POPULISM IN THE MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF UKIP

Media interpretation of UKIP's European Parliament election campaign

Radoslav Dimitrov

Abstract

Populism is a phenomenon gaining popularity throughout Europe and has been enhanced by the current economic crisis. The aim of this thesis is to examine the image of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) in the media and analyse whether it can be qualified as populist. I have included an overview of previous researcher on populism, in order to define it. In addition to the theories of knowledge, there is a look at media analysis theories, which would be used for the research. The study is of a qualitative type and it depends on the qualitative content analysis as a research method. The data sources chosen are "The Telegraph", "The Guardian" and "BBC News". The media have some differences in the way they frame UKIP, but the results from their analysis are closely similar. All of them use the same dimensions to construct the image of the party, with only minor differences, thus managing to qualify it as a populist one.

Key words: populism, UKIP, media, content, analysis
Words: 15395

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

1.1. Motivation for research

Populism has often found itself on the rise in times of crisis. The phenomenon has been evident in the economic stagnation and subsequent recession of the 1930s, which played its prominent role for the emergence of strong nationalist movements in Western Europe. With the likes of Adolf Hitler in Germany and Benito Mussolini in Italy serving as indicative examples of this dependence. This phenomenon can be observed at the current time with the big economic crisis, which started in 2008. Since then, populist parties around Europe have been thriving, with the example of Austria's Freedom Party (20,5 %) and Switzerland's Swiss People's Party (26.6 %). (Mudde 2013)

When it comes to the United Kingdom, a country with strong Eurosceptic moods, the most prominent example is the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP). It has existed more than two decades, but has become a distinctive player in British politics since 2009. UKIP has shown an admirable raise in ratings in the past years and some good performance in local and European elections. In the 2009 European elections the party managed to qualify second with 16,6 %, which equals to two and a half million people, and at the local elections in the beginning of 2013 it reached 23 %, exceeding all expectations.

The focus of this thesis will be on the current European campaign for UKIP and the suggested populist notion in it. The research does not take interest in the campaign from the point of view of the party, because the aim is not to see how it wants to present itself. The research is concerned with how the British media is depicting the party. By looking at the media as sources, the thesis manages to acquire the voters perception on UKIP. The campaign in this case is the moment when the media would reflect the most on the party, given its strong position. The reason for the concentration over the media's stance on the matter, is the huge influence it has in the construction of a political image in the contemporary world.

1.2. About the UKIP

UKIP was formed on September 3 1994 at the London School of Economics in time for the European elections. Since then the party has been on a steady rise and its results on European elections have improved. In 1999, it was the first time UKIP managed to take 3 MEP seats. In the

next two elections the party took 12 and 13 seats respectively, while the fact that in 2009 the available places had dropped from 78 to 72, has to be taken under account. Thus the party has become the fourth political power in the UK. In the meantime Lord Pearson and Lord Willoughby de Broke joined the party in January 2007, giving its first representation in the Parliament. (UKIP Strourbridge 1) UKIP has a Eurosceptic stance, supporting the departure of the EU, with keeping the trade relations. The main point is to regain control over the borders and fight immigration more effectively. UKIP also expect to save money from EU payments, scrap expensive projects such as HS2 and fight for energy independence. In social policies, they are aiming for localizing welfare benefits and making them available only to British nationals. (UKIP Website 1) UKIP's current leader is Nigel Farage, who has been a MEP from 1999 and got elected on his current position in November 2010. (UKIP Website 2)

1.3. Research question

The main case of this research is populism in the UK. Because of the broadness of the topic the thesis will take a specific situation for an analysis – UKIP's European election campaign. The research would not be concentrating on the campaign as a whole, but rather on analyzing how the party has been depicted in the media. The media should not be confused as cases, but should be considered data sources, whose positions are only contextually relevant. The main research question is:

- How the media interpret UKIP from a populist perspective?

1.4. Form of the research

The research is a qualitative one, which is inductively oriented and would generate a theory on how the media interpret UKIP's European campaign. It emphasizes on the fact that policy actors interpret the social world and that the social reality is constantly changing, based on individual actions. The research method at hand is a qualitative content analysis, which would be in search of underlying themes in texts. The sources would be news articles in web sites of newspapers and a television. The epistemological orientation of a qualitative strategy is interpretivism and its ontological is constructivism. It usually emphasizes words, rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data. It is important how individuals interpret their social world, which is constantly changing according to the individual's creation. (Bryman 2009, p. 22)

The thesis includes a brief history of the foundation of populism as an ideology, which should introduce the reader to the whole concept. A categorization of the types of populism and examples for them are supposed to present the phenomenon in detail and make it more

comprehendible. While at the end of the third chapter a specific definition of the concept would be introduced to acknowledge the standards to which the research would comply.

The theoretical part continues with the previous researches on the topic of populism and how they have affected the current thesis. Followed by explanation of media analysis, as this being an essential part of the current work and the reader should be acquainted with the chosen approach. Thus the theoretical segment finishes with the mentioned already epistemological and ontological views.

The analytical part itself is separated in the analysis of the sources – "The Guardian", "The Telegraph" and "BBC News" and a summary of its reflections on UKIP. The conclusion would face the issue whether the hypothesis of the party's populist notion has been established or not.

2. Research methodology

2.1. Research design

A case study design presents the researcher with the opportunity to explore a given phenomenon in its context through different data sources. This short definition reflects the goal of the research, with UKIP being the phenomenon in the context of the current European elections campaign and represented by the media. The various data sources are the different media, which the thesis will be analyzing, with their articles acting as the units of analysis.

A case study provides the researcher with the incentive to look at the chosen topic from different perspectives and reveal multiple facets of the phenomenon. In this way this approach complies with the constructivist theoretical approach. It is also suitable according to its research question requirements, which suggest that the question should start with either "how" or "why". An important opportunity that the case study provides is the consideration of the context, within which the phenomenon is taking place. In the situation of this research that context could be referred to the media outlets used as sources. Different media have different political affiliations, which have to be acknowledged in order to analyze them without biases. (Baxter & Jack 2008, p. 544-545)

The type of case study depends on two classifications. The first one relies on the goal of the study itself. There are several different sub-types, but the instrumental study proves to be the most accurate for this research. It aims to refine a theory and give an insight on the issue connected to it. The instrumental case study looks the case in depth, the context is of an essential matter and ordinary activities are being examined in detail. Thus giving the opportunity for the thesis to take into consideration every article in the sources relevant to UKIP's European election campaign. (Baxter & Jack 2008, p. 549)

The other classification of the case study depends on the number of cases, therefore the research is using a single case with embedded units. It separates the main unit of analysis into subunits, because of the large case at hand. The analysis itself can be within the subunits separately, between them or across. In this way more ground on the case is covered and the main point that has to be taken under consideration is that the concentration does not fall from the main case. (Baxter & Jack 2008, p. 550)

2.2. Theory of knowledge

As previous chapters have introduced the goal of the study and how it will be done, this one is concerned with the way the knowledge gained would be comprehended. It is an explanation of how the needed information should be attained and in what context it would happen.

2.2.1. Epistemology

Given social phenomenon often have a collective understanding, which are not always visible to the outside observer. As it is the case with populism, which can remain hidden for a person who is not well-informed and concentrated on the matter. Those understandings could be reconstructed with an access to the meaning that create them. (Wagenaar 2011, p. 46) Interpretivism suggests that while the might be an understanding of populism in the UK, it might not be obvious to the general public. People might not be aware of what exactly it is or cannot differentiate it. The various media sources construct different images for UKIP, which if analyzed together would manage to present the party's nature.

Meanings are considered essential by interpretivism, because they establish the phenomenon they are trying to define. By adopting an interpretivist epistemology the research is focusing on the meanings of UKIP shaped by the media and how it can be qualified. (Wagenaar 2011, p. 3) All sorts of social influences have to be taken under consideration in such study, because they affect the way people understand a certain social phenomenon, such as a political party. The given meaning of those phenomena tends to influence institutions and public policies. (Wagenaar 2011, p. 4)

Even though meanings in interpretative analysis usually overlap, in this research the concentration will be on the hermeneutic meaning. It aims to *"make the actions of individual agents intelligible against a backdrop of shared understandings and routines"*. In this specific case it is the media interpretation of UKIP in the chaotic environment of a political campaign. (Wagenaar 2011, p. 40-41) In interpretivism it is important to remember the crucial role of everyday understandings. We need them, in order to put the desired concept in their context. Without the ordinary meanings, scientific ones would not make sense. For instance, in order to understand populism, we have to take under consideration understandings close to it, such as immigration, Euroscepticism or right-wing politics. (Wagenaar 2011, p. 43) Interpretivism uses the given objects we already have, but analyzes their aspects, which are relevant to the phenomenon in the research. (Wagenaar 2011, p. 46)

2.2.2. Ontology

Constructivism implies that social phenomena and categories are not only produced through social interaction, but that they are in a constant state of revision. The researcher always presents a specific version of social reality, rather than one that can be regarded as definitive. Constructivism is presented as an ontological position in relation to social objects and categories – that is, one that views them as socially constructed. (Bryman 2009, p.19) This would mean that the environment and the social world itself currently is different than the one ten years ago. Thus the concepts and phenomena could have changed, which proves the need for a research on UKIP.

Social constructivism is programmatic and aims to raise consciousness. It considers the phenomenon under research as not being inevitable – we should not take it as something natural. It puts the phenomenon under fire, suggesting it is not in its best shape and things would be better without it or if it is changed. It is effectively used only with phenomena, which are taken for granted and considered inevitable. Constructionism is suggested to be in a sense an assembly, without aiming to criticize. Constructionist discourse is used to challenge a particular version of a social category. (Wagenaar 2011, p. 178-179)

One of the main focuses of constructivist research is social identities, the way they are produced, function and facilitate the production of social knowledge. (Ish-Shalom 2010, p. 234) "*Habermas defines ideal speech situation as the social and political context in which individuals can optimally use the public sphere and apply their rationality to intersubjectively construct reasonable social knowledge. While Habermas does claim the pursuit of truth, his notion of it – according to Richard Bernstein – is beyond objectivism and relativism (Bernstein 1983). It is a socially constructed truth, well situated in the social world, and able to account for the material world.*" (Ish-Shalom 2010, p. 235) Thus the idea of finding UKIP's identity through the type of knowledge it produces through the media towards the general public. This means analyzing those media views and interpreting them.

2.3. Qualitative methods

A case study proves most efficient within a qualitative research, which at the same time looks for a theory as an outcome, rather than a starting point, complying with the goal of the thesis. (Bryman 2009, p. 369) It supposes that the researcher tries to find knowledge, but without getting detached from the reality. (Fischer 2007, p. 420) This connection to reality is essential, because the goal is to see how populism is depicted in the real world, not just in theory. The research distances itself from being an overview of various past theories on the concept and see how it is implemented currently. The idea behind the research is not to redefine the populism concept, but present how it is depicted in the UK at the time.

A qualitative approach complies with case study design, implying a limited number of cases, concentrating on the details and taking the context under consideration. The contextual factors are important, especially when examining how and why a phenomenon is occurring. A downside to the qualitative approach is the fact that predictions are hard to make. However, this research does not look to make any prognosis on the development of populism. A noticeable obstacle in a qualitative research is the possibility of the results being influenced by biases, because of the lack of hard data. (Sadovnik 2007, p. 423-424) Which is always possible when interpretations are included, but in this thesis various data sources would be used in an attempt to minimize those biases.

Bryman (2009) suggests that there are two primary criteria for an effective qualitative research. The first one is *authenticity* and the other one *trustworthiness*. *Trustworthiness* on its behalf is separated into four secondary criteria: *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability* and *confirmability*. *Authenticity* is thought-provoking and it includes a wider set of issues. It supposes that there should be different viewpoints, which in the research is met with the usage of three different data sources. It also needs a good understanding of the social setting of the research, which I can comply with as a researcher, because I have lives in the UK for three months in the beginning of the year. Also it has to present the chance to understand better different perspectives, provide the desire for members to change their circumstances and empower them. The thesis will provide that by showing the specific data from which the research interpretations have been made, giving the opportunity to the readers to make their own conclusions. (Bryman 2009, p. 377 – 380)

Credibility makes sure that the research is conducted according to the canons of good practice and suggests submitting research findings to the members of the social world. *Transferability* aims to present the social surroundings of the issue at hand with the most detail, in order to be able to judge whether the findings could be transferred to another environment. This feature is covered in the research by the provision of all of the used articles, which are free to access and other researchers could easily make their own analysis. *Dependability* is understood as an audit of the research. It implies that the researcher has to keep a very detailed representation of all the used materials. This is supposed to ease the job for readers if they want to check the truthfulness of research statements. Given the fact that the data sources are derived from accessible internet archives it is easy for readers to check their truthfulness. *Confirmability* is embodied in the effort of the researcher to reach as much objectivity as possible. A fair researcher must try to hold back his own personal values and theoretical inclinations. Because of the research method used, a qualitative content analysis, aiming to interpret the data it is hard to overcome biases, but in the next segment the thesis explains how the method is going to be used and how prejudices would be minimized. (Bryman 2009, p. 377 – 380)

2.4. Qualitative content analysis

With the interpretative epistemology in a qualitative research at hand, qualitative content analysis (QCA) presents a viable alternative to quantitative content analysis. The aim is to identify distinctive themes within a text and present a description of the social reality created by them in the surrounding setting. By going through a process of *"data preparation, coding, and interpretation"* QCA supports the developments of categorizations of phenomena and could describe it. (Zhang & Wildemuth 2009, p. 11) In that order, by interpreting the media point on UKIP, the party could be categorized by representation.

