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The role of news values in the discursive construction of the Brexit referendum in the UK press

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This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise,
This fortress built by Nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war,
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall,
Or as a moat defensive to a house,
Against the envy of less happier lands,
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England

William Shakespeare, The Life and Death of Richard the Second, Act 2, Scene 1

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Introducción

El referéndum del Brexit de 2016 fue un momento crítico en la turbulenta relación sociopolítica entre Gran Bretaña y Europa, la cual ha sufrido grandes y constantes cambios a lo largo de la historia. Por ello, este trascendental fenómeno ha llamado la atención académica y se ha estudiado desde diferentes perspectivas. En esta tesis, mi principal objetivo es contribuir a esta oportuna y creciente literatura explorando el discurso informativo del referéndum del Brexit. En concreto, mi estudio se centra en cómo se construyeron discursivamente los diferentes temas y debates durante la campaña del referéndum del Brexit en la prensa británica de calidad.

Los estudios previos ya nos han proporcionado algunas ideas cruciales sobre el discurso de la prensa del referéndum del Brexit. Los primeros estudios de análisis de contenido indican que la economía y la inmigración fueron los temas más cubiertos por la prensa durante el referéndum (Deacon et al., 2016; Moore y Ramsay, 2017). También detectan notables signos de negatividad y polarización en el discurso de ambos lados del debate (Bandos por la Salida y por la Permanencia) (Moore & Ramsay, 2017, pp. 25-27). Otros estudios de análisis del discurso coinciden con las primeras investigaciones en este sentido e identifican cuatro *topoi* centrales, a saber, la inmigración, la economía, la burocracia de la UE y las fronteras (Maccaferri, 2019). Otros estudios indican que el debate se enmarcó de diferentes maneras, mediante términos como crisis, proyecto del miedo, ansiedad e incertidumbre (cf. Bennett, 2019; Higgins, 2016; McDonald, 2017, entre otros), euroescepticismo e ímpetu populista (cf. Guerra, 2017; Schmidt, 2017, entre otros), líderes y figuras de la Élite (cf. Kelsey, 2017), y racismo y xenofobia (cf. Cape, 2017).

Para diseñar el presente estudio identifiqué una serie de áreas en las que debían centrarse los estudios posteriores, partiendo de una amplia revisión bibliográfica acerca de las investigaciones previas realizadas sobre el discurso de la prensa del Brexit. Por lo tanto, formulé los objetivos y las preguntas específicas de investigación basándome en dicha revisión. Para empezar, aunque se han llevado a cabo algunos estudios sobre los periódicos de gran tirada, parece que una serie de preguntas todavía están sin responder. Tal es el caso de los temas principales relacionadas con las estrategias discursivas particulares asociadas a la incertidumbre y la negatividad, el populismo, los líderes políticos, la inmigración y la economía. Un estudio que pueda abordar dichos temas en la prensa británica contribuiría a una mayor comprensión de los diversos discursos del Brexit. Así pues, allanaría el camino para realizar más estudios comparativos indagando en puntos de vista occidentales/europeos sobre los temas tratados durante el referéndum.

En primer lugar, decidí adoptar un enfoque comparativo, especialmente, en lo que respecta a la ideología y la postura política de los medios analizados. En general, los estudios previos han prestado especial atención a la campaña del Grupo por la Salida, lo cual es de gran interés teniendo en cuenta la situación particular del referéndum del Brexit. Sin embargo, la falta de enfoques comparativos en la literatura existente dejó algunas preguntas sin respuesta. Por ejemplo, si los marcos y estrategias discursivas estudiados eran exclusivos del discurso de la prensa que apoyaban la Salida o si había una tendencia general en la cobertura de la prensa. Por lo tanto, un enfoque comparativo permitiría la comparación sistemática de los diferentes factores ideológicos y políticos en juego.

En segundo lugar, la mayoría de los estudios relacionados con la cobertura mediática del referéndum del Brexit se han llevado a cabo utilizando corpus pequeños y, por lo tanto, principalmente, mediante métodos cualitativos. Un estudio asistido por corpus complementaría la investigación existente aprovechando las técnicas y métodos de la lingüística de corpus previa al

análisis cualitativo, gracias a que un corpus voluminoso de discurso de prensa es relativamente fácil de recoger en la actualidad. Este método proporcionaría las pruebas estadísticas necesarias para comparar y evaluar los distintos subcorpus, complementaría el análisis cualitativo y, por consiguiente, podría abrir el camino para responder a la cuestión planteada sobre la investigación comparativa.

En tercer lugar, la cobertura de la campaña previa al referéndum fue un área en gran medida ignorada por los estudios previos del Brexit. La mayoría de los estudios sobre los medios de comunicación británicos se han centrado en el discurso del Brexit durante períodos más prolongados, o, exclusivamente, durante el discurso de prensa posterior al referéndum. La cobertura de la campaña merece una investigación más profunda pues tiene su propia idiosincrasia alr ser más persuasivo y estar orientado a moldear las actitudes de la gente y adherirse a cierta retórica (Bennett, 1977; Benoit et al., 2003).

Por último, estudiar la cobertura de la campaña bajo la lupa del análisis de los valores del discurso de las noticias es otro de los objetivos principales de esta tesis. La presente tesis examina los discursos ideológicos de la campaña del Brexit utilizando el marco de Bednarek y Caple (2017), es decir, el Análisis de Valores del Discurso de las Noticias *(DNVA)*. Este marco proporciona una herramienta analítica fiable para estudiar discursivamente la cobertura informativa de una amplia gama de temas. Sin embargo, todavía es un marco nuevo y en desarrollo que tiene que ser evaluado en varios entornos. Según parece, es la primera vez que este marco se utiliza en el contexto de un debate sociopolítico polémico. Este modelo se ha aplicado previamente a otros contextos, como las noticias en general (Bednarek y Caple, 2014), temas culturalmente importantes como el huracán Katrina (Potts et al., 2015), temas de importancia social como la cobertura de ciclistas (Bednarek y Caple, 2017), y la violencia contra las mujeres (Maruenda-Bataller, 2021). Un enfoque del valor de las noticias proporciona un nuevo ángulo

y ayuda a descubrir los discursos ideológicos que rodean este acontecimiento sociopolítico fundamental en la política contemporánea.

Los objetivos

Siguiendo estos puntos, se establecieron tres objetivos para esta disertación:

Objetivo 1: Analizar cómo se construyeron discursivamente los diferentes temas y debates relacionados con el Brexit en la cobertura de la prensa británica de calidad durante la campaña del referéndum.

Objetivo 2: Analizar las diferencias ideológicas en la construcción discursiva de dicha cobertura, y comparar las diferencias y similitudes según afiliación política (izquierda-derecha) y las posturas ideológicas hacia el Brexit (Bandos por la Salida y por la Permanencia).

Objetivo 3: Aplicar el marco del DNVA al análisis de las noticias de un acontecimiento sociopolítico y evaluar el potencial y las implicaciones de este marco.

Metodología

Para abordar los objetivos mencionados, se recopiló un corpus de cuatro grandes periódicos británicos (The Guardian, The Independent, The Times y Daily Telegraph) utilizando las bases de datos de noticias *Nexis UK*. Todos los textos del corpus contenían el término Brexit y fueron publicados durante la campaña del referéndum (del 22 de febrero al 23 de junio de 2016). A continuación, para analizar los datos utilicé un enfoque *CADS (Estudio del Discurso Asistido por Corpus)* con una combinación de herramientas de lingüística de corpus para el análisis cuantitativo, y DNVA para el análisis cualitativo. En el CADS la lingüística de corpus y el análisis del discurso se combinan a fin de analizar extensas colecciones de textos de forma discursiva. Esta combinación ha conllevado tantas ventajas como supuestos retos, que se tratarán más adelante en el primer capítulo de la tesis. Sin embargo, en general, esta combinación se consideró la más adecuada para el análisis de los datos de este estudio.

Para operacionalizar dicho marco mixto seguí el modelo de análisis crítico del discurso asistido por el corpus de Baker et al. (2008), originalmente utilizado y adaptado al DNVA por Bednarek y Caple (2014, 2017). Baker et al. (2008, pp. 295-297) proponen un modelo que consta de nueve pasos principales que detallan un procedimiento sólido para realizar este tipo de análisis. Aplicando sus sugerencias al presente estudio, diseñé un procedimiento que consta de tres grandes bloques de análisis:

Primer bloque: Determinar los campos semánticos existentes y los términos de búsqueda que los componen.

1. Se extrajo una lista completa de frecuencias para cada conjunto de datos utilizando el paquete R de análisis de frecuencias y la opción *ggplot*. A continuación, la lista de cada sub-corpus se sometió al paquete de análisis de clústeres del lenguaje de codificación de R para determinar las palabras frecuentes, estadísticamente significativas, de cada conjunto de datos (para más detalles, véanse las secciones 6.4.1. y 6.5.).

2. Las palabras más frecuentes de cada conjunto de datos resultantes del análisis de clúster, se seleccionaron para su posterior análisis.

3. Las palabras más frecuentes se agruparon y codificaron en sus campos semánticos correspondientes. Por ejemplo, los términos "economía", "libra" y "comercio" pertenecen al campo semántico de la economía. Estas palabras se consideraron términos de búsqueda para cada campo semántico.

Segundo bloque: Determinar la distribución de los valores de las noticias en los cuatro conjuntos de datos en cada campo semántico.

4. Los términos de búsqueda resultantes del paso 3 se sometieron a un análisis de colocaciones. Todas las colocaciones dentro y por encima del umbral de MI=3 se consideraron estadísticamente significativas. Un IM=3 implica una significación estadística del 99%, que es el

punto de referencia generalmente aceptado en el análisis cuantitativo (Brezina, 2018, p. 69). Siguiendo a Maruenda-Bataller (2021), las colocaciones estadísticamente significativas se consideraron potenciales indicadores lingüísticos del uso de valores noticiosos en el discurso.

5.   Se llevó a cabo un análisis de concordancia. Las concordancias resultantes se analizaron cualitativamente para codificar los potenciales indicadores en sus correspondientes valores noticiosos basándose en su contexto y co-texto. En esta fase se utilizó AntConc, ya que sus herramientas de análisis de colocaciones y concordancias son más cómodas que las existentes en el paquete R, mientras que este no ofrece ninguna precisión adicional en este sentido.

6.   Utilizando el lenguaje de codificación R, para cada periódico/subcorpus, se calculó la distribución de los valores de las noticias existentes en torno a cada campo semántico y se normalizaron (por 100) las frecuencias totales de todos los punteros codificados en un determinado valor de la noticia en el paso anterior. Todas las cifras se normalizaron y se comprobaron estadísticamente para garantizar que las diferencias observadas fueran estadísticamente significativas y, por tanto, comparables entre sí. Para ello, se utilizó la medida estadística chi-cuadrado por ser la más adecuada para el tipo de datos existentes (tablas con números totales diferentes). La Chi-cuadrado utiliza proporciones en su fórmula y, por tanto, normaliza la diferencia de tamaño del corpus automáticamente. Además, es una medida no paramétrica, lo que significa que no requiere una distribución normal en los datos como presupuesto. Todos los códigos utilizados en este bloque están disponibles en el siguiente capítulo. El resultado de este bloque es una tabla/un gráfico del uso general de los valores de las noticias en los cuatro conjuntos de datos, que puede compararse de forma fiable.

Tercer bloque: Comparación de los valores de las noticias entre los conjuntos de datos de forma cuantitativa y cualitativa.

7.   Las tablas y gráficos resultantes se compararon para analizar las diferencias en la distribución de los valores de las noticias para construir el Brexit y los campos semánticos relacionados en los cuatro conjuntos de datos.

8.   Asimismo, se analizaron algunos textos seleccionados.

Resultados

Siguiendo el procedimiento explicado en el capítulo anterior, las palabras más frecuentes pertenecientes a los mismos campos semánticos se agruparon para ser consideradas como términos de búsqueda. Los campos semánticos establecidos de la fase final para el análisis son los siguientes:

Primero, se consideró por separado el término de búsqueda Brexit. Debido a su evidente importancia y a su aparición como una de las palabras más frecuentes en todos los periódicos, se consideró como un campo separado por sí mismo (Brexit). Aunque técnicamente no constituye un campo semántico, la naturaleza global del término de búsqueda justifica tal consideración. Obviamente, Brexit aparece en todos los textos de los datos, ya que fue el término de búsqueda para la recopilación de datos. Por ello, un análisis directo de cómo se utiliza esta palabra en el corpus será de suma importancia para el análisis.

El segundo campo semántico es la Economía. En este caso, en los datos se encuentran diversos términos de búsqueda relacionados en este campo semántico: economía, economía, comercio, negocios, financiero, crecimiento, mercado *(economía)*.

El tercer campo es la Inmigración. Por un lado, la relevancia de la inmigración en los debates sobre el Brexit era evidente. Por otro lado, como los resultados del análisis de conglomerados lo confirmaron, se consideró un campo semántico por sí mismo (Inmigración).

El cuarto campo está dedicado a la dualidad en la representación de la UE frente al Reino Unido. La dualidad entre las dos entidades es de suma importancia en este discurso, como

confirmó la aparición de una serie de palabras relacionadas con estos dos ámbitos. Como se considera relevante ver estos ámbitos uno frente al otro, se colocaron en una misma categoría para poder compararlos y explorarlos a fondo. Los términos de búsqueda del campo semántico que constituyen esta área fueron*: UE, Europa, Europeo, Reino Unido, Gran Bretaña, Británico (UE vs GB).*

El quinto y último campo semántico incluye las referencias generales a las personas con los términos de búsqueda constitutivos: *Personas y Público.*

De acuerdo con los resultados de la investigación presentada en la disertación, merece la pena mencionar una serie de tendencias observadas en los datos. En primer lugar, los resultados del término de búsqueda "Brexit" ofrecen algunas ideas clave sobre cómo se enmarcó y representó el referéndum en el discurso de los cuatro periódicos estudiados en esta tesis. A primera vista, la observación más destacable es el elevado nivel de negatividad utilizado para construir el Brexit en general. Esto coincide con las primeras investigaciones citadas anteriormente, en concreto, con los hallazgos de Becker et al. (2016) y de Cap (2017). El alto nivel de Negatividad también se utiliza en la construcción discursiva de todos los demás campos semánticos, aunque las cifras deben verse frente a otros valores noticiosos en cada caso. En el caso del Brexit, esta observación implica el uso de la Positividad frente a Impacto. Por ejemplo, las frecuencias normalizadas del *Telegraph*, favorable a la salida, muestran que este periódico contribuyó al tono negativo del debate en torno al Brexit en la misma medida que otros periódicos. Sin embargo, también trató de transmitir un punto positivo. Mientras que el uso del valor informativo de Positividad es casi nulo en otros periódicos, tiene una frecuencia normalizada significativa en el conjunto de datos del *Telegraph*. Los periódicos anti-Brexit, tanto de la izquierda como de la derecha, casi nunca construyeron el Brexit con un valor positivo. Lo mismo se puede decir del valor informativo de Impacto. En los tres periódicos que apoyan la "Per-

mamnencia", hubo altos niveles de Impacto en la construcción del Brexit para enfatizar el considerable impacto del Brexit. Sin embargo, el *Telegraph* que apoya la salida del Reino Unido, consiguió rebajar cualquier impacto considerable asociado al Brexit utilizando el valor noticioso de Impacto en cantidades mucho menores en su discurso, en comparación con otros periódicos.

En el campo semántico de la Economía un alto nivel de Negatividad está de nuevo presente en los cuatro conjuntos de datos. Sin embargo, se observa que el *Telegraph*, favorable a la salida, construyó el campo semántico de Economía de forma mucho menos negativa que otros periódicos. Esto se refuerza al observar la negatividad frente a la positividad. En cuanto al valor noticioso de la Positividad, el *Telegraph* ofrece una visión mucho más positiva en comparación con los otros tres periódicos, como observamos en algunos de los ejemplos a lo largo del capítulo, así como su mayor uso cuantitativo de Positividad formulado en el corpus.

En el campo semántico de la Inmigración, también hay un nivel muy alto de Negatividad compartido por los periódicos de derecha e izquierda, los que apoyan la Salida y la Permanencia, de forma similar. Lo que hace distintiva la construcción discursiva de este campo semántico es que el alto nivel de negatividad también va acompañado de un nivel muy bajo de positividad y un alto nivel de impacto. Esto sugiere que, probablemente, la mayor parte de la construcción discursiva de la Inmigración se hizo en términos de Impacto negativo, es decir, adoptando dos valores noticiosos para construir un sentido de noticiabilidad reforzado e híbrido.

Además, el valor noticioso de la Negatividad se adoptó con mucha más frecuencia en la construcción de la UE en comparación con el Reino Unido en los cuatro periódicos. Esto implica también que el tono general del discurso se inclinó claramente hacia una representación negativa de la UE, compartida tanto por la izquierda y la derecha, como por los periódicos que apoyan la permanencia y la salida. Esta tendencia se invirtió por completo en el caso del valor informativo de Impacto. El uso de Impacto en la construcción discursiva de la UE y el Reino

Unido mostró diferencias considerables. En relación con Europa, todos los periódicos coincidieron en construir poco o ningún Impacto. Por el contrario, hay una marcada diferencia en los datos relativos al Reino Unido. En el caso del *Telegraph*, pro-Brexit, el uso de Impacto para el Reino Unido es relativamente menor que en los otros conjuntos de datos. Esto indica que este periódico rebajó considerablemente el uso de Impacto a la hora de representar al Reino Unido en su discurso. Al mismo tiempo, los tres periódicos partidarios de la Permanencia, tanto de izquierda como de derecha, parecen construir un impacto más sustancial en torno al Reino Unido.

Al profundizar en las estrategias discursivas concretas utilizadas para construir el interés periodístico de los temas tratados durante la campaña del referéndum, se observan algunas tendencias interesantes. En particular, en muchos casos los datos sugieren que ciertos valores noticiosos se utilizaron de forma jerárquica y sinérgica, con importantes implicaciones discursivas e ideológicas. Como se observa en numerosos extractos del corpus, los periódicos anti-Brexit, en general, tendieron a construir un discurso negativo sobre las consecuencias del Brexit combinando el valor noticioso de la Negatividad con el Impacto, el Elitismo, la Superlatividad y la Proximidad. Por otro lado, los periódicos pro-Brexit trataron de restar importancia a esos resultados negativos de un posible Brexit separando sistemáticamente la Negatividad de otros valores noticiosos. De este modo acabaron devaluando y socavando su potencial impacto. En otros casos, el periódico pro-Brexit combinó Positividad con Impacto y Elegancia para realzar y elaborar algunas representaciones específicas en su discurso. En general, el uso de los valores de las noticias en la construcción discursiva del Brexit y sus correspondientes campos semánticos analizados en este trabajo puede considerarse como una práctica discursiva cargada de consideraciones sociales, ideológicas y políticas. Además, teniendo en cuenta todos los resultados, la división Salida-Permanencia parece tener mayor valor explicativo que las tradicionales diferencias izquierda-derecha.

Conclusiones

Según la premisa fundamental del modelo DNVA, la adopción de valores noticiosos para construir la noticiabilidad tiene un aspecto discursivo (Bednarek y Caple, 2014). Sin embargo, hay que tener en cuenta el aspecto de la construcción de la noticiabilidad, el que no tiene lugar mediante la adopción de valores noticiosos únicos, independientes o aislados. Por el contrario, se trata de una práctica discursiva a gran escala y contextual. Profundizar en la distribución de los valores noticiosos en grandes corpus nos ha mostrado no solo cómo se utiliza discursivamente cada valor noticioso, sino también cómo estos se pueden utilizar de forma sinérgica para crear una imagen específica más amplia.

Uno de los patrones más destacados en los datos fue la combinación de Negatividad o Positividad con Impacto. En el modelo de Bednarek y Caple (2017), el valor noticioso de Impacto parece no tener un aspecto evaluativo predeterminado. Estas autoras definen el Impacto como "relativo a la construcción de un evento como si tuviera efectos o consecuencias significativas, sin restringir estos efectos/consecuencias a las vidas o experiencias de la audiencia objetiva" (Bednarek y Caple, 2017, p. 60). Esto significa que dicha construcción puede ser negativa, positiva o incluso neutra. Bednarek y Caple (2017, p. 60), sin embargo, señalan que el Impacto rara vez aparece de forma aislada, y normalmente se asocia a otros valores de la noticia como la Superlatividad, la Proximidad, la Negatividad y/o la Positividad. En nuestros datos el valor noticioso del Impacto se asoció con frecuencia con la Negatividad/Positividad, lo que demuestra que en la práctica los valores noticiosos se utilizan conjuntamente para crear un mensaje reforzado en el discurso. En el campo semántico del Brexit, una de las diferencias críticas en las estrategias discursivas de los periódicos pro-Brexit y anti-Brexit fue que el periódico pro-Brexit asoció un mensaje mucho menos negativo con el impacto del Brexit. Este patrón se observó igualmente en el campo semántico de la Economía, donde se adoptó un marco más positivo en el periódico pro-Brexit en comparación con los otros medios.

La posibilidad de coocurrencia significativa de ciertos valores noticiosos ya fue señalada en otros estudios de DNVA (Potts et al., 2015; Fruttaldo & Venuti 2017, 2018; Fuster-Márquez & Gregori-Signes, 2019; Maruenda-Bataller, 2021). Sin embargo, en un nivel más profundo y en términos cualitativos, en lugar de la categorización cruzada o la co-ocurrencia de valores noticiosos, podemos reconocer lo que yo llamaría una jerarquía de valores noticiosos. En muchos de los ejemplos analizados hemos observado que los valores noticiosos como la Negatividad o la Positividad se utilizaron como la forma principal de construir el interés periodístico de un determinado tema (capítulo 7). Al mismo tiempo, otros valores noticiosos como el Impacto o la Superlatividad se utilizaron para amplificar o diluir los aspectos Negativos o Positivos de la noticia. Por lo tanto, en muchos casos, en lugar de indicar o subrayar un valor noticioso, o, incluso, varios valores noticiosos diferentes, encontramos una jerarquía de valores noticiosos, en la que ciertos valores se utilizan al servicio de representaciones específicas. Por ello, me parece que podemos hablar del uso jerárquico de los valores noticiosos como una práctica discursiva en sí misma.

Otra práctica discursiva específica que se observó en nuestro corpus es la construcción de dualidades. Es decir, a veces se utilizan unos valores noticiosos frente a otros para construir y enfatizar noticias divergentes, que pueden aumentar la intensidad o la eficacia de un lado de la representación en ciertos aspectos. En este sentido, encontramos los valores noticiosos de Impacto, Negatividad o Positividad con este uso en nuestros datos. Esto puede incluir la colocación de un impacto relativamente positivo de un tema frente al impacto extremadamente negativo del tema contrastado y, por tanto, aumentar el grado de Positividad/Negatividad construido en torno a temas específicos en el discurso.

Estas prácticas discursivas se deben tener en cuenta en el análisis de los valores de las noticias, especialmente, por tener repercusión en lo que se podría llamar la intensidad del uso de los valores de las noticias. En esta tesis he intentado cuantificar la frecuencia de aparición de los

distintos valores noticiosos en el discurso, lo que nos permitiría comparar distintos subcorpus para el análisis interideológico. Sin embargo, se deberían tomar precauciones, porque las prácticas discursivas en la construcción de la noticiabilidad son muy complejas. Como hemos observado en varios ejemplos de esta tesis, el uso de los valores noticiosos es una práctica discursiva de múltiples capas. Algunos valores noticiosos pueden ser utilizados de forma intencionada para intensificarse mutuamente o, por el contrario, diluir ciertas representaciones en torno a los temas construidos con importantes implicaciones ideológicas. Por tanto, la intensidad de los valores noticiosos es tan importante como su frecuencia. En este estudio analicé cualitativamente estas prácticas. Ofrecer formas cuantitativas para medir este aspecto en el discurso de los valores noticiosos es una tarea que aún está por hacer.

Además, los resultados de este estudio subrayan una vez más la naturaleza cultural, ideológica e interpretativa de la construcción de la noticiabilidad en el discurso. En algunos ejemplos señalé cómo ciertas noticias podían ser representadas y construidas como negativas, positivas o impactantes para ciertas personas o audiencias. Esto demuestra, una vez más, hasta qué punto la agenda ideológica y la inclinación del periódico, así como los procesos interpretativos de sus lectores, pueden determinar las formas en las que se construye la noticiabilidad en el discurso. En este sentido, además de la cuestión de cómo se construye la noticiabilidad, una pregunta que se podría hacer es "para quién" se construye la noticiabilidad. Esto tiene una relación estrecha con el diseño de audiencias de Bell (sección 2.3), y con la premisa básica de cómo la variación sociolingüística en el texto de las noticias puede explicarse como una estrategia para acomodarse a diferentes audiencias (Bell, 1984). Este punto no está matizado y fue abordado en algunas de las investigaciones anteriores (cf. Bednarek y Caple, 2014; Fuster-Márquez y Gregori-Signes, 2019; Makki, 2019; 2020; Maruenda-Bataller, 2021). Sin embargo, en el caso de este estudio cuyo tema conllevaría profundos retos sociopolíticos e ideológicos se considera una vez más vital para analizar el discurso de los valores de las noticias.

Cabe mencionar la importancia del concepto de hegemonía (Gramsci y Hoare, 1971) en el discurso informativo como el último punto en cuanto a los resultados de esta tesis. La hegemonía es una forma de poder 'blando' de coerción en la que un patrón discursivo se convierte en dominante, no debido a controles externos 'duros', sino, más bien, a través del sutil proceso de aceptación y normalización (Stoddart, 2007, pp. 200-203). El importante grado de similitud observado en el uso de los valores noticiosos en la construcción discursiva de diferentes campos semánticos en todos nuestros datos (Bandos Salida y Permanencia) es un ejemplo de cómo los rasgos específicos del discurso antieuropeo se volvieron dominantes, incluso, en los llamados medios de comunicación de izquierda y progresistas.

El área más destacada en la que se observaron tales prácticas discursivas en esta tesis es la Inmigración, pues el valor noticioso de Negatividad se utilizó casi por igual en los periódicos de izquierda y de derecha, pro-Brexit y anti-Brexit. Las frases como "inmigración masiva" o "inmigración descontrolada" calaron, incluso, en el discurso de los medios de comunicación de izquierdas que tradicionalmente solían ser los defensores de la inmigración y de los derechos humanos de los inmigrantes y refugiados.

Hay que señalar que este proceso de legitimación y de relevancia del discurso se produce de dos maneras. En primer lugar, parece haber un grado de normalización del discurso antiinmigrante. Es decir, los medios de comunicación progresistas en muchos casos acaban aceptando las propias premisas del debate establecidas por el discurso antiinmigrante y populista, y, luego se limitan a tratar de mitigar las consecuencias. En muchos de los casos analizados, el impacto negativo de la inmigración en los servicios públicos se aceptó técnicamente como un hecho subyacente. Esto se acerca bastante a la noción de "racismo líquido" acuñada por Weaver (2011, 2016) y que recientemente se ha demostrado que está en marcha, incluso, en discursos

aparentemente pro-inmigración (Tsakona et al., 2020), en los que, en contra del intento de refutar la agresión o los estereotipos generales contra los migrantes, las prácticas discursivas acaban naturalizando y reproduciendo ideologías monoculturalistas asimiladoras.

La segunda forma en la que estas premisas pasan a formar parte del discurso mediático dominante es a través de lo que podríamos denominar el discurso perpetuador. Es decir, en muchos casos los medios de comunicación anti-Brexit o de izquierdas intentan desmontar algunos de los argumentos del bando pro-Brexit. Sin embargo, en realidad, al realizarlo repiten o, incluso, acaban aceptando los mismos argumentos hasta tal punto que se convierten en parte de una discusión aparentemente legítima sobre el tema. Como señala Beckett (2016), en el caso de la victoria de Donald Trump en las elecciones presidenciales de 2016 en Estados Unidos, para el discurso populista no existe la mala publicidad. Es decir, aunque los elementos de debate se repitan para ser desmontados en la cobertura, su mera repetición a gran escala contribuye prácticamente a perpetuarlos y, por tanto, a la normalización y aceptación de dichos debates en el discurso, al darles mayor publicidad. En estos casos, independientemente de la postura o, incluso, del tono del contexto más amplio del medio informativo, a partir de un determinado umbral, la mera repetición de las mismas estructuras se vuelve discursivamente significativa de manera que el área específica del discurso se construye con los mismos valores noticiosos. Cuando un conjunto de colocaciones expresa significados o funciones discursivas similares y se dan en numerosos contextos, se puede concluir la existencia de una representación común o de un discurso hegemónico (Baker y Levon, 2015, pp. 330-331). Esto podría sugerir que la construcción de la noticiabilidad del Brexit con valores noticiosos como Elitismo serviría finalmente al discurso anti elitista y asociaría el Brexit con el Elitismo. De hecho, esto está en consonancia con los hallazgos anteriores relacionados con el predominio de la élite en el debate en torno al Brexit (Dekavalla 2018a) y ,además, muestra cómo los medios anti-Brexit podrían haber desempeñado un papel en este sentido también, aunque, involuntariamente.

Lo mismo se podría afirmar cuando la Inmigración se asoció con la Negatividad o el Impacto. Esto coincide, principalmente, con las investigaciones anteriores que describen el discurso del bando por la Permanencia como desapasionado y sin espíritu (Buckledee, 2018). Es decir, en lugar de proponer argumentos convincentes para permanecer en la UE, los medios de comunicación anti-Brexit parecían dedicarse a desmontar los puntos de conversación pro-Brexit. Esto es especialmente interesante y digno de atención en el caso de la inmigración. El lenguaje y el discurso de los medios pro-Brexit se tacharon de racistas y xenófobos en investigaciones anteriores (Cap, 2017; Virdee et al. 2018), pero la participación de los medios anti-Brexit en la normalización y aceptación más amplia de tales conceptos y prácticas discursivas es un área que se podría investigar más en el futuro. Tal vez ya no sea relevante producir análisis binarios de derecha e izquierda, ya que tales apuntalamientos ideológicos se diluyen en las noticias. Por otro lado, el análisis de la ideología quizás debería relegarse a los artículos de opinión, porque son las secciones en las que se manifiestan las posturas ideológicas de los medios de forma más directa.

Introduction

The 2016 Brexit referendum was a critical moment in the always tumultuous socio-political history of Great Britain's relationship with Europe. Consequently, this momentous phenomenon has attracted major scholarly attention and has been studied from different perspectives. In this dissertation, my main objective is to contribute to this timely and ever-growing literature by exploring the news discourse of the Brexit referendum. Specifically, my study focuses on how different topics and debates related to Brexit were discursively constructed in the British quality press coverage of the referendum campaign.

Previous studies have already provided us with some crucial insights regarding the Brexit referendum press discourse. Early content analysis studies indicate that economy and immigration were the most frequently covered topics by the press during the referendum (Deacon et al., 2016; Moore & Ramsay, 2017). They also detect noteworthy signs of negativity and polarisation in the discourse of both sides of the debate (Remain and Leave) (Moore & Ramsay, 2017, pp. 25-27). Further discourse analysis studies concur with the early investigations in this regard and identify four central interdiscursive topoi of immigration, economy, EU bureaucracy, and borders in British media's recontextualisation of the Britain-Europe relationship during the Brexit referendum (Maccaferri, 2019). Other studies indicate that the debate was framed in different ways, including in terms of crisis, project fear, anxiety, and uncertainty (cf. Bennett, 2019; Higgins, 2016; McDonald, 2017, among others), Euroscepticism and populist impetus (cf. Guerra, 2017; Schmidt, 2017, among others), leaders and Elite figures (cf. Kelsey, 2017), and racism and xenophobia (cf. Cape, 2017).

To design the present study, I identified a number of areas further studies needed to focus on based on an extensive literature review carried out on previous research on the press discourse of Brexit. Therefore, I formulated the specific research objectives and questions based on this critical review of the extant literature. To begin with, many questions seemed to remain unanswered regarding the mainstream British press, specifically the broadsheets. Although some studies of broadsheets have been carried out, a series of questions seem to remain unanswered in this respect. For example, the main topics and more specific issues related to particular discursive strategies associated with the polemical frames, topics, and areas of discourse such as uncertainty and negativity, populism, political leaders, immigration, and economy. A study addressing these points would contribute to the analysis of the diverse Brexit discourses from a UK-based perspective. In addition, it would pave the way for more comparative studies on Western/European views on the topics covered during the referendum.

In addition, I decided to adopt a comparative approach, especially regarding the ideology and political stance of the analysed outlets. In general, previous studies have paid particular attention to the Leave campaign, which is of great interest considering the particular situation of the Brexit referendum. However, a lack of comparative approaches in the existing literature left some questions unanswered, including whether the studied discursive frames and strategies were exclusive to the Leave-backing press discourse or a general tendency in the press coverage. Hence, a comparative approach would allow for the systematic comparison of the different ideological and political factors at play.

In addition, most studies related to the Brexit referendum press coverage have been carried out using small corpora and, therefore, mainly through qualitative methods. A corpus-assisted study would supplement existing research, taking advantage of corpus linguistics techniques and methods, given the volume of media and news discourse that is reasonably easy to

access currently. Such a method would provide necessary statistical tests to compare and evaluate distinct sub-corpora, and could lead the way to answer the prior point on comparative research.

Finally, the pre-referendum campaign coverage was another area largely ignored by previous studies on the Brexit referendum. The majority of studies on British media focused on the discourse of Brexit in general, over more extended periods of time, or on post-referendum press discourse solely. The campaign coverage merits deeper investigation because campaign discourse has its own idiosyncrasies, such as being more persuasive, oriented at shaping people's attitudes, and adhering to certain rhetoric (Bennett, 1977; Benoit et al., 2003).

Last but not least, studying campaign coverage through the lens of Discursive News Values Analysis was another main aim of this dissertation. The current thesis examines the Brexit campaign's ideological discourses using Bednarek and Caple's (2017) framework, Discoursive News Values Analysis (DNVA). The framework provides a reliable analytical tool for discursively studying the news coverage of a broad range of issues. However, it is still a new and developing framework that has to be evaluated in a variety of settings. This is the first time, to my knowledge, that this framework has been used in the context of a contentious socio-political debate. This model has previously been applied to other contexts, including news in general (Bednarek and Caple, 2014), culturally important topics such as Hurricane Katrina (Potts et al., 2015), topics of social importance, such as the coverage of cyclists (Bednarek and Caple, 2017), and violence against women (Maruenda-Bataller, 2021). A news value approach provides a new angle and helps uncover ideological discourses surrounding this pivotal socio-political event in contemporary politics.

Following these points, three objectives were set for this dissertation:

Objective 1: to analyse how different topics and debates related to Brexit were discursively constructed in the British quality press coverage of the referendum campaign.

Objective 2: To analyse the ideological differences in the discursive construction of the aforementioned coverage, and to compare the differences and similarities along political affiliations (left-right) and ideological stances toward Brexit (Leave-Remain).

Objective 3: To apply the DNVA framework to the examination of news reports of a socio-political event and to assess the potential and implications of this framework.

To address the above-mentioned objectives, a corpus of four major British broadsheets (The Guardian, The Independent, The Times, and Daily Telegraph) was collected using Nexis UK news databases. All the texts in the corpus contained the term Brexit and were published during the campaign for the referendum (22 February to 23 June 2016). Then, to analyse the data, I used a CADS (Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies) approach with a combination of corpus linguistics tools for quantitative analysis and DNVA for qualitative analysis. In CADS, corpus linguistics and discourse analysis are combined to analyse extensive text collections discursively. There are various advantages, as well as challenges to such a combination, that will be dealt with later, in the first chapter of the dissertation. However, in general, such a combination was deemed to be appropriate for the analysis of the data in this study.

To operationalise such a mixed framework, I followed Baker et al.'s (2008) model of corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis, which is the one originally used and adapted to DNVA by Bednarek and Caple (2014, 2017). Baker et al. (2008, pp. 295-297) propose a model for corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis which consists of nine major steps on how to organise a solid procedure for data analysis in corpus assisted discourse studies, going back and forth between quantitative and qualitative analyses. Applying their suggestions to the present study, I designed a procedure consisting in three major blocks of analysis:

The first block of analysis was determining existing semantic fields and their constituent search terms. To do so, I extracted a complete frequency list for each data set using the R package frequency analysis and ggplot option. Then, the list of each sub-corpora was subjected to R coding language cluster analysis package to determine the statistically meaningful frequent words of each data set. The most frequent words in each data set, resulting from the cluster analysis, were selected for further analysis. The second block consisted in extracting and calculating the distribution of news values across the four datasets in each semantic field. Finally, the third block of analysis was analysing news values across data sets quantitatively and qualitatively. At this stage, the news values tables and graphs were compared to analyse differences in the distribution of news values for constructing Brexit and related semantic fields across the four datasets. In addition, a number of selected pieces of texts were further analysed in more depth.

The present dissertation is structured in four parts and eight chapters:

Part one of this dissertation includes the fundamental background, theoretical bases, and the framework of the study, comprising four chapters that covering these aspects. Chapter one is dedicated to reviewing critical discourse analysis to situate the study in its broader academic context. Chapter two includes an exploration of existing literature on news discourse, which examines the (evolving) definition(s) of news discourse in the literature and its relevance for the study of ideology. Chapter three turns to the more specific topic of news values within news discourse studies, which explores the role of news values in the news production process. This is followed by a review of the different approaches to the study of news values, which delves into the specific model adopted for this study, i.e., Discorsive News Values Analysis (Bednarek, & Caple 2017). Finally, chapter four contains the literature review of the studies addressing the Brexit referendum press coverage

In Part two, I deal with the main methodological and technical aspects of the study. This part includes chapters 5 and 6. In chapter 5, a recapitulation of the key decisions made in study design based on the literature review is presented, followed by the study's objectives, research questions, and hypotheses. Chapter 6 includes details of the methodology, in which the data, the framework, and the analytical procedure of the study are described in detail.

Part 3 includes analysis and discussion, presented in chapter 7. In this chapter, the major findings of the study are presented and discussed in detail. The dissertation ends in Part four, which includes chapter eight, the final conclusions of the study, including some concluding remarks and future lines of research.

Part One: Theoretical Foundations

Part one of this dissertation includes the fundamental background, theoretical bases, and the framework of the study. To cover the theoretical foundations, this part is divided into four chapters. The present dissertation comprises a corpus-assisted discourse study (henceforth CADS) within the broader branch of critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA). Therefore, the first chapter discusses the central tenets of CDA and CADS. Whether CDA is a method, a school of thought, or a movement is the topic of extended and long-standing debates (cf. Wodak & Meyer, 2009; 2016; van Dijk, 2013). However, in practical terms, it refers to a certain way in which language is studied within the broader context of society, and it further addresses questions of ideology, power, and representation. Hence, the first chapter deals with the essential theoretical foundations of the present study.

Since the principal subject of study in this dissertation is news discourse, the second chapter reviews the discourse of news media. This chapter explores the (evolving) definition(s) of news discourse in the literature and its relevance for the study of ideology, while it further reviews the main approaches to the study of news discourse.

The third chapter of this part investigates the specificities of a pivotal concept in the area of news discourse: that of news values. This chapter starts with the role of news values in the news production process and is followed by a review of the different approaches to the study of news values. The chapter then delves into the specific model adopted for this study, i.e., Discoursive News Values Analysis (Bednarek, & Caple 2017). Besides explaining the details of the model, the chapter also provides a review of the previous applications of this model. Finally, chapter four contains the literature review of the studies addressing Brexit referendum press coverage. In this chapter, the possible ways in which a new study can contribute to the

existing literature are explored. The first four chapters altogether provide the theoretical foundation required for narrowing down and designing the study, which will be discussed in the following part.

CHAPTER ONE: Approaches to discourse analysis

1.1.   Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a multidisciplinary, diverse, and continually developing field of study. It has its roots in a number of different disciplines, including rhetoric, text linguistics, anthropology, philosophy, social psychology, cognitive science, literary studies, sociolinguistics, and above all, applied linguistics and pragmatics (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p. 2). The general objective of CDA is to "examine critically the relationship between language, ideology, power, and social structure" (Catalano & Waugh, 2020, p. 1) and to analyse "hidden, opaque, and visible structures of dominance, discrimination, power, and control as manifested in language" (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p 12). It is an inter-disciplinary approach to language in use with the aim of advancing our understanding of social processes, social structures, and social change through language and discourse (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018, p. 1).

The main root of CDA is in critical linguistics. Critical linguistics is an approach to language study which emphasises the role of ideology and power relationships in how language is used by different actors, especially focusing on the persuasive power of syntactic forms (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018, p. 1). In CDA, such a view to language is combined with a historical turn in which the definition of discourse evolved from language beyond sentence (Stubbs, 1983) to language in use (Fasold, 1990), and finally to the definition of discourse as social practice (Fairclough 1992).

Following the linguistic and discursive turns in social and human sciences, the way scholars investigate language changed dramatically. The linguistic turn in the twentieth century fundamentally changed how scholars perceive the role of language. First of all, there was a basic

philosophical shift in the relationship between language and meaning. The perception of language as a pre-existing medium for expressing meanings shifted to language as a "system that constitutes meaningfulness in its own terms" (Locke, 2004, p. 11). That is to say, prior to this linguistic turn, language had been seen as a medium that could convey the pre-existing meanings, either directly or in a mediated way. The linguistic turn, however, changed the role of language entirely and placed it at the heart of social life as part of the process of meaning-making, and therefore, constructing the social reality itself. This perspective shift in specific reference to the human sciences took the shape of what Parker (1999) called the "discursive turn"; a turn from the notion of representation as a direct or mediated reflection of reality to a conceptual and methodological account of representation as a form of signification (pp. 4-5).

Following the discursive turn, scholars from different branches of the social sciences approached the study of discourse in many different ways (Cameron, 2001). These include a broad range of approaches from the Foucauldian definition of discourse as broader systems of knowledge constitution, subjectivity, power relation, and social practice (Weedon, 1987, p. 108) to more linguistically focused approaches such as viewing discourse as a complex of linguistic forms larger than a single sentence (a text) or examining language-in-use, and linguistic structures actually used by people, or "real language" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 2).

Initially, discourse was defined by Stubbs (1983) with three distinctive characteristics: First, discourse involves authentic language as opposed to pre-fabricated language (primarily used in those days and earlier in grammar textbooks, and even in early discourse analysis and pragmatic studies). Second, discourse as language above the level of sentence. Third, discourse as crucially concerned with language in context. That is to say, language that is not merely a series of tokens with their inherent meaning, but rather a series of signs and symbols that become meaningful in a particular social context. Subsequently, Fairclough defined discourse as social practice (Fairclough, 1989). Indeed, language use is the most common form of social

behaviour (Fairclough, 1989, p.2). In his definition, the social practice of using language has a dialectical relation with the context in which language is used. Using language in a certain context is a form of social practice. Language is shaped by the context, and at the same time, it shapes the social settings and structures within which it happens (Fairclough, 1989).

It should be noted that the term discourse is still used in different ways (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018, p. 2-3). Nowadays, discourse is used with two distinct meanings, both of which are the concern of CDA. On the one hand, discourse could refer to language use in general. However, in CDA, discourse might also refer to a "specific set of meanings expressed through particular forms and uses which give expression to particular institutions or social groups" (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018, p. 3). Although, in this dissertation, I investigate language use in the specific realm of news discourse (as it will be dealt with in chapters two and three), the foundation of my research mainly accounts for the second definition of discourse.

In the social sciences, in particular, CDA emerged as a branch of discourse analysis especially concerned with a highly socially engaged agenda. CDA addresses questions like how social power, abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (van Dijk 2001, p. 352). In other words, CDA, on the one hand, studies society through discourse, and on the other, contextualises (and understands) discourse through an analysis of the historical, socio-political, and cultural context of its use. In this way, discourse and social practices, or genres and styles, are seen in a dialectical relationship, with social structures affecting discourse and discourse affecting social structure (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018, p. 2).

It should, however, be mentioned that CDA is not the only approach to studying discourse. Far from that, CDA is not even the only critical way of studying discourse (Jones 2012) or the only possible critical perspective on language in society (Blommaert, 2005, p. 21). CDA

is distinguished because it is not merely a direction, school, or specialisation next to the many other approaches in discourse studies. It rather tries to offer a different mode or a range of perspectives on theorising, analysis, and application (van Dijk 2001, pp. 352-353). Such a fundamental distinction is also drawn by Cameron (2001) between disciplines that are concerned merely with the discourse as language use in itself and disciplines that study discourse for other ends. In this sense, CDA is mainly concerned with the societal and ideological implications of language use:

> CDA focuses its critique on the intersection of language/discourse/speech and social structure. It is uncovering ways in which social structure relates to discourse patterns (in the form of power relations, ideological effects, and so forth), and in treating these relations as problematic, that researchers in CDA situate the critical dimension of their work. It is not enough to uncover the social dimensions of language use. These dimensions are the object of moral and political evaluation, and analysing them should have effects in society: empowering the powerless, giving voices to the voiceless, exposing power abuse, and mobilising people to remedy social wrongs. As part of critical social science (Blommaert, 2005, p. 25).

This critical and socially committed approach means that CDA deals with a broad range of social institutions, concepts, and areas of discourse. Therefore, CDA researchers and scholars investigate political discourse (discourse of politicians and political activists), the discourse of economics and globalisation, racism discourse, advertisements and promotional culture, institutional discourse (e.g., doctor-patient communication), education discourse and especially relevant to this dissertation, media discourse (Blommaert, 2005, p. 25). CDA draws heavily on social theories and seeks to develop a critically contextualised approach to linguistics, which identifies issues of ideology, power, and inequality as central to this field of study (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018, p. 1).

Because of the abovementioned, in recent years, a tendency to use the term Critical Discourse Studies (henceforth CDS) instead of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has emerged. Such a shift in terminology could be clearly observed in the titles used in the most recent and prominent contributions published in this area. The third edition of Wodak and Meyer's (2016) seminal work *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies* adopted such terminology and replaced the title of the previous two editions, *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis.* Following them, Flowerdew and Richardson (2018) also preferred this title for their *Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies*. The reason behind such a shift in terminology, as already mentioned, is that CDA increasingly went from being a branch of applied science to encompass philosophical, theoretical, methodological, and practical developments (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018, p. 2). Therefore, it has expanded into a larger interdisciplinary research domain (Catalano & Waugh, 2020, p. 2). Thus, the term CDS comprises all the theories, methods, analyses, applications, and other practices of critical discourse analysts (van Dijk, 2013).

Although CDA/CDS encompasses a wide variety of theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches, there are some distinctive features that the studies under this umbrella term generally have in common (Wodak and Meyer, 2016, pp. 2-3):

1. CDA practitioners are interested in authentic language use, as opposed to studying abstract language systems. That is to say, they focus on language as it is used in real-world situations. This could include a variety of different contexts, from analysing day-to-day conversations to the study of news media discourse.

2. They focus on units larger than isolated words or sentences. These units could include (but are not restricted to) texts, conversations, speech acts, or communicative events. Therefore CDA goes beyond sentence grammar and toward the study of communicative acts, interaction patterns, and broader questions of genre and discourse (cf. Bax, 2010).

