

# The use of emotions in political campaigns- The case of the Brexit Referendum

Bachelor Thesis

European Public Administration

University of Twente (Enschede, NL)

04.07.2018

Sarah Nadine Forster

s.1714481

First Supervisor: Dr. Martin Rosema

Second Supervisor: Giedo Jansen

**Content**

1. Introduction..... 3

2. Theory ..... 6

2.1 *The aim and effect of political campaigns*..... 6

2.2 *Emotions in politics* ..... 10

2.3. *Hypotheses*..... 14

3. Data/Documents ..... 15

3.1 *Research Design*..... 15

3.2. *Case selection and sampling* ..... 17

3.3 *Operationalisation*..... 19

4.Data Analysis ..... 21

4.1. *Hypotheses*..... 26

5. Conclusion..... 29

5.1. *Limits and Strength of the Research*..... 31

5.2. *The overall conclusion* ..... 31

References..... 32

Appendix..... 34

*Appendix A: List of newspaper articles*..... 34

*Appendix B: Number of coding applied to each article* ..... 39

*Appendix C: Codebook*..... 43

List of tables:

- Table 1. Number of coded newspaper articles per campaign
- Table 2. Number of the total number of relevant articles containing a specific emotion
- Table 3. Total number of factors which were expressed in the specific articles of Table 2
- Table 4. Average count on how often a factor was listed per article
- Table 5. Relevance of each emotion for each campaign

## Abstract

Studies regarding the European Union (EU) referendums have long been an opportunity to analyse the voting behaviour of the citizens. Thereby, special attention was laid down to the referendum outcome, in order to determine if the referendum voting was influenced by the dissatisfaction or satisfaction with the incumbent government or the general attitude towards the EU. But, the recent focus has turned towards the referendum campaigns in order to understand the voting behaviour. Hereby, the attention is brought to the information which the voters gain during the campaigns in order to analyse how salient the referendum topic gets in the minds of the citizens. But these studies do not consider the emotions which can be used in the campaigns. Therefore this paper aims to identify with which specific emotions the 'Leave' and 'Remain' campaign played in the Brexit referendum. A content analysis of British newspaper articles is conducted and afterwards a statistically analysis. It is found that the 'Remain' campaign played mainly with negative emotions, whereas the 'Leave' campaign played with a mix of positive and negative emotions in order to convince the voters. This study shows that campaigners need to take adequate research before the campaign in order to study what kind of relationship the voter has with the referendum topic.

## 1. Introduction

Over the last decades, referendums and citizen initiatives have become an increasingly important instrument for executing or preventing legislation in countries around the world. Since the end of the Second World War, national referendums have been on the rise and are starting to play a crucial role in Europe regarding the process of European integration. In 1972 the first referendum on European integration took place in France, since then more than 54 referendums were held on European Union (EU) matters (European Parliament, 2016). Mainly, those were concerning issues about treaty ratification, membership or specific policy adoptions such as adoption of the Euro. But that is not the only purpose of referendums in regards to the EU.

In recent studies, scholars have been focusing on the voting behaviour of citizens in EU referendums. In 1990, two scholars highlighted that referendums can be used to “answer questions other than those on the ballot paper” (European Parliament, 2016, pg 1). This voting behaviour has become known as the second-order election. In the case of second-order behaviour the satisfaction level with the incumbent government is the basis for the voting behaviour. Another voting behaviour, which has been studied, is known as issue-voting behaviour. Here, the voting behaviour is based on the voter’s attitude towards the European Union. In all of these studies the voters were treated as a “uniformed mass” that have a common opinion and respond similarly to these issues; but the different individual preferences and interests were potentially overlooked (Hobolt, 2005, pg. 86). To this point, these findings have paid only little attention to the individual level. Thus the gap in this research has been identified.

Given this gap in research, recent scientific debate has turned towards the impact of political information, especially campaigns, by analysing referendums on the topic about the European Union. These new studies consider campaigns in EU referendums as an important contributing factor in the voting behaviour. Campaigns are crucial because citizens of the European Union “lack direct interaction with the Union in their daily life” (Atikcan, 2018, pg. 94). Therefore, EU citizens are mainly interested in how domestic politicians promote the referendum proposal. So it is important for new research to lay the focus on the effect of the provided information voters’ gain during the referendum campaigns in order to evaluate how domestic or European Union issues become salient.

Another significant aspect of campaigns is how they can play with the emotions of the voters and thereby influencing the voting behaviour. Therefore, not only the informations which are

provided during the campaign play an important factor in influencing the voting behaviour. The words which are used by the campaigner in a campaign can have an important impact as well. Ted Brader is one of the leading scholars in this field, especially the effect of campaign ads. According to Brader, emotions can play a central role in whether and how campaigns can work. It is not only about getting the message out; it is also about how the message is delivered. Therefore, campaign ads can have a remarkably effect on the emotions of people and are able to significantly alter their influence on the voter. Influence attempts include for example the gathering of negative messages in fear-evoking music and images (Brader, 2005). Brader also highlights that those emotionally expressive campaigns cannot only sway voters, but also change the way voters make decisions (Brader, 2005). Hence, campaigners are able to influence citizens voting behaviour in predictable manners.

This thesis advances the literature by taking into account emotional appeals in European Union referendum campaigns. These emotional appeals are anger, fear/anxiety and enthusiasm. All of these emotions trigger a different reaction and behaviour by the individual. For example anger, lowers risk awareness by the individual and leads that the individual tries to remove perceived threats while still relying on their beliefs (Vasilopoulou&Wagner, 2017). In contrast fear and anxiety is connected with the avoidance system, hereby the individual is more likely to be riskier but cautious, which leads to a high information seeking (Druckman& McDermott, 2008; Valentino et al., 2009). The emotional appeal enthusiasm is different than the two former emotions, since it has a positive value. Enthusiasm is mostly connected with a goal-related behaviour but which relies, like anger, on its prior beliefs, and thereby reduces information seeking (Vasilopoulou &Wagner, 2017).

Taking a closer look at emotions and campaigns in regards to EU referendums, recent studies (Atikan, 2018; De Vreese & Semetko, 2004) on referendums and public opinion advocate that the 'No' side has an advantage. It has previously been observed that the 'No' side can advance the fear of the citizens on a topic where they have limited knowledge about. According to Atikan (2018) the 'No' side only needs to mention concerns or link it to a less popular issue which is connected to the referendum proposal, in order to mobilise the fear of the voters. Also De Vreese and Semetko (2004) outline that the 'No' side can play effectively with its campaign if it conducts careful research in regards what the voters do not want and focus on this. Therefore, the 'No' campaign is more eager to promote risk aversions, which appeal to some voters, as well as that they are often holding this emotion as a monopoly.

Consequently, this means that referendums are biased because the anti-EU campaigns have an advantage since they can play with voters' emotions, such as fear, more effectively.

In order to gain new knowledge about the use of emotional appeals in referendum campaigns regarding EU referendums, the context of this paper is the Brexit referendum. In this referendum, the United Kingdom had to decide whether to leave or to remain in the European Union. The result of the British referendum sent shockwaves throughout Europe. The referendum made an historical impact for the European Union considering that no other member state ever decided to leave the European Union. As well as it gave a bigger platform to Euroscepticism and supporters of anti-immigration policies. Hobolt (2016) mentions that this was not a surprising outcome since Britain were very Eurosceptic right from the point where it entered the Union in 1973. Therefore she says was the referendum a close race between both camps.

The two official campaigning camps were 'Britain Stronger in Europe' and 'Vote Leave'. The main battle lines between both sides were the economy vs. immigration (Hobolt, 2016). The 'remain side' argued that if people would vote for 'remain', they would avoid any economic risks. Whereas the argument of the 'leave side' was to gain control back of the" British borders, British law-making and restrict immigration" (Hobolt, 2016, pg. 1262). Hobolt (2016) mentions that both campaign rhetoric were generally negative, whereby the 'remain' campaign put its attention on the threat of economic crash in case of leaving the European Union and the 'leave' campaign laid its focus on mobilizing peoples concern of immigration. Interesting to witness during the referendum, was the division within the governing Conservative Party, thus bringing the Eurosceptic message even more into the media (Hobolt, 2016). Thereby, the media presence nationally but also internationally was decisive high. In this thesis, following descriptive research question will be answered to gain new insight of emotional appeals in referendum campaigns:

*"To what extent did the 'Leave campaign' and 'Remain campaign' in the Brexit referendum appeal to specific positive or negative emotions?"*

A content analysis will be used in order to answer the aforementioned research question. In the last decades, content analyses have been used in order to describe the content of political communication messages, as well as, for studies of agenda-setting of newspapers (Benoit, n.d.). Hereby, the research can clearly study the content of the messages and can evaluate with which emotions were played, as well as, which specific topics or words were used in order to

influence people. Druckman conducted in 2005 a research regarding newspapers and television news coverage regarding campaigns and how these media types influence the voter. In his study he used a content analysis; thereby Druckman (2005) discovered that newspapers play an important role in informing the voters rather than the television. Content analyses have also been used in regards towards general elections. Hereby the focus was laid down towards the frames which were used in the news media articles. Hence, it can be stated that content analysis are a useful tool to use for research in campaign messages.

The aim of this paper is to analyse how both different camps played with specific negative, such as fear, anger and anxiety, and positive emotions like enthusiasm in their campaigns. This analysis shall thereby contribute to new knowledge about political emotions on the topic of referendums in regards towards the European Union. Furthermore, this paper aims at making politicians more aware of how influential and effective political campaigns, especially their wording, can be in these kinds of referendums. Since upcoming EU political decisions are contingent to be upon national referendums, it is important to understand the effect of emotions in political campaigns in referendums.

## **2. Theory**

In referendums, mostly, citizens cannot relate to the issue about which the referendum is hold. Also partisanship plays in the decision making a less crucial role rather than in general elections. Hence, political campaigns have become an important function by influencing the voting behaviour. Mainly, the words which are used in campaigns are important, since through them the campaigner is able to play with the emotions of the citizen.

In the last years, the field of political campaigns regarding EU referendums has gained a lot of relevance. Thus this gave importance to investigations of political campaigns and to studies of the relationship between political campaigns and emotions.

### *2.1 The aim and effect of political campaigns*

Historically, political campaigns began to play a crucial role in elections when people started to become informed citizens. The first “modern campaign” was held in the United States of America which was about the “William Ewart Gladstone’s Midlothian campaign in the 1880’s” (The Modern Political Campaign, n.d.). Through the establishment of “mass-base political parties” in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, mass campaign rose (The Modern Political Campaign, n.d.).

The effect of campaigns changed over the decades. For a long time election campaigns were not seen as an essential tool to effect voters. The reasoning behind this fact was, that early deciders made a decision based on their partisan precommitment (Farrell& Schmitt-Beck, 2002). In turn, this meant that campaign effects were already sufficient enough. Only by voters who were lacking interest in politics, campaigns had little or no effect. Over the years this changed. Due to the development of “mass media and mass participation in representative democracies”, political campaigns gained importance (Farrell& Schmitt-Beck, 2002, pg XVI). Especially politicians started to treat political campaigns as an important tool. According to Farrell and Schmitt-Beck (2002), nowadays, all kinds of political actors such as lobby groups, parties and candidates, government and other political institutions, social movements and citizen´s associations, have recognised that political campaigns can be a positive contributing factor for their engagement in the process of policy making. Campaigns are capable to mobilize, persuade and to inform the citizens about the concern. Generally, it can be said that nowadays political campaigns play a great deal and matter.

