



# Framing the vote for Brexit

- The Leave campaign and the EU-referendum

Bachelor Thesis Autumn 2016

Author: Emmy Lundblad

Supervisor: Hanna Bäck

2017-01-04

# Abstract

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of June the British electorate chose to vote in favour of leaving the EU. The fact that one of the prominent states will leave the EU project is in itself controversial. This thesis examines the Leave campaign through a framing analysis. A qualitative method is used in order to identify the frames within publications made by the campaign, during April-June of 2016. The content of the frames corresponds to Eurosceptic arguments used in previous EU-referendums. The study also elaborates briefly on how these frames interacted with tendencies in the public, through a discussion of the strength of the frames. The Leave campaign successfully connected the question of EU membership to national issues such as immigration, economics and public services. This thesis provides findings that can be used in a more comprehensive framing analysis in order to establish framing effects and to a deeper understanding of how the communication of the political elite mobilized voters in the EU-referendum.

Keywords: *Framing, Brexit, EU-referendum, UK, Euroscepticism*

Words: 9916

# Table of content

<b>1. Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2. The concept of Framing .....</b>	<b>3</b>
2.1 An overview.....	3
2.2. Framing in the referendum setting .....	4
2.2.1 Traditional response to opinion formation .....	4
2.2.2 A modern contribution .....	5
2.3 The strength of a frame .....	6
2.4 Euroscepticism: the expected frame content.....	7
<b>3. Methodology .....</b>	<b>8</b>
3.1 A case study of the EU-referendum.....	8
3.2 The qualitative apparatus .....	9
3.3 Material .....	10
<b>4. Context of the EU-referendum.....</b>	<b>12</b>
4.1 Party structure and the campaigns .....	12
4.3 The media framing of EU in the UK.....	13
4.3.1 UK Media Frames during the 2000s.....	13
4.3.2 UK Media during the campaign.....	14
<b>5. Results .....</b>	<b>15</b>
5.1 The Frames in the Leave campaign.....	15
5.1.1 The Sovereignty Frame.....	15
5.1.2 The Value Frame.....	17
5.1.3 The Economy Frame .....	17
5.1.4 Immigration and Public Services Frame .....	18
5.1.5 Immigration and National Security Frame .....	19
5.1.6 Immigration and Wages Frame.....	20
5.1.7 Candidate Countries Frame .....	21
5.1.8 The Future Deal Frame .....	21
5.2 Discussion: Availability and Applicability .....	22
<b>6. Conclusion .....</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>References .....</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>Appendix .....</b>	<b>28</b>
A1. Material divided into time-periods .....	28
A2. Frames .....	30
A3. Material categorized after frame content.....	35

# 1. Introduction

The result of the British EU-referendum in June this year surprised a whole world. The United Kingdom, seen as a prominent voice within the EU voted to leave. Economists and experts shook their heads – this is not rational! Brexit has left us with a lot of unanswered questions and is therefore an interesting case to analyse. If it was not the economic benefits of a single market that prevailed, what was it? Any election is a complex phenomenon with many factors interacting such as party structure and public opinion to mention some. This thesis will more specifically look into the Leave-campaign and the statements made by the Brexit advocates.

The theoretical basis is collected from framing, which seeks to reveal the potential connections between political messages and public opinion. These framing effects occur under certain conditions and can be more or less effective. It focuses on the role of communication and how the media or political elite, frame issues in particular ways in order to reach out to the public and cause a shift in the public opinion or mobilize voters. This thesis will view framing from an external perspective, therefore examine the communication from the political elite and map out which frames the Leave-campaign used during the election. This is the principle purpose of the thesis. The frames identified will also be discussed in relation to issue saliency of the British public and news coverage in the media, this will serve as a closing discussion. The discussion will therefore mention briefly the potential process of framing based on the findings and on the background research. Further the thesis will provide a deeper understanding of the EU-UK relationship through the framing analysis. The election outcome was a hard blow against the administration in Brussels and towards the stability of the Union. Therefore it is important to understand how the Leave campaign interacted with the British electorate. The thesis will follow this research question;

- *Which frames did Vote Leave use during the official campaign of the EU-referendum?*

The aim of this thesis is therefore to elaborate on framing occurring through political campaigning. It will not be able to determine any causality in the relationship between frames and public opinion, but rather give a broad picture over how politicians talk about the EU in this context and how this interacts with tendencies in the public. In a time like this, when the EU is expanding and at the same time, loud voices call for changes within that same institution it is relevant to examine these arguments. The purpose is to give an insight on the elite framing by the winning party in the context of the EU-referendum in the UK. This can be considered as a step in analysing the electoral result and this thesis will thus contribute to one aspect by identifying the frames used by the Leave campaign. Within framing research there is very little unity on how to identify frames, this thesis will hopefully add to this debate by suggesting a model of qualitative research design. This is elaborated further in section 3.2. In the next section the framing process will be described along with previous research on EU-referendums and suggests what frames that are likely to be found in the material. Section 3 presents the method and material used in this thesis. The last part of the thesis outlines the context of the UK

referendum, the empirical results and a closing discussion were the frames' contents are related to issue saliency by the media and the public to determine their potential strength.

## 2. The concept of Framing

### 2.1 An overview

Framing is an interdisciplinary field that contains perspectives from a wide range of different subjects. It is essentially a theory of communication and it involves the question of how an issue is presented and how it is received. A communicator uses a frame to make an issue receivable to an audience by appealing to underlying values or experiences and by making issues less complex (Scheufele & Tewksbury 2007 p. 11-12). The audience use the frame as a coping mechanism in order to interpret the information by applying ideas and beliefs that are mentally stored as guidelines (Scheufele 1999 p.107). This is labelled *media frame* and *individual frame* respectively (Chong & Druckman 2007a p.100-101). The definition of a frame used in this thesis is the one provided by Entman (1993),

” [...] to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (Entman 1993 p.52)

Frames works through saliency, when it creates meaning and highlights an issue by for example using familiar symbols that in turn is recognized by the receiver. It also selects a specific view on reality and on the issue while ignoring the alternatives. When a frame spreads, it can be adopted by the media and contribute to portraying a dominant problem definition at the expense of other views (Entman 1993 p.53-54). Framing can thus be used to analyse,

”[...] how messages, based on certain patterns of emphasis and exclusion, can structure the thinking of the people who encounter them” (Mcleod & Shah 2015 p.11)

In this way, a political issue can be presented in different frames. For example; EU-integration can be framed as a question of economic gains, a national sovereignty threat or a peace project. Different factors interplay here and the message sent will invoke different perceptions within the audience depending on the interests at stake and the individuals' own cognitive understandings of what is most salient in the specific context (Chong & Druckman 2007a p.101). In the field of framing there is a large spread of theoretical approaches explaining different steps in this chain. The process and the different orientations in the field of framing can be explained by *Frame-building* that includes the factors, which affect the construction of a media frame. Journalists, political elite and social movements all interact in this process of determining a frame. *Frame-setting* treats the interaction of the media frame and the individual frame. It examines under which conditions the individual uses its frame (i.e. the psychological process) and to what degree. A setting can be exposure to news in general or as in this case within the context of a referendum. *Frame-consequences* focuses to a large extent on the individual frame, such as a shift in opinion, attitude or behaviour. The consequences can also be considered on a societal level in forming collective action and decision making

(Scheufele 1999 p.115-117)(Chong & Druckman 2007a p.101)(de Vreese & Lecheler 2012 p.293-294). Reese (2010 p.19) distinguishes framing analysis into “what” and “how”. The former perspective is frame-centric and is focused on the content of a frame, this is also the main purpose of this study. The what-step is necessary in order to move towards the “how”, meaning the process of framing. The scope of this thesis does not allow for a complete framing analysis. The process of framing will be mentioned through a short discussion at the end of the thesis.

## 2.2. Framing in the referendum setting

This section will present how framing works in the setting of a referendum. It is divided into two sections and presents some of the literature on this area.

### 2.2.1 Traditional response to opinion formation

In the area of opinion formation Hobolt (2009) offers a spatial model to explain the underlying formation process. A voter considers the referendum on EU-integration; First the voter will evaluate how well the proposal is in line with her own preferences (proximity). This also depends on the voter’s knowledge of the issue (political awareness). At this stage the voter incorporates other considerations not directly related to the issue in question, such as domestic politics (secondary preferences). But there is also uncertainty; voters do not have perfect information. Hobolt theorize that information given by the campaign will influence preferences when voters are uncertain or have little information of the ballot in question (Hobolt 2009 p.41-44). When exposed to intense campaigning and a large number of different perspectives, voters tend to rely on their attitude and feelings towards the EU when casting their vote (Hobolt 2009 p.107). Frames are especially efficient in establishing firm opinions when they address pre-existing attitudes (Hobolt 2009 p.131).

LeDuc (2002) considers the nature of the referendum by dividing between familiar issues and special issues. The former one consist of a referendum connected to traditional social cleavages and ideology were the parties’ positions are well known and thus familiar (LeDuc 2002 p.714). These are considered more stable and voters’ opinions are also more stable and less affected by campaign information (LeDuc 2002 p.718). In contrast, complex and multiple treaties or issues and divisions within parties characterize the special issue referendum (LeDuc 2002 p.717). Under these circumstances the voter volatility is higher and the impact of campaigns on opinions and voting behavior increases. LeDuc also introduces another dynamic, opinion reversal. This occurs when the issue is transformed due to the way it is presented in a campaign. The issue itself is familiar but when framed a certain way it can shift the public opinion (LeDuc 2002 p.718).

## 2.2.2 A modern contribution

The research by Chong and Druckman is frequently quoted in studies on framing effects in referendums and competitive contexts. They base their opinion formation model on two components explained as *evaluation of the object on an attribute* and the *salience weight* given to that attribute. Framing can affect both components. It can increase or change the weight of the existing beliefs within the audience. It can also provide new beliefs, affecting the evaluation process and give new priority when forming an attitude (Chong & Druckman 2007a p.107).

They claim that certain features cooperate in making a frame strong. It has to be *available* in ones memory in order to understand the meaning and content of the frame, in other words familiar. Exposure to a frame will increase the availability. It has to be *accessible* when forming an attitude, the accessibility is explained as the probability that a frame will be taken into account in the individuals evaluation. It also depends on *applicability*, the individual has to consider the frame appropriate in judging the specific issue (Chong & Druckman 2007a p.108-109). In their research they find that the strength of a frame depends on the *availability* and *applicability* foremost. In the competing environment individuals will elaborate and evaluate on the frame's applicability in a higher degree, this is because the competing frames motivates individuals to do so (Chong & Druckman 2007b p.651). Their interpretation of this is that competition reveals true preferences, due to the more intense evaluation process and in making more considerations accessible (Chong & Druckman 2007b p.652).

