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Facultat de Ciències de la Comunicació

Full Resum del TFG

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Paraules clau (mínim 3)

   Català:

    Castellà:

    Anglès:

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“The Eurosceptic genie is out of the bottle and it will now not be put back. The EU's finished. The EU's dead.”

Nigel Farage, 24th June 2016

1. Introduction

On 24th June 2016, the United Kingdom (UK) woke up to discover that it had become the first ever member to have voted to withdraw its membership of the European Union (EU). The entire world was shocked with the results and the UK was left facing an entire new chapter in its history. The UK is now less than one year from officially exiting the EU, with very little progress to evidence despite two years of negotiations. There have however been many changes across the political sphere during the negotiation period. Although the referendum took place nearly two years ago, socio-political interest in the topic has not diminished. Many academic articles, research papers and books have been published in an attempt to disentangle all of those factors that typically interact in a complex political vote such as that of June 2016. The roles of public opinion, political communication and media influence in the 2016 EU referendum, to mentioned just a few, are still in the process of being understood. This dissertation seeks therefore to build upon the existing research about the British media coverage of the referendum by specifically focussing on The Guardian and The Daily Telegraph's portrayal.

The theoretical concept that provides the foundation for this dissertation is framing. It seeks to identify those concepts (frames), that through salience, give a specific perspective of an issue (The EU referendum) (Entman, 19992). Identifying the aforementioned frames will form the basis of the purpose of this dissertation, summarised as the following research question: Which are the frames used by The Daily Telegraph and The Guardian in the newspaper articles reporting about the 2016 EU referendum? This dissertation also seeks to differentiate itself from similar research by looking for detailed frames used by the chosen newspapers during the ten days in the lead-up to the referendum. This facilitates the formulation of a more precise conclusion regarding the frames used to portray the referendum. Previous literature has so far tended to focus on the framing effects on society or a framing analysis of the official campaigns.

This dissertation is structured as follows: section two contains a theoretical overview of framing, highlighting the key academic research about the topic, clearly defining the concept for the purposes of the dissertation, and discussing some of the existing literature related to this kind of analysis. Section three summarises the case study and provides the necessary context to understand British society in its political sphere as well as the role that the British media has

had on the perception of the "European issue" over the years. Section four explains the methodology that forms the basis for the analysis. It highlights the different methods that exist as well as explaining the data sheet that is used to analyse the articles. Section five presents the results of the qualitative analysis before explaining and discussing each frame in detail. Concluding remarks and suggested further analysis are detailed in section six.

2. Framing as a theory

2.1. An overview

The general interest of the impact of the media on society has generated multiple theories that attempt to explain it. Agenda-setting can be confused with framing as it attempts to know *what* its presented in a discourse (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). However, framing seeks to know *how* a concept is presented in a discourse.

The term framing or to frame has, since its first appearance, been a difficult to define. As a linguistic term, it has different acceptations "being this one of the reasons why each author that has ever studied this theory has made a definition relevant" (Amadeo 2002, p7) and in a way adapted to its own field. It is understood the first author who ever used the term "frame" or "to frame" was Gregory Bateson (1972). This author used the action of "framing" as a key part of his studies.

This same term was afterwards used by Goffman in 1974, being the author who adds the sociology features to the theory. He understands frames as "ways" that are transmitted and shared by society through which life is seen. Goffman suggests people has "primary frameworks" to interpret and classify information. Without them it would be impossible to do so. It is here when Gaye Tuchman publishes her studies of the framing theory stating that frames are a result of the journalistic job. She's the first one to relate media industry and the theory. Tuchman understands news as a frame: "news is a window on the world. Through its frame, Americans learn of themselves and others […] the news aim to tell us what we want to know, need to know, and should know" (Tuchman 1978,1). She understands frames are different points of view that she explains with an analogy: "the view from a window depends upon whether the window is large or small, has many panes or few, whether the glass is opaque or clear, whether the window faces a street or a backyard" (Tuchman 1978,1).

After her statement, we can see how theories relating media and framing and its impact to society start to grow. Coming from Tuchman thinking that frames are given by institutions, in 1993 Entman provides a clearer definition of frames and framing:

"To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman 1993,52).

As he suggests a same issue can be treated from a different point of view making one of those points of view the main concept. For example, the EU can be defined as a "way of integration" for some or "loss of sovereignty" for others. Yet the theory has been studied for many authors, academics haven't reached a univocal definition of the concept (Amadeo 2002). Hence, this definition will be used in this dissertation as it suits perfectly its purposes. The way Entman understands framing will be therefore the core based of this thesis and will be longer developed in the next section.

2.2. The concept

Frames are usually used by journalist and other communicators to introduce information in a simpler way (Scheufele &Tewksbury 2006). Entman believes that through selection and highlighting some aspects of a concept we are promoting a particular definition. There are several agents that could influence the process of creating those frames:

"The characteristic of the text, the information that gives, the words used to transmit an idea, the graphic place of the information, among others, are some of the tools that journalists use to bring closer an event to the public opinion. (Amadeo 2002,13).

Framing an issue could also suggest links between different concepts making them easier for the audience to understand:

"Frames can also be used to suggest connections between concepts, causing audiences to accept them as connected after being sufficiently exposed to the frame" (Scheufele &Tewksbury 2006, 15).

Hence, the referendum on the UK staying in the EU could have been frame in different ways. For example, if the referendum its framed as an immigration issue, audience will instantly relate the sentence with the major control of immigration. That's exactly what this thesis pretends, analyse those frame as "analyses of frames illuminate the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or communication) of information from one location – such as speech, utterance, news report, or novel – to that consciousness" (Entman 1993, p52).

As previously outlined, there have been various studies on framing and its different ways of understanding it. Authors like Amadeo have intended to divide them following different criteria based on the process that framing follows. The classification it's the following:

1. Based on the level of communication
   a. First level → The process of writing the story
   b. Second level → The text itself, the content of the story
   c. Third level → The acceptance of the message by the audience

2. Type of vision (psychological or sociological)

As much as this thesis would like to cover all three levels of communication, it would require a longer period of research. Hence, this study will focus on the second level of communication: the content of the text itself.

2.3. Framing in a political context: referenda in the European Union

There are two broad theories through which political views and concepts portrayed in the media have been studied: agenda-setting and framing. Agenda-setting attempts to determine which the most important issues on the agenda whereas framing seeks to define how are these issues are presented to society (McCombs and Shawn, 1972; Semetko & Vreese, 2004).

Having established the differences between the two, it is important to highlight that both theories are usually applied together to analyse the effects of a political campaign on society. Although agenda-setting has been used to analyse presidential elections such as the 1968 USA

elections analysed by McCombs and Shawn (1972) "the dynamics of the agenda-setting in the context of a referendum has been neglected" (Semetko & Vreese 2004, p 27) in that the theme of the referendum has been decided in advanced (Ibid). General and presidential campaigns present broader issues while "a referendum campaign provides an opportunity to explore a particular issue in more depth and investigate the multiple dimensions and sub-issues on the media and the public agenda" (Semetko & Vreese 2004, p27). This is precisely the aim of framing, since "frames are parts of political arguments, journalistic norms, and social movements' discourse. They are alternative ways of defining issues, endogenous to the political and social world¨ (Semetko & Vreese 2004, p 89). In a referendum, voters are presented with two different options regarding a specific issue that might be familiar or unfamiliar to them. As representative democracy becomes direct democracy "the learning process about the issue is critical for voters' understanding of the options." (Semetko & Vreese p17).