The aim of a political campaign can be defined as an organised attempt intending to influence a specific group in their decision making on a specific topic (The Modern Political Campaign, n.d.). These topics can be; voting for the next president or the next government or issues on a referendum topic. Usually in democracies, political campaigns refer to electoral campaigns where citizens elect their representatives or when referendums are decided (The Modern Political Campaign, n.d.). In general political campaigns function can be defined in accomplishing different aims such as “to create or strength the support for a candidate or policy, to mobilize voters, or to simply inform the electorate” ( Schuck, 2009, pg. 2). Campaign messages play thereby a central role. Hereby the ideas which the candidate wants to share with the citizens are promoted. The goal is that those who agree with these ideas start to support the candidate when he is trying to gain a political position. Therefore, campaigns are able to have a wide raging effect on contrasting opinions or behaviours which they can either reinforce, or alter and change (Schuck, 2009). Specifically via direct and personal or indirectly via the media is this effect of a campaign achieved.

Another function which a campaign can have is to prime the aspects of an issue that voters find important (Beach, 2018). This does not mean that a campaign can change the general attitude of the citizen, such as, towards the European Union. But the campaign, however, is able to impact short-term perceptions of the issue which is decided in the referendum. Thus the provided information of the campaigns can shape how the electorate perceives the



advantage of the recommendation “in relation to what happens in the event of a no vote” (Beach, 2018, pg. 13). All in all, the main goal of a political campaign is to influence the voter.

When comparing referendum campaigns with electoral campaigns, it can be highlighted that the informational context in referendums play a more crucial role rather than as in electoral elections. Since in referendums the voters are less familiar with the topic, political parties need to “provide relatively clear-cut information cues for the voters” (Hobolt, 2005, pg. 89). This means that the political parties need to give easy and understandable explanations and information about the referendum topic to the voter. Another difference is also, that referendum campaigns are more interesting than general election campaigns. This is, because referendum campaigns are generally defined by close races, an undecided or inconsistent electorate and the traditional party politics are less important by explaining the voter turnout and voting behaviour, which gives greater importance to the campaign events (De Vreese & Semetko, 2004). Furthermore, another crucial issue in referendum campaigns is that citizens seem to be more likely to be unstable in their opinion. Therefore new information about the issue can highly influence them; mostly the media is the reason for this.

During referendum campaigns party attachments do often play a less crucial role, since the electorate even does not know the position of their party or candidate (De Vreese & Semetko, 2004). But still political parties play the key role as the actors of the referendum campaigns. Mostly, the Prime Minister or another politician is then chosen as the face of the campaign (De Vreese & Semetko, 2004). In referendum campaigns, political parties are confronted to define a clear message. This is because, generally the parties are internally divided and therefore it is more difficult for them to stay on the same message and thereby to mobilize the citizens in their favour. As well as, referendum campaigns run mostly longer than campaigns in general elections. Another reason is as well, that citizen’s attitude can be “shaped by unforeseen developments or events during the campaign period” (De Vreese & Semetko, 2004, pg.705). Therefore the development of strategic framing of their position on the referendum issue is crucial in order to gain citizens trust on their position.

A referendum campaign could be characterised about mainly steering the vote in the preferred direction of the proponents or opponents of the relevant issue (Farrell & Schmitt-Beck, 2002). It is more about a single issue, with competing actors. However, this single issue mostly includes multifaceted and different aspects which can cause contrasting perceptions of the issue among the electorate (De Vreese & Semetko, 2004). Therefore, the information

environment before the referendum has become highly important, due to that voters form their opinion “in the context of the campaign environment” (Hobolt, 2005, pg. 89). As a consequence it is assumed that the intensity of campaigns can have a big influence on the voter’s decision. Arguments, aspects and framing of the multifaceted topic which are made by the political actors and the media during the referendum campaigns appear to be highly important for the referendum outcome, especially when it is a close race between both camps (De Vreese & Semetko, 2004).

When looking at political campaign strategies, the media has become an important tool for it. Especially via the internet, newspaper and television it is possible to reach all kinds of people (Farrell & Schmitt-Beck, 2002). Today, most of the people gather their political information about politics via the media (De Vreese, 2004). According to a study of the Eurobarometer (51-58), television and newspaper have been identified by the citizens of the European Union as their key sources gaining political information. Since the volatility among the voters is high in referendums, the media even plays one of the most important roles in the campaign due to its function as the main information source for citizens.

Evidence has shown that the citizens learn mainly from the high amount of quantity of information which gets via the media available during the each campaign (McCombs&Shaw, 1972). But, citizens vary greatly in regards towards how they give attention to the media. According to McCombs and Shaw (1972), the better educated and politically interested people, which are often the ones which are unlikely to change their attitude, are actively seeking political informations. In contrast, they say, people who are not likely to be in interest of politics, gain their information with less effort; “It just comes in” (McCombs&Shaw, 1972, pg. 177). But Berelson et al (1954) proved that the people which were using the media extremely to gather political information were most likely to know what the “issue of the election and to perceive correctly the candidates stands on the issue” (Berelson et al., 1954, pg. 248). Therefore, it can be stated that voters learn mainly via the media.

What the electoral learns about the political campaigns is placed by the media. Lang and Lang (1966) observed that the mass media was able to put emphasises on certain issues; thereby they tried to tell the individual what they should think, know and feel about this specific topic. It is seen that the mass media has only little effect about the direction and the intensity of the topic. But still, the mass media is able to set the agenda about the campaign topics for each campaign and thereby influencing the attitude of the voters towards the political campaign. The general aim of the media coverage during the campaign time is to cover the process of the

election or referendum, to cover the campaign events, and especially to inform the citizen about the key standpoints of the political party or politician in order to promote the campaign.

There are two perspectives of the role of the media: one side claims that the “media and political journalism contribute to political alienation, political inefficacy and a decline in participation in elections” (De Vreese, 2006, pg. 583). On the other side, the media and journalism are seen as a contribution to knowledge gain of the voter and political participation (De Vreese, 2006). Nevertheless, the media has also another function; it can be utilized as a source of feedback (Farrell& Schmitt-Beck, 2002). Since politicians know the powerful influence of the media, they are regularly examining their “reporting in order to anticipate what the media audiences think” (Farrell& Schmitt-Beck, 2002, pg. 5). Additionally, the competing sides are using the media as well “as a source of intelligence about its opponents” (Farrell& Schmitt-Beck, 2002, pg. 5).

## *2.2 Emotions in politics*

As previously discussed campaigns play a crucial role in referendums. But it also plays an important role how the campaigns are framed and thereby how the campaigns play with the emotions of the voters. There is no doubt that campaigns are used in order to make strategically emotional appeals, in order to influence the voter’s political behaviour and attitude. Before discussing the different emotions which have been studied in recent years, firstly emotions will be discussed.

Emotions can be defined as particular sets of “psychological and mental dispositions triggered by the brain in response to the perceived significance of a situation or object for an individual’s goal” (Jamtøy, 2012, pg.4). Emotions appear due to a brain process which supplies permanent feedback of the relationship between an individual and its environment (Jamtøy, 2012). Due to its ability to make outside conscious aware, emotions can be described as organism which are adaptive and defence mechanisms which have the ability to change our behaviour (Kiss, 2012).

A distinction needs to be made between feelings and emotions, since feelings are the “subjective awareness and experience of emotions” (Jamtøy, 2012, pg.4). This can be explained with following example, when a person experience anxiety, then the feeling of anxiety is the person feeling in that moment. The interesting point is that each individual feels

differently, which means that people experience 'fear' differently. Therefore feelings are consequences of emotions.

Another distinction which has to be made is between *mood* and *emotions*. The difference is that emotions are individual responses to a specific provoked situation whereas moods are "diffuse positive or negative states that last for longer periods of time" (Jamtøy, 2012, pg.4). Kiss (2012), states Marcus (2000) that according to him the brain has three emotional subsystems. Those subsystems are working outside of the conscious awareness and thereby regulating the production of specific emotions. Those subsystems are called; the disposition system, the surveillance system and the flight and fight system (Kiss, 2012). The aim of the disposition system is to maintain the dependents on habits and previously learned strategies, whereas surveillance system checks the environment if it includes threatening stimuli (Kiss, 2012). Lastly the flight and fight system gets activated when a physical threat to the body is identified; an automatic defence mechanism then gets activated (Kiss, 2012). According to Kiss (2012), positive emotions strengthen the disposition system by intensifying the reliance on habits, whereas negative emotions reduce the dependence on a habit which could foster a defection from the habit.

Previous studies which were investigating emotions on political behaviour were focusing on the comparison between positive and negative affect (Garry, 2014). According to Valentino et al. (2008), the reason for this was that Marcus and his colleagues argued that "emotional responses only vary on two dimensions, positive and negative" (Valention et al., 2008, pg. 250). Recently this has shifted. Scholars are focusing now on specific implications of different types of positive and negative responses. A particular distinction has been made of the two negative emotions anxiety and anger in regards towards political behaviour (Garry, 2014). The researcher's argument is that these distinct emotions might be able to make it possible to describe the reaction of the people in certain situations.

To analyse emotions, two different theories have been developed. Accordingly to the appraisal theories of emotions, situations which individuals experience can lead to distinct emotions resulting due to the cognitive interpretation of the individual (Vasilopoulou & Wagner, 2017). The neuroscientific theories are looking at emotions from a different angle, they conduct their research based on the "neural process that generates emotional responses" (Vasilopoulou & Wagner, 2017, pg.385). Therefore, a three-dimensional model of emotions has been established in order to make a distinction between fear, anger and enthusiasm (Vasilopoulou & Wagner, 2017). In general both theories are investigating in the political

psychology “the causes and consequences of anger, fear and enthusiasm as distinct emotions” (Vasilopoulou & Wagner, 2017, pg.385).

These distinct emotions can evoke different types of actions and attributes. Anger is triggered; according to Valentino et al. (2008), when the individual knows with certainty where the cause of the threat comes from, and thereby preventing a specific or important goal. Different to fear, anger is evoked when the person feels that the perceived situation is under control (Searles & Ridout, n.d.). Therefore, anger can be characterised with certainty about the potential outcome as well as a feeling of betrayal (Searles & Ridout, n.d.). According to Searles and Ridout (n.d.), anger has the power to effect the perception of an individual. Anger leads to specific and extremely policies or punishment, which can have a powerful effect in the political area. But the effect of it is that individuals start to blame the actor who established this specific policy, and forgets the situational character (Wagner, 2013). Blame is thereby often used as an expression of anger. This lead towards that individuals who feel angry are more likely to be riskier, and to intervene actively, such as to support military actions. According to Vasilopoulou and Wagner (2017), anger often leads to more confident and aggressive responses, as well as, increased intolerance. This reaction can be explained, since anger provokes that individuals are more optimistic in regards to their future.

The information-seeking process behaviour by anger is relatively low. Angry citizens are less willing to collect and integrate new informations, since they rely more on political habits and are less likely to compromise (Searles & Ridout, n.d.). Therefore, according to Parker and Isbell (2010), citizens are more likely when they make a voting decision, to check if the candidate fits with their partisan and ideology perspective, rather than looking at the actual issue of the policy.

Considering the emotions fear and anxiety, the main function of fear and anxiety is, according to Steimer (2002), to act if the individual experiences a signal of threat or danger. Accordingly to the neuroscientific perspective thereby fear leads by individuals that they are more open and cautions (Vasilopoulou & Wagner, 2017). But citizens are also more likely to establish “avoidance behaviour such as withdrawal, risk aversion, higher political intolerance via the affirmation of political values, and even miscalculation of risk” (Searles & Ridout, n.d). Thus, fearful citizens are not like angry citizens very optimistic and therefore more afraid of the outcome.

