Master's thesis

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Brexit: The Framing of Migration and Economy by Four British Newspapers

An Analysis of the Use of Frames in the British Press During the Campaign for the 2016 Referendum

Master's thesis in European Studies

Supervisor: Anna Gora

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of how the British press framed the issues of migration and the economy during the 2016 campaign for the referendum on EU membership for the UK. By doing a content analysis built on coding articles from four British newspapers, this thesis looks at the frames used in the coverage, how they differ from one another, and the Eurosceptic tendencies that is reflected in their use of frames. The selection period of this analysis is the 23rd of May 2016 to the 23rd of June 2016, the last month before the referendum. The results of the thesis show that the broadsheet newspapers, The Guardian and The Independent, were predominately pro-Remain or neutral in their coverage of the campaign. Furthermore, the thesis finds that the tabloid newspapers, The Sun and the Daily Mail, were mostly pro-Leave in their coverage of the campaign. Moreover, the thesis identifies several frames pertaining to migration and the economy used by the newspapers during this period. In their framing of migration, the tabloids were significantly more negative about the issue than the broadsheets. The framing of migration focused mainly on issues like crime, rape, and terrorism. Furthermore, the broadsheets were significantly more negative in their framing of the economy than the tabloids. The framing of the economy focused mainly on the financial loss of leaving the EU. The results of this thesis reflect previous findings about the partisanship occurring in the press coverage of the campaign.

Sammendrag

Denne avhandlingen er en studie av hvordan den britiske pressen «framet» spørsmålene om innvandring og økonomi under 2016-kampanjen for folkeavstemningen om EU-medlemskap i Storbritannia. Ved å gjøre en innholdsanalyse bygd på koding av artikler fra fire britiske aviser, ser denne oppgaven på rammene som er brukt i dekningen, hvordan de skiller seg fra hverandre, og de Euroskeptiske tendenser som gjenspeiles i deres bruk av «frames». Avhandlingen ser på perioden 23. mai 2016 til 23. juni 2016, den siste måneden før folkeavstemningen for EU-medlemskap. Resultatene fra oppgaven viser at fullformat-avisene The Guardian og The Independent, hovedsakelig var pro-«Remain» eller nøytrale i sin dekning av kampanjen. Videre finner oppgaven at tabloidavisene, The Sun og Daily Mail, stort sett var pro- «Leave» i sin dekning av kampanjen. Videre identifiserer oppgaven flere «frames» knyttet til innvandring og økonomien som avisene har brukt i løpet av denne perioden. I «framingen» av innvandring var tabloidene betydelig mer negative i deres fremstilling enn fullformat-avisene. I «framingen» av innvandring, lå fokuset hovedsakelig på spørsmål som kriminalitet, voldtekt og terrorisme. Videre var avisene The Guardian og The Independent betydelig mer negative når det gjaldt «framingen» av økonomien enn tabloidene The Sun og Daily Mail. «Framingen» av økonomien fokuserte hovedsakelig på det økonomiske tapet av å forlate EU. Resultatene fra denne avhandlingen gjenspeiler tidligere funn om den partiske pressedekningen av kampanjen.

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Abbreviations

BREXIT	British exit from the European Union
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
EC	European Commission
EC	European Communities
EEC	European Economic Community
EES	European Election Studies
EMU	Economic and Monetary Union
EU	European Union
EP	European Parliament
NHS	National Health Service
UK	United Kingdom
UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party
US	United States
WWII	World War Two

1 Introduction

On the 23rd of June 2016, the British population did the unthinkable. In an unprecedented move, they voted to leave the European Union (EU). Never before has a member state opted to leave the EU. After 44 years of membership, the United Kingdom (UK) would start the process of untangling themselves from the vast social, economic, and political institutions of the EU. This dramatic conclusion to the referendum was the result of months of campaigning by politicians, fighting tooth and nail to tip the scale in their direction. The two campaigns, Remain and Leave, put strenuous effort into swaying the public opinion, spending a total of £32 million on campaigning for the referendum (The Electoral Commission 2019). When the 23rd of June finally arrived, the results were incredibly close. The Leave camp won the majority of the votes with 51.9%, against Remains 48.1% (BBC News n.d.). What followed, was years of negotiation between the UK and the EU in Brussels, trying to work out the terms of the "divorce". At home in the UK, the Brexit date was postponed several times due to a complete gridlock in the British parliament over the Brexit deal (Sandford 2020). Finally, the UK left the EU on the 31st of January 2020, entering an 11-month transition period ending on the 31st of December 2020 (Barnes 2020).

During the campaign, the British press devoted a great deal of attention to the referendum. In a study published by the Reuters Institute, they found that a total of 66 articles across nine newspapers were published on an average day. In total, 2 378 articles were published by nine select newspapers during the four months of the campaign (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016, 12). Among the newspapers with the highest coverage during the campaign was the *Daily Mail* with 403 articles, and the *Guardian* with 271 articles (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016, 12). Based on the findings of this study, the British press undoubtedly played an important role as an informative actor in the campaign. The majority of the spokespeople cited in the newspapers were from a political party, or from one of the two campaigns (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016, 33). Simultaneously, spokespeople such as experts, academics, and business leaders were given little space in the coverage of the campaign (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016, 33). This indicates that the British press played an important part in the two campaigns visibility to the public. This thesis aims to take a closer look at the role of the media during the campaign in 2016. Specifically, how the British press framed certain issues in their coverage of the campaign.

1.1 Research Question

The aim of this thesis is not to measure the public's opinion on Brexit or the referendum, but rather how the media framed certain issues in their media coverage during the campaign. While researching to what extent the media influenced the public's opinion on Brexit is certainly interesting, it is rather difficult to measure. However, by using media theory such as framing theory, this thesis will aspire to answer the question of how the British media framed certain issues in the debate on Brexit. The campaign leading up to the referendum covered many different topics. Amongst the most covered were the economy, sovereignty, migration, and terrorism/security (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016, 20). This thesis will focus on two of the main topics, the economy and migration.

Topics Analysed

The economy was, according to a study published by the Reuters Institute, the most discussed topic by the media during the campaign (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016, 21). Based on their study, one can clearly see in figure 1 that the second most discussed topic

is the question of UK sovereignty. Migration/mobility is only the third most discussed topic during the campaign (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016, 21). Despite UK sovereignty being a larger topic of concern during the campaign, the topic of migration was selected for this thesis. The reason for this is based on the polarizing nature of the topic. Throughout the campaign migration was a topic of concern. However, the focus on migration heightened when Vote Leave became the official candidate for the Leave side (Zappettini 2019, 413). Throughout the campaign this focus became increasingly negative and contributed to create a discursive scenario of "moral panic" about immigration (Zappettini 2019, 414). As a result, the choice to leave the EU was legitimised by fallacies of risk avoidance and public safety (Zappettini 2019, 414). Amongst the discursive scenarios constructed about migration was the threat of terrorism, illegal immigration, and weak borders (Zappettini 2019, 415). This concern about migration as a security threat and weak borders, helped legitimise the choice to leave the EU and regain said border control and reduce the threat associated with migration (Zappettini 2019, 415). Additionally, the Leave side presented claims that staying in the EU would result in over 80 million migrants from candidate EU countries like Turkey (Zappettini 2019, 414). Clearly, the issue of border control was central in the campaign. Furthermore, a report published by Brookings Institution on the media and the immigration debate in the United States (US), states that "…the media played a very direct role in heightening the polarization on immigration issues…" (Suro 2008, 2). While the report is written about the US, it is fair to assume the media in the UK also holds a polarizing role in the debates on immigration.

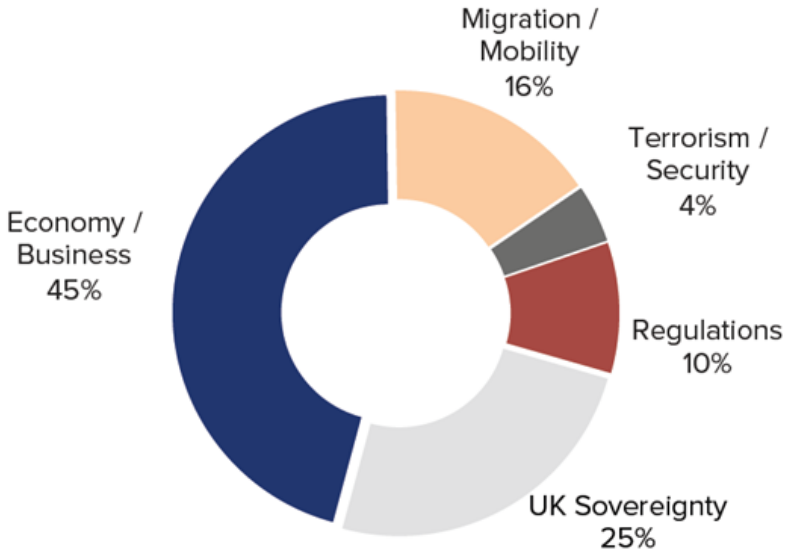

Figure 1: Topic analysis classified at message level where arguments were used (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016, 20).

Based on how these two topics dominated the campaign, this study looks at how the media framed issue relevant to them leading up to the referendum. Therefore, the research question is narrowed down to migration and the economy and how they were framed by the British media. More specifically, this thesis aims to find out how the media framed the topics in the event that the UK would indeed vote to leave the EU. The research question is as follows:

How did the British press frame the issues surrounding migration and the economy in light of a potential Brexit?

To answer this question, this thesis will look at articles published by four British newspapers regarding issues related to the two main topics. All articles are collected from the period 23rd of May 2016 to the 23rd of June 2016, the day of the referendum.

1.2 Justification of the study

This thesis is justified on two grounds. First and foremost, it is relevant to the current political climate surrounding the UK's relationship with the EU, and their recent exit from the union on the 31st of January 2020 (Barnes 2020). The aim of the thesis is not to measure the actual outcome of the referendum in 2016, but to measure how the media presented issues related to migration and the economy during the campaign before the referendum. In the aftermath of the referendum, questions of how and why people voted the way they voted started to arise, and the "Remain"-side seemed adamant that the reason people voted to leave the Union, was simply because they did not understand the consequences of such a decision (The Guardian 2016). This thesis seeks to expand on the knowledge of how the media coverage of the political debate on "Brexit" might have impacted the way people voted in the referendum. Did the media have a direct impact on the public opinion on the EU and Brexit? Or did they simply amplify pre-existing beliefs and notions among the population? In order to understand Brexit, and accept the outcome of it, it is essential to understand why it happened.

Secondly, this thesis aims to elaborate on the existing research and literature on the topic of media influence on public opinion. The impact of the mass media on public opinion is an important topic in today's global society, in which people are constantly subjected to news coverage either through their computer, their phone, their tablet, their smartwatch or their television. In today's climate, it would be harder to avoid news altogether than it would be to gain access to it. Does this constant exposure have an impact on the way people think? Surveys conducted after the referendum in 2016 show that the British press were partisan in their coverage of the campaign and might have played a part in influencing public opinion (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016, 34). For many decades people have studied the link between mass media and public opinion. Determining any direct link is a challenging task, but there are concepts and theories which contributes to our understanding of it. In 1922, Walter Lippman released his book *Public Opinion,* where he introduced the idea of agenda-setting. He believed that the news media determines our cognitive maps of the world (McCombs 2014, 3). Several decades later, other researchers have been able to determine existing effects of the media's agenda-setting on voter behaviour (Terkildsen, Schnell 1997, 880). Since then, the existing research on media influence has become even more comprehensive. In 1974, Erving Goffman published his book *Frame Analysis: An essay on the organisation of experience,* where he presented the concept of framing (Goffman 1974). Framing is an essential concept in media theory. Through the use of frames, an issue can be presented in several different ways and potentially influence the way people perceive an issue (Terkildsen, Schnell 1997, 881). These two concepts have been integral to understanding the effects of mass media on public opinion. This thesis seeks to contribute to the existing literature of how the media, which is seen to influence people's way of thinking, frames and shapes the news and information that its audience is exposed to.

1.3 Thesis outline

This thesis aims to answer how migration and economy was framed by the British press during the campaign on British membership in the EU. In order to answer this question a content analysis will be conducted through the coding of articles in four British newspapers.

The thesis consists of five main chapters. Chapter one introduces the topic, aim and justification of the thesis. Chapter two presents the theoretical framework the thesis will build upon. The main focus of this chapter is to clarify terms, concepts and theories that

are essential to the study. This includes the concept of Euroscepticism, as well as media theories of agenda-setting and framing. It also presents the historical background to the relationship between the EU and the UK, and the background to the 2016 referendum. Additionally, it looks at previous findings about the media coverage of the campaign. Based on the information presented in this chapter, the thesis presents 5 hypotheses of which the analysis is built on. The third chapter presents the methodology of the study. It accounts for the methodological steps in the analytical process of the thesis. The chapter is divided into three parts. The first part explains the choice of content analysis for the thesis. The second part explains the frame analysis and the selection process of the thesis. The third and final part explains the coding process of the thesis. Chapter four presents the results of the study and interpret the findings by answering the hypotheses presented in the second chapter. Finally, chapter five concludes the thesis and presents suggestions for further research, as well as weaknesses and strengths of the study.

2 Theoretical Framework

This chapter presents the historical relationship between the EU and the UK, and the background for the referendum. Additionally, the chapter explains the theoretical framework this thesis is built upon. Chapter two consists of four sections. The first chapter covers the historical background of the relationship between the EU and the UK. The second chapter explains the background to the 2016 referendum. The third chapter presents previous research on the media coverage of the campaign leading up to the referendum. The fourth chapter presents the term *Euroscepticism*, its different definitions and the operationalization of it in this thesis. This term is essential for the premise of the thesis, as it explains the notion amongst the population towards the EU. The fifth chapter looks at media theory in the form of agenda-setting and framing. Finally, the sixth chapter presents the hypotheses of the thesis.

2.1 History of Britain's relationship with the EU

The relationship between the UK and the EU reads like an historic timeline of constant conflict and tense negotiations. During the early days of the European integration project the UK struggled to join the European Communities (EC) due to France's reluctance to include them. The French President Charles de Gaulle vetoed their membership both in 1963 and 1967 (Haagedoorn 2017). However, he did not veto them instantly, but rather waited eighteen months to finally turn them down after presenting them with terms they were unlikely to comply with if he had let them (Dinan 2014, 152).

De Gaulle's reasoning of denying Britain their entry into the European integration project was fivefold. Firstly, Britain refused to accept France's version of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). Secondly, during the Cold War the EEC served a security purpose. In de Gaulle's view, the Nassau accord had showed just how disruptive Britain could be to that purpose. Third, he believed Britain had an "isolationistic" attitude which did not compliment the Continental "civilization". Fourth, he worried the EEC's cohesion would be damaged by too much geographical expansion. Fifth and final, de Gaulle worried that letting Britain in would indirectly let the US in, who would eventually "make the rules" (Dinan 2014, 152). De Gaulle was also reluctant towards a British entry due to his fears over a shift in power. The British had played a significant role during WWII and garnered a lot of respect for their efforts in ending the war. His successor, Pompidou, was slightly less opposed to British membership, but sceptical, nonetheless. De Gaulle also put a hamper on the UKs efforts to establish a broader and looser Free Trade Association (FTA) in 1958 (Dinan 2014, 151). As a result of de Gaulle's efforts to preserve the European Economic Community (EEC) as a smaller organization, the British

established a parallel European Free Trade Association (EFTA) with six other European countries outside the EEC (Dinan 2014, 151). In 1973, they finally managed to enter the EC, although with some restrictions (Dinan 2014, 306). An example of this is their decision to opt out of the monetary union (EMU) and the Schengen agreement (Dinan 2014, 325).

The call for a referendum and a British withdrawal from the EU was not a new phenomenon in the UK. The first vote on British membership occurred in 1975, where Britons were asked to vote on continuing membership in the EEC (Glencross 2016, 9). In the decades that followed there were continuous calls from British politicians for referendums on key EU issues, and even demands for a complete withdrawal from the EU (Glencross 2016, 9). One example of this is the years after the eurozone crisis, when Euroscepticism grew throughout Europe and the UK (Dinan 2014, 324). In 2011, a petition signed by more than one hundred thousand citizens prompted a motion in the parliament for a referendum on EU membership (Dinan 2014, 324). Prime Minister David Cameron opposed the motion despite his Eurosceptical beliefs and instructed the rest of his Conservative Party to follow suit (Dinan 2014, 324). However, Cameron famously changed direction only two years later in 2013, when he suggested an In/Out vote to his electorate (Glencross 2016, 9). This change of heart is likely caused by events unfolding after his shutdown of the referendum call in 2011.

