party's dominant face.

An Opinium poll for the Daily Mail puts Ukip comfortably ahead of Labour, on 32 per cent to 25 per cent.

The Conservatives are on 21 per cent, with the Liberal Democrats battling the Greens for fourth place, each on a miserable 6 per cent.

Both Labour and the Conservatives appear reconciled to Ukip coming out on top, despite weeks of controversy over allegations of racism, homophobia and misogyny against the upstart party's candidates.

David Cameron is ordering Tory troops to focus on a Westminster by-election in Newark early next month as an opportunity to halt the Ukip bandwagon.

Conservative strategists point to a sharp decline in Mr Farage's personal ratings in recent weeks and compare him to a 'shock jock' radio host whose outbursts will not convince voters at a general election.

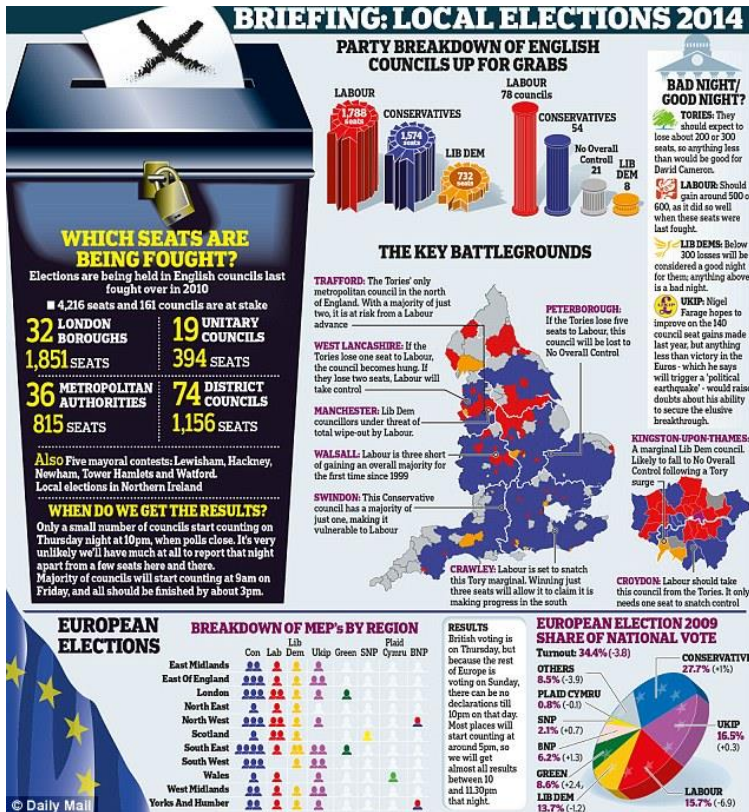
Labour officials, meanwhile, dismissed suggestions that failure to top the European poll would augur ill for their chances of winning power in 2015.

They insisted Ed Miliband will not bow to pressure from some Labour MPs to backtrack on his refusal to match the Conservatives' promise of an in/out EU referendum, even if his party is beaten by Ukip.

Mr Farage said a Ukip victory in the European elections would represent a political 'earthquake' and repeated his willingness to do 'a deal with the devil' or make local pacts with MPs from other parties if it would help guarantee a referendum on Europe.

But he conceded the party would haemorrhage votes at next year's general election unless it can persuade voters it is more than a 'one-man band'.

The Ukip leader has blamed tiredness for his suggestion last week that everyone knows 'the difference' between Romanians and Germans. Mr Farage, whose second wife Kirsten is German, said he would not be happy if Romanians moved in next door.



Both Labour and the Conservatives appear reconciled to Ukip coming out on top

'Right at the moment I'm so frazzled after a month on the road,' he told the Mail. 'This has been relentless. I have been doing this damn hard, maybe too hard actually.'

'This must change; we cannot go into a general election with me being seen to be the dominant figure.'

Mr Cameron said only a Conservative government could deliver a reformed relationship with Brussels, with new controls on free movement and further restrictions on migrants' benefits.

That would followed by an in/out referendum on Britain's membership by the end of 2017.

The Prime Minister said: 'I'm convinced that we will get the changes that we want and my aim is to secure Britain's place in a reformed European Union.'

'But that's the real choice at this election - you've got Labour and the Liberals who can't see anything wrong with Europe and you've got Ukip who can't see anything right with Europe and want to walk away.'

## **'Now I will destroy the Tory party': In a crowing interview, Nigel Farage reveals he will quit politics... once he's got the UK out of the EU**

**UKIP leader reveals ambitions ahead of European election results  
Party is expected to gain more than 20 MEPs - a historic victory  
Farage says idea of Tory majority at next General Election is 'a fantasy'  
He added that he plans to retire from politics by the time he turns 60  
Aged 50 now, Farage hopes to have Britain out the EU within a decade**

By [SIMON WALTERS FOR THE MAIL ON SUNDAY](#)

PUBLISHED: 21:05 GMT, 24 May 2014 | UPDATED: 11:46 GMT, 26 May 2014

Rampant Nigel Farage aims to destroy the Tory Party, take over a new Right-wing British political party, get Britain out of the EU - and then quit politics.

The UKIP leader's breathtaking ambition, revealed in an interview with The Mail on Sunday, comes hours before he is set to achieve a historic victory in the European elections.

The results from Thursday's polling, announced today, are expected to show UKIP will have gained more than 20 MEPs, more than the Conservatives, with the possibility of a total wipeout of all Lib Dem MEPs.



Triumphant: Nigel Farage at his home in Kent on the eve of the European election results. The UKIP leader hopes to have Britain out of Europe within a decade

Mr Farage rejects claims by David Cameron that UKIP's challenge will fade away in next year's General Election, and says today's gains mark the beginning of the end of the Conservative Party.

He aims to repeat the destruction two decades ago of Canada's Conservative Party, when the rebel Right-wing Reform Party, compared by many to UKIP, sparked a political earthquake.

In an interview with this newspaper earlier in the campaign, Mr Farage said a Canadian-style Tory meltdown 'could happen' here – and compared attacks on him to those on Reform Party leader Preston Manning and Reform's first Canadian MP, schoolteacher Deborah Grey.

'They called him a Right-wing extremist, a nutter, away with the fairies, he'll never get anywhere and what happens? They won one by-election, a schoolmistress way out West, who resisted every bribe and temptation to rejoin the Conservative Party.

'Now you have a Canadian Prime Minister, Stephen Harper, who was first elected on a Reform ticket, as were half the Cabinet.

'Don't think this can't happen here. The public want something different. We are catalysing a big change in British politics on fundamental issues that have been brushed under the carpet and ignored by a completely out-of-touch career political class for too long.'



Ambition: Nigel Farage dismissed jibes that the rise of UKIP will hand power to pro-EU Ed Miliband at the next General Election by taking votes from the Tories

Canada's Conservative Party was destroyed overnight in the country's 1993 election by the populist, low-tax, Reform Party.

The century-old ruling Progressive Conservatives lost all but two of their 156 seats after sensational gains by Reform, which had been called racist, sexist and homophobic, just as David Cameron famously called UKIP 'fruitcakes, loonies and closet racists'. The split in Canada's Centre Right enabled the Liberals, Canada's equivalent of our Labour Party, to take power.

But after ten years of infighting, the Reform revolution succeeded. The Canadian Alliance, a merger of Reform with the ruins of Canada's old-style Tories, led to former Reform official Stephen Harper becoming Prime Minister in 2006.

And it had all started with the victory of a sole Reform MP, Ms Grey, in 1989. Mr Farage hopes a victory by UKIP's Roger Helmer in the Newark Parliamentary by-election on June 5 will trigger a similar political shake-up at Westminster.

In his interview with The Mail on Sunday, Mr Farage dismissed jibes that the rise of UKIP will hand power to pro-EU Ed Miliband at the next General Election by taking votes from the Tories.

He said: 'The arithmetic doesn't suggest that. Firstly, the reason Conservative voters have deserted the party is that they do not believe Cameron is Conservative. It's got nothing to do with me, but thinking there is going to be a Conservative majority is fantasy.

'The second reason is the Tories are dying as brand in the North of England just as they did in Scotland. The third reason Cameron can't win a majority is he can't get the blue-collar vote. Thatcher got it, Reagan got it, John Major got it. But these two guys (Cameron and Osborne) who allegedly don't know the price of a pint of milk, don't connect with the blue collar.'



Celebration: Nigel Farage aims to use UKIP's new support from Labour voters to force a weakened Ed Miliband to take a tougher stance on the EU in next year's election

While Farage says publicly an Ed Miliband victory next year would be a 'disaster for the economy,' some of those who know the UKIP leader well claim that in private, he says it could help him achieve a Canadian-style upheaval here.

One UKIP aide said: 'If Miliband wins, the Tories would be shattered and split with Eurosceptics on one side and Europhiles on the other. Nigel could team up with the Eurosceptics and possibly lead them. And, if, as Nigel believes, Miliband would be a pathetically poor PM, a Labour Government could collapse quickly with another election. Then, the Canadian scenario is on.'

Mr Farage aims to use UKIP's new support from Labour voters to force a weakened Ed Miliband to take a tougher stance on the EU in next year's election.

'If I want to get this country out of the EU, I have got to change the position of the Labour Party on the referendum. If you accept it is impossible for Cameron to win a majority on his own, there could be a UKIP-Tory

coalition after the election. Who knows? If it looks less and less likely that Miliband can form a majority without a referendum pledge, he'll do it.'

Farage, 50, insists he is not interested in power for himself – and by the time he turns 60, wants to have quit politics – with Britain out of the EU.

'I will consider my job's done and I would be very happy to hand over to people who might be very good at running the country. I'm in politics because I want to change things, not because I want a career. I don't want to do this for ever, I don't want to sit here in ten years' time, I want to be doing something else by then, in the media, radio, writing, hopefully enjoying myself.'

He has no desire to move into No 10, emulating 'Canada's Nigel Farage' Stephen Harper. 'I think I could do it but do I think that's really what I would be best at in life?

'No. What I'm best at is spotting when something's wrong and needs to change and agitating to wake people up to what's gone wrong.'

## 'It looks like we've won a great victory,' said Farage. 'Right then, where's the bar?'

### UKIP tops the polls in large parts of the country, pushing Labour into 2nd Nigel Farage quipped 'where's the bar?' as he arrived into Southampton He met supporters who have spent months engineering election campaign

By [GUY ADAMS FOR THE DAILY MAIL](#)

PUBLISHED: 02:13 GMT, 26 May 2014 | UPDATED: 12:38 GMT, 26 May 2014

He stepped out of a chauffeur-driven Range Rover, trotted up a flight of steps, slapped a circle of newly-installed Ukip MEPs firmly on the back, and asked the night's big question: 'Right then, where's the bar?' Nigel Farage breezed into Southampton's historic Guildhall to meet the supporters who have devoted recent months to engineering a stunning election victory that has re-drawn Britain's political map. First, though, he had to navigate his way through a sea of newspaper and TV crews who had descended from across Europe, blocking the entrance to the hall where votes had just been tallied.



Ukip leader Nigel Farage, at the South East count in Southampton, hailed his party's victory as the most extraordinary result in British politics for 100 years

'How happy are you?' asked a sharp-elbowed German TV presenter, thrusting a microphone into his mouth. 'I'll be very happy,' Farage replied, 'once this part of the night is all over, and I can get to our private party.' But first: business. Three nights after he declared a 'political earthquake' and announced that 'the Ukip fox is in Westminster's hen house', Farage was once more eager to sing the praises of what he likes to call his 'people's army'. 'We formed our people's army to take on the establishment, and it looks like we've won a great victory,' he said. 'But we're getting used to this. And you know what? I quite like it!'

There was indeed a practised air to the way Farage celebrated his success. He had begun the evening at what an aide described as a 'modest but serviceable' local hotel, dining on steak sandwich topped with a healthy dollop of mustard 'English, not French'.

The Ukip leader's German wife, Kirsten, was then dispatched to the count early, clutching a bag bursting with miniature bottles of pink champagne to hand to supporters.

By the time Farage arrived, in a grey pinstripe suit, the warmth of the mood could be gauged from regular whoops of delight coming from the bar, where a TV was tuned to the BBC's results programme.

Before he could clamp his lips around the first pint of bitter, it was time to consider the effect of his victory – breaking more than a century of Liberal, Labour and Conservative electoral domination – on the political map.



Ukip leader Nigel Farage enjoyed a pint of beer in Benfleet, Essex, before the election results started to roll in

Already, there are whispers in Conservative circles of a pact with Ukip at the 2015 election. And even George Osborne was on television yesterday morning discussing his newfound 'respect' for the party.

It's certainly a world away from his compadre David Cameron's now infamous 2006 aside, during a radio interview, where he declared: 'Ukip is sort of a bunch of ... fruitcakes and loonies and closet racists, mostly.'

'After nine years of abuse, I was quite surprised,' Farage said. 'I nearly choked on my breakfast. But yes, he was trying to be nice I think and decided that throwing abuse at us doesn't work. It only makes us more popular.'

As to whether a pact is on the cards, he insisted – and this is undoubtedly how results will today be spun – that Labour now has as much to fear from Ukip's rise as the Tories. 'Look at the results. The really big hits we're getting are in the north of England from the Labour Party.'

'You know, actually the Conservative vote looks to me like it's holding up quite steadily in many areas. Or more than perhaps it might have. So it's not quite as bad a night for David Cameron as people have predicted.'



Counting votes cast in the UK began on Sunday, with officials in Southampton pictured arranging long ballot papers into piles

'So I wouldn't have thought there's any prospect of a deal with the Conservative Party. Firstly, I don't think they'd want to offer it, and secondly, electorally, I don't think it would make much sense for us either.'

'I think it would be extremely unlikely, is my take. The analysis is that we've hurt Labour. In 2009, when we came second at the last European election, they said it was a high water mark, and that we'd never do it in a domestic election.'

'Then last year in English county elections we did. So then people tried to say it was all just a protest vote and that we would go away. Now there's another protest vote and another high water mark.'

'Once we get this out of the way, the people's army is off to Newark, where we have a by-election in a month.' And who would now bet against yet another high water mark there?

## 'Now I'll stop Scotland splitting from the UK,' vows Farage as he says he will take on Alex Salmond over independence after Euro election triumph

### UKIP leader claims he now leads the 'only national party' in Britain Planning visits to Scotland ahead of September independence referendum Party shocked pundits by winning an EU Parliament seat in Scotland

By [ALAN RODEN](#)

PUBLISHED: 10:32 GMT, 27 May 2014 | UPDATED: 15:54 GMT, 27 May 2014

Nigel Farage is preparing to muscle into the battle against Scottish independence following his historic success in the European elections.

The UKIP leader wants to open a new front in the campaign against the SNP, to the horror of the established Better Together allies.

Mr Farage was yesterday basking in the glory of winning his first seat north of the Border in a major humiliation for Alex Salmond, who had pleaded with Scots to make a direct choice between the SNP and Ukip.



Nigel Farage wants to use his European election triumph as a springboard to stop Alex Salmond splitting Scotland off from the rest of the UK in September's independence referendum

David Coburn, UKIP's victorious candidate in Scotland, yesterday thanked the First Minister for polarising the debate, as Labour accused the SNP of foolishly delivering a boost for Mr Farage. In a stinging attack, Labour's Scottish leader Johann Lamont said: 'Scotland now has three nationalist MEPs.'

After winning more than 140,000 votes in the contest, Mr Farage is now planning repeat visits to Scotland in the run-up to September's referendum as he feels he has a legitimate platform to speak out in favour of the Union.

He told the Mail: 'With the election of David Coburn as the first UKIP MEP [in Scotland], we have not just put a fox into Westminster's henhouse, we have put a pine marten into the Holyrood one.'

'We are the only truly national political party, and the success of UKIP in Scotland in these elections proves that there is a voice for those who believe in an independent Scotland as part of the UK.'

'Alex Salmond now finally has to deal honestly and openly with the key contradictions in his position – independence in Europe is no independence at all.'

'They know it, we know it, and now we can see the Scottish people know it as well.'

Mr Farage added: 'We have proven over the last few days that we are genuinely a UK independence party.'

'Most of you have thought for years that every Ukip voter is a retired half colonel living on the edge of Salisbury plain desperate for the re-introduction of the birch and only cheering up after the first pink gin of the day.'

'Well, we have got a few of those that vote for us there is no doubt about it. But actually we cross all social divides.'

'In terms of geography that's even more fascinating. We have made a breakthrough in Scotland - something which Alex Salmond will not enjoy very much at all. And we will inject a completely new dynamic into the referendum on separation that is coming up on September 18 this year.'





SNP leader Alex Salmond is confident of winning September's independence referendum despite polls showing a narrowing, but consistent lead for the 'No' campaign



Nigel Farage was all smiles during a meeting of the leaders of European Parliament political groups in Brussels today



The UKIP leader was back in Brussels today after last week's European election triumph in which he topped the polls - pushing Labour into second narrowly ahead of the Tories

The final results of the European election were announced in Scotland yesterday lunchtime, with the SNP holding on for victory, despite a sharp rise in Labour's support.

With just over one-third of Scots voting in the contest - a total of 1.35million adults - the Nationalists won 28.9 per cent (389,503 votes) – down 0.2 points since 2009 – and Labour won 25.9 per cent (348,219 votes), up 5.1 points.

That handed both parties two seats in the European Parliament, with the Tories picking up a seat after winning a better-than-expected 17.2 per cent (231,330 votes) – it's best total for around a quarter of a century.

Ukip secured an historic and unexpected fourth place, picking up Scotland's sixth and final seat with 140,534 votes and a 10.4 per cent share, despite a shambolic campaign north of the Border. The Greens won 8 per cent and pushing the LibDems into a humiliating sixth place.

At the declaration of results in Edinburgh, Mr Coburn was rebuffed when he cheekily asked Shadow Scottish Secretary Margaret Curran if he could join the anti-independence Better Together campaign. Organisers have officially banned Ukip from joining the Tory/Labour/LibDem group, amid fears of fringe elements within the party. But Mr Coburn said: 'The Ukip revolution has now come to Scotland.

He added: 'I'd like to thank Alex Salmond for his tremendous help in getting us elected.'

Throughout the election campaign, the SNP attempted to persuade Scots there was a direct contest between the third candidate on their list, Tasmina Ahmed-Sheikh, and Mr Coburn.

Ukip's success now makes it much harder for Mr Salmond to argue that Scotland and England are 'different countries' as he bids to boost support ahead of the independence referendum in September.

In desperation, the First Minister has resorted to blaming the media.

With 1.35million votes cast, the SNP won the backing of 389,503 Scots in Thursday's contest, with Labour But as yesterday's results were announced, Labour's lead candidate David Martin said: 'I'd like to suggest to David Coburn that the first thing he does when he sits down and recovers from the champagne is write a letter to Alex Salmond because there is no doubt in my mind that Alex Salmond's decision to polarise the campaign, the Scottish debate, between two extremes is why David Coburn is with us today as a member of the European Parliament.'

That was met with mutterings of 'poor show' by deputy SNP leader Nicola Sturgeon.

She said later: 'Ukip topped the poll in England and have scraped the final seat in Scotland. The gulf between the performances is absolutely massive.'



Scotland's First Minister has turned the tables on Labour following devolution, becoming the dominant party in Holyrood - despite an electoral system designed to make one-party rule extremely difficult to achieve

But Scottish Labour leader Johann Lamont said: 'From Poland to France, Greece to Scotland we have seen the rise of nationalism and Scotland now has three nationalist MEPs.'

'Alex Salmond and Nigel Farage represent the same things, but our country deserves better than the simple analysis that our neighbours are the problem dressed up in saloon bar charm. Those of us who believe in a just and fair Scotland need to stand firm in the face of these two.'

In response, SNP MEP Alyn Smith said: 'This is a boomerang attack from Johann Lamont – the hypocrisy of which helps explain why the SNP have just defeated Labour in yet another national election in Scotland, after more than seven years in government.'

'Ukip did worse in Scotland than in any other part of Britain by far. Ukip topped the poll south of the Border because the Westminster parties have pandered to their agenda in Scotland. The SNP took them on – and we won the election.'

Tory MEP Ian Duncan, who takes over from the retired Struan Stevenson, said his party's vote is the highest it has been for 25 years.

'We've bucked the national trend and it is a reminder that we have much to offer the people of Scotland,' he said.

'People are concerned about Europe and they want change. They want change to make Europe work for them, not against them, and I believe we have harnessed that concern and that feeling in a very simple way.'

Green candidate Maggie Chapman said: 'In this election we asked 'What kind of Scotland do you want?' The response has been the biggest-ever vote for the Greens, showing growing support for our vision of a Scotland which prizes economic justice, welcomes new Scots from around the world, and stands for peace.'

## Most of Ukip's four million plus supporters intend to vote for them again in general election, poll reveals

**ComRes survey: 86% of Ukip's voters will do so again in May 2015**

**Tory ministers said voters had 'loaned' their vote to Mr Farage's party and would return to the fold in time for the General Election**

**Survey found that 37% 'certain' to support Ukip at General Election; 49% 'likely' to do so, while 14% would probably cast their vote elsewhere**

By [PAUL DONNELLEY](#)

PUBLISHED: 12:37 GMT, 31 May 2014 | UPDATED: 18:19 GMT, 1 June 2014

A new poll suggests that the majority of the people who voted Ukip at the European elections will also vote for the party at the General Election less than a year away.

In the ComRes survey 86 per cent of the people who put their cross in Ukip's box will do so again in May 2015.

For the first time in its history the Conservative Party did not come first or second in a national election beaten into third place by Nigel Farage's 'people's army' and Ed Miliband's Labour.



Next stop Newark: Ukip leader Nigel Farage celebrates his party's stunning win in the European elections



They're not going away, you know: A ComRes survey would appear to show that Ukip can expect to retain 86 per cent of its support at the General Election

More than 4.3million people voted for Ukip to give it its first national win.

Tory ministers explained that away by saying that voters had merely 'loaned' their vote to Mr Farage's party and would return to the fold in time for the General Election.

ComRes's poll taken a few days after the European elections appears to show that these suppositions are misguided.

The survey found that 37 per cent of Ukip voters said that they were 'certain' to support the party at the General Election. Another 49 per cent said that they were 'likely' to do so, while a mere 14 per cent said that they would probably cast their vote elsewhere.

The ComRes poll was commissioned by Paul Sykes, Ukip's biggest financial backer. Mr Sykes has also pledged to help Ukip cause another major upset in this week's Newark by-election.



Mr Ukip: Paul Sykes is the party's biggest donor and commissioned a poll that shows that 86 per cent of Ukip's Euro voters will stick by the party next May

The Conservatives are so worried by another potential Ukip win that on Thursday of this week they sent five ministers including George Osborne, the Chancellor, Theresa May, the Home Secretary, and Sajid Javid, the Culture Secretary, to glad-hand the electorate in the constituency.

David Cameron and Boris Johnson have also visited Newark to try to bolster support for their party.



Walkabout: Prime Minister David Cameron (left), Boris Johnson (not pictured) and Conservative by-election candidate Robert Jenrick (centre) visited Newark to persuade the locals to vote Tory on Thursday

The by-election was caused by the resignation of Tory Patrick Mercer (maj. 16,152) over a cash for questions scandal and at the moment the Conservatives lead Ukip by 36 to 28 per cent but Tory support is down 18 percentage points since the General Election while Ukip has gained 24 percentage points.

Mr Sykes said that the ComRes poll findings should make the Conservatives realise that Ukip will threaten them at the General Election.

'Conservative MPs, with a few honourable exceptions, appear to be in denial about the scale of the popular uprising against our current rulers.

This is despite their party finishing third in the elections,' he said. 'They appear to think that the Ukip threat will go away (it won't) or that the economic recovery will float them off the political rocks.

'They should recall what happened in 1997. Then the economy had been growing strongly for four years. That did not stop John Major going down to the worst Tory defeat since 1832.'

According to ComRes, 46 per cent of Ukip's European voters supported the Tories at the 2010 General Election while 15 per cent had been Labour voters, and 16 per cent Liberal Democrats.

DMa11

## **Farage's plan for Britain: Tax free minimum wage, a grammar school in every town and help for the rich**

**UKIP leader reveals key manifesto pledges ahead of September party conference in Doncaster**

**Pledges to scrap the 45p top rate of tax for those earning over £150,000**

**Also wants to increase tax free earnings threshold to £12,675 from £10,500**

**Says a 'grammar school in every town' will remain the party's policy**

**Reveals it is a 'distinct possibility' that he will stand in Thanet South in Kent in 2015**

**Plans to target up to 36 seats in areas where they are strong in local councils**

By [TOM MCTAGUE, MAIL ONLINE DEPUTY POLITICAL EDITOR](#)

PUBLISHED: 10:39 GMT, 1 June 2014 | UPDATED: 07:37 GMT, 2 June 2014



Nigel Farage has revealed the first outlines of UKIP's general election manifesto, including plans to target up to 36 seats next year

Nigel Farage this morning revealed the first outlines of UKIP's general election manifesto, as he revealed the party would target up to 36 seats next year.

The UKIP leader said the party would promise to scrap tax on the minimum wage. This would mean the 20p starting rate of income tax would only kick in on earnings over £12,675 a year.

He also revealed that the party would fight to scrap the 45p top rate of tax on those earning over £150,000 a year, bring back grammar schools 'in every town' and take an axe to public sector middle managers.

Mr Farage suggested these policies would form the centre piece of the party's manifesto, which will be revealed at a special conference held in Labour leader Ed Miliband's Doncaster constituency next September.

He hopes the policies will propel his party into Westminster after last week's European and local elections triumph.

Mr Farage has previously listed as potential targets seats in Grimsby and Boston in Lincolnshire, Folkestone and Thanet in Kent, Portsmouth, Eastleigh, Plymouth, Aylesbury and parts of Cambridgeshire in the south, as well as Rotherham in the north.

Mr Farage refused to reveal which seat he will choose to fight – but said there was a 'distinct possibility' that it would be Thanet South in Kent. He did however rule out challenging Nick Clegg in Sheffield.

He said: 'I'm going to stand in the South East of England because that's where I am from.'



Mr Farage, pictured with his PR Alexandra Phillips as he arrived at BBC studios in London to film The Andrew Marr Show, hopes the policies laid out today will propel his party into Westminster

The seat is currently held with a comfortable 8,000 majority by Tory MP Laura Sandys. But she has already announced that will be stepping down at the next election. Even though it has been targeted by Mr Farage it would require a huge swing to UKIP for him to win – after the party scooped barely five per cent of the vote in the last general election in 2010. But Mr Farage insisted the party would win seats in next year's poll.



Mr Farage, pictured meeting a passing fan today, refused to reveal which seat he will choose to fight - but said there was a 'distinct possibility' that it would be Thanet South in Kent

He said: 'Yes I am. I think the European election results caught the news, but actually the more significant result for next year was the in the areas where we succeeded last year - the county council seats where there were district council elections again this year, we are seeing areas where we are building up a really good representation of UKIP in local government and that changes the whole perception in a constituency. 'That's exactly what Paddy Ashdown did in the 1990s – they built on local strength. Our strategy for the general election next year is we will pick power the course of this summer our target seats and we will throw the kitchen sink at them.

'It'll be two dozen, three dozen – something of that order.'

'We topped the polls in the Europeans, we are winning council seats, we are on the up.'

He said the party had ditched its controversial pledge to introduce a flat rate of tax for everyone of 31 per cent, replacing the three bands of 20p, 40p and 45p today.



Mr Farage has promised tax cuts and a grammar school 'in every town' as he appeared on The Andrew Marr show



The politician said his party would reveal its full manifesto in September at its annual conference in Ed Miliband's Doncaster constituency

But Mr Farage said: 'We are going to rethink the tax thing.'

'What I can tell you for certain is that our biggest tax objective in that next manifesto will be not tax on the minimum wage. We've got to incentivise people on benefit and to get back to work.'

'I think a top rate of tax in this country of around about 40 per cent is the one that will bring the most revenue into the exchequer.'

'I think that's what we will conclude yes. Anything over 40 and you start seeing people going overseas.'

He was also asked if he still wanted a grammar school in every town? He replied: 'Absolutely.'

Mr Farage said the party would reveal its full manifesto in September.

He said: 'We are going to have our annual conference this year in Doncaster in Ed Miliband's constituency – that is where we will lay out our manifesto for the 2015 general election.'

'I want us to give millions of ordinary families and people in this country the opportunity to live a better life and to do that.'

## **'Britain isn't Britain without Farage with a pint in one hand and a mystery woman in the other': Gordon Brown mocks UKIP leader**

### **Former Prime Minister teases Nigel Farage over his populist image Insists that Scotland must remain part of Britain to cope in modern world Warns against thinking rise of UKIP is result of immigration or Europe**

By [MATT CHORLEY, MAILONLINE POLITICAL EDITOR](#)

**PUBLISHED:** 16:05 GMT, 9 June 2014 | **UPDATED:** 17:40 GMT, 9 June 2014

Pictures of Nigel Farage drinking in pubs with mystery women on his arm is part of what makes Britain great, Gordon Brown claimed today as he attacked UKIP for fuelling fears about globalisation.

The former Prime Minister mocked Mr Farage's image as a drinking, womanising populist who fuels fears about globalisation.

Mr Brown insisted the rise of UKIP – topping the European elections last month – was not the result of public anger over immigration or Europe, but fears about the 'juggernaut' of global change and Britain's place in the world.



Former Prime Minister Gordon Brown warned Labour against thinking the rise of UKIP was the result of anger over immigration or Europe

The Labour party is divided about how to respond to the threat from UKIP after seeing support switch in heartland working class seats in the north.

Work and pensions spokesman Rachel Reeves warned that blue-collar supporters felt UKIP understood their fears better while Yvette Cooper insisted: 'We can't imitate UKIP, we have got to take them on.'

But despite being part of the Labour government which opened the doors to eastern Europe and handed more powers to Brussels, Mr Brown claimed Labour had to make the case for opening up the British economy to rest of the world.

And he ridiculed Mr Farage, who has often been pictured drinking in pubs and last week faced questions after returning to his hotel at a tourism conference in Malta at 4am with an attractive woman.

Mr Farage dismissed allegations of inappropriate behaviour as 'fluff and nonsense', saying: 'I didn't go to bed with her.'

Speaking at press gallery lunch in Parliament, Mr Brown said: 'Britain cannot be Britain without seeing a photograph of Nigel Farage with a pint in his hand and a mystery woman lady in the other hand.'

He went on: 'Britain cannot be Britain these days, a new permanent fixture by the way, without the Liberals coming in sixth place.'

'Britain cannot be Britain unless at some point you have a Scottish as well as Welsh or northern Irish prime minister and not simply English Prime Minister.'





Mr Brown joked that part of Britain was Nigel Farage's love of drinking and Nick Clegg's Lib Dems now finishing sixth in elections, after woeful results in the European elections and Newark by-election

'Britain cannot be Britain without Scotland being part of the United Kingdom and without Scotland Britain will not be Britain. We rub together. Scottish assertiveness, sometimes English indifference.

'There is a difference, and there is aggression but Scotland and Britain go together and I don't want to see a future where the four nations of this United Kingdom at a time when the world is becoming more integrated, societies are talking about interdependence and when it's absolutely important that we have co-operation in the future.'

He warned Labour leader Ed Miliband must not respond to UKI with tougher policies on migrant workers or the EU.

Instead Labour must make the case for Britain working more closely with foreign countries.

'For me this is an issue about global change. People say it's an issue about immigration and it's an issue an issue about Europe.

'But it's about how we respond, and who gets the benefit from these massive changes, this juggernaut that is taking place as a result of the opening up of the global economy.'

Mr Brown joked that he had been at a meeting at the International Monetary Fund where protestors outside were carrying a banner declaring: 'Worldwide campaign against globalisation.'

He went on: 'You know exactly what people meant. People feel that this alien to them. People feel that its unfriendly, people feel that they cannot control the process of change, and it's about time that we showed that globalisation – that is the big processes of opening up the global economy – has a human face.

'I frankly thought that when we had the G20 in 2009 and with Barack Obama as President we would be able to do this, we would be able to show that you can manage globalisation in the interests of people.

'But the retreat from global co-operation in the last few years makes it very difficult.

'We have got to show for skilled workers, or people worried about skills, people who are worried about their security, people who are on low pay, that there is a future for their children that is more about skills security and decent employment.

'It seems to me that that is the answer to UKIP as it is the answer to Scottish nationalism.'

## **Nigel Farage facing £20,000 fine as election watchdog probes failure to declare £200,000 worth of donations to party since 2001**

**UKIP leader enjoyed free use of an office in West Sussex every year  
But he failed to register 'gift in kind' with the Electoral Commission until May  
Election watchdog considering what 'further action against him is necessary'**

By [JOHN STEVENS, POLITICAL REPORTER](#)

PUBLISHED: 17:35 GMT, 12 June 2014 | UPDATED: 18:10 GMT, 12 June 2014

Nigel Farage could face punishment from the elections watchdog after he failed to declare £200,000 worth of donations over more than a decade.

The UKIP leader received free use of an office in West Sussex from 2001, but did not register the gift with the Electoral Commission until last month.

Under the Political Parties, Elections and Referendums Act 2000, regulated recipients - including MEPs like Mr Farage - must report gifts within 30 days of accepting them.



Nigel Farage could be fined up to £20,000 for failing to declare £200,000 worth of donations over 10 years

Penalties for not complying can include fines of up to £20,000 and, in the most extreme cases, a 12-month prison term.

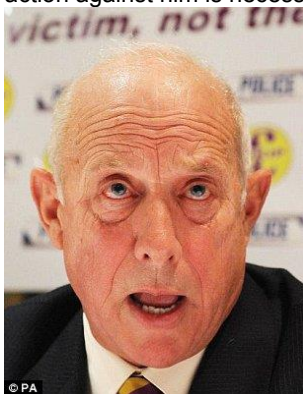
Mr Farage finally registered the use of the premises, a small converted farm building near Littlehampton, in a declaration to the Electoral Commission last month after it wrote to him.