Considering enthusiastic citizens, this emotion is triggered by hope and proud. According to Searles and Ridout (n.d.), hope offers the individual to have the possibility to be able to change something and therefore to improve the future. It also motivates people to adapt “goal-direct behaviours” (Searles & Ridout, n.d.). Proud evokes the emotion enthusiasm, since it motivates the people to express their opinion. The information seeking process by enthusiastic citizens is similar to angry citizens, they have “a less careful form of information-processing” (Vasilopoulou & Wagner, 2017, pg.385). But enthusiastic voters are more likely to engage politically and also more attempt to be riskier since they are more likely to be optimistic.

Vasilopoulou and Wagner conducted in regard towards emotions and the European Union in 2017 a study. When one applies all three emotions to the EU, Vasilopoulou and Wagner (2017) argue that angry citizens focus more on the negative news and spend less time searching for information than anxious citizens. Whereas the enthusiastic citizens are more concerned about positive news frames and are less willing to integrate negative informations. In their study on how emotions affect the public opinion on European integration, Vasilopoulou and Wagner (2017) found out that fearful and anxious citizens are favouring renegotiation of the terms and conditions of the EU membership. In contrast enthusiastic citizens are less in favour of it and angry citizens are willing to leave the European Union. Vasilopoulou and Wagner (2017) also concluded that enthusiastic and angry citizens attitude towards the EU is less “conditional on the perceived benefits of EU integration” than anxious citizens (Vasilopoulou & Wagner, 2017, pg.400). Angry citizens’ attitude is more related to underlying factors regarding the EU which are not important for fearful and enthusiastic voters. As well as, angry citizens articulate less varied informations and views about EU policy issues, since they are lacking “careful information-seeking and more uniform opinion” (Vasilopoulou & Wagner, 2017, pg. 398).

There is no doubt that political campaigns try to make appeals to the emotions of the voters. Specifically by television advertisements, must campaign managers not only deliver a rational campaign message, they also have to get with the voter on an emotional one. Ted Brader is one of the leading scholars among this topic. His work focuses particularly how campaign ads can effect and play with the emotions of the people. With his study in 2005 about how campaign ads play with emotions, he shows that via political campaigns, campaigners are able to provoke specific emotions by the electoral. During his investigation, Brader made a special emphasis on the effect of campaign ads. According to Brader (2005), campaign ads are able to affect the political behaviour of the viewer in predictable ways. Notably the use of images

and music can help to manipulate emotions (Brader, 2005). He mentions that especially the use of fear-evoking music and images in regards to negative messages has an altering effect on the voter. Brader (2005) argues that campaign ads aiming for fear can be a reason for changes in political choice. Concerning enthusiasm, his findings suggest that people have a “greater interest in campaigns, are more willing to vote, and rely more on pre-existing preferences to choose a candidate” (Brader, 2005, pg. 397). Enthusiasm can lead to the effect that they will rely more heavily on their prior beliefs (Brader, 2005). All in all, his research has proven that campaigns are able to evoke specific emotions by the voters.

### *2.3. Hypotheses*

Based on the aforementioned theory, three hypotheses are derived. These hypotheses shall help to give a clear picture with which specific emotions the ‘Leave’ and ‘Remain’ campaign have played in the Brexit referendum, in order to persuade the voter to vote.

Following the line of argument of the literature, enthusiastic people are characterized to be more reliant on their prior beliefs, are more risky, as well as being less willing to receive new informations. Enthusiastic citizens are also more optimistic and searching more for positive news framing rather than negative ones. As Vasilopoulou and Wagner have argued in their study regarding emotions and the EU, enthusiastic people are more in favour of staying in the EU. Based on these facts, I expect that in the Brexit referendum the ‘Remain’ campaign framed their campaign messages more towards positive emotions regarding to the European Union, rather than negative ones. Therefore the first hypothesis can be stated as:

H1: The Remain campaign makes stronger appeals towards enthusiasm emotions in the Brexit referendum than the Leave campaign.

Fear, anxiety and anger are seen in the literature as the negative emotions which can come up via a political campaign. All three emotions can lead towards different reactions, but lead all to the same conclusion that people are perceive the referendum topic more in a negative aspect. Hence I expect that in general the ‘Leave’ campaign promoted more negative campaign frames in order to mobilize the citizens to be more negative towards the EU. Thus, the second hypothesis can be stated as:

H2: The Leave campaign makes stronger appeals towards the emotions of fear, anxiety and anger in the Brexit referendum than the Remain campaign.

Vasilopoulus and Wagner (2017) have concluded via their study, that angry citizens are more in favour of leaving the European Union as well as they are more focused on negative news framing. Valentino also argues that citizens develop the emotion anger, when they know the cause from where the threat comes from. Looking at the relationship between the EU and the UK citizens, one could see that UK citizens were from the beginning on not in favour of the EU. As well as they saw more the negative aspects of the EU. Therefore I expect that the 'Leave' campaign played especially with the emotion anger, since UK citizen's attitude towards the EU has been more negative. Hence, the third hypothesis can be stated as:

H3: The Leave campaign makes stronger appeals to anger emotions than to fear and anxiety.

Since explicit studies about the topics which both camps have been promoting during the campaign period, have been conduct. I expect that the 'Leave' campaign played with the negative emotions with the object of immigration. I expect that, since UK citizens were due to the immigration crisis in 2015 already more negative towards the EU. Lastly, hypothesis four can be states as: The Leave campaign used negative emotions more towards immigration than the 'Remain' campaign.

### **3. Data/Documents**

#### *3.1 Research Design*

The purpose of the study is to identify with which specific negative and positive emotions the 'Leave' and 'Remain' campaign have played in the Brexit referendum in 2016. In order to do so, a content analysis by means of a media content analysis of newspaper articles will be conducted.

Content analyses have been used for a long time in social science. It has been key to studies of policy preference, propaganda, mass media and social movements; as well as for research into communication of politics. Content analysis is one of the most widely used research designs to analyse political campaign communication research. This research method, allows analysing the content of the political campaign messages in depth. Thereby, it is possible, to examine with which emotions or in which tone the campaigns were promoted.

A content analysis can be defined as a research tool through which certain concepts or words in texts can be identified. It is particular useful for the examination of mass communication in order to analyse the messages. According to Krippendorff (1980) a content analysis is a



research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts to the contexts for their use. It references to the “meanings, contexts and intentions contained in messages” (Prasade, n.d., pg.1) and can, thereby, determine emotions of groups. Hereby, the analyst draws conclusions about the sender’s message, characteristics of the message and what kind of effects the communication has on the audience (Prasade, n.d.).

To establish content analysis, articles and texts need to be examined on the basis of units which can be paragraphs or single sentences. A coding scheme is needed in order to conduct the analysis. Firstly, the researcher has to create a coding sheet which is generated through a sample text that is comparable to the research question. Thereby all highlighted key words are grouped and put into different categories. The code sheet consist of different code categories such as “issue”, “sentiment”, “tone” and “argument”. Afterwards, the remaining articles are analysed based on this developed coding frame. This will be done by going through the articles and conclude if they contain the certified information. The final step is to create database where the regularity of codes can be recoded. Concluding, this procedure can be identified as a simple content analysis.

In order to analyse if certain emotions were applied on a specific object, a message content analysis will be used. The main difference between the simple and this specific method is that it centres its focus in the analysis on intended messages in articles. Based on the communication objectives, the key messages are developed. Following the translation of these communication objectives into codes in order to become base for the analysis. Each article will therefore be analysed and coded regarding the presence of the key messages which are included in their text. Afterwards, the codes are entered again into a database for statistical analysis.

Humans and Computer software can be used for the coding. The advancement of the use of a software is that it can do the tasks fast and accurate such as recognising specific words. However, the use of a human in coding is useful in order to ensure that context and tone of the language in the article was clearly understood and thought-out in the coding process. When using human coders, two coders must at least extract, independently, data from the same material in order to have an overlap of coding. This step shall ensure reliability and validity of the content analysis.

### 3.2. Case selection and sampling

To conduct the content analysis in regards towards the campaigns and their emotions, British national newspapers have been selected as a case selection and sample. The main argument for this selection is that the media has become the most important campaign strategy tool. As well as in the case of the Brexit referendum, the newspaper had a significant role in the voting behaviour of the citizens.

To determine which newspapers have to be included in the case selection, the study about the evaluation of the national media regarding coverage of the “most significant decision made by the UK electorate in the 21<sup>st</sup> century” published by the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism (RISJ) in conjunction with PRIME Research by Loughborough University and by Cardiff University, was used. This decision was made, since it was expected that the data availability will become more widen. Furthermore, it is expected that the campaign leaders of each campaign will be extensively promoted and therefore a clear analysis can be made about the use of specific emotions.

In this study eight national newspapers were identified to have published more towards the Leave side: the *Sun*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Express*, the *Sunday Express*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Sunday Telegraph*, *The Sunday Times*, and the *Spectator*. As well as eight national newspapers were supporting the Remain side: *The Times*, the *Guardian*, the *Observer*, the *FT*, the *Independent*, the *Mail on Sunday*, the *Mirror*, and the *New Statesman*.

Since in this research not all 16 newspapers can be examined, the newspapers will be will be sampled in regards to the number of circulation based on the latest data from NRS PADD, as well as data by ABC and by newspaper available at the data source LexisNexis. LexisNexis is a database which contains more than 1, 3000 foreign full-text news resources from 1980 until today. It offers a quick research across all major global news agencies based on topic and time. Further, not only print articles of the newspapers can be retrieved also web articles can be used which in turn widens the data collection and increases the reliability of the results.

Hence following newspapers have been selected:

Leave Side:

- The Daily Mail with an estimate of 1,394,385 circulations and 31,354 net reader
- Daily Express with an estimate of 364, 933 circulations and 13,453 net reader

## Remain Side:

- The Guardian with an estimate of 151,625 circulations and 24,177 net reader
- The Independent (United Kingdom) estimate of 54,187 and 10,442 net reader

The time period for which the content analysis of British newspapers is conducted, is between February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2016, and June 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2016. This period has been selected, because the period is long enough to really grasp the emotions from both campaigns. As well as, the data availability in regards to the official campaign time is insufficient. Therefore, February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2016, had been chosen as a starting point for the analysis by reason of that this was the day when David Cameron announced officially the referendum date. June 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2016, has been selected as the end date, since this was the day when the referendum took place.

When selecting the data specific focus needs to be made about the content of the articles and not just the newspaper headlines. This means that the articles need to include relevant information regarding the Brexit referendum, the 'Leave' campaign, the 'Remain' campaign, as well as the politicians which were promoting the different campaigns. In order to retrieve these relevant articles in the LexisNexis database, specific key terms were selected. This selection is based on the campaign leaflets, which are retrieved from the official campaign webpage's ([www.voteleavetakecontrol.org](http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org); [www.strongerin.uk.com](http://www.strongerin.uk.com)), in order to get articles which are including the topics of the campaigns more specifically. Through this process, I want to make sure that not the news media agenda setting would sophisticate the results. Therefore, following key terms are selected: *Brexit, Remain campaign, Leave campaign, European Union, Britain Stronger in Europe, jobs, Conservative campaign, Osborne, Security threat, Leave, UK-border, our money, economy, immigration, NHS, David Cameron* . The key terms are entered in combination with each other. The search process was done by the search type '*natural language*', as through this type the data availability rose.