By using research building on this evidence, Dvořák studies the framing effects in a direct democracy setting (2013 p.373). He challenges LeDucs proposal that opinion reversal is strictly connected to the familiarity of the issue (the awareness). Instead the reversal can happen regardless of the pre-existing knowledge. In an Australian referendum on the constitutional question between monarchy and republic, the polls in the years leading up to the election were in favor of a change towards a republic. But the results of the election in 1999 came in favor of No, meaning against a constitutional change (2013 p.376). Dvořák finds that this had not to do with awareness, rather it was an applicability-effect by the introduction of a new value (frame) which caused a shift in the public opinion (2013 p.378). But he acknowledges the mediating impact of intense campaigning since it introduced the frame, therefore it affects the weight given to a certain issue preference. He also establishes the effect of a strong frame in referendum on EU-integration in the Czech Republic, showing that it can be efficient when it correlates with a strong pre-existing value regardless of political awareness (Dvořák 2013 p.383).

To sum up, the first section relies on opinion formation based on a theory by Zaller (1992). It emphasizes the amount of information (campaign intensity) the individual receives and on the political awareness (electoral knowledge) of the public. The second part of the research has some similarities but offer moderations to the original framework. It concludes that it is not to a large extent the political awareness but how applicable the issue(frame) is considered to be. The intensity of exposure has an effect



on the availability of a frame and competition plays a great role in the evaluation process. What can be learned from this? When an issue is complex and parties do not align in familiar patterns, public opinion is more volatile or more likely to move. The uncertainty and the competition setting of a referendum increase the use of information present in the campaigns.

This in turn creates a breeding ground for framing effects to occur. When processing information, individuals will evaluate over the applicable frames that are most likely in line with their underlying preferences (true preferences) towards the EU. By presenting this image, it also becomes clear that campaigns matter and their potential influence on political behavior makes the British case relevant in a framings analysis (See also Atikcan 2015 p.15).

## 2.3 The strength of a frame

This section will focus on the strength of a frame, meaning its efficiency, with respect to EU campaigns. Due to the excluding and compromising character of a frame, this effectiveness does not depend on accuracy but rather on how it interacts with tendencies in the public opinion. The framework is collected from an extensive framing analysis of five EU-referendums in Europe and will serve as a guideline for my discussion in section 5.2 (Atikcan 2015) (See also McLeod & Shah 2015 for a similar model).

Following Chong and Druckman, Atikcan (2015 p.20) concludes that a strong (effective) frame is decided by its availability and applicability. The availability is affected by exposure to the frame, in the way that the receiver can connect certain attributes to a certain issue. An association process can resemble it; the EU can thus be associated with economic growth, the euro or immigration to mention some. Applicability is made present especially during elections and is connected to issues currently valued important by the public (Atikcan 2015 p.142). A frame is applicable when a receiver or voter can relate the frame to issues regarded as salient and when this relationship is considered to be relevant. Further it is common for campaign frames to use domestic and European factors combined, which motivates the relationship between domestic issue saliency and the content of the frames. This is especially true for strong no-campaigns in the EU context, when they successfully create a link between the domestic and the European level (Atikcan 2015 p.13).

The strength of a frame will differ along contexts and depends on the issue in question. This requires information on what the public considers to be the most important issues during the campaigns. In such, linkages can be made between the frames provided by the campaign and the publics' issue saliency. It is not possible to make a causal interpretation of this relationship but it will however be apparent if there is any correspondence between them.

## 2.4 Euroscepticism: the expected frame content

This section presents previous research on EU-referendums and attitudes towards the EU. It is considered an appropriate procedure within framing to use previous research as a model for the text analysis since it gives the analysis a more focused structure (Hertog & Mcleod 2001 p.151).

The frame content that is expected to be present in the Leave-campaign stems from a definition of 'hard Euroscepticism' explained as a rejection of the EU project (Taggart & Szczerbiak 2002 p.27). This scepticism portrays the EU as an enemy that poses a threat to one's culture, ideology or national sovereignty (Scnapper 2015 p.63-64). This definition of Euroscepticism thus opposes the EU and it is therefore considered likely that the Leave campaign will use a similar rhetoric. Sørensen (2008 p.87) categorizes this into; economic, sovereignty, democratic and social Euroscepticism. The last category, social, is explained as an opposition on the basis of political ideology, this however has the lowest correlation with hard Euroscepticism in her tests (Sørensen 2008 p.100). In the case of the UK, the strongest opposition was found in regard to economics and sovereignty (Sørensen 2008 p.97). A study on survey data from Denmark and the Netherlands found that anti-immigration attitudes were highly correlated with the probability of opposing the EU (de Vreese & Boomgaarden 2006 p.69). The reasoning behind this stems from the idea of immigrants as an out-group, something that does not belong with the in-group (one's own national belonging) which fuels the rejection of the EU project (de Vreese & Boomgaarden 2006 p.65).

This is related to the notion that soft considerations (a somewhat confusing terminology in this case) are becoming more prominent when explaining public opinion on European integration. These soft considerations include national identity, fear of immigration and cultural threats as opposed to hard considerations based on economic evaluations (van Klingeren et al 2013 p. 693). A part from the categories outlined by Sørensen, frames containing anti-immigration content is expected to be found in the Leave campaign. This has also been present in the French referendum on the EU constitution in 2005, appealing to the fear of unemployment and lowering of wages due to the economic migration within the EU. Another theme was the further enlargement of the Union and the accession of Turkey especially, which relates to the question of immigration since this implies the possibility of migrants from Turkey and other candidate countries to gain access to the nation through the free movement (Startin & Krouwel 2013 p.69).

In conclusion, the frames are expected to contain issues of economics, national sovereignty, democracy and immigration foremost. The social category, defined as ideological is, based on the previous research, not expected to be present in any larger degree. The enlargement of the EU and question of new member states is also expected to be a part of the frames' contents. Following the findings from Atikcan (2015 p. 283) these issues are anticipated to be connected with national issues, meaning caused by or further worsened by functions of the EU.

### 3. Methodology

The method approach is qualitative and will be an in-depth analysis of the frames used by the Leave campaign. The approach is based on an operationalized model, used as a guideline in the process of identifying frames (Hertog & Mcleod 2001 p.152)(de Vreese & Lecheler 2012 p.297) (Van Gorp 2007 p.72). An advantage of the qualitative method is to be able to interpret meaning and symbolism compared to a computerized content analysis (Hertog & Mcleod 2001 p.154). Therefore it involves an element of heuristics since frames can include underlying messages and implicit views (Van Gorp 2007 p.71). Much of the previous work uses quantitative methods to establish frames. This thesis can in such be a complement to this, by analysing more in detail how the frames are constructed. Further, a qualitative analysis of the material is always necessary within framing in order to get a foundation for coding or similar methods. Framing contains a broad spectrum of interpretation as it includes the sender, the receiver and the surrounding discourse. The scope of this thesis does not allow for a complete analysis and the focus will be put on the sender, the Leave campaign. It is limited to the frames expressed during the official campaign period April-June 2016. The thesis will however include a discussion in order to outline the potential strength of frames within the context of the UK referendum. When conducting a framing analysis, one should incorporate a contextual background of the election and the media landscape (Hertog & Mcleod 2001 p.149). This is presented in the next chapter (4).

#### 3.1 A case study of the EU-referendum

The EU-referendum in Britain is unique since it is the first and only referendum voting on the question of membership in the EU after voting to join (excluding former colonies such as Algeria and the off-shore territory of Greenland). Other EU-referendums focus on specific treaties such as Maastricht, the European constitution or the Euro. Due to this being a rare event it becomes an interesting focus of analysis. Further, this makes comparison with other referendums difficult, resulting in a single case study. Previous research is however gathered from EU-referendums as the ones mentioned, in order to formulize a theoretical background. The limitations of a qualitative single case study is foremost its inability to generalize the results, this is therefore not the purpose of this study. Rather for the purpose of describing the frames and their strength in this specific context, the case is chosen. This thesis should be regarded as one part out of many required to understand the circumstances and components of this referendum.

The case of the British referendum could also be seen in the backdrop of Europe and EU today. Radical right-wing parties are gaining electoral success in parliaments around the continent and also within the European parliament (Brack & Stratin 2015 p.242). Many of them putting forward a Eurosceptic agenda, affecting the political climate within the EU and Europe. As stated by Brack and Stratin (2015) it has taken Euroscepticism 'from the margins to the mainstream'. If the progress continues there is a possibility that more

countries will follow the UK example and leave the Union. After the election voices called for similar referendums in other member-states (Lyons & Darroch 2016). The election stands for itself as for now, but it increases the relevance for studying Eurosceptic claims and frames in order to better understand how the political elite of today talk about the EU and interacts with the public.

## 3.2 The qualitative apparatus

The definition of a frame is collected from Entman (1993) and will be used as the main framework for the text analysis. Matthes & Kohring (2008 p.266) used a similar operationalization in a computerized cluster analysis where the elements of the frame are defined as variables (See also Bowe et al 2014). I will refer to other scholars in order to describe more thoroughly in each category. Table 1 displays a summary of the operationalized apparatus explained below.

First, a frame contains a dominant *problem definition*. This is regarded as the main issue that is being presented (Entman 1993 p.52). The problem definition states the central concept of the frame. Commonly this can be a conflict between actors or values (Hertog & Mcleod 2001 p.149). As mentioned, frames work through saliency, in such the problem definition is an essential part of communicating this. This part will act as a categorization between frames and labeled by the expected issues mentioned in section 2.4. The *causal interpretation* refers to the outlining of what is presented as the reason to the problem made salient (Entman 1993 p.52). It identifies the linkages made between the issue and what is causing it. Van Gorp (2010 p. 92) calls this the *reasoning device* of the frame; it is vital in connecting the frame presented in a text and the possible cognitive interpretation by the receiver. The Leave campaign will of course portray the EU as the actor causing problems but here I will more specifically expect to find functions within the EU such as the single market or free movement. The way of reasoning is very important since it points out who or what is to blame for the problem made salient.