Referenda on European issues have become very popular as a way of dealing with issues regarding the Union. They are categorised as those which deal with membership and those which involve treaties (McCormick 2015). Countries across the Union have held "over 50 referendums on other aspects of European integration, mainly accession and treaty ratification" (Hobolt 2016, p1264). More than three quarters of these have been held since 1990, with Denmark and Ireland having held more than two each, and only seven states never having held a referendum (Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Germany, Greece, Portugal and Romania) (McCormick 2015). Surveys and polls from the Eurobarometer have been measuring public awareness of European institutions and policies since 1980's. Throughout the years, it has been shown that "the majority of voters do not understand how [the EU] works" (McCormick 2015). For example, between 1997 and 2006 Eurobarometer measured the awareness of the EU in the member states by asking voters to rate their EU knowledge on a range from 1 to 10 (1 meaning 'nothing' and 10 meaning 'a great deal'). Interestingly, "the UK ranked among the least knowledgeable of EU member states, with a figure of about 3.2" (McCormick 2015, p214). Voters are thus frequently unclear about the issues at stake and will often be influenced as much by domestic political and economic considerations, cues from opinion leaders and media as by the actual question posed in the referendum (McCormick 2015).

The academic debate "has been focused on whether voters decide on the basis of their attitudes towards the EU or whether they use the referendum to express their dissatisfaction with the

government" (Hobolt 2016). Authors like LeDuc (2002) and Zaller (1992) have identified types of referendum campaigns and models of opinion formation as steps in the same chain to understand the effects on voters in the context of a referendum. LeDuc (2002) states that voters do not just rely on their ideology or familiar political leaders, but also on information. He differentiates between different types of campaigns: those that seek to *form opinion* among voters, those whose aim is *to add new directions* to established issues and those in which *opinion is stronger* and difficult to change. Regarding Zaller's (1992) model of opinion formation, he argues that the discourse among political elites is communicated through the mass media and influences public opinion. The media therefore plays a key role in referendum campaigns (Semetko & Vreese 2004).

When a national referendum is happening, the media must prepare to provide balanced information. They normally make format alterations, such as dedicating an entire section to the campaign as they are aware of their own influence in society. This comes as "[a] result of internal cooperation in a news organization, most often between members of the central headquarters-based newsroom and the political unit" (Semetko & Vreese 2004, p24). But this cooperation does not guarantee balance and more often one can see "the partisan sympathies of media owners […] between media ownership and political parties or individual politicians" as it "may be influencing the ways in which the campaign is being presented in the news" (Semetko & Vreese 2004, p26).

As discussed, the aim of this dissertation its not to define the effects that framing had on British voters but rather to define those frames used by the media when reporting on the issues regarding the referendum. Previous research has "focused on whether voters decided on the basis of their attitudes towards the EU (the issue-voting approach) or whether they use the referendum to express their dissatisfaction with the government (the second approach)" (Hobolt 2016, p1264). Hellman (2017) for example, discusses whether the rhetoric used by the British media caused shifts in public opinion. Although the focus of Hellman's study is to find opinion shifts, she carries out an exhaustive investigation to determine the British rhetoric in media. On the other hand, Ballmann (2017) seeks to analyse the representation of Brexit in the international media while Lundblad (2017) analyses those frames found in the Leave campaign.

2.4. The expected frame: context of the British Euroscepticism

As discussed in the previous section, Euroscepticism is not a particularity of British society. However, tracing its history and its salience throughout the years in British politics, is crucial in order to establish the main characteristics of the EU that have been highlighted in British society. As suggested by Daddow (2012) historical reasons (such as the legacy of a world power) and geographical reasons (the fact that the UK is an island) are among the causes of the beginning of the Euroscepticism era in the UK. The term can be traced back to the mid-1980's when it made its first appearance as a citation from an article in *The Times* in June 1986 (see Harmsen and Spiering 2004, mentioned in Startin 2015). The term gained widespread use during the 1990s in the context of British domestic debates over the development of the EU's supranational dimension (Flood 2012, p73, mentioned in Startin 2015).

For Startin (2015) there have been "three external drivers" that explain the mainstreaming of British Euroscepticism. The first one refers to the 1992 Maastricht Treaty, which changed the name from 'Community' to 'Union' and created the principal of Freedom of Movement in the EU, "something which opponents of the EU in the UK have progressively exploded in their Eurosceptic rhetoric and discourse" (Startin 2015, p314). The politicisation of 'Europe' was particularly meaningful to the UK as it took the issue of parliamentary sovereignty to the forefront of the debate, even above the economic one (Startin 2015). The second driver was the 2004 and 2007 UE enlargement process (described by the author as "the big-bang enlargement") where 12 new states joined the Union. These events were quickly linked by the Eurosceptics to concerns about immigration such as unemployment and job security, perceived insecurity and major companies relocating to other EU states. The 'big-bang enlargement' had put Freedom of Movement at "the heart of the Eurosceptic narrative" (Startin 2015, p15). The final driver, the economic crisis, was the tipping event to consolidate Euroscepticism in British society. Despite the euro not being the cause of the European sovereign debt crisis, it came to represent the cause of many of the post-crisis consequences. This situation "allowed Eurosceptics such as the UK Independence Party (UKIP) leader Nigel Farage to portray the euro as a failing currency" and "couch the pros and cons of UK membership in emotional and psychological terms" (Startin 2015, p315). In short, regarding British Euroscepticism the main issues have been sovereignty, immigration and economy

3. The case study: The United Kingdom in the European Union

This section seeks to set the context in which the referendum happened as "when conducting a framing analysis, one should incorporate a contextual background of the election and the media landscape" (Hertog & Mcleod 2001, p 149).

3.1. The 1975 Referendum vs the 2016 Referendum

The results of the 2016 referendum shocked the entire world. 51,9% of voters opted to leave the EU compared with 48,1% that voted to stay. The turnout of the referendum was 72,2% (Electoral Commission, 2016). Although the result came as a surprise to some people, it was actually the culmination of decades of internal division in the British Conservative Party on the issue of European integration (Hobolt 2016).

For that matter, it is not the first time that British society has had the opportunity to decide its relationship with the EU as "the EU referendum question has haunted generations of politicians of all stripes" (Glencross 2016, p10). Back in 1975 the former Labour Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, asked citizens if they wanted to carry on being part of the European Economic Community (EEC). This came as a promise kept by the later cabinet since the decision to become part of the EEC had been taken by the previous government in 1973 (Butler,1976). Following this, petitions for further referenda regarding the EU became more constant. In 1992, PM John Mayor was asked for a referendum on the Maastricht Treaty. Ten years later in 2002, PM Tony Blair tried to carry out a referendum dissolving the Lisbon Treaty. The requests however, never went ahead. Nevertheless, in 2015 David Cameron was able to proceed with a referendum on European integration after achieving parliamentary victory (Glencross, 2016)

Despite the apparent similarities between the 1975 referendum and that of 2016, "they were as different as chalk and cheese" (Loughborough University 2016, p11). The turnout in the 1975 vote was similarly high (65%) and the winning strategy on the remain-side was also to negotiate the terms with the Union prior to the referendum. The main arguments during the campaign were also focussed on the economy but "somewhat more disaggregated than in 2016, looking more specially at implications for jobs, prices, balance of trade, agriculture, etc." (Loughborough University 2016, p11) and the "restoration of the country's democratic sovereignty" (Loughborough University 2016, p11). Regarding the differences, professor Jay Blumler writing in the Loughborough University analysis on the EU referendum believes the

quantity of broadcasted debates (with just a few in the 1975 vote versus the "galore debates" of 2016), the integrity of the main actors (with those in 1975 truly defending the cause), the representation of the EU in the media and the different political communication systems in both periods are the main distinctive features of the two referenda. It is important to highlight that the media landscape of the referendum will be further discussed in section 3.3.

