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et les défis contemporains de paix durable dans l'espace  
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## ***Revue Internationale de Langue, Littérature, Culture et Civilisation***

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**Contacts :** (+228) 90284891/91643242/92411793

Email : [larellicca2017@gmail.com](mailto:larellicca2017@gmail.com)

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### Editorial

La *Revue Internationale de Langue, Littérature, Culture et Civilisation* (RILLiCC) est une revue à comité de lecture en phase d'indexation recommandée par le Conseil Africain et Malgache pour l'Enseignement Supérieur (CAMES). Elle est la revue du Laboratoire de Recherche en Langues, Littérature, Culture et Civilisation Anglophones (LaReLLiCCA) dont elle publie les résultats des recherches en lien avec la recherche et la pédagogie sur des orientations innovantes et stimulantes à la vie et vision améliorées de l'académie et de la société. La revue accepte les textes qui cadrent avec des enjeux épistémologiques et des problématiques actuels pour être au rendez-vous de la contribution à la résolution des problèmes contemporains.

RILLiCC met en éveil son lectorat par rapport aux défis académiques et sociaux qui se posent en Afrique et dans le monde en matière de science littéraire et des crises éthiques. Il est établi que les difficultés du vivre-ensemble sont fondées sur le radicalisme et l'extrémisme violents. En effet, ces crises et manifestations ne sont que des effets des causes cachées dans l'imaginaire qu'il faut (re)modeler au grand bonheur collectif. Comme il convient de le noter ici, un grand défi se pose aux chercheurs qui se doivent aujourd'hui d'être conscients que la science littéraire n'est pas rétribuée à sa juste valeur quand elle se voit habillée sous leurs yeux du mythe d'Albatros ou d'un cymbale sonore. L'idée qui se cache malheureusement derrière cette mythologie est que la littérature ne semble pas contribuer efficacement à la résolution des problèmes de société comme les sciences exactes. Dire que la recherche a une valeur est une chose, le prouver en est une autre. La *Revue Internationale de Langue, Littérature, Culture et Civilisation* à travers les activités du LaReLLiCCA entend faire bénéficier à son lectorat et à sa société cible, les retombées d'une recherche appliquée.

Le comité spécialisé « Lettres et Sciences Humaines » du Conseil Africain et Malgache pour l'Enseignement Supérieur (CAMES) recommande l'utilisation harmonisée des styles de rédaction et la présente revue s'inscrit dans cette logique directrice en adoptant le style APA.

L'orientation éditoriale de cette revue inscrit les résultats pragmatiques et novateurs des recherches sur fond social de médiation, d'inclusion et de réciprocité qui permettent de maîtriser les racines du mal et réaliser les objectifs du développement durable déclencheurs de paix partagée.

Lomé, le 20 octobre 2020.

Le directeur de publication,

Professeur Ataféï PEWISSI,

Directeur du Laboratoire de Recherche en Langues, Littérature, Culture et Civilisation Anglophones (LaReLLiCCA), Faculté des Lettres, Langues et Arts, Université de Lomé.  
Tél : (+228) 90284891, e-mail : sapewissi@yahoo.com

### ***Ligne éditoriale***

**Volume :** La taille du manuscrit est comprise entre 4500 et 6000 mots.  
Format: papier A4, Police: Times New Roman, Taille: 11,5, Interligne 1,15.

### ***Ordre logique du texte***

Un article doit être un tout cohérent. Les différents éléments de la structure doivent faire un tout cohérent avec le titre. Ainsi, tout texte soumis pour publication doit comporter:

- un titre en caractère d'imprimerie ; il doit être expressif et d'actualité, et ne doit pas excéder 24 mots ;
- un résumé en anglais-français, anglais-allemand, ou anglais-espagnol selon la langue utilisée pour rédiger l'article. Se limiter exclusivement à objectif/problématique, cadre théorique et méthodologique, et résultats. Aucun de ces résumés ne devra dépasser 150 mots ;
- des mots clés en français, en anglais, en allemand et en espagnol : entre 5 et 7 mots clés ;
- une introduction (un aperçu historique sur le sujet ou revue de la littérature en bref, une problématique, un cadre théorique et méthodologique, et une structure du travail) en 600 mots au maximum ;
- un développement dont les différents axes sont titrés. Il n'est autorisé que trois niveaux de titres. Pour le titrage, il est vivement recommandé d'utiliser les chiffres arabes ; les titres alphabétiques et alphanumériques ne sont pas acceptés ;
- une conclusion (rappel de la problématique, résumé très bref du travail réalisé, résultats obtenus, implémentation) en 400 mots au maximum ;
- liste des références : par ordre alphabétique des noms de familles des auteurs cités.