Unfortunately for Cameron, a total of eighty party members defied the party leadership in 2011 and indirectly emboldened Eurosceptics with their large-scale rebellion (Dinan 2014, 324). The combination of economic struggle, rising Euroscepticism, and a deeply unpopular government, all fuelled the rise of The United Kingdom Independence Party. UKIP strongly advocated for the UK to leave the EU and saw a surge in popularity in 2012 and 2013 due to rising anti-immigration sentiment (Dinan 2014, 324). UKIPs rising popularity strengthened the Euroscepticism within the Conservative Party and influenced Cameron's choice in 2013 to call for a referendum (Dinan 2014, 324) if the Conservatives won the 2015 election (Wright, Cooper 2016). However, this In/Out referendum was a complex constitutional question, on par with "the Irish Question" (Glencross 2016, 10). Placing this responsibility with UK voters was an ambitious move by Cameron, and in retrospect it was perhaps a bit too complex for the voters to decide.

2.2 Background to the 2016 referendum

On June 23rd, the British people went to the ballots to cast their vote on whether or not the UK should leave the EU. The background for the referendum was the result of decades of internal division in the British Conservative Party on the issue of European integration (Hobolt 2016, 4). In order to appease the Eurosceptic wing of the party, and to avoid losing voters to UKIP (United Kingdom Independence Party), the Conservative party included in their 2015 manifesto a pledge of a straight in-out referendum of the EU by the end of 2017 (Hobolt 2016, 4). In the General Election in May 2015, the Conservative Party won outright majority, and consequently set out to negotiate a new settlement for Britain in Europe. Finally, Cameron did succeed in a deal with the leaders of the other 27 member states on the 20th of February 2016, and thus set the date for the EU membership referendum (Hobolt 2016, 4). When David Cameron announced the referendum, he likely did not envision the eventual outcome of the vote, or that it would cost him his position as Prime Minister (Glencross 2016, 2). The initial motive for Cameron to announce the referendum was to improve his chances at the ballot box and a potential reconciliation of the factions within his own party (Glencross 2016, 2). His confidence in the decision to hold the referendum likely came from his victories in two

previous referendums, the referendum on Scottish independence being one of them (Glencross 2016, 3). Although the deal promised the power to limit EU migrants' in-work benefits, the deal was ridiculed by the British press for achieving very little and even leading to a boost for the Leave side of the campaign (Hobolt 2016, 5). Cameron and the government had failed in their efforts to win over the voters with the new settlement for Britain in the EU (Hobolt 2016, 5). Nonetheless, they felt confident in their ability to win the referendum.

All the major political parties in Parliament were in favour of remaining in the EU, all except for the governing party themselves, who was divided in the campaign (Hobolt 2016, 5). As for the newspapers, they were split in their views on the referendum, and whether to recommend an In or Out vote. The dominating force in the media coverage however was the Conservative politicians, who accounted for almost two-thirds of all referendum-related media appearances. David Cameron was the most prominent In-campaigner in the media, while Boris Johnson was the most prominent Out-campaigner (Hobolt 2016, 5). A study conducted after the referendum show that the coverage was highly politicised. Half of the spokespeople cited in the media was either politicians stemming from the political parties, or the two campaigns (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016, 34).

On the 24th of June 2016, the votes were counted, and the choice was clear; the UK would leave the Union, and David Cameron resigned as a result (McTague 2016). After the referendum, online searches showed that quite a large part of the population were not entirely aware of what they were voting on and for. Not only that, but more than half of the British electorate admitted to not have a basic understanding of how the EU works (Harrison 2018, 21). If this indeed is the case, it is even more important to take a closer look at the media coverage of the Brexit campaign that voters were exposed to. Media plays an important role in society of informing the public of current affairs. This is evident when looking at the four functions of mass media in the European policy process: 1) the legitimization function, 2) the responsiveness function, 3) the accountability function, and 4) the participation function (Koopmans, Erbe 2004, 98). In particular, the legitimization and accountability functions of the mass media are crucial in this context. Due to a lack of any direct communicative links, the EU, its actors, and its policies rely on the mass media to remain visible in the public forum. It is in this public forum they either gain or lose public resonance and legitimacy (Koopmans, Erbe 2004, 98). The public themselves are also dependent on the mass media for visibility on the EU, as they have little direct personal experience with the European institutions and the multi-level policies being formed (Koopmans, Erbe 2004, 98). The press thus play an important role in the communication between the distant European institutions, and the British public. This is exemplified in this quote by Neil Gavin on people's knowledge of the EU: "How do people with little or no immediate contact with EU political machinery come to understand its characteristics or impact?" (Gavin 2018, 833).

2.3 Media Coverage of the Campaign

In 2016, the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism released a study on the press coverage of the EU referendum. The study revealed many interesting, and some surprising, trends. First off, the study found that 41 % of the articles published were pro Leave, and only 27% were pro Remain (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016, 4). This dominance of pro Leave articles were prominent in six out of the nine newspapers in the study, amongst them the *Daily Mail* and *The Sun*. Amongst the three newspapers with a pro Remain dominance was *The Guardian* (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016, 4). The study accounts for some exceptions made by each of the newspapers, where they included articles with a different point of view. Furthermore, the study found differences in how the two camps covered the other major topics in the campaign. As mentioned earlier, migration and the economy were two of the most prominent topics in the campaign. The study show that the economy was a heavily covered topic by both the pro Leave and the pro Remain newspapers. Migration on the other hand, was mostly covered by the pro Leave side (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016, 4). In figure 2, the Leave camp is shown to focus more on migration than the Remain camp. On the topic of economy, the Remain camp were considerably more concerned than the Leave camp. Interestingly, the two camps were quite equal in their concern for UK sovereignty and terrorism/security, and completely equal in their concern for regulations. In addition, the tone in which the two sides talked about the issues varied, with a more negative tone from the Remain camp on the economy and a more positive tone and outlook from the Leave camp in general (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016, 5). Furthermore, the study looked at the tone of all messages on the five major topic groups: economy, UK sovereignty, migration, regulations, and terrorism (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016, 24). The results show that 60 % of the arguments related to the economy were presented in a negative tone. The other four topic groups were presented in a predominately negative manner as well, apart from UK sovereignty, which had a more balanced presentation of positive and negative messages (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016, 24). Additionally, they presented data on the tone of pro-Leave messages on the future after the referendum. The results show that the tone of messages on migration was 60 % negative, whereas the issue of economy was slightly less negative at approximately 45 % (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016, 24). Additionally, the data presented in the study shows that the pro-Remain arguments were significantly less optimistic about the future than the pro-Leave arguments. A total of 77 % of the pro-Remain arguments

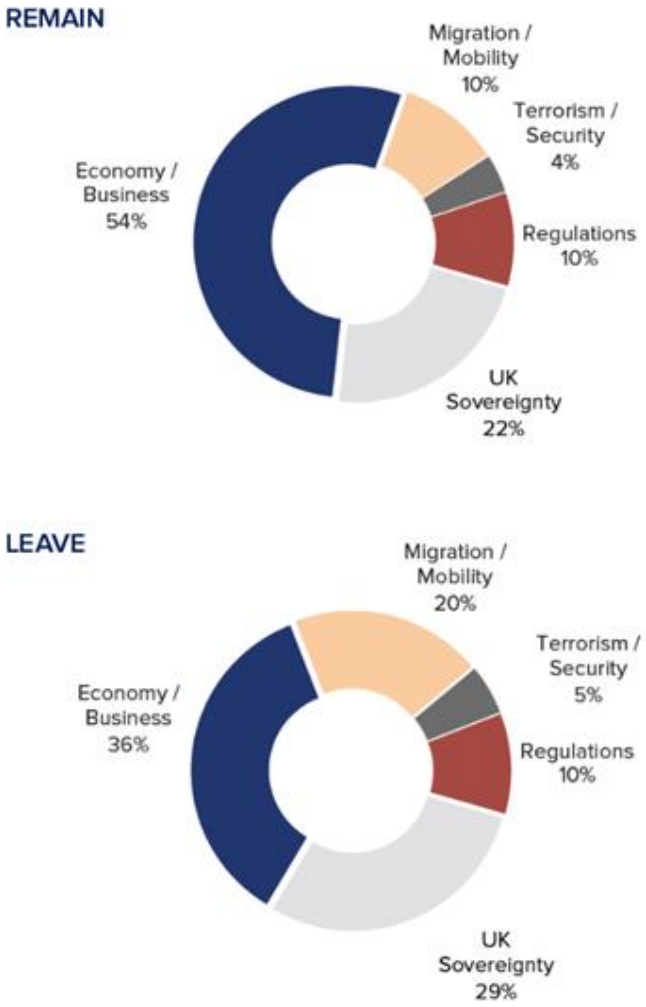

Figure 2: Use of topics by each camp (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016, 21).

were negative in regard to the future, compared to 44 % of the pro-Leave arguments (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016, 23). Looking at the present situation, the pro-Remain arguments were considerably more positive than the pro-Leave arguments. A total of 36 % of the pro-Remain arguments about the present were negative, compared to a staggering 76 % of the pro-Leave arguments (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016, 23).

Moreover, the majority of the people cited in the articles were either politicians or campaign representatives (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016, 5). Only 11 % of the people cited were analysts/experts, and only 2% were academics. Furthermore, 64 % of the politicians cited were Conservatives, against only 17 % from Labour (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016, 5). This trend mirrors the strong partisanship by the newspapers in their articles. Additionally, only 26 % of the articles cited pro Remain campaigners, versus a staggering 74 % citing pro Leave campaigners (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016, 5). In short, the study revealed the bias of the British press in the coverage of the campaign. It is unreasonable to expect the press to cover elections and referendums completely unbiased, but the degree of partisanship displayed in the 2016 referendum by the British press is nothing short of staggering.

2.4 Euroscepticism

"Euroscepticism" has many different definitions and understandings. This chapter accounts for some of them and aim to give a better understanding of the term in general.

The term "Euroscepticism" is rather young and was first coined during the British public debate on the EC during the 1980s (Leconte 2010, 3). At that time, the term referred to the "anti-marketeers", who consisted of most of the Labour party and a fringe of the Conservatives (Leconte 2010, 3). However, it was not until Margaret Thatcher's Bruges speech in 1988 at the College of Europe the term was popularized (Leconte 2010, 3). During the 1990s, the term expanded to continental Europe, and became an "umbrella-term" for any form of opposition or hesitancy towards the EU (Leconte 2010, 4). Due to the development during the 1990s, and the expansion of the term, it is essential to properly define and narrow down the meaning of it. As Leconte himself points out, the meaning of the term is often context based, and varies from country to country (Leconte 2010, 4).

There are many ways to conceptualize "Euroscepticism". In its broadest sense, Euroscepticism refers to a political doctrine or movement driven by hostility towards European political integration (Morgan 2005, 56). The first distinction this thesis will make, is between "hard" and "soft" Euroscepticism. "Hard" Euroscepticism entails a complete rejection of the entire project of European political and economic integration, as well as a total opposition to one's country being a part of the EU (Taggart, Szczerbiak 2004, 3). "Soft" Euroscepticism refers to a more refrained and qualified opposition to European integration. The opposition towards policies at EU level is an example of "soft" Euroscepticism (Taggart, Szczerbiak 2004, 3).

The second distinction this thesis will make, is the different types of *targets* in Euroscepticism. This is a step further than the distinction between just "hard" and "soft". In his book, Glyn Morgan distinguishes between three types of targets in Euroscepticism. One target is the *product* of European integration, meaning the EU itself. In this context, people view the EU as unnecessary, corrupt, protectionist, amongst many other unfavourable descriptions (Morgan 2005, 56). This can be categorized as "hard" Euroscepticism. The second target is the *process* of European integration. Complaints directed at this process might label it as undemocratic, secretive, and bureaucratic

(Morgan 2005, 56). Having complaints about the process of European integration should be categorized as "soft" Euroscepticism, as it is more directed towards the EU system. The third target is the *project* of European political integration. According to Morgan, Eurosceptics (especially in Britain) are concerned the EU will turn into a form of federal entity, that of a European "superstate" (Morgan 2005, 56). This target is undoubtedly a sign of "hard" Euroscepticism, as they reject the entire idea of European political integration. Adding the distinction of "hard" and "soft" Euroscepticism to Morgan's typology, illustrates how difficult it is to define the term with just one universal definition. Morgan only differentiates between the different targets of Euroscepticism but categorizes them all as a part of the Eurosceptic "agenda" nonetheless.

Catherine de Vries takes it one step further, with a typology consisting of four types of public opinion: *Exit Scepticism, Regime Scepticism, Policy Scepticism*, and *Loyal Support*. All four types are illustrated in the figure below (figure 3). The first type, Exit scepticism, characterizes the most EU sceptical individuals who combine a negative EU regime differential with a negative policy differential (de Vries 2018, 78). The second type, Loyal support, characterizes the people who hold both positive EU regime and policy differentials (de Vries 2018, 79).

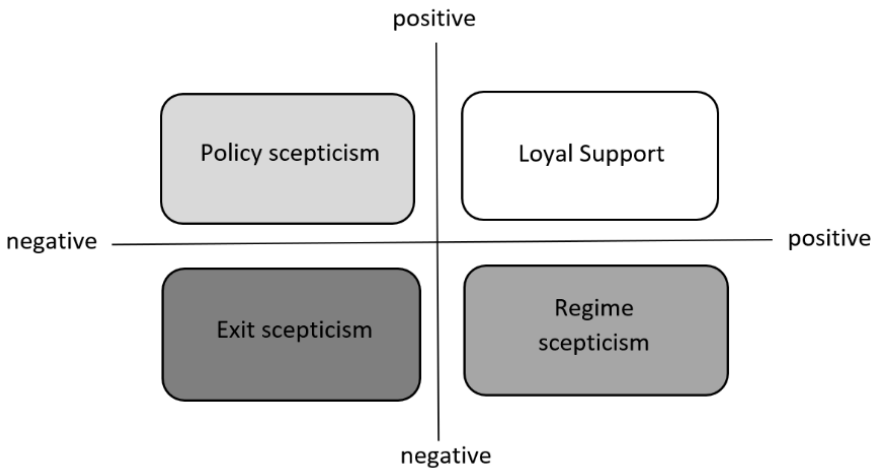

Figure 3: A typology of support and scepticism (de Vries 2018, 9).

According to de Vries, exit sceptics prefer their state on the outside rather than continuing the EU membership, whilst the loyal supporters on the other hand have a more positive outlook on EU policy and regime evaluations vis-à-vis their national ones (de Vries 2018, 9). Loyal supporters often support the status quo of membership, as they often lack a viable exit option (de Vries 2018, 79). The third type, Regime scepticism, is characterized by individuals who evaluate the way the EU policy system operates as less positive compared to the national level (de Vries 2018, 79). One example could be their concern of a democratic deficit, causing them to have less faith in the procedures at the EU level. However, they still feel that EU membership entails more benefits than not in terms of policy (de Vries 2018, 79). The fourth type, policy scepticism, is characterized by a general scepticism towards the public good provision and policies at the EU level. Nonetheless, the policy sceptics prefer the rules and procedures at the EU level rather than the national level (de Vries 2018, 79).

In de Vries typology, only the Exit scepticism can be said to be "hard" Euroscepticism. The other three can be categorized as "soft" Euroscepticism. The typology created by de Vries is a good illustration of the many nuances to Euroscepticism. Most importantly, it illustrates that there are more ways of being a "sceptic" than being against everything remotely related to the issue. Being a "Eurosceptic" is not necessarily black and white.

There are different aspects one can object to when it comes to the EU. Having a general understanding of the term, and the several nuances to it, is crucial in order to study how people react to issues such as Brexit. Although, there will undoubtedly be some people who are simply either pro-EU or anti-EU, and either hate all of it or love all of it. However, there will be many individuals who have slightly more nuanced views and reasons for voting In or Out. This is important to acknowledge.

Based on the definitions and approaches to Euroscepticism presented in this chapter, this thesis utilizes Catherine de Vries' typology. de Vries' typology proficiently captures the different nuances to Euroscepticism and can be used to illustrate how Euroscepticism manifests in different ways.

