

Remain or Leave?

How British Newspapers Frame The EU Referendum 2016

A framing analysis of the Brexit debate

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Abstract

The following study examines British news coverage of the EU referendum 2016 (Brexit) in order to identify and investigate the most frequently used news frames and attitude of the newspapers towards Brexit. Based on previous framing research, five news frames were found to be applied continuously in issues regarding EU politics and EU integration, these include: the conflict, economic consequences, attribution of responsibility, human interest and the strategy frame. Based on the literature review, I hypothesize that the conflict and strategy frame are the most apparent frames in the media coverage, followed by the economic consequences frame. The results of this paper are in line with the hypothesis. The second focus of the analysis regards the tone of the media regarding the EU referendum, with previous media analysis pointing to a heavily positive attitude towards Brexit. From the five newspapers under investigation, *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph* were found as being in favour of LEAVE, while *The Daily Mirror*, *The Guardian* and *The Times* were in favour of REMAIN. The results of this study thereby are in line with previous findings and thus strengthen further research on the frequency of frames and the news media's bias towards Brexit.

1. Introduction

Media play an important role in today's societies as intermediaries between the people and politics. This puts them into the position of influencing public perception about the mediated issues (Habermas, 2006). Media research has found that media are not only able to influence what we perceive by selecting the issues which are being mediated, but also how we perceive those issues. They do so by framing news in specific contexts, highlighting certain aspects of an issue and downplaying others (Dahinden, 2006).

This mechanism enables mass media to possess the ability to set the agenda for public discussion, through deliberate coverage of news and events, thereby even forcing policymakers to take action and provide solutions or answers (Birkland, 1997). News media, especially newspapers, often write news stories in so called "frames". Framing has been studied in a wide variety of research fields, such as communication science and among different topics like European issues (Valkenburg, Semetko, & De Vreese, 1999). Framing thereby is particularly helpful for understanding the effects of news media content for issues that are subject to different presentations and interpretations. As such, a media frame can be understood as an emphasis in salience of certain aspects of a topic (DeVreese, 2002) and organizes the structure of a news story with a potentially strong impact on citizens' understanding of and thinking about political, economic, and social topics. In doing so, a frame does not necessarily only emphasize a certain topic, but might also include a positive, negative or neutral attitude towards the issue at stake (DeVreese, 2003). Including a specific attitude towards an issue or event thus also brings the potential to impact the reader's perception and own attitude.

Framing news is effective due to its shortcut, however it might not always produce results that were desired. One should not underestimate the large effects that such results might bring, especially as Fiske and Taylor (1991) explain humans as being 'cognitive misers' who prefer to do as little thinking as possible. Building on that idea, frames allow people to process information about certain issues in a quick and easy way. Hence, senders and framers of information, news agencies in particular, have power to influence how receivers, the audience or more generally the citizens, will interpret those messages (Entman, 1993). As a consequence, framing is known to have an impact on the attitude of citizens, especially in cases of political decisions such as referenda (Van Gorp, 2009; Chong & Druckman, 2013; D'Ambrosio, 2004).

Jackson (2011) stresses that the high relevance of framing in the political context is due to the framing paradigm, which he finds to offer a high account of journalistic power. He defines this power as the ability of journalists to draw attention and confer legitimacy to one aspect of reality while marginalising other aspects. Entman (2005) thereby adds that framing is inevitable and occurs automatically when someone writes a message, thus concluding that journalists cannot choose not to frame their stories.

In their case study on framing effects, DeVreese & Semetko (2002) assessed the impact of news frames on citizens' support for Turkish membership. They thereby found that frames have effects on receivers in two ways. Firstly, the frames increased the importance of specific characteristics such as economic or security-related aspects, which in turn affected the attitudes directly (DeVreese & Semetko, 2002). DeVreese and Semetko (2002) thus conclude on basis of this observation, that frames can have direct as well as indirect effects of citizens. Their study found readers' exposure to news frames to strongly affect citizens' support for specific issues or events (DeVreese & Semetko, 2002). Moreover, they found that the impact of negative framing on citizens' perception is greater than that of positive framing (2002), stressing that negative argumentation can evoke emotions such as fear or anger which take greater effect on citizens (Schuck & de Vreese, 2009).

Newspapers seem to show the greatest variation in media content, due to differences in readership, distribution areas and political alignment (Dalton, Beck and Huckfeldt, 1998). In cases of referendums, where people have the opportunity to directly express their opinion on certain political topics, this position of media gains special political relevance. Opinion on a topic is shaped by one's perception of it, which in turn is influenced by media coverage (McCombs, 2011).

Even though media are expected to report about political issues objectively, news reports can contain messages or frames that imply opinions and positions regarding a topic or issue at stake as described above (Moy, Tewksbury & Rinke, 2016). An unbiased news report is a neutral respectively balanced report, one that is not strongly positioned in favor of or against a political side. Hence, all positions should be equally represented in order to grant a sufficient level of neutrality (Moy, Tewksbury & Rinke, 2016). Following from this standpoint, bias is the extent to which media reporting deviates from this. The study by Eberl, Boomgaarden & Wagner (2015) describes three types of actor-based biases that may affect

voters' preferences and that may be present in news framing: visibility bias, tonality bias, and agenda bias (Eberl, Boomgarden, Wagner, 2015).

Visibility bias in a medium occurs when political actors or topics are subject of an undue amount of coverage compared to other actors and topics (Eberl, Boomgarden, Wagner, 2015). This type of bias is thus defined by the relative amount of coverage addressed to each political actor in each medium. That kind of topic or candidate visibility is essential and influential because it is a necessary condition for voters to learn about candidate characteristics respectively political topics and their implications (Eberl, Boomgarden, Wagner, 2015). Besides that, the visibility of political actors or topics in media will increase their accessibility to audiences, which again influences subsequent political judgments of voters (Eberl, Boomgarden, Wagner, 2015).

Tonality bias on the other hand measures whether evaluations that are present in media coverage are systematically more favorable to one political position in comparison to others (Eberl, Boomgarden, Wagner, 2015). The media can, for instance, frame actors or issues as being either good or bad, thus providing evaluations of them and their performance. The tonality of coverage is hence very important because it can provide its readers, and thus potential voters, priori interpretations for understanding politics (Eberl, Boomgarden, Wagner, 2015). For instance, 'valence framing' suggests that positive or negative aspects of an object are highlighted in the media, consequently affecting the salience of these aspects in the public's mind (de Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2003).

Last but not least, agenda bias refers to the extent to which political actors and issues appear in the public domain in conjunction with the topics they wish to emphasise (Eberl, Boomgarden, Wagner, 2015). Agenda bias therefore stems from a journalist's or editor's decision to select or ignore specific news stories, as a result only giving a voice to some actors and their policy positions (Eberl, Boomgarden, Wagner, 2015).

In an extensive news analysis, Levy, Aslan & Bironzo (2016) found that from all studied articles which focused on the British EU referendum 41% were in favour of leaving, with only 27% in favour of staying in the EU, and 23% accounted for 'mixed or undecided' and 9% as possessing no position. The highly pro-leave attitude could also be observed regarding the quotations of politicians in the articles because 70% were conservative Tories (Leave) and just 13% Labour (Remain), almost as much as the 8% UKIP spokespeople. Considering the strong pro-leave position of the conservative Tories, the positive attitude

regarding the Brexit referendum was thus again present in British news. The scholars hereby found *The Daily Express* to have the highest share of pro-leave articles, followed by *The Daily Mail*. A majority of the articles published in *The Sun*, *The Daily Star* and *The Telegraph* were also pro-leave, while the newspapers with the highest share of pro-remain articles were *The Guardian*, *The Daily Mirror*, as well as *The Financial Times*.

Levy, Alan & Bironzo (2016) moreover found a strong consistency in the coverage of topics across the media, also across outlets in favour of *remain* or *leave*. Thereby the economy, immigration, and the campaign itself were found to be the dominating topics in the debate. The study moreover found the economy received considerably more attention than immigration which might have been a benefit for the *remain* camp. In the later run of the debate however, there was a significant shift which led immigration to be the dominating topic just shortly before the referendum was held. This might have also been a factor which, in the end, strengthened the leave camp.

Overall, newspapers supporting *leave* had by far the loudest voice during the last week of the campaign (Firmstone, 2016). Even without considering the combined readership of the *leave* papers, *leave* newspapers were found to be more dedicated to promoting their view (Firmstone, 2016). *The Express* for instance created a campaign logo to announce the paper's position in order to 'get us out of the EU', while *The Daily Mail* and *The Sun* frequently published more than one *Leave* editorial on the same day (Firmstone, 2016).

Contrary to the *leave* papers only *The Mirror* was found to clearly call for a vote to *remain* and vote against the EU referendum, while *The Guardian* said nothing explicit in order to push its audience to vote for *remain*, and *The Times* never actively backed the *remain* camp but only pointed to multiple ways it thought the EU should reform (Firmstone, 2016).

Additional to these findings, the agenda setting theory indicates that media do not depict an objective reality but construe it by the selection of issues covered (McCombs,). Thus they influence the importance of certain issues in the public discourse (Bonfadelli & Friemel, 2011). By contrast, the framing theory focuses on the way specific aspects of an issue are depicted. This theory is often seen as a logical follow-up of agenda setting and thus called "second level agenda setting" (Dahinden, 2006). Both theories share the hypothesis that the reception of the media content by the recipients is identical with the message intended by the media producers. However, while the agenda setting theory focuses on

short-term effects, the framing theory considers frames to be long-term patterns of interpretation which can be found across differing issues (Dahinden, 2006).

Following from these existing studies and their findings, the aim of the research is to investigate British media coverage about the “Brexit” which was held on the 23rd June 2016. More specifically, the research aims to identify the most commonly used frames in the media coverage and their frequency in the news coverage. Based on the previous findings of the strong dominance of *leave* articles, the study also seeks to examine the newspapers’ attitude towards the British EU referendum. As the types of bias may have shown, the study of media is especially important when such important elections are held in order to determine the extent to which citizens might be influenced by the media and to better understand and maybe even predict the voters’ outcome.

Following from that, the research questions of this study is *How do British newspapers frame the “Brexit” in the debate about the British EU referendum?*

The British EU referendum 2016

The information environment in referendum debates and campaigning is especially important for the vote because party attachments merely apply in cases of a simple yes-or-no decision (DeVreese, 2004). It is also due to that weakened party affiliation that arguments, tone or framing of the issue at stake during a referendum debate are even more essential than during usual elections (Atikcan, 2015).

In the European Union (EU) Member States, referenda have become an increasingly popular way of dealing with major developments of European integration. More than three-quarters of the 44 European referenda that have been held to date happened after 1990, and they are being held on an increasingly multitudinous range of European issues. Referenda have been held on issues such as treaty revision, adoption of the single currency, specific cooperation deals with non-member states, and accession to membership (Bertoncini, 2017). Major developments in the Union’s history, such as the failure of the Constitutional Treaty after the French and Dutch electorates rejected it, have come about due to such referenda (Bertoncini, 2017).

In June 2016, the United Kingdom (UK) held a referendum on whether or not to remain a member of the European Union, which resulted in a vote for *leave*. Although many referenda have been held on accession to the Union, the UK is the only Member State which

has previously held a referendum on whether or not to continue its membership. This was held in 1975, when the British electorate decided to remain a member of the European Economic Community (EEC). In the 2016 referendum, they thus became the first Member State to choose to leave the Union.

The United Kingdom (UK) is traditionally a country sceptical of European integration. The country did not engage in the talks that established European Coal and Steel Community (Bogdanor, 2012) and did not attempt to join the European Community before 1963. After the first attempt that was vetoed by France, it was not until 1973 that the UK finally joined the EC (Apa, 2005). Since then the British government negotiated several opt-outs from European Union treaties (Bogdanor, 2012). Explanations of the British euroscepticism can, on the one hand, be found in the bipolar party system (Gifford, 2008); on the other hand, in the UK's "character of an island nation" (Cameron, 2013), which has always shaped the UK's relationship with the EU. However, British euroscepticism is mostly expressed in public opinion polls but is not fully represented in political decision making (Bogdanor, 2012). In his speech on the EU on January 23rd 2013, the British Prime Minister David Cameron acknowledged that "public disillusionment with the EU is at an all-time high" (2013) and that it was "time for the British people to have their say" (Cameron, 2013). To involve the British people more in the way their country is run, he announced a referendum on British EU membership due to take place in the first half of the next parliamentary season, after renegotiations of the EU's settlement.

Building on the previous studies about the media's coverage of the Brexit, understanding how the media influenced the referendum result requires to recognise that before the campaign even began the large parts of the public had been primed by the media to be eurosceptic (Berry, 2016). During the campaign, the *Leave* campaign was able to build on this and highlighted long-established themes around sovereignty and immigration. In contrast the Remain campaign was unable to build a positive story to remain in the EU partly because those motives had not been comprehensively established in the past by media and politicians (Berry, 2016).

One reason why the discussion about the Brexit became so prevalent, besides its high political importance, is because of the high media attention. There have been lots of written and spoken discussions about the British EU referendum, which is a main reason why the Brexit debate offers a good choice for a framing analysis.

2. Theory

Millions of citizens turn to the news media daily and the media is a main institution in our democracies. One influential way that the media may shape public opinion is by framing events and issues (DeVreese, 2005). Framing involves a communication source presenting and defining an issue and gained lots of relevance, especially in communication science, and thus gave guidance to both investigations of media content and to studies of the relationship between media and public opinion (DeVreese, 2005).

2.1 Framing theory

The concept of 'framing' is discussed in a variety of disciplines. However, the definitions differ significantly amongst them (Scheufele, 2006).

Goffman (1974) was one of the first scholars to have developed the general concept of framing. As such, frames help people organize what they see in everyday life. Goffman (1974) calls frames the 'schemata of interpretation' a framework that helps in making an otherwise meaningless succession of events into something meaningful. Gitlin (1980) on the other hand defines frames as devices that facilitate how journalists organize enormous amounts of information and package them effectively for their audiences. He sees frames as 'persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion' which organize the information for journalists and their audience. According to Entman (1993), framing involves selection and salience, stressing that "to frame is to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described". Framing could have significant connotations as frames highlight some aspects of reality while excluding other elements, which might lead individuals to interpret issues differently. Besides examining media frames, researchers have studied the processes involved in the formation of the audience frame. There is much research that demonstrates how news framing influences information processing and the subsequent decision-making processes. Kahneman and Tversky (1979, 1984) were the first to examine how different presentations of essentially the same information can have an impact on people's choices. They found that individuals were less likely to take risks when 'losses' are highlighted while when the same information is

presented in terms of ‘gains’ individuals were more likely to take risks. This approach, called ‘equivalency’ (Druckman, 2001), examines the influence of different messages. The ‘emphasis’ (Druckman, 2001) approach to framing demonstrates that certain considerations in a message can influence individuals to focus on those particular considerations. Other scholars such as Iyengar, Valkenburg, Semetko and DeVreese backed this interpretation of framing, stressing that it is not always possible to apply a frame in news coverage without changing some of the facts (DeVreese, 2002). Druckman (2004) points out that in many cases, especially political issues, there is not always a way to present a situation in different but equivalent ways. Instead, emphasis framing effects refer to situations when, by “emphasizing a subset of potentially relevant considerations,” readers focus on these specific aspects of an issue in the decision-making process (Druckman, 2004). Due to that the concept of framing usually refers to ‘characterizations’ of an issue where a central idea provides meaning to the issue or event (Sniderman & Theriault, 2004). In general, this framing research tends to focus on the “words, images, phrases, and presentation styles” (Druckman, 2001) that are used to construct frames in news coverage and the processes that shape this construction.

Cappella & Jamieson (1997) furthermore suggest four criteria that a frame must meet in order to be acknowledged as a frame. First, a news frame must have identifiable conceptual as well as linguistic characteristics in order to determine frames in the news. Second, it should be frequently observed in the media. Third, it must be possible to distinguish the frame reliably from other frames, which again adds to the first criterion. Lastly, a frame must have ‘representational validity’, which means that it should have been observed by several scholars in order to ensure its existence (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997). In deductive framing research, the target is to examine which components in a news story are those to create a frame (DeVreese, 2002). Entman (1993) therefore suggests that frames in the news can be examined and identified by ‘the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments.’ This is in accordance to what Shah et al. (2002) refer to ‘choices about language, quotations, and relevant information.’ Gamson and Modigliani (1989) on the other hand identify ‘framing devices’ that condense information and offer a ‘media package’ of an issue (DeVreese, 2002).

Similar to Entman (1993) who noted that frames have multiple locations, including the communicator, the text, the receiver or the culture, deVreese (2002) suggests that framing has multiple components which are integral to a process of framing. These components that he identified as parts of a framing process are the frame-building, frame-setting and individual and societal consequences of framing (d'Angelo, 2002; Scheufele, 2000; DeVreese, 2002).

Frame-building hereby refers to the factors that influence the structural qualities of news frames, such factors can be internal as well as external to journalism (DeVreese, 2002). Internal factors on the one side determine how journalists and news organizations frame issues (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; DeVreese, 2002). External factors on the other side occur aside of journalistic decisions (DeVreese, 2002). Thus, the frame-building process takes place in a continuous interaction between journalists and elites as well as social movements (Cooper, 2002; DeVreese, 2002). A fundamental question related to frames in communication is that of the origin of these frames (Borah, 2011). The ability of a frame to dominate the news discourse depends on a multiple complex factors such as economic and cultural resources and the journalistic routines and practices (Borah, 2011). However, various factors such as an interaction of organizational and ideological factors, gender of the reporters, or cultural repertoires that have caused different media frames (Borah, 2011). The result of the framebuilding phase are the developed frames that are apparent in the journalistic texts (DeVreese, 2002).

The frame-setting phase on the other hand refers to the interaction between media frames and an individual's prior knowledge and predispositions of a topic or event (DeVreese, 2002). This part of the framing process has been investigated extensively aiming to explore the extent to which and under what circumstances audiences reflect frames applied in the news (DeVreese, 2002). News framing has potential to strongly affect learning, interpretation, and evaluation of issues and events with consequences of framing on the individual and the societal level (DeVreese, 2002). An individual level consequence might lead to attitudes about an issue that base upon the exposure to certain frames while the societal level consequences of frames might even shape social level processes such as political socialization, decision-making, and collective actions (DeVreese, 2002).