The article selection was established on my judgement. This judgment was based on; if the articles include the leader of the 'Remain' and 'Leave' campaign have been giving a statement. Another criterion has been if a speech was covered in this article, as well as, if it was clear pointed out what the stand point of the campaign was. Another important factor was that the articles should include a connection to the specific referendum and not just such as for example that one minister decided to support the leave campaign. All these criteria's were selected, in order to clearly have relevant articles which were covering each perspective campaign and their campaign statements.

The focus of the selection of articles is compromised to only news coverage's, and does not include any letters to the editor, reader's 'opinion, or statement articles from the newspaper journalist. These types of articles have been excluded, since they could not clearly be identified as an element of the campaigns itself. Therefore, only articles had been chosen where campaigners expressed their opinion and made statements, or where campaign events were covered by the newspapers. This lead to a more reliable source.

A first reading is conducted, whereby the retrieved articles are analysed in accordance with the relevance towards the research question. Only the articles which are relevant for the research are included in the sample, duplications or irrelevant articles have been excluded. The total number of articles is thus 114. Thereby, 26 articles are published from *The Guardian*, 25 from *The Independent*, 38 from *The Daily Mail*, and 25 articles from *The Express*. Concerning the length of the different newspaper articles, it can be stated that the range differed between around 600 words and 1300 words. Therefore, an average length of 950 words per article is estimated. Comparing the different newspapers it could be identified that the range in *The Guardian* was between 600 and 1300 words, with an estimated average of 950 words per article. Followed by *The Independent (United Kingdom)* with a word range of 400 to 800 and an average of 600 words per article. The newspaper articles in *The Daily Mail* could be identified with a length between 400 to 900 words, resulting an average of 650 words per newspaper articles. Whereas the newspaper *The Express* was between 200 to 600 words, followed by an average of 400 words per article. Through this the small difference in the total amount of newspapers between both referendum campaigns can be explained, since it could be noted that *The Express* had a relatively small word count per article compared to the other newspaper articles. Which therefore results that the coding number was limited compared to articles with a higher word count.

### *3.3 Operationalisation*

For the content analysis a codebook is established, which entails information about the codes and emotions towards the Brexit referendum. These codes are based on the aforementioned theory part in this research and operationalised and translated into the codebook. But one needs to take into mind that the categories should not be held too general, since this can be too time consuming. The data which will be used can be categorised as a mix of qualitative and quantitative, due to that the step of reading the texts and going through them can be identified

as qualitative, whereas the next step; the coding and statistical analysis process can be characterised as a quantitative.

In this research paragraphs or whole sentences are coded and not only specific words. The advantage of this procedure is that hereby the emotion can be better identified and are better expressed, rather than just in one word. Therefore, the coding unit of analysis in this research is the article, whereas the sentence is the unit of observation. During the coding procedure, special attention is taken in regards that only sentences get coded which are based on 'Remain' or 'Leave' Campaigner. This means that in the newspapers of the 'Remain' side, only sentences got coded which were expressed by the 'Remain' side and not sentence from the 'Leave' side. This decision has been made, since the research focus was laid down on the content of the newspapers. As well as, it was expected that through this procedure the main aspects of the perspective campaigns were promoted by the favouring newspaper, in order to determine clearly which emotional appeals they used.

In order to examine emotions in campaigns following procedure is made. Emotions can be recognised by the words itself like fear, anxiety, anger and enthusiasm. But since these words are not directly mentioned in the campaigns, other means have to be included in the coding scheme. For fear and anxiety, threat has been chosen. According to Steimer (2002), is the main function of fear and anxiety to react when a single of threat is experienced. In the Brexit referendum a threat can be identified as mass immigration or financial crisis. In regards to anger, harm and blame have been selected. This selection has been based on the literature review in this paper. According to Wagner (2014), anger is triggered when the individual believes to know who is responsible for the threat; literally it means they know who to blame or harm. In regards to the Brexit referendum would this be the European Union or David Cameron. For the emotion enthusiasm, hope and proud have been selected. Since enthusiasm is triggered by hope and proud. So the emotional appeal might be made without the mention of an emotion word. For the coding scheme is this very important.

Hence the coding scheme for the emotions *fear and anxiety* is present in an article, if the article expresses:

- Threat

The emotion *anger* is in an article present, if the article expresses:

- Blame
- Harm

*Enthusiasm* is present in an article, if the article expresses:

- Proud
- Hope

This data/ document chapter has outlined which research design will be used. It has shown that a content analysis is best used in order to analyse which emotions have been used in both campaigns. Furthermore, it could be identified that as a case selection British newspapers were chosen. This choice has been made since campaigns are mainly promoted via the media. Especially newspapers give the voters a clear picture of the main arguments of the campaigns, as well as the informations which are needed for the voter. When accessing the operationalisation, it has been shown that by the coding procedure not the exact emotions can be examined and different means had to be used. In the following part the analysis of the data will be explained.

#### **4. Data Analysis**

The first step with the data was to upload the selected data in the programme Atlas.ti., in order to code the articles regarding their content and frequency of the codes. With the results, meaning the number of cases for each code, a statistical analysis follows. This statistical analysis is helpful, since it allows showing the researcher how many cases occurred in each category for each variable. Thereby it is then possible to observe how many cases were matching with the specific codes and to highlight important findings.

Table 1 - Number of coded newspaper articles per campaign

Newspapers	Article in favour of Remain	Article in favour of Leave	
The Guardian	26	0	26
The Independent	25	0	25
The Daily Mail	0	38	38
The Express	0	25	25
Total	51	63	114

Table 1 gives information about the number of articles which were selected as unit of analysis in the coding process, for each campaign. The search which had been conducted via LexisNexis, lead to an overall total of 114 newspaper articles. The analysis shows that 26 and 25 newspaper articles, from *The Guardian* and from *The Independent*, were selected which were in favour of the ‘Remain’ campaign. No favouring articles for the ‘Remain’ side were retrieved from the newspapers *The Daily Mail* and *The Express*. The reason for this is, that both newspapers were classified as in favour for the ‘Leave’ side. Therefore, even if they also reported about the ‘Remain’ side, the newspaper articles validity was not sufficient enough to be clearly categorised as ‘in favour for the Remain campaign’.

The table above illustrates as well, that a total of 63 newspaper articles were in favour of the ‘Leave’ campaign. Thereby, 38 articles were retrieved from *The Daily Mail*, and 25 articles were retrieved from *The Express*. To ensure validity of the newspaper articles for the ‘Leave’ campaign, no articles were retrieved from *The Guardian* and *The Independent (United Kingdom)*. Main argument for this is that they were identified by the research from the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism (RISJ) in conjunction with PRIME Research by Loughborough University and by Cardiff University that they were in favour of the ‘Remain’ campaign.

Looking at the articles number table 1 shows, that approximately the same amount of articles from *The Guardian* and *The Independent* were selected, which provides the information that both were with the same amount covering on the ‘Remain’ campaign. When looking at the number of articles which were in favour of the ‘Leave’ side, it can be seen that there is a

difference of 13 articles between *The Express* and *The Daily Mail*. This result illustrates that the *Daily Mail* was slightly more promoting the ‘Leave’ campaign than the newspaper *The Express*.

All in all, this analysis shows that only valid articles were selected in regards towards the ‘Remain’ and ‘Leave’ campaign. It ensures that the articles were in favour of the campaigns and, therefore, promoting the respective campaign, which is need to conduct the analysis in regards towards the specific emotions.

*Table 2- Number of the total number of relevant articles containing a specific factor*

	Leave Campaign	Remain Campaign
Blame	6	0
Threat	8	27
Harm	0	1
Hope	6	2
Proud	2	3
Total	22	33

Taking a closer look at the content of the newspaper articles, table 2 illustrates how many of the total number of articles were containing one specific emotion. Thereby, articles which were including more than one emotion were excluded from the count. This illustration therefore, helps to identify which emotion was how relevant to the respective campaigns.

Table 2 shows that the ‘Leave’ campaign had in a total 22 articles which were classified with one specific factor which triggered a specific emotion. Whereas, an even higher number of 33 newspaper articles could be identified on the ‘Remain’ side. The results further show that the ‘Leave’ side was mainly playing with a mix of emotions. This can be stated since 8 articles could be identified with the specific focus on *threat*, followed by 6 articles for *hope* and *blame* and 2 articles only concerning *proud*. The ‘Remain’ side was more on the contrary. In table 2 it could be identified that the ‘Remain’ campaign was mainly focused on one specific factor, *threat*, which leads to the emotion fear and anxiety. Here the table shows that, 27



articles were identified containing this specific emotion, while the factors *harm*, *hope* and *proud* were rarely focused on. Only 1 article was particularly containing *harm*, 2 articles *hope* and 3 articles *proud*.

The difference between the ‘Remain’ and ‘Leave’ campaign, according to the results of table 2, is that when looking at the ‘Remain’ campaign the emotions fear and anxiety were mostly relevant for them. Whereas the ‘Leave’ side was more playing with a mix of fear, anxiety, enthusiasm and anger. It can be highlight, in accordance to the number of articles that for the ‘Leave’ side a slightly higher relevance was given to the emotion fear compared to the other emotions. Another difference which could be recognised from the table above is that no specific newspaper article for *harm* at the ‘Leave’ side and no particular article of the emotion anger (*blame*) at the ‘Remain’ side could be analysed. This shows that non emphasis on these two emotions was made by the respective campaigns.

*Table 3- Total number of factors which were expressed in the specific articles of Table 2.*

	Leave Campaign	Remain Campaign
Blame	24	0
Threat	30	118
Harm	0	3
Hope	36	6
Proud	14	9
Total	104	136

In order to see how often these factors were expressed in the specific newspaper articles, the above table illustrates this. As it can be concluded, the ‘Remain’ campaign used the specific factor 136 times, whereas the ‘Leave’ campaign only used them 104 times. Which shows that the ‘Remain’ campaign expressed more often per article the specific emotion as the ‘Leave’ side did. One of the reasons for this result can be the length of the articles, as well as another reason can be that the ‘Remain’ campaign wanted to push more for this specific emotion; it really wanted to touch the voter with this emotion. Looking at the numbers in table 3, it can be seen that the ‘Remain’ campaign expressed *threat*, with 118 times the most in the specific

articles. The other emotions were again rarely expressed. Thus, it can be stated that the ‘Remain’ campaign was particularly focused on *threat* in order to evoke the emotion fear or anxiety. On contrast the ‘Leave’ side results show in table 3, that a mix of factors was used. Interestingly to see is that, comparing to Table 2 which showed that the factor *threat* was specifically used in 8 newspaper articles was less mention, with only 30 times, than the factor *hope* with 36 times. But comparing to the ‘Remain’ side number of articles which trigger the factor *threat*, the ‘Leave’ side used it relatively often. It also can be identified that the factor *blame*, which had the same amount of specific articles as *hope*, was only 24 times expressed. Therefore, it could be interpreted that the ‘Leave’ campaign was concerned to bring the factor *hope*, which triggers the emotion enthusiasm, close to the voter.

*Table 4- Average count on how often a factor was listed per article*

	Leave Campaign	Remain Campaign
Blame	1,37	0,35
Threat	1,25	3,18
Harm	0,54	0,29
Hope	1,7	0,67
Proud	0,95	0,7
Total	5,81	5,19

When it comes to consider all articles in the analysis, table 4 illustrates the average count of the emotion per article for each campaign. The results revealed that on average the ‘Leave’ campaign listed slightly more emotions per article with a total of 5, 81 times, than the ‘Remain’ campaign with 5, 19. Taking a closer look at table 4, it could be identified that the most used factor was *hope* with an average of 1, 7. Followed by *blame* and *threat* with 1, 37 and 1, 25 on average. The factor *harm* was the least one which was expressed on average in the newspaper articles. Therefore, it can be stated again that the ‘Leave’ campaign was slightly focused on the factor *hope* in order to gain the voters on their side.