Acknowledging the previous political history regarding the different attempts to achieve referenda on EU matters provides the context to understand the EU referendum of 2016. It also proves that the UK's membership of the EU has been an issue in British society for more than forty years and that the widespread solution to resolve it has been direct democracy. We now move to a discussion of the referendum campaign itself.

### 3.2. The referendum campaign: Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union?

This was the question posed to residents of the UK on the 23rd June 2016. The referendum on the UK's withdrawal from the EU came as a campaign promise by the then Prime Minister David Cameron during the parliamentary elections of May 2015 (Hobolt 2016). Based on this promise, the Conservative Party won a total majority in the House of Commons (Hobolt 2016). Once the victory was achieved, the Prime Minister "set out to negotiate a new settlement for Britain in Europe, promising to win a host of concessions from Brussels" (Hobolt 2016, p1261). The deal included issues such as reducing the benefits of EU migrants, a legal exemption from the "ever closer union" which was believed to be limiting the independence of MPs in Westminster and the ability of the UK to use an 'emergency brake' to protect the interests of the City of London and British businesses (Jensen & Snaith 2016). Although the concessions were agreed to be given by the EU, the British political sphere did not welcome the deal and "it was widely derided by the British press" (Hobolt 2016, p1261). Hence the deal was not an important factor during the campaign and it even "helped pave the way for voters to reject EU membership" (Glencross 2016, p32).

Even before the official campaign started on the 15th April 2016, voting intentions on the referendum started to be seen in the polls, debates and surveys. Figure 1 shows the polls from May 2015 (the month when it was announced that the referendum would happen before 2017) until March 2016 (one month following the setting of the official date for the referendum and the acceptance of the new agreement with the EU).

Fig. 1:

European Union how would you vote?

Poll of Polls referendum vote intentions. Source: Poll of Polls of the referendum vote intentions by NatCen Social Research, available at: https://whatukthinks.org.
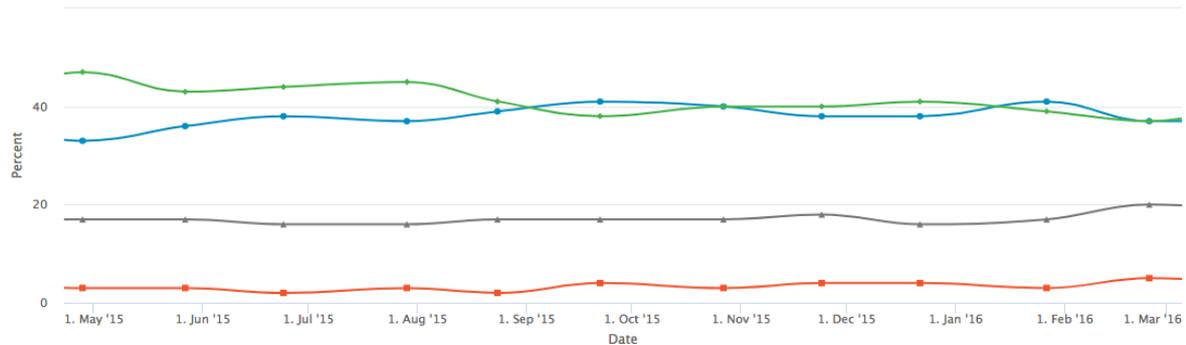
There were two official cross-party campaigns (Electoral Commission, 2016). Advocating to stay was Britain Stronger in Europe (BSE), led by the then Prime Minister David Cameron, his chancellor George Osborne and, somewhat less enthusiastically, the leader of the Labour party Jeremy Corbyn (Hunt & Wheeler, 2016). Their principal argument was the economic benefit of staying in terms of its impact on British business and overall growth (Britain Stronger Together, 2016). The campaign to abandon the Union was called Vote Leave, and was led by the then Mayor of London, Boris Johnson, the Conservative Secretary of Justice, Michael Gove and UKIP's only Member of Parliament (MP), Douglas Carswell (Hunt & Wheeler 2016). The main message of the Leave campaign was its slogan "Take back control", referring to the loss of the national state autonomy that EU membership entails. Overall, "from the outsets of the campaign […] the messages were clear: vote Remain to avoid economic risk of Brexit or vote Leave to regain control of British borders, British law-making and restrict immigration" (Hobolt 2016, p1262).

As for the rhetoric, both campaigns used mainly negative messaging with the Remain side constantly referring to the threat of an economic disaster in a Brexit scenario, labelled by the Leave camp as "Project Fear", and the Leave side addressing people's concerns about immigration, dubbed "Project Hate" by the Remain camp (Hobolt 2016). These slogans were used extensively by the newspapers when recommending the Remain or Leave option. The Loughborough University analysis of the media shows that "both camps were successful in setting the agenda, since the economy and immigration clearly dominated the coverage"

(Hobolt 2016, p 1262). The media coverage of the referendum (specifically that made by the press) explored in section 3.3 will set the context for the framing analysis of this dissertation.

Although Britain Stronger Together and Vote Leave were the official campaigns set by the Electoral Commission, there were other parallel independent campaigns such as Grassroots Out (supporting the Leave side), Trade Unionist and Socialist Coalition (supporting the Remain side) and Leave.EU (clearly supporting the Leave side) (Electoral Commission,2016). The latter of these was run by UKIP's leader Nigel Farage, the only political party whose ultimate aim was to achieve a UK exit from the EU. This is important, as UKIP's leader played a controversial role in the Brexit victory, filling front pages with his campaign actions, being labelled as a figure that changed the course of British politics and securing his place in British history (Ewen, Loughborough University 2016).

3.3. The media landscape
3.3.1.   Framing the EU in the UK media before the referendum

As discussed in section 2.3.1 Euroscepticism has been recognised and debated by many scholars in British society for decades. A study published in 2010 by Medrano & Gray compared seven EU members' public spheres in regard to the EU, diving the analysis into media actors, civil society actors and national interest. The UK proved to be the least enthusiastic with the Union representing generally more negative frames (Medrano & Gray 2010). With regard to civil society actors, the study found that the "principal focus of interest is the issue of whether or not Britain should join the single currency" (Medrano & Gray 2010, p 204). As for the media actors, the most common frames mentioned in media are categorised by economy and trade, democracy and rights and sovereignty. The topic of national interest also arose frequently in the British press in terms of "protecting" and "priotis[ing]" above European interests (Medrano & Gray 2010). The researchers concluded that the "British media are closer to their citizens and less focused on the opinions of political elites than are other countries' media" (Medrano & Gray 2010, p218).

These frames have been identified in more detail in those British newspapers stating a clear position on the "European issue". In an analysis made by Startin (2015) the press portrayals of the EU were divided into Europositive, Euroambivalent and Eurosceptic. He concluded that tabloids were mainly Eurosceptic with *The Mirror* being the only one categorised as

Euroambivalent. As for broadsheets, the majority were both Europositive and Euroambivalent apart from *The Telegraph* which was labelled as Eurosceptic. There was therefore a consistently negative general frame of the EU among the British newspapers. Based on the literature, one could conclude that the most frequent frames found in media are the economy, democracy, sovereignty and the EU's opposition to the national interests of the UK.

3.3.2. British media during the campaign

The Loughborough University (2016) in association with other journalistic institutions in the UK published an analysis on the EU referendum campaign including different academic articles and statistics regarding the media coverage, voters and the campaign a week after the referendum. The media coverage of the campaign was analysed by analysing the content of the press and the TV news coverage.

As for the newspapers, "of the 1558 articles focused on the referendum 41% were in favour of leaving, with only 27% in favour of staying in the EU (Levy et al 2016, p33). Among that 27%, "23% were categorised as 'mixed or undecided" (Levy et al 2016, p33) as categorised by Startin (2015). The Daily Telegraph was found to be pro-Leave and The Guardian was "relatively evenly balanced between positions, with a slight preponderance of pro-Leave articles   Levy et al 2016, p33). When considering the salient issues, those papers labelled as Europositive focused on the economic issues contrasting with those labelled as Eurosceptic that dominated issues such as migration, democracy and sovereignty (Levy et al 2016, p33).