### **Références**

Il n'est fait mention dans la liste de références que des sources effectivement utilisées (citées, paraphrasées, résumées) dans le texte de l'auteur. Pour leur présentation, la norme American Psychological Association (APA) ou références intégrées est exigée de tous les auteurs qui veulent faire publier leur texte dans la revue. Il est fait exigence aux auteurs de n'utiliser que la seule norme dans leur texte. Pour en savoir

plus, consultez ces normes sur Internet.

### **Présentation des notes référencées**

Le comité de rédaction exige APA (Auteur, année : page). L'utilisation des notes de bas de pages n'intervient qu'à des fins d'explication complémentaire. La présentation des références en style métissé est formellement interdite.

### **La gestion des citations :**

**Longues citations :** Les citations de plus de quarante (40) mots sont considérées comme longues ; elles doivent être mises en retrait dans le texte en interligne simple.

**Les citations courtes :** les citations d'un (1) à quarante (40) mots sont considérées comme courtes ; elles sont mises entre guillemets et intégrées au texte de l'auteur.

### **Résumé :**

- ✓ Pour Pewissi (2017), le Womanisme transcende les cloisons du genre.
- ✓ Ourso (2013:12) trouve les voyelles qui débordent le cadre circonscrit comme des voyelles récalcitrantes.

### **Résumé ou paraphrase :**

- ✓ Ourso (2013: 12) trouve les voyelles qui débordent le cadre circonscrit comme des voyelles récalcitrantes.

### **Exemple de référence**

#### **Pour un livre**

Collin, H. P. (1988). *Dictionary of Government and Politics*. UK: Peter Collin Publishing.

#### **Pour un article tiré d'un ouvrage collectif**

Gill, W. (1998/1990). "Writing and Language: Making the Silence Speak." In Sheila Ruth, *Issues in Feminism: An Introduction to Women's Studies*. London: Mayfield Publishing Company, Fourth Edition. Pp. 151-176.

#### **Utilisation de Ibid., op. cit, sic entre autres**

**Ibidem (Ibid.)** intervient à partir de la deuxième note d'une référence

source citée. Ibid. est suivi du numéro de page si elle est différente de référence mère dont elle est consécutive. Exemple : *ibid.*, ou *ibidem*, p. x.  
**Op. cit.** signifie ‘la source pré-citée’. Il est utilisé quand, au lieu de deux références consécutives, une ou plusieurs sources sont intercalées. En ce moment, la deuxième des références consécutives exige l’usage de *op. cit.* suivi de la page si cette dernière diffère de la précédente.

### **Typographie**

-La *Revue Internationale de Langue, Littérature, Culture et Civilisation* interdit tout soulignement et toute mise en gras des caractères ou des portions de textes.

-Les auteurs doivent respecter la typographie choisie concernant la ponctuation, les abréviations...

### **Tableaux, schémas et illustrations**

Pour les textes contenant les tableaux, il est demandé aux auteurs de les numérotter en chiffres romains selon l’ordre de leur apparition dans le texte. Chaque tableau devra comporter un titre précis et une source propre. Par contre, les schémas et illustrations devront être numérotés en chiffres arabes et dans l’ordre d’apparition dans le texte.

La largeur des tableaux intégrés au travail doit être 10 cm maximum, format A4, orientation portrait.

### **Instruction et acceptation d’article**

A partir du volume 2 de la présente édition, les dates de réception et d’acceptation des textes sont marquées, au niveau de chaque article. Deux (02) à trois (03) instructions sont obligatoires pour plus d’assurance de qualité.



## Sommaire

<b>Littérature-----</b>	<b>1</b>
Art éducatif et cohésion sociale : quand l'artiste devient, dans une perspective marxo-benjaminienne, un médiateur de paix	
Barthélémy Brou KOFFI & Fulgence Kouakou KOUADIO-----	3
La problématique de l'éducation en Afrique noire : quelles stratégies pour une approche de qualité au service des communautés et de la paix ?	
Mafiani N'Da KOUADIO -----	17
Mauvaise gouvernance comme menace à la paix durable : Une analyse du Roman <i>Muzungu</i> de Christoph Nix	
Boaméman DOUTI -----	35
Transpoétique et culture de la paix dans <i>Côte de Paix</i> de Dorgelès Houessou	
Jean Marius EHUI & Carlos SÉKA -----	55
The Media and the Socio-Political Polarisation in Andrew Marr's <i>Head of State</i>	
Ténéna Mamadou SILUE -----	73
Exploring Conflict Resolution in Tsitsi Dangarembga's <i>Nervous Conditions</i> and <i>The Book of Not</i>	
Yao Cebastien KOMENAN -----	89
Nouvelles et résolution des crises sociales en Afrique	
Komi KPATCHA & Adamou KANTAGBA-----	105
Rethinking Cultural Differences in Selasi's <i>Ghana Must Go</i>	
Koffi Noël BRINDOU -----	125
Gentrification, Gender and the Challenges of Community Dialogue for Sustainable Peace in Toni Morrison's <i>Sula</i> and Cleyvis Natera's <i>Neruda on the Park</i>	
Selay Marius KOUASSI -----	147
Les paradoxes de l'église dans <i>Réquiem por un campesino español</i> de Ramon Sender	
Madéla Seyram BOUKARI-----	167
Body of Difference and of Desire in Barbara Chase-Riboud's <i>Hottentot Venus</i> (2003)	
Alphonsine Ahou N'GUESSAN -----	185
Eternalism and Crisis of Identity in Yvonne Vera's <i>Without a Name</i>	
Kemealo ADOKI-----	207
The Attempt of Irredentism in Mali: Root Causes, Features and Perspectives	
Talagbé EDAH -----	223