But not only this, it can be seen again that the ‘Leave’ campaign included all factors in order to trigger a mix of emotions. Whereas the ‘Remain’ side was again chiefly focused on the factor *threat*, with an average use of 3, 18 per article, in order to trigger the emotions fear or

anxiety. Surprisingly the analysis of table 4, resulted that the factor *hope* was the second most used one on average, with a score of 0.67. This shows that the ‘Remain’ campaign tried also to evoke enthusiastic emotions in the voter.

*Table 5- Relevance of each emotion for each campaign*

	Leave Campaign	Remain Campaign
Blame	24%	7%
Threat	21%	61%
Harm	9%	6%
Total	54%	74%
Hope	29%	13%
Proud	16%	14%
Total	45%	27%
Total	100%	100%

Broken down in to the relevance of each emotion for both campaigns, the analysis has shown that to 54% negative emotions were triggered by the factors of the ‘Leave’ campaign. By way of contrast, the ‘Remain’ campaign was even more eager to evoke negative emotions by 74%. Therefore, it is not surprisingly that the analysis shows that with only 27% the ‘Remain’ campaign tried to trigger positive emotions by the voter. The ‘Leave’ campaign unexpectedly put an emphasis by 45% on positive emotions. Nevertheless, both were focused on negative emotions.

*4.1. Hypotheses*

In hypothesis 1, the focus was laid down if the ‘Remain’ campaign was making stringer appeals towards enthusiastic emotions in the Brexit referendum than the ‘Leave’ campaign. As the analysis has shown, the main focus of the ‘Remain’ campaign was being made on the factor *threat*, which triggers the negative emotions fear and anxiety. 74% of the emotions

which were used by the 'Remain' campaign were appealed towards negative ones. Only 27% were made in regards towards enthusiastic emotions. As well as when a comparison was made about how often a factor was listed per article, it could be recognised that threat was with 3,18 the highest factor. Furthermore, 27 articles were identified to be specifically containing the negative factor *threat*, whereby six articles precisely used the word threat. Moreover, 118 times was the factor *threat* expressed in the specific newspaper articles.

Expressed was a *threat* in the newspaper articles, for instance, like "Britain does not succeed when we quit" (Stewart et al., 2016), "(..) Threat of plunging growth, a collapsing pound and soaring prices if Britain leaves." (Stewart et al., 2016), "Leaving the European Union could wipe up to £32,000 off the average pensioner's wealth (...)" (Stewart, 2016). Significantly, what could be noticed during the coding procedure was that the threat was mainly made in regards to the British economy. In conclusion, it can be stated that the 'Remain' campaign puts its emphasis more on negative emotions. Especially on the emotion fear and anxiety in order to mobilise the voters to vote 'Remain' in the referendum. Only little attention was made on enthusiastic emotions. Therefore, hypothesis 1 can be rejected.

Going over to hypothesis 2, here the aim was to identify if the 'Leave' campaign makes stronger appeals towards the emotions of fear, anxiety and anger in the Brexit referendum than the 'Remain' campaign. Looking at the relevance of each emotion, it can be analysed that the 'Leave' campaign played more with negative emotions (54%) rather than with positive emotions (45%). But comparing these percentages with the 'Remain' side it can be identified that the 'Leave' campaign played less with the factors which were triggering those negative emotions. But that is not the only evidence. Also the analysis of the number on how often on average the emotions were expressed by article, revealed this result as well. This analysis proved that the 'Leave' campaign only used the factors blame (1,37), threat (1,25) and harm (0,54) less than compared to the 'Remain' side which used the factor threat on average 3,18 per article. Considering the analysis of the numbers of articles containing a specific emotion, the 'Leave' campaign had 6 articles for blame and 8 articles for threat, which was compared to the 'Remain' side, 27 articles for threat, relatively low. Only the number of how often threat was used in these specific articles was relatively high on the 'Leave' side, compared to the 'Remain' campaign, by 30 times mentioned in 8 articles.

Taking a closer look at the analysis of the average number of emotions which have been used per article, it even can be seen that the factor *hope* was with 1.7 relatively high. As well as how often it had been used in the specific articles, 36 times mentioned in 6 articles, proofs

that the 'Leave' campaign was trying to play with enthusiastic emotions. This was mainly expressed in the newspaper articles like, "a British passport as he declared the referendum was Britain's one and only chance' to get a grip on mass immigration." (Slack&Groves, 2016), "Here is our chance, maybe our one and only chance as a nation to get a grip on this." (Slack&Groves, 2016).

In sum, it can be stated that the 'Leave' campaign did not make stronger appeals towards the negative emotions fear, anxiety and anger than the 'Remain' campaign. The analysis actually proved the opposite. The 'Remain' campaign made stronger appeals towards those emotions. In comparison, the 'Leave' campaign made stronger appeals to enthusiastic emotions than the 'Remain' campaign. Therefore, hypothesis 2 can be rejected as well.

Lastly, hypothesis 3 will be analysed. Hereby it will be tested if the 'Leave' campaign made stronger appeals to anger emotions than to fear and anxiety. As it was pointed out in Table 5, the factor blame was the most relevant factor in comparison to the factors threat and harm. Also on average was this factor with 1, 37 mostly used on average per article in comparison to the other two factors (1, 25 and 0, 54). Only in regards the numbers of newspaper articles which were containing a specific emotion, blame was with 6 articles lower than threat which had 8 articles. In the newspaper articles was *blame* shown like "Mr Johnson accused the Prime Minister of not believing in Britain, suggesting that pro- Brussels campaigners don't believe in this country, they don't believe in our ability to stand on our own two feet" (Groves & Stevens, 2016), "It was Government policy that "EU migrants should have a job offer before they come here". The Government failed to achieve this during the renegotiation of our membership." (Groves, 2016). In conclusion it can be stated that this hypothesis is actually true, and the 'Leave' campaign used mainly *blame* as a factor in order to trigger the emotion anger, instead of fear and anxiety. During the content analysis, it could be identified that anger was mainly made in regards towards David Cameron and the European Union.

All in all, the analysis illustrated that the 'Remain' campaign actually played more with negative emotions than the 'Leave' campaign. Specifically, the factor *threat* was used by the 'Remain' side; therefore the 'Leave' campaign was even right with their statement of "Project Fear" in regards to them. The 'Leave' side surprisingly used a mix of emotions, almost 50/50. Notably, the factor *hope* was used in order to evoke an enthusiastic emotion by the voter.

## 5. Conclusion

The aim of the research was to use a content analysis of British newspaper articles about the Brexit referendum in order to analyse how the 'Leave' and the 'Remain' campaign played with specific negative or positive emotions. The main finding was that the 'Leave' campaign was playing with a mix of negative and positive emotions, whereas in contrast the 'Remain' campaign was playing only with the specific negative emotion fear.

The content analysis of British newspaper articles of the 'Remain' and 'Leave' campaign showed that there was a slight difference by the newspapers favouring the 'Leave' side in regards towards promoting the 'Leave' campaign. The analysis showed that the 'Remain' campaign was mainly playing with negatives emotions. Following in line with hypothesis 1, where it was expected that the 'Remain' campaign plays more with positive emotions rather than negative ones, this hypothesis could be rejected. The 'Remain' campaign was specifically, playing with the emotions fear and anxiety playing. They did this by putting a lot of emphasis in their campaign on the factor *threat*, which evokes these emotions. This factor was mainly used in connection with the objective, British economy. Thereby the 'Remain' campaign tried to fear the voters that if Britain would leave the European Union the British economy would go down and pension would go down. Also the newspaper promotion of the campaign coverage showed that 27 articles were specifically related to the factor threat and only a small number of articles were related to the positive emotions. The results of the investigation also showed that the 'Remain' campaign was less concerned about positive, enthusiastic emotions. Only 27% of relevance of positive factors was concluded in the analysis, where 14% were based on the factor *proud*. In general, the analysis has proven that the 'Remain' campaign was trying to communicate negative emotions to the voters, in order to gain the responds of a fearful citizen. As from the literature review retrieved, it can be assumed that the 'Remain' campaign was aimed to create an environment for the electoral where the voter is less likely to be risky, and therefore would chose to stay in the European Union. Considering the study of Vasilopoulou and Wagner in 2017, it also can be concluded that the 'Remain' campaign was trying with the emotion fear, to get the voters more in favouring renegotiations of the EU membership.

In contrast, the 'Leave' campaign was playing with a mix of emotions. Only a slightly trend was analysed in the direction towards negative emotions, when considering the relevance of each factor for each campaign. Therefore, hypothesis 2 in which it was expected that the 'Leave' campaign was putting more emphasis on negative emotions rather than the 'Remain'

side, could not be verified via the analysis. It could be concluded that the 'Remain' side was actually mainly playing with negative emotions rather than the 'Leave' side. Concerning the negative emotions, it could be analysed that the 'Leave' campaign was mainly concerned to play with the emotion anger, triggered by the factor *blame*. This proved that hypothesis 3, where we expected that the 'Leave' campaign would play more with anger than fear or anxiety was correct. With the emotion anger, the 'Leave' campaign was aimed to have a confident and aggressive response. The 'Leave' campaign tried through this emotion, to become the voters riskier and thereby more willing to leave the EU. During the conduct of the content analysis of the British newspaper articles, it could be seen that this blame was particularly against David Cameron and the European Union. Thereby, the 'Leave' campaign wanted to get a "face" for the people which they could blame, because, the literature review has shown, that anger arises when the threat is known where it comes from. That is why the 'Leave' campaign always connected their blame towards an object with which the voters had maybe a negative emotion connected to.

Considering the whole analysis for the 'Leave' campaign, the results showed that the main focus was on the factor *hope*. Through this factor, the 'Leave' campaign wanted to evoke enthusiastic, positive, emotions. They tried this in relation with the British national feeling, such, "The first point is this. This should be a British passport - it says European Union on it. I think to make this country safer we need to get back British passports so we can check anyone coming in." (Slack& Groves, 08.06.2016). Through this enthusiastic emotion, the 'Leave' campaign wanted to become the voter riskier but also tried them to become them more optimistic in regards towards leaving the European Union.

In conclusion it can be stated, that the 'Leave' campaign was playing with positive and negative feelings. In contrast, the 'Remain' campaign was specifically playing with the fear and anxiety of the voters. The 'Remain' campaign even did not really try to play with any other emotion. Therefore, the statement "Project Fear" coming from the 'Leave' campaign can be proven as right. Via the analysis results and the connection with the literature review it can be seen what both campaigns tried to reach with the emotions. In general it can be concluded, that the 'Leave' campaign wanted to become the voters riskier, in order that they were willing to leave the EU. The 'Remain' campaign was on the contrary. The 'Remain' campaign was more eager to become the citizen less likely to be risky and to become more cautions.

### *5.1. Limits and Strength of the Research*

The limitations of this research of this bachelor thesis will be mentioned, this is for future research helpful, in order to be aware of those. The first limitation is that due to time concerns, speeches and statements could also have been included in the study. This would have been helpful to make aware if the campaigners were playing differently in those concerns with the emotions of the voters. Another aspect which could be criticised is the number of articles and the limited number of newspaper magazines. But due to the limited availability of the data in LexisNexis, it was not possible to take into consideration more newspaper magazines. Limitations of a content analysis of newspaper articles in regards to campaigns, is that they influenced how the citizens perceived the campaigns. Another limitation which could be found was that not much data availability was regarding literature about emotions in election campaigns or referendum campaigns.