While newsmakers may employ many different frames in their coverage of an issue, scholars agree that the variety in choice in how to tell and construct stories can be captured in

explanation of different characteristics of frames (DeVreese, 2002). Due to the little shared conceptual ground and studies drawing on working definitions or operational definitions of frames that are specifically designed for the purpose the study, there is little consensus as how to identify frames in the news (DeVreese, 2005). In order to differentiate the different types of news frames a general typology with reference to the nature of the frame is suggested. Certain frames are applicable only to specific topics or events, such frames can be labelled issue-specific frames (DeVreese, 2002), while other frames do not have such thematic boundaries and were identified in relation to different topics, possibly over time and in different contexts (DeVreese, 2002). These frames are labelled generic frames (DeVreese, 2002). The inductive approach analyses news stories with no priori defined news frames in mind (e.g., Gamson 1992; Neuman et al. 1992). In the inductive approach, issue-specific frames emerge from the material during the course of analysis (DeVreese, 2005). Studies taking an inductive approach have thus been criticized for relying on a too small sample and for being difficult to replicate (Borah, 2011; Hertog & McLeod, 2001). The second approach is deductive and investigates generic frames that are defined and operationalized prior to the investigation. Scholars have argued in favor of applying a concise priori defined operationalizations of frames in content analyses.

While an issue-specific approach to the study of news frames allows for a profound level of specificity and details relevant to the event or issue under investigation the high degree of issue-sensitivity also makes generalizing as well as comparing, very difficult (DeVreese, 2002). Especially the absence of comparability has previously led researchers to easily finding evidence for what they are looking for (Hertog & McLeod, 2001).

Hence, debates continue about how to conceptualize frames (Borah, 2011). It is neither possible to incorporate the different methodologies or theoretical approaches together, nevertheless, it is equally important to clarify the conceptualizations and operationalizations of the framing studies conducted (Borah, 2011), so that the research is not grouped with different approaches (Scheufele, 2000; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

Framing and second-level agenda setting

Framing research has often been grouped with agenda setting and priming (Borah, 2011; Moy & Tewksbury, 2016). All three approaches have been examined under the broad category of cognitive media effects (Scheufele, 2000, Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Challenging the

limited effects model, McCombs et al (1972) tested the proposition that by the day-to-day selection of news, the mass media influences the public agenda (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). In later studies, McCombs argued that framing can be brought under the umbrella of agenda setting studies and can be considered a second dimension to agenda setting research (Maher, 2001). However, McCombs' proposition became a highly contested notion and disputed with explanation the differences between the two processes (Borah, 2011).

Framing analysis shares with agenda-setting research a focus on the relationship between public policy issues in the news and the public perceptions of these issues (Borah, 2011; McComby, 2011). However, framing analysis expands beyond agenda-setting research into how people perceive the media coverage (Borah, 2011). Meanwhile, agenda setting occurs due to the frequency with which an issue is discussed in the mass media. It does not involve how the issue is treated in the media and is not relevant to framing (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997). Besides these differences, studies of the psychological processes involved in framing effects helps to understand framing as a process distinct from agenda setting and priming (Moy, Tewksbury, 2016).

2.3 Frames in issues of EU politics

One group of studies of generic frames concentrates on the coverage of politics, in particular election campaigns. Cappella and Jamieson (1997) investigated the consequences of strategically framed news on political. Strategic news, and thus the strategy frame, is defined as news that focuses on winning and losing, includes the language of war, games, and competition, contains 'performers, critics and audiences', focuses on candidate style and perceptions or gives weight to polls and candidate standings (Jamieson, 1992). According to Cappella and Jamieson (1997), strategic news dominates American news coverage of not only election campaigns, but also of policy issues in general. The focus on winning and losing and polls resembles Patterson's (1993) discussion of the use of 'game schema' in election news. 'Game' hereby refers to strategies and (predictions of) success, emphasizing candidates' position in the electoral race. Patterson (1993) thereby provides evidence of the historical increase in the use of the game frame in the press coverage of US elections from 1960 until 1992.

Neuman et al. (1992) on the other hand developed frames used by the audience when discussing current affairs. They found that the frames deduced from their audience interviews were also present in the news media coverage of a series of issues. In their study they identified 'economics' and 'conflict' as common frames used by the media as well as by the audience (Neuman et al, 1992). The economic consequences frame thereby reflects 'the preoccupation with "the bottom line", profit and loss' (1992). Thereby, this frame reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, group, institution, region, or country (Neuman et al, 1992). Neuman et al. (1992) also identify it as a common frame in the news coverage of political issues. The wide impact of an event is an important news value, and economic consequences are often considerable (Graber, 1993). The conflict frame on the other hand refers to the journalistic practice of reporting stories of clashing interpretation and it was found to fit well with news media's 'game interpretation of the political world as an ongoing series of contests, each with a new set of winners and losers' (DeVreese, 2005; Neuman et al, 1992). These frames were found in relation to different issues besides politics, which suggest that the frames are generally applicable news frames (DeVreese, 2005). The use of the conflict and economic consequences frames in television news in Britain, Denmark, and the Netherlands was also investigated in the study of DeVreese (2005). He thereby investigated the exact extent to which news was framed in terms of conflict and economic consequences. The investigation on the conflict and economic consequences frames in the news then showed that the conflict frame was more prominent than economic consequences in political and economic news stories (DeVreese, 2005). Only in the case of stories about the introduction of the euro, the opposite occurred with the conflict frame being less important than economic consequences in these stories (DeVreese, 2005). DeVreese (2002) also found journalists were more likely to emphasize conflict in the reporting of political and economic news and suggested that this may come from factors internal to journalism. His results thereby are in line with previous research on news values stressing the importance of conflict in the news selection process (Price & Tewksbury, 1997). As such, DeVreese (2005) found news practitioners stressing that in cases of political topics, whether domestic or european, news media focus on tension between two sides. This is especially prevalent because of the bipolar confrontational political system and thus the most common structure used for political stories (DeVreese, 2005). Presenting an issue as a matter of conflict between two sides automatically brings

simplification to the issue but in some cases “it is easier to tell this as a ‘nasty little stitchup between Germany and Spain’.”(DeVreese, 2005)

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) moreover identified four news frames to be the most frequent in debates about the European Union, which include the ‘conflict’, ‘human interest’, ‘attribution of responsibility’ and ‘economic consequences’ frames. They thereby conceptualised the conflict frame to emphasize conflict between individuals, groups, institutions or countries, while the ‘human interest’ frame brings a human face, an individual’s story, or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or problem and was found to be a common frame in the news (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Because the market for news becomes more competitive overall, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) as well as DeVreese (2005) stress that journalists and editors increasingly find themselves in a very competing news environment to produce news that captures audience interest (Bennett, 1995). Framing news in ‘human interest’ terms is one way to achieve this, as the frame is applied in order to personalize the news, dramatize or “emotionalize” the news to capture and audience interest.

The responsibility frame on the other hand presents an issue or problem in a context in which responsibility for causing or solving a problem is attributed to either the government or to another political actor, such as a single politician or party (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The use of the ‘attribution of responsibility’ frame has been found to be especially common in the U.S., where news media have been credited with shaping public perception of who is responsible for causing or solving problems, such as poverty (DeVreese, 2005; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Iyengar, 1987). The economic consequences frame in the study of Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) has been conceptualised as presenting an event, problem or issue in terms of the economic consequences it will have on an individual, group, institution, region or country. The study found that the attribution of responsibility frame was the most commonly used, followed by the conflict and economic consequences frames (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

The correlation of frames and sentiment

The results of Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) moreover show a significant three-way interaction among type of frame, outlet, and topic, however, the interaction holds only for the responsibility frame. For the remaining frames, namely conflict, economy and human interest

there was no significant correlation proven (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). In their study Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) found the responsibility frame to occur most frequently in the media coverage. They thereby state that a high score on the responsibility scale indicates media to attribute responsibility for problems to some level of government or other political actor, thus implying that the government or other actor has the ability to alleviate, or is responsible for causing, a certain issue. In the attribution of responsibility, one thus can often detect an accusation to an actor (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) for not acting accordingly to solve the problem, thus suggesting a negative attitude towards the actor.

A high score on the human interest scale on the other side indicates that the news put a human face on the issue thereby sometimes even applying personal aspects which might generate strong feelings on the part of the reader (DeVreese, 2005; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). However, such aspects can be used for both sides, pro as well as contra but also neutral, and thus do not necessarily suggest a certain attitude. Beside, the study of Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) showed that the human interest frame occurred significantly more often in the most sensationalist newspaper. This leads to the suggestion that sensationalist news outlets like *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Daily Mirror* use the human interest frame more frequently than serious outlets like *The Guardian* or *The Times*.

Meanwhile, the conflict frame indicates that the news reports reflect disagreement between parties or groups or countries or refers to two or more sides of an issue (Claes, Valkenburg & Semetko, 1999). The tendency to report politics in context of conflict is similar to the U.S. (Patterson, 1993; Cappella & Jamieson, 1997), the basis of conflict being parliamentary multiparty system as mentioned before. But similar to the human interest frame, the conflict frame can be found very frequently in news outlets, presenting as well a positive, negative or neutral attitude and can thus be in favour of leave as well as remain in the Brexit debate. However, Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) found in their studies that the conflict frame was most frequently applied by serious newspapers, such as the NRC in the Netherlands. DeVreese (2005) also suggests that the conflict frame occurred more often in serious news outlets because there was also a stronger focus on political news. As a consequence, they hypothesized that the use of the conflict frame is more frequent in serious newspapers than in more sensationalist outlets (DeVreese, 2005; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

A high score on the economic consequences scale indicated that the story mentioned financial losses or gains or the degree of expense involved. Likewise the conflict frame, framing issues in regard to their economic consequences were found to occur significantly more often in serious and sober newspaper outlets (Semetko, 2000). Due to the stories' focus on economic consequences, which are most commonly losses, the economic consequences frame is associated with a negative attitude towards Brexit, however, this does not reflect a causal relation. Hence, the economic consequences frame also does not necessarily attribute a specific attitude.

Although both tabloid and quality newspapers are both commercially funded, tabloids rely more on daily newsstand sales (Jackson, 2011), meaning they compete for readers and face financial imperatives to present news in a format that has significant entertainment and interest value. Jackson (2011) therefore argues that strategic frames should occur more often in tabloid outlets due to the uncertainty associated with the depiction of politicians which is more likely to attract the reader's attention (Jackson, 2011). Jackson (2011) states that tabloid papers applied the strategy frame just slightly more often than broadsheets however, the study also showed that there were relevant differences between the single outlets. *The Mirror* for instance had far less strategy news than *the Sun*, which reported in frame of strategy most frequently. Jackson (2011) thus derives at the result that pro-EU newspapers tend to apply the strategy frame less frequently than anti-EU ones.

The findings of Jackson (2011) hereby are in accordance with those of Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) who found that the sensationalist or serious nature of the outlet is a major criterion for distinguishing between the frequency of frames used. The study of Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) thereby suggests that the differences in the use the responsibility frame, the conflict frame, and the economic consequences frame were dependent on the sensational or serious category of the newspaper. This led Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) to the conclusion that the serious quality newspapers used the attribution of responsibility frame and the conflict frame most frequently, while the sensationalist newspapers occurred to use the human interest frame more often and generally applied more emotions in their news coverage (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

H1: From the five most present news frames in EU politics [conflict; economic consequences; responsibility; human interest and strategy] the conflict and strategy frame are the most frequently used frames in the British news coverage of the Brexit.

H2: Pro-Brexit outlets, including *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph*, are the outlets that apply the responsibility frame and human interest frame most frequently.

H3: Con-Brexit outlets, including *The Daily Mirror*, *The Guardian* and *The Times*, are the outlets that apply the conflict frame as well as the economic consequences frame most frequently.

2.3 Media bias in the 2016 EU referendum

Research on how the British media has reported the British EU referendum in the press has been unequivocal. As previously mentioned in the introduction, several scholars have found British media to be heavily biased in favour of the EU referendum.

They thereby found the media outside the *Independent*, *Guardian* and *Mirror* to be very negative regarding British membership in the EU. The argumentations reached from meddling ‘pointy head Eurocrats’ and the membership fees to the European project (Levy et al, 2016; Berry, 2016), and thus employing a collection of negative themes regarding British EU membership (Berry, 2016).

Levy et al (2016) found the most extreme bias towards Brexit was apparent in *the Daily Express*, followed by *The Daily Mail* which scored a majority of articles of 58% that favoured Brexit, while a plurality of 44% of articles in *the Sun* and 47% in *the Daily Telegraph* were also pro Leave. On the other side, *the Mirror* had the highest share of pro Remain arguments, which constituted 50% of its articles focused on the EU, while *the Guardian* had a more balanced stance, with a smaller gap between Remain and Leave articles at the start of the campaign period (43% pro Remain vs. 28% pro Leave) (Levy et al, 2016). Yet, over time, the percentage of its pro Remain articles grew to 46% overall, far exceeding Leave ones. However, the proportion of pro *leave* articles was still higher than those of *remain* articles, which reinforces the view of those media observers who claimed that the *remain* camp lacked an effective campaign (Levy et al, 2016).

In general all newspapers contained some articles from the other point of view, despite their actual position regarding Brexit, but the proportion was particularly small across the tabloids *the Daily Express*, *Daily Mirror*, and *Daily Mail* (Levy et al, 2016). Among outlets supporting of the Remain campaign, *the Daily Mirror* delivered the least amount of views from the other side (16%) (Levy et al, 2016).

Despite the clear positions of the single news outlets, *the Mirror* clarified its position just three days before the referendum was held on the 23rd June by stating: ‘The Mirror certainly has its issues with the EU but after the most divisive, vile and unpleasant political campaign in living memory we say vote Remain’ (The Mirror, 2016; Firmstone, 2016). Similarly, the Guardian officially declared its support for Remain shortly before the referendum with a headline arguing to ‘keep connected and inclusive, not angry and isolated’ (Guardian, 2016; Firmstone, 2016). Moreover, Firmstone (2016) found that not all news outlets chose to promote their agenda to the same extent as most *leave* outlets did. Measuring the salience of opinion, Firmstone (2016) found that on average *Leave* newspapers published editorials on more days (9.4) than Remain papers (7.6). *The Sun and Mail* thereby published their opinion every day with *the Telegraph* and *Express* almost as often (firmstone, 2016). *The Guardian* was most active on the Remain side, but the other *Remain* papers merely actively backed the campaign.

Comparing the different news outlets and their positions enabled the researchers to create an ‘opinion continuum’ (Deacon,). They thereby could position, with varying degrees, five newspapers favoured *remain* and five *leave*, with a greater volume (60 to 40%) of articles supporting *leave* (Moore & Ramsay, 2017). Supportive for the previous findings of Levy & Bironzo (2016) also the study conducted by Moore & Ramsay (2017) discovered *The Sun*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Daily Mail*, *Daily Express* and *The Star* to back the Leave campaign while *The Daily Mirror*, *The Guardian*, *The financial Times* and *The Times* backed the Remain camp. Furthermore, weighted these figures by sales and arrived at an even higher disparity of articles with 80% versus 20% in favour of *leave* (Levy et al, 2016).

Considering not only the attitude of the different news outlets but also the frequency of issues covered, Levy et al (2016) found that the British EU referendum news was mostly focused on the issue of the economy in the broadsheet papers, such as *The Times* (57%), the *Guardian* (45%), and the *Daily Telegraph* (43%). News outlets that favoured the *leave* camp however put more emphasis on topics such as immigration or sovereignty, with the three

most frequent issues of migration, sovereignty and security accounting for over half the topics in their coverage (Levy et al, 2016; Moore & Ramsay, 2017; Firmstone, 2016) . As such, *The Daily Star* and *the Telegraph* were found to have the highest portions of security-focused coverage, as they suggested migration may represent a threat to security (Levy et al, 2016). Indeed, did *The Guardian* and *the Daily Express* have the highest frequency of sovereignty-related coverage, however they approached the topic differently. While, *The Guardian* argued that ‘the Brexit campaign is wrong: the UK is already a sovereign nation’ and thus was supportive of Britain to keep playing an active role in shaping the EU’s future, the Express often used patriotism in its call to vote Leave (Levy et al, 2016; Firmstone, 2016).

And still, despite *remain* messages appeared to be more cautious in their critique of the status quo. Regardless of any benefit they indicated they also stated that the UK’s membership in the EU leaves much to be desired, even though they were naturally far less negative about the status quo than the *Leave* camp (Firmstone, 2016; Levy et al, 2016; Moore & Ramsay, 2017). In this sense, Levy et al (2016) suggest that the *Remain* campaign struggled to make a positive case for voting in favour of the status quo. Conversely, the pro Brexit camp managed to balance more successfully messages criticising the status quo with messages offering ‘hope’ for the UK’s future outside the block (Firmstone, 2016). Building upon the previous media analysis that studied the single news outlets regarding their position towards Brexit, the following hypotheses are derived.

H4: British news coverage of the Brexit overall shows a positive attitude towards the EU referendum.

H5: *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph* are show a positive attitude while *The Daily Mirror*, *The Guardian* and *The Times* take a negative position towards the British EU referendum.

3. Research Design

In the following section the exact research aim and the questions will be examined. Thereby, the data sources, the data itself and Furthermore the research design, respectively the method which is used in order to analyse the news articles and derive the results will be explained.

3.1 Research Question

The research interest following from the theory described above and the hypotheses following from it is twofold. First of all, I aim to identify the frequency of news frames used in the news coverage of the six most circulating british newspapers. More specifically, I want to identify the frequency of the conflict, economic consequences, responsibility, human interest as well as strategy frames in the news coverage of the brexit within the time period from the 15th June 2016 until the 22nd June 2016, the last week before the referendum was held.

The second research interest follows from previous findings regarding the difference in tone, argumentation and context between sensationalist and serious news papers.