In another Deacon et al 2016, shows how the 10 newspapers, five pro-in and five pro-out, show an overall of 60% pro –out coverage versus a 40% pro-in coverage. Table 1 presents the findings from the analysis in which issues are related to In and Out papers and it shows the most mentioned ones in newspapers, TV news and all media.

Issue/Content	All media %	Pro-IN papers %	Pro-OUT papers %	TV news %
Referendum conduct	30.9	33.5	29.6	28.9
Economy/ Business	18.9	18.9	18.9	18.8
Immigration	13.2	9.9	14.8	15.6
Public Opinion/Citizens	8.0	8.8	5.0	11.3
Constitutional/Legal	6.1	5.8	6.7	5.5
Employment	3.6	3.9	3.4	3.4
Defence/ Security	3.4	2.9	4.4	2.7
Standards/Corruption	2.4	2.1	4.2	0.3
Health/Health services	2.3	2.7	2.2	1.7
EU operations	1.7	1.4	1.6	2.4
Housing	0.9	0.7	1.1	0.8
Crime/Law and order	0.9	1.1	1.2	0.0

Table 1. Salience issues of the UK media. Source: Deacon et al 2016 p35.

This analysis shows how the coverage between the In and Out is consistent. However, the some of the categories were more mentioned in one kind of paper than other. The pro-out papers stand out to mentioned the immigration, constitutional/legal and defence/security more than the pro-in papers.

4. Methodology and data

This dissertation will be conducted using a qualitative methodology. This ensures an exhaustive and detailed analysis of the frames used by both of the chosen newspapers. While a quantitative method is required to establish the features, a qualitative method will facilitate the interpretation of meaning and symbolism (Hertog & Mcleod 2001, p154).

The study will focus on those news articles published between 13th June and 23rd June. It only includes articles that have been categorised as "news" by the newspaper since the aim is to define how the Referendum was portrayed. This research excludes all articles related to sports, business, opinion columns, letters and other sections of the press. The delimitation of the data is necessary in order for the number of articles in scope to be manageable.

4.1. Material

The sample of this dissertation contains a total amount of 120 articles published. taken solely from the print version of the newspapers. The Daily Telegraph and The Guardian are among the five most read newspapers within British society (Statista 2016), along withThe Times, The Independent and The Financial Times. This study focuses on the two most read newspapers regarding the general press, The Daily Telegraph and The Guardian (Statista 2016).

To access the articles, both the newspaper archives of the British Library and Newsbank resources were used. Newsbank does not differentiate between articles from the print editions and online articles. The archives of the British Library provided the scans of the physical editions, making it possible to compare and identify the news articles that fulfilled the requirements for this study whilst cross-referencing any low-resolution scans with the Newsbank archive to ensure a high degree of accuracy.

In order to obtain the relevant articles concerning the EU referendum, five key words were identified to synthesise the search. These were: "European Union", "EU", "Referendum", "Brexit" and "Remain". These words represent key concepts that guarantee a wide range of articles to analyse. The words "Brexit" and "Remain" correspond to the names of the two campaigns that were granted official status by the Electoral Commission (EC). Although the official name for the Leave campaign was "Vote Leave", it rapidly became associated with the word "Brexit". On the other hand, the official name for the Remain campaign was Britain Stronger in Europe, and despite wanting to be known as "Bremain", it never consolidated and was therefore known as "Remain".

The articles cover a period of two weeks, corresponding to the week before the Referendum and the week of the Referendum. The aim is to compare the articles and see if there is any evolution in the frames used in the publications.

4.2. Identifying frames

Framing is as dynamic as communication. By definition, it is a process since it is constantly changing. The process comprises frame building (how frames emerge), frame setting (the interaction between media frames and individuals) and framing effects (consequences of the frames on the individual or societal level) (D'Angelo, 2002; Scheufele, 2000; mentioned in Vreese 2005). This study relies on the frame setting process as it seeks to identify those frames already placed within the content of the news stories.
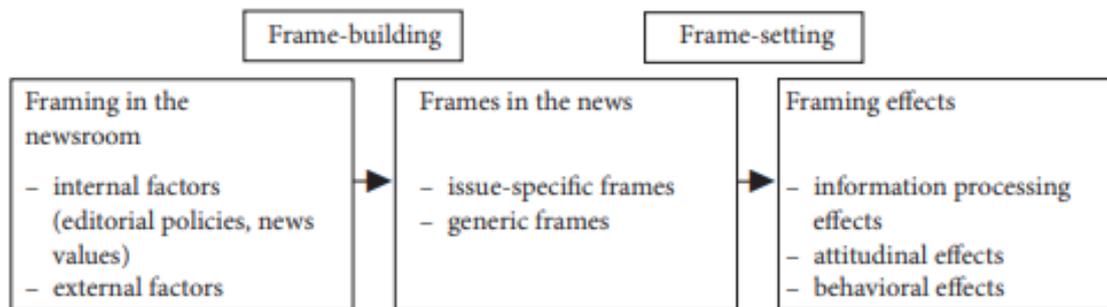
An integrated process model of framing (Vreese 2005)

This section develops the framing process as well as demonstrating the methodology used to identify frames.

4.2.1. The process

In order to create a consistent way of identifying frames, it is necessary to define both the approach that the study will take and the typology of the frames being analysed.

There are two different ways to identify frames: inductively and deductively. The first refers to analysing the news articles with frames that emerge from the material during the course of analysis. The second applies when frames have been identified and operationalised prior to the investigation (Vreese 2005). Given that most scholars support the deductive approach, this will be the approach used for the purposes of this study. Although some frames were identified prior to the analysis being carried out, by using the deductive approach such frames will be validated or refuted. The data sheet used will be further developed in the next section.

As for the typology, different labels have been suggested to define frames. However, this study follows the generic distinction proposed by Vreese (2005) regarding frames in the news. He states that some frames are related only to specific topics or those which "transcend thematic limitation and can be identified in relation to different topics" (p.54). The first category is

labelled as issue-specific and the second as generic frames. This study will focus on issue-specific frames as the since the objective is to define the exact concepts that were used by the newspapers in relation to both campaigns in the referendum. The issue-specific frame will be the dominant frame and others that can be identified will be labelled as secondary frames. The dominant frame is the main theme of the news article, while the secondary frame is an additional idea that supports the main topic (Linström & Marais, 2012).

4.2.2.   The data sheet

As previously mentioned, the definition of frame used in this dissertation is the one developed by Entman (1993) and will represent therefore the core of the analysis. Based on the literature reviewed by researchers that have approached empirical framing (Van Gorp 2010; Vreese 2005; Tankard 2001; Hertog & Mcleod 2001 and Mattes & Kohring 2008, Lundblad 2016), the key categories are summarised in a data sheet that will serve as the apparatus for the analysis of the news articles. Each category is explained below.

Before detailing each category, it is important to highlight that "when working with a deductive approach, the relevant question is which components in a new story constitute a frame? (Vreese 2005, p 54). The apparatus defines five different parts of a frame. All of these parts can be identified in a news story by locating "specific textual and visual elements or 'framing devices'" (Vreese 2005, p54). Framing devices can therefore be "metaphors, historical examples from which lessons are drawn, catch phrases, depictions and visual images" (Gammon and Modigliani 1989, mentioned in Van Gorp 2010, p 91).