3. CDA expands from the verbal to the semiotic and non-verbal meaning-making resources of interaction and communication, such as gestures, images, film, the internet, etc.

4. CDA focuses on dynamic (socio)-cognitive or interactional moves and strategies.

5. It studies the functions of language use (such as social, cultural, situational, and cognitive).

6. It offers an analysis of a wide range of text grammar and language use phenomena such as coherence, anaphora, topics, macrostructures, turn-taking, signs, politeness, argumentation, rhetoric, mental models, and many other aspects of text and discourse.

In accordance with the multifaceted and multi-layered nature of CDS, a broad range of theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches can be situated within it. Wodak and Meyer (2016), in their latest edition of *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies,* include a variety of the most relevant methods or approaches: the discourse-historical approach (cf. Reisigle & Wodak, 2016; Wodak, 2001), van Dijk's sociocognitive approach (van Dijk, 2014; 2016), Fairclough's dialectical-relational approach (Fairclough 2012; 2016), the Foucauldian Approach (Jager & Maier, 2016), van Leeuwen's social practice approach (van Leeuwen, 2008; 2016) and one of the most recent developments in this field, the corpus-based approach. Providing the details of all the existing approaches to CDS is beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, as this study was carried out under the corpus-based approach, its main theoretical and methodological bases and background are examined in the next section.

1.2. Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies

Corpus linguistics and discourse analysis are two of the main approaches to research in linguistics. The two fields seemingly belong to different traditions and schools of thought. However, in previous years, the field of corpus-assisted discourse studies (henceforth CADS), with the works of its first proponents such as Hardt-Mautner (1995), Stubbs (1996), Partington (2003; 2008), and Partington et al. (2013), has become a promising trend in linguistics,

discourse studies and corpus linguistics. Generally speaking, CADS refers to "the integration of CDA/CDS with corpus studies research" (Catalano & Waugh, 2020, p. 190) and a "set of studies into the form and/or function of language as communicative discourse which incorporate the use of computerized corpora in their analyses" (Partington et al. 2013: 10). CADS aims to analyse how discourse participants achieve their goals via language, discover non-obvious meanings underneath the large-scale patterns that smaller scale quantitative methods might be unable to detect, and identify questions and puzzles that would otherwise have not been considered (Subtirelu & Baker, 2017, p. 108).

Coming from such a heterogeneous background, the fundamental endeavour of combining these two traditions is built upon deep-rooted contradictions and incongruities. One of the first accounts of such a clash comes from Fillmore (1992), who described it as a clash between two types of linguists: what he called the "armchair" (sic) and the machine linguist. In his opinion, the fundamental problem is that these two types of linguists barely communicate with each other, and when they do, they are not interested in the insights driven from each other's scholarship. This is, however, an old story that does not hold true any longer. In recent years, qualitative and quantitative methods have shown that they can work hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder, complementing each other in some aspects and sometimes reaching similar conclusions from both approaches (cf. Baker & Levon, 2015; McEnery et al. 2008, among others). In turn, they both make distinctive contributions and examine aspects of discourse that one single approach cannot tackle. Therefore, despite the cold initiation described by Fillmore, CADS began to find its way in linguistic research.

Different stages can be noted in the evolution of corpus-informed studies in linguistic research. The first stage of such studies before the 1990s started devoid of questions of ideology and discourse. The first wave of studies in this field was dedicated more extensively to lexical and grammatical patterns, the creation of dictionaries and grammar textbooks, and multilingual

corpora for translation studies (Subtirelu & Baker, 2017, p. 107). In a sense, it can be said that those studies were corpus-driven rather than corpus-assisted. That is to say, they were more quantitatively oriented, focusing on lexico-grammatical patterns, while a corpus-assisted study, with a more qualitative slant, would be committed to unveiling discourse patterns.

However, from the 1990s onwards, the value of applying corpus approaches to analysing issues related to discourse and ideology became more apparent and noticed by corpus practitioners (Subtirelu & Baker, 2017, p. 107). Some examples of early applications of corpus linguistics tools include the analysis of contexts of identity words (Krishnamurthy, 1996), a study on the representation of deaf people (Hunston, 1999), Piper's (2000) research on lifelong learning, or Flowerdew's (1997) study of the speeches of the last British governor of Hong Kong.

The two first decades of the 21st century, however, have meant a significant shift, and the application and usefulness of such tools became increasingly accepted. Before the 21st century, McEnery & Wilson (1996) and Kennedy (1998) noted the marginal application of corpus linguistics methods to discourse studies. By the beginning of the new century, however, Conard (2002) offered a different picture and demonstrated the vast application and acceptance of these tools in discourse studies. This shift was completed by the publication of Partington's (2003) analysis of how discourse participants achieve (often political) goals via language and how they differ in their use of language (Subtirelu & Baker, 2017, p 108). In his seminal work, Partington (2003) highlights the need to apply corpus linguistics tools to "describing features of discourse, particularly of interaction, that is, the rhetorical aspects of texts" (p. 4). He specifically traces the development of corpus-based research in linguistics and argues that prior research strived to make observations about how language works without underlining the role of context. He applies specific corpus linguistics tools (frequency and concordances) to explore discursive strategies in a very specific and noteworthy domain: political rhetoric. In addition

to the key role of frequency tools in extracting the most recurrent rhetorical patterns in political discourse, he especially makes a case for analysing concordance lines to explore the context and co-text of such rhetorical tools (pp. 6-10).

CADS has continued the pathway of acceptance and become mainstream to the point that nowadays it constitutes a well-established methodology. It is indeed over a decade ago that Wodak and Meyer (2009) included corpus-assisted discourse studies as one of the approaches to CDA in their second edition of *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies*. CADS has shown its application and usefulness in different modes and types of discourse studies, including but not restricted to: the study of academic discourse (Walsh, O'Keeffe & McCarthy 2008; Bondi, 2008; Sanderson, 2008), discursive studies of the workplace (Vaughan, 2008; Flowerdew, 2008; Cheng & Warren, 2008), news and entertainment (Garretson & Ädel, 2008; Quaglio, 2008; Fägersten 2008) and even in specific linguistic features of 19th century English (Johansson, 2008) or native and non-native English student writing (Crawford, 2008).

This, however, has not been a straightforward path. Many scholars have always been pessimistic and critical toward such a combination. Leech (2000) believed that a cultural divide separates the two approaches. Apart from the fact that one belongs to the qualitative and the other to the quantitative camp, the core focus of corpus linguistics is sampling and statistical representativeness, while for discourse analysis, the integrity of the text in its context and society at large constitute the most important aspect. Additionally, for corpus linguistics, what is interesting is language per se, but discourse analysis is interested in identities, ideologies and social practices. In addition, technical requirements in the processes of compiling and analysing the material under study are usually different (regarding corpus compilation, transcription, cleaning the data, etc.). Even the unique technical jargon they use is not the same. For example, a keyword has a statistical meaning in corpus linguistics, while in discourse analysis, a keyword is a word of particular ideological or discursive importance (Leech 2000, pp. 678-679). Another

example that could probably be considered here is the word collocation. The term in linguistics implies a degree of fixation in the language, which is not necessarily the case in corpus linguistics.

Despite these difficulties, as mentioned before, the application of corpus linguistics tools has continued and proved to be specifically propitious to the degree that Mautner (2015) believes that there is a growing awareness of the potential of corpus linguistics for discourse analysis. This is, above all, because there are undeniable advantages to such a combination (Baker 2006) that could offer a "useful methodological synergy" (Baker et al., 2008).

Most paramount and pertaining to the specific topic of this dissertation, corpus linguistic techniques provide the researcher with the opportunity of working with additional data that enable the analyst to perceive an overview of the material or topic under analysis (Partington 2021, p. 18). This is especially notable in the studies that rely on insights from a voluminous corpus. Baker (2006) suggests that corpus linguistics can provide an "incremental effect" to CDA by making it possible to scrutinise a sizeable corpus. By looking at statistical measurements provided by corpus linguistic tools, it would be much more efficient for a discourse analyst to discover "typical" or "common practice" in the discourse (Baker 2006, pp. 13-14). The qualitative method can generally deal with corpora of certain sizes. Still, in cases similar to the subject of this study, where all the published newspaper coverage around a particular topic is considered, the size of the corpus would render qualitative scrutiny as simply impractical. In these cases, corpus linguistics provides the researcher with several useful quantitative indicators that can serve as quantitative input to further qualitative analyses.

In addition, these techniques facilitate comparing and contrasting different but related datasets to extract differences and similarities (Partington 2021, p. 18) that might not be detectable to the perusal of the naked eye. This is also highly relevant to the present study, since it is a comparative study in nature. These added benefits of corpus linguistics tools give

the researcher the ability to have a bird's eye view of the data under analysis. The comparative capacities might even lead to discovering counter-intuitive results otherwise undetectable. This is indeed highly connected with the other added benefit of combining CL and CDA to reduce potential researcher bias.

Such a combination reduces researcher bias (Baker 2006, pp.10-12) by providing the capacity of 'temporary alienation' of the observer from the object of observation (Partington 2021, p. 18) and "placing some distance between the interpreter and the interpretation" (Partington 2021, p. 19). The issue of researcher bias is differently addressed and managed in purely qualitative approaches, usually through triangulation and/or inter-rater reliability. The extent to which corpus approaches reduce subjectivity is still open to debate (cf. Partington, 2021; Subtirelu & Baker, 2017), and the endeavour of seeking pure objectivity might not even be possible (Baker 2006; Partington 2021). However, corpus linguistics might help in reducing subjectivity by curtailing the reliance on analysts' interpretations and judgments (Subtirelu & Baker, 2017, p. 109) and endowing the analysis with some degree of objectivity (Partington 2021, p. 19). Above all, this happens through providing precise and transparent tools (Subtirelu & Baker, 2017, p. 109) that can deal with sizeable authentic corpora, which are otherwise impossible or very difficult to deal with just by the use of qualitative methods (Mautner, 2016, p. 155). Therefore, while the analysis of one single piece might suggest the presence of a certain label, analysing the frequency of such labels in larger corpora could provide methodological justification for generalisations about such labelling (Subtirelu & Baker, 2017, p. 109).

However, this is not a one-way street, as the advantages mentioned above are all about what CL tools can offer to CDA. Indeed, solid qualitative research techniques and procedures also nurture this synergistic combination; they offer greater depth and breadth of analysis. Qualitative methods do not use large corpora but analyse them in greater detail. The figures provided by CL tools should be subjected to qualitative interpretation and, therefore, qualitative

analysis by discourse analysts because the data actually "never speaks for itself" (Mautner, 2016, p. 174). Furthermore, for CDA researchers, the data only become relevant, meaningful, and worthy of attention if they are related to social justice and inequality, depending on the analysts' theoretical or ideological commitments (Subtirelu & Baker, 2017, p. 109). In addition, the separation between the analyst and the interpretive process, as suggested above, might lead to the breaking out of the closed hermeneutic circle, and therefore, increasing the chance of meeting unexpected, serendipitous observations (Partington 2021, p. 19). Having such unexpected observations is not indeed a drawback. Conversely, it could be welcomed and adopted in the service of more depth to the analysis. However, since unexpected observations pose severe challenges to the original hypotheses, rigorous and solid qualitative interpretations are in order to make sense of them.

Finally, such a combination provides an excellent (additional) opportunity for triangulation, a common practice to increase the reliability and replicability of research outcomes by adopting parallel methods simultaneously. Although triangulation is already used vastly in qualitative research, shunting between corpus linguistic tools and qualitative discourse analysis methods can enrich and mutually check the validity of the hypotheses, analyses, and conclusions.

A seminal example of the strength of integrating qualitative and quantitative methods applied explicitly to news discourse can be seen in Baker and Levon (2015) combined analysis of news articles about masculinity. The article aims to test the validity of claims made by researchers working separately on a quantitative/qualitative and an entirely qualitative analysis. The paper analyses a 41.5 million word corpus of articles, on the one hand, and a qualitatively focused analysis on a down-sampled set of 51 articles from the same corpus on the other, to answer the question how are different types of men represented in the British press? The findings of the two research reports are then critically compared in order to elicit shared and

unique findings and to highlight the strengths and weaknesses of the two approaches. The combined triangulated analysis of the two datasets reveals some shared findings, as well as some that are unique to each of the procedures. Both approaches successfully detect stark differences in constructing men based on their race and economic class. For example, both the corpus-based and the qualitative analyses note common stereotypes around representations of black men. Strong prosody was found for black men with collocations such as *accused, custody, rape, prison, confessed and gang,* representing them as suspected or actual criminals in the discourse. In the same line, the qualitative analysis as well detects a related construction of Black men as violent. Similar concurrent findings are present in both analyses around Asian men whose representations revolve around sexual grooming with white men depicted as victims (p. 228).

However, certain representations are not identified by corpus analysis. For example, the qualitative analysis detects two images of Asians as ambitious, successful and acceptable, and black men as violent and deviant. In contrast, the corpus analysis only finds evidence for the deviant identity. The qualitative analysis not only finds images constructed in the press that corpus analysis does not detect, but it also offers more in-depth information on some of the findings detected by corpus analysis. For instance, the qualitative analysis notices how journalists attempt to explain the deviant identities by focusing on its possible sources. The Asian men's criminal behaviour is linked to them being 'torn between two cultures', with the implication that integration into British culture leads to respectability (p. 229). Corpus analysis also offers some unique findings. For example, in some instances, black men are also represented as victims of violent crimes in relation to two specific historical cases (lynchings in the United States and stabbings in UK cities). They are also constructed as sexualised, particularly in relation to white women, with the collocate 'women' being used to refer to them raping white women, dating them or being paid for sex by them (pp. 229-230).

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Baker and Levon (2015) conclude that an effective form of CDA would be one where qualitative and quantitive approaches go hand-in-hand to enrich each other's findings. They explicitly list a number of advantages regarding this combined approach (pp. 230-233). Corpus analysis allows for the analysis of a much larger dataset, and therefore, fuller coverage of representations becomes possible. It is also proved to be helpful in identifying repetitive lexical combinations that indicate more subtle ideological representations, which would be perhaps missed without it. Finally, the corpus method helps to give an indication of how frequently specific constructions are articulated. When a set of collocates expresses similar meanings or discursive functions and occurs across numerous contexts, the existence of common representation or a hegemonic discourse can be concluded (pp. 330-331).

On the other hand, a corpus-based approach without qualitative analysis can pose some challenges for critical discourse analysis. CL's focus on collocates or other patterns based around word frequencies may lead to a purely descriptive analysis without providing interpretation, critique, or explanation. Such research may not engage with the broader social and historical context beyond the corpus. In addition, when dealing with a considerable number of collocates, it might become difficult to dedicate the required time and attention to reading expanded concordance lines for every case thoroughly. Even reading concordance lines may not be effective at identifying nonpatterned uses of language such as legitimation strategies, topoi, or intertextuality (pp. 231-232).

The qualitative analysis is also prone to some potential pitfalls. For example, it might have a tendency to focus on well-established patterns that reflect popularly known societal discourses. However, its willingness to explore the complexities can enable the analyst to discover subtle, and perhaps unexpected, patterns of socially meaningful language use and situate those patterns within a broader social, historical, and ideological context. It can uncover the implicit representations that emerge in the discourse and give a detailed examination of the

structural properties of texts and the ways in which these properties serve particular discursive ends. In addition, the confirmation of popularly known discourses may be a finding in itself, not necessarily, and always, a pitfall. Therefore, meticulous in-depth scrutiny of a smaller dataset with qualitative analysis can identify subtle social and linguistic patterns in the texts and situate the interpretations of these patterns within a multi-level understanding of the broader ideological context. However, it should be noted that a potential shortcoming of such an approach is that the findings identified in this way may not be generalisable beyond the smaller sample. Moreover, the qualitative analysis runs the risk of being overly subjective. Therefore, it is instrumental to complement qualitative analyses with corpus approaches to enhance overall reliability and validity (pp. 232-233).

1.3. Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I investigated the general theoretical foundations of this study. In the first section, I dealt with the background of this dissertation as situated within the broader discipline of CDS, as a highly socially engaged approach to the study of language and discourse. In the second section, as this study is explicitly carried out within a corpus-based approach to discourse studies, I accounted for the main origins, fundamental challenges, and, most importantly, the potential advantages of combining a qualitative approach (i.e. discourse analysis) with a quantitative approach (corpus linguistics). In this section, my review showed that despite the difficulties that might arise from a combination of approaches coming from different traditions, using them concurrently within the same project has proved to be advantageous in various ways. The advantages mentioned above constitute solid arguments and justification for the adoption of a CADS approach in this study. Since the subject matter of this dissertation is media discourse, the next chapter scrutinises the main theoretical foundations related to the study of language and discourse of media.

CHAPTER TWO: News Discourse

2.1.   What is news discourse?

As mentioned previously, the main aim of the present thesis is to provide an analysis of the news discourse on the theme of the Brexit referendum. Therefore, after situating the study within the theoretical scope of CDS and, more specifically, CADS, in this chapter, I address the major theoretical concepts and background regarding the (critical) study of news media discourse. In this chapter, I explore how the term news media discourse is defined and approached in the literature and clarify what I mean by it in this dissertation. After explaining how news discourse is defined, I show and establish the importance and relevanceand of the subject matter of the study. Therefore, in the second section, I explain the reason why news media discourse is indeed worthy of being the subject of study in CDS research. Once these primary bases are established, the ultimate point that needs to be addressed in this chapter is the theoretical framework used to approach news discourse in this dissertation. Hence, I briefly review the historical evolution of the study of language and discourse of news media to situate this dissertation within the broader field of media discourse studies. Finally, I explain the approach I adopted specifically in this dissertation.

Media discourse refers to interactions that occur through a broadcast platform, whether spoken or written, in which communication is oriented to a non-present reader, listener or viewer (O'Keeffe, 2011, p. 441). Therefore, it can primarily be defined as mediated discourse, as opposed to direct face-to-face communication (Spitulnik, 2000, p.148). This definition is indeed based on the traditional view of the "sender-receiver" model of mass communication (Talbot, 2007, p. 7), in which the elements of communication are divided into the chain of sender – message – receiver. Such a model is later replaced by Hall's (1980) notion of representation, in which language, discourse, and social institutions are at the heart of the mediation process.

In this model, media communication does more than just bearing the content of the message. The mediated content is produced under a certain cultural condition and then received and interpreted, drawing on cultural context and shared knowledge. Discourse, is defined as "…a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements, and so on that in some way together produce a particular vision of events (…) surrounding any one object, event, person, etc., there may be a variety of different discourses, each with a different story to tell about the world, a different way of representing the world" (Burr, 1995, p. 48).

Indeed, discourse involves the process of interaction, a social practice as noted by Fairclough (1995) It is deemed a cultural activity, and the text is the final product of it. Therefore, the study of discourse is the study of the text in its social context, the interaction between different social actors, journalists, and media outlets on the one hand, and the readers and the context in which a text is embedded, on the other (Talbot, 2007, p. 9-10). This leads to a broader definition of (traditional) media discourse as a more all-encompassing term that is used to refer to a "totality of how reality is represented in broadcast and printed media from television to newspaper" (O'keeffe, 2006, p. 1), and, nowadays, also in digital formats.

The point to have in mind is that in the specific case of journalism and linguistics, the terms news discourse, or the discourse of the press, are often used instead of and interchangeably with media discourse (cf. Bednarek & Caple, 2012a). This is mainly because news discourse and discourses of the press are more specific, while media discourse deals with a wide range of discourses containing many genres and diverse sources and styles, such as talk shows and political interviews (O'keeffe, 2006). This broad range of discourses and genres sometimes require their own models of investigation. To this must be added the discourses mediated by internet technologies or what was initially called "new media" or computer-mediated communication (Herring, 1996; Thurlow et al., 2004), which is a type of mediated discourse in the digital sphere in a constant state of change and evolution, with its own specificities. Therefore,

in this dissertation, I specifically focus on and use the term news discourse to avoid any conceptual or terminology conflation. In addition, since the subject matter of this study is traditional news media outlets, my review in the following sections focuses on them and leaves out more contemporary issues and changes related to how news is produced, propagated and consumed on digital platforms.

2.2.   Why Study News Media Discourse?

Language is a highly social entity, and the discourse of media plays important social roles and entails significant social implications (Smith & Higgins 2020). The significance of media discourse derives from its two-fold relationship with society. The language of media "reflects and shapes both language use and attitudes in a speech community" (Bell, 1991, p. 23). The audience expects to see examples of authentic and polished language in the news media, especially when talking about traditional news media (as opposed to the alternatives available nowadays in the form of social media and digital discourse). In many cases, such uses and the ideologies behind them permeate into society's discourse and influence social cognition. According to van Dijk's (1995a) mental model theory, texts are processed in the human mind based on "the subjective representation of a fragment of reality in the reader's mind" (p. 394). Media play a significant role in shaping such mental models, above all, through the linguistic construction of their representation of events. On the other hand, the relationship between media discourse and society is far from one-sided, as mediated communication in contemporary society is surrounded by "interactivity" (Talbot, 2007, pp. 3-4). That is to say, people in society are not just consumers of media representations, but they are also engaged in media production in the form of "production communities" that "interact with one another in their highly complex, joint production of texts" (Talbot, 2007, pp. 3-4). It should be noted that such dynamics have transformed considerably with the advent of social media and digital discourses.

Media are also social, linguistic institutions (Bell, 1991, p. 23). They are a large component of what people "consume" on a day-to-day basis and, therefore, an integral part of public discourse. Consequently, they have great potential and societal influence. In the modern world, media, including the press, audiovisual and finally, digital media, have replaced older institutions such as local communities, churches and local unions, which used to be the source and authority through which people received information; nowadays, media even serve as the public forum for democratic debates (Talbot, 2007, p. 3). Because of the institutional power of news media, the study of media language has often also involved the study of representation and bias in the literature (Cotter, 2010, p. 16), with crucial identity, agency, and power implications (Smith & Higgins, 2020).

The language of the media gives representation, voice, and "the right to speak" (Smith & Higgins, 2020, p. 3) to certain actors while necessarily excluding others who do not have such a privilege. This is also intertwined with questions of power and agency, as media can give power and agency to some groups while denying it to others (p. 4). Within journalism practice, the maxim of impartiality seems to be an old given and an accepted assumption (Calcutt & Hammond, 2011). Journalists themselves might also be critical toward how such maxim is interpreted and implemented. However, there is agreement among (C)DA scholars that language constructs versions of reality – it's never neutral. The main interest of CDA researchers is the degree of transparency/opacity of structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control manifested in language (Baker et al., 2008, p. 280). They specifically focus "on the way discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society" (van Dijk, 2005, p. 353). The language used in journalism "expresses and speaks to communities of understanding, and so […] [it] always contains layers of meaning that go beyond mere points of view" (Smith & Higgins, 2020, p. 5). In institutions with such a high social impact as media, these non-obvious meanings are of utmost importance

and relevance for discourse analysts. If anything, such an impact has been amplified over the past years with the advent and arrival of digital platforms. Although in the beginning, it seemed that such new platforms would pose severe threats to the traditional media, the social impact of traditional newspapers turned out to be only magnified in this new age (Cole & Harcup, 2009; Fardouly et al., 2017; Xu, 2020).

Another reason for the importance and relevance of studying media discourse is its sheer abundance and relative ease of access allowed to researchers who can thus compile large-scale data (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a; Bell, 1991; Talbot, 2007). Although abundance does not directly translate into importance and relevance, it should be noted that the media are an easily accessible source of language data for research. Nowadays, data gathering is a crucial step in corpus-based research. With the recent technological developments of tools for data compilation and analysis, scholars are increasingly concerned about the quality and representativeness of the data with which they work. Media provide vastly available sources of authentic language in different contexts and from different ideological, political, geographical and socio-economic, and socio-historical backgrounds. Recent advances in digital corpus building tools have enhanced the potential for collecting data related to news discourse to degrees that were not even imaginable by Bell (1991) when he listed availability as a reason for studying media discourse. Therefore, nowadays, media are a very reliable source to compile a corpus for discourse analysis (Bednarek and Caple, 2012a, p. 6), especially when it comes to corpus-based and large-scale cross-linguistic and cross-cultural studies.

2.3. Approaches to the study of news media discourse

News media discourse research is a multidisciplinary field of study in nature (Talbot, 2007). Specifically, regarding the (critical) analysis of media language and discourse, a range of dif-

ferent approaches are available. These approaches fall within communication studies, linguistics, anthropology, pragmatics, and sociolinguistics (cf. Bell & Garrett 1998; Fairclough, 1995; O'keeffe, 2006; Talbot, 2007). Discourse analysis, as discussed previously, is a method that crosscuts many of these fields. However, certain discursive conventions unify all these disciplines within a single research project. In this sense, all the approaches to the news discourse that deal with socially engaged questions of power relations and social practices can be placed under the umbrella of the critical-discursive approach to news media discourse (Talbot, 2007, p. 3). In this section, I briefly review the main approaches to the study of news discourse and finally explain the approach specifically adopted in this dissertation.

Linguistic and sociolinguistic approaches are among the first approaches to the study of news discourse. Early research in this field was driven by the grammatical interest in the study of English newspapers. Both Straumann (1935) and Mardh (1980) studied the grammatical structures in the headlines and front pages of the newspapers of their time. This early approach is marked by its pure linguistic interest in news bulletins' and its focus on discovering distinctive syntactic properties of the news media (Fairclough, 1995, p. 21).

Bell's (1984; 1991) research took the essentially syntactic orientation of those early linguistic works to the *sociolinguistic* level of analysis. A practising journalist himself, Bell analysed the sociolinguistic variation of news according to the target audience (Bell, 1984). He suggested that the stylistic or "intra-speaker" variation in the language of media should be studied as a response to the audience. Media's ultimate communicative goal is to accommodate their addressees, including their direct intended audience and the indirect third persons such as auditors and overhearers. He considered such stylistic shifts as being responsive and situational. That is to say, the style could be modified as a strategy to redefine the existing situation, for example, through sociolinguistic variation, code-switching, bilingualism, accommodation theory, etc. (Bell, 1984, p. 145).

Bell's studies are praised for paying attention, for the first time, to the form and texture[1] (in terms of linguistic differences observed based on the audience) of the media text, as opposed to the pure content of language. However, some scholars also identify in Bell's work a slightly narrow conception of social aspects of media and, consequently, hint at Bell's failure to deal with the socio-cultural context of media communication (Fairclough, 1995, p. 21).

Another approach taken mostly by sociologists interested in spoken discourse, which can be applied to broadcast media (radio, television), is ***conversation analysis***. Conversation analysis is originally inspired by the work of the renowned ethnomethodologist Harold Garfinkel (1967). At first glance, conversation analysis might seem to be mainly interested in studying conversation. However, it has become a method useful for the study of other forms of spoken social interaction (Wodak & Busch 2004, p. 105). Conversation analysts are interested in "the interactional organization of everyday and institutional social activities and the way people perform social actions with language in the context of social interaction" (Lester & O'Reilly, 2019, p. 4). After the vast success of the approach in various sociolinguistic studies, it was also adopted in media discourse, specifically in the genre of interviews (Greatbatch, 1986; Heritage, 1985; Hutchby, 1991), to study what formulations are used by the interviewee and interviewer to deal with different situations. By analysing the formal configuration of conversations (openings, turn-taking, closings, topic control, interruptions, etc.), conversation analysis examines how the sequential and structural organisation of conversation is shaped under the institutional constraints of a media outlet (Wodak, & Busch, 2004, p. 106). Conversation analysis is a widely applied research approach in news media studies. However, it is normally used in the context of interviews and other spoken genres, rather than for printed news, which is the subject matter of this dissertation.

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[1] As used by Fairclough (1995), following Halliday and Hassan, (1976, p.2): "Texture is that feature of text which made it a unified whole. -is what distinguishes it from something that is not a text. -It derives this texture from the fact that it functions as a unity with respect to its environment." (Halliday and Hassan, 1976:2).

On the other hand, ***the semiotic and critical linguistics approaches*** are two of the main orientations adopted in news media discourse to address the role of social factors, context, ideology, and power relationship. The semiotic approach is mainly based on the cultural specificities of human communication (Hall, 1980). The first application of a semiotics approach to media discourse was the study of semiotic codes of linguistic and visual features in news stories (Hartley, 1982). The most important contribution of these studies is their view of text as part of the socio-cultural analysis of media. In this approach, text is intertwined with properties of power relations, ideology, and cultural values (Fairclough, 1995, p. 24). The fundamental properties of this approach were later widely adopted and taken forward by critical linguistics (and ultimately CDA/CDS).

Based on Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), ***critical linguistics*** relies on the fundamental assumption that a text is a multidimensional and multifunctional entity, always representing the world, enacting social relations and identities (Halliday, 1978, 1985, 1989). In this view, the form of language is always related to language usage and functions (Fowler, 2013). The text is built upon choices available within the functional systems of vocabulary, grammar, and other linguistic features. These choices specifically carry meaning regarding ideology and power relations (Fairclough, 1995, p. 25). Media discourse has always been one of the primary concerns of critical linguistics, which is mainly concerned with the notion of representation and its relationship with broader structures and questions of ideology and power. For example, researchers in this field deal with how specific grammatical and lexical choices reflect the ideological preferences of media (Fairclough, 1995, p. 25-28). Critical linguistics sees all representations as mediated, that is to say, "moulded by the value-systems that are ingrained in the medium used for representation […] pointing out that something could have been represented some other way, with a very different significance" (Fowler, 2013, p.4).

The early critical approach to media discourse also has its limitations (Fairclough, 1995, pp. 27-28). First and foremost, critical linguistics' primary focus is on the text and practices related to text production - specifically on how the analysts interpret the text - without reference to the interpretative practices of audiences. Second, there tends to be a "monolithic" view of the role of media in ideological representation and reproduction that neglects the diversity and change in media. Third, the emphasis of critical linguistics is on representation at the expense of the questions of identity. That is to say, although interpersonal analysis (mainly in terms of relational aspects) is included in the analysis of media, issues related to social identity should be brought to attention and especially foregrounded. The focus of analysis could be expanded to include intertextual aspects to cover the questions of social identity. Fourth, critical linguistics emphasises grammar and syntax, specifically on the clause level, which leads to a lack of attention to intertextuality, genre, and language beyond grammatical analysis.

van Dijk's *socio-cognitive* model was one of the first attempts to address the limitations of critical linguistics and extend the analysis of news media to the social and cognitive aspects of discourse. Under his broader socio-cognitive approach to discourse, van Dijk (1988a, 1988b, 1991) also developed a framework for analysing news. In this framework, he defines discourse as consisting of three dimensions: text, discourse practice, and socio-cultural practice. For him, discourse practice is a way to link textual analysis to socio-cultural analysis. His analysis also offers a socio-cognitive emphasis by drawing attention to the process of social cognition. van Dijk argues that cognitive models and schemata influence both the production and the comprehension of the text (Fairclough, 1995, p. 29). In van Dijk's framework, analysing news discourse must consider three aspects: the structures and language of news, the processes of news production, and the processes of news comprehension (van Dijk, 1988a).

Although van Dijk's model addresses many limitations of the previous approaches (mainly critical linguistics), scholars like Fairclough (1995) also highlight the weaknesses of

van Dijk's model. First of all, the focus is still on representations rather than social relations between different actors (for example, writers, readers and protagonists of a specific news story) and identities and, therefore, the interpersonal function of language still receives little attention. However, it should be noted that analysing such aspects in a unilateral text might not be an easy task to embark upon. Second, texts are analysed linguistically but not intertextually. Finally, van Dijk's analysis neglects the diversity of media practices and "gives a one-sided emphasis to news-making practices as stable structures which contribute to the reproduction of relations of domination […], which backgrounds the diversity and heterogeneity of practices" (Fairclough 1995, p. 30).

To address the above mentioned considerations, Fairclough formulates his ***dialectical-relational*** approach to CDA and argues that a critical analysis of media discourse should be based upon a number of fundamentals (Fairclough, 1995):

1. The first step is to establish a more comprehensive relationship between society and media discourse: "focus of analysis should be on how wider changes in society and culture are manifest in changing media discourse practices" (p. 33).

2. The analysis of the media text should include and embrace language, texture, and multi-modality.

3. Following the social-cognitive approach, text analysis should be complemented with the analysis of practices of text production and text consumption.

4. Text analysis should be complemented with the study of the institutional and broader social and cultural context of media practices, including relations of power and ideologies.

5. Incorporating intertextuality is in order: Linguistic analysis should be complemented with intertextual analysis in terms of genres and discourses. It should be recognised that "texts

are commonly hybrid intertextually with mixtures of genres and discourses and that such hybridity is manifest in heterogeneous linguistic features" (p. 33).

6. Linguistic analysis should be complemented with the study of representation and the constitution of relations and identities simultaneously.

For Fairclough (2003), ideology is of utmost importance, especially when it concerns mediated discourse. He defines ideologies as "representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation" (p. 9). The critical view of ideology is fundamentally different from the 'descriptive' views that deem ideologies as positions, attitudes, beliefs, or perspectives of social groups without a reference to the relations of power and domination between such groups. Therefore, ideologies in the text are representations, which can be shown to contribute to social relations of power and domination. Power and domination are expressed in ways of acting socially and inculcated in the identities of social agents. Ideologies "can be associated with discourses (as representations), with genres (as enactments), and with styles (as inculcations)" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 9). Fairclough puts forward the example of the global economy in capitalism and the specific ideological claim that 'countries must be highly competitive to survive'. This ideological claim is asserted or implied in many contemporary texts. The ideological nature of this claim is revealed when we consider its causal effects in particular areas of social life, and therefore its reflection of power relation. For example, if people widely accept this claim, their enactment and inculcations might contribute to sustaining or changing power relations (e.g. making employees more likely to follow the demands and economic structures put forward by managers/business owners) (Fairclough, 2003, pp. 9-10).

Fairclough (2003) proposes the notions of *social practice* and *orders of discourse* to analyse the roles of representation, discourses, acting and relating (genres), and identifying (style). He distinguishes between different levels of social organisation: on the one hand, there

are social structures. Social structures are high-level, abstract entities such as social class system or economic structure, which are "defining a potential, a set of possibilities" (p. 24). On the other hand, there are social events: the concrete events that happen in society, which are tangible, observable, and transient. He introduces the concept of social practice as mediating between these two levels of social organisation:

> The relationship between what is structurally possible and what actually happens, between structures and events, is a very complex one. Events are not in any simple or direct way the effects of abstract social structures. Their relationship is mediated — there are intermediate organizational entities between structures and events. Let us call these 'social practices' (p. 24).

In this sense, language and, more broadly, semiosis, is regarded as an element of the social at all levels (p. 25). Languages are part of social structures, text is an element of social events (p. 10), and social practices constitute orders of discourse: "An order of discourse is a network of social practices in its language aspect" (p. 25). Therefore, elements such as nouns and sentences are the elements of linguistic structures, while discourses, genres, and styles are elements of the orders of discourse.

Some scholars, however, regard the focus of critical linguistics on ideology as incomplete, if not biased and make a case for expansion of their analysis to other aspects of the newsmaking process. Scholars working midway between *linguistics and journalism* who showed an interest in analysing the language of news and journalism practices by drawing upon its social, cognitive, and sometimes action-oriented aspects could be mentioned in this regard. These researchers are normally journalists themselves and work at the intersection of journalism studies with linguistics.

Cotter (2010), for example, brings attention to the complexities of newsroom practices and argues for incorporating "media-language production and discursive outcomes from the perspective of journalists" to answer the macro question of "what affects the discourse" (p. 16). She suggests that the mostly ideological focus of critical analysis should be expanded to examine three different aspects: "the influences on the shape and content of news discourse; the constraints that influence journalistic practice; and the structure and functions of media language" (p.16). In other words, the focus of analysis is on assessing the patterns and interrelationships that are behind the newsgathering and the newsmaking processes.

These influences, constraints, and functions are constituted by underlying dynamics such as the language itself, audience composition and expectations, and the practice of news professionals. For example, the primary agents of news production are the news media practitioners who are meant to follow roles, rules and guidelines. All of these both influence their practice, and at the same time, can function as structural constraints shaping their product (the news text; see van Dijk, 1988a, 1988b, 1991). Audience(s) are another source of such dynamics (see Bell, 1991), and should always be taken into account in the process.

Finally, language and semiosis have their specifications and functions. Newsagents actively use a range of different semiotic resources (cf. Fairclough) with specific structures and functions, including text, photos, graphics, visuals, etc. (pp. 16-17). Cotter (2010) offers an ethnographic analysis of the characteristics of the dynamics behind the production of news media discourse, which is concerned with patterns and interrelationships behind the newsgathering, reporting, and editing processes (p. 17). This aspect of her approach is probably out of the scope of this dissertation. Her approach draws attention to the mainly neglected process of news production as it happens in the newsrooms and news agencies. This process is under the influence of ideological, institutional, and social considerations, which affect the social and discursive practice of journalism.

In the same line, Conboy (2010) also highlights the fact that the field of media studies, generally speaking, tends to stick to institutional and political accounts and ignore broader social questions such as structural inequality and power structure. He argues that such a tendency leads to three main problems in the study of media (Conboy 2010, p. 3). First of all, there is the issue of considering newspapers as commercial/political products with minimal regard for the social specifics of their language. Second, such an assumption results in seeing their language as a static commodity in the service of the dynamics of life outside their pages. That is to say, their language is simply dictated by outside political and commercial forces or incentives. Finally, all this leads to separating language and society, neglecting the importance of the language of newspapers as a significant element in their social appeal, as if society sits outside language. Conboy (2007; 2010), however, suggests that language in media should be seen as a social activity (see also Fairclough, 1995, who specifically underlines this point as well). Thus, to address such issues in media and journalism study, scholars should try to build "a bridge between the two traditions of journalism studies and discourse analysis and one which can provide a synoptic analysis of the impact of newspaper language" (Conboy, 2010, p. 4).

Richardson (2006) also underlines the case for analysing the language of journalism with a broader critical-discursive approach. Similar to Cotter (2010), Richardson (2006, p. 1) identifies three distinctive characteristics of journalistic discourse, which should be included in the analysis: the specific language of journalism, the process of its production and consumption, and the relations of journalism to social ideas and institutions. In the first place, and in line with the broader field of CDA, he underlies the fact that language in general, and language of journalism in particular, is distinguished by a number of essential assumptions (pp. 11-13): First of all, language is social (see also Bell, 1991, Fairclough, 1995, van Dijk, 1988a, 1988b, 1991). Second, identities are enacted through language use, which means people project a certain picture of themselves and also attribute certain identities to others when using language. Hence,

the language of journalism can also be used to construct particular group or individual identities (p. 11). Third, language use is always active, which means it is always directed at doing something. Language of journalism also can be directed at different goals (such as persuasion, providing information, etc.) (p. 12). Fourth, language always entails power, and this power is never flat or democratic (see also Fairclough, 1995). The language of journalism gives voice and authority to different people incongruously and on different levels. Fifth, the logical outcome of the previous assumption is that language of media is highly political. This means that, contrary to old beliefs, language is not a 'neutral window to the outside world' (p. 13).

The second aspect of journalism discourse is the journalism practice. Richardson (2006) argues that this aspect makes sense of the fundamental question of "what is journalism for?" (p. 6). He poses and refutes three common (mis)conceptions of journalism practice: journalism as a form of entertainment, journalism as tools of dissemination, and journalism as a business (pp. 6-7). His conceptualisation of journalism practice stems from the fundamental tenet that "journalism exists to enable citizens to better understand their lives, and their positions in the world" (p. 7). Finally, he argues that journalism should be seen vis-à-vis the broader capitalist society and its social and economic relations (p. 2). In his view, journalism should also be seen in the context of capitalism, and special attention should be paid to "the role newspaper discourse plays in indexing and (re)producing class inequality" (p. 6). These three characteristics do not work separately or independently, but they are rather the dynamics that determine the social aspect of newspaper discourse. That is to say, on the one hand, "the sourcing and construct of the news are intimately linked with the actions and opinions of social groups" (p. 1). On the other hand, issues such as contemporary democratic politics, social values, or social inequality and injustices are impossible to be considered without a reference to the influence of journalism practice, happening primarily through their discourse as a social practice.

Richardson's understanding of the news discourse is very much influenced by the dialectical view of Fairclough (2001). Therefore, he integrates the CDA tradition in the study of newspaper discourse, suggesting that such an analysis should be carried out on three levels (Richardson, 2006, p. 2): on the material realities of society in general, on the practice of journalism, and on the character and functions of journalistic language. Richardson's view, like Fairclough's, is heavily under the influence of Marxist theory and draws heavily on the activism aspect of the practice of journalism. However, it integrates the dialectical relationship between language usage in media by journalists and broader societal structures. It sees the field of journalism through the discursive practices of journalists. He underlines the fact that "journalistic discourses are always socially situated, therefore analyzing them requires more than a list of text-linguistic concepts" (Richardson 2008, p. 153). This also reflects on the specificities of each piece of text (here texts produced by media), as the "genre of a specific piece of text or talks is the product of a combination of discursive practices that make it, to the greater extent, unique" (Richardson, 2008, p.152).

A more contemporary approach to news discourse, which I specifically follow in this dissertation, comes from Bednarek & Caple (2012a)'s perspective on news values. To delineate news discourse, they offer a twofold definition of its principal components: "news *discourse*" and "*news* discourse". Similar to Fairclough, they define the *discourse* in news discourse as "not being restricted to the semiotic system of language alone but [… also including] how such discourse (language and image) is actually put to use and how it contributes to the construction of news." On the other hand, *news* discourse is defined externally (rather than internally and by common discourse features) as "the discourse that audiences encounter in news bulletins, news programmes, on news websites, or in the newspaper – discourse that reports on newsworthy events, happenings and issues" (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a, p.2). In this sense, news

discourse is situated both in its "communicative context" and its "socio-historical context" (relate to CDA). The communicative context of news discourse refers to the relation between news discourse, the producer(s) of the news discourse, and the audience(s) of news. On the other hand, the socio-historical context is the social, economic, and historical circumstances in which the communication takes place. Bednarek and Caple's approach to the news discourse is highly intertwined with the concept of News Values (cf. Galtung & Ruge 1965; Bell, 1991; Fowler, 1991; Cotter 2010; Bednarek and Caple, 2014; 2017, among others) and their discursive approach to the construction of newsworthiness in media. Their framework of Discursive News Values Analysis (DNVA) is adopted in this study. Therefore, the next chapter is specifically dedicated to the topic of news values, and the details of their model will be dealt with in the corresponding section of the next chapter.

2.4. Concluding remarks

In this dissertation my approach to news discourse is informed by all the above-mentioned traditions in studying news discourse, specifically the critical approaches, as also stated in the first chapter. The main theoretical orientation of the present study to news media discourse informed by the previous approaches reviewed in this chapter can be summed up as follows:

1. The linguistic content of news media is responsive and situational.

2. In news media discourse, the main research subject is representation and its relationship with the institutional and broader social and cultural context of media practices, including relations of power and ideologies.

3. The study of news discourse should include cognitive as well as social and discursive dimentions, which involve the study of three aspects: the structures of news, the processes of news production, and the processes of news comprehension.

4. The study of news discourse should establish a comprehensive relationship between society and media discourse. Specifically, the ways in which wider changes in society and culture reflect themselves in changing media discourse practices should be at the heart of such analysis.

5. The analysis of the media text should include and embrace language, and multimodality.

6. Linguistic analysis should be complemented with the study of representation and the constitution of relations and identities simultaneously.

7. A critical-discursive approach to news discourse should also consider the existing constraints that result from journalism practice at different levels.

All the above-mentioned points, I would argue, are addressed in the Discursive News Values Analysis model to a great extent, especially considering the concept of newsworthiness as a socially, cognitively, and discursively constructed phenomenon (see van Dijk). However, as addressing all these aspects in one dissertation would be impossible, I specifically focus on the discursive aspect of Discursive News Values Analysis, and the discursive construction of newsworthiness. The concepts of newsworthiness and news values, which have a central role in this dissertation, have a longstanding background in studies of news discourse. Therefore, in the next chapter, I will delve into these concepts, their background in news discourse and, finally, how Discursive News Values Analysis approaches it to address the above-mentioned aspects of news discourse.

CHAPTER THREE: News Values

3.1. Defining news values

News values are generally defined as the criteria that determine the likelihood of an event being reported as news (Palmer, 2000; Westerståhl & Johansson, 1994), and in essence, they determine what is news(worthy) (Bednarek & Caple, 2014). Fundamentally, news values are what distinguish news from non-news in terms of what is published in newspapers. Every news media outlet/group/corporation, in its day-to-day operation, faces a myriad of events that could be potentially produced as news. However, a very limited number of these events get the chance to pass through the filter of the newsroom and become news. This filter is traditionally defined as news values, i.e., what constitutes the newsworthiness of an event. News values contain a wide range of journalism assumptions that "prioritise the unexpected, the unusual, the conflictual, the discrete, the dramatic or the extraordinary, over consensual, the harmonious, the predictable" (Bell, 1997, p 10).

Despite this seemingly straightforward definition of news values, the study of newsworthiness has been a controversial and much-researched topic in media studies. Different scholars have scrutinised this aspect of news discourse from different perspectives. Media studies, involve a multi-dimensional analysis. As pointed out by Bednarek and Caple (2017), such a multi-dimensional analysis causes a certain degree of conflation between different dimensions of news values and the concept of newsworthiness, given the scholars' different aims and agendas, which needs to be addressed. In the following sections, I will review the work of scholars in this field, studying various aspects of this multi-dimensional phenomenon in news discourse. Specifically, I will try to show how news values analysis has evolved over time from the study of news values as news selection criteria to a set of socially and culturally situated frames of

reference whose use and adaptation by news practitioners constitute a discursive practice in a certain communicative socio-historical context.

3.2. Approaches to the study of news values

3.2.1. News values in journalism: selection criteria and gate-keeper role

There is consensus that Lippmann (1922) was the first scholar to suggest the existence of a number of attributes or conventions in the process of selecting news stories for publications (Caple & Bednarek, 2013, p.1; 2017, p.27). However, the most cited work on news values and the work that is widely considered to form the foundation for the study of news values (Bell 1991, p. 155) is Galtung & Ruge's (1965). Their study, indeed, was the first attempt to delineate and demarcate the intangible news values (as opposed to general material constraints) in the process of news production. They suggested that news events go through a process of selection, which they call "the chain of news communication":

Figure 3-1 The chain of news communication, Galtung and Ruge (1965, p. 65)

Galtung and Ruge (1965, p. 65) explain that news values deal with the first half of this chain. Since news discourse cannot reflect everything, they decide upon the questions of what to report based on a set of common-psychology selection criteria (i.e., news values) that work heuristically in the mind of news practitioners at the time of selection to perceive what is worthy of being reported (i.e., what is newsworthy). They consider the news media as "non-personal indivisible entities" (p. 65). By this, Galtung and Ruge (1965) mean that they are not

concerned with distinct divisions within the news media in their study. Therefore, they do not distinguish between the journalist in the field in the news-sending country, the local press agency bureau, the district bureau, the central bureau of the press agency, the district bureau on the receiving end, the local bureau in the news-receiving country, the news editor in the receiving newspaper, the person in charge of the layout, etc. They rather consider this entire chain as a whole, studying news values "in abstracto" limiting it to "some reasoning from first principles" governing the process in its entirety (p. 65).