<b>Linguistique -----</b>	<b>241</b>
Langage fiscal en langue maternelle du contribuable et paix durable: cas de l'agni en Côte d'Ivoire	
Munseu Alida HOUMEGA-GOZE & Rose-Christiane AMAH ORELIE	
-----	243
Les emprunts comme phénomènes d'intégration linguistique en ajagbe	
Dovi YELOU -----	259
La parenté à plaisanterie en pays kabiyè : de la dimension littéraire aux implications sociales	
Yao TCHENDO -----	279
Gouvernance et culture, les fondements d'une paix durable au Burkina Faso	
Babou DAILA -----	297
La parenté linguistique, un argument en faveur du dialogue intercommunautaire	
Essobozouwè AWIZOBA -----	313
<b>Géographie -----</b>	<b>329</b>
Marchés à bétail et cadre de vie des populations à Abidjan	
Thomas GOZE -----	331

## **LITTERATURE**

# **The Media and the Socio-Political Polarisation in Andrew Marr's *Head of State***

**Ténéna Mamadou SILUE**

British Literature and Civilisation

Université Alassane Ouattara de Bouaké, Côte d'Ivoire

silue\_tenena@yahoo.com

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## **Abstract:**

This study explores the contribution of the press to the polarisation of the socio-political landscape between the cosmopolitan politicians and the Anglo-centric partisans in Marr's *Head of State*. It argues that media discourse has had a significant impact on this socio-political schism. The study builds on Jorgen Bruhn's concept of "Mediality/ heteromediality" that connotes that every literary text is produced out of structured constellations or mixture of various elements. This mixedness of the text constitutes its heteromedial or medial aspect. As central to the intermediality theory, Bruhn's concept of "mediality/heteromediality" has helped us to examine the role of the media in framing the discourse of the pre-referendum socio-political polarity. The study concludes that the socio-political polarisation of Great Britain during the Brexit vote has been strengthened by the impact of the media on political orientations and social determinism.

**Key words:** Brexit, Britain, Intermediality, Media, Referendum.

## **Résumé :**

Cette étude explore la contribution de la presse à la polarisation du paysage socio-politique entre les politiciens cosmopolites et les partisans anglo-centriques dans *Head of State* de Marr., Elle soutient que le discours médiatique a eu un impact significatif sur ce schisme socio-politique. S'appuyant sur le concept de « medialité/hétéromédialité » de Jorgen Bruhn qui évoque que tout texte littéraire est produit à partir de constellations structurées ou de mélange de divers éléments et ce mélange du texte constitue son aspect hétéromédial ou médial. En tant qu'élément central de la théorie de l'intermédialité, le concept d'« medialité/hétéromédialité » de Bruhn nous a permis d'examiner le rôle des médias dans l'élaboration du discours de la polarité sociopolitique pré-référendaire. L'étude conclut que la polarisation socio-politique de la Grande-Bretagne lors du vote du Brexit a été renforcée par l'impact des médias sur les orientations politiques et le déterminisme social.

**Mots clés :** Brexit, Grande-Bretagne, Intermédialité, Médias, Référendum.

## **Introduction**

Andrew Marr's writing has been touted as exploring the relationship between the media and the socio-political polarisation of the modern British society. The polarity of Britain consists in stirring the lack of compromise and consensus among socio-political actors and citizens. There was a looming ideological distance between parties because of the presence of highly partisan media during the referendum campaign. In fact most partisan press broadcast inadvertently factually incorrect information and politically slanted information to undermine the social peace. This journalistic misinformation campaign has triggered confrontation and damaged socio-political unity in the United Kingdom. Actually Marr's fiction depicts the press narratives activating a non-consensus relation and incompatibility between different political groups of the society during and after the Brexit referendum.