The usage of QCA provides the research with the opportunity to look into the issue thoroughly and answer how UKIP is depicted as populist, not only whether it is or not. The themes from the texts and moves between the processes of conceptualization, data collection, analysis and interpretation are supposed to be constantly revised. QCA often concentrates on the context within, which the documents are generated so that it could have a better grasp of the situation. (Bryman 2009, p. 529-531) Meaning that it is not concerned with the occurrence of a single word or a phrase, but whole themes.

QCA fits the material into a model of communication, which varies through aspects of the communicator, the particular text, socio-cultural background or effect of the message. The material has to be analyzed step by step into content analytical units. This analysis introduces dimensions, created according to the research question, by which the text is interpreted. (Mayring, 2000) The units analyzed by the research are the media articles from the chosen sources. The dimensions, which came out of the texts are similar in all three data sources, because of the identical perspectives on UKIP. Even though the themes are similar, their representation varies, where the advantage of QCA comes. The thesis would not only be able to qualify the media representation of UKIP, but also by examining it would manage to show the reasons for that representation.

Because of the inductive approach used in the research, the type of QCA should be conventional. In this case the coding categories will be derived directly and inductively from the raw data. The texts to be used are purposively selected, in order to inform the research question and the concentration is on news concerning UKIP, throughout their European election campaign. (Zhang, & Wildemuth 2009, p. 2) The expected result is having various recurring dimensions, presenting the image of UKIP constructed by the media. Afterwards that image should be compared to the populism definitions in order to see whether the party could be qualified as populist.

The whole process of QCA includes various steps in order to analyze the data in the most detail. The first task is to prepare the data to be analyzed, meaning that all of it should be put into writings. Given the fact that the research is using written articles directly from Internet, the preparation process is easy to conduct. Secondly, the unit of analysis should be defined, which is the unit of text to be classified. This unit does not have to be a linguistic one, but more like an

individual theme. It can be expressed by any chunk of text, as long as it represents an issue of relevance to the research. Thus the most compatible unit is the whole articles from the web sites. They offer various themes, have an average size that does not suggest dividing them into smaller segments. Continuing to the dimensions needed for the analysis, the previously stated inductive approach implies using recurring themes in the articles. While at the end of the research they should be verified against their relevance to the definition of populism. A constant revision of the coding process is essential in order to cover mistakes due to human error and fatigue. (Zhang, & Wildemuth 2009, p. 3-5) QCA's proper conduct is highly dependent on the data sources chosen, because that is what suggests the units of analysis and the dimensions.

2.5. Data sources

One of the main reason for choosing multiple data sources is because the research design of case study suggests it for greater data credibility. (Baxter & Jack 2008, p. 554) The analysis will use three different media sources – "The Guardian", "The Telegraph" and "BBC News". All of which are respected media in their fields, that being printed and television media, and have Internet archives, which makes access and categorization easier. Diversification of the data sources provides the opportunity for the research to cover more ground. This does not mean that all of the articles in the Internet archives are supposed to be analyzed. (Cline Centre for Democracy 1) A purposive sample of the vast amount of articles is to be used, limiting the data to April 2014, because of the otherwise broadness of the archives. The timeframe is chosen, because it is the closest possible to the European elections, which at the same time provides the research with enough time to analyze it. It is at the height of UKIP's campaign, suggesting that the party's main virtues would stand out. In addition it includes a political debate between Nigel Farage and the Liberal Democrat's leader Nick Clegg on the EU.

As well as the number of media sources, their relevance is of a crucial matter. Distortions ca be created if the media sources share the same ideological orientation. In this way even if the sources are numerous, they still can have the same information shortages, depending on the policies they would support. The research overcomes this issue by selecting three media, situated at completely different places on the policy spectrum. (Cline Centre for Democracy 1) "The Guardian" and "The Telegraph" are on the two opposite sites, with the former being in a complicated situation. "The Guardian" has been strictly left-wing since 1959, but has been changing its allegiance between the Labour party and the Liberal democrats, currently siding with the latter party. "The Telegraph" on its behalf has always been right-wing and since its creation has been a loud supporter of the Conservative party. (Stoddard, 2010) "BBC News" does not have a political allegiance, being a public service and committed to impartiality. (BBC 1)

3. Populism as an ideology

The point of this chapter is to present populism - its history, variations and examples. By combining this lot of information, a proper definition of the concept used in the research could be given. To present it as a comprehendible theory it is important to see it from the perspectives of various researchers. Its first years in the USA and Russia are supposed to show how the phenomenon has started and present its foundational values. Afterwards a differentiation of right and left populism is introduced, with the addition of examples from Europe and Latin America. The brief history of populism in the UK is included, in order to connect the whole concept to the scene of research. Finally, the main traits of right-wing populism in the UK are defined depending on the information from the whole chapter. This specific definition would be needed for a comparison with the results from the QCA. What dimensions are found in previous research? – This is the main question pointed at this chapter.

3.1. Foundations of populism

For this segment, the research is concentrated on Russia and the United states, because they are the scenes of the first established showings of populism. While those two are very different countries and present the concept in the two sides of the political spectrum, it could be seen how in its essence is the same. Populism has been attributed many features in initial studies, some of which have evolved, while others have vanished. In the primal understanding of populism founded in Russia and the United states it can be seen as a moralistic movement depending on correct attitude and spiritual make-up. The sense of society is highly valued in both cases and in its prime understanding it can easily lead to intolerance, suspicion and xenophobia. (MacRae 1969, p. 156) Populism demands high principles of behavior and actions, justifying them with a threatening conspiracy, concerning their sacred virtues. It implies that in such an extreme situation even radical political actions could be justified in the name of the greater good. (ibid., p. 158) Populism raises at highest level the sacredness of the soil and those who tilled it, by proclaiming agricultural values. It stands behind the cultivators and believes in their higher quality as people. As a continuation of populism qualification, its distrust in the state and bureaucracy could be assigned, with a leading goal to minimize them. As a main tool to obtain support and face current problems, populism has looked at the glorified past, in order to regenerate the present. (ibid., p. 162-163)

Individuals and leaders were of huge importance even in early populism movements, which meant that their way of life was put under a microscope and much was demanded of the way they looked and acted. Populism strived to present itself closer to the simple majority of people – the agricultural masses, which is why it opposed élites and had an anti-intellectual rhetoric. It finds its stage when a self-conscious group feels alienated from the centers of power, and while this division is always social, it can also depend on racial qualifications. (Wiles 1969, p. 166-171)

American populism adopts some various features that distinguish it from other political movements. It strives for natural harmonies depending on expelling the current tumors of society. Thus comes its proneness towards conspiracy theories, which are useful in suggesting that different actors have had a part in demolishing the past flourishing community. In addition, one can mention the primacy of the money theme, which is strict for the American branch of populism. (Minogue 1969, p. 206) Another very important characteristics of American populism are its quick disappearance after the conditions in which it thrived changed and it did constructed a long-standing ideology. (Minogue 1969, p. 208)

When it comes to Russian populism, its main focus is also a specific social group – the peasantry. However, the big difference from the United States is that the ideology is not created by that group, but by a part of the urban intelligentsia. It depended on highly-educated people as spokesmen and theorists. It supported the 'common man' and sees a threat in monopoly capitalist industrialism and irresponsible government. (Worsley 1969, p. 221)

As it is seen from the two foundation cases of Russia and the United States, populism is not limited only to developing societies, and it has spread also to the cities after the countryside, in this way reaching the middle classes. It identifies the will of the people with justice and morality and implies their supremacy of traditional institutions. Which are also seen as unneeded in the relationship between the people and leadership. Populism is not pro- or against democracy, it is just compatible with it and it can be spread wide across right-wing to left-wing variants. (Worsley 1969, p. 242-247)

3.2. Populism in the political spectrum

Populism can be identified as a twofold vertical structure. Left-wing populism divides people in socioeconomic terms and puts the working class against the bourgeois élite, which is exploiting it. Thus its goal is to retrieve the power that belongs to the people from those élites. On its behalf right-wing populism identifies people by ethno national characteristics. The rightist approach, divides the vertical structure between the people and those at the bottom of society - criminals, immigrants and refugees, who are a threat to the purity of society and the natural way of life of the people. Thus, right-wing populism aims at integration, but not of everyone - only of those considered *"good people"*. Thereby, groups that are identified as *"strange"* or *"other"* are being opposed to. In this way populism as whole identifies adversaries in those who do not fit and threaten

the homogeneity, depending on which approach is chosen. This could include for example, cultural and economic elites, foreigners, minorities, welfare recipients or others. (Abts & Rummens 2007, p. 409)

With its concentration on anti-immigration, hostility to taxation and ethnic regionalism, many parties in Western Europe have used right-wing populism to gain support among the electorate. (Taggart 2004, p. 270) It has a certain minimalistic approach and a belief that the most complex problems in the world can be resolved by simple solutions. It has saved the faith in the ordinary people as a main feature and promotes the idea that the common people should be granted the opportunity to be heard. Populism in right-wing parties in the 80s and 90s most commonly targets *"political parties, the political class, immigrants, refugees, and, to a lesser degree the resident foreign population"*. (Betz 1998, p. 4-5) Immigrants have been turned into the main target of populist rhetoric due to their vulnerability and the fact that they present a wide range of points of attack. The flow of poor immigrants and refugees to Western Europe has risen and the right-wing parties consider them the reason for rising unemployment among the natives, lowering the wages and living of social benefits they do not deserve. (Betz 1998, p. 6)

"The fourth theme is that populism is a reaction to a sense of extreme crisis. Populism is not the politics of the stable, ordered polity but comes as an accompaniment to change, crisis and challenge". (Taggart 2004, p. 275) Even in right-wing populism the need for a crisis has remained essential for it to work. A foundation example in the United States was the time when rural and agricultural America was giving way to an urban and industrial society. Similar cases are those of National Socialism in Germany in the 1920s and Poujadism in France in the 1950s, when the rural population was under large economic stress, having later given soil to Western European populism. (Betz 1998, p. 6)

Taggart (2004) uses a specific term *"heartland"* as a main feature of both right and left populism. The commitment to the *"common people"* that populism proclaims actually derives from the commitment to the *"heartland"*. It can be explained as *'a construction of an ideal world but unlike utopian conceptions, it is constructed retrospectively from the past—it is in essence a past-derived vision projected onto the present as that which has been lost'*. The power of the *"heartland"* is not into promising an idealistic view of the world, but that it shows a view of how great the world was, before the current problems of economic crisis, corruption and immigration waves. (Taggart 2004, p. 274)

A specific organizational structure, which is highly centralized with the decision-making process, is another feature of the right-wing populism. This process is supposed to be conducted by the few people on top while the orders are transmitted to the bottom. This would include the blue-collar workers, young people without proper education and people with routine jobs that can be substituted by low-skill workers or machines to stand out. (Betz 1998, p. 8-9) Right-wing populist parties are striving to represent the new political entrepreneurialism while depending strongly on charismatic leaders who present the party well on press conferences and TV events. (Betz 1998, p. 1-2)

12

In the new Europe, the one under the cloak of the EU, the states converged around a model of representative politics at the domestic levels. By using new populism, ethnic nationalism or ex-communism, populists managed to find a place in that political system. Thus Euroscepticism emerged as a position across Europe and restored populist positions. (Taggart 2004, p. 278) For instance, on the left side of the political spectrum are the Greens – they argue that the EU is insufficiently inclusive. On the other hand, the right-wing opposes inclusiveness, because it allows for too much migration. The new populism is highly distrustful of the bureaucracy in the EU and its democratic deficiencies. (Taggart 2004, p. 281)

Left-wing populism often concentrates on social and economic relations, given its identification with laborers and farmers. (Abts & Rummens 2007, p. 418) In its case Euroscepticism overlaps with anti-globalization, which brings in anti-capitalist moods. For instance the clash of the French farmer with the American fast food chain McDonalds or fuel protests of truckers and domestic car drivers. The left uses those negative feelings and accuses for instance corporate cartels of oil companies and puts them in one basket with the current government. In this way they manage to unite the common people against the distrusted élites. (Taggart 2004, p. 282) Another typical approach of left-wing populism, derived from the inequality problems are overly expansive macroeconomic policies. They strongly rely on deficit financing, generalized controls and disregard of basic economic equilibria, which usually conclude in economic crisis affecting the poorer segments of society. (Acemoglu & et el. 2012, p. 772)

Most populist parties still remain minor in their respective party systems. The fact that they are fueled by crisis, makes them visible only during such times. Populist parties can stay on the scene as reminder of the problem they are fighting against, but they would rarely sustain their political support. In this way, they urge the main political parties to answer to those issues and adopt a populist rhetoric at times. (Immerfall 1998, p. 259)

3.3. Populism in Latin America

Populism in Latin America the best example for leftist with an inclination to state-led economies and employing an inclusionary rhetoric. The research is concentrating on this model for left-wing because, populism is popular and has strong stance in Latin America. (Nyenhuis 2013, p. 1) It is typical for populist states to have a centralized government concentrated in the political leader. They control the masses and try to discredit the political system, which tends to lead to huge blows towards the democracy in the whole region. (Nyenhuis 2013, p. 2) The classical definition of populism in Latin America can be summed up as: *"a political strategy that featured a charismatic leader who employed rhetoric aimed at inspiring people; a movement with a heterogeneous social coalition and policies that targeted the working classes; and a reformist economic agenda that promoted development through state activism."* (Nyenhuis 2013, p. 4) Populist leaders use cases when the civil society is fragmented and the institutionalized linkages are disrupted. Then they

underline the lack of ability of institutions to represent the citizens and suggest that they can do it better. Populist leaders add to that also that those citizens are victims of a privileged élite, embedded in the political sector. Thus the situations has to be transformed and the one that can do it best is that populist leader. (Nyenhuis 2013, p. 12) A typical approach of populists is to present themselves as political outsiders, who have nothing in common with the current political élite, and so they are not a part of their corruption. (Nyenhuis 2013, p. 13)