In this sense, news values are a set of heuristics shared by professionals based on which journalists "perceive" the event as newsworthy. They use the following metaphor to explain this heuristic process of news selection. The world events can be described as countless signals coming from different parts of the globe and the news media outlet as the person in charge of the radio wave, changing stations constantly to stop at newsworthy events. The more the event satisfies a certain set of conditions, the more likely it is for the medium to stay at the specific signal and, therefore, report it as "news". They suggest twelve "common sense perception psychology" (p. 66) factors in such selection:

NUMBER	FACTOR	DEFINITION
1	**Frequency**	If the frequency of the signal is outside the dial, it will not be recorded
2	**Threshold:**	The stronger the signal, the greater the amplitude, the more probable that it will be recorded as worth listening to
3	**Unambiguity**	The more clear and unambiguous the signal (the less noise there is), the more probable that it will be recorded as worth listening to
4	**Meaningfulness**	The more meaningful the signal, the more probable that it will be recorded as worth listening to

5	**Consonance**	The more consonant the signal is with the mental image of what one expects to find, the more probable that it will be recorded as worth listening to
6	**Unexpectedness**	The more unexpected the signal, the more probable that it will be recorded as worth listening to
7	**Continuity**	If one signal has been tuned in to, the more likely it will continue to be tuned in to as worth listening to
8	**Composition**	The more a signal has been tuned in to, the more probable that a very different kind of signal will be recorded as worth listening to next time
9	**Reference to elite nations**	The more the event concerns elite nations, the more probable that it will become a news item
10	**Reference to elite people**	The more the event concerns elite people, the more probable that it will become a news item
11	**Reference to persons**	The more the event can be seen in personal terms, as due to the action of specific individuals, the more probable that it will become a news item
12	**Reference to something negative**	The more negative the event in its consequences, the more probable that it will become a news item

Table 3-1 Galtung and Ruge's (1965) news values (factors)

Galtung and Ruge's (1965) work was pioneering as they conceptualised news values, pointing to their cognitive aspect for the first time. Their work, however, has been criticised for several reasons. First of all, although they included the cognitive and psychological aspects of news values in their model, they were still mainly concerned with inside conflicts within newspaper organisations (Brighton & Foy, 2007, p. 2). Second, they were also criticised from a more technical and methodological point of view for the narrow range of publications they studied (Harcup & O'Neill 2001) and for the fact that their study was limited to Norway (Brighton & Foy, 2007, p. 3) making it difficult to draw more general and all-encompassing conclusions that could be applied to other contexts. They also did not consider factors such as

the target market of the news (Niblock & Machin, 2007, p. 201) or the cultural aspects of news values that could vary from one society to another (Guo, 2012).

A more fundamental point that should be considered about this approach, however, is that it deals with newsworthiness as invested or infused in the news event itself and neglects the way it is represented or reconstructed in the newsroom. News values are seen as a set of criteria that a news event does or does not possess, and this may make it worthy of being reported (Caple & Bednarek, 2013, p.3; 2017, p 28). Although Galtung and Ruge (1965) mention that media can distort reality to a certain extent when reporting an event, they do not approach this as a discursive process. They focus on the content of the news rather than on the linguistic features of the news story, which is understandable since they were neither linguists nor social semiotic researchers. It should, however, be noted that some of this criticism is not fully deserved since their focus was not discursive or linguistic. Thus, some of the above-mentioned considerations might be based on a misconception of their aims.

The influence of such an approach, however, has been long-standing, especially in journalism studies. After Galtung and Ruge (1965), various studies in this realm ascribed different roles and functions to news values. However, all these studies shared the fundamental tenet of perceiving news values as "existing externally to the news story text" (Caple and Bednarek 2013, p. 2). Caple and Bednarek (2013) offer a taxonomy of the most important studies in this area: Some scholars see news value existing in the minds of journalists (Donsbach, 2004; Harrison, 2010; Kepplinger & Ehmig, 2006; Palmer, 2000; Schultz, 2007; Strömbäck et al., 2012), others as routine procedures followed by journalists (Golding & Elliot, 1979) or as systems of criteria governing decision-making processes and determining what will or will not be selected as news (Palmer, 2000; Westerståhl & Johansson, 1994;). They are also described in many cases as ideological constructs (Curran & Seaton, 2003; Hall, 1973; Herman & Chomsky,

1994; McChesney, 1999). In general, in journalism studies, news values are regarded as refer-ences or guidelines in the journalistic process (Lavie & Lehman-Wilzig 2003) that not only govern news selection (McQuail, 2005) but dominate the whole practice (O'Neill & Harcup, 2008). Harrison (2006) summarises news values analysis in journalism studies as a form of mostly "content-based" analysis (p. 136).

An outstanding example of such content-based analysis is the work of Harcup and O'Neill (2001). Reviewing all the above-mentioned evaluations of Galtung and Ruge (1965), they aim at "devising a content analysis to help investigate just how useful Galtung and Ruge's factors [news values] are in analysing the news selection process today" (p.266). By doing so, they seek to complement and update the initial list of news values offered by Galtung and Ruge (1965). Their analysis adds four key aspects to news values absent in Galtung and Ruge (1965) and subsequent studies. First, there is the Entertainment aspect of the news. Some stories are selected not because they contain any "serious information for the reader" but "merely to en-tertain the reader" (Harcup & O'Neill, 2001, p. 274). The second aspect that appears in their data is Positivity (p. 275); contrary to Galtung and Ruge's list, Positivity, as well as Negativity, is proposed as a selection criterion for an event to become news. The third aspect is the expan-sion of Eliteness from just encompassing people to encompassing references to Elite organisa-tions and institutions (p. 275). Finally, these authors argue that sometimes certain events are selected not just because of their inherent value but because they fit the "newspaper's own agenda" (p. 275). This last aspect is of utmost importance since it actually extends the scope of news values suggested by Galtung and Ruge (1965), and followed by other scholars until then, to the dynamics, particular practices, and ideologies of the specific medium within which news values are applied; a point taken up in greater detail in subsequent studies that focus on newsroom practices (cf. Cotter, 2010). Harcup and O'neill (2001) update the list of news values as follows:

NEWS VALUE	DEFINITION
THE POWER ELITE	Stories concerning powerful individuals, organizations, or institutions.
CELEBRITY	Stories concerning people who are already famous
ENTERTAINMENT	Stories concerning sex, showbusiness, human interest, animals, an unfolding drama, or offering opportunities for humorous treatment, entertaining photographs, or witty headlines
SURPRISE	Stories that have an element of surprise and/or contrast
BAD NEWS	Stories with particularly negative overtones, such as conflict or tragedy
GOOD NEWS	Stories with particularly positive overtones such as rescues and cures
MAGNITUDE	Stories that are perceived as sufficiently significant either in the number of people involved or in potential impact.
RELEVANCE	Stories about issues, groups, and nations perceived to be relevant to the audience
FOLLOW-UP	Stories about subjects already in the news
NEWSPAPER AGENDA	Stories that set or fit the news organisation's own agenda

Table 3-2 Harcup and O'Neill (2001) updated list of news values

Harcup and O'Neill's (2001) framework possesses many merits that make it outstanding and a cornerstone in the study of news values in journalism. First of all, the study adopts a data-driven approach. The authors claim that instead of working with preconceived concepts of news values, they use an inductive approach to, as it were, 'let the data reveal' the news values at work. This might be a debatable point since, it is ultimately the analyst(s) that has the agency, not the data. However, it is a separate methodological discussion, and the fact that their study is highly data-driven still stands regardless of such a debate. Additionally, they pay attention to cultural aspects mainly neglected in previous research. Therefore, they come up with an

updated and more comprehensive list of news values. It should also be noted that the key principle of their work remains the same in assuming the gate-keeping role of news values and considering them a list of criteria governing the decision-making process of journalists in selecting which events qualify for publication. Although they touch upon contextual issues such as the newspapers' agenda, or cultural aspects such as entertainment, they still adhere to the Galtung and Ruge's (1965) fundamental premises.

Changing the focal point from the event itself to the internal dynamics of media and the role of journalism practice in constructing news led to the development of an ethnographic approach within journalism studies of news values. Schultz's (2007) study is fundamentally different from both Galtung and Ruge (1965) and Harcup & O'Neill (2001) since instead of studying the news items and news text, it is based on ethnographic observations of a newspaper editorial conference room. In her ethnographic account, she proposes two sets of news values following Bourdieu's theory. The first set comprises explicit orthodox/heterodox news values, which are part of the sphere of journalistic judgement. This set includes Timeliness, Relevance, Identification, Conflict, and Sensation. The second set of news values are implicit, silent, doxic news values which are part of the sphere of journalistic *doxa,* as specifically used in the theory of Bourdieu (1977), which refers to the learned, fundamental, deep-founded, unconscious beliefs, and values, taken as self-evident universals, that inform an agent's actions and thoughts within a particular field. This latter set of taken-for-granted news values are not customarily recognised explicitly, but they preside over journalists' judgments in form of *doxa*. In the specific case of the newspaper she studied, this news value is Exclusivity, but she admits that more research is needed to detect other possible doxic news values similar to Exclusivity. Schultz's analysis is important and influential in pointing out the existence of such factors in news production. Her approach is driven by a pure ethnographic interest in the practice and profession of journalism and editorials, which does not extend to the analysis of news text.

In contrast, Cotter (2010) adopts an ethnographic approach that addresses aspects of news text and discourse. Cotter defines news values as "the qualities that make a news item news-worthy, become embedded in text and govern [the] practice [of journalism]" (p. 67). Furthermore, she argues that news values shape the text by affecting the decision-making process and narrowing down the range of possibilities in terms of what is going to be published. Additionally, news values might be just a list of agreed-upon criteria when we study them in abstract terms, but they are interpreted by practitioners in different ways when they are applied to news production/writing. Furthermore, news values might seem different when you change the scope from outside to the inside of the profession, as a reporter's list of news values might not always be the same as an outsider's. Cotter's (2010) approach is part of her broader approach to media discourse, which was discussed in the previous chapter. In addition, in her study, she analyses the influence of news values on the linguistic features of a news story. This aspect of her work will be revisited in the following section.

3.2.2. Linguistic approaches

The study of news values has been generally neglected by linguists researching news discourse. This is perhaps because news values had not been seen as important for linguistic analysis but rather as existing outside of the text (Caple & Bednarek, 2013, p. 10). To consider in detail the actual role of news values in the language and discourse of media, it would probably be necessary to distinguish clearly between "news event" and "news story" (Caple & Bednarek, 2017, p. 31-32). Confusion between these two can arise from the assumption that news values are the property of the news event or a set of criteria to decide which events to report on in the newsroom. Adopting such a view on news values in journalistic research has serious implications. As a result of such an assumption, there is no clear-cut distinction of whether the focus of study should be on the impact of the event itself or on the news story that reports the event, i.e., on the event or the text. This is mainly because, indeed, we deal with different dimensions. The

decision-making process is mainly of interest to journalists, and some of these factors are seen as properties of events rather than of the text.

Based on these considerations, some scholars revised the traditional approach and included the analysis of linguistic features of the news story in their studies. For the first time, the sociolinguist Bell (1991) put news values at the heart of the study of news stories. For him, the way the news is presented is dependent on the function of the news story. Furthermore, because news form and news content are inseparable, news values drive the way in which the news is presented (p. 155).

Bell (1991) divides news values into three categories: those related to the content of news, the nature of events and actors, those related to the news process, and those related to the quality of the news text (pp. 156-160). The first category includes the same values as those proposed by Galtung and Ruge (1965). This presupposes that newsworthiness is inherent to some news events and that newsworthiness is culturally-grounded. Bell lists twelve news values under this category: Negativity, Recency, Proximity, Consonance, Unambiguity, Unexpectedness, Superlativeness, Relevance, Personalization, Eliteness, Attribution, and Facticity. Furthermore, Bell (1991, pp. 158-159) extends the concept of news values to the news process. Drawing on the previous assessments of Galtung and Ruge (1965) and his experience as a journalist, he introduces a number of news values related to the process of gathering and processing information. He puts Continuity, and Composition, two of the news values mentioned by Galtung and Ruge (1965) related to this category, in the same group as Competition, Co-option, Predictability, and Prefabrication, considering all as values that are not infused in the event itself, but rather are meaningful in relation to the process of news production. For example, Continuity suggests that if something was previously on the news, it would be more newsworthy in the future; Competition suggests that the news reporting does not happen in a vac-

uum, but rather with an eye on what other media are reporting on at the same time; and Composition is related to the fact that a news story is normally a piece of a greater picture that includes editorial decision making, layout, and combination of other parts of newspapers, broadcast or bulletin. Finally, he argues that some news values are related to the text of the news story as well, such as Clarity and Brevity. Bell's approach is important as, almost for the first time, it differentiates between news values embedded in the news events and news values related to producing a news story. He also underlines the fact that news values can be enhanced through language by journalists (Caple & Bednarek, 2017, p. 37). Bell's approach counts as the first attempt to distinguish the different dimensions of news values in order to focus on the "content" of the piece of news.

Bell's (1991) work was later adopted by other journalism scholars, like Cotter (2010). She perceives news values as a set of agreed-upon criteria that govern the journalistic practice (Cotter 2010, p. 68-75). She distinguishes between news values that are characteristic of the news event and those that play a role in the news production process. She argues that news values are not only "invoked to answer questions at the conceptualization stage about what to cover or what counts as news" but also "to answer other relevant journalistic questions related to the story and story construction" such as "how to cover it", or "what to emphasize" (p. 75). Cotter's (2010) take on news values is not as broad as Bell's (1991), but it indeed paves the way for the analysis of linguistic features of the news story in relation to news values. However, some scholars argue that both Bell's and Cotter's proposals still assume news values are a set of agreed-upon external criteria that govern the practice of journalism, and therefore, their approaches are devoid of critical aspects (Bednarek and Caple, 2017, p. 38).

3.2.3. Socio-cognitive approach

Fowler (1991) proposes a socio-cognitive approach to news values following considerations discussed so far regarding Galtung and Ruge (1965) and subsequent research. He argues that

news values have a cognitive aspect beyond what is described by Galtung and Ruge (1965). He notes that apart from the traditional gate-keeping role, news values include organisational elements such as publication frequency and schedule, as well as societal ones like consensus, hierarchy, and journalistic conventions (Fowler, 1991, pp. 12-13). He defines news values as "intersubjective mental categories" (p. 17). Therefore, in his view, both the formation of news events and the construction of news values are, in fact, a reciprocal, dialectical process in which "stereotypes are the currency of negotiation" (p. 17).

The importance of stereotypes in Fowler's model lies in the fact that stereotypes extend news values from being merely the "features of election" to the "features of representation" (p. 19). This implies that the process of news selection is an ideological act of interpretation on the part of the news practitioners. Such an ideological interpretation entails the news values to be first seen (and interpreted) as the qualities of the of the newsmaking process rather than as the qualities of the event itself. Therefore, news selection is a cognitive process of interpretation and processing visible in its representation as text. It is important to note that Fowler underlines the intersubjective aspect of the news selection process, i.e., the relationship between the reader and media. Therefore, news stories are socially constructed on the basis of the mental categories present in readers' minds and built on by media. In sum, Fowler (1991) provides a more comprehensive picture by adding, including, building on social and economic factors in the news selection process. In this sense, Fowler argues that news stories are socially constructed, include socio-cognitive aspects, and involve issues of ideology and representation.

In the same line, van Dijk (1988) incorporates cognitive, social, discursive, and critical aspects of news values in his research. van Dijk's approach to news values derives from his wider socio-cognitive approach to news discourse and discourse analysis in general (see section 2.3. above). In the first place, he postulates that "the very use of the notion of value suggests the location of news values in social cognition" (p. 119). In this sense, the function of news

values is that they provide "the cognitive basis for decisions about selection, attention, under-standing, representation, recall, and the uses of news information in general" (p. 119). van Dijk (1988) distinguishes between three "types" of news values. In the first set, news values are related to the economic and organisational matters of news production. This category comprises a range of different factors. On the one hand, economic matters and constraints such as sales and subscriptions, budgets for newsgathering, or the amount of advertising, and on the other, technical considerations like limitations on the amount of editorial space. These seemingly technical and economic aspects also have a cognitive dimension. They could even count as 'news values', that is, as markers of 'newsworthiness' of a specific event, in their own right. They are shaped by "assumed beliefs and opinions of both powerful news actors (sources) and the public" (p. 119) that finally "determine agendas for topics and issues and the ideological orientation of the opinions formulated or implied by selection and treatment of stories" (p. 120).

The second set of news values involves news gathering and news production. Some of these are related to economic considerations, such as outside competition. For example, the periodicity of newspapers can affect the overall preference for news related to certain timeframes. Another example is the accessibility of sources that could determine what events to be included and reported on. Even these factors have a cognitive aspect for van Dijk. News production routines reproduce a social structure because they entail a unique selection of and attention to specific organisations, institutions, and persons that (cognitively) meet certain requirements. This translates into a particular interest in political and social elites, elite countries, or elite organisations. Therefore, the social prominence and power of elite actors and their events are reproduced and confirmed by the press. These constraints have a cognitive nature, as well as socio-cognitive consequences: "special and repeated attention for elite persons, groups, and countries also leads the journalist to models and frames in which such elites are

dominant actors" (p. 120). Apart from these two types of news values, there are more specific cognitive constraints that define news values (van Dijk, 1988, pp. 121-124): Novelty, Recency, Presupposition, Consonance, Relevance, Deviance, Negativity, and Proximity. Therefore, news values have deep cognitive, social, and discursive implications in van Dijk's model. This gives van Dijk's model and subsequent research (van Dijk, 2013) a critical dimension because he scrutinises wider aspects that news discourse reflects, such as racism.

Although the cognitive approach to news values is a milestone in new values research, there are a number of considerations that should be mentioned. Similar to the linguistic approach, it is still heavily influenced by the work of Galtung and Ruge (1965). Working under the same paradigm leads to a fundamental similarity: news values or newsworthiness are still considered as mainly belonging to the news event (rather than the news story). Furthermore, the cognitive approach applies the label of news values to a wide range of different aspects of news production, making it difficult to study them from a linguistic/discursive perspective. van Dijk, however, explains how the socio-cognitive enters discourse and, therefore, provides a number of means to study how language is used in the news (1988). In his analysis, the study of news discourse entails three crucial levels. The first level is the study of news structures. This includes the textual and contextual analysis of microstructures, including grammar, speech acts, style and rhetoric, as well as thematic macrostructures of news discourse. The second is the process of news production and, finally, news comprehension. The study of news values, as defined and conceptualised by van Dijk, is indeed at the heart of studying news discourse within the process of news production and comprehension.

Before moving to Bednarek and Caple's discursive approach, a recap of the proposed taxonomies reviewed in the previous sections follows to draw a time-lined, comprehensive view of their evolution and potential overlapping areas (Table 3-3).

Study/propo-nent	Approach to the news values	Suggested list of news values
Galtung and Ruge (1965)	Common-psychology selection criteria that work heuristically in the mind of news practitioners	Frequency, Threshold (consisting of absolute intensity and intensity increase, Unambiguity, Meaningfulness (consisting of cultural proximity and relevance, Consonance (consisting of predictability and demand), Unexpectedness (consisting of unpredictability and scarcity), Continuity, Composition, Reference to elite nations, Reference to elite people, Reference to persons, Reference to something negative
Harcup and O'Neill (2001)	Galtung and Ruge + entertainment, positivity, expanding eliteness to organizations, and institutions and news paper agenda	The power elite, Celebrity, Entertainment, Surprise, Bad news, Good news, Magnitude, Relevance, Follow-up, Newspaper agenda
Schultz (2007)	Implicit news values related to the doxa of journalism	Two sets: explicit orthodox/heterodox news values: Timeliness, Relevance, Identification, Conflict, and Sensation implicit, silent doxic news values: Exclusivity
Bell (1991)	Differentiates between news values embedded in the news events and news values related to producing a news story	Divides news values into three categories: 1. Related to the content of news, the nature of events and actors: Negativity, Recency, Proximity, Consonance, Unambiguity, Unexpectedness, Superlativeness, Relevance, Personalization, Eliteness, Attribution, and Facticity 2. Related to the news process: Continuity, and Composition, with Competition, Co-option, Predictability, and Prefabrication 3. Related to the quality of the news text:

		Clarity and Brevity
Fowler (1991) van Dijk (1988)	Introduce the socio-cognitive, intersubjective and discursive elements of news values	1. News values related to the economic and organisational matters of news production: Economic and technical constraints 2. Newsgathering and news production: periodicity, accessibility 3. Specific cognitive constraints that define news values (van Dijk, 1988, pp 121-124): Novelty, Recency, Presupposition, Consonance, Relevance, Deviance, Negativity, and Proximity

Table 3-3 News values proposed by different scholars

Two important points can be observed in the evolution of news values studies according to what has been discussed so far. First of all, news values are normally applied to a wide range of different aspects and dimensions in the news production process. This is indeed one of the departing points of Bednarek and Caple (2017) in elaborating their model. Since using news values for a disparate range of news production, consumption and comprehension produces a degree of conflation in their usage and, subsequently, in their study, a clearer differentiation between various aspects of news values (e.g., social, material, cognitive, and discursive) could be fruitful for studying them (Bednarek and Caple, 2017, p. 39). In addition, and probably stemming from the first point, newsworthiness has rarely been approached as *constructed* in discourse. Many early approaches tended have assumed, explicitly or implicitly, that news values are inherent properties of the news event (cf. Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Harcup and O'Neill, 2001; Schultz, 2007). Other scholars that indeed paid attention to how news values can sometimes belong to other aspects of the news production process did not thoroughly address such an aspect either. Bell (1991) differentiates between the news values embedded in the news events and news values related to producing a news story. As related to the news text, however,

his approach only addresses Clarity and Brevity, while other news values could potentially be constructed in the news text. Fowler (1991) and van Dijk (1988) put a step forward and include the socio-cognitive and intersubjective elements of news values but still do not mention the discursive nature of communicating them. I would argue that the above-mentioned points are largely addressed in the Discursive News Values Analysis model, making it appropriate for analysing news discourse in the context of an important socio-political event like the subject of this dissertation. In the following section, I explain how Discursive News Values Analysis would help clarify these points and contribute to the study of news values from a different perspective. Moreover, a series of operational, procedural, and analytical considerations make Discursive News Values Analysis a suitable model for my analysis. These points will be addressed in the methodology section.

3.2.4. The Discursive Construction of Newsworthiness

Bednarek and Caple (2014, 2017) put forth a discursive framework that adopts a constructivist perspective to the study of news values. One general observation on news values research proposed by Bednarek and Caple (2017) is that the term itself has been used to refer to disparate dimensions. Conflating these dimensions produces major difficulties in the study of news values. Following a range of publications reviewing the existing literature on news values (Bednarek & Caple, 2014; Bednarek & Caple, 2017; Caple & Bednarek, 2013; Caple & Bednarek, 2016), Bednarek and Caple (2014; 2017) formulated their approach to news values as "discursively constructed". In their comprehensive research on news values over the past years, these authors have critically appraised extant research in the field and tried to address some considerations in their model of Discursive News Values Analysis (DNVA).

First of all, news values are mainly used as a label to refer to a wide range of different aspects of the news, including face properties of events or stories, aspects of journalistic practice, elements of content, as well as factors related to organisation, economic and business

conditions. Therefore, there is a need to elucidate what the term news involves (Bednarek and Caple, 2017, pp. 39-40). Consequently, Bednarek and Caple (2014; 2017) shift the focus from the news event per se (a cognitive decision, eventually) to the news text as a complex of texts plus image or visuals. They depart from previous approaches because they consider that a discursive approach is tangible and analysable, and it can also account for how newsmakers employ news values to construct newsworthiness.

In this line, they propose to distinguish news values from news writing objectives and news selection factors. News writing objectives are general goals associated with news writing, such as clarity of expression, brevity, colour, accuracy, etc. On the other hand, news selection factors are defined as "any factor impacting on whether or not an event gets covered or a story becomes published, e.g. commercial pressures, availability of reporters, deadlines, audience analytics, etc." (p. 41-42). News values, for their part, are defined in relation to the concept of newsworthiness and as constructed through discourse in a given community (p. 42). In this perspective, even when we underline the newsworthiness of an event, we indeed refer to a potential news value ascribed to it externally. This means that these values themselves are not natural or inherent in the event, but constructed and established in discourse (Bednarek and Caple, 2017, p. 42).

Further, news values are not only used as a label for a variety of practices in news production; they also have different dimensions. Bednarek and Caple (2017) provide, instead, a comprehensive conceptualisation of different dimensions of news values as material, cognitive, social, and discursive (pp. 42-43). The material aspect is related to the material reality of the potential news event in a specific community. It deals with the question of what an event's potential news values are (p. 42). The cognitive dimension is defined in relation to the news workers and audience members. These individuals have a specific set of beliefs about news

values and newsworthiness and define them based on their mental models and schemata. There-fore, the cognitive aspect deals with the beliefs news workers and/or audience members hold about news values. The social aspect of news values concerns the use of news values as selection criteria in journalistic routines and practices. It is related to the more practical question of how news workers apply news values as criteria in choosing what events to cover and publish, and how to produce them as news. Finally, news values have a discursive aspect that had never been mentioned in this sense before Bednarek and Caple (2014; 2017). News values are indeed communicated through discourse. This means that news values are constructed and recon-structed through discourse in the processes of pre-, during, and post-news production and in news products (p. 43).

Following such a framework and focusing on the discursive aspect of news values, Bed-narek and Caple (2017, pp. 57-64) propose a comprehensive list of news values. The following table shows the nine news values that are constructed in discourse; whenever possible, I have replaced examples in the original with examples from my own corpus.

News Value	Linguistic devices and examples
Consonance ([stereo]typical)	References to stereotypical attributes or preconceptions; assessments of ex-pectedness/ typicality (*typical, famed for*); similarity with past (*yet another, once again*); explicit references to general knowledge/ traditions, and so on (*well- known*)
Eliteness (of high status or fame)	Various status markers, including role labels (*the Queen, Ministers, Econo-mists*); status- indicating adjectives (*EU commission top analyst*); recognized names (*David Cameron, Boris Johnson*); descriptions of achievement/ fame (*were selling millions of records a year*); use by news actors/ sources of spe-cialized/ technical terminology, high- status accent or sociolect (esp. in broadcast news)
Impact (having significant effects or consequences)	Assessments of significance (*momentous, historic, crucial*); representation of actual or non- actual significant/ relevant consequences, including ab-stract, material, or mental effects (*Brexit could mean for the economy, the economic impact of Brexit, the effect on immigration, the outlook after leav-ing the EU*)

Negativity/ Positivity **(negative/ positive)**	References to negative/ positive emotion and attitude (*Brexit jitters, fears of Brexit, a safer UK*) negative/ positive evaluative language (*shock, suffer, improve the economy*); negative/ positive lexis (terrorism, economic *damage, favour growth, brighter future*); descriptions of negative (*uncontrolled immigration*) or positive behaviour (*has broken his promise, unveiled a cabinet with an equal number of men and women*)
Personalization **(having a personal/** **human face)**	References to 'ordinary' people, their emotions, experiences (*domestic risk that our economy faces, people with disabilities and other ordinary people here and across Europe*); use by news actors/ sources of 'everyday' spoken language, accent, sociolect (*esp. in broadcast news*)
Proximity **(geographically** **or culturally near)**	Explicit references to place or nationality near the target community (*British people*); references to the nation/ community via deictics, generic place references, adjectives (*here, the nation's capital, home- grown*); inclusive first person plural pronouns (*our nation's leaders*); use by news actors/ sources of (*geographical*) accent/ dialect (*esp. in broadcast news*); cultural references (*haka, prom*)
Superlativeness **(of high intensity/** **large scope)**	Intensifiers (*severe, dramatically*); quantifiers (millions of jobs, *thousands, huge*); intensified lexis (*panic, smash*); metaphor and simile (*a tsunami of crime, like a World War II battle*); comparison (*the largest economy/market in the world,*); repetition (*building after building flattened*); lexis of growth (*a growing list of, scaling up efforts*); *only/ just/ alone/ already* + time/ distance or related lexis (*only hours after*)
Timeliness (recent, **ongoing, about to** **happen, new, current,** **seasonal)**	Temporal references (*amid Brexit debates, After the UK leaves the EU*); present and present perfect (*it is testing our emergency resources*); implicit time references through lexis (*continues, ongoing, have begun to*); reference to current trends, seasonality, change/newness (*its 'word of the year' for 2015, keep their homes well heated this winter, change from GLBT to LGTB, after fresh revelations, for the first time, a new role as*)
Unexpectedness **(unexpected)**	Evaluations of unexpectedness (*different, astonishing, strange*), references to surprise/ expectations (*the investments will disappear overnight*); comparisons that indicate unusuality (*the first time since 1958*); references to unusual happenings (*British man survives 15- storey plummet*)

Table 3-4 The DNVA framework (adapted from Bednarek and Caple 2017, pp. 79-80)

Considering what has been discussed so far about the study of news values, it should be noted that I specifically chose the DNVA model as the main framework of this dissertation for the following reasons:

1. It offers a clear-cut differentiation between different aspects of news values and, therefore, avoids major conflation between the various dimensions of news values as studied in the literature.

2. It adopts a middle ground between constructionism and realism. This means that it considers that the reality is given meaning by media, assuming that material events are endowed with newsworthiness by media. It also manifests that the potential news value of events depends on a given sociocultural system that assigns them value. On the other hand, it admits that there is a material reality beyond semiosis, and media can reflect it more or less accurately (Bednarek and Caple, 2017, p. 51).

3. The model entails extensive analytical procedures that make it possible to design a well-structured study (see Bednarek and Caple, 2017)

4. DNVA is an appropriate model to be combined with CL techniques, as suggested by the authors themselves (Bednarek and Caple, 2017) and as adopted already in many other studies. There are some challenges in this regard that will be explored later (in section 3.3. and in the methodology section). Still, such a combination seems to be fundamentally viable, worthwhile, and promising.

In the next section, I review other studies that used the DNVA model to explore the main procedures, advantages, challenges and considerations regarding its use as part of the theoretical and analytical framework in discourse studies in general, and how these can guide me in designing and implementing the analytical procedure of the present study in particular.

3.3. Previous applications of DNVA

Although a relatively new framework, DNVA has been applied to study a number of different topics and discourses. In this section, I review existing research to draw insights for my own study. Bednarek and Caple (2017) point out some potential avenues for applying DNVA and the possible ways in which the framework could be adjusted, modified, and enriched.

The first avenue adopted in these publications is combining DNVA with multimodal analysis (Bednarek and Caple, 2017, p 249). Bednarek and Caple (2012b), He and Caple

(2020), and Lorenzo-Dus and Smith (2018) all adopt a multimodal approach to news values and analyse how language and image construct events as newsworthy. First, Bednarek and Caple (2012b) explore online reporting of the 2011 Queensland floods by the Sydney Morning Herald website, an Australian metropolitan broadsheet newspaper. From a discursive perspective, their main aim is to analyse what linguistic and visual aspects of news discourse function to construe the newsworthiness of an event. Their analysis is a case study that uses a relatively limited corpus, mainly because they were not concerned with breadth but with depth and aimed to show how language and image systematically are at play to establish newsworthiness in discourse. Furthermore, analyses of visuals cannot be applied to large corpora (p. 108). Their case study shows how linguistic and visual aspects such as evaluative language, references to emotion, negative vocabulary, intensification and quantification, metaphor, simile, references to effects/impacts, comparison, evaluative elements, intensification, and references to aesthetic elements, are combined to emphasise certain news values and construct the reported topics as newsworthy in the discourse. The news value of Negativity, for example, is construed particularly through negative evaluative language (e.g., tragedy, horrendous, horrific, terrible) and references to negative emotions (e.g., took their breath). Superlativeness, however, is construed using a much wider range of devices, from strong emotions (e.g. horrifying, petrified, distraught), to metaphor (the wall of water), simile (like a raging river), and repetition (the town was constantly being battered). In general, their analysis of linguistic devices shows that news values of Negativity, Superlativeness and Impact are particularly foregrounded, with Novelty and Personalisation also playing an important role in construing the story as newsworthy, while Consonance and Prominence are much less emphasised. The visual analysis also shows that the news value of Negativity, Superlativeness and Impact are foregrounded in the images, as they are through language. The authors finally conclude that a discursive perspective on news

values provides a framework that allows for systematic analysis of how such values are constructed through both words and images. Specifically, it allows researchers to systematically examine how particular events are construed as newsworthy, what values are emphasised in news stories, and the role language and image play in the construction of newsworthiness.

He & Caple (2020) also apply a multimodal analysis of the news values of Negativity and Positivity to a sample of articles from China Daily and People's Daily online websites. The authors start from the premise that, in general, there is a strong tendency toward combining positive photographs when reporting on negative news stories in Chinese journalism. They analyse 34 news reports featuring such an evaluative clash and conclude that the news value of Negativity is mostly constructed through negative lexis and evaluative language towards news participants in international disputes like China, the US, and Australia. On the other hand, visual Positivity is constructed in the discourse to orientate readers toward the Socialist core value of "Harmony" against the Negative news stories through their interplay in the heading-image nucleus (p. 1). The study underlines the role of ideology in the discursive construction of the newsworthiness of an event. Evaluative language (in this study, linguistic and semantic devices that construe Negativity and Positivity) functions to reflect the prevailing political value system, which is a component of the ideology. In addition, it serves as a semantic device to establish newsworthiness in relation to opinions, attitudes, and emotions. News values are reconfigured in the Chinese press to infiltrate the official ideology to audiences through hard news reporting (p. 2). Their analysis shows that the evaluative stance is produced through the combination of headline and image and then "aligns or misaligns with the ideologies and cultural values promoted through the Socialist Core Values" (p. 6). Therefore, apart from the importance of the multimodal analysis, the study shows the essential role of implicit and explicit ideological agendas in the discursive analysis of news values, a point that can and should be taken forward in further contexts and studies.

Lorenzo-Dus and Smith (2018) employ Multimodal Discursive News Values Analysis to examine the visual construction of social actors in news stories with the theme of political crises, published in the British broadsheet The Independent between 2008 and 2014. Their multimodal analysis of those news stories identifies a significant difference in the visual construction of elite vs non-elite actors. Elite figures are visually framed in a way that constructs proximity, consonance, and prominence. This is mainly done to convey the resilience of political leaders in times of crisis, showing that they remain in control and work hard and rationally to solve problems. In contrast, non-elite groups are framed through negativity, impact, superlativeness and aestheticisation, highlighting the dramatic and emotional aspects of the stories.

It should be noted that DNVA was originally developed to account for text and image, and the original model even contains a news value specifically applied to the image (aesthetic element). Combining DNVA with multimodal analysis, however, is a complex task, and Bednarek and Caple (2017) acknowledge that "a single researcher will not necessarily have the skills to undertake both visual and verbal analysis" (p. 254). That is probably why the majority of studies published so far follow a textual analysis and do not enter into the realm of multimodality.

Textual-only analysis of news values is a valid pathway, already adopted to analyse a number of different areas of journalism, and has proved to be a valuable analytical prospect. For example, Huan (2016) takes news values as the analytical point of entry to understand the working of the Chinese press in the wake of its marketisation reform. The paper has a twofold objective: first, to focus on news values as a nexus of practice, and second, to examine how news values are constructed in the Chinese press. To do so, the author compiles and analyses a range of different sources, including news policy documents, media editorial meetings, interviews with Chinese journalism practitioners and a newly constructed corpus of Chinese news

reporting. He uses Bednarek (2016), Caple and Bednarek (2015), and Potts et al. (2015), conceptualisation of news as the framework for analysis. However, the study specifically focuses on four news values related to news events or actors in the Chinese press: Negativity, Positivity, Personalization and Eliteness. The reason for this is that previous literature and the pilot studies indicate these four as the most relevant. Therefore, the author argues that concentrating on them significantly facilitates news values detection across the extensive range of data under analysis. Specifically related to this dissertation, the paper analyses a corpus of 129 news reports on earthquakes and 485 reports on food safety, amounting to 272,505 words. The paper particularly examines how news values are constructed through evaluative language in this dataset. The analysis reveals that, broadly speaking, Chinese journalists mediate the emotions of ordinary citizens and those of authorities in distinctive ways. In mediating positive emotions in reporting risk events, Chinese journalists often show how caring, considerate, or concerned power elites are. However, when it comes to risk victims or risk events, positive emotions of ordinary citizens often relate to how satisfied they are with the efforts of power elites in dealing with risks. As for mediating negative effects, officials show their grief, but ordinary citizens often express their worries, fears and panic. In judging the actions of news actors of different social statuses, power elites are often positively judged in relation to their capacity for dealing with risks. On the contrary, ordinary news actors are repeatedly negatively judged in reference to their unlawfulness. The author concludes that his findings highlight the social and discursive aspects of news values. Therefore, news values are hardly neutral, but "they reproduce ideologies in institutional news practices and in journalistic social practices" (p. 119).

Another area the textual-only aspect of DNVA is applied to is the US Supreme court's historic ruling on same-sex marriage (Fruttaldo & Venuti, 2017; Venuti & Fruttaldo, 2019). Fruttaldo & Venuti (2017) provide a cross-cultural discursive approach to the press coverage

of this ruling in the US, the UK, and Italy. Their study specifically aims at examining the representation of the main actors and events concerning the US Supreme Court ruling in leading US, UK and Italian newspapers. Their analysis reveals noteworthy differences in the coverage of said ruling in the three countries. In Italian newspapers, the ruling is represented in terms of the news values of Eliteness (in particular, by presenting the event as a success for the Obama administration), Impact, and Timeliness. On the other hand, the UK press underlines news values of Negativity, Impact, and Timeliness/Superlativeness. The US press shows a strong tendency toward the news values of Impact, Eliteness (in this case, the judges involved in the US Supreme Court ruling were particularly foregrounded), and Negativity (explicitly linked to the opposing sides in the judges' ruling). The authors argue that their findings underline the cultural nature of news values, the analysis of which can be seen as a suitable instrument to draw a cultural 'map' of the social world (p. 81). They conclude that, in this sense, news values can be seen as the factors that are enhanced in news stories to reinforce ideologies and make sense of given events, in line with the value system of a specific cultural environment (p. 87).

Venuti & Fruttaldo (2019) also analyse the reception of the same topic on social media using a DNVA approach. This paper focuses on how the US Supreme Court ruling was framed by social media users. They argue that while a cross-cultural analysis (Fruttaldo & Venuti 2017) showed how specific cultural priorities could be investigated through DNVA, studying the consonance between the news values disseminated in the news stories and the 'ideological' values found in Facebook users' reactions can serve to test whether the news values constructed in the news stories are picked up by Facebook users (pp. 151-152). Their analysis shows a high level of concordance between most news values in the news stories and users' reactions to the stories (p. 158).

The importance and impact of DNVA in identifying the cultural, ideological, and even state-organisational aspects of news stories are further highlighted in research on the discourse

of crime reporting in Iranian newspapers (Makki, 2019; 2020). Makki (2019) applied the DNVA framework in a comparative study of crime news reporting in two Iranian newspapers with different political/ideological backgrounds, namely, Conservative vs Reformist ideologies. The results show that the coverage was mostly similar in both newspapers, with Eliteness being the most prevalent news value and Unexpectedness the least common one. The author suggests that such coverage is most probably the result of the prevailing discourses on the whole press in Iran and its socio-cultural context. In these news stories, a widespread presence of police authorities was established. Therefore, the general angle of the news story was moved toward "restoration of the [social] order" or "stabilizing the order" or "solved crime" (p. 455). There are, however, some slight differences between the two newspapers, with pro-Sharia newspaper, Kayhan, highlighting the news value of Positivity when the authorities and the police are involved in the news story, which is untypical of crime reporting. Therefore, in another study, Makki (2020) focuses on the specific role of Positivity in a corpus of Iranian crime and misbehaviour reports. The particular analysis of Positivity in the Iranian press confirms the previous initial findings of the presence of this news value in Iranian crime reporting. The analysis shows that Positivity is constructed both in the headlines and the news report. It is usually construed via positive assessments of the police force and their actions and through various terms referring to 'forgiveness' and 'mercy'. The study concludes that the abundance of Positivity in Iranian crime reports suggests that its construction in the Iranian crime corpus should be highly influenced by the institutional power (the police) as well as the cultural norms of the society (p. 308). The results of these studies highlight the importance of ideological differences, as well as discursive and institutional practices governing the whole society, which could be traced in the press discourse and, more specifically, in the discursive construction of a specific topic in terms of news values.

Other studies extend DNVA to different realms of journalism by studying science-based and climate change-related news (Molek-Kozakowska 2017; 2018). Molek-Kozakowska (2017) applies DNVA to a sample of most-read articles of News Scientist, a generic middle-market science popularisation outlet, with the aim of identifying the main linguistic resources involved in the realisation of news values in science-related coverage (p 70). The study covers a corpus of the 38 most-read environment-oriented articles in the online version of the magazine collected between late 2013 and late 2014. The articles are analysed qualitatively to show the instantiations of newsworthiness through Novelty and Superlativeness, Timeliness and Impact, Negativity and Positivity, as well as other strategies aimed at engaging the readers: rationalisation and speculation, direct address and conversational style. The DNVA framework allows the researcher to analyse the discursive construction of certain news values as a stylistic pattern in science-related news. The findings show that Novelty and Superlativeness are the most prevalent news values, constructing the news items as "new, unheard of, unexpected, even surprising" (p. 76). The second most frequently used news values are Timeliness and Impact, which construct the news item as responding to the needs of society and the concerns for solving the most pressing problems (p. 78).

In another study on the same journal, Molek-Kozakowska (2018) uses news values analysis in conjunction with a study of the frames and narratives used in the articles, and she draws further noteworthy conclusions in this regard. In this case, the most common news value found in the corpus is Timeliness/Novelty, which constructs the news item as focusing on the latest/new/recent or surprising studies or estimates. The second most common is the news value of Impact, through which journalists' explanations of the scientific significance of the studies or their applications are established. The researcher also underlines the fact that both the presence of some news values and the absence of others (especially in headlines and opening paragraphs) could have ideological implications. For example, the news value of Proximity is

adopted in only one article related to climate change. In other articles, scientific impacts on monitoring climate change prevail over people-oriented solutions, while arguably, the opposite would be more conducive to social mobilisation (p. 76). The findings of these studies indicate that the construction of newsworthiness could be heavily affected by the stylistics and standard practices of a particular type of journalism which would be ideologically oriented at the same time. Even it could be understood from the results of the study that the two would happen simultaneously and in an intertwined manner in many cases.

Finally, and highly pertinent to this dissertation, a number of noteworthy studies recently combined DNVA with CL techniques to cover large-scale corpora. Bednarek and Caple (2017) highlight the possibility and prospects of combining DNVA as a qualitative method with CL as a quantitative method. However, one common problem with applying DNVA to a large corpus is that there are major overlaps between different categories, and many words and linguistic resources might construct different news values based on the context in which they are used. This is mainly due to the fact that news values have an evaluative meaning, and they are not merely constructed by isolated words (Bednarek, 2016, p. 229). Current CL tools have advanced significantly in recent years, especially with more tagging software available, but such tools are still under development and have many constraints (cf. O'Keeffe & McCarthy, 2010, among others). Therefore, it is not yet possible to use common semantic taggers to tag news values in a straightforward way. However, these impediments should not discourage researchers from using quantitative analysis in DNVA, which is fundamentally a qualitative framework. As was the case in many of the studies mentioned so far and underlined by Bednarek and Caple (2017), DNVA can be used to explore how news values are used to construct particular topics. Certain news values might be emphasised or used more than others, or otherwise rare or absent in the discourse, and all this may have serious ideological implications (p. 239). Combining DNVA and CL as the qualitative and quantitative methods to approach the

analysis of a large corpus is proved fruitful in practice when such a combined method was applied. Still, the whole endeavour seems to be in its very early stages and in need of further studies addressing this aspect, especially in elaborating more statistically sound tools for comparison and contrast in comparative, cross-cultural and cross-linguistic studies. In the following paragraphs, I review some of the most important and insightful studies that combine DNVA with CL to explore all the potential, challenges and methodological requirements such an enterprise entails, with the aim of considering them in my study design.

Potts et al. (2015) apply DNVA to a 36-million-word corpus of news reporting on Hurricane Katrina in the United States with the primary aim of testing and evaluating the integration of corpus techniques with discursive news values analysis. In particular, they assess corpus techniques which had not been tested previously, including tagged lemma frequencies, collocation, key part-of-speech tags (POStags), and key semantic tags, in addition to the statistical measure of log-likelihood (L.L.) for ranking keyness and identifying statistically significant collocates. The findings of the study reveal certain advantages and a number of challenges of applying DNVA to large corpora. First of all, news values are highly co-text and context-dependent. For example, in an isolated lemma analysis, the lemma "GOOD" might be assumed to construct Positivity, but it may not necessarily refer to positive happenings and events around Katrina (p. 157). The same is true about lemmas with reference to place and time, i.e. they do not necessarily construct Proximity either. The question in these cases is whether or not a particular place reference constructs the event as geographically or culturally near the target audience and whether or not a particular temporal reference constructs the event as recent, ongoing, about to happen, or seasonal (p. 158). Additionally, some news values can overlap in a particular context. For example, the authors classify Negativity and Impact under the same category because impact tends to be constructed as negative in disaster reporting (p. 159). Therefore,

tagged lemma lists can only be used as a starting point to formulate a range of hypotheses that need to be confirmed through subsequent qualitative analysis (p. 159).

On the other hand, collocation analysis is an instrumental corpus analysis technique that shows promising potentials in a number of different studies. In addition to concordance analysis used originally alongside the DNVA method (Bednarek and Caple, 2014), Potts et al. (2015) suggest that collocation analysis for large corpora is more viable for extracting meanings that might not be readily available to the naked eye (pp. 159-160). The study concludes that collocation analysis shows some promise when used in a large corpus, as it allows for the identification of those news values that are co-textually associated with a particular word. Therefore, it is a valuable technique for news values analysis (p. 161).

Fuster-Márquez & Gregori-Signes (2019) apply a combination of CL and DNVA, including collocation analysis along with other techniques such as concordances and keyword analysis, to study the discursive representation of tourism in press news stories. Specifically, their paper scrutinises tourism and tourism-phobia as particularly newsworthy issues during the summer of 2017 in the Spanish national press. Their analysis reveals that the digital newspapers with the largest number of followers in Spain show a preference for certain values such as Eliteness or Proximity, together with an emphasis on the values of Impact, Magnitude (Superlativeness), and Negativity. By using and emphasising these news values, tourism and tourists are discursively constructed as an economic sector under threat. Their analysis also indicates that certain news values can be used and emphasised upon to construct a specific topic/actor in the discourse in a desired way according to the journalists' agenda or expected outcomes for the related sector (in the case of that study, tourism). The study also shows how the application of certain CL tools, such as concordance analysis, could be helpful in detecting news values in a large corpus.