The research questions following from that are

Q1: *How frequent do British newspapers use the selected frames in the coverage of the Brexit referendum?*

Q2: *Which positions do the single newspaper take in their coverage of the EU referendum?*

3.2 Data

In order to determine which newspapers to include in the case selection and sampling, the latest NRS PADD data as well as data by ABC will be considered. According to the National Readership Survey on Readership (conducted from October 2016 until September 2017) *the Daily Mail, Daily Mirror, Metro, the Daily Telegraph, the Sun and the Times* have the highest rates of readership. The data by ABC conducted in February 2018 on the other hand gives information about the circulations of British newspapers. According to this report, *Daily Mail, Daily Mirror, Daily Telegraph, The Sun/Sun on Sunday, Times/Sunday Times* are the newspapers with the highest circulations. Hence, in this research the following newspapers will be included:

- The Daily Mail is a tabloid newspaper with a circulation of 1.343,142

- The Daily Mirror is a tabloid newspaper with a circulation of 534,328
- The Times is a conservative quality newspaper with a circulation of 440,558
- The Guardian is a left-liberal daily quality newspaper with a circulation of 152,714
- The Daily Telegraph is a liberal daily quality newspaper with a circulation figure of 385,346

The newspaper selection covers both popular and quality newspapers, and takes into account the entire political spectrum of the UK.

Due to the focus on news coverage, I first thought to exclude Letters to the editor or readers' opinions in the dataset. But despite comments not being journalistic articles published by the newspapers, they still contain and represent a clear standpoint of the newspaper audience. Furthermore, newspapers can also frame their news coverage by selecting such letters or comments to publish them in the news through which they again shape the public opinion.

To collect the articles, the database LexisNexis was used. LexisNexis contains over 40,000 critical news and business sources from 1980 until today. Nexis offers the opportunity to quickly research across global news and business news based on topic, time, country, language. Due to the possibility to not only retrieve print media articles but also web articles of the selected newspapers, web articles will also be included in the collection of data. Thus, this gives also the possibility to widen the data and increase the reliability of the results.

In order to retrieve relevant articles for the analysis, specific terms related with the Brexit are used to find articles that deal with the British EU referendum and its debate. The search for each of the key words in the LexisNexis Database, and then proceed to judge whether the articles are relevant or not. The search terms include: *EU referendum* and *Brexit* as those search term apply for all articles that deal with the EU referendum debate. These keywords were deliberately chosen to ensure a very broad range of articles among the results. The chosen time frame for the news articles is the 15th June 2016 until 22nd June 2016 which is exactly the last week before the EU referendum was held on the 23rd June 2016. The final week of the campaign was the focus of the analysis because this time has been found to be significant in shaping opinions (De Vreese and Semetko, 2004) and can be seen as crucial phase of a referendum campaign in regards to voters' perception and the voting outcome. Hence, this is the most important period in the campaign with the urgency of the

vote pushing up audience interest in the referendum. It is therefore an important period to study the prevalence of media frames. A larger time frame would have enabled the opportunity to select larger data and thus a higher generalisability, however, this would no longer fit the scope of the bachelor thesis.

In a first reading, the retrieved articles were then analysed in accordance with their relevance for answering the research question. Only those articles relevant for the research are included in the sample, irrelevant articles for the study and duplicates of articles were excluded. The total number of articles thus sampled is 213. From these 31 articles were published in the *Daily Mirror and Mirror on Sunday*, 23 in the *Daily Mail and Mail on Sunday*, 59 articles in the *Daily Telegraph*, 41 articles originate from *the Times* and 59 articles from *the Guardian*.

3.3 Method

The purpose of this study is to explore with which frequency the chosen frames have been applied in the news coverage of the British EU referendum 2016. In order to do so, this study consists of two parts. First, a framing analysis identified which frames are used most frequently by British national newspapers regarding the Brexit discussion. Subsequently, after the frames were identified, a frequency analysis was conducted.

In order to identify news frames within the chosen articles, a content analysis will be conducted. Content analysis is defined as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts or other meaningful matter to the contents of their use” (Krippendorff, 2012). Connolly-Ahern and Broadway (2008) further explain the concept of a qualitative frame analysis as involves a repeated and extensive engagement with a text and holistically examining the material to identify frames. They thereby state that this approach to frame analysis examines the key words and metaphors in the text, thus identifying what frame was included and which not. This implies that texts, in this case news articles as well as comments, are examined in order to gather information about the source, text type, tone and frames applied in the articles. In order to do so, the researcher has to code the texts based on the codebook. The codes can either be developed by a textual analysis of a random subsample of all chosen articles or based on already existent criteria. Creating codes during a textual analysis is the inductive approach of a content analysis and can be more issue-specific and more detailed regarding the study. The deductive research on the other hand takes a priori

defined codebook, based on literature and previous findings, and thus offers the opportunity to compare findings, examine changes over time and generalize. For this specific study, a deductive approach is chosen in order to examine the frequency of previously found frames in the referendum debate. Thus, the codebook of this study builds upon the conceptualisation and operationalisation of previous framing studies, as will be explained in the next section. For the deductive analysis, each article is read to determine the presence or absence of the frames. The frequency of the codes is then calculated by taking their occurrence in relation to the total number of all articles or number of articles per news outlet.

For the tonality analysis on the other hand a subjective assessment of the tone is applied. In order to categorise the content of the articles as either supportive or opposing the British EU referendum, the articles must be read carefully to assess which position the article takes. There are several ways to assess the tone, the present study however will use the classification of “positive”, “neutral”, “negative” or “ambiguous”.

The sampled articles are coded using the programme ATLAS.ti and the according coding scheme. The purpose of ATLAS.ti is to help researchers uncover and systematically analyze complex phenomena hidden in unstructured data, such as texts, audio data, etc. The program provides tools that let the user locate, code, and comment findings in primary data in order to weigh and evaluate their importance. It also provides the opportunity to analyse and visualize the relations between them.

Since the data in content analyses is usually collected by human coders assigning values to the analysed texts, it is generally open to interpretation. In order to be able to derive authoritative conclusions from the data, the trustworthiness has to be determined. One way of reaching that is to assess the reproducibility of the data, which means that different coders, usually two independent coders, code the text based on the same codebook or schemata. This reproducibility is also called inter-coder reliability. In order to assure reliability of the coding, a random subsample of 15 articles was coded by two independent coders to assess intercoder reliability. The second coder in this study was a master student of the BMS faculty who was introduced into the topic of framing and the Brexit as a chosen example. The coder was then also introduced to the theoretical section about the specific frames and their implications in this study and was furthermore given the codebook (Appendix B) as a guide for the coding process. Any questions or uncertainties were discussed in order to ensure that the second coder is aware of all operationalisations and their implications.

3.4 Operationalisation

The identification of news frames requires the researcher to know “how” to look for frames, as well as “what” to look for when identifying frames. The “what” of identifying frames implies that the researcher analyses the text for “symbolic devices” or “signature elements” that are located within news stories (Gamson & Lasch, 1983). There are several devices used to frame a specific event/story. According to Borah (2011) the conceptual fuzziness in framing research can only be avoided by following strict operationalizations. Of the several perspectives in framing research, it is therefore appropriate for each individual study to clearly define the conceptualizations and operationalizations of that particular study.

While some scholars support the use of a narrow conceptualisation in framing research (e.g., Scheufele, 2000; Shah et al., 2001) the vast majority of framing studies apply a more or less broader definition of frames. Conceptually, a broader notion of news frames is indebted to a definition of a frame as ‘a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them.

Hence, the codebook builds upon the operationalization of the included frames introduced by the research in the theory chapter. In their studies on framing of EU politics and EU parliamentary election Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) and Schuck et al. (2013) already distinguished indicators for the frames used in their respective studies. These indicators have been rephrased to reflect the specific focus of this thesis.

The coding units are the articles. For each article the frames are coded as 1=present or 0=absent. A single article may contain more than one frame.

On the basis of Schuck et al. (2013), the *conflict frame* is defined as present in an article, if the article

- shows two or more sides of the EU referendum
- directly mentions a conflict or disagreement between two or more actors about the EU referendum
- features a personal attack or accusation of actors against each other

The *strategy frame* is defined as present in an article, if it

- covers an actor’s presentation or style

- evaluates an actor's actions as being strategic to obtain that actor's objectives concerning the EU referendum
- uses “metaphors from the language of games, sport, and or war” (Schuck et al., 2013)

On the basis of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), the *economic interest* frame is seen as present, if an article

- elaborates on the cost or expenses involved in the EU referendum
- makes presumptions about the degree of financial gains or losses related to the EU referendum
- mentions economic consequences of possible referendum outcomes.

The attribution of *responsibility frame* is defined as being present, if the article

- mentions a problem related to the EU referendum requiring a solution and
- identifies an actor as being responsible for the problem
- expects an actor to have the ability to solve the problem (Semetko, Valkenburg, 2000).

The tone of the news articles, which indicates the newspaper's attitude towards the Brexit, is coded as positive, negative, neutral or ambiguous. There are explicit and implicit ways of showing support or opposition, such as quotes of arguments by influential actors or stating aspects of an issue in a favourable or unfavourable light. Accordingly, determining attitude towards the Brexit in articles might be a difficult task in some cases because the way in which the attitude is stated differs among the different articles and outlets.

To identify the attitude towards the British EU referendum, the codes for the tone are defined as

- *negative* if they
 - directly or indirectly quote an argument supporting EU membership
 - provide own arguments supporting EU membership, or
 - offer a positive evaluation of the EU and/or hitherto EU membership
- *ambiguous*, if they
 - offer both positive and negative arguments concerning British EU membership

- *positive* if they
 - directly or indirectly quote an argument opposing EU membership
 - provide own arguments opposing EU membership, or
 - offer a negative evaluation of the EU and/or hitherto EU membership
- *neutral*, if they
 - do not convey any arguments about British EU membership that conclude a definite attitude

4. Analysis

In a first step the data, in particular the selected articles, will be uploaded in the programme Atlas.ti in order to code the articles based on their content, tone and frequency of frames used. With the results, meaning the number of cases for each code, a statistical analysis follows.

Lynch & Peer (2002) suggest to first run a frequencies procedure on all variables, respectively codes. This allows the researcher to see how many cases occur in each category for each variable, respectively how many cases fall within one code. Following the frequency analysis, it is then possible observe how many cases match the codes for specific frames used in EU politics or the tone of the articles. Using this procedure, it is also possible to see if anything looks out of the ordinary and thus determine the main topics in the media coverage. A Cohen's Kappa coefficient was used to determine the interrater agreement (Sim & Wright, 2005). Therefore, a sample of 21 newspaper articles was double coded by two coders, which represented ten percent of the total amount of articles. The process needed two rounds of coding for the Kappa values to reach significance. After the coding process of the sample, agreement between the two coders for each of the codes was calculated. Cohen's Kappa values are known to be significant when they reach a minimum value of .75 or higher. For the first two codes 1. Source and 2. text type a maximum value of 1 was reached. For the third code, tone respectively the attitude of the newspapers regarding the Brexit, a Cohen's Kappa value of 0.85 was reached. The attribution of frames in the news articles reached a Cohen's Kappa value of 0.88. These values indicate a strong intercoder agreement in the coding procedure and thus a high reliability of the coding procedure and outcomes.

Table 1. Cohen's Kappa - Intercoder reliability

| Code | Cohen's Kappa value |
|--------------|---------------------|
| 1. Source | 1 |
| 2. Text type | 1 |
| 3. Tone | 0,85 |
| 4. Frame | 0,88 |

4.1 Which frames do newspaper use in their coverage of the British EU referendum?

In order to answer the first research question, the frequency with which the different frames occurred in the individual newspapers was determined. To derive at the frequency values of frames used the co-occurrences of frames within the specific news outlets was determined using the analysis of the programme Atlas.ti. The percentage of the frequency was then calculated taking each co-occurrence of frame and individual news outlet and the total number of articles of each news outlet.

Furthermore co-occurrences between all frames was analysed to show possible links between the usages of these frames, firstly for all news articles but also for each individual news outlet in order to derive a comparison of the news outlets and their use of frames.

4.1.1 Frequency of frames used

The overall analysis in *Table 2. co-occurrence news outlet and frames* shows that taking all articles (n=213) into account, the conflict frame occurs most frequently in the total dataset with a percentage of 69%. The second most used frame is the strategy frame with a frequency percentage of 52%, followed by the economic consequences frame with a frequency of 45%. The responsibility frame occurred with a frequency of 41% while the human interest frame was least used in the overall dataset with the lowest frequency of 39%. In order to gain a deeper insight into the use of frames and a better understanding of the differences among the individual news outlets, it is necessary to observe the values for each outlet.

Taking *The Daily Mail* into account, the most used frame occurs to be the conflict frame with an about average frequency of 69%. The economic consequences and human interest frames occur to be the second most used frames in the sample of *The Daily Mail* with a percentage of 52%. The strategy frame occurs with a frequency of 39% while the

responsibility frame occurs with only one case less and a frequency of 35%. These results were not exactly expected for this news outlet, except for the high frequency of the human interest frame due to the sensationalist nature of *The Daily Mail*. Especially the high frequency of the economic consequences and low use of responsibility frame are surprising as the outlet was previously found to be in favour of *leave* and to attribute responsibility to the establishment.

In the case of *The Daily Mirror* the high frequency of the responsibility frame is especially striking and is also the highest in comparison to the other news outlets with a value of 65%. Following that, the economic consequences frame (42%) and the conflict frame (38%) are the second and third most frequently used frames in this subsample. Hereby it is to mention that the frequency of the conflict frame happens to be the lowest value in comparison with all other news outlets. The same observation accounts for the frequency of the human interest (23%) and strategy (29%) frame, for which the sample of *The Daily Mirror* accounts for the lowest values when compared to the other outlets. Just as *The Daily Mail*, also this outlet is more of a sensationalist nature, thus the low frequency of the human interest frame is partly surprising, on the other hand, the outlet was found to be strongly in favour of *remain* which might be a reason why the frequency for the human interest and the conflict frame are rather slight.

The Daily Telegraph on the other hand strikes with high frequency values for the strategy frame (58%) as well as for the responsibility frame (51%) with each value being the second most frequent occurrence in comparison to the other outlets. Following these, the conflict frame (53%) is the second lowest compared to other newspapers and the frequency of the economic consequences frame is about average in comparison. In the case of the human interest frame (22%) *The Daily Telegraph* obtains the lowest frequency compared to the other outlets, with little difference to *The Daily Mirror*. These findings support previous studies which stressed an increased use of the responsibility and strategy frame in broadsheets (Jackson, 2011; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

In the case of *The Guardian* the conflict frame occurs most frequently (63%), directly followed by the strategy frame, which occurs with the highest overall value for the strategy frame of 61%. *The Guardian* also happens to obtain the highest value for the human interest frame with a frequency of 58%. Surprisingly the economic consequences frame only obtains a value of 36% which is even the lowest value when compared to the other outlets. The

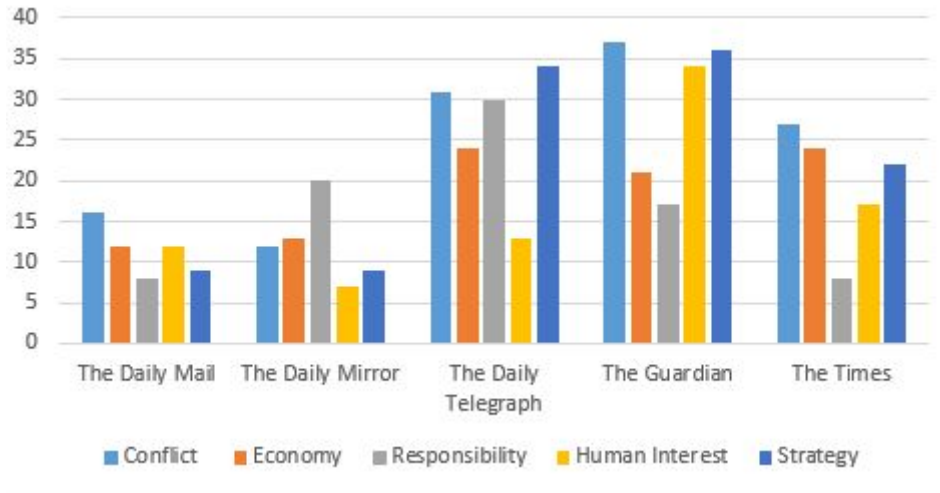
responsibility frame is least frequently used (29%) in this subsample and the second lowest for the responsibility frame overall. The frequencies of the conflict and strategy frame are in accordance with previous studies, the value for the human interest frame however is very surprising. A possible explanation for this could be the negative attitude of *The Guardian* towards Brexit in its news coverage that led to many news stories that dealt with the negative consequences for individual groups, such as foreign workers in the UK or farmers in rural areas that worry about their perspectives.

The news outlet *The Times* obtains the highest value for the economic consequences frame with a frequency of 59%, although the conflict frame (66%) is the most frequently used frame in this subsample. The third most commonly used frame is the strategy frame with a percentage of 54%, followed by an about average percentage for the human interest frame (41%). The lowest value within the subsample for *The Times* articles accounts for the responsibility frame (20%) which accounts as well for the lowest value within the cases of the responsibility frame. For the *The Times* frequencies for the conflict, economic consequences and strategy frame are in accordance with the expectations. Especially due to *The Times* neutral attitude and focus on economic matters, the high frequency for the economic consequences frame was expected. Although the value for the human interest frame is the second lowest for this outlet, it is still surprisingly high in comparison to the values among *The Times* as well as compared to the other values for the human interest frame. Another surprising characteristic is the very low value for the responsibility frame, which happens to also be the lowest value for this frame overall, despite Semetko & Valkenburg's (2000) expectation that the use of this frame increases in quality outlets.

Table 2. co-occurrence news outlet and frames

| | Conflict | Economy | Responsibility | Human Interest | Strategy | sum of frames |
|---------------------------|-----------|----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|---------------|
| The Daily Mail | 16 (70%) | 12 (52%) | 8 (35%) | 12 (52%) | 9 (39%) | 57 |
| The Daily Mirror | 12 (38%) | 13 (42%) | 20 (65%) | 7 (23%) | 9 (29%) | 61 |
| The Daily Telegraph | 31 (52%) | 24 (41%) | 30 (51%) | 13 (22%) | 34 (58%) | 132 |
| The Guardian | 37 (63%) | 21 (36%) | 17 (29%) | 34 (58%) | 36 (61%) | 145 |
| The Times | 27 (66%) | 24 (59%) | 8 (20%) | 17 (41%) | 22 (54%) | 98 |
| sum of single frames used | 125 (69%) | 96 (45%) | 87 (41%) | 83 (39%) | 110 (52%) | 493 |

Figure 1. frequency of frames per news outlet



4.1.2 co-occurrence of frames

Table 8 gives information about the cases of co-occurrences of frames with the frequency in percentages for the overall sample of n=213 articles.