2.4.1 The rise of Euroscepticism

Euroscepticism has long been an issue for the European integration project. The UK is not alone in feeling apprehensive about the bureaucracy in Brussels. Berglund et al. mapped Euroscepticism in both EU member states and countries on the outside of the EU. They found that the "newcomers" to the Union, like Austria, Sweden, and Finland, were dominating the Eurosceptic camp (Berglund et al. 2006, 143). In the early 2000s, countries like Denmark, Sweden, and the UK became outspoken Eurosceptics (Berglund et al. 2006, 143). This is evident in the 2004 elections to the EP, where UKIP took 12 seats in the Strasbourg Parliament, showing a clear discontentment among the British voters (Berglund et al. 2006, 143). This Eurosceptic attitude has clearly not dissipated in later years considering the results of the 2016 referendum. This leaves us with the question of why Euroscepticism is on the rise, and why it is more present in certain countries.

Over the years, much research on Euroscepticism and the public opinion on the European integration project has been published. De Vries highlights some rather surprising results in her book. The first, and perhaps most surprising, is the fact that Euroscepticism is most pronounced in countries that have weathered the Eurozone crisis well, and who benefited the most from the single currency (de Vries 2018, 15). This is surprising considering public support is commonly perceived as the result of economic interest or identity considerations. Moreover, the UK has benefitted economically from its EU membership overall and has not suffered as much as other member states from the great recession (de Vries 2018, 17). According to de Vries, the utilitarian model perceives EU support as a form of cost-benefit analysis. In addition to this, scholars, inspired by models of economic voting, argue that support "…should be higher in countries with improved trade and favourable economic conditions due to the Single Market or in countries that receive structural funds" (de Vries 2018, 14). Furthermore, many economists claim that in the long run migration will have a positive effect on the standard of living in Europe (Berglund et al. 2006, 154). However, according to Berglund et al., in the short run migration will have a "…destabilising impact on the delicate social and economic equilibrium of the country at the receiving end" (Berglund et al. 2006, 154). In this scenario, guest workers who remain unemployed will become a burden on social services, like the National Health Service (NHS). If they do obtain employment, it will be at the expense of workers who lose their jobs due to competition, and as a result the guest workers will be indirectly at fault for a growing financial burden on social services (Berglund et al. 2006, 154-155). This will eventually lead to resentment from their fellow workers (Berglund et al. 2006, 155).

De Vries present another strand of research on public opinion which shows that the European project is not only about market integration, but also the establishment of a sense of European identity and mutual obligation (de Vries 2018, 14). Two factors are highlighted as core drivers of support for the EU: people's attachment to their nation and their perceptions of people from other cultures (de Vries 2018, 15). According to Hooghe and Marks, Euroscepticism is more pronounced among people who conceive their national identity as exclusive of other territorial identities compared to those with multiple nested identities (de Vries 2018, 15). According to Berglund et al., nationalism is not beneficial for intergovernmental cooperation, and can be a detrimental factor for the decision-making of the EU. The entire success of the European integration project relies on the continuous erosion of national limitations on the political elites in Europe, as well as its people (Berglund et al. 2006, 139). In their book on the EU, Berglund et al. points to the strength of populist and nationalist right-wing parties in election as a counterreaction to European integration, and a sign of growing Euroscepticism (Berglund et al. 2006, 140). Furthermore, people with a strong national identity will perceive an international organisation as a threat to their sense of national belonging (de Vries 2018, 19). For individuals who are transnationally mobile and who has lived abroad in other EU countries, Euroscepticism is shown to be significantly weaker (de Vries 2018, 15). Another interesting find is the link between Euroscepticism and people's attitudes towards minority groups and immigrants. People who are "Eurosceptics" are prone to be negative towards minority groups and immigrants (de Vries 2018, 15).

In the European Election Studies (EES) in 2014, results showed that the five most important issues as policy priorities for the respondents were: unemployment, crime, inflation, climate change and immigration (de Vries 2018, 116). De Vries compares the results for each of the four types of public opinion on the EU presented earlier. For loyal supporters, the most important issue is unemployment, followed by inflation and crime (de Vries 2018, 116). For the exit sceptics, immigration is the most important issue at 31 per cent, followed by unemployment at 29 per cent (de Vries 2018, 117). However, which issue is considered most pressing changes according to changes in national conditions. If the national conditions are good, immigration stands out as the most pressing issue. If national conditions are less favourable, unemployment is a bigger priority issue than immigration (de Vries 2018, 105). In countries where the economic and political conditions are below par, people prioritize unemployment over any other issue, regardless of their political affiliation (de Vries 2018, 105). While in countries where the economic and political conditions are good, the differences between the four types of Eurosceptics start to show. Regime and policy sceptics care more about immigration, crime and unemployment, while exit sceptics care significantly more about immigration than any other issue when national conditions are good (de Vries 2018, 105).

2.5 Media theory

This chapter covers the power and influence of the media. More specifically, the free press. The role of the free press is to contribute to the right of freedom of expression, strengthening the responsiveness and accountability of governments to their citizens, and providing a pluralist platform of political expression for a multitude of groups and interests. A free and independent press is essential in the process of democratization. (Norris 2008, 186). Pippa Norris highlights three main roles for the news media in a democracy: the watchdog, civic forum, and agenda setter (Norris 2008, 188). In this thesis, the focus is on the news media as an agenda setter. The media provides the

public with information about urgent political problems, like in the case of Brexit and the possible consequences of leaving or remaining in the EU.

2.5.1 The agenda-setting role of the media

"All I know is just what I read in the newspapers" (McCombs 2014, 1). Will Rogers is most likely not alone in this sentiment, as much of what we talk about and care about is in large part being brought to light by the media. In our current society, the news media is the public's primary source of political information (Hayes 2008, 4). A good example of the media's power in setting the agenda is the current COVID-19 pandemic raging globally (World Health Organization 2020). Often described as the "death virus", the media sets the tone in how we talk about the pandemic. Without the media, the outbreak's beginnings in China would most likely go unnoticed outside of the country's borders for much longer than it did. Another example is the refugee crisis in 2015 (Amnesty 2015), the Ebola outbreak in 2014-2016 (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention n.d.) and the "MeToo"-movement's upsurge in 2019 (North 2019). The media put a lot of focus on these events, making them the center of people's attention, and in turn causing them to be the defining events of their respective years. When the media stops reporting on an event, or finds another major event to focus on, it is quickly forgotten by people. This illustrates the agenda-setting power of the media well.

As McCombs point out in his book, through selecting stories and covering events, journalists focus our attention and influence our perceptions of the most important issues of the day (McCombs 2014, 1). The role the news media have of identifying the key issues and topics, as well as influencing the importance of these issues on the public agenda, has come to be called the *agenda-setting role* of the media (McCombs 2014, 1). Through factors such as headlines, front pages, the size of the headline and the length of the article, the media drops clues about the salience of the topic to the readers (McCombs 2014, 1).The public then use these clues to decide which issues are most important to them (McCombs 2014, 2). According to Galpin and Trenz, the selection of news tends to be value driven. The consequences of this selection trend are an overrepresentation of negative news over positive or balanced reports (Galpin, Trenz 2017, 51). Negativity bias in journalistic news coverage is an almost universal find in journalism studies (Galpin, Trenz 2017, 51), which correlates with McCombs findings. Negative news has also proven to be more newsworthy than good news (Galpin, Trenz 2017, 52). In other words, people will most likely find news of a plane crash more newsworthy than the news of a celebrity getting married.

While the predominately negative news might be more appealing to the general public, it also has its disadvantages. Studies on the effects of media negativity has shown that negativity can result in a lack of political knowledge or awareness of the news (Galpin, Trenz 2017, 55). According to studies, people in the US became less interested in politics and public affairs as the news grew increasingly negative after the 1970s (Galpin, Trenz 2017, 55). What Galpin and Trenz describe is a paradox in the news coverage: people find negative news more intriguing and newsworthy, whilst also finding it tiresome in the long run, causing them to lose interest in politics and public affairs. In addition to this, the public also lose interest in reading the news (Galpin, Trenz 2017, 55). Furthermore, Galpin and Trenz raise an important question regarding people's ability to fully participate in democratic politics, based on their political knowledge, or rather lack of it. Their approach is that if the public is discouraged from reading the news due to negative news coverage, their general knowledge on political matters decreases, and thus their ability to participate in democratic politics decreases (Galpin, Trenz 2017, 55). In terms of the EU,

this is an even more severe issue due to the general lack of news coverage on EU politics compared to national news coverage. This "information deficit" and lack of knowledge on the EU can limit the extent to which European citizens are able to engage in the EU democracy (Galpin, Trenz 2017, 55). Galpin and Trenz highlight an important issue with the news coverage on EU politics in their article, namely the issue of quality in news coverage. British newspapers have proven to have severe factual deficiencies in their reporting on the EU, and they frequently report myths about EU rules and regulations (Galpin, Trenz 2017, 55). The consequences of a lack of quality in the news coverage is the creation of an uninformed public, who in turn becomes deeply sceptical to the EU (Galpin, Trenz 2017, 55). Reading "Eurosceptic" newspapers have also proven to increase the level of negative attitudes towards the EU (Galpin, Trenz 2017, 56). This points towards the concept of *framing.*

2.5.2 Framing Theory

Throughout the existing research and literature on Euroscepticism and media influence, the concept of framing is consistently brought up as an influencing mechanism in the media. Like Euroscepticism, there are several different definitions and understandings of the concept of *framing*. One thing they all have in common, is the emphasis on language as central, as well as the importance of the tools of natural language processing (Boydstun et al. 2014, 2). The most employed definition is coined by Robert Entman, stating that: «Framing essentially involves selection and salience» (Boydstun et al. 2014, 2). Moreover, according to Entman, framing is the process of selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicating text (Entman 1993, 52). The goal with this process is to promote a particular problem definition, a causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (Boydstun et al. 2014, 2). Another definition presented by Chong and Druckman, describes framing as «…the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue» (Chong, Druckman 2007, 104). The difference between these two definitions, is the point of focus. In Entman's definition, the focus is on the *process* of framing, what is actually being done, and the purpose of said process. The definition presented by Chong and Druckman focus more on the *consequences* and *result* of the framing process, what one could describe as the ultimate "goal" of the process. One could argue that Entman's definition is more complete, and that it is more descriptive of the entire concept. More importantly, the definition by Entman is more appropriate for the purpose of this study due to the detailed description of the process and purpose of framing. The goal for this thesis is to look at the way issues are framed by the media, not how the public was influenced by the frames. Therefore, Entman's definition will be the one utilized in this thesis.

Frames diagnose, evaluate, and prescribe. In other words, frames define problems, diagnose causes, and suggest remedies (Entman 1993, 52). Frames work by highlighting some bits of information about the item that is the subject of communication, and as a result of this elevates it in *salience* (Entman 1993, 53). The word *salience* means to make a piece of information more evident, significant or memorable to audiences (Entman 1993, 53). By using frames, the communicator immediately makes the piece of information more noticeable, significant or memorable to the audience. When information increases in salience, the chances that the recipient will perceive the information, process it and store it in memory increases (Entman 1993, 53).

In communication, frames must be understood in relation to a particular topic, a specific event or political actor(s). If the aim is to understand how frames are used to influence public opinion, one specific attitude needs to be isolated (Chong, Druckman 2007, 106). This is what we call issue-specific frames, which are only applicable to specific events or issues (de Vreese, Lecheler 2016, 2). The opposite would be defined as generic frames, which go beyond thematic limitations (de Vreese, Lecheler 2016, 2), and are thus applicable to different contexts.

The effects of framing, and contributing factors

Previous experiments with question wording have shown that the way the choices are framed have an influence on how the respondents perceive risk (Semetko, Valkenburg 2000, 94). Furthermore, frames have been shown to shape public perceptions of political issues (Semetko, Valkenburg 2000, 94). Political actors will often selectively emphasise certain aspects of an issue to gain support for their preferred option and will frame arguments in ways more favourable to their own position on the issue (Hayes 2008, 3). The effects of framing can also manifest through the use of fear. According to Galpin and Trenz, framing of news stories through fear and exclusive identities can potentially result in opposition to the EU (Galpin, Trenz 2017, 65). Philip Harrison, similar to Galpin and Trenz, place some of the responsibility on the receiver as well as the media. In this case, the receiver is the population of the UK. Harrison's explanation of framing presents the media (macro level) as actors who use frames to communicate, present and give meaning to complex political information. The people (micro level) on the other hand, will accept the information being framed for them, and in turn interpret it and reach a conclusion of what it means for them (Harrison 2018, 20).

The effects of framing rely heavily on context (Goodwin, Hix, Pickup 2018, 485). Particularly two factors can determine the effects of framing: a) the recipients characteristics and b) competing frames. The characteristics of the recipient, such as background, knowledge and predispositions will have an impact on how they perceive issues presented to them, as well as how they react to the frames. Effects of framing will be stronger on individuals with less knowledge on the topic in question (Goodwin, Hix, Pickup 2018, 485). In this context, the effects of the British media's framing of issues pertaining to Brexit will have had larger effects on the part of the population with little knowledge on the EU, than the part of the population with high pre-existing knowledge on the union. It is only logical to assume that if one explains Brexit to a person with no prior knowledge on the topic, this will be the counting explanation till they eventually gain more knowledge. This is the equivalent of painting on a blank canvas, where each stroke of paint adds more depth to it and eventually adds up to a complete painting.

Goodwin, Hix and Pickup present the issue of "competing frames" in their study (Goodwin, Hix, Pickup 2018, 485). The case of the Brexit campaign is an excellent example of competing frames. The two sides of the campaign, Leave and Remain, made competing claims throughout. The most notable of which was the question of whether to remain in the EU, or to leave the EU. Any individual exposed to competing frames, might choose the frame that is consistent with their prior beliefs (Goodwin, Hix, Pickup 2018, 485). Based on this belief, any frames presented to the public during the campaign would have simply reinforced any opinion they had of British membership in the EU. However, competing frames can also result in the recipient taking an intermediate position. In a situation with competing frames, the effect of one will mitigate the effects of the other, resulting in weak effects of the frames (Goodwill, Hix, Pickup 2018, 485). Consequently,

while there is a possibility that the competing frames will simply reinforce pre-existing beliefs, there is also the possibility of these frames having little to no effect at all.

While there is a general agreement that framing has an effect on public opinion, one should be careful in accrediting the media with too much power and influence. If Goodwin et al. are right, it is unlikely that any individual who has been subjected to certain beliefs their whole life will be swayed by the opposite belief when faced with competing frames. Based on this assumption, it is more likely that the media in the UK reinforced pre-existing notions in the British population during the campaign. In a democratic society such as the UK, it is unreasonable to accredit the media with a complete influential power over the public where they blindly accept whatever they are told. For this kind of influence, there would have to be a complete lack of knowledge on the issue, and a shutdown of all other informational outlets in society. Considering the UK is a democratic society with a functional free press, this is unlikely. Nonetheless, based on the information presented in this chapter, framing does have an effect on how the public perceive issues.

2.6 Hypotheses

This section explains and presents the hypotheses developed based on the information presented in chapter 2. There are five hypotheses, all of which cover different factors of the thesis, and contributes to answering the research question.

My first hypothesis covers the newspapers stance on EU membership, and their coverage of the 2016 referendum. As presented in this chapter, the coverage of the referendum was highly politicised, with half of the spokespeople in the media being affiliated with one of the campaigns or a political party. In addition to this, studies show that the majority of the spokespeople were affiliated with the Conservative Party, who accounted for almost two-thirds of the referendum-related media appearances. Based on this knowledge, and the knowledge of the newspapers political stand, I reached the following hypothesis:

H1: The tabloid papers are more Euro-sceptic and Pro-Leave in their coverage than their broadsheet counterparts.

Data presented in the Reuters study shows that migration was discussed in a predominately negative tone in general, but no more so than the issues of the economy and UK sovereignty. However, the study showed that migration was the most negatively discussed topic among the pro-Leave messages. Chapter 2 presents de Vries' research showing that people are more concerned about immigration as an issue when the economic and political conditions in the country are good. The UK has overall benefitted economically from an EU-membership and did not suffer as much as other countries from the great recession. Based on this information, I hypothesise that:

H2: The pro-Leave articles framed migration and immigration in a more negative light than the economy.