The initial category is the defined problem. As stated by Entman (1993), frames identify the main interpretation of a concept in a text. The reasoning device is the term used by Van Gorp (2010) to refer to those forces creating the problem (Entman 1993, p52). This category includes all of the linkages that one makes when reading a text and relates them directly to the central concept, the problem that has been highlighted through salience. Its main characteristic is that the links "do not need to be explicitly included in a mediated message" (Van Gorp 2010, p 91). The third category, moral judgments, includes how the actors are defined and their effects (Entman 1993). Suggested solutions, as the term suggests, includes solutions to the problems. The last category is vocabulary (Hertog & Mcleod 2001). Entman (1993) refers to this category as keywords, stock phrases or stereotypes.

HEADLINE	DATE
CATEGORY	SAMPLE
Defined problem	Sovereignty, Immigration, Economic Issue, Conflict between actors or values
Reasoning device	Free flow of people, single market, budgeting
Moral judgments	Positive or negative evaluation of actors or functions
Suggested solutions	Leave the EU, Remain in the EU
Vocabulary	Key words, stock phrases, stereotypes

This data sheet ensures the validity of the analysis while facilitating the process of identifying frames. The apparatus will be applied to every news article included in the sample. Following application, the main frames identified the news stories will be extracted. A discussion of the most significant frames is included in the next section.

5. Results

This section seeks to summarise the frames identified during the analysis of the material. It covers the ten-day period leading up to the vote (13th June 2016 – 23rd June 2016). The Appendix to this dissertation includes a sample data sheet for each of the most significant frames identified during the analysis.

5.1. The frames used by The Daily Telegraph and The Guardian when portraying the EU referendum

The first two frames discussed align clearly with the topics mentioned in section 3.3.2, when dividing the newspapers into Europositive and Eurosceptic. The Guardian, for example, has the most articles with sub-frames of the economic issue whereas The Daily Telegraph sub-framed the most articles using the Immigration issue. Other frames were also found to be characteristic of specific events unfolding that particular week, such as the release of the UKIP's immigration poster or the murder of the MP Jo Cox. The analysis also identified frames related to the performance of the politicians during the campaign and their respective parties. Each section summarises an identified frame and any corresponding sub-frames, as well as contrasting how that frame was used in each newspaper. There are more than ten frames found

in both newspapers. However, in order to make a clear division and understanding of the findings they have been grouped into seven different frames that will be later sub-framed according to the ideology of the newspaper.

5.1.1. The Economy Frame

The Economy frame has been one of the most frequently employed frames during the campaign (see section 3.3.1) and consequently was used extensively by the newspapers when reporting on the EU referendum. On the one hand, aligning with the Remain camp, The Guardian presented the problem definition of this frame as being that the exit of the UK from the EU would cause "severe damage" to the British economy.

In articles such as "Brexit's damage to the UK economy would be felt until 2020" (The Guardian,15.06.2016), "MPC issues Brexit warning" (The Guardian 17.06.2016) and "Banks brace. Dealing rooms open late, verbal trades only and extra cash" (The Guardian 23.06.2016) the problem of the Economy frame can be easily perceived. The reasoning behind the problem is that if the UK were to leave the Single Market, it would negatively affect British goods and services, due to the application of tariffs and resulting loss of competitivity when exporting to Europe. Some of the specific moral judgements that appeared among the articles are:

- Those related to the depreciation of the pound: "the pound has weakened in the run-up for the vote as opinion have shown a lead for the Leave campaign" (The Guardian 17.06.2016)
- The importance of the stability that the EU provides and its support of the UK's status as a financial centre: "the UK would risk losing its status as a global financial centre" (The Guardian 15.06.2016)

The suggested solution to this problem is to vote Remain. This is not specifically verbalised in any of the articles however, the implicit suggestion of the articles can be found in the warnings issued by the Remain campaign. This can be seen in the vocabulary of the articles, which make historical comparisons such as "The UK economy would shrink 1%. That would be the first contraction in annual GDP since the depths of the financial crisis in 2009" (The Guardian 15/06/2016) and the use of emotive words such as "risks" or "warn" that suggest danger. The attempt by the Guardian to "warn" British society of the economic risks has been, in fact, the focus of much of the criticism of the Remain camp found in the articles published in The Daily Telegraph.

On the other hand, aligning with the Leave camp, the problem definition of the Economy frame is presented by The Daily Telegraph as the EU taking away a large sum of money (£350,000,000 per week) from the British people that could otherwise be invested in national public services. It is important to highlight that the initial figure that was announced by the Leave campaign was later recognised as having been exaggerated and therefore it is mentioned very little in the articles of the sample. Instead, most of the articles were framed as the Remain camp trying to scare voters with their claims about the economy.

Articles such as "Chancellor may suspend trading on stock exchange if vote fails to go his way" (The Daily Telegraph 21.06.2016), "PM offering contracts to secure remain from bosses" (The Daily Telegraph 22.06.2016) and "Bank chiefs and MPs braced for a Brexit aftershock" (The Daily Telegraph 19.06.2016) clearly identify the defined problem. The reasoning behind this is that the Remain camp is focusing on the risks involving local businesses in order to gain voters. The specific moral judgements tend to relate directly to the actors of the Remain camp or their actions:
- Osborne is trying to scare voters by announcing the 'emergency budget': "[the Remain campaign] is using extreme tactics to scare voters" (The Daily Telegraph, 15/06/2016)
- The UK will be better of the Single Market as it gains back control of its own trade deals: "if we leave we will regain the freedom to forge deals while continuing to trade freely with the EU" (The Daily Telegraph, 16.06.2016)

The suggested solution is to vote Leave. As in The Guardian, this is not stated explicitly but rather implicitly by criticising the other campaign and challenging its validity.

5.1.2. The Immigration Frame

The immigration frame is *the* main issue among Eurosceptics and was widely discussed during the campaign (see section 3.1) as well as related to different subtopics. Before presenting the frames found, it is important to highlight that some of the articles are about issues that occurred during the days outside the sample of this dissertation. These will not be discussed since this goes beyond scope of this dissertation.

As the Daily Telegraph did with the Economy frame, The Guardian has mainly sub-framed the immigration issue by criticising the Leave camp for trying to show exaggerated immigration

figures as well as attacking the Remain campaign leaders, David Cameron and Jeremy Corbyn for not expressing a clearer position on immigration. The defined problem presented by this newspaper is that immigration is being used by the Leave campaign to scare voters. The reasoning behind this is that some of the immigration claims are false and that in fact, the '4 freedoms' of the EU cannot be handpicked: if there is not freedom of movement, there is no freedom of goods or services. Articles such as "No. 10 studies attempt to address freedom of movement" (The Guardian, 15.06.2016), "I need to make a better EU case, says Cameron" (The Guardian, 20.06.2016) and "Sadiq Khan scolds Boris Johnson over Turkey 'big fat lie'" (The Guardian 22.06.2016) highlight the defined problem.

As for the moral judgments, one of the main ones found in the articles is:

- The Turkey issue as another unreasonable claim made by the Leave campaign: "the Mayor of London accused his predecessor of unleashing Project Hate in a desperate bid to win over voters by stirring up fears about immigration" (The Guardian, 22.06.2016)

In terms of suggested solutions, the Guardian supports those offered by the Remain campaign i.e. that the Prime Minister will try to push further on the immigration issue in the deal that David Cameron already accomplished with the EU.

In The Daily Telegraph, the Immigration frame represents the most frequently used frame in the sample of this dissertation. The defined problem that The Daily Telegraph highlights is that, aligning with the Leave campaign, there are too many migrants in the UK coming from the EU, and this is having a negative impact on British society. The reasoning behind the problem is that:

- Immigration is affecting public services such as education: "the number of school aged children arriving in the UK from Europe reached a record of 25,000 in a single year" (The Daily Telegraph, 22/06/2016)
- Immigration is helping to lower wages: "as audience member raised concerns that eastern European migrants are driving down the wages of British workers" (The Daily Telegraph, 21/06/2016)

With regards to the suggested solution, The Daily Telegraph recommends voting Leave as a means to avoid a collapse of public services and combat falling wages by "taking back control of the borders".