He stated that the gift from supporter John Longhurst had been worth £205,602 over 13 years.

The Electoral Commission is now considering whether to take actions against the party leader.

A spokesman said: 'Clearly the donations should have been reported to us, and now have been following our correspondence with Nigel Farage.'

'At the moment, our Party Finance team is reviewing all of the necessary information supplied to us by Mr Farage and are considering it carefully. Once this process is complete we will take a decision on whether any further action against him is necessary.'



Former UKIP MEP Godfrey Bloom today advised Mr Farage to be 'a little more circumspect' about his closeness to women

Mr Farage today claimed the gift had already been registered with authorities in Brussels.

A UKIP spokesman said: 'Every year since 2001, Mr Farage has declared in his European Parliament Register of Interests the use of a rent-free office from J Longhurst Ltd.'

'The premises has been used as his MEP office so the European Parliamentary register was the logical place for it to be declared.

'Mr Farage was surprised to learn that the Electoral Commission thought it should be informed as well as this did not accord with the professional advice he had received at the time.'

It came as controversial former UKIP MEP Godfrey Bloom yesterday said that Mr Farage should be 'a little more circumspect' about his closeness to women.

He said the Ukip leader needed to be careful after he was last week photographed returning to his hotel with a woman at 3am.

Mr Bloom who resigned from the party last year after a number of outspoken remarks, told the BBC's Daily Politics: 'I think perhaps if I was his old dad I'd say be a little more circumspect, but that's the pot calling the kettle black with me.'

The 64-year-old, who shared a flat in Brussels with Mr Farage for several years, stepped down after he referred to women as 'sluts' and struck a journalist on the street.

He earlier attracted claims of racism by denouncing aid being sent to 'bongo bongo land'.

Mr Bloom said he was still friends with Mr Farage. He said: 'We had a sherbet the other day. I think you can fall out in politics or professionally without having to scratch each other eyes out.'

## **Ukip's voters will still back the party at the general election, casting doubt on Tory claims that supporters were 'lending' their votes to Nigel Farage**

**Party is predicted to retain 86% of its support from the European elections  
ComRes poll suggests it was Ukip's immigration policy that attracted voters  
That support is likely to be retained by the time of the next general election  
Poll will make worrying reading for both David Cameron and Ed Miliband  
Labour and the Conservatives appear likely to lose votes to Ukip**

By [TANIA STEERE FOR THE DAILY MAIL](#) and [TAMARA COHEN FOR THE DAILY MAIL](#) and [JOHN STEVANS](#)  
PUBLISHED: 00:47 GMT, 31 May 2014 | UPDATED: 11:19 GMT, 31 May 2014

The majority of voters who backed Ukip in the European elections will also vote for the party at the general election, a poll predicts today.

Ukip is likely to retain 86 per cent of its support, the ComRes poll suggests.

The party attracted voters due to its immigration policy and the complaint by its leader, Nigel Farage, that Britain had ceded control of its borders to Europe, according to the poll.



Popular: According to a study by ComRes, part of Ukip's appeal during the European elections was the complaint by its leader Nigel Farage (pictured) that Britain had ceded control of its borders to Europe

The poll casts doubt on Tory predictions that many of its supporters were only 'lending' their votes to Ukip. The survey, commissioned by Paul Sykes – Ukip's biggest financial backer – found that 37 per cent of Ukip voters said that they were 'certain' to support the party at the general election.

Another 49 per cent said that they were 'likely' to do so, while 14 per cent said that they would probably back another party.

More than 4.3million voted for Ukip in last week's European elections, giving the party its first national victory. According to ComRes, 46 per cent of this year's Ukip voters had voted for the Tories at the 2010 general election, 15 per cent had been Labour voters, and 16 per cent had supported the Liberal Democrats.



Prediction: The poll will no doubt be seen as bad news for Ed Miliband (left) and David Cameron (right). Both Labour and the Conservatives look set to lose a significant number of votes to Ukip at the general election

Writing for The Daily Telegraph, Mr Sykes says that the ComRes poll findings should shake the Conservatives out of their complacent belief that Ukip will not threaten them at the general election.

'Conservative MPs, with a few honourable exceptions, appear to be in denial about the scale of the popular uprising against our current rulers,' he writes. 'This is despite their party finishing third in the elections.'

'They appear to think that the Ukip threat will go away (it won't) or that the economic recovery will float them off the political rocks.'

'They should recall what happened in 1997. Then the economy had been growing strongly for four years. That did not stop John Major going down to the worst Tory defeat since 1832.'

Another poll, by GlobalWebIndex, has painted a picture of what the 'typical' Ukip voter looks like. The poll found they tend to be older, put themselves at the less affluent end of the spectrum, and are not keen on new experiences.



Majority: Most of the voters who backed Ukip in the European elections (pictured) will also vote for the party at the general election, it has been claimed

Nearly half of those who said they intend to vote Ukip next year – 48.6 per cent – said they make decisions 'quickly, based on gut feeling', a higher proportion than Labour, Liberal Democrat or Tory voters.

They were less likely to think 'it is important for me to feel respect by my peers' than other voters.

The survey, which questioned thousands of people and was done in the first three months of this year, shows they are unlikely to be interested in other cultures and countries, or to go shopping for environmentally-friendly products.

Ukip is fighting for its first Westminster seat at the crucial Newark by-election next week.

A poll by Survation has predicted a Tory win but with its majority slashed from 16,000 to 2,000 after a Ukip surge.

DMa15

## **We could have joint Tory-Ukip candidates in 2015, says Farage: Leader says some eurosceptics would be open to the idea**

### **Ukip figurehead says some Tories are keen to avoid splitting the vote in 2015 But a Conservative source said: 'We wouldn't allow it'**

By [TAMARA COHEN FOR THE DAILY MAIL](#)

**PUBLISHED:** 23:07 GMT, 21 May 2014 | **UPDATED:** 07:40 GMT, 22 May 2014

Nigel Farage yesterday floated the idea of Conservative candidates standing on a joint Tory-UKIP ticket at next year's general election.

He suggested that there are some Tory Eurosceptics who would be open to the idea because they support a Euro referendum and wish to avoid splitting the centre-right vote in 2015.

Standing for two parties at once was authorised for the first time under a change to the law quietly pushed through early last year.



Nigel Farage yesterday floated the idea of Conservative candidates standing on a joint Tory-UKIP ticket at next year's general election. Nadine Dorries was the first MP to go public and say she would consider it

At the time, it was speculated that MPs might want to stand for the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats under a joint 'Coalition' ticket.

But this was dismissed by both parties, and the idea is now being invoked by Ukip as a way to stand jointly with MPs of any party who want to leave Europe.

Eurosceptic Mid Bedfordshire MP Nadine Dorries was the first to go public and say she would consider standing on a joint Ukip-Tory ticket at the next election.

The law – the Electoral Registration and Administration Act 2013 - allows candidates to stand jointly for two parties with a single logo on the ballot paper.

It was enacted, the government claimed at the time, to allow Labour MPs who are also members of the Co-operative Party to use either the Labour logo or the specially created Labour Co-op logo, as under the old rules they could not use either.

Some Tories were suspicious it was an attempt to allow coalition ministers to stand for both parties – an idea which now seems highly unlikely.

Any MP seeking a joint ticket would need the blessing of their party. A Tory party source said: 'There is absolutely no question of anyone standing on a joint ticket with Ukip. We wouldn't allow it.'

## DMi1

# Nigel Farage: Nine things you DIDN'T know about the much-talked about UKIP leader

- 18:00, 2 APR 2014
- **UPDATED** 18:09, 2 APR 2014
- **BY** [BEN BURROWS](#)

People know all about his views on Europe and his combative public persona, but there's plenty more they don't know about UKIP's figurehead ahead of the BBC debate



On the rise: Farage is an increasingly influential figure in British politics

Nigel Farage is becoming a bigger and bigger player on the British political stage.

[Whether it's his much-publicised televised debates with Lib Dem leader Nick Clegg](#), or his continued opposition to the Euro and the single currency, it seems Farage is here to stay.

But what else is there to the 49-year-old?

Well here's our guide to some of the things you might not know [about UKIP's leader](#).

## Conservative

He may now be set to take them on at their own game in the upcoming general election, but back in the day Farage himself was a member of the Conservative Party. He was in fact an active player with them in his school days at Dulwich College until 1992 when he left in protest over John Major's stance on the EU.

## University

Farage actually did not attend university. He chose instead to work in the City and trade commodities beginning with Drexel Burnham Lambert before moving to Credit Lyonnais Rouse in 1986. Eight years later he joined Refco before Natexis Metals in 2003.

## Copyright infringement



Wrong side of the law: Farage admitted the copyright offence in 1999

Back in 1999 the BBC filmed Farage for four months following his European election campaign. The programme never went to air but Farage still asked for video and had friends make illegal copies. The illegal versions were sold for £5 throughout UKIP's magazine, prompting Surrey Trading Standards to investigate. Farage went on to admit the offence of copyright infringement.

## Marriage

Farage has been married twice. He married Grainne Hayes back in 1988, and had two children, Samuel and Thomas, with her. They split in 1997 after which he married German national Kirsten Mehr. They too have two children Victoria and Isabelle. Farage has used Kirsten's nationality as evidence he is not completely anti-Europe when quizzed.

## Cancer scare

In his early 20s Farage was actually diagnosed with testicular cancer. He went on to make a full recovery and by the age of 24 was married and a father.

## Helicopter crash



Crash: Farage was lucky to walk away from the incident back in 2010



Back in 2010 Farage was involved in a horrific helicopter crash where he was lucky to walk away. A UKIP banner actually got caught in the engine causing the aircraft to crash. He suffered two broken ribs and a cracked spine in the incident.

## Seven elections

Farage has contested no less than seven elections in his time with UKIP. He won 5% of the vote in the constituency of Itchen, Test and Avon in the 1994 European Parliament election. He contested the Eastleigh by-election later that year before standing in his first general election, competing for Salisbury in 1997. In 1999 he helped UKIP won their first-ever European Parliament seat becoming the elected member for South East England.

## Expenses controversy

In 2009 Farage was embroiled in an expenses scandal after the Guardian reported how he had received a total of £2million of taxpayers' money in staff, travel and other expenses. Farage responded by indicating all UKIP MEPs would provide monthly expenses updates.

## Cricket



Sweet spot: Farage is fond of a tippie and the sound of leather on willow

Away from the political scene Farage is a well-known beer aficionado, but less known is his love of cricket. He is extremely fond of the sound of leather on willow and has even made an appearance on BBC's Test Match Special.

## Nigel Farage fails to turn TV debate victory over Nick Clegg into votes

- 19:30, 5 APR 2014
- BY KEIR MUDIE

A Sunday People poll reveals the heated debates on LBC/Sky and BBC2 about Europe have not improved UKIP's numbers for the forthcoming European elections



Clash: Nick Clegg and Nigel Farage during their televised debate

UKIP leader Nigel Farage has failed to turn his [TV debate victories over Nick Clegg](#) into votes, says an exclusive Sunday People poll.

The [anti-EU party](#) is hoping Mr Farage's trouncing of the Deputy Prime Minister will be reflected in the forthcoming European elections on May 22.

But a ComRes poll shows the heated debates on LBC/Sky and BBC2 about Europe have not improved Ukip's numbers.

The party is still likely to attract 30 per cent of the vote, the same amount as Labour.

Meanwhile the Tories are trailing on 22 per cent and the Lib Dems on just eight, according to the survey.

ComRes's Tom Mludzinski, head of political polling, said: "Nigel Farage has been building expectations over the European elections and it is now important for Ukip's own momentum to win on May 22.

"The debates, a calculated risk by [Farage and Clegg](#) , seem to have had little impact.

"Ukip are tied at the top with Labour and remain in with a fighting chance."

Pollsters had Mr Farage winning the first TV battle by 21 per cent and the second by an even more resounding 31 per cent. But our ComRes results make grim reading for the parties in the ruling Coalition.

Mr Mludzinski said finishing behind Ukip in the Euro elections would put pressure on David Cameron to shift to the right.

He added that Labour needed just a two per cent swing from the Tories to win the most seats at next year's general election.

DMi3

## Watch Nigel Farage squirm under questioning about his £2m expenses on Have I Got News For You?

- 14:54, 12 APR 2014
- **UPDATED** 14:54, 12 APR 2014
- **BY** MIKEY SMITH

The UKIP leader was grilled about his expenses - and the claim he pays both his wife and alleged mistress with public money - on the comedy game show

Nigel Farage visibly squirmed last night, as he was quizzed about his expenses and alleged mistress on Have I Got News For You?

Farage was questioned by host Stephen Mangan and team captain Ian Hislop over the £2m he claimed in expenses as a member of the European Parliament in 2009, on top of his £64,000 a year salary.

He was also grilled on claims of an affair with a his press secretary, Annabelle Fuller.

The affair, which Farage denies, would mean both his alleged former mistress and his wife Kirsten Mehr, who works as his assistant, would have taxpayer funded salaries.

Mangan quipped that Farage was an "equal opportunities employer."

The claims were made in the European Parliament by former UKIP member Nikki Sinclair, who now represents the We Demand A Referendum party.

Farage said the allegation was made "under the cloak of parliamentary privilege" and that Sinclair had repeatedly refused to repeat it publicly elsewhere.

A rattled Farage was caught off guard after a question about recently resigned Tory Culture Secretary Maria Miller quickly pivoted in his direction.

He tried to deflect attention from himself by pointing out his £2m expense bill had been brought to public attention by shamed Labour MP Denis MacShane.

Hislop fired back: "Yes, but he's in jail...and you're not."

## DMi4

### UKIP's Nigel Farage could face expenses probe after receiving EU cash to pay for office he uses RENT-FREE

- 00:26, 15 APR 2014
- **UPDATED** 07:36, 15 APR 2014
- **BY** PIERS EADY

He has raked in an average of £15,500 a year from the EU since at least 2009 to pay for the upkeep of his constituency office



EU cash: Nigel Farage

UKIP leader Nigel Farage could face an expenses probe after receiving tens of thousands of pounds of European Union cash to pay for an office he uses rent-free.

Mr Farage, 50, has raked in an average of £15,500 a year from the EU since at least 2009 to pay for the upkeep of his constituency office in Lyminster near Littlehampton, West Sussex.

But the 625 sq ft office, in a small, red brick former grain store, was given rent-free to Mr Farage by UKIP supporters John and Julia Longhurst 15 years ago.

Utility bills such as gas, electricity and water, combined with other costs amount to around £3,000 a year, according to former office manager David Samuel-Camps, 69.

That would leave £12,000 a year - around £60,000 in total - of European Union funds unaccounted for.

Mr Farage, who is MEP for the South East of England, confirmed that he received his office rent-free, but said he legitimately spent more than £1,000 a month to run the office.

The figures are revealed in so-called 'transparency reports' on the party's website.

However, UKIP MEPs have only filed transparency reports since July 2009, raising the possibility that Mr Farage may have spent more than £200,000 of EU funds on 'management and running costs' on his office since he was elected in 1999.

A former senior UKIP official has filed a formal complaint about Mr Farage's expenses claims to the EU anti-fraud office OLAF.

EU guidelines - followed by UKIP - say the funds must be spent only on rent, utilities, insurance and business rates.

In line with all MEPs, Mr Farage gets a general expenditure allowance of around £3,800 a month to rent and run an office in his home country.

But no MEP has to file receipts to prove how they have spent the cash, leaving the system open to abuse.

Mr Farage said he used his allowance to run the grain store and a smaller office at his home in Westerham near Sevenoaks, Kent, and disputed Mr Samuel-Camps' claim that the office's annual running costs totalled £3,000.

He said: "I don't pay rent on the office but I obviously pay for everything else, whether it's the burglar alarm or electricity.

"About £1,000 a month is roughly what it is. Exceptionally I put more money in as and when it's needed."

The UKIP leader also revealed he used a proportion of his GEA to pay more than £1,000 a month towards a second EU pension scheme of which he was a member between 1999 and 2009.

The controversial scheme saw MEPs pay in £1,052 of their own money every month, topped up by a taxpayer-funded payment of £2,104.

Mr Farage's contribution was deducted from his GEA before the rest was deposited into his bank account and he insists he funded the shortfall out of his own pocket.

Last year it was revealed the UKIP leader had set up the Farage Family Educational Trust in the Isle of Man in order to mitigate his tax bill, although he said he personally did not benefit.

Last night Mr Farage denied claims by ex-staff members that he transferred European funds into other offshore bank accounts in the Cayman Islands and the Isle of Man.

He said any inquiries into such matters were 'completely, wholly unacceptable', adding that he would not answer any more questions on the subject.

A UKIP spokesman said: "Nigel Farage is confident that he has abided by European parliamentary rules at all times when spending allowances.

“The Lyminster office is not the sole address that incurs expenditure in the pursuance of Mr Farage’s job as an MEP, though it is the most important one.

“To allege that he has transferred EU funds to an offshore account is entirely untrue.”

Last week Mr Farage called for a by-election in Basingstoke following local Tory MP Maria Miller’s resignation as Culture Secretary after wrongly claiming thousands of pounds in mortgage interest payments.

Mr Farage said Mrs Miller had “taken the mickey out of the system”.

## DMi5

### Nigel Farage defends EU handouts: UKIP leader says he'll spend how he likes

- 22:19, 15 APR 2014
- **UPDATED** 08:12, 16 APR 2014
- **BY** TOM MCTAGUE

The UKIP leader was highly critical during Westminster's expenses scandal, but will have some explaining to do after claims that some of his "general expenditure allowance" has been paid into his personal bank account.



Denial: Farage says he doesn't use EU allowance in UK

Under fire Nigel Farage yesterday insisted his party could spend taxpayer-funded EU handouts "how we want" after being confronted about his expenses.

The UKIP leader said he was taking legal advice over allegations that £60,000 of "missing" expenses have been paid into his personal bank account since 1999.

Like all MEPs, Mr Farage receives a £3,580 a month "general expenditure allowance" from Brussels. But he rejected claims this was supposed to be used to run his constituency office in Bognor Regis, which he was given rent-free by local UKIP supporters.

Mr Farage said: "We do not claim expenses for running offices or any other activity that takes place within our member state, the United Kingdom. We get a fixed-rate allowance and we can spend it how we want to. We don't have to provide receipts for it."

The European Parliament rules state that the cash: "May only be used for activities linked to the exercise of a Member's mandate. It may not be used to cover personal expenses or to fund political grants or donations."





Missing: It is claimed that Farage had expenses paid into his personal bank account

Mr Farage, who said he would hand over expenses claims for independent scrutiny, insisted this did not mean he could not spend the cash travelling the country speaking against the EU.

He added: "I could have refused the money but I couldn't have spoken at public meetings all over the UK because I am not wealthy enough to have funded that myself."

His defence was in stark contrast to angry outbursts during the Westminster expenses scandal. Last year he said: "The country is disgusted with this expenses scandal. Those Members of Parliament should be prosecuted."

The Electoral Commission last night confirmed they will write to Mr Farage to find out whether his free office should have been declared as a donation.

## DMi6

### Nigel Farage slammed over new UKIP anti-immigration poster campaign branded 'racist' by critics

- 15:40, 21 APR 2014
- BY MIRANDA NORRIS

The party leader claims new European election posters that state millions of immigrants are after our jobs is a "hard-hitting reflection of reality"



Controversial: Nigel Farage has defended his "hard-hitting" posters

**Nigel Farage** has hit back at claims that a UKIP poster campaign is racist.

The posters, produced ahead of the European Parliament elections next month, state: "26 million people in Europe are looking for work. And whose jobs are they after?"

They also call on voters to "Take Back Control of Our Country" and state that 75% of British laws are now made in Brussels.

Critics say the posters, which cost UKIP £1.5million and were paid for by millionaire former Conservative party donor Paul Sykes, resemble those once produced by the British National Party.

Labour MP Mike Gapes said they were "racist".

However, UKIP leader Nigel Farage defended them as a "hard-hitting reflection of reality as it is experienced by millions of British people struggling to earn a living outside the Westminster bubble."

He added: "Are we going to ruffle a few feathers among the chattering classes? Yes. Are we bothered about that? Not in the slightest.

"UKIP is hugely grateful to Paul Sykes for his magnificent contribution to the great cause of restoring Britain's ability to be a self-governing nation.

"The political earthquake I have spoken of is on its way."

Mr Sykes said: "We have the chance to support a party that represents a complete break with the past."

"The other parties, whatever their merits, are content to work within the existing Brussels straitjacket."

"An overwhelming victory for UKIP will break the political mould in the UK, forcing Labour and the Lib Dems to back a full-scale referendum and intensifying the popular pressure for that to be staged as early as general election day 2015."

The posters, which will also run digitally, will appear for the next four weeks.

DMi7

## EU chicken! Nigel Farage chickens out when the Mirror ruffles his feathers

- 19:04, 30 APR 2014
- **UPDATED** 11:05, 1 MAY 2014
- **BY** RICHARD SMITH

The Mirror Chicken pecks UKIP leader over his foul approach to politics and his chickening out of the Newark by-election



The famous Mirror Chicken ruffled the feathers of [UKIP leader Nigel Farage](#) after he chickened out of a city centre walkabout.

Mr Farage, aged 50, was scheduled to spend 45 minutes chatting with shoppers in Swansea.

But he called off the walkabout at the last minute after a dozen placard-waving protesters turned up on his planned route.

Instead, Mr Farage headed off to give a series of TV interviews two miles away in a suite at Swansea City Football Club's Liberty Stadium.

As the UKIP leader left the stadium he blamed the cancellation of the walkabout on pressure group Unite Against Fascism.



He said: "We've had problems with this outfit before."

"We've had problems in Margate and we've had problems in Brighton. They are out for violence and I'm not.

"It looks like UAF basically. What happened in Brighton was just appalling.

"We can disagree politically, have a debate about it and talk about - but their stated aim is to close us down."

Mr Farage's minders then stopped the Mirror chicken from approaching the [UKIP leader](#) to ask why he decided to [chicken out of standing in the forthcoming Newark bi-election](#).

As soon as Mr Farage saw the Mirror chicken he dived into his chauffeur-driven four-wheel-drive car.

Asked if he would like to meet the Mirror chicken, Mr Farage testily replied: "No".

He was then swiftly driven off by his pinstripe-suited chauffeur.

Earlier, Swansea student Jenó Davies, 17, was among protesters who turned up in the city centre.

He was carrying a poster which said: "Hatred not welcome here".

Jeno said: "I think UKIP are disgraceful and blatantly racist. It's just breeding hatred.

"Unfortunately some people find these buffoon characters appealing. They need to see past this very clever mask and see Nigel Farage for what he is."

One of the UKIP leader's supporters told the small crowd awaiting his arrival in the main shopping street: "I apologise on behalf of Mr Farage.

"The walkabout will now not take place. I don't think he has bottled it.

"There was a security concern. I can't say what it was."

Pensioner Paul Elliott, 66, a retired union official, said: "I'm pleased it has been cancelled.

"I believe he creates divisions within our society and I don't think he is really a man of the people.

"His policies on the economy are frightening."

## DMi8

### The truth about UKIP: Racist jibes, anti-gay rants, derogatory remarks about women and anti-foreign propaganda

- 19:43, 17 MAY 2014
- BY [BEN GLAZE](#), COLIN CORTBUS

Sunday Mirror investigators' shocking findings come as a poll shows the anti-EU party even further ahead in Thursday's vote for the European Parliament

Nigel Farage faces a new storm ahead of this week's crunch elections as the Sunday Mirror reveals racist, sexist and anti-gay rants by many [UKIP candidates](#).

Our investigators found references to "P\*\*is" and "d\*rkies", menacing jibes at gays and swipes at women – branded "filthy old bitches" and "witches".

The findings comes as a Sunday Mirror poll shows the anti-EU party even further ahead in Thursday's vote for [the European Parliament](#). UKIP is also mounting a major challenge in the local council votes the same day.

Our shock revelations follow the decision of a prominent Asian woman to quit the party saying it had "descended into a form of racist populism" and Farage losing his rag on radio when quizzed on German wife Kirsten.

Sanya-Jeet Thandi, who was chairwoman of UKIP's London youth wing, said: "The direction the party is going is terrifying."

Our investigators found one of the party's would-be councillors saying that Islam should be wiped out.



Ken Chapman: Candidate in Amber Valley, Derbys

UKIP member Ken Chapman, hoping to be elected in the Langley Mill and Aldercar ward on Amber Valley Borough Council in Derbyshire, posted a joke about a "P\*\*i" last September 10 – and 13 days later said on Facebook "Islam is a blight on the world".

Last May he wrote an illiterate post saying: “islam is a cancer that needs eradicating multiculturalism does not work in this country clear them all off to the desert with their camals that’s their way of life.”

And a month later he posted a joke using the [terms “d\\*rkie” and “Zulu”](#) to refer to “a black guy”.



Joseph Quirk: Candidate in S Tyneside

We also discovered the anti-semitic postings of Joseph Quirk, UKIP candidate for Boldon Colliery Ward on South Tyneside Council.

He shares material claiming Jewish bankers financed Hitler, Soviet Communism, 9/11 and Israel, and says: “This doesn’t even scratch the surface...”

Quirk warns UKIP’s critics: “Watch this space any of you brain deficient doubters out there. I would personally cull the lot of you. You are an absolute disgrace to democracy AND the human race!!!”



Aiden Benoit: Candidate in Barnsley

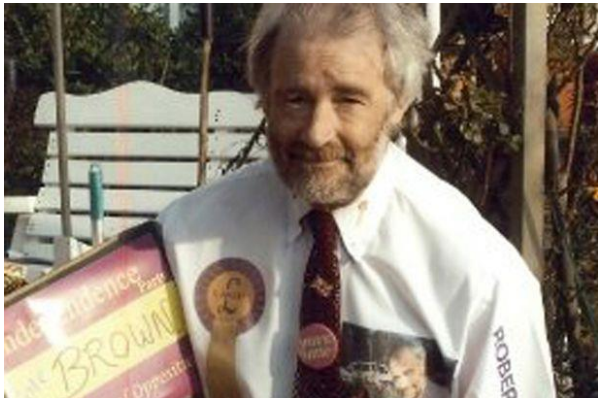
We also found Aiden Benoit, standing for UKIP in the Royston ward for Barnsley Council, taking to Facebook in a tirade against halal meat eaten by Muslims.

On February 3 last year he claimed: “[Islam](#) makes money on everything that is Halal certified which goes to their courses so everything you buy your giving money to Islam. so your paying for them and you don’t even no because they do not tell us!”

A year previously, he threatened: “i will make sure if i ever see halal products they get damaged or left out to go off i dont wont this c\*\*p in my shops.”

Five weeks later, he joined a web discussion about migrant workers, claiming in an error-strewn tirade: “makes me sick the foreigners are lazy no every time how to get out of work cry rasits when it doesnt go their way. they fill up houses, and the NHS and bring criminals here.

“We dont need them! theirs lots of English people that wont a job... send them all back.



Robert Brown: Candidate in Ramsey, Cambs

Robert Brown, a UKIP town councillor in Ramsey, Cambs, the only council where UKIP has a majority, labelled Islam and Muslims “evil” in his online rants where he also said they should convert to Christianity.

Of Muslims he writes: “They need to become christians and I will do all that I can to help them to do so.”

Austin Lucas, standing in Liverpool City Council’s Cressington ward, targets women in his postings.

On February 24 he uploaded a link to an article titled “The War On Men: 10 Ways Masculinity is Under Attack” and added: “It is also the reason for the rise of the ‘cougar’ aka the filthy old bitch.”

Days earlier Mr Lucas referred to a story about the Russian girl band Pussy Riot being whipped by Cossacks – and praised Russian president Vladimir Putin.

He wrote: “Can we PLEASE import some cossacks to clean up OUR city centres – Say what you will about Vlad Putin: At least HE loves his county.”

Mr Lucas also branded women who have abortions “those feminist witches who consider children to be nothing more than pets or fashion accessories!”.





John Worsley: Candidate in Bradford

We also discovered John Worsley, whose name will be on ballot papers to represent UKIP in the Royds ward on Bradford City Council. He takes a four-letter swipe at health tourists on Facebook.

He wrote on March 26: “You go abroad for a holiday first thing they say is have you sorted your insurance? Any other country oh your going to England dont worry its free!!!! What the F\*\*\*? Freebie England and we are ALL paying for the rest of the world!”



Iain McLaughlan: Candidate in Peterborough

Driving instructor Iain McLaughlan, a UKIP member of Orton Waterville Parish Council in Peterborough, Cambs, is shown wearing a party rosette on his page – where he calls for the reintroduction of a cruel anti-gay law forbidding teachers to suggest homosexuality is an acceptable family arrangement.

In posts in February, he said: “Children need to be protected from the promotion of homosexuality, Margaret Thatcher was right to enact Section 28 in 1988. A tragedy that it was repealed.”

He went on: “There are people who have sex so much with members of the opposite sex that they get burned out and try something else.”

He added: “I have nothing against homosexuals. I have been called one many a time.”

Mr McLaughlan, who is standing for Peterborough City Council, describes himself as “Follower of Christ, Zionist, Pro-Life, UKIP Parish Councillor, member of Friends of Israel in UKIP” on Twitter.

In a Facebook posting in March, he branded abortion a “Modern day holocaust” and in October compared anti-abortion campaigners to anti-slavery campaigners, writing: “In the future will they have museum’s for organisations that tried to protect pre-born babies from abortion?”

When asked about his postings Ken Chapman told the Sunday Mirror: “They were a long time ago, they were jokes I got off a joke wall. What’s your problem? I probably could retract them.

“I’m not embarrassed, no – why should I be? They’re racist are they? Oh, right.”

Mr Brown would “let God be the judge” of whether Islam was evil.



Their leader: Farage

UKIP said candidates were expected to uphold the party’s non-racist and non-sectarian values. Evidence of a breach would be considered under disciplinary procedures.

On Friday [Mr Farage’s](#) spin doctor interrupted a radio show as the leader became rattled when asked why he objected to Romanian migrants, but not Germans like his wife. You can watch the video at the top of this article.

DMi9

## Nigel Farage news round up: Today's top stories on the controversial politician

- 19:48, 20 MAY 2014
- **BY ANTHONY BOND**

UKIP's leader had another difficult day today after he was forced to back out of a public event



Nigel Farage

The UKIP leader was riding high in the polls just a few weeks ago.

But a series of controversies has put the controversial politician under immense pressure ahead of Thursday's European elections.

Here, we round-up all of today's top stories on Nigel Farage.



Youngsters from a steel band today refused to play at a 'UKIP Carnival'

### **1) Farage backs out of 'Ukip Carnival' after it was deemed 'too risky'**

The UKIP leader was [due to attend a campaign event](#) in Croydon, London, this afternoon.

But things did not go exactly to plan.

Youngsters from the Endurance Steel Orchestra refused to play when they realised it was a UKIP event.

Rival protesters also began exchanging insults, forcing Farage to back out of the 'carnival'.

### **2) Romanian dentist says Farage should be prosecuted**

Tommy Tomescu, who is standing in Thursday's European elections, said today that [Farage should be prosecuted](#) following his controversial comments about Romanians last week. Speaking on the BBC's Daily Politics show, he said the UKIP leader "doesn't have to be above the law simply because other parties are afraid they will lose votes".

He also claimed that "xenophobic people are becoming more and more bold".



UKIP leader Nigel Farage during his controversial interview on LBC radio last week

### **3) UKIP leader is reported to Britain's racism watchdog**

Mr Tomescu's wishes could well come true.

It emerged today that [Mr Farage has been reported](#) following his comments on Romanians last week.

He suggested Londoners would be right to be concerned if people from the country moved close to them.

The watchdog has powers to take individuals to court, the Evening Standard reported.

## DMi10

### UKIP European election news round up: 4 top stories from today's campaign trail

- 19:49, 20 MAY 2014
- **UPDATED** 22:17, 20 MAY 2014
- **BY** ANTHONY BOND

The party is battling ahead of Thursday's vote following a series of recent controversies

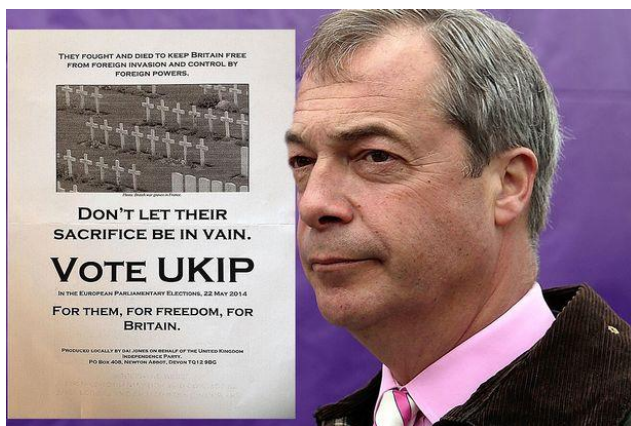


Ukip leader Nigel Farage

UKIP is under pressure like never before ahead of Thursday's European Elections.

A string of controversies in recent weeks has seen the controversial party drop in the polls.

Here, we round-up today's top stories on UKIP from newspapers across the country as Thursday's vote looms large.



#### **1) Party is slammed over 'foreign invasion' leaflet using graves of Britain's war dead**

The under-fire party faced yet more criticism after a party leaflet emerged which [used the graves of Britain's war dead](#) to attack immigration.

The poster features a picture of crosses on a field in France with the slogan: "They fought and died to keep Britain free from foreign invasion. Don't let their sacrifice die in vain.

VoteUkip."

The leaflets are being spread around parts of Wales, according to the Sun.



A steel band today refused to play at a 'UKIP Carnival' in south London

## 2) 'UKIP Carnival' ruined after steel band refused to play

UKIP was holding a 'carnival' event in Croydon this afternoon which was expected to be attended by Nigel Farage.