Considering that the conflict and economic consequences frames are the most frequently used frames in the news coverage of this study, their co-occurrence remains at a relatively low level (23%). Hereby one must mention that the co-occurrence of these two frames remains the lowest for all co-occurrences with the conflict frame but by far the highest for all co-occurrences with the economic consequences frame. Consequently one might conclude that the economic consequences frame is often used in articles also containing the conflict frame. However, the conflict frame is more often used in articles not containing the economic consequences frame. For the overall analysis, the conflict frames is most often present in combination with the strategy frame with a frequency of 38%. This might be due to the news' emphasis on the politicians of the Leave and Remain campaign and their presentation and style as well as their disputes within the Brexit debate.

The responsibility frame (25%) and the human interest frame (24%) occur least frequent with the conflict frame, although likewise the economic consequences frame the co-occurrence values with the conflict frame remain the highest for responsibility and human interest frame.

Next to the highest frequency with the conflict frame, the economic consequences frame only slightly co-occurs with the other frames. Merely 12 % co-occurrence are present for the responsibility and strategy frame, the human interest frame only co-occurs in 8% of cases. However, this is not a surprising finding in the analysis because the economic consequences frame focuses purely on the economic factors in the debate about the British EU referendum. Thus, the topics that were coded with the economic consequences frame dealt especially with the financial market, stock markets and housing prices as well as interest rates and the further economic development of the United Kingdom in case of a Brexit. The topics were mostly discussed in a conflict frame, comparing the different potential outcomes and their consequences, thus not covering the presentation of politicians or even bringing emotional or dramatic perspectives to the coverage of economic consequences.

The responsibility frame co-occurs with the conflict frame (25%) most often, directly followed by a co-occurrence with the strategy frame with a frequency of 23%. This result is in accord with previous findings and expectations. As the responsibility frame identifies other actors as being responsible for current political issues, the co-occurrence with the conflict frame gives information that several politicians were compared with each other, giving the responsibility to one or another. This is especially important as previous media analysis found that both camps, *leave* as well as *remain*, put a lot of emphasis on blaming the other camp during the whole Brexit debate. Thus, the co-occurrence of these frames might back these findings by previous research. The co-occurrence with the strategy frame is also in accordance with the expectations because with giving responsibility to specific actors or politicians, the media also cover the presentation of the respective actors or politicians and thus make use of the strategy frame. As such, the articles which were coded with these two codes dealt with the politicians' style and actions when they were confronted with critique in situations as TV or public debates or when they reacted on previously stated disagreement. The co-occurrences for the human interest frame (14%) and the economic consequences frame (12%) remain low, which can be explained by the relative high neutral nature of the economic consequences frame that, thus, does not fit with the critical nature of the responsibility frame. As well as the economic consequences frame, the human interest frame was mostly applied in stories with a neutral attitude and mostly covered the death of Jo Cox. Consequently, the responsibility frame merely co-occurs with these frames.

The co-occurrences of the human interest frame show the highest values for a linkage with the strategy frame (28%) as well as for the conflict frame (24%). Especially the co-occurrence with the strategy frame was expected because a lot of stories that used the human interest frame were associated with the coverage of Jo Cox' death only a few days before the referendum was held. In these articles, the news outlets often covered her death and focused on the politicians' reactions and statements regarding her death, thus covering their presentation and style (strategy frame). The remaining frequencies for the responsibility frame (14%) and economic consequences frame (8%) are low and indicate a mere co-occurrence of the frames. As also stated above, the co-occurrence of the human interest and responsibility frame are as expected. The same applies for the co-occurrence of human interest and economic consequences because the human interest frame, in its nature, puts a personal angle to a story and tends to emotionalise while the economic consequences frame simply discusses content of economic matter, such as the Brexit's consequences on stock markets, interest rates, etc.

For the strategy frame the highest co-occurrences are present for the conflict frame with a frequency of 38%, which was also previously explained by the media's focus on the competing *Leave* and *Remain* campaign. As discussed in the co-occurrences of the conflict frame, articles that showed a co-occurrence of these frames focussed on the politician's presentation and actions. This was found for several topics such as debates and discussions of *leave* and *remain* supporters, accusations of different politicians and how each counterpart reacted or simply by comparing the two camps and their campaign strategies. The second highest co-occurrence is with the human interest frame, probably also because the media covered the politicians presentation and course of action after the killing of Jo Cox and the temporary stop of the campaigning following her death, which was a very prevalent topic shortly after her dramatic killing. Other issues that found to imply the strategy as well as the human impact frame were personal stories, such as of farmers in Northern Ireland who strongly depend on EU agrar subsidies, and how British politicians reacted on such concerns. The co-occurrence for strategy and economic consequences on the other hand remain low because issues of economic matter were merely reported with the presentation of politicians, as were issues in which politicians' presentation or action were reported merely of economic matters.

Table 8. co-occurrence of frames

| | Conflict | Economy | Responsibility | Human Interest | Strategy |
|----------------|----------|----------|----------------|----------------|----------|
| Conflict | | 49 (23%) | 54 (25%) | 52 (24%) | 81 (38%) |
| Economy | 49 (23%) | | 26 (12%) | 18 (8%) | 26 (12%) |
| Responsibility | 54 (25%) | 26 (12%) | | 30 (14%) | 50 (23%) |
| Human Interest | 52 (24%) | 18 (8%) | 30 (14%) | | 60 (28%) |
| Strategy | 81 (38%) | 26 (12%) | 50 (23%) | 60 (28%) | |

Now taking a closer look into the co-occurrences and frequencies, namely by considering the co-occurrences of frames for each news outlet, allows to compare the outlets to one another and the overall findings in order to derive abnormalities.

Table 9 gives information about the co-occurrence of frames in *The Daily Mail*. The most frequently used frames in this outlet were the conflict and economic consequences frames, directly followed by the human interest frame. For the co-occurrences of the conflict frame with the other frames, everything fits the overall co-occurrence of frames. The strategy frame is most frequently co-occurred (26%) while 22% of the frequency applies for the co-occurrences with the responsibility and human interest frame. Merely 13% of the cases showed a co-occurrence with the economic consequences frame in this outlet. For the economic consequences frame however the frequency results are low for all co-occurrences, with only 13% for the conflict frame and the responsibility frame, and an even lower value of 4% for the strategy frame. Hence, one can conclude that the economic consequences frame in *The Daily Mail* sample occurs mostly on its own, without any other frame co-occurring, which fits the overall findings due to the simplistic nature of the economy frame which mostly only focuses on the mere economic facts. Moreover, the values fit previous expectations as *The Daily Mail* did not feature lots of articles that discussed topics of economic matter, thus leading to low values for the co-occurrence. The third most commonly used frame by *The Daily Mail* is the human interest frame, which shows 22% co-occurrence with the conflict frame but an even larger value of 30% for its co-occurrence with the strategy frame, which again is in accordance with the results of the overall analysis (Table 9). None of the cases co-occurred with the economic consequences while a slight 13% co-occurred with the responsibility frame. Even though the values for the co-occurrence of the human interest

and economic consequences frames are low across all outlets, only *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph* show no co-occurrence of these frames at all.

The three most frequently used frames in the sample of *The Daily Mirror* include the responsibility frame, the conflict frame and the economic consequences frame. Although the responsibility frame was most frequently used with a high frequency of 65%, the values for its co-occurrence with other frames remains low. While the conflict frame co-occurs in 19% of the cases and the economic consequences frame in 16% of the cases, only 10% apply for the human interest frame and 13% for the strategy frame. Hence, about 42% of the cases that were coded with the responsibility frame only contained a responsibility frame without any other competing frame. Besides, with the above-average use of the responsibility frame, one can conclude that *The Daily Mirror* makes highly frequently use of the responsibility frame in its coverage of the Brexit debate. This might be in line with previous studies of Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) who hypothesised that the responsibility frame is not only the most commonly used frame, but also more frequently used by quality newspapers. Although *The Daily Mirror* does not account as a quality newspaper, it is one of the few more sensationalist outlets that strongly back the *remain* campaign as found by Levy et al (2016). The economic consequences frame co-occurs most frequently with the conflict frame (19%), followed by the responsibility frame (16%), while merely 6% co-occur with the human interest frame or the strategy frame (10%). However these findings fit the overall analysis of frames as previously discussed. The results for the co-occurrences of the conflict frame almost also fit the overall analysis, only with a lower frequency for the strategy frame, with only 19% for its co-occurrence, which is the same value that was also derived for the co-occurrence for the economic consequences and responsibility frame. Only the human interest frame only derives at 9,67% of co-occurrence. Compared to the overall analysis, it is obvious that *The Daily Mirror* makes less use of the human interest and strategy frame in its coverage, which is also indicated by the frequency of frames in Table 2.

The most frequently used frames in *The Daily Telegraph* sample were the strategy frame, the conflict frame as well as the responsibility frame. Co-occurrence values for the strategy frame hereby show (Table 11) that the conflict frame is most commonly associated with 34% of the cases, followed by the responsibility frame and a frequency of 20%. The economic consequences frame only applies in 10% of the cases and the human interest frame just in 5%. Such frequencies are near to the average values for all cases, except for the human

interest value, which is considerably lower in the subsample for that outlet. Hence, the co-occurrences indicate that *The Daily Telegraph* puts an emphasis on the comparison and coverage of politicians, focusing on their presentation and debate against each other. However, the articles do not cover the presentation of the politicians' after the murder of Jo Cox, which was found to be the most prevalent topic when the strategy and human interest frame occurred. Keeping in mind that *The Daily Telegraph* was found to be one of the outlets that used the human interest frame least frequently, this is no surprising finding but still implies that the outlet does not put an emphasis on such emotional stories. Considering the values for the conflict frame, it is obvious that the co-occurrences with other frames are relatively in accordance with the overall analysis, although the strategy frame is considerable more frequently applied than the remaining frames. This finding suggests that the outlet puts more emphasis on the presentation and style of politicians when they are depicted in the conflict frame than on the attribution of responsibility or economic matters. For the responsibility frame the highest co-occurrence was found for the strategy (20%) and conflict frame (17%) which is in accordance with the overall co-occurrences, however the values for the human interest and economic consequences frame are even lower than the values of the overall analysis, despite the relatively large sample of articles for this outlet.

The Guardian used the conflict, human interest and strategy frame most frequently in its news coverage of the Brexit debate. Hereby the conflict frame happens to occur most frequently with the strategy frame, which makes perfectly sense due to a similar focus of these frames in comparing and covering the actions of individuals. The high co-occurrence of 24% with the human interest frame however was not expected but is probably due to the high frequency for the human interest frame overall. Considering the topics that it dealt with (negative consequences for individuals) the co-occurrence suggests that both *leave* and *remain* arguments were used to discuss the implication of Brexit for those individuals. For the human interest frame the co-occurrence with the conflict frame (24%) and the strategy frame are the highest (22%). For the strategy frame on the other hand the conflict frame (31%) and human interest (22%) frame have the highest co-occurrence values, thus again supporting the high frequency of the three frames not only overall but also within the co-occurrence of frames for this outlet.

The Times showed a high frequency of the conflict, the economic consequences and strategy frame in its coverage of the referendum debate. Hereby, the conflict frame shows the

highest co-occurrence with the strategy frame (37%) directly followed by the economic consequences frame (34%), suggesting that topics were mostly about the presentation of politicians and the economy in the UK. For the economic consequences frame however only the co-occurrence with the conflict frame remain high (34%).

4.1.3 answers to the research question and hypotheses

After having analysed the findings for the occurrence of the frames as well as the co-occurrence of frames for the overall sample as well as individual news outlets, I now arrive at the hypotheses that were stated in the theory section on frames in EU politics.

H1: From the five most present news frames in EU politics [conflict; economic consequences; responsibility; human interest and strategy] the conflict and strategy frame are the most frequently used frames in the British news coverage of the Brexit.

All five frames that were included in this study proved to be relevant in the discussion of the British EU referendum 2016 due to substantial occurrences in the sample (Table 2). However the conflict frame as well as the strategy frame were the two most frequently applied news frames in this sample. This is in accordance with the first hypothesis which suggests them to occur commonly. Hereby it is to mention that the two frames do not only occur most frequently due to special subsamples but rather that the conflict and strategy frame were frequently used in all news outlets, regardless of their sensational or serious nature or whether they back the *remain* or *leave* campaign in their coverage. Thus this supports the very generic nature of these frames, strengthening the idea that they occur independent of specific factors such as outlet, attitude or topic.

H2: Pro-Brexit outlets, including The Daily Mail and The Daily Telegraph, are the outlets that apply the responsibility frame and human interest frame most frequently.

The findings of this analysis however only partly support the second hypothesis. For *The Daily Mail*, the human interest frame shows an occurrence of 52% which is the second highest frequency for the frame overall after *The Guardian* who shows even 58%. The use of

the responsibility frame however remains one of the three lowest values (35%) for the responsibility frame and can thus not be approved.

The exact opposite can be observed in the case of *The Daily Telegraph*. In this case, the human interest frame only scores 22% of frequency for all articles from this outlet. With that frequency, *The Daily Telegraph* not only uses the human interest frame in its sample least frequently, but is also the outlet which is overall found to use the human interest frame least frequently. For the responsibility frame on the other hand, this news outlet shows to apply the responsibility frame in 51% of its articles, which is the second highest frequency of the responsibility frame after *The Daily Mirror* which uses the frame in about 65% of its articles.

The second hypothesis can therefore only be approved to a certain extent and does not show clear results.

H3: Con-Brexit outlets, including The Daily Mirror, The Guardian and The Times, are the outlets that apply the conflict frame as well as the economic consequences frame most frequently.

For the conflict frame, these appears to be a double-edged result. Despite *The Guardian* and *The Times* showing high frequencies for the frame, *The Daily Mail* even shows the highest percentage of 70% of frames which were coded with the conflict frame. However, the conflict frame was very commonly used among all newspapers, thus this is no abnormality. Besides, one must still take in consideration that the samples of pro-remain papers were much larger and such an imbalance can impact the results too.

For the economic consequences frame on the other hand *The Times* clearly shows the highest values for the application of this frame, while *The Guardian* shows the slightest values, which is surprising and contradicts the third assumption. *The Daily Mirror* also only indicated 42% of articles that contain the economic consequences frame and as such only uses it as much as the overall average does (45%). As such, the hypothesis for the economic consequences frame clearly does not fit the results of this study.

A possible explanation for this could be supported by Levy et al (2016) who found the economy to be a major issue at the beginning of the Brexit campaigning and debate in the media but then observed a big shift regarding the topics discussed. Levy et al (2016) then

found the focus of the Brexit debate to be about immigration and the sovereignty of UK, thus economic matters were merely discussed and only found to be relevant in *The Times* which also put a neutral attitude in its reporting and generally put a lot of emphasis on economic matters, independently of the issue.

4.2 Which attitude/position do newspapers take in their coverage of the EU referendum?

The second research question is answered by analysing the articles of the individual newspapers for their evaluative content on British EU membership or the EU as such. Therefore, the percentages of positive, negative, neutral and ambiguous arguments and attitudes employed in the articles are compared. Again as in the other tables, an overall percentage for the whole dataset has been calculated as well as specific values for the single newspapers.

4.2.1 Attitude of the British newspapers regarding Brexit

Considering the total amount of articles, 37,55% of the articles imply a neutral attitude towards the British EU referendum, and thus do not possess any preference for or against it. With only little difference 31,45% of the articles imply a negative attitude towards the Brexit, meaning that they are in favour of the remain campaign and report positively about the EU and Britain's membership within the EU. 16,43% of all articles take an ambiguous standpoint regarding the referendum, which implies that these articles see advantages and disadvantages on both sides and cannot decide whether to take a stand for remain or leave. Only 15,02% of all articles, an with that the minority of the data, take a positive standpoint regarding the Brexit, thus only the minority of articles experiences the Brexit as valuable. This overall result strongly disagrees with the previous studies on the media coverage on the British EU referendum that found that british media were highly biased and were in favour of the leave campaign and thus positive towards the British EU referendum. However, one must consider that a large amount of the articles in the dataset stem from *The Times*, *The Guardian* and *The Daily Mirror* (n=131) which were found to be supportive of the remain campaign and thus obtain a negative attitude towards Brexit. Only 82 articles of the total 213 articles stem from

news outlets that were found to be rather supportive of the Brexit campaign, thus leading to an inaccurate shift in the overall percentages that cannot be held accountable. For that exact reason it is necessary to take a closer look at the single news outlets and the specific percentages for each outlet.

Starting with *The Daily Mail* which was found to be pro Brexit, respectively supportive of the Leave campaign, in previous studies it is astonishing to derive at high values for an ambiguous attitude (39%) and an only slightly smaller value for a neutral attitude (35%). For the codes positive and negative the co-occurrence shows the same low values of only 17%, thus contradicting the outcomes of previous studies that suggested a positive attitude of *The Daily Mail* towards Brexit.

By contrast, the outcomes for *The Daily Mirror* are in accordance with previous studies that found *The Daily Mirror* to be in favour of the Remain campaign and hence having a negative attitude towards Brexit. The outcomes indicate a clear attitude against Brexit, with a high value of 45% for the code negative, even though the code positive is the second most frequent with only 23%. Articles with a neutral standpoint towards the EU referendum were present with a frequency of 19% while only 10% were ambiguous about the referendum.

In previous studies of the British media coverage of the Brexit *The Daily Telegraph* was found to be in favour of the Leave campaign, thus possessing a positive attitude regarding the referendum. The outcomes of this study point to a slightly different outcome with the majority of 40% of all articles being neutral towards the Brexit referendum. However, the value for a positive attitude towards Brexit are only slightly smaller and account for a whole 34% of all articles. Besides that, only 20% of the articles take an ambiguous stand towards the British EU referendum and a very small minority of 7% take a negative standpoint towards Brexit and thus supportive of the Remain campaign.