Scholars are thoroughly investigating the Brexit referendum. In an article entitled: "When two tribes go to war – how tribalism polarized the Brexit social media debate", Samantha North, researcher at the University of Bath's School of Management says that the "Brexit is one of the first examples of political tribalism on social media. United Kingdom's voters are now divided along a new line – whether they voted "Leave" or "Remain" (online). What Sammantha highlights here is the role of the press in the socio political division of Great Britain during the European Union referendum campaign. In the same vein as Sammantha, Martin Moore and Ramsay argue: "The campaign activities leading up to the vote to either remain or leave the EU on the 23rd of June 2016 were the UK's most divisive, hostile, harmful and fear-provoking of the 21st century" (Sammantha & Moore, 2017: 2). These scholars may have seen this hostility and this polarisation of the British society as partly due to the media rhetoric. This claims is also investigated by Bobby Duffy, Kristie Hewlett, and Julian McCrae as they postulate that "there is now strong evidence that Brexit-based identity polarisation is a key trend in the UK – and, by a number of measures, is as strong or stronger than political party consolidation" (Bobby et al., 2019: 56).

In fact, the aforementioned scholars' observation indicates that the Brexit referendum and its outcome resulted in creating a divided Britain, hence a socio-political polarisation. Actually, the referendum campaign brought about a huge socio-political cleavage among the different groups within the society. Marr's rendition views this socio-political polarisation in the media perspective as journalists attempt to enflame the political divisions. He lays much emphasis on the journalistic narrative styles and the media characters that enflame and encourage division and discord in the society.

This study intends to show how the media discourse enflame and encourage socio-political polarisation of the British society in Andrew Marr's *Head of State*. What I am intent upon is that Marr's work can be read as a mediatized-political polarised fiction, which is seemingly a poetics in *Head of State*. The main issue pinpointed by this article is to highlight the role of the media in enflaming and heightening the socio-political cleavage, based on intermediality studies. In practice, this theory helps to show how Marr's narratives interact with the British daily media discourse to sort out the socio-political polarisation of the society. In narratives, partisan news media are major drivers which are making people less tolerant and more politically biased in Marr's fiction. The discourse of political decline through disinformation will be discussed.

### **1. Mediality and Political Intolerance**

Every literary text is produced out of structured constellations or mixture of various elements. This is what Bruhn labels as "heteromediality or mediality" aspect of the text and states that "blending is an a priori condition in all texts, and that the blending aspects consequently do not constitute a marginal phenomenon or a marginal subgroup" (Bruhn, 2000: 3). In Marr's fiction, the blending aspect of the text is the use of lexical units, collages and journalistic inclusions with reference to the Brexit referendum socio-political issues to structure the plot, a characteristic which Bruhn considers as "heteromediality or mediality". It is one in which the Internet, traditional British newspapers and the Professional Logistical Services (PLS), a political media algorithm in

*Head of State*, are used to shape political intolerance vis à vis individuals who oppose their choice in the Brexit referendum vote.

In *Head of State*, political intolerance first occurs when the media present the audience with information counter to their prior political orientations. It creates a counter-attitudinal reaction in individual who polarises with the media message. In the context of the Brexit referendum, when the broadcast news is in contradiction with a specific audience's political expectations or choice, he rejects it and refuses to compromise with it. The following lines give a hint of this political intolerance to the reader as the narrator reveals:

The internet, Brussels propaganda, pan-European TV channels and the sophisticated commentaries in the expensive newspapers; in forty years of trying they had hardly changed things at all. So to pretend that British democracy could survive and thrive inside this superstate was a lie. Yet this prime minister saw further and thought more deeply. Unlike health, unlike even Thatcher, he had never deceived himself. He had known instinctively for most of his adult life that the countries of Europe, including his own. (...) Europe was nothing but a huddle of timid and half-naked polities, crouching together with warmth (Marr, 2014: 103-104).

Here the allusion to the Brexit referendum is observable through lexical units such as: “the internet, Brussels propaganda, Pan European TV Channels, British democracy, Europe was nothing but a huddle” (Marr, 2014: 103). The narrator's use of these medial or heteromedial expressions points out the interaction of the text with daily political newspapers' commentaries. The phrases: “the internet, Brussels propaganda, Pan European TV Channels, British democracy” (Marr, 2014: 103) are not only medial aspect of the text, but its blending ones. To paraphrase Jorgen, these blending elements of the text are instrumental in its interpretation (2000: 12).

In the lines above “the internet, expensive newspapers” (Marr, 2014: 104) are blamed for a partisanship in favour of the European integration project. They advance the political agenda of the Pan-European camp.

This political orientation is rebutted by some characters as the narrator puts it: “this superstate was a lie” (Marr, 2014: 103). In this qualification the subject contests the media politicization of the referendum campaign. As a result, the character formulates evidence of the Brexit referendum with a verbal extremity. The extreme tone of the character amounts to political intolerance as an expression of criticism on the press polarisation of the referendum debate.