The *moral evaluation* focuses on actors and their effects, in how they are portrayed (Entman 1993 p. 52). The EU will be described negatively but it is important to notice with what words they are described. There might also be other relevant actors whom in contrast are valued differently. Shah & Mcleod (2015 p.27) exemplifies this by showing how protesters are labeled 'extremists' in order to enhance the message where protesters are framed as deviant. Entman (1993 p.52) also mentions that frames can *suggest remedies*, a solution to the problem. The suggestion is likely to be "vote leave" in the case of the Brexit advocates and some frames might elaborate on the visions of the future of the UK outside the EU. The remedy is not required in order to formulize a frame, it can therefore in some cases be left out.

Another part of a frame is its so-called vocabulary (Hertog & Mcleod 2001 p.150). This usually includes catch-phrases, key-words or stereotypes (Entman 1993 p.52).

Reoccurring stereotypes or use of words can be a guideline in establishing a frame. It also interacts in creating meaning and promotes the view on reality framed in the text.

<b>Section</b>	<b>Example</b>
<b>Problem definition</b>	Economic issue, democratic issue, conflict between actors or values
<b>Causal interpretation/ Reasoning device</b>	Functions within the EU; single market, free borders
<b>Moral evaluation</b>	Labelling of actors or functions in negative terms
<b>Remedy suggestion</b>	Vote leave, leave the EU and what it will lead to
<b>Vocabulary</b>	Key-words, catch-phrases, stereotypes

Table 1. The Frame Apparatus

The apparatus is designed in order to increase the validity of the study. By operationalizing the definition of a frame it is possible to distinguish which part of the texts that are relevant. This will follow for all texts and is used in the same way throughout the whole thesis. The Eurosceptic arguments from section 2.4 are used as a guideline more than strictly exclusive, it will also serve as a function for reliability, by building on previous findings. It removes some of the subjectivity apparent in the interpretation of the material (Teorell & Svensson 2007 p.59).

### 3.3 Material

The source of all analysed material is the official website of Vote Leave (<http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/>) and includes the statements, op-eds and speeches<sup>1</sup> published under the headline 'Briefing room'. Interviews are not included, since they only have quotes from the campaign-members and is also combined with the journalist's interpretation. Therefore are all texts written by those campaigning for Vote Leave. This presents the material that the campaign wanted to highlight and is considered to represent the views of Vote Leave. The material is thus chosen strategically and will of course give a biased representation of the debate but it is not the purpose of this thesis to outline the frames from both camps.

---

<sup>1</sup> If a publication consists of more than one speech, they are analyzed separately

The choice of texts is further limited to certain time-periods. They will correspond with those dates that showed the strongest support for the campaign (see fig 1). The frames will reveal what the campaign expressed during these dates and the days preceding the peaks. The peaks for the Leave campaign were 25-26<sup>th</sup> of April, 1-2<sup>nd</sup> of June, 12-13<sup>th</sup> of June and 20-22<sup>nd</sup> of June, creating three divisions of the material, the end of June is combined into one time-period (12-22<sup>nd</sup> of June). The three time-periods represent April, May (1-2<sup>nd</sup> of June is categorized as May because the texts will be dated in the end of May) and June. The number of publications is also chosen in order to get an even classification, five for each time-period; in total fifteen and they are specified in the appendix A1.

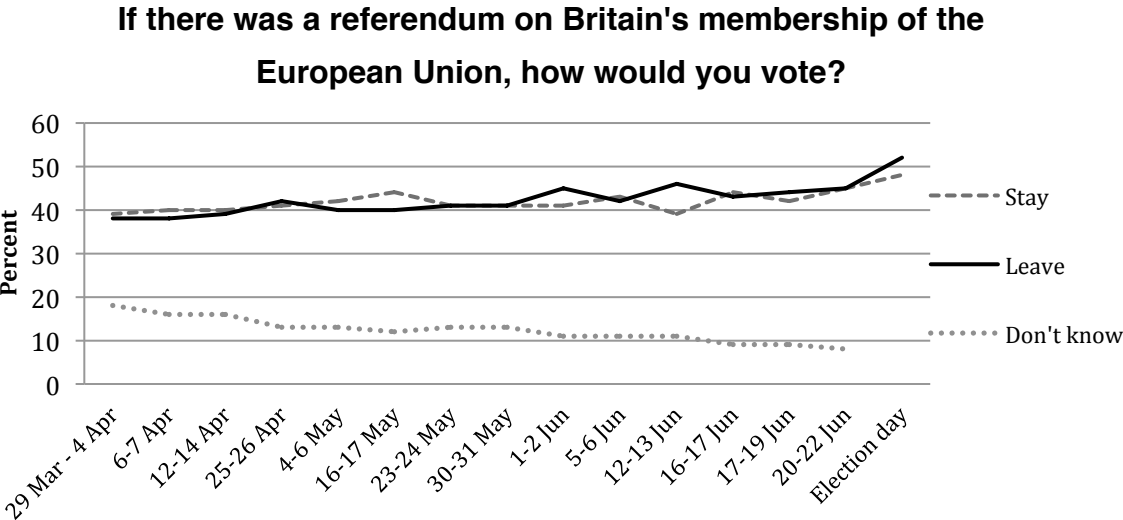


Fig 1. Voter intentions. Source: YouGov

The delimitation of the material is necessary in order to get a manageable amount of text to analyse. This might have implications on the results since not all publications are taken into account, which should be noted when examining the outcome. The material can therefore be considered as a most-likely case of finding frames that are more effective, since they are found during the periods when the Leave campaign had the strongest support. It is also most likely that the framing effects were strongest in this timespan. If framing effects occurred, they will be present during these shifts which creates a good starting-point for a forthcoming analysis of the framing effects in the EU-referendum. This method of material selection is also used in other framing studies focusing on shifts in the public opinion (Hellman 2016 p.25). This study does not represent a full coverage of the campaign and the findings could in the future be complemented with a quantitative analysis for a more comprehensive classification of frames during a longer time-period and the framing process. An advantage of using these time-periods is however the possibility of finding more distinct frames.

# 4. Context of the EU-referendum

## 4.1 Party structure and the campaigns

The incumbent party (Tories) has been divided on the question of EU, resulting in a divided electoral campaign consisting of a multi-party structure in both camps. The Stay-side consisted of MPs (Member of Parliament) from Tories, Labour and SNP (Scottish National Party) foremost. The Prime Minister David Cameron and the Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn were prominent actors in the campaign for remaining in the EU (Hunt & Wheeler 2016). The campaign for remaining in the EU, Britain Stronger In referred to the economic benefits of staying in terms of job opportunities, overall economic growth and the risks involved with leaving the EU (Britain Stronger In 2016). The official campaign for leaving the EU was Vote leave. It primarily consisted of Conservatives but also members of the Labour party and UKIP (the UK Independence Party). Boris Johnson and Michael Grove were key Tory players in this campaign and Labour’s Gisela Stuart was chair of the campaign (Hunt & Wheeler 2016). The main catch-phrase of the Leave campaign was ‘Take back control’, aimed at the undermined autonomy of the national-state that the EU-membership imposes. In contrast to the In-campaign, Vote Leave emphasized the risks of staying in the EU as opposed to the potential risks caused by ending the membership (Vote Leave 2016).

The official campaigns began in April 2016 but the debates begun even earlier and fig 2 shows the opinion polls from August 2015 until January 2016. The support for the Leave campaign was fairly consistent with a slight upward trend while the support for Stay was somewhat more volatile. The percentage of undecided voters increased slightly as the election came closer.

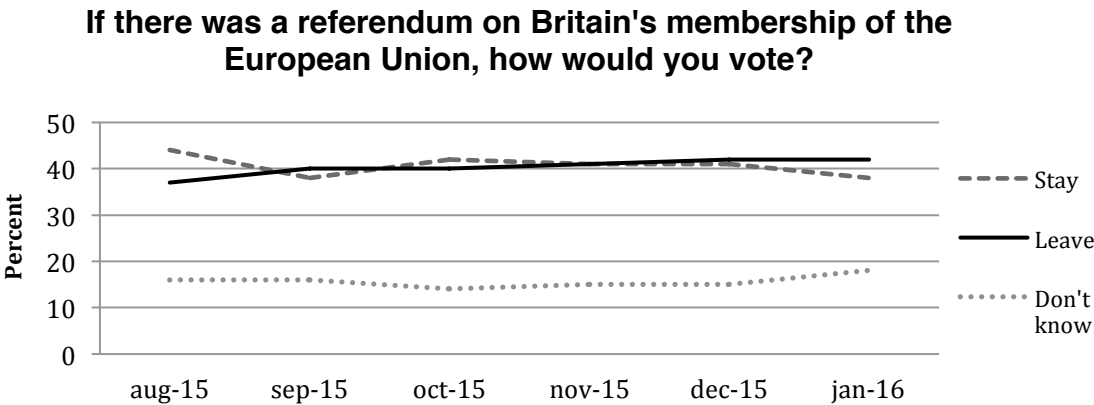


Fig 2. Voter intensions preceding the election. Source: YouGov

The party structures of the campaigns and the complex question of an EU-membership are in line with what LeDuc referred to as a special issue (see section 2.2.1). This together with the competition-setting of the referendum gives support for the fact that voters will gather information from the campaigns in order to make up their mind about

the ballot. In regard to awareness of the EU in general, the British public scored among the lowest of all EU member states according to a survey in May 2015 (Hix 2015).

## 4.3 The media framing of EU in the UK

### 4.3.1 UK Media Frames during the 2000s

In a study from 2010 of seven EU-members, the UK public sphere is described as deviant in regard to EU framing. When comparing frames between countries, the UK present overall more negative frames in respect to the EU (Medrano & Gray 2010 p.209). The categories are represented by economy, democracy and sovereignty. The overrepresentation of the sovereignty-frame is explained by the status of the UK, as a powerful country, not having to depend politically on the EU (Medrano & Gray 2010 p. 198). They also find that framing of national interests are occurring more frequently in British press, in terms of “protecting national interests”. Therefore is EU-integration connected to national interests and British interests should motivate decisions made in regard to the EU. This then creates a linkage between national politics and EU politics (Medrano & Gray 2010 p.216). The framing of the EU in terms of democratic deficits was also commonly used. It resembles the sovereignty frame and points to the unelected Commission, lack of accountability and centralization of EU governance. The researchers hypothesized to find similarities between the UK and France, regarding both as powerful countries but instead found differences. In France, the population relates in a higher degree to Europe and is therefore less Eurosceptic. The UK on the other hand regards its nation-state and the EU as two separate communities, resulting in a greater opposition (Medrano & Gray 2010 p.218).