5.1.3.   Leadership Frame

Cameron's leadership frame is one of the most interesting as it is not directly related to what the referendum could bring or take from the UK (unlike the frames mentioned before). It explores the Prime Minister's position as a figurehead and his leadership of the Conservative party. Through this frame, the ideological differences between the two newspapers can be more clearly seen.

The Guardian, for example, frames David's Cameron leadership as being incapable of persuading voters to support the Remain campaign. Articles such us "Tories revolt over Osborne's Brexit 'punishment' budget" (The Guardian, 16/06/2016), "Not a farewell speech, but an eve of battle rallying cry" (The Guardian, 20/06/2016) and "PM says Brexit camp 'stocking intolerance'" (The Guardian, 22.06.2016) corroborate this view.

The reasoning device is that the PM did not set out a clear position on key issues like immigration which are of great concern to the British public, and as a result is losing votes. Interestingly, the frame varies as referendum day approaches, with articles such as "Bear hugs to bared teeth" (The Guardian, 22.06.2016) where the defined problem is no longer Cameron's poor leadership but rather that he might lose his job as Prime Minister. The consistent moral judgement that appears among the articles is that:

- David Cameron might loss his position as PM: "But there were two storylines unfolding: one about our future in Europe, and one about the fate of David Cameron" (The Guardian, 22.06.2016)

The suggested solution to David's Cameron poor leadership is to vote Remain despite his poor performance.

As for The Daily Telegraph, the newspaper defined the problem as being David's Cameron leadership causing Conservative Party division. Although the Prime Minister was the person who made the referendum a reality, his decision not to support Brexit and to allow members of the Conservative party campaign against him are among the reasoning devices used to support the defined problem. Articles such as "EU heads will blame Cameron for Brexit" (The Daily Telegraph, 16/06/2016), highlight this point. Regarding moral judgements, some of those found were:

- Donors to the Conservative Party are stopping their donations because of the bad PM leadership: "the donor will only give money if Boris Johnson or Gove were the leaders" (The Daily Telegraph, 13/06/2016)
- He failed to make the case in the last debate, it backfired as he accepted that Brussels could veto his deal "The Prime Minister also appeared to conceded that other EY nations could veto his deal in Brussels" (The Daily Telegraph, 20/06/2016)

The suggested solution to the division in the Conservative party is to vote Leave so that the party can unify again and create a Brexit government: "Mr Cameron gave his clearest indication yet that he is planning a reconciliation rather than a revenge – reshuffle after the vote" (The Daily Telegraph, 22/06/2016).

5.1.4. The Labour Party Unity Frame

Similar to the Cameron leadership frame, the Labour party unity frame is also one of the most interesting frames found during the analysis. This is because it is sub-framed in exactly the same way in both newspapers, despite their opposing ideologies. The frame's defined problem is the ambiguity of Jeremy Corbyn.

The reasoning is that because of Corbyn's lack of transparency regarding where he stands on the referendum's main issues, a part of the Labour electorate will vote Leave: "Remain campaign strategists have grown alarmed by the number of Labour supporters backing Brexit" (The Daily Telegraph, 14/06/2016). Articles such as "Brown leads the charge as Labour party urges all voters to back Remain" (The Guardian, 13/06/2016), "Labour steps up fight for EU as alarm grows" (The Guardian, 14/06/2016), "Corbyn ducks blame for possible Brexit amid MP's criticism" (The Daily Telegraph, 21/06/2016) repeatedly highlight both the problem and reasoning. Some of the moral judgements found among the articles are:
- Labour reaches out for other figureheads as Corbyn fails: "Browns intervention in the Scottish referendum campaign in 2014 was regarded by many as crucial, as Stronger In hopes his voice can still sway Labour voters" (The Guardian, 13/06/2016)

The suggested solution to the problem is again, vote Remain despite Jeremy Corbyn's ambiguity. It is important to highlight that this frame does not appear so frequently in The Daily Telegraph as the issue of the Labour Party or Jeremy Corbyn is treated from other perspectives such as the Labour Party's position on immigration or the economy.

5.1.5. Jo Cox Murder Frame

The Jo Cox Murder frame is one which corresponds strictly to the sample period of this dissertation, whereas those mentioned until now can be found in other periods of the campaign. At first glance, the murder of Jo Cox seems to have no relation with the EU referendum. However, the intervention of campaign leaders and the supposed link between Jo Cox's murder and the Leave camp made it impossible for both newspapers not to relate the EU referendum with the MP's murder.

The Guardian defines the problem of this frame, aligning with the Remain camp, as the fact that the MP's murderer was a Leave supporter. Articles such as "She believed in a better world and she fought for it every day" (The Guardian, 17/06/2016), "Brendan Cox vows to go on fighting against far-right" (The Guardian 18/06/2016), "Jo Cox killed for her strong views, says husband" (The Guardian, 22/06/2016) reinforce this point. The reasoning behind the problem is that:

- Jo Cox was killed for her political views, as she was known to support the Remain campaign in her constituency: "Cox had campaigned on Wednesday in a high-profile event supporting the Remain campaign on the Thames in London" (The Guardian, 17/06/2016)

- The murderer is presumably a Leave supporter: "In the hours of the killing detectives searched Mair's home for any evidence of extremist right-wing material" (The Guardian, 17/06/2018) "The far-right wing parties warned about speculation that Cox killed because of her pro-EU immigration views" (The Guardian, 18/06/2016)

- All the vitriolic language used throughout the campaign has led to these extremes: "Politicians have pleaded for a change in tone in the referendum debate following the murder of Jo Cox" (The Guardian, 18/06/2016)

The suggested solution to the problem is that both campaigns reduce their hate accusations as it is clear what this produces. This solution is in fact also suggested in an article in which EU leaders demand less hate in the EU referendum campaign.

The Daily Telegraph defined the problem of this frame in two different ways. The first is that the murder is being politicised by Remain campaigners. The reasoning behind the problem is:

- The Remain campaign is gaining voters because of the murder in articles such as "The Prime Minister has been accused of spinning Jo Cox murder to boost Remain" (The

Daily Telegraph, 20/06/2016) and "EU votes go down to the wire (The Daily Telegraph, 21/06/2016)

The suggested solution for this specific problem is that Remain campaigners should stop using the death of a person to gain more votes, especially as is the last period of the campaign: "The comments followed a row about how the tragic death was being used in the referendum as formal campaigning reopened on Sunday" (The Daily Telegraph, 20/06/2016).

Another defined problem is the portrayal of the murder as a security failure. The reasoning behind this problem is:

- The newspaper is trying to help the Leave campaign distance itself from the murderer: "it also emerged that extremist hard-right activists tried to hijack the killing of Mrs Cox and link it to the campaign to Leave the EU" (The Daily Telegraph, 20/06/2016)

The suggested solution is to vote Leave as the murder has nothing to do with those in favour of the Leave campaign.

5.1.6. EU Leadership Response Frame

The appearance of the EU leadership frame becomes more salient as referendum day approaches. EU leaders started to respond to some claims made by campaign leaders as well as the release of polls, suggesting a small lead by the Leave campaign.

Although this frame made the most appearances in The Daily Telegraph, The Guardian also used it to portray the EU referendum. This does not mean that the EU leaders response has not been reported by this newspaper: however, it has used different frames when reporting it. As for the frame found regarding the EU referendum strictly, it defines the problem as being that the influence of the EU on the UK will continue, even once the UK is no longer a member. The suggested solution is to vote Remain if the only reason that voters are supporting Leave is the EU's influence in the UK.