As stated in chapter 1.1, migration was often presented as a threat to the British public. This "threat" was further backed up by claims of weak borders due to EU membership, and the threat of mass immigration from possible candidate countries like Turkey. Furthermore, the Leave side used this negative presentation of migration as motivation to leave the EU and regain control of their borders. The implication is presumably that by leaving the EU, they would regain control of their borders and reduce the threats associated with migration, e.g. terrorism. Considering that the majority of the spokespeople in the media coverage of the campaign was politicians or people affiliated

with either camp, it stands to reason that the coverage was influenced by the opinions of the two sides. If this is indeed the case, the representation of migration as a threat to the British public would have been present in the media coverage. This results in the following hypothesis:

H3: The British press framed the issue of EU membership as an issue of safety and security for the British population.

The study published by the Reuters Institute showed that the Remain camp was more concerned about the economy as an issue than the Leave camp. Additionally, the Remain camp had a more negative outlook on the economy than the Leave camp. Moreover, half of the the spokespeople in the media during the campaign were politicians or people affiliated with either camp. Hence, it is not unreasonable to assume a similar attitude towards the issue of economy from pro-Remain media outlets. In this case, I hypothesise that the articles written with a pro-Remain opinion presents a more negative outlook on the economy than the pro-Leave articles.

H4: The pro-Remain articles framed the economy in a more negative light than the pro-Leave articles.

My final hypothesis covers the framing of migration. Migration was one of the main topics in the campaign for the referendum, and a major concern especially for the Leave camp. If this concern was reflected in the population as well is another matter, but studies show that there is a link between Euroscepticism and negative attitudes towards immigrants. The UK is also one of the most Eurosceptic countries, as shown by Berglund et al. Considering the results of the referendum, it would appear that there is a lot of Euroscepticism in the UK still. Moreover, due to the (former) EU membership, the UK received many EU migrants every year. According to Migration Watch UK, net migration has averaged at 136 000 per year (Migration Watch UK n.d.). Additionally, according to de Vries, the two factors highlighted as core drivers for support for the EU are people's attachment to their nations and their perceptions of people from other cultures. Hence, it is likely that in a Eurosceptic political climate, people would chose to focus on migration as a negative factor in society. Furthermore, Berglund et al. argued for the short-term effects migration can have on social services and unemployment. In the event the migrants remain unemployed, they will put a strain on the social services and be seen as a burden to society. In the event they do get employment, it will be at the expense of other Brits, and the migrants will indirectly be at fault for causing a growing financial burden on social services, causing resentment from fellow workers. Based on this information, I reached the following hypothesis:

H5: The British press framed migration as a burden on social services.

3 Method and data collection

This chapter presents the methodological choices made for this thesis and explains how the data was gathered and analysed. The first chapter presents the concept of content analysis, and the approach selected for this thesis. The second chapter explains the concept of frame analysis, the approach used in this thesis, and the codebook the analysis is based on. Furthermore, the chapter accounts for the selection of newspapers and articles selected for the analysis. Chapter three explains the coding process of the analysis. The chapter accounts for the choice of variables and units of analysis.

3.1 Content analysis

Quantitative content analysis consists of systematic processing of documents, where the aim is to categorize the material and register the data relevant to the research question (Grønmo 2015, 193). Quantitative content analysis can be applied to any type of document, whether it is in the form of text or numbers, or sound or images (Grønmo 2015, 193). However, it is more common to use the method on written or verbal texts (Grønmo 2015, 193). In this thesis, the analysis is conducted on written texts. Qualitative content analysis is built on the categorization of the material, whilst quantitative content analysis operates based on a coding scheme which determines the processing of data (Grønmo 2015, 193). The selection of data in a quantitative scheme begins before the sampling of the data begins, with the development of the coding scheme. The registration of data consists of marking sections of the texts corresponding with the coding scheme into categories which are relevant for each individual unit of text (Grønmo 2015, 193). This thesis will build on quantitative content analysis due to the nature of the research question and the aim of the thesis.

3.2 Frame Analysis

News frames tell us how we should think about politics, and how we should understand issues and events in certain ways. In the process of defining the issue and suggesting how we should think about it, frames offer a solution by implying what should be done about the issue (Dekavalla 2018, 1589). As mentioned earlier, frames can be either issue-specific or generic frames. The issue-specific frames only apply to a specific topic, while the generic frames can be applied to different topics and contexts (Dekavalla 2018, 1589). The issue frame focuses on policy problems, suggested solutions by politicians, and the implication the issue has for the public (Dekavalla 2018, 1591). Frame analysis is the process of coding cases of framing in text, in order to discover patterns in frame usage (Boydstun et al. 2014, 2). For this study, the aim is to understand how migration and economy is framed by the news media.

The concept of framing offers a way to describe the power of a communicating text (Entman 1993, 51). Entman describes analysis of frames as a method to illuminate the precise way influence over the human mind is exerted by the transfer of information from one location to that consciousness. The location in question can be a speech, an utterance, a news report, or a novel (Entman 1993, 51-52).

Approaches to the analysis of frames

There are five distinct methodological approaches for the measurement of media frames: the hermeneutic, the linguistic, the manual holistic, the deductive and the computer-assisted approach (Matthes, Kohring 2008, 259). All of the approaches, except for the deductive approach, are inductive. When trying to detect news frames in text, the researcher often resorts to an inductive approach. This means the researcher conducts their analysis without already defined frames in mind, and then defines these frames

during the course of analysis (de Vreese, Lecheler 2016, 2). In the deductive approach the researcher will analyse frames that are already defined and operationalized prior to the analysis (de Vreese, Lecheler 2016, 2). Most framing studies will for instance use linguistic devices to measure frames to a certain extent (Matthes, Kohring 2008, 263). All of the five approaches have similarities to one another, and it is challenging to rely on only one approach consistently (Matthes, Kohring 2008, 263). Therefore, each approach will not be described in detail in this section. Furthermore, while it is common with an inductive approach to the analysis of frames, this study operates with a deductive approach. This study builds on the frame codebook developed by Boydstun et al. in their study on media frames and frame dynamics across policy issues (Boydstun et al. 2013, 13). The codebook consists of 15 types of frames, all illustrated in Appendix A.

The framing codebook was developed for categorizing frames across policy issues, but it can also be used in issue-specific ways. The frame dimensions in the codebook can be applied to any policy issue, and to any communication context (Boydstun et al. 2013, 4). This codebook is beneficial to this thesis because it is possible to nest issue-specific frames or arguments within each category (Boydstun et al. 2013, 5). Thus, it is not only limited to policy frames. However, not all the frames in this codebook are useful for this study. The "Constitutionality and jurisprudence frames" are not applicable to the topics of the thesis, nor are they applicable to the study of the British press due to their US-centric definition. In the analysis of the frames used by the four British newspapers, this thesis conducts a content analysis based on the coding of articles. The coding is based on the frame codebook by Boydstun et al. The next chapters explain the selection and coding process of the analysis.

3.2.1 Newspapers Analysed

The newspapers selected for this study is *Daily Mail, The Guardian, The Sun*, and *The Independent*. All four newspapers have been selected on the following criteria: I) tabloid/broadsheet, II) political leaning, III) online presence, and IV) circulation. This section provides a brief overview of the newspapers based on the four criteria. While print circulation is not relevant for this study, which is based on online availability, the print circulation provides an illustration of the popularity of the newspapers.

Tabloid or Broadsheet

The four newspapers can be divided into two groups: the tabloids and the broadsheets. *The Sun* and *Daily Mail* belong in the tabloid-group, while *The Guardian* and *The Independent* can be categorized as broadsheets. The motivation for selecting newspapers representing both tabloids and broadsheets is the difference in news coverage. Broadsheet newspapers tend to write in-depth news, rather than the celebrity gossip and sensationalism the tabloids often publish (Oxford Royale Academy 2016). That is not to say that the tabloids have less influence on their audience than the broadsheets, but they do have a different way of presenting stories. This distinction explains why *The Independent* is still categorized as a broadsheet when their current format is indeed tabloid (Oxford Royale Academy 2016).

Political Leaning

Furthermore, the selected newspapers can be divided into categories based on their political leanings. The tabloids, *The Sun* and the *Daily Mail*, are both right-wing. Although, *The Sun* can be better described as "populist" rather than right-wing, having endorsed every election winner since 1979 (Oxford Royale Academy 2016). The two

broadsheet newspapers can be grouped together on the left side politically. *The Independent*'s initial aim upon launching in 1986 was to be politically independent, but in later years they have had a centre-left political leaning (Oxford Royale Academy 2016). *The Guardian*'s political leaning is no doubt left-wing, and they make little efforts to conceal their political bias (Oxford Royale Academy 2016). Ensuring a variety in the political leanings of the newspapers was important for two reasons: a) detecting any potential correlation between newspapers framing of issues and their political leanings, and b) to balance out this potential partisan coverage by selecting newspapers from both sides of the political spectrum.

Online Presence

All four newspapers have a strong online presence and availability. During the research for this thesis there were no issues in sampling articles from any of the newspapers. This was a strong prerequisite when selecting the newspapers to be included in the study. It is important for the study that the news published by the newspapers are available to all readers online, and not hidden behind a paywall, thus ensuring a broader public audience.

Circulation

Statistics presented by Statista on circulation of newspapers in the UK as of April 2019, shows that *The Sun* and *Daily Mail* tops the list with respectively 1 371.19 and 1 199.76 in 1 000 copies (Statista 2019). *The Guardian* is at the bottom of the list, with only 134.57 in 1 000 copies (Statista 2019). *The Independent* has a significantly lower circulation than the other three, and as a result does not appear in the statistics. Nonetheless, the newspaper was selected for this study due to its political leaning, as well as its reputation as a "quality daily" (Harrison, Smith, Davies 1992, 81).

3.2.2 Articles selected

The selection process of articles for the analysis was done using Factiva, a database of international newspapers. Access to the database was through NTNU, which made it an obvious choice of database. Additionally, the database could provide articles from British newspapers, which was essential to the premise of this thesis. The selection period was the 23rd of May to the 23rd of June 2016, the last month before the referendum. The selection process was done in two rounds of searching. During the first round, the goal was to establish a general idea of how the topics were covered by the newspapers, and to scope out the number of potential articles that was available. First, a few general searches were made to gauge the general coverage of the referendum and to establish search criteria that would apply for the four outlets during the given period. An example of such a search is "EU + UK + referendum + migration". Once I had run a few searches, I was able to establish search criteria that would apply for the whole month for all the four outlets. Due to time constraints and limited resources, it was important to be as precise as possible to narrow it down to the most relevant articles. In one of the more general searches containing the key words "EU + referendum + immigration + UK", a total of 630 articles came up in that one-month period. This is a good indication of the sheer volume of articles published during the campaign. Similarly, with the economy, a search for "Brexit + economy" resulted in 836 articles that month. After a total of 20 different searches using a variety of key words, I was left with a total of 5975 articles. Some of these will have overlapped as they will have qualified for several different key words. Nonetheless, the number of articles illustrates the need to develop concise search criteria. In the second round of searching, I had to filter out the irrelevant articles, and

the articles that only mentioned the topics in passing. Ideally, the articles should discuss issues related to the two topics for at least half of the article. Articles were the issue was only mentioned in a sentence or two was not selected. The filtering process was done by further specifying the searches. An example of a more specified search that garnered less but more precise results is ""EU + UK + referendum + migration + Brexit + immigration + security". After a second round of searches, the results were narrowed down to 231 articles. By the end of the selection process, I was left with 84 articles which were coded. During the second round of searching in Factiva, I was forced to be very particular with which articles were selected for this study, due to time constraints. This resulted in only 84 articles being coded, despite there being many more relevant articles.

3.3 Coding process

During the coding process, the development of codes was based on the codebook by Boydstun et al. presented in chapter 3.2 (see appendix A). The coding itself was done in two rounds, to ensure a high level of accuracy. The coding for this project was done in the MaxQDA program. By using this program, I was able to easily sort articles into document groups and create variables and code segments. Before starting the process, I split the topic of migration into two subcategories: "migration" and "immigration". These subcategories were identified after a qualitative look on a random sample of articles from the four outlets. I recognised a similar distinction in the media coverage itself. Often, immigration would be discussed in a very different manner and context than mobility for British citizens, or the question of labour migration by EU citizens. Subsequently, I found there to be a reasonable distinction between the topic of "immigration" and "migration". The topic of "economy" was left as one category in the coding process.

The types of frames possible to detect were "Economic frames", "Security and defence frames", "Health and safety frames", "Quality of life frames", and "Other frames". All of the coded segments in the articles are coded on the basis of these frames. For instance, the "Economic frames" included all coded segments which described the financial costs or benefits of the UK leaving or remaining in the EU. These codes pertained to the category of economy. Types of frames like the "Security and defence", "Quality of life", and "Health and safety" pertained mostly to the migration category.

3.3.1 Variables

In addition to the coding segments, I created a "judgement" variable with the values "Remain", "Neutral", and "Leave". If the article displayed a clear position on the issue of EU membership, it would be categorised as either "Remain" or "Leave". This could be done either by the author stating so explicitly, or by the author presenting a surplus of claims leaning towards Leave or Remain. Ultimately, this categorisation was based largely on my interpretation of the articles. If the article did not present any obvious position on EU membership, it would be labelled neutral. This was done to create data on the newspapers position in the debate on EU membership. Finally, I created a variable for the newspapers in order to categorise each article, and create data on the number of articles per outlet. While the question of the newspaper's position on EU membership is not an integral part of the research question for this thesis, I still found the information useful. It can provide insight into how the newspapers angle their coverage on "economy" and "migration" in light of Brexit.

The codes covered issues within the categories of "the economy", "migration", and "immigration". Examples of codes are "Safety Risk" (immigration) and "Weaker Trade" (economy). The "Safety Risk" code includes claims pertaining to the increased safety risk immigration poses for citizens of the UK. The implication of the claims is that the UK will

be a safer country for its citizens if they leave the EU, and gain control of their immigration policy. An example of such a claim is found in the Daily Mail, stating that "… the current EU approach to immigration isn't just bad for us economically, it is also bad in security and humanitarian terms" (Daily Mail 2016). The "Weaker Trade" code includes all claims that the UK will suffer a weaker trade if they leave the EU. An example of this is the claim found in The Independent, stating: "The UK benefits from the trade deals agreed by the EU. The UK would need to establish new ones to carry on trading without facing tariffs. It's not clear how long this would take" (Chu 2016).

3.3.2 Units of analysis

The unit of analysis in this study is the "claims" presented in the articles. A "claim" can be defined by these characteristics: 1) persuades audience, 2) takes a position, 3) is based on a belief about an issue, and 4) must be based on credible sources (Smith 2012, 66). The fourth point does not pertain to this situation, as the claims presented in the articles are made by individuals, and as such can often be a representation of their own beliefs and/or values. There has been no possibility, nor a goal for this study, to ascertain the credibility or the truth of the claims. In this context, a claim must then be understood as a presentation of a position on a particular topic. Furthermore, there has not been made any distinction in regard to the *who* is stating the claim. Whether the claim was made by a politician, the author(s) of the articles, or an expert, has not been a factor in the coding process.

4 Results

The coding process was based on the existing frame codebook developed by Boydstun et al. (Boydstun 2013, 4). The goal of the coding was to determine if these frames were present in the coverage of the referendum by the British press. This chapter presents the results of the analysis and discuss the use of the existing frames by looking at their occurrence in articles. Another focus of this analysis is to determine which "attitude" the articles had towards EU membership, and how this correlates with the use of frames. This is determined by running crosstabs with chi-square tests with the identified frames and the "Judgement" variable. This can tell us something about how the newspapers framed the economy and migration in light of their own views on EU membership. A crosstab, or a cross-classification table, is used to determine the relationship between two categorical variables (Wong et al. 2008, 43). The first step in a crosstab analysis-based method is to check for dependency between the variables. This is done by doing a hypothesis test, where the null hypothesis could be H0: The "Weaker Trade"- frame is independent of the articles' opinion on EU membership. A chi-square test can then determine whether this hypothesis should be rejected or not (Wong et al. 2008, 43). In a chi-square test the null hypothesis is either rejected or strengthened on the basis of the p-value exceeding our chosen significance level (Wong et al. 2008, 43). If the p-value is less than, or equal to, the chosen significance level, we can determine a high association between the two variables, and the null hypothesis is rejected. In this thesis, the chosen significance level is 0.05.