In Latin America political parties are considered as an antidote to populist leadership. As a phenomenon populism is mostly connected to a weak democracy and is considered either as the cause or consequence of it. (Navia & Walker 2008, p. 4) The main goal of populist leaders is to reduce the number of veto players in a political system. Even though this fact makes them close to authoritarian leaders, the main difference is that they have won their place during a fair election. (Navia & Walker 2008, p. 7-8) An essential feature of a populist leader in Latin America is being charismatic. The politicians, who can mobilize a large electoral mass around their identity and can use it to pass their proposals in the government, are able to win elections. This leadership appeal is what brings an ordinary politician to a higher level and has the tendency to evolve into populism. (Navia & Walker 2008, p. 8) The leader usually adopts the characteristics of being a redeemer and embodiment of the people and the nation. (Navia & Walker 2008, p. 17)

The so-called "lost decade" (the 1980s) can be considered as the setting that led to the development of populism in Latin America. The countries had large foreign debts, followed by very high inflation and fiscal deficit. This can be seen in the poor economic policies of Raul Alfonsin (1983-89) in Argentina, Jose Satney (1985-90) in Brazil and Alan Garcia (1985-90) in Peru. Thus the period of the 1990s was full of economic reforms among Latin America, which provided the perfect environment for populism. (Navia & Walker 2008, p. 10) The most emblematic examples of populism are Hugo Chávez in Venezuela, Néstor Kirchner in Argentina, Evo Morales in Bolivia, Andrés Manuel López Obrador in Mexico and Ollanta Humala in Peru. What they all had in common was their anti-globalization and anti-neoliberalism values. International institutions (the International Monetary Fund) and USA influence (the Washington Consensus), which wanted to implement unpopular economic reforms, were turned into arch-enemies and used to unite the people. Weak political institutions and traditional élites helped make emergence of populism easier. (Navia & Walker 2008, p. 13) In this way populism is one of the leading political theories in Latin America, even in times of strong democracy. In this case populism even wins elections and is a long-standing phenomenon.

3.4. Populism in Europe

Then there is the case of populism in Europe, which is inclined in right-wing and is just starting to gain popularity. Even like that, it cannot compare to the influence of populism in Latin America. This research uses it as an example of rightist policies and also because the topic at hand is a part

of it. Populist parties started gaining popularity in Western Europe around the mid-1980s. Their main similarity is the desire for a restriction on immigration, while at the same time they oppose ethnic, cultural and religious societies. Another common thing is that populist parties tend to receive a large amount of media attention both nationally and internationally. Reasons for that is that they are a novelty and raise the concerns of other political parties. (Ivarsflaten & Gudbrandsen, p. 1) A common environment for populist parties to thrive in are the large and important economic transformations in Western Europe. What gave power to populist parties were the people who suffered losses from modernization and globalization - the new working-class outsiders, whose priorities were no more defended by the traditional parties. Populism in Europe blames globalization and EU integration for hurting the decision-making process. Thus it adopts the anti-establishment rhetoric and acts as a representative of the common man. The rising popularity of right-wing populism can be connected also to the high current levels of asylum seekers, which in 2011 have reached historical peaks compared to the 1960s and 1970s. (Ivarsflaten & Gudbrandsen, p. 3)

In the recent decade Europe has seen a rise in right-wing populist parties including Belgium (Vlaams Belang), Denmark (Danks Folkeparti), Finland (Perussuomalaiset), France (Front National), Switzerland (Schweizerische Volkspartei), the Netherlands (Partij voor de Vrijheid), Norway (Fremskrittspartiet), Italy (Lega Nord) and Austria (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs). What can be clearly assessed is that all of those parties have in common an anti-immigration rhetoric as a core value. It can also be seen that most of them count on strong leaders like Pia Kjærsgaard in Dansk Folkeparti, Timo Sioni in Perussuomalaiset or Umberto Bossi in Italy's Lega Nord. Euroscepticism and the protection of the national values are another two features which are heavily underlined in most of them. The noteworthy contrast with populism in Latin America is the role of those parties in political life. Even though their popularity is on the rise, none of them participate in the governance of their respective country. Most of the other political actors keep their distance from them and consider coalitions only as a last resort, as in the Netherlands or Belgium, where they are considered as being too controversial for an alliance. (Ivarsflaten & Gudbrandsen, p. 1-2)

3.5. Populism in the United Kingdom

The main issue with radical right politics in the UK is that since 1845 it has been identified with fascism, which has always proved to be an obstacle for it development towards new forms of right wing policies. Up until the 1960s, the Conservatives were taking the tough stance against immigration, until the Commonwealth Immigration Act in 1961 was adopted, which limited immigration. In that time, the National Front (NF) saw the opportunity to gain support in the anti-immigration niché. It portrayed itself as a populist British nationalist party and its main goal was the *"reparation"* of all nonwhite immigrants. However, in the late 1970s, the party collapsed and many of its more moderate members turned to the Conservatives. (Eatwell 1998, p. 143-144)

In the beginning of 1980s, the British National Party (BNP) was formed by Tyndall. It tried to fill its ranks with undecided Conservatives, because they were closest to the party's political values. In addition, the BNP considered the Conservative party as one of their main opponents, because of its patriotic inclination and the fact that they have always opposed radical nationalist parties. (Eatwell 1998, p. 145-147) In 1992, BNP reached good results in the local elections in Millwall, which made them a challenger in the by-elections in the next year. Even more helpful was the fact that the Labour party aligned them as a main contender, which gave the BNP even more recognition. (Eatwell 1998, p. 149)

The torch of a leading populist party has been passed to UKIP in the past decade. It started as a campaign against the Maastricht Treaty in 1991, by the historian Alan Sked of the London School of Economics. It has fielded good results mainly on the European elections, which is understandable with the specific election system in the UK. The first strong result was in 1999, which included 7 % of the vote or 3 MEPs. In the latest European elections in 2009 UKIP secured 13 MEPs, with 2.49 million votes, being in second place. Given their slow, but steady rise, it is expected that UKIP can even win a seat in the 2015 General elections. (Mulhall, 2013)

3.6. Definition of right-wing populism

After the thorough examination of populism through the years and its various applications, a specific definition of right-wing populism is at need. The anti-immigration stance is considered as a core value, including immigrants from within the EU, illegal immigrants and refugees. The negative feelings against different cultures, ethnicities and religions are an extension of this anti-immigration path. The evolution of the stance of this core value has brought in Eurosceptic moods. In the same way as countries in Latin America find their arch-enemies in the Western civilizations, moods in European countries have turned against the EU. It is usually blamed for making the access for immigrants easier, which evolves into other allegations of too much interferences in local economic and law policies. Typically those moods are stirred by a strong and charismatic party leader. The organizational structure of a populist party is very centralized and one person acts as its face. The leader is adopts the image of an ordinary person, part of the masses, who is not related to the corrupt political élite. The strong stance against political élites is often found in populism as a way to reach the middle classes and make promises of a better future.

4. Previous research

Given the fact that UKIP is a fairly new player on the political scene in the UK and that its rise has been significant just in the recent years, there has not been a serious scientific interest in it. BNP has taken the spotlight in the past two decades as the "go-to" party when it came to nationalism in the UK. In addition to that right-wing populism has regained its popularity in Europe only in the past decade, thus it has not attracted a lot of researchers.

One of the researches, related to the current thesis is Julian Baggini's *"A very British Populism"* (Baggini 2013). It concerns populism as a theory and the rise of UKIP. When it comes to populism, this research looks at the big picture, without dividing it into left or right. It concentrates onto its foundational division between ordinary people and élites. It looks into detail how it came to this and how the problem of social classes affects the political life. The decline of the political life as it is known in the UK is taken under consideration. Baggini talks a lot about how UKIP is a moderate successor to BNP as an extremist right party. He looks into the fact that the existence of UKIP changes the political status quo in the UK, while stealing voters from the Labour and Conservative parties. In this way Baggini's research is broader, when it comes to matters of populism and looks UKIP from the point of view as an adversary of other parties.

Then come the joint paper by Philip Lynch, Richard Whitaker and Gemma Loomes (Lynch at el. 2011). In *"The UK Independence Party: analyzing its candidates and supporters"*, the researchers are analyzing the results from the 2009 and 2010 elections. They are trying to build a profile of UKIP according to what has already happened during that time. The researchers manage to qualify the Conservatives as its main adversary and underline its anti-immigration and Eurosceptic stance. At the same time those two features are not examined very thoroughly and are not looked as a combination in the form of internal EU migration. This research is only quantitative and depends highly on statistical data.

According to Heinz Brandenburg's *"The Populist Beauty and the Fascist Beast"* (Brandenburg 2013), when it comes to UKIP, there is no way not to mention BNP. He studies their similarities and differences in a quantitative comparison. He manages to put them in the same extremist right sphere, but suggesting the more radical role of BNP at the same time. What comes out of Brandenburg's study is that BNP represent more interest to a researcher's mind, because of their radicalism. But at the same time BNP's political role is much less sufficient than UKIP's, which is clearly seen by their results in the last few elections.

Previously UKIP has enjoyed some scientific interest, but often it has been looked at in comparison to BNP or as an antipode to the two party system. This thesis considers the party as an important player on its own. It concentrates on the most current events that can define UKIP and with the usage of a qualitative analysis aims to understand the essence of its media representation. One thing that is lacking in the previous researches is media analysis, thus the current one would address the matter independently, which is what the next chapter is aimed at.

5. Media analysis

The importance of media in the contemporary world has been enhanced by the easier access. Nowadays with the popularity of television and the Internet, all sorts of information reaches the people at any time. Thus creating a public image becomes easier and can be presented in front of more people. This is crucial in political circles, because the access to voters is important and the popularity of news sources helps reach them. What is essential to be pointed out is the information from those sources can often be biased and intentionally create an image. Those cases are effective especially in situations where the reader uses one main source of news. In this way the reader perceives everything as it is said from that sources, which makes his opinion easy to influence. All of this is the reason why media analysis is important in this research and it has to be examined in more detail.

"Early studies of mass public opinion conducted in the 1950s and 1960s raised serious doubts about the competence of citizens to participate in political affairs. On the whole, citizens were woefully uninformed about the institutions of American government, political office holders, and contemporary political issues. Their views on issues were superficial and unconnected to overarching principles such as liberalism or conservatism. When asked the same policy questions at different points in time, their answers displayed little stability." (Chong & Druckman 2007, p. 103)

In the cases of media influences, the phenomenon known as *"framing effect"* has to be taken under consideration. It can be observed in mass media, when the presentation of news differentiate in the various sources, thus suggesting different influences on the public. Alternative phrasing could steer general views into a desired direction, consequence of which might be the lack of legitimate representation of public interests. *"Framing refers to the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue."* (Chong & Druckman 2007, p. 104) Thus by analyzing the image of a right-wing party (UKIP) in a left-wing newspaper ("The Guardian"), a researcher might get different results than the ones in a right-wing newspaper ("The Telegraph").

"Scholars track frames to identify trends in issue definitions, compare coverage across media outlets, and examine variations across types of media." After the research has its frames, comes the turn of the sources for the content analysis. Those are usually mass media – major newspapers, web sites and television broadcasts. Articles are the typical unit of analysis and coding samples provide the research with the information on the absence or presence of the frames in it. (Chong & Druckman 2007, p. 106-107) It is often that the three main actors on the political scene

– politicians, media and citizens – copy each other's frames in communication. This shows how important for the influence could the framing effect be and the most attention has always been drawn on the way of how citizens have been influenced by other frames. (Chong & Druckman 2007, p. 109) This is important, because the power of the political parties depends on citizens and usually politicians are trying to affect their opinions through the media. That is where the matter of "how" a piece of news is presented, becomes as crucial as whether it is presented at all.

That particular moment leads us to the introduction of *agenda setting* and *priming*. Agenda setting suggests that there is relationship between the emphasis that media puts on a matter and the importance of that matter to the public. Priming, on its behalf, serves as an extension to agenda setting and it *"changes in the standards that people use to make political evaluations"*. That is when it is suggested that specific issues have to be used as standards for the evaluation of political actors. Public attitudes are formulated by the ease of bringing associations to mind. *"By making some issues more salient in people's mind (agenda setting), mass media can also shape the considerations that people take into account when making judgments about political candidates or issues (priming)."* (Scheufele & Tewksbury 2007, p. 11) In this way if a newspaper concentrates its articles on opinions regarding UKIP's immigration policy as racist, the readers would start considering the party as extremist rather than moderate. This happens because they constantly read about it and it sticks to their minds. Where the importance of analyzing not only the context, but the way it is framed, comes forward. A piece of news is the same in its essence in every media, but the way it is represented to the reader can make it look different. The thesis does not want only the fact of that distinction, but the reasons behind it. By looking into framing and agenda setting the research could understand which topics are favoured by the media and how they are trying to construct UKIP in the minds of their readers.