Another prominent recent study making use of collocation analysis as an instrumental tool in this realm applies DNVA for the first time to study news reporting on violence against women. Maruenda-Bataller (2021) uses DNVA drawing from Potts et al.'s (2015) procedures to analyse news values in a cross-cultural study on how news values are used to construct ideological discourses of female victims of violence against women (VAW) in the Spanish and British press. The study's main aim is to gain insights into how news values are used to construct ideological discourses of female victims of VAW. To do so, a purpose-built corpus of 14.5 million words of news on VAW from two Spanish and two British mainstream dailies over a 10-year period (2005–2015) is complied and analysed. The results of the analysis uncover the existence of two contrasting but interdependent discourses in the data. Negativity and Impact are the most common news values across the four data sets, associating female victims with death, violence and extreme suffering. On the other hand, news values of Positivity and Eliteness indicate that female victims are surrounded by a discourse that conveys social and institutional care and support, but which portrays them mainly as passive individuals.

Additionally, some noteworthy differences are also observed between Spanish and British newspapers. For instance, when dealing with explicit negative emotion, the Spanish data show a tendency to display the inner emotional suffering of the victims, while in the UK dailies, the use of evaluative language to judge victims' emotional endurance often qualifies the abuse. The author suggests that these differences may be evidence of a conscious or ideological decision by news outlets on how to report on the victims' emotional suffering. The treatment of the deceased victims is another area in which significant cross-linguistic differences can be observed. There is a marked preference in Spanish dailies to communicate impact through words or phrases that refer to 'signs of extreme violence' In contrast, the UK news reports scarcely mention signs of violence.

The study results show that applying DNVA in a comparative study can shed light on (dis)similarities in the ways news values were used to convey newsworthiness cross-linguistically and cross-culturally. The analysis shows that news values present in Spanish news reports convey more condemnatory overtones. The higher number of Negative collocates in Spanish dailies suggests the presence of certain sensationalism that aims to exploit audiences' interest in crime and violence. On the other hand, UK dailies are shown to be less porous to images of extreme violence.

Furthermore, the study gives rise to some crucial concerns regarding DNVA. The DNVA framework specifically proved to be useful in identifying and coding recurrent linguistic pointers that articulate certain discursive constructions. There are, however, still a number of challenges to be addressed in this regard. First of all, the qualitative analysis of the study revealed that the list of linguistic devices for news values is far from exhaustive. There is a need to populate the DNVA model with some further linguistic devices for more nuanced analyses. Second, some cautions should be taken into account when DNVA is applied to a large corpus, including the manual coding of the corpus and possible crossovers between news values, as well as the subjective nature of coding news values by the researcher.

Since the studies reviewed in this section are of utmost importance and relevance in designing the present dissertation, Table 3-5 and Table 3-6 summarise the crucial information related to them. The main lines suggested by Bednarek and Caple (2017), the studies that attempted to address such avenues, and the further lines and implications of those studies for future research are shown in Table 3-5. Table 3-6 summarises the more technical aspects of these studies, including the size of the corpus, their framework, procedure, and special techniques or tools adopted in the studies.

Bednarek & Caple (2017) future lines of research	Studies that address those lines	Future lines and implications suggested by the study
Combining DNVA with multi-modal analysis	Benarek and Caple (2012) He & Caple (2020) Lorendo-Dus and Smith (2018)	• Text+image analysis • Role of ideology • Caution in combining Multimodal analysis with DNVA
Cross-cultural analysis	Fruttaldo & Venuti (2017)	Importance of DNVA in mapping the cultural word and discourses around a certain topic
	Makki (2019; 2020)	Ideological differences, as well as the influence of discursive practices and socio-political context of the wider society
	Maruenda-Bataller (2021)	DNVA proved to be useful to analyze ideological discursive construction of a certain topic cross-culturally and cross-linguistically
Cross-modia analysis	Venuti & Fruttaldo (2019)	High level of concordance between the news values picked up by Facebook users
Other domains and journalistic practices	Huan (2016)	News values are hardly neutral, but "they reproduce ideologies in news institutional practices and in journalistic social practices"
	Molek-Kozakowska (2017; 2018)	Newsworthiness construction could be heavily affected both by the stylistics and common practices of a certain type of journalism and ideologically oriented at the same time
Combining DNVA with CL	Fuster-Márquez & Gregori-Signes (2019)	Certain news values could be adopted to discursively construct a topic as desired (by the journalist or the sector)
	Potts et al (2015) Maruenda-Bataller (2021)	CL provide DNVA with certain useful tools, but there are still a number of technical challenges to overcome

Table 3-5 Previous applications of DNVA, key insights, and future lines of research

Study	Corpus	Framework, Procedure, especial techniques or tools
Benarek and Caple (2012)	Online reporting of the 2011 Queensland floods in an Australian metropolitan broadsheet newspaper. Verbal story text: 1673 words, including the headline + 52 images in the news gallery	Systematic analysis of how news values are constructed in both words and images.
Lorendo-Dus and Smith (2018)	398 news stories from the British broadsheet The Independent with the theme of political crisis	Visual construction of Social actors based on DNVA
He & Caple (2020)	34 online news stories were sourced from China Daily and People's Daily online websites from 1 January 2018 to 30 June 2018	DNVA + Appraisal theory The analysis is triangulated by taking both a text-as-corpus and a text-as-text perspective (Bednarek and Caple, 2017b). The former is directed at patterns across texts, for example, examining linguistic evaluation tokens in all 34 news stories. The latter is focused on appraisal patterns within texts, through a detailed reading of verbal-visual resources in one text.
Potts et al. (2015)	A corpus of 36,736,679 words in 41,964 texts from 24 publications.	A web-based corpus analysis system CQPweb, for annotating the data using the seventh version of the Unit for Computer Research on the English Language (UCREL) Constituent Likelihood Automatic Wordtagging System (CLAWS), and the UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS), assigning part-of-speech (POS) and semantic tags (semtags) to each text. Other corpus techniques employed and evaluated: tagged lemma frequencies, collocation, key part-of-speech tags (POStags) and key semantic tags.

Maruenda-Bataller (2021)	A purpose-built corpus of 14.5 million words of news on VAW from two Spanish and two British mainstream dailies over a 10-year period (2005–2015)	CL + DNVA: Using linguistic pointers of Bednarek and Caple (2017) and Potts et al. (2015): CL techniques: collocation analysis to detect the most frequent content collocates for a specific lemma. Manually classifying news values. Classification of the results according to the DNVA framework.
Fuster-Márquez & Gregori-Signes (2019)	A total of 128 articles, 88206 words, from five major Spanish newspapers	CL + DNVA: Using linguistic pointers of Bednarek and Caple (2017) and Potts et al. (2015): CL techniques: Keyword, Frequency, N-grams.
Venuti & Fruttaldo (2019)	A large dataset of News articles posted on Facebook, the comments, and their replies: 330 000 Tokens (news stories) 5108 comments 6856 replies to comments	Investigating the relationship between the discourses highlighted in the press and social media users' reactions to the event using a Corpus-Based Discourse Analysis (Baker, 2006, 2010, 2014; Baker et al., 2013). CL techniques: keyword analysis, frequency analysis, consistency analysis
Makki (2019; 2020)	Crime and misbehaviour reports published in Etemaad and Kayhan, over a period of 1 month, from 31 October 2013 to 30 November 2013. 184 news stories 57793 words	DNVA coding was done manually, and from the news reports on the Microsoft Word directly.
Fruttaldo & Venuti (2017)	The first article published on the issue in a range of major newspapers (according to their circulation) in three different countries.	Discursive construction of news values in the textual elements of the selected news stories. Identify differences in terms of negativity, rominence, consonance, and personalization in the three countries and heritage news sources under investigation A qualitative approach to the data collected. Each news story has been manually annotated to highlight the news values enhanced in specific lexical items.

Molek-Kozakowska (2017)	A sample of the 38 most-read environment-oriented articles in the online version of the international science magazine New Scientist	Qualitative analysis of the corpus in order to identify DNVA news values + other stylistic aspects that seem to be particularly significant in the case of science journalism: rationalisation and conversationalisation/direct address.
Molek-Kozakowska (2018)	A sample of 30 articles from are related to climate change (word count 22,600) from an established international middle-market science popularisation magazine	CDA+ DNVA (Qualitative analysis): Identifying prevalent frames, news values and discursive strategies in the outlet's most-read online articles on climate change
Huan (2016)	News policy documents, media editorial meetings, interviews with Chinese journalism practitioners and a newly constructed corpus of Chinese news reporting: a corpus of 129 news reports on earthquakes and 485 reports on food safety, amounting to 272,505 words	Ethnographic analysis, in-depth interviews with journalists, and qualitative analysis of news reports concentrating on news values of Negativity, Positivity, Personalization and Eliteness

Table 3-6 Technical aspects of the studies, corpus, procedure, and special techniques or tools

Based on the insight driven from the previous research discussed so far, in this dissertation, I hereby address a number of the lines they put forward. First of all, I focus on textual analysis, as multimodality is out of my scope in this work. As mentioned before, multimodal analysis requires a different set of skills beyond my expertise. Thus, I focus on the DNVA framework's textual aspect and leave the visual analysis for future studies. However, I specifically continue the line of CL plus DNVA analysis, as it both demonstrated its potential, and I believe there are still some challenges that can be addressed in this sense, including the elaboration of a reliable statistical tool for comparative studies. Following Bednarek and Caple (2017) and other studies reviewed in this section, I design a procedure taking advantage of

some of the CL tools that prove their usefulness in previous studies (including frequency, collocation and concordance analysis) and add some other tools and analytical steps to address some of the existing challenges. The technical details of the specific procedure are presented in Part two, Methodology and Study Design. Furthermore, I apply DNVA to a different news environment (a referendum campaign), socio-political topic (Brexit), and journalism type (campaign coverage) to map the ideological discourses present in that specific setting. I compile a corpus from different ideological orientations and political stances to apply DNVA in a cross-ideological and comparative context and observe the potentials of this model in this regard, following the suggestion of Bednarek and Caple (2017) and subsequent research discussed above.

At this point that the main theoretical foundation and major analytical orientation of this dissertation are covered. The final step before delving into the technical and methodological aspects of the study design is to review how the news discourse of the Brexit referendum has been studied so far, and in what aspects new studies can contribute to the existing literature. Therefore, the last chapter of this first part is dedicated to a review of studies on the press discourse of the Brexit referendum.

CHAPTER FOUR: The Brexit Referendum Press Discourse

The Brexit referendum was a landmark event in the UK and world politics, and it has been studied extensively since its announcement. In this chapter, I provide a relatively concise picture of what the studies that addressed the press coverage and the discourse of the Brexit referendum can tell us about it and how future studies can contribute to our knowledge of the event. This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, I include those studies which show the general themes and topics in the coverage of the referendum by mainstream media outlets. In the second section, I present a relatively comprehensive review of discourse analysis studies of Brexit and its press coverage. This section comprises the major aspects of the press discourse of the referendum.

4.1. Media coverage of the referendum

Economy and immigration appear to be the most prevalent topics in the coverage of the referendum by the press. A study carried out by the Centre for Research in Communication and Culture (Deacon et al., 2016) on national news coverage of the referendum analysed the main weekday bulletins on BBC1, ITV, Channel 4, Channel 5, and Sky News, as well as a representative sample of pages from the print editions of all ten UK national daily newspapers. The study finds that the main topics covered across media (broadcasting and print) and political stance (in and out) were the same: economy and immigration. In the early stages of the campaign, economy was the dominant topic covered in the news, especially by the in-campaign. However, later on, immigration gained momentum by appearing much more frequently in the coverage with the overtaking of out-campaigners (quantitatively, counting the sheer number of the topic's appearance in the coverage). Noticeably, this analysis shows that other important topics were neglected, including the environment, taxation, employment, agricultural policy, and social welfare (Deacon et al., 2016, p. 34). Another content analysis carried out by Cardiff

University shows similar results. The study focuses specifically on a sample of evening television news bulletins from Channel 5, Channel 4, BBC, ITV, and Sky News over the ten-week campaign. The findings of this study also show that economy was the primary issue reported over the campaign, representing over a fifth of the total coverage, followed by immigration (making up about one in ten items). These topics sometimes show overlaps with stories about public services, housing, and security (Levy et al., 2016). These findings are also consistent with the previous report published in September 2016 by the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism (RISJ) on a sample of the coverage of national newspapers. This report demonstrates that economy featured most heavily in the pro-Remain papers. At the same time, immigration, sovereignty, and security had a dominant position in the mostly pro-Leave coverage (Levy et al., 2016, p. 33).

The first comprehensive report on the principal topics covered by the national media during the referendum campaign was published in May 2017 by the Centre for the Study of Media, Communication, and Power (Moore & Ramsay 2017). This report, to a great extent, builds up on the previous accounts reviewed so far. Following the above-mentioned results, Moore and Ramsay (2017) extend their study to a more comprehensive range of media (broadcast, newspapers, news magazines, and digital-only platforms). In addition, instead of analysing samples, they cover all the published material over the ten-week campaign period. Their comprehensive content analysis also reveals that economy was the dominant topic by far, followed by migration and, at a considerable distance, health. Economy and immigration were the most prominent issues for two reasons: first of all, the volume of its coverage was tripled over the course of the campaign, and secondly, it had the highest share of the front-page stories. Even other relevant topics, such as sovereignty, were mentioned in relation to economy and immigration.

An additional observation of these reports is that the propagation of discourses of dis-honesty and fear was a salient strategy, with a high amount of accusations of lying, misleading, and dishonesty from the opposite side. The label 'Project fear' was successfully attached to the Remain campaign. The report also describes the general tone of the campaign as "acrimonious and divisive" (Moore & Ramsay, 2017, pp. 25-27). The covered issues in the report are shown in Figure 4-1.
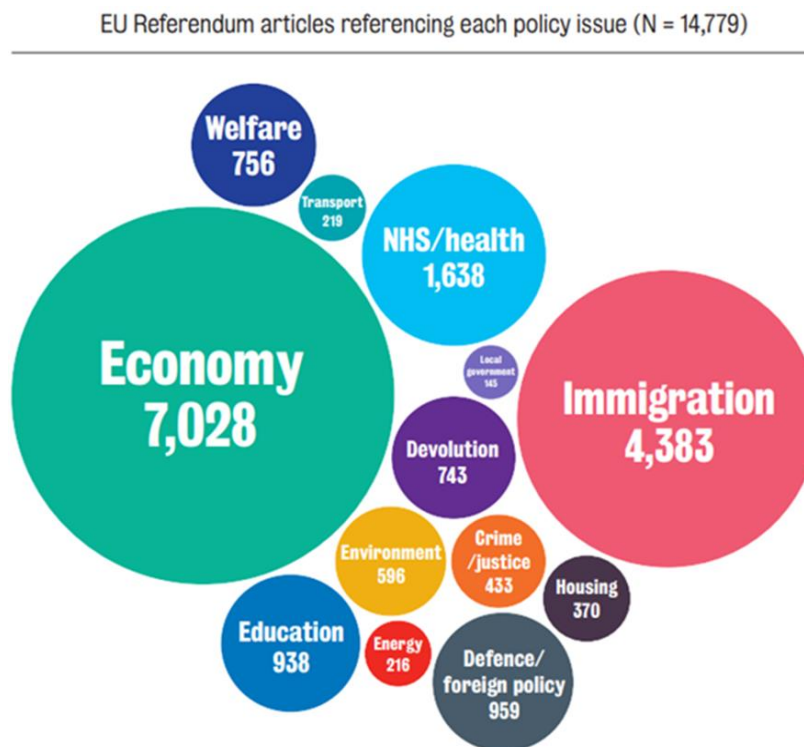
Figure 4-1 Main issues covered by the media during the Brexit Campaign (Moore & Ramsay, 2017, p.27)

These initial content analyses show that, on the one hand, the media tended to focus on specific topics that were probably the main concerns of their audience and, therefore, the focal points debated publicly. On the other hand, they identify a strong presence of negativity and polarization in the discourse. Such matters are dealt with more extensively and from a discourse analysis perspective in various studies, which will be reviewed in the following section.

4.2. Discourse Analysis Studies of the Brexit Referendum

The discourse of the Brexit referendum has been studied from a variety of approaches and techniques within discourse analysis, focusing on different timelines and central themes. Therefore, the existing studies could be categorised using different criteria. One possible way of classifying these studies is a time-based distinction on whether the pre or post-referendum discourse is studied. Interestingly, the post-referendum discourse of Brexit has attracted much more attention compared to the pre-referendum, i.e., discourse of the campaign in the media. Another distinction that should be made in this regard is that the British press tends to receive much less attention in these studies compared to the foreign press (cf. Ridge-Newman et al., 2018). Although there are already some studies addressing the British press, there is still much left to be done in this regard. Finally, the studies in the literature focus on a number of themes, frames, discourse patterns, and strategies. I address all these points throughout this section while reviewing different studies in detail.

Following what was discussed in the previous sections, it seems that the Brexit referendum revolved around certain essential topics. In a discourse historical analysis of the UK press during the Brexit campaign, Maccaferri (2019) finds four central interdiscursive topoi in this regard. She analyses the British media's recontextualisation of the Britain-Europe relationship during the Brexit referendum. Specifically, she studies Brexit discourse as constructed in the traditional and online British press. Her study concludes that the topoi of immigration, economy, EU bureaucracy, and borders are present in the Brexit referendum. These topoi do not occur in isolation and have major interdiscursive relationships with each other (p. 397). For example, the topos of economy is raised and recontextualised in terms of EU bureaucracy by expressions such as "give us our money back", or the topos of immigration and parallels with borders and sovereignty in expressions such as 'take back our control' (p. 396).

Maccaferri's study is a proper starting point to look at the structure of the press discourse of Brexit as it reveals the general map of interdiscursivity at play. More importantly, it suggests that there is no structural difference between the two camps, namely, Leave and Remain. For example, the simultaneous reference to the topoi of 'borders' and 'immigration' is emphasised in both the Leave and Remain media similarly, "by the action of 'taking back control' from a 'corrupt' (The Daily Telegraph, 24 June 2016), 'failing' (The Guardian, 6 March 2016), 'alien' (The Times, 22 May 2016), 'oppressive' (The Times, 21 June 2016) and 'antidemocratic' Brussels (The Spectator, 18 June 2016)" (p. 397)

However, some caution should be taken regarding this specific study as well. First of all, the analysis is focused on the editorials and readers' comments sections simultaneously, which might bring about some confusion about the topic covered by the press, as opposed to themes that might have appeared in the readers' comments/reactions, although these are favoured by the piece of news treated. Second, it does not distinguish the tabloids from the broadsheets, which have a considerably different readership and follow distinct journalism styles and conventions. Finally, the analysis only includes a somehow limited sample of the press, which might further hamper drawing far-reaching conclusions from the findings. All these considered, such early results could be expanded, modified and tested vis-à-vis a larger corpus.

In what follows, I will review existing discourse analysis studies of the Brexit referendum, divided into five sub-sections. The first two sub-sections cover two rampant frames that seemed to be used to shape the discourse in the press coverage of the referendum. Frames are the shared sense in which participants understand and interpret discourse (Ensink & Sauer, 2003). Frames can have different sources, but specifically related to the subject matter of this study are frames that are found in media discourse. The media are a major reference providing such frames for the readers and, consequently, public discourse around certain topics (van Dijk 1993; 2011). For the Brexit referendum, the media used a variety of framing strategies geared

toward 'Project Fear', anxiety and uncertainty, populism, and Euroscepticism in the coverage of the referendum (as will be shown later in this section). The following subsections are related to the portrayal, discursive construction, and representation of the most frequently debated points. These include economy, immigration, and elite figures or political references. Reviewing and analysing the existing studies provides the fundamental basis to assess previous studies and identify research gaps. This leads to the formulation of research objectives and questions in the following chapter.

4.2.1. Framing the debate: Crisis, project fear, anxiety, and uncertainty

Drastic political shifts and the use of crisis frames have a longstanding relationship (Hay, 1999). Scholars have identified a strong tendency towards the appearance of crisis and uncertainty frames in public and media discourse in the context of substantial political shifts such as Brexit (Higgins, 2016). As discussed in the previous section, early research on the media coverage of Brexit shows that dishonesty and fear were salient aspects of the coverage. This salient discourse strategy occurred with high amounts of accusations of lying and misleading from both sides. Labels such as "Project Fear" were vastly used to frame the Remain campaign, and the overall tone of the campaign was shown to be bitter and contentious (Moore & Ramsay, 2017, pp. 25-27). Although the label "Project fear" was mainly used to describe the Remain camp by their opponents, the Leave side had its own share of fear-mongering in other subjects. McDonald's (2017) research focuses further on these issues by asserting that the Brexit referendum result has foregrounded and amplified a series of anxieties on both sides. He argues that the Brexit campaign gave visibility to topics such as immigration and loss of sovereignty while also creating preoccupations with illiberal populism (p. 323).

Bennett's (2019) analysis of televised Brexit debates demonstrates that the crisis frame is a discursive strategy employed by both sides of the argument. Deliberately adopting the concept of crisis to frame the discourse of Brexit serves two main objectives: Firstly, it evokes

a sense of emergency, as a crisis suggests that immediate measures are necessary to be taken (by voters) to amend the situation. Secondly, such a discursive strategy allows the actors from both sides of the argument to suspend partisan political divisions. This tactic proved to be essential, as both Remain and Leave campaigns comprised members with different ideological and political affiliations. Bennet's work suggests the need to analyse the existence of similar frames in other modes of communication.

In their analysis of the coverage of Brexit in the Scottish and Welsh print press, Higgins et al. (2018) study the key lexical themes using a critical discourse analysis approach. They find a high level of association between the terms "referendum" and "danger" in their corpus, as they appear together in 226 articles during the three months before the referendum. They investigate how key tropes of public discourse are developed in the press, particularly through accusations of "Project Fear". They conclude that the whole motif of "Project Fear" is indeed a re-appropriation from the Scotland 2014 independence referendum's rhetoric (Higgins et al. 2018, p. 53).

This frame even extends to the press coverage of other countries. Samuel-Azran & Galily's (2018) analysis of Israel's financial newspapers shows that the most common terms to describe Brexit were "disaster", followed by "crisis", and "opportunity" (p. 297). A study of the Spanish press finds that the results of the referendum are interpreted in terms of "calamitous" and "ominous", as "a disaster leading Britain and Europe to the edge of a dangerous abyss" and also as "a tragedy that had created a gaping breach". These catastrophic tones are followed by metaphors of natural disasters such as "tsunami", "earthquake", "gale", and "wave" (León-Solís et al., 2018, p. 210). In another study carried out on the Turkish press, Way (2018) found a series of noteworthy negative collocations in association with Brexit. In this study, a collocation analysis of a wide sample of Turkish press op-eds is carried out adopting a critical discourse analysis approach following Kress and van Leeuwen (2001). It analyses

how linguistic choices reveal broader discourses articulated in texts. The study's main objective is to reveal how Turkey's internal politics are reflected in the ideology and political affiliation of the papers, in portraying a view of the world through semiotic resources (i.e., collocations). The analysis shows that while the terms UK and Britain mostly collocated with positive lexical units, the term Brexit had strong collocations with negative units such as "risky decision", "the persistent demand of the right-wing [UK]" and "falsely based assumptions", and headlines including "The Brexit Challenge", and "Brexit: The apocalypse" (Way, 2018, p. 287). Way (2018) concludes that this reflects the Kemalist, i.e. pro-western ideology of the outlets he analysed. The results indicate how the news is recontextualised and how this recontextualisation is not so much to inform the reader about the referendum, but rather to criticise the AKP, i.e. Erdoğan's anti-west Government (p. 242).

The only positive coverage of Brexit seems to belong to the pro-government Russian press, which, following Bassil-Morozow (2018), has more to do with the general anti-west politics of Putin's government. Negative frames had a considerable share even in Norway, where, according to the findings of Fonn (2018), the coverage, in general, was more balanced. Fonn (2018) analyses the Norwegian press coverage of Brexit with reference to two main frames of "negative-effects" and "no-catastrophe". The negative-effects frame addresses and highlights the negative consequences of a Leave vote. The no-catastrophe frame denies extreme negative estimates of the Remain camp. Among all the articles included in the study, over a third use neutral frames (neither negative nor positive), the negative frame is a close second, while the no-catastrophe frame is the least frequent frame. Other articles that address topics such as immigration and inequality comprise only one-tenth of the analysed items. The difference even becomes sharper when the analysis simply focuses on the influential news stories, i.e. those with a clear frame that find their way into front pages, with almost half (49.5%) belonging to the negative frame and only 12.5% a no-catastrophe frame (pp. 192-193).

In France, Le Figaro's coverage of Brexit contained a similar negative tone. The studies on the French press have shown that they covered the dangers Brexit could entail for financial and geopolitical stability. Some headlines included *Brexit: the influence of Europe in the world will diminish, How Brexit will hit the British economy, The future of Europe in the hands of a weakened Franco-German couple* (Martin and Binet, 2018, p. 153). Additionally, the French business leader Denis Kessler was also quoted talking about Brexit in a very negative and uncertain way. Kessler affirmed Brexit would have a negative impact on commerce, investment, and employment, or even as a foreseeable catastrophe that contains economic, financial, social, and political risks. It was even described as opening Pandora's box (Martin and Binet, 2018, p. 153).

The pervasiveness of the crisis and negative frames in the press discourse of Brexit is also analysed in the comparative study of Krzyżanowski (2019). In his analysis of the Brexit coverage in four European countries, namely, Austria, Germany, Poland, and Sweden, the author uses a Discourse-Historical Approach and extracts six central topoi in the discursive construction of Brexit. The topoi include Brexit as UK Socio-Political and Economic Crisis, Brexit as a UK Constitutional & Democratic Crisis, Brexit as an International Socio-Political Crisis, Brexit as International Economic Crisis, Brexit as European/EU Political and Identity Crisis, and Brexit as European/EU Social and Economic Crisis. To complement this study, it would be interesting to investigate the presence of similar topoi in the British press and assess whether any meaningful similarities or differences can be found. Additionally, this study investigates the reflection, representation, and discursive construction of the referendum in the post-referendum coverage. This, therefore, calls for the examination of the discourse of pre-referendum and campaign coverage in further studies.

Considering all the reviewed studies in this sub-section, it can be concluded that negativity, catastrophe, and uncertainty were a salient part of the press discourse of the Brexit referendum. There are, however, some points that are yet to be addressed in this regard. First of all, the evidence from the British press is still scant compared to the number of studies carried out on the foreign press. Although it seems that we have a relatively clear picture of such discourse in different countries, the studies that covered the British press seldom address the use of such frames. Furthermore, although it is clear that the negativity, fear-mongering, and catastrophe frames are used widely across different press outlets, there is no comparative study that focuses on how such coverage would be different in platforms with different ideological lines and political stances. Therefore, future research on the discourse of the British press during the referendum is still in order.

4.2.2. Framing the debate: Euroscepticism and Populist impetus

Another essential aspect of the referendum debate that largely garnered researchers' attention is Euroscepticism and populist impetus. Euroscepticism is defined as the idea of a "contingent or qualified opposition", which may also incorporate "outright and unqualified opposition to the process of European integration" (Taggart 1998, pp. 365–366 in Guerra, 2017). Euroscepticism is a growing phenomenon not just in the UK but across Europe (Caiani and Guerra, 2017). Recent analysis shows that trust in European institutions and the idea of European integration as a whole has declined significantly during the past years (Guerra & Serricchio, 2014). As shown by Guerra (2017), the discourse on Brexit was loaded with anti-European sentiments, specifically through negative associations with other topics such as migration and sovereignty.

Euroscepticism goes hand in hand with populism as they share the basic tenets, premises, and impetuses. The rise of right-wing populism in Western democracies has already been noted and underlined previously (Inglehart & Neorris, 2016; Wilson, 2017). Populism is essentially a rhetorical posture (Brett, 2013) and, therefore, a discursive construct. Moffitt and Tormey

(2014) and Moffitt (2016) believe that populism, more than an ideology, logic, strategy, organisation, or discourse, is a political style and should be studied in the "increasingly stylised and mediatised milieu of contemporary politics" (Moffitt and Tormey 2014, p.381). With recent developments in politics around the world and the rise of far-right and populist movements, the discourse of populism has also captured considerable scholarly attention (cf. Wodak, 2015; Moffitt, 2016).

Many scholars suggested that populism was a significant part, if not the dominant discourse, of the Brexit referendum. The importance of populism in the pre-referendum Brexit discourse has been widely highlighted. Schmidt (2017) argues that the Brexit vote should be studied under the light of the neo-liberal order in the post-truth populist era. Above all, he highlights the eminences of discursive dynamics of policy coordination and political communication that call attention to agents' rhetorical strategies and the circulation of ideas in discursive communities (p. 248). Following the same line, based on her findings of an analysis of the *Daily Mail* coverage of Gina Miller's legal challenge to the triggering of Article 50, Breeze (2018b) suggests that Brexit discourse should be studied in the broader context of populism. She analyses the representation of Miller against the Secretary of State for Exiting the EU in the *Daily Mail* coverage by focusing on the representation of social actors, including "the people" and its "enemies". She interprets the representation patterns based on the terms of populist discourse (Moffitt, 2016). She argues that populist discourse, in addition to the sensational style of the tabloid press, is generating powerful and persuasive effects. Her findings specifically show that in the coverage of the *Daily Mail*, Gina Miller is disparaged as an individual through the repetition of dismissive relational and otherwise gendered representations. She concludes that the results should be understood under the influence of populism and the sensational style of tabloid journalism.

In other countries, such references to populism are also present. The Italian media coverage of Brexit also included strong reflections on the role of populism in the Brexit vote (Cere, 2018). In Greece, the right-wing nationalist media framed the Brexit vote in terms of main populist talking points. The Brexit was portrayed as an opportunity for the UK to regain its national sovereignty against the cosmopolitan pro-globalisation forces dominating Europe (Katsambekis & Souvlis, 2018, p. 266). On the other hand, the Brexit voters were celebrated as hard-working people suffering from the economic crisis, pitted against London's rich cosmopolitans, and utterly alienated from and frustrated with Brussels. The referendum itself was celebrated as a genuine expression of democracy, where citizens had the chance of expressing themselves in a direct and unmediated way (pp. 266-268). The progressive press in Greece also concords with the nationalist press in framing the Brexit referendum as a result of populism (Katsambekis & Souvlis, 2018, p. 270). They, however, evaluated populism very differently: the nationalists see it as a hopeful and positive noun and the progressives as a deleterious phenomenon.

In Spain, the Brexit vote was also vastly framed in terms of populist impetuses. It was portrayed as being the consequence of a populist movement with anti-immigrant and anti-elite tendencies combined with low economic growth. The extreme xenophobic populism was described as ultra and xenophobic nationalism and Euroscepticism that sometimes even took the shape of Europhobia (León-Solís et al., 2018, p. 211). The populist and pro-Brexit side was also described heavily in populist terms and discourses. For example, it was portrayed as political melancholy steeped in conservative, reactionary ideology whose restricted framework of reference is that of the fatherland, with a vision of withdrawal, designed to armour plate the country. The pro-Brexit impetus was furthermore characterised as backward and nostalgia-oriented, with descriptions such as "fed by the nostalgia of the elderly" (p. 213). In France, Le Monde's coverage, written by the celebrity philosopher Bernard-Henri Lévy, also framed

Brexit as demagogy, xenophobia, hate, the most rancid sovereignism, the most stupid nation-alism and the dictatorship of the simple (Martin and Binet, 2018, p. 152).

A Eurosceptic discourse was also detected in the British press by analysing collocations and concordance lines of the word EU in a corpus of 4,789,571 words comprising Brexit-related thematic news, comments and weblogs, collected shortly before the date announced for the Brexit referendum (Alkhammash, 2020). The analysis shows that the EU is represented in the Remain campaign both positively and negatively, and in the Leave campaign mostly negatively, connecting it to the discourses of British sovereignty. The Leave campaign constructed a negative image of the EU in which relations with it were perceived as failing to benefit the UK, and the EU's value systems were reflected as being different from the UK's (p. 87). In contrast, the Remain campaign tried to dismantle narratives made by the Leave campaign by countering the benefits of exit to British sovereignty and economy (p. 77).

The presence of a populist framing is also suggested by Ruzza & Pejovic (2019) in a frame analysis of Facebook posts related to the Brexit referendum. In the data they analysed, the discourse is focused on the legitimacy of supranational governance (p. 432), the democratic deficit is constructed as the major concern (p. 438), the EU is framed as going increasingly towards a super-state (p. 440), EU institutions are the main culprits (p. 441), and, most importantly, the situation is framed as "the people" against "the elite" (p. 442). The study, however, underlines the fact that the ideological contents expressed by participants in the transnational sphere might differ from those typically emerged in the public sphere in the run-up to the referendum and during its immediate aftermaths (p. 445). Therefore, putting the results vis-à-vis the perspective of other types of public discourse (including press discourse) could be insightful and complementary.

To conclude this subsection, it should be noted that populism has considerable explanatory potential as a prism for examining the press discourse of Brexit. Importantly, it is essential

to consider that populism should be seen as one feature of Brexit discourse, but not its only aspect. The Brexit referendum was a multifaceted phenomenon, and its press discourse employed many different discursive strategies. This dissertation aims precisely to explore and explain the central aspects of the news discourse of Brexit. In so doing, understanding the discourse of populism itself also becomes crucial. As suggested recently by Roodujin (2018), when it comes to studying populism, it is essential to go farther than populism itself and consider the ways in which populism expresses itself through other related topics and frames; a point that is yet to be covered in the British press discourse of Brexit and to which this dissertation aims to contribute.

4.2.3. Leaders and Elite figures

A very salient fact about the Brexit referendum is that it was under the heavy influence of prominent elite figures. On one level, a considerable part of the campaign was driven by symbolic figures arguing for and against Brexit: Prime Minister David Cameron and Chancellor of the Exchequer George Osborne in the Remain campaign, and the leader of UKIP Nigel Farage and Conservative Member of Parliament and former Mayor of London Boris Johnson in the Leave campaign. Accordingly, a considerable part of the campaign coverage was dedicated to these prominent figures. The leaders and elite figures were constructed in the press coverage of the referendum through different discursive strategies.

Nigel Farage had a prominent presence in the referendum debate and coverage and has been studied extensively. Kelsey (2017) carries out a study of affective mythologies in media discourse and underlines the critical role of Nigel Farage in the victory of the Leave vote as he managed to construct his image as "a man of the people who is different to other politicians and on a mission to win the UK's democratic power back from the EU" (p. 54). He did so through specific contextual and discursive mechanisms. Kelly's analysis shows that Farage's positioning against the government and political establishment is indeed an affective strategy.

This affective strategy acts through emotive notions such as "national interests" and "the threat posed by the EU" so that the audience who share the concern about the "national interest" would empathise with his cause. This strategy is indeed widely adopted by the Leave campaign, and it is the most "effective" and "affective" strategy in communicating why the UK should leave the EU (pp. 53-55). In other words, Nigel Farage and other Leave campaign leaders are constructed mostly as anti-elite figures through an affective discourse strategy. This discursive construction is similarly employed in the foreign press. Müller's (2018) extensive study of the stories told about the Brexit referendum in Austrian, German, and Swiss media also reveals interesting discursive strategies about Nigel Farage. In these stories, he is generally described with frames that emphasise his power, influence and initiative (pp. 175-176).

Such discursive construction of leaders has also been studied extensively in other countries (Katsambekis & Souvlis, 2018; Martin & Binet, 2018; Müller, 2018; Simões-Ferreira, 2018, Waddell, 2018). In all cases, a general negative overtone can be observed when framing the elite figures. In Canada, the elite figures are mostly portrayed as the source of negative scenarios related to economy, such as the possibility of a recession, slower growth, and higher inflation if Britain left the EU (Waddell, 2018, pp. 315-316). In the Portuguese press, David Cameron is mostly associated with sensational headlines (pp. 226-227). On the other hand, leave figures (e.g., Boris Johnson and Nigel Farage) are marginalised in comparison to Cameron both in terms of the frequency and front-page coverage (p.227). In Greece, David Cameron is portrayed as a typical example of an opportunist and irresponsible leader calling for a referendum (Katsambekis & Souvlis, 2018, p. 268-269). In Austria, Germany, and Switzerland. Boris Johnson and Michael Gove are negatively associated with the leave vote (pp. 173-175). In France, prominent figures are also called out to draw catastrophic scenarios (Martin and Binet, 2018, p. 153), as covered in the previous section. These studies all concur that their findings show how the dynamics of eliteness could be socially and discursively constructed in

the media coverage. For example, Simões-Ferreira (2018) specifically ascribes the negative tendency in Portuguese press coverage in this regard to the strongly pro-European stance of the studied press's political affiliations. The same pattern can be observed in other countries and their press since the Brexit referendum tended to be received negatively by many across the world.

To conclude, it should be noted that such discursive constructions and representations around prominent figures have special relevance in the study of the Brexit referendum. On the one hand, the referendum was heavily under the influence of such elite figures, and on the other hand, it was a referendum marked by anti-elite and populist impetuses. Future studies can delve deeper into this aspect of the news discourse of the Brexit referendum. Another area that should be addressed in this regard is that the research on political figures in the British press is still scant, especially compared to the studies carried out in other countries. Furthermore, there is a lack of studies that compare how this construction might be different across news outlets of diverse political stances and ideological affiliations and backgrounds.

4.2.4. Immigration, Racism, and Xenophobia

Topics like immigration can be analysed and understood under the more general discourse strategies of populism, anxiety, uncertainty, and sensationalism. However, these topics were such a considerable part of the campaign coverage that special attention is justified. Indeed, there is already evidence to show that they have been used to create sensational coverage (Moore & Ramsay, 2017) and that such topoi are interdiscursively connected to each other (Maccaferri, 2019).

Some scholars have underlined the racist and xenophobic aspects of the Brexit referendum discourse. Cape (2017) analyses immigration in different texts related to Brexit, including newspaper editorials from The Times, Daily Mail, Daily Mirror, and The Sun, using a cognitive

discourse analysis framework. His analysis shows that the Brexit discourse of immigration is to a large extent a discourse of uncertainty and ever-growing anxiety, as well as xenophobia and hatred, involving a strong Self–Other distinction and organised ways of othering (p. 67). The study's findings show that the media coverage of the discourse of Brexit relied extensively on discursively constructed threat and fear generation mechanisms (p. 67). However, it should be noted that Cape's (2017) analysis is not exclusively based on press or media discourse; the corpus includes other texts like, for instance, parliamentary speeches. Therefore, the specific ways in which immigration is constructed in the British press during the Brexit campaign are yet to be analysed in future studies. Additionally, the newspaper section of Cape's corpus is heavily dominated by pro-Leave tabloids, justifying the need for further scrutiny in the pro-Remain side, as well as quality papers.

Virdee and McGeever (2018) also underline the role of racism vis-à-vis immigration, specifically in the Leave campaign, and argue that the leave campaign's victory was indeed due to a number of racist premises: on the one hand, Leave supporters construct a desire to restore Britain's place as the imperial force and, on the other hand, they represent the picture of an island that is not "British" anymore due to globalisation. In another more specific study, Share (2018) offers an analysis of the role of the "migrant figure" in the British press during the EU referendum debates. The study seeks to shed light on the mechanisms adopted by the British press in the discourse of the referendum debate. He argues that the figure of the migrant is central, politically charged, and highly mediated. His analysis shows that the British press aimed to capitalise on such polarised political rhetoric.

The international press also dealt with the topic of immigration as one of the most relevant issues within the pre-referendum debates. Katsambekis and Souvlis (2018) note that the Brexit vote is covered in right-wing nationalist media of Greece as a positive event that would hopefully reduce the inflows of immigrants or push towards the implementation of deportation

policies or policies of closed/hard borders (p. 266). In Spain, too, immigration receives considerable coverage, but Spanish outlets use a negative frame to evaluate pro-Brexit stances. For example, the argument for border control is described as an "alarmist message" and "exaggerated and not evidence-based". In addition, immigration proposals of prominent Brexiteers such as Nigel Farage are described as "toxic harangues". The original Spanish term used to describe their aim is "*soflama",* which means the speaker bears an intention to stir up the audience, to rouse its passions. Farage's accusations against immigrants are raised in the press discourse to the level of mendacity and lying (León-Solís et al., 2018, p. 212). Fonn (2018) also touches upon the issue of immigration by detecting that the Norwegian press dedicated 12.5% of their Brexit coverage to immigration. Additionally, Martin and Binet (2018) note that the far-right French press constructs immigration issues as the root cause of Brexit in their coverage (p. 159). Zappettini's (2019) discourse historical analysis of the official documents produced by the Leave and Remain campaigns also shows the presence of similar discourses. The study shows that the schemes deployed in the campaign engender and legitimise a new toxic (inter)national logic of Brexit. They perpetuate the narrative that by leaving the EU, Britain takes back control to pursue mercantile policies, and the "outsiders" should be excluded from their benefits (p. 403). However, the study focuses on institutional and organisational discourse, and the study of how such discourses are received and consumed by other actors in other sites is in order, as suggested by the author (p. 417).

From what has been studied so far in the press discourse of Brexit, it is clear that immigration is a polemical issue, wrapped into discursive constructions, representations, and strategies related to racism and xenophobia. Specifically, two points should be addressed in future studies. First and foremost, the studies in this regard are dominated by the study of the pro-Leave camp and lack a comparative aspect with the pro-Remain discourse. Second, more stud-

ies with a focus on the British press in this regard are necessary as the relative weight of evidence coming from the British press, especially during the referendum campaign, is not significant compared to the studies done with other texts and with the foreign press. Future studies addressing these aspects are in order, to complement the results of existing research in this realm.

4.2.5. Economy

Economy is another salient part of the Brexit pre-referendum debates, as the most significant potential impact of Brexit is believed to be on the economic level. As noted by Whyman and Petrescu (2017, p. 2), one of the most prominent framing strategies of the Remain campaign is indeed in terms of economy, specifically by suggesting that a consensus amongst economists and business leaders existed regarding the negative impact of Brexit on the economy. However, the importance given to the issue is not always the same across media. Simões-Ferreira (2018), for example, shows that in the Portuguese coverage of Brexit, Cameron's economic arguments are almost entirely neglected or marginalised. Therefore, it seems that the media covers economic issues through their specific lens, and according to the narrative they seek to construct out of the Brexit referendum.

Contrary to the importance of this issue, previous research seldom addresses it in depth. Some of the existing studies address economic issues, but not to the degree that this controversial topic deserves. The Italian press coverage of the economic impact of Brexit studied by Cere (2018) is one example of a study focusing on the topic of economy. However, the study mainly focuses on the Italian press coverage of the economic impact of the Brexit vote and shows that they tend to be primarily concerned with the effect of the fall-outs on the Italian economy and stock market. The same can be seen in the Israeli online press. Samuel-Azran & Galily's (2018) analysis of Brexit in Israeli online media shows that Israeli media's interest in Brexit is mainly economic. In Canada, it is also observed that economy is a major covered issue

(Waddell, 2018). Waddell's (2018) analysis shows that more than a third of the coverage is dedicated to economy, trade, stock market investments, and the value of the pound (p. 315). In Spain, there is a negative tone in the coverage of economy. The Spanish press mainly states that the rational decision for the United Kingdom is to stay in the Union. They describe economic figures and statistics of the Leave camp as "a myth" and denounce them as "unlawful, unfair and unreasonable" (p. 315). On the other hand, the Remain camp is constructed as "moved by tangible economic arguments" (León-Solís et al., 2018, p. 213). In other countries, the topic of economy is relatively marginalised. For example, the Norwegian press just dedicated 9.5% of their Brexit coverage to inequality (Fonn, 2018). The reason for this is not entirely clear, but it might be due to a lack of public interest. In other examples, economy is studied indirectly, and especially under the frames of negativity and project fear (Martin and Binet, 2018, p. 153).

Reasonably similar to other areas that are studied in the media coverage of the Brexit referendum, there is a lack of attention to British mainstream media, and the question of how they reflected such an important issue remains unanswered. Despite the importance of analysing economic discourse in the media (Pilkington & Sinapi, 2014), this topic seems to be somewhat neglected in the study of the media coverage of Brexit so far, which calls for more studies in this area as well.

4.3. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I have reviewed studies related to the press discourse of the Brexit referendum comprehensively, with the chief aim of identifying the lines in which new studies can contribute to the existing literature and knowledge of the subject. Since the topic is highly recent and still under research, new studies are coming out almost every day that might fall out of the scope of this review, but one can say that general lines are now clear. This chapter concludes

the first part of this dissertation. In Part Two, I use the theoretical foundation and the literature review presented in Part One to explain how I design and carry out my study, especially to dissect and justify the analytical decisions made in this regard.

Part Two: Methodology and study design

This Part of the dissertation deals with the main methodological and technical aspects of the study. Chapter 5 starts with a recapitulation of the key decisions made in study design based on the literature review presented throughout Part One. This introductory section ellucidates the general orientation of the study and the logic behind certain decisions to narrow down the topic and scope of the research. Following this section and according to the main conclusions regarding the general and specific directions that should be followed in the study, the study's objectives, research questions, and hypotheses are formulated and presented.

Chapter 6 is dedicated to methodology in which the data, the framework, and the analytical procedure of the study are described in detail. Thus, this chapter covers the analytical steps that are taken to address the research objectives, answer the research questions and test the hypotheses presented in Chapter 5. In the first section of Chapter 6, the process of data collection is described. The section includes a brief contextualisation of the data in its socio-historical background and then moves to the technical aspect of corpus compilation and storage. The chapter then ends with some technical information about the particular procedure adopted in the analysis, along with some elaboration on the particular statistical tools that are incorporated in this process.

CHAPTER FIVE: Objectives and hypotheses

Based on the literature review presented in the previous part, a number of areas seem to deserve further attention in future studies of the Brexit referendum and its media discourse specifically. Although such areas were addressed throughout the previous Part, in this chapter, I begin by providing the final observations on the literature that helped formulate the study's objectives, questions and hypotheses, and consequently, helped design the analytical procedure to address them.

Studying British Broadsheets: As observed throughout the literature review, many questions still remain unanswered regarding the mainstream British press. As demonstrated in the previous sections, there are already some studies on the Brexit discourse in the British press, but the number of studies is not yet high, especially in comparison with studies carried out in other countries. That is especially true for British quality press, as the broadsheets have received relatively little attention. The relevance of British broadsheets in journalism and public discourse in the UK (McNair, 2003) makes them a noteworthy locus of research in the Brexit referendum. It would also contribute to the analysis of the diverse Brexit discourses from a UK-based perspective. In addition, it would pave the way for more comparative studies on Western/European views on the topics covered during the referendum. There are many fundamental questions that remain unanswered in this respect, such as what the main topics were, as well as more specific issues related to particular discursive strategies associated with the polemical frames, topics, and areas of discourse such as uncertainty and negativity, populism, political leaders, immigration and economy. Considering the above, I decided to focus exclusively on broadsheets in this study.