Stratin (2015 p.313) elaborates on the subject of UK status in international politics, described in terms of its ‘glorious’ role in World War II, its imperialistic heritage and its legacy as a world leader. As a part of British history, it also becomes a part of its citizens’ history along with political elites and inherent in the national identity. In a classification of British newspapers Stratin uses Europositive, Euroambivalent and Eurosceptic. Within the broadsheet papers three are considered positive or ambivalent and two skeptic or ambivalent. The tabloids are however skeptic apart from one classified as ambivalent (Stratin 2015 p.316). The EU is framed frequently in regard to migration in the skeptic tabloids. Concluding that there are EU advocates in the British press represented by Financial Times (the only paper labeled strictly Europositive) and The Guardian but it is the tabloid papers like The Sun and the Daily Express that has the highest circulation figures and thus reaches the most readers.

In conclusion the most frequent media framing has presented a negative picture of the EU in respect to economy, sovereignty, democratic deficit, opposing national interests and immigration.



### 4.3.2 UK Media during the campaign

A group of UK academics has posted articles with statistics and short analyses of the election in regard to media, voters and the campaign, published the week after the election. A content analysis of newspaper articles showed that 41% were in favor of leaving 27% for staying in the EU, 23% were coded as mixed/undecided relating to the ‘ambivalent’ category given by Stratin. The newspapers regarded as most balanced or slightly more Europositive focused on economic issues and the Eurosceptic papers were dominated by issues of migration, sovereignty and security (Levy et al 2016 p.33). In an equal division of pro-in and pro-out papers, five in each part, resulted in a 60% pro-out coverage and 40% pro-in coverage. However when taking into account sales, the pro-out papers climbed up to 80% and the pro-in dropped to 20% (Deacon et al 2016 p.34).

Table 2 presents the findings from the report in respect to which issue was mentioned most in “in” and “out” positive newspapers, all media and in TV news.

<b>Issue/Content</b>	<b>All Media %</b>	<b>Pro-IN Papers %</b>	<b>Pro-OUT Papers %</b>	<b>TV News %</b>
<b>Referendum conduct</b>	30.9	33.5	29.6	28.9
<b>Economy/Business</b>	18.9	18.9	18.9	18.8
<b>Immigration</b>	13.2	9.9	14.8	15.6
<b>Public opinion/citizens</b>	8.0	8.8	5.0	11.3
<b>Constitutional/legal</b>	6.1	5.8	6.7	5.5
<b>Employment</b>	3.6	3.9	3.4	3.4
<b>Defence/security</b>	3.4	2.9	4.4	2.7
<b>Standards/corruption</b>	2.4	2.1	4.2	0.3
<b>Health/Health services</b>	2.3	2.7	2.2	1.7
<b>EU operations</b>	1.7	1.4	1.6	2.4
<b>Housing</b>	0.9	0.7	1.1	0.8
<b>Crime/Law and order</b>	0.9	1.1	1.2	0.0

Table 2. Issue saliency by UK media. Source: Deacon et al 2016 p.35.

The overall coverage for the pro-in and pro-out papers was fairly consistent, also in regard to TV-news. Some categories were mentioned more in the pro-out press such as immigration, constitutional/legal, defence/security and standards/corruption. While the pro-in reveals the largest difference in coverage of public opinion and referendum conduct. TV-news showed higher exposure in regard to immigration, public opinion and EU-operations compared to the papers and media on average.

# 5. Results

The first part of this chapter will outline the frames found in the text analysis. All frames are presented in the appendix A2, it contains summarized quotes of the most distinguishing features of each frame<sup>2</sup>. In A3 it is specified which frames occurred in each text<sup>3</sup>. The second part of the chapter includes a discussion on the availability and applicability (strength) of the frames, in respect to issue saliency of the public and the media (see section 2.3).

## 5.1 The Frames in the Leave campaign

What is apparent and quite clear when going through the material is the overall conflict between the EU and the nation-state. Almost all the frames have this in common and it could therefore be considered to be the overarching frame of this campaign. It goes along with the theme chosen by the Leave campaign to “take back control”. The issue of immigration was widely used by the campaign and the frame is divided into three sub-frames in order to outline the reasoning used. For references to the frames, see the appendix A2.

### 5.1.1 The Sovereignty Frame

As mentioned, the conflict between the EU and the UK overshadows the campaign and is most outspoken in the sovereignty frame. Its problem definition concerns the lost power of the nation-state, transferred to the EU. This regards the issue of sovereignty and law and order, focusing on the overruling European Court of Justice (ECJ). The word sovereignty not mentioned to any larger degree. It is most outspoken in terms of ‘democratic self-rule’, the interpretation that it is an issue of sovereignty is made due to the focus on law and order and the fundamental principle of a nation-state’s power to create its own laws. This is further emphasized by the expansion of the EU, concluding that the lost power will only increase in the future if the British public votes to remain in the Union.

”And if we try to object, the European Court of Justice - the supreme court of the EU - can force us to submit to the judgment of others regardless of what our population, our parliament or even our own judges might think is right.” (Grove 2016-04-19)

---

<sup>2</sup> Each text is analyzed on its own, this is not published in the interest of brevity but available upon request

<sup>3</sup> The speeches are analyzed separately and categorized separately in appendix A3.

The reasoning behind this is expressed by the quote; the UK has to submit itself to the rulings of the court and has little to say about its outcome. British interests are not the same as European interests and this is highlighted by the many times that the UK has been overruled and outvoted in Brussels,

"[...] and that it is now extremely worrying that only 3.6 per cent of EU Commission officials actually come from this country."  
"[...] that the UK is now outvoted more and more often – 72 times in the last 20 years" (Johnson 2016-06-06)

Mentioned here by Boris Johnson, is the lack of representation in the Commission and the many lost cases for the UK. It declares the lost power of the UK by using examples based on facts, sending a message to reader that the operation of the EU is not in the best interest of the UK and is not a legitimate institution to serve the nation-state. The agenda and the goal of the EU and the ECJ is explained as more and deeper integration, at all costs. Commonly, the so-called Five Presidents report is used to describe this. It outlines the steps that are to be taken for the Eurozone, implementation of institutions to create a fiscal union and also mentions 'social cohesion' (European Commission 2016).

"And that means political union. There is no other way. There has to be a single Government structure for the Eurozone. There has to be a United States of the Eurozone. The plans are already taking shape. [...] The Speakers of the biggest Eurozone Parliaments, the Presidents of the big EU institutions have all called for political union."(Grayling 2016-05-31)

Chris Grayling uses the words United States of the Eurozone, others use Federal Super-state (Johnson, B 2016-04-22). The rhetoric is thus focused on the expansion of the EU, the creation of a super-state in combination with the reasoning above that the EU already has too much power. This poses a threat towards the sovereignty of the UK and thus the remedy suggestion is to vote leave and take back control,

"Ladies and Gentlemen, that is not for us. I want us to live in an independent sovereign country. I want us to take back control of our democracy. If we all want that, there is no alternative for us. On June 23rd we have to Vote Leave." (Grayling 2016-05-31).

The prominent actors in this frame are the EU, the nation-state (UK) and the ECJ. The EU and the ECJ are described in similar ways; by democratic deficits such as unaccountability, over-regulating, trumps the decisions of the UK parliament and always in service of greater European integration. In contrast, the UK is described as the one having to give up power and sometimes in as a world leader, whose success outside the Union is a certainty.

The frame presents a view on reality which goes in line with the hard Eurosceptic arguments mentioned in section 2.4. The EU threatens the sovereignty of the nation-state by its overruling court and its agenda to expand its integration further. The question of democratic deficits is weaved in to the frame by discrediting the institutions of the EU as undemocratic and unaccountable.

### 5.1.2 The Value Frame

This frame corresponds to the social category mentioned by Sørensen (2008 p.87). The problem definition concludes that the EU weakens the protection of the core value of the UK, liberal democracy. It therefore has some similarities with the sovereignty frame but focuses on the values more than the concrete issue of losing power.

“If we consider the threats we face today they are - in their origin - ideological”

“If we are to safeguard our country, and indeed our allies, in this world of new dangers then we need not just the right tools we also need to be resolute in our support for the right values.” (Grove 2016-06-08)

The UK has a responsibility to stand up for the right values and the EU hinders this by acting like an empire (Grove 2016-04-19). Michael Grove was the only actor expressing this frame, he also uses the ideological heritage of the UK in order to emphasize that these are British values,

“And it’s by standing firm by those values that we have been able to be a global champion for freedom, working with our allies, for many generations.” (Grove 2016-06-08)

It relates to the soft considerations (see section 2.4) by appealing in some sense to the national identity of the UK by using the historical references and the description of the UK as a global champion for freedom. The way that the nation is described as having ‘instincts’ and ‘principles’ together with its people, highlights the embodying of the nation and its citizens as a unit. The election becomes a question of fundamental values in this frame. The remedy suggestion also mentions the status of the UK as a role model for the rest of the world,

“[...] we believe our children can build a better future, that this country’s instincts and institutions, its people and its principles, are capable not just of making our society freer, fairer and richer but also once more of setting an inspirational example to the world. It is a noble ambition” (Grove 2016-04-19)

By voting to leave the Union, the UK can reclaim its place among the leading countries of the world, once again. Like the previous frame, something is lost and it is the ability to stand up for the values as a champion of freedom. The threat is not only explained by the power-ambitions of the EU but also by terror organizations such as ISIS and Boko Haram, making the threat more live (Grove 2016-06-06).