"The primary difference on the psychological level between agenda setting and priming, on the one hand, and framing, on the other hand, is therefore the difference between whether we think about an issue and how we think about it." (Scheufele & Tewksbury 2007, p. 14) The fact that there is a difference between the concepts does not mean that they are opposites, even more, because of their goals, they could not be isolated from each other. As well as agenda setting and priming could make us recall a certain issue, framing could make us think about it in a specific way. *"An applicable construct is far more likely to be activated when it is accessible."* (Scheufele & Tewksbury 2007, p. 15-16) This could make the influence on the reader in the media approach more effective. Keeping in mind those concepts during the analytical part the thesis would be able to recognize both the message provided by the articles and the idea behind it. In order to analyse that knowledge, the research needs its approach to be specifically defined, which will happen in the next chapter concerning what constructs the knowledge and how we can understand it.

6. Analysis

The QCA that this thesis undertakes complies with the features presented beforehand. It is concentrating on a single case that being the media image of UKIP. Which image would at the end be compared to the definition of right-wing populism, given in chapter 3. All of this happens by interpreting the meanings given to the party by the media in the ever-changing political context. The analysis will be concentrated on the online database of news of three British media – "The Guardian", "The Telegraph" and "BBC News". As the prime reason for this choice is their position at the political spectrum. The two newspapers are on the two sides of it, while "BBC News" is condemned in impartiality and lacks political allegiance. Thus by analyzing all three of them, the thesis will have a complete point of view on the opinions of UKIP. The two papers also are the most popular in the UK printed media market, while "BBC News" also holds the same position when it comes to TV broadcasting. In that way the thesis has the media sources that construct the opinions of the biggest amount of people, with varied political stances.

The timeline of the analysis will be the whole month of April 2014. It is the closest possible timeframe to the European elections, which will provide the research with the most up to date information. It is also in the height of the election campaign, so the efforts of UKIP to promote itself would be highlighted and easier to analyze. Another essential moment in this timeline is that it includes an official debate on the European elections between UKIP's leader Nigel Farage and the Liberal Democrats' leader Nick Clegg. This debate would aim to show off the parties' main values, which presents the research with the potential to reveal the most prominent campaign features. The analysis derives its dimensions from the most recurring and prominent themes in the articles. As a unit of analysis the research uses "relevant articles", which includes the articles discussing UKIP, not all of the articles that mention it. This is because the thesis looks for themes connected to UKIP, not a quantitative frequency of the party appearance in the news.

6.1. The Guardian

"The Guardian" is a newspaper with centre-left inclinations. Given its political stance, it is expected to promote an anti-UKIP rhetoric, while trying to represent the party in the worst possible way. Direct and extremist comments should not be expected from a media of this caliber, but a more covered approach is plausible. The website of "The Guardian" has a segment for UK politics and

the leading parties, including a specific one for UKIP. This convenience provides the research with the party specific pieces of news, from which there are 101 for the timeframe.

The Guardian

Category	Number of articles	% from the relevant articles
Immigration	16	31 %
Euroscepticism	21	41 %
Party organization	35	69 %
Anti-establishment	8	16 %
Relevant articles	51	

Table 1. Dimensions frequency in "The Guardian"

As seen in Table 1 there are four recurring dimensions in "The Guardian" articles, those being immigration, Euroscepticism, party organization (concentration on the leader) and the less obvious – anti-establishment. A clear favourite is the topic of party organization that can be defined with the strong reliance on Nigel Farage. He is often synonymous with UKIP itself and his image is being promoted constantly. The next two dimensions, immigration and Euroscepticism, have a fairly similar occurrence frequency. This is normal given the fact that the topics at moments overlap on the matter of internal EU migration. In addition to that there is the anti-establishment theme, which is rarely evident, but still important and deserves to be mentioned.

On numerous occasions Nigel Farage's name is included in the headlines, which are related to UKIP's doings as a party. (Traynor, 2014) As it is normal for a party leader's name to be connected with his party, in the case we are analyzing his name is often put before the party. This approach suggests that the party, that is him. Only on a couple of occasions, in all of the articles, are included opinions of party members different from Farage. In addition to that "The Guardian", seems to find it crucial to mention that Vladimir Putin is a role model to Farage, even if it is not relevant to the whole article. (Traynor, 2014) Comparing UKIP's leader to Russia's prime minister, considered an extreme populist, and is a direct suggestion of the party's nature.

In another article, solely concentrating on Farage's image, the goal can be clearly seen as slandering him. (Jenkins, 2014) This is a perfect example of how, as stated beforehand, "The Guardian" is trying to bring the attention to UKIP's leader and vilify him afterwards. By qualifying

him as dangerous and discounting his debate win, the media is trying to underline that his political approach depends on over exaggeration and that he is a threat to the political status quo. In addition, the inclusion of opinions of ordinary citizens about Farage help provoking negativism around him. Being called "*dangerous and his view offensive*", he is represented as a villain, whom Nick Clegg is taking on. (The Guardian 1)

"The Guardian" has at some points even directly called Nigel Farage and his party populist. (Hutton, 2014) In the same article the media is making fun of him, trying to harm his authoritative image by calling him a "*phoney*". All of this adds to a series of articles later dedicated on accusations on MEP expenses claims made by Farage. This being another way to blacken the image of UKIP's leader. Also the reflection on the byelection in Newark and Farage's decision not to stand in, brings criticism to him about adopting a cowardly approach in this great opportunity. (Perkins, 2014)

The debate between Nigel Farage and Nick Clegg is what details UKIP's points for the European elections. The article in "The Guardian" manages to represent them clearly, while at the same time trying to overthrow them. There is Farage's claim that 70 % of the legislature of the UK is currently built in the EU. Which by itself is a huge number and every ordinary reader would find it hard to believe in, on top of that Clegg claims that the number is a tenfold lower. With the newspaper at the end stating that the realistic percentage is between 10 and 14, it can be seen that Farage is trying to represent the situation as an extreme. Then again there is the sum of being part of the EU, which UKIP accommodates to 55 million £ per day. This towering figure does not include the EU rebates and the money spend by the union in the UK. (Jowit, 2014) By overthrowing the facts presented by Farage, "The Guardian" is aiming underline how he uses exaggeration to make his points and to discredit him.

In this way the Eurosceptic stance of UKIP has been straight-forwardly presented in the debate between Nigel Farage and Nick Clegg, and by all of the supporting articles. What makes the feature more consistent is its presence in the following articles. Most of UKIP's claims against the EU are followed by comments on their uncertainty and praise of the EU on behalf of "The Guardian". Further representing UKIP views on the EU as extremist and underlining a connection to Debout la Republique – a populist party from France. Taking under consideration that the UK is known for its usual Eurosceptic inclination, "The Guardian" is trying to put UKIP efforts in a radical suit, so that they would seem less alluring to the public. UKIP has never distanced itself from its Euroscepticism, on the contrary – it has always embraced it. But "The Guardian" is underlining it and trying to present it in a negative essence. The newspaper knows that is one of the strongest features of the party with the electorate and is trying to overcome it by presenting its views as radical and at the same time refute UKIP's EU statements with different facts.

Continuing with the debate, but with a concentration on another dimension – immigration. There is a specific number used by Nigel Farage – 485 million people that can freely go and work in the UK. Such an enormous figure of course can concern even the neutral reader and that is exactly the goal of UKIP. "The Guardian" on its behalf is doing everything it can to resent the data

given by UKIP as exaggerated figures aiming at nationalistic moods. What is underlined by the newspaper in this specific case, working as representative for the other similar cases, is the word "*can*". (The Guardian 1) It is a fact, that no one can contest, that 485 million people have the right to move to the UK, but the possibility of that happening is probably the same as the whole of the population of the UK moving to Spain.

Comments given by Nigel Farage, such as that the wages have fallen by 14 % since 2007, because of immigrants, have no hard data support. They only try to show that immigration affects every aspect of life – social and economic. In addition to that there are overdramatized comments that *"Britons would be reduced to living on a reservation like the Native Americans"*. This kind of things being said out of context sound ridiculous and with enough coverage can be defined as racist. (Wintour et. al., 2014)

The anti-establishment dimension or the opposition to political elites as it is also known, is rarely seen, but still influential and important. "The Guardian" on few occasions represents the fact that UKIP is aiming to recruit the ordinary people. *"What the BNP and Ukip have in common is the psychological suggestion that 'ordinary' people are being betrayed by the political class"*. (Ford & Goodwin, 2014) In such a way UKIP stands against all of the other parties and is being represented as the general alternative for the general public. "The Guardian" does not emphasize on this idea, but it merely gives it attention. Then again there are quotes from Farage, such as this one: *"I'm not for laws. We need a minimum of laws. I hate big government, I hate being told what to do on a personal basis."* (Aitkenhead, 2014) It suggests an extremist position on anti-establishment, standing against everything democracy in the UK has built. "The Guardian" uses it to bring UKIP's stance with the ordinary people to a level where it might not be so alluring.

"The Guardian" has been working on building a negative image of UKIP. At moments by directly categorizing the party or its leader as extremist, at others indirectly implying that their policies are harmful for UK politics. The newspaper has taken the two fundamental features of UKIP's campaign – anti-immigration and Euroscepticism – and tried to turn them against it. This happened by disregarding all of the facts used by UKIP on those issues or presenting them as exaggerated. On top of all of this is the image of Nigel Farage, who is elevated as a symbol of UKIP. Through the agenda setting theory, the emphasis of "The Guardian" on him can be seen. The recurring mentions of his name before or instead of the party are an evidence of that. Thus, the personal attacks towards him become attacks towards the whole party and discredit both. The newspaper is cleverly using comments from other journalists and ordinary people to support its articles. Even at points it publishes works from other media, such as the Observer, in order to achieve more credibility.

6.2. The Telegraph

"The Telegraph" is a right-wing newspaper, famous for its continuous support of the Conservative party. Its website conveniently has a specific directory for news about UKIP as part of the political life in the UK. The analysis covers the same timeline as with "The Guardian" and provides similar content. The articles published on the website for April 2014 are 83.

The Telegraph

Category	Number of articles	% from the relevant articles
Immigration	17	35 %
Euroscepticism	17	35 %
Party organization	26	54 %
Anti-establishment	6	13 %
Relevant articles	48	

Table 2. Dimensions frequency in "The Telegraph"

As seen from Table 2, the dimensions in "The Telegraph" are similar to the ones in "The Guardian". An obvious observation is that their frequency is less, even though not much. Another thing that has to be mentioned is that the dimensions of immigration and Euroscepticism have exactly the same occurrences.

The articles covering the debate between Nigel Farage and Nick Clegg on the EU are where the main concentration of the articles of "The Telegraph" is in the beginning of the month. Although the topic of immigration is only lightly drawn upon, the quotes used by Farage suggest that this problem affects mainly the ordinary people by turning the *"white working-class effectively as an underclass"* and served *"very good for people to take in servants"*. (Swinford, & Hope, 2014) This idea is recurring in two consecutive articles, making it as the main point on immigration by UKIP in the whole debate.

There is a series of articles discussing UKIP's campaign posters and their anti-immigration mood. *"The posters – which will be displayed at hundreds of billboard sites - carry stark warnings that "British workers are hit hard by unlimited cheap labour" and that 26 million unemployed people across Europe are "after" British jobs."* (Hope & Holehouse, 2014) The attention is

directed to the fact that the immigrants are expected to steal the jobs from British citizens and UKIP is there to defend the nation. These articles cement the position of immigration as a main feature in the party's campaign by giving so much attention to the posters.

"The Telegraph" has included two articles presenting the opinions of highly respected figures criticizing UKIP's campaign. Cardinal Vincent Nichols called for more realism and respect to the immigrant society. (Moreton & Bingham, 2014) While at the same time General Lord Dennett, a former head of the British Army, criticizes the posters as *"disrespectful and inappropriate"*, because they include a burning British flag. (Holehouse & Dominczak, 2014) With the inclusion of these opinions, "The Telegraph" is aiming to show that even if the stance against immigration is right, UKIP's approach is not and is too radical.

The newspaper supports this statement with several articles concentrated on the wrongdoings of UKIP and its racist nature. First of all there is the case of a party activist - Andre Lampitt, who said that *"Africans should "kill themselves off", Islam is "evil" and Nigerians are "bad people"*. (Holehouse 1, 2014) Secondly William Henwood, an Ukip candidate said *"He should emigrate to a black country. He does not have to live with whites"* about the British comedian Lenny Henry. (Ross, 2014) Those two articles are a statement by "The Telegraph" that UKIP's anti-immigration stance reaches extremist proportions and turns into racism.

What "The Telegraph" wants to represent with its reflection on UKIP connected to the matter of immigration is that it is truly a main feature in their campaign. The party claims it is one of the general problems for the British population and that it would fight against it. The newspaper adds to that with the inclusion of critiques from high places to discard their approach. In addition to which "The Telegraph" gives special attention to racist scandals surrounding UKIP. By all of this the newspaper is trying to suggest that the party's stance on immigration is not respectful and dangerously leans towards racism and radicalism.

When it comes to Euroscepticism, a certain point can be made with the official statements of UKIP in the campaign and their slogans. *"Take back control of our country"* suggests that the EU is ruling the UK, which aims to awake nationalistic feelings in the British. With the support of unverified statements such as *"that 75% of British laws are made in Brussels"*, the slogan gets more legitimacy and shows the tough stance on EU by UKIP. (Holehouse 2, 2014) "The Telegraph" thus supports UKIP's Eurosceptic stance, but its exaggerated representation suggests that the party is leaning towards a more intense position.