This chapter presents the process and results of the analysis conducted. First, it presents some of the statistical findings of the analysis, such as the number of articles analysed from each newspaper and the newspapers position on EU membership. Second, it presents the frames identified in the coding process, and further explains the usage of the frames. This is done by running statistical analysis in the SPSS analytical program. Specifically, crosstabs with chi-square tests to test for dependency between variables. Third and last, the chapter discusses the hypotheses presented in chapter 2 in light of the findings presented in this chapter.

4.1 The newspapers coverage

Due to time constraints, the number of articles selected and analysed is far lower than what is desirable in a study like this. This should be accounted for throughout the analysis, as the lack of data have a significant impact on the results. However, it is my belief that despite the lack of data, the results can still show real trends in the coverage of the EU referendum. The two following sections present some of the findings on the newspaper's coverage of the campaign.

4.1.1 Number of articles analysed from each newspaper

The referendum was a highly covered topic in the British press. Before the gathering of articles, the expectation was that the tabloids would have a higher coverage than the broadsheets. As mentioned earlier, the selection period was 23rd of May to the 23rd of June (day of the referendum). During this period, it was The Guardian who covered Brexit the most in respects to the economy and migration. This is illustrated in figure 4. In terms of other issues related to the question of EU membership, this might not necessarily be the case. However, this thesis has only focused on migration and the economy. According to figure 4, The Guardian was responsible for 42,86 % of the articles, while The Independent had the fewest articles with only 14,29 % of the 84 articles analysed. Daily Mail had a fairly high coverage with 26,19 % of the articles.

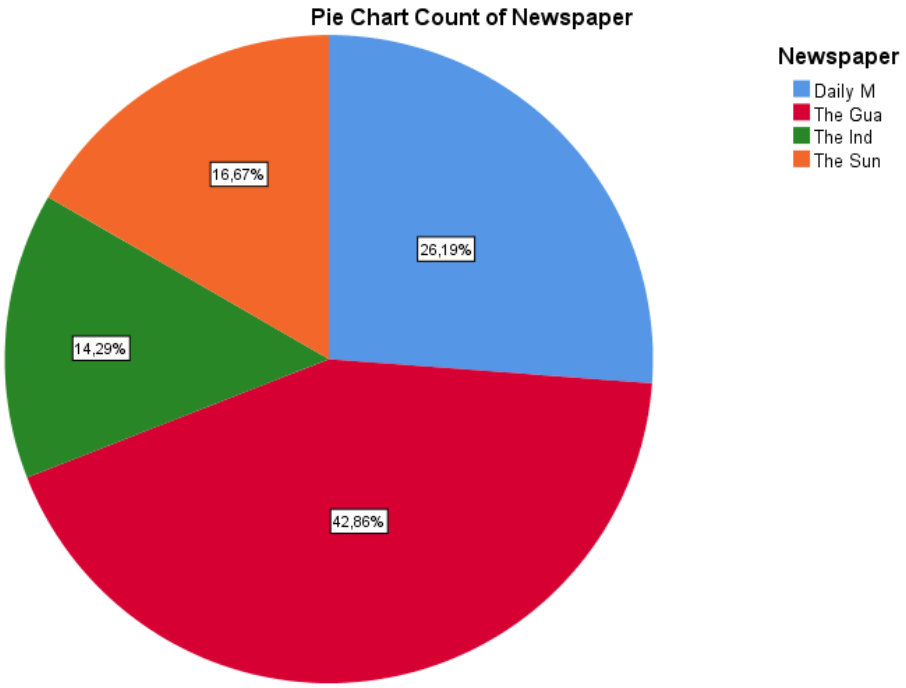

Figure 4: Pie chart count of newspaper coverage, 23.05.2016-23.06.2016 (SPSS).

4.1.2 Newspapers position on EU membership

To be able to determine which stance expressed by the newspapers towards EU membership, I looked at what kind of claims the articles presented, as well as their use of words when describing the EU, Brexit, or migration and the economy. If the articles presented facts and statements made by politicians in an impartial way, and the authors did not express any opinion or claims themselves, the article's position was considered neutral. If the majority of the claims an article presented was in support of either "Remain" or "Leave", the article would be categorised as such. An example of this is opinion pieces, which is expressing the authors own beliefs and viewpoints. The use of words also impacted the way the articles were categorised. Often the headline of the article would give a good indication of the attitude towards the issue being covered. One headline from Daily Mail reading "BRITAIN'S WIDE OPEN BORDERS" (Greenwood et al. 2016) clearly displays an attitude towards the border situation in the UK. This headline can either be interpreted as the author expressing discontentment, or joy, with the border situation in the UK. However, given the overall tone of the campaign, and the issues discussed in relation to British EU membership, it is fair to assume that this headline displays a negative attitude towards the border situation.

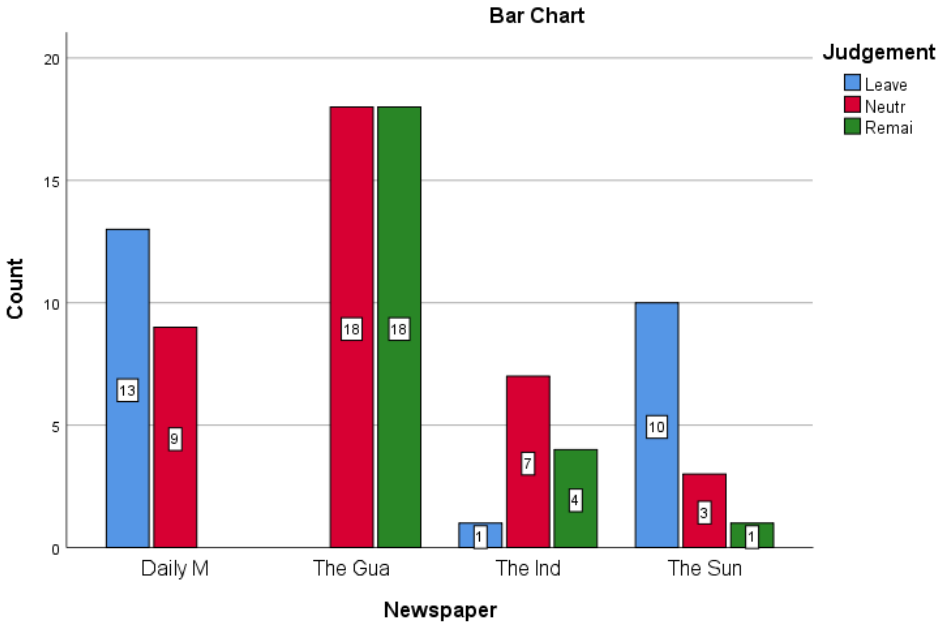

*Figure 5: Crosstab of Newspapers*Judgement (SPSS).*

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	45,699[a]	6	,000
Likelihood Ratio	58,161	6	,000
N of Valid Cases	84		

*Table 1: Chi-Square Test of Newspaper*Judgement (SPSS).*

While the headline itself cannot provide a definite image of the position towards an issue, it can give a good indication. The hypothesis presented in chapter 2 was that the tabloids would display a clear support for Brexit, as opposed to the broadsheet papers, who would

display a more neutral or supportive stance on EU membership. To test this, a crosstab was run in SPSS with the variables "Newspaper" and "Judgement".

Figure 5 shows that there is a distinction between the four papers in their stance on EU membership for the UK. Daily Mail shows no support for EU membership, and the majority of their articles are pro-Leave. However, a total of nine articles displayed a neutral stance on EU membership. The articles from The Guardian were either neutral or pro-Remain. Based on figure 5, The Independent was the most neutral newspaper while covering the two topics in relation to Brexit. While they had the least coverage out of the four outlets, the majority of their articles maintained a neutral stance. In order to test the dependency between the two variables, a chi-square test was run (table 1). The p-value is lower than the significance level, and the results are significant. Thus, a correlation between the newspapers and their position on EU membership has been established.

4.2 Frames identified

The following section presents the five different types of frames identified in the coding process: 1) economic frames, 2) security and defence frames, 3) health and safety frames, 4) quality of life frames, and 5) other frames. By running crosstabs with chi-square tests, this chapter will determine if there are any connection between the frames and the articles' position on EU membership.

Economic frames

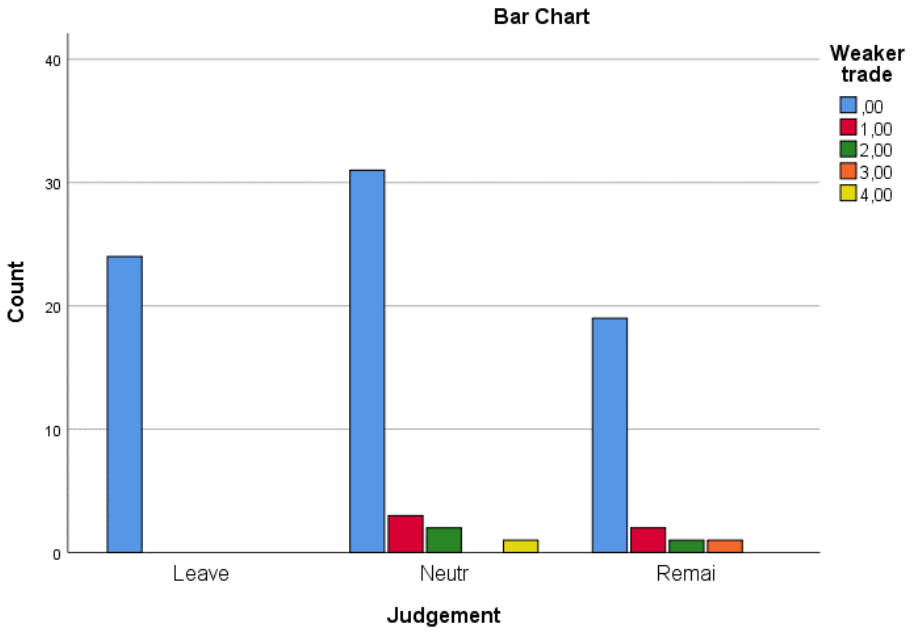

*Figure 6: Crosstab of Weaker trade*Judgement (SPSS).*

In the codebook by Boydstun et al. (see appendix A), the economic frames are defined as describing the costs and/or benefits, and financial implications of the issue. In this case, the main issue is British membership in the EU. Through the coding process I was able to identify three economic frames: "Weaker trade", "Weakening of the economy", and "Access to the Single Market". During the coding process, the "Weaker Trade" code was applied to claims that the UK would suffer weaker trade if they left the EU. Thus, it fits into the economic frames, as it describes the cost and financial implications of the UK leaving the EU.

In the case of the "Weaker trade" variable, one can see that it clusters around the "Remain" and the "Neutral" values of the "Judgement" variable (figure 6). This is an example of claims of the negative financial repercussions of leaving the EU that was presented exclusively in pro-Remain articles. The frame appears 18 times in 10 articles, 4 of which were pro-Remain and 6 were neutral. The chi-square test in table 2 reveals that it is not statistically significant. The p-value is higher than the significance level of 0.05, and we cannot determine any statistical association between two variables. The null hypothesis of no association between the two variables is strengthened. However, despite there not being a statistical association between them, the results still illustrate how the press framed the issue of trade. The pro-Remain articles displayed a far more pessimistic outlook on the status of British trade after a potential Brexit than the pro-Leave articles. This reflects the findings by the Reuters study (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016) that the Remain camp was far more negative in their portrayal of the economy than the Leave camp.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7,718[a]	8	,462
Likelihood Ratio	10,182	8	,253
Linear-by-Linear Association	2,410	1	,121
N of Valid Cases	84		

*Table 2: Chi-Square Tests of Weaker trade*Judgement (SPSS).*

The second identified economic frame is the "Weakening of the economy"- frame. In figure 7, we see yet another example of an economic frame which is mostly presented in pro-Remain and neutral articles. This is not surprising, as the variable itself represents claims that the UK will have a weaker economy if they leave the EU. In the study published by the Reuters institute (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016), results show that the Remain camp talked about the economy in a more negative way than the Leave camp. Similar to the "Weaker trade"- frame, this is reflected in the results of the analysis.

In order to test the significance of the statistical results, I ran a chi-square test with a pre-determined significance level of 0.05. In table 3, the p-value is shown to be less than the significance level, meaning the results are statistically significant. The null hypothesis is rejected, and the assumption of a correlation between the "Weakening of the economy"- frame and the pro-Remain articles is strengthened.

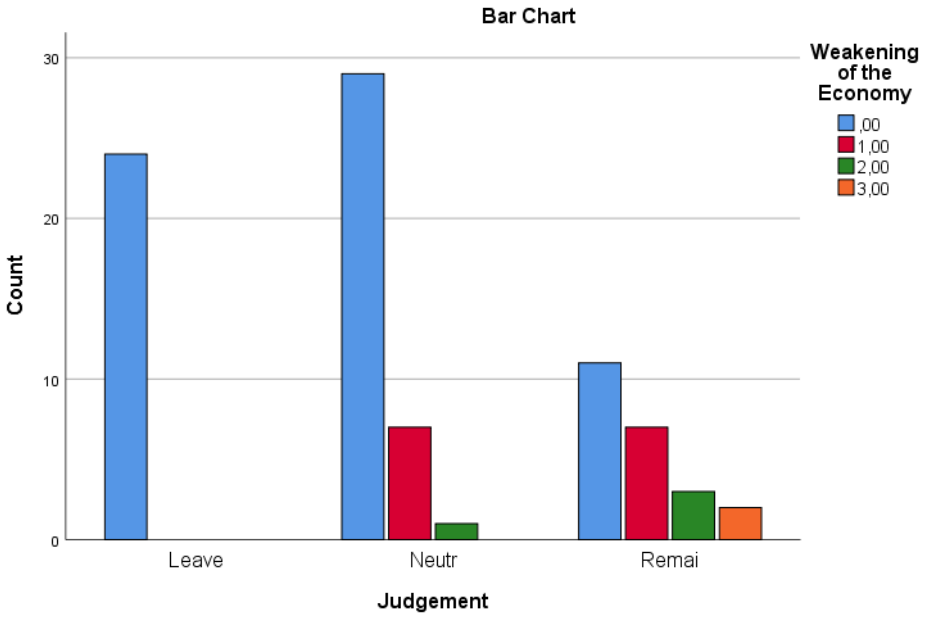

*Figure 7: Crosstab of Weakening of the economy*Judgement (SPSS).*

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	21,056[a]	6	,002
Likelihood Ratio	24,750	6	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	17,075	1	,000
N of Valid Cases	84		

*Table 3: Chi-Square Tests of Weakening of the economy*Judgement (SPSS).*

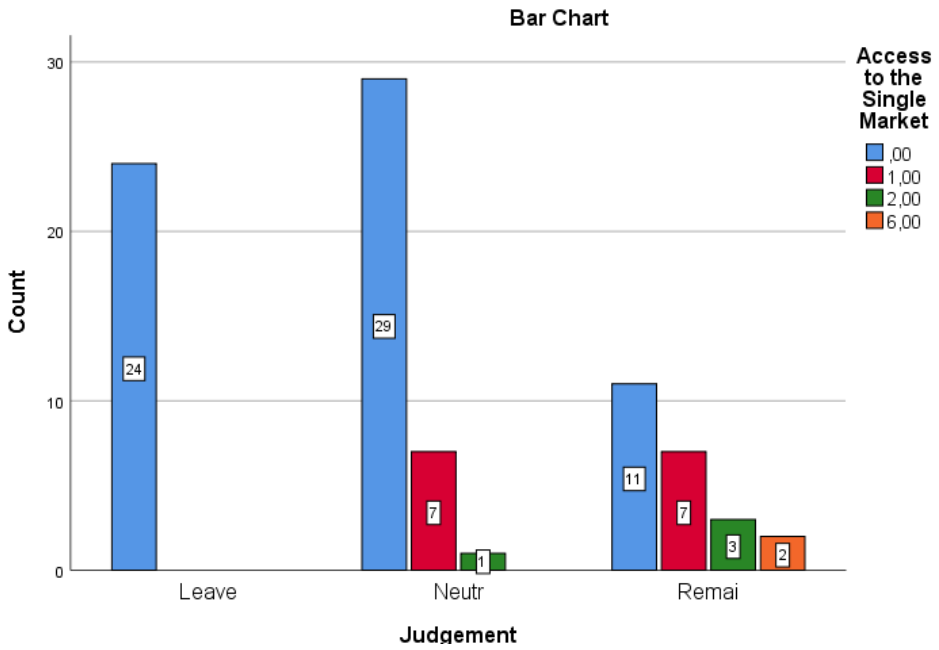

*Figure 8: Crosstab of Access to the Single Market*Judgement (SPSS).*

The third, and final, economic frame is the "Access to the Single Market"- frame. This frame consists of all the claims about the consequences a potential Brexit will have on the UKs access to the Single Market. When discussing financial consequences of exiting the EU, the main concern was that the UK no longer would be a part of the Single Market, and as a result would lose out economically. The implication was that the UK should stay in the EU and have continuous access to the Single Market. Looking at figure 8, the "Access to the Single Market" variable clusters mostly around the "Neutral" and the "Remain" values. This claim is hardly presented in a pro-Leave articles. Similar to the two previous economic frames, this could tell us something about the differences in which the two sides, pro-Leave and pro-Remain, discuss economic issues related to Brexit. There seems to be not only a distinct negative outlook on the economy as a whole, but it is mainly represented by the pro-Remain side. However, this frame was not presented mostly in pro-Remain articles, but in neutral articles. This indicates a greater concern for the economy on the pro-Remain side and the neutral side, than the pro-Leave side. Additionally, the chi-square test (table 4) shows that the p-value (0.006) is lower than the significance level of 0.05, and the results are therefore statistically significant. The null hypothesis of no association between the two variables is rejected.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17,915[a]	6	,006
Likelihood Ratio	20,430	6	,002
Linear-by-Linear Association	8,529	1	,003
N of Valid Cases	84		