Adopting a comparative approach: There is a general tendency in existing studies to pay particular attention to the leave campaign. Virdee and McGeever's (2018) study on racism

in the Leave campaign and Buckledee's (2018) on the language of Brexit are both examples of such studies. Although this is indeed an interesting research object considering the special situation of the Brexit referendum, there is a lack of comparative approaches in the extant literature. For example, it is not exactly clear whether the discursive frames and strategies that have been reviewed so far are exclusive to the Leave-backing press discourse or a general tendency in the whole press coverage. A comparative approach would allow for the systematic comparison of the different ideological and political factors in play. Therefore, the present dissertation addresses this area by compiling a corpus from broadsheets of different ideological affiliations and political stances.

Corpus-based studies: This point is, to a certain degree, an extension of the previous discussion. The majority of studies related to the Brexit referendum press coverage are still based on small corpora, and therefore, mainly carried out by qualitative methods. Considering the amount of media and news discourse that is relatively easily available nowadays, a corpus-based study would complement extant research, taking advantage of corpus linguistics tools and methods. A corpus-assisted approach also paves the way to address the previous point on comparative studies, since it provides reliable statistical tests to compare and contrast different sub-corpora. In order to address this methodological question, I draw on a combined method based on a relatively extensive corpus from the British press. The details of the method and analytical procedure are explained in Chapter 6.

Pre-referendum coverage: Another area largely neglected by current studies on the Brexit referendum is the pre-referendum campaign coverage. Most studies on British media deal with the discourse of Brexit in general, over more extended periods, or focus exclusively on post-referendum press discourse. The campaign coverage is worthy of further studies as

electoral discourse has its own peculiarities, namely it is more persuasive, it attempts to convince voters and it follows particular rhetoric (Bennett, 1977; Benoit et al., 2003). Hence, this study focuses exclusively on the campaign coverage of the referendum.

Applying DNVA to a different context: The present dissertation analyses the ideological discourses surrounding the Brexit campaign by drawing from the framework of news values proposed by Bednarek and Caple (2017). This framework, as discussed in section 3.3, offers a sound analytical tool to study the news coverage of a broad range of issues discursively. However, it is still a new and emerging framework in need of being tested in different areas. To my knowledge, this is the first time that this framework is applied to the context of a controversial socio-political debate. This model has previously been applied to news in general (Bednarek and Caple, 2014), culturally important topics such as Hurricane Katrina (Potts et al., 2015), topics of social importance, such as the coverage of cyclists (Bednarek and Caple, 2017), and violence against women (Maruenda-Bataller, 2021). It is, however, the first time that this framework is applied to a particular socio-political issue. A news value approach provides a new angle and helps uncover ideological discourses surrounding this pivotal socio-political event in contemporary politics.

Following what has been discussed so far, the following objectives were set for this research:

Objective 1: to analyse how different topics and debates related to Brexit were discursively constructed in the British quality press coverage of the referendum campaign.

Objective 2: To analyse the ideological differences in the discursive construction of the aforementioned coverage, and to compare the differences and similarities along political affiliations (left-right) and ideological stances toward Brexit (Leave-Remain).

Objective 3: To apply the DNVA framework to the examination of news reports of a socio-political event and to assess the potential and implications of this framework.

As a result of these objectives, the following research questions and hypotheses were formulated. As Objective 3 is merely methodological, it does not have any related research question and hypothesis.

RQ1. What are the main topics covered by British broadsheets during the referendum campaign?

H1: The main covered topics will probably be similar to those identified in previous studies, with a great emphasis on discourse areas such as immigration, economy, Euroscepticism, etc., although some marginal topics will probably also surface in the analysis.

RQ2: How do newsmakers use news values to construe Brexit during the referendum campaign?

H2: A variety of different news values are expected to be employed in the discursive construction of each topic. News values such as Negativity, Impact, Eliteness, and Proximity will be used in my data, as these were the most relevant to the debates surrounding Brexit in previous research.

RQ3: How does the discursive construction of Brexit during the referendum campaign vary along different political ideologies and stances?

H3: Previous research has already shown that traditional political and ideological alignments are changing in contemporary politics. In the specific context of Brexit, its socio-historical background also indicates that the stance toward the European project has always been a more relevant factor than the left-right divide in explaining the differences in the discourse of social and political groups about the UK's position in Europe (see section 6.1.1. for details).

Therefore, it is expected that the stance towards Brexit will be more influential than political ideology in the selection of news values.

CHAPTER SIX: Methodology

6.1. Data

6.1.1. Contextualising the data: the socio-historical context of the Brexit Referendum

6.1.1.1. Reluctant European

The relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union has always been tumultuous and problematic. From the inception of the integration project in post-World War II Europe, the political scene of the UK has been a battleground of contradictory world views regarding Europe. That is probably why a label frequently used to describe the UK's position in relation to Europe is 'Reluctant European' (Jones, 2017, p. 1). A thorough analysis of the socio-historical background of this battleground of ideas is out of the scope of this dissertation. However, in this section, I try to situate the debate in its socio-historical context, as it is the first necessary step in critical discourse analysis (Reisigl, 2017; Wodak, 2001; Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

The Brexit referendum was indeed only the tip of the iceberg of the longstanding contradictory political and cultural divides already existing in the UK. The referendum triggered two campaigns for remaining or leaving the EU. As Riedel (2018) puts it, the Brexit referendum was just the embodiment of a "long-lasting war between the competing visions of the UK's relations with the wider world, in this case, Europe" (p. 103).

Pro-European and Eurosceptic camps have always been present in the UK's political scene (Schweiger, 2006, p. 3). The pro-European and Eurosceptic worldviews in the UK, however, are somehow distinct from their counterparts in the rest of the continent. Britain has always seen itself as more than just another European country (Schweiger, 2006, p. 14). The UK is said to have "the character of an island nation - independent, forthright, passionate in defence

of sovereignty", as David Cameron put it in his famous Bloomberg Speech (Cameron, 2013). This geographic separation has always given the British people a sense of being different and instilled into them the self-perception and belief, maybe subconsciously, that they are an exceptional nation (Schweiger, 2006, p. 14). Therefore, Euroscepticism in the UK has always been a strong political force, albeit sometimes dormant.

On the other hand, pro-European sentiments have always been tenuous. A full-blown European movement has been almost non-existent in the UK political scene. The UK never showed an overly enthusiastic European ideology with a deep belief in the European integration process. Indeed, pro-European political figures and forces have always put forward a rather pragmatic argument for the European project, based on economic calculations and political manoeuvres.

The UK's reluctance toward Europe has an extensive history that could be traced back to hundreds of years ago, even prior to World War I (Troitiño et al., 2018a). However, the contemporary scepticism toward any European project flourished in the new arrangements of the European political atmosphere of post-World War II. After World War II and contrary to the favourable opinion of the advisory committees established to examine the consequences of the creation of the European Economic Community (EEC) (Jones, 2017, p. 13), Britain's government decided to refuse to join the EEC when it was founded in 1957. Similar to today, the pro-European wing discourse revolved around the economic benefits of joining a European initiative (Chochia et al., 2018a, p. 61; Young, 1993, pp. 1-2). On the other hand, there was a wave of opposition arguing for maintaining Britain's economic independence and its world trading role (Young, 1993, pp. 7-12). From 1957 until the 1960s, several other European initiatives were put in place, but the UK maintained its reluctance to supranational organisations and treaties (Young, 1993, pp. 27-52; Chochia et al., 2018a, pp. 59-74). The interesting point is that

such a reluctance was shared almost equally by the Conservative and Labour parties due to international and domestic reasons (Baker & Schnapper, 2015, pp. 44-45).

After the 1960s, several attempts by Prime Ministers Harold Macmillan and Harold Wilson were made to join the European alliance, mostly under economic pressures (Young, 1993; Chochia et al., 2018a, p. 76). The newly arisen enthusiasm was purely economic and practical rather than a significant shift in public opinion and the country's general political discourse (Schweiger, 2006, p. 15). By the end of 1967, the formal application of the UK to join the EEC was announced by Wilson. For the first time, a semi-organised voice of Eurosceptic opposition could be heard in the political arena with many familiar talking points. Almost all the Leave camp's main arguments during the Brexit referendum can be observed in the opposition to the first serious attempt to join the European entity. Finally, the application was vetoed by the president of France, Charles de Gaulle (Young, 1993, pp. 90-101).

After these first movements, the issue of Europe remained inactive for many years in the public discourse in the UK. The modern-day historical discourse and ideological stance advocating a more European integrated agenda seemed to manifest itself in the early 1970s. Back then, the Conservative party elites adopted a more positive and pragmatic approach to Britain's relationship with the EEC under their strongly pro-European leader, Edward Heath (Baker & Schnapper, 2015, p. 67), who also had a very practical approach to Europe. He believed joining the EEC was the key to bringing about reforms and improvements to transform the country's economic future and making Britain a great power again (Young, 1993, p. 107). However, contrary to the seemingly intense political debates and disputes among the elite, ordinary people and society, in general, were not engaged in the discussions, and it seems that until the 1990s, this remained the same. The lack of interest was a sign of deep-rooted Euroscepticism in UK society. Baker et al. (2008) believe that this was indeed the period in which Euroscepticism was part of the common wisdom in the United Kingdom.

6.1.1.2. The first European referendum

Following the events ending in the UK's membership in the EEC in 1973, the 1974 general election was heavily under the influence of the European debates. In a move that resembles what David Cameron did in 2015, the Labour Party candidate, Harold Wilson, started the electoral campaign with a commitment to renegotiating the terms of entry and then putting these new terms to a national referendum. Harold Wilson was not a particularly anti-European figure, and the call for a referendum was, above all, a tactical decision for winning the election and keeping Labour in power (Jones, 2017, p. 16). His strategy finally worked, and Heath lost the general elections to Wilson. This was a turning point for the Eurosceptic wings of both parties. At this point, a Eurosceptic fraction had been already formed and consolidated in both parties. Still, in early January 1975, Wilson and Callaghan, then foreign secretary, decided that a referendum was necessary to resolve the time-consuming and divisive EEC issue (Young, 1993, p. 125).

The critics on both sides of the EEC debate in Britain were not satisfied by Wilson's new terms. The 1975 referendum arrangements demonstrate the deep roots of today's debates over Europe in terms of clear-cut campaign politics. The similarity of the situation between 1975 and 2016 referenda was not just about the politics and balance of power inside the UK, but it was very much about the slogans, arguments, and talking points (Young, 1993, p 128). The referendum alignment of the two main parties' political forces also resonates with the strange bedfellows and unlikely coalitions for a 'yes' or a 'no' vote of the 2016 Brexit referendum. Finally, and as opinion polls predicted, the referendum ended with a considerable majority (67%) in favour of EEC membership under the new terms.

Although the long journey with the EEC reached a triumphant peak in 1975 after winning the referendum, the general feeling toward Europeanism in the UK remained lacklustre. The deep Euroscepticism rooted in the British approach to the continent remained stable, albeit

latent. On the other hand, one should not read too much through this victory and over-generalise it as an outright success of the European project in the UK. It seems that the pro-European winners of the referendum were not wholeheartedly into the entire European integration project, and their support was more practical than ideological (Baker & Schnapper, 2015; Jones, 2017; Young, 1993)

6.1.1.3.   New Labour, Modern Conservatism and the New Wave of Euroscepticism

After all these events, a significant transformation happened in both parties, and a new wave of Euroscepticism emerged. Consequently, a new political scenery started to form (Baker & Schnapper, 2015, pp. 8-9). In the 1990s, the two parties adopted different trajectories toward Europe. In the Conservative Party, the Eurosceptics gained increasing hegemonic power to the point that the UK decided to limit further engagement in Europe. On the other hand, Labour started embracing more integration with Europe. This was partly a reaction to Margaret Thatcher's Euroscepticism and, to a certain extent, was related to the hope that more European collaboration could be beneficial in terms of social policy and workers' protection (Baker & Schnapper, 2015, p. 70). Thus, the new political alignment regarding the-European integration project could be defined in three major political camps: the emergence of new Labour, the formation of modern Conservatism, and finally, the rise of the UKIP.

Blair's new Labour was a major shift in political and public discourse regarding the EU and European integration, but his was not actually an outright pro-European project either. On the other side of the political spectrum, the Conservative party became fractured and fell into disarray over the question of Europe at the end of the century. John Major was the voice of a moderate Eurosceptic line. Therefore, two antagonistic camps were formed in the party: a pro-European view and a rapidly growing minority of Eurosceptics. Once Conservatives were on the opposition benches, the second line gained momentum. This growth above all can be observed in the choice of party leaders in this era, who were all prominent Eurosceptics. On top

of that, Conservative MPs and party membership also turned increasingly toward Euroscepticism (Baker & Schnapper, 2015, p. 79).

In addition, Britain witnessed the rise of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP). Although the Conservative Party had always been the stronghold of Eurosceptic forces in the UK, it had never taken a robust Eurosceptic lead before the Brexit referendum. This role was primarily played by minor parties such as the United Kingdom Independence Party, founded in 1993, representing a large section of political interests hostile to the European Union. In 1999, UKIP scored its first success in the European Parliament elections. After that, UKIP gained more support and popularity. In the 2004 European Parliament election, they won 12 seats, making them the third UK party, after the Conservative and Labour, by the number of representatives in the European Parliament. This trend of gradually increasing in popularity continued until 2009, and their performance also strengthened the Eurosceptic views in the Conservative Party (Mölder 2018, p. 164).

6.1.1.4.   Cameron's Historic Decision to Call a Referendum

Under these new circumstances, David Cameron was elected as the Conservative leader in 2005. He did not represent the Eurosceptic wing of the party, and, in the beginning, it was hard to imagine that his administration would eventually pave the way for the UK to abandon the EU. However, with the rise of the above-mentioned changes in the UK, the Eurosceptic wing of the party was strengthened and started to demonstrate its power and put pressure on the leadership for a policy change concerning the EU. In the 2015 elections, pressures reached the point that Cameron was forced to include in the party's manifesto the possible withdrawal from the Union. In his 2013 speech, Cameron introduced his plan to renegotiate the UK's terms of membership and promised to hold a referendum on British withdrawal from the European Union in case the renegotiation process on renewed membership conditions failed.

After winning the 2015 elections, Cameron officially started his promised negotiations. These would end with the Prime Minister announcing June 23, 2016 as the EU referendum date (Walker, 2018). To the shock of many observers and analysts, the referendum ended in favour of a leave vote by a slight majority (17,410,742 votes equal to 51.9%, for leave versus 16,141,241 equal to 48.1% for remain).

6.1.1.5.   Realignment of political forces and ideologies in 2016 Brexit referendum

The atmosphere surrounding the referendum campaigns was historically noteworthy. The Remain camp was formed by pro-European conservatives such as David Cameron, then Prime Minister, and George Osborne, former Chancellor of the Exchequer; businessmen such as Stuart Rose; and Labour Europhile figures such as Will Straw. The pro-European wings of both major parties came together in defence of remaining in the EU. The conservative party establishment (under Cameron's leadership) officially backed the Remain campaign (although Cameron gave his cabinet a free hand on choosing their side). On the left, *Labour In for Britain*, founded by former Home Secretary and Labour MP Alan Johnson, campaigned for a Remain vote. Jeremy Corbyn, the newly elected Labour leader, also campaigned for a Remain vote despite his long-held Eurosceptic views. His leadership, however, was heavily criticised by the pro-Remain wing of his party, who accused him of campaigning half-heartedly and being a "reluctant remainer" who had "a long history of opposition to the EU" (Tominey, 2018); a criticism that finally led to a no-confidence vote for his leadership after the referendum.

On the other hand, the Leave campaign made some strange bedfellows. Apart from controversial lifelong right-wing Eurosceptics such as Nigel Farage, the Leave campaign, under the official name of *Vote Leave*, brought together conservative Eurosceptics such as Michael Gove and Boris Johnson, and Labour anti-EU figures such as Gisela Stuart (then Labour MP) and Graham Stringer (former MP and the leader of Manchester City Council), along with more controversial left-wing Eurosceptics such as George Galloway. This new political alignment

went further than the traditional left-right political division and led to a heated public debate over Europe that was unprecedented in British politics. For the first time, the media was heavily engaged in the discussion, and many details of the UK-EU relationship were covered extensively.

6.1.1.6.   Concluding remarks

European integration has always been a controversial topic in the UK's contemporary politics. The most recent public debate ignited by the 2016 referendum and its press coverage deserves further attention, considering its historical relevance. There are, however, two socio-political factors that should be taken into account according to the background provided in this section.

First of all, although the traditional left-right ideological divide is always a relevant factor, in the case of the UK, the debates around Europe and the European project cut through such traditional lines. Any study on these topics should include factors that go beyond the traditional political affiliations. Second, in this regard, ideological factors such as populism and Euroscepticism would have more relevance in making sense of the discourse surrounding the Brexit referendum.

6.1.2. Corpus design and nature

A corpus of four major British broadsheets (The Guardian, The Independent, The Times, and Daily Telegraph) was collected using *Nexis UK* news databases. The search word used for data retrieval was *Brexit*. The results were down-sampled by limiting search timespan [22 February to 23 June 2016], news type [articles], and managing duplicities (i.e., articles repeated in digital and paper editions). The same procedure was used for each daily, resulting in 4 different sub-corpora.

Newspaper	Political Stance	Brexit Stance	Number of articles	Corpus to-kens
The Guardian	Left	Remain	3584	4,549,153
The Independent	Left	Remain	2272	1,709,259
The Times	Right	Remain	1696	1,071,314
Daily Telegraph	Right	Leave	1233	814,048
Total			**8785**	**7,329,726**

Table 6-1 Corpus description

In the selection of newspapers a number of different factors were taken into account for maximum representativeness and accuracy. First of all, I considered the newspapers with most readers and reach according to *readership average issue reach* index (Figure 6-1). Then, I decided to exclude tabloids and regional press because their journalism style is significantly different from national broadsheets. Therefore, to prevent the effect of a different journalism style on the results, the study focused on the main British broadsheets.
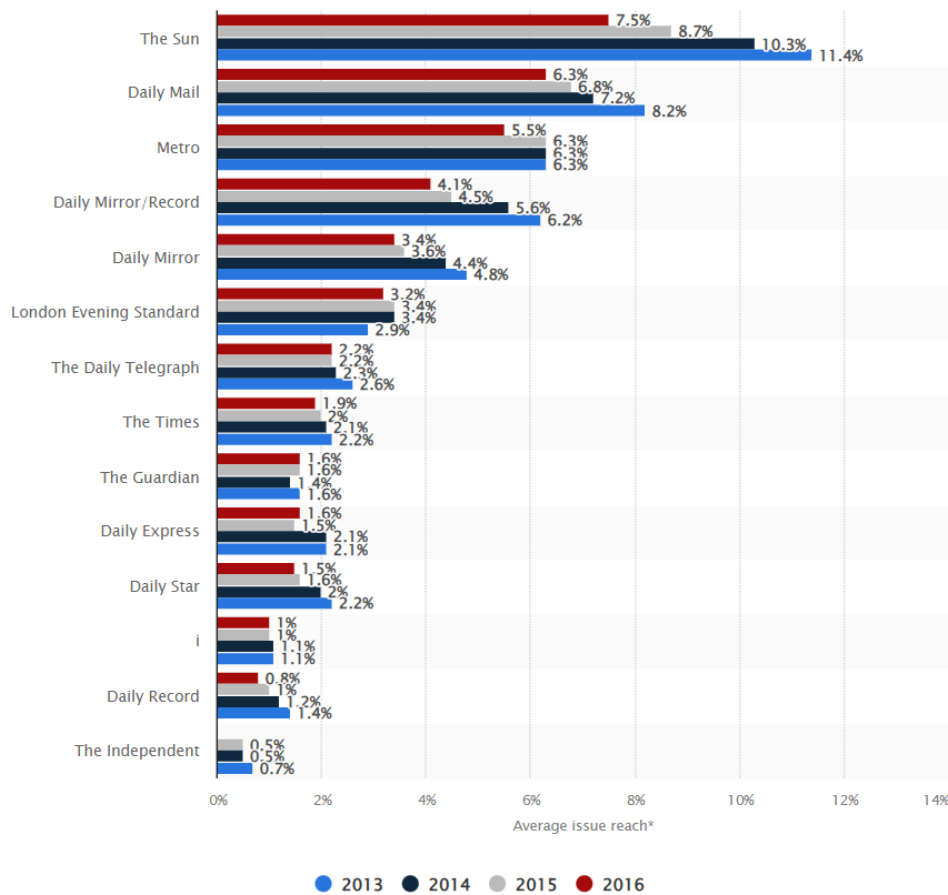
Figure 6-1 Newspapers ranked by readership average issue reach in the United Kingdom (UK) in 2013 and 2016 (https://www.statista.com/statistics/290086/newspapers-ranked-by-penetration-in-the-united-kingdom/)

In choosing the broadsheets, I also tried to strike a balance considering two other important factors: Traditional political affiliation and their Brexit stance. Therefore, two prominent left-wing newspapers, The Guardian and The Independent, and two right-wing broadsheets, The Times and the Daily Telegraph, were selected for analysis. As for the Brexit stance, three of the above-mentioned newspapers officially backed a Remain vote, while the Daily Telegraph was the only one supporting a Leave vote. There was no left-wing broadsheet officially backing a Leave vote.

The coding language R was used to clean and prepare the corpus, i.e., to manage the textual data with more precision and minimise 'noise' in the corpus that could affect the results. R is mostly known for its statistical capacities and has gained popularity within corpus linguistics in recent years thanks to the introduction of a number of useful packages explicitly designed for this purpose (Gries, 2009). Therefore, after compiling the corpus using *Nexis UK*, the corpus was cleaned using the R software package (R Core Team, 2013) with the help of tm library (Feinerer and Hornik, 2018). Figure 6-2 is the code used for reading and cleaning the corpus in R. The same code was repeated for all four newspapers. Data cleaning and data wrangling were performed using R software1 (v3.6.1). Punctuation marks from a text document were removed using tm2 package (v3.6.2). The following codes, demonstrated in Figure 6-2 and Figure 6-3, were used for The Daily Telegraph. The same codes were repeated for all other newspapers. For each line of the code, there is a hashtag line that is used in R to add the description of the function of the code line.

First, all the txt files related to each sub-corpora should be read by the R, whose codes are presented in Figure 6-2.

```
library(clickR)
# read daily telegraph corpus

# the name of each corpus file in daily telegraph folder
# create a list of the 3 corpus
filelist <-  list.files(path = 'C:/Users/Y3341612W/Desktop/COR-
PUS_ARASH/Nueva carpeta/DAILY_TELEGRAPH',
                        pattern = '.*.TXT', full.names = TRUE)
datalist <-  lapply(filelist, function(x) readLines(x))

#Merge all corpus files in one.
Telegraph_raw <-  do.call('rbind', datalist)
```

Figure 6-2 R code for reading the corpus

Once the data related to each newspaper were read by R, another code was run to make textual data compatible with R language requisites, and then clean the data (Figure 6-3).

```
    #Cleaning data

#split data by white space
Telegraph_splitted <- unlist(strsplit(Telegraph_raw, ' '))

#Change to lower case
Telegraph_lower <- tolower(Telegraph_splitted)

#remove white space
Telegraph_space <- Telegraph_lower[!Telegraph_lower %in% '']

#remove punctuation marks
library(tm)

    Telegraph_clean <- removePunctuation(Telegraph_space)

# save as a txt file
write.table(Telegraph_clean, file = 'Telegraph_clean.txt', row.names =
FALSE)

stoplist <- scan('stopwords_en.txt', what='character', sep='\n')
stoplist[1] <- 'a'
stoplist

#excluding the stoplist words
Telegraph_cleanstoplist <- Telegraph_clean[!Telegraph_clean %in% stoplist]
```

Figure 6-3 R code for preparing and cleaning the data

This code helped eliminate the main problems with the raw text extracted from *Nexis UK*, including white spaces, lower-uppercase incongruences, punctuation marks, and signs. First of all, there was a high amount of white spaces between news items, which needed to be deleted in R. Since R considers lower and upper cases as distinct words by default, all upper cases were turned into lower for frequency analysis. However, it should be noted that this would not produce any problems for concordance analysis or any other types of common corpus linguistics procedures, in which the distinction between lower-upper cases is important because the code can be reversed or inactive easily by the user at any point. In the specific case of this dissertation, I reversed the code and used AntConc for concordance analysis to avoid any problems in this regard. Moreover, punctuation marks and signs should also be deleted, as it is necessary for the R software to read textual data accurately. Same as with the upper-lower case scenario, the code can be inactivated for textual analysis at any point. The code also

eliminated the extra noise present in the corpus, including characters such as '-', '1', 'pg', '500', '23'. Some of these characters were pure noise because of the format of files extracted from Nexis (e.g., 'pg'). In other cases (e.g., '500', '23'), it should be admitted that there might be some occasional presence of these characters in the text. However, the statistical ratio of noise to content for these characters is so high that it makes the decision for deleting them statistically justifiable. In other words, the high occurrence of these characters might skew the results considerably. Therefore, the advantage of eliminating this source of confusion in data outweighs the occasional loss of their rare presence as legitimate content.

 Once the corpus was cleaned, it was saved in a plain text format (TXT) so that it could also be imported to other corpus linguistics software. As can be seen, a stoplist was also added so that the analysis only includes content words for frequency and collocation analysis. The code to apply the stoplist is shown in Figure 6-4.

```
    Telegraph_plot <- data.frame(Telegraph_cleanstoplist  = Tele-
graph_cleanstoplist[!Telegraph_cleanstoplist %in% c('-',
'mr','1','pg','500','23','2','\'i')])

temp <- row.names(as.data.frame(summary(Telegraph_plot$Tele-
graph_cleanstoplist, 100))) # create a df or something else with the sum-
mary output.
Telegraph_plot$Telegraph_cleanstoplist <- as.character(Telegraph_plot$Tel-
egraph_cleanstoplist) # IMPORTANT! Here was the problem: turn into charac-
ter values create new column that filters top results

Telegraph_plot$top <- ifelse(
  Telegraph_plot$Telegraph_cleanstoplist %in% temp, ## condition: match
aDDs$answer with row.names in summary df
  Telegraph_plot$Telegraph_cleanstoplist, ## then it should be named as
aDDs$answer
  'Other' ## else it should be named 'Other'
)
Telegraph_plot$top <- as.factor(Telegraph_plot$top) # factorize the output
again plot

table(Telegraph_plot$top)
#Remove space
Telegraph_plot$top[Telegraph_plot$top %in% ''] <- NA

#Remove other
```

```
Telegraph_plot <- Telegraph_plot[!Telegraph_plot$top %in% 'other',]

#Remove NA
Telegraph_plot <- na.omit(Telegraph_plot)

# drop unused levels
Telegraph_plot <- fix.factors(Telegraph_plot)
```

Figure 6-4 R code for applying a stoplist to the corpus

The code finally produced an R data frame for creating a plot (used in the following sections for cluster analysis). The result of this process was a corpus as clean as possible within the currently available corpus linguistics tools. These clean files were later used for frequency and collocation analysis using other CL tools such as AntConc.

6.2.   Framework and Procedure

As discussed previously, the framework used for this study is CADS, with a combination of corpus linguistics tools for quantitative analysis and DNVA for qualitative analysis. As I discussed extensively in section 1.2, CADS is a field of study in linguistics and discourse research. In this field, corpus linguistics and discourse analysis are combined to discursively analyse extensive collections of text. More specifically, DNVA, as dealt with in Sections 3.2 and 3.3, provides a solid framework to discursively analyse the use of news values in the corpus of the study, especially when combined with corpus linguistics tools. In this section, I explain how these frameworks were adopted in this study in the form of a concrete procedure to analyze the data and answer the research questions.

The procedure to analyse the data followed Baker et al.'s (2008) model of corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis, which is the one originally used for and adapted to DNVA by Bednarek and Caple (2014, 2017). Baker et al. (2008, pp. 295-297) propose a model for critical discourse analysis that consists of nine major steps:

1. Context-based analysis of topic via history/politics/culture/etymology. Identification of existing topoi/discourses/strategies via wider reading and with reference to other CDA studies.

2. Establishing research questions/corpus building procedures.

3. Corpus analysis of frequencies, clusters, keywords, dispersion, etc. – identification of potential sites of interest in the corpus along with possible discourses/topoi/strategies relating to those existing in the literature.

4. Qualitative or CDA analysis of a smaller, representative set of data (e.g., concordances of certain lexical items or a particular text or set of texts within the corpus) – identification of discourses/topoi/strategies (discourse-historical approach).

5. Formulation of new hypotheses or research questions.

6. Further corpus analysis based on new hypotheses, identifying further discourses/topoi/strategies, etc.

7. Analysis of intertextuality or interdiscursivity based on findings from corpus analysis.

8. Formulating new hypotheses.

9. Further corpus analysis, identifying additional discourses/topoi/strategies.

Applying this procedure to the present study, I carried out the following steps to analyse the data:

First, I carried out a thorough literature review on the press discourse of Brexit (Chapter Four) and situated data in the relevant socio-historical background of the topic (section 6.1.1.). Then I formulated the questions and hypotheses (Chapter Five), and the appropriate corpus for answering the research questions and testing hypotheses was gathered as described in the previous section (6.1.2.). After cleaning the data, a combination of CL and DNVA was used for

the quantitative and qualitative analyses in three major blocks, consisting of eight specific steps in total:

First block: Determining existing semantic fields and their constituent search terms.

1. A complete frequency list for each data set was extracted using the R package frequency analysis and ggplot option. Then, the list of each sub-corpora was subjected to R coding language cluster analysis package to determine the statistically meaningful frequent words of each data set (for details, see sections 6.4.1. and 6.5.).

2. The most frequent words in each data set, resulting from the cluster analysis, were selected for further analysis.

3. The most frequent words were grouped and coded in their relevant semantic fields. For example, the terms 'economy', 'pound', and 'trade' all belong to the semantic field of economy. These words were considered as *search terms* for each semantic field.

Second block: Determining the distribution of news values across the four datasets in each semantic field.

4. The search terms resulting from step 3 were subjected to collocation analysis. All the collocations in and above the threshold of MI=3 were considered statistically significant. An MI=3 means a statistical significance of 99%, which is the generally accepted reference point of significance in quantitative analysis (Brezina, 2018, p. 69). Following Maruenda-Bataller (2021), the statistically significant collocations were considered as potential linguistic *pointers* for news values usage in the discourse.

5. A concordance analysis was carried out, and resulting concordances were qualitatively analysed to code potential pointers into their corresponding news values based on their context and co-text. AntConc was used at this stage, as its collocation and concordance

analysis tools are more convenient than the existing tools for the R package, while the R package offers no additional precision in this regard.

6. Using R coding language, for each newspaper/sub-corpus, the distribution of existing news values around each semantic field was calculated and normalised (per 100) based on the total frequencies of all the pointers coded into a certain news value in the previous step. All the numbers were normalised and tested statistically to ensure the observed differences were statistically significant and, therefore, comparable with each other. Chi-square statistical measure was used for this purpose, as it is the most appropriate measure for the existing type of data (tables with different total numbers). Chi-square uses proportions in its formula and therefore normalises the difference in corpus size automatically. In addition, it is a non-parametric measure, which means it does not require a normal distribution in data as a presupposition. All the codes used in this block are available in the next chapter. The result of this block is a table/graph of overall news value usage across the four data sets, which could be reliably compared.

Third block: Comparing News Values across data sets quantitatively and qualitatively.

7. The resulting tables and graphs were then compared to analyse differences in the distribution of news values for constructing Brexit and related semantic fields across the four datasets.

8. A number of selected pieces of texts were further analysed.

Before moving on to presenting the results, some statistical and textual considerations regarding the procedure should be commented upon and clarified more extensively. Some of the statistical tools and procedures used in this study are rather nuanced, especially in the context of DNVA, and it is the first time they are used in this specific way. Therefore, in the next

section of this chapter, I elaborate and provide more details and analytical justifications on the statistical and CL tools I used for analysing the data.

6.3. Statistical and textual analysis of news values: Some considerations

6.3.1. Frequency analysis and cut-off point

In the frequency analysis of a corpus, one of the most critical decisions is to establish the cut-off point to extract main search terms for the next stages of the analysis. This involves determining the threshold that separates the words in a frequency list that should be further scrutinised and those that would not be considered in the analysis. There is, however, no consensus in the literature on how to decide on a cut-off point. For instance, some researchers (Baker et al. 2008; Bednarek & Caple 2014, 2017) set this cut-off point at the 100 most frequent words. They, however, do not specify any statistical reasons for such a decision. The decision seems to be based on common sense and their experience rather than on any statistical criterion. Some scholars, however, have tried to come up with a statistical yardstick. Biber et al. (1999) and Scott and Tribble (2006) suggest a cut-off point of twenty per million words in a corpus, but others such as O'Keeffe et al. (2007) indicate a completely different number of 20 for a 5-million-word corpus.

The previous suggestions, however, are based on trial and error and experimentation rather than on sound statistical analysis. The present dissertation puts forth a more precise statistical criterion to fix a cut-off point, for several reasons:

1. When faced with a corpus of over 7 million words, the sheer volume of the corpus necessitates a more reliable method of analysis.

2. The size of the sub-corpora that should be compared with each other are considerably different, and using the same number for all subsets could affect the precision of the analysis and the subsequent comparison.

To address this concern, I used a cluster analysis technique to differentiate the most frequent words of the corpus. In order to identify clusters of recurrent words, hierarchical clustering based on parametrised finite Gaussian mixture models3 was performed using mclust4 package (v5.4.5), and histograms were drawn with ggplot25 package (v3.2.1). Figure 6-5 below illustrates the code for running the cluster analysis and extracting the search terms in the Daily Telegraph. The same procedure was applied to the rest of the sub-corpora.

```
    #Making cluster
library(mclust)

    fit <- Mclust(table(Telegraph_plot$top))

    fit$data[max(fit$uncertainty)] #select max uncertainty
plot(fit) # plot results
    #Index to plot by colours
Telegraph_plot$cluster <- fit$classification[match(Tele-
graph_plot$top,names(fit$classification))]
    #Making histogram
ggplot(Guardian_plot,aes(x=factor(top,levels=names(sort(table(top),decreasing = TRUE))
    ))) +
      geom_bar(aes(fill = factor(colores)), alpha = 0.7, width = 1, col = 'black')  + theme_clas-
sic()+ theme(axis.text.x = element_text(angle = 90)) +
      scale_fill_manual(values = c('darkred', 'darkgreen', 'blue', 'black')) + guides(fill = 'none')
+ ylab('Frequency\n') + xlab('') +
      scale_y_continuous(expand = c(0,0.1), breaks =seq(0,60000,by=10000))
```

Figure 6-5 R code for running the cluster analysis and extracting the search terms

The result of the cluster analysis is depicted below in a histogram using the ggplot tool of R package (see next page, Figure 6-6). Each colour represents a cluster of frequent words, the first three are considered for the analysis as search terms, and the rest were discarded as infrequent and statistically insignificant.
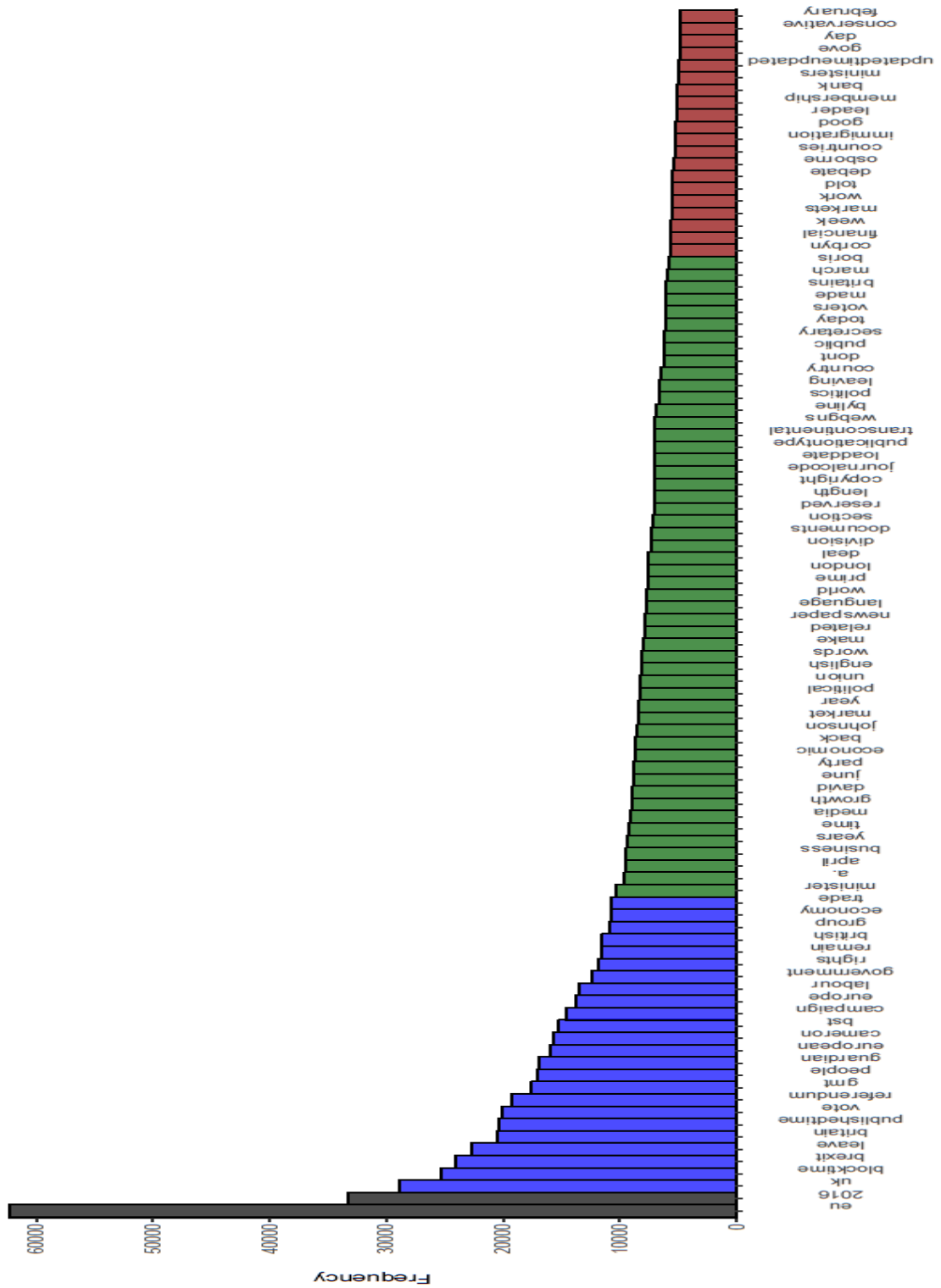
Figure 6-6 Hierarchical clustering to extract the most frequent words of the corpus

6.3.2. Coding collocations: Word bundles and what associations can tell about discourse

It was probably Firth (1961) who first noted that meaning is usually constructed by association, and not by individual units. From then, the importance of collocations was established (Halliday 1966; Sinclair 1966; Sinclair et al. 1970), and soon, a widespread interest in multi-word units emerged (Greaves & Warren, 2010, pp. 212-213). The test of collocability traditionally referred to the mere fact that two words would occur together in a text with statistically sufficient frequency that the co-occurrence could not be ascribed to mere chance. With modern corpus linguistics tools, however, we are able to go farther than direct collocation. This could be possible in two ways. First, instead of looking at the traditional direct meaning of a collocation that is adapted for educational purposes (words that native speakers tend to use together although there is no dictating 'grammatical rule'), collocations can be considered further by association in discourse structure. In this sense, collocations do not simply refer to the co-occurrence of two words together, but they are instead the tendency of two words to occur in a certain vicinity or proximity (of 3 to 5 words to left and right). This could show how, in constructing a discourse, word associations could work to bring specific discourse patterns and to convey a message by semantic association.

Collocation analysis in this sense is used by Bednarek and Caple (2017) and, more extensively, by Potts et al. (2015) in order to investigate how DNVA might benefit from CL tools. The crucial point is that the discursive construction of a specific topic by means of news values, as Potts et al. (2015) and Maruenda-Bataller (2021) also highlight, is highly context-based. This means that the same word could construct different news values in different contexts. For this reason, almost all corpus linguistic tools and software packages include the option of concordance lines, giving the researcher the possibility of carrying out a qualitative analysis by taking into account the context in which the collocation occurs.

Following the above-mentioned research, in this dissertation, collocations/pointers were coded into different news values by qualitatively examining their concordance lines in each case. This adds a considerable amount of work into the analytical phase of the research and requires adding sizeable qualitative, manual work since the concordance lines should be checked one by one by the coder. However, due to the decisive role of context and co-text in conveying news values, I found qualitative analysis to be an absolute necessity. Concordance analysis was carried out in detail in this research, even when the news value associated with a collocation seemed to be obvious.

In coding the data, when it came to checking the concordance lines for each potential pointer, there were three possibilities: 1. Constructing no salient news values: in this case, the pointer was discarded, 2. Constructing a single news value throughout a line: in this case, the pointer was coded into the corresponding news value and 3. Multiple-coding (constructing more than one news value, where one is more salient than the other(s)): in this case, the pointer was coded into the most salient news value. Obviously, some pointers constructed different news values for different search terms, in different newspapers or across other semantic fields, which were coded accordingly in each case.

6.3.3. Statistical testing for the differences

When comparing collocations, one crucial point to consider is that collocations are not made equal. In other words, collocations have different statistical significance and different frequencies. Therefore, when it comes to quantitative analysis, the protocol for calculating them should reflect both of these two aspects. In this dissertation, an MI measure was used for all the collocations in terms of statistical significance, and only the collocations over the threshold of MI=3 (99% of statistical significance) were included in the coding process. Furthermore, to calculate total and normalised frequencies of the collocations through which a given news value is ex-

pressed, instead of counting the crude number of collocations, the frequency of each collocation was counted. Therefore, the table/graph resulting from the Second block of the procedure (see Section 6.2) is reflexive of *"normalised overall news values distribution across the four data sets"* and not the individual collocates, whose numbers are not statistically comparable in isolation.

The results from the calculation of coded collocation were then subjected to a Chi-square test to determine the statistical significance of the observed differences. Chi-square is a non-parametric statistical test that does not require the assumption of a normal distribution. By testing the statistical significance, Chi-square tells us whether the differences observed in the value of a parameter or variable are significant enough to be accepted as a meaningful difference, or rather relatively small, and therefore, attributable to insignificant differences that happen in statistical observations. A summary of the procedure, the main methodological decisions and their rationale is presented in Table 6-2 as follows.

Block of analysis	Steps of procedure	Rationale	Tools
First Block	Frequency analysis	First step in CL, used by Bednarek and Caple (2017) to select most frequent words for analysis	Frequency analysis package; R
	Selecting the most frequent words	No existing consensus on the cut-off point.	Cluster analysis and ggplot packages; R
	Coding the frequent words into semantic fields	So that words belonging to the same semantic field can be analysed together	Qualitative analysis by the researcher
Second Block	Collocation analysis	To find the most frequent pointers to news values; following Potts et al. (2015) and Maruenda-Bataller (2021)	Collocation analysis; AntConc
	Concordance analysis and Coding pointers	There is no pre-existing tagging for pointers to different news values. Since a single	Concordance analysis; AntConc Qualitative analysis by the researcher

		pointer can constitute different news values in different contexts all pointers were checked and coded by the researcher	
	Calculating news values distribution and statistical testing for differences	In order to compare different sub-corpora in terms of news values distribution in each semantic field	Statistical testing; Chi-square using R
Third Block	Analysing news values distributions	To analyse how patterns of news value use were different in each semantic field and between the subcorpora	Tables and histograms
	In-depth analysis of selected excerpts	For in-depth analysis of how news values were used in different contexts	Qualitative analysis

Table 6-2 Summary of the procedure and rationale

6.4. Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I contextualised the data to situate the coverage in its sociohistorical context. Then, I explained how the data were collected and the specifications of the gathered corpus, including its design and nature. Further, I discussed and demonstrated the framework and specific procedure of the study, along with some statistical and textual considerations related to data analysis. In Part three, analysis and discussion, I will present the main findings of the study.

Part Three: Analysis and discussion

CHAPTER SEVEN: Analysis and Discussion

In this chapter, I present the analyses and major findings of the study. First, I go through the result of the cluster analysis which yielded the search terms and semantic fields. Then, for each semantic field, I present the distribution of news values across the four datasets, followed by a discussion of the results. Then, to scrutinise how news values were used in context, some selected examples of the most salient news values in each semantic field are qualitatively analysed. For the sake of clarity, I included all the R language codes and statistical tests used to extract news values distribution for the search term (Brexit). The R language codes are not repeated in each semantic field since they were the same for all five, but the results of statistical tests are presented separately.

7.1. Determining semantic fields and search terms for analysis

As explained in the previous chapter, in the first step of the procedure, cluster analysis results yielded the most frequent words in each data set. The frequent words were then put together to extract the semantic fields (i.e., topics covered by the press) and determine the search terms to be used in subsequent collocation analyses. Table 7-1 shows how the search terms and semantic fields were established for further analysis in each data set.