The strength of this paper is the good literature review and the clear analysis. The selection process has been well-designed and the sample of the representative study has been sufficient, in order to gain a clear answer.

Recommend for further research would be to conduct a content analysis of statements and speeches from the campaigners, in order to gain a clearer picture how the campaigner played with emotions. Thereby, the focus could also be laid down on the objectives of these emotions. This would help to understand in which relation the campaigners are using the emotions. For the campaigner such a research would be useful in order to understand with which objectives citizens associated which emotion. So they understand then better what happens when they use a specific emotion in relation with a specific object; which can include a positive or negative result.

### *5.2. The overall conclusion*

Overall, this thesis has shown that in general emotions can have a big impact in regards towards the voting behaviour and campaigners have to take this into account when establishing their campaign. But, the Brexit referendum has shown that it is not easily to see for the campaigners how the voters react to the campaigns. So with which emotion they should play to convince the voter is not directly applicable. The analysis has also proven that the campaigns knew what kind of response they wanted to trigger with the emotions by the individual. But as, the Brexit case has proven, only one campaign was convincing enough. Therefore, it can be assumed that which emotion will win, depends on how the relationship



the voters have with the issue. Especially, in regards towards elections or referendums on EU issues, the campaigners need to take special care, because not every nation has the same feeling about the European Union. It can be concluded, that campaigners have to change their emotion strategy during the campaign or have to make research beforehand in order to see what kind of emotional relationship the voters have in regards to the topic.

## References

- Atikcan, E.Ö (2018). Agenda control in EU referendum campaigns: The power of the anti-EU side. *European Journal of Political Research*, 57, 93-115.
- Beach, D. (2018). Referendums in the European Union. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.
- Benoit, W.L. (n.d.). Content Analysis in Political Communication. *School of Communication Studies Ohio University*.
- Berelson, B. R., Lazarsfeld, P. F., & McPhee, W. N. (1954). *Voting*. Chicago60637, United States of America: The University of Chicago Press.
- Brader, T. (2005). Striking a Responsive Chord: How Political Ads Motivate and Persuade Voters by Appealing to Emotions. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49, 388-405.
- De Vreese, C. H. (2006). Political Parties In Dire Straits? Consequences of National Referendums for Political Parties. *SAGE Publications Party Politics*, 12(5), 581-598.
- De Vreese, C. H. (2004). Primed by the Euro: The Impact of a Referendum Campaign on Public Opinion and Evaluations of Government and Political Leaders. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 27(1), 45-64.
- De Vreese, C. H., & Semetko, H. A. (2004). News matters: Influences on the vote in the Danish 2000 euro referendum campaign. *European Journal of Political Research*, 43, 699-722.
- Druckmann, J. N. (2005). Media Matter: How Newspapers and Television News Cover Campaigns and Influence Voters. *Political Communication*, 22, 463-481.
- Druckmann, J. N., & McDermott, R. (2008). Emotion and the Framing of Risky Choice. *Political Behaviour*, 30, 297-321.
- European Parliament. (May, 2016). Referendums on EU issues. Briefing.
- Farrell, D. M., & Schmitt-Beck, R. (2002). *Do Political Campaigns Matter? Campaign effects in elections and referendums*. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Garry, J. (2014). Emotions and voting in EU referendums. *European Union Politics*, 15(2), 235-254.
- Hobolt, S. B. (2005). When Europe matters: The impact of political information on voting behaviour in EU referendums. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties*, 15(1), 85-109.
- Hobolt, S. B. (2016) The Brexit vote: a divided nation, a divided continent, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 23(9), 1259-1277.

- Jamtøy, A. I. (2012). *Emotion and cognition in political communication*. Paper presented at 3rd International Conference on Democracy as Idea and Practice, Oslo, Norway. Retrieved from <http://www.uio.no/english/research/interfaculty-research-areas/democracy/news-and-events/events/conferences/2012/papers-2012/Jamtoey.-wshop1pdf.pdf>
- Kiss, C.Z. (2012). *The Emotional Voter: The Impact of Electoral Campaigns and Emotions on Electoral Behaviour in Britain*. Oxford University.
- Krippendorff, K. (1980). *Content Analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. London Stage.
- Lang, K., & Lang, G.E. (1966). The mass media and voting. In Berelson, B., & Janowitz, M. (Eds.), *Reader in Public Opinion and Communication (Second Edition)* (pp. 455-472). New York: Free Press.
- Mayhew, F. (2018, January 18). Times overtakes Daily Telegraph headline print circulation for first time, ABC figures show. Retrieved April 18, 2018, from <http://www.pressgazette.co.uk/times-overtakes-telegraph-headline-print-circulation-for-first-time-abc-figures-show/>
- McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36(2), 176-187.
- Michaelson, D., & Griffin, T. L. (2005). New Model for Media Content Analysis. *Institute for Public Relations*, 1-13.
- “Most significant decision made by the UK electorate in the 21<sup>st</sup> century” published by the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism (RISJ) in conjunction with PRIME Research by Loughborough University and by Cardiff University. In Moore, M., & Ramsay, G. (2017). *UK media coverage of the 2016 EU Referendum campaign*. Retrieved from <https://www.kcl.ac.uk/sspp/policy-institute/CMCP/UK-media-coverage-of-the-2016-EU-Referendum-campaign.pdf>
- Ponsford, D. (2017, June 26). NRS national press readership data: Telegraph overtakes Guardian as most-read 'quality' title in print/online. Retrieved April 18, 2018, from <http://www.pressgazette.co.uk/nrs-national-press-readership-data-telegraph-overtakes-guardian-as-most-read-quality-title-in-printonline/>
- Prasad, B.D. (n.d.). *Content Analysis- A method in Social Science Research*.
- Schuck, A. R. T. (2009). *Referendum campaign dynamics : news media, campaign effects and direct democracy* Amsterdam: The Amsterdam School of Communications Research (ASCoR)
- Searles, K., & Ridout, T. N. (n.d.). *The Use and Consequences of Emotions in Politics*. Retrieved July 3, 2018, from <http://emotionresearcher.com/the-use-and-consequences-of-emotions-in-politics/>
- Statista. *Monthly reach of The Independent, The Independent on Sunday and i in the United Kingdom (UK) from October 2012 to March 2016 (in 1,000s)*. (n.d.). Retrieved June 20, 2018, from <https://www.statista.com/statistics/386867/the-independent-monthly-reach-uk/>
- Steimer, T. (2002). The biology of fear- and anxiety-related behaviors. *Dialogues Clin Neurosci*, 4(3), 231-249.
- The Modern Political Campaign. (n.d.). Retrieved April 18, 2018, from <https://courses.lumenlearning.com/boundless-politicalscience/chapter/the-modern-political-campaign/>

Valentino, N. A., Hutchings, V. L., & Banks, A. J. (2008). Is a Worried Citizen a Good Citizen? Emotions, Political Information Seeking, and Learning via the Internet. *Political Psychology*, 29(2), 247-273.

Vasilopoulou, S., & Wagner, M. (2017). Fear, anger and enthusiasm about the European Union: Effects of emotional reactions on public preferences towards European integration. *European Union Politics*, 18(3), 382-405.

Wagner, M. (2013). Fear and Anger in Great Britain: Blame Assignment and Emotional Reactions to the Financial Crisis. *Political Behaviour*, 36, 683-703.

## Appendix

### Appendix A: List of newspaper articles

#### **The Daily Mail**

DM1	Byline, N. (2016, March 8). Minister: Handing Power To Brussels Holds Back Women. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM2	Doyle, J. (2016, February 27). Cameron Mentor Michael Howard Backs A Brexit. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM3	Doyle, J. (2016, April 18). Schools At Breaking Point, Says Minister. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM4	Drury, I., & Slack, J. (2016, June 14). EU Migrants 'Will Help Push Up UK Population. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM5	Drury, I. (2016, June 10). 2M From Europe In Ten Years- Official. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM6	Duncan, H., & Martin, D. (2016, March 4). Chambers Of Commerce: We Must Go To Escape EU Red Tape. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM7	Groves, J. (2016, March 10). Agreement Isn't Legally Binding Say Commons Researchers. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM8	Groves, J. (2016, March 7). Boris: Leaving The EU Would Be Like Breaking Out Of Jail. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM9	Groves, J. (2016, June 1). Immigration Revolution! <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM10	Groves, J. (2016, April 5). We Pay £6Billion For Healthcare In EU But Get Just £400M Back. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM11	Groves, J., & Stevens, J. (2016, June 2). Migrant Limits 'Would Boost Pensions'. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM12	Martin, D. (2016, June 7). Plot To Keep UK In Single Market After A Vote To Quit. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM13	Martin, D. (2016, May 30). Nuclear Letter. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM14	Martin, D. (2016, May 12). Project Fear Is Demented' Warns Boris. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM15	Martin, D. (2016, March 16). Bank Chief Attacked For Dangerous Intervention About Brexit. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM16	Martin, D. (2016, March 30). US Tariffs Ten Times Higher Than Europe's. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM17	Martin, D. (2016, April 2). Safety Alert As EU Blocks Vital Checks On Doctors' Qualifications. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM18	Martin, D. (2016, February 22). Our Once In A life Time Chance'. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM19	Owen, G. (2016, February 28). Boris: I M 007 Fighting Baddies; Osborne: It Is Now Amusing. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .

DM20	Peev, G. (2016, March 26). Now 250 Business Chiefs Back Brexit. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM21	Richard, R. (2016, June 21). Our Last Chance To Escape The Disaster Movie Unfolding Across Europe. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM22	Salmon, J. (2016, June 21). Car Giants Will Be Desperate To Keep Trading With UK. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM23	Salmon, J. (2016, June 4). Foreign Investors Keep Faith With Britain. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM24	Salmon, J., & Duncan, H. (2016, May 30). Now Bank Says Brexit Will Hit The Economy. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM25	Slack, J. (2016, June 8). What Are You So Afraid Of, Dave? <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM26	Slack, J., D. Martin (2016, May 12). Downing St Trying To Bury' Bombshell Migration Report. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM27	Slack, J. (2016, April 28). OECD Backs Case For UK To Control Its Borders'. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM28	Slack, J. (2016, April 20). Gove: Brexit Will Make IS Freer, Fairer and Richer. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM29	Slack, J. (2016, April 4). Britain Will Thrive After Brexit. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM30	Slack, J. (2016, April 2). Now Two Ministers Warn: Living Wage Will Fuel Migration. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM31	Slack, J. (2016, May 9). Osborne Claims House Prices Will Dive And Mortgages Will Go Up. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM32	Slack, J., & Drury, I. (2016, March 11). Two Faces Of Brexit. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM33	Slack, J., & Groves, J. (2016, June 17). Stop Talking Britain Down! <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM34	Slack, J., & Groves, J. (2016, June 8). PM Is Savaged On TV Migration And No-Go Areas'. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM35	Slack, J., & Groves, J. (2016, May 10). Brexit: Now It's Personal. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM36	Slack, J., & Groves, J. (2016, May 23). Cameron's Guru: Why We Must Quit The EU. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM37	Slack, J., & Martin, D. (2016, June 7). Bomb Claim Blows Up On PM. <i>The Daily Mail</i> .
DM38	Stevens, J. (2016, June 8). What A Way To Tackle Migration Crisis! <i>The Daily Mail</i> .