The Daily Telegraph uses this frame repeatedly, and it is the third most frequently appearing frame after the Jo Cox frame. It defines the problem of the frame as being the lack of support from the EU leadership to conduct the referendum. The reasoning behind this is that:

- EU leaders have said that in the event of a Brexit, it will make the process of leaving difficult: "He also warned the process of leaving the EU would take seven years and every state would have a veto over Britain's terms" (The Daily Telegraph, 14/06/2016)

- The EU has made it clear that there's no future in the EU for the UK: "if Britain votes to leave, European leaders are determined to draw a swift line under the matter" (The Daily Telegraph, 23/06/2016)

The suggested solution is to vote Leave, as the European leaders are making it very clear that the UK is no longer welcome in the union.

5.1.7. The Dishonest Campaigning Frame

This frame refers to those articles where accusations of scaremongering or exaggeration were made. In The Guardian, this is the most commonly occurring frame in the sample of this dissertation followed by the Economy frame. As for The Daily Telegraph, this frame only appeared in five articles.

On the one hand, The Guardian has defined the problem of this frame as being that lies and exaggerated claims are being used to persuade voters. The reasoning for this is that:
- The Remain campaign is resorting to extreme measures to persuade voters: "[Osborne announces a £30bn emergency budget] in a sign of the panic gripping the Remain campaign" (The Guardian, 15/06/2016)
- Voters are tired of politicians not addressing the real questions "hours before Britain's fate is sealed, the stakes are too high, and both the leavers and the Remainers ignored the questioners – and often the questions too – and hammered home pre-cooked lines" (The Guardian, 22/06/2016).

The suggested solution to the problem is not clear. The Guardian makes evident that the way of campaigning should change but the articles framed in this way are critical of both campaigns. On the other hand, The Daily Telegraph defines the problem of the frame as scaremongering from the Remain campaign designed to persuade people to vote Remain. The reasoning behind this is that:
- The Remain campaign is using personal attacks because they are so desperate: "Personal attacks [by the Remain campaign} on Boris Johnson are increasing the chances of Britain voting to Leave the EU" (The Daily Telegraph, 14/06/2016)

The suggested solution for this is to vote Leave as the Remain campaign is not an honest and clear campaign: the implication is that Remain supporters are not sharing the real consequences

that the UK will face if it stays in the EU. We see this is the constant appearance of catch-phrases such as "Project Fear" when accusing the Remain camp.

5.2. Discussion of results

As the findings of this dissertation have already been presented and explained individually, this section seeks to reflect upon and examine the results in relation to the proposed aim in order to get a better and more precise understanding of those frames used by each newspaper.

Before answering the research question, it is important to mention that some of the frames found in this analysis coincide with those used by media in the last decade when reporting on Europe. As discussed in section 3.3.1, the negative portrayal of the EU has been a constant theme in the British media, typically centred around the issues of sovereignty, the economy and immigration. The findings also validate the division of newspapers made by Stratin (2015) who categorised The Daily Telegraph as Eurosceptic and The Guardian as Europositive. The results demonstrate that the Europositive newspapers tended to focus on economic issues (see section 3.3.2), with The Guardian having the most economy-themed articles and therefore being the most frequent user of the economy frame. The newspapers labelled as Eurosceptic, like The Daily Telegraph, focused more on the sovereignty and immigration issues (see section 3.3.2), this last one being the most commonly occurring frame in the sample of this dissertation. As for the sovereignty frame, although it was expected to be one of the principal frames used by The Daily Telegraph, interestingly it only appeared a handful of times, particularly when referring to statements made by the Leave campaign's main protagonists, Boris Johnson and Michael Gove.

The results of the framing analysis provide an answer to the initial research question: Which frames were used by The Daily Telegraph and The Guardian in their written newspaper articles when reporting on the 2016 UK referendum? As discussed in section 5.1, the seven frames identified were: the Economy Frame, the Immigration Frame, David Cameron Leadership Frame, the Labour Unity Frame, the Jo Cox Murder Frame, the EU Leadership Response Frame and the Dishonest Campaigning Frame.

When considering the frames by newspaper, The Daily Telegraph portrayed the EU referendum primarily via the Immigration Frame, sub-framed by the negative impact on UK public services and downward pressure on British workers' wages. The Jo Cox Murder Frame was also

repeatedly used when reporting on the referendum in different articles. The sub-frames used by The Daily Telegraph were the politicisation of the murder by the Remain campaign, and the emphasis on the murder being the result of a security failure, an attempt to help distance the Leave campaign from the tragic event. The last frame commonly occurring during the analysis was the EU Leadership Response Frame. This frame becomes especially noticeable in the articles as referendum day approaches. It is sub-framed by the idea that the EU will make the process of leaving difficult and that the EU does not want the UK in the EU anymore.

The frames that dominated The Guardian articles were The Economy Frame, the Dishonest Campaigning Frame and the Jo Cox Murder Frame. The Economy Frame is the most frequently used across the newspapers when conducting the analysis. It is sub-framed by the notion that the UK's exit from the EU would cause severe damage to the British economy. The Dishonest Campaigning Frame is the second most frequently used in the Guardian. It is one of the more unexpected frames of this analysis as it is a criticism of the conduct of both campaigns. It is sub-framed by the extreme measures that both campaigns resort to in order to persuade voters, as well as the exaggerated claims and promises that were later unfulfilled. The third most commonly used frame by the Guardian is the Jo Cox Murder Frame, which was also an unexpected result given that the event only happened during the week of the sample of this dissertation. The murder of Jo Cox, contrary to those frames used by The Daily Telegraph, is sub-framed by the fact that the murderer of the MP was a Leave campaign supporter.

It is important to highlight that the frames mentioned above are not the only ones used by each newspaper but rather those that dominated the discourse in the sample of this dissertation. Based upon the results, one could conclude that the frames used to portray the EU referendum in The Daily Telegraph and The Guardian in the last 10 days before the referendum were predominantly related to the economy, immigration and the murder of MP Jo Cox. This will be further explored in the next section.

6. Conclusion

The results of the framing analysis have confirmed two initial expectations. Firstly, that media coverage of the referendum would be affected by the long-term Euroscepticism seen in the UK (explored in section 2.3.1) and secondly, that the expected views of the Guardian and The Telegraph (pro-Remain and Pro-Leave, respectively) during their coverage of the EU referendum were as anticipated (also explored in section 3.3.1).

Of the seven frames identified, three seemed to dominate the discussion in both newspapers: immigration, the economy and the murder of Jo Cox. The first two frames confirm the findings of previous researchers about the campaign coverage (explored in 3.3.2). However, the Jo Cox murder was a completely unexpected event that both newspapers rapidly framed in a way that reinforced their respective ideologies about the EU referendum. One can therefore conclude that both newspapers chose to consciously frame the EU referendum according to their respective sympathies with each campaign.

The contribution of this dissertation to the wider academic literature is primarily empirical rather than theoretical, as it seeks to identify frames in detail, taking into account previous studies about the EU referendum media coverage. Future research could build on the findings of this dissertation by extending the time period of the analysis or by comparing the frames identified in this study with those of the post-referendum period.