But when youngsters from the Endurance Steel Orchestra realised it was a political event for UKIP, [they refused to play.](#)

Eyewitness Louis Sealey said: "Steel drummer refuses to play at the UKIP Carnival because he says UKIP is a racist party. You couldn't make it up."

Mr Farage ended up not visiting the event because it was deemed "too risky" for him to attend.

## 3) UKIP is still on course to win

Astonishingly, UKIP is still on course to win the European elections despite a catastrophic week for leader Nigel Farage.

[A poll for the Mirror](#) reveals that with just over 24 hours before voters go to the polls, UKIP leads on 32% with Labour on 27%.

The Conservative Party is on 23% and the Lib Dems on 9%.



Prime Minister David Cameron

#### **4) Prime Minister accuses UKIP of trying to "frighten" the public**

Obviously, the Conservative Party is under immense pressure in Thursday's local elections by UKIP.

And in an interview published today, David Cameron launched his strongest attack yet on the party.

[The Prime Minister told the Daily Mail](#) : "Ukip have condemned themselves during this campaign with a succession of pretty unpleasant remarks. I think the whole country has heard enough to know what sort of party it is.

"Some of the messages have been about trying to frighten people."

## DMi11

### Nearly 38% of voters UNAWARE European elections take place on Thursday

- 20:00, 20 MAY 2014
- **UPDATED** 20:59, 20 MAY 2014
- **BY** JASON BEATTIE

UKIP is enjoying a surge of support despite a torrid week for leader Nigel Farage - branded a "racist" for saying he would not have Romanians as neighbours



Elections: UKIP leader Nigel Farage

Nearly 38% of voters are unaware the country [goes to the polls on Thursday to elect our MEPs](#) as well as hundreds of councillors in England.

UKIP is still on course to win the European elections despite a catastrophic week for [leader Nigel Farage](#) , a poll for the Mirror reveals.

With 24 hours before voters go to the polls, a Survation survey for the Daily Mirror puts UKIP on 32% with Labour on 27%, the Tories 23% and the Lib Dems on 9%.

The anti-European party continues to enjoy a surge of support despite a torrid week for Mr Farage who was branded a "racist" for saying he would not have Romanians as neighbours.

The UKIP leader suffered another set back when he was forced to pull out of an event in Croydon and the local candidate branded the London suburb a "dump."

But the calamitous [campaign](#) does not appear to have dented his party's popularity and they remain on course to be the largest party at the European elections.

Labour will be buoyed by the fact they have pulled ahead again in the battle for the general election and lead the Tories by 34% to 28%, with the Lib Dems on 9% and UKIP on 20%.

And the party is set to be the clear winner in the local elections with 35.8% saying they will vote Labour, 23.9% Tory, 12.9% Lib Dem and 17.7% UKIP.

[UKIP's lead in the European elections is boosted](#) by the fact more of their supporters are likely to vote and know the contests are taking place.



## UKIP is still on course to win European elections despite disastrous week for Nigel Farage

- 22:00, 20 MAY 2014
- **UPDATED** 23:07, 20 MAY 2014
- **BY** [JASON BEATTIE](#)

The Daily Mirror poll is a huge blow to David Cameron, who sees his Tory party slump to third place with 24 hours before voters to go until the polls



Is that a Tory voter over there? David Cameron points as he chats to D-Day veteran Kenneth Sturdy UKIP is still on course to [win the European elections](#) despite Nigel Farage's catastrophic week, a Daily Mirror poll reveals.

The forecast is a huge blow to David Cameron, who sees his Tory party slump to third place with 24 hours before voters to go until the polls.

Our survey puts UKIP at 32% with Labour closest behind on 27%.

The Conservatives – clear winners in the 2009 European elections – are set for a [dismal third spot](#) with 23%.

Nick Clegg's Lib Dems are fourth on 9%.

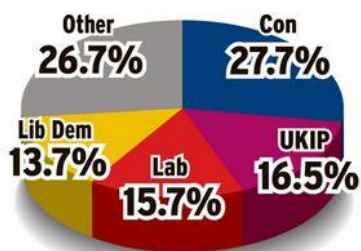
UKIP's support continues to surge despite a torrid week for Mr Farage, branded a "racist" for saying he would not have Romanians as neighbours.

He suffered another setback when he pulled out of an event in Croydon and his local candidate branded the South London suburb "a dump".

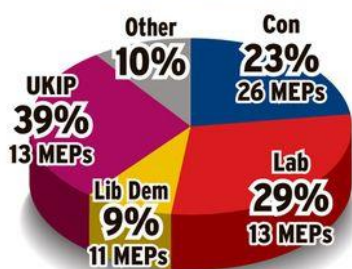
But the calamities do not appear to have dented his party's popularity and they remain set to be the largest party at the European elections on Thursday.

Labour will be buoyed by pulling ahead again in the battle for the general election. They lead the Tories by 34% to 28%, with UKIP on 20%.

**2009 EURO ELECTION**  
(results)



**2015 GENERAL ELECTION**  
(voting intentions)



Polls: 2015 voting intentions

And Labour is set to be the clear winner in the local elections also being held tomorrow with 35.8% saying they will vote for the party.

UKIP's lead in the European elections is boosted by the fact more of their supporters are likely to vote and know the contests are taking place.

Incredibly nearly 38% of the electorate are unaware the country votes on Thursday to elect our MEPs as well as hundreds of local councillors in England.

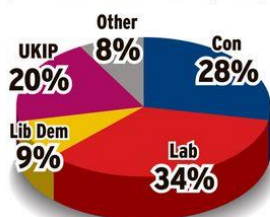
Labour leader Ed Miliband [stepped up his attack on UKIP](#).

He said: "People should take a look at what's on offer.

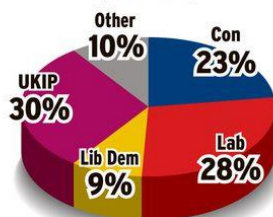
"UKIP say they want to keep the flame of Thatcherism alive, they say they want to charge people to see their GP, they want bigger cuts than the Tories, big tax cuts for the rich, tax rises for everyone else, and on Europe they want to get out of Europe and they'd undermine workers rights."

And in a special message, he added: "I would urge Mirror readers to go out and vote Labour, to vote for representatives who will work for them.

**2014 EURO ELECTION**  
(those who will definitely vote)



**2014 EURO ELECTION**  
(all voters)



Polls: All voters, and those who will definitely vote

"This is another step to get David Cameron out of Downing Street.

"That's the opportunity – to send a message about this Government and where it stands.

"It doesn't share the values of the people and doesn't share the values of Mirror readers – and Labour does."

Mr Miliband said that voting Labour in the general election would "send a message around the world" that there was an alternative to free-market Thatcherism.

He went on: "You can build a different kind of economy. You are not just fated to have a more and more uneven economy and a raw deal for working people."

To Labour supporters, he said: "We should be incredibly positive about the fact we have the chance to change this country when many people four years ago were trying to write us off."

George Osborne will today lash out at [Labour and UKIP](#) for threatening the economic recovery. In a speech to the CBI in London, the Chancellor will say: "Whether from the left or the populist right, we see a deeply pessimistic, depressing, anti-business agenda."

## DMi13

### Nick Clegg 'clinging on' to Liberal Democrat leadership following UKIP European election triumph

- 22:00, 26 MAY 2014
- **UPDATED** 08:32, 27 MAY 2014
- **BY JASON BEATTIE**

UKIP Leader Nigel Farage warned “you ain’t seen nothing yet” and claimed the party is now the “third force” in politics - a force ready to march on Westminster



Emotional: Deputy Prime Minister, Liberal Democrat Nick Clegg

Jubilant Nigel Farage warned “you ain’t seen nothing yet” after UKIP’s historic European elections [triumph left Nick Clegg fighting for his job](#) .

The UKIP leader crowed that his party was now the “third force” in politics and warned the “people’s army” was now preparing to march on Westminster.









He said: “Anyone who thinks this is a high-water mark for UKIP – you ain’t seen nothing yet.”

A bloodied and [bruised Mr Clegg](#) was forced to deny his job was under threat in the wake of the carnage which saw the Lib Dems slump to fifth behind the Greens and lose 10 of their 11 MEPs.

An emotional Mr Clegg said he was “gutted” by the result but insisted he had not even thought of standing down.

The Lib Dem leader added: “If I’m honest with you, the easiest thing in politics, just as in life sometimes when the going gets really, really tough is to walk away, to wash your hands of it.

“But I’m not going to do that and my party’s not going to do that.”

EUROPEAN ELECTION VOTE				
PARTY	VOTES %		MEPs	
 UKIP	27.49	+10.99	24	+11
 LABOUR	25.40	+9.67	20	+7
 CONS	23.93	-3.80	19	-7
 GREEN	7.87	-0.75	3	+1
 SNP	2.46	+0.34	2	0
 LIB DEM	6.87	-6.87	1	-10
 PLAID CYMRU	0.71	-0.13	1	0
 BNP	1.14	-5.10	0	-2

Count: Grim reading for Liberal Democrats

He was thrown a lifeline by Business Secretary Vince Cable who said: “There is no leadership issue.”

Earlier Lib Dem MP John Pugh said he wanted Mr Cable to take over.

The Southport MP said voters’ antipathy to Mr Clegg was one of [reasons for their “abysmal” showing](#) .

UKIP’s triumph saw them bag 24 MEPs – up 11 on 2009 – to become the first party for 100 years to smash the dominance of Labour and the Tories.

The purple tide saw them win their first MEP in Scotland and nearly beat Labour in Wales as the largest party.

Labour came second with 20 MEPs and a 25.4% share of the vote while the Tories crashed to third place for the first time in a national election with 19 MEPs and a 23.93% vote share.

The Greens gained three MEPs (up one on 2009) and a 7.87% share while the Lib Dems managed a solitary MEP and 6.87% of the national vote.



Bullish: UKIP leader Nigel Farage

The UKIP breakthrough caused consternation in all the main parties.

Right-wing Tories called for David Cameron to consider a pact with UKIP, while others said the party must drop its “modernising” and bring back more Thatcherite policies.

The Prime Minister called Mr Farage “a consummate politician”.

Mr Farage hit back by warning that UKIP’s sights were now on next month’s Newark by-election where Conservatives are defending a 16,152 majority.

The UKIP leader [revelled in the shockwaves](#) he had caused, saying: “This is an earthquake in British politics.”

He also revealed a list of target seats for next May’s general election.

There will be a further push for Labour votes with UKIP to hold its policy review in Mr Miliband’s backyard of Doncaster later this year.

Mr Miliband travels to the UKIP heartland of Thurrock tomorrow.

DT1

## European elections: Conservatives face poll humiliation as one in three Tory voters defects to Ukip

Telegraph/ICM poll finds David Cameron faces a grim third-place finish behind Ukip in the European elections, as up to half of Tory voters abandon the party



Nigel Farage, Ukip leader Photo: Clara Molden for the Telegraph

By **Tim Ross**, Political Correspondent

9:30PM BST 19 Apr 2014

The Conservatives face being forced into third place in next month's European Parliament elections, as up to half of Tory voters prepare to desert the party, an exclusive poll for The Telegraph has found.

**Labour** is currently in first place, with 30 per cent of the vote, while **Ukip** are second on 27 per cent. The Conservatives are a distant third on 22 per cent, according to the ICM survey of 2,000 adults.

The poll reveals how many of those who voted **Conservative** at the last general election will turn against the party next month - the first UK-wide poll since 2010.

One in three voters who backed the Tories four years ago - 37 per cent - now say that they plan to vote for Nigel Farage's UK Independence Party in the European elections on May 22, among those who intend to turn-out.

Mr Farage's support is greatest among the over 65s, with four in 10 of those backing the party falling into the pensioner age range.

In total, some 50 per cent of those who voted for David Cameron in 2010 will either support a rival party or abstain next month, according to the ICM survey.

The survey demonstrates the extent of the task facing the Tories in averting what many fear will be a "disastrous" result in the European elections.

Some MPs have privately warned that there could be "consequences" for the Prime Minister if the results prove to be as bad as this poll suggests. Even at their most optimistic, Conservative strategists concede that the poll is likely to be "very tough" for their party.

The ICM online survey found however, that even taking the radical step of changing leader would not significantly improve Conservatives fortunes.

Even Boris Johnson, regarded as the most popular politician in the country, would deter as many voters as he attracts if he replaced Mr Cameron as party leader.

There was some support for the idea of a deal between Ukip and the Conservatives at the next general election, a prospect which David Cameron has refused to contemplate, to the disappointment of some Tory MPs.

The poll also shows that the **Liberal Democrats** are facing another bruising night at next month's European elections, despite Nick Clegg's recent publicity in national broadcast debates with Mr Farage. They currently stand on just an 8 per cent share of the vote.

However, the Conservatives are offered some hope by findings that suggest Ukip is simply a protest party, rather than a serious contender capable of winning seats at next year's general election.

The poll analysed the reasons behind Ukip's recent surge in support, asking how voters would explain the party's rise in popularity. The most popular answer was that "people feel dissatisfied with the mainstream parties", chosen by 42 per cent of respondents.

Some 26 per cent said Ukip's "strong" stance on immigration was their most attractive feature, while 24 per cent attributed the party's success to its promise to take Britain out of the EU.

Only two per cent said Ukip's "credible plan for Britain's economy" explained the party's rise, and just five per cent regarded Nigel Farage's leadership as the most significant factor.

Martin Boon, head of ICM Research, said: "This speaks volumes about the nature of politics at the present time. Ukip really are the convenient mid-cycle opportunity to kick the ruling classes. "People are honing in on them when it is easy and convenient to do so in a second order election which they don't really care about.

"Immigration is obviously something that is important to people but it is a distant second, and only 24 per cent of people mention the question of Europe which is Ukip's central proposition."

Mr Boon said the findings suggested Ukip would not be such an "attractive proposition" at next year's general election.

However other polls, notably a large scale survey of thousands of voters in marginal seats last September, published by the former Conservative deputy chairman, Lord Ashcroft, have suggested that Ukip's popularity could be enough to deny the Conservatives victory next year.

Some Tory MPs have proposed standing on joint Conservative-Ukip platforms, or signing a "non aggression pact" with Mr Farage's party whereby Eurosceptic Conservatives would not be opposed by Ukip candidates next year.

Mr Cameron has repeatedly ruled out any deals with Ukip but today's Sunday Telegraph/ICM poll suggests that such a deal would persuade 48 per cent of potential Ukip voters to consider backing the Tories.



Some 30 per cent of Tory voters would be more likely to turn out for the Conservatives in future if the party struck a deal with Ukip, compared to 24 per cent of Tory supporters who said they would be put off by such an agreement.

A number of Conservative MPs are said to be ready to stand aside to allow Boris Johnson, the Mayor of London, to take their seats and re-enter Parliament to revive the party's fortunes and stand for the leadership.

However, the poll suggested that even Mr Johnson would not save the Conservatives if he were in charge. Some 43 per cent of voters would be more likely to support the Conservatives if Mr Johnson were leader, with 57 per cent saying they would be less likely to vote Tory.

Other potential leadership candidates fared even worse. Theresa May, the Home Secretary, would sway only 18 per cent of the electorate in the party's favour, with 82 per cent turned off by the prospect of her leadership.

George Osborne, the Chancellor, won the backing of only 15 per cent, while Michael Gove, the Education Secretary, would appeal to just nine per cent of the electorate as a leader more likely to attract their vote than Mr Cameron.

*:: ICM Research interviewed a random sample of 2000 adults online on 15-17th April 2014.*

*Interviews were conducted across the country and the results have been weighted to the profile of all adults. ICM is a member of the British Polling Council and abides by its rules.*

DT2

## Nigel Farage launches Ukip European election campaign in Sheffield

Ukip leader Nigel Farage has launched his party's European election campaign as he unveiled a billboard banner in Sheffield, describing the poll as "the most important European elections that have ever been fought in this country"

3:30PM BST 22 Apr 2014

Launching **Ukip's** campaign in the northern English city of Sheffield, Nigel Farage dismissed a welter of **criticism over "racist" posters** for Ukip's campaign for the European and local elections.

The party leader said rivals were "screaming blue murder" over the images because they did not want to have an "honest conversation" about immigration.

The robust defence came after religious figures joined MPs in condemning the images, funded with £1.5 million from millionaire ex-Tory donor Paul Sykes.

It is Ukip's biggest ever publicity drive, as the party aims to achieve a political earthquake by topping the polls on May 22.

Mr Farage said: "I did speculate yesterday that perhaps some of these images would get the chattering classes chattering.

"Well, they are chattering. In fact, they're outraged.

"They're outraged because we're actually telling the truth. There's nothing we're saying here that isn't true.

"And our euro-election campaign is to say to people: look, we're paying £55 million a day for the privilege of being in a club that now makes 75 per cent of our laws and that gives complete open borders to 485 million people all of whom can come and work, live and settle in this country.

"And we're saying 'enough's enough' - we actually want to govern our own country, make our own laws, control our own borders and it's really interesting that 60 per cent of ethnic minorities in Britain feel as strongly about the immigration issue as everybody else does.

"We cannot go on absorbing this many people with wage compression and youth unemployment having doubled."

DT3

## Nigel Farage takes his message to the country

Ukip leader embarks on tour of townhall rallies to embrace the 'people Labour betrayed'



A smiling Nigel Farage poses for a photograph with a pint of beer in the Marquis of Granby pub in London. Photo: REUTERS

By [Matthew Holehouse](#), Political Correspondent

11:09AM BST 23 Apr 2014

"We've got to take the fight to Labour, a party that used to stand up for working class people, and has now turned its back on them... What the Labour party did in government was to betray working-class people."

With those words Nigel Farage began his tour of Britain last night as he addressed a public meeting in Sheffield. In a month's time Britain will vote in the European elections. Mr Farage predicts he will win, driving David Cameron's Conservatives into third place.

He thinks he can do it on the back of working class voters, many of whom have never voted Tory, angered by immigration and disaffected with politicians who speak a language they don't recognise.

Academics have dubbed Ukip's base the "left behind" voters – typically older, typically male, typically northern, less likely to be university educated, who feel they no longer recognise or have a role in modern Britain.

Mr Farage chose Sheffield, the former steel capital of Britain that now has a large student population, for his starting point because it is the constituency of Nick Clegg, the Deputy Prime Minister who challenged him to two televised debates last month. "I returned the complement by coming here," he said.

But it is also, Farage points out, the constituency of David Blunkett, who as Labour home secretary oversaw the immigration policy which - as Farage puts it - left the door open to 400 million Europeans. Now Mr Blunkett warns that the influx of Roma into the city could trigger riots. Tonight Mr Farage will speak at Gateshead, a Labour seat since 1945. On Thursday it's the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, where Labour took 69 per cent of the vote at the last election. Then Dudley (Dudley North is narrowly Labour, Dudley South held by the Tories). Next week it's

Portsmouth (held by Liberal Democrats and Tories), Bath (solid Lib Dem) and Swansea (both seats Labour). The week after, Derby (both seats Labour), St Ives (Liberal Democrat, it's become a holiday home for the rich, but much of Cornwall has high levels of deprivation) and then London.

Public meetings with party leaders are increasingly rare and hard to get into, the seats filled either by the employees of supportive companies in the case of David Cameron's Q&As, or (often) party activists in the case of Ed Miliband's. The audience in Sheffield last night treated Farage to endless cheers, applause, whistles and guffaws at every joke, and queued up to shake his hand. "Where other parties depend upon the media to spin their messages, we are the only party that still believes in hosting public meetings and taking our argument straight to the voter," says Patrick O'Flynn, Mr Farage's press officer.

The party's spring conference was in the retirement town of Torquay, and last year's autumn conference (the one when Godfrey Bloom described women as "sluts") in a Methodist Hall opposite the Commons. This year Farage will put his tanks on Ed Miliband's lawn, and hold it at Doncaster Racecourse, on the edge of Ed Miliband's constituency.

Asked what he thought about Hermann van Rompuy, the President of the European Council, staying at Chequers with David Cameron. "Isn't it wonderful? I'm in Sheffield, out campaigning to get the Labour vote, and he's best mates with Dave. The timing is absolutely delicious."

Mr Farage has intentionally framed this election as a battle between the Eton-and-Oxford-educated Westminster Elite (his words) and the rest of Britain, who ask the questions only Ukip will honestly answer.

That is why he terrifies Tory MPs, and that how he yesterday brushed off the protests of Mike Gapes, the Labour MP for Ilford North, who said his poster campaign was designed to "sow fear, animosity and hatred towards immigrants". (Mr Gapes went to Cambridge.)

But not everyone agrees. Ukip supporters entering the Sheffield Mercure hotel last night were met by dozens of protesters, none of them visibly members of the Political Establishment, with placards reading: "Ukip out: immigrants welcome here."

### **Farage on the road: tour dates**

April 22 The Mercure Sheffield

April 23 The Sage Gateshead

April 24 Free Trade Hall, Manchester

April 25 Dudley Town Hall

April 28 Guildhall, Portsmouth

April 29 The Forum, Bath

April 30 Liberty Stadium, Swansea

May 1 The Riverside, Derby

May 2 Burgess Hall, St Ives

May 7 Emmanuel Centre, London

DT4

## EU elections: German Eurosceptics snub 'ridiculous' Ukip

German Eurosceptics snub "ridiculous" Ukip in a new blow to Nigel Farage



In a blow for Mr Farage, Hans-Olaf Henkel, right, has ruled out working with Ukip Photo: Geoff Pugh/AFP

By [Bruno Waterfield](#), Brussels

1:58PM BST 24 Apr 2014

Germany's Eurosceptics will not work with Nigel Farage in the European Parliament because of Ukip's anti-immigration policies, one of the leaders of Alternative fuer Deutschland has said. The party is the first in Germany to campaign for reform of the European Union, including the break-up of the euro and is expected to return at least six MEPs after Europe-wide elections next month.

In a blow for Mr Farage, Hans-Olaf Henkel, a former president of the German Federation of Industries and a founder member of Alternative fuer Deutschland (AfD) has ruled out working with Ukip despite previous hints from the party's youth wing that alliance was possible.

"I'll tell you what we're not going to do. We're not going to go with Ukip because they want to dissolve the EU, which is not our programme, and their immigration policy looks ridiculous," he told the [Local.de website](#).

The announcement is a blow for Mr Farage and means Ukip will come under growing pressure to join with Marine Le Pen's growing far-Right alliance in the EU assembly, **if as polls suggest she has enough MEPs and allies to form a parliamentary bloc after the elections.**

Mr Henkel described David Cameron's Conservative MEPs as his "preferred partner" in the European Parliament after the EU elections but admitted the German Chancellor, a key ally for the Prime Minister, was hostile to the idea.

"We have heard rumours that Frau Merkel told [David Cameron] to keep his distance during the elections," he said.

Last year, [the Telegraph revealed](#) that the European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR), a group of centre-right MEPs founded by Mr Cameron in a split from the European People's Party

(EPP) in 2009, were holding secret talks with AfD and Bavarian Eurosceptics behind Chancellor Merkel's back.

Mrs Merkel was angered by the Conservative decision to leave the pro-federalist EPP, which her Christian Democrats MEPs lead in the European Parliament and, said sources, she asked Mr Cameron to ensure the ECR did not enter into an alliance with the AfD ahead of the elections. Mr Henkel said he feared a British referendum on EU membership in 2017 as the "idea that Britain could leave the EU is the worst scenario I can think of".

"If Britain is gone then we are lost, then the whole continent is lost. We will be running toward a EUSSR. This is not a great exaggeration," he said.

DT5

## Ukip might lose Euro elections because of mistaken identity, says Nigel Farage

An Independence from Europe is “masquerading” as Ukip in a bid to confuse voters and was already taking some of their postal votes, the Ukip leader said

By [Christopher Hope](#), Senior Political Correspondent

5:35PM BST 16 May 2014

The UK Independence Party could lose the European Parliament elections because of a case of mistaken identity on the ballot paper, Nigel Farage has said.

The Ukip leader criticised the Electoral Commission, the elections watchdog, for allowing a similar sounding party on the ballot paper in Thursday's poll.

The party - “An Independence from Europe” - was “masquerading” as Ukip in a bid to confuse voters and was already taking some of their postal votes.

The party's slogan “UK Independence Now” and its logo depicting a European Union flag with a line through it meant it was winning support from confused Ukip voters.

**An Independence from Europe** - which was set up by one of his former MEPs who was deselected last year - also have the advantage of being at the top of the list of parties on the ballot paper because they are listed alphabetically.

In an interview with The Telegraph's video channel, Mr Farage said: “If you believe the opinion polls, Labour and Ukip are neck and neck.

“And if people go and vote for this non-party that masquerades as being us that could well cost us the election, and that is very worrying.

“There could be a large number of people who vote for a party different from the one they intended to vote for. This is supposed to be democracy.”

Mr Farage criticised the Electoral Commission for not banning An Independence Party from ballot papers because of the confusion.

He said: “We have had postal voters ring us up and say ‘oh dear, we have voted for the wrong party’. My contention is that ‘An Independence Party’ with the slogan ‘UK Independence Now’ is passing off.

“It is a group of disaffected people, people that we have deselected, that we have kicked out of the party, who have done this in an attempt to damage Ukip.

“It is astonishing that the Electoral Commission could have allowed this to happen. I cannot imagine a party with the word Conservative, or Labour or Liberal in it being allowed on the ballot paper.

“I have been fighting really hard to try to beat the three so-called major parties in this country – I didn't realise I would have to fight the Electoral Commission too.”

An Independence from Europe is set up and run from offices in Birmingham by Mike Nattrass, an MEP who quit the party in October after he was deselected, protesting at Mr Farage's "totalitarian" leadership.

The party is fielding candidates in all nine English regions and was set up late last year to confuse voters who were trying to back Ukip.

Mr Nattrass told The Daily Telegraph: "I am getting people ringing me, reading my flyers and leaflets, and telling me they are going to vote Ukip. So it works both ways."

Asked if he was trying to steal votes from Ukip, he said: "No. I am trying to do what I have done since 1994 which is stand up for Britain leaving the EU."

Mr Nattrass said he was funding the party personally, but he declined to say how much money he had donated to it.

A spokesman for the Electoral Commission said: "Under the law, political parties can register their name and up to 12 descriptions with the Electoral Commission.

"A party's description must be neither confusing nor offensive to voters. We believe the party descriptions supplied by 'An Independence from Europe' meet those requirements."



DT6

## Ukip has torn up the map

After their success in the local elections, Ukip is poised to wreak havoc in 2015. Robert Ford and Ian Warren explain where and how the battle will be fought

By Robert Ford and Ian Warren

8:41PM BST 26 May 2014

**Nigel Farage** scored a spectacular triumph in the early hours of Monday morning, leading **Ukip** to the first nationwide victory for a new political party in almost a century. Coming on top of Ukip's success in the local elections, it was hailed as heralding the age of "four-party politics" in England. Mr Farage had shattered the mould of British democracy, and thrown next year's general election – already set to be the closest and most unpredictable for a generation – into turmoil.

These claims may seem exaggerated. But the more you look at the data – the further you drill down into how people actually voted on Thursday – the more you can see that predictions that Ukip will fade away are a case of wishful thinking. It is now crystal clear that the party really does have the potential to cause chaos in 2015, affecting all three parties in unforeseen and unpredictable ways.

To see why, it helps to understand what matters most about these results, at least in terms of the general election. For, while Ukip's European triumph has stolen the headlines, their less dramatic advances at local level will ultimately be more important.

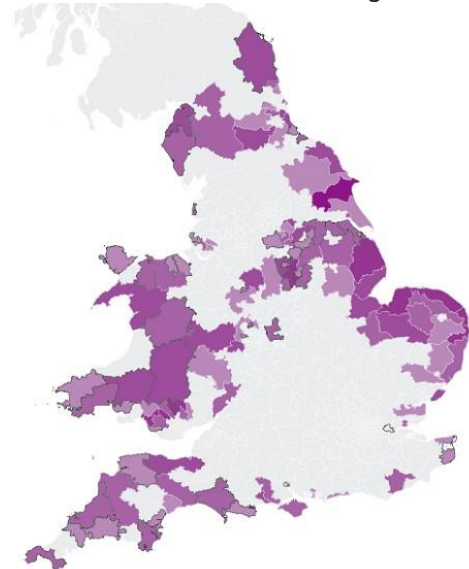
The real currency of elections, after all, is not votes, but seats. Before their breakthrough last year, Ukip had won only a handful of local council places in their 20-year history. They now have more than 300 councillors, enough to make them a significant presence in town halls up and down the country.

Why does this matter? Because Britain's first-past-the-post system poses a huge challenge to any new party, whose support is usually spread evenly over the country. As the Liberal Democrats have learnt, national popularity counts for nothing at Westminster unless you can win locally. So parties like Ukip must try to convince sceptical voters that they are a viable option in constituencies where they have no track record of success.

Thursday's results were a powerful response to this challenge. In many seats, Ukip activists can now argue on the doorstep that they are the dominant force in local elections, and a strong presence on the council. That will help convince voters that returning a Ukip MP is a logical progression, not a leap into the unknown. In seats like Eastleigh and Rotherham, where Ukip are now the main opposition party on the council, they can start to put the squeeze on the Tories, arguing that even if they can't win outright in 2015, they are the only credible opposition to the incumbent. In other seats, such as Great Yarmouth, their strength may already be sufficient to take a place at Westminster.

There are three particular characteristics of Ukip's performance last week that should cause sleepless nights for strategists from the main parties. First, they have shown they can take votes from anyone – deposing the Tory council leader in Basildon, the Labour deputy leader in Rotherham, and sweeping the board in North East Lincolnshire. The best way to see the wider impact of this is to compare the seats where Ukip stood for the first time in 2014 with those where they did not have a candidate. When Ukip appeared, the Tory vote fell by six percentage points, and Labour by eight. Even the Lib Dems, who faced a drubbing everywhere, did two points worse when Ukip joined the fight.

Second, although it is hard to predict which party Ukip will hurt most locally – in the wards where their advance was strongest, Labour and the Tories lost out almost equally – it is easy to predict which voters they will win. The recent book *Revolt on the Right* (co-written by Robert Ford) showed that Ukip draw their support from a very clear demographic: the “left-behind” electorate of older, working-class white voters with few educational qualifications. Last week's results confirmed their strength within this group, and their weakness outside it. Ukip surged in areas along the east coast with large concentrations of such voters – places like North East Lincolnshire, Hull and Basildon – and flopped among the younger, more ethnically diverse electorates of London, Manchester and other big cities, as well as in university-dominated areas such as Oxford and Cambridge.



Areas where there are high numbers of Ukip-leaning voters are coloured shades of purple. The marginal seats in which its impact will be crucial are outlined in black

It is entirely possible that Ukip will not win any Westminster seats outright (and equally possible that it will win a dozen). But the real problem for the existing parties is the third factor at work – namely, that there are a host of battleground seats where Ukip support is large enough to have a decisive impact, even if the party comes nowhere near winning.

Paradoxically, the seats where Ukip may be most influential are not those with the largest concentrations of supporters. The “left-behinds” tend to be concentrated in safe Labour seats –

often struggling former mining and manufacturing towns in the North of England. In most, Ukip could take an enormous bite out of the vote without actually threatening the incumbent.

No, the seats that will give Tory and Labour strategists migraines are different – those where the incumbent is less dominant, and the Ukip-leaning groups are large enough to swing the result. To identify such seats, we created an index of local Ukip strength, measuring concentrations of “left-behind” groups. Then we identified the marginal seats where the gap between the top two parties was less than 15 per cent, and the share of “left-behinds” was well above the national average. The result is this map (above) which shows the seats where Ukip’s intervention could prove critical. Areas where the share of Ukip-leaning groups is well above average are marked in shades of purple, with the black outlines showing the marginal constituencies where this will have the most impact.

There is a clear geographical pattern: in London or the large Northern cities, or in the Tory shires that ring the capital, Ukip will be irrelevant to the outcome. But in seat after seat along the east coast, through the former mining country of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, and across the South West and rural Wales, Ukip’s showing could prove decisive. Indeed, in the European elections, Ukip topped the poll in nearly all of these areas, often posting above 40 per cent. In these seats, a Ukip surge can upset the balance of power in several ways. For one thing, it can turn a straight two-way fight into an unpredictable three-way battle. Take Thanet South, a key marginal where Nigel Farage has been tipped to stand. If Ukip take support primarily from the Tories, as they did in Essex last week, they could deliver it to Labour. If they split the Labour vote, they could help the Tories cling on. If they really surge, and take votes from both parties, they could well win the seat themselves – particularly if Farage himself opts to stand.

Ukip also have the potential to turn seats long thought safe into new battlegrounds. Further up the coast is Great Grimsby, which Labour has held for many decades. The long-serving MP, Austin Mitchell, faced a strong Conservative challenge in 2010, and is now retiring. His Tory rival is standing again – but in Ukip colours. Next week’s by-election in Newark could prove equally interesting. Patrick Mercer’s former seat has a huge Tory majority, and while the leafy demographics are not favourable, the timing of the election is – plus there is a large Labour vote to squeeze. A close second from Ukip will cause Tories huge difficulties in 2015, particularly as there are seats nearby with more Ukip potential – such as Louth and Horncastle, where the veteran MP Sir Peter Tapsell is standing down, which has one of the largest concentrations of Ukip leaners in the country.

Farage’s party can even alter the outcome in seats where it is well out of the running. In Southampton Itchen, the local election results suggest that Ukip is splitting the Labour vote, which went backwards from an already low showing in 2010, while the Tories are holding up. If this was repeated at the general election, Ukip could tip a Labour seat into the Tory column. But we saw the opposite pattern in Ipswich, where a Ukip surge bit deep into the Tory vote, leaving Labour well ahead. In Thurrock, one of the tightest marginals in the country, Ukip is taking votes from

both sides; the result in 2015 could be decided by whose vote is most (or least) damaged by Ukip rising star Tim Aker.