In a certain statement, which was addressed in a couple of articles in "The Telegraph", David Cameron directly calls UKIP *"extremist"*. (Holehouse 3, 2014) That puts UKIP and the Liberal Democrats on the two far sides of the political spectrum and in this way the newspaper manages to distance them from the two leading British parties. The usage of such a harsh definition, especially from the Prime Minister, shows UKIP in a completely different light and suggests to voters that the party might be too radical.

"The Telegraph" tries to discredit UKIP even further with constantly reminding Nigel Farage's affiliation with Russia and his admirations for Vladimir Putin. The newspaper underlines his pro-Russian position in the Ukraine crisis, which is not only Eurosceptic, but stands against all European values. This position of UKIP turns it from a party talking against the EU into its enemy. In addition to that, "The Telegraph" brings into light a hypocritical approach of UKIP towards the EU. The party is against the vast spending of the Union, because the money come out of the British taxpayers and go into the pockets of MEPs to keep their luxury lifestyle. The existence of a second pension for MEPs is brought under fire as unneeded costs by UKIP. (The Telegraph 1) What turns out in reality is that actually their leader – Nigel Farage is also taking those money, even though he is against them. This situation questions whether the loyalty of UKIP towards the British electorate finishes where the money-grabbing schemes start.

More than half of the articles about UKIP in "The Telegraph" stand the image of Nigel Farage out. Often his name is used instead of the party, showing that he can be a substitute and is a symbol. Usually when the stance of UKIP on a certain matter has to be addressed, the newspaper use his quotes, leaving the impression that he is the only one whose opinion matters in the party. Given Farage's pivotal role for UKIP, he has been qualified as a threat to the Conservative party, by "The Telegraph", thus come the constant attacks towards him.

Many of the articles analyzed in "The Telegraph" include critique towards UKIP's policies. The difference when it comes to Nigel Farage is the fact that the attacks often are on a personal level and include offending him. Some of the epithets used to describe him *"buffoon"*, *"silly"*, *"offensive"*, are recurring and aiming do discredit him as an authoritative figure. (Rifkind, 2014) In addition to that throughout April there are two themes that draw the concentration of the reader in "The Telegraph, each investigated by four consecutive articles. The newspaper turns the attention towards an investigation on Farage's expanses regarding the EU and the fact that he passed on the opportunity to be a part of the byelection in Newark. Those two cases picture UKIP's leader as a person prone to embezzlement and afraid of a real political challenge. Thus trying to ruin Nigel Farage's image as one of the ordinary people, who is ready to stand against the political élite.

"The Telegraph" dedicates a whole article on Farage's stance on drugs. *"Nigel Farage: I have never taken drugs but they should be legal"*, by making such statement well-renowned, the newspaper is trying to push away Conservative voters from UKIP. The media in the case is taking on a personal stance of Farage, knowing that it would be also accredited to the whole party. What is important in the case is that the stance is conflicting with the values of the Tory supporters, who might think about affiliating with UKIP.

When it comes to UKIP's position against the political élites, "The Telegraph" manages in just one article to point it out and at the same time to trash it. The definition of Farage's status *"as an outsider throwing stones at the glass house of "the political class" or "the Establishment" or "the elite"* and subsequently destroying that image with the suggestion *"that he is just like the rest of them, just another beige politician"*, aims to prove the newspaper's point that the party is just

using the anti-establishment topic for a personal use. (d'Ancona, 2014) In addition there is his position on how politicians benefit from alternative energy and his stance on it ("*Scrap wind energy, scrap the subsidies, get shale*"), which "The Telegraph" uses to show how UKIP are radical even in their anti-establishment stance. (Swinford, & Hope, 2014)

The constant criticism of "The Telegraph" towards Nigel Farage personally, shows that they consider him and his party as a rival for the same electorate as the Conservative party. Thus unintentionally the newspaper presents him as a strong leader and he is seen as the primary voice of the party, his stance on different issues paralleling UKIP's stance. When it comes to the other three dimensions related to the party, "The Telegraph" firmly relates them to it, but at the same time representing a radical stance from the party on each one of them. Through agenda setting it can be seen how often, when it comes to UKIP the immigration issue is connected to racism. By framing the Euroscepticism and anti-establishment are introduced as *"extremist"*.

6.3. BBC News

The "BBC News" is the embodiment of news media – it is funded by taxes and it does not have a political allegiance. What makes an impression is the way that information is presented, how there is rarely interpretation and each story shows the various actors points of view. The website did not have a specific section each party, as it was the case with "The Guardian" and "The Telegraph", but a search with a keyword "UKIP" found every piece of news connected to topic. The result was 111 news articles, but in various cases they were not relevant and the keyword had been mentioned just as part of election statistics.

BBC News

Category	Number of articles	% from the relevant articles
Immigration	23	50 %
Euroscepticism	18	39 %
Party organization	27	59 %
Anti-establishment	9	20 %
Relevant articles	46	

Table 3. Dimensions frequency in BBC News

28

The situation with dimensions, as seen from Table 3, shows some difference when compared to the newspapers articles. The immigration theme is almost as popular the party organization one, as opposed to "The Guardian" and "The Telegraph" where the latter was a leading topic. Euroscepticism is on a similar level, which can be explained with the fact that after all the timeline is concentrated on the European elections. The anti-establishment dimensions shows a certain raise in frequency, especially for a secondary topic.

What makes a strong impression around the debates with the "BBC News" is the thorough fact check provided. Both before and after the debate there are articles solely based on the facts used or to be used. The main immigration point is the Romanian and Bulgarian immigrants and their numbers. Nigel Farage is using some high statistical figures on the two states populations (combined would be 29 million people) and previous migration (2 million have already moved to Spain and Italy). What the BBC does is present hard data from an unrelated source (The World Bank), which support those figures. (BBC News 1) Even though those numbers might not be relevant on their full scale, it would be hard to believe that the whole population of the two countries would move to the UK, the media manages to point out the stance of UKIP on immigration by objectively checking the used data. The topic on immigration goes on through every article connected to the debate, branding it as one of UKIP's main points.

In another debate article, a connection is built between UKIP's anti-immigration stance and desire to protect the ordinary people. Claims such as "*EU immigration had hit the "white working class" the hardest*" and "*good for the rich because it's cheaper nannies and cheaper chauffeurs and cheaper gardeners but it's bad news for ordinary Britons*", give hard evidence for that. (BBC News 2) This case wraps UKIP's stance on immigration with protectiveness, instead of hatred, and relates it to the anti-establishment dimensions.

Throughout the "BBC News" articles the dodging of racist claims had filled the immigration dimension of UKIP. By providing the option of answer to the party on racist allegations, the media has managed to present it in a moderate right-wing position. Starting with the debate articles (BBC News 2) where there is a discussion on a leaflet comparing Britons to Native Americans, unlike "The Guardian" or "The Telegraph" coverage which blamed UKIP for standing behind the leaflets, the "BBC News" provides the readers with Nigel Farage's answer to those allegations.

In support of the non-racist UKIP representation can be given the specific case of Andre Lampitt, a member of the party, who expressed *"extreme racist views"*. The "BBC News" actually provides its audience with a thorough answer of Farage, discarding the membership of Lampitt and distancing the party from his stance. (BBC News 3) In addition to that is the way UKIP has been represented as distancing itself away from BNP's extremist position. While both parties might be against immigration they have dissimilar approaches and understandings of it. While UKIP favours a reduction in immigration, BNP wants to *"shut the door - we don't want anyone, black brown, green or white"*. (BBC News 4) UKIP has definitely adopted the anti-immigration stance, but the "BBC News" shows it has a less radical stance on it and is far from extremist parties.

The EU has been underlined as a main issue for UKIP throughout the series of articles by BBC. Of course it has to be taken under consideration that the upcoming elections are for the European parliament and it is logical for questions regarding the EU to come on top. But a clear connection between the issue of immigration and anti-EU moods can be seen. In every case when the former theme is present, the latter is being considered as the reason for it. *"The fact is that until we leave the EU we will never get a grip on immigration."* (McFarlane, 2014) A straight-forward quotation of UKIP's position, which is left without any interpretation, because it states its point plainly.

In addition, there is the constant reference to UKIP as a Eurosceptic party by the "BBC news". In several cases the term is being used as a synonymous for the party and the reader is left without any doubt about that position of Farage and his supporters. This label does not hold any negative effect, especially in the UK, and just helps define the party's priorities. Furthermore the "BBC News" affiliates UKIP with anti-EU parties from other countries, emphasizing on the party's Euroscepticism. (Schofield, 2014)

Then there is the "BBC News" representation of the EU debate itself, acting as a final foundation for UKIP's Eurosceptic position. By acknowledging his respect towards Vladimir Putin, Nigel Farage adopts a very strong position against the EU. Showing support towards one of the most prominent rival of the Union speaks for an unshakable stance against Europe itself. Adding to that the blames on EU legislation and how it has taken over the British law independence, the "BBC News" undoubtedly puts UKIP in an anti-EU position. (BBC News 1)

Nigel Farage is not only the leader of UKIP, he is the party's face and its human embodiment. Similarly to the cases of "The Guardian" and "The Telegraph", the "BBC News" often includes his name as synonymous for the party, but instead of constantly attacking him, it just shows a more moderate image. The personal news on him with the embezzlement of EU money and his pass on the byelections in Newark are included, but those cases are framed in a blunt way, without suggesting any negativity on him. In this way the BBC acknowledges his stand-out character and individualism as a leader, but without trying to make it seem like a flaw, in contrast to the other two analyzed media.

The "BBC News" even includes a profile article of Nigel Farage, which manages to construct a character close to the people, likable, standing against the EU and is a strong leader of UKIP. Calling him *"the man in the pub"* and that he *"reaches the parts other politicians cannot reach",* the media presents him as an ordinary person, who like everyone else enjoys a pint and is quite different of the politicians in the Parliament. The quick summary of his life – an ordinary person faced with the challenges of an alcoholic father, likes sports and works hard – even more adds to the idea that Farage is someone you could meet in your neighborhood and is no different than you. Then there is his rant against Herman van Rompuy, the president of the European Council, accusing him of having *"the charisma of a damp rag"* and *"the appearance of a low-grade bank clerk".* The representation of this stark position of his, just applies to his character as a strong person, who stands for his parties values, even on the highest level. UKIP is further acknowledged

by the "BBC News" as "his" party with the introduction of Farage's history with it. He could afford resigning the party in 2009 and just a year later coming back again as a leader, showing that he can do as he likes. (Parkinson, 2014)

The "BBC News" define Nigel Farage's character by cases such as a French crowd *"ecstatically chanting"* his name (BBC 6) or how he is directly referenced as *"undoubtedly is a charismatic leader"* by a certain Marine Le Pen (BBC News 5). What the media treats as obvious is that as an individual, without taking his political views under consideration, he is highly likable. If crowds of foreign people like him and a leader of a party he just snubbed, offers him respectful remarks, then there is something impressive about this person. And with the vast media coverage he gets – *"from the coverage in Saturday's papers - favourable and unfavourable - a visiting alien might conclude Nigel Farage was leader of the United Kingdom"* (Sully, 2014) – the "BBC News" most certainly consider him a figure UKIP cannot do without.

When it comes to the anti-establishment dimension, the "BBC News" manages to indicate it throughout the other dimension. UKIP's stance against the political élites is seen in the protective position of the British people against immigration, its Euroscepticism is always against the interfering EU with its legislation and Farage's image certainly differs from all the other political leaders. *"Mr Farage claims his party represents "the biggest threat to the political establishment" in modern times"* (Stewart, 2014) – a direct quote form a "BBC News" article, providing UKIP with an undisputable stance against the political élites.

What the "BBC News" have managed to construct as an image of UKIP is a moderate right-wing party. The media has included the pivotal anti-immigration stance but without turning it to extremes. It constantly relates to the anti-EU notion, even if it is less frequent. The "BBC News" has made UKIP's Euroscepticism undisputed, by constantly using it as a synonymous. Then there is Nigel Farage's image, which the media has presented in a multi-dimensional matter, seeing him not only as an <u>overreaching</u> leader, but also as an interesting character. In addition, all of those dimensions are related to anti-establishment in one way or another.

6.4. Reflections on the media representation of the UKIP

After thoroughly analyzing the three media – "The Guardian", "The Telegraph" and "BBC News" – the research has a clear idea what their depiction of UKIP is and the reasons behind it. Starting with "The Guardian", because of its left-wing affiliations, it was expected that the newspaper's position would be against UKIP. Being in contrast with the supported Labour values, it is obvious that "The Guardian" challenges UKIP on its foundational features. The party's stance on immigration and the EU is completely acknowledged by the newspaper. "The Guardian" keeps UKIP in the right political spectrum, opposing it to the Liberal Democrats and promoting its dependence on Nigel Farage. By elevating him as the pivotal figure of the party, the newspaper points their criticism, both political and personal, towards him in an attempt to discredit the party's

credentials. It suggests a more radical position on anti-establishment, standing against everything democracy in the UK has built. "The Guardian" uses it to bring UKIP's stance with the ordinary people to a level where it might not be so alluring to the voters.

More interesting is the case with "The Telegraph", which has a rightist inclination, the same as UKIP, but it proves to be a loud critique of its positions. Because of its strong affiliation with the Conservative party and the threat from UKIP of stealing voters form it, on the basis of immigration and anti-EU policies, the newspaper has taken a stark position against it. Given the fact of the shared values, the Tory needed to distance themselves from UKIP, which was the best made with presenting it as an extremist party. With articles depending on overreaction in "The Telegraph", the image of UKIP as a racist party with a hypocritical approach towards Euroscepticism and radical anti-establishment ideas is created. Thus pushing Nigel Farage's party into the far right political spectrum and freeing space for the Conservatives. The personal attacks on the leader also do a good job disregarding him as a strong figure, but at the same time give him credibility as the face of the party.