### **The Express**

TE1	Hall, M. (2016, June 13). Fury At PM's EU Pension Threat; Now 'Vindictive' Cameron Tries Brexit Blackmail PM Accused Of Scaring Pensioners Over Brexit. <i>The Express</i> , pg. 1,7.
TE2	Hall, M. (2016, June 8). Farage: We Won't Let EU Bully Us If We Vote For Brexit. <i>The Express</i> , pp. 4-5.
TE3	Hall, M. (2016, June 8). Farage: The EU's Teetering on Brink Of Collapse; EU Referendum. <i>The Express</i> , pp. 4-5.
TE4	Hall, M. (2016, June 4). Boris And Gove's NHS Blow To PM. <i>The Express</i> , p. 2.
TE5	Hall, M. (2016, May 23). Cameron Faces Storm For Attack On Minister Over Turkey; EU Referendum. <i>The Express</i> , p. 5.
TE6	Hall, M. (2016, April 19). Osborne's Brexit sums add up to gobbledegook. <i>The Express</i>
TE7	Hall, M. (2016, April 28). £4,500 A Year....What EU Red Tape Is Costing You. <i>The Express</i> , p. 5.
TE8	Hall, M. (2016, April 20). Brussels Boss: EU Faces Ruin; We Interfere Too Much, Admits President We Were Wrong To Meddle In Private Lives Says EU Chief. <i>The Express</i> , pg. 1,4,5.
TE9	Hall, M. (2016, April 18). Britain 'Has Too Many' Migrants; Poll Boosts Crusade To Quit EU 'If We Vote To Quit EU We Can Control Our Borders'. <i>The Express</i> , pp. 1,4,5.
TE10	Hall, M. (2016, June 4). There Will BE Bodies On Our Beaches; Farage Predicts Migrant Mayhem In The Channel 'If We Don't Act We'll Have Bodies Washed Up Here'. <i>The Express</i> , p. 5.
TE11	Hall, M. (2016, June 22). Shocking £29bn Migrants Bill For Britain's Crammed Schools. <i>The</i>

	<i>Express</i> , p. 5.
TE12	Hall, M. (2016, June 1). We Must End Open-Door Immigration; EU Referendum. <i>The Express</i> , pp. 6-7.
TE13	Hall, M., & Little, A. (2016, May 27). EU Migrant Numbers Soar Yet Again; Enough Is Enough... It's Time To Give Brussels The Boot EU Referendum Migration Is Hopelessly Out Of Control. <i>The Express</i> , pp. 1,4,5.
TE14	Little, A. (2016, May 14). Brussels Keeps Budget Secret Until After Vote; EU Referendum. <i>The Express</i> , p. 7.
TE15	Little, A. (2016, May 12). Now EU Want Book Blank To Ban Our Kettles; Toasters And Hairdryers Also Targets From Breakfasts To Borders... Stop This EU Meddling. <i>The Express</i> , pg. 1,7.
TE16	Little, A. (2016, March 12). Vote To Free Us Of EU Shackles Says Boris. <i>The Express</i> , pp. 4-5.
TE17	Maddox, D. (2016, June 18). IMF: Brexit Will Boost Britain; EU Referendum. <i>The Express</i> , p. 7.
TE18	Maddox, D. (2016, February 29). Deal 'Spells Economic Disaster'. <i>The Express</i> , p. 4.
TE19	Maddox, D. (2016, May 25). We'll Be Forced To Join New Euro Army; EU Referendum. <i>The Express</i> , pp. 4-5.
TE20	Maddox, D. (2016, May 6). 'A Vote To Save The Nation'. <i>The Express</i> , p.4.
TE21	McKinstry, L. (2016, June 2). Slowly But Surely The Brexiteers Are Gaining Ground. <i>The Express</i> , p.12.
TE22	McKinstry, L. (2016, April 21). EU's Meddling Is Part Of Its Bid To Take Over Europe. <i>The Express</i> , p.12.
TE23	McKinstry, L. (2016, June 20). Time For Our Country To Believe In Itself Says Boris. <i>The Express</i> , p.5
TE24	N.A. (2016, May 23). Video Will Show Strain Migration Puts On NHS. <i>The Express</i> , p. 5.
TE25	N.A. (2016, May 2). Cabinet Ignore People's Migrant Fear At Their Peril. <i>The Express</i> , p. 12.

### ***The Guardian (London)***

TG1	Asthana, A., Clark, T., & Watt, N. (2016, April 19). Remain Campaigners Treat Public Like 'Mere Children' Says Michael Gove; Justice Secretary Responds To Treasury Report's Findings That Brexit Would Create £36bn Blackhole By Pointing Out That Immigration Will Continue To Rise. <i>The Guardian</i> .
TG2	Asthana, A., Stewart, H., & Mason, R. (2016, May 25). Cameron Confident A Small Lead For Remain Will Sttle Britain's EU Question; Speaking Before G7 Summit in Japan, PM Dismisses Those Likely To Reject Narrow Victory As A Small Sect Of Devoted Eurosceptics. <i>The Guardian</i> .
TG3	Carrell, S. (2016, March 4). Brexit Would Punish Farmers, David Cameron Tells Scottish Tories; Leave Vote In EU Referendum Could Result In Rocketing Tariffs On Exports, PM Says As He Seeks Support In Scotland. <i>The Guardian</i> .
TG4	Elgot, J. (2016, April 28). David Cameron Defends Cost Of Britain's EU Membership; Prime Minister Says Despite UK Paying More In Than It Gets Back, Membership Creates Jobs And Increases Tax Revenue. <i>The Guardian</i> .
TG5	Mason, R. (2016, May 24). PM: Brexit Offers No Residency Guarantees For Britons Or Europeans; David Cameron Says Vote To Leave May Lead To Loss Of Rights For Britons Living In EU, Including Over Healthcare And Property. <i>The Guardian</i> .
TG6	Mason, R. (2016, May 17). ISIS Leader Probably In Favour Of Britain Leaving EU, Says David Cameron; PM Makes Comment As Boris Johnson Ratchets Up Accusations That He Is Colluding With Big Business To Swing Result For Remain. <i>The Guardian</i> .

TG7	Mason, R. (2016, April 15). Alistair Darling: Brexit Would Risk Collapse Of Confidence In UK Economy; Former Chancellor Is Latest Labour Veteran Warning About Dangers Of Leaving EU As Stronger In Campaign Tries To Enlist Leftwing Voters. <i>The Guardian</i> .
TG8	Mason, R. (2016, April 5). NHS Loses £700m A Year On Treating EU Citizens, Brexit Campaign Claims; Vote Leave's Gisela Stuart Says 'Health Tourism' Costs UK £700m A Year But Remain Camp Calls Claim 'Hugely Misleading'. <i>The Guardian</i> .
TG9	Mason, R. (2016, March 17). Green Party 'Loud And Proud' About Backing Britain In Europe; Caroline Lucas Says Brexit Would Threaten UK's Environmental Protection And Rights At Work. <i>The Guardian</i> .
TG10	Mason, R. (2016, February 25). Brexit Would Lead To More Expensive Flights And Holidays, Cameron Warns; Prime Minister Says A Referendum Vote To Leave EU Would Risk Higher Prices In UK Shops And Jeopardise Military Partnership. <i>The Guardian</i> .
TG11	Mason, R. (2016, May 31). David Cameron Launches Tory Campaign To Stay In The EU; Speaking At The Conservatives In Event, The Prime Minister Urged Activists To Go Out And Make The Case To Remain 'With As Much Force They Can'. <i>The Guardian</i> .
TG12	Mason, R., Asthana, A., & Gangan, D. (2016, May 10). Former NATO Chiefs issue security warnings over Brexit; Interventions by figures from NATO, White House and intelligence services - and former home secretary Charles Clarke - follow David Cameron speech. <i>The Guardian</i> .
TG13	Mason, R., & Osborne, H. (2016, May 21). House Prices Could Fall By 18% If Britain Quits EU, Says George Osborne; Chancellor Predicts Brexit Would Cause An 'Economic Shock' But Pro-Leave Minister Dismisses 'Extraordinary Claim'. <i>The Guardian</i> .
TG14	Mason, R., Watt, N., & Grierson, J. (2016, March 17). Cameron Accuses Boris Johnson Of 'Literally Making It Up' On Brexit; PM Attacks London Mayor after Johnson Appeared To Row Back On Idea Of Britain Emulating Canada's Trade Deal With EU. <i>The Guardian</i> .
TG15	Mathiesen, K. (2016, April 4). Brexit Could Put Britain's Environment At Risk, Says Stanley Johnson; Father Of Leading Leave Campaigner, Boris Johnson, Warns Absence Of EU Laws Will Embolden Traditional Tory Approach And Weaken Environmental Standards. <i>The Guardian</i> .
TG16	Nardelli, A., Watt, N., & Osborne, H. (2016, February 28). UK Officials 'Instigated G20 Brexit Warning'; Diplomatic Source Says UK Officials Proposed Warning In Meetings In Shanghai Before George Osborne Arrived. <i>The Guardian</i> .
TG17	Staff. (2016, May 16). EU Vote Campaigns Intensify With Rallies Planned Across UK; EU Referendum Leave And Remain Arguments To Be Made On Cross-Party Lines At More Than 1,000 Events Around Britain. <i>The Guardian</i> , p. 0.
TG18	Stewart, H. (2016, May 27). Brexit Could Cost Pensioners £32,000, Chancellor Says; George Osborne Targets Older Voters With Claim That Leaving The EU Would Drive Up Inflation, Hitting Pensions And Housing Prices. <i>The Guardian</i> .
TG19	Stewart, H. (2016, May 9). PM Draws On History To Bolster EU Remain Campaign; David Cameron Switches From Highlighting Economic Risks Of Leaving EU To Targeting Voters' Hearts And Minds. <i>The Guardian</i> .
TG20	Stewart, H. (2016, May 3). Alistair Darling: Leaving EU Could Put £250bn Of UK Export Trade At Risk; Former Chancellor Says Brexit Would Mean Introducing Trade Tariffs And Barriers. <i>The Guardian</i> .
TG21	Stewart, H. (2016, March 29). Brexit Campaigners Have Track Record Of Hostility To NHS, Say MPs; Labour Backbenchers Say Eurosceptics Claim To Back Health Service But Many Are 'Rightwingers Who Never Cared About The NHS Before'. <i>The Guardian</i> .
TG22	Stewart, H. (2016, June 8). EU Referendum: Star 'Experts' Line Up To Warn Of Brexit Risk In TV Ad; Britain Stronger In Europe Advert Which Airs On Wednesday Night Features Stephen Hawking And Shami Chakrabarti. <i>The Guardian</i> .
TG23	Stewart, H. (2016, March 25). Britain Not Safer From Foreign Terrorists Outside EU, Says Ex-Minister: Pauline Neville-Jones Counters Pro-Brexit Camp, Saying Claims That EU

	Membership Is National Security Threat Is 'Nonsense'. <i>The Guardian</i> .
TG24	Stewart, H., Asthana, A., & Mason, R. (2016, June 3). David Cameron On EU Referendum: Let Us Not Roll The Dice On Our Children's Future; Prime Minister Says Voting for Brexit Would Be An Act Of Economic 'Self-Harm' During Grilling On Live Television. <i>The Guardian</i> .
TG25	Syal, R. (2016, May 2). EU Is Central To Tackling Climate Change, Says Ed Miliband; Former Labour Leader Joins Environment Secretary Liz Truss And Green MP Caroline Lucas In Supporting Remain Campaign. <i>The Guardian</i> .
TG26	Wintour, P., & Asthana, A. (2016, March 8). French Minister: Brexit Would Threaten Calais Border Arrangement; Economy Minister Suggests Paris Could Tear Up Treaty Allowing UK Police To Operate In France, As Cameron Meets Hollande. <i>The Guardian</i> .