For David Cameron, Ed Miliband and Nick Clegg, the result is an electoral map of nightmarish complexity. Should they divert scarce resources to formerly safe seats, in order to see off a nascent Ukip challenge? Should they avoid fighting Ukip in areas where they seem to be mostly hurting their opponents, and run the risk of fuelling a revolt that could overwhelm their candidate, too? Should they try to win back Ukip supporters by adjusting their national message, and risk alienating the more moderate and diverse electorates in key urban and suburban marginals? Or should they work to win over Ukip voters at a more local level – and if so, what messages can they use to persuade them?

Past experience offers no guide for the parties on any of these questions, for the simple reason that the Ukip surge has no precedent in modern British politics. Last week's results have torn up the old political maps. We are in uncharted territory now.

**Robert Ford is a lecturer in politics at University of Manchester, and co-author of 'Revolt on the Right' (Routledge). Ian Warren is a political analyst and author of the Election Data blog**

DT7

## **Nigel Farage: David Cameron will 'fall at first hurdle' in bid to reform EU**

**Ukip leader questions whether the Prime Minister has a “Eurosceptic backbone” and calls on him to immediately opt out of the European Arrest Warrant**



Nigel Farage Photo: REUTERS

By Peter Dominiczak, Assistant Political Editor

6:00AM BST 29 May 2014

David Cameron will “fall at the first hurdle” in his attempts to reform Britain’s relationship with the European Union, Nigel Farage says today.

Writing in *The Telegraph*, the UK Independence Party leader questions whether the Prime Minister has a “Eurosceptic backbone” after claims by Mr Cameron that the EU is “bossy” and “interfering”.

Mr Farage calls on Mr Cameron to prove his desire to reform the country’s relationship with the EU by opting out of a series of justice measures including the controversial European Arrest Warrant (EAW).

The EAW scheme allows foreign police to summon Britons, and detectives in this country to extradite suspects from the Continent. Conservative critics say it gives other countries’ legal systems unacceptable power.

The last Labour government agreed that Britain could opt out of the EAW among 133 EU home affairs rules. Last July, ministers risked Conservative back-bench anger after saying that Britain should continue to apply 35 of those rules, including those around the warrant.

Britain is understood to be planning to opt back in to more than 30 European crime and justice programmes.

“Being in charge of your own legal affairs is a basic signifier of a nation,” Mr Farage says.

“If you don’t have it, then you are just an imperial outpost. So if Mr Cameron is remotely serious about his mission to defend Britain’s sovereignty, he should not be opting into the EAW – or a raft of other EU home affairs and justice measures.”

Following Ukip’s victory in the European elections, Mr Cameron appeared to toughen his rhetoric over the EU.

He claimed that the EU has become "too big, too bossy and too interfering".

The Prime Minister has said he will reform Britain's relationship with the EU before holding an in-out referendum in 2017.

However, Mr Cameron faces pressure from within his Cabinet to say more about the powers he will seek to win back from Brussels.

Mr Cameron has so far been reluctant to set out many details of his reform agenda, fearful of showing his hand too early in the complex European negotiations and horse-trading that would follow a Conservative victory at the next election.

One Cabinet minister this week told The Telegraph that Mr Cameron must now be “more explicit” about his plans.

Mr Farage writes: “This is the first big test of Mr Cameron’s new-found Eurosceptic backbone. I would like to think he will pass it. But observing the behaviour of every Tory leader since Margaret Thatcher leads me to doubt that profoundly.”

“The European election results have shown that the British people have had enough of the salami-slicing of their sovereignty,” Mr Farage says.

“Far be it from me to advise Mr Cameron on how to re-engage with Eurosceptic opinion, let alone to restore some of his lost credibility.

“But if he falls at the first hurdle, he will certainly confirm the widespread view that the Conservatives are a lost cause for Eurosceptics. That would be a gain for my party, Ukip, but a loss for my nation.

“I find myself hoping against hope that the Prime Minister will surprise me on this score.”

## **Ukip vote in European elections no flash in pan according to new poll**

**Poll suggests vast majority of people who voted for Ukip in European elections will vote for the party in general election**



Nigel Farage, leader of UKIP speaks during a press conference at the Intercontinental Hotel, Westminster, after his party's first win in a national election Photo: GETTY IMAGES

By James Kirkup, Political Editor  
10:00PM BST 30 May 2014

The vast majority of the four million people who voted for the UK Independence Party in the European elections will make the same choice at the general election, a new poll predicts today.

The poll, by ComRes suggests that 86 per cent of people who voted for Nigel Farage's party will do so again next year.

More than 4.3 million people voted for Ukip in the European elections, giving the party its first national victory. The Conservatives came third, suggesting many of their previous supporters had defected to Ukip. Several Cabinet ministers have publicly said that many Ukip voters are merely "lending" their votes to Ukip this year and will return to the Tory fold ahead of the general election. But the poll, conducted in the days after the European election, casts doubt on those predictions.

The survey found that 37 per cent of Ukip voters said that they were "certain" to support the party at the general election. Another 49 per cent said that they were "likely" to do so, while 14 per cent said that they would probably back another party.

The poll was commissioned by Paul Sykes, Ukip's biggest financial backer. In a further boost for Mr Farage, Mr Sykes today pledges to help the party score a second major victory over the Tories in next week's Newark by-election. The Tories have poured resources into the by-election, which was prompted by the resignation of Patrick Mercer over a cash for questions scandal. On Thursday the party sent five ministers including George Osborne, the Chancellor, Theresa May, the Home Secretary, and Sajid Javid, the Culture Secretary, in a sign of how seriously they take the Ukip threat.

A poll taken in Newark yesterday showed that the Tories lead Ukip by 36 per cent to 28 per cent. But support for the Tories has fallen 18 percentage points since the general election while Ukip has gained 24 percentage points.

Last week's Ukip victory was achieved despite repeated attacks on the party from senior Conservatives; an approach that is criticised today by David Davis, a senior Tory backbencher. In an interview with The Daily Telegraph, he described Mr Farage as "rather admirable" and "clever" and said Mr Cameron had taken the wrong approach to Ukip. "It's unwise to be rude about your potential voters," he said.

According to the poll, Ukip attracted voters due to its policy on immigration and Mr Farage's complaint that Britain had ceded control of its borders to Europe.



Nigel Farage being followed by the media after voting in the local and European elections (AFP)

A Tory Cabinet minister today concedes that immigration is a "legitimate complaint" and admits that Britain has "virtually no control" over immigration from Europe.

In an interview, Mr Javid says that the Tories are "committed" to reforming EU migration rules.

"We do recognise that we as a country today have much more control over non-EU immigration – and we have virtually no control over EU immigration," he told Total Politics magazine. "That's something that we'd like to change, but that is much easier said than done at this point and requires renegotiating with our European partners, and that's something that Conservatives are committed to."

The interventions will come as a further boost to Mr Farage at the end of a week that saw Ukip become the first party other than the Conservatives or Labour to win a national election for 100 years. Writing for telegraph.co.uk, Mr Sykes said that the ComRes poll findings should shake the Conservatives out of their complacent belief that Ukip will not threaten them at the general election.

"Conservative MPs, with a few honourable exceptions, appear to be in denial about the scale of the popular uprising against our current rulers. This is despite their party finishing third in the elections," he said. "They appear to think that the Ukip threat will go away (it won't) or that the economic recovery will float them off the political rocks. They should recall what happened in 1997. Then the economy had been growing strongly for four years. That did not stop John Major going down to the worst Tory defeat since 1832."



According to ComRes, 46 per cent of this year's Ukip voters had supported the Tories at the 2010 general election. Fifteen per cent had been Labour voters, and 16 per cent defected from the Liberal Democrats.

DT9

## **Nigel Farage: People will not vote for 'one man band' Ukip in a general election**

**The Ukip leader admits that 'big numbers' of people will not vote for the party at the general election if he remains the only 'dominant figure' in the party**



Nigel Farage said he had been “very much the dominant figure in the campaign” so far Photo: AFP

By [Georgia Graham](#), Political Correspondent  
2:42PM BST 21 May 2014

Nigel Farage has said Ukip relies too much on his public profile and its “one man band” image could prevent the party from breaking through at the general election next year.

The Ukip leader said he had been “very much the dominant figure in the campaign” so far but that “big numbers” of people would not vote for the party next May if that remains the case.

Ukip currently has no MPs and eight of its 13 MEPs are not standing for re-election after public fallings out with the party’s leadership.

Speaking on Radio Four Mr Farage said: “In terms of the European election campaign, I have been very much the dominant figure in the campaign, yes.

“I accept that and I don’t think in terms of this election that’s necessarily been a handicap.

The Ukip leader said he was going to use the summer to appoint spokesman from the “high calibre” MEPs he expects to be chosen in the European elections tomorrow. These representatives will take full responsibility for specific areas.

Mr Farage will “push forward” these spokesman for media appearances increasing the variety of Ukip members seen by the public, he said.

He has adopted this strategy, he said “because I don’t think people will vote for us in a general election in big numbers if they think it’s a one-man band. I intend to change that over the summer.”

Mr Farage’s comments come after an attempt to demonstrate his party’s appeal to ethnic minorities at a London “carnival of colour” suffered a blow when the steel band they had

hired refused to play at the event organised by Ukip and the rally descended into a series of rows.

The Ukip leader failed to turn up at the event prompting the party's Commonwealth spokesman to tell reporters this was because Mr Farage did not feel safe in the Surrey town. Mr Farage later said it was always "50:50" that he would attend.

Speaking on Radio Four, Mr Farage said the plans for the Ukip multi-cultural carnival outside a shopping centre in Croydon may have been a "mistake" in hindsight, and "cracks" were beginning to emerge in the party's election strategy.

He said: "We all make mistakes in life and things don't always go to plan. And of course we have been in the lead, we have never been in that position before, we hit the front three weeks ago.

"When you are out in front and everyone is firing every missile they have got at you, sometimes a few cracks begin to show."

However, despite recent set-backs increasing numbers of voters were no longer "lending" their vote to Ukip for the European elections only to return to the other parties at the Westminster elections, but were now fully committed to Ukip, Mr Farage claimed.

He said: "Something has changed, the polling over the last week shows that of those that intend to vote for us tomorrow, 60 per cent plan to vote for us in the general election as well."

DT10

## **Ukip storms European elections**

**Nigel Farage says Ukip's success in the European elections will 'terrify' political establishment and prove 'disastrous' for Ed Miliband and Nick Clegg**

By James Kirkup, and Steven Swinford  
7:36AM BST 25 May 2014

The UK Independence Party has won a national election for the first time, taking the most votes and seats in the European Parliament elections.

The Ukip victory came as anti-establishment parties advanced across the European Union, with the racist National Front winning in France.

The win for Ukip, which was only founded in 1993 and does not have a single MP or council leader, is the biggest challenge to Britain's main parties for decades.

Ukip gained ten new MEPs and finished taking 27.5 per cent of the vote and 23 MEPs.

Labour won 25.4 per cent, narrowly ahead of the Conservatives on 24 per cent. Scotland and Northern Ireland are still to declare their results. Both parties have 18 MEPs so far.

The result was the first time since 1910 that a national election was not won by either the Conservatives or Labour.

The Liberal Democrats on 7 per cent were losing a humiliating fight for fourth place to the Greens in 8 per cent and narrowly averted the "shattering" loss of all their MEPs.

Nigel Farage, the Ukip leader, said the outcome would "terrify" the older parties and predicted his party could now go on to hold the balance of power at Westminster. The European result marks "the most extraordinary result in 100 years," he said.



Nigel Farage and UKIP candidates celebrate as the South East England region results are declared (AFP/GETTY)

Mr Farage has said he wants to use the results as a springboard to mount a serious challenge in next year's general election. He has said he will run in a Kent constituency, with Thanet South thought to be his most likely choice.

“We will go on next year to the general election with a targeted strategy and I promise you this – you haven’t heard the last of us,” Mr Farage said.

Ukip has said it will target 20 to 30 constituencies next year and Patrick O’Flynn, one of the party’s new MEPs, suggested it could win a handful of seats: “Four, five, six, seven, 10, who knows?”

Mr Farage said that the weakness of the main parties meant he could end up holding the balance of power in a hung Parliament next year.

“It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that we could get enough MPs to hold the balance of power. All I can say is we go on surprising people,” he said.

Last night was the first time the main Opposition party has failed to win a European election since 1984 and a serious setback to Ed Miliband.

Mr Farage said that the result would bring fundamental change to British politics. He told The Daily Telegraph: “The political establishment will be terrified by this. They will all have to do a very large amount of soul-searching and realise that the usual platitude ‘We’re listening’ isn’t enough.”

Mr Farage said that Labour and the Lib Dems were the main losers from the Ukip advance. “It is going to be disastrous for Ed Miliband, disastrous for Nick Clegg and a poor night for David Cameron,” he said.

Pressure is mounting on Mr Clegg, whose party was braced for another electoral disaster. He has been urged by a Lib Dem MP and activists to stand down because he is no longer a “credible” leader of the party.

More than 200 people, including Lib Dem candidates, have signed a letter calling for Mr Clegg to be replaced as leader, an outcome that might raise doubts about the Coalition’s ability to last until next year’s election.

The Lib Dems won 11 MEPs in 2009, but were left with just a single representative after this year’s election.

The party were completely wiped out in the South West, a traditional strong hold for the Lib Dems.

The most high profile casualty Sir Graham Watson, who first won a seat on the European Parliament in 1994, failed to be re-elected as one of six MEPs for the region.

Tim Farron, the Lib Dem president, said the party faced “shattering” losses. Ed Davey, the Lib Dem Energy Secretary, said the party was having a “very bad night” but insisted Mr Clegg would survive.

Labour sources insisted that the result was positive for the party, saying Labour was making gains in marginal Westminster constituencies.

Chuka Ummuna, Labour's shadow business secretary told the BBC: "We have to keep this in perspective. Look at Ukip's share of the vote in the local election; they didn't win a single council so they are going to have some hurdles to claims. But we take them seriously and we respect the result.

But the failure to beat Ukip in the European election will intensify Labour doubts about the performance of Mr Miliband and his strategy for dealing with Ukip. Labour MPs including members of the shadow front bench believe that he has failed to accept that Ukip presents a political threat to Labour.

Before the result, Frank Field, a former Labour minister, warned that Ukip posed "the greatest threat" to his party.

"If we are to win next year, it will be Ukip that becomes our main opposition," he said. "If we lose, after the country going through the worst recession ever, we could see part of our vote moving over permanently."

Conservative sources said the party expected to finish third, although closer to the Labour share of the vote than many had expected.

The result is the latest sign of how the Conservatives are struggling to curb the rise of Ukip in recent years.

A poll conducted by Lord Ashcroft, the former Conservative vice-chairman, found Labour was on course to win the general election because Ukip was taking away significant numbers of Tory voters in key marginal constituencies.

Still, Tory sources last night pointed out that the party's share of the vote had barely fallen in south-west England and in Wales. In Scotland, where Ukip was on course for its first MEP, the Conservative vote actually rose.

Some Conservative MPs have called for a general election pact with Ukip next year, something David Cameron has flatly rejected.

William Hague, the Foreign Secretary, said that voters who backed Ukip in the European elections would come back to the Tories next year.

"I think there is a deep disillusionment and dissatisfaction not just in this country but across Europe," he said. "I think that people do know that in the European elections they can have a free vote, a free hit. It is very different from a general election."

He added: "People are entirely capable of voting different ways in different elections. People use different elections to deliver different messages."

DT11

## **British Asian Ukip youth leader quits 'racist' and 'terrifying' Ukip**

**Sanya-Jeet Thandi, who defended her support of Ukip on Channel 4 News, says the party is now appealing to 'stupidity of ignorant anti-immigrant voters for electoral gain'**



Sanya-Jeet Thandi has quit Ukip Photo: EYEVINE

By [Georgia Graham](#), Political Correspondent  
5:56PM BST 13 May 2014

A British Asian leader of Ukip's youth wing has quit the party, branding it "racist" and "terrifying".

Sanya-Jeet Thandi, who had been introduced at Ukip's party conference as a future leader, said the party has abandoned its core supporters and now appealed to the "stupidity of ignorant anti-immigrant voters for electoral gain".

Miss Thandi appeared on Channel 4 News this week to defend her membership but has now [quit the party](#) and is calling on other Ukip supporters to boycott the upcoming European and local elections.

Miss Thandi, who joined Ukip at 17 as events co-ordinator of the youth wing and spoke at the party conference, said new Ukip posters pointing the finger at immigration "epitomise" what has gone wrong with the party.

Nigel Farage has recently sought to rid Ukip of its racist image by appearing at a rally flanked by 40 ethnic minority supporters. At an event in London, he said: "I don't care what you call us, but from this moment on, please do not call us a racist party."

However, the strategy, Ms Thandi said, is not "good enough" to reverse the "form of racist populism" that had developed in the party over the last three years.

Over the last few weeks a string of Ukip candidates have been exposed as harbouring racist views. Andre Lampitt, who featured in the party's election broadcast, was suspended after saying Ed Miliband was "not a real Brit" and describing Islam as an "evil organisation".

Another supporter said Lenny Henry, the comedian, should emigrate to a "black country".

Mr Farage said people with “offensive and idiotic” views had managed to join the party, despite his efforts to vet candidates and imposing a ban on former BNP and National Front members.

Ms Thandi, a privately-educated London School of Economics student born to Punjabi parents, joined Ukip because she said David Cameron was “going soft”.

Three years ago, she agreed with Ukip’s policy on immigration because current policy favoured Europeans over other migrants when her grandparents had to “work so hard” to come to England, she said.

Miss Thandi, who grew up in Kent, became one of Mr Farage’s biggest cheerleaders, telling The Times that Mr Farage was “a babe” and describing Godfrey Bloom as “cute and so kind and hilarious, he just says things for the reaction. Lovely guy but a bit misunderstood”.

However, announcing her resignation on The Guardian website Miss Thandi said people with “racist views” had now been slipping through Ukip’s checks “time and time again”.

She wrote: “In order to convince society they are not racist they need to stop giving positions in the party to people with racist views.

“It is not good enough to say that these individuals just slipped through the net, time and time again. Yes, Ukip is still a relatively young party.

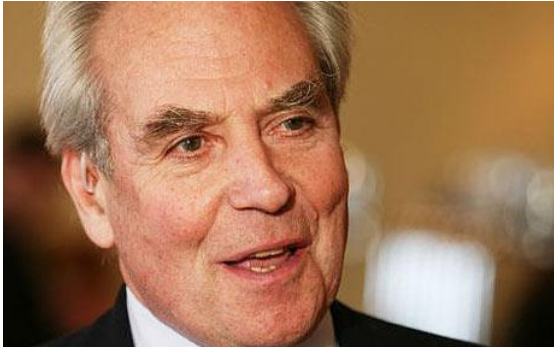
“No, that is not an excuse to allow racists to stand for election. Nor is it an excuse to exploit the ignorance in British society and indulge the racist vote by telling them 'they'll take your jobs'.”



DT12

## **UKIP demands more seats in House of Lords**

**Lord Pearson, the former UKIP leader, says the party's success in the European elections means it should have more representatives in the Lords**



Former UKIP Leader Lord Pearson of Rannoch Photo: CLARA MOLDEN

By Nicola Fifield, and agencies  
10:29AM BST 07 Jun 2014

UKIP has called for more peers in the House of Lords, following the success of Nigel Farage's party in the European elections.

Lord Pearson of Rannoch, the former UKIP leader, has written to the Cabinet Office to ask for more members of the party to join him on the House of Lords' red benches.

He said it was "transparently dishonest" for the party not to have a greater representation in the upper chamber.

UKIP currently has three peers, all defectors from the Conservatives but believes it is entitled to 23 more.

In a letter to Francis Maude, the Cabinet Officer Minister, Lord Pearson said the Government's failure to appoint UKIP members represented the "sort of behaviour which makes the political class so increasingly unpopular with real people".

He said the case for more peers was "even stronger than it was before", following UKIP's success in the European elections, which saw the party top the polls with 27.5 per cent of the vote.

The Government has pledged to make the composition of the Lords better reflect the share of the vote gained by parties in the last general election in 2010.

Lord Pearson told BBC Radio 4's Today programme: "Our democracy requires that we have more than three peers in the House of Lords when we're getting 27 per cent of the vote in the latest national election. I mean it is transparently dishonest.

"It is dishonest for over a period of four years to go on saying we're going to do this and then making it perfectly clear that we've no intention of it."

The coalition agreement, which sets out the basis for UKIP's claim, states that "Lords appointments will be made with the objective of creating a second chamber that is reflective of the share of the vote secured by the political parties in the last general election".

Lord Pearson's letter to the Cabinet Office is his latest attempt to persuade ministers of the need for action.

In March last year he wrote to David Cameron suggesting "half a dozen" extra peers as a compromise and then in a handwritten addition pleaded for "some, anyway?".

A reply signed by a Downing Street correspondence officer told him the letter was "under consideration".

Following May 2013's local elections, Lord Pearson wrote again and in a handwritten amendment added: "they would support the Government, most of the time" - although he told Today that would no longer apply.

Mr Farage, who has petitioned David Cameron for greater representation in the Lords in the past, is now expected to step up the party's campaign for peers.

Since May 2010, 160 peers have been created, including the Green Party's Jenny Jones, who last year became Baroness of Moulscroomb.

A Cabinet Office spokesman said its position was unchanged but the Prime Minister would continue to keep the numbers of minority parties in the Lords under review.

DT13

## **Ukip is on its way to Westminster, claims Farage**

### **Nigel Farage eyes Newark by-election following European elections victory**



Ukip leader Nigel Farage has made it to the Westminster Arms; he says the next stop is Westminster Photo: PAUL GROVER FOR THE TELEGRAPH

By Agencies

3:46PM BST 26 May 2014

Ukip leader Nigel Farage said his "people's army" was on its way to Westminster after securing first place in historic elections for the European Parliament.

Mr Farage said that the eurosceptic party will "give it our best shot" in next week's by-election in Newark - an area where it finished top last night despite trailing the Tories by 25,000 votes in the 2010 general election - and was hoping to secure "a good number" of MPs when the country goes to the polls in May 2015.

Arriving to address supporters at a victory party, Mr Farage made clear his eyes were on the Newark by-election on June 4, where Conservatives are defending a 16,152 majority.

"The people's army of Ukip are on their way to Newark," he said. "We are going to give it our best shot."

Summing up the aftermath of last night's results, he said: "Nick Clegg's in the most trouble, Ed Miliband's in quite a lot of trouble, David Cameron's in some trouble.

"If we were to win Newark, David Cameron would be in even more trouble than Nick Clegg. If we were to overturn this massive majority they have got, it would be a very hot, long summer in the Tory Party."

Asked whether his victory was the result of a protest vote, Mr Farage said: "It's beginning to look like a permanent protest."

In a press conference in central London, Mr Farage said that what he described as the "legacy parties" were "like goldfish that have just been tipped out of the bowl onto the floor, desperately gasping for air and clinging on to the comfort blanket that this is a protest vote".

He said: "This is an earthquake in British politics, it is a remarkable result and I think it has profound consequences for the leaders of the other parties."

Mr Farage said he was "extremely grateful" to Mr Clegg for challenging him to a pair of TV debates, which he said had "allowed us for the first time in 40 years to put the argument why this country is better off outside a political union."

He said: "I find it very difficult to believe he will lead the Liberal Democrats into the general election."

The Ukip leader said he believed Mr Miliband would be forced to offer an in/out EU referendum by the time of the Labour annual conference in the autumn, and warned he would become "Ukip's greatest recruiting sergeant" if he failed to do so.

Although Mr Cameron was the "least scathed" of the party leaders last night, his test would come in Newark in 10 days time, said Mr Farage.

"Ukip, with the wind behind it, has got momentum," he said. "The plan short term for us is very simple. The people's army of Ukip now marches on Newark. We will do everything we can in the next 10 days to help and aid Roger (Helmer)'s candidacy.

"We are going to do our damndest to try to pull off an even more spectacular result. If we do that, I suspect Mr Cameron will also begin to feel some of the pressure."

Mr Farage accepted there was no prospect of Ukip winning next year's general election, but said that it was "perfectly realistic" to think that it may be able to pick up seats where it has strongholds in district and county councils, naming Great Grimsby, Boston, Yarmouth, Thanet, Folkestone, Portsmouth, Plymouth, Aylesbury, Rotherham, Eastleigh and parts of Cambridgeshire as targets.

"Our game is to get this right and find the right candidates and target our resources on putting a good number of seats in Westminster next year," he said. "Who knows, if Ukip hold the balance of power then there will be a referendum."

Liberal Democrat leader Nick Clegg [insisted he would not resign](#), despite pressure for a change in leader from activists horrified by a disastrous night for the party, which lost all but one of its 12 MEPs and trailed in fifth in the national vote and sixth in Scotland.

Former MP Sandra Gidley said the Lib Dem brand had become "toxic", while Lib Dem MP John Pugh said he wanted Business Secretary Vince Cable to take over as leader, warning that a fundamental cause of the Lib Dems' "abysmal" showing was the fact that voters were no longer willing to listen to Mr Clegg.

"If we carry on as usual, we are like the generals at the Somme, because these losses are horrendous," the Southport MP told the BBC News Channel. "Given the scale of the losses, to call for business as usual is frankly ludicrous."

Speaking at Lib Dem HQ in central London, Mr Clegg said the results in local and European elections were "gutting and heartbreaking", but insisted he would not resign, vowing to "finish the job".

Following criticisms of his decision to take Ukip on directly over EU membership - including in a pair of TV debates with Mr Farage which he was widely judged to have lost - Mr Clegg said: "It didn't work but it was right that we stood up for the values we believe in.

"Of course it is right to have searching questions in the wake of such a bad set of election results but if I'm honest the easiest thing in politics - just as in life - sometimes when the going gets really tough is just to walk away, to wash your hands of it. I'm not going to do that and my party is not going to do that."

After votes were counted in all 11 of Great Britain's constituencies, Ukip was dominant with 24 MEPs, including one in Wales and its first representative in Scotland. Its 27.49% share of the national vote was up 10.99 points from the last Euro elections in 2009, when it secured 13 seats.

It was the first time for more than a century that a national vote has not been won by either the Conservatives or Labour, as voters turned away from mainstream parties throughout Europe.

David Cameron came under pressure to consider an electoral deal with Ukip amid fears that the two parties could split the right-of-centre vote in the May 2015 general election.

Mr Cameron insisted he was not ready to countenance any pact with Ukip, saying that all-out victory for the Conservatives was "achievable" and was the only way to guarantee an in/out referendum on Britain's membership of the European Union (EU).

Ed Miliband insisted that Labour was "in a position where we can win the general election", despite disappointing results which saw the party perform strongly in London but barely scrape into second place nationally, less than two percentage points ahead of the Tories.

With counting completed in England, Scotland and Wales, Labour had 20 MEPs and a 25.4% vote share, the Tories 19 MEPs and a 23.93% vote share, the Greens three MEPs and a 7.87% share while the Lib Dems managed a solitary MEP and 6.87% of the national vote.

The Scottish National Party held onto its two MEPs and led the pack with a 28.9% share of the vote north of the border, ahead of Labour on 25.9%, Tories on 17.2% and Ukip on 10.4%. Liberal Democrats came sixth in Scotland.

Votes were being counted in Northern Ireland over the course of the day.

## Ukip is the party with most reasons to be cheerful ahead of European elections

Poll after Farage-Clegg debates said Ukip backed by 34% of those certain to vote, compared with 27% Labour, 20% Tories



Ukip leader Nigel Farage arrives to speak at a meeting in Basingstoke on 9 April. Photograph: Dan Kitwood/Getty Images

### Patrick Wintour

Thursday 10 April 2014 21.05 BST Last modified on Monday 11 January 2016 00.18 GMT

Nigel Farage, in keeping with his status as the unconventional politician, does not talk down his party's chances in the [European elections](#) – predicting that Ukip can create the long promised political earthquake on May 25, not just in terms of share of the vote, but also in seats. Many pollsters such as YouGov and Comres agree with him, although, due to the vagaries of the proportional voting system, the margin between securing a seat and not can be wafer thin.

In the equivalent election five years ago in 2009, held during the long nadir of Gordon Brown's premiership, the [Conservatives](#) secured 27.7% – 1% up on the previous round of European elections in 2004 and enough to capture 25 seats in the European parliament. Ukip took 16.5% (up 0.3%), capturing 13 seats. Labour fell to 15.7% (down 6.9%), winning only 13 seats. The Liberal Democrats were on 13.7%, taking 11 seats.

But significantly, nearly 15% of the vote in 2009 went to the Greens (8.6%) and BNP (6.2%). For different reasons, both parties are likely to see their vote drop. Miliband hopes to draw back some disillusioned leftwingers who drifted to the Greens, and Ukip knows it will benefit from the near implosion of the [BNP](#). Indeed it is arguable that the Ukip 2009 baseline is close to 20%.

A YouGov poll published at the weekend showed Ukip had the backing of 34% among those certain to vote, compared with 27% for [Labour](#) and 20% for the Tories. The poll

was taken in the wake of the two TV debates on Europe between Farage and Clegg, in which Farage was deemed to have outperformed the Liberal Democrat leader.

A ComRes poll conducted at the same time, citing people certain to vote on May 22, gave both Ukip and Labour support at 30%, compared with 22% for the Conservatives and 8% for the Liberal Democrats. In some regions, the east, the south-west and the south, Ukip should do better. Some polls have Ukip at 40% in the eastern region.

Labour is hoping it has a potent weapon on its side – the likelihood that Labour voters will be coming out in the largely metropolitan and London local elections occurring on the same day. Labour is defending 1,788 seats in the local elections, 200 more than the Conservatives.

In 2009, by contrast, the local elections were chiefly focused on the Tory shires, increasing the number of Conservatives going to the polls. In a contest where turnout will matter, Labour will have an in-built advantage.

Miliband's chief worry will be whether Farage has the firepower to overtake the Labour vote in the Midlands and the north, as he promises to do in the next month.

Although there is vast literature on the source of Ukip's working-class support, this will be a major test of the claim that Ukip has the most working-class backing since Michael Foot led Labour in the early 1980s.

The election is going to be nervy for [Nick Clegg](#). His party is polling at 9% in the European elections, down 5% from the 2009 elections, the same level as the Greens in 2009, for whom 9% yielded just two seats. The system for electing European MPs is broadly proportional. The hurdle to secure a seat in a region is around 7% to 11% per region. So if the Lib Dems fall below 8%, they could suffer a total wipeout in the European parliament. Clegg may have been beaten in the television debates, but for his aides the publicity was vital just to keep his party in the contest.

It will be comforting to the Conservatives to know that European elections, at least in the past, have not had huge consequence for the subsequent general election. Parties without representation in the House of Commons have averaged a joint share of 24% of the European election vote since 1999, but only 4% of the general election vote.

It will be these kinds of figures that Cameron will be drumming into his MPs if, as seems likely, he comes third when the votes are counted on 25 May.

## G2

### Nigel Farage rejects 'outrageous' EU expenses allegations

Ukip leader says he makes legitimate use of flat-rate allowances after it emerged that he pays no rent on his UK office



Nigel Farage accused the Times of launching a politically motivated attack against him. Photograph: Leon Neal/AFP/Getty Images

---

**Rowena Mason, political correspondent**

Wednesday 16 April 2014 00.44 BST Last modified on Wednesday 13 January 2016 20.23 GMT

A defiant Nigel Farage has rejected "outrageous" claims that he misused taxpayer cash from the [European Union](#) and argued that MEPs have a free rein to use around £3,500 a month "as we see fit".

The Ukip leader, an MEP for South East England, said he had spent his European parliamentary allowances on furthering the cause of leaving the EU and not used it for personal gain like buying a house, car or vintage wine with the money.

Controversy about Farage's expenses blew up after the Times claimed he had received an estimated £60,000 more in EU allowances for running an office than he paid in costs for the rent-free property in Lyminster, near Bognor Regis, between July 2009 and December 2013.

Reports published on his website show an average of £1,300 a month in allowances went towards "office management and running" during that period. But in its Tuesday edition the newspaper quoted David Samuel-Camps, a former manager of the office, as saying utilities, business rates and insurance came to only £250 a month.

Subsequently Samuel-Camps, in a letter published by Ukip, said he had been misquoted and the actual figure for office costs was higher, with overall costs of around £700 per month – although even in this case, the figure is still below the



average of £1,300 month that Farage's own records said he had drawn from EU funds under the heading of "office management and running".

Farage said the level of the office costs was more like £1,000 a month and argued it was justified as electricity bills for the property were high because of "banks of computers" being run.

The Ukip leader also argued that MEPs were not claiming expenses but were given flat-rate amounts by the EU to use at their discretion, so there was no requirement for the allowances to be used for a specific purpose or receipts to be provided.

Farage also said he was a "turkey voting for Christmas" because he wanted the whole system of EU expenses and allowances to be scrapped and Britain to withdraw. He also offered to have his finances audited if it would settle the matter.

EU funds must be used for the member to carry out his or her duties as an MEP, but Farage said he considered part of his job to campaign against the UK's membership of the EU.

He told the BBC: "I haven't bought a house, I haven't bought a car, I haven't bought vintage wine. I haven't done any of these things – I've used it to keep me on the road as the most active British MEP there has been in the United Kingdom over the course of the last 15 years. I have travelled more miles, I have spoken at more meetings, I have met more people than any other British MEP."

Drawing a distinction between his conduct and that of MPs in the expenses scandal, he added: "I haven't claimed for a taxpayer-funded mortgage, I haven't claimed for horse manure, I haven't claimed for a duck house. "

However, the Electoral Commission said it would be writing to him to find out whether he should have declared the arrangement for rent-free office accommodation as a benefit-in-kind. "We're going to write to him and basically ask for clarification around whether it's a donation that needs to be reported," a spokesman for the commission said.