### 5.1.3 The Economy Frame

The economic arguments for leaving are put in the hard considerations category as opposed to the previous frame’s emphasis on soft values. The simple problem definition of this frame is that the price of the EU is too high,

“We already hand over £350 million to the EU every week. And while we get some of it back, the EU decides how much.” (Grove et al 2016-05-31)

The example of '350 million pounds a week' is used frequently to exemplify the costs of the EU. Many also mentions how EU regulations prevent British businesses to grow and how it imposes costs to their activities (Patel 2016-04-23). This affects British taxpayers, the National Health Services (NHS, the UK public health services) and other public services. The remedy suggestion to this problem is focused on the possibilities to put more money into public services, the money that today is given to the EU,

"We could invest in the roads, railways and housing that boost growth and employment. We could spend more on new schools." (Patel 2016-04-23)

"We should control all of this money so we can spend it on our priorities like cutting NHS waiting lists." (Grove et al 2016-05-31)

It does not mention a specific EU actor as the cause of the problem, it is the overall cost of the membership and the EU regulations that is the issue. This is thus connected to national priorities, which are being set aside due to the economic contributions to the Union. Some of the key-words in the frame are NHS and schools for example, since they reoccurred frequently. Some texts emphasis this more than others, such as Michael Grove,

"The choice we make on June 23 may sometimes seem complex and confusing. But if we think about what that choice means for public services, above all the NHS, the decision becomes clearer" (Grove 2016-04-25)

The economy frame implies that the costs of the EU has implications on many areas such as business and growth but most of all, on the area of public services. The reasoning is an economic valuation of what is most important and how the British taxpayer's money should be prioritized. The economy category was also expected to be present, based on the Eurosceptic statements. Since the EU is described as taking money from these important areas, it is portrayed as an enemy once again, against UK businesses and UK public services.

#### 5.1.4 Immigration and Public Services Frame

As mentioned above, the issue of immigration was so comprehensive it required to be divided into sub-frames to capture the full reasoning behind it. Anti-immigration frames was expected to be found in the campaign based on the previous research on Eurosceptic opinions. It is described as a threat, in this case against public services and is used in the same way in the other immigration frames, in respect to national security and wages (see 5.1.5 and 5.1.6). The overall theme is that immigration is an issue which the EU contributes to by its principle of free movement. Immigration is evaluated as uncontrolled and the amount of people coming to the UK is often resembled by the size of cities,

"[...] that immigration will add at least three million to our population by 2030. That's 200,000 people, or the equivalent to building a new town the size of Swindon or Aberdeen every single year." (Duncan 2016-04-23)

This is especially a problem for public services and the NHS. While immigration is described as above, public services are described as under pressure or under threat by this,

“We cannot control the numbers. We cannot control the terms on which people come and how we remove those who abuse our hospitality. This puts huge pressure on schools, hospitals and housing” (Johnson 2016-05-26)

Similarly to the economic frame, the immigration issue is connected to public services. The migrants are thus described as coming to the UK to use the NHS or ‘abuse UK hospitality’ and since the nation-state cannot control this, the problem is set out to get worse. There are sometimes references made to the expansion of the EU such as in the sovereignty frame, but in this frame the authors use states that are candidates for European membership,

“Five Nations free-for-all with an invitation to Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Albania and Turkey to join the Union. Because we cannot control our borders — public services such as the NHS will face an unquantifiable strain as millions more become EU citizens and have the right to move to the UK” (Grove 2016-04-25)

The remedy suggestion is to vote leave and take back control over UK borders. In this frame it is thus the number of people coming to the UK which is made salient and the reasoning that the public services cannot handle that. Within the remedy suggestion, a more detailed solution is mentioned, the introduction of points-based system inspired by Australian border control,

“We will be able to restore control over our immigration policy and our borders. An Australian-style, points-based regime so we can choose who comes to this country” (Raab 2016-06-08)

Here the campaign outlines some of what is to come if the public chooses to vote leave, which as in the remedy of the economy frame is more concrete, since it includes a specific strategy. The points-based system is also motivated by the fact that immigrants should be allowed entrance on the basis of skills and not be discriminating in regard to nationality (Johnson 2016-05-26). This signals to the voters that there is a plan for the UK outside the EU as opposed to the In-campaign whom pointed towards the risks of leaving (see 4.2).

### 5.1.5 Immigration and National Security Frame

Building on the underlying understanding that the EU and its operations threaten areas of national interest, the immigration and national security frame expresses this clearly. The immigration policy of the EU and the ECJ is a security threat towards the UK, this is the problem definition of the frame. The principle actors are the EU immigration policy, the ECJ and the nation-state. The security threat is based on the fact that the ECJ affect the nation-state’s ability to deport criminals and the ability to control whom is allowed entrance to the UK.

“There is a direct security concern for all of us because the European Court of Justice can interfere with our ability to deport criminals and others whose presence here is not conducive to the public good. The case of Abu Hamza's daughter-in-law underlined the way EU institutions fetter our ability to deport convicted criminals.” (Grove et al 2016-05-29).

The reasoning thus has similarities to the sovereignty frame as well since it underlines how the ECJ controls areas that should be handled by the nation-state. The mentioning of ‘Abu Hamza’s daughter in-law’ is somewhat of a catch phrase for this frame. This concerns a debate circling in UK media, regarding the deportation of a relative to a so-called hate-preacher, which was denied by the ECJ (Duell & Drury 2016).

“Ronald Noble, the former head of Interpol, called the EU open borders policy a “real and present danger” that “abets terrorists”, as shown by the ease with which the Paris and Brussels terrorists moved to and fro across Europe.” (Raab 2016-06-08)

The use of real life examples and the references to terrorism and criminals builds up the reasoning that the immigration policy of the EU, the free movement and the restrictions on deportation, threatens the UK and its citizens. The remedy suggestion is that it is the safer choice to vote leave and this will unable terrorist and criminals to enter the UK (Grove et al 2016-06-01)(Raab 2016-06-08). In some instances it also mentions the points-based system that was introduced in the previous frame.

### 5.1.6 Immigration and Wages Frame

The last immigration frame concerns immigration as an economic and labour market issue, it is thus centered on the economic migration within the EU. Foremost the frame argues that the presence of migrant workers pressure and lowers wages.

“But continued free movement for jobseekers will place considerable pressure on the wages of low paid British workers in the event of a vote to remain in the EU. This is good for some of the multinationals funding the IN campaign. It is not good for British families struggling to make ends meet.” (Grove et al 2016-05-29)

Immigrants are here described as jobseekers (without a job offer) and as low cost workers. A catch phrase used here is the example that 10% increase in migration leads to 2% fall in wages (Stuart 2016-06-06). British workers are in contrast evaluated struggling and how the migration impacts those with the lowest wages. The economic migration thus affects the poor and those whom already are battling to make ends meet. The remedy involves the points-based system and how immigrants should be required to have certain skills appropriate to a job in the UK, a system fit for the UK economy (Grove et al 2016-06-01).

### 5.1.7 Candidate Countries Frame

This frame relates to the one found in the French referendum in 2005, focusing on EU enlargement and the accession of new member states. It is based on a part of the reasoning from the immigration frame, the accession of the Balkan countries and Turkey. An emphasis is put on the question of Turkish membership,

“It is Government policy that Turkey should join the European Union and ‘to pave the road from Ankara to Brussels.’ It is Government policy that the United Kingdom is the ‘strongest possible advocate of Turkish accession” (Grove et al 2016-06-16)

The publication from 2016-06-16 was entirely devoted to this question were the authors urged the government to ‘Getting the facts clear on Turkey’. This sends a message that is an important factor in the referendum. The frame also brings up the fact that the Turkish government has been negotiating a deal with the EU about the possibility of implementing visa-free travel for Turkish citizens (Rankin 2016).

“With the terrorism threat we face only growing, it is hard to see how it could possibly be in our security interests to open visa free travel to 77 million Turkish citizens and create a border-free zone from Iraq, Iran and Syria to the English Channel.” (Grove 2016-06-08)

It is thus the opinion of the Vote Leave campaign that Turkey should not join but the EU and the current government are supporting this. In supporting this, it also puts the UK at risk, a reasoning that resembles the one in the immigration and national security frame. The overall problem made salient is however the question of Turkey and the Balkan countries joining the Union and that this is to be understood as happening without the consent of the British public. The remedy suggestion is directed to the voters,

“[...] the public will draw the reasonable conclusion that the only way to avoid having common borders with Turkey is to Vote Leave and take back control on 23 June.” (Grove et al 2016-06-16)

### 5.1.8 The Future Deal Frame

The last frame also has similarities with some of the other frames but in relation to the remedy suggestions concerning the future outside the EU. The problem definition is regarded more as a central concept; the strategy for the UK outside the EU. The reasoning is thus an outlining of the steps that are to be taken and how the transition should proceed,

“Vote Leave believes there should be 1) a negotiation strategy for the informal talks that will precede the formal negotiations leading to a new UK-EU treaty, 2) immediate legislation in the current session of Parliament and, 3) a framework for legislation and policy decisions between 2016 and 2020 of which the centerpiece is the repeal by 2020 of the European Communities Act 1972 (ECA). We can also start negotiating new trade deals to promote free trade before we have left the EU.” (Grayling 2016-06-15)



This signals, in the same way that some of the remedies in the other frames have, that there is a plan and that the risks of leaving are overstated. This frame was primarily expressed in the end of June, as the election day came closer.

The first seven frames are all examples of what was expected to be found and are in line with the Eurosceptic arguments in section 2.4. The candidate countries frame is not put under any of the outlined categories but contains the argumentation used in previous referendums. Another important element is how the EU and its institutions are described as an enemy or a threat, which is the distinguishing characteristic of hard Euroscepticism.

## 5.2 Discussion: Availability and Applicability

A frame is available when a receiver has been exposed to it before and preferably over a longer period of time. The frames that have appeared in UK media the last decade correspondences well with the frames identified in the campaign. As mentioned in section 4.3.1 the negative portrayal of the EU was connected to sovereignty, economy, democratic deficits, opposing national interests and immigration. Both the value frame and sovereignty frame mentions the UK’s status and heritage as a world leader, something that according to Stratin (2015) is inherent in the British national identity. These features mentioned are all found in the campaign frames. In such, the British public are used to this form of communication and to the association between the EU and these features. During the campaign the Eurosceptic media focused its exposure on immigration, economy, legal and defence/security issues (see 4.3.2). These categories are similar to the ones used historically and to the content of the frames used by the campaign. This contributes to the increased exposure, the availability of a frame.

Moving on to the applicability, data from Ipsos will serve as a reference to the public’s issue saliency. In fig 3 the issue saliency collected from June is presented, the preceding months show similar results (see Ipsos 2016a,b).