The Guardian on the other hand was previously found to strongly back the Remain campaign in the Brexit discussion, hence taking a negative attitude towards the British EU referendum. The outcomes of this study are again in accordance with previous findings about *The Guardian's* position in the debate, with none of the articles being supportive of the Leave campaign. 51% of the articles were found to have a negative attitude towards the Brexit, while 40% take a neutral position towards the British EU referendum. Only 10% were found

to have an ambiguous position about the referendum, thus concluding that *The Guardian* is also found to take a negative position in this study.

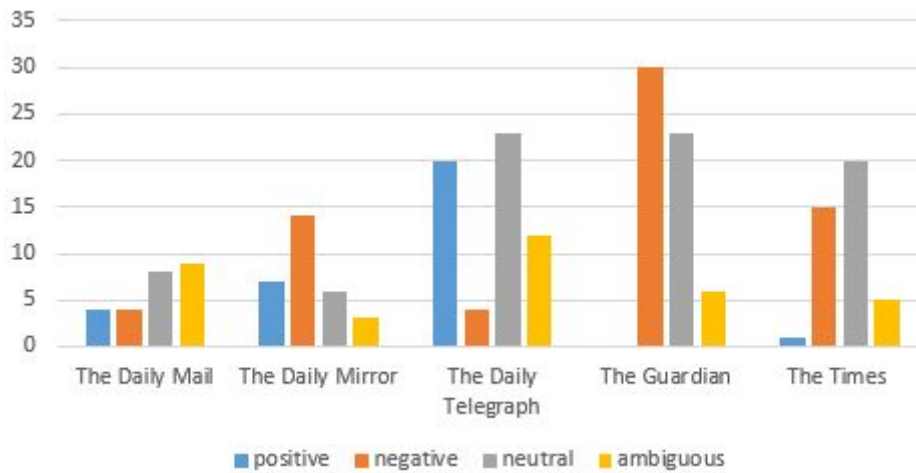
The Times was in previous studies found to be rather taking a negative standpoint against Brexit, thus being rather supportive of the Remain campaign. However, studies also showed that the Remain campaign was especially weak because newspapers merely strongly backed the Remain campaign, including *The Times*. Hence, the results of this study, suggesting a strong neutral attitude of *The Times* towards the British EU referendum are in accordance with the findings of previous studies. Still, 37% of the news articles were in favour of the Remain campaign, indicated by the negative attitude towards the British EU referendum. Only 12% of the news articles in this outlet being ambiguous of the Brexit and only one article (2,5%) being supportive of the Leave campaign with a positive attitude towards Brexit.

Even though the overall percentages suggest a neutral or even negative overall attitude of the news towards Brexit and thus do not fit the finding of previous studies, the values for the single news outlets are in accordance with previous findings. *The Daily Mail* hereby represents an exception, with its results not fitting perfectly the findings of previous studies on the attitude of newspapers on the British EU referendum. However, the fitting results of the other four news outlets support my hypothesis that the imbalance of articles from different outlets is the major reason why the overall percentages point to an neutral or negative attitude.

Table 3. co-occurrence news outlet and attitude

| | positive | negative | neutral | ambiguous |
|---------------------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| The Daily Mail | 4 (17%) | 4 (17%) | 8 (35%) | 9 (39%) |
| The Daily Mirror | 7 (23%) | 14 (45%) | 6 (19%) | 3 (10%) |
| The Daily Telegraph | 20 (34%) | 4 (7%) | 23 (39%) | 12 (20%) |
| The Guardian | | 30 (51%) | 23 (40%) | 6 (10%) |
| The Times | 1 (2,5%) | 15 (37%) | 20 (49%) | 5 (12%) |
| sum | 32 (15%) | 67 (31%) | 80 (38%) | 35 (16%) |

Figure 2. co-occurrence of news outlets and attitude



4.2.2 co-occurrence of frames and the attitude towards Brexit

After having observed the co-occurrences of news outlets and the attitude towards the British EU referendum, the focus now is on the co-occurrence of the frames which were used by the media with the attitude towards the referendum.

As it has been previously defined and operationalised, the conflict frame emphasises conflict between actors of EU referendum in order to capture audience interest shows two or more sides of the EU referendum. Hence, one would rather suppose the attitude of the conflict frame to be either supportive of one or the other side. The results of this study however indicate a rather neutral attitude of the conflict frame, with the highest frequency of 36%. Still, the frequency of a negative attitude are only slightly smaller with a percentage of 32%. A total of 20% of the conflict frame cases were ambiguous about the Brexit, leaving only 12% left that were in favour of the Brexit and thus having a positive attitude.

The economic consequences frame on the other hand is in accordance with previous hypothesis about its attitude towards the referendum. As previous studies have shown, argumentations in the Brexit debate that dealt with its economic consequences were almost always in favour of the *remain* campaign. Consequently, the hypothesis built up that the economic consequences frame is attributed to a negative attitude towards Brexit. The results of this study support this hypothesis, with almost equal values for the attitude codes negative

(34%) and neutral (35%). Only 17% of the cases obtained an ambiguous attitude towards Brexit and merely 13% were in favour of leave.

The main messages of the responsibility frame indicate that a problem related to the EU referendum requires a solution and expects an actor to have the ability to solve the problem. Following that concept, articles that were coded with the responsibility frame included arguments and issues that were mostly negatively attributed to the EU or politicians in favour of remaining in the EU. Hence, the high frequency of a positive Brexit attitude (37%) accounts with the expectations. It was still surprising that 26% obtain a negative attitude towards Brexit. However the responsibility frame was also applied when remainers talked negatively about politicians in favour of Leave, thus leading to a relatively high value for the negative attitude. Beside that finding, Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) found the responsibility frame to be most commonly used, especially in quality newspapers. Quality newspapers on the other hand were most commonly found to possess a negative attitude towards Brexit, thus offering another explanation for the high value of a negative attitude in stories related with the responsibility frame. 21% remained neutral about the attitude and only 15% were ambiguous.

The human interest frame indicates a human face or brings an emotional perspective in the presentation of an issue and thus personalizes the discussion about the referendum. One of the main topics that the human interest frame dealt with in the data was the death of the former Labour politician Jo Cox, who was killed only a few days before the referendum was held. The articles that dealt with her killing put an emphasis on friends and family members who kept on supporting the Remain campaign, thus leading to a positive attitude of the articles and leading to the results of 39% of a negative attitude against the Brexit and 40% with a neutral attitude. Only 14% have an ambiguous attitude, leaving only a small minority of 11% that take a positive standpoint towards Brexit. Considering that the human interest frame was most frequently associated with stories about individuals, such as Northern Irish farmers who would make losses in case of Brexit, the rather negative attitude of the human interest frame regarding Brexit is no surprise.

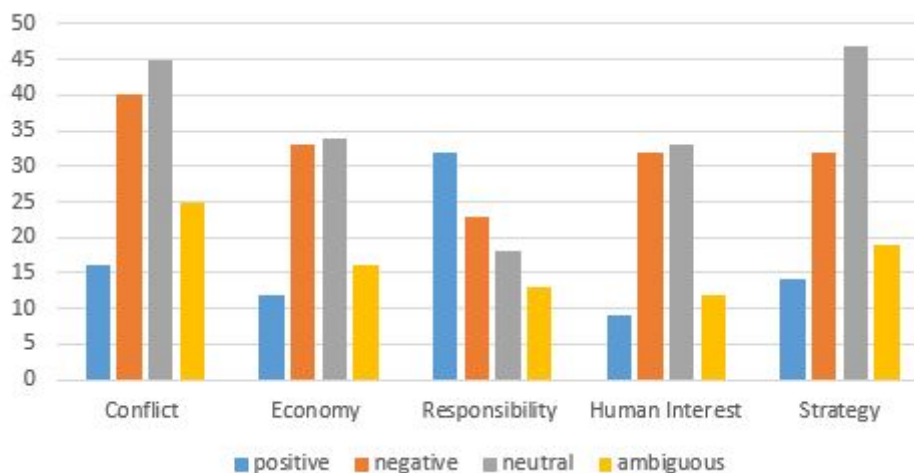
The main concept of the strategy frame implies the news coverage of a politician's presentation or style. In the coverage of the articles in this study, the strategy frame was mostly applied when articles covered the presentation of different politicians which occurred especially when politicians of the Leave camp and the Remain camp and their respective

disputes were covered. In 43% of the cases the articles were found to have a neutral attitude regarding the EU referendum, followed by 27% that are supportive of a negative attitude towards Brexit. In such cases with a negative attitude towards the Leave camp the topics dealt about Leave camp politicians who were accused of xenophobic behaviour and actions as well as propaganda, thus indicating a negative attitude. Only 17% of the cases were ambiguous and merely 13% were in favour of Brexit, indicating a positive attitude.

Table 4. co-occurrence frames and attitude

| | positive | negative | neutral | ambiguous |
|----------------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| Conflict | 16 (12%) | 40 (32%) | 45 (36%) | 25 (20%) |
| Economy | 12 (13%) | 33 (34%) | 34 (35%) | 16 (17%) |
| Responsibility | 32 (37%) | 23 (26%) | 18 (21%) | 13 (15%) |
| Human Interest | 9 (11%) | 32 (39%) | 33 (40%) | 12 (14%) |
| Strategy | 14 (13%) | 32 (27%) | 47 (43%) | 19 (17%) |

Figure 3. co-occurrence of frames and attitude



4.2.3 answer to the research question and hypotheses

After the discussion of the analysis' results, I now derive to the research question *Which positions do the single newspaper take in their coverage of the EU referendum?*.

Based on previous media analysis on the British EU referendum 2016 (Levy et al, 2016; Berry, 2016; Moore & Ramsay, 2017) two hypotheses were put up.

H4: *British news coverage of the Brexit overall shows a positive attitude towards the EU referendum.*

The findings of this study contradict all previous studies that suggested a strong bias of news media in favour of the British EU referendum. Contrary to these findings, the results of this study indicate a rather neutral or even negative attitude towards the referendum. Despite this finding, one must be cautious due to weaknesses in the dataset. First of all, the dataset only includes a sample of news articles in a small time frame of only one week. Moreover, the dataset also includes comments by readers and thus does not only represent pure media framing of news articles. The most striking point that might have influenced the different outcome however is the imbalance of news outlets. As stressed by previous studies, *The Daily Mail*, *The Sun*, *The Express* and *The Daily Telegraph* were, amongst other outlets, found to be in favour of *leave*. The present study however only included *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph* because *the Sun* for instance was not available in the database LexisNexis. For the outlets that were found to be in favour of *remain* on the other hand, the study included three outlets which also contained more articles in comparison to the outlets in favour of *leave*. This imbalance then results in only 82 articles from outlets that were found to be in favour of Brexit versus 131 articles from outlets that were previously found to be anti-Brexit. This consideration is very important when finding an answer to the research question because implying more data and taking regard to the right balance of articles from all outlets would alter the results. Hence, the hypothesis cannot be supported by this study nor should the hypothesis be neglected based on these findings.

H5: *The Daily Mail and The Daily Telegraph are show a positive attitude while The Daily Mirror, The Guardian and The Times take a negative position towards the British EU referendum.*

Turning to the next hypothesis already shows another picture. Hereby the hypothesis goes more into detail, in particular it attributes a certain attitude to each individual news outlet. As already mentioned, previous studies found *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph* to strongly support the *leave* campaign, and thus be in favour of Brexit with a positive attitude. The present study does not arrive at the same results, but finds a rather balanced attitude of

these two outlets regarding the British EU referendum. This applies most strongly for *The Daily Mail* which was found to only include 17% of articles that are in favour of the Brexit, but at the same time also 17% with a negative attitude. 35% of the articles were found to be neutral and 39% ambiguous. For *The Daily Mail* the results thus do not represent a positive attitude but rather a neutral or ambiguous, or as scholars have previously defined it as ‘mixed or undecided’.

For *The Daily Telegraph* on the other side, the results of this study are more in line with previous findings. The results of the analysis thus suggest that with 39% of the articles having a neutral attitude and 34% of all articles having a positive attitude towards Brexit, this outlet tends to be rather in favour of *leave* as suggested. Although the majority of articles is neutral, only 7% were found to be in favour of *remain*, thus suggesting a rather positive attitude as predicted.

For the news outlets that were previously found to be in favour of *remain* on the other hand, the results of this study are in accordance with the hypothesis. *The Daily Mirror* hereby was found to only include 23% of articles that are in favour of *leave* compared to 45% in favour of *remain* while only 29% are neutral or ambiguous and thus do not take a side in the debate. *The Guardian* is found to be even stronger in its negative attitude regarding the referendum with no proven articles that are in favour of *leave* but 51% of articles with a negative attitude towards Brexit and 40% with a neutral tone. In the case of *The Times* it is slightly more balanced, with 37% in favour of *remain* and 49% of articles that are neutral towards the referendum. However, only one article with a positive attitude (2,5%) was found in the sample. Even though *The Times* was previously categorised as pro-remain, studies have also shown a balanced position (Levy et al, 2016) of this outlet, which is in accordance with the findings of this study.

5. Conclusion

This research focused on the frames used by British newspapers in their coverage of the EU referendum announced by David Cameron on January 23rd 2013. After a short introduction to the background of the referendum announcement, the framing theory was illustrated and delineated from related theories in media research. Recent studies on framing in media coverage of EU politics and the European parliamentary election in 2009 were assessed to

derive identified frames valuable to the study at hand. Articles of five British major daily newspapers were sampled for their relevance to answer the research questions and coded for the presence or absence of the included frames, as well as for containing arguments supporting or opposing British EU membership.

Analysis showed that all of the frames that have been derived from literature were used by the newspapers in their referendum coverage. The most frequently used frame was the conflict frame, followed by the strategy frame, which was in accordance with the findings of previous studies and thus the hypothesis could be approved. The attribution of responsibility frame was also employed by many articles, while the economic consequences frame was found to be the frame least frequently used in referendum coverage. These findings were observed to be largely consistent with the results of the studies used as basis for the determination of the analysed frames.

Many scholars have already studied the which frames are generally applied in matters of EU politics, respectively EU integration and which frames occur most frequently in such debates. As such, especially DeVreese and S have conducted extensive research on framing in cases such as the European monetary unification with the introduction of the common currency. The British EU referendum which was only held two years ago on the 23rd June 2016 however represents the latest political event which dealt about EU integration and thus represents a more current case. Moreover it was not only already the second referendum undertaken by the United Kingdom but also the first time that an EU member state voted in favour of leave, thus representing a case never seen before in EU politics and the media framing thereof. This research thus contributed to the previous studies of scholars who detected the most frequently used frames and derives at similar findings. These finding might not always arrive at the same result as previous hypotheses, however they found the frames suggested by hitherto literature to be used commonly in the discussion of the Brexit. With further political integration underway, it is important to identify characteristics in the presentation of institutions and issues in the news and to understand how this is shaped by culture and national context. The way European politics and issues are framed in the news can have important implications for public understanding and evaluations of issues, institutions, and political actors (Valkenburg, Semetko, & de Vreese, 1999).

5.1 limitations and outlook

This thesis was designed as a case study on newspaper coverage of the British EU referendum. As the articles were deliberately sampled for their relevance to that study, generalizations are only possible on the British newspaper landscape or, to a more limited extent, on other EU member states holding a referendum on EU membership. Nevertheless, this research offers valuable insights on the ways British newspapers framed their coverage of the referendum and, thus, form public opinion on this matter and possibly for the future development of the EU. Moreover, findings show that frames which have already been identified in news coverage of EU politics and European parliamentary elections can also be found in this referendum coverage. This confirms a general use of these generic frames in news coverage of issues and topics concerning the EU.

Another limitation of this study is that with the chosen deductive approach only those frames could be found which were inferred from theoretical hypotheses, thus neglecting new frames that might be present in the referendum coverage. Nevertheless, this approach has been chosen because an inductive approach identifying new frames in the coverage would have gone beyond the scope of a bachelor thesis. This research can be seen as a starting point into a deeper analysis of the topic.

Another limitation of the thesis

Furthermore, this study focused in the aspect of media presentation of the EU referendum. Following that, a further study with a analysis of the actual impact media coverage had on recipients' perception and, ultimately, referendum decision, would have great promise. In such a further study voters could be asked to answer questions about their voting behaviour, news reception (e.g. which newspaper they read) and whether the news influenced their voting decision as the present study lacks information about the exact effects of such media framing on the voting outcome. To this point, however, this research provides valuable insight into the character of the debate that took place in the UK and influenced the future restructuring of the European Union.