The Guardian		The Independent		The Telegraph		The Times	
Word	**Frequency (Normalised)**	**Word**	**Frequency (Normalised)**	**Word**	**Frequency (Normalised)**	**Word**	**Frequency (Normalised)**
EU	62331 (6.24%)	EU	18006 (6.49%)	EU	7494 (5.76%)	EU	8301 (4.95%)
UK	28934 (2.9%)	Brexit	9273 (3.34%)	Brexit	3415 (2.63%)	Brexit	4243 (2.53%)
Brexit	24128 (2.42%)	UK	9226 (3.32%)	Britain	2857 (2.2%)	Britain	3720 (2.22%)
Britain	20531 (2.06%)	Britain	5025 (1.81%)	UK	2747 (2.11%)	UK	2964 (1.77%)

people	17035 (1.71%)	people	4882 (1.76%)	European	2081 (1.6%)	European	2437 (1.45%)
European	15936 (1.6%)	British	3761 (1.35%)	people	1757 (1.35%)	English	2383 (1.42%)
cameron	15638 (1.57%)	cameron	3749 (1.35%)	cameron	1672 (1.29%)	people	2351 (1.4%)
Europe	13783 (1.38%)	Europe	3274 (1.18%)	English	1606 (1.23%)	Europe	2138 (1.28%)
British	11503 (1.15%)	English	3066 (1.1%)	Europe	1509 (1.16%)	British	1946 (1.16%)
economy	10774 (1.08%)	Johnson	2904 (1.05%)	British	1438 (1.11%)	business	1843 (1.1%)
trade	10675 (1.07%)	Boris	2488 (0.9%)	business	1346 (1.03%)	Cameron	1673 (1%)
business	9421 (0.94%)	David	2412 (0.87%)	market	1283 (0.99%)	trade	1658 (0.99%)
growth	8883 (0.89%)	economic	2095 (0.75%)	economic	1243 (0.96%)	market	1547 (0.92%)
David	8875 (0.89%)	trade	1970 (0.71%)	trade	1097 (0.84%)	economy	1191 (0.71%)
economic	8627 (0.86%)	business	1965 (0.71%)	economy	1092 (0.84%)	David	1174 (0.7%)
Johnson	8456 (0.85%)	public	1881 (0.68%)	Johnson	1014 (0.78%)	economic	1161 (0.69%)
market	8389 (0.84%)	economy	1856 (0.67%)	David	999 (0.77%)	Johnson	1153 (0.69%)
Bnglish	8104 (0.81%)	immigration	1500 (0.54%)	financial	806 (0.62%)	Boris	925 (0.55%)
public	6179 (0.62%)	market	1466 (0.53%)	Boris	742 (0.57%)	growth	914 (0.55%)
Boris	5742 (0.57%)	Osborne	1249 (0.45%)	growth	685 (0.53%)	financial	794 (0.47%)
financial	5685 (0.57%)	financial	1127 (0.41%)	public	672 (0.52%)	public	785 (0.47%)
markets	5493 (0.55%)			immigration	601 (0.46%)	immigration	728 (0.43%)
Osborne	5337 (0.53%)			Osborne	588 (0.45%)	Osborne	706 (0.42%)
immigration	5179 (0.52%)			Gove	562 (0.43%)		

Gove	4876 (0.49%)			

Table 7-1 Categorising the most frequent words of the sub-corpora into related semantic fields

In Table 7-2 it can be observed that the most frequent words across the newspapers are very similar to each other. Following the procedure explained in the previous chapter, the most frequent words belonging to the same semantic fields were grouped together to be considered as search terms. The final established semantic fields for analysis are as follows:

First of all, the search term ***Brexit*** was considered separately. Due to its evident importance and its appearance as one of the most frequent words in all newspapers, it was considered as a separate area by itself (Brexit). Although it does not technically constitute a semantic field, the overarching nature of the search term justifies such consideration. Obviously, Brexit occurs in all texts in the data, as it was the search term for data compilation. However, a direct analysis of how this word is used across the corpus will be of utmost relevance to the analysis.

The second semantic field, as expected, is ***Economy***. In this case, a range of different search terms related to the same semantic field are found in the data: economy, economic, economy, economic, trade, business, financial, growth, market. (economy)

The third field is ***Immigration***. The salience of immigration in Brexit debates was evident, to begin with, and as this was confirmed by the results of cluster analysis, it was considered a semantic field by itself (Immigration).

The fourth field is dedicated to the duality in the representation of ***EU vs UK***. The duality between the two entities is of utmost importance in this discourse, as was confirmed by the occurrence of a range of words related to these two areas. As it is important to see these areas vis-à-vis each other, they were put into one category so that they could be compared and further

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explored. The search terms of the semantic field constituting this area were: EU, Europe, European, UK, Britain, British (EU vs UK).

Finally, the fifth semantic field concerned general references to people with constituting search terms: *People and Public* (People and Public).

Initially, and following the frequency and cluster analyses, the semantic field of Political leaders was considered because the names of many leaders appeared among the most frequent words (Boris Johnson and David Cameron to a great extent, and others such as Corbyn, Osborn, and Gove to a lesser extent). However, after performing collocation analysis on these search terms, it was discovered that political leaders were mostly used to convey the news value of Eliteness around other topics, rather than constituting a semantic field by themselves. It should be noted that the study of political leaders and their discursive construction could be extremely interesting in its own right. However, due to the fact that this falls outside of the main objectives of this dissertation, such a topic was left to be pursued in future studies.

7.2. Brexit

7.2.1. Distribution of news values

As expected, Brexit was on top of the search terms in all four newspapers. Therefore, it was assigned as a separate overarching area. As mentioned previously, Brexit is ubiquitous all over the corpus since it is the seed word used for the corpus collection. Therefore, the way news values were used to construct this semantic field also provides a bird's-eye view of the whole corpus, under which other more specific semantic fields can be scrutinised and understood.

As mentioned in the methodology section (Section 6.3), a Chi-square test was used to measure the statistical significance of all the values that were going to be compared with each other. As mentioned before, in the methodology section (6.3), pointers were coded one by one,

and manually, by checking their concordance lines. Some examples of the concordance lines have been shown throughout this chapter since showing all concordance lines would amount to thousands of pages and, therefore, was considered unnecessary.

Since the proportions of news values used in each semantic field were calculated and the four different data sets were compared, I applied a Chi-square test to all the tables containing the absolute and normalized frequency of news values (R software package was used for all the statistical calculations) and then compared the normalised values across the data sets as follows:

First, a table with the sum of all the absolute frequencies of the pointers coded as implying news values was formed (Table 7-2). Since Chi-square operates with the absolute and total numbers (rather than normalised frequencies), it was necessary to calculate the P values for statistical significance. Figure 7-1 below shows the R-code used for this purpose

```
#brexit
prop.test(c( 1761, 865, 560, 140), c( 4709, 6180, 1676, 351))
prop.test(c( 1478, 483, 140, 71), c( 4709, 6180, 1676, 351))
prop.test(c( 1102, 4832, 763, 33), c( 4709, 6180, 1676, 351))
prop.test(c( 0, 0, 10, 46), c( 4709, 6180, 1676, 351))
prop.test(c( 368, 0, 203, 61), c( 4709, 6180, 1676, 351))
```

Figure 7-1 R code for calculating the P values of statistical significance

	guardian_c	independent_c	times_c	tele_c	pvalue
Negativity	1761	865	560	140	<0,001
Eliteness	1478	483	140	71	<0,001
Impact	1102	4832	763	33	<0,001
Positivity	0	0	10	46	<0,001
Timeliness	368	0	203	61	<0,001
Total Collocations	4709	6180	1676	351	

Table 7-2 Absolute frequency and statistical test of news values in Brexit

After applying the Chi-square test and thus ensuring that all the values and differences between the data sets are statistically significant, I transformed the absolute frequencies to normalised values (to 100) so that the numbers could be compared reliably. The normalised table (Table 7-3) for the semantic field of Brexit is shown below.

	Guradian	Independent	Times	Telegraph
Negativity	37%	14%	33%	40%
Eliteness	31%	8%	8%	20%
Impact	23%	78%	46%	9%
Positivity	0%	0%	1%	13%
Timeliness	8%	0%	12%	17%
Total Collocations	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 7-3 Normalised frequencies of the news values for Brexit

Finally, for ease of comparison, the normalised numbers were visually represented in a bar chart graph (Figure 7-2).
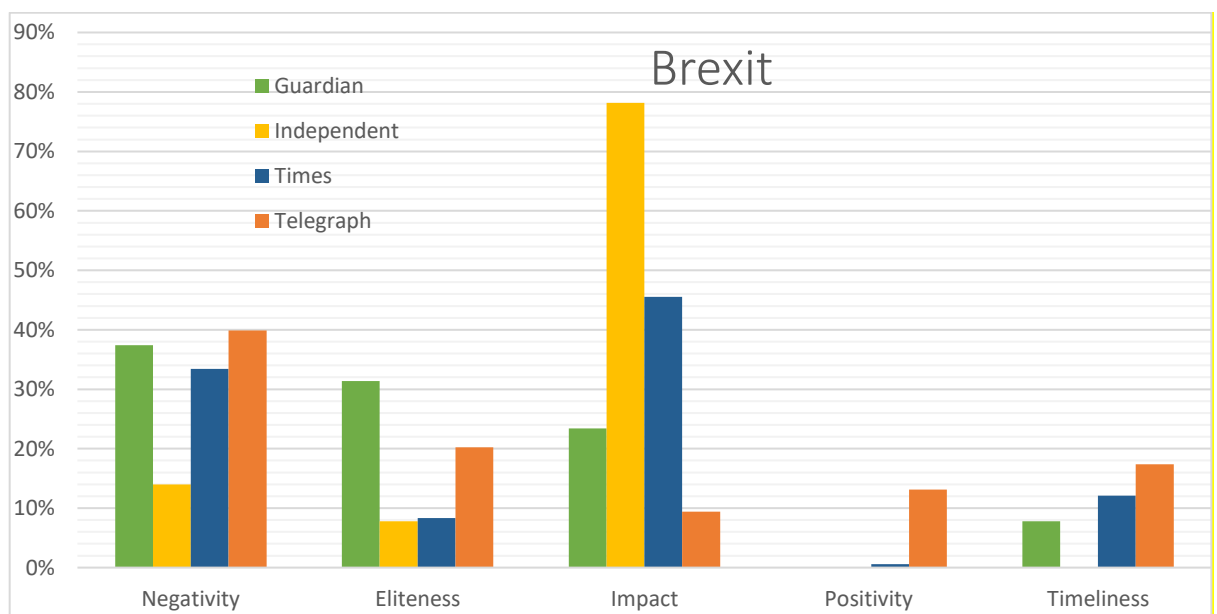
Figure 7-2 Normalised frequencies of news values for the semantic field of Brexit

As observed in Figure 7-2, in the discursive construction of Brexit, Impact is the most frequent news value in the Independent and the Times, and Negativity is the most frequent in

the Guardian and Telegraph. However, the pro-Leave Telegraph used Impact far less frequently in comparison with the other newspapers. On the other hand, the Independent has a considerably higher usage of Impact compared to all the others, including the Times and the Guardian. This is followed by Eliteness, with slightly higher usage in the left-wing and pro-Remain Guardian on the one hand, and right-wing and pro-Leave Telegraph on the other, and similar normalised frequencies for the other two newspapers. Timeliness showed a significant difference between the right-leaning and left-leaning press, with higher usage by the right, especially by the Leave backing Telegraph compared to the rest. As for Positivity, the difference between the pro-Leave and pro-Remain papers is highly noticeable. Positivity is almost non-existent in pro-Remain newspapers, with a small exception of the right-wing Times, but significantly present in pro-Leave Telegraph. I turn next to the analysis of each individual news value around Brexit.

7.2.2. Negativity

Negativity was overall a salient news value in the corpus. However, the specific ways in which Negativity was constructed show interesting differences and similarities across the four data sets. In the semantic field of Brexit, Negativity is constructed through four major discursive strategies. The linguistic pointers related to each strategy are shown in Table 7-4.

Strategies in the news value of Negativity	The Guardian	The Independent	The Times	The Telegraph
Fear and danger	fears fear dangers threaten threat hit worries concerns	fears	dangers jitters fears threat hit	dangers fears threat fear
Uncertainty and risk	trigger risks Risk	risk	puts (at risk) risks trigger	risks

	uncertainty		concerns uncertainty risk	
Negative outcomes	negatively harm consequences hurt cost damage costs	consequences damage cost	implications consequences blow damage cost	consequences
Accusations and admonitions	blame warns warn warnings warning accused warned	warn warns warning lead warned	warns warn warnings warning warned accused	warnings warned warning concerns

Table 7-4 Linguistic pointers of Negativity for Brexit across strategies and newspapers

As seen in Table 7-4, the way news outlets use Negativity is very similar across the different newspapers, not only in terms of frequency (see Figure 7-2) but also in terms of the discursive strategies used in such construction. The discursive strategies used to construct Negativity fall into four major categories. The first category is *fear and danger*. In this case, we observe a range of words/pointers that associate Brexit with fearful scenarios, including the terms 'fear' and 'danger', in addition to 'threat', 'threatening', and 'hit'. Another salient discursive strategy of Negativity is *uncertainty and risk*. In this category, a range of pointers appears with Brexit, including 'risk', 'uncertainty', and others which induce the sense of imminent risk, worries, and concern with a high emotional charge over the future. The third discursive strategy indicates the *negative outcomes* (of voting for or against Brexit). This includes pointers related to 'consequences/implications', or 'damage', 'cost', and 'harm'. The fourth discursive strategy is *negative prediction or admonitions* about different scenarios related to Brexit, mainly indicated by pointers related to different people or specific reports.

Inducing the sense of **fear and danger** seems to be a pervasive strategy in this semantic field. In many news stories, the growing 'fears of Brexit' and the negative consequences it would bring about were mentioned to construct the Negativity around Brexit:

Excerpt 1: The Guardian, Business section, June 7, 2016, Tuesday

[Pound hits peaks of volatility not seen since height of financial crisis as data shows growing support for Vote Leave camp]

Sterling's value has become increasingly volatile as **fears of a Brexit** have increased among investors.[2]

This news story concerns the growing volatility in Sterling's value, in which a highly fearful scenario was constructed about the value of the pound. In the text of the news story, the pointer of 'fears' conveys the sense of Negativity. Although Negativity is the most salient news value used in this excerpt, looking at the whole text rather than merely the collocations and concordance lines, we can see that Negativity is not the only news value adopted in this instance. Apart from Negativity, there are some pointers to Superlativeness as well in the case of 'hits', 'peaks', 'height'; all these at the same time highlighting Negativity. In addition, the terms 'Increasingly volatile' and 'have increased' can be attributed to pointers of the news value of Superlativeness. In other words, it seems that in this instance, Negativity and Superlativeness are combined to enhance the negative outcome of Brexit constructed in the discourse. Therefore, not only is Brexit constructed as negative and with potential undesirable impact, but the news story itself enhances such aspects in terms of Superlativeness. Hence, we might say that news values are used in a hierarchical and synergistic manner. Many previous studies also showed that news values can cooccur in different contexts (see Fruttaldo & Venuti,

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[2] The excerpts from different outlets are shown throughout this chapter following the same pattern for ease of demonstration. The caption includes the information about the source from which the excerpt is selected. The title of the news story is placed within square brackets, the text selected from the body of the story comes after it. The important parts for analysis are put in bold by the author to highlight the parts including/constructing news values.

2017; Fuster-Márquez & Gregori-Signes, 2019; He & Caple 2020; Makki, 2019; 2020). However, it seems that in the present case, the newsworthiness of the event is constructed with a major news value, in this case, Negativity, as the overall underlying tone of the story, which is then enhanced by using a combination of other news values.

The strategy of associating fears with Brexit (and consequently with other adverse outcomes) recures in the data. Another example of the Guardian shows the same structure on a different topic:

Excerpt 2: The Guardian, Business section, May 17, 2016, Tuesday

[Stamp duty rush boosts March house prices, says ONS]

High-end London homes have seen prices fall since April, according to some reports, as the higher stamp duty rates and **fears of a Brexit** deter wealthy buyers. The International Monetary Fund is one of many economic forecasters to warn that UK house values will plummet should Britons vote to leave the EU in the June referendum.

The news story is about a possible fall in house prices in London, heavily constructed in negative terms. The part that contains the collocation between 'Brexit' and 'fears' warns, in worrying terms, about a possible plunge in housing prices. Once again, in addition to Negativity, the news values of Impact ('deter'), Superlativeness ('plummet'), and Proximity ('London') are used in this piece: 'plummet' conveys a very steep and sudden fall, not an ordinary decrease in prices, and UK, London, and Sterling construe Proximity.

These examples also show how constructing newsworthiness is social and ideological, as indicated by various other studies (Bednarek and Caple, 2017; Fruttaldo & Venuti, 2017; Makki 2019, 2020; Maruenda-Bataller 2021). Both a drop in the value of Sterling and in London housing prices can actually be described as positive for some social groups. Future home buyers would indeed benefit from such lower prices, and a drop in Sterling price would be

desirable for the buyers of imported food products. However, in both cases, Brexit was constructed as a very negative phenomenon with significant adverse consequences. Considering that the Guardian is a high-end quality paper, this makes sense, as the majority of its readers are probably upper-middle-class liberals[3]; the news stories might be constructed to be Negative, Impactful, and with relatively enhanced outcomes (Superlativeness) for their readership, at least as perceived by the paper's editorial. This especially concurs with discursive approaches that underline the role of audience, such as Bell's (1991) audience-design model.

Similar strategies can be observed in the Times. For example, a pointer to Negativity for Brexit in this dataset is the word 'jitters', always in the form of 'Brexit jitters'. This combination in this right-wing newspaper is used in a very similar way to that of the left-wing Guardian discussed above with pessimistic predictions mostly in economic terms:

Excerpt 3: The Times June 4, 2016 Saturday Edition 1; National Edition

[Jitters over Europe slow growth to near standstill]

[t]here are widespread signs across the UK economy that **Brexit jitters** are starting to bite and that growth has slowed".

In other instances, 'Brexit jitters' were shown to be associated with drops in share prices:

Excerpt 4:The Times June 15, 2016, Wednesday Edition 1; Scotland

[Reporting on the stock market prices]

Berkeley Group Industry marked down amid **Brexit jitters**.

Once again, associating a markdown in prices with the fear of Brexit and therefore implying the Impact at the same time can be observed in these examples. Such a combination constructs a strong additional level of Negativity in the news stories concerning a report of predictions about Brexit. In these cases, the mere pessimistic predictions are at play to construct

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[3] This is of course my conjuncture based on the existing evidence, rather than hard facts. For a more detailed outlook of the British media readership profile see https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/publication/1970-01/sri_you_are_what_you_read_042005.pdf

Brexit as a newsworthy event. In addition, the mention of the fact that such predictions were made amid 'Brexit jitters' or 'fears of Brexit' contributes further to constructing a highly newsworthy event in terms of Negativity ('jitters'), Impact ('mark down'), and Superlativeness ('widespread), again, in a hierarchical manner. The crucial point discussed and shown in the previous section (see Figure 7-2) is that although the levels of Negativity in three out of the four newspapers were almost the same, there was a considerable difference between pro-Remain and pro-Leave newspapers in terms of using Impact. In the previous examples from two left-wing and right-wing pro-Remain newspapers, we have observed how Impact was constructed along with Negativity in a hierarchical manner, with Negativity being the main or dominant news value and Impact being the secondary news value in the discourse. This is indeed in line with Bell's (1991) indication that Negativity is an overarching news value.

On the other hand, in the discourse of the Telegraph, Impact was downplayed quite substantially:

Excerpt 5: The Daily Telegraph (London), June 11, 2016, Saturday, Edition 1; National Edition

[Voters **fear Brexit** will spoil our holidays]

The debate about Britain's place in Europe in the run-up to the referendum on June 23 has seen a variety of doomsday scenarios voiced by both the Remain and Leave camps. But not even the most cynical politician has yet suggested that, in the wake of Britain voting to break ties with the EU, UK holidaymakers would be banned from visiting the beaches of Greece, the bars of Amsterdam, or the restaurants of Paris.

In Excerpt 5, the news story that contains the pointer of 'fear' with 'Brexit' is dedicated entirely to the possible negative outcome of Brexit on the price of holidays. The headline indeed uses irony to dismantle the idea of Brexit affecting foreign holidays, as can be observed in the body of the news story. Although the lexis conveys Negativity ('fear') and Impact ('will'), Negativity is considerably downplayed in the discourse when compared to the previous example. In Excerpt 4, the impacts had become manifested in the economy through actual

facts. However, in this news story, there is a "possible" prediction that implies a much lower degree of the seriousness of the Impact, which is at the end dismantled by the use of irony. In addition, Superlativeness is absent in the news story. The topic itself has some role in downplaying the Impact: other news stories were about day-to-day and primary needs (housing) or serious economic matters (stock market and investment), but in this case, the topic is a rather luxury item (holidays abroad). The ideological and social aspects of the news story are also considerable. In previous examples from the Guardian and the Times, it was shown how the news story was tailored to be Negative for some specific groups. On the other hand, Negativity is constructed as not affecting the day-to-day needs of the people by focusing on an item that is probably not among the very basic economic necessities of life.

The analysis of this piece indeed reflects back on two critical aspects of the news value models previously discussed in the literature review. On the one hand, the use of irony could entirely cast doubt on coding fear as conveying Negativity in this instance and therefore confirming Potts et al. (2015), and Maruenda-Bataller's (2021) remarks on the difficulties of quantifying news value usage relying exclusively on corpus linguistics tools. However, I should still insist that in large corpora and in mass media, the sheer fact of repeated association of certain lexical items can be meaningful and effective in influencing the audience. The effect of repetition in mass media on public opinion has been researched extensively (cf. Lecheler et al., 2015; Liu et al. 2019; Vuokko, 1997). However, textual subtleties such as those observed in this piece should always be considered, highlighting the importance of in-depth, qualitative analysis in the DNVA model. On the other hand, the above-mentioned point shows how news values usage is intertwined with journalistic social practices as related to their potential audiences and interest groups, as highlighted by Fuster-Márquez & Gregori-Signes (2019) and Huan (2016).

Turning now to the strategy of ***uncertainty and risk***, in the following example, the pointer 'trigger' invokes an adverse event or action that will happen in the future. It is always used

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with a negative connotation and followed by phrases such as 'economic shock', 'political tur-

moil' and 'centrifugal chaos' (see concordance line in Figure 7-3).
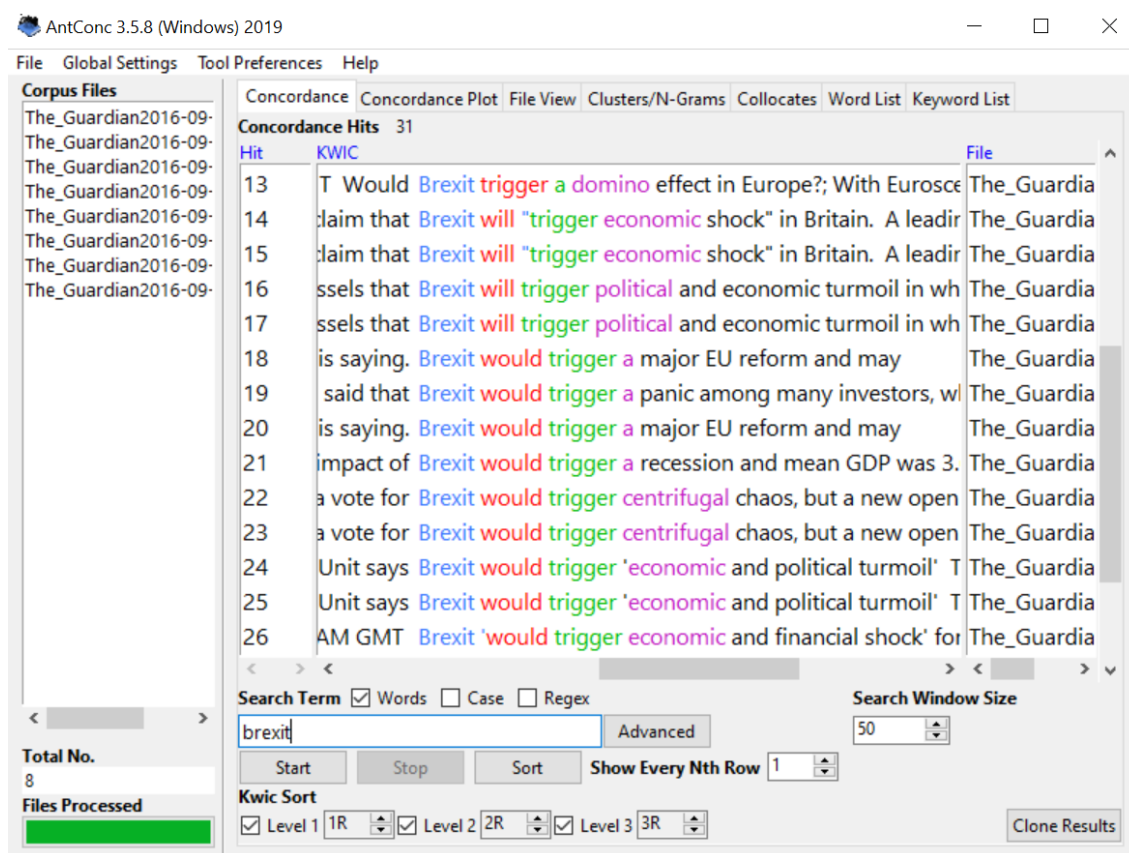
Figure 7-3 Concordance lines of 'Brexit trigger'

'Trigger' as a potential pointer for Negativity was present in the left-wing Guardian and

right-wing Times in the same contexts, constructing Negativity in terms of upcoming adverse

scenarios:

Excerpt 6: The Guardian, March 28, 2016, Monday

[Don't despair, a silent majority can still keep Britain in Europe]

Within the EU there would not only be profound relief on the part of those concerned

that a vote for **Brexit would trigger centrifugal chaos**, but a new openness to listening

and cooperation on both sides.

As evident by its title, the news story is about the possibility of a silent majority vote coming to save the day for Brexit, which in this excerpt is described as having the potential of triggering 'centrifugal chaos'. Therefore, the uncertainty and unclear future would not be restricted to the UK, but it might actually spill over into other countries. In addition, the term 'centrifugal chaos' conveys Superlativeness and Negativity at the same time, which intensifies Negativity considerably. Once again, Negativity is constructed and enhanced by Impact and Superlativeness.

Excerpt 7: The Times (London) May 23, 2016, Monday, Edition 1; National Edition

[Osborne: Brexit vote **will trigger recession**]

'Profound' shock could shrink economy by 6%.

Excerpt 7 from the Times reports on the possible outcomes of the Brexit and, once again, Negativity is constructed in terms of bringing about uncertainty, this time with a recession that will be triggered by the Brexit vote. Negativity is constructed and enhanced by the use of two other news values: Impact ('will') and Eliteness (quoting George Osborn), even with Superlativeness by the following terms 'profound' shock could shrink economy', with special emphasis on 'profound'. In this piece, Impact is used both in terms of (adverse) consequences/effects of an event, and the potential effects/consequences ('could').

In the Independent and the Telegraph, other terms are used to construct the same view, as for instance, the use of the word 'risk':

Excerpt 8: Independent, March 23, 2016, Wednesday

[David Cameron says Britain's alcohol business is at **risk from Brexit**]

Downing Street claimed that gin drinkers had benefitted from greater quality of UK gin resulting from higher EU standards.

However, in the Leave-baking Telegraph, in many cases, such Negative frames appear in a wider context of refuting the claim or associating it with other purposes:

Excerpt 9: The Daily Telegraph (London) May 16, 2016, Monday, Edition 3; National Edition

[Hundreds of business leaders back Brexit]

Lord Farmer, the former treasurer of the Conservative Party and the founder of Red Kite Group, who is also a signatory of the letter, writes on the Telegraph website that **warnings of the risk of a Brexit are "misguided".**

Excerpt 10: The Daily Telegraph (London), May 14, 2016, Saturday, Edition 1; National Edition

[IMF accused of trying to 'bully' Britons into staying in the EU]

Europe 2016; Fund's "anti-Brexit" report warning of recession and risks to UK markets will be released on eve of vote. The International Monetary Fund has been accused of trying to bully British voters into staying in the EU after it pledged to publish a report **warning of the risk of a Brexit** on the eve of the EU referendum.

In both Excerpt 9 and Excerpt 10, Negativity comes from outside sources and is relatively undermined. In Excerpt 9, 'Brexit risks' are marked as 'misguided', and in Excerpt 10, the IMF is described as 'trying to bully British voters'. These pointers use a range of different news values, including Eliteness ('IMF', 'treasurer of the Conservative party'), and Negativity ('accuse', 'bully') to construct a certain discourse around the 'the risk of a Brexit'. Of special interest is the absence of Impact in the discourse of the Telegraph. By distancing the news value of Negativity from Impact, Negativity seems to be downplayed significantly in the discourse, compared to other outlets in which a strong association between Negativity and Impact is observed.

Similar patterns can be traced in the other two strategies of ***Negative outcomes*** and ***Accusations and admonitions.*** In mentioning the negative outcomes, similar patterns of news value usage can be observed. This strategy is also heavily intertwined with the news value of Impact. For example, the case of the 'consequences' as a pointer of Negativity:

Excerpt 11: The Guardian, April 22, 2016, Friday

[Barack Obama's EU intervention - the verdict:]

"…the president issued as direct a **warning** of **Brexit's consequences** as British voters are likely to hear between now and 23 June."

In this piece, the pro-Remain Guardian establishes the news value of Negativity in a news story related to and centred around Barack Obama (hence Eliteness+Negativity). Eliteness is used through naming and quoting Barack Obama directly. On the other hand, the tone used for Brexit is heavily negative. Pointers such as 'warning' and 'consequences' both convey a negative image of Brexit and what it might bring about. This combination of Negativity and Eliteness indeed enhances the negativity since it is ascribed to the most powerful man of the world, namely, the US president. Eliteness indeed can be used by an outlet both to associate authority with a specific position or contrarily to sometimes dissociate from a position, ascribing it to an external source (Bednarek and Caple 2017). In this case, however, there is no sign of dissociation, and it can be concluded that it is used to ascribe authority and validity to the presented information.

On the other hand, in the following excerpt from the pro-Leave Daily Telegraph, the 'consequences of a Brexit' are mentioned but significantly downplayed (even refuted) by quoting an Elite figure (Boris Johnson).

Excerpt 12: The Daily Telegraph (London), June 22, 2016, Wednesday, Edition 2; National Edition

[Friday can be 'independence day', says **Boris** as the insults fly:]

He [Boris] described that EU as a "job destroying engine" after being questioned by Ms Davidson over the economic **consequences of a Brexit**.

In this example from the Daily Telegraph, a combination of Eliteness and Negativity is used to downplay and refute the same points observed in Excerpt 11 from the Guardian. Boris Johnson is quoted to debunk the 'economic consequences of a Brexit', even describing the EU as a 'job destroying engine'. This also serves to associate Negativity with the EU, rather than with

Brexit, downplaying the Negativity around Brexit even more. All this illustrates how news values construct several underlying discourses simultaneously.

As for the strategy of *Accusations and admonitions,* a very similar pattern can be observed in the following examples of the pointers 'warning' and 'Brexit'.

Excerpt 13: The Independent (United Kingdom) April 22, 2016

[Barack Obama's intervention in EU referendum debate could be a game-changer:] This time, on one side we have Mr Obama, Mr Cameron, Angela Merkel, François Hollande and the leaders of China, India, Australia, New Zealand and Ireland **all warning against Brexit**.

Excerpt 14: The Daily Telegraph (London), March 11, 2016, Edition 1; National Edition

[OECD **warns Britain over Brexit**: 'This will hurt you more than it will hurt the EU] Catherine Mann, chief economist at the Paris-based think tank, said there would be no winners if Britain left the 28-nation bloc…Pro-Brexit campaigners have described arguments that Britain would suffer a prolonged economic shock if it left the EU as scaremongering. Gerard Lyons, chief economic adviser to Boris Johnson, the Mayor of London, has said that the impact of a Brexit would resemble a "V" or "tick", with an initial downturn followed by a strong rebound after Britain escaped the burden of Brussels.

In Excerpt 13, a series of authorities ('Mr Obama, Mr Cameron, Angela Merkel, François Hollande and the leaders of China, India, Australia') are named to once again establish, Eliteness and Negativity ('warning against') around Brexit. In Excerpt 14 from the Daily Telegraph, OECD is named as the source of the quote that constructs Negativity around Brexit (hence Eliteness+Negativity as two news values used together). However, it seems that in this case, Eliteness is used to distance from their position rather than endorsing it. As it can be observed in the rest of the news story, the stance of OECD is later balanced out with the pro-Brexit campaigners' position on the same issue, undermining the authority and perhaps even the veracity of their positions. As mentioned previously, Eliteness can be used both to associate

and dissociate the newspaper's views with a specific stance in the discourse. In this case, we can observe an instance of dissociation in the wider context of the news item analysed.

7.2.3. Positivity

In terms of Positivity around Brexit, there are few statistically significant collocations (see Figure 7-2). The only ones considered as potential pointers are *improve* and *favour*. However, in this case, the noteworthy finding is the amount of constructed Positivity in the discourse found in the Telegraph, compared to the almost absence of this news value in the discourse of the pro-Remain newspapers. It was clear from the news values distribution (Table 7-3 and Figure 7-2) that the pro-Remain newspapers shied away from constructing any positivity in their coverage of Brexit. Curiously, the Telegraph is the newspaper that used the highest number of NVs of both Positivity and Negativity.

Newspaper	The Guardian	The Independent	The Times	The Telegraph
Linguistic pointers of the news value of Positivity			improve	favour improve

Table 7-5 Linguistic pointers to Positivity for Brexit

The pointer *favour*, for example, was used in the Telegraph discourse to construct the Positivity of some particular groups endorsing Brexit over a Remain position:

Excerpt 15: The Daily Telegraph (London), May 25, 2016, Wednesday, Edition 1, National Edition

[Women rightly see the EU as a threat to family]

Could this explain why a poll by Netmums shows that women are more likely to see the EU as a threat to family life, and **mothers are inclined to favour Brexit**?

The story very clearly represents mothers and families as supporting Brexit, and at the same time constructs a very Negative and anti-family picture of the EU. Referring to Netmums also constructs Eliteness. This is particularly interesting since Netmums is a well-known parenting advice institution and, therefore, backs up the intended narrative of the news story. In this case, once again, different news values are combined to enhance the message. In addition to the pattern observed in some previous examples, where news values were used synergistically and hierarchically, news values are used antagonistically in this instance to enhance the degree of Positivity about Brexit intended by the newspaper. That is to say, a negative picture of the EU is constructed adjacent to a positive tone on Brexit, which might indeed enhance the resonance and saliency of both of these narratives by juxtaposition.

Additionally, this is another example showing how Negativity and Positivity are constructed in relation to the ideological values of the newspaper. Since the Telegraph has a more conservative readership, it might be exalting (traditional) family life and motherhood as very positive values with potential ideological orientations. This once again shows how news values usage is highly charged with ideological and social implications both in terms of representation (how a particular view is represented in discourse) and legitimisation of certain ways of life over others (traditional conservative family life over other ways that are not mentioned in this text).

The pointer 'improve' is also used in the Telegraph discourse by mentioning how Brexit would improve certain aspects of life and therefore putting Positivity in tandem with Impact:

Excerpt 16: The Daily Telegraph (London), June 7, 2016, Tuesday, Edition 2; National Edition

[Referendum vote may come down to the wire]

The third strategic truth this series of ORB polls has highlighted is the belief among voters that Britain's **economy will benefit from remaining in the EU**, while **immigration will be improved by Brexit**.

In Excerpt 16, there is a noteworthy dichotomy that reveals how news values are associated with different topics related to Brexit, constructing multiple levels of discourse within the same piece. First of all, mentioning ORB (a renowned polling company) as the source of polls constructs a certain level of Eliteness and establishes authority in the discourse. Later in the piece, two positions are juxtaposed to construct a very specific narrative of how Brexit is perceived by the public. On the one hand, 'benefit' is associated with economy (constructing Positivity), and then an 'improved immigration' (again constructing Positivity). The topic of Immigration will be dealt with later in this chapter under its corresponding semantic field, but the way immigration and Brexit are intertwined in this piece is of great relevance; 'improved immigration' is used as a positive pointer for Brexit by the Telegraph, which could be highly demonstrative of the narratives and discourses about immigration endorsed by the Telegraph. This goes in line with other studies' findings, including Makki's (2019; 2020), on how news values analysis can reveal ideological differences and the influence of discursive practices and socio-political context of the wider society in news discourse, and Maruenda-Bataller's (2021) on how DNVA can be adopted to analyse the ideological discursive construction of a certain topic by revealing different discourses surrounding it.

7.2.4. Impact

In the semantic field of Brexit, three discursive strategies are adopted to convey Impact. The first one is the straightforward mentioning of the ***effects and impacts*** of Brexit. The second is ***prediction***, which includes statements with high certainty about what will happen after Brexit. The third strategy includes a more ***speculative*** aspect; that is to say, conjecturing about the possible future effects of Brexit, mostly using modals. Some parts of this news value usage actually parallel with Negativity through uncertainty, but not strongly enough to be categorised as constructing risk and uncertainty in most cases. In other words, the main difference between

prediction and speculation is the degree of certainty expressed in the reporting on the conse-quences or repercussions of Brexit.

Once again, a noteworthy observation is how the coverage of the three pro-Remain news-papers is similar in this aspect, irrespective of whether they are left or right-wing. The Tele-graph, however, consistently downplayed the impacts of Brexit by avoiding the use of such news value in its discourse.

Strategies in the news value of Impact	The Guardian	The Independent	The Times	The Telegraph
Effects and impacts	effects effect impact affect	affect cause impact make	factor impact effect	impact
Prediction	predicts prospect mean bring	will following after	happens Mean put	
Speculation (modals)	could might	could would if how	would could might	

Table 7-6 Linguistic pointers of Impact for Brexit across strategies and newspapers

Excerpt 17: The Independent (United Kingdom), June 14, 2016, Tuesday, EU referendum.

[Poll reveals 10-point swing towards Brexit as Leave campaign gains momentum] **Warnings** about **the economic impact** of Brexit appear to have hit home.

In this piece, the economic impact of Brexit is not only constructed as certain ('already hit home'), but also as negative. Therefore, a hierarchy of news values similar to the examples in the Negativity section (7.2.2) can be observed. The phrase 'hit home' can also be interpreted as conveying Proximity and Timeliness, both in the service of amplifying the negative Impact. In other cases, Impact is constructed by means of speculation alongside uncertainty and risk and, therefore, possible negative outcomes:

[Brexit: two-thirds foresee no negative impact on their finances]

This study shows that the issue of how **Brexit could affect individuals financially** is more likely than immigration to **cause uncertainty** in how they would vote," said Duffy… Attempts to convince the public they will be worse off if Britain leaves the EU are falling on deaf ears, according to an Ipsos Mori poll that shows two-thirds of the electorate don't foresee any negative impact on their personal finances from Brexit.

In this piece, the central subject is how two-third of voters do not think they would be affected negatively by Brexit on the personal level, while an expert warns that this is actually an important issue for the voters (even more than Immigration). Eliteness, in this case, is used to convey more credibility and authority to the presented information since there is no sign of distancing in the rest of the piece. At the same time, phrases such as 'cause uncertainty' add to the Negativity conveyed by the piece. Although the Impact constructed in these cases is not as powerful as in the previous example, and the news story has a warning tone in this Excerpt, there is still the suggestion of having an impact, and probably a negative one. Finally, the whole excerpt is a quote from an expert, and hence, Eliteness is also used in constructing newswor-thiness by adding credibility and authority to the presented information. Such predictions are not exclusive to the left-wing newspapers but also can be found in the right-wing pro-Remain Times:

[Brexit would force banks out]

Brexit would force banks out, says City policy chief Mark Boleat, **policy chairman at the City of London Corporation**, has said that voting to leave the European Union would create **a "shock" in the financial services** industry and **reduce investment in the economy**. In a speech, he warned **that Brexit could mean businesses leaving London.**

In this example, Impact is accompanied by Negativity, and Eliteness, by quoting a high-ranking expert on the topic. The newsmakers here are using Eliteness to convey authority since the 'policy chairman at the City of London Corporation' is quoted on a closely related matter (economy), and there is nothing to distance the outlet from his position in the rest of the piece.

On the other hand, apart from quantitatively downplaying Impact (see section 7.2.1) the Telegraph sometimes attempts to mitigate the negative impacts of Brexit in its discourse as well:

Excerpt 20: The Daily Telegraph (London), June 16, 2016, Thursday, Edition 1; National Edition
[Fact checker Osborne's 'Brexit Budget']

Most independent economic studies suggest Brexit **would have a shortterm impact** on economic growth.

The word 'shortterm' actually mitigates the degree of Negativity that is constructed in the discourse in this instance, especially shifting the modality from deontic to intrinsic (Schulze & Hohaus, 2020) and using hypothetical modal 'would' instead of 'will'. In addition, Eliteness is also used in this case in a twofold manner that presents a highly ideological use of this news value. Both of the pointers, 'Osborne' and 'Most independent economic studies', indicate Eliteness in this piece but in different manners. The outlet indeed distances its discourse from Osborne's position (who was a staunch Remainer during the campaign) by citing and associating itself with other sources of authority ('economic studies') that refute his position, also because it is in the fact-checking section which implies that Osborne's views are not really based on facts.

7.2.5. Eliteness

The construction of Eliteness includes three main discursive strategies. In some cases, an elite figure or a leader is directly mentioned by their ***Proper names***. In other cases, the news

story includes references to an ***Authority Role or Social deixis***, and finally, a wide range of structures showing the ***support and endorsement*** of a position or prediction by an elite figure or institution.

Strategies in the news value of Eliteness	The Guardian	The Independent	The Times	The Telegraph
Proper names	Carney George Osborne Johnson		Hammond Boris	
Authority roles (social deixis)	Queen Ministers Economists		Ministers	economists
Support and endorsement	backs backing supporting thinks backed leading	backs backing support says say	backs supporting leading	backing back

Table 7-7 Linguistic pointers for Eliteness across strategies and newspapers

In the previous section, some examples have illustrated the way Eliteness is used synergistically with other news values to construct newsworthiness. In this section, however, I focus specifically on how these newspapers construct a for/against position towards Brexit through attributed discourse, thus using Eliteness. Eliteness is generally used in two ways. In some cases it is employed to construct support and endorsement of the intended positions in discourse. In other instances, it is adopted to distance from certain opinions by quoting an external source. Overall, as seen before in the distribution of news values (see section 7.2.1.), The Guardian especially emphasised Eliteness to construct Brexit. However, the case of the Leave-backing Telegraph seems to be more interesting. The Telegraph, in general, used Eliteness quite frequently in quantitative terms (see section 7.2.1). However, it tended to stay away from leaders and prominent figures, and the only times they construct Eliteness is either by quoting

economists in general as a source of authority or showing the support and endorsements through the terms 'back' and 'backing'. This could show how the pro-Leave side coverage tended to be consistent with the properties of populist discourse, in this case, by staying away from the elite as much as possible. This point could be seen in the following excerpt from the Telegraph:

Excerpt 21: The Daily Telegraph (London), February 23, 2016, Tuesday, Edition 2; National Edition

[One in three Tory MPs confirm they will be **backing Brexit**]

Downing Street had thought fewer than 80 Conservative MPs **would back a Brexit**, but many appear to have been emboldened by the decisions of Boris Johnson and Michael Gove, the Justice Secretary, to vote to leave.

The news story about the vote intention plays around with the notion of endorsement by a number of MPs (MPs would back a Brexit), and even names Boris Johnson and Michael Gove. Therefore, the newsworthiness of Brexit, in this case, is constructed around Eliteness in a specific way. On a deeper level, such endorsement actually gives voice to an allegedly neglected group of MPs that now, following two prominent MPs, 'have been emboldened' and dare to speak out. The ways Eliteness is used to associate with an ideological stance or otherwise distance from it in other outlets has been shown in various previous examples throughout this section.

To sum up, from what has been observed in the analysis of data related to the search term of Brexit, certain tendencies in using news values can be detected. In general, the discourse of pro-Remain newspapers shows certain similarities, with a specific negative focus on representing Brexit, especially in terms of its outcomes. The news value of Negativity is used in the discourse of these newspapers very frequently, often accompanied by other news values such as Impact and Superlativeness to amplify it. On the other hand, the pro-Leave Telegraph tends

to stay away from such negative construction, mainly attributing it to outside sources. In addition, the news value of Eliteness was observed in many examples with a dual intention, sometimes to build support for certain positions and sometimes to dissociate from and establish distance with it, in harmony with the broader narratives and representation intended by the outlet.

7.3. Economy

7.3.1. Distribution of overall news values

As mentioned already in previous sections, Economy was an important part of the coverage of the Brexit referendum. Table 7-8 shows the absolute and normalised frequencies of occurrence of news values along with the Chi-square test P-value for this semantic field.

Frequeny	Guardian		Independent		Times		Telegraph		P-value
	Absolute	Normal	Absolute	Normal	Absolute	Normal	Absolute	Normal	
Negativity	3048	36.78%	1428	33.98%	527	30.84%	24	13.87%	<0,001
Eliteness	668	8.06%	467	11.11%	168	9.83%	9	5.20%	<0,001
Impact	1292	15.59%	650	15.47%	178	10.42%	27	15.61%	<0,001
Personalization	137	1.65%	387	9.21%	118	6.90%	0	0.00%	<0,001
Positivity	745	8.99%	345	8.21%	98	5.73%	42	24.28%	<0,001
superlativeness	422	5.09%	18	0.43%	158	9.25%	40	23.12%	<0,001
Proximity	1876	22.64%	785	18.68%	378	22.12%	20	11.56%	<0,001
Timeliness	100	1.21%	123	2.93%	84	4.92%	11	6.36%	<0,001
Total Collocations	8288	100.00%	4203	100.00%	1709	100.00%	173	100.00%	

Table 7-8 News values frequency (absolute and normal) and Chi-square p-value for the semantic field of Economy

As seen in the table, all the observed differences in the frequencies of news values are statistically significant (<0,001). Figure 7-4 offers a visual representation of the normalised frequencies.
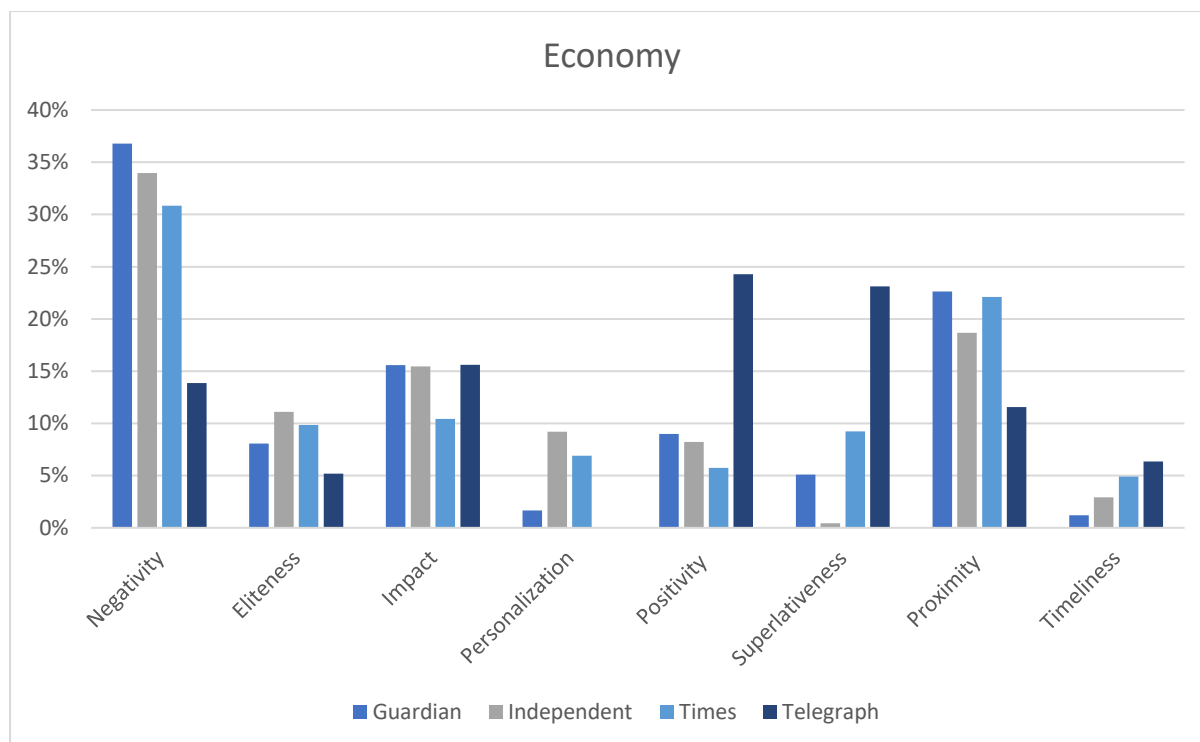
Figure 7-4 Normalised frequencies of news values for the semantic field of Economy

In the semantic field of Economy, Negativity stands out by far compared to all other news values except for Positivity and Superlativeness, which are the most frequently used news values in the Telegraph. The pro-Remain newspapers, both on the left (Guardian-Independent) and on the right (Times), used Negativity much more frequently in comparison with the pro-Leave Telegraph. The next news value used across the corpus is Proximity, with a very similar distribution across the four data sets to that of Negativity: considerably higher in the pro-Remain papers on the left and on the right, and almost half as frequent in the Pro-Leave Telegraph. Impact is also among the most frequently used news values in Economy, with a similar distribution across the different sub-corpora. Eliteness was also adopted almost similarly in pro-Remain newspapers, but nearly half as frequently in the pro-Leave Telegraph. Personalization is almost non-existent in the Telegraph and seldom used in the Guardian, but highly used by Independent and Times on the left and right with a pro-Remain stance. We can observe a tendency for the pro-Leave Telegraph to make greater use of the news values of Positivity, Super-

lativeness and, to a lesser extent, Timeliness. This is especially marked in Positivity and Su-

perlativeness. In general, the pro-Remain outlets offered a more negative and less positive im-

age of the economy, while the pro-Leave Telegraph tended to do the opposite. Both sides also

tried to emphasize the Impact and used Eliteness, although the Telegraph does that with lower

frequency compared to other outlets. In addition, the way Eliteness is adopted in the discourse

of the pro-Leave Telegraph seems to be different as well. In the news value of Personalization,

however, a left-right divide can be observed, which probably shows that the right-wing outlets

tried to emphasise the personal aspects of the economic outcomes of Brexit. All these points

will be dealt with in detail in the rest of this section.