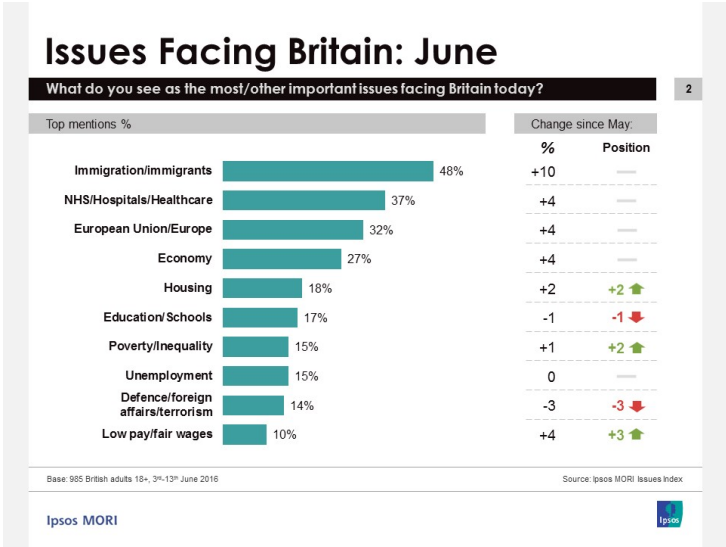


Fig 3. Issue saliency June (Ipsos 2016c)

The applicability of a frame is increased when the frame relates to domestic issues, creating the link between the ballot and the current concerns within the public. The question of public services (housing, NHS and education) reoccurs here and was also widely used foremost in the immigration and economy frames. The most alarming issue, immigration, was the main theme in the most frequently used frames in the material. This was also connected to wages and national security, the last two issues in the opinion poll. The evidence found in the research by Atikcan (2015) can thus be applied to this EU-referendum as well. The construction of a frame used in this thesis demonstrates how the reasoning including national issues is associated with membership in the European Union.

This short discussion serves an indicator of how the campaign tapped into tendencies within the public. The Leave campaign used similar frames that have occurred previously in the debate on the EU in the UK. Further, the campaign focused on the issues regarded by the public as 'most important'. Frames work through saliency and by promoting a specific view on reality (Entman 1993 p.52). The Vote Leave campaign thus promoted the view that the EU is the cause of these problems and used the same issue saliency as the public. It is also possible that the frames provided new beliefs through the linkages made between national issues and the EU, in the sense that it gave the public an explanation to the perceived problems within healthcare, education or national security. Therefore, it may have affected both components of the frame as explained by Chong and Druckman (2007a p.107) the 'saliency weight' and the 'evaluation of the object on an attribute'.

## 6. Conclusion

The results of the framing analysis confirmed the expectations in section 2.4, this indicates that the frames of the Leave campaign can be put into the category of hard Euroscepticism found in other EU-referendums. The overall conflict between the nation-state and the EU was present in most frames. In total eight frames were found in the material. A key frame in this referendum seems to be the immigration frame due to it being the most frequent and due to its strength. The anti-immigration rhetoric describes EU immigration policy and immigrants as a threat towards essential functions such as public services and national security. This gives support to the findings presented in 2.4 on 'soft' considerations entering the Eurosceptic discourse. The frames found are considered strong due to their availability and applicability, following previous media framing of the EU and issue saliency by the public. What is apparent is the linkage made between national issues and the EU, the reasoning of the frames connects these two. Future research could elaborate further on this, expanding the discussion in 5.2. This is a piece in the puzzle of understanding opinions towards the EU today. The features of the frames can also be used in more comprehensive research by including a longer time-period. In order to establish the framing effects, a future framing analysis should include the press in order to determine whether the frames were spread in the media landscape, promoting a similar problem definition.

# References

- Atikcan, EÖ 2015, *Framing the European Union : the power of political arguments in shaping European integration*, Cambridge : Cambridge University Press
- BBC. 2016a. *EU reform deal: What Cameron wanted and what he got*. url: [http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-35622105] (collected 2016-11-27)
- BBC. 2016b. *The people hoping to persuade UK to vote to stay in the EU*. url: [http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-34505076] (collected 2016-11-28)
- Bowe, BJ, Oshita, T, Terracina-Hartman, C, & Chao, W 2014, 'Framing of climate change in newspaper coverage of the East Anglia e-mail scandal', *Public Understanding Of Science (Bristol, England)*, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 157-169
- Brack, N, & Startin, N 2015, 'Introduction: Euroscepticism, from the margins to the mainstream', *International Political Science Review*, vol. 36, no. 3, pp. 239-249
- Britain Stronger In. 2016. *Get the facts*. url: [http://www.strongerin.co.uk/get\_the\_facts#10zQ2PwQ4]2orktz.97] (collected 2016-11-28)
- Chong, D, & Druckman, J 2007a 'A theory of framing and opinion formation in competitive elite environments', *Journal of Communication*, vol. 57, no. 1, pp. 99-118.
- Chong, D, & Druckman, JN 2007b, 'Framing Public Opinion in Competitive Democracies', *The American Political Science Review*, no. 4, p. 637.
- de Vreese, C, & Boomgaarden, H. 2006. 'Projecting EU referendums - Fear of immigration and support for European integration', *European Union Politics*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 59-82.
- de Vreese, C, & Lecheler, S 2012. News Framing Research: An Overview And New Developments. In Semetko, H, & Scammell, M, *The SAGE handbook of political communication*, SAGE Publications Inc p. 292-306
- Deacon, D et al. 2016. The narrow agenda: how the news media covered the Referendum. In Jackson, D, Thorsen, E & Wring, D (eds). *EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign*. Poole: Dorset Digital Print Ltd, 34-35.
- Duell, M & Drury, I 2016. 'Abu Hamza's criminal daughter-in-law who cannot be deported because she is a mother 'lives in a taxpayer-funded council house'. *The Daily Mail*. url: [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3435825/Abu-Hamza-s-criminal-daughter-law-deported-mother-lives-taxpayer-funded-council-house.html] (collected 2016-12-16)
- Dvořák, T 2013, 'Referendum Campaigns, Framing and Uncertainty', *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*
- Entman, R 1993, 'Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm', *Journal of Communication*, vol. 43, no. 4, p. 51-58
- European Commission 2016. *Five Presidents' Report sets out plan for strengthening Europe's Economic and Monetary Union as of 1 July 2015*. url:[http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\_IP-15-5240\_en.htm] (collected 2016-12-15)
- Hellman, M., 2016. What's in a Frame? Media Framing in the 2016 'Brexit' Referendum. Lund: Lund University
- Hertog J & McLeod D. 2001. A Multiperspectival Approach to Framing analysis: A fieldguide. In Reese, S, Gandy, O, & Grant, A. *Framing Public Life : Perspectives on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World*, Routledge, Mahwah, N.J. p.141-162
- Hix, S. 2015. Britons among least knowledgeable about European Union. *The Guardian*. url: [https://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2015/nov/27/brits-least-knowledgeable-european-union-basic-questions] (collected 2016-11-28)

- Hobolt, S. 2009 A Theory of Referendum Behaviour. In *Europe in Question: Referendums on European Integration*. : Oxford University Press.
- Hunt, A & Wheeler, B. 2016. Brexit: All you need to know about the UK leaving the EU. *BBC*. url: [http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887] (collected 2016-11-27)
- Ipsos 2016a. Economist / Ipsos MORI April 2016 Issues Index. *Ipsos Mori*. url:[<https://www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/researcharchive/3726/Economist-Ipsos-MORI-April-2016-Issues-Index.aspx>] (collected 2016-12-10)
- Ipsos 2016b. Economist / Ipsos MORI May 2016 Issues Index. *Ipsos Mori*. url:[<https://www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/researcharchive/3736/Economist-Ipsos-MORI-May-2016-Issues-Index.aspx>] (collected 2016-12-10)
- Ipsos 2016c. Concern about immigration rises as EU vote approaches *Ipsos Mori*. url:[<https://www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/researcharchive/3748/Concern-about-immigration-rises-as-EU-vote-approaches.aspx>] (collected 2016-12-10)
- Leduc, L 2002, 'Opinion change and voting behaviour in referendums', *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 41, no. 6, pp. 711-732.
- Levy, D., Aslan, B & Bironzo, D. 2016. The Press and the Referendum campaign. In Jackson, D, Thorsen, E & Wring, D (eds). *EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign*. Poole: Dorset Digital Print Ltd, 33.
- Lyons, K & Darroch, G. 2016. Frexit, Nexit or Oexit? Who will be next to leave the EU? *The Guardian*. url: [<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/27/frexit-nexit-or-oexit-who-will-be-next-to-leave-the-eu>] (collected 2016-12-06)
- Matthes, J. and Kohring, M. (2008), The Content Analysis of Media Frames: Toward Improving Reliability and Validity. *Journal of Communication*, vol. 58 no. 2 pp. 258–279
- McLeod D & Shah, D. 2015. *News Frames and National Security: covering Big Brother*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Medrano, J.D. and Gray, E. 2010. 'Framing the European Union in National Public Spheres', In Koopmans, R. and Statham, P. (eds.) *The Making of a European Public Sphere: Media Discourse and Political Contention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 195–220.)
- Rankin, J 2016. 'Turkey fails to meet criteria for visa-free EU travel'. *The Guardian*. url:[<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/15/turkey-misses-deadline-visa-free-travel-eu-ambassador-withdraw>]
- Reese S, 2010. Finding Frames in a Web of Culture: The Case of The War on Terror. In D'Angelo, P, & Kuypers, JA, *Doing news framing analysis: empirical and theoretical perspectives*, New York ; London : Routledge. p.17-42
- Scheufele, D. 1999. 'Framing as a theory of media effects', *Journal of Communication*, vol. 49, no. 1, pp. 103-122.
- Scheufele, DA, & Tewksbury, D 2007, 'Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models', *Journal of Communication*, vol. 57, no. 1, pp. 9-20.
- Schnapper, P 2015, *Britain and the Crisis of the European Union*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
- Sørensen, C. 2008. Danish Euroscepticism: Unique or Part of Broader Patterns?. *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2008*. p.85-113
- Startin, N 2015, 'Have we reached a tipping point? The mainstreaming of Euroscepticism in the UK', *International Political Science Review*, vol. 36, no. 3, pp. 311-323
- Startin, N, & Krouwel, A 2013, 'Euroscepticism Re-galvanized: The Consequences of the 2005 French and Dutch Rejections of the EU Constitution', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 51, no. 1, pp. 65-84
- Taggart, P, & Szczerbiak, A 2002, 'Europeanisation, Euroscepticism and Party Systems: Party-based Euroscepticism in the Candidate States of Central and Eastern Europe', *Perspectives on European Politics & Society*, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 23-41