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Circulation of newspapers in the United Kingdom (UK) in 2017, retrieved on the 22nd March 2018 from <https://www.statista.com/statistics/529060/uk-newspaper-market-by-circulation/>

APPENDIX

Appendix A: list of news articles and comments

The Daily Mail and Mail on Sunday (London)

| | |
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| DM1 | Vine, Sarah (2016, June 22nd) “Once I’d have voted remain. Now I’d rather burn my ballot paper than back those bullies and scaremongers” <i>The Daily Mail (London)</i> |
| DM2 | Thomas, Paul (2016, June 22nd) “Should you buy all your holiday money today?” <i>The Daily Mail</i> |
| DM3 | English Royal Correspondent (2016, June 22nd) “Queen’s big Brexit poser” <i>The Daily Mail (London)</i> |
| DM4 | Duncan, Hogo (2016, June 22nd) “After the Rally, shares nudge higher again across Europe” <i>The Daily Mail (London)</i> |
| DM5 | Groves, Jason & Duncan, Hugo (2016, June 21st) “Polls show referendum is still on a knife edge” <i>The Daily Mail (London)</i> |
| DM6 | Drury, Ian & Slack, James (2016, June 21st) “Our workers paid price of EU dream admits red len” <i>The Daily Mail (London)</i> |
| DM7 | Daily Mail Reporter (2016, June 20th) “Polls say it is too close to call” <i>The Daily Mail (London)</i> |
| DM8 | Martin, Daniel (2016, June 20th) “PM uses Twitter to highlight Jo Cox’s final defence of Remain” <i>The Daily Mail (London)</i> |
| DM9 | Watkins, Simon (2016, June 19th) “Voting Leave is like telling your best customers: Clear off*” <i>The Mail on Sunday (London)</i> |
| DM10 | Owen, Vicki (2016, June 19th) “The truth on Brexit - both sides really do not |

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| | know” <i>The Mail on Sunday (London)</i> |
| DM11 | Hodges, Dan (2016, June 19th) “Dan Hodges - incendiary. Incisive. In the corridors of power” <i>The Mail on Sunday (London)</i> |
| DM12 | Walters, Simon (2016, June 19th) “Vote Remain storms to shock 3-point lead in last.minute surge” <i>The Mail on Sunday (London)</i> |
| DM13 | Chancellor of the exchequer Osborne, George (2016, June 19th) “Osborne’s Brexit” <i>The Mail on Sunday (London)</i> |
| DM14 | Walters, Simon (2016, June 19th) “Revealed: MP who sneered about stabbing PM ... and twisting knife” <i>The Mail on Sunday (London)</i> |
| DM15 | Daily Mail Reporter (2016, June 18th) “Hero ...” <i>The Daily Mail (London)</i> |
| DM16 | Osborne, Peter (2016, June 18th) “This is not the time for ugly political opportunism” <i>The Daily Mail (London)</i> |
| DM17 | Slack, James (2016, June 18th) “Do not politicise tragedy pleads Jo’s MP friend” <i>The Daily Mail (London)</i> |
| DM18 | Duncan, Hugo (2016, June 17th) “Economy back on track as upbeat brits splash out” <i>The Daily Mail (London)</i> |
| DM19 | Salmon, James (2016, June 17th) “Break Analysis” <i>The Daily Mail (London)</i> |
| DM20 | Slack, James & Groves, Jason (2016, June 17th) “Stop talking Britain down!” <i>The Daily Mail (London)</i> |
| DM21 | Groves, Jason (2016, June 17th) “Stunned MPs suspend EU referendum campaigning” <i>The Daily Mail (London)</i> |
| DM22 | Burton, James (2016, June 16th) “Five hurdles that can still scupper the LSE merger” <i>The Daily Mail (London)</i> |
| DM23 | Lavelle, Etain (2016, June 16th) “Mining stocks lead an advance of the footsie” |

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| | <i>The Daily Mail (London)</i> |
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The Daily Mirror and Mirror on Sunday (London)

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| DMI1 | Parker, Fiona (2016, June 22nd) “Brexit camp offers only scare tactics” in Opinion Column, <i>The Daily Mirror (London)</i> |
| DMI2 | Blanchard, Jack & Glaze, Ben (2016, June 22nd) “PM urges voters to think of kid’s future” <i>The Daily Mirror (London)</i> Edition 1, Pg. 7 |
| DMI3 | Blanchard, Jack (2016, June 22nd) “Jo dies for her beliefs - MP husbands’ tribute after horror - She’d be fighting to Remain, he says” <i>The Daily Mirror (London)</i> Edition 1, Pg. 6,7 |
| DMI4 | Daily Mirror Reporter (2016, June 21st) “Diversify exports” <i>The Daily Mirror (London)</i> Edition 1, Pg. 5 |
| DMI5 | Beattie, Jason (2016, June 21st) “Supermarket bills ‘up 580-a-year if we leave’; EU referendum bombshell; Shop giants’ price rise warning ... as car firms say industry will be hit” <i>The Daily Mirror (London)</i> Pg.1 |
| DMI6 | Reader (2016, June 21st) “Euro trashed” <i>The Daily Mirror (London)</i> in FEATURES; OPINION, Pg. 23 |
| DMI7 | Hutton, Brian (2016, June 21st) “Ulster ‘will be worst hit if we leave the EU’” <i>The Daily Mirror (London)</i> Pg. 7 |
| DMI8 | Parker, Fiona (2016, June 21st) “Should we stay ... or should we go?” <i>The Daily Mirror (London)</i> in FEATURES; OPINION, Pg. 37 |
| DMI9 | Glaze, Ben (2016, June 21st) “Corbyn: Do not risk job rights” <i>The Daily Mirror (London)</i> Pg. 5 |
| DMI10 | Lindsay, Joe (2016, June 20th) “The politics of fear drives extremists” <i>The Daily Mirror (London)</i> Pg. 8 |

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| DMI1 1 | Blanchard, Jack & Beattie, Jason (2016, June 20th) “Do not quit on Europe; both sides gear up for the final push in referendum, Cameron’s emotional plea after Chamberlain accusation Claims on 350m, Turkey & army ‘completely untrue’” <i>The Daily Mirror (London)</i> Pg. 8,9 |
| DMI1 2 | Warburton, Dan (2016, June 19th) “EU nurses in ‘vital role’ as ailing NHS is on the ropes” <i>The Daily Mirror (London)</i> in BRITAIN DECIDES; FEATURES Pg. 3 |
| DMI1 3 | Prescott, John (“2016, June 19th) “Hope must beat hate ... let us stay” <i>The Daily Mirror</i> Pg. 14 |
| DMI1 4 | Nelson, Nigel (2016, June 19th) “THE JO EFFECT; Poll shows shift to ‘stay in EU’ after news of horror EXCLUSIVE” <i>The Daily Mirror (London)</i> Pg. 4,5 |
| DMI1 5 | Readers & Gager, Keri (2016, June 19th) “Drop the knife and raise the sentences; what we are all saying” <i>The Daily Mirror (London)</i> in FEATURES; OPINIONS, Pg. 44 |
| DMI1 6 | Readers & Parker, Fiona (2016, June 17th) “Stay or go, it is a leap in the dark” <i>The Daily Mirror (London)</i> in FEATURES; OPINIONS |
| DMI1 7 | Beattie, Jason (2016, June 17th) “Brexit battle is stopped after ‘assault on values’” <i>The Daily Mirror (London)</i> Pg. 7 |
| DMI1 8 | Blanchard, Jack & Bloom, Dan & Glaze, Ben (2016, June 16th) “Gove’s fishy story; EU referendum: rivals sink to new lows; Dad exposes minister’s Brexit lie” <i>The Daily Mirror (London)</i> Pg. 14, 15 |
| DMI1 9 | Daily Mirror Reporter (2016, June 16th) “Geldof and Farage are all at sea ...” <i>The Daily Mirror (London)</i> Pg. 15 |
| DMI2 0 | Lesley, Anne (2016, June 16th) “Split will cause turmoil, warns ex-Irish president” <i>The Daily Mirror (London)</i> Pg. 14 |

The Daily Telegraph (London)

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| DT1 | Ping Chan, Szu (2016, June 22nd) “Solid result for manufacturing sounds positive note in CBI poll” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in BUSINESS Pg. 4 |
| DT2 | Ping Chan, Szu (2016, June 22nd) “High borrowing adds to UK deficit woes; increase in tax receipts not enough to offset heavy public debt as economists warn of further austerity” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in BUSINESS Pg. 4 |
| DT3 | Martin, Ben & Palmer, Kate (2016, June 22nd) “Terrorism and Brexit fears hurting hotels, says Whitbread” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in BUSINESS Pg. 3 |
| DT4 | Readers (2016, June 22nd) “Leaving the European Union means embracing trade beyond a low-growth, protectionist bloc; Letters to the Editor” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in LETTERS Pg. 19 |
| DT5 | Rayner, Gordon (2016, June 22nd) “TELL me why we should remain, Queen asks dinner guests” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> Pg. 3 |
| DT6 | McCann, Kate (2016, June 22nd) “Storm clouds could have silver lining for Leave campaigners” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> Pg.1 |
| DT7 | Dakers, Marion (2016, June 22nd) “Axa stops work on skyscraper until after the referendum” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in BUSINESS Pg. 5 |
| DT8 | Swinford, Steven (2016, June 22nd) “PM ‘offering contracts’ to secure Remain support from bosses” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> Pg. 3 |
| DT9 | Dominiczak, Peter (2016, June 22nd) “Cameron: A vote for Remain is a vote for reform; PM pledges to push EU for changes to freedom of movement rules and hints that Johnson and Gove will be offered top jobs” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> Pg. 4, 5 |
| DT10 | Dominiczak, Peter & Swinford, Steven & Riley-Smith, Ben (2016, June 22nd) |

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| | <p>“Gove’s ‘Nazi’ jibe at Remain; Brexit leader compares pro-EU experts to German propagandists ‘in pay of government’ as FTSE chiefs make call to stay IN; Business chiefs to make case for staying in Union” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i></p> |
| DT11 | <p>Johnson, Simon (2016, June 22nd) “Davidson plea for unity as Tories downplay breakaway claims” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> Pg. 2</p> |
| DT12 | <p>Wright, William (2016, June 21st) “Leave’s City backers do not represent the Square Mile” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in BUSINESS Pg. 2</p> |
| DT13 | <p>Lodge, Tony (2016, June 21st) “Why Europe is to blame for the UK’s acute energy policy failures” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in BUSINESS Pg. 2</p> |
| DT14 | <p>Deacon, Michael (2016, June 21st) “Voices shook and tears fell in a House united by Jo Cox” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in FEATURES Pg. 6, 7</p> |
| DT15 | <p>Cramb, Auslan (2016, June 21st) “JK Rowling accuses the Brexiteers of being mini-Trumps” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> Pg. 5</p> |
| DT16 | <p>Johnson, Simon (2016, June 21st) “Scottish Tories ‘must split from UK party’ if Boris becomes PM” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> Pg. 2, 3</p> |
| DT17 | <p>Donnelly, Laura (2016, June 20th) “Brexit camp’s NHS claims ‘farcical’, says doctors’ leader” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in SPORT Pg. 8</p> |
| DT18 | <p>Riley-Smith, Ben (2016, June 20th) “US politicians: Obama’s advice was misguided” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in SPORT Pg. 5</p> |
| DT19 | <p>Swinford, Steven (2016, June 20th) “PM compares Remain battle to Churchill’s war with Hitler; Europe 2016” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in SPORT Pg. 4, 5</p> |
| DT20 | <p>Riley-Smith, Ben (2016, June 20th) “Helicopters, a Wembley showdown, and a last-gasp door-knocking offensive” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> Pg. 7</p> |
| DT21 | <p>Riley-Smith, Ben (2016, June 20th) “PM accused of ‘spinning’ Jo Cox murder to</p> |

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| | boost Remain; Farage says tragedy has taken the momentum out of Leave as Brexit campaigning restarts” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> Pg. 8, 9 |
| DT22 | Swinford, Steven (2016, June 20th) “Warsi: ‘Hate and xenophobia’ of Brexit poster forced me to defect to Remain” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in SPORT Pg. 5 |
| DT23 | Johnson, Simon (2016, June 20th) “Sturgeon defends Remain as the ‘only logical’ choice; Europe 2016” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in FEATURES Pg. 7 |
| DT24 | Readers (2016, June 19th) “The fishy origins of Britain’s share in the EU’s division of the seas; Letters to the Editor” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in LETTERS Pg. 27 |
| DT25 | The Daily Telegraph Reporter (2016, June 19th) “Spending money abroad? Save with a specialist; Telegraph International Money Transfers; Do not let the twist in the EU referendum tale catch you out” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> In YOUR MONEY; FEATURES Pg. 8 |
| DT26 | Dominiczak, Peter (2016, June 18th) “Merkel: Limit what you say in EU debate” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in FEATURES Pg. 5 |
| DT27 | Cunningham, Tara (2016, June 18th) “Plumbing supply group Wolseley has good growth in the pipeline” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in BUSINESS Pg. 38 |
| DT28 | Yeomans, Jon (2016, June 17th) “Boost for the economy after surge in retail sales; Official data show the highest annual rise since September, driven by demand for clothes” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in BUSINESS Pg. 1 |
| DT29 | Readers (2016, June 17th) “Fear over Europe; Letters to the Editor” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in LETTERS Pg. 21 |
| DT30 | Telegraph Reporters (2016, June 17th) “Japanese stocks tumble as BoJ holds fire on stimulus” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in BUSINESS Pg. 5 |

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| DT31 | Cunningham, Tara (2016, June 17th) “Gold at near two-year highs as investors seek safe havens” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in BUSINESS Pg. 7 |
| DT32 | Warner, Jeremy (2016, June 17th) “Does no one trust our institutions any more?; A new suspicion has been unleashed about ‘experts’, and it will not be easy putting the genie back in the bottle” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in LETTERS Pg. 21 |
| DT33 | Wallace, Tim (2016, June 16th) “Financial firms report strong growth and higher profits despite EU referendum fears” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in BUSINESS Pg. 8 |
| DT34 | Cunningham, Tara (2016, June 16th) “Jimmy Choo marches past challenges of luxury sector” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in BUSINESS Pg. 7 |
| DT35 | Marshall, Paul (2016, June 16th) “IMF suffers from groupthink on subject of the EU” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in BUSINESS; OPINION Pg. 2 |
| DT36 | Ping Chan, Szu (2016, June 16th) “US Fed keeps rates on hold as labour market cools” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in BUSINESS Pg. 1 |
| DT37 | Heath, Allister (2016, June 16th) “It will all end in tears for the first kamikaze chancellor in history; Mr. Osborne’s attempt to reprise Project Fear from the Scottish referendum is unlikely to work this time” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in FEATURES Pg. 20 |
| DT38 | Swinford, Steven & McCann, Kate (2016, June 16th) “May calls for extra curbs on migrants; Home Secretary contradicts Osborne by saying more restrictions on free movement are needed Downing Street denies any rift between Cameron and May” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in SPORT Pg. 1,6 |
| DT39 | Deacon, Michael (2016, June 16th) “Captain Farage’s jolly jaunt scuppered by Sir Bob; Europe 2016; Ambush on the Thames as fishing boats trawling for Leave votes are taunted by Geldof and his pleasure cruising Remainders” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in FEATURES |

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| DT40 | Foster, Peter (2016, June 16th) “We will do better without Britain, EU leaders claim; EU heads will blame Cameron for Brexit” <i>The Daily Telegraph (London)</i> in FEATURES Pg. 1, 8,9 |
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The Guardian (London)

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| TG1 | Nougayrède, Natalie (2016, June 22nd) “Denial then panic: how the EU misjudged the British mood; Brexit would have far-reaching consequences for the whole European Union, yet for a long time leaders saw the UK referendum as a tedious sideshow” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> |
| TG2 | Riddoch, Lesley (2016, June 22nd) “Nicola Sturgeon has good reasons for wanting Britain to stay in the EU; While Brexit might seem to serve the SNP’s goal of Scottish independence, the Scots are pro-European, and do not want to be governed by a rightwing rabble” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in OPINION |
| TG3 | Mason, Rowena & Asthana, Anushka (2016, June 22nd) “Cameron: Gove has ‘lost it’ in comparing pro-EU economists to Nazis; PM makes strongest attack yet on justice secretary, who likened those warning of post-Brexit recession to scientists paid by Hitler Sign up for our EU referendum news alerts for Andoid phones” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> |
| TG4 | White, Michael (2016, June 22nd) “In or out, Cameron’s EU referendum may leave a toxic legacy; The history of the political device loved by populists is not a happy one. In Scotland, it has created divisions and one-party rules” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in POLITICS |
| TG5 | Wintour, Patrick (2016, June 22nd) “Turkey should not be an issue in EU referendum, says foreign minister; Mevlüt Cavusoglu’s remarks are latest sign of tension between Turkey and UK aver David Cameron’s campaign statements” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in POLITICS |
| TG6 | Morris, Mc Donald, Carrell & O’Carroll (2016, June 22nd) “Betting the farm on |

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| | Brexit? Farmers divided on EU referendum; With almost 40% of the EU's budget spent on agriculture, the industry is central to the referendum debate" <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in POLITICS |
| TG7 | Greenslade, Roy (2016, June 22nd) "The Sun dares to use the Queen again in Brexit front page; Paper quotes monarch despite being criticised by watchdog over misleading 'Queen backs Brexit' headline" <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in MEDIA |
| TG8 | Renzi, Matteo (2016, June 22nd) "Don't vote Remain for us Europeans - do it for yourselves; A Brexit vote in this referendum would make Britain smaller and more isolated, and would defy the very logic of those arguing to leave the Union" <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in OPINION |
| TG9 | Hinsliff, d'Ancona & Clark (2016, June 22nd) "EU referendum: our panel on Question Time at Wembley Arena; All eyes have been on the ambitious Mr. Johnson, but the debate showed that Boris wasn't the only show in town" <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in OPINION |
| TG10 | Martinson, Jane (2016, June 22nd) "Daily Mail backs Brexit in EU referendum; Front page announcement follows the Mail on Sunday's call for a vote to remain in first split since 1983" <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in MEDIA |
| TG11 | Lawrence, Felicity (2016, June 22nd) "Britain's meal ticket? Food and drink at heart of referendum debate; Remain campaigners say EU has been vital for British agriculture but others label is unhealthy and destructive" <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in POLITICS |
| TG12 | Quinn, Ben (2016, June 22nd) "1,200 business leaders back remain in EU referendum vote" <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in POLITICS |
| TG13 | Asthana, Anushka (2016, June 21st) "John Barnes hits back at Gove over remarks about EU referendum; In favour of remain, sportsman says justice minister misinterpreted his comments in claiming him as a supporter of leave" |

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| | <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in POLITICS |
| TG14 | Wainwright, Oliver (2016, June 21st) “EU bureaucrats want your tea and toast. Arm yourself with a Dyson; The Brexit war cry has been bellowed from a flimsy stage set of Britishness. Leaving the EU won’t miraculously transport us back to 1950s domesticity” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in ART AND DESIGN |
| TG15 | Fishwick, Carmen & Guardian readers (2016, June 21st) “Why Northern Irish and Irish voters want to remain in the EU; Voters tell us why supporting remain is the EU referendum is right for Northern Ireland and Ireland” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in POLITICS |
| TG16 | Staff and agencies (2016, June 21st) “Mail on Sunday backs remain as major papers declare sides in EU referendum” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in POLITICS |
| TG17 | Greenslade, Roy (2016, June 21st) “Sun and Mail ignore the economy to push migration message on Brexit; With two days to go before polls open the two best-selling Brexit-supporting newspapers hammer home messages based on immigration” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in MEDIA |
| TG18 | Greenslade, Roy (2016, June 21st) “Why should we vote to leave the EU? It’s migration, stupid!” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in MEDIA |
| TG19 | Barnett, David (2016, June 21st) “Captain Britain would fight to remain in EU, says superhero’s creator” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in POLITICS |
| TG20 | Raeseide, Julia (2016, June 20th) “Last week tonight review - John Oliver takes on Brexit with his satirical javelin” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> |
| TG21 | White, Michael (2016, June 20th) “Attempts to elevate the Brexit debate following the MP’s death being to fray; The tone of an ‘ugly’ debate temporarily softened after Labour MP Jo Cox was killed, but David Cameron soon faced hostile questions on immigration” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in POLITICS |
| TG22 | Osborne, Collinson, Jones & Treanor (2016, June 20th) “EU referendum: issues |