The "BBC News" has a diverse approach towards UKIP in comparison to the other two media. The featured most frequently analyzed are the same as there, but they are presented in a different way - by varying the concentration on the different pieces of news and framing them in a more moderate way. The "BBC News" provides a thorough fact check on Farage's positions in the debate with Nick Clegg, thus revealing the basis of the anti-immigration and anti-EU policies. All claims of racism are met with the opportunity for UKIP to give its own view. As a whole "BBC News" shows it as a moderate party which proclaims right values and have a popular leader.

The three analyzed media provide the research with three images of UKIP, which are different and at the same time have a lot in common. The "BBC News" view it as a moderate right wing party, "The Guardian" agrees to that statement to a large extend with the exception of some more radical features, while "The Telegraph" sees it as a far right extremist party. The reason for the differences is mainly behind the political affiliations of the media. The first one proclaims impartiality and its agenda setting approach is more diversified through the different pieces of news, while its framing is not critical. On the other hand, there is "The Guardian" which is openly affiliated with the Liberal Democrats, which consider UKIP as a main opponent. The newspaper might have a similar approach towards immigration and Euroscepticism as "BBC News", but when it comes to anti-establishment and Nigel Farage, their suggestions are closer to the radical stance. Then comes "The Telegraph", which reimagines all of those feature of UKIP, but with an extremist essence. At the end, all three media are concentrating on the same four features – immigration, Euroscepticism, party organization and anti-establishment – to a different extend. But those feature are certainly seen by the three media as foundations for UKIP.

7. Conclusion

Taking the analysis segment of the thesis, I can confidently conclude that in the contemporary politics, media play an essential role. It has great power to influence the images of political parties and leaders, which are accepted by the general public. As we saw "The Guardian", "The Telegraph" and "BBC News", covering the same events during the same time, managed to come out with differently framed news and to imply diverse things in their audiences' minds.

Even with those differenced though, one thing is sure – those British media managed to construct a populist image of UKIP. The four most frequent dimensions in the articles comply with the main features of the definition of populism at the end of chapter 3. Of course, there were other topics in the materials, but none of them were that strongly related to UKIP. In addition, there might have been other policies touched upon, such as jobs and energy policies, but they all have been of a secondary importance or were mentioned as results of immigration or European policies.

Even with the different extend to which immigration and Euroscepticism have been concerned, they have both been essential parts of the constructs of UKIP from all three media. Some presented the party as radical right, others as moderate, but all of them underlined that those two policies are in the foundation of it. The anti-immigration feature, considered as a core for a populist party, has been less frequent, but this can be attributed to the campaign being for European elections. This makes it normal that policies connected to the EU would be of a greater importance. As a whole, those two features seem to go hand in hand in the UK and everytime immigration comes into the spotlight, accusations towards the EU come as a reason for it.

The one populist value, which was barely visible, as a central theme, had been the anti-establishment position. It is less occurring in the three media, but nonetheless it has been a vital part in UKIP's resistance against the political élite of the UK. Every successful populist party needs a starting position from outside the status quo, in order to gain the trust of the voters. But the anti-establishment feature, had presence in many cases of the other dimensions and most notably when it came to presenting UKIP's leader Nigel Farage.

As the definition of populism states, the party organization has to be centralized and it depends on a strong leader. Nigel Farage has a controversial image, which differs to some extend in "The Guardian", "BBC News" and "The Telegraph". He has been represented in various way, from bad to good and bad again. One thing is certain, all three of the media have in common that they consider him the main figure of the party and a strong leader, who controls what is happening with it. His word is often the comment of UKIP, his face is usually an association with it and his

presence is crucial for its success. Given the fact that the party organization dimension was the most frequent and, this was by far, I can confidently say that UKIP has its populist leader.

Executive summary

The thesis is interested in how UKIP is being represented in the British media. The hypothesis that the research is based on is that the party is populist, but this has to be proven with scientific analysis. As a phenomenon, populism has been a part of British politics for some time, but usually it is seen in radical parties. Given the huge influence the media has on political processes, their representation of a party is important for its success. The thesis is concentrating on the European election campaign, because during such times the media is more attracted to the parties and at the same time the parties are showing off all of their features that might attract voters. Elections are the best occasion to analyze political actors and understand their goals.

The thesis uses a case study design in order to explore UKIP in the media context through different data sources. Those data sources are the different media and their articles are the units of analysis. Working within a qualitative research, a case study appears to be the most efficient choice. One of its advantages is the fact that it is looking for a theory as an outcome, rather than a starting point, complying with the goal of the thesis. The connection to reality in order to find the desired knowledge is essential. Because the aim of the research is to analyze how UKIP is depicted in reality, not just in theory. That is why the thesis is distancing itself from being just an overview of older theories, and is trying to analyze how things are working at the current moment.

The research method of choice is a qualitative content analysis (QCA), which provides a detailed look into the issue at hand. It analyses the articles and the recurring themes in them. In this way it is seen not only if an issue is attracting attention, but in exactly what way it does it. That is what is important for the thesis, the idea is not only to see how much coverage does UKIP get in media. What is important is the type of coverage and how influential that could be. This is the reason for analyzing whole themes, not just words.

The analysis will use three different media sources – "The Guardian", "The Telegraph" and "BBC News". Those are some of the most popular media in the UK and provide the researcher with a categorized Internet archive, which makes the work much easier. Another reason for the usage of multiple data sources is for diversification, because in this way more ground would be covered. The concentration of the analysis will be limited to the data from April 2014, because of the otherwise broadness of the archives. That broadness might introduce noise into the research and just confuse it. The timeframe is not chosen randomly - it is the closest possible to the European elections, which at the same time would provide the research with enough time to analyze it. It is at the height of UKIP's campaign, suggesting that the party's main virtues would stand out. In

addition it includes a political debate between Nigel Farage and the Liberal Democrat's leader Nick Clegg on the EU.

Given the hypothesis of the research a specific chapter is assigned to populism as an ideology. The idea behind it is to represent the concept to the reader so that it could be compare to the further results from the analysis. To present populism properly it is essential to start from its beginnings. Its first years in the USA and Russia are supposed to show how the phenomenon has started and present its foundational values. Afterwards a differentiation of right and left populism is presented, with the addition of examples from Europe and Latin America. The brief history of populism in the UK is included, in order to connect the whole concept to scene of the research. Finally, the main traits of right-wing populism in the UK are defined depending on the information from the whole chapter.

What comes as an explanation of populism is an interesting concept with four main features. The anti-immigration stance is seen as the most pivotal idea, criticizing illegal immigrants and refugees, and seeing them as a threat to the local population. The negative feelings against different cultures, ethnicities and religions are an extension of this anti-immigration path. When it comes to populism in Europe, another main trait is Euroscepticism. The EU is considered as a problem on an institutional level and as the reason for rising immigration. With its liberal policies and lack of borders it has become as an easy target for anti-immigration moods. Usually they are started by a party leader, who are trying to prove themselves and are looking to gain new voters. The organizational structure of a populist party is very centralized and one person acts as its face. The leader is adopts the image of an ordinary person, part of the masses, who is not related to the corrupt political élite. The strong stance against political élites is often found in populism as a way to reach the middle classes and make promises of a better future.

Media analysis receives a detailed presentation in the thesis, because of its importance in the understanding of the data sources. There are three main concepts connected it – framing, agenda setting and priming. Framing can be observed in mass media, when the presentation of news differentiate in the various sources, thus suggesting different influences on the public. Alternative phrasing could steer general views into a desired direction, consequence of which might be the lack of legitimate representation of public interests. Agenda setting suggests that there is relationship between the emphasis that media puts on a matter and the importance of that matter to the public. Priming, on its behalf, serves as an extension to agenda setting and it suggests that specific issues have to be used as standards for the evaluation of political actors.

When it comes to the analysis of the data sources, the results show different images of UKIP, but acknowledge similarities in the foundation of the party. "The Guardian" has been working on building a negative image of UKIP, because it is a direct opponent to the Liberal Democrats. It presents its approach towards tis main positions, anti-immigration and Euroscepticism, as full of exaggerations. At the same time "The Guardian" concentrates a lot on Nigel Farage, thus accrediting him as a pivotal figure in the party. Its approach towards him is usually full of critiques, both political and personal.

"The Telegraph" take the game of criticizing UKIP and Farage one step further and depict them as extremist. It goes through the same features as "The Guardian" but manages to represent them in a more radical light. Anti-immigration turns into racism, Euroscepticism has evolved into a desire to break up the EU, Nigel Farage is not just incompetent, but he is a hypocrite and criminal. Combining all of that adds to UKIP's anti-establishment stance as it becomes not just a party outside the status quo, but strongly against it.

"BBC News" on the other hand shows a different image of UKIP. It has the same features, but in a much more moderate aspect. The party wants to reduce immigration and regain control over it. When it comes to the EU, it is seen not as a threat to the UK, but as a reason for a lot of its troubles. Also Nigel Farage has a much more likable characteristics in the "BBC News". He is still the strong leader of UKIP, but it is also shown that he is liked by foreign party leader and ordinary people. As a whole, at the end is seen that in spite of the different representation of UKIP in the various media, the main represented features of the party remain the same. What is more to that, those four dimensions, frequently seen in the articles, are completely relevant to the populist definition given by the thesis. Thus UKIP can be labelled as populist according to the leading media in the UK.

Reference list

Abts, K. & Rummens, S., 2007, "Populism versus Democracy", *Political Studies*, vol. 55, p. 405-424.

Acemoglu, D., Egorov, G. & Sonin, K., 2012, "A Political Theory of Populism", *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, p. 771-805, [Electronic] http://qje.oxfordjournals.org/. Download date: 18-02-2014.

Aitkenhead, D., 2014, "Nigel Farage interview: 'To do what I've done, you have to lack self-awareness", Newspaper article [Electronic] http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/25/nigel-farage-ukip-european-parliament-elections Download date: 13-05-2014.

Baggini, J., 2013, *"A very British Populism",* [Electronic] http://counterpoint.uk.com/reports-pamphlets/a-very-british-populism/ Download date: 13-05-2014.

Baxter, P. & Jack, S., 2008, "Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers", *The Qualitative Report*, vol. 13, no. 4.

BBC 1 = BBC website, Section 4: Impartiality Introduction. [Electronic] Available: http://www.bbc.co.uk/editorialguidelines/page/guidelines-impartiality-introduction Download date: 18-05-2014.

BBC News 1 = BBC News Website, Nick Clegg v Nigel Farage: What to watch out for. [Electronic] Available: http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26833994 Download date: 16-05-2014.

BBC News 2 = BBC News Website, Nick Clegg and Nigel Farage in heated BBC debate over EU. [Electronic] Available: http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26843996 Download date: 16-05-2014.

BBC News 3 = BBC News Website, UKIP bans candidate over 'racist views'. [Electronic] Available: http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-27151509 Download date: 16-05-2014.

BBC News 4 = BBC News Website, UKIP attracts 'decent' BNP voters, says Neil Hamilton. [Electronic] Available: http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-27177864 Download date: 16-05-2014.

BBC News 5 = BBC News Website, France's Front National party leader 'opens arms' to UKIP, [Electronic] Available: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-27071002 Download date: 16-05-2014.

Betz, H.G., 1998, "Introduction", in Betz, H.G. & Immerfall, S. *The New Politics of the Right: Neo-Populist Parties and Movements in Established Democracies*. London: MacMillan Press Ltd, p. 1-9.

Brandenburg, H., 2013, *"The Populist Beauty and the Fascist Beast"*, [Electronic] http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/fass/events/epop2013/docs/Widfeldt-Brandenburg%20-%20EPOP2013%20-%20draft.pdf Download date: 13-05-2014.

Bryman, A., 2008, *"Social Research Methods"*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Chong, D. & Druckman, J.N., 2007, "Framing Theory", *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 10, p.103-126. [Electronic] http://www.annualreviews.org/ . Download date: 01-05-2014.

Cline Centre for Democracy 1 = Cline Centre for Democracy at University of Illinois website, Media Data and Social Science Research: Problems and Approaches, [Electronic] Available: http://www.clinecenter.illinois.edu/research/publications/Media%20Data%20and%20Social%20Science%20Research.pdf Download date: 02-05-2014.

d'Ancona, M., 2014, "Nigel Farage is staring down the barrel of his favourite gun", Newspaper article [Electronic] http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10775656/Nigel-Farage-is-staring-down-the-barrel-of-his-favourite-gun.html Download date: 11-05-2014.

Eatwell, R., 1998, "Britain: The BNP and the Problem of Legitimacy", in Betz, H.G. & Immerfall, S. *The New Politics of the Right: Neo-Populist Parties and Movements in Established Democracies*. London: MacMillan Press Ltd, p. 143-149.

Ford, R. & Goodwin, M., 2014, "What's the difference between BNP and Ukip voters?" Newspaper article [Electronic] http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/14/bnp-ukip-voters-politics-immigration Download date: 13-05-2014.

Holehouse 1, M., 2014, "Ukip posterboy suspended after claiming 'Miliband not British'", Newspaper article [Electronic] http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10785963/Ukip-posterboy-suspended-after-claiming-Miliband-not-British.html Download date: 11-05-2014.

Holehouse 2, M., 2014, "Ukip accused of 'hissy fits' as immigration posters launched", Newspaper article [Electronic] http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10777924/Ukip-accused-of-hissy-fits-as-immigration-posters-launched.html Download date: 11-05-2014.