Indeed, the heteromedial expressions: “Brussels propaganda and the superstate was a lie” (Marr, 2014: 103), strategically reveal that the characters cannot endure the pain of a yes vote in the Brexit referendum. The failure to endure what we dislike is suggestive of our intolerance. Intolerance involves disrespect for individual autonomy—the idea that people’s minds and lives can be different from our own. We disagree with their practices and beliefs, we do not tolerate them, but we want others to believe in our choice. Because of that, Marr’s characters frequently fail the tolerance test, and they often resort to coercion and violence during the Brexit referendum dispute. Coercion occurs in the Brexit referendum campaign with the bullying of Fieldfare, the Prime Minister’s private press secretary. He was assaulted because of his position on Brexit referendum as we read:

With shocking speed and force Alekander reached forward, grasped the private secretary’s neck, jerked his head roughly back and clamped his free hand over Fieldfare’s mouth and nostrils. He had clearly done this before. Fieldfare kicked out his legs and lost his balance, so that Aleksander was holding him aloft (Marr, 2014: 222).

These lines show the press agent in a fuel of political intolerance at a time of the Brexit referendum. Aleksander, a partisan body guard of Pan European camp is longing to kill the deceased Prime Minister’s press secretary in order to avoid the leak of information that can hamper the victory of the European integration camp in the referendum. What opposes Aleksander to Fieldfare is ideological polarisation, which is their divergence of political opinions, beliefs, attitudes, and stances on the Brexit issues. Given that Aleksander is unwilling to engage in day-to-day interactions with his political adversaries, he builds his expressions



of opponent via media by attacking physically the press secretary of the Prime Minister. This means that the media is increasingly becoming the site of political intolerance. On this account, the tension between Fieldfare and Aleksander implicitly demonstrates Britain's socio-political polarisation as a form of political intolerance driven by media groups and ordinary citizens.

Actually, Fieldfare and Aleksander's duel demonstrates the impact of the media on a fractured British society. In this sense, Fieldfare embodies the heteromedia aspect of the text echoing what Heft points out "The referendum campaign itself had demonstrated the importance of social media campaigning, revealing a high level of mobilisation on the Leave side" (Marr, 2017: 3). From this, we notice the press remains an active actor in the referendum vote. In this regard, it can be underlined that Aleksander's attack on Fieldfare is a form of objection to voters' manipulation and disinformation. This, in a broader sense, encapsulates the press polarisation of the Brexit referendum through disinformation and political orientation.

In the narratives of Marr's *Head of State*, the compliance with the norms of mediality or heteromedia is strongly emphasized. As a proof, the overall structure of the novel falls in with Bruhn's hermeneutic insight on the mixedness of all texts, and which can be apprehended through such figurative structure that encloses information on the Brexit referendum as the journalist narrator puts it: "The people of Britain will on a definitive 'in or out' question on the country's membership of the European Union in a Referendum to be held on Thursday 21, September.... National Courier" (Marr, 2014: 1). What is stressed here is the interaction of Marr's fiction with the Brexit referendum issues. The reader apprehends mediality because there is a borrowing of journalistic structure of fact that takes part in the story. In this wise, reading the narratives of *Head of State* through the lenses of Bruhn's stance may reveal characters' political intolerance have cropped out of the structural interconnection of various types of languages on the referendum within the narratives. In this wise, the narrator unfolds the mediality in these terms: "The darling referendum means we can virtually ignore parliament. Almost everyone's

away. Most of the cabinet members are out campaigning for one side or the other, and Whitehall's pretty much at a standstill; the PM has no meetings scheduled with the Treasury or anyone else for" (Marr, 2014: 111).

In this quotation, one observes a form of mediation between political debates on the referendum and characters' lives. Following Mitchel and Hansen mediation stresses "media product". As a consequence, this media product cannot be separated from the mediality or heteromediality aspect. In the above quotation the mediality is the message of the Brexit referendum. Marshall McLuhan in so many ways associates the medialities aspect of the text with the message. In this sense he claims that "the Medium is the message".

Another element that incites political intolerance is like-minded content in media. Most often, journalists write news stories to appease their political partisans. This magnifies individual's tendencies toward attitudinal political intolerance or polarization. In *Head of State*, this like-minded content is frequently broadcast by Professional, Logistical Service, a media algorithm, as we read:

Professional Logistical Services were listening in from their headquarters next door in Number11. It was decided that it would be going too far actually to leak a recording of the conversation to the Press, but calls to a couple of spectacularly untrustworthy bloggers meant that yet more stories were running within the hour about the Prime Minister being distracted by a blazing row with his wife that was just a minor bit of opportunism. Thanks to PLS, nobody was going to accuse the prime minister (...) he immediately tell the media that the change of policy on the issue had been agreed at a meeting (Marr, 2014: 179).