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| | savers and homeowners need to consider; with economists warning Brexit could cause the pound tumble and interest rates to rise, here are some of things worth considering before you vote” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in BUSINESS |
| TG23 | Goodley, Simon (2016, June 20th) “Nissan to sue Vote Leave campaign over EU referendum flyer” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in BUSINESS |
| TG24 | Cosslett, Rhiannon Lucy (2016, June 20th) “Britain’s young people will suffer most from an EU divorce; The older generation is swinging towards Brexit - but the outcome will affect us the most. We have to make our vote count” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in OPINION |
| TG25 | Toynbee, Perkins & d’Ancona (2016, June 20th) “EU referendum: our panel on the BBC’s Question Time special; The prime minister had his back against the wall and came out fighting - but did he win the argument on the hey Brexit issues?” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in OPINION |
| TG26 | Kettle, Martin (2016, June 20th) “Comparing David Cameron to Neville Chamberlain is insulting - and wrong; on Question Time the prime minister was likened to the Tories’ most despised leader. But Merkel is not Hitler and the EU is an institution of peace, not war” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in OPINION |
| TG27 | Roberts, Dan (2016, June 20th) “Brexit fallout: seven ways the EU referendum could damage US interests; from economy to strategic alliances and effects of resurgent nationalism, America has much to lose if Britain votes to leave the European Union” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in POLITICS |
| TG28 | Hood, Anni (2016, June 20th) “I challenged Michael Gove because Brexit flies in the face of true British values; I fell passionately that we’re better off in Europe. The leave campaign is a wolf in a sheep’s clothing - that’s why I spoke out on Question Time” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in OPINION |
| TG29 | Sheppard, Emma (2016, June 20th) “Leave or remain? The impact Brexit would have on UK jobs; we asked our experts what the real impact of a leave vote in |

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| | the EU referendum would be on employment” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in GUARDIAN CAREERS |
| TG30 | Walsh, James & Guardian Readers (2016, June 20th) ““Our votes will cancel each other out’: the families falling out over Brexit; parents against children, grandchildren against grandparents: as the EU referendum nears, tensions are high among families across the UK” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in POLITICS |
| TG31 | Greenslade, Roy (2016, June 19th) “EU referendum: how pro-Europe Labour red-tops argue their case; few surprises in positions adopted by most of the Sunday national press, but the Sunday Mirror and Sunday people editorials are fascinating” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in MEDIA |
| TG32 | White, Michael (2016, June 18th) “What is Brexit and why does it matter? The EU referendum guide for Americans; the history of British politics and the perfect storm of economic crisis” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in POLITICS |
| TG33 | Roberts, Dan & Jacobs, Ben (2016, June 18th) “Consequences of Brexit sink in for US politicians after killing of MP; the death of UK member of parliament sent a shock through Washington as the EU referendum vote could affect foreign policy and international relations” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in US NEWS |
| TG34 | Harris, John & Domokos, John (2016, June 17th) “Brexit will hurt your city, Labour tells core voters - but no one’s listening” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in POLITICS |
| TG35 | Allen, Katie & Fletcher, Nick (2016, June 17th) “UK stock market rebounds from four-month low; with EU referendum campaigning suspended and Brexit fears somewhat abated, investors end week in calmer mood” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in BUSINESS |
| TG36 | Borger, Julian (2016, June 17th) “Meeting Jo Cox: a brush with dedication, passion and eloquence” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in UK NEWS |
| TG37 | Helmore, Edward (2016, June 17th) “British MP’s murder throws EU campaign |

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| | into chaos” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in US NEWS |
| TG38 | Fletcher, Nick (2016, June 17th) “Banks and housebuilders push FTSE 100 past 600 as Brexit fears ease: investors in calmer mood after recent volatility as campaigning suspended” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in BUSINESS |
| TG39 | Vaughan, Adam (2016, June 16th) “Brexit voters almost twice as likely to disbelieve in manmade climate change: polls show Brexiters are also more likely to think media exaggerates agreement on climate science, distrust scientists and oppose windfarms” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in ENVIRONMENT |
| TG40 | Allen, Katie (2016, June 16th) “Leave or Remain: Black Country businessmen argue for and against Brexit” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in BUSINESS |
| TG41 | Weaver, Matthew (2016, June 16th) “Cameron criticises former Tory leaders who question Bank over EU: Norman Lamont and Iain Duncan Smith among grandees accusing Bank of England of bias in warning of Brexit consequences” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in POLITICS |
| TG42 | Henley, Jon (2016, June 16th) “ The Rock of remain: why Gibraltar is rejecting Brexit” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in POLITICS |
| TG43 | Greenslade, Roy (2016, June 16th) “EU referendum: newspapers revel in blue-on-blue battle” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in MEDIA |
| TG44 | Monaghan, Angela (2016, June 16th) “High street sales rise despite Brexit fears: retailers experience 0.9% increase as shoppers seem indifferent to fears over EU referendum and spend cash on summer outfits” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in BUSINESS |
| TG45 | Muir, Hugh & Clark, Tom & Hinsliff, Gaby (2016, June 16th) “ Michael Gove on Question Time’s EU referendum special: the verdict” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in POLITICS |
| TG46 | Weaver, Matthew (2016, June 16th) “Cameron criticises former Tory leaders |

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| | who question Bank over EU” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in POLITICS |
| TG47 | Jenkins, Simon (2016, June 16th) “I fear German dominance. That’s why I’M for remaining in the EU; in the end this referendum is about politics not economics. And a Britain that votes to stay in the club will wield serious clout” <i>The Guardian (London)</i> in OPINION |

The Times (London)

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| TT1 | The Times Reporter (2016, June 22nd) “Need to know” <i>The Times (London)</i> in BUSINESS |
| TT2 | (2016, June 22nd) “Business means business; no one makes the economic case for continued EU membership more cogently than the entrepreneurs who thrive and depend on it” <i>The Times (London)</i> in EDITORIAL; OPINION Pg. 31 |
| TT3 | Kidd, Patrick (2016, June 22nd) “Wembley punch-up foes the distance” <i>The Times (London)</i> in NEWS Pg. 11 |
| TT4 | Keate, Georgie (2016, June 22nd) “Jo Cox dies for her strong political views, says husband” <i>The Times (London)</i> in NEWS Pg. 10 |
| TT5 | Low, Valentine (2016, June 22nd) “Posters defaced in crimes of passion” <i>The Times (London)</i> in NEWS Pg. 13 |
| TT6 | Farquharson, Kenny (2016, June 22nd) “Spaniards happy with slice of life: Edinburgh’s large Iberian community fears Brexit” <i>The Times (London)</i> in NEWS Pg. 14 |
| TT7 | Macdonell, Hamish (2016, June 22nd) “Sturgeon: euro would be option” <i>The Times (London)</i> in NEWS Pg. 14 |
| TT8 | The Times Reporter (2016, June 22nd) “Queen: Give me three reasons for staying in Europe” <i>The Times (London)</i> in NEWS Pg. 8, 9 |

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| TT9 | Ralph, Alex (2016, June 22nd) “Investors head for shelter behind wall of gold bars” <i>The Times (London)</i> in FEATURES Pg. 49 |
| TT10 | Knowles, Tom (2016, June 22nd) “Borrowing rise puts Osborne on back foot” <i>The Times (London)</i> in BUSINESS Pg. 40 |
| TT11 | Townsend, Abigail (2016, June 21st) “An agenda for turbulent and challenging times; CEO SUMMIT GETTING BACK TO BUSINESS: The EU referendum will cast a shadow on this year’s CEO Summit, but business leaders must stay focused on the future” <i>The Times (London)</i> in BUSINESS Pg. 4 |
| TT12 | Sylvester, Rachel (2016, June 21st) “MPs need to drain the swamp they created, the referendum battle has degenerated into xenophobia. As MP mourn Jo Cox, they must all look at their own behaviour” <i>The Times (London)</i> in NEWS; OPINION Pg. 27 |
| TT13 | Sanghera, Sathnam (2016, June 21st) “Ulster fears return to bad old days; Remainers are swayed by worries that Brexit would mean border controls” <i>The Times (London)</i> in NEWS Pg. 9 |
| TT14 | Massie, Alex (2016, June 21st) “Referendum is UK’s ‘truthiness’ moment; when reality is a moveable feast, what matters is the quality of your anger not the calibre of your solutions” <i>The Times (London)</i> in NEWS; OPINIONS Pg. 29 |
| TT15 | Kamm, Oliver (2016, June 22nd) “Almost all economists are sitting on one side of the Brexit seesaw” <i>The Times (London)</i> in BUSINESS Pg. 45 |
| TT16 | Ashworth, Anne (2016, June 22nd) “Mortgage costs fall to record low” <i>The Times (London)</i> in NEWS Pg. 12 |
| TT17 | unknown (2016, June 20th) “Kinder Politics delayed, after Jo Cox’s killing MPs vowed to raise the tone of our debate. Yesterday was an inauspicious start” <i>The Times (London)</i> in EDITORIAL; OPINION Pg. 27 |

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| TT18 | Coates, Sam & Fisher, Lucy & Keate, Georgie (2016, June 20th) "I must do better, admits Cameron in bruising debate: the EU referendum" <i>The Times (London)</i> in NEWS Pg. 10 |
| TT19 | unknown (2016, June 20th) "Brexit camp divided as senior Tory walks out: Gove and Farage accused of spreading hatred" <i>The Times (London)</i> in NEWS Pg. 1, 2 |
| TT20 | Fisher, Lucy (2016, June 20th) "Turkish cousin ticks off Johnson" <i>The Times (London)</i> in NEWS Pg. 12 |
| TT21 | Macdonell, Harnish (2016, June 20th) "Vote Remain for independence, urges Sturgeon" <i>The Times (London)</i> in NEWS Pg. 12 |
| TT22 | Elliott, Francis & Coates, Sam (2016, June 20th) "Brexit divided as a senior Tory walks out: Gove and Farage accused of spreading hatred in EU referendum" <i>The Times (London)</i> in NEWS Pg. 12 |
| TT23 | unknown (2016, June 18th) "Win or lose, I'm staying in No 10, declares Cameron" <i>The Times (London)</i> in NEWS Pg. 10 |
| TT24 | Prosser, David (2016, June 18th) "Why bonds can keep you warm, but a price; Investment expert looks at fixed-income stocks" <i>The Times (London)</i> in BUSINESS Pg. 63 |
| TT25 | Atherton, Mark (2016, June 18th) "Just sit right: It's the best thing to do before the EU vote; investment expert questions the top fund managers and advisers on their strategies before this week's referendum" <i>The Times (London)</i> in BUSINESS Pg. 60, 61 |
| TT26 | Marsh, Stefanie (2016, June 18th) "'Remember Jo at the ballot box': for Stephen Kinnock, MP, Jo Cox was a close friend and a warrior who fought for others" <i>The Times (London)</i> in NEWS Pg. 11 |
| TT27 | Lewis, Carol (2016, June 17th) "The EU vote and your home, in or out?" |

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| | experts tell what lies ahead for our house prices if we stay in Europe or if we leave” <i>The Times (London)</i> in FEATURES Pg. 8, 9 |
| TT28 | Pagnamenta, Robin (2016, June 17th) “Referendum fears rattle oil market” <i>The Times (London)</i> in BUSINESS Pg. 50 |
| TT29 | Elliott, Francis (2016, June 17th) “Europe links were key to my 1 billion funding, Gates warns; the EU referendum” <i>The Times (London)</i> in NEWS Pg. 6 |
| TT30 | Knowles, Tom (2016, June 17th) “Intu to get Merry with 400 million top-up” <i>The Times (London)</i> in BUSINESS Pg. 53 |
| TT31 | Coates, Sam & Elliott, Francis (2016, June 17th) “Campaigns on hold as both sides sent reeling by tragedy” <i>The Times (London)</i> in NEWS Pg. 4 |
| TT32 | Wilson, Harry (2016, June 17th) “Investors find nuggets of value in gold miners” <i>The Times (London)</i> in BUSINESS; OPINION Pg. 59 |
| TT33 | Charter, David (2016, June 16th) “Brave Blighty’s place in the world: diplomacy? Britain’s prominent position in global affairs is being put at increasing risk of developing nations are taxing foreign relations? Soft power is becoming more important in gaining influence than military might” <i>The Times (London)</i> in BRITAIN VOTES; NEWS Pg. 2 |
| TT34 | Waller, Martin (2016, June 16th) “Doubters deserve to be given short shrift” <i>The Times (London)</i> in BUSINESS Pg. 48 |
| TT35 | Midgley, Carol (2016, June 16th) “Migrants put strain on down-at-heel mill town: Britain decides rochdale in an area made famous by a political attack on ‘a bigoted woman’, fears over foreigners run high” <i>The Times (London)</i> in NEWS Pg. 10, 11 |
| TT36 | Coates, Sam & Paige, Jonathan & Jones, Callum (2016, June 16th) “Business chiefs threaten legal action over leave campaign; the EU referendum” <i>The</i> |

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| | <i>Times (London)</i> in NEWS Pg. 8, 9 |
| TT37 | unknown (2016, June 16th) “Doubters deserve to be given short shift” <i>The Times (London)</i> in BUSINESS Pg. 50 |
| TT38 | Farquharson, Kenny (2016, June 16th) “Net gain: trawlermen want control of their industry; rules and quotas are troubling trawler operators during the EU campaign” <i>The Times (London)</i> in NEWS Pg. 12 |
| TT39 | Tickell, Andrew (2016, June 16th) “Unionism is being part of something bigger? EU friends in the UK and Scots who voted ‘no’ have been let down by a bilious Brexit campaign” <i>The Times (London)</i> in EDITORIAL; OPINION Pg. 28 |
| TT40 | Knowles, Tom (2016, June 16th) “Unemployment rate falls to lowest rate in more than ten years” <i>The Times (London)</i> in NEWS Pg. 12 |
| TT41 | Coates, Sam & Jones, Callum & Walsh, Dominic (2016, June 16th) “Business leaders speak up as nation ‘sleepwalks to disaster’; the EU referendum” <i>The Times (London)</i> in NEWS Pg. 8, 9 |

Appendix B: Codebook

| no. | variable | code | description |
|-----|-----------|-----------------------|---|
| 1. | Source | The Daily Mail | |
| | | The Daily Mirror | |
| | | The Daily Telegraph | |
| | | The Guardian | |
| | | The Times | |
| 2. | text type | news article | journalistic news article about issues of concern |
| | | comment | a comment sent to a publication about issues of concern |
| 3. | tone | positive | positive attitude towards brexit (leave campaign) |
| | | negative | negative attitude towards brexit (remain campaign) |
| | | neutral | giving facts about the issue or topic at stake |
| | | ambiguous | having more than one meaning/position |
| 4. | frame | Conflict | 4.1.1 emphasises conflict between actors of EU referendum in order to capture audience interest |
| | | | 4.1.2 shows two or more sides of the EU referendum |
| | | | 4.1.3 features a personal attack or accusation of actors against each other |
| | | Economic consequences | 4.2.1 reports an issue in the context of its economic consequences for individuals, groups or countries |
| | | | 4.2.2 makes presumptions about the degree of |

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| | | | financial gains or losses related to the EU referendum |
| | | | 4.2.3 elaborates on the cost or expenses involved in the EU referendum |
| | | Attribution of Responsibility | 4.3.1 issues and events are reported in order to attribute the responsibility for causes and solutions to individuals or groups |
| | | | 4.3.2 mentions a problem related to the EU referendum requiring a solution |
| | | | 4.3.3 expects an actor to have the ability to solve the problem |
| | | | 4.3.4 identifies an actor as being responsible for the problem |
| | | Human interest | 4.4.1 human face or emotional perspective used in the presentation of an issue |
| | | | 4.4.2 personalize, dramatize or emotionalize the issue |
| | | Strategy | 4.5.1 covers an actor's presentation or style |
| | | | 4.5.2 uses "metaphors from the language of games, sport, and or war" |

Appendix C: Coding forms

Coding form: The Daily Mail

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------|---------|----------------|----------------|----------|----------|
| article/code | Conflict | Economy | Responsibility | Human Interest | Strategy | attitude |
|--------------|----------|---------|----------------|----------------|----------|----------|

| | | | | | | |
|------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| DM1 | x | | x | x | x | positive |
| DM2 | | x | | | | neutral |
| DM3 | | | | x | x | ambiguous |
| DM4 | | x | | | | neutral |
| DM5 | | x | | | | neutral |
| DM6 | x | x | x | | | ambiguous |
| DM7 | | | | | | neutral |
| DM8 | x | | | x | x | ambiguous |
| DM9 | x | x | x | x | | positive |
| DM10 | x | x | | | | ambiguous |
| DM11 | x | | | x | | negative |
| DM12 | x | | | x | x | neutral |
| DM13 | x | x | | x | | negative |
| DM14 | x | | | x | | neutral |
| DM15 | x | | | | | ambiguous |
| DM16 | x | | x | x | x | positive |
| DM17 | x | | | x | x | ambiguous |
| DM18 | x | x | | | | ambiguous |
| DM19 | x | x | x | | | positive |
| DM20 | x | x | x | | x | positive |
| DM21 | | | | x | x | neutral |

| | | | | | | |
|------|--|---|---|--|--|-----------|
| DM22 | | x | | | | neutral |
| DM23 | | x | x | | | ambiguous |

Coding form: The Daily Mirror

| article/code | Conflict | Economy | Responsibilit y | Human Interest | Strategy | attitude |
|--------------|----------|---------|--------------------|-------------------|----------|----------------------------|
| DMI1 | x | x | x | | x | ambiguous |
| DMI2 | | | x | x | x | negative |
| DMI3 | | | | x | | neutral |
| DMI4 | | x | | | | negative |
| DMI5 | | x | | | | negative |
| DMI6 | | x | | | | negative |
| DMI7 | | x | x | | | negative |
| DMI8 | 2x | x | 4x | | | 2x positive 2x negative |
| DMI9 | x | x | x | | | negative |
| DMI10 | x | | x | x | x | negative |
| DMI11 | x | x | | | x | negative |
| DMI12 | x | x | x | | | negative |
| DMI13 | x | x | x | x | | negative |
| DMI14 | | | | x | x | neutral |