7.3.2. Negativity

Four different discursive strategies are adopted to convey Negativity as a news value in

the semantic field of Economy: The first one is the ***crisis frames***. This entails associating the

economic matters of Brexit with different features of the economic crisis. The second one is

the ***shock frame***. That is to say, Brexit is associated with a shock or a hit in terms of economic

matters. The third one is constructing newsworthiness in terms of ***turmoil and uncertainty***,

which means employing a range of semantic choices, referring to instability and economic

volatility. Finally, the fourth strategy is ***negative predictions***, which includes mentioning con-

sequences and impacts directly, warning and admonishing, or forecasting and future predic-

tions (Table 7-9).

Strategies in the news value of Negativity	The Guardian	The Independent	The Times	The Telegraph
Crisis frames	downturn slowdown crisis Less lose reduce barriers deficit inflation	deficit suffer fall less last lower less barriers output	crisis crises less underperformed slower slowed downgraded slowing slow	damage slower weak slowdown

	lower slows slowed slower slowing slow weak weaker slowdown damage losing costs problems cost crisis slowing shrink hurting weakening harm	negative price slower slowed crisis cost crisis issue slowing smaller suffer damage lost negative costs damage slumps investment fallout profound dangers	weak weaker lower slowdown low recession lost cut less shrink slowing suffer damage	
Shock frames	shock hits hit crash	crash Hit bomb shocks shock	crash stress shock	
Turmoil and uncertainty	uncertainty turbulence turmoil volatility risk risks war strike fragile	volatility risk stability volatility uncertainty risks turmoil battle	turmoil volatile volatility fears uncertainty risk risks uncertainty	
Negative predictions	could showing consequences	could forecast forecasts prospects leading put would warning warns warnings consequences impact	consequences Put consequences warnings	

Table 7-9 Linguistic pointers of Negativity for Economy across strategies and newspapers

From the overall distribution (Figure 7-4) and the range of pointers (Table 7-9), it is clear that the only pro-Leave newspaper considerably downplayed the negative aspects of Economy in its discourse. The coverage of such aspects in this newspaper is restricted to the scant appearance of some crisis frames, without any specific reference and newsworthiness construction of *shock scenario, turmoil*, *and uncertainty*, or any detectable mentioning of the considerable number of negative *predictions* that were made related to the economic aspect of Brexit by experts. On the other hand, all three pro-Remain newspapers heavily invested in Negativity as a strategy to construct newsworthiness in the semantic field of Economy.

The following excerpt, for example, shows how pro-Leave and pro-Remain newspapers constructed Negativity in the semantic field of Economy:

Excerpt 22: The Guardian, May 31, 2016
[view on the economics of Brexit: a fact-based fear; The **Treasury's** assessment of the economic consequences of leaving Europe cannot be dismissed as scaremongering]

The Treasury assessment concludes that economic slowdown following a Brexit and a new trading relationship with Europe would amount to the loss of £36bn in tax receipts.

Similar to previous examples, Negativity is constructed in terms of Impact and Eliteness ('Treasury'), with some implications of Superlativeness in the following sentence, mentioning the considerable amount of loss in tax receipts. Superlativeness is even more intertwined with Negativity and Impact in the case of shock frames. The metaphorical meaning of these strategies serves the purpose of building both Negativity and Impact for the semantic field of Economy:

Excerpt 23: The Independent, Sunday, March 6, 2016, First Edition
[If we leave the EU, will our wealth walk out too?]

the proponents of "remain" claim it **could take a decade** to recover from **the economic shock** of leaving."

In this example, one result of leaving the EU is described as a substantial economic shock, recovering from which might take a decade. Therefore, Negativity is not only enhanced by Impact but also by Superlativeness ('it could take a decade').

In contrast, the pro-Leave Telegraph not only used Negativity much less frequently when constructing the semantic field of Economy (see section 7.3.1), but the way this news value was adopted in this field also showed major differences with other newspapers. In most cases, pointers such as 'economic crisis' were indeed attributed to the EU rather than the UK (see some concordance lines in Figure 7-5).

Figure 7-5 Concordance lines for 'economic crisis'

Excerpt 24: The Daily Telegraph (London), March 10, 2016 Thursday, Edition 1; National Edition.

[By leaving the EU, **Britain could save** Europe from certain calamity]

The eurozone is **broken**, and another, far **greater economic crisis** inevitable"

Excerpt 24 is similar to other examples where a juxtaposition of two opposite discourses is made to convey a specific message: The eurozone is highly negatively constructed by the pointer 'broken', and by further associating 'economic crisis' with it. The economic crisis is attributed to the EU rather than Britain, and Brexit is constructed as the way out of it ('Britain could save'). Other news values that are used to enhance the message are Consonance ('another') and Superlativeness ('far greater'). As can be seen, the same combinations of news

values can be adopted to construct the message with entirely different ideological orientations while various discourses are adopted at multiple levels within the news item. Certain topics are constructed in completely different ways, not only by the amount of Negativity associated with them but also in terms of how news values are used to construct the same semantic field, representing different discourses.

7.3.3. Positivity

In the semantic field of Economy, Positivity was much more salient compared to other semantic fields in general. The pointers, in this case, can be divided into four major strategies: projecting a *positive outlook*, mentioning *economic growth*, focusing on *economic strength*, and *projecting stability*.

Strategies in the news value of Positivity	The Guardian	The Independent	The Times	The Telegraph
Positive outlook		brighter free good success freely	revive good outperformed	promoting (strength/growth) positive jobs positive
Growth	grew growing grow	growing higher	rapid (growth) growth	innovation investment
Strength	strong profits benefits boost	benefits Boost strong stronger support	benefits robust strong	protecting strong
Stability	stability		stability	

Table 7-10 Linguistic pointers of Positivity for Economy across strategies and newspapers

Interesting differences can be observed in this case as well: the pro-Leave Telegraph adopted Positivity with much more frequency than the others (see Figure 7-4) and in an interestingly different manner. It was also the only newspaper that mentioned the issue of 'jobs' as

a crucial part of the discourse. They meaningfully projected a picture of 'steady growth in jobs' by constructing the news value of Positivity around economic matters of Brexit, while the others tended to stay away from discussing employment. The following examples are enlightening in this regard.

Excerpt 25: The Daily Telegraph (London), June 23, 2016, Thursday, Edition 2; National Edition

[Banks' secret Brexit fallback dossier]

It [Brexit] also means slashing red tape. The proposals suggest "rethinking the UK's regulatory approach ... to **support jobs, growth and competitiveness"**.

In Excerpt 25, Brexit is constructed as being able to 'slash red tape' and make it possible for the UK to promote jobs and growth. Such associations between Brexit, jobs, and growth repeatedly occur throughout the coverage in the Telegraph, while the Remain backing newspapers do not depict a positive outlook in this regard in comparison with the pro-Leave newspaper. This is while the majority of experts predicted that a possible Brexit was harmful to the Economy in general.

In terms of growth, the Telegraph goes further than just economic growth and presents a discourse of a future with more 'innovation' and 'investment' as a positive outcome of Brexit:

Excerpt 26: The Daily Telegraph, March 14, 2016, Monday Edition 1; National Edition

[How George Osborne could climb out of his Budget black hole:]

The chairmen of the select committees on Education and Business are wrong to state that "leaving the EU would cut us off from frameworks that lead **to innovation, driving economic growth**, creating jobs and improving lives"

As seen in Excerpt 26, the news story refutes all the pessimistic predictions about the fall in innovation, implying that Brexit would not be harmful. This also means that all those predictions are wrong, which conveys Eliteness. On the other hand, innovation does not even appear as a potential pointer with search terms related to the semantic field of Economy in the

pro-Remain newspapers. This could show a lack of clear strategy in discussing and informing the citizens over important details that might have indeed played a decisive role in how the broader discourse of Brexit is shaped by the Leave camp. This is especially noteworthy when putting vis-à-vis previous initial findings of the media discourse of Brexit, especially with Buckledee's (2018) remarks that describe the Remain campaign discourse as dispassionate and spiritless. Such examples can indicate that in addition to being lacklustre in tone, the Remain campaign probably also failed to convey a comprehensive and detailed answer to some key points reflected and constructed in the discourse of the Leave camp.

In the same line, the Positivity constructed for Economy on the part of the pro-Remain newspapers was significantly lower in terms of normalised frequency (see section 7.3.1) and therefore scant in the discourse of those outlets. This is illustrated in the following Excerpt from the Independent:

Excerpt 27: The Independent (United Kingdom), June 20, 2016 Monday 8:06 AM GMT

[**Car industry leaders** back Remain campaign:]

Prime Minister David Cameron said in a message on Twitter: "The UK car industry is clear - we should **remain in the EU for a strong economy**."

The piece is constructed in terms of Eliteness with multiple references to elite figures, including 'car industry leaders' and 'Prime Minister David Cameron'. In this case, Eliteness is probably used compassionately, that is to say, to give authority and credence to the presented information. The information is indeed quoted twice, from two elite sources; 'Prime Minister David Cameron', indeed quotes another elite source 'Car industry leaders'. However, apart from the low level of positivity around Economy in the discourse of pro-Remain papers, it should be noted that probably such a combination of news values (Elitenesss+Positivity) might not be the most effective communicative and discursive strategy in a referendum marked by anti-elite sentiments (Iakhnis, 2018).

7.3.4. Impact

In the semantic field of Economy, there is a similarity in the use of Impact in all four newspapers. However, similar to the previous examples in the news values of Negativity and Positivity, Economy is constructed qualitatively differently across different newspapers, mostly in terms of other news values that accompany Impact.

Strategies in the news value of Impact	The Guardian	The Independent	The Times	The Telegraph
Effects and impacts	Impact increase	caused impact	Impact influence	Cause results
Prediction	outlook prospects forecasts	forecasts	forecasts prospects forecasts prospects	head
Speculation (modals)		if should	could would	

Table 7-11 Linguistic pointers of Impact for Economy across strategies and newspapers

In the previous sections on Negativity and Positivity, we have observed many examples of how Impact accompanied Negativity/Positivity to construct different representations of the economic issues surrounding Brexit. In this section, I mention two additional examples where Impact is the primary news value:

Excerpt 28: The Independent, Daily Edition, May 24, 2016, Tuesday, First Edition.

[The B&Q Chainsaw Jobs Massacre; project Fear steps up a gear as Cameron and Osborne tell you, me and B&Q to do what they say or face the consequences]

We thought we'd been summoned to B&Q so that no living organism could be allowed not to get the Chancellor's joke about the 'DIY recession.' But then, as George Osborne read out his **terrifying booklet on 'The Immediate Economic Impact of Leaving the EU'** he was suddenly interrupted by the **unmistakeable sound of a petrol chainsaw being fired into action**.

Excerpt 29: The Telegraph, May 13, 2016, Friday, Edition 1; National Edition

[Brexit could drive UK into recession, warns Carney]

Mark Carney said Brexit could have a "material economic impact" resulting in falling house prices, rising mortgage costs and lower living standards.

In Excerpt 28, the Independent intensifies the negative impacts using phrases such as 'terrifying booklet' and the metaphor: 'unmistakeable sound of a petrol chainsaw being fired into action'. However, in Excerpt 29, the Telegraph tries to minimise Negativity ('falling house prices, rising mortgage costs and lower living standards') through hedging devices ('Brexit could have'). Telegraph also uses Eliteness ('Mark Carney') and Impact ('resulting in'), but it seems that quoting Carney, in this case, is more to distance itself from his position rather than to endorse it, especially considering the hedging devices used. In these examples, both news-papers construct Impact through Eliteness: the Independent uses George Osborne as the source of information, whereas the Telegraph uses Mark Carney. However, I would suggest that even their usage of Eliteness in these cases is somewhat different. Considering the potential differ-ence between the readership of the two newspapers, I would conjure that the Independent uses Eliteness to enhance the Impact and Negativity constructed in its discourse around Economy. The endorsement of Osborne's position can be seen in the tone of this piece, especially in the formerly mentioned Negativity intensifiers that are aligned with his message. Nevertheless, the Telegraph uses Mark Carney rather disparagingly to undermine the Negativity and Impact that come from the information he provides. This could be even triangulated intertextually at this stage of analysis, considering the overall discourses these outlets tend to construct around Brexit in the other examples discussed so far. This seems not to be a very far-fetching conjec-ture since the Telegraph was backing a Leave position and anti-elite discourse was an essential part of such position during the Brexit referendum. This also suggests that news values such as Eliteness or Impact could be used positively or negatively depending on the interpretive context of elite figures and the references used in each case.

7.3.5. Eliteness

A stark difference can be observed between the pro-Leave Telegraph and the rest of the newspapers in using Eliteness in the discursive construction of the semantic field of Economy. While all three pro-Remain papers on the left and the right heavily invested in Eliteness as a news value, in the Telegraph's discourse, the use of this news value lacked any statistical significance. Other papers clung to a range of political figures, authorities, and experts to make their point. However, the Telegraph just had some scant Eliteness pointers in reference to Sajid Javid (then secretary of Business). This is a particularly interesting point in a referendum heavily under the influence of populism and anti-elite movements, as it was also the tendency in the semantic field of Brexit (see section 7.2.).

Strategies in the news value of Eliteness	The Guardian	The Independent	The Times	The Telegraph
Proper names	Sajid (Javid) (Joshua) Mahony (Michael) Hewson analyst	Angela (Merkel) (Boris) Johnsons Emmanuel (Macron)		(Sajid) Javid
Authority roles (social deixis)	leaders lords head chief	leaders shadow secretary editor institute commissioner minister leaders institutions Experts traders	leaders minister authority adviser	

Table 7-12 Linguistic pointers of Eliteness for Economy across strategies and newspapers

As observed in previous examples, Eliteness is an interesting strategy to construct support for or distance from certain positions. In those cases, the newspaper normally uses other

linguistic resources to either endorse and therefore adopt Eliteness as reinforcement of its position or distance itself from said position (see Excerpt 13 and Excerpt 14). In other cases, such association/dissociation might not be shown explicitly, but conveyed implicitly (see Excerpt 28 and Excerpt 29). We have already seen many examples in previous sections containing the news value of Eliteness. Since the rest of the examples show similar patterns to the discourse in this section, there seems to be no need for more excerpts from the corpus for this section.

7.3.6. Personalization

In all cases, the three pro-Remain newspapers constructed Personalization with the same collocation: ***our economy.***

Newspaper	Linguistic Pointers
Guardian	Our
Independent	Our
Times	Our
Telegraph	

Table 7-13 Linguistic pointers to Personalization in Economy

Excerpt 30: The Guardian, May 31, 2016, Tuesday

[Prospect of Brexit is the biggest risk that UK economy faces]

EU membership reinforces the dynamism of the UK economy and the prospect of Brexit is the biggest domestic risk that **our economy** faces

As observed in this instance, in line with the dominant discourse of the pro-Remain newspapers, a range of different news values are adopted to discursively construct Brexit in a certain manner. In these cases, Personalization is also added to the mix, probably to bring it closer to readers. The interesting point is also the absence of such constructions in the Telegraph coverage. This is probably due to the fact that (especially in the semantic field of Economy) the

Telegraph would have known that the negative impacts of Brexit are undeniable, and, therefore, strategically tried to avoid personalization. This strategy may convey the message that such economic impacts would not be on a personal level. This might help the readers conceive of the economic Impact in general terms rather than directly hitting them, which consequently makes it easier to ignore since it is represented on a much less concrete level.

A side note that should be mentioned here is that the pointer 'our' could be codified as conveying Proximity as well. However, I would say it constructs Personalisation more than Proximity. In the examples mentioned in this section, what I understand from the collocation 'our economy' is making it personal rather than near or close. It is, however, not a very clear-cut distinction, but in the end, each pointer had to be coded into one specific news value, as discussed in the methodology section.

7.3.7. Superlativeness

In the semantic fields of Economy, Superlativeness is used in very similar ways across the corpus, mainly through a range of familiar intensifiers such as the 'Largest market' in the world. No meaningful differences were found in the patterns of usage across the four newspapers with this specific pointer.

Newspaper	Linguistic Pointers
Guardian	Largest (market)
Independent	Largest (market)
Times	Largest (market)
Telegraph	Fifth Second Largest (Market)

Table 7-14 Linguistic Pointers to Superlativeness in the semantic field of Economy

Some examples of this pointer in its concordance lines across the corpus are shown below in Figure 7-6.
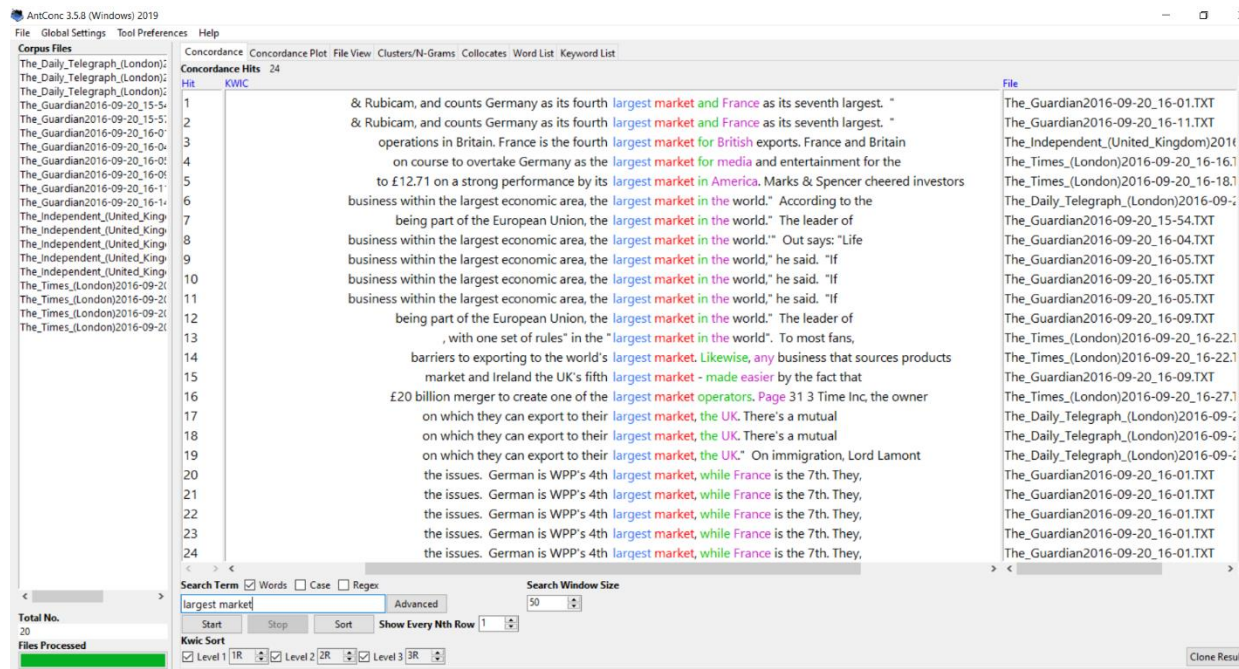
Figure 7-6 Concordance lines for the pointer 'largest market'

It should be noted that we have observed Superlativeness in many other examples so far, accompanying other news values, mostly to construct the newsworthiness of the story and support the discourses each outlet adopts based on their ideological inclination (see Excerpt 22, Excerpt 23, and Excerpt 24).

In the semantic field of Economy, we can highlight some main findings regarding how news values were used in the coverage of different outlets. Similar to the findings observed in the area of Brexit (see section 7.2), the pro-Leave outlet tried to downplay the Negativity around Economy, while the pro-Remain newspapers highlighted this news value not only by using it more frequently in their coverage but also by combining it with other news values such as Impact, Superlativeness, and Eliteness in various instances. In addition, in the semantic field of Economy, there seems to be a deliberate editorial decision in the case of the Telegraph to

convey much Positivity around Economy and create a more hopeful message, contrary to the mainstream consensus on the adverse economic outcomes of Brexit. Similar to the area of Brexit, Eliteness is used across the corpus to either build support and legitimacy or on the contrary, to create distance from a certain position in accordance with the broader narratives that each outlet tends to construct in their coverage.

7.4. Immigration

7.4.1. Distribution of overall news values

Immigration was another controversial topic during Brexit, as it was clear from previous research and confirmed by the results of frequency and cluster analysis in our corpus. The frequency and distribution of news values in this semantic field is shown in Table 7-15.

Frequency	Guardian		Independent		Times		Telegraph		P-value
	Absolute	Normal	Absolute	Normal	Absolute	Normal	Absolute	Normal	
Negativity	339	64%	145	37.86%	36	55%	22	45%	<0,001
Eliteness	0	0%	16	4.18%	0	0%	0	0%	<0,001
Impact	193	36%	196	51.17%	25	38%	24	49%	<0,001
Positivity	0	0%	26	6.79%	5	8%	3	6%	<0,001
Total Collocations	532	100%	383	100.00%	66	100%	49	100%	

Table 7-15 News values frequency (absolute and normal) and Chi-square p-value for the semantic field of Immigration

With all the p-values within statistically significant margins, the visual representation of the normalised frequencies of news values is as follows:
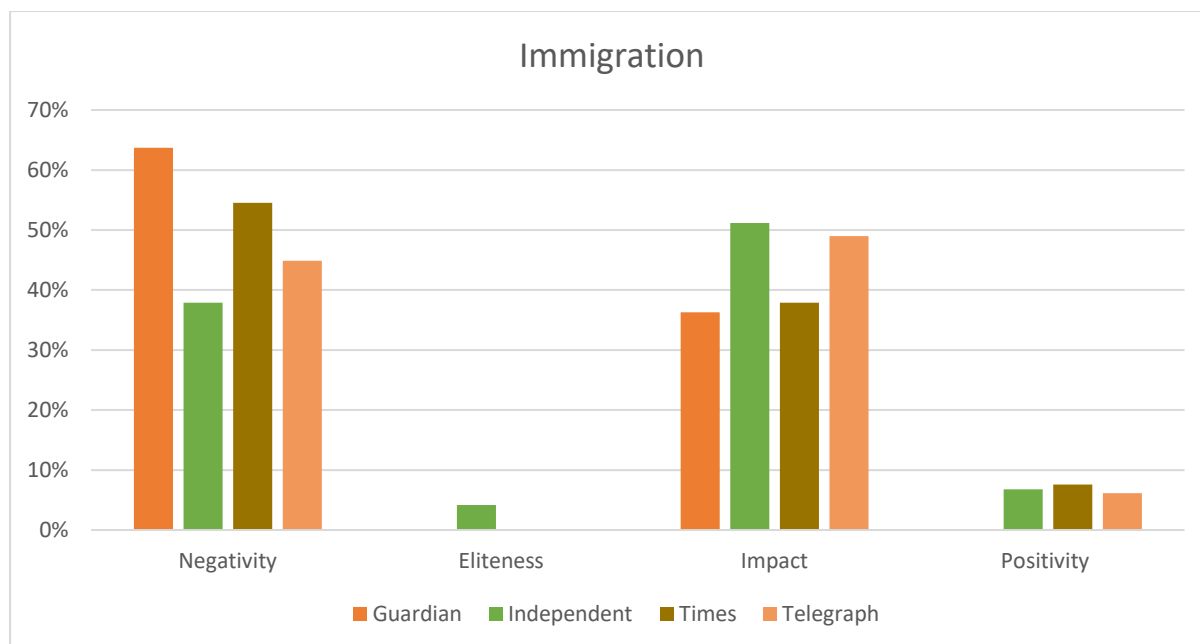
Figure 7-7 Normalised frequencies of news values for the semantic field of Immigration

In immigration, the pattern is highly similar across the four data sets. First and foremost, the data show a very high presence of Negativity and Impact in all four newspapers, with the left-wing Guardian being on top but closely followed by all the others. Impact is the second most frequent news value with high numbers for all the four sub-corpora. The amount of Positivity is scant, especially in comparison with Negativity, while Eliteness is almost negligible, only present in a very small amount in the Independent.

7.4.2. Negativity

The news value of Negativity was pervasive in the construction of Immigration (see section 7.4.1). Negativity in the area of Immigration was constructed using three main discursive strategies: one set of pointers indicated *lack of control* (uncontrolled and mass being the most salient collocates). The second group associated Immigration with *fears and concerns* about the future. Finally, the third group of pointers associated *dangers and problems* with Immigration. An interesting observation, in this case, is that the left-wing Guardian was the newspaper that

constructed Negativity with the highest frequency. This point might seem counter-intuitive since the Guardian is generally considered a progressive and pro-immigration newspaper. However, the context in which this Negativity is used should be considered, as we will observe some examples further in this section. Other newspapers, however, followed the Guardian very closely in terms of quantity. On the other hand, although the right-wing and pro-Leave Telegraph has similar numbers of Negativity in this semantic field, the range of the strategies used was somehow limited compared to other newspapers (Table 7-16).

Strategies in the news value of Negativity	The Guardian	The Independent	The Times	The Telegraph
Lack of control	uncontrolled mass illegal cut (being necessary)	uncontrolled mass	uncontrolled mass	
Fears and concerns	concerns concern concerned fears fear	concerns concerned	concern concerns fears	concern concerns
Danger and problems	terrorism issue issues	linking (to a problem/danger) issue issues	issue	Trap issue

Table 7-16 Linguistic pointers of Negativity for Immigration across strategies and newspapers

In examining the contexts of these Negative constructions in the three pro-Remain newspapers, one crucial caveat should be mentioned. In many cases, the negative pointers appear in the quotes from the pro-Leave figures, sometimes even used in the discourse of the newspaper with the intention of debunking or at least casting doubt on them. The following excerpts containing the phrase 'uncontrolled immigration' illustrate this point:

Excerpt 31: The Guardian, May 12, 2016, Thursday

[Public consent is key in immigration debate, says Boris Johnson]

"We're not going to have **uncontrolled immigration**, but we're not going to get into the situation of how many and by when - that depends on the system you bring in. What you don't have is increases of the scale that we've seen in the past few years."

In this example, the Guardian just quotes Boris Johnson on the matter without showing great empathy or support for his discourse. Although he is saying 'we're NOT going to have uncontrolled immigration', his discourse is still highly anti-immigrant. The news story is devoid of any other news values or linguistic resources to construct strong support for his discourse. Therefore, it can be said that in this case, once again, Eliteness might be used to create distance with a discourse rather than endorsement.

 In the other left-wing pro-Remain newspaper, similar quotes are present that legitimise and normalise the representation of immigration as uncontrolled:

Excerpt 32: The Independent (United Kingdom), June 19, 2016, Sunday
[Why I'm Out: To be against the EU is not to be against Europe]

"One can be passionately in favour of a multi-cultural society and immigration, but passionately against **uncontrolled immigration**".

In other examples, even such quotes were used to debunk the claim, such as the following excerpt from the Times:

Excerpt 33 The Times (London), May 28, 2016, Saturday, Edition 1; National Edition.
['If we lose, Brussels will try to make us more like them at every chance']

The woman who wants to replace Nigel Farage says that a vote for Remain will not be final, Rachel Sylvester writes: "I certainly have cultural concerns. There is a risk from **uncontrolled immigration** that **we start to lose our heritage,** that it somehow **dilutes our culture**. What was great about immigration in the past was that people would assimilate. The trouble is it's **so uncontrolled now that people don't need to integrate**."

The news story is a piece that is critical of Nigel Farage's take on Brexit, and the Excerpt containing the collocation of 'uncontrolled immigration' is a quote from him. In the quotation, a highly anti-immigration discourse can be observed. Apart from the collocation detected by CL analysis ('uncontrolled immigration'), other pointers also construct a high level of Negativity, representing a profoundly anti-immigration discourse ('we start to lose our heritage', 'dilutes our culture', 'so uncontrolled now that people don't need to integrate'). Although these pointers do not appear in CL analysis, they all add to the layers of Negativity by constructing different anti-immigration discourses regarding its economic and cultural aspects. It should be mentioned here that my analysis confirms Potts et al.'s (2015) and Maruenda-Bataller's (2021) indication of the limitations of adopting CL for news values analysis, especially to the fact that news value analysis might not lend itself well to analysis of large corpora. However, this example, together with some others observed so far as well shows that sometimes the presence of certain pointers explored via collocations analysis can be an indication of the existence of specific discourses constructed on the broader text.

However, what should be noted in these instances is that contrary to the above-mentioned underlying tone, such talking points in these examples are repeated and reproduced in high frequencies across the discourse and, therefore, could probably play in favour of normalizing and naturalizing them. This becomes more noteworthy and salient if we consider the discursive construction of immigration in the Leave backing Telegraph. Contrary to the other three, the tone Telegraph adopts to represent immigration is much more subtle. A phrase that Telegraph uses in many cases is the 'issue of immigration'. This collocation has a negative tone, but at the same time, it is much smoother and constructs Negativity less explicitly:

Excerpt 34: The Daily Telegraph (London), June 14, 2016, Tuesday, Edition 1; Scotland

[Boost for Leave camp as it takes poll lead]

Brexit opens one-point gap over Remain among those who are certain to vote: "The Leave campaign has in recent days focused on **the issue of immigration** – in particular,

the **number of foreigners who could come to the UK if Turkey becomes a member of the EU**.

The news story revolves around the 'issue of immigration', which has a negative overtone to it by discussing immigration as "an issue". In addition, in this instance, immigration is also constructed in terms of Impact, through the hypothetical future 'could come …if', and even Superlativeness through reference to quantity in 'number', regarding the possible future hypothetical outcomes on the voters, underlining the 'number of foreigners who could come to the UK if Turkey becomes a member of the EU'. Therefore, the Telegraph constructs Negativity in a more subtle way than other newspapers, as observed in terms of the normalised frequencies and the discursive strategies discussed above.

7.4.3. Positivity

As expected, the amount of Positivity constructed in this area was scant and limited to very few straightforward pointers such as 'good' and 'benefits'.

Newspaper	The Guardian	The Independent	The Times	The Telegraph
Linguistic pointers to the news value of Positivity		good	good	benefits

Table 7-17 Linguistic pointers to Positivity in Immigration

Excerpt 35: The Daily Telegraph (London), March 1, 2016, Tuesday, Edition 1; National Edition.

[Brexit scares over jobs and investment are fallacies]

citizens know the economic **benefits of sensibly managed immigration**, have always welcomed foreigners and have been generous to refugees."

Even in these rare cases, Positivity is constructed around a modified notion of immigration: a 'sensibly managed' one. the pro-Leave Telegraph conveyed very little Positivity in the

area of Immigration, and even the very few instances were modified and downgraded. The title is also demonstrative of the type of discourse the Telegraph uses around topics such as 'jobs' and 'investment' when discussing Brexit. In the title, 'Brexit scares' are described as 'fallacies' in a piece that indicates citizens do not have a problem with a 'sensibly managed immigration'. This once again shows how a specific pointer can help detect and explore existing layers of discourses present in each news story, especially in mapping the cultural world and discourses around a certain topic (Fruttaldo & Venuti, 2017).

This is not restricted to the pro-Leave and right-wing Telegraph. Even in the pro-Remain and left-wing Independent, Positivity around Immigration is constructed with caution:

Excerpt 36 The Independent (United Kingdom), June 22, 2016, Wednesday

[**Xenophobia** has become the new normal - and these **poisonous ideas** won't go away after the referendum]

There is genuine and understandable concern about immigration in Britain. It is not racist to be concerned about immigration. But **immigration is good for Britain** and it is the job of politicians to lead.

In this excerpt, Positivity is conveyed with the notion that immigration is good for Britain. However, in the co-text, it can be observed that the newspaper is being cautious not to go too far. Although in the title we can see significant intensifiers against an anti-immigration discourse ('Xenophobia' and 'poisonous ideas'), later in the news text, the Positivity is somehow diluted in tone by statements before and after the core phrase of 'immigration is good for Britain'. First, it is said that being concerned about Immigration does not make one a racist, and then it is underlined that 'it is the job of politicians to lead', probably another way of putting 'sensibly managed immigration'.

7.4.4. Impact

In the semantic field of Immigration, the Impact usage patterns in the newspapers seem largely similar to each other in quantitative terms (see section 7.4.1). In the case of Impact alongside Immigration, it is not the mere fact of constructing Immigration as impactful in general or mentioning the forecasts and promises about the level of Immigration, but it is rather the negative way in which Immigration is constructed throughout the corpus, without any meaningful difference between left and right, or pro-Leave and pro-Remain newspapers. The main pointers indicating the construction of Immigration as impactful are shown in Table 7-18.

Newspaper	The Guardian	The Independent	The Times	The Telegraph
Linguistic pointers to the news value of Impact	forecast continues increased impact make	net system higher rise figures impact down	levels level because	increases scale levels due level impact figures

Table 7-18 Linguistic pointers to Impact in Immigration

In general, it seems that the use of Impact in the semantic field of Immigration follows a similar pattern along different political affiliations and ideological stances. The data suggest that the tone of the coverage is set by an anti-immigrant discourse in which the major talking points against Immigration are generally accepted and normalised. Left-wing and pro-Remain papers shy away from conveying a positive message around Immigration and try to be cautious about the issue. The following excerpts from the left-wing newspapers about the Impact of Immigration are illustrative:

Excerpt 37: The Guardian, June 2, 2016, Thursday

[UK cannot and must not close borders to EU workers, says Corbyn]

Some voters had understandable concerns about the impact of immigration.

Although the whole news story is in defence of Immigration, the tone is downplayed considerably; the concerns about the Impact of immigration are depicted as 'understandable'. The whole item also uses Eliteness by quoting Corbyn, which, considering the left-wing tendency of the Guardian, could be interpreted as a source of authority rather than distancing from his position. Considering the very tenuous Positivity constructed in the discourse of the Guardian around Immigration (see section 7.4.3), such a conclusion seems justified. Such tacit legitimisation of the concerns over Immigration can also be observed in the Independent:

> *Excerpt 38: The Independent (United Kingdom), June 10, 2016 Friday*
>
> [EU referendum: Voters should blame government cuts instead of Immigration]
>
> He [David Miliband] said he did not dismiss voters concerns about the **impact of immigration**, but […] I think it [the problem of NHS] is because we have a Conservative government that isn't addressing these problems.

These, however, are not the only ways of representing the Impact of Immigration with a negative tone. In other cases, even more direct references to such matters can be observed. This is the case of the following news story in the Guardian, which directly quotes a Brexiteer.

> *Excerpt 39: The Guardian, June 21, 2016, Tuesday*
>
> [EU referendum: what's on the minds of voters?]
>
> Exam Brighton's remainers saw a typical Brexiter as right-wing, nationalist and perhaps xenophobic. "All I keep thinking is people saying 'back in the day'," said one. Knowsley's leavers, however, saw Brexiters as "brave", and **concerned about the Impact of Immigration on public services**.

That is not to say the Guardian endorsed such discourse. Even this piece seems like a balanced review and a report of what people actually said about Brexit on both sides. However, it should be noted that the discussed patterns of news values construe certain discourses around the particular semantic fields, especially when they repeatedly appear in the discourse.

To sum up, certain observations are worth highlighting regarding the discourses under-lying the representation of the topic of Immigration in the coverage. Although certain differences can be seen in how Immigration is portrayed in the pro-Leave vs pro-Remain outlets, the similarities and the volume of taken-for-granted assumptions in this regard are salient. For example, Negativity is rampant in this area across the outlets, Positivity is scant in all the four newspapers, and Impact seems to be used in similar patterns in the pro-Remain and pro-Leave sides, accepting and sometimes legitimizing common assumptions on the negative impacts of Immigration in their discourse.

7.5.   EU vs UK

7.5.1.   Distribution of overall news values

Another semantic field is related to how the news values are used in the representation of the relationship between the EU and the UK. In this regard, on the one hand, the search terms EU, Europe, and European were bundled together as lemmas?, and on the other hand, UK, Britain, and British were put together to form this semantic field. The absolute and normalised frequencies of collocations, as well as statistical tests related to the EU, can be observed in Table 7-19.

Frequency	Guardian		Independent		Times		Telegraph		P-value
	Absolute	Normal	Absolute	Normal	Absolute	Normal	Absolute	Normal	
Negativity	182	22%	47	3.88%	12	12%	25	16%	<0,001
Eliteness	122	15%	572	47.19%	76	75%	6	4%	<0,001
Impact	79	9%	26	2.15%	0	0%	15	9%	<0,001
Positivity	325	39%	286	23.60%	14	14%	39	24%	<0,001
Proximity	0	0%	281	23.18%	0	0%	58	36%	<0,001
Timeliness	131	16%	0	0.00%	0	0%	18	11%	<0,001
Total Collocations	839	100%	1212	100.00%	102	100%	161	100%	

Table 7-19 News values frequency (absolute and normal) and Chi-square p-value for the semantic field of EU

With all the p-values above the statistically significant threshold (<0,001), Figure 7-8 shows the graphic representation of normalised frequencies:
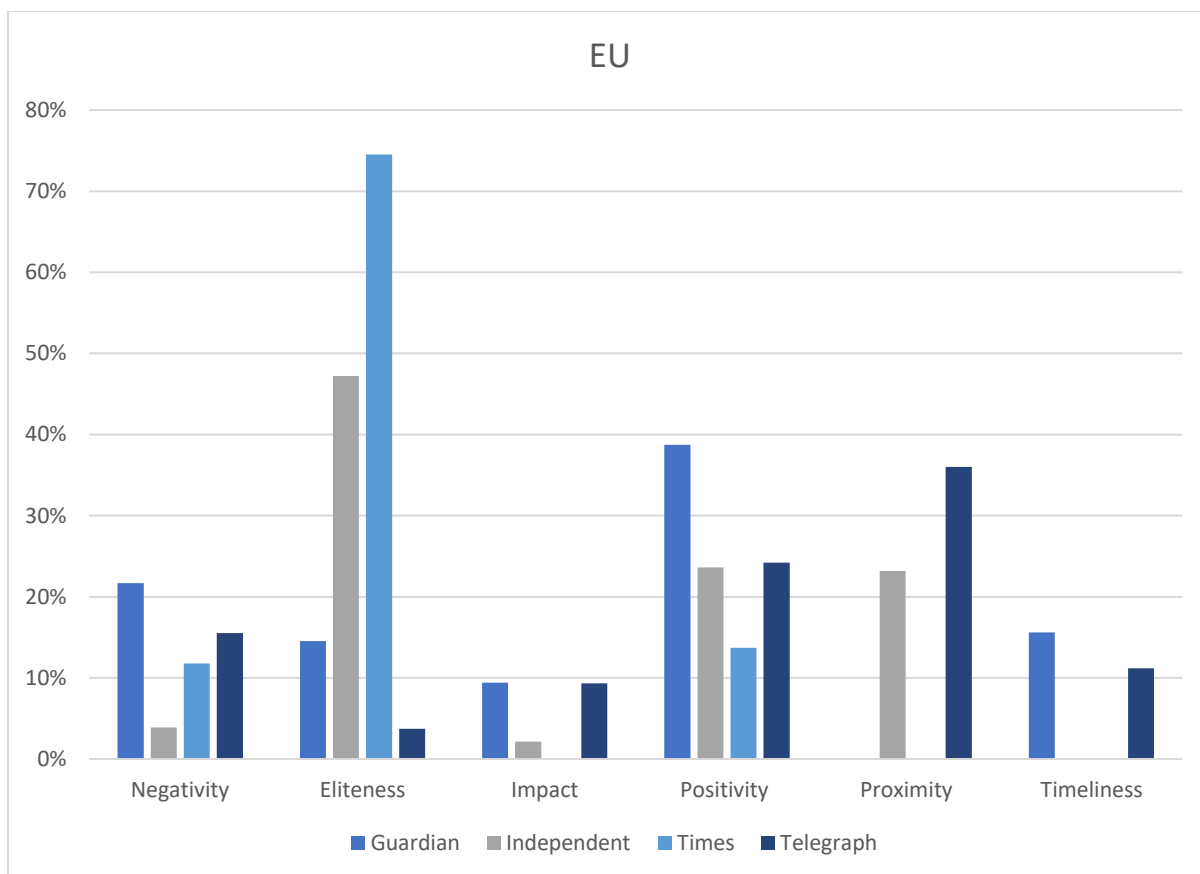
Figure 7-8 Normalised frequencies of news values for the semantic field of EU

On the other hand, in Table 7-20, the absolute and normalised frequencies of news values, as well as statistical tests related to the UK, are presented.

Frequency	Guardian		Independent		Times		Telegraph		P-value
	Absolute	Normal	Absolute	Normal	Absolute	Normal	Absolute	Normal	
Negativity	554	14%	190	5%	116	6%	27	18%	<0,001
Eliteness	62	2%	180	4%	118	6%	7	5%	<0,001
Impact	3239	81%	2989	74%	1299	67%	14	9%	<0,001
Personalization	85	2%	162	4%	351	18%	7	5%	<0,001
Positivity	74	2%	505	13%	54	3%	99	64%	<0,001
Total Collocations	4014	100%	4026	100%	1948	100%	154	100%	<0,001

Table 7-20 News values frequency (absolute and normal) and Chi-square p-value for the semantic field of UK

And the visual representation of the corresponding numbers, in Figure 7-9:
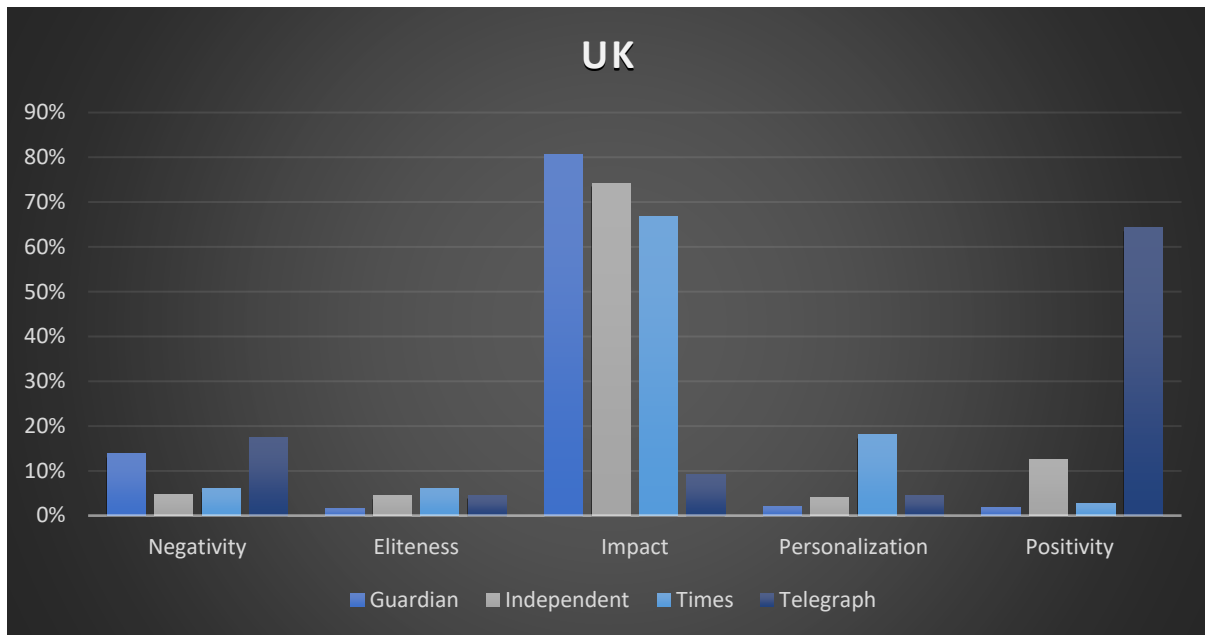
Figure 7-9 Normalised frequencies of news values for the semantic field of UK

As observed in the two graphs, there is a considerable difference in the use of Negativity in the discursive construction of EU vs UK. In all newspapers, except for the Independent, the EU is constructed much more frequently (almost twice as much) in association with Negativity in comparison with the UK. It is also important to note that the pro-Remain Guardian constructed the EU with the highest amount of Negativity, while in the case of the UK, the pro-Leave Telegraph uses the news value of Negativity the most frequently. In Eliteness, there is a considerable difference in all three pro-Remain newspapers. All three pro-Remain papers constructed the EU with considerable use of Eliteness (especially the Independent and Times), while the normalised frequency of Eliteness in the case of the pro-Leave Telegraph is almost negligible in both cases.

There are also considerable differences regarding the news value of Impact. All the pro-Remain newspapers made great use of Impact to construct the UK, while such association with the EU is considerably lower. On the other hand, the Telegraph used Impact much less fre-

quently in both cases. As regards Positivity, once again, the three pro-Remain newspapers constructed the UK in much less positive terms compared to the EU, while Telegraph used Positivity for both the UK and EU but much more frequently for the construction of the UK. There are also a number of news values present in the construction of one area but not the other: there is a small amount of Personalization in the case of the UK, while it was not used at all in the case of the EU. Additionally, the Independent and Telegraph both used a considerable amount of Proximity for the EU, and the Guardian and the Telegraph used Timeliness to construct the EU.