In this passage the writer, commenting on the mood of the audience about the prime minister, turns to present the Professional Logistical Services (PLS) as a like-minded media. The Prime Minister's partisan express their desire to reach a satisfactory conclusion. What is at stake here is that the Professional Logistical Services is likely to polarize the Prime Minister's partisan. By allowing characters to reach a preferred

conclusion in newspaper stories, the press implicitly encourages political intolerance. This intolerance seen in the shift of narrative point of view towards bloggers' journalism gives not a kind of mixedness to the novel but a media oriented analysis to literature. This is what Wolf calls by definition "presence of certain manifestation, or mediality (Wolf, 2015: 2). On this account, the PLS's strengthening of the prime minister's stance polarise his partisans. As a consequence of this, the press company heightens voters' desire to reach a conclusion in line with their partisanship; thereby strengthening their biases toward attitudinally congenial information. This is how the press spread division and intolerance between cosmopolitan politicians and Anglo-centric partisan as we read:

In Britain the newspaper had been divided between those which, nothing the prime minister's gaunt face, had christened it the 'Handover Pact' – a fairly friendly nod to his obvious personal exhaustion – and those that preferred the 'Handover Pact', a cynical manoeuvre which would only lead to more powers going to Berlin rather than Brussels (Marr, 2014: 161).

This quotation points out the cosmopolitan politicians' press and Anglo-centric partisans' media enflame the political landscape in Britain. The heteromedial inclusion: "In Britain the newspaper had been divided between those which, nothing the Prime Minister's gaunt" (Marr, 2014: 161) intermedially echoes Moore and Ramsay' claim that "this hostility and polarisation of the UK society were partly due to the rhetoric and approaches of both the 'Leave' and 'Remain' campaigns but was also encouraged and enflamed by a highly partisan national media" (Moore & Ramsay, 2017: 1). By doing so, Moore and Ramsay argue that the media intervene in the spread of political intolerance.

It is necessary to argue that the intermediality studies has described that "non literary form" or content can enter into the literary texts, namely by way of characters in the fiction. While analyzing *Head of State*, one can discover that the narrative interacts with the Brexit referendum issues. The journalist narrator frames the realities of the referendum. He perceives the Brexit socio-political debates and describes them as if it

were a work of art entering the British world. *Head of State* appears as a painting which can be productively named and theorized under our coined term “the Heteromedial or medial projection of post referendum Britain’s polarisation”. In fact, the reference to the referendum socio-political division gives a distinctive feature of political intolerance to all events of the novel. Lexical units and sentences within the texts are constantly used to convey artistic and semantic information about the referendum political intolerance. Much of this leads to misinformation and discourse of a collapsed nation.

## **2. Misinformation, Medial Polarity: The Discourse of a Decline British State**

One way of understanding the failure of a normal British State, is by looking at it in terms of the medial polarity of the socio-political realities. This occurs through the spreading of misinformation in newspapers and individuals get a strong feeling of living in a sick country. Misinformation indicates the absence of depolarisation in the media coverage of socio-political facts. In the context of Marr’s fiction, the press spreads disinformation that creates chaos and weakens the structure of a normal British state. In this part, we attempt to demonstrate how the dissemination of political oriented information in media has shaped the image of a fragmented normal British state.

Misinformation about Brexit has undermined the British political institutions and affected its population’s welfare. The journalistic campaign around the vote resulted in information war or disorder which led to the decline of the British political state. Arguing about this decline of the British nation, the former Prime Minister, May said: “Brexit brings out the worst in people” (Theresa May, 2016: 3). To an extent, this means that information war of the Brexit vote created a society of disorder, chaos, lawlessness and economic downturn. In such a perspective, the correlation of Marr’s fiction with May’s comments on a fragmented Brexit state is highlighted through the presence of figurative structures in narratives. This correlation is reinforced through the following medial or heteromedial figurative structures:

The prime minister had a special place in his heart for switch. Britain, he liked to reflect, had become a nation in which many things that had once been taken for granted had all disappeared. A cheap, efficient postal service; prudent, morally unimpeachable bankers; unbureaucratic and reliable police who didn't leak stories to the newspapers (Marr, 2014: 81).

These lines give an account of a broken British nation. The discourse of a disordered British nation interacts with the former Prime Minister's comment. The heteromedial element "had all but disappeared" (Marr, 2016: 81) parallels with May's statement: "Brexit brings out the worst in people" (Theresa May, 2016: 1). In Brunh's postulation of intermediality, the most important thing is not always the presence of citation within the text, but it is the text correlation or parallelism with various types of languages. In this wise, the narrator's pessimistic view about post-Brexit Britain parallels with the Prime Minister, Theresa May's discourse on the impact of EU referendum upon Britain.