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|-------|---|----|----|---|---|---|
| DMI15 | | | 2x | | | 2x positive |
| DMI16 | x | 2x | 5x | | x | 2x ambiguous 2x positive 1x negative |
| DMI17 | | | | x | | neutral |
| DMI18 | x | x | | x | x | negative |
| DMI19 | x | | x | | x | neutral |
| DMI20 | x | | | | x | neutral |

Coding form: The Daily Telegraph

| article/code | Conflict | Economy | Responsibility | Human Interest | Strategy | attitude |
|--------------|----------|---------|----------------|----------------|----------|--|
| DT1 | | x | | | | neutral |
| DT2 | | x | | | | negative |
| DT3 | 7x | 2x | 8x | x | 3x | 7x positive 3x ambiguous 1x negative |
| DT4 | x | | | x | x | ambiguous |
| DT5 | | | | | | neutral |
| DT6 | x | x | | | | negative |
| DT7 | x | | x | | x | neutral |

| | | | | | | |
|------|---|---|----|---|----|-------------|
| DT8 | x | | x | | x | neutral |
| DT9 | x | x | x | | x | positive |
| DT10 | x | | x | | x | neutral |
| DT11 | x | x | | | x | ambiguous |
| DT12 | x | x | x | | x | positive |
| DT13 | | | | x | x | neutral |
| DT14 | x | | | | x | negative |
| DT15 | x | x | | | x | neutral |
| DT16 | x | x | | | x | neutral |
| DT17 | x | | | | x | neutral |
| DT18 | | | x | | x | positive |
| DT19 | x | | | x | x | neutral |
| DT20 | x | | | x | x | neutral |
| DT21 | x | | | x | x | neutral |
| DT22 | x | | | | x | neutral |
| DT23 | | x | 5x | x | 5x | 6x positive |
| DT24 | | x | | | | neutral |
| DT25 | x | | | x | x | neutral |
| DT26 | | x | | | | neutral |
| DT27 | | x | | | | neutral |
| DT28 | x | x | | | | positive |

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|------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| DT29 | | x | | | | neutral |
| DT30 | | x | | | | ambiguous |
| DT31 | x | x | x | | x | neutral |
| DT32 | | x | | | | ambiguous |
| DT33 | | x | | | | ambiguous |
| DT34 | | x | x | | x | ambiguous |
| DT35 | | x | | | | neutral |
| DT36 | x | | x | | x | ambiguous |
| DT37 | x | | x | x | x | ambiguous |
| DT38 | x | | x | x | x | neutral |
| DT39 | x | | x | x | x | neutral |
| DT40 | x | | x | | | positive |

Coding form: The Guardian

| article/code | Conflict | Economy | Responsibilit y | Human Interest | Strateg y | attitude |
|--------------|----------|---------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|-----------|
| TG1 | x | | x | x | x | neutral |
| TG2 | x | | x | | x | neutral |
| TG3 | x | | x | x | x | neutral |
| TG4 | x | | x | | x | ambiguous |

| | | | | | | |
|------|----|----|----|----|----|-----------------------------|
| TG5 | x | | x | | x | ambiguous |
| TG6 | x | x | x | x | x | neutral |
| TG7 | | | | x | x | neutral |
| TG8 | x | | x | | | negative |
| TG9 | 3x | | | x | 3x | 2x negative 1x ambiguous |
| TG10 | x | x | | | x | neutral |
| TG11 | x | x | | | | negative |
| TG12 | | | | x | x | negative |
| TG13 | x | | x | x | | ambiguous |
| TG14 | 2x | 2x | x | 6x | 4x | 6x negative |
| TG15 | x | | | | | neutral |
| TG16 | x | | | | | negative |
| TG17 | x | | | | | negative |
| TG18 | x | | | x | | negative |
| TG19 | x | x | | x | x | negative |
| TG20 | x | x | | | | negative |
| TG21 | | x | | | | neutral |
| TG22 | x | x | | x | x | negative |
| TG23 | | | 2x | 3x | 3x | 3x negative |
| TG24 | | | | x | x | negative |

| | | | | | | |
|------|---|----|---|---|----|-----------------------------|
| TG25 | x | x | | | | neutral |
| TG26 | x | | x | | x | negative |
| TG27 | | 4x | | | x | 3x negative 1x ambiguous |
| TG28 | x | | | x | | negative |
| TG29 | x | | | x | x | ambiguous |
| TG30 | x | x | | x | x | neutral |
| TG31 | x | x | | | x | negative |
| TG32 | x | x | | x | x | neutral |
| TG33 | | x | | | | neutral |
| TG34 | | | | x | | neutral |
| TG35 | | | | x | | neutral |
| TG36 | | x | | x | | neutral |
| TG37 | x | | | | x | neutral |
| TG38 | x | x | | x | | neutral |
| TG39 | x | | x | x | x | neutral |
| TG40 | x | | | x | x | negative |
| TG41 | x | | | x | x | ambiguous |
| TG42 | | x | | | | neutral |
| TG43 | x | | x | x | 3x | 3x negative |
| TG44 | x | | x | | x | neutral |

| | | | | | | |
|------|---|--|---|---|---|----------|
| TG45 | x | | x | x | x | negative |
| TG46 | | | | | | |
| TG47 | | | | | | |

Coding form: The Times

| article/code | Conflict | Economy | Responsibility | Human Interest | Strategy | attitude |
|--------------|----------|---------|----------------|----------------|----------|-----------|
| TT1 | | x | | | | neutral |
| TT2 | x | x | | | | negative |
| TT3 | x | | | x | x | neutral |
| TT4 | | | | x | x | neutral |
| TT5 | x | | x | | x | neutral |
| TT6 | | x | | x | | negative |
| TT7 | x | x | | | x | neutral |
| TT8 | x | | | x | x | neutral |
| TT9 | | x | | | | neutral |
| TT10 | | x | | | x | neutral |
| TT11 | | x | | | x | neutral |
| TT12 | x | | | x | x | ambiguous |
| TT13 | | | | x | | negative |

| | | | | | | |
|------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| TT14 | x | | | x | x | negative |
| TT15 | x | x | | | | negative |
| TT16 | x | x | x | | | negative |
| TT17 | x | | x | x | x | negative |
| TT18 | x | | x | | x | negative |
| TT19 | x | | | x | x | negative |
| TT20 | x | | x | | x | neutral |
| TT21 | x | | | | x | neutral |
| TT22 | x | | | x | x | neutral |
| TT23 | x | | x | x | x | neutral |
| TT24 | | x | | | | negative |
| TT25 | x | x | | | | ambiguous |
| TT26 | | | | x | x | neutral |
| TT27 | x | x | | | x | negative |
| TT28 | x | x | | | | ambiguous |
| TT29 | | x | | | | negative |
| TT30 | | x | | x | | neutral |
| TT31 | | | | x | x | neutral |
| TT32 | | x | | | | negative |
| TT33 | x | x | | | x | ambiguous |
| TT34 | | x | | | | neutral |

| | | | | | | |
|------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| TT35 | x | x | x | x | x | neutral |
| TT36 | x | x | | | | negative |
| TT37 | x | x | | | | neutral |
| TT38 | x | x | x | x | | positive |
| TT39 | x | | | x | x | ambiguous |
| TT40 | x | x | | | | neutral |
| TT41 | x | x | | | | negative |

Appendix D: Cohen's Kappa and co-occurrence tables

Table 1. Cohen's Kappa - Intercoder reliability

| Code | Cohen's Kappa value |
|--------------|---------------------|
| 1. Source | 1 |
| 2. Text type | 1 |
| 3. Tone | 0,85 |
| 4. Frame | 0,88 |

Table 2. co-occurrence news outlet and frames

| | Conflict | Economy | Responsibility | Human Interest | Strategy | sum of frames |
|---------------------------|-----------|----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|---------------|
| The Daily Mail | 16 (70%) | 12 (52%) | 8 (35%) | 12 (52%) | 9 (39%) | 57 |
| The Daily Mirror | 12 (38%) | 13 (42%) | 20 (65%) | 7 (23%) | 9 (29%) | 61 |
| The Daily Telegraph | 31 (52%) | 24 (41%) | 30 (51%) | 13 (22%) | 34 (58%) | 132 |
| The Guardian | 37 (63%) | 21 (36%) | 17 (29%) | 34 (58%) | 36 (61%) | 145 |
| The Times | 27 (66%) | 24 (59%) | 8 (20%) | 17 (41%) | 22 (54%) | 98 |
| sum of single frames used | 125 (69%) | 96 (45%) | 87 (41%) | 83 (39%) | 110 (52%) | 493 |

Table 3. co-occurrence news outlet and attitude

| | positive | negative | neutral | ambiguous |
|---------------------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| The Daily Mail | 4 (17%) | 4 (17%) | 8 (35%) | 9 (39%) |
| The Daily Mirror | 7 (23%) | 14 (45%) | 6 (19%) | 3 (10%) |
| The Daily Telegraph | 20 (34%) | 4 (7%) | 23 (39%) | 12 (20%) |
| The Guardian | | 30 (51%) | 23 (40%) | 6 (10%) |
| The Times | 1 (2,5%) | 15 (37%) | 20 (49%) | 5 (12%) |
| sum | 32 (15%) | 67 (31%) | 80 (38%) | 35 (16%) |

Table 4. co-occurrence frames and attitude

| | positive | negative | neutral | ambiguous |
|----------------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| Conflict | 16 (12%) | 40 (32%) | 45 (36%) | 25 (20%) |
| Economy | 12 (13%) | 33 (34%) | 34 (35%) | 16 (17%) |
| Responsibility | 32 (37%) | 23 (26%) | 18 (21%) | 13 (15%) |
| Human Interest | 9 (11%) | 32 (39%) | 33 (40%) | 12 (14%) |
| Strategy | 14 (13%) | 32 (27%) | 47 (43%) | 19 (17%) |

Table 5. co-occurrence text type and attitude

| | positive | negative | neutral | ambiguous | sum |
|--------------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| news article | 6 (4%) | 35 (25%) | 80 (56%) | 21 (15%) | 142 (67%) |
| comment | 27 (38%) | 34 (48%) | | 10 (14%) | 71 (33%) |
| sum | 33 (15%) | 69 (32%) | 80 (38%) | 31 (15%) | 213 |

Table 6. co-occurrence of text type and frames

| | Conflict | Economy | Responsibility | Human Interest | Strategy |
|--------------|-----------|----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|
| news article | 91 (64%) | 75 (53%) | 40 (28%) | 56 (39%) | 73 (51%) |
| comment | 34 (48%) | 21 (30%) | 47 (66%) | 27 (38%) | 37 (52%) |
| sum | 125 (59%) | 96 (45%) | 87 (41%) | 83 (39%) | 110 (51%) |

Table 7. co-occurrence news outlet and text type

| | news article | comment |
|---------------------|--------------|----------|
| The Daily Mail | 22 (96%) | 1 (4%) |
| The Daily Mirror | 15 (48%) | 16 (52%) |
| The Daily Telegraph | 34 (57%) | 25 (42%) |
| The Guardian | 34 (57%) | 25 (42%) |
| The Times | 37 (90%) | 4 (10%) |
| sum | 142 (67%) | 71 (33%) |

Table 8. co-occurrence of frames

| | Conflict | Economy | Responsibility | Human Interest | Strategy |
|----------------|----------|----------|----------------|----------------|----------|
| Conflict | | 49 (23%) | 54 (25%) | 52 (24%) | 81 (38%) |
| Economy | 49 (23%) | | 26 (12%) | 18 (8%) | 26 (12%) |
| Responsibility | 54 (25%) | 26 (12%) | | 30 (14%) | 50 (23%) |
| Human Interest | 52 (24%) | 18 (8%) | 30 (14%) | | 60 (28%) |
| Strategy | 81 (38%) | 26 (12%) | 50 (23%) | 60 (28%) | |

Table 9. co-occurrence of frames in The Daily Mail

| | Conflict | Economy | Responsibility | Human Interest | Strategy |
|----------------|----------|---------|----------------|----------------|----------|
| Conflict | | 3 (13%) | 5 (22%) | 5 (22%) | 6 (26%) |
| Economy | 3 (13%) | | 3 (13%) | 0 (0%) | 1 (4%) |
| Responsibility | 5 (22%) | 3 (13%) | | 3 (13%) | 4 (17%) |
| Human Interest | 5 (22%) | 0 (0%) | 3 (13%) | | 7 (30%) |
| Strategy | 6 (26%) | 1 (4%) | 4 (17%) | 7 (30%) | |

Table 10. co-occurrence of frames in The Daily Mirror

| | Conflict | Economy | Responsibility | Human Interest | Strategy |
|----------------|----------|---------|----------------|----------------|----------|
| Conflict | | 6 (19%) | 6 (19%) | 3 (10%) | 6 (19%) |
| Economy | 6 (19%) | | 5 (16%) | 2 (6%) | 3 (10%) |
| Responsibility | 6 (19%) | 5 (16%) | | 3 (10%) | 4 (13%) |
| Human Interest | 3 (9%) | 2 (6%) | 3 (10%) | | 4 (13%) |
| Strategy | 6 (19%) | 3 (10%) | 4 (13%) | 4 (13%) | |

Table 11. co-occurrence of frames in The Daily Telegraph

| | Conflict | Economy | Responsibility | Human Interest | Strategy |
|----------------|----------|---------|----------------|----------------|----------|
| Conflict | | 6 (10%) | 10 (17%) | 8 (14%) | 20 (34%) |
| Economy | 6 (10%) | | 4 (7%) | 0 (0%) | 6 (10%) |
| Responsibility | 10 (17%) | 4 (7%) | | 3 (5%) | 12 (20%) |
| Human Interest | 8 (14%) | 0 (0%) | 3 (5%) | | 3 (5%) |
| Strategy | 20 (34%) | 6 (10%) | 12 (20%) | 3 (5%) | |

Table 12. co-occurrence of frames in The Guardian

| | Conflict | Economy | Responsibility | Human Interest | Strategy |
|----------------|----------|----------|----------------|----------------|----------|
| Conflict | | 10 (17%) | 12 (20%) | 14 (24%) | 18 (31%) |
| Economy | 10 (17%) | | 2 (3%) | 7 (12%) | 6 (10%) |
| Responsibility | 12 (20%) | 2 (3%) | | 6 (10%) | 9 (15%) |
| Human Interest | 14 (24%) | 7 (12%) | 6 (10%) | | 13 (22%) |
| Strategy | 18 (31%) | 6 (10%) | 9 (15%) | 13 (22%) | |

Table 13. co-occurrence of frames in The Times

| | Conflict | Economy | Responsibility | Human Interest | Strategy |
|----------------|----------|----------|----------------|----------------|----------|
| Conflict | | 14 (34%) | 8 (20%) | 9 (22%) | 15 (37%) |
| Economy | 14 (34%) | | 3 (7%) | 3 (7%) | 6 (15%) |
| Responsibility | 8 (20%) | 3 (7%) | | 4 (10%) | 6 (15%) |
| Human Interest | 9 (22%) | 3 (7%) | 4 (10%) | | 12 (29%) |
| Strategy | 15 (37%) | 6 (15%) | 6 (15%) | 12 (29%) | |

Table 14. co-occurrence of frames and attitude in The Daily Mail

| | positive | negative | neutral | ambiguous |
|----------------|----------|----------|---------|-----------|
| Conflict | 3 (13%) | 3 (13%) | 4 (17%) | 8 (35%) |
| Economy | 1 (4%) | 2 (9%) | 3 (13%) | 5 (22%) |
| Responsibility | 3 (13%) | 2 (9%) | 0 (0%) | 3 (13%) |
| Human Interest | 3 (13%) | 3 (13%) | 3 (13%) | 4 (17%) |
| Strategy | 2 (9%) | 1 (4%) | 2 (9%) | 4 (17%) |

Table 15. co-occurrence of frames and attitude in The Daily Mirror

| | positive | negative | neutral | ambiguous |
|----------------|----------|----------|---------|-----------|
| Conflict | 0 (0%) | 6 (19%) | 2 (6%) | 1 (3%) |
| Economy | 0 (0%) | 7 (23%) | 0 (0%) | 1 (3%) |
| Responsibility | 0 (0%) | 6 (19%) | 1 (3%) | 1 (3%) |
| Human Interest | 0 (0%) | 4 (13%) | 3 (10%) | 0 (0%) |
| Strategy | 0 (0%) | 4 (13%) | 3 (10%) | 1 (3%) |

Table 16. co-occurrence of frames and attitude in The Daily Telegraph

| | positive | negative | neutral | ambiguous |
|----------------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| Conflict | 2 (3%) | 2 (3%) | 13 (22%) | 4 (7%) |
| Economy | 2 (3%) | 2 (3%) | 7 (12%) | 5 (8%) |
| Responsibility | 2 (3%) | 0 (0%) | 6 (10%) | 4 (7%) |
| Human Interest | 0 (0%) | 0 (0%) | 7 (12%) | 2 (3%) |
| Strategy | 2 (3%) | 1 (2%) | 15 (25%) | 5 (8%) |

Table 17. co-occurrence of frames and attitude in The Guardian

| | positive | negative | neutral | ambiguous |
|----------------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| Conflict | 0 (0%) | 8 (14%) | 14 (24%) | 4 (7%) |
| Economy | 0 (0%) | 4 (7%) | 9 (15%) | |
| Responsibility | 0 (0%) | 3 (5%) | 7 (12%) | 2 (3%) |
| Human Interest | 0 (0%) | 6 (10%) | 10 (17%) | 3 (5%) |
| Strategy | 0 (0%) | 6 (10%) | 12 (20%) | 3 (5%) |

Table 18. co-occurrence of frames and attitude in The Times

| | positive | negative | neutral | ambiguous |
|----------------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| Conflict | 1 (2%) | 10 (24%) | 9 (22%) | 5 (12%) |
| Economy | 1 (2%) | 9 (22%) | 9 (22%) | 3 (7%) |
| Responsibility | 1 (2%) | 3 (7%) | 4 (10%) | 0 (0%) |
| Human Interest | 1 (2%) | 5 (12%) | 6 (15%) | 2 (5%) |
| Strategy | 0 (0%) | 5 (12%) | 12 (29%) | 3 (7%) |