Holehouse 3, M., 2014, "David Cameron: shun extremist Ukip", Newspaper article [Electronic] http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10756888/Cameron-shun-extremist-Ukip.html Download date: 11-05-2014.

Holehouse, M. & Dominczak, P., 2014, "General attacks Nigel Farage over burning flag poster", Newspaper article [Electronic] http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10781878/General-attacks-Nigel-Farage-over-burning-flag-poster.html Download date: 11-05-2014.

Hope, C. & Holehouse, M., 2014, "Ukip posters are 'hard-hitting reflection of reality', says Nigel Farage, as party pledges to spend £3m on Euro elections", Newspaper article [Electronic] http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10778066/Ukip-posters-are-hard-hitting-reflection-of-reality-says-Nigel-Farage-as-party-pledges-to-spend-3m-on-Euro-elections.html Download date: 11-05-2014.

Hutton, W., 2014, "Voters will go on raging at elites while their interests are ignored", Newspaper article [Electronic] http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/06/ukip-nigel-farage-elite-establishment-disaffected-voters-democracy Download date: 13-05-2014.

Immerfall, S., 1998, "The Neo-Populist Agenda", in Betz, H.G. & Immerfall, S. *The New Politics of the Right: Neo-Populist Parties and Movements in Established Democracies*. London: MacMillan Press Ltd, p. 252-259.

Ish-Shalom, P., 2010, "Political constructivism", in Bjola, C. & Kornprobst, M., *"Arguing Global Governance: Agency, Lifeworld and Shared Reasoning"*, New York: Routledge, p. 231-245.

Ivarsflaten, E. & Gudbrandsen, F., "The Populist Radical Right in Western Europe", Website article [Electronic] http://www.nordic-populism.aau.dk/digitalAssets/43/43663_populistright_routledgeregionalsurveys11.pdf Download date: 20-04-2014.

Jenkins, S., 2014, "Nigel Farage – a natural Tory on course to drive the Tories from power", Newspaper article [Electronic] http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/03/nigel-farage-natural-tory-gadfly-cameron-fear-sting Download date: 13-05-2014.

Jowit, J., 2014, "Nick Clegg v Nigel Farage, round 2: getting the facts checked first", Newspaper article [Electronic] http://www.theguardian.com/news/reality-check/2014/apr/01/nick-clegg-v-nigel-farage-debate Download date: 13-05-2014.

Lynch, P., Whitaker, R. & Loomes, G., 2011, "The UK Independence Party: analyzing its candidates and supporters", Website article [Electronic] https://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/politics/documents/centre-right/UKIPCandidatesandSupportersworkingpaper-1.pdf Download date: 17-04-2014.

MacRae, D., 1969, "Populism as an Ideology", in Ionescu, G. & Gellner, E., *"Populism: Its Meanings and National Characteristics"*, Letchworth: The Garden City Press Limited, p. 154-163.

Mayring, P., 2000, "Qualitative Content Analysis", Website article [Electronic] http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1089/2385%3E Download date: 08-04-2014.

McFarlane, A., 2014 "Migrant 'flood', leaving Camp Bastion and a 'Workers' Party to rival Labour" Website article. 02-04-2014. [Electronic] http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-the-papers-26846488. Download date: 16-05-2014.

Minogue, K., 1969, "Populism as a Political Movement", in Ionescu, G. & Gellner, E, *"Populism: Its Meanings and National Characteristics"*, Letchworth: The Garden City Press Limited, p. 199-208.

Moreton, C. & Bingham, J., 2014, "Cardinal warns politicians over 'alarmist' immigration rhetoric", Newspaper article [Electronic] http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/10778468/Cardinal-warns-politicians-over-alarmist-immigration-rhetoric.html Download date: 11-05-2014.

Mudde, C., 2013, "Three Decades of Populist Radical Right Parties in Western Europe: So What?", *European Journal of Political Research,* vol. 52, no. 1, p. 1-19.

Mulhall, J., 2013, "UKIP A Brief History", Website article [Electronic] http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/ukip/history Download date: 26-04-2014.

Navia, P. & Walker, I., 2008, "Political Institutions, Populism, and Democracy in Latin America", in Mainwaring, Scott and Timothy R. Scully (ed). *Democratic Governance in Latin America*. Stanford University Press, 2008, p. 1-28.

Nyenhuis, R., 2013, "A Comparative Analysis of Populism: Latin America and Europe", Website paper [Electronic] http://cprg.polisci.ucla.edu/nyenhuis.pdf Download date: 22-04-2014.

Parkinson, J., 2014, "Profile: UKIP leader Nigel Farage" Website article. 2-04-2014, [Electronic] http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26823817 Download date: 16-05-2014.

Perkins, A., 2014, "Nigel Farage's decision not to stand in Newark is a crushing disappointment", Newspaper article [Electronic] http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/30/nigel-farage-newark-byelection-crushing-disappointment-ukip Download date: 13-05-2014.

Rifkind, M., 2014, "Nigel Farage is a buffoon for admiring Vladimir Putin", Newspaper article [Electronic] http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10737184/Nigel-Farage-is-a-buffoon-for-admiring-Vladimir-Putin.html Download date: 11-05-2014.

Ross, T., 2014, "Ukip in new racism row after Lenny Henry insult", Newspaper article [Electronic] http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10790504/Ukip-in-new-racism-row-after-Lenny-Henry-insult.html Download date: 11-05-2014.

Sadovnik, A. R., 2007, "Qualitative Research and Public Policy" in Fischer, F., Miller, G. J. & Sidney, M. S., *"Handbook of Public Policy Analysis: Theory, Politics and Methods"*, Boca Raton: CRC Press, p. 417-429.

Scheufele, D.A. & Tewksbury, D., 2007, "Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models", *Journal of Communication*, vol. 57, p. 9–20.

Schofield, H., 2014, "UKIP's Farage finds new French ally" Website article. 14-04-2014, [Electronic] http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-eu-27026805 Download date: 16-05-2014.

Stewart, L., 2014 "European Elections: UKIP's chances in the South East" Website article. 24-04-2014, [Electronic] http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-27139448 Download date: 16-05-2014.

Stoddard, K., 2010, "Newspaper support in UK general elections", Newspaper article [Electronic] http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2010/may/04/general-election-newspaper-support Download date: 04-05-2014.

Sully, A., 2014, "Bank bonuses banned and Prince George 'the star'" Website article. 26-04-2014, [Electronic] http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-the-papers-27167063 Download date: 16-05-2014.

Swinford, S. & Hope, C., 2014, "Nigel Farage scores victory over Nick Clegg as second TV debate turns nasty", Newspaper article [Electronic] http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newstopics/eureferendum/10740795/Nigel-Farage-scores-victory-over-Nick-Clegg-as-second-TV-debate-turns-nasty.html Download date: 11-05-2014.

Taggart, P., 2004, "Populism and representative politics in contemporary Europe", *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol. 9, no. 3, p. 269-288.

The Guardian 1 = The Guardian website, Farage vs Clegg - the rematch, [Electronic] Available http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/03/garage-clagg-replay Download date: 13-05-2014.

The Telegraph 1 = The Telegraph website, MEPs' pension is more ammunition for Ukip, [Electronic] Available http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/eu/10777442/MEPs-pension-is-more-ammunition-for-Ukip.html Download date: 11-05-2014.

Traynor, I., 2014, "Nigel Farage conjures up a populist view of an EU that does not exist", Newspaper article [Electronic] http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/02/nigel-farage-populist-view-eu Download date: 13-05-2014.

UKIP Strourbridge 1 = UKIP Strourbridge branch website, UKIP History, [Electronic] Available http://www.ukipstourbridge.org/ukip-history.php Download date: 13-04-2014.

UKIP Website 1 = UKIP Official website, What We Stand For, [Electronic] Available http://www.ukip.org/issues Download date: 14-04-2014.

UKIP Website 2 = UKIP Official website, About Nigel, [Electronic] Available http://www.ukip.org/about_nigel Download date: 14-04-2014.

Wagenaar, H., 2011, *"Meaning in Action"*, New York: M.E. Sharpe Inc.

Wiles, P., 1969, "A Syndrome not a Doctrine: Some Elementary Theses on Populism", in Ionescu, G. & Gellner, E., *"Populism: Its Meanings and National Characteristics"*, Letchworth: The Garden City Press Limited, p. 166-177.

Wintour, P., Watt, N. & Mason, R., 2014, "Farage v Clegg: Ukip leader triumphs in second televised debate", Newspaper article [Electronic] http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/02/nigel-farage-triumphs-over-nick-clegg-second-debate Download date: 13-05-2014.

Worsley, P., 1969, "The Concept of Populism", in Ionescu, G. & Gellner, E., *"Populism: Its Meanings and National Characteristics"*, Letchworth: The Garden City Press Limited, p. 220-247.

Zhang, Y. & Wildemuth, B.M., 2009, "Qualitative analysis of content", In B. Wildemuth (Ed.), *Applications of Social Research Methods to Questions in Information and Library*, [Electronic] http://ils.unc.edu/~yanz/Content_analysis.pdf Download date: 08-04-2014.

Appendix 1 – The Guardian articles

Labour beware: how elite candidates create an opening for Ukip - http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/01/labour-beware-elite-candidates-opening-ukip-stephen-kinnock

Nick Clegg aims to show emotional side in second debate with Nigel Farage - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/01/nick-clegg-second-debate-nigel-farage

Nick Clegg v Nigel Farage, round 2: welcome to the age of the benefight - http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/02/nick-clegg-v-nigel-farage-benefight

Nick Clegg v Nigel Farage, round 2: getting the facts checked first - http://www.theguardian.com/news/reality-check/2014/apr/01/nick-clegg-v-nigel-farage-debate

Lord Heseltine: Ukip's racial overtones have same impact as far-right leaders - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/02/lord-heseltine-ukip-racial-overtones-impact-far-right

Nigel Farage conjures up a populist view of an EU that does not exist - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/02/nigel-farage-populist-view-eu

Even Lib Dem voters thought Farage won the debate against Clegg - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/02/poll-farage-clegg-tv-debate

Farage versus Clegg debate a tame pub brawl on TV - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/02/john-craces-sketch-farage-versus-clegg-debate-tame-pub-brawl

Farage v Clegg: Ukip leader triumphs in second televised debate - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/02/nigel-farage-triumphs-over-nick-clegg-second-debate

Nick Clegg says he fully expected to lose debate with Nigel Farage - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/03/nick-clegg-fully-expected-to-lose-debate-nigel-farage

Nigel Farage – a natural Tory on course to drive the Tories from power - http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/03/nigel-farage-natural-tory-gadfly-cameron-fear-sting

Farage vs Clegg - the rematch - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/03/garage-clagg-replay

Voters will go on raging at elites while their interests are ignored - http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/06/ukip-nigel-farage-elite-establishment-disaffected-voters-democracy

Pro-Europeans who shrug off Nigel Farage do so at their peril - http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/06/europe-ukip-pro-europeans-nigel-farage-nick-clegg

David Cameron to warn voters not to fall for 'extremist' anti-EU message - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/10/david-cameron-voters-extremist-anti-eu-message-elections

Ukip is the party with most reasons to be cheerful ahead of European elections - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/10/ukip-party-most-reasons-cheerful-ahead-european-elections

What's the difference between BNP and Ukip voters? - http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/14/bnp-ukip-voters-politics-immigration

Farage under fire over MEP expenses claims - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/15/nigel-farage-under-fire-over-office-expenses

Nigel Farage's expenses: what are the allegations and what does he say? - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/15/nigel-farage-expenses-allegations-ukip

Ukip goes to war with Times over Farage expenses claims - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/15/ukip-farage-expenses-times-journalists

Nigel Farage: high stakes for Ukip - http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/15/nigel-farage-high-stakes-for-ukip

Nigel Farage rejects 'outrageous' EU expenses allegations - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/15/nigel-farage-rejects-outrageous-eu-expenses-allegations

Nigel Farage rejects offer of Ukip tie to French far-right Front National - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/18/nigel-farage-rejects-ukip-tie-french-front-national

Beware the fake patriots' anger on immigration - http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/19/pity-poor-immigrants-coming-to-britain

Ukip demotes Neil Hamilton as party fears over sleaze grow - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/19/neil-hamilton-ukip-demoted-sleaze-fears

Nigel Farage targets Labour heartland as poll shows Ukip support undamaged - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/21/nigel-farage-ukip

Where would you rather live – Great Britain or little England? - http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/21/great-britain-little-england-europe-eu-lib-dem-win

Ukip part of 'longstanding Eurosceptic establishment', says Nick Clegg - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/21/ukip-longstanding-eurosceptic-establishment-nick-clegg

Nigel Farage defends Ukip's election campaign after critics call ads racist - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/21/nigel-farage-ukip-election-campaign-racist-immigration-european-parliament

Nigel Farage launches Ukip campaign amid criticism of 'racist' rhetoric - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/22/nigel-farage-ukip-european-elections-campaign

Revolt on the Right by Robert Ford and Matthew Goodwin – review - http://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/apr/23/revolt-on-right-robert-ford-matthew-goodwin-review

Nigel Farage: a pustule of resentment on the body politic - http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/23/nigel-farage-ukip-pustule-resentment-body-politic

Vote for Ukip to shake up British politics - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/24/vote-ukip-shake-up-politics

Why is no one hastening Ukip's demise? - http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/25/ukip-unravel-political-andre-lampitt

Nigel Farage interview: 'To do what I've done, you have to lack self-awareness' - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/25/nigel-farage-ukip-european-parliament-elections

Ukip: between force and farce - http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/25/ukip-farage-between-force-farce-editorial