*Head of State* is a very "medial" novel composed mainly of three competing discourses on the Brexit referendum: propagandist, Eurosceptic, and Europhiles. Discourse in the novel is broken up into disorderly system of journalistic narratives accompanied by a feeling of chaos in the society depicted in the novel. Such emphasis upon a confused British society and the presence of Brexit referendum issues open- up the novel to intermediality analysis. Given that the intermedial approach prioritises the analysis of extra elements within the text, the novel remains entwined in the discourse of a potential post Brexit state failure as one can read: "Britain's exit from the European Union would be a national catastrophe (Marr, 2014: 116)".

Such a sentence "Britain's exit from European Union would be a national catastrophe (Marr, 2014:116)" reflects the text heteromedial or medial nature and demonstrates how the discourse of a failed post Brexit state becomes the hegemonic or elites' discourse. The novel is rampant with the elites' media manipulation of the referendum discourse. For example, Nelson Fraser, the Downing Street Press Secretary, acknowledges media misinterpretations of the referendum as journalists attempt to conceal the

death of the Prime Minister. Here is the narrator's illustration of that: "Nelson Fraser understood the British media backwards, upside down and in its every changeable mood. Even so, the three of them silently asserted that this task was beyond them. The job of hiding the Prime Minister's death (...) was so dangerous (Marr, 2014: 113).

In these lines, the authority of the media agent in altering the outcome of the referendum amounts to disinformation. The sentence "The British media backwards, upside down and in its changeable mood" (Marr, 2014: 113) can be situated at the intersection of two influential current discourses in the British society. On the one hand, it may be understood in the context of a deeper social anxiety about the polarized relationship between political media and truth and the inability of contemporary British political institution to arrive at a collectively shared interpretation of the Brexit referendum. This trend leads to what -can be called the decline of the normal British state. The character, Nelson Fraser embodies this decline of the nation through the medial polarity.

For Marr (2014: 113), "The British media backwards, upside down and in its changeable mood" is also framed in misinformation terms and perceived as a way for Europhiles' elites to preserve the normal British state from decline. In an attempt to maintain their political status quo from a Brexit chaos, Europhiles' media company spy on citizens. The narrator informs the reader about this practice as the Professional Logistical Service (a governmental private press), spies on the Brexit historian, Lord Briskett in these terms:

PLS had managed to smear him just a little, with a few words dropped into editorial ears about his fondness for a drink, for getting above himself, exaggerating his contacts. But Briskett was too respected, just too damn good, for this dirty work to neutralize him completely. PLS were listening in to his phone messages, and were following him too, as he buzzed around London like hiveless bee between various bookshop, his club and his flat ( Marr, 2014: 188).

By tracking Briskett for suspicious and distorted information, the elites strategically seek to censor the leak of their political plotting. This

explicitly means the denial of political decline in the Europhiles' British government. What the PLS or professional logistical Service is really carrying out is the distortion of the socio-political information. This misinformation works as a mask to obscure the elites' fear of a post-Brexit state chaos. If media are defined as channels of artistic communication between languages of different types of art, then intermediality involves the transfer of one semiotic code to another within the framework of a text. On this account, the insertion of the Europhiles' intelligence agencies like PLS (Professional Logistical Service) sets the principle of the interaction of Marr's text with journalistic report on the European Union Referendum. Through the PLS's new surveillance activity on the Brexit historian and Thatcher's biographer, Marr's literary production repeatedly recreates and dynamically develops its heteromedial or medial structure by means of the external semiotic environment of the semiosphere and applying new codes of perception. In other words, heteromedial organization of Marr's fiction is understood as the ability of textual elements of correlating with Europhiles' discourse to mask an image of a decline British state. Speaking of correlating or parallel heteromediality, one cannot but mention political media allusions and quotations that are constantly met in the novel:

In Britain the newspaper had been divided (...). There was certainly a fight ahead in Brussels, but nobody since Margaret Thatcher had managed to change Britain's relationship with Europe so dramatically: 'trust the prime minister and vote 'yes' was by far the strongest argument the whips' office had ( Marr, 2014: 161).

Here one can see an allusion to a quotation from the daily British newspaper encouraging citizens to vote for a UK's membership in European Union. In this case, the narrator makes a political allusion to the then Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher to recall her historical achievement in time of socio-political chaos. To assess the textual allusion to Thatcher, it will be necessary to place it in heteromedial relation between the text and its extra constellation by examining how the issue of Britain's membership in the European Union exploded in the

media to become a hot political issue under Thatcher. Throughout her time as Prime Minister, Thatcher claimed that she wanted Britain to remain an active part of Europe because leaving could damage the British economy and would result in the loss of countless jobs (Hugo, 1987: 306). Through the celebration of Thatcher's relationship with Europe, the journalist narrator implicitly views Thatcher's free market policy as solution to the British state's chaos.