*Table 4: Chi-Square Tests of Access to the Single Market*Judgement (SPSS).*

Security and defence frames

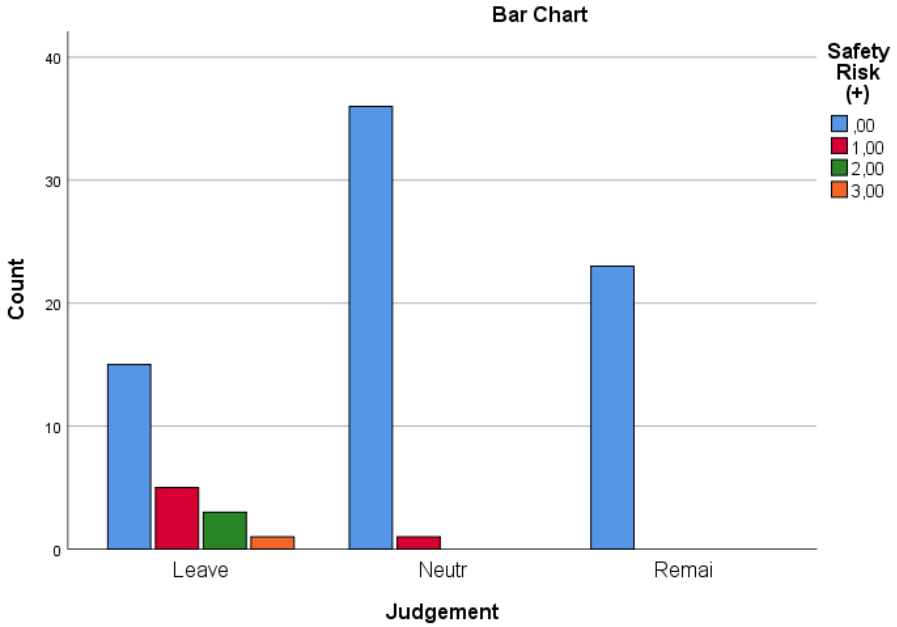

*Figure 9: Crosstab of Safety risk*Judgement (SPSS).*

The security and defence frames were all rooted in the migration category. More specifically, the immigration category. During the coding process, two security and defence frames were identified: "safety risk" and "illegal immigration". In the coverage of issues related to migration, the issue of safety for the British people was one of the most brought up topics. In the coding process, the frame "Safety Risk" was developed through the coding of claims that immigration presents a safety risk for the British public, and due to the EU membership, the UK is unable to remedy that. The implication is that the UK will have to leave the EU to reduce immigration, and the safety risks that come with it. These safety risks are described as a general increase in crime due to immigration, rape, theft, terrorism, and an increase in drug-related crime. Figure 9 shows the occurrence of the "Safety Risk" frame in the articles divided in "Leave", "Neutral" and "Remain". The frame is only occurring in articles that are pro-Leave, with the exception of one neutral article. The frame appears in a total of nine articles that are pro-Leave, which indicates that pro-Leave articles were more concerned with the security in relation to immigration, than the pro-Remain articles. Looking at the chi-square test in table 5, the p-value is lower than the significance level of 0.05, which means that it is statistically significant. The null hypothesis is rejected, and we have determined that there is a correlation between the two variables. This frame reflects the findings in the Reuters study (Levy, Aslan, Bironzo 2016), which showed that the Leave side was far more concerned with issues related to migration and immigration than the Remain camp.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	21,472[a]	6	,002
Likelihood Ratio	21,469	6	,002
Linear-by-Linear Association	13,874	1	,000
N of Valid Cases	84		

*Table 5: Chi-Square Tests of Safety risk*Judgement (SPSS).*

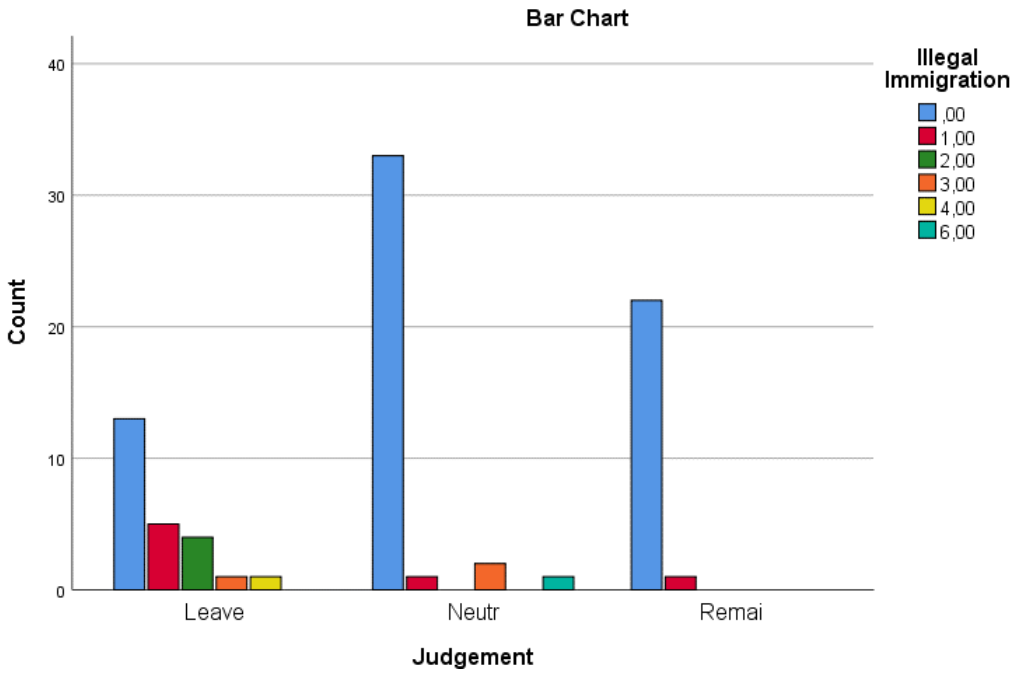

*Figure 10: Crosstab of Illegal immigration*Judgement (SPSS).*

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	24,361[a]	10	,007
Likelihood Ratio	25,034	10	,005
Linear-by-Linear Association	6,922	1	,009
N of Valid Cases	84		

*Table 6: Chi-Square Tests of Illegal immigration*Judgement (SPSS).*

The second frame identified within the "security and defence"-frames is "Illegal immigration". This frame includes all claims that the EU membership causes weak border control, thus resulting in high levels of illegal immigration. Furthermore, illegal immigration is framed in the articles as a risk to the safety and security of the UK and its citizens. The "Illegal immigration"- frame appeared 34 times across 16 articles. Of those 16 articles, 11 were pro-Leave, 4 were neutral, and 1 was pro-Remain (figure 10). Having the frame occur mostly in pro-Leave articles is not surprising considering that the main focus of the Leave campaign was immigration control (Vote Leave Take Control n.d.). This frame is a good example of how the Leave camp frames immigration mainly in association with something negative. Often the claims about illegal immigration was presented in relation to an increase in crime, as well as a concern for public services not being able to withstand the pressure. Most importantly, was the continued focus on the immigration being illegal. During the coding process I rarely saw pro-Leave articles present immigration in a positive light.

The chi-square tests in table 6 reveal that the p-value of 0.007 is below the significance level of 0.05, hence the results are statistically significant and the null hypothesis is rejected. This further strengthens the results of the crosstab, and we have determined that there is a correlation between the frame and the newspapers position on EU membership.

Health and safety frames

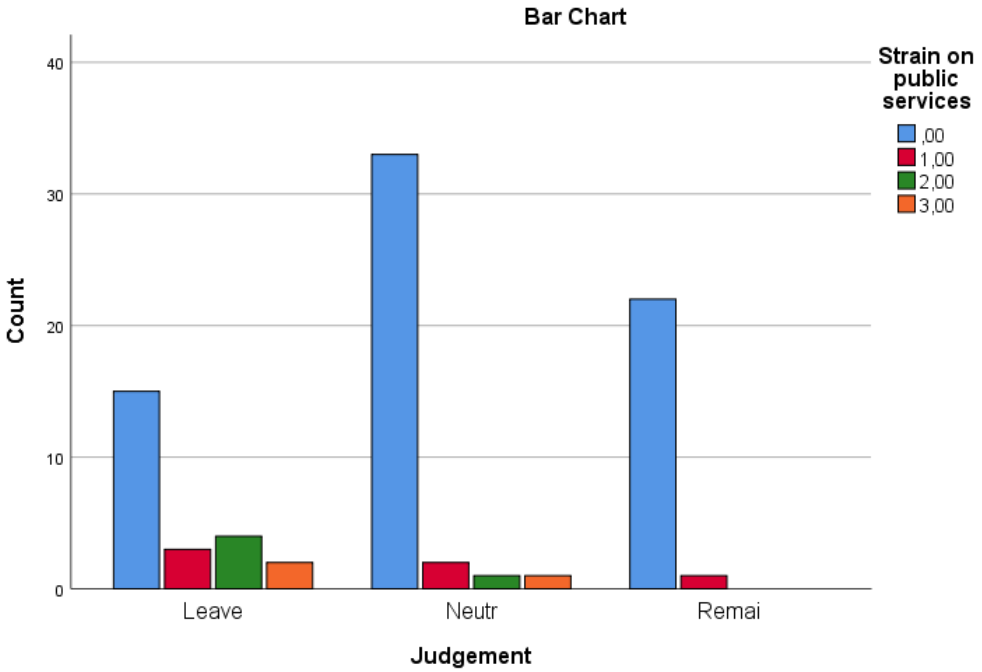

*Figure 11: Crosstab of Strain on public services*Judgement (SPSS).*

Frames about healthcare access and effectiveness were present in the media coverage of the campaign. Based on the codebook by Boydstun et al. and the coding process, I was able to identify the frame "Strain on public services". This frame consists of claims about the effect migration has on public services in the UK. The claims included concerns about the high levels of migrants entering the UK and placing a strain on public services like the NHS and the school system, creating problematic conditions for British citizens. By using this frame, the newspapers portrayed migration as a burden on the British society, and problematic for its citizens health and safety. The frame is used 25 times spread across 14 articles (figure 11). Out of those 14 articles, 9 of them were pro-Leave. Only 1 was pro-Remain, and the remaining 4 articles were neutral.

The chi-square test (table 7) shows that the p-value is just above the significance level of 0.05, and therefore cannot be seen as statistically significant. The null hypothesis is strengthened, and we cannot determine any dependency between the two variables. While it is not possible to determine any statistical association between the two variables, the results of the crosstab still tell us something about the use of the frame. The pro-Leave articles presented migration as problematic for the conditions of public services, and a reason to leave the EU and subsequently regain control of the borders.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12,271[a]	6	,056
Likelihood Ratio	12,658	6	,049
Linear-by-Linear Association	9,560	1	,002
N of Valid Cases	84		

*Table 7: Chi-Square Tests of Strain on public services*Judgement (SPSS).*

Quality of life frames

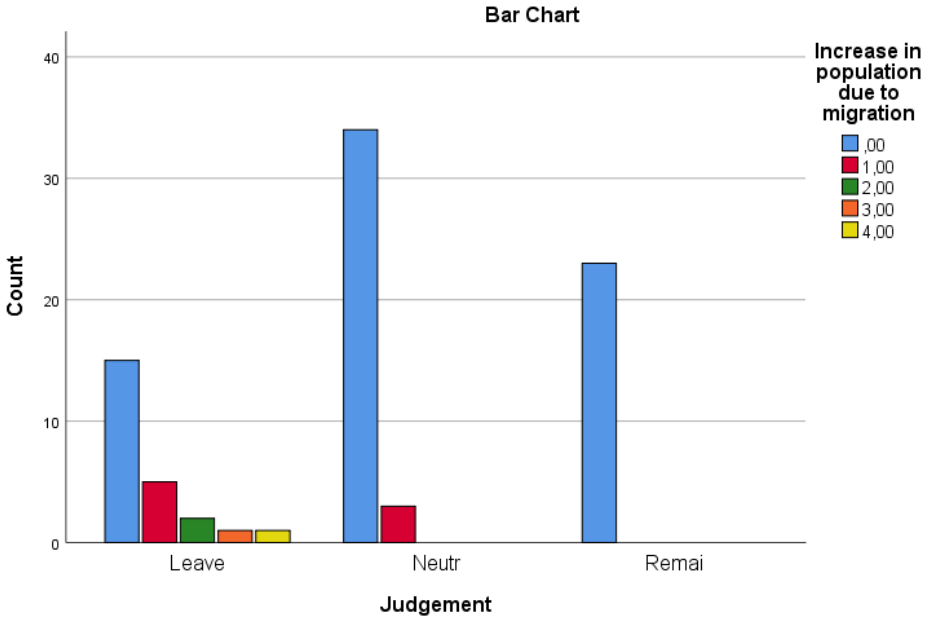

*Figure 12: Crosstab of Increase in population*Judgement (SPSS).*

Among the "quality of life"-frames, I was able to identify one frame about the effects of migration on the population number in the UK. The frame "Increase in population due to migration" includes claims that the EU membership renders the UK incapable of controlling the number of migrants coming from other member states and causing a worrying increase in population numbers. The frame was identified as a "quality of life"-frame due to the implications of the issue. The claims presented in the articles presented the issue of an increase in population due to migration as something that would compromise the quality of life for the British citizens. The frame appeared 19 times spread across 12 articles. It almost exclusively appeared in pro-Leave articles, with the exception of 3 neutral articles using the frame (figure 12). None of the pro-Remain articles used the frame. The chi-square test (table 8) shows that the p-value is less than the significance level of 0.05, which means the results are statistically significant. The null hypothesis is rejected, and a dependency between the two variables have been determined. By using this frame, the pro-Leave side portrayed migration as a threat to the British population. This frame could have been used to portray migration in a positive image, by implying that migration could have positive effects on labour force, the economy and so on. However, the use of language made it clear that it was not meant in a positive manner. An example of this is a quote from one of the pro-Leave articles: "With four million people coming to this country over the past decade – and four million more due to arrive in the next – there will be serious consequences for the British people" (Patel 2016).

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17,713[a]	8	,023
Likelihood Ratio	19,232	8	,014
Linear-by-Linear Association	11,975	1	,001
N of Valid Cases	84		

*Table 8: Chi-Square Tests of Increase in population due to migration*Judgement (SPSS).*

Other frames

During the coding process there was one issue that stood out from the rest: mass immigration. This issue was included in claims a total of 36 times, spread across 19 articles. The claims coded into the "Mass immigration" variable referred to the issue of mass immigration, and the difficulties of controlling it due to the EU membership. Unlike the "increase in population due to migration" – frame, this frame did not necessarily portray immigration as something inherently negative. Rather, it spoke of the difficulties of managing immigration levels while being a part of the EU. Figure 13 show that out of the 19 articles where this frame is used, 13 of them are pro-Leave, 5 are neutral and 1 is pro-Remain. Interestingly, the frame is predominantly used by the pro-Leave side, and illustrates the difference in focus by the two camps. The Remain side was more concerned about the economy, while the Leave camp was more concerned about migration. The results of the crosstab analysis mirror that difference. Furthermore, the chi-square test (table 9) reveals that the p-value (0.05) is equal to the significance level (0.05), which makes the results statistically significant. Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected, and a dependency between the two variables have been established.