### ***The Independent (United Kingdom)***

T11	Chu, B. (2016, April 12). IMF Warns Brexit Will Create 'Severe Global Damage'; The IMF Cut Its 2016 GDP Growth Forecast For Britain To 1.9 Per Cent. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> .
T12	Chu, B. (2016, May 21). Brexit Will Cause Big Fall In House Prices, Osborne Says. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> .
T13	Churcher, J. (2016, February 27). Brexit Would Cause 'Shock To The World Economy', G20 Leaders Tell George Osborne; Chancellor Says World Leaders Concluded That A British Exit From The EUs 'Among The Biggest Economic Dangers This Year'. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> .
T14	Cooper, C. (2016, June 2). EU Referendum: David Cameron Confronts Accusations Remain Campaign Is Founded On Scaremongering; Prime Minister Faces Scepticism From Studio Audience As He Makes Case For Staying In The European Union. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> .
T15	Cooper, C. (2016, May 24). EU Referendum: Brexit Could Add £230 To The Cost Of A Holiday, David Cameron Warns; Low-Cost Airlines Have Already Warned That A British Exit From The EU Single Market For Aviation Could End The Era Of Cheap Flights Between European Airports. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> .
T16	Cooper, C. (2016, March 2). EU Referendum: Celebrate Free Movement In Europe, Says Caroline Lucas; Green MP Urges Pro-Europe Campaigners To Be Positive About Migration. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> .
T17	Cooper, C., & Cowburn, A. (2016, June 22). Cameron In Last-Ditch Plea To Older Voters As Polls Put Two Sides Neck And Neck. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> , p. 3.
T18	Cooper, C., & Wright, O. (2016, May 17). EU Referendum: David Cameron Says ISIS And Putin 'Might Be Happy' With Brexit. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> .
T19	McTague, T. (2016, February 27). EU Referendum: George Osborne Attacks Boris Johnson's Decision To Back Out Campaign: 'A British Exit Would Hurt People's Jobs, Livelihoods And Living Standards- It's Deadly Serious'. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> .
T110	Stone, J. (2016, June 8). George Osborne Says Britain Would 'Lose Control' Of Its Economy If It Left The EU; The Chancellor Said Voters Should Be 'Scared' Of The Consequences Of Brexit. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> .
T111	Stone, J. (2016, February 29). The Campaign To Stay In The EU Is 'Project Fear', Says Boris Johnson; Pro-EU Politicians Have However Rubbished The Description. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> .
T112	Stone, J. (2016, February 28). People Arguing To Leave The EU Are Being 'Simplistic', Labour Remain Campaign Chief Alan Johnson Says; He Said The Arguments For Staying In The EU Were More 'Complex'. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> .

TI13	Withnall, A. (2016, June 15). Jeremy Corbyn Says Nigel Farage And Brexit Flotilla Should 'Stop Blaming Brussels' For Fishing Industry Problems; 'Reforms Were Made Three Years Ago Actually Put The Power Back Into The Hands Of Member States'. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> .
TI14	Wright, O. (2016, June 19). EU Referendum: Brexit Would See Britain Back To 'Square One', Says Cameron; Prime Minister Says EU Vote 'Is An Irreversible Decision. There Is No Going Back'. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> .
TI15	Wright, O. (2016, June 19). EU Referendum: David Cameron Says Nigel Farage Brexit Poster Is 'Irresponsible'; The Prime Minister Reiterates His View That The Leader Of ISIS Would Prefer If Britain Voted Out. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> .
TI16	Wright, O. (2016, June 15). EU Referendum: Brexit Would Spark £30bn In Spending Cuts And Tax Rises, Warn Osborne And Darling; Chancellor And His Predecessor To Claim Emergency Budget Would Be Necessary To Plug black Hole In Public Finances In Event To Vote To Leave. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> .
TI17	Wright, O. (2016, April 20). EU Referendum: Clegg Warns Brexit Will Leave Britain With 'No Empire, No Union And No Special Relationship' With US: Former Deputy Prime Minister Saysfight Represents A Choice Between 'Great Britain Or Little England'. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> .
TI18	Wright, O. (2016, February 25). Osborne Invited Gove For Weekend Away To Rebuild Brexit Bridges; Remain Campaign Claims Charities Could Lose Quarter Of A Billion Pounds A Year If Britain Left The European Union. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> .
TI19	Wright, O. (2016, June 19). EU Referendum: Nigel Farage's Anti-Migrant Poster Like 1930s Fascist Propaganda, Says George Osborne; Michael Gove Has Also Attacked The Poster From His Fellow Brexiteer. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> .
TI20	Wright, O. (2016, June 10). EU Referendum: Nigel Farage To Become 'Poster Boy For Remain Campaign'; Remain Campaigners Will Ask Voters Whether They Want to Live In 'Nigel's Britain'. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> .
TI21	Wright, O. (2016, May 31). EU Referendum: Boris Johnson And Michael Gove Claim Brexit Would Allow UK To Scrap VAT On Energy Bills; George Osborne Rubbishes Claims As More 'Fantasy Economics' From Vote Leave. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> .
TI22	Wright, O. (2016, May 9). Cameron To Invoke War Dead As He Makes Case For EU As Guardian Of Peace. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> .
TI23	Wright, O. (2016, May 8). EU Referendum: Britain Will Be 'Less Safe' Outside The EU Says Former Head Of M16; 'We Are Only Secure Because The Wider Europe Is Secure'. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> .
TI24	Wright, O. (2016, March 1). EU Referendum: Peter Mandelson Breaks Silence To Warn Over Effects Of Brexit; Labour Peer Will Claim UK Could Lose Access To The Single European Market And Also Lose Preferential Trading Status. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> .
TI25	Wright, O. (2016, March 1). Mandelson Breaks Silence To Warn Of Punishing Brexit Cost. <i>The Independent (United Kingdom)</i> .

## Appendix B: Number of coding applied to each article

### The Daily Mail

Article /Code	Blame	Threat	Harm	Hope	Proud
DM1	0	1	0	1	2
DM2	1	0	0	1	0
DM3	5	5	0	2	0



DM4	1	5	0	1	0
DM5	0	2	0	3	1
DM6	2	2	0	0	0
DM7	1	1	0	2	0
DM8	5	0	2	2	0
DM9	2	3	0	2	0
DM10	2	0	0	2	0
DM11	2	4	0	3	1
DM12	0	1	0	1	0
DM13	4	5	1	2	0
DM14	1	0	2	0	1
DM15	0	1	0	0	0
DM16	1	0	0	3	0
DM17	0	2	0	0	0
DM18	2	2	1	3	4
DM19	1	0	0	2	0
DM20	3	0	0	1	0
DM21	3	2	1	3	0
DM22	0	0	0	1	4
DM23	3	1	0	0	4
DM24	1	1	1	0	0
DM25	0	1	2	0	0
DM26	3	0	0	0	0
DM27	1	0	1	2	0
DM28	2	0	0	11	8
DM29	4	0	0	5	2
DM30	0	2	0	2	0
DM31	0	0	2	2	0
DM32	0	0	1	2	3
DM33	4	0	0	0	1
DM34	0	1	0	8	3
DM35	3	0	1	0	0
DM36	5	2	2	1	1
DM37	0	0	1	0	0
DM38	1	5	1	1	0

***The Express***

Article/Code	Blame	Threat	Harm	Hope	Proud
TE1	0	0	2	0	0
TE2	1	1	1	2	1
TE3	0	2	2	0	2
TE4	0	2	0	2	0
TE5	2	3	1	0	0
TE6	1	0	0	1	0
TE7	3	0	0	5	3
TE8	3	0	3	2	2
TE9	0	1	0	3	0
TE10	0	3	0	1	0

TE11	1	4	0	1	0
TE12	1	3	0	0	1
TE13	1	4	0	1	1
TE14	3	1	1	0	0
TE15	1	2	0	0	0
TE16	1	0	0	4	3
TE17	1	0	0	2	1
TE18	2	2	3	1	1
TE19	1	2	0	3	0
TE20	0	1	0	1	0
TE21	1	0	0	2	2
TE22	1	0	0	0	0
TE23	2	0	1	4	4
TE24	0	1	0	2	0
TE25	0	0	0	1	2

***The Guardian (London)***

Article/Code	Blame	Threat	Harm	Hope	Proud
TG1	1	1	1	0	0
TG2	1	2	0	0	0
TG3	0	3	0	0	0
TG4	0	0	0	3	0
TG5	0	3	0	1	0
TG6	1	4	1	1	0
TG7	1	5	0	0	0
TG8	2	4	1	1	0
TG9	0	0	0	0	2
TG10	0	8	0	2	3
TG11	0	2	0	1	1
TG12	0	3	0	3	0
TG13	1	7	1	2	0
TG14	0	2	2	0	0
TG15	0	3	0	3	1
TG16	0	3	0	0	0
TG17	0	4	0	1	0
TG18	0	3	0	0	0
TG19	0	6	0	0	2
TG20	0	3	0	0	0
TG21	2	2	1	0	0
TG22	0	1	0	2	3
TG23	0	3	0	0	2
TG24	0	3	0	2	1
TG25	2	1	1	2	0
TG26	0	0	0	0	1

***The Independent (United Kingdom)***

Article/ Code	Blame	Threat	Harm	Hope	Proud
Tl1	0	2	0	0	0
Tl2	0	2	0	0	0
Tl3	0	6	1	0	1
Tl4	0	0	0	3	3
Tl5	0	4	0	0	0
Tl6	0	2	0	0	4
Tl7	0	2	0	1	1
Tl8	0	3	0	0	1
Tl9	0	3	0	0	0
Tl10	0	4	0	1	0
Tl11	1	1	0	0	0
Tl12	0	1	0	0	1
Tl13	0	2	0	0	2
Tl14	1	6	1	1	0
Tl15	0	1	0	0	0
Tl16	0	10	0	0	0
Tl17	0	6	0	0	1
Tl18	0	4	0	0	0
Tl19	2	0	1	0	0
Tl20	0	0	3	0	0
Tl21	0	1	0	0	0
Tl22	1	7	0	0	1
Tl23	0	1	0	1	0
Tl24	0	5	0	0	1
Tl25	0	4	0	0	0

## Appendix C: Codebook

Codes				
no.	Variable	Code	2. Description	3. Example
1.	Source	1.1. The Daily Express 1.2. The Daily Mail 1.3. The Guardian 1.4. The Mail on Sunday		
2.	Text type	2.1. News article	Journalistic article which discusses current or recent news of a specific topic or general interest	
3.	Content	3.1. Blame 3.2. Harm 3.3. Threat 3.4. Hope 3.5. Proud	Feel or declare that (someone or something) is responsible for a fault or wrong Hurting someone with words, not physically Expression of intention of an negative event that could cause damage A feeling of expectation and desire for a particular thing to happen (something good) Feeling deep satisfaction over something you have, something you own	The low-paid and low-skilled of Britain are suffering because of the EU.' The eurzone is a catastrohe Britains economy will suffer and will be weaker when we leave the EU If we vote leave we can take back control of our borders and our money." "We're British. We're better than that. We're not going to be bullied by anyone."