MEPs earn a salary of £79,000 a year, about £250 per day every time they turn up to the European parliament. Their office allowances are around £42,600 a year, although some MEPs, such as the Green party's Keith Taylor, publish all receipts and return any unused cash at the end of the year.

MEPs also get staff allowances of almost £200,000 per year paid through an independent agent, which some use to employ family members. Farage himself employs his wife, Kirsten, on a salary of up to £20,000 a year. A complaint about the office costs has also been submitted to Olaf, the EU's expenses and allowances watchdog, but a spokesman for the organisation said it could not comment on whether there would be an inquiry into Farage.

Ukip's response to the furore also included a direct attack on the Times, saying the article was part of a series of politically motivated stories. Farage also said he was taking legal advice and the party website published a critical list of some of the newspaper's journalists involved in the story and others who simply work at the newspaper. "Perhaps it will not surprise you to know that most have family or personal connections to the Conservative party and that the majority are from immensely privileged backgrounds that have enabled them to prosper as part of the 'chumocracy' run by David Cameron," the party claimed.

Some of its criticisms were that the journalists were "privately educated" or had family members who were Tories. At the top of the list, it singled out Lord Finkelstein, a Conservative peer who is also a columnist and is close to George Osborne and David Cameron.

Rebuffing the suggestion, Tim Montgomerie, the newspaper's comment editor and a former editor of the ConservativeHome website, tweeted: "Did you see The Times splashes calling for Maria Miller [the Conservative former culture secretary] to resign? "

Meanwhile, Lord Finklestein mocked the list by tweeting: "Mine is best I think, though Alice [Thomson's] "the wife of the nephew of" is funniest."

## Nigel Farage defends Ukip's election campaign after critics call ads racist Party launches biggest ever publicity drive with anti-immigration posters ahead of European parliamentary elections



One of the new Ukip posters, which Nigel Farage defended as a 'hard-hitting reflection of reality'.

Photograph: Ukip/PA

---

**[Andrew Sparrow](#), political correspondent**

Tuesday 22 April 2014 00.13 BST Last modified on Sunday 10 January 2016 21.44 GMT

[Nigel Farage](#) has defended a new immigration-centred Ukip poster campaign as "a hard-hitting reflection of reality" after it was attacked as racist by political opponents.

Farage's anti-EU party is using £1.5m of funding from Paul Sykes, a multi-millionaire former Conservative donor, to launch its biggest ever publicity drive before the 22 May European parliamentary elections.

The ads, to be launched by Farage today and displayed at hundreds of sites across the country, will claim that "British workers are hit hard by unlimited foreign labour" and that 26 million unemployed people across [Europe](#) are "after" UK jobs.

They were revealed as Liberal Democrat leader Nick Clegg called on pro-Europeans to unite against the "anti-Europe establishment" led by Farage.

Labour MP Mike Gapes called the posters racist. He appealed to "all decent British, Commonwealth and EU citizens" to register to vote in May's polls.

But Farage, whose party is tipped to push the Tories into third place and perhaps win the election, dismissed the concerns of the "chattering classes". He said: "These posters are a hard-hitting reflection of reality as it is experienced by millions of British people struggling to earn a living outside the Westminster bubble."

"Are we going to ruffle a few feathers among the chattering classes? Yes. Are we bothered about that? Not in the slightest."

The posters will be displayed in two waves over the next four weeks and be accompanied by ads in digital media.

Writing in the Guardian today, Clegg dismissed Ukip's claim to be a party of political outsiders and described it as an arm of the "longstanding Eurosceptic establishment".

The deputy prime minister issued a rallying call to pro-Europeans and said Farage's assertion that he was leading an army of "insurgents" was implausible in view of the strong current of Euroscepticism in the Tory party and in the media.

Instead, Clegg implied that it was the Lib Dems who were the insurgent underdogs, because they were confronting the "Eurosceptic establishment" directly by fighting on an unashamedly pro-European platform.

He also insisted he had no regrets about his decision to hold two debates with the Ukip leader, despite polls showing that Farage was judged by viewers to have been the clear winner of both.

Clegg said he would be happy to have further debates before polling day.

An ICM poll on Sunday suggested the Lib Dems were on course to achieve just 8% of the vote in the [European elections](#), with the Tories on 22%, Ukip on 27% and Labour on 30%.

Many commentators expect Ukip to overtake Labour by 22 May, with Farage's ability to portray the party as an insurgent movement that is taking on the three main parties a key factor in his success.

In his article, Clegg said this was untrue. "Of all Nigel Farage's far-fetched claims – and there are many – the most outlandish is the idea that Ukip's call for EU exit is the insurgents' battle cry. European withdrawal is presented as a great revolutionary promise, held in stark contrast with the status quo offered by a homogenous political elite. What poppycock."

Farage will launch his European election campaign at a rally in Sheffield today. Clegg will launch the Lib Dem campaign on Thursday in Colchester.

**Nigel Farage launches Ukip campaign amid criticism of 'racist' rhetoric**  
Party leader unveils posters for European elections campaign and pledges to tighten access to benefits of EU migrants in UK



Nigel Farage launches Ukip's European election billboard campaign in Sheffield. Photograph: Peter Byrne/PA

---

**[Patrick Wintour](#) and [Hatty Collier](#)**

Tuesday 22 April 2014 20.27 BST Last modified on Friday 22 January 2016 11.19 GMT

The Ukip leader, [Nigel Farage](#), said that he wanted to restrict access to benefits of 2 million existing EU migrants staying in the UK but admitted that he could not throw them out of the country.

He was speaking at the launch of a Ukip campaign in Sheffield where he was inundated by criticisms of posters alleging that nearly 2 million EU unemployed were seeking jobs in the UK.

Labour claimed the posters were redolent of the Nazi's propaganda chief Goebbels' big lie, and Keith Vaz, chairman of the home affairs select committee, said they were hypocritical since Ukip had criticised the Home Office's "Go Home" van advertisements last summer.

Vaz said Farage was lowering the tone of debate in the UK and the shadow international development secretary, Jim Murphy, said they were a desperate cry for attention.

The Tory peer Lord Eden said: "Ukip stands for the worst in human beings: our prejudice, selfishness, and fear."

The posters are being funded by Paul Sykes, one of Ukip's biggest donors. Sykes said he had no idea what the cost of the posters had been and he had not stopped spending yet. He added: "I am going to spend whatever it takes to make the British people aware that we are no longer governed from this great nation of ours."

He later added that he thought the cost might be in the region of £1.4m but there had been many contributions.

Farage said he wanted to refrain from saying anything about Ukip's domestic policies until after the [European elections](#), but said he would not throw out existing EU migrants.

He said: "You can't change the law retrospectively – anyone who's come here legally, you can't say you can't be here legally. You might say there's a slight change to your long-term benefit entitlement but you can't say to people who have legally come that you can't be here."

Farage insisted the campaign launch would strike up a debate between ordinary people across the country.

He said: "The posters are going to wake people up and they're going to get people talking. I'll have a little bet with you that there'll be pubs and clubs and restaurants up and down this country tonight where a big conversation will be going on." Farage plans to spend as long as two weeks in the north targeting the Labour vote. He said he chose Sheffield for the launch because Yorkshire held a lot of symbolism for the party, after they came second in a byelection in Barnsley two years ago.

He said: "The majority of seats here in Yorkshire are held by Labour MPs. We are going to put maximum pressure on Yorkshire, on this part of the world.

"If we're going to win, we can only do it by getting a big labour vote in these northern cities. So that's the symbolism."

Farage was forced again to explain why he was employing his German wife as a secretary, claiming that "nobody else" could do the job, with its long hours. He said: "I don't think anybody else would want to be in my house at midnight, going through emails and getting me briefed for the next day."

Pressed on whether his wife was an example of a European person taking a British person's job, he replied: "Nobody else could do that job – not unless I married them.

It's a very different situation to a mass of hundreds of thousands of people coming in and flooding the lower ends of the labour market in Britain."

There was a mixed reaction from the crowd who witnessed the launch, including 73-year-old Margaret Bullivant from Sheffield.

Bullivant, who is retired but works part-time at York racecourse, said: "I am absolutely going to vote for Ukip. My husband and I have worked every bit of our lives. I worked for 44 years and I'm still doing a part-time job so we've paid into the system.

"But there are people coming in that get houses and benefits, and I think it was time it was stopped. It's not the people we're against and if there were enough jobs then fair enough but we haven't the jobs."

Chaz Lockett, 22, who will be standing in Sheffield's local council elections for the Trade Unionist and Socialist Coalition, said Ukip were using the election campaign launch to scaremonger and gain political advantage.

Lockett, who is also a student at the University of Sheffield, said: "Ukip are playing on the fears of ordinary people, in a situation where we're having massive cuts to local services and where there's huge unemployment.

"Ukip have come along today and are giving easy answers to the fears that people have, whipping up racism against migrants and people who come to this country. They're using that to gain political advantage out of a horrendous situation. I don't think Farage believes a word he says."

## G5

**Ukip likely to come out top in European elections, warn Hain and Tebbit**  
Poll giving anti-EU party a three-point lead suggests racist candidates and Nigel Farage's expenses are not harming Ukip



Ukip's leader, Nigel Farage, campaigning for the European elections. YouGov put Ukip on 31%, Labour on 28% and the Tories on 19%. Photo: Tom Maddick/Ross Parry

**Andrew Sparrow, political correspondent**

Sunday 27 April 2014 21.30 BST Last modified on Friday 15 January 2016 18.08 GMT

Ukip is on course to win the highest share of the vote in next month's [European elections](#), senior political figures warned on Sunday, in a result that would be viewed as a collapse of trust in the political establishment.

With a European election poll showing Ukip forging ahead, after a week that saw the party involved in a row about a racist candidate and buffeted by other controversies that would damage conventional parties, [Peter Hain](#), the Labour former cabinet minister, said Ukip seemed to be immune from criticism and that he expected the party to beat Labour.

Lord Tebbit, the former Tory chairman, also said he expected Ukip to make history by becoming the first party other than Labour or the [Conservatives](#) to win a UK-wide election since the first world war. Tebbit said his party was still paying the price for David Cameron's decision to brand Ukip supporters "fruitcakes, loonies and closet racists" eight years ago.

At the weekend, Ukip became embroiled in a fresh racism row following revelations that William Henwood, a local election candidate for the party in Enfield, north London, had said Lenny Henry should emigrate to a "black country" after the



comedian and actor suggested ethnic minorities were poorly represented on British television.

Asked to explain himself on Sunday, Henwood chose to repeat the racist sentiment. He told the BBC: "I think if black people come to this country and don't like mixing with white people why are they here? If he [Henry] wants a lot of blacks around, go and live in a black country."

But a European election poll for the Sunday Times giving Ukip a three-point lead suggests scandals are not causing harm. The poll was conducted at the end of last week, after a [controversy over a racist local government candidate, Andre Lampitt](#), and questions raised by the Times over party leader Nigel Farage's office expenses. The YouGov survey put Ukip support at 31%, ahead of Labour on 28%, the Conservatives on 19% and the Lib Dems on 9%. Of 16 European election polls conducted this year, this is only the second showing Ukip ahead, and the first showing a lead higher than two points.

Hain said the mainstream political parties had to recognise that Ukip's success was symptomatic of a wider loss of trust in politics. "The political class needs to wake up because Ukip are capitalising on the big anti-politics sentiment that is out there," he told the Guardian.

"Despite the fact that their candidates have blamed flooding on gay marriage, called women sluts, and expressed openly racist and Islamophobic prejudice – some really nasty stuff – and [Nigel Farage](#) has been accused of all sorts of allegations, all of it just seems to wash off, just like water off a duck's back, because they are the expression of a deep antagonism to the political class.

"It is really disturbing that they seem to have developed an immunity to the truth. It's for that reason that I expect them to be in the lead on 22 May."

Hain said [Labour](#) could win, but that it would be "very hard" and that the party would have to get its vote out effectively. His analysis was backed by Matthew Goodwin, an associate professor of politics at Nottingham University and co-author of a new book about Ukip, *Revolt on the Right*. He said that, until recently, he had expected Ukip to come second in the European elections, but that he had changed his mind.

"Having looked at the shift in opinion polls in the last 10 days to two weeks, I think what we are beginning to see is what we saw at this point before the 2009 European elections and the 2004 European elections, which was a Ukip surge, which always

happens late on," he said. "My instinct is that they will probably end up ahead at the European election."

Goodwin said there were two reasons why the extensive media coverage over recent days of scandals and embarrassments involving Ukip did not seem to be having any impact on the polls.

"First, the core Ukip electorate are the most distrustful in British politics," he said. "And, second, over the last 20 years in European politics, one of the lessons that has been learned has been that, when it comes to the radical right, the strategy of condemnation and of ridicule has got us nowhere."

Goodwin added that a Ukip victory in May would have profound implications. "If they finish second, that raises awkward questions for [David Cameron](#). But if they finish in first place, that amounts to an entire rejection of the British establishment's political class."

Tebbit said the party was a "quite remarkable phenomenon" and that it seemed to be "inured" to attacks from the media. "On present form, it looks like they will poll the most votes," he said, claiming the Ukip supporters who commented on his Telegraph blog constantly referred to Cameron's decision to label them "fruitcakes, loonies and closet racist" (a claim Cameron has subsequently retracted) as one reason for their rejecting the Conservatives.

Cameron's jibe was a terrible mistake, the peer said. "If I were running a retail business, and if I suddenly discovered that my customers had been walking past my shop and going to a competitor, I would not stand in the street cursing them. I would go to the other shop and see what they were selling," he said.

[Jeremy Hunt](#), the health secretary, said that the comments from Ukip's Henwood about Henry were "absolutely disgusting".

While promising to investigate Henwood's comments, Ukip declined to disown him outright, instead claiming that the party was the victim of smear campaigns orchestrated by other parties alarmed at Ukip's success in the polls.

- This article was amended on 28 April 2014 to correct a quote from Matthew Goodwin.

## G6

**Ukip condemned by cross-party group for running 'racist' campaign**  
Aggressive move accusing Nigel Farage's party of 'Euracism' comes as study puts anti-EU vote in Europe at 30%



Ukip leader Nigel Farage campaigning in Gateshead for the European elections. Photograph: Ian Forsyth/Getty Images

---

**[Patrick Wintour](#), [Nicholas Watt](#) and [Severin Carrell](#)**

Monday 28 April 2014 20.07 BST Last modified on Friday 22 January 2016 23.00 GMT

The first cross-party campaign to condemn Nigel Farage's party as racist is to be launched this week amid fresh polls showing Ukip may come first across England in the [European elections](#) in May.

The campaign is led by the former [Labour](#) immigration minister Barbara Roche, who claimed: "Ukip's campaign needs to be exposed for what it is, a racist campaign. The party is practising what is in effect a form of 'Euracism'. They are deploying the same language and tactics used by openly racist parties like the BNP, but instead of targeting migrants from Africa and Asia they are targeting migrants from within the EU."

Labour and Tory jitters over the rise of Ukip – which led European election opinion polls for the first time over the weekend – are manifesting in an increasingly public debate in both parties about whether to attack it or oppose its anti-immigration policies.

It comes as [one Europe-wide study suggested that anti-EU parties such as Ukip could win more than 30% of the vote](#) across the continent next month. Calculations by the Open Europe thinktank suggest hardline sceptics could take as many as 218 of the 751 seats available – although this conclusion has been challenged by other analysts.

A second poll put Ukip neck and neck with Labour in England, but trailing in Scotland and Wales.

The new anti-Ukip campaign, backed by social media and posters, is supported by the all-party Migration Matters Trust. Migration Matters is co-sponsored by the Conservative Nadim Zahawi and by the Liberal Democrat deputy leader in the Lords, Lord Dholakia.

Roche said: "It is no less offensive to say British families should be wary of Romanians moving in next door than it is to say it of Nigerians or Indians.

"Every day another example of Ukip racism is exposed, and every day [Nigel Farage](#) attempts to dismiss it with the same lazy 'few rotten apples' argument. It won't wash.

"The likes of Andre Lampitt and William Henwood haven't stumbled into supporting Ukip by accident. They see a direct correlation between their own extremists views and those of the party they have been campaigning for."

Lampitt, who featured in a Ukip election broadcast, was suspended from the party after a string of Islamophobic tweets emerged. Henwood was condemned when he said the comedian Lenny Henry should emigrate to a "black country" and compared Islam to the Third Reich.

Roche has picked up on [claims by Farage in the Guardian](#) that British people should be wary of Romanians moving into the street. Roche's approach is controversial since critics claiming any attempt to brand Ukip as racists is in effect branding its apparently growing supporter base as racist. Polls have shown most voters do not regard the recent controversial Ukip posters as racist.

A second former home office minister, Jacqui Smith, said she was apprehensive about branding Ukip racist. Recalling Gordon Brown's attack on the Rochdale pensioner Gillian Duffy, she said: "Did we not learn from 'bigotgate' in 2010 that there are many potential and actual Labour voters who feel all the frustrations and insecurities expressed by the Ukip poster campaign? Telling them they are wrong – and worse, closet racists – is unlikely to win their support".

She said some of the sentiments in the Ukip poster reflected Labour policy.

The debate inside the Labour leadership about how to counter Ukip is reflected in a live debate about whether Ed Miliband should attack its leadership or acknowledge that Ukip support reflects a deep-seated unease about immigration and distrust of the political class. He is due to launch the party's European election campaign this week. So far its campaign has focused on the crisis of living standards.

Concern in the Tory mainstream about Ukip is also expressed today by the Bright Blue thinktank. Its head, Ryan Shorthouse, said David Cameron should "firmly reject" pressure to align the Conservative party more closely with Ukip or to adopt its policy agenda.

He said the Tory party only thrived when it offered an optimistic vision about the future of Britain, adding that the party had a good story to tell about the economy. Shorthouse said: "The Conservative party should firmly reject calls to be more closely aligned with Ukip or their policy agenda. [Conservatives](#) should fight the negative and divisive politics of Ukip, not pander to them. On immigration, the government should seek to convey competence: that it is properly managing our borders at the same time as ensuring businesses and universities can recruit the brightest and the best from around the world."

There are signs that senior Conservative ministers are starting to attack Ukip directly, something Conservative headquarters had wanted to avoid in case it alienated Ukip voters and made it more difficult to win them back to the Conservative cause in time for general election.

The latest poll commissioned by two universities and the thinktank IPPR, published on Monday evening, shows Ukip only one point behind Labour in England.

The polling, conducted by YouGov among more than 6,700 voters between 11 and 22 April, shows Labour on 30, Ukip 29 and the Conservatives 22. The polling shows Ukip's support varies widely. In contrast with its 29% showing in England, in Scotland it is at 10%, and in Wales, at 20%. The Lib Dems are the lowest placed of all the main parties everywhere.

The poll also reveals that Ukip's support is strongest amongst those in England that regard themselves primarily as English as opposed to British.

When people in England were asked which party and which political leader "best stands up for the interests of England", Ukip and Nigel Farage both came out on top at over 20%. By contrast only 3% of survey respondents in Wales identified Ukip as

the party that best stands up for Welsh interests, and only 1% in Scotland as the party that best stands up for Scottish interests.

Glenn Gottfried, from the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) said: "These differences in outlook between England and Scotland could have an impact on the Scottish independence referendum.

"A strong performance by Ukip in May's European elections might encourage Scots into the yes camp if they read it as a signal England may vote to leave the EU in a future in-out referendum on Europe."

Calculations [by the Open Europe thinktank](#)– challenged by other analysts – suggest hardline sceptics could take a total of 218 (29%) of the 751 available seats, up from 164 out of 766 (21.4%) in the current parliament – 30% overall. Open Europe says this bloc ranges from mainstream governing parties to neo-fascists.

## Ukip soars to top of polls despite Farage ducking byelection battle

Latest polling puts Nigel Farage's party on course to sweep European elections after leader rules out standing in Newark



Nigel Farage says he thinks Ukip can cause a 'political earthquake' in May's European parliament elections. Photograph: Leon Neal/AFP/Getty Images

**Nicholas Watt** and **Patrick Wintour**

Wednesday 30 April 2014 16.06 BST Last modified on Wednesday 27 January 2016 07.23 GMT

Nigel Farage has bounced back from his [decision not to stand in the Newark byelection](#) as a new opinion poll found that Ukip was on course to achieve an emphatic victory in the European parliamentary elections next month.

The Ukip leader, who began the day denying that he was too "frit" to stand in Newark, was shown to be the dominant force in British politics at the moment after a dramatic increase in support for his party.

The [ComRes/ITV News poll](#) put support for Ukip at 38% for the European elections – an increase of eight points since the beginning of the month. Labour is down three points on 27% while the Tories trail in third place on 18%, down four points. The Liberal Democrats remain unchanged on 8%.

Tom Mludzinski, the head of political polling at ComRes, said: "Ukip look set to pull off something spectacular at next month's [European elections](#)."

But the poll is a mixed blessing for Farage. It also found that 32% of voters believed that Ukip was a racist party after a series of damaging revelations from candidates, including a call for Lenny Henry to leave Britain to live in a "black country" and the claim that Mo Farah is not British.

The finding that nearly a third of voters believe Ukip is a racist party will be a blow to Farage, who angrily rejects claims that his party is the "BNP in blazers". The poll also found that 33% of voters believed Ukip was more honest than other parties. But 38% disagree with this.



ComRes said a quarter of Ukip supporters for the European elections are unlikely to support the party at the general election. Photograph: Peter Macdiarmid/Getty

ComRes warned that Ukip's vote is soft because a quarter of its supporters for the European elections say they are unlikely to support it at the general election. "Nigel Farage has a massive task competing on the Westminster stage," Mludzinski said.

The findings will help to explain why Farage decided not to contest the Newark byelection, which was triggered by the resignation of the former Tory MP Patrick Mercer. Farage would have struggled to win the seat – Ukip won only 3.8% of the vote in 2010 – but in the unlikely event of a Ukip byelection victory, the ComRes poll suggested Farage would have lost it at a general election.

Farage said he had decided not to stand because he did not want to distract attention from the European elections. "We are just three weeks away from European elections where Ukip, I think, can cause a political earthquake. I want to focus the next three weeks on winning the European elections.

"I have no real connections with Newark. I would look like an opportunist and reinforce the impression that Ukip is a one-man band; we are trying to talk about British membership of the [European Union](#)."

Faced by the charge that he had showed political cowardice, he said: "I think I can be accused of many things in life but I do not think 'frit' is one of them. I am a fighter and a warrior but I am determined to pick my battles."

He promised that Ukip would throw the kitchen sink at the byelection and field a strong local candidate. "There is a much bigger prize than Newark, including the



general election when we can win not one seat but many seats – even holding the balance of power."

Farage had told BBC reporters before announcing his decision that if Ukip won the seat, David Cameron would have to resign, but also conceded that if he lost, his "bubble" would burst. It appears he considered overnight the prospect of trying to win the seat, where Ukip came fourth in 2010, and decided he could not risk defeat.



'I have no real connections with Newark. I would look like an opportunist.' Photograph: Ian Forsyth/Getty

"It was only 12 hours ago that Patrick Mercer stood down so I haven't had long to think about it," Farage said. "But I have thought about it and we're just over three weeks away from a European election at which I think Ukip can cause an earthquake in British politics, from which we can go on and not just win one parliamentary seat but win quite a lot of parliamentary seats."

He added that there would be "pressure and splits within the Conservative party" after the European elections and "this may not be the last byelection that comes up between now and next May".

Ken Clarke, the cabinet minister and an MP in Nottinghamshire, reacted to Farage's announcement by saying: "He is not an idiot; he did not have the faintest chance of winning Newark. I don't think Ukip will get anywhere in the byelection. What on earth would Ukip contribute to the representation of Newark-on-Trent?"

He said Ukip supporters were not racist but that the party "does encourage bigotry and prejudice – what they're really peddling is a total nonsense".

## Ukip poll finds fans of Farage more likely to feel alienated and angry

Only 3% of Ukip supporters say they trust politicians – and they believe immigration has badly affected every aspect of UK life



Ukip supporters outside parliament. The poll found they were less likely to trust unions, courts, banks, police and universities. Photograph: Carl Court/AFP/Getty

**[Patrick Wintour](#)**, political editor

Wednesday 14 May 2014 21:01 BST Last modified on Friday 15 January 2016 23:47 GMT

Ukip voters are more distrusting, angrier and pessimistic than other voters, according to a unique Guardian look into the mindset of the party's supporters that reveals the extent to which resentment of immigration dominates their concerns.

Of people those planning to vote for Nigel Farage's UK Independence party in next week's [European elections](#), 67% are more likely than the average Briton to say they feel "alienated", 47% more likely to feel "ignored" and 35% more likely to be "angry". They are 47% less likely to feel "hopeful".

Only 3% of Ukip supporters say that they trust politicians and only 10% trust the government, compared with 8% and 15% respectively for other people.

The research, conducted by Opinium for the Guardian among 2,000 voters last week, showed 92% of those planning to vote Ukip in the European polls agree with the statement "mass immigration is making parts of the UK unrecognisable and like a foreign land" while 81% believe that immigration from Europe has been generally bad for the UK.

Immigration remains the dominant issue for Ukip voters at the European election; 74% of Ukip voters say immigration is an important issue compared with 47% of all voters. Three-quarters of new Ukip supporters cite immigration as the chief reason

for Farage's party, and not Europe. On average, Ukip supporters believe that 38% of the UK population are immigrants.

Ukip voters believe that immigration from the EU has had a negative impact on virtually every aspect of UK life, from housing (87% believe immigration has had a negative impact), welfare (85%), population (84%), health/NHS (80%), education (80%), jobs (80%), crime (79%) and Social Values social values (78%).

It comes as Ukip has been accused of peddling lies and scare stories after the credibility of its core European campaign message was severely damaged by official [statistics showing the number of immigrants from the Balkans had fallen since labour market restrictions were lifted in January](#).

Ukip has repeatedly insisted that the final lifting of border controls on 27 million Romanian and Bulgarian citizens would lead to a flood of new migrants to the UK, but instead the number fell by 4,000 in the first quarter.

Both the Conservatives and [Liberal Democrats](#) mounted their most fiercely worded attacks on Ukip with Anna Soubry, junior defence minister, accusing Ukip of making "wild and absolutely offensive claims". She added "These figures just show that Ukip preys on people's fears, it preys on prejudices in many people."

[Damian Green](#), the police minister, claimed Ukip was increasing its scaremongering. Vince Cable, business secretary, said the figures vindicated those calling "for calm about scare stories of plane loads of Bulgarians arriving". A Liberal Democrat video highlighted racist Islamophobic statements made by Ukip supporters, asking: "Ask yourself a question, are you really going to let these people win?"

According to the Guardian poll, institutions that Ukip supporters are most likely to trust are the monarchy (56% trust) and the NHS (48%). However, with the exception of the monarchy and tabloid newspapers, Ukip supporters are less likely than the average Briton to trust a broad range of institutions, including trade unions (35% less likely to trust than average Briton), the judiciary and courts (34% less likely), banks (29% less likely) police (24% less likely) and UK universities (17% less likely).

The polling is based on a sample of 2,027 adults interviewed on 7-9 May .

The deep sense of alienation and distrust revealed in the poll underlines the uphill struggle politicians from the main parties face in trying to convince Ukip supporters that Farage is making simplistic or untruthful claims.

The Guardian research comes as an Ipsos-Mori poll showed Nigel Farage's own personal satisfaction ratings have fallen back by seven points since April, with a net dissatisfaction rating of -11, only two points better than [David Cameron](#).

## Nigel Farage says Ukip will 'win' in European elections

Ukip leader hopes to hold balance of power in 2015 after polls suggest Tory and Labour accusations of racism have backfired



Nigel Farage repeated his willingness to do 'a deal with the devil' or make local pacts to get a referendum on Europe. Photograph: Steve Meddle/ITV/REX

**Rowena Mason**, political correspondent

Wednesday 21 May 2014 10.21 BST Last modified on Monday 11 January 2016 00.20 GMT

Nigel Farage has predicted Ukip will "win" Thursday's [European elections](#) and may hold the balance of power after the 2015 general election.

The Ukip leader said he would not be sunk by accusations that some candidates had made racist remarks and his own suggestion that people would be worried about living on a street with Romanian families.

"We all make mistakes in life and things don't always go according to plan and of course we've been in the lead and we've never been in that position before," he told BBC Radio 4's Today programme. "We hit the front three weeks ago and when you're out in front and everybody's firing every missile they've got at you, yeah, sometimes a few cracks begin to show.

"But what hasn't changed and what hasn't broken is what we stand for and the fact we're connecting with the British public."

Farage repeated his willingness to do "a deal with the devil" or make local pacts with MPs from other parties if it would help get a referendum on Europe.

He also said the idea of winning the 2015 election was "entirely ridiculous, moonshine" but Ukip could hope to emulate the success of the Lib Dems under Lord

Ashdown. "Who knows, we may get the balance of power if we get that right, and if we do there will be a referendum, whoever's in government," he said.

He made the predictions after [polling showed Tory and Labour attacks on Ukip over allegations of racism appear to have backfired](#) by consolidating the party's support.

Farage brushed off his failure to appear at a diversity street carnival in Croydon, organised to show Ukip embracing ethnic minority candidates, which descended into rows and farce.

He said he had never definitely intended to attend the event, where two black members of a hired steel band said they were uncomfortable about playing and a Ukip Croydon council candidate described the town as a dump.

Speaking on the BBC and ITV in a round of broadcast interviews, Farage claimed his party was getting "more black and ethnic minority voters [who] are going to turn out and vote Ukip tomorrow than the Lib Dems and Tories added up together".

He also argued that tabloid newspapers were more responsible for "whipping up" prejudice against Romanians and Bulgarians than Ukip, claiming his warnings about criminal gangs from these countries were based on fact.

"I am suggesting there has been a hysteria whipped up by the press, sparked by things written in the Sun and the Daily Mail and the other newspapers who ran screaming double-page spreads 'these people are coming here to steal from you'. I haven't whipped up any of that."

## G10

### Nigel Farage keeps low profile before European election results

Ukip leader stays clear of the spotlight as he waits to see if he's delivered his promised 'earthquake' to UK politics



Ukip leader Nigel Farage has kept away from the spotlight in the lead up to the European election results. Photograph: Lefteris Pitarakis/AP

#### [Esther Addley](#)

Sunday 25 May 2014 21.56 BST Last modified on Friday 22 January 2016 13.34 GMT

In contrast to the frenzied round of camera-friendly flesh-pressing, door-knocking and pint-sinking of the past few weeks of campaigning, [Nigel Farage](#) spent Sunday keeping an uncharacteristically low profile in the hours before the results of the European parliament elections.

No, aides insisted, he would not be making any appearances before arriving at the [Southampton](#) count late in the evening to learn if he had been re-elected, which seemed certain, and whether his party had managed to deliver the electoral "earthquake" he had promised.

What time was he coming? They would be "taking intelligence from the ground" before deciding that.

"The media are calling me already keen to get the first pictures of @Nigel\_Farage arriving at Southampton," tweeted Rob Burberry, Ukip's local campaign manager, hours before the count opened, adding: "#patience #patience."

Journalists had, indeed, turned out in force, with around 100 accredited media, including reporters and camera crews from Denmark, Japan, France and Russia.

They crammed the balcony of the city's art deco Guildhall while scores of tellers below sorted through fat piles of white paper, which were then piled on to tables in the centre of the large room, labelled in bundles of 1,000.

"We've been looking at the British debate ever since the Tories started talking tough on Europe," said Khuê Pham from the German weekly Die Zeit. "Our readers are actually quite afraid that Britain might leave the EU."

On the other hand, she conceded, there are plenty of Eurosceptic Germans, if a smaller number than in Britain, who envy the Ukip leader's profile and popularity.

Farage, who lives in Kent, has no particular links to Southampton. Indeed, he notably passed on the chance to stand for parliament in the nearby constituency of Eastleigh when Chris Huhne's resignation gave rise to a vacancy 15 months ago – though his party's candidate, Diane James, did beat the Tories into an embarrassing third place.

But Southampton city council's returning officer is also the regional returning officer in the European poll for the huge South East England constituency, which takes in nine counties and 8 million voters and stretches from the Cotswolds to Margate, and from the Isle of Wight to the southern suburbs of Milton Keynes.

Though the Ukip leader was the only member of his party defending his Strasbourg seat in the constituency, the party had two South East England MEPs until last year, when Marta Andreasen, the Argentina-born Spanish former party treasurer, defected to the Conservatives, calling Farage "Stalinist" and "a bully". (He retaliated by saying the Tories "deserve what is coming to them" and adding: "The woman is impossible.")

Fifteen parties fielded candidates on Thursday for the constituency, among them the BNP, the Christian People's party, the English Democrats, the Harmony party, the Peace party, the Roman party, Liberty GB, YOURvoice and An Independence from Europe, whose indefinite article won it top billing on the ballot paper.



## G11

**Nigel Farage all smiles as he revels in Ukip's European election success**  
Ukip leader fails to suppress his grin on a night his party delivered a seismic shift to British politics



Ukip leader Nigel Farage looking positive as he arrives for results of the European parliament election for the south east region, in Southampton. Photograph: Luke Macgregor/Reuters

### [Esther Addley](#)

Monday 26 May 2014 01:55 BST Last modified on Monday 11 January 2016 00:17 GMT

An hour later than he was expected, his aides and security men elbowing a path through a thicket of camera crews and photographers, [Nigel Farage](#) swept into Southampton Civic Centre like a rock star, a grin on his face that he wasn't taking much trouble to suppress.

How was his promised electoral earthquake going? "Pretty well I think, but we'll find out in a moment." His aides were predicting Ukip taking four or five of the 10 MEP seats up for grabs in South East England, did he agree? He wouldn't be making any predictions. Oh, OK then. "I still think we're going to win [the overall vote]. Now, where's the bar?"