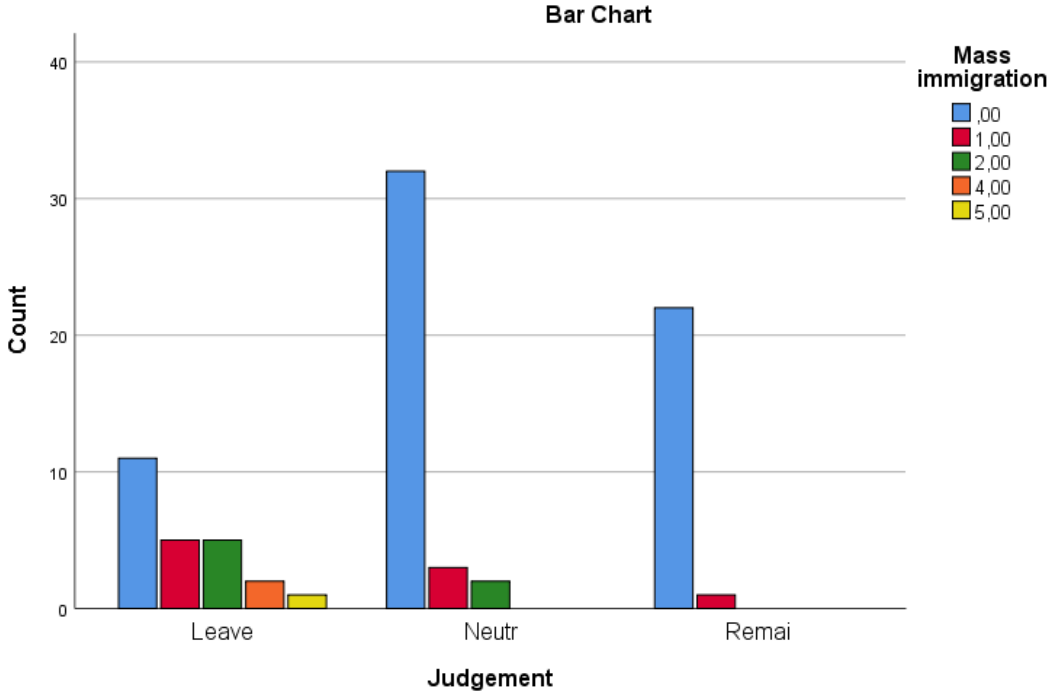

*Figure 13: Crosstab of Mass immigration*Judgement (SPSS).*

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	22,171[a]	8	,005
Likelihood Ratio	23,047	8	,003
Linear-by-Linear Association	15,873	1	,000
N of Valid Cases	84		

*Table 9: Chi-Square Tests of Mass immigration*Judgement (SPSS).*

4.3 Interpretation of the findings

The previous chapter presented the statistical findings of the analysis, and the frames identified in this research. This chapter discusses the findings with the help of the five hypotheses presented in chapter 2. Additionally, it discusses how the use of frames reflected the newspapers Eurosceptic tendencies, or lack thereof.

The first findings of the analysis refer to the attitude towards EU membership shown by the four newspapers. The results show that the tabloid newspapers (The Sun, Daily Mail) are more pro- Leave than the broadsheet newspapers (The Independent, The Guardian). Based on the findings presented in chapter 4.1.2, the tabloids were more pro-Leave and Euro-sceptic in their coverage. Figure 5 shows that the tabloids have more pro-Leave than pro-Remain articles, whereas the broadsheets only have one pro-Leave article in The Independent. This result strengthens **H1: The tabloid papers are more Euro-sceptic and Pro-Leave in their coverage than their broadsheet counterparts**. Furthermore, the tabloids are both right-wing in their political leaning. Based on the results of the analysis, this political leaning is reflected in their coverage of the Brexit campaign. Besides the tabloids own political leanings, one also has to consider the people featured in the news coverage. The Reuters Institute study showed that the majority of the spokespeople featured in the coverage were either politicians or affiliated with the two camps. Out of the politicians cited in the media coverage, 76 % of them were Conservatives. As this study did not account for who made each claim presented in the articles, there is no way to show whether or not the tabloids had a surplus of Conservatives cited in their coverage. However, the Reuters Institute study did include 9 major newspapers in the UK and reveals the high level of partisanship that existed in the coverage of the campaign. When the two tabloid newspapers are known right-wing/populist outlets, it should not come as a surprise that their coverage consists of more pro-Leave and Euro-sceptic articles than their broadsheet counterparts.

There are also differences in the use of frames pertaining to the economy, and frames pertaining to migration/immigration. The results from the crosstab analysis in chapter 4.2 show that the pro-Leave articles never utilized any of the economic frames. The three frames "weaker trade", "weakening of the economy", and "access to the single market" are only used by the pro- Remain articles. In the case of the frames concerning migration and immigration, they were far more dominating in the results than the pro-Remain articles. The frames "safety risk", "illegal immigration", "increase in population due to migration", "strain on public services", and "mass immigration" were all predominately used in the pro-Leave articles. While these results certainly show that the pro-Leave articles were more concerned with migration/immigration than the economy, it does not confirm **H2: The pro-Leave articles framed migration and immigration in a more negative light than the economy**. There are some limitations to the confirmation of H2. As a consequence of the lack of economic frames in the pro-Leave articles, it is not possible to conclude that the pro-Leave articles framed migration/immigration more negatively than the economy. While this may very well be the case, the results of this thesis do not provide any evidence of this except for the dominant use of frames regarding migration/immigration, and the lack of economic frames. Furthermore, the null hypothesis of the "weaker trade"-frame was not rejected, and therefore it was not possible to verify any dependency between the frame and the article's position on EU membership.

So far, this study has established that there was a difference in how the four newspapers covered the campaign, and if they were pro-Leave or pro-Remain. Throughout every

detected frame, the differences in the newspapers position on EU membership was clear. The issue of safety and security is one example where the two sides differed in their perspective on EU membership. The "safety risk"- frame was only used in pro-Leave articles and one neutral article. When using this frame, the newspapers (mainly The Sun and Daily Mail), presented migration/immigration as a threat to the safety and security of the British people. These threats included terrorism, rape, theft, and drug-related crimes. The "illegal immigration"-frame is another example of a negative frame about immigrants predominantly used in pro-Leave articles. The frame relate immigration to illegality and makes the correlation between illegal immigration and an increase in crime. This correlates with the findings by Zappettini presented in chapter 1.2, stating that the Leave side created an image of migration/immigration as a threat to public safety. According to the Leave-campaign, the only option to reduce this threat was to leave the EU. Such is the case with the "safety risk"-frame and the "illegal immigration"-frame as well; the proposed solution to the issue is to leave the EU. Thus, suggesting a confirmation of **H3: The British press framed the issue of EU membership as an issue of safety and security for the British population.** Furthermore, the use of these frames is an example of agenda-setting by the media. McCombs' theory on agenda-setting states that the media can set the agenda by influencing the salience of issues in the public. When the newspapers constantly use a frame that portrays immigrants as a threat to the British people, they are making the issue more prominent in the public sphere. Furthermore, they are either enforcing new ways of looking at migrants and immigrants with people, or further reinforcing pre-existing beliefs. In this case, either option is equally damaging. If there are genuine threats associated with migration, then it should be reported on like any other issue in society. The problem with a constant framing of migration as a threat to people's safety, is that it is not necessarily rooted in facts, but rather emotions. By using frames like the "safety risk"–frame, they are playing to people's fear. If a person knows nothing about the effects of migration, it is possible they would become quite fearful of it by constantly being fed fearmongering stories about terrorism and rape. The issue of safety and security was also present in the "health and safety"-frames, i.e the "strain on public services"-frame. Here, the safety threat is towards the British people's health, due to migration causing a strain on public services, e.g. the NHS. By using any of these three frames, the newspapers framed migration/immigration as something problematic, indirectly caused by the UK's membership in the EU. The only limitation to this confirmation is the "strain on public services"-frame, which proved to not be statistically significant in chapter 4.2. While it is not possible to confirm any real dependency between the "strain on public services"-frame and the articles' position on EU membership, the use of the two other frames contribute to a confirmation of H3.

Furthermore, we see that the findings of the study confirm that the Remain side was noticeably negative in their framing of the economy. This correlates with findings by the Reuters Institute that the Remain side was considerably more negative than the Leave camp in their outlook on the economy. The analysis in chapter 4.2 shows that the economic frames was used only in pro-Remain and neutral articles. All three economic frames show the pro-Remain articles framing economic issues in light of a potential Brexit in a particularly pessimistic way. These findings are reflective of how the Remain camp talked about the economy, and what they feared would happen in the event of a potential Brexit. All the frames are suggesting that leaving the EU will have financial consequences for the UK. The pro-Leave articles made no such claims. This provide some confirmation of **H4: The pro-Remain articles framed the economy in a more**

negative light than the pro-Leave articles. However, as in the case of H2, there are no results showing pro-Leave articles framing the economy in a positive manner either. A possible explanation for this is that the Leave campaign was not equally concerned about the economy as the Remain campaign, which was reflected in the news coverage. Therefore, I cannot confirm that H4 is correct.

Similar to the negative framing on migration as a threat to the safety of the British people, the newspapers used negative frames on migration in relation to its effect on social services. Based on the results in chapter 4.2, we can see that the newspapers framed migration as a strain on social services. The frame "strain on public services" was comprised of claims that the public services in the UK could not keep up with the increasing number of migrants, and consequently crumbles under the pressure. The concern was especially directed at the NHS, and their ability to keep up with an increasing demand due to migration. This confirms **H5: The British press framed migration as a burden on social services**. Furthermore, the frame is utilized mostly in the pro-Leave and neutral articles. There was only one pro-Remain article where the frame appeared. This illustrates a difference in how the pro-Leave and pro-Remain talked about issues related to migration. Thus, the results of this study reflect the results of the Reuters Institute study, which showed that the 60 % of the messages on migration from the Leave camp were negative. Like the conclusions in H1, these results are not surprising. When such a staggering amount of partisan spokespeople are cited and represented in articles, the news coverage is bound to be coloured by it.

4.3.1 Salience and negativity bias in the coverage

Overall, the results of this thesis demonstrate the concept of framing well. Entman defines framing as the process of selecting certain aspects of a reality and making them more salient. The use of frames showed in this study, illustrates well the concept of the press making something more salient by reporting on it in a distinct manner. The pro-Leave newspapers framed migration in a negative way. They did this by picking certain aspects of migration and making it more salient in their articles. The aspects they chose to make salient, were the negative aspects of migration. Thus, they created a negative narrative with their framing. The pro-Remain newspapers are guilty of the same actions when it comes to the framing of issues related to the economy. They chose certain aspects of the economy to highlight in their reporting, thus making them more salient. Additionally, they too chose to focus on the negative aspects of the topic. In other words, it was not just the economy as a whole they made salient, but the negative aspects of the economy in the event of a potential Brexit. Thus, both sides are guilty of using framing to further their own cause and making their own concerns more salient. Each time they used a frame, they made the issue more salient. Furthermore, as presented in chapter 2, previous research theorizes that framing of news stories through fear can result in opposition to the EU. Whether or not this framing had any real effect on the public opinion is another question. Based off of the information presented in chapter 2, it is difficult to determine the effects of the media on public opinion. Neither was it a goal for this study. However, as presented in chapter 2.5.1, a correlation between reading Eurosceptic newspapers and an increase in negative attitudes towards the EU has been proven. However, whether the British press had any real impact on the public opinion on EU membership is not shown in the results of this thesis. Nonetheless, the fact that the British press was so openly biased in their coverage is disconcerting. Regardless of their position on EU membership, the coverage should have been as unbiased as possible in order to assure that necessary and true information was spread to the public.

Unfortunately, this study confirmed previous studies showing the level of partisanship existing in the British press in regard to EU membership.

Furthermore, use of negative frames by the newspaper's points to a trend of negativity bias. Chapter 2.5.1 presented theory stating that the selection of news tends to be value driven, and that there is an overrepresentation of negative news over positive or neutral reports. Additionally, negative news is considered more newsworthy than positive news. This is reflected in the results of this study. Both sides displayed negativity bias by consistently using negative frames in their coverage. By using the identified frames in their coverage, the newspapers showed that their selection of news was value driven and majorly negative. The pro-Leave newspapers were guilty of negativity bias in their coverage of migration, while the pro-Remain newspapers were guilty of negativity bias in their coverage of the economy. While the newspapers might benefit from this negativity bias in the short-run due to people finding bad news more fascinating than good news, it will backfire eventually. Media negativity can eventually become tiresome, and can result in a lack of knowledge about politics and a reduced awareness of the news. As Galpin and Trenz theorize, this could impact people's ability to participate in democratic politics if they become discouraged by the onslaught of negative news. Furthermore, the newspapers coverage of migration and the economy with such a negative bias could impact people's knowledge of the EU and its many institutions and policies. The British press is an important communicative link between the EU and the British population. Without it, the Brits would hardly know what is going on in Brussels. It would certainly take a great deal more of their own effort to stay informed. Thus, when the press fails in their communicative role by putting people off the issue entirely with their negativity bias, or by simply framing issues in ways that benefits their own agenda, they fail their role in democracy. The press should be as neutral in their coverage as possible, and strive to inform the public on current issues without their own views shaping their work. This brings us to the final observations of this thesis: the Eurosceptic tendencies of the four newspapers coverage of the campaign.

4.3.2 Eurosceptic tendencies

The results of this study show a partisanship in the newspapers framing of migration and the economy. The tabloids were pro-Leave and were more negative towards the issue of migration than the broadsheets. The broadsheets were either neutral to EU membership, or pro-Remain. Additionally, they were far less concerned about migration, and far more negative about the economy than the tabloids. These results reflect and support previous findings about the media coverage of the campaign presented in chapters 1 and 2. Furthermore, it is reflective of the current levels of Euroscepticism in the UK, which has been steadily increasing ever since they joined the Union. The typology of Euroscepticism by de Vries points out four types of Eurosceptics (figure 3). Based on the content analysis and the results of chapter 4.2, it is possible to connect these types with the newspapers coverage. I would argue that the pro-Leave, i.e. the Eurosceptic newspapers, display tendencies that correlate with the *exit scepticism.* This type of Euroscepticism is a "hard" Euroscepticism, meaning that they reject the entire idea of EU membership. They would rather be on the outside than continue as a member state, presumably without much consideration for potential consequences. Their hard Euroscepticism is present in their framing of migration, where the only solution they present is to exit from the EU. I would also argue that the pro-Remain/neutral newspapers displayed similar behaviour in their wish to remain in the EU. In the cases of their pro-Remain articles, they displayed behaviour similar to that of *loyal support* in de Vries typology (figure 3). In their framing of the economy, they seemed to vehemently reject the idea of leaving the EU based on a

fear of the consequences. Particularly the economic consequences. However, in their framing of this issue, they did not offer any solution rather than to stay in the EU. Essentially, both sides displayed very polarized views, but neither side were able to offer any solutions that went beyond the question of In/Out. In the cases were the newspapers published articles with a neutral position on EU membership, they displayed tendencies more reminiscent of the *policy scepticism* and the *regime scepticism*. The neutral articles presented the issues in a more balanced way and were more focused on the actual issues rather than simply advocating for or against EU membership on the back of issues related to the economy and migration.

5 Summary

Based on the results from chapter 4, we now have more insight to how the British press framed economy and migration during the campaign in 2016. This chapter summarizes the thesis based on the results and the discussion in chapter 4. Additionally, the chapter discusses the thesis' weaknesses and strengths. Furthermore, the chapter summarizes the findings and concludes the thesis. Lastly, the chapter presents suggestions for future research.