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8. Appendix

8.1. Sample data sheet: The Economy Frame

THE GUARDIAN

HEADLINE	DATE
Osborne: vote for Brexit and face £30bn of taxes and cuts	**15.06.2016**

CATEGORY	SAMPLE
Defined problem	The statement comes as a result of the panic in the Remain Campaign
Reasoning device	- The Remain campaign is behind the Leave campaign in the surveys – therefore is more likely a Brexit - By stating that an emergency budget will be needed the Remain campaign wants to defeat the economical expectancies claimed by the Leave campaign - The European Union gives money as well as take – it's an equal relationship - The importance of the single market and different welfare services
Moral judgments	- "In a sign of the panic gripping the reman campaign" - "The leave campaign responded to leaks of the plans by accusing the chancellor of breaking seven ley tory pledges and set out a vision of a post-Brexit world in which Britain would claw money from the EU"

	- "And in a sign of the potential Tory rebellion that Osborne could face if he does try to drive through the emergency budget"
	- "The centrepiece will be the repeal by the end of the decade of the 1972 European Communities Act, which gives EU law supremacy over the UK"
Suggested solutions	Vote Remain
Vocabulary	Emergency budget, NHS, Single Market
	Comparison with the 2008 crisis and the value of the pound

8.2. Sample data sheet: The Immigration Frame

HEADLINE	DATE
UK immigration warning if Turkey joins the EU	13.06.2016

Subhead line

CATEGORY	SAMPLE
Defined problem	If Turkey joins the EU 100,000 more immigrants will come to the UK
Reasoning device	- Staying in the EU means more immigrants - Freedom of movement affects public services
Moral judgments	- "New regulations that would be unpopular in the UK are postponed until after the referendum" - "The allegations […] will infuriate Eurosceptic and intensify claims that Brussels is simply holding back" - "The flagging Remain Campaign" - "Leaked telegrams of British diplomats are considering the idea of allowing up to 1.5million Turkish citizens visa-free travel to the UK"
Suggested solutions	Leave the EU
Vocabulary	<u>Key words</u> Immigration, Europe's legislation, Turkey "Adding a city the size of Southampton every year"

8.3.

HEADLINE	DATE
I need to make better EU case, says Cameron	20.06.2016
Subhead line	
PM tells BBC audience Britain doesn't quit after Neville Chamberlain jibe	

CATEGORY	SAMPLE
Defined problem	David Cameron has 4 days to convince voters to vote Remain
Reasoning device	- Brexit will happen - If it does he will resign
Moral judgments	- "Voters are still confused about the referendum that will also decide the fate of his leadership" - "He delivered an impassioned plea for Britain to be fighters, not quitters when it came to the EU" - "He is not expected to survive long in Downing Street if there's a vote for Brexit" - "The prime minister appeared shaken and emotional as he replied by referring to Chamberlain successor, Winston Churchill" - "The prime minister then sought to calm questions about immigration by hinting that he could seek future reform of free movement rules in Europe"

	- "The poster also triggered a defection from leave to remain"
	- "Despite the calls for a more respectful tone after her death, hostilities have already flared up again"
	- "Leave campaigners are furious that the remain camp has sought to emphasise the pro-EU views of Cox"
	- "Showing a snaking queue of non-white migrants and a plea to leave the EU"
	- "the Ukip leader (Farage) became the first politician to suggest that Cox's death may mean the leave campaign is losing momentum"
	- "With tensions running high, the leave campaign appeared keen to tone down its rhetoric on immigration and distanced itself further from the Ukip leader"
	- "With four days to go, the leave camp is stressing its claim that leaving the EU would give the UL back control over its borders"
Suggested solutions	Vote Remain
Vocabulary	Jo Cox murder, David's Cameron Leadership, NHS Echoes of 1930s propaganda

8.4. Sample data sheet: The Labour Party Unity Frame

THE GUARDIAN

HEADLINE	DATE
Brown leads the charge as Labour party urges all voters to back remain	**13.06.2016**

Subhead line

Former PM to say UK-led reforms of EU are possible

Benn to accuse Brexiters of harking back to empire

CATEGORY	SAMPLE
Defined problem	Gordon Brown takes control of the final days of campaigning from the Labour party to Remain in the EU
Reasoning device	- The previous isn't doing a great job - The Labour voters are convinced by none of the campaigns - It implies that they need a final push because people might vote leave
Moral judgments	- "Labour will hit the referendum campaign trail afresh today" - "But carefully choreographed with Downing Street amid fears that the referendum could be lost if Labour voters back Brexit" - "Labour hopes to switch the arguments to the benefits of staying in" - "Browns intervention in the Scottish referendum campaign in 2014 was regarded by many as

	crucial, and Stronger In hopes his voice can still sway Labour voters"
Suggested solutions	Vote Remain – Agree with the reforms once Britain presides the EU
Vocabulary	Labour voters, Gordon Brown

8.5. Sample data sheet: Jo Cox Murder Frame

THE GUARDIAN

HEADLINE	DATE
She believed in a better world and she fought for it every day	**17.06.2016**

Subhead line

Labour MP Jo Cox shot and stabbed death in West Yorkshire

Arrested man shouted Britain fist during street attack- witnesses

CATEGORY	SAMPLE
Defined problem	Labour MP has been killed
Reasoning device	- She has been killed because of her political views - Britain first is the slogan of a political group that supports the exit of the UK from the EU
Moral judgments	- "Cox had campaigned on Wednesday in a high-profile event supporting the remain campaign on the Thames in London" - "In the hours after the killing detectives searched Mair's home for any evidence of extremist right-wing material"
Suggested solutions	
Vocabulary	Murder of Jo Cox, Suspension of the referendum events The killing of MP by IRA on 1990 Ian Gow

HEADLINE	DATE
Women MPs had warned of threat of fatal attack	**18.06.2016**

Subhead line

Jo Cox spoke of facing aggression before her murder

Suspect sought mental health help on eve of attack

CATEGORY	SAMPLE
Defined problem	Jo Cox had warned about her security
Reasoning device	- She warned but no one listened - There isn't a relation between the campaign Britain First and the actual murderer
Moral judgments	- "The killing has led many politician's observers to highlight the increasingly vicious abuse to which women MPs are subject, particularly on social media" - "There were also calls from some politicians to moderate the vitriotic tone of the EU referendum debate after suggestions that it may have contributed to the attack of Mrs Cox, a supporter of Remain campaign"
Suggested solutions	

	It's nothing to do with who their support – they basically need to improve security for their MPs
Vocabulary	Jo Cox, Security of MPs, Far right extremist groups
	They had sent a letter concerning the security of MPs

8.6. Sample data sheet: EU Leadership Response Frame

HEADLINE	DATE
Juncker warns Cameron: out is out, there can be no more negotiations	23.06.2016

CATEGORY	SAMPLE
Defined problem	The EU leaders have made clear that there's no future for the UK in the EU
Reasoning device	- All the problems that the EU is giving the UK will not be solved - The only way of tackling immigration problems and other issues is to abandon the EU
Moral judgments	- "The remarks were intended to discourage British voters from supporting the Leave campaign in the belief they could return to Brussels and demand a more generous deal" - "If Britain votes to leave, European leaders are determined to draw a swift line under the matter"
Suggested solutions	Vote Leave
Vocabulary	EU leaders, David Cameron's deal

8.7. Sample data sheet: The Dishonest Campaigning Frame

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

HEADLINE	DATE
Hello Wembley are you ready to… er, debate the intricacies of the EU? (Sketch)	**22.06.2016**

CATEGORY	SAMPLE
Defined problem	Both campaigns failed to give a serious debate
Reasoning device	- The TV debate was a joke, with all the public booing or clapping - Both campaigns stack to their slogans – didn't provide with inner info
Moral judgments	- "The debate was punchy from the off" - "(Davidson) was like a tenacious little midfielder tasked with marking the opposition's star playmaker" - "Inevitably the roughest exchanges were about immigration" - "Both sides deployed their slogans with mechanical repetitiveness"
Suggested solutions	Vote on the 23rd
Vocabulary	Wembley Arena debate, Both campaigns slogans, Immigration