Ukip had gone into Thursday's European poll with one representative – Farage – in the huge constituency which takes in nine counties and 8 million voters and stretches from the Cotswolds to Margate, and from the Isle of Wight to the southern suburbs of Milton Keynes. There had been two until last year, when Marta Andreasen, the Argentinian-born Spanish former party treasurer, defected to the [Conservatives](#), calling Farage "Stalinist". (He retaliated by saying: "The woman is impossible.")

This looked certain to be a very different night, and the faces of most of the other party activists told their own tale. Grim Lib Dem activists leaning quietly at the bar talked of faint hopes of holding on to one of their two seats, while the [Green](#)

[party](#) MEP Keith Taylor sat on his own on a folding chair at the front of the art deco Guildhall, waiting to learn if he was newly unemployed.

Nirj Deva, number two on the Conservative list, was confident he had kept his own seat along with party colleague and Tory Eurosceptic torchbearer Daniel Hannan, but wouldn't be drawn any further on how many of its five MEPs the party could salvage. He had been talking for 15 years about the need to reform Europe, he said. "It's a message that I have been hearing [on doorsteps] for a long time and I have repeated it ad nauseam to whoever cares to listen."

Did that mean that the party HQ had been slow or resistant to hear it? An emphatic nod. "Every party in government is slow to hear a message that doesn't come from the centre."

The others may have been chewing their nails, but Farage had enjoyed a lovely afternoon, thanks for asking. "Do you know, I went to the cricket. I went to Tunbridge Wells to watch Kent v Worcester." And how was that? "Lunch was great, cricket was nice, it was a very English scene. I thoroughly enjoyed myself."

Yes, yes. "Do you have a message for Denmark?" asked one TV reporter, one of 100 or so accredited media who had come from as far afield as Japan, France and Russia. He did, expressing satisfaction that Eurosceptic parties had done well there too. Ukip had also topped the poll in Newark, he noted, scene of a crucial parliamentary byelection in less than a fortnight. "Once we get this out of the way, the people's army is on the move."

Later from the podium he said: "The people's army of Ukip have spoken tonight and delivered just about the most extraordinary result that has been seen in politics for 100 years, and I am proud to have led them to that. And I promise you this. You haven't heard the last of us."

His party colleague and new fellow MEP Janice Atkinson said her own mantra in Brussels would be "No and no and no." "I promise you we will vote against everything, because whatever they propose it is wrong."

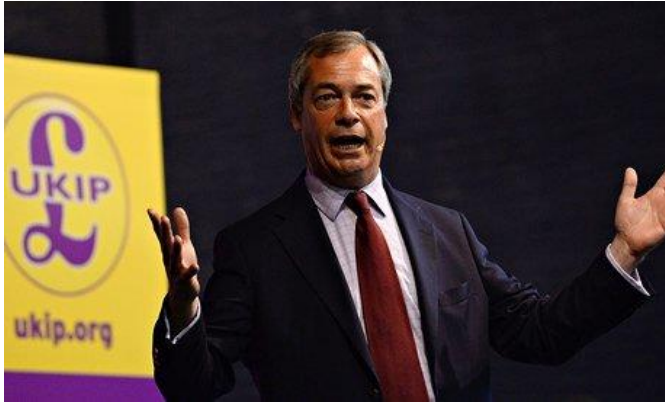
Daniel Hannan, long the Conservatives' Eurosceptic torchbearer, said the results showed that there was "a clear majority for independence" in Britain. "The question is how we translate that into policy." Acknowledging the loss of her party colleagues from the European parliament, Liberal Democrat Catherine Bearden acknowledged that it would be "a big ask" for her to carry the party's torch in the parliament.

"Europe is not going to go away. Europe is still there. The EU will still be functioning. And we need MEPS who are there, standing up for this country in the debates, in the votes. And that is what I will be doing."

G12

## Nigel Farage lays out Ukip plans for schools and taxes

Party leader wants to see proliferation of grammar schools to enhance social mobility and to have a 40p tax ceiling



Farage said Ukip was formalising its election manifesto for next year. Photograph: Andrew Yates/AFP/Getty Images

---

**Rowena Mason, political correspondent**

Sunday 1 June 2014 11.37 BST Last modified on Monday 18 January 2016 10.37 GMT

[Nigel Farage](#) has declared he wants to see a grammar school in every town and cut the top rate of tax to 40p, as he set out plans to get Ukip's first MPs by "throwing the kitchen sink" at a few dozen constituencies.

The Ukip leader, whose party triumphed in the European elections, said he would personally stand in the south-east and is considering the option of South Thanet, where the party has a lot of county council seats.

Speaking on the BBC's Andrew Marr Show, Farage gave some indications of what would be in the party's manifesto outside of its key messages on leaving the EU and reducing immigration.

He said the party was no longer committed to a flat tax and would make it a priority to abolish tax for those on the minimum wage, as well as cutting the top rate to 40p.

Farage has previously disowned Ukip's 2010 manifesto, written during a hiatus in his leadership, saying it was hundreds of pages of rubbish that he had not even read.

The party is in the process of forming policies for 2015 and reshuffling its top team to take the pressure off Farage, who said he was left "frazzled" after the European campaign.

Asked about the idea of a flat tax, Farage said: "No. We're going to rethink the tax thing. I think that was badly explained because people thought 'gosh, they're going to put tax up for the low paid'. Well, no. The idea was to abolish national insurance.

"What I can tell you for certain is that our biggest tax objective in that next manifesto will be no tax on the minimum wage – we've got to incentivise people to get off benefits and to get back to work," he said.

"Now, that obviously will cost money ... I think a top rate of tax in this country of around about 40% is the one that will bring the most revenue into the exchequer and I think through the 80s and 90s we saw that."

He argued that bringing in more grammar schools would deal with a "shaming" lack of social mobility in Britain.

Farage plans to launch Ukip's policies in Ed Miliband's Doncaster constituency in the autumn. In a warning to Labour about the party's appeal to disillusioned voters, he stressed that Ukip wanted to "actually genuinely address the cost of living and to progress social mobility".

Labour is partly fighting Ukip in the north by stressing Farage's admiration for Margaret Thatcher. Asked about whether he was trying to bring back Thatcherite policies, Farage said: "That was of its time. Thatcherism was of its time 40 years ago to deal with a specific set of problems. For half the country it benefited them, for the other half the country it didn't."

## G13

### Nigel Farage wants to give voters a greater voice by extending referendums

The Ukip leader said that voters should be able to veto planning decisions, sack bad MPs and challenge council tax rises



Nigel Farage said: 'The political class has got to realise they are public servants and the public are in charge.' Photograph: Carl Court/AFP/Getty Images

**Patrick Wintour**, political editor

Tuesday 24 June 2014 00.01 BST Last modified on Tuesday 26 January 2016 08.10 GMT

[Nigel Farage](#) has said that his party will be an advocate of direct democracy by giving voters the power in a referendum to block local housing, environmental or transport schemes. He also said he wanted voters to be given a more direct say in foreign affairs issues, arguing that Swiss-style referendums can bind countries together.

In his first setpiece speech since his party's successes in the European elections, the Ukip leader also said he supported direct recall, whereby MPs charged with misconduct can be answerable to their voters. The government is introducing a recall mechanism, but critics, including Farage, claim the hurdle before voters can demand a constituency referendum (10% of voters) is too high and is set by MPs themselves.

Addressing [the Institute for Government](#), Farage said "the political class has got to realise they are public servants and the public are in charge" .

He also questioned why wider referendums in the UK have been largely confined to constitutional issues, such as the future of the voting system, relationship with the European Union the creation of national and regional assemblies and whether to have elected mayors. A referendum can also be held if a local authority proposes to increase council tax by more than 3%.

He questioned why electorates can restrain council tax, but "not major planning decisions that can completely change the character and and shape of the environment".

Asked in what circumstances he envisaged a referendum being held, the Ukip leader said people should be able to call a vote "to stop something from happening" to which they objected.

He suggested this could be triggered if 5% of the electorate – about 2.3 million people – signed a petition over a fixed period of time, such as four to six months. He claimed "frivolous causes and ideas won't generate the organisation, media attention or money to secure enough petition signatures within a set time".

There would have to be a "big diversion of views" on a major issue for there to be a referendum, he added, to ensure that a vote was not called frivolously "every Thursday".

He said "I see direct democracy working as a valuable safety net when the political class have got too far out of touch with political opinion.

"By giving people the chance to call a major national referendum or sack a rotten MP, people might feel more empowered and more favourable to government and what they are doing."

On recall, Farage said the "bar would have to be set at the right level" for a byelection to be triggered for a sitting MP to ensure that any process was not "open to abuse".

He admitted direct democracy could lead to risks on policy areas such as nuclear power but, he said, it was a risk worth taking.

Ukip had always been a supporter of small government, he added, arguing that in 1940, when Britain was facing its greatest crisis and at the outset of a long and arduous war, the government had only nine cabinet ministers; the figure now is closer to 30, he said.

Farage also set out ideas to reduce government spending, including simplifying the tax code and reducing the foreign aid budget. He also promised to reform the appointments, funding and powers on quangos. He said arm's length bodies have been used as a way to reward members of the political class.

Such tsars, he said, are ministers' personal choices. "They are drawn from a narrow circle, because ministers choose who they know or know of," he said. "They are not diverse – 85% are male, 98% are white, 71% aged over 50, 38% have titles. Despite the label tsar, officially these people are called advisers, advocates, ambassadors, chairs, champions, commissioners, coordinators, envoys, representatives, reviewers, the most common by far."

He said such people are not subject to democratic scrutiny in either their work or the manner of their appointment.

He also questioned why some non-governmental organisations such as Greenpeace and Oxfam have relationship far too close to government. Decrying what he described as fake charities, he said any charity that received more in government funding than public donations is not a genuine charity, but an arm of the state.

He revealed that he is nervous about involvement of private companies in delivering public services, saying he regarded himself as a traditionalist in terms of the relationship between business and government.

He also said as part of devolution he would like to see English-only days in the House of Commons.



G14

## **Nigel Farage condemns 'massive profiteering' in outsourced services**

Ukip leader says party would look at bringing public services back into the public sector, despite commitment to cuts



Ukip leader Nigel Farage said he was “deeply cynical” about the idea that government outsourcing has led to better value in public services. Photograph: John Stillwell/PA

### **Natalie Gil**

Tuesday 24 June 2014 07.30 BST Last modified on Friday 15 January 2016 03.45 GMT

**Nigel Farage** has criticised the "unhealthy relationship" that has developed between government and big business and said his party would launch a crackdown on the outsourcing of public services to contractors.

The Ukip leader said he was "deeply cynical" about the idea that government outsourcing has led to better value in public services and said instead that many private individuals had benefited from the widespread privatisation of services.

"I now see very large parts of the private sector benefiting directly from jobs we used to think and understand the government did," Farage said in a speech at [the Institute for Government](#) thinktank.

Farage said he disagreed with Tony Blair's idea that public-private partnerships lead to better value for money. "I'm cynical about it," he said. "I begin to think that actually a lot of people have made a very great deal of money." Citing private finance initiative deals in the NHS as evidence that outsourcing "hasn't worked very well", Farage said the whole issue of outsourcing needed to be looked at, adding that he was "deeply questioning" of outsourcing, regardless of whether it was to a quango or to a private organisation.

Farage did not outline how his party intends to reverse existing government policy, which has seen widespread outsourcing as part of cuts to departmental and local

government budgets, while simultaneously promising to make cuts to public spending.

He said only that Ukip's priorities would be to get "better value for money", achieved partly by reducing funding for quangos and NGOs, and by looking at the "size of the Whitehall departments". But he could not reveal which Whitehall departments might be cut.

"Before we commit to abolishing Whitehall departments, we need to think out outsourcing, about how much has gone out to other organisations, massively profiting individuals. There might be an argument that actually we end outsourcing and bring that back within the role of direct government," he said.

Farage acknowledged that Ukip is unlikely to form a government in 2015, but said the party may be able to influence the manifestos of the major parties.

The National Audit Office estimates that total public sector spending on third party goods and services now totals £187bn a year, with £84bn spent by local government, £40bn by central government, £50bn by the NHS and the remainder by devolved and independent public sector bodies. On 17 June, the [committee for standards in public life](#) published a [report](#) calling for the same ethical standards to apply to outsourced public services as for those provided directly by the public sector.

## **Cameron will call for Britain to LEAVE the European Union if he fails in bid to claw powers back from Brussels**

- **Prime Minister insists he is confident he can negotiate a new deal for Britain**
- **Wants action on benefit tourism, the Euro and blocking barmy EU rules**
- **But referendum will go ahead by 2017 whatever the outcome of the talks**
- **Cameron says he will not 'sit on the fence' and would call for UK to leave**

By [MATT CHORLEY, MAILONLINE POLITICAL EDITOR](#)

PUBLISHED: 00:51 GMT, 11 May 2014 | UPDATED: 11:06 GMT, 11 May 2014



Prime Minister David Cameron, pictured arriving at the BBC, said he was confident his plan to renegotiate Britain's EU membership would be successful

David Cameron today signalled he would call for Britain to leave the European Union if Brussels refuses his demands for change.

The Prime Minister said he would not 'sit on the fence' in the in-out referendum he has vowed to hold by the end of 2017, after trying to renegotiate the UK's membership.

But he repeatedly insisted he remains confident his plan to overhaul the EU's powers will be successful.

The PM wants to make it harder for migrants to claim the dole, stop child benefit being sent to families living across the EU, a guarantee that Britain will never be forced to join the Euro and an exemption from the aim of 'ever closer union'.

German Chancellor Angela Merkel and Dutch PM Mark Rutte has suggested they are willing to act on benefits and red-tape.

Mr Cameron said he was increasingly confident that a deal could be reached.

The renegotiation is expected to start soon after the general election in 2015, before a promised in-out referendum before the end of 2017.

But Mr Cameron faced repeated questions about whether he whether he would back leaving the EU if his renegotiation failed.

Asked by the BBC's Andrew Marr if he would give a clear recommendation to the British people to vote yes or no in the referendum, Mr Cameron replied: 'Of course, I am not going to sit on the fence.'

He added: 'We have the referendum whether or not I have successfully negotiated. I think the negotiation will be successful.'

He insisted that he is confident of reaching agreement across to EU for changes which means he could recommend staying in.

'I am tremendously upbeat, bullish and optimistic about what Britain can achieve in terms of our our economy but also our place in Europe.'

Mr Cameron reiterated his pledge that he will not become Prime Minister if he cannot deliver an in-out referendum.

It means that such a vote will be a deal breaker for any future coalition with the Lib Dems. It also suggests Mr Cameron would quit as Tory leader, rather than lead a minority Conservative government.

With less than two weeks to go until the European elections, Mr Cameron set out more of the changes he wants to see in Britain's relationship with Brussels.

He said: 'We are very clear about what we want to achieve. Let's end benefit tourism, let's make sure the single market is properly safeguarded.'

'Let's make sure that Parliaments can get together and block unwelcome proposals from the European Commission.'

'Let's make a series of changes to make Europe more flexible, more competitive. Those are the sorts of things I want to see.'



The Prime Minister was repeatedly challenged by the BBC's Andrew Marr about what he would say at the referendum if his renegotiation fails, something he is confident will not happen

The government has already increased to the three months the time migrants must wait before they can claim benefits after they arrive in the UK.

Mr Cameron said he wanted the limit to be much longer, adding: 'We need to make sure that the freedom to move to work is about just that. It's to go and get a job, it's not to claim.'

He also wants to stop millions of pounds being sent abroad each year in child benefit for children who live elsewhere in the EU.

There are around 24,000 families claiming for 40,000 children, with two-thirds of the children based in Poland.

Mr Cameron said he had not made 'anybody who thinks that is sensible' but admitted that under existing EU rules 'it seems impossible to change that'.

The Prime Minister said he could 'absolutely' give a cast-iron guarantee that the vote would go ahead in 2017 if he is returned to No 10.



Before going head-to-head with the BBC's Andrew Marr, the Prime Minister popped into a nearby Starbucks

But the comment will draw unhelpful comparisons with his last 'cast-iron' promise - to hold a referendum on the Lisbon Treaty - which never happened because the treaty was passed by the EU before Mr Cameron came to power.

Earlier Mr Cameron told sceptics that he 'gets it' after previous plans to offer them a referendum on British membership of the European Union did not materialise.

But the Conservative leader insisted that his party is the only 'credible' option. The Tories face an electoral drubbing on May 22, possibly even pushed into third behind Ukip and Labour.

Ukip leader Nigel Farage has boasted that he will trigger a 'political earthquake' by topping the polls.

Earlier Mr Cameron issued a direct plea to undecided voters to back his plans for Europe in this month's elections - but admits that he understands their doubts over his ability to deliver.



'Pessimist': Mr Cameron seemed to attack politicians like Nigel Farage for being overly negative

Mr Cameron launched attacks on Labour - who are not offering voters a choice on Europe - and said that they are 'flailing around' on the economy. He also hit out at Ukip, characterising them as 'doom-mongers' who are convinced Britain's best days are over.

Writing in the [Sunday Telegraph](#), he said that 'there is only one party with a credible plan in Europe', before reiterating his aim of securing concessions from the EU on immigration, trade, justice and ending the commitment to 'ever closer union'.

Pre-empting doubts over whether he will follow through on his promises, he said: 'If you're reading this thinking "I've heard all this before" - I get it.

'I was watching, too, when Labour made Britain the doormat of Europe and signed British taxpayers up to eurozone bail-out funds. So I understand the scepticism.'

He then boasted of ways the Government had saved taxpayers from paying for bail-outs and a higher EU budget, before repeating his recent promise to resign if the referendum doesn't happen. The

Prime Minister also took an apparent swipe at Mr Farage, mocking his pessimism, although he does not directly name him, with a reference to Dad's Army character Private Frazer.

He said: 'There are politicians who refuse to be upbeat about Britain. To them, pessimism equals patriotism. They insist that our best days are behind us and that everything is bound to get worse.

'Like Private Frazer politicians they're perennially crying out that 'we're all doomed'.'

By contrast, Mr Cameron said that he and his party are 'optimistic' about the future of Britain.

Polling has indicated Nigel Farage's party will come first in the UK's European Parliament results, with the Conservatives pushed into a humiliating third place.

## Liars, turncoats and cowards! Top Tories blast European allies but PM gets a boost in the polls

- Tories take polls lead with 33 per cent support - up five points in a week
- Voters back Cameron's bid to block Jean-Claude Juncker from EU top job
- Ed Miliband's Labour party are on 31 per cent according to the polls
- Senior Tories brand European allies 'liars', 'turncoats' and 'cowards'

By [JAMES CHAPMAN, POLITICAL EDITOR](#)

PUBLISHED: 23:48 GMT, 30 June 2014 | UPDATED: 06:12 GMT, 1 July 2014

The 'Juncker bounce' has propelled the Tories ahead of Labour in the polls, as voters backed David Cameron's bid to block Euro-fanatic Jean-Claude Juncker from the EU's top job.

The Tories have taken the lead with 33 per cent support – up five points in a week and two clear of Ed Miliband's party on 31 per cent, according to yesterday's poll.

Lord Ashcroft, a former Conservative deputy chairman whose polling organisation conducts the weekly survey, said the Prime Minister's outspoken but doomed protest was behind the surge in popularity.



David Cameron was all smiles in the Commons this afternoon after Tory MPs read out the results of the Ashcroft poll showing the Tories ahead of Labour

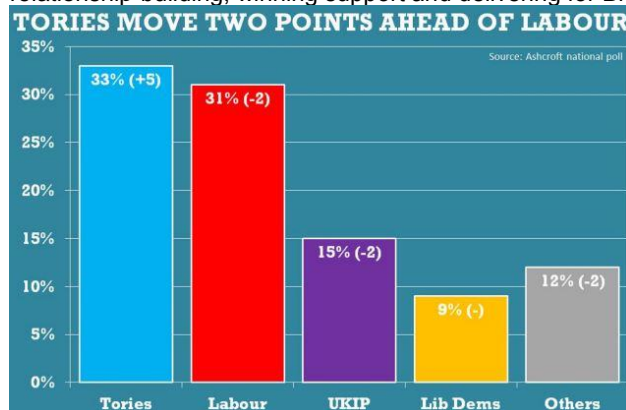
The boost for Mr Cameron came as angry senior Tories branded European allies 'liars', 'turncoats' and 'cowards' for failing to stick to their initial opposition to Mr Juncker, who was installed as European Commission president on Friday.

Mr Cameron came closer to suggesting he would recommend a 'no' vote in a referendum on EU membership if he fails to claw back powers from Brussels before 2017.

'I will always do what's in the national interest,' the Prime Minister told the Commons. He conceded that renegotiating a looser, more trade-based relationship with Brussels would be harder with Mr Juncker at the helm, but insisted he still believed it would be achievable.

Though Labour also opposed Mr Juncker, Mr Miliband said Mr Cameron had demonstrated not 'splendid isolation' but 'utter humiliation' after being out-voted by 26 to 2 on the question of his candidacy.

'You returned to Britain on Friday having failed. Not some mild, small failure, but an appalling failure of relationship-building, winning support and delivering for Britain,' he said.



The Conservatives have jumped to five points ahead of Labour in the latest Lord Ashcroft poll. 1,006 adults were interviewed by telephone between 27 & 29 June 2014



Voters appear to have backed David Cameron's bid to block Euro-fanatic Jean-Claude Juncker, pictured, from the EU's top job

But the Prime Minister branded Mr Miliband 'weak, opportunistic and wrong'.

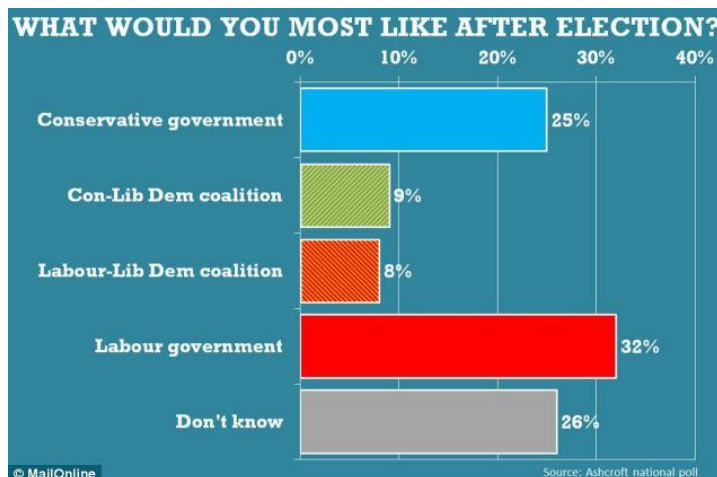
'I have to say I won't take lectures on negotiation from the people who gave away the veto, who gave away the rebate, who backed down on the budget every year, and who even signed us up to euro bailouts,' Mr Cameron said.

He was particularly scathing about Labour's decision to sign away Britain's right to block a candidate for European Commission president in the Nice Treaty of 2001, meaning the issue is now settled by a majority vote.

'I believe the council could have found a candidate who commanded the support of every member state – that has been the practice on every previous occasion and I think it was a mistake to abandon this approach this time,' he said.

'I insisted the European Council took a formal vote, something which doesn't usually happen.

'Facing the prospect of being outvoted, some might have swallowed their misgivings and gone with the flow, but I believe it was important to push the principle and our deep misgivings about this issue right to the end.'



Despite the Conservatives being ahead in the voting intention, 32 per cent want a Labour government against 25 per cent favouring a Tory government in 2015



The Prime Minister branded Mr Miliband 'weak, opportunistic and wrong'

Mr Cameron said it was a 'bad day for Europe' which risked undermining national parliaments, but welcomed the decision to review the process the next time the position becomes vacant. He won strong support from the Tory backbenches.

Former minister Stephen O'Brien said: 'In a previous Battle of Britain, we saw off many Junkers.'

Sir Bill Cash said the Prime Minister had been 'completely right' in his approach to Mr Juncker's appointment.

Tory MP Margot James said Mr Juncker was a 'marked man' after the events of recent days.

Tory MPs shouted 'because they're liars' when Mr Miliband asked why German Chancellor Angela Merkel and other EU leaders who were initially resistant to Mr Juncker's candidacy had changed their minds. Peter Lilley, a Eurosceptic former Cabinet minister who is one of several senior Tories tipped as Britain's next EU commissioner, praised Mr Cameron for 'not turning tail while our so-called allies were turning coats'. Health Secretary Jeremy Hunt attacked the 'cowardice' of 'other leaders who weren't prepared to stand up in public and say the things they had said in private'. Lord Ashcroft said Mr Cameron's approach appeared to have resonated with voters. 'The poll was taken between Friday afternoon and Sunday evening, when political news was dominated by David Cameron's stance against the appointment of the new European Commission president.' A separate ComRes poll commissioned by ITV News found that the proportion of Britons who would vote for the UK to stay in the EU has fallen by four percentage points in a week. The figure has dropped to 36 per cent, while 43 per cent would vote for Britain to leave the EU.

Few voters believe any of the main party leaders come across as 'someone like me', according to a new poll. A ComRes survey found that Ukip leader Nigel Farage was seen as a kindred spirit by only 14 per cent of voters, just ahead of Ed Miliband on 13 per cent, David Cameron on 12 per cent and Nick Clegg on 8 per cent. The Prime Minister is viewed as the most intelligent, statesman-like political leader in Britain, while the Ukip leader is the weirdest and most stupid.



## Brussels is too big and too bossy, Cameron tells EU leaders (including Kinnock's daughter-in-law)

- PM wants to stop Jean-Claude Juncker becoming the next EU President
- Former Luxembourg PM leads the European Parliament's centre right group
- But Cameron said new EU chief needs to scale back Brussels' power

By [DANIEL MARTIN FOR THE DAILY MAIL](#)

PUBLISHED: 16:54 GMT, 27 May 2014 | UPDATED: 23:14 GMT, 27 May 2014

David Cameron last night told the EU it had become 'too big, too bossy and too interfering' as he warned his fellow leaders not to ignore the Eurosceptic surge sweeping the continent. The Prime Minister travelled to Brussels to demand the union be dramatically scaled back in the wake of election results in which millions expressed their disdain for the European project.

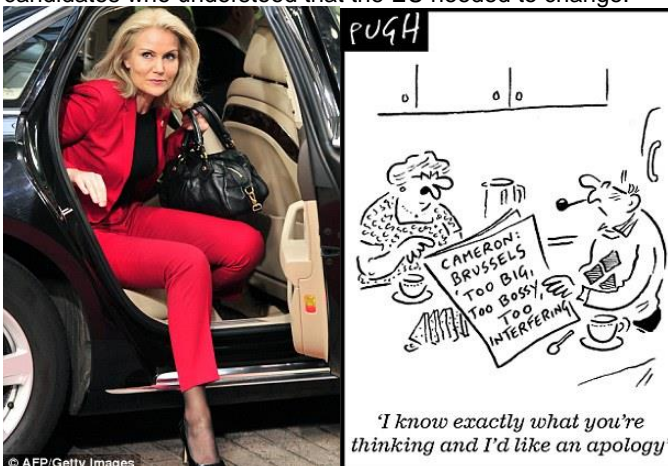
At dinner with the 27 other leaders, he warned them not to 'shrug off' the view of the European people that Brussels should hand back power to national governments. As well as Ukip topping the polls in Britain, anti-EU groups did well in countries from Germany to Greece.



© AFP/Getty Images  
David Cameron spoke to journalists after arriving for tonight's European summit in Brussels

More worryingly, the far-Right National Front took first place in France for the first time. Emboldened by the Eurosceptic surge, Mr Cameron vowed to do all he can to prevent arch-federalist Jean-Claude Juncker from getting the EU's top job, President of the European Commission. Mr Juncker is one of the most vocal supporters in the EU of the federalist dream of a United States of Europe.

Arriving in the Belgian capital after visiting a building site in London, Mr Cameron said he would only support candidates who understood that the EU needed to change.



© AFP/Getty Images  
Dinner: Danish PM Helle Thorning-Schmidt in Brussels

'Europe cannot shrug off these results,' he said. 'We need an approach that recognises that Brussels has got too big, too bossy, too interfering.'

He added: 'It should be nation states wherever possible and Europe only where necessary.' Mr Cameron has pledged an in/out referendum on EU membership by the end of 2017 – after he has renegotiated the return of powers from Brussels.

Many of his backbenchers are concerned that the Ukip surge in the European elections mean he has not gone far enough for voters. Some are calling for a formal pact with Nigel Farage's party for next year's general election.



Nigel Farage was congratulated during a meeting of the leaders of European Parliament political groups in Brussels today

The Prime Minister believes he has built up an alliance of countries in opposition to the old idea of ever-closer European union – and European Parliament results will spook many leaders into joining him.



Mr Cameron said European leaders needed to appoint a new EU President who wanted to scale back Brussels power - not increase it

He spoke to France's President Hollande yesterday morning to urge him to come on board.

Mr Cameron is understood to be emboldened by his TV address on Sunday night, in which he called for the EU to 'reform'.

The Prime Minister also held a phone conversation with German chancellor Angela Merkel. But in a blow to the PM, she yesterday said her party was still supporting Mr Juncker.

He may also seek the support of Danish prime minister Helle Thorning-Schmidt, whose father-in-law is Neil Kinnock, and who famously joined Mr Cameron and Barack Obama for a 'selfie' at Nelson Mandela's funeral.

She may be moved by the strong showing of the far-Right Danish People's Party in the European elections, as they won 27 per cent of the vote and doubled their number of MEPs.

Mr Juncker is the candidate of the European People's Party.

The present President of the European Commission, Jose Manuel Barroso, will step down towards the end of the year.

The decision of who will succeed him is likely to be put off until late June.

Douglas Alexander, Labour's foreign affairs spokesman, said: 'Mr Cameron seems either unwilling or unable to set out what changes he wants to see at an EU level.'

## Newark win is blueprint for beating Ukip, boast Tories: David Cameron told to stick to 'optimistic' message after by-election win

- Speech by Tory minister today will support strategy of focusing on economy
- Conservative Robert Jenrick won Newark seat with a majority of 7,403
- He saw off Ukip candidate Roger Helmer, who came second

By DANIEL MARTIN FOR THE DAILY MAIL

PUBLISHED: 00:21 GMT, 7 June 2014 | UPDATED: 12:48 GMT, 7 June 2014



© Getty Images  
Stay optimistic: David Cameron will be told to resist copying Ukip, in light of a Conservative triumph in the Newark by-election

David Cameron will today be told to stick to an 'optimistic' message and resist becoming 'Ukip-lite' after his party successfully defended a by-election seat for the first time in 25 years.

Conservative candidate Robert Jenrick held off the threat of a Ukip 'earthquake', winning Newark with a reduced majority of 7,403.

It was the first time the Tories have successfully defended a seat in a by-election since William Hague won in Richmond, Yorkshire, in 1989.

Ukip's candidate Roger Helmer surged from a distant fourth in 2010 to second, but with 25 per cent of the vote he failed in his party's aim of reaching 30 per cent.

Mr Helmer admitted yesterday that the failure of 'box office' party leader Nigel Farage to campaign hard in the Nottinghamshire constituency may have impacted on the result – less than a fortnight after Ukip topped the European elections poll.

Today a senior Tory minister will claim the campaign tactic of concentrating on the 'long-term economic plan' had been the right one.

In a speech entitled Reasons to be Cheerful, Home Office minister Damian Green will say: 'What Newark tells us is that the temptation to become Ukip-lite should be firmly resisted.'

'The political battle of our times is between optimists and pessimists. Conservatives should be optimists believing that free markets and a strong society are the basis for a successful country in this century.'

Ukip's rise in support pushed Labour into third place, while Lib Dem support was obliterated – leaving their candidate trailing in sixth place. Ed Miliband's party saw its vote share fall – a disappointing result less than a year from a general election in a constituency the party won during Tony Blair's first landslide in 1997.

In a sign of the depth of concern in the Tory camp over the possibility of losing, the Prime Minister hit the campaign trail in Newark four times.



© Getty Images  
Victory: Robert Jenrick, centre, was elected MP for Newark in Nottinghamshire, beating Ukip's Roger Helmer, left

Mr Farage accused the Tories of running a 'nasty' campaign, but insisted his party had still achieved one of its best by-election results.

'I think there'll be an awful lot of Conservatives with a majority of less than 10,000 who will look upon this result in sheer horror,' he said. 'For Ukip, it's still a good night's work.'

Experts said that Newark – together with the recent local and European elections – provided no evidence that Labour was on track to win an overall majority next May.

John Curtice, professor of politics at Strathclyde University, said: 'Labour do not have the enthusiasm and depth of support in the electorate that make them look like an alternative government.'

'It is not the sign of a party making progress, but a party which seems to be in retreat, and now retreating so far that if it goes any further there will be question marks about its ability to win the next election.'

Nick Clegg's Lib Dems garnered just 1,004 votes and 2.6 per cent of the vote – bad enough for it to lose its deposit for the ninth by-election since joining the Coalition.

Mr Cameron said: 'We need to work between now and the election to say very clearly we have got a long-term plan, we are getting Britain back to work, we are cutting people's taxes, we are helping hard-working people. The job isn't finished yet but we are on the right track, let's stick at it.'

## How the parties fared in by-election battle

**CONSERVATIVE:** Although the Tories' share fell by about 9 per cent, the 7,403 majority is a relief for David Cameron, who believes he's slowed Ukip's momentum after its Euro elections surge.

**LABOUR:** Third place will raise questions over whether Ed Mil-

iband can get the seats he needs outside Labour's urban heartlands. Labour won Newark in the 1997 election with 23,000 votes. This time it polled under 7,000.

**UKIP:** Nigel Farage boasted he had halved the Tory majority and claimed the result would fill Tory MPs in marginals with

'sheer horror'. But it is less than a triumph for a party which hoped to use its Euro success as a springboard to Westminster.

**LIB DEMS:** Catastrophe. Polled 2.5 per cent of the vote and finished sixth behind the Greens and a local hospital campaigner.