- Teorell, J & Svensson, T 2007. *Att fråga och att svara. Samhällsvetenskaplig metod*. Malmö: Liber
- Van Gorp, B 2007. 'The constructionist approach to framing: Bringing culture back in', *Journal of Communication*, vol. 57, no. 1, pp. 60-78.
- Van Gorp, B 2010. Strategies to Take Subjectivity Out of Framing Analysis. In D'Angelo, P, & Kuypers, J, *Doing news framing analysis : empirical and theoretical perspectives*, New York ; London : Routledge. p.84-109
- van Klingeren, M, Boomgaarden, H, & de Vreese, C 2013, 'Going Soft or Staying Soft: Have Identity Factors Become More Important Than Economic Rationale when Explaining Euroscepticism?', *Journal of European Integration*.
- Vote Leave. 2016. *Why vote leave*. url: [[http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/why\\_vote\\_leave.html](http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/why_vote_leave.html)] (collected 2016-11-28)
- YouGov. 2016. *EU Referendum Trackers*. url: [<https://yougov.co.uk/publicopinion/archive/?category=political-trackers>]. Published 2016-06-25 (collected 2016-12-08)
- Zaller, J 1992. *Nature and origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

# Appendix

## A1. Material divided into time-periods

### April 2016

Michael Grove (2016-04-19). 'The facts of life say Leave: Why Britain and Europe will be better off after we vote'. *Vote Leave*. url:

[[http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/michael\\_gove\\_the\\_facts\\_of\\_life\\_say\\_leave.html](http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/michael_gove_the_facts_of_life_say_leave.html)]

Boris Johnson (2016-04-22). 'Boris Johnson: UK and America can be better friends than ever Mr Obama... if we LEAVE the EU'. *The Sun*. url:[<https://www.thesun.co.uk/archives/politics/1139354/boris-johnson-uk-and-america-can-be-better-friends-than-ever-mr-obama-if-we-leave-the-eu/>]

Iain Duncan Smith (2016-04-23). 'Why I fear a fresh stampede: IAIN DUNCAN SMITH says desperation to stay in Brussels means government are rowing back on pledge to cut migration'. *The Daily Mail*.

url:[<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3554760/IAIN-DUNCAN-SMITH-says-desperation-stay-Brussels-means-government-rowing-pledge-cut-migration.html>]

Priti Patel (2016-04-23). 'Priti Patel: Let's take back control of how our taxes are spent and vote OUT of the EU'. *The Sun*. url:[<https://www.thesun.co.uk/archives/politics/1142365/priti-patel-lets-take-back-control-of-how-our-taxes-are-spent-and-vote-out-of-the-eu/>]

Michael Grove (2016-04-25). Soviet-style control freaks are a threat to our independence. *The Times*. url:  
<http://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/soviet-style-control-freaks-will-worsen-migration-free-for-all-m3rfb6vmb>

### May 2016

Boris Johnson (2016-05-26). 'Boris Johnson: The only way to take back control of immigration is to Vote Leave on 23 June'. *Vote Leave*.

url:[[http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/boris\\_johnson\\_the\\_only\\_way\\_to\\_take\\_back\\_control\\_of\\_immigration\\_is\\_to\\_vote\\_leave\\_on\\_23\\_june.html](http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/boris_johnson_the_only_way_to_take_back_control_of_immigration_is_to_vote_leave_on_23_june.html)]

Michael Grove, Boris Johnson and Gisela Stuart (2016-05-29). 'PM challenged to set out the facts on EU immigration'. *Vote Leave*.

url:[[http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/pm\\_challenged\\_to\\_set\\_out\\_the\\_facts\\_on\\_eu\\_immigration.html](http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/pm_challenged_to_set_out_the_facts_on_eu_immigration.html)]

Chris Grayling (2016-05-31). 'Chris Grayling: We must Vote Leave to protect our sovereignty and democracy from further EU integration'. *Vote Leave*

url:[[http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/chris\\_grayling\\_we\\_must\\_vote\\_leave\\_to\\_protect\\_our\\_sovereignty\\_and\\_democracy\\_from\\_further\\_eu\\_integration.html](http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/chris_grayling_we_must_vote_leave_to_protect_our_sovereignty_and_democracy_from_further_eu_integration.html)] (Speech)

Michael Grove, Boris Johnson and Gisela Stuart (2016-05-31). 'Statement by Michael Gove, Boris Johnson and Gisela Stuart for The Sun - Vote Leave to cut VAT on fuel'. *Vote Leave* (contents also published in The Sun).

url:[[http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/statement\\_by\\_michael\\_gove\\_boris\\_johnson\\_and\\_gisela\\_stuart\\_for\\_the\\_sun\\_vote\\_leave\\_to\\_cut\\_vat\\_on\\_fuel.html](http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/statement_by_michael_gove_boris_johnson_and_gisela_stuart_for_the_sun_vote_leave_to_cut_vat_on_fuel.html)]

Michael Grove, Boris Johnson, Priti Patel and Gisela Stuart (2016-06-01). 'Restoring public trust in immigration policy – a points-based non-discriminatory immigration system'. *Vote Leave*  
url:[[http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/restoring\\_public\\_trust\\_in\\_immigration\\_policy\\_a\\_points\\_based\\_non\\_discriminatory\\_immigration\\_system.html](http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/restoring_public_trust_in_immigration_policy_a_points_based_non_discriminatory_immigration_system.html)]

## June 2016

Michael Grove, Boris Johnson, Gisela Stuart & John Longworth (2016-06-06). 'Voting to stay is the risky option'. *Vote Leave*. url:  
[[http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/voting\\_to\\_stay\\_in\\_the\\_eu\\_is\\_the\\_risky\\_option.html](http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/voting_to_stay_in_the_eu_is_the_risky_option.html)] (Speeches)

Dominic Raab & Michael Grove (2016-06-08) 'EU membership makes us less safe'. *Vote Leave*.  
url:[[http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/gove\\_and\\_raab\\_eu\\_membership\\_makes\\_us\\_less\\_safe.html](http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/gove_and_raab_eu_membership_makes_us_less_safe.html)]  
(Speeches)

Julian Brazier, James Duddridge, George Eustice, Michael Gove, Chris Grayling, Boris Johnson, Penny Mordaunt, Priti Patel, Dominic Raab, Iain Duncan Smith, Desmond Swayne, Theresa Villiers & John Whittingdale (2016-06-14). 'Leave Ministers commit to maintain EU funding'. *Vote Leave*. url:  
[[http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/leave\\_ministers\\_commit\\_to\\_maintain\\_eu\\_funding.html](http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/leave_ministers_commit_to_maintain_eu_funding.html)]

Chris Grayling (2016-06-15). 'A framework for taking back control and establishing a new UK-EU deal after 23 June'. *Vote Leave*.  
url:[[http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/a\\_framework\\_for\\_taking\\_back\\_control\\_and\\_establishing\\_a\\_new\\_uk\\_eu\\_deal\\_after\\_23\\_june.html](http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/a_framework_for_taking_back_control_and_establishing_a_new_uk_eu_deal_after_23_june.html)]

Michael Grove, Boris Johnson & Gisela Stuart (2016-06-16). 'Letter to Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary – Getting the facts clear on Turkey'. *Vote Leave*. url:  
[[http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/letter\\_to\\_the\\_prime\\_minister\\_and\\_foreign\\_secretary\\_getting\\_the\\_facts\\_clear\\_on\\_turkey.html](http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/letter_to_the_prime_minister_and_foreign_secretary_getting_the_facts_clear_on_turkey.html)]



## A2. Frames

### Sovereignty

Problem definition	The EU has mandate over areas that should lie within the control of the national-state, focus on law and order (sovereignty). The expansion of the EU have and will decrease the power of the UK.
Reasoning device	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>British interests are not being represented in the EU, low percentage of commissioners are British. The UK is being outvoted.</li> <li>The ECJ overrule British parliament and generates huge volumes of EU-law which the nation-state has to accommodate. The court is unaccountable and its aim is to increase the European integration to all costs.</li> <li>The aim of the EU project is to create deeper integration, exemplified by the Five Presidents' Report. Its goal is to create a Federal Super-state – this means giving up independent nation status.</li> </ul>
Moral Evaluation	<p><u>EU</u> Takes away power from the UK, Federal super-state/ United States of Europe, Failure of integration, Democratic deficits, Over-centralising/regulating</p> <p><u>ECJ</u> Always in service of greater European integration, Trumps decisions, laws passed by democratically-elected politicians, Erode our independence/autonomy, Rouge, Has a fundamentally political agenda</p> <p><u>Nation-state</u> World leader, Given up power, “Saved Europe from going down the path of danger”</p>
Remedy Suggestion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Vote leave – take back control: of our democracy. The UK would gain influence outside – thrive as never before. Certainty of success outside</li> <li>Will give us the cards: out negotiating hand with EU nations will be strengthen</li> </ul>
Vocabulary	<p><u>Key-words</u> Five Presidents Report, Overruled/Outvoted, ECJ, Federal Super-state/United States of Europe, Anti-democratic/Democratic deficit, Unaccountability, Eurozone</p> <p><u>Catch-phrase</u> Exemplifying the expansion of the EU by using the Five Presidents Report</p>

### Value

Problem definition	EU weakens the protection of a core value of the UK: liberal democracy. Emphasis on the ideological heritage of Britain.
Reasoning device	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Britain invented democratic self-government, enjoyed the world's strongest economy and its most respected political institutions. The UK has played a distinguished global role in the past: upholder and defender of liberal democratic values, supporting liberal nationalist movements, global champion for freedom.</li> <li>EU is resembled by an Empire: Habsburg, Rome, Ottoman empire. The united front of the west in defence of liberalism and democracy is undermined by the operation of the EU.</li> <li>Threats we face today are ideological. Terrorism; ISIS, Boko Haram, Hamas express Islamist fundamentalism. Putin also mentioned. We (UK) need to safeguard our country, be resolute in our values.</li> </ul>

Moral Evaluation	<p><u>EU</u> Empire, Mock Parliament, Weakens liberal and democratic forces, Lack liberal democratic legitimacy</p> <p><u>Nation-state</u> World's strongest economy, Brought democratic self-government to the world; founder of, Supporter, defender of values, Global champion of freedom, Upholder of democratic values</p>
Remedy Suggestion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Our institutions, values and people would make an even more positive difference to the world. This country's instincts and institutions, its people and its principles, are capable not just of making our society freer, fairer and richer but also once more of setting an inspirational example to the world.</li> <li>• That we believe in democracy, that we have confidence in our country and its values. The more confident and optimistic we are about the UK, its traditions, values and potential the better equipped we are to counter enemies of liberalism and democracy</li> </ul>
Vocabulary	<p><u>Key-words</u> Values, Democratic self-government, Liberalism, Democracy.</p> <p><u>Stereotype</u> The UK as a defender of liberalism and democracy, its historical heritage.</p>