Ukip can only be beaten 'if MPs embrace stricter rules for themselves' - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/27/ukip-mps-stricter-rules-fabian-research

Ukip likely to come out top in European elections, warn Hain and Tebbit - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/27/ukip-likely-win-european-elections-despite-racism-scandals

Ukip has no policies beyond EU and immigration, says Green party leader - http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2014/apr/28/ukip-policies-eu-immingration-green-party

The enemy invasion: Brussels braced for influx of Eurosceptics in EU polls - http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/apr/28/brussels-braced-influx-eurosceptics-parties-european-union-polls

Anti-Ukip drive should focus on the party being ridiculous rather than racist - http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/29/anti-ukip-campaign-focus-ridiculous-racist-policies

What climate denial, oil addiction and xenophobia have in common: Neocons - http://www.theguardian.com/environment/earth-insight/2014/apr/29/climate-denial-oil-addiction-xenophobia-neocons

10 good reasons not to vote for Ukip - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/29/10-good-reasons-not-vote-ukip-nigel-farage-europe

Nigel Farage to 'think hard' about contesting Newark byelection – http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/30/farage-stand-newark-patrick-mercer

Nigel Farage announces he will not stand in Newark byelection - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/30/nigel-farage-will-not-stand-newark-byelection-ukip

Nigel Farage made the only sensible decision over Newark byelection - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/30/nigel-farage-newark-byelection-sensible-decision

Nigel Farage's decision not to stand in Newark is a crushing disappointment - http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/30/nigel-farage-newark-byelection-crushing-disappointment-ukip

Forget Nigel Farage – the Newark byelection can still be good for Ukip - http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/30/nigel-farage-newark-byelection-good-for-ukip

Newark voters warm to Ukip message despite cold shoulder from Farage – http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/30/newark-voters-warm-ukip-cold-shoulder-farage

Immigration alone does not explain Ukip's rise - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/30/immigration-doesnt-explain-ukip-rise

Diary: Mr Farage, let migrants know – can they stay or must they go? - http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/apr/30/diary-hugh-muir-nigel-farage-migrants-ros-taylor

Appendix 2 – The Telegraph articles

Nigel Farage is a buffoon for admiring Vladimir Putin - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10737184/Nigel-Farage-is-a-buffoon-for-admiring-Vladimir-Putin.html

Nigel Farage is not up to the job of Ukip leader, says Godfrey Bloom - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10737813/Nigel-Farage-is-not-up-to-the-job-of-Ukip-leader-says-Godfrey-Bloom.html

Nigel Farage to launch personal attack on Clegg's lobbyist past - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10738905/Nigel-Farage-to-launch-personal-attack-on-Cleggs-lobbyist-past.html

Nigel Farage v Nick Clegg: European Union debate, round two highlights - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10739969/Nigel-Farage-v-Nick-Clegg-European-Union-debate-round-two-highlights.html

Nigel Farage scores victory over Nick Clegg as second TV debate turns nasty - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newstopics/eureferendum/10740795/Nigel-Farage-scores-victory-over-Nick-Clegg-as-second-TV-debate-turns-nasty.html

Nigel Farage v Nick Clegg: The gloves come off for the second round - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10739628/Nigel-Farage-v-Nick-Clegg-The-gloves-come-off-forthe-second-round.html

Nigel Farage takes centre stage as Nick Clegg loses his cool authority - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newstopics/eureferendum/10740699/Nigel-Farage-takes-centre-stage-as-Nick-Clegg-loses-his-cool-authority.html

Sketch: Clegg v Farage... and this time it's personal - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10741078/Sketch-Clegg-v-Farage...-and-this-time-its-personal.html

Hey ladies! Nigel Farage's Ukip wants to turn the clock back for women's rights. Fact - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/10741121/Nick-Clegg-v-Nigel-Farage-Hey-ladies-Nigel-Farages-Ukip-wants-to-turn-the-clock-back-for-womens-rights.-Fact.html

David Cameron: Clegg and Farage are both 'extremists' on Europe - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/david-cameron/10741326/David-Cameron-Clegg-and-Farage-are-both-extremists-on-Europe.html

Nigel Farage: I have never taken drugs but they should be legal - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10744924/Nigel-Farage-I-have-never-taken-drugs-but-they-should-be-legal.html

Nigel Farage: Maureen Lipman to blame for too many people with degrees - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10745193/Nigel-Farage-Maureen-Lipman-to-blame-for-too-many-people-with-degrees.html

A pint and a fag with Nigel Farage - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/tvandradio/10739380/A-pint-and-a-fag-with-Nigel-Farage.html

Reassurance - not revolution - is the Tory mantra for 2015 - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/conservative/10746484/Reassurance-not-revolution-is-the-Tory-mantra-for-2015.html

Maria Miller's farrago is a timely favour for Ukip - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newstopics/mps-expenses/conservative-mps-expenses/10748680/Maria-Millers-farrago-is-a-timely-favour-for-Ukip.html

David Cameron: shun extremist Ukip - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10756888/Cameron-shun-extremist-Ukip.html

Cameron launches attack on 'dishonest extremist' Ukip - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10758746/Cameron-launches-attack-on-dishonest-extremist-Ukip.html

David Cameron must rise to the challenge of Ukip in Euro elections - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10760294/David-Cameron-must-rise-to-the-challenge-of-Ukip-in-Euro-elections.html

Maureen Lipman: Nigel Farage should take a media studies degree and become a comedian - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/educationnews/10763032/Maureen-Lipman-Nigel-Farage-should-take-a-media-studies-degree-and-become-a-comedian.html

Nigel Farage: Alex Salmond is not offering Scots 'true independence' – http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/10763685/Nigel-Farage-Alex-Salmond-is-not-offering-Scots-true-independence.html

Farage could face investigation into EU expenses - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10766558/Farage-could-face-investigation-into-EU-expenses.html

Nigel Farage would welcome investigation into 'missing £60k EU expenses' - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10766862/Nigel-Farage-would-welcome-investigation-into-missing-60k-EU-expenses.html

Nigel Farage has 'questions' to answer over office, election watchdog says - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10768776/Nigel-Farage-has-questions-to-answer-over-office-election-watchdog-says.html

Nigel Farage is staring down the barrel of his favourite gun - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10775656/Nigel-Farage-is-staring-down-the-barrel-of-his-favourite-gun.html

MEPs' pension is more ammunition for Ukip - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/eu/10777442/MEPs-pension-is-more-ammunition-for-Ukip.html

Ukip accused of 'hissy fits' as immigration posters launched - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10777924/Ukip-accused-of-hissy-fits-as-immigration-posters-launched.html

Ukip posters are 'hard-hitting reflection of reality', says Nigel Farage, as party pledges to spend £3m on Euro elections - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10778066/Ukip-posters-are-hard-hitting-reflection-of-reality-says-Nigel-Farage-as-party-pledges-to-spend-3m-on-Euro-elections.html

No more surrendering to EU bureaucrats - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10778613/No-more-surrendering-to-EU-bureaucrats.html

Cardinal warns politicians over 'alarmist' immigration rhetoric - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/10778468/Cardinal-warns-politicians-over-alarmist-immigration-rhetoric.html

Nigel Farage denies new Ukip poster campaign is racist - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10779594/Nigel-Farage-denies-new-Ukip-poster-campaign-is-racist.html

Nigel Farage launches Ukip European election campaign in Sheffield - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10779971/Nigel-Farage-launches-Ukip-European-election-campaign-in-Sheffield.html

Nigel Farage: no Briton could work as hard as my German wife - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10780516/Nigel-Farage-no-Briton-could-work-as-hard-as-my-German-wife.html

Nigel Farage 'must be laughing all the way to the vote-bank' - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10781017/Nigel-Farage-must-be-laughing-all-the-way-to-the-vote-bank.html

General attacks Nigel Farage over burning flag poster - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10781878/General-attacks-Nigel-Farage-over-burning-flag-poster.html

Nigel Farage, if your wife really is answering your emails at midnight, shame on you - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-politics/10782938/Nigel-Farage-if-your-wife-really-is-answering-your-emails-at-midnight-shame-on-you.html

Immigration means a new house every seven minutes, says Ukip - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10784194/Immigration-means-a-new-house-every-seven-minutes-says-Ukip.html

Ukip posterboy suspended after claiming 'Miliband not British' - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10785963/Ukip-posterboy-suspended-after-claiming-Miliband-not-British.html

Nigel Farage: 'we haven't got a monopoly on stupid people' - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10787246/Nigel-Farage-we-havent-got-a-monopoly-on-stupid-people.html

Face of Ukip is EU immigrant - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10787759/Face-of-Ukip-is-EU-immigrant.html

Nigel versus the North: a week on tour with Ukip - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10788721/Nigel-versus-the-North-a-week-on-tour-with-Ukip.html

Ukip in new racism row after Lenny Henry insult - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10790504/Ukip-in-new-racism-row-after-Lenny-Henry-insult.html

Tory minister tears into Ukip: party attracts racist candidates - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10791071/Tory-minister-tears-into-Ukip-party-attracts-racist-candidates.html

Nigel Farage could become MP within weeks after Mercer quits - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10796941/Nigel-Farage-could-become-MP-within-weeks-after-Mercer-quits.html

Ed Miliband must aim to reduce inequality, not the size of gas bills - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/labour/10796031/Ed-Miliband-must-aim-to-reduce-inequality-not-the-size-of-gas-bills.html

Nigel Farage 'bottles it' by not contesting the Newark by-election - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10797659/Nigel-Farage-bottles-it-by-not-contesting-the-Newark-by-election.html

This assault on the City shows you cannot reason with Europe - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/newsbysector/banksandfinance/10803932/This-assault-on-the-City-shows-you-cannot-reason-with-Europe.html

Analysis: The lesson from a Canadian teacher which stopped Nigel Farage fighting the Tories in Newark - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10799457/Analysis-The-lesson-from-a-Canadian-teacher-which-stopped-Nigel-Farage-fighting-the-Tories-in-Newark.html

Nigel Farage was 'indecisive' over whether to fight the Tories over Newark, says one of his ex-MEPs - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10799714/Nigel-Farage-was-indecisive-over-whether-to-fight-the-Tories-over-Newark-says-one-of-his-ex-MEPs.html

Appendix 3 – BBC News articles

Unite's Len McCluskey warns over Labour 'defeat' in 2015 - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26832994

Migrant 'flood', leaving Camp Bastion and a 'Workers' Party to rival Labour' - http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-the-papers-26846488

Profile: UKIP leader Nigel Farage - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26823817

Nick Clegg v Nigel Farage: What to watch out for - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26833994

Ding ding: Round two of Clegg v Farage - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26857969

A week's a long time in EU debates - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26862019

Nick Clegg and Nigel Farage in heated BBC debate over EU - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26843996

'Killer' smog, GCSE revamp, 'start school aged two' and Grand National 'formula' - http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-the-papers-26862039

Farage v Clegg – the verdict - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26864280

At-a-glance: Key bits of Clegg v Farage EU debate - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26859392

Cameron: Clegg and Farage on 'extremes' of EU debate - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26865692

Far-right youth movement seeks 'Europe of Fatherlands' - http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-eu-26890988

Row over 'racist' posters in Belfast - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-26928990

Arlene Foster hits back on 'imported' Harland and Wolff jobs - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-26944507

European elections: Juncker the bookies' favourite - http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-eu-26961261

Bristol UKIP candidate hopeful in party selection row - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-bristol-26968592

European elections: PM launches Tory campaign with UKIP broadside - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26968252

UKIP's Farage finds new French ally - http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-eu-27026805

Nigel Farage rejects EU allowances allegations - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-27030660

France's Front National party leader 'opens arms' to UKIP - http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-27071002

Papers focus on Labour election plans and resignation of Tory-appointed bankrupt - http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-the-papers-27092544

Cardinal calls for 'respect' in immigration debate - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-27107166

UKIP immigration policy - the wife test - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-27116110

UKIP's Nigel Farage promises political 'earthquake' - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-27105374

UKIP angry over similarly named rival party - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-27126465

European elections: Clegg urges Lib Dems to combat 'EU myth-makers' - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-27129819

European Elections: UKIP's chances in the South East - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-27139448

Ed Miliband tackles zero-hours contracts - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-27151514

UKIP bans candidate over 'racist views' - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-27151509

Is Germany becoming more Eurosceptic? - http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-eu-27155893

UKIP embroiled in row over use of actor in poster campaign - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-27154700

Bank bonuses banned and Prince George 'the star' - http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-the-papers-27167063

The return of 'Plebgate' and the seemingly irresistible rise of Ukip - http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-the-papers-27176507

UKIP candidate William Henwood defends Lenny Henry tweet - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-27176803

UKIP attracts 'decent' BNP voters, says Neil Hamilton - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-27177864

Welsh Tories focus on EU reform at manifesto launch - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-wales-politics-27188050

Immigration - A racing certainty - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-27210561

Former Tory MP Mercer resigns after Commons suspension - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-27208966

Nigel Farage's 'by-election bid', Harry and Cressida 'split' and Ann Maguire tributes - http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-the-papers-27215173

A pint with Nigel Farage as he mulled big decision - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-27218755

Why Farage not standing in by-election matters - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-27225419

English Democrats demand 'revolt' at elections launch - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-27218757

It's not just Farage who is afraid - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-27226558

UKIP's Nigel Farage says he will not stand in Newark poll - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-27216172

European elections: English Democrats 'to challenge UKIP' - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-27225151

UKIP: Farage walkabout cancelled on safety grounds - http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-27221134