As his party suffered in Newark, Mr Clegg looked like he hadn't a care in the world as he fooled around for the cameras at a book launch for Lord Ashdown.



Goofy: Nick Clegg leaves Paddy Ashdown's book launch in Piccadilly, Central London

## **Cameron under pressure to strike deal with Ukip as jubilant Farage boasts he's heading for Euro triumph**

- **PM: 'We don't do pacts and deals. We are fighting all out for an all-out win at the next election'**
- **Ukip leader: 'We've certainly seen a few tremors today'**
- **Three Tory MPs repeat call for the two parties to come to national agreement under which candidates would not fight each other at next year's general election.**
- **Exclusive poll by Lord Ashcroft showed Mr Farage faces an uphill struggle to hold on to support in next year's general election**

By [DANIEL MARTIN FOR THE DAILY MAIL](#) and [JAMES CHAPMAN FOR THE DAILY MAIL](#)  
PUBLISHED: 21:58 GMT, 23 May 2014 | UPDATED: 07:17 GMT, 24 May 2014

No pacts or deals will be done with Ukip, David Cameron told his backbenchers yesterday.

Nigel Farage's showing in Thursday's local elections prompted three Tory MPs to repeat their call for the two parties to come to a national agreement under which candidates would not fight each other at next year's general election.

But the Prime Minister said: 'We are the Conservative party. We don't do pacts and deals. We are fighting all out for an all-out win at the next election.'

'I'm confident that in spite of the difficulties, this is a base from which we can go forward and win.'

With results showing scores of council seats falling to Ukip from Labour in the North and the Tories in the South, Mr Farage declared: 'The Ukip fox is in the Westminster henhouse.'

He said the results showed Ukip was on course to top the poll in European Parliament election results and to seize its first seats at Westminster next year.

Asked if he had delivered the promised political 'earthquake', the Ukip leader said: 'We've certainly seen a few tremors today.'

He said he would 'stick his neck out' and predict his party would triumph in the European elections, results of which are due tomorrow night.

However, an exclusive poll showed Mr Farage faces an uphill struggle to hold on to support in next year's general election



No pacts or deals will be done with Ukip, David Cameron told his backbenchers yesterday. Nigel Farage's showing in the local elections prompted three Tory MPs to repeat their call for the two parties to come to a national agreement under which candidates would not fight each other at next year's general election

The poll by former Tory deputy chairman Lord Ashcroft, now a leading pollster, suggested significant numbers of those who voted Ukip this week are already planning to vote for other parties next year.

Only 52 per cent of those who voted Ukip in the European elections say they will probably vote for the party again at the 2015 election. Over a fifth – 21 per cent – already say they will vote Tory, 11 per cent Labour, and 14 per cent say they do not know what they will do.

The survey of 4,000 voters found that 66 per cent of Ukip voters – plus 32 per cent of Lib Dems and 8 per cent of Labour supporters – think Mr Cameron would make the best prime minister of the three main party leaders.

And 69 per cent of Ukip voters most trust Mr Cameron and George Osborne on the economy, with only 31 per cent backing Ed Miliband and Ed Balls.



Ukip leader Nigel Farage clutches a bottle of wine as he is mobbed by supporters and the media as he met new councillors in South Ockendon. However, an exclusive poll by Lord Ashcroft showed Mr Farage faces an uphill struggle to hold on to support in next year's general election



Ukip's success in taking thousands of votes from the mainstream parties has increased Conservative jitters about their chances of winning an overall majority in 2015

Nevertheless, Ukip's success in taking thousands of votes from the mainstream parties has increased Conservative jitters about their chances of winning an overall majority in 2015.

Yesterday, Conservative backbenchers Jacob Rees-Mogg, Peter Bone and Douglas Carswell said Mr Cameron could only win in 2015 if candidates were allowed to stand on a Tory/Ukip ticket.

Mr Carswell, an MP in Essex where Ukip performed strongly on Thursday, said: 'We need a pact with Ukip. If David Cameron is as serious about an in/out vote in 2017 as he says he is, and if Nigel Farage is as serious about an exit as he claims, the two of them need to do a deal.

'The law already allows joint candidates. We have a list of MPs on both sides of the House who in October 2011 showed that they are serious about securing an EU referendum.

'If the alternative is Ed Miliband as prime minister, and no chance of a referendum, surely a pact is worth considering?'

Mr Farage is unlikely to agree to a pact. Yesterday he said: 'I think Mr Cameron views Ukip as being members of the lower orders. We really are not worthy even to be in the room with him.

'So I think the idea of any deal happening whilst he's leader, is unlikely, but I'm also not sure that it's desirable.'

That is despite him saying earlier this week that he might 'do a deal with the devil'.

Ukip will put more pressure on the Tories next month in the Newark by-election where Mr Farage's party is expected to perform strongly.

New electoral rules mean it is possible for candidates to ally themselves with more than one party on a ballot paper.

The Conservative leadership points out that any pre-election deal with Ukip would be completely different from the Coalition with the Liberal Democrats.

That was agreed only after the votes had been counted in an election. No deal was agreed before.

That last happened nationally in 1983 and 1987, when the Liberal Party and the SDP put up joint Alliance candidates.

In 2010, the Conservatives and the Ulster Unionists also decided not to stand against each other.

Mr Rees-Mogg said he feared the two parties, standing separately, could split the centre-right vote in 2015. 'In a first-past-the-post system, if they don't get those votes into one pot, then both those sides end up losing,' he said. But Tory leaders believe that if they agreed to joint Ukip tickets, it would give Mr Farage too much power over their candidates.

Conservative chairman Grant Shapps said there was 'no question' of this happening. 'We are not going to have pacts or joint candidates,' he said. 'It can't happen on a technical basis because we do not allow joint candidates to stand.'

'We are a single party, no other party would have joint candidates. It is not going to happen.'

'We are the Conservative party. We are the best chance of offering an in/out referendum.'

Michael Fabricant, a recently-sacked Tory backbencher who first called for Tory/Ukip pacts two years ago, tweeted: 'Much talk in the press about a pact with Ukip. I no longer think it possible.'

Education Secretary Michael Gove said: 'I don't believe that what we need to do is to have a pact, absolutely not. 'If you try to have an arrangement whereby you say to any political leader, "I'll parcel up my votes and you parcel up your votes, and let's trade them in some private transaction", politics doesn't work like that. And it shouldn't.'



Mr Farage is unlikely to agree to a pact. Yesterday he said: 'I think Mr Cameron views Ukip as being members of the lower orders. We really are not worthy even to be in the room with him'

Lord Tebbit, who told Tories to vote Ukip if it meant keeping out a Labour candidate, said: 'I'm not against local arrangements, but an overall electoral pact is not on.'

Mr Cameron said he shared the 'frustration' of voters who have had delivered a message to the main political parties by backing Ukip.

'We've got to really deliver on issues that are frustrating people and frustrating me like welfare reform, immigration and making sure that people really benefit from this recovery,' the Prime Minister said.

Mr Farage, who is expected to stand as an MP in a Kent constituency, added: 'There are areas of the country where we have now got an imprint in local government. Under the first-past-the-post system we are serious players.'

The Ukip leader said he would soon choose a seat to fight in next year's general election, adding: 'It will be south of the river.'

There is growing speculation that he is to target the seat of South Thanet, where the Tory MP, Laura Sandys, is standing down.

Experts said that at least in local and European elections, Ukip had emerged as a fourth national force that was capable of inflicting serious damage on all three other parties.

But despite its gains, and startling advances in many northern Labour strongholds, Ukip does not yet control any local authorities – and scored 17 per cent of the votes cast in Thursday's local elections, a six point slump compared with its performance last year.

However, its impact was noticeable in traditionally Tory Essex and some working-class Labour areas.

Mr Farage declared himself an 'honorary Essex man' on a trip to the county, where Ukip made some of its most striking advances.

Ukip has scooped up 12 council seats in Basildon, five in Castle Point, five in Southend and six in Thurrock. Four councils in Essex – Basildon, Brentwood, Castle Point and Southend – swung from the Conservatives to no overall control.

Another Ukip surge was seen in Rotherham, once a Labour stronghold, where it won ten seats. It made substantial gains in Sunderland and in North East Lincolnshire.

Ukip gains cost the Tories control in Maidstone and Peterborough, while Labour lost control of Thurrock and Great Yarmouth and Lib Dems were ousted from Portsmouth after Ukip won seats.

Professor Colin Rallings, an elections expert at the Plymouth School of Government, said Ukip's breakthrough was the 'most significant trend in politics for 30 years' since the Social Democratic

Party was formed by a breakaway group from Labour.

'Now we have a four-party situation and in that respect Mr Farage is absolutely right,' he said. 'It makes it very uncertain how the pattern of party loyalties will play out.'

## LDMi1

### Ed Miliband 'on course to be Prime Minister' after big gains in marginal seats, says poll

- 10:27, 25 MAY 2014
- **UPDATED** 10:56, 25 MAY 2014
- **BY** [VINCENT MOSS](#) , [BEN GLAZE](#)

A survey by Conservative peer Lord Ashcroft suggests Labour could oust 83 Tory MPs at next year's general election, and win a 70-seat majority in the Commons



Ed Miliband smiles after voting in the local council and European elections

Ed Miliband is on course to be PM after snatching a huge lead in key marginal seats, according to a poll 26,000 voters by a Tory peer.

The survey by former Conservative vice-chairman Lord Ashcroft comes ahead of a fresh drubbing today for David Cameron as [the Euro election results](#) are revealed.

If the results are repeated at next May's general election, Labour will oust 83 Tory MPs and win a crushing 70-seat majority in the House of Commons.

The findings come after Labour leader Mr Miliband faced criticism from some of his MPs over [Thursday's local election results](#) – even though [the party gained at least 338 councillors](#) and Tories and Lib Dem losses totalled more than 530.

In the survey of voters in 26 key seats, Lord Ashcroft's poll revealed an overall 6.5 per cent swing away from the Tories to Labour.

Voters in those crucial battlegrounds put Labour on 41 per cent, giving them a comfortable 12-point lead over the Tories on 29 per cent with UKIP on 18 per cent and the Lib Dems trailing on just 8 per cent. When people were asked how they would vote in a general election tomorrow, Labour's lead fell slightly to ten points.



<b>CONSERVATIVE-LABOUR BATTLEGROUND</b>					
26 KEY SEATS	Con/Lab Lead	Con/Lab Swing	UKIP %	Implied result	
Amber Valley	14%	8%	16%	Labour gain	
Broxtowe	14%	7.5%	13%	Labour gain	
Cardiff North	7%	4%	8%	Labour gain	
Hendon	8%	4%	11%	Labour gain	
Great Yarmouth	2%	6%	28%	Labour gain	
Lancaster & Fleetwood	14%	7.5%	12%	Labour gain	
Morecambe & Lunesdale	2%	2%	13%	Labour gain	
North Warwickshire	8%	4%	15%	Labour gain	
Thanet South	-1%	8%	27%	Conservative hold	
Thurrock	10%	5%	29%	Labour gain	
Sherwood	12%	6%	19%	Labour gain	
Stockton South	7%	4%	12%	Labour gain	
Waveney	11%	6%	18%	Labour gain	
Wolverhampton South West	13%	7.5%	14%	Labour gain	

The findings will intensify the pressure from worried Tory MPs on Mr Cameron to form a pact with UKIP to stem the tide of Tory defections and help them save their seats. But that idea was ruled out by Chancellor George Osborne yesterday. He told Tory activists in London he respected Nigel Farage but the UKIP leader did not have “answers to the country’s future”.

Tories will be rattled by the poll, which found Labour are set to win or hold 25 of the 26 seats in the general election next year.

The Tories are only predicted to cling on to Thanet South – but UKIP is targeting the seat amid speculation Mr Farage will stand there in his bid to swap his seat as an MEP in Brussels for one in Westminster.

Despite its gain of more than 160 council seats this week, the party’s support in the poll ranged from just 3 per cent in London’s Hampstead and Kilburn to 30 per cent in Walsall North. UKIP came second in four seats including Thurrock, a key battleground which Mr Miliband will visit on Tuesday after Labour lost control of the council there in Thursday’s poll.

Just 29 per cent of those quizzed said they were satisfied with the job that Mr Cameron was doing as PM – the same figure as those who would prefer Mr Miliband in Number 10.

Bolton West	13%	6%	17%	Labour hold
Birmingham Edgbaston	11%	4%	13%	Labour hold
Derby North	21%	10%	17%	Labour hold
Dudley North	16%	7%	27%	Labour hold
Halifax	17%	7%	18%	Labour hold
Hampstead & Kilburn	11%	5.5%	3%	Labour hold
Great Grimsby	17%	7.5%	26%	Labour hold
Morley & Outwood	17%	7%	20%	Labour hold
Southampton Itchen	8%	3.5%	20%	Labour hold
Telford	17%	7%	24%	Labour hold
Walsall North	16%	6.5%	30%	Labour hold
Wirral South	16%	7.5%	15%	Labour hold
<b>ACROSS BATTLEGROUND</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>6.5%</b>	<b>18%</b>	

Labour's lead ranged from 2 per cent to 14 per cent in the survey of Labour's 12 most marginal seats, the Tories' 12 most marginal seats and two where UKIP is expected to do well.

The poll found that 13 per cent of Labour's support came from people who had voted Lib Dem in 2010. The poll put Nick Clegg's party's share of the vote down more than half on 2010. Just over half (56 per cent) of those quizzed, including 51 per cent of Labour voters, thought the economy would do well next year.

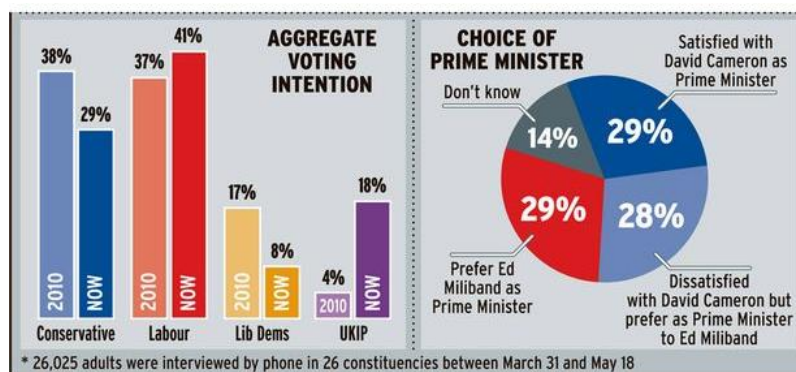
It found 35 per cent wanted to see a Labour government after the next election, compared with 25 per cent who would prefer a Tory administration.

Lord Ashcroft told the Sunday Mirror: "Everyone has been blindsided by UKIP. Everyone has underestimated the disconnect and mistrust of politicians. Our poll showed 30 per cent of those who voted for UKIP didn't vote at all in 2010. That is a killer."

But Mr Farage will struggle to keep his support, said Lord Ashcroft. He added: "It's like having a vote for the Eurovision song contest – it doesn't matter too much. Now he's got those voters, he's got to say, 'How do I keep them?'"

The peer said of his poll: "The message is clear – even though people are optimistic about the economy and prefer David Cameron to Ed Miliband, Labour are still ahead in the marginal seats where it matters."

Labour's election strategy chief Douglas Alexander said: "Lord Ashcroft's poll confirms we are making real progress in seats where we need to do well and Labour can win next year's general election."



But Labour faced the threat of fresh infighting after former deputy chairman Tom Watson took a swipe at deputy leader Harriet Harman.

Ms Harman and her allies are believed to be behind reports that members of the Shadow Cabinet, including her, had been excluded from key roles in Labour's election campaign.

Referring to BBC1's Andrew Marr show, Mr Watson tweeted: "Looking at the results, there is plenty of encouraging news for Harriet Harman to share on tomorrow's Marr after her two-day mini-break."

Labour's strategy came under fire from some members of the party for failing to tackle UKIP.

A senior MP said: "Labour cannot just ignore Farage."

Mr Osborne said the Tories would also listen to UKIP voters. He said: "We have to listen to their anger and their anxiety."

The final council results are out today.

## LDMi2

### Labour will raise minimum wage: Ed Miliband's pledge to 'significantly' boost pay

- 23:51, 18 MAY 2014
- **UPDATED** 23:51, 18 MAY 2014
- **BY** [STEVE ROBSON](#)

The Labour leader will promise to link the minimum wage to average earnings for the first time



Promise: Ed Miliband wants to end the the 'scandal' of low pay

[Labour](#) will move to end the “scandal” of low pay for millions with a landmark pledge to boost the minimum wage.

[Ed Miliband](#) will promise to “significantly increase” the rate after the election by linking it to average earnings for the first time.

Figures show the number of workers on low pay soared from 3.4 million to 5.2 million under the Coalition.

Mr Miliband will say in a speech tomorrow: “There is a scandal of low pay in David Cameron’s Britain. It is wrong – and only Labour will tackle it.”

The minimum wage will go up to £6.50 later this year – a rise unions blasted as “pitiful”.

Even at its new level, the minimum wage remains little more than half the average hourly earnings of £12.93.

Labour will change the law so the lowest rate would always be a set proportion of average pay – and much higher than the current 50.3%.

Mr Miliband will add: “It is time to raise our sights.

“The next Labour government will restore the link between hard work and building a decent life for your family.”

The party has yet to make clear at what level it plans to set the new minimum wage.

But at 60%, it would boost hourly pay to £7.76 – above the level of the “living wage”, which charities say is the least people need.

Mr Miliband will tell businesses they will have time to prepare for the new rate, which will be revealed closer to next year’s general election and be brought in over five years.

Labour pointed to leading firms who already gave their lowest-paid staff the living wage – currently set at £7.65 per hour outside London.

Barclays boss Antony Jenkins said “It improves staff recruitment, retention and productivity.”

Labour may also give the taxman extra powers to crack down on companies that fail to offer holiday pay.

And it could pledge to offer contracts for major government projects only to firms that pay the living wage.

Mr Miliband’s adviser on low pay Alan Buckle will publish his full report on the new policies this morning.

Shadow Home Secretary Yvette Cooper will today attack the Tories for failing to deal with the fall-out of immigration. She will call for reforms to stop agencies and employers keeping wages down with cheap overseas labour.

LDMi3

## Mirror Election Poll: Ed Miliband is just a single point ahead of the Tories

- 22:12, 6 MAY 2014
- **UPDATED** 22:45, 6 MAY 2014
- **BY** JAMES LYONS

One year to go until the election and almost half of those polled think David Cameron is a bad prime minister - but the Labour lead may be slowly slipping



Election race: Ed Miliband, David Cameron, Nigel Farage and Nick Clegg

Exactly one year before the next general election Ed Miliband is just a single point ahead of the Tories, an exclusive poll reveals today.

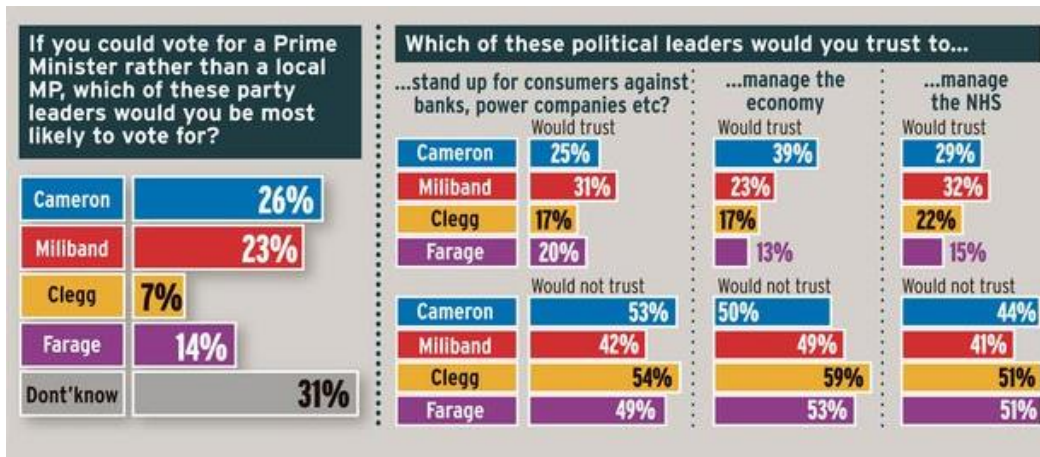
Voters will be asked to choose between David Cameron and the Labour leader on [May 7, 2015](#), but the challenge facing Mr Miliband and his party over the next 12 months is laid bare by the figures.

In the exclusive survey for the Daily Mirror and Good Morning Britain, pollsters Survation found most voters still feel hard up and many do not think Mr Cameron is doing a good job.

But even fewer can yet see the Labour chief running the country.

The danger for Mr Miliband comes if the recent Tory mini-surge continues. Asked who they would put in power now, 34% say Labour, down two points on last month, while the Tories are up five points to 33%.

Ukip are on 18% and the Lib Dems on 8%, both also down two points.



Mr Miliband said yesterday: "We know it is going to be a tough year, but I'm relishing it in terms of the fight and the big argument about the country." He also claimed he had a sharper idea of how to run the country than David Cameron. He added: "I feel I'm the one with more intellectual self-confidence."

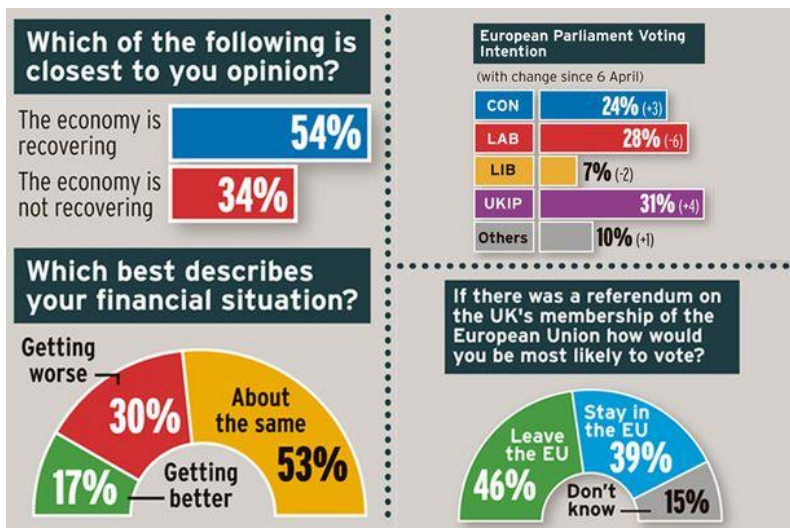
The electoral system means that even a one-point lead can deliver Mr Miliband a decent Commons majority.

The way the political map is drawn means Tories pile up votes in fewer constituencies, while Labour's supporters are more spread out. And experts say this gives Labour a six-point poll advantage.

The Labour leader must convince voters he is up to the top job and can turn their lives around. Almost half, 48%, say David Cameron is a bad Prime Minister – including 26% of those who voted Conservative last time. Only 31% say he is doing well.

But just one in five thinks Mr Miliband would be a good PM and 51% disagree, including 19% of Labour supporters.

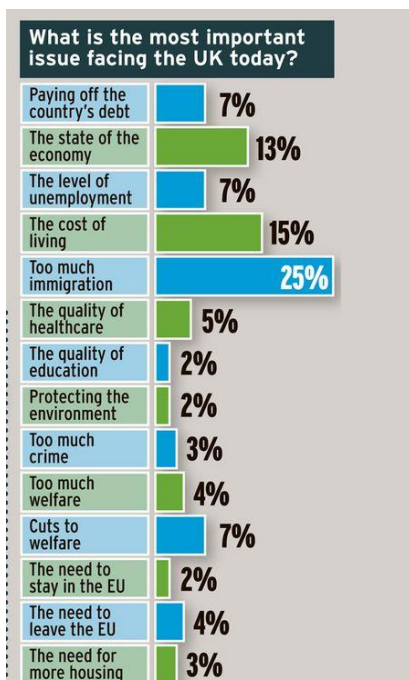
Almost a third, 31%, don't know who they would back, so it's all to play for. Survation boss Damian Lyons Lowe said: "Conservative supporters may feel optimistic about our poll today – being just one point behind Labour for Westminster with only 12 months to go."



But Mr Miliband has struck a nerve with his attack on the Tory cost-of-living crisis. More than four out of five feel left behind by the economic recovery.

When it comes to issues affecting the way people vote, the economy is most important – 78% say it will have an impact, 54% think it’s improving and 34% say it’s not. [The date of the next election](#) was written into law when the Coalition brought in fixed term, five-year Parliaments after the last election. But before then, the Euro election results could be another influence.

Our poll shows 15% of “don’t knows” on EU membership could decide that.



In the meantime, David Cameron today pledges a “clear, consistent and unrelenting” message on the economy. He said: “The Conservatives are the ones with the long-term



economic plan that is working. If we want to continue this Great British revival and keep on turning our country around, we've got to keep working through this plan.”

Mr Cameron is the leader most trusted on the economy, on 39%, compared to 23% favouring Mr Miliband.

Mr Lyons Lowe said the Labour leader must press his advantage on living standards in his fight for Downing Street.

He said: “The economy was what most people said would affect their vote.

“But that is not all good news for the Conservatives. Only 17% of the public say things are getting better financially for them and their family, while 30% say things are getting worse.

“That economic growth is not filtering through to household budgets is a challenge for the Tories.

“And it’s an opportunity for Ed Miliband to press ahead with his focus on policies targeting the cost of living.”

- Survation polled 1,005 UK adults between May 2 and 3, weighted by age, sex, region, household income, education and voting history.

## LDMi4

### Labour to toughen up on UKIP after surpassing expectations in local elections

- 06:00, 24 MAY 2014
- **BY** [PAUL ROUTLEDGE](#)

Mirror columnist Paul Routledge says the main opposition party are the real winners from the council elections, not Nigel Farage's lot



Performed well: Labour leader Miliband

Nick Clegg and David Cameron must be muttering under their breath the immortal words of a failed American politician: “The people have spoken – the bastards!”

With more than two thirds of the votes counted, Ed Miliband has exceeded [Labour’s target](#), winning 186 new seats against losses of 159 for the Tories and 169 for the Lib Dems.

He’s won five new councils – Cambridge, three big London boroughs, Crawley in Sussex and Amber Valley in the East Midlands – and lost only one, Thurrock in Essex to no overall control.

Nick Clegg has been forced to deny that his leadership is on the line, insisting to the TV cameras “I will not resign”.

The voters have resigned on him.

Commentators are raving about the performance of [Nigel Farage’s](#) UKIP, claiming an “earthquake” in the political landscape.

Arguably, it’s not even a tremor.



Let's look at the figures. UKIP has done well in some places, picking up 122 seats, more than expected, but only a tenth of the number won by Labour and Farage controls no councils.

The gains from Labour are largely in penny packets: one in Hull, another in Sheffield, four in NE Lincs.

And UKIP's performance in London is dismal. Farage explains away this failure with the lame excuse that his party isn't as organised in the capital.

Others say savvy metropolitan voters have seen through his superficial beer 'n' fags appeal.

Labour's election strategist Michael Dugher MP predicts the party is doing well in the 106 marginal parliamentary constituencies it needs to win to regain power, on course "to put Ed Miliband in Downing Street" next May.

But Shadow Chancellor Ed Balls says the results "are not yet good enough" and the inquest has already begun.

John Mann MP warns that failure to go on the offensive against UKIP was "a dangerous, misguided strategy".

With UKIP regularly polling 25 per cent of the vote outside London, and tipped to come first in election for the European Parliament, Labour is likely to take a tougher line against "Faragemania" in coming months.

## LDMi5

### Top Ed Miliband adviser defects to Lib Dems after describing Labour leader as "really weak"

- 22:30, 19 JUN 2014
- **BY JAMES LYONS**

Phil Taylor delivered a crushing blow to Mr Miliband after his poll ratings slumped following recent blunders including posing with a copy of the Sun



Not happy: Labour Party leader Ed Miliband was mocked by former aide Phil Taylor

A key adviser who helped Ed Miliband become [Labour leader](#) has quit the party and switched to the Liberal Democrats.

Phil Taylor was among the handful of trusted lieutenants who masterminded Mr Miliband's victory over his brother David in their battle for [the top job](#).

But Mr Taylor has poured scorn on his old boss since defecting to [Nick Clegg's party](#).

He has savaged Labour over the economy, Europe and knife crime while mocking Mr Miliband over recent gaffes, branding him "really weak" and apparently questioning his opposition to the Iraq war.

No chance Ed M actually believes this nonsense in private, but terrified of 'soft on crime' label

- really weak <https://t.co/hH7IdUUa8q>

— *Phil Taylor (@PhilTaylor\_)* [June 16, 2014](#)

News of his defection comes after the Labour chief's personal poll ratings slumped in the wake of his blunders including posing with a copy of the Sun.

Party grandee Peter Mandelson refused to endorse him as Labour's best choice for leader in a TV interview.

And the former Cabinet minister said: "I think that he has confused the party's message on business."

Mr Miliband said that Labour faced “historical odds” to kick the Tories out in one term when he launched plans to cut benefits for young people who will not work yesterday.

But he declared: “We are in a position to defy those odds.”

The Labour chief added: “Millions of people feel that no political party speaks for them. That’s what I’m determined to turn around.”



Controversy: Ed Miliband with a copy of The Sun

Turncoat aide Phil Taylor was his speech writer during the knife-edge leadership contest and even stayed over at his north London home.

Mr Taylor had served as a special adviser to Peter Hain when the veteran Labour MP held a string of Cabinet jobs.

He remained a shadow Cabinet political adviser after leaving Mr Miliband’s office was still on the party payroll until three months ago.

But he turned on Labour after leaving and joined the Lib Dems a month ago after praising Nick Clegg for taking on UKIP leader Nigel Farage in TV European election debates.

Her attacked Labour’s economic plans in a series of tweets accusing them of “fiddling” a cap on borrowing by exempting “capital” investment in infrastructure.

“Labour’s view still that absolutely anything with label ‘capital’ slapped on must be so economically beneficial it justifies more borrowing,” he said.

He retweeted a doctored photo of Mr Miliband eating a bacon sandwich and savaged Labour’s performance at the local and European elections and the Newark by-election.

Mr Taylor also repeatedly attacked his old party for supporting backbench Tory plans to automatically jail people caught carrying a knife for a second time.

“No chance Ed M actually believes this nonsense in private, but terrified of ‘soft on crime’ label - really weak,” he said.

He also retweeted polls suggesting voters want Mr Miliband to quit and claimed the party was “panicking” over their ratings.

And he even appeared to question Mr Miliband’s opposition to the Iraq

He retweeted a message from the New Statesman saying “Iraq inquiry is an opportunity for Miliband” and added “> or those who actually publicly opposed war at the time?”.

Mr Taylor and the Labour party declined to comment last night.

CDT1

## Tories face coming third behind Ukip in Euro poll

**Senior Conservatives are convinced Ukip will beat them at next month's European elections and fear Nigel Farage's party will damage their chances of a Commons majority in 2015**



Nigel Farage, Ukip leader Photo: Clara Molden for the Telegraph

By [Tim Ross](#), Political Correspondent  
10:00PM BST 12 Apr 2014

Downing Street is braced for a “disastrous” European election in the wake of the Maria Miller expenses scandal as a new summary of the opinion polls suggest the Tories will fall to third place.

Conservative sources privately concede that David Cameron has all but given up hope of beating the [UK Independence Party](#) when voters go to the polls next month to elect Members of the European Parliament.

Political parties often attempt to downplay their election chances as part of an ‘expectation management’ strategy that enables them to claim a kind of victory when the result is not as bad as feared.

However, even allowing for this, as analysis of the latest opinion polls puts the Tories in third place, on just 23 per cent, behind Labour and Ukip, despite the Prime Minister’s radical promise to hold a referendum on Britain’s EU membership.

Privately, Tory sources are resigned to the fact that the May 22 elections will be “very tough” for the party. One Downing St source confided: “It’s going to be a disaster. Ukip will probably win.”

Senior figures fear the Prime Minister’s handling of the furore over Mrs Miller’s expenses, which led her to resign as culture secretary last week, has been “damaging” the party. They believe the controversy will make the task for next month’s election even harder.

“Miller should have gone straight away,” one figure close to Number 10 said.

While Ukip is almost certain to beat the Tories in the European elections, Conservatives fear the gravest threat the party poses is to their hopes of winning a Westminster majority at next year's General Election.

Tory strategists regard Ukip as the biggest hurdle to winning a Commons majority in 2015 and are attempting to win back voters with a series of hardline policies on EU reform and immigration.

Polls indicate that the high levels of support for [Nigel Farage](#), the Ukip leader, among disaffected former Tory voters will be enough to deny the Conservatives victory in many critical marginal constituencies next year, with Labour the chief beneficiary.

Seventy-three MEPs will be elected for the 12 regions of the UK on May 22.

There are also elections taking place in 161 local authorities in England on the same day.

Professor John Curtice, from the University of Strathclyde, analysed the five most recent opinion polls to gauge voters' intentions for the European elections in May.

His "poll of polls" makes bleak reading for both Coalition parties, with the Conservatives on 23 per cent of the vote, in third place, and the Liberal Democrats on nine per cent.

However, Ukip are on 28 per cent on average, in second place, just three points behind Labour on 31 per cent of the vote.

Professor Curtice said there was still time for Ukip to top the poll, if Mr Farage has "a good month" of campaigning and Labour continues to be "uninspiring".

But regardless of the European election results, the prognosis for Tory hopes of winning a Commons majority at next year's general election is grim.

Prof Curtice said the rise of Ukip would make their task "desperately tough".

"There is no doubt that David Cameron's most immediate problem is Ukip," he said.

"Ukip does take votes from everybody but it is taking disproportionately from the Tories."

Part of Mr Farage's appeal is as an anti-establishment party, he said, giving voters the chance to say "a plague on all your houses" to the main Westminster parties.

"It's a little but unfortunate that a revival of the expenses scandal should occur just before the start of the European election campaign," Prof Curtice added.