### **Economy**

Problem definition	The price of the EU is too high: the amount of money sent to the EU and regulations imposed on businesses
Reasoning device	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Every week the UK sends 350 million to the EU. 10,6 billion of British taxpayers this year. The costs are increasing to 20.6 billion in 2020. We do not know how efficiently the money is spent, due to EU bureaucracy.</li> <li>• EU regulations of British businesses are estimated to 600 million every week. It throws red tape around British businesses. Holds small businesses and entrepreneurs back from growing. The system works for multinationals who spend millions on lobbying against entrepreneurs. It is damaging for hard working families.</li> </ul>
Moral Evaluation	<p><u>EU/Cost of EU membership</u> Prevents growth/enterprising businesses, Costs millions every week, Puts pressure on health services, Straightjacket on business/the economy</p> <p><u>Nation-state</u> Proud nation of entrepreneurs, Hard-working families</p>
Remedy Suggestion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If we (UK) Vote Leave and take back control of that money and spend it on our own priorities. Taxes should be spent on your priorities in this country.</li> <li>• Invest in: Infrastructure, science, schools, tax cuts, housing supporting the poorest in our society. Design a system of business regulation that suits the British economy and be free to intervene when we need to safeguard our foundation industries. Britain will be the best place in the world to do business.</li> <li>• NHS/Healthcare: give more money to NHS, reduce waiting lists, and support our grandparents to live with dignity in their old age. Invest in the vitality and longevity of our people. Drugs research, develop life-saving drugs.</li> <li>• The choice we make on June 23 may sometimes seem complex and confusing. But if we think about what that choice means for public services, above all NHS, the decision becomes clearer.</li> </ul>

Vocabulary	<u>Key-words</u> 350 million, EU regulations, NHS, Schools, Public Services, Taxpayers <u>Catch-phrase</u> 350 million sent to the EU every week. Exemplifying the contribution by other budgets, how much the EU takes away from other areas.
------------	--

### Immigration and Public Services

Problem definition	Free movement within the EU is uncontrolled and causes pressure on public services.
Reasoning device	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• As long as we remain a member of the EU we are completely unable to control the numbers of people coming to this country. Another five countries (Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Albania and Turkey) are about to join, the problem is set to get even worse.</li> <li>• Figures show that immigration is forecast to add 200000 people every year (comparison to size of a city). 270000 people came to the UK last year, 184000 was net EU migration.</li> <li>• We cannot control the terms on which people come and how we remove those who abuse our hospitality. This puts huge pressure on schools, hospitals and housing. Class sizes will rise and waiting lists will lengthen if we don't tackle free movement.</li> <li>• If we don't Leave, the pressure Brits are already facing will only get worse. Then we accept there will be many more people coming here to use our NHS</li> </ul>
Moral Evaluation	<u>Public Services</u> Under pressure/threat, Impossible to keep good quality, Long waiting lists, Oversubscribed schools, Housing shortage/crisis <u>Free movement/immigrants</u> Open door, Uncontrolled, Huge numbers (city-example), Unskilled, Come here to use the NHS, Abuse UK hospitality
Remedy Suggestion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Its only if we vote leave we can take back control of immigration, then we can control the numbers coming here. That will be best for our public services, particularly the NHS. Leaving is good for the next generation. Our children will find it easier to get a good school place, health care and a home.</li> <li>• The British people are generous but they feel their generosity has been abused.</li> <li>• We will be able to restore control over our immigration policy and our borders. An Australian-style, points-based regime so we can choose who comes to this country.</li> </ul>
Vocabulary	<u>Key-words</u> Numbers coming in, NHS, Housing, Schools, Public Services, Points-based. <u>Catch-phrase</u> Exemplifying immigration by using the population of British cities.

### Immigration and National Security

Problem definition	EU immigration policy and the overruling ECJ impose a security threat towards the UK.
Reasoning device	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There is a direct security concern for all of us because the ECJ can interfere with our ability to deport criminals. The Schengen zone "abets terrorist" and has weakened our guard against drug smugglers, human traffickers and other</li> </ul>

	<p>criminals. The case of Abu Hamza's daughter in-law underlined the way EU institutions fetter our ability to deport convicted criminals.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• With a significant number of terrorists, who have been training and fighting alongside ISIS, now back in Europe and bale to move freely across much of the continent, that issue could hardly be more live.</li> </ul>
Moral Evaluation	<p><u>ECJ</u>  Infer/fetter the ability to deport criminals  <u>Free movement/Schengen</u>  Risk, Abets terrorists, Gives no protection against terrorists, Drug smugglers, Criminals, Undermined border controls</p>
Remedy Suggestion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It will be the safer choice to Vote Leave on 23 June.</li> <li>• We will regain the power to deport terrorists and terrorist sympathisers and stop violent criminals entering the UK and put in place the proper border controls required to keep Britain safe.</li> </ul>
Vocabulary	<p><u>Key-words</u>  Criminals, ECJ, Security, Terrorists, Borders  <u>Catch-phrase</u>  Abu Hamza-example</p>

### Immigration and Wages

Problem definition	Economic migration/migrant workers from the EU cause low wages and affects the economy.
Reasoning device	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 77000 jobseekers came to the UK from the EU last year. Free movement for jobseekers places considerable pressure on wages of low paid British workers. It's not good for families struggling to make ends meet.</li> <li>• Every 10% increase in migration leads to 2% fall in wages. Low cost workers will come here in large numbers. Push us down the path of low-wage, low productivity, low-skill economy.</li> </ul>
Moral Evaluation	<p><u>Free movement/Economic migrants</u>  Jobseekers, Low cost workers, Should have skills, Feeling the Eurozone, Pressure wages  <u>British wages/workers</u>  Struggling to make ends meet, Constant undercutting of their wages, Impact the biggest on those with the lowest income</p>
Remedy Suggestion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Those seeking entry for work or study should be admitted on the basis of their skills and be suitable for the job in question.</li> <li>• We will design a migration system fit for our economy – a points-based system.</li> </ul>
Vocabulary	<p><u>Key-words</u>  British workers/families, EU migrants, Low wages, Jobseekers, Unemployment</p>

### Candidate countries

Problem definition	The question of Turkey/Balkan accession into the EU. Focus on Turkey
Reasoning device	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The EU should be protesting at the erosion of fundamental democratic erosion of democratic freedoms in turkey but are making concessions.</li> <li>• It is EU policy for Turkey to join the EU. Implementation of Visa-free travel deal along Turkey's borders with Syria, Iraq and Iran – this is a risk. The Turkish accession is being accelerated.</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The EU and the UK are paying billions for Turkey, Albania, Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro to join.</li> </ul>
Moral Evaluation	<u>Turkey/Candidate countries</u> Democratic development in reverse, Visa-free zone, Risk <u>Nation-state (UK)</u> Spends billions on the accessions
Remedy Suggestion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The only way to avoid having common borders with Turkey is to Vote Leave and take back control on 23 June.</li> </ul>
Vocabulary	<u>Key-words</u> Turkey, Albania, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Visa-free, Turkish accession, Paying billions for the countries to join <u>Catch-phrase</u> The Visa-free travel for Turkish citizens

### Future deal

Problem definition	The future deal for the UK: the strategy for leaving the EU.
Reasoning device	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Informal conversations will take place with the EU. It is in the interest of EU members to keep the UK within the free trade agreement, the idea that all other nations would make is more difficult to sell to Britain is preposterous.</li> <li>Will take back control over trade negotiations, seal deals with emerging economies. Reducing barriers to trade. Take back its seat in the WTO, become a more influential force for free trade.</li> <li>Continue to fund EU programmes for some time and spend the money more efficiently on NHS, abolish VAT on household energy. Repeal the ECA. Past experience says it takes three years and ten months to negotiate a new treaty.</li> </ul>
Moral Evaluation	<u>The new deal</u> Funding, Savings, Free trade deals
Vocabulary	<u>Key-words</u> ECA, Free trade, NHS, VAT,

## A3. Material categorized after frame content

### **Sovereignty Frame**

Michael Grove (2016-04-19), (2016-04-25), (2016-06-06)  
Boris Johnson (2016-04-22), (2016-06-06)  
Chris Grayling (2016-05-31)

### **Value Frame**

Michael Grove (2016-04-19), (2016-06-08)

### **Economy Frame**

Michael Grove (2016-04-19), (2016-04-25)  
Priti Patel (2016-04-23)  
Michael Grove, Boris Johnson and Gisela Stuart (2016-05-31)  
John Longworth (2016-06-06)

### **Immigration and Public Services Frame**

Michael Grove (2016-04-19), (2016-04-25)  
Priti Patel (2016-04-23)  
Iain Duncan (2016-04-23)  
Boris Johnson (2016-05-26)  
Michael Grove, Boris Johnson and Gisela Stuart (2016-05-29), (2016-05-31)  
Michael Grove, Boris Johnson, Priti Patel, Gisela Stuart (2016-06-01)  
Dominic Raab (2016-06-08)

### **Immigration and National Security Frame**

Michael Grove, Boris Johnson and Gisela Stuart (2016-05-29)  
Michael Grove, Boris Johnson, Priti Patel, Gisela Stuart (2016-06-01)  
Gisela Stuart (2016-06-06)  
Michael Grove (2016-06-06)  
Dominic Raab (2016-06-08)

### **Immigration and Wages Frame**

Michael Grove, Boris Johnson and Gisela Stuart (2016-05-29)  
Michael Grove, Boris Johnson, Priti Patel, Gisela Stuart (2016-06-01)  
Gisela Stuart (2016-06-06)  
John Longworth (2016-06-06)

### **Candidate countries Frame**

Michael Grove (2016-06-08)  
Michael Grove, Boris Johnson & Gisela Stuart (2016-06-16)

### **Future deal Frame**

Michael Grove (2016-04-19)  
Julian Brazier, James Duddridge, George Eustice, Michael Gove, Chris Grayling, Boris Johnson, Penny Mordaunt, Priti Patel, Dominic Raab, Iain Duncan Smith, Desmond Swayne, Theresa Villiers & John Whittingdale (2016-06-14)  
Chris Grayling (2016-06-15)