Besides, Anglo-centric politicians' press poses a serious threat to the state's economy. People were misinformed about the status of the British economy in the Anglo-centric media. The argument of an economic downturn was widely reproduced in their mainstream and social media during the campaign. Media representation was foreshadowing the collapse of the British economy. Pattern of this disinformation is reported in an article on CNBC by Leslie Shaffer, as she argues that: "If UK votes leave in Brexit referendum, pound sterling will likely tumble, dollar surge" (Shaffer, 2016: 1). In this statement, one can note a pessimistic prediction of the journalist on the post referendum Britain's economy. In the same token, Marr's text refers to this Anglo-centric press content on a decline British monetary system through this heteromedial collage "If UK does leave the EU—well, the dollar is 1.55 to the pound now. Sterling will no longer be a reserve currency, so it will fall to, say 1.35 probably lower than that" (Marr, 2014: 204).

These above statements establish an intermedial connection with the Scottish Independent Party Leader, Nigel Farage's Tweeter post on 29 February 2016, in which he claimed that "EU membership costs the UK £55 million every single day" (Farage, 2016: 1). Given that Farage is an Anglo-centric politician, one may assume that Marr's reworking of his statement is the illustration of the fact that the picture of a decline British economy is entirely created in the spirit of disinformation. This image of a sick post-Brexit economy is also a heteromedial allusion to Leslie Shaffer's statement on the status of the economy. This kind of heteromedial or medial relationship finds its illustration in a symbolic image (an emblem as a result of a combination of Brexiter's media discourse and verbal or textual representation) of the referendum realities.



The heteromedial or medial relations of literary texts and media discourses are widely expressed in Marr's novel. In the work the media discourse acts as a referent, and the development of the plot reveals an inextricable connection with the framing of misinformation discourse is of great interest:

It was there that PLS set up shop. Flatscreen televisions, some of them linked to CCTV cameras in Downing Street and Whitehall, were arranged around walls. Fat, ugly computers were perched on ornate old chairs and the magnificent dining table. Netting was set up to cover the windows. Jackets were pulled off and plied on the floor. Takeaway food cartoons were emptied and discarded. Empty water bottles lay everywhere. On the same floor as the prime minister's office, just on the other side of the Cabinet Room itself, this would be Misinformation Central (Marr, 2014: 137).

Here, one can see another heteromedial allusion to CCTV cameras in locations on the road network across London for the purpose of live traffic monitoring, to help keep London moving, and to help manage information on socio-political issues. In the narratives of *Head of State* CCTV cameras are used by a fictional media company known as PLS to misinform characters about post-Brexit British state. What is common in this disinformation is the shaping of a discourse of a failed state in case of a Brexit vote. The phrase: "This would be Misinformation Central" (Marr, 2014: 137) demonstrates how media companies turn to be part of fake news surrounding a decline of British state. The above sentence is viewed as a manifestation of the medial polarity when it comes to shaping the discourse of a post referendum British state. Arguing about the manifestation of this mediality or heteromediality within text Wolf puts it that "a mediality or heteromediality is never present as a physical entity, the term "designate phenomena which cannot be observed in themselves but only with reference to certain manifestations" (Wolf, 2011: 2).

As it can be observed, the foregone ideas foster the assumption that in Marr's novel, the media discourse has tremendously polarised the British European Union referendum. The Internet, Professional Logistical Services

and the Anglo centric media connect the reader to this polarization and fake news politicians themselves have spread through mainstream and social media during the referendum campaign.

## **Conclusion**

The purpose of this study has been to show the rhetoric used by the British media during the European Union referendum campaign has triggered the polarisation of the nation. It has been shown that the British press does not have a neutral position and that there was strong polarisation in partisans' press coverage of the European Union referendum in Britain. Building on Bruhn's concept of "heteromediality or mediality" which centred on intermediality, the study has come up with the conclusion that the aggressive and violent tone of the British media in Marr's narratives demonstrates political intolerance in a more polarised society. The study has examined the political intolerance through aggressive press and political intimidation on opponent journalists. In addition, it has also studied the polluted media discourses of the Europhiles and Anglo centric characters to show how both parties construct a narrative of a decline post-Brexit state at their advantage.

It has been established throughout this study that the intermedial or heteromedial analysis of literary text is an analysis of texts from the perspective of media discourse practices in society. The study has also made the recommendation that with the emergence of the media discourse representation in literary works, scholars and critics need to be better equipped to make use tools as "intermediality" in exploring ways in which the media texts and writing of others are embedded within literary text for meaning production.

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