"If the polls are to be believed, Ukip have got a pretty good chance of beating the Tories."

"For the Tories, the thing to worry about is not that Ukip are going to win seats in next year's Westminster election.



“But if Ukip are still running at six, seven or eight per cent for the Westminster election, which seems to me to be quite conceivable, it is going to come disproportionately from people who certainly were Tory in the past.

“It is not going to make the task of winning an overall majority - which in truth is incredibly difficult for the Tories anyway - any easier.”

One Conservative official claimed that the European election result would not matter because a poor showing was already “factored into the share price”.

“What matters is how we react,” the official said.

Meanwhile, the Coalition was accused of being a “zombie government” after official figures showed that it has produced less legislation than any administration since 1950.

Analysis by the House of Commons library found that in 2012/13 MPs spent less time debating new laws than in any year since 1997.

So far since the 2010 election, this parliament has passed the fewest Acts and new regulations since 1950. Jonathan Ashworth, Labour’s Shadow Cabinet Office Minister, said: “David Cameron’s zombie government has run out of ideas.”

CDT2

## **David Cameron tells Eurosceptics: trust me I get it**

**Prime Minister tells Eurosceptics he understands as he appeals directly to those disenchanted with the EU ahead of the local and euro elections**



David Cameron is determined to assure sceptics that he understands their concerns on Europe Photo: CLARA MOLDEN FOR THE TELEGRAPH

By [Tim Ross](#), Political Correspondent  
9:00PM BST 10 May 2014

David Cameron has made a personal appeal to floating voters to give him their backing in this month's European elections.

The Prime Minister is determined to assure sceptics that he understands their concerns on Europe.

Writing in The Telegraph, he proclaims his "passionate" and "optimistic" belief in Britain's potential, arguing that "real" patriots should vote Tory rather than be tempted to support the UK Independence Party.

Mr Cameron insists that despite overseeing deep public-spending cuts, the Conservatives do not care more about economic results from "gilt yields and bond markets" than about giving families peace of mind.

As postal ballot papers arrive in homes for the European elections, the Tory leader insists that he is not just another politician who will break his promises.

"If you're thinking 'I've heard all this before' – I get it," he says, before going on to offer his personal guarantee that he will resign as prime minister if he cannot deliver an in-out referendum on Britain's membership of the EU after the election next year.

His rallying cry comes as Tory MPs demand new policies to win back Ukip voters, amid widespread expectations that Nigel Farage's party will beat the Conservatives into third place in the European elections on May 22.

Immigration will return to the top of the agenda next week when official figures are expected to indicate that at least 30,000 more migrants from Romania and Bulgaria have moved to Britain for work in the past year, as border controls were relaxed.

Government statistics will show there was at least a 25 per cent rise in the number of migrants working in Britain from Europe's two poorest countries over the past 12 months, according to forecasts from Oxford University's Migration Observatory.

A series of recent polls have suggested that Ukip will force the Conservatives into third place in a national election for the first time in the party's history.

In his article, Mr Cameron responds to the rise in popularity of Mr Farage's party by setting out his own three key reasons why undecided voters should give him their vote.

"If your pencil is hovering over the Conservative box – or if you're wondering if you'll make it to the post box at all – I'm writing this directly to you," he says.

Only the Tories can deliver meaningful changes to the terms of Britain's membership of the EU, he says.

Only the Conservatives have a "long-term plan" for reforming Europe and rebuilding the British economy, based on the same values that inspired Baroness Thatcher, he says.

Finally, Mr Cameron insists that he is the only party leader who can be called a true patriot, because he is genuinely optimistic about Britain's future.

The Prime Minister makes a thinly veiled jibe at Mr Farage — although he declines to name him – for what he calls Ukip's permanently pessimistic outlook.

Ukip is constantly crying "we're all doomed", like the Dad's Army character, Pte Frazer, Mr Cameron suggests.

Tory MPs said the public was desperate for a meaningful response to migration from one of the mainstream parties and the Prime Minister's promise of an in-out referendum on EU membership was not enough.

Nigel Mills, the Conservative MP for Amber Valley, said: "On the doorstep, people fundamentally believe immigration is too high.

"If we can't find a way to answer that, after a bad European election result, it is going to be a very hard situation for the powers that be.

"The key to the general election will be convincing the people who lent their vote to Ukip this time that they should vote Conservative. We have to show that we have heard their concerns."

Ukip will turn its fire on Ed Miliband this week, with posters claiming that pulling out of the EU would save families £512 a year on food and power bills in a challenge to Labour's "cost of living" campaign.

## **Tories gain their first opinion poll lead for two years**

**Downing Street welcomes poll as sign that economic recovery is starting to lift Conservative Party's fortunes**



David Cameron's party had 34 per cent of the vote, two points ahead of Labour on 32 per cent and way ahead of the Liberal Democrats who had nine per cent

By [Peter Dominiczak](#), Assistant Political Editor  
9:56PM BST 12 May 2014

The Conservative Party has overtaken Labour in a national opinion poll for the first time in more than two years.

David Cameron's party had 34 per cent of the vote, two points ahead of Labour on 32 per cent, according to the survey published by Lord Ashcroft, the former deputy chairman of the Conservatives.

The poll put the UK Independence Party in third place on 15 per cent, with the Liberal Democrats trailing in fourth on 9 per cent. The figures were welcomed by Downing Street as a sign that the economic recovery is starting to lift the Tory party's fortunes.

But 34 per cent of the vote would not be enough to give the Tory party an overall majority in the Commons, raising the prospect of another hung Parliament after the general election next May. Senior Tories insist the poll is a sign of growing "momentum" that could carry Mr Cameron to victory in the election.

The last time the Conservatives had a poll lead over Labour was in March 2012, a matter of weeks before George Osborne's "omnishambles" budget, which led to a series of embarrassing U-turns that undermined the Coalition.

Ed Miliband, the Labour leader, has seen his advantage slip from a 16 per cent poll lead to the low single figures in recent months as the economy continues to recover.

Despite the improving economy, many of those questioned in the poll said that they had not personally gained from the return to growth, while 21 per cent said they did not believe the economy was yet recovering from recession.

The poll found that Mr Cameron was slightly more popular among women than men. The Conservatives are predicted to be beaten by Ukip in the forthcoming European elections.

Mr Cameron said that the rise in support for Nigel Farage's party could be attributed to the recession. The economic crisis made it "quite easy for someone to come along with some popular messages and some great rhetoric", he said. Appearing on ITV's Good Morning Britain, the Prime Minister insisted that only the Conservatives could offer voters a referendum on membership of the European Union. "Labour and the Liberals won't give you a referendum, Ukip can't give you a referendum. I offer a clear plan: reform, renegotiation, referendum — all very much in Britain's interests."

Asked why Ukip has managed to engage with the public in recent months, Mr Cameron said: "I think when you've had a difficult recession, when you have problems like a welfare system that needs reform and problems with the European Union, it's quite easy for someone to come along with some popular messages and some great rhetoric.

"But what I'm asking people to do is to look through the rhetoric and try to find the politics of what I call the answer, rather than the anger, or in Labour's case the envy. Let's look for the politics of the answer — who's got the plan."

-- Broadcasters must pick female moderators in the next election debates and end the "unconscious sexism" that pervades the industry, Dame Joan Bakewell, a member of the Lord's communications select committee, has said.

The committee described as "disappointing", the choice of "three white men" to chair the election debates on the BBC, ITV and Sky News in 2010.

CDT4

## **David Cameron: Nigel Farage wants to 'destroy' the Conservatives**

**Prime Minister dismisses a pact with Ukip as he describes Nigel Farage as just another 'consummate politician'**

By [Georgia Graham](#), Political Correspondent  
10:03AM BST 26 May 2014

David Cameron has attacked Nigel Farage for claiming to be a "normal bloke down the pub" when he is in reality a "consummate politician" who is "supremely tactical".

The Prime Minister attacked Mr Farage's image as a man of the people, pointing to controversy over his expenses from Brussels and employing his wife on the taxpayer-funded payroll as Ukip stormed to victory in the European elections.



Mr Farage has said he wants to use the results as a springboard to mount a serious challenge in next year's general election (REUTERS)

Mr Cameron has dismissed calls for a pact with the UK Independence Party and said Nigel Farage himself would not be happy with a deal when he was out to "destroy the Conservative party".

However, the Prime Minister refused to say whether his party was closer politically to the Liberal Democrats, who haemorrhaged votes and seats at the election, or Mr Farage's Ukip.

Mr Cameron told BBC Radio 4's Today programme: "Listening to him on the radio and television over the last few days it all seems supremely tactical. It's all about trying to grow votes in clusters or something in different parts of the country.

"So I don't really accept this thing. He is a consummate politician. We have seen that with his expenses and wife on the payroll and everything else. So I don't really accept that he's a normal bloke down the pub thing."

The Prime Minister spoke after the UK Independence Party won a national election for the first time, taking the most votes and seats in the European Parliament elections.

The Ukip victory came as anti-establishment parties advanced across the European Union, with the National Front winning in France.

The win for Ukip, which was only founded in 1993 and does not have a single MP or council leader, is the biggest challenge to Britain's main parties for decades. Ukip gained 10 new MEPs and finished taking 27.5 per cent of the vote and 23 MEPs.

Despite the victory, Mr Cameron said that Ukip's success would be short-lived, warning Mr Farage that he would not have the "free hit" at a general election that the European vote had given him.

He said: "I don't see any prospect of [a pact] happening, from what I read in the Sunday newspapers Nigel Farage wants to destroy the Conservative party not to work in tandem with it, so I think there is some great myth that there is some great pact to be done."

He added: "Ukip themselves said in their pre-election email to everyone this is your chance for a free hit. General elections aren't a free hit, they have real consequences on who is governing your country for the next five years.

"The European Parliament is important but people do see it as an opportunity to send a message, and a variety of messages to the Government."

The result was the first time since 1910 that a national election was not won by either the Conservatives or Labour.

The Liberal Democrats on seven per cent were losing a humiliating fight for fourth place to the Greens in eight per cent and narrowly averted the "shattering" loss of all their MEPs.

Nigel Farage, the Ukip leader, said the outcome would "terrify" the older parties and predicted his party could now go on to hold the balance of power at Westminster. The European result marks "the most extraordinary result in 100 years," he said.



Nigel Farage celebrates his party's local council election results (PA)

Mr Farage has said he wants to use the results as a springboard to mount a serious challenge in next year's general election. He has said he will run in a Kent constituency, with Thanet South thought to be his most likely choice.

"We will go on next year to the general election with a targeted strategy and I promise you this – you haven't heard the last of us," Mr Farage said.

Ukip has said it will target 20 to 30 constituencies next year and Patrick O’Flynn, one of the party’s new MEPs, suggested it could win a handful of seats: “Four, five, six, seven, 10, who knows?”

Speaking to The Telegraph, Mr Farage said the weakness of the main parties meant he could end up holding the balance of power in a hung Parliament next year.

“It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that we could get enough MPs to hold the balance of power. All I can say is we go on surprising people,” he said.

Last night was the first time the main Opposition party has failed to win a European election since 1984 and a serious setback to Ed Miliband.

Pressure is mounting on Nick Clegg, whose party was braced for another electoral disaster. He has been urged by a Lib Dem MP and activists to stand down because he is no longer a “credible” leader of the party.

More than 200 people, including Lib Dem candidates, have signed a letter calling for Mr Clegg to be replaced as leader, an outcome that might raise doubts about the Coalition’s ability to last until next year’s election.

The Lib Dems won 11 MEPs in 2009, but were left with just a single representative after this year’s election.

The party were completely wiped out in the South West, a traditional strong hold for the Lib Dems.

The most high-profile casualty, Sir Graham Watson, who first won a seat on the European Parliament in 1994, failed to be re-elected as one of six MEPs for the region.



CDT5

## **Trust me, no need to vote Ukip, says David Cameron**

**Prime Minister makes last-ditch attempt to stop voters in European elections deserting Conservatives for Nigel Farage's party**



David Cameron speaking at a campaign rally in Ealing, West London Photo: GETTY IMAGES

By [James Kirkup](#), and Steven Swinford  
10:20PM BST 21 May 2014

David Cameron has appealed to “frustrated” voters not to back Ukip on Thursday, promising to salvage Britain’s relationship with the European Union just as he said he has overhauled the UK economy.

As Britain votes in European elections, the Prime Minister made a last-ditch attempt to stop voters deserting his Conservatives for Nigel Farage and the UK Independence Party.

The Conservatives face finishing third in the European elections when results are declared late on Sunday. Mr Farage said on Wednesday that his party would win the poll to elect MEPs.

The Tories also face losing scores of councillors in elections to more than 160 councils across England, with results declared on Thursday night and Friday.

In his last public remarks before the polls open, Mr Cameron conceded that voters, including some who previously supported the Tories, would back Ukip.

“I would accept that in an election like the European election, people do use that as an opportunity to send a message and make a protest. I understand that,” he told Channel Four News.

“People have had a difficult economic time in our country. They are frustrated about some of the issues they want gripped and dealt with like immigration, welfare and Europe.”

However, he insisted that only he and the Conservatives could deliver real change in the European Union. “Just as we’ve turned the economy around, we can deal with the situation in Europe.”

Mr Cameron has promised to renegotiate Britain’s EU membership deal and - if he is returned as Prime Minister next year – put the new arrangements to the British people in a referendum.

Critics in other parties, and some Conservatives, have questioned whether Mr Cameron will be able to deliver substantial changes in the EU, but the Prime Minister insisted his reforms can be accomplished.

“These things are doable. It will be tough,” he said. Top of his reform agenda was ending “benefits tourism” and tightening rules on EU migrants’ access to British welfare payments.

- VAT could remain at 20 per cent beyond the next election, after Mr Cameron said he could not promise to cut it.

The Prime Minister was urged to reduce the tax by a market trader on a campaign visit to Newark, Notts.

VAT was cut from 17.5 per cent to 15 per cent as a stimulus measure by Labour after the financial crash, but raised to 20 per cent by the Coalition as an emergency measure in order to reduce the deficit.

Mr Cameron said: “We haven’t dealt with the deficit yet.”

Asked if the tax would be cut if he was returned to Government, he said: “I can’t make that promise. We’ll set out all our promises in our manifesto.”

## LDG1

### Nick Clegg aims to stay on as Lib Dem leader through next parliament

Deputy PM wants to remain party leader until at least 2020, no matter what happens in May's European elections



Nick Clegg, the Lib Dem leader. Photograph: Danny Lawson/PA

**Rowena Mason**, political correspondent

Monday 14 April 2014 18.05 BST Last modified on Wednesday 13 January 2016 15.49 GMT

Nick Clegg has said he aims to be leader of the [Liberal Democrats](#) until at least 2020 as he brushed off a dire set of opinion polls, predictions of a wipeout at the European elections and claims that taxpayer money was spent on party polling.

Amid rumblings of discontent within his own ranks, the deputy prime minister said he wanted to continue in charge of his party "up to, through and beyond the next election and through the next parliament".

Speaking at a garden cities event, where he unveiled plans for new cities containing 15,000 homes each, Clegg said he was committed to remaining leader no matter what happened in the European elections, despite a warning from the party's president, Tim Farron, that all Lib Dem MEPs might lose their seats in May.

"The strategy which we've embarked on as a party is the right strategy," Clegg said. "What is the alternative? To lurch this way or that or pretend we've had nothing to do with the government of the last four years? Not to take responsibility for the things we've done?"

"We took full responsibility for the really difficult economic reforms ... That was the decision we took then, it was the right decision, it was taken under my leadership and I'm going to see it through. I don't believe in suddenly changing tack or bailing out at the last minute."

Recent surveys show a fall in support for the Lib Dems to as low as 7% since Clegg took part in televised debates against the Ukip leader, Nigel Farage, on the issue of EU membership. To add to Clegg's woes, the Lib Dem former minister Jeremy Browne suggested the party was now pointless.

"I'm not sure it would be necessary to invent an ill-defined moderating centrist party that believed that its primary purpose was to dilute the policies of other political parties, whereas I do think it would be necessary to invent a bold, ambitious liberal party," the senior backbencher said last week.

Clegg has been forced to reject suggestions that his predecessors in the party covered up historical allegations of sex abuse of boys by the former Liberal MP Cyril Smith, who died in 2010.

"My party has made quite clear – not surprising given that the Liberal Democrats, who were founded in 1989, two or three years before Cyril Smith stood down – we were not aware [of the allegations]," he said.

"I would never have dreamed of saying the things that I said about Cyril Smith on his 80th birthday and when he died if I was aware of the truly horrific nature of the actions which he is alleged to have undertaken over a long period of time."

Clegg was also tackled on Monday over the status of his special adviser Ryan Coetzee, as Labour raised "serious questions" about whether he had been working on Lib Dem election strategy while being paid £110,000 a year by the taxpayer to perform official government duties.

Clegg said everything had been done "by the book". "It's not unusual for politicians in government to, of course, yes, get support on what are the main concerns of the British public, how can you address them in government. That's exactly what we're doing," he said.

But Shelia Gilmore, a Labour MP, said: "The public will expect urgent reassurances that the important role played by special advisers isn't being exploited by Lib Dems desperate to improve their woeful ratings."

Clegg faced questions over whether the Lib Dems were retreating from their flagship policy of imposing a mansion tax, after Danny Alexander, the party's most senior finance minister, said it would take the form of a series of higher council tax bands.

The deputy prime minister said the proposals, which would apply to properties valued at over £2m, would be a fairer system and be seen as credible by Lib Dem members "because we've worked it out in government".

LDG2

## Clegg launches Lib Dems as pro-EU anti-Ukip party for European elections

Lib Dem leader bids to exploit high-profile TV debates with Nigel Farage arguing only his party can fight Ukip on Europe



The BBC set for the debate between Nigel Farage and Nick Clegg. Farage was widely seen as winning both debates. Photograph: Getty Images

**Patrick Wintour**, political editor

Thursday 24 April 2014 08.55 BST Last modified on Saturday 16 January 2016 22.26 GMT

Nick Clegg will launch the Liberal Democrats' European election campaign on Thursday, hoping his high-profile [defence of UK membership of the EU](#) can prevent the party being wiped out in the European parliament.

He will tell a rally in Colchester: "The election on the 22 May is about one thing: do you think Britain is better off in the EU, or do you think we should be out? Finally, the big question at the heart of the European debate is being addressed. At long last someone is taking on the Eurosceptic establishment – and it's us."

Clegg needs his party to poll about 9% or higher to win seats in the complex regional polling system. The party has 12 MEPs spread around the country. Two are in the south-east region, and one in London.

There is further gloom in the party that Clegg failed to outperform [Nigel Farage](#) in their two TV debates. There is some low-level jockeying for position between potential rivals to Clegg, although the deputy prime minister has said he plans to stay on as leader after the election.

Danny Alexander, the Treasury chief secretary who is seen by some as the continuity candidate, has said his party would not prop up a minority Labour or Tory government, remarks that suggest the party will insist on either full coalition or try to force another early election.

In practice, the [Liberal Democrats](#) drew back from the latter option after the 2010 general election, fearing the Conservatives would hold another election in the autumn of 2010 that would possibly have resulted in the being Tories elected to govern alone with a majority.

The Lib Dem peer Lord Oakeshott, a long standing critic of Nick Clegg's leadership, said the Lib Dems should leave the coalition immediately after the [European elections](#) at the end of May.

It is unlikely that his call will receive widespread support, but his remarks do betray a renewed pessimism sweeping some in the party about the risks of remaining entangled with the government.

At the Colchester rally, Clegg will continue to offer up his party as the real defence against Ukip, saying: "Ukip and others have been allowed to peddle their myths unchallenged for decades, claiming that all of our problems would magically disappear if the UK just left the EU. But it's a dangerous fantasy. It's the surest way to jeopardise jobs, risk our fragile economic recovery, and it will leave Britain alone and diminished in the world."

Promising "the fight is on", he will say "the isolationists are not going to get a free run in this debate any more".

He will warn that every gain Ukip makes on 22 May "takes Britain a step closer to a European exit and they need to be stopped".

He will claim that both Labour and the Conservatives are doing nothing to "stop the populists and the xenophobes? Nothing. Ed Miliband and David Cameron are now officially Missing in Action – saying the bare minimum in this debate because they are too scared of losing votes to Nigel Farage; because they're so desperate to cover up the deep divisions in their own camps".

A YouGov poll for the European elections at the start of the week found Labour on 30%, Ukip 27%, Conservative 22% and Liberal Democrats 10%. The distribution of votes within regions governs how many MEPs each party gains.

Farage is campaigning in Manchester on Thursday as his party faces possible court action to stop a breakaway faction appearing on the ballot paper ahead of Ukip labelled as An Independence from Europe. The party has been set up by former Ukip MEP, Mike Nattrass, who was deselected as a candidate by the party. He plans to put up candidates across the country.

Ukip met the Electoral Commission to try to get the name ruled unfair, arguing that it was clearly designed to "con voters". However, Ukip was given little encouragement because the name was not designed either to mislead or offend, the two grounds for commission action.

Ukip vowed to fight the matter.



LDG3

## Nick Clegg rejects call to quit if Lib Dems wiped out in European elections

Deputy prime minister says he will stay on and may be willing to sign up to David Cameron's pledge on EU referendum



Nick Clegg, the deputy prime minister. Photograph: Toby Melville/Reuters

**Rowena Mason**, political correspondent

Thursday 15 May 2014 11.58 BST Last modified on Sunday 10 January 2016 23.11 GMT

Nick Clegg has acknowledged that the [Liberal Democrats](#) may be left with "zilch" MEPs after next week's elections, and hinted that his party may be willing to sign up to David Cameron's pledge to hold an EU referendum in a future coalition.

The deputy prime minister said he hoped the Lib Dems would not lose all their European representatives but that he would not resign if this happened.

The former Lib Dem MP Lembit Opik had suggested he should step down if voters kicked out more than five of the party's MEPs at the [European elections](#). But Clegg dismissed this idea on his LBC radio show, saying he did not need Opik's advice.

"I do intend to carry on as leader, but I'm actually more confident than many of my critics and commentators think I should be. I'm actually more optimistic about our prospects at the next general election than many people suggest," he said.

Earlier, Clegg refused to rule out agreeing to Cameron's demands on an [EU referendum](#) in any future coalition. The Conservative leader has made it clear he would not serve as a prime minister if he could not keep his pledge of a poll by the end of 2017.

Clegg told BBC Radio 4's Today programme that he was more prepared to "die in a ditch" for fair taxes than hold out against the prospect of a referendum.

"Are there die-in-the-ditch issues which I've highlighted in the past that frankly I care about even more than this?" he said. "Yes, I think fairer taxes is something that I've long campaigned for in my political life. I think that people no longer paying income tax on the first £10,000 is not woolly. I've been in a coalition where if it wasn't for us, people wouldn't be getting tax cuts for middle and low incomes, and that is something that I care about much more than the precise mechanics of when a referendum is held.

"My disagreement with David Cameron's approach is I think the timing that he's alighted on for the holding of the referendum is all to do with papering over the cracks in his own party over this."

He repeated his insistence that he wanted a referendum if there was any change to European treaties. "I'm not going to satisfy those people who don't think there should be a referendum at all and I'm not going to satisfy those people who think there should be a referendum next Tuesday come hell or high water," he said. "I've always felt you have a referendum when the time is right, when something happens that merits that referendum."

LDG4

**Nigel Farage's mask is slipping, revealing his nasty views, says Clegg**  
Deputy PM calls on people opposed to 'politics of division' to vote against Ukip at European elections



Nick Clegg was responding to Nigel Farage's claim last week that he would not want to live next to Romanians. Photograph: Lynne Cameron/PA

**Patrick Wintour, political editor**

Sunday 18 May 2014 19.17 BST Last modified on Saturday 16 January 2016 00.00 GMT

[Nick Clegg](#) has said Ukip leader Nigel Farage's mask is beginning to slip, and that "behind the beer-swilling bonhomie is a really nasty view of the world" and of modern Britain.

The deputy prime minister made the comment as he urged those opposed to divisive politics to vote against Ukip in European and local elections this week. At the same time a YouGov poll showed that the balance of those questioned who think Farage is doing a good job has fallen from +25 six weeks ago to +8, still good for a British party leader.

Clegg's remarks were prompted by Farage's claim last week that he would not want Romanians to be his neighbours in London, but that Germans would be different – Farage is married to a German woman. Clegg said the Ukip leader was offering the politics of division, which should have no place in modern Britain.

The Labour leader, Ed Miliband, who has stepped up his campaigning on the issue of immigration, accused Farage of a "racial slur" against Romanians, but said he did not believe the Ukip leader was a racist.

On BBC1's Andrew Marr programme, Clegg was asked whether Farage was a racist and said: "I think the mask is starting to slip and what has been revealed behind that

beer-swilling bonhomie is a really nasty view of the world. Anyone who singles out one community or nationality and says 'I don't want to live next to them' – I think that is the politics of division, and I don't think it has any place in modern Britain."

Ukip moved to qualify its attitude to Romanians. Speaking on the BBC's Sunday Politics the party's Suzanne Evans said: "If 10 Romanian men moved in next door to me I think I'd certainly want to ask questions, and that's obviously very different from, say, a Romanian family moving in next door. If 10 Romanian men moved into me I'd think are they being ripped off by an unscrupulous landlord? In which case I'd be concerned. I'd think are they up to no good? In which case I'd be concerned."

With all political leaders stepping up their campaigning before Thursday's elections, the polls failed to show any consistent pattern, except that the [Liberal Democrats](#) are in danger of losing all their MEPs.

Clegg predicted that his party would hold to its course after the [European elections](#), dismissing suggestions that there would be a challenge to his leadership or calls to quit the coalition. He said it would be self-defeating for the party to lose its nerve just when its policies were being vindicated. "Most Liberal Democrats are immensely proud of our resilience and our unity, and that despite the endless breathless predictions that we are seeing again right now we have delivered." He said he had lost count of the number of predictions of the government falling apart.

Clegg added: "In those areas where we were able to get our message across, knocking on doors, explaining what we have done, we will do better than people predict." Elsewhere he said the results would be "very, very challenging", but he disputed that this would have implications for the general election.

He said he was not a pollster or soothsayer, but claimed: "One of the things that the Westminster-based media has not picked up at all is the huge blow to traditional Labour support in the traditional Labour heartlands in the north at the hands of Ukip." He also accused the Conservatives of running a "hokey-cokey" strategy over renegotiation on the European Union.

The Tory minister Michael Fallon indicated on Friday that the party would campaign to leave the EU in a potential referendum in 2017 if it was unable to secure its programme of reform.

However, Clegg accused the Tories of "hithering and dithering" in their attitude towards the EU. "I think it's a sort of elevated form of petulance to say 'we're going to

stamp our little feet to get our little short shopping list of really rather minor changes' – by the way, which they're now advocating – and 'if we don't get them then we'll quit'."

In an interview on the Murnaghan programme on Sky News on Sunday, Miliband condemned Farage's comments on Romanians, saying: "I think his remarks were deeply offensive ... I think they were a racial slur but I don't think of [Nigel Farage](#) as a racist himself. They were inappropriate, and wrong, and he should not have made them."

Miliband has stepped up his campaigning on immigration. Some senior Labour figures, both in the shadow cabinet and in the so-called Blue Labour movement, are frustrated that the party has not done more to confront the Ukip threat earlier in the campaign.

The Conservatives' new culture secretary, Sajid Javid, said immigrants who came to live in Britain needed to learn English and to "respect our way of life". Javid, the son of Pakistani immigrants and the first Asian secretary of state, is likely to be a better conveyor of the Tories' tough line on immigration than some previous Tory spokesmen. He said people were entitled to expect immigrants to make a contribution to society.

"People want Britain to have more control over its borders, and I think they are right," he said in an interview with the Sunday Telegraph. "People also say, when immigrants do come to Britain, that they should come to work, and make a contribution and that they should also respect our way of life, and I agree with all of that. It means things like trying to learn English."

## LDG5

### Nick Clegg: now is not the time for me to resign

Liberal Democrat leader says it is right to question his role after poor election results, but resignation is no solution



Liberal Democrat leader Nick Clegg gave just one television interview after his party lost 10 seats in the European elections. Photograph: Sky News

#### **Nicholas Watt, chief political correspondent**

Monday 26 May 2014 18.15 BST Last modified on Monday 11 January 2016 07.26 GMT

A grim-faced Nick Clegg has made clear he will resist calls to resign, saying the Liberal Democrat party he leads will not buckle or lose its nerve after a poor showing in the [European elections](#).

Looking dejected and exhausted during a television interview, the deputy prime minister said he was determined to continue his work in government and resisted calls for a change in direction.

The last of the party leaders to respond to the European results, Clegg said: "Just at the point when our decisions, our big judgments are being vindicated, we are not going to buckle, we are not going to lose our nerve and we are not going to walk away."

He said he would resign if it would help the party but, insisted the right course was for him to stay on. The Lib Dem backbencher John Pugh has called on Clegg to make way for the business secretary, Vince Cable.

Clegg's aides had organised a carefully controlled media appearance after the Lib Dem share of the vote halved in the European elections to just under 7%, with the party finishing in fifth place behind the Greens. In a blow to Clegg's authority, just one Lib Dem MEP was elected – a fall of 10 on the last European elections in 2009.

Clegg recorded one television interview, with the BBC's Vicky Young, which was pooled among all broadcasters. It aired first on Sky News.

He said he accepted that many people had serious questions about his leadership. "I don't begrudge any individual for raising searching questions, asking challenging questions about strategy and about leadership. It is the most natural thing in the world after the electoral losses of the last few very, very difficult days."

But he said resigning would be the easy route. "If I'm honest with you, the easiest thing in politics – just as in life – is when the going gets really, really tough is just to walk away, to wash your hands of it. But I'm not going to do that and my party's not going to do that because we said in 2010 we were going to do something exceptional which was to enter a coalition for exceptional reasons – to deliver the economic recovery which has finally been delivered."

The deputy prime minister denied that he had a bunker mentality. "I am never going to put myself ahead of the [Liberal Democrats](#), in the same way that we as a party are never going to put ourselves ahead of the interests of the country. If I thought that anything would be really solved, any of our real dilemmas would be addressed by changing leadership, changing strategy, changing approaches, bailing out now, changing direction, then I wouldn't hesitate advocating it. Absolutely not," he said.

"But I genuinely believe that at precisely the time that our big judgments have been vindicated – people said we had to switch to Plan B – again and again and again we held our nerve and we proved to make the right judgments. That is the worst point, in my view, to change direction."

Clegg won important support from Cable, who described the results as "exceptionally disappointing" but said it would be wrong to engage in "infighting and introspection".

In a statement issued from China, where he is leading a government trade mission, Cable said: "These were exceptionally disappointing results for the party. Many hard-working Liberal Democrats, who gave this fight everything they had and then lost their seats, are feeling frustrated and disheartened and we all understand that.

"Nick did a bold thing in standing up to the Eurosceptic wave which has engulfed much of continental Europe. We are the only party to have taken that on and he personally deserves tremendous credit for that. There is no leadership issue. We have also undoubtedly taken a kicking for being in government with the Conservatives and having to take some extremely tough decisions in the national interest. But now is not

the time for infighting and introspection. The party must hold its nerve. We must focus on delivering our policies in government and that's exactly what I'm doing in China, helping British businesses secure contracts with the world's fastest growing economy."

Earlier, Pugh, the Lib Dem MP for Southport, told the BBC: "My personal preference would be for a Cable succession but that is not up to me. It's up to what the polls tell us about what will make the Liberal Democrats popular and successful and progressive. It is also what the party wants. We have to consider it. We can't just carry on as usual. If we carry on as usual we are exactly like the generals in the Somme because these losses are horrendous.

"We've got to keep our heads but given these circumstances – where we have lost 91% of our Euro MPs, we have come after the Greens in the Euro elections and we have lost a huge number of councillors – if we are not going to have a review of strategy and leadership, in whatever circumstances would we have a strategy review?

"Decide it [the leadership] now, decide it quickly. Given the scale of the losses – to call for business as usual is, frankly, ludicrous. We genuinely have to reflect very hard, very quickly, made some good decisions and get on to the 2015 election in better shape."

In a sign that unease is spreading to normally loyal MPs, Sir Nick Harvey, who was sacked as a defence minister in a reshuffle in 2012, called on the party to put more distance between the Lib Dems and the Tories.

Harvey told The World at One on BBC Radio 4: "There is a perception on the part of voters that we have got ourselves too embroiled with the Conservatives. When they look at things like the NHS changes, Michael Gove out on adventures in the education field; when they look at some of the more draconian benefit cuts, people are asking themselves if there is a point having the Lib Dems in the government. Surely it is to stop some of these things happening.

"We must be willing to say no to the Tories more. When you have a coalition between a larger party and a smaller one it is difficult for the small party to make the larger party do things it doesn't want to do. But it should be relatively easy to stop it from doing things we don't want it to do. That does mean that we need to be more willing to say no."



Harvey added: "We've just got to spend the next year showing clear water between ourselves and the Conservatives and what it is that we stand for that is different. I am not sure, despite the fact that there are great achievements from the last four years, that we have really got quite enough distance between ourselves and the Conservatives. That's what's enabled Labour and the Greens to profit at our expense."

The leadership appeared to acknowledge on Monday afternoon that an initially aggressive response to the internal critics may have backfired, as the former Lib Dem leader Lord Ashdown adopted a rare humble tone.

The party's general election co-ordinator, who had threatened to use his military skills to deal with critics, told *The World at One*: "I feel, as I think everybody else does, the deepest pain for those really outstanding councillors and MEPs who have bravely fought for their communities, for the things they believe, and the things they believe are right for Britain and have not been elected. It is a hard night for us.

"But here is the point. The strategy of the party has been, and remains, to sit out the mid-term elections and all the pain they involve – and deep, deep pain last night, more than we'd imagined would be – for what happens next. What happens next is the opportunity to put forward our case for our actions in coalition government in the context of the general election."