7.5.2. Negativity

A difference can be observed between the way the news value of Negativity is used to potentially construct EU and UK. The EU is constructed somehow more negatively in all four datasets compared to the UK in quantitative terms (see Figure 7-9). However, delving into the linguistic pointers in each newspaper, it can be seen that in the case of the Guardian, Independent, and Times, Negativity is constructed in a much more salient way for the UK than for the EU. On the other hand, in the case of the Telegraph, the situation is reversed; Negativity regarding the UK is less frequent, while it was much more salient for the EU. The pointers for Negativity can be seen in Table 7-21.

Newspaper	Pointers to Negativity for the UK	Pointers to Negativity for the EU
The Guardian	Lost, damage, lose, shock, threat, uncertainty, risk, warn, warned, face warning	Lower, dangerous, war, lead
The independent	Dislike, unemployment, debt, damage, affect, lose	Row, lower
The Times	Lose, risks, warning, warned, making Fears, lowpaid	weaker
The Telegraph	Hurt, chaos, blame, warning, war	Abandon, restrictions, war

Table 7-21 Linguistic pointers to Negativity in UK and EU

In the case of the Guardian, most of the Negativity associated with the UK follows the patterns observed so far: the news values of Negativity and Impact typically co-occur (either indirectly or directly) to construe and enhance newsworthiness. For example, in some cases, Negative predictions about the Brexit effect on the UK were made by quoting elite figures, hence utilizing Eliteness at the same time, as discussed in other semantic fields as well:

Excerpt 40: The Guardian, February 25, 2016

[Donald Tusk: EU deal is 'legally binding and irreversible' - as it happened:]

"a vote to quit the European Union would **severely damage the UK's growth prospects**".

The excerpt shows how a number of news values are adopted to construct and enhance the Negativity intended by the news writers. The whole news story is clearly constructed using Eliteness. Apart from the direct quote in the headline, the entire text includes multiple mentions and referrals to other elite figures such as Cameron and Corbyn[4]. Negativity is constructed using the word 'damage' but also enhanced and intensified by Superlativeness ('severely'). Although the subject of analysis in this example is the word UK itself, I would argue that in this case, and in all other cases related to the semantic field of UK, words such as UK, Britain, and British also construct Proximity.

On the other hand, when it comes to the EU in the pro-Remain newspapers, Negativity is constructed in a similar way, but showing that a Brexit is also dangerous for the EU (not only the UK):

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[4] See the entire news story here:
https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/feb/24/brexit-could-wipe-20-percent-off-the-pound-warns-hsbc

Excerpt 41: The Guardian March 9, 2016, Wednesday

[More than 800,000 workers now on zero-hours contracts, ONS says - Politics live] We know **that division in Europe is dangerous** and that we must guard against it in the west, as well as in the east, of our continent. That remains a common endeavour.

This might also be explained by the readership of the Guardian and other centre-left newspapers. As they are mostly middle- and upper-class liberals with cosmopolitan ideas, Brexit was probably constructed to be devastating and dangerous for Europe as well as the UK. The same pattern can be seen in other pro-Remain newspapers, including the Times on the right. Although the Times readership is perhaps different from the Guardian, they are probably the section of the right-leaning audience who share European values[5]. This becomes more clear by examining the following excerpt from the Times, including the pointer of 'weaker' EU/Europe:

Excerpt 42: The Times (London) May 19, 2016, Thursday, Edition 1; Scotland

[Hammond tried to court-martial general who blasted defence cuts:]

 A **weaker EU** makes Britain less secure.

The news story shows how a weaker EU would also lead to not-so-desirable outcomes for the UK. In many cases, Negativity once again is enhanced by the use of other news values. In the specific case of this example, the whole news story is a summary of Phillipe Hammond's - then-Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs - take on the possible future of the UK outside the EU (Eliteness as well as Impact).

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[5] This is of course my conjeccture based on the existing evidence, rather than hard facts. For a more detailed outlook of the British media readership profile see

https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/publication/1970-01/sri_you_are_what_you_read_042005.pdf

However, in the case of the pro-Leave Telegraph, a somehow different take on Negativity can be seen. For example, the Telegraph sometimes also reflects the problems that should be considered related to the UK in the debate:

Excerpt 43 The Daily Telegraph (London), May 13, 2016, Friday, Edition 1; National Edition.
[Small businesses should '**blame Britain** for tangle of red tape, not Brussels']

Excerpt 44 The Daily Telegraph (London), April 14, 2016, Thursday, Edition 1; National Edition.
[Brexiteers must not succumb to fantasy; We can thrive outside the EU but only if we are prepared to embrace real economic change]

...but if we dramatically reduced immigration, we would find businesses short of workers, damaging productivity and competitiveness. This would **hurt British workers** as well as foreign. Immigration isn't the only issue.

In both cases, Negativity and Impact are used in association with Britain/British. However, compared to the Remain backing newspapers, it is constructed in a different manner. More specifically, in these cases, there is no hierarchy of news values to enhance newsworthiness. Although 'would' conveys Impact, it is not to the level of combining news values observed in the previous cases. According to the examples observed so far, it could be said that news values can indeed be used synergistically or otherwise in isolation to underline and enhance views and claims to different degrees in the discourse. In constructing the EU in the discourse, a different tendency can be detected in the Telegraph.

Excerpt 45 The Daily Telegraph (London), March 24, 2016, Thursday, Edition 1; National Edition:
[London Mayor says **EU's restrictions** on deportation and surveillance are no longer in Britain's interests]

In this piece, apart from the Negativity constructed for the EU with the pointer 'restrictions', the whole text enhances the Negative representation in multiple ways: Eliteness is constructed by a direct reference to the London's Mayor and the reference to London constructs

Proximity. Therefore, contrary to the previous example where the Telegraph downplayed the Negativity around the UK, in this case, the Negativity is markedly enhanced in relation to the EU by the use of other news values.

7.5.3. Positivity

In terms of Positivity in this semantic field, a predictable picture can be detected. In Positivity for the EU, the results are mixed. The Guardian used Positivity very frequently with the EU, the Independent and the Telegraph come second with almost the same quantity and the least frequent use belongs to the Times. Regarding the UK, however, the Telegraph highlights Positivity around the UK while the other three newspapers barely construct any news content using this news value for the UK in quantitative terms. However, in terms of pointers, a range of different ones can be seen in the newspapers across the sub-corpora.

Newspaper	Linguistic pointers for the UK	Linguistic pointers for the EU
The Guardian	Enhances, safer	Helped, benefits, prosperity, peace, strong
The independent	Great, better, benefit, achieve, growth	Health, benefits, stronger, yes, good
The Times	Better, benefits, good	
The Telegraph	Allows, expects, allow	Benefits, peace

Table 7-22 Linguistic pointers to Positivity in UK and EU

It is not much of a surprise to observe that the EU is celebrated in the Guardian, especially putting it into a historical context in many cases:

[Barack Obama: Brexit would put UK' back of the queue' for trade talks:]

Their [previous EU officials] efforts provided a foundation for democracy, open markets, and the rule of law, while underwriting more **than seven decades of relative peace and prosperity in Europe.**

The praise of the EU in the right-wing and pro-Remain Times, however, is slightly different:

[Germans tell British voters: we need you]

"Only with the British can we make **the EU better** and lead it into a new future."

In Excerpt 47, the angle through which Positivity is constructed is somehow different, changing the focal point to the role of the UK in the leadership of the EU. However, the fact that the EU could be 'better' still presupposes that the EU is already 'good'. This underlining tone is also on a par with the fact that the Times made much less use of Positivity in the construction of the EU than the Guardian and the Independent (see Table 7-19).

Another noteworthy point in this regard is that in both cases, Positivity is used in association with Eliteness. In Excerpt 46 from the Guardian, the whole news story is about Obama's visit, while in Excerpt 47 from the Times, the arguments are all from the German authorities and experts. This point is especially noteworthy considering the fact that the pro-Remain newspapers had significantly high usage of Eliteness in quantitative terms in the case of the EU (see section 7.5.1). This suggests that most arguments in favour of the EU were probably constructed from the point of view of Elite figures, a point that could be finally detrimental for the Remain side in a highly anti-elite atmosphere. The reveréndum was held amid a highly anti-elite atmosphere. Emphasizing Eliteness in such circumstances would be imprudent (at best) on the part of the Remainers.

In the pro-Leave Telegraph, Positivity is scant in association with Europe, and it is limited to covering some of the Remain-backing points of view, especially about the deal David Cameron made with the EU:

Excerpt 48: The Daily Telegraph (London), March 28, 2016, Monday, Edition 1; National Edition

[Brexit is a gamble we cannot afford to take:]

In his renegotiation, the Prime Minister acquired even stronger powers to exclude or remove those we don't want here, and to ban them from re-entering for even longer. So we have all the **benefits of EU cooperation** to fight crime and terrorism but we retain our own hard border.

On the other hand, the picture is different when it comes to the UK. The Telegraph not only outperforms other newspapers in quantitative terms (see section 7.5.1) but also creates an emancipatory narrative of Brexit for the UK:

Excerpt 49: The Daily Telegraph (London), February 25, 2016, Thursday, Edition 1; National Edition

[Brexit would set Britain on a global course away from EU insularity]

Brexit **allows the UK** to address directly the areas that the EU has rendered us rudderless in. These include returning sovereignty and having a meaningful immigration target that can be met. We can focus attention on what is needed for small firms and for ordinary workers across the whole country.

In this piece, Brexit is constructed as highly positive for the UK, as mentioned above, insinuating to be even emancipatory. It can be argued that, once again, Impact is also used to enhance Positivity since the news story details all the positive outcomes in the following lines in terms of Immigration and Economy. On the other hand, the pro-Remain newspapers, apart from the relative quantitative scarcity in constructing Positivity for the UK (see Figure 7-9), adhered either to the talking points about the economic benefits of remaining, or refuting the narratives of the Leave side:

Excerpt 50: The Independent (United Kingdom), May 9, 2016, Monday

[Chatham House backs EU referendum 'Remain' campaign:]

"Free movement of labour is a **benefit for the UK** economy in the aggregate, and a valuable right for British citizens who wish to take up employment in other EU countries"

Excerpt 51: The Times (London), June 20, 2016, Monday, Edition 1; National Edition

[Science superpower:]

"Recent survey showed 93 per cent of research scientists and engineers believed the EU is a **"major benefit" to UK research**."

7.5.4. Impact

As demonstrated previously (Figure 7-9), and can also be observed in the linguistic pointers (Table 7-23), the three pro-Remain newspapers used the news value of Impact in their construction of the UK far more frequently than the pro-Leave one. This frequent use of Impact is probably in line with their intended message on the vast and profound consequences a Brexit can bring about for the UK. On the other hand, the Telegraph used this news value much less frequently, probably with the intention of constructing an entirely different picture from that of the pro-Remain newspapers. In addition, and compared with the UK, all newspapers used Impact much less frequently to construct the EU in their discourse.

Newspaper	Linguistic pointers for the UK	Linguistic pointers for the EU
The Guardian	Vision, prospect, if, should, influence, could, would, might, influence, would	Change, higher
The independent	Mean, influence, since, if, could, can, might, if, could, greater, will, makes Changes, more	influence
The Times	Keep, if, would, will, if, should, growth, might, could	
The Telegraph	Expose, retain, if, suggest	Scale, influence

Table 7-23 Linguistic pointers to Impact in UK and EU

Impact, however, is not used to directly show the influence on the UK (a point already illustrated in previous sections). In some cases, it is used to show the impact and influence the UK would or could have on EU related affairs and how such an influence would presumably fade away because of Brexit. The following Excerpts are demonstrative of this point:

Excerpt 52: The Guardian, June 20, 2016, Monday

[Sayeeda Warsi: leave tactics will create more divided and xenophobic UK;] Remaining **will allow the UK** to retain the influence on which the unique and successful UK automotive sector depends.

Excerpt 53: The Independent (United Kingdom), June 17, 2016, Friday

[Think a post-Brexit 'Norway style' EU deal would work?]

As a Norwegian ex-EU adviser, I can tell you you're wrong: "In short, when it comes to accessing the EU Single Market, the UK can't have its cake and eat it. While I may not personally agree with all UK positions, **British influence** in EU politics is to my mind critical in retaining a balanced EU that can secure our welfare and progress."

7.5.5. Eliteness

Considering the data related to Eliteness in this semantic field, it can be observed that Europe was constructed in the pro-Remain newspapers much more frequently than the UK (see Figure 7-8, Figure 7-9, and Table 7-24). This, once again, could be interpreted in relation to the anti-elite impetus mentioned before. In addition, it should be reiterated that Eliteness might be used either to associate with and build support for a certain position or, contrarily, to dissociate from it (a point I made earlier). In line with the distribution of Eliteness in the semantic fields of Brexit and Economy, the pro-Leave Telegraph avoided using Eliteness for the EU as well.

Newspaper	Strategies in the news value of Eliteness	Linguistic Pointers for the UK	Linguistic Pointers for the EU

The Guardian	**Authority roles (social deixis)**	minister	Leaders, professor, leaders
The independent	**Proper names**	Obama	Cameron, David
	Institution	Chambers, chamber, businesses, industry	Court, commission
	Authority roles (social deixis)		leaders
The Times	**Proper names**		Camerons
	Institution	chambers	
	Authority roles (social deixis)	Officials, economist, authority	President, minister, leaders
The Telegraph		Redwood, backing	Professor, commission

Table 7-24 Linguistic pointers of Eliteness for UK and EU across strategies and newspapers

The interesting point, in this case, is that in addition to the previously discussed strategies in the semantic field of EU/UK, there are also references to *Institutions* as a way to construct Eliteness. These cases mainly are realised by mentioning higher institutions such as the EU Commission:

Excerpt 54: The Daily Telegraph (London), March 1, 2016, Tuesday, Edition 1; National Edition

[Brexit scares over jobs and investment are fallacies]

Yet the suggestion that the EU does "not really mean to aim for ever-closer union" is contradicted by the history of the Common Market since we joined in 1973. Those who took the aims of the EU elite at their word have been proved right. Whatever soothing words fellow governments may throw at us in David Cameron's renegotiations, the main power to centralise lies with the European Court, the European Parliament and **the EU Commission.**

Excerpt 55: The Independent, February 22, 2016, Monday

The European Union as we know it is over. It's time for a new economic alliance based on Nato: "**The EU Commission** estimated that TTIP would boost the EU economy by (EURO)120bn, the US by (EURO)90bn and the rest of the world by (EURO)100bn."

In line with the pattern observed in multiple previous examples, there is a striking difference between how the EU commission is represented in the pro-Leave Telegraph and the pro-Remain Independent. Excerpt 54 from the Telegraph constructs the EU in terms of an elite club with extensive programs to centralise, putting forward the famous ever-closer union agenda. Eliteness is constructed in very negative terms in relation to the general anti-European discourse. Regarding the hierarchy of news values, we can say that both Negativity and Impact are implied in the discourse. Further, Eliteness is also invoked and negatively represented.

Excerpt 55, however, has a much more positive tone, adopting Positivity and Impact as well as Eliteness to associate the EU membership with growth in the economy, not only in Europe but also in the world by referring to the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (a trade agreement between the EU and the US). These two examples again show how using news values with specific references to certain discourses, e.g., anti-European or Pro-European discourse, becomes meaningful and how they can be used synergistically and hierarchically to serve certain ideological preferences and representations.

To conclude, it should be noted that the results are rather mixed in the fields of UK and EU. Therefore, it is hard to draw clear-cut distinctions in how news values were used in the coverage. However, certain general observations can be made. For instance, once again, Negativity is used in combination with other news values, above all with Impact and Eliteness, both in the case of the UK and EU. However, in the specific case of the pro-Leave outlet, a certain

tendency to downplay Negativity associated with UK, and augment it with the EU can be observed, especially through the use (or lack thereof) of Impact and Eliteness. In addition, the pro-Leave Telegraph used Positivity combined with other news values for the UK but strategically avoided the same for the EU. On the other hand, the pro-Remain newspapers used Positivity for the EU in combination with Eliteness, mostly to build support and legitimacy for their position. However, they used Positivity in the case of the UK in combination with Impact, mostly to underline the positive Impact the UK can have inside the European Union. Such strategic use of news values seems to be aligned with the broader narratives and messages these outlets tried to build around the UK and the EU during the campaign coverage.

7.6.   People and Public

7.6.1. Distribution of overall news values

People and Public both appeared among the most frequent words across the four data sets. The distribution of news values for constructing these two search terms in the corpus is shown in Table 7-25.

Frequency	Guardian		Independent		Times		Telegraph		P-value
	Absolute	Normal	Absolute	Normal	Absolute	Normal	Absolute	Normal	
Negativity	71	12%	72	7%	23	4%	39	46%	<0,001
Impact	0	0%	0	0%	188	36%	15	18%	<0,001
Personalization	120	20%	171	16%	31	6%	0	0%	<0,001
superlativeness	267	44%	299	27%	101	19%	31	36%	<0,001
Proximity	149	25%	551	50%	177	34%	0	0%	<0,001
Total Collocations	607	100%	1093	100%	520	100%	85	100%	

Table 7-25 News values frequency (absolute and normal) and Chi-square p-value for the semantic field of People and Public

And the visual representation of the normalised frequency of news values is as follows (Figure 7-10)
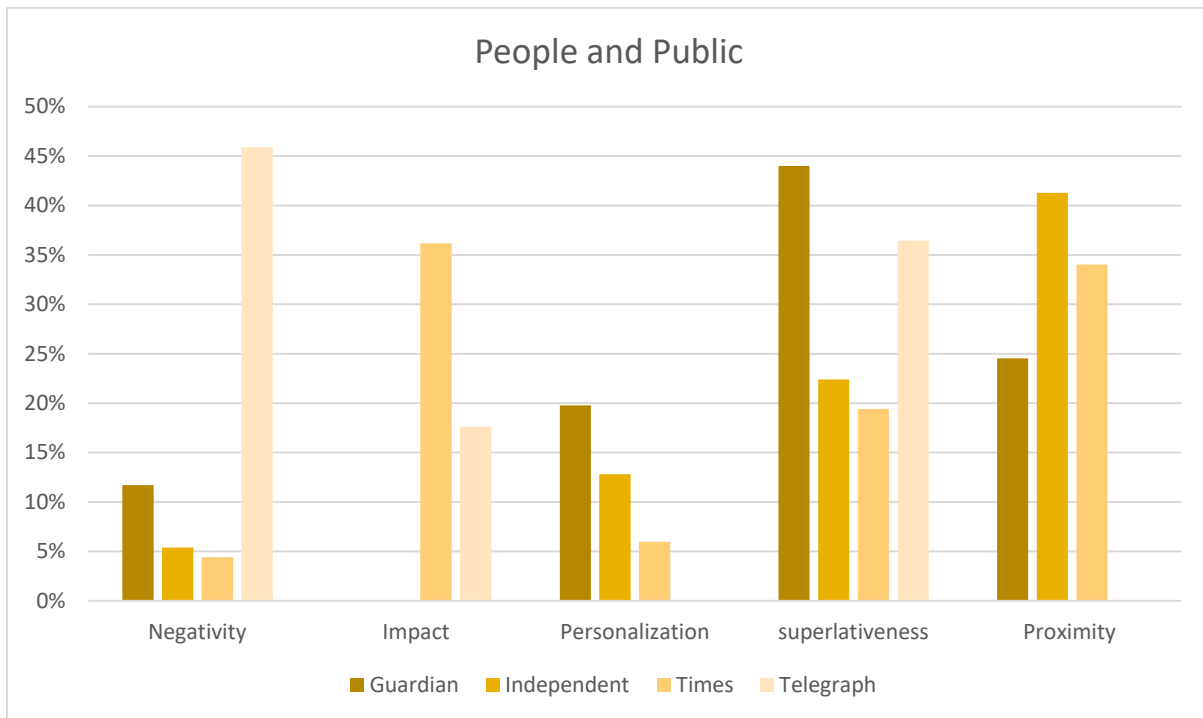
Figure 7-10 Normalised frequencies of news values for the semantic field of People and Public

In constructing People and Public, the most frequent news value is Superlativeness for the pro-Remain outlets and Negativity for the Telegraph, followed by Proximity for the former and Superlativeness for the latter. All these news values are used very frequently across the corpus, but with some noteworthy differences. The Guardian and the Telegraph both used Superlativeness in much higher proportions than the Independent and the Times. All three pro-Remain newspapers used Proximity with high frequency in constructing this semantic field, but the Telegraph did not use this news value in a statistically significant way. The same applies to Personalization, with a considerable amount of occurrence in the three pro-Remain newspapers and a lack thereof in the case of the Telegraph. Impact also had a considerable share in the Times and the Telegraph and its presence was not statistically significant in the left-wing outlets. Finally, there is a striking difference between the pro-Leave Telegraph and the three pro-

Remain newspapers in terms of how frequently Negativity was used to construct this semantic field.

7.6.2. Negativity

Generally speaking, the amount of Negativity was much lower in all three pro-Remain newspapers than in the pro-Leave Telegraph (Figure 7-10), and the range of the pointers to Negativity was also somewhat limited (Table 7-26).

Newspaper	Collocations For People and Public
The Guardian	Smugglers, cuts
The independent	Con, misleading, cuts, pressure
The Times	Killed, threat
The Telegraph	Unfair, hurt, pressures, pressure, cuts, decline, scare, cost

Table 7-26 Linguistic pointers to Negativity in People and Public

A very salient tactic adopted by the Telegraph in this semantic field was accusing the Remainers of scaremongering:

Excerpt 56: The Daily Telegraph (London), April 7, 2016, Thursday, Edition 1; National Edition

[Taxpayer to fund anti-Brexit leaflets]

Government accused of using public money to **scare people** ahead of EU referendum Cameron's £9.3m leaflets anger Leave campaigners

Apart from the salient Negativity, the Telegraph uses other news values in this piece. Mentioning the name of Cameron constructs the news story in terms of the news value of Eliteness, and highlighting the hefty sum spent on the leaflet conveys Superlativeness. Once again, news values are used synergistically and hierarchically to enhance the intended message

by the newspaper. On the other hand, in the very few instances that the times mentions these Negative aspects, it focused on the public services and the threats to them:

Excerpt 57: The Times (London), April 26, 2016, Tuesday, Edition 1; National Edition

[Brexiteers are opening wounds that won't heal]

Polling and focus groups among swing voters has convinced the Leave campaign that raising the **threat to public services** is by far the most persuasive argument in favour of Brexit.

The scattered Negativity in this semantic field present in the discourse of the Guardian and the Independent was mainly in the form of familiar talking points such as 'cuts' to public sector spending, people 'smugglers', and 'misleading' people. In general, discursive strategies to construct Negativity as a news value in the coverage seem to be very similar in different newspapers, both in terms of frequency and the specific ways in which they were constructed. It should also be reiterated that, in line with other analysed examples, Negativity construction is highly multifaceted and multi-layered, including different discursive strategies, and often involving the use of other news values such as Impact and Eliteness.

7.6.3. Impact

Using Impact for People and Public is the only area in which there is a meaningful difference between the right-wing and the left-wing newspapers. Although this might appear as an anomaly in the whole data, it could suggest that, generally speaking, the right-wing newspapers we analysed were more prone to populist discourse. The data, however, is far from conclusive in this case.

Newspaper	The Guardian	The Independent	The Times	The Telegraph
Linguistic pointers to the news value of Impact			Making, put	Lead, means, stop

Table 7-27 Linguistic pointers to Impact in People and Public

Another point to consider in this case is that Impact is not constructed equally in the Times and the Telegraph. The following excerpts can demonstrate noteworthy differences in how Impact is adopted in the discourse of these outlets:

Excerpt 58: The Times (London), June 2, 2016, Thursday, Edition 1; Scotland

[Migrants from EU bad for NHS, schools and housing, say voters]

The Institute and Faculty of Actuaries said that simply reducing migration to the "tens of thousands" by leaving the EU would cost the state £3 billion a year by 2032 and £8 billion a year by 2057. It said that the funding gap could be closed by **making people work an extra year** before receiving their state pension or by cutting the state pension by £300 a year.

Excerpt 59: The Daily Telegraph (London), March 30, 2016 Wednesday, Edition 1; National Edition

[Fact checker Foreign criminals]

Does **EU membership mean foreign criminals are free to enter Britain unchecked**? Broadly speaking, yes. But that doesn't mean that Britain is unable **stop such people entering** while it remains an EU member.

In Excerpt 58, the Times constructs a Negative Impact on people as a result of Brexit by using facticity, and the general tone of the news story is pro-immigration. In Excerpt 59, the word 'people' is used in a completely different sense (referring to foreign criminals). This once again shows how news values can differ based on the ideological and political considerations of the news writers and publishers. Although both newspapers used Impact to construct the

same word as newsworthy, in one of them, a more explicit anti-immigration discourse is dominant, whereas in the other one, the news story is tailored to emphasise the impact on ordinary people. Therefore, it can be concluded that the same pattern of news values usage and newsworthiness construction can be used to convey completely different messages in line with broader discourses under which the news is produced and in the service of the tacit and/or implicit political preferences (in this case endorsing Leave or Remain in the referendum).

7.6.4. Personalization

In all cases, the three pro-Remain newspapers constructed Personalization with the same pointer: 'ordinary' people.

Newspaper	Collocations in People and Public
Guardian	ordinary
Independent	ordinary
Times	ordinary
Telegraph	

Table 7-28 Linguistic pointers to Personalization in People and Public

Excerpt 60: The Independent, Daily Edition, April 26, 2016, Tuesday, First Edition

[May faces backlash over call to leave European human rights convention]

The Convention has done so much for the rights of the free press, gay people, women, people with disabilities and other **ordinary people** here and across Europe.

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Once again, in the discourse of a pro-Remain newspaper, Europe (in this case a European Convention) is constructed as positive, and Personalization is also adopted along with Impact. No statistically meaningful pointer was found in the corpus of The Telegraph, including pointers related to the use of Personalization in this semantic field. The reason for this is probably similar to those mentioned in numerous previous examples above, i.e., to downgrade and distance the event from the audience and voters.

7.6.5. Superlativeness

In the semantic fields of People and Public, Superlativeness was adopted in very similar ways using a range of familiar intensifiers such as millions or thousands of People. No considerable differences were found in the pattern of usage among the four newspapers.

Newspaper	Linguistic pointers for Superlativeness
Guardian	Million, millions, thousands
Independent	Million, millions, thousands
Times	Million, millions, thousands
Telegraph	Millions, thousands, hundreds

Table 7-29 Linguistic pointers to Superlativeness in People and Public

To illustrate, consider the following excerpts from the pro-Leave Telegraph and the pro-Remain Independent:

Excerpt 61The Daily Telegraph, March 10, 2016 Thursday, Edition 1; National Edition
[By leaving the EU, Britain could save Europe from certain calamity;]

At the same time, the tensions fuelled by the migration crisis will grow relentlessly, especially if hundreds of **thousands or even millions of people** are settled across the continent over the next few years.

Excerpt 62 The Independent (United Kingdom), June 9, 2016 Thursday 5:13 PM GMT

[Brexiteers love democracy - that's why they don't want you to be able to vote]

Then there are the global events that tell us what to do, such as the banking crash that cost **millions of people their homes and jobs**.

Both examples align with the previous patterns witnessed in numerous examples throughout this chapter. In Excerpt 61 from the Telegraph, Positivity is associated with Britain ('save'), Negativity with Europe ('calamity', 'tensions fulled by immigration crisis'), and the process of Britain leaving the EU as impactful ('could save'). Superlativeness is used in line with the present discourses around the UK, Britain and immigration to augment the size and importance of the constructed impact ('thousands or even millions of people'). In Excerpt 62, Superlativeness is used to draw a strong parallel between Brexit and an important and impactful historical incident, the banking crash (of 2008), in which many people lost their homes and life savings. Once again, Brexit is constructed with Negativity and Impact, and Superlativeness is also used to augment the intended dimensions in the discourse. Overall, the patterns observed in the semantic field of People and Public seem to be aligned with the previous areas and examples observed throughout this chapter.

7.7. Concluding remarks

According to the findings of the research presented in this chapter, a number of trends observed in the data is worth considering. First of all, the results of the search term 'Brexit' offer some key insights on how the referendum was framed and represented in the discourse of the four newspapers studied in this dissertation. At first glance, the most noteworthy observation is the

high level of Negativity used to construct Brexit in general. This is in line with early investigations cited previously, specifically with Becker et al. (2016) and Cap's (2017) findings. The high level of Negativity is also used in the discursive construction of all the other semantic fields, although the numbers should be seen vis-à-vis other news values in each case. In the case of Brexit, this observation involves the use of Positivity vis-à-vis Impact. For example, the normalised frequencies of the pro-Leave Telegraph show that this newspaper contributed to the negative tone of the debate around Brexit to the same extent as other newspapers (see Table 7-3, Table 7-8, Table 7-15, Table 7-19, Table 7-20, Table 7-25). However, it tried to convey a positive point as well. While the use of the news value of Positivity is almost zero in other newspapers, it has a significant normalised frequency in the Telegraph data set. The pro-Remain papers, both on the left and the right almost never constructed Brexit with any positive values. The same point can be made regarding the news value of Impact. In all three Remain backing newspapers, there were high levels of Impact in constructing Brexit to emphasise the sizeable impact of Brexit. However, the Leave-supporting Telegraph successfully downgraded any considerable impact associated with Brexit by using the news value of Impact in much lower amounts in its discourse, compared to other newspapers.

In the semantic field of Economy, a high level of Negativity is once again present in all four data sets. However, it can be seen that the pro-Leave Telegraph constructed the semantic field of Economy in a much less negative way than other newspapers. This is bolstered by looking at Negativity vis-à-vis Positivity. When it comes to the news value of Positivity, the Telegraph offers a much more positive outlook compared to the other three newspapers, as we observed in some of the examples throughout the chapter, as well as its higher quantitative use of Positivity observed in the corpus.

In the semantic field of Immigration, there is also a very high level of Negativity shared by the right-wing and left-wing and Leave and Remain backing newspapers similarly. What

makes the discursive construction of this semantic field distinctive is that the high level of Negativity is also accompanied by a very low level of Positivity and a high level of Impact. This suggests that probably most of the discursive construction of Immigration was done in terms of negative Impact, that is to say, adopting two news values to construct an enhanced and hybrid sense of newsworthiness around this topic.

Additionally, the news value of Negativity was adopted much more frequently in the construction of the EU compared to the UK in all four newspapers. This also implies that the general tone of the discourse was heavily skewed toward a Negative representation of the EU in general, shared by the left and right, and Remain and Leave backing newspapers. This trend was completely reversed for the news value of Impact. The use of Impact in the discursive construction of the EU and UK showed considerable differences. In relation to Europe, all the papers agreed upon constructing little or no impact. In contrast, there is a stark difference in the data regarding the UK. In the case of the pro-Leave Telegraph, the use of Impact for the UK is relatively lower than in the other data sets. This indicates that this newspaper considerably downgraded Impact in representing the UK in its discourse. At the same time, the three Remain-supporting newspapers, both on the left and on the right, seemed to construct a more substantial impact around the UK.

Delving into particular discursive strategies used to construct the newsworthiness of the covered topics during the referendum campaign, some interesting trends can be observed. In particular, in many cases, the data suggest certain news values were used hierarchically and synergistically, with important discursive and ideological implications. As observed in numerous excerpts from the corpus, the pro-Remain newspapers, in general, tended to construct a negative discourse about the consequences of Brexit by combining the news value of Negativity with Impact, Eliteness, Superlativeness and Proximity. On the other hand, the pro-Leave news-

paper tried to downgrade such negative outcomes of a possible Brexit by systematically separating Negativity from other news values, thus devaluing and undermining its potential impact. In other cases, the pro-Leave newspaper combined Positivity with Impact and Eliteness to enhance and elaborate some specific representations in its discourse. In general, the use of news values in the discursive construction of Brexit and its related semantic fields analysed in this dissertation can be considered as a discursive practice highly charged with social, ideological, and political considerations. In addition, considering all the findings, it seems that the Leave-Remain divide has more explanatory value than the traditional Left-Right differences.

In this chapter, the findings of the study have been presented and discussed in detail. In the following chapter, which is the final chapter of the dissertation, I show how these findings answer the research questions. Subsequently, I conclude the chapter and the dissertation with some final discussions on the implications and contributions as well as the limitations of this study. In addition, possible lines of future research are suggested.

Part Four: Conclusions

CHAPTER EIGHT: Discussion, concluding remarks, and future lines of research

Throughout this dissertation, I presented the background, theoretical foundations, methodological design, and main findings of the research carried out on the press coverage of the Brexit campaign. In the first section, I detailed the theoretical bases and the background of the study in the existing literature on the topic. I situated the study within the broader tradition of CDS and reviewed the basic theoretical views of linguistics and social sciences adopted in this research to study society, language, and discourse. Then, more specifically, I addressed the discourse of the media: how it is defined in the literature, why it is a topic worthy of study in linguistics and CDS, and the main theoretical approaches to its study. I also elaborated on how in this study, following the fundamental tenets of CDS, I approached news media discourse as socially and discursively constructed, having to do with issues of power and representation. Then, I focused on the News Values and the news production process to show the central role of News Values in the complex social and discursive process of news production. Furthermore, I showed how the study of News Values has changed over time. Specifically, I reviewed the contributions of scholars from different backgrounds and the transformation of studying news values as "news selection criteria" to a set of cognitive, heuristic, and discursive concepts that not only determine what is published as news but, more importantly, shape the discourse of the news. In addition, news values are part of discursive practices of the media in representation and social constructions of the topics and material the news-press deal with.

Next, I reviewed the existing literature on the press coverage of the Brexit referendum to examine the areas to which future studies can provide additional insights and enhance our understanding of the topic. Based on the literature review, I decided to focus on the referendum campaign coverage of a number of British broadsheets because of their importance in the public

discourse and the relatively few studies that exclusively analysed them. I also decided to adopt a comparative approach in which different sides of the arguments were considered (Leave/Remain and Right/Left). Finally, because of the potentiality of a corpus-assisted approach in facilitating such a study and its ability to offer systemic measures to compare discourses, especially when dealing with extensive corpora, I decided to combine the quantitative analysis (CL) with qualitative analysis (DNVA). This mixed-method was adopted to take advantage of the incremental insights and the synergy their combination can offer.

In Part Two, I detailed the methodological and technical design of the study based on the considerations discussed in the previous sections. In this part, I stated research objectives and formulated research questions and hypotheses. Then, I detailed the information on data collection, the framework, and the study's procedure. Finally, in Part Three, I presented the main findings of the study. In Chapter Seven, I illustrated and discussed the results regarding how news values were used comparatively across the corpus. In this chapter, I discussed in detail how news values were strategically adopted in the construction of Brexit and related semantic fields in the coverage of the Brexit referendum by analysing the overall distribution of news values, as well as some selected excerpts from the corpus.

In the following sections of this chapter, I bring the whole dissertation to a conclusion by offering the final discussions and assessments of all that has been discussed so far. In the first place, I will put together all the findings to answer the main questions of the study. Then, I will show what were the principal contributions and implications of this study, both on theoretical and practical levels. At the same time, I will discuss some limitations of the research and the main lines future studies should focus on.

8.1. Answering research questions

RQ1. What are the main topics covered by British broadsheets during the referendum campaign?

H1: The main covered topics will probably be similar to those identified in previous studies, with a great emphasis on semantic fields such as immigration, economy, Euroscepticism, etc., although some marginal topics may also surface in the analysis.

The hypothesis was confirmed to a great extent:

To answer this question, I compiled a corpus of British quality press and analysed it by means of frequency and cluster analysis tools. The results of this phase of the analysis revealed the principal topics covered most frequently by the four British quality newspapers under scrutiny. The semantic fields resulting from the cluster analysis covered in the four newspapers and their constituent search terms were the same in all cases. That is to say, regardless of the ideological affiliation or political stance of the newspaper, they covered the same topics during the Brexit campaign. What our analysis has shown is that there seems to be a news media decision or agreement to focus more extensively on these issues. The appearance of the semantic field of Brexit was expected since it was the topic of the analysed coverage and hence omnipresent in the discourse. Economy and Immigration also emerged as substantial semantic fields in the coverage across the corpus. Although Euroscepticism did not appear as a semantic field or search term by itself, semantic fields of EU vs UK, and People and Public included many issues related to the wider topic of populism and Euroscepticism. Therefore, it can be concluded that the first hypothesis was largely confirmed by the findings of the study.

RQ2: How do newsmakers use news values to construe Brexit during the referendum campaign?

H2: A variety of different news values are expected to be employed in the discursive construction of each topic. News values such as Negativity, Impact, Eliteness, and Proximity will be used in my data, as these were the most relevant to the debates surrounding Brexit in previous research.

The hypothesis was partially confirmed regarding the news values of Negativity, Impact and Eliteness; Proximity was not as frequent as expected, and Positivity was present in meaningful ways. However, Proximity was actually pervasive, as it is included in the search word itself: BREXIT. It identifies a very specific culture and place within which the news story takes place.

Although the topics covered by the four analysed newspapers were similar, there were noteworthy similarities and differences in how the outlets used news values to construct Brexit both in quantitative (***how frequently*** each news value was used) and qualitative (***how*** the news values were used) terms. In general, the quantitative analysis showed that the most frequent news values across all newspapers were Negativity, Impact, Eliteness, and Positivity (see Figure 7-2, Figure 7-4, Figure 7-7, Figure 7-8, Figure 7-9, Figure 7-10). News values were not used in isolation, but in many cases, they were used with each other and constructed certain representations of an event as newsworthy in different ways and levels.

In almost all semantic fields, a very high amount of Negativity was observed. This is clearly in line with previous findings in the literature that described the tone of the campaign as acrimonious and divisive (Moore & Ramsay, 2017, pp. 25-27), and with McDonald's (2017, p. 323) conclusion that Brexit discourse was marked by 'anxiety' over issues such as identity and immigration. Other studies also found a high level of association between Brexit and negative frames, including 'danger' (Higgins et al., 2018), 'disaster', and 'crisis' (Samuel-Azran & Galily's, 2018, p. 297).

The key differences, however, appear when the pro-Leave Telegraph is compared to pro-Remain newspapers. As shown in the previous chapters, the Telegraph used some key news values in order to shape the Eurosceptic discourse. This is contrary to the conclusions of Buckledee (2018), who points out that the Remain campaign was dispassionate and spiritless. The findings of this dissertation show that there was more to the story than being just dispassionate and spiritless. Although it goes beyond the conclusions that could be drawn from the data in this dissertation, the reason that the Remain message did not succeed in the ballot box might be due to strategic mistakes rather than being dispassionate and spiritless. For example, pro-Remain newspapers relied heavily on Eliteness to legitimize their message, which could be problematic in a referendum marked by anti-elite sentiments. In addition, there seems to have been a lack of a positive message on behalf of the pro-Remain camp regarding Brexit, while Telegraph made strategic use of Positivity in many areas, especially around Brexit, Economy and the UK (see sections 7.2, 7.3, 7.5). In addition, in other cases, the newspapers favouring a Remain stance adopted relatively similar discursive practices in using news values as the pro-Leave newspaper. This was specifically the case in the area of Brexit and Immigration, where many negative narratives were accepted and legitimized in the discourse of the pro-Remain newspapers. Although such practices were subtle and sometimes can be disputed based on the context, it is still a sign of permeation and legitimization of many talking points and discourses adopted by the Leave camp. The degree to which such processes have in practice happened after the referendum is out of the scope of the data gathered for this dissertation, but tracing such discourses in post-referendum news discourse could be a future line of research. However, the main findings of the present study can be summarised as follows:

In semantic fields such as Brexit and Economy, it was clearly observed that the Telegraph managed to send a positive message by using a considerable amount of Positivity. Meanwhile, pro-Remain newspapers adhered to a negative message. Primarily, this high level of Negativity

can be observed in quantitative terms. i.e., using the news value of Negativity with higher and Positivity with lower frequencies in the corpus. In addition, the qualitative analysis showed how news values were combined in many cases to enhance the intended message and represent different issues in certain ways. In the case of pro-Remain newspapers, Negativity was often accompanied by Impact and Eliteness and created a heightened sense of volatility and fear about the future. On the other hand, the Telegraph not only used more Positivity in quantitative terms but also downplayed the negative impacts associated with the Brexit and Economy considerably in its discourse and represented a different picture of the subject matter. This was probably the underlying reason that made it possible to attach the label 'Project fear' to the Remain campaign (Moore & Ramsay 2017).

In the semantic field of Immigration, the dominant discourses seemed to be reasonably similar both in quantitative and qualitative terms. The pro-Remain newspapers appeared to fail to create a different message from the anti-immigrant message of the pro-Leave campaign by following the same strategies, in many cases unintentionally repeating and, in a way, possibly legitimising the same tenets.

And finally, the findings of this research are, to a great extent, in line with previous studies that highlight the anti-European discourse in the coverage of the Brexit referendum. As seen in sections related to the semantic field of UK vs EU, the way Europe and the UK were represented differed significantly in the pro-Leave Telegraph's discourse from the pro-Remain newspapers. The Telegraph constructed a more negative and elite-associated picture of the EU, while the UK was more frequently associated with news values of Positivity and significantly less with Impact, implying the sovereignty of the UK. In contrast, in the pro-Remain newspapers UK was represented in much more Negative terms.

Although this picture is generally in line with previous research, some discrepancies can be observed as well. First of all, there is a lack of the key features of the populist discourse

described and observed by Breeze (2018b), such as sensational language and personal disparaging. News values such as Superlativeness and Personalization were used, but they had a much lower frequency compared to other news values. It should, however, be noted that this might be the result of the different newspapers that were the subject of this study (broadsheets) as compared to the study by Breeze (2018b) (mostly tabloids). Therefore, the difference could be the result of the different types of journalism.

In any case, if we consider the results of this study vis-à-vis the main features of the populist discourse formulated by Laclau (2005), we can say that many of them are absent in our data. According to Laclau (2005), populism rides on an image of a socially homogenous construct of 'people', and populists draw a contrasting picture of 'the people' against 'those in power' or the elites. In this sense, the results related to the semantic field of People and Public failed to show any signs of such populist discourses. However, Eliteness was frequently used in the discussion of other topics. Still, as observed in the analysed examples, Eliteness was used sometimes to endorse a specific position and give voice and authority to said position, and sometimes, on the contrary, to distance from it. In general, since the focus of this study was not specifically on populist discourses, the evidence in this regard is not strong enough (both qualitatively and qualitatively) to be generalised. Another point to be cautious about in this regard is that the absence of evidence is not the same as the evidence of absence. That is to say, although the findings of this dissertation do not provide strong support for such discourses, it does not show robust contradictory evidence against it either. Therefore, more research is needed in this regard. Especially because broadsheets are probably not the best place to study populist discourse, instead, more middle-market press would be the place to conduct such studies.

The final point to consider is the discursive construction of political leaders. Although some of the political leaders could be found in the initial most frequent word list resulting from cluster analysis, the collocation analysis around their names did not show any significant news

values. This means that their names were more frequently used as a linguistic resource to construct the news value of Eliteness around other discourse areas (as was observed in many examples of Chapter 7). A point that should be underlined here is how the news value of Eliteness was used with a dual purpose across the corpus. This seems to be an important finding regarding this new value since, in some cases, Eliteness was used to establish epistemic authority and develop stronger arguments across semantic fields, while in other cases, it was adopted to create distance from certain positions. Specific studies addressing the role of such references might be needed for more comprehensive conclusions in this regard as well.

RQ3: How does the discursive construction of Brexit during the referendum campaign vary along different political ideologies and stances?

H3: It is expected that the stance towards Brexit will be more influential than political ideology in the use of news values.

Hypothesis confirmed.

To answer this question, a comparison between different newspapers from different political stances and ideologies was carried out. In some aspects, the coverage was discovered to be the same along the traditional left-right divide. However, overall, the results suggest that the left-right duality is not as relevant as the Leave-Remain divide, which was the main defining factor. The discourse of the three Remain endorsing newspapers showed significant similarities, and it was considerably and meaningfully different from the way news values were used in the pro-Leave newspaper.

This also seems to be in line with recent suggestions that the traditional left-right divide is becoming increasingly irrelevant in studying today's news discourse. As it has been recently pointed out in the work of Cheysson & Fraccaroli (2019), new political alignments in Europe are going further than the traditional left-right ideological divide.

However, one possible limitation of this study in this regard that should be taken into account is that there was no left-wing pro-leave newspaper in the corpus. This was, however, not due to the study design but rather to the fact that no left-wing broadsheet officially backed a leave stance in the referendum. Future research, however, can delve into the discourse of left-wing populism and its similarities and differences with its right-wing counterpart as an interesting subject, especially having in mind the historical ties of these two strains.

8.2. DNVA model: further discussions and main contributions of this study

In this dissertation, I followed one of the research lines suggested by Bednarek and Caple (2017) as an objective: applying DNVA to a different news environment to explore potential developments in the model. More specifically, in this study, I applied DNVA to a new journalistic domain (a referendum campaign coverage on a highly controversial topic) in a cross-ideological study, using a combined quantitative (corpus linguistics) and qualitative (DNVA) methodology. All these points were suggested in the previous literature on the topic as potential avenues to develop and complement the model (see section 3.3). In this last section of the dissertation, I discuss the main implications and contributions of this study and its findings on theoretical, methodological, and analytical levels, as well as the lines for future research.

Many scholars have underlined the difficulties and challenges of ***combining DNVA with CL,*** as well as the potential merits of such a combination (Bednarek and Caple, 2014; Potts et al., 2015; Maruenda-Bataller, 2021). The application of a combined method in this study has some implications in this regard, which deserve to be noted.

A combined cluster-frequency analysis helped in the identification of the principal semantic fields covered in the sizeable corpus under scrutiny. As discussed in the methodology chapter, there is neither a consensus about the cut-off point on frequency lists nor a sound statistical method available for this purpose. In this study, I proposed a statistical procedure

using the R package frequency and cluster analysis. From the findings of the present study, the procedure seems to be working in a reliable manner. The cluster analysis tool provided the research with a statistically valid apparatus that helped extract the main topics covered by the British press during the referendum, organised into clear-cut semantic fields and their constituent search terms (see section 7.1). These tools provided a solid structure for analysing a sizeable corpus of about eight million words. that was not viable only by manual analysis.

On the one hand, such a procedure focused the analysis on the most frequently recurrent topics in the coverage. On the other hand, it helped in identifying the appropriate search terms which were considered as linguistic pointers for exploring the ways in which news values were used in the discourse to create certain representations and construct particular discourses around the covered topics. Furthermore, the statistical codes written for quantifying, normalising, and statistically testing news values distribution provided the analysis with an additional layer of information that, combined with tools of qualitative analysis in DNVA, made it possible to detect noteworthy discursive practices across the four data sets, with considerable ideological and political implications. All this showed that DNVA, especially when combined with well-designed CL tools, can be a powerful analytical tool for detecting discourses in the coverage of crucial socio-political events in the press, such as the Brexit referendum. The tools adopted in this study made it possible to systematically compare a set of varied