5.1 Strengths and limitations

There are both strengths and limitations to this study. This chapter highlights some of them by using two methodological concepts: validity and replicability. Validity explains the data's relevance to the research question of the study (Grønmo 2016, 241). Replicability refers to the ability of studies with the same research questions to reliably produce the same results (Patil, Peng, Leek 2016, 540). A study can only be replicable if there is complete transparency from the researchers about their data, their methods, and potential interferences (Peels 2019, 4). Finally, this chapter explains some of the limitations of this study related to time usage and lack of data.

I argue that the validity of the study is quite high because of the methodological chapter explaining each step of the analysis, and the methodological choices that were made. Throughout the thesis, I have been transparent about the limitations of the methodology and the consequences of these limitations. There is no doubt that some of the choices that were made could have been better, but throughout this process i tried and failed many different solutions. Ultimately, I ended up making the best methodological choices I could in the given circumstances. One such decision, was the choice of a crosstab-based analysis. Initially, I started with a cluster analysis approach, but later discovered that the lack of data made the analysis impossible to complete. Decisions like this are a part of any research, and ultimately one must choose the approach that suits the data best. I would also argue that the validity is high due to the theoretical data and the hypotheses presented in chapter 2. The hypotheses made it possible to answer the research question in a precise manner.

The replicability of this study is fairly high due to the policy frames codebook it was based upon being accessible to other researchers. The same goes for the theoretical framework and the study published by the Reuters Institute, which lay the ground for this thesis. The same study could be replicated, and garner similar results, partly due to the topic of the study being constrained to that specific time period. The articles published by the newspapers are not going to alter over time, neither will the results of the referendum. Hence it will be possible to fully replicate this study, providing that the same units of analysis are selected. Should other researchers choose to analyse headlines instead, they would likely get different results. However, one factor reducing

the replicability is the coding process. While it was based on the frame codebook by Boydstun et al., it was also reliant on the researchers understanding and interpretation of the claims. While I did strive to constantly interpret the articles without bias, I cannot exclude the possibility that other researchers might interpret the articles differently. This also applies to the statistical analysis. My interpretation of the results might not coincide with other researchers understanding of the same results. Additionally, other researchers might be able to identify different frames, based on the criteria they subject their coding to. I can also not overlook the probability of other researchers identifying more frames than I managed to in this study. Moreover, I believe it is possible to identify more frames in a similar study if one includes more data. This brings me to the next point of this chapter.

Despite relatively high validity and replicability, there are noteworthy limitations to the study. Firstly, the number of articles analysed was lower than ideal for a study like this. While it can reveal trends, it cannot provide strong enough results. Unfortunately, due to time constraints and inexperience with the research method, I was not able to do more. My inexperience with the method shaped every step of the study, from the coding to the statistical analysis. The coding process in particular was limited due to my inexperience. As a result of many trials and errors, I had limited time to complete the coding once I identified the best approach. Consequently, I was only able to code a third of the number of articles I had hoped at the start of this study. This limitation had a significant impact on the results, and subsequent analysis. The impact was especially obvious during the analysis of frame usage by the press. While I was able to identify correlations between variables and draw certain conclusions on the back of these results, I was aware of the lack of data throughout the analysis. It is my belief that with a minimum number of 300 articles, I would be able to obtain much stronger results in a study like this.

The second limitation was the limited time period from which the data was collected. It would be interesting to see data covering the entire campaign, rather than just the last month before the referendum. Furthermore, it would have provided more possible data to analyse, resulting in a stronger analysis. Again, due to time constraints this was not possible. However, one strength in this research was the thoroughness in the coding process. When coding there are several different options for units of analysis, depending on the purpose of the study. In this case, I chose to analyse claims presented in the newspapers, and I made few other restrictions. The coding for this thesis was thorough, and in-depth. Had I chosen to code only headlines I believe the results would look different. Even if the capacity for analysing more articles would have increased significantly.

5.2 Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to find out how the British press framed the issues of economy and migration during the 2016 referendum campaign. By coding 84 articles from four British newspapers in the period 23rd of May to 23rd of June 2016, this study has identified several frames used in the coverage. These results correlate with findings in previous research on trends in the press coverage of the campaign. Firstly, this thesis has looked at how the newspapers own position on EU membership was present in their coverage of the campaign, and if there were differences between the two types of newspapers. Secondly, this thesis has attempted to identify frames pertaining to the economy and migration by running crosstab analyses. Finally, this thesis has looked at how these frames were used by the four newspapers, and the displayed trends of their coverage.

When it comes to the position of the newspapers on EU membership, this study found there to be noticeable differences. The study looked at two tabloid newspapers (The Sun and Daily Mail) and two broadsheet newspapers (The Guardian and The Independent). During the coding process, each article was categorised in a "Judgement" variable, with the values "Remain", "Neutral", and "Leave". To see how many of the articles analysed were pro-Remain, neutral, or pro-Leave, a crosstab analysis was run on the variables "Judgement" and "Newspapers". The results show that the tabloid newspapers were mainly pro-Leave, and the broadsheet newspapers were mainly pro-Remain or neutral in their coverage. This further corroborates previous research showing that the British press was exceedingly biased in their coverage of the referendum. Ideally, most of the articles should have been labelled as "neutral".

In regard to the frame analysis, the results revealed several interesting trends in the newspapers coverage. Based on the coding process, and subsequent crosstab analysis of the variables, this thesis was able to identify 8 frames and determine how they were used by the four outlets. The entire process was based on the framing codebook developed by Boydstun et al., which defines several types of frames. For this thesis, there were five types of frames from the codebook present in the articles analysed: 1) economic frames, 2) security and defence frames, 3) health and safety frames, 4) quality of life frames, and 5) other frames. Among the economic frames, the analysis revealed three frames: "weaker trade", "weakening of the economy", and "access to the Single Market". These frames were exclusively used by in pro-Remain articles. Thus, reflecting previous studies showing that the Remain side was considerably more concerned and negative about the economy as an issue during the campaign than the Leave camp. Among the security and defence frames, two frames were identified: "safety risk" and "illegal immigration". These frames were mainly used in pro-Leave articles, with a few exceptions to the "illegal immigration"-frame. Once again, the results reflect findings from previous studies, this time showing that the Leave side were more concerned with issues related to migration than the Remain camp. Within the health and safety frames, the frame "strain on public services" was identified. This frame was descriptive of issues related to migration and was used the most in pro-Leave articles. However, the results were not statistically significant, hence it was not possible to determine any real relationship between the use of the frame and the article's position on EU membership. Nonetheless, the frequency of the frame was still indicative of the way the newspapers framed issues related to migration. The two final frames "increase in population due to migration" and "mass immigration", belong to the quality of life- category, and the category of non-definable frames respectively. The "increase in population due to migration"-frame only appeared in pro-Leave articles, with three exception in neutral articles. Finally, the "mass immigration"-frame was used mainly by the pro-Leave articles. Again, these results support the results of previous studies, showing greater concern for migration from the Leave side.

By identifying these frames, and how they were utilized by the four newspapers, this thesis has confirmed previous findings of partisanship by the British press in their coverage of EU membership. Similar to previous findings showing that the Remain camp was more concerned with the economy and more negative in their outlook on it than the Leave camp, this thesis has shown that the pro-Remain newspapers exhibited the same behaviour in their coverage. Likewise, the results of this thesis show that the pro-Leave newspapers were more concerned and negative about migration, which correlates with previous research.

Finally, the results of this thesis show that there was a difference in how the newspapers framed the issues of the economy and migration during the campaign. By framing the economy and migration in such a manner, they make them more salient. The process of framing means to select certain aspects of a reality and making them more salient. The British press did this repeatedly with the economy and migration during the campaign. While the results cannot indicate the effects of these frames, it is interesting to see how obvious the newspapers were in their position on EU membership. The use of the frames also reveals the Eurosceptic tendencies in the coverage of the campaign. The results of this study show that the manner in which the pro-Leave newspapers framed migration, and their position on EU membership, was indicative of the *exit scepticism* in de Vries typology. They wished to leave the EU no matter the consequences, as they believed the UK would be better off completely out of the Union. The articles with a pro-Remain position displayed a behaviour more similar to that of *loyal support*, which means that they wish to stay in the EU. The articles with a neutral position on EU membership, displayed attitudes likening to the *regime* and *policy scepticism*, where they were more concerned about reporting on the issues and the campaign in an unbiased way. While both the pro-Remain and the pro-Leave articles displayed very polarising behaviour, they had one thing in common: neither side could identify any solution to the problems they presented other than to Leave or to Remain in the EU.

The aim of this thesis was to answer the question of how the British press framed the issues of migration and the economy in light of a potential Brexit. Based on the conclusions presented in this chapter, the research question of this thesis was answered. However, as mentioned in chapter 4 and 5.1, there is a lack of data in this study. Thus, the results of this thesis should be viewed in light of this.

5.3 Further research

As mentioned in chapter 5.2, the data for this study was limited. Therefore, I would like to see a similar study with a far greater collection of data. Another interesting focus of a future study would be to see how the British press framed the issue of sovereignty during the campaign. During the gathering of data for this thesis, I discovered that sovereignty was one of the most discussed topics in the news articles related to the Brexit campaign. While I chose to focus on migration rather than sovereignty, it would still be rewarding to see a study on how the media framed this topic. In such a study, it would be interesting to see a more extensive choice of news outlets in the UK. This study was limited to only four outlets, so a larger study including some of the more obscure newspapers in the UK could bring more insight to the field. Another interesting element to future studies would be to focus more on regional news outlets, and the differences between regions in the UK. In such a study the focus could be on how the media framed the campaign issues in relation to how people voted in those regions. It should be possible to conduct such a study, as there are existing data on regional differences in voting. Overall, the question of how the media impacts public opinion and voting behaviour is endlessly fascinating, and important, to study. I am looking forward to seeing future research published on this topic.

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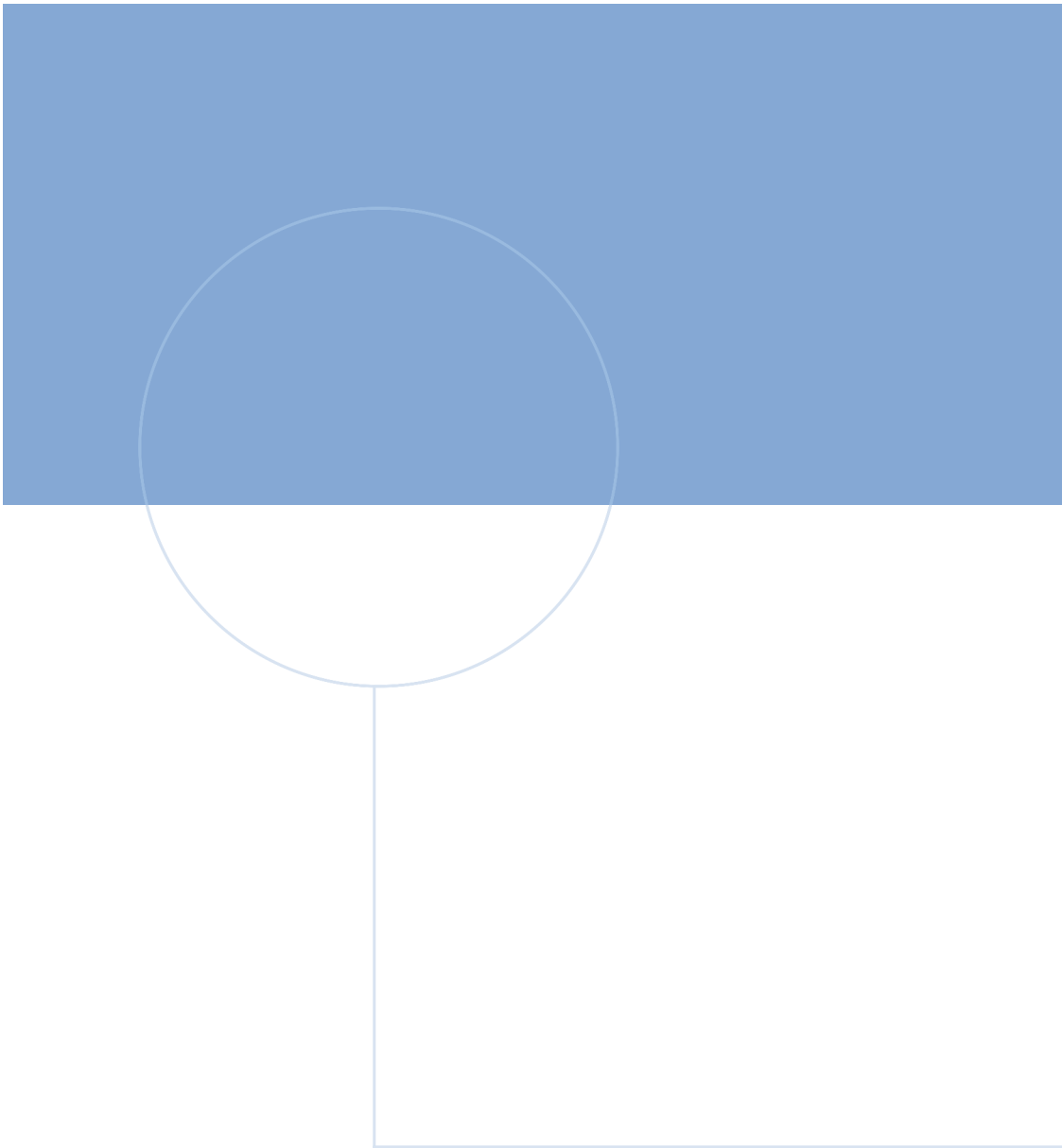
Appendix A: Codebook for the frame analysis

The codebook used in the coding process of the frame analysis. Developed by Boydstun et al. (2013).

Policy Frames Codebook	
1.	**Economic frames:** The costs, benefits, or monetary/financial implications of the issue (to an individual, family, community or to the economy as a whole).
2.	**Capacity and resources frames:** The lack of availability of physical, geographical, spatial, human, and financial resources, or the capacity of existing systems and resources to implement or carry out policy goals.
3.	**Morality frames:** Any perspective – or policy objective or action (including proposed action) – that is compelled by religious doctrine or interpretation, duty, honour, righteousness or any other sense of ethics or social responsibility.
4.	**Fairness and equality frames:** Equality or inequality with which laws, punishment, rewards, and resources are applied or distributed among individuals or groups. Also the balance between the rights or interests of one individual or group compared to another individual or group.
5.	**Constitutionality and jurisprudence frames:** The constraints imposed on or freedoms granted to individuals, government, and corporations via the Constitution, Bill of Rights and other amemdments, or judicial interpretation. This deals specifically with the authority of government to regulate, and the authority of individuals/corporations to act independently of government.
6.	**Policy prescription and evaluation:** Particular policies proposed for addressing an identified problem, and figuring out if certain policies will work, or if existing policies are effective.
7.	**Law and order, crime and justice frames:** Specific policies in practice and their enforcement, incentives, and implications. Includes stories about enforcement and interpretation of laws by individuals and law enforcement, breaking laws, loopholes, fines, sentencing and punishment. Increases or reductions in crime.
8.	**Security and defence frames:** Security, threats to security, and protection of one's person, family, in-group, nation, etc. Generally an action or a call to action that can be taken to protect the welfare of a person, group, nation sometimes from a not yet manifested threat.
9.	**Health and safety frames:** Healthcare access and effectiveness, illness, disease, sanitation, obesity, mental health effects, prevention of or perpetuation of gun violence, infrastructure and building safety.
10.	**Quality of life frames:** The effects of a policy on individuals' wealth, mobility, access to resources, happiness, social structures, ease of day-to-day routines, quality of community life, etc.
11.	**Cultural identity frames:** The social norms, trends, values and customs constituting culture(s), as they relate to a specific policy issue.
12.	**Public opinion frames:** References to general social attitudes, polling and demographic information, as well as implied or actual consequences of diverging from or getting ahead of public opinion or polls.
13.	**Political frames:** Any political considerations surrounding an issue. Issue actions or efforts or stances that are political, such as partisan filibusters, lobbyist involvement, bipartisan efforts, del-making and vote trading, appealing to one's

	base, mentions of political manoeuvring. Explicit statements that a policy issue is good or bad for a particular political party.
14.	**External regulation and reputation frames:** The United States' external relations with another nation; the external relations of one state with another; or relations between groups. This includes trade agreements and outcomes, comparisons of policy outcomes or desired policy outcomes.
15.	**Other frames:** Any frames that do not fit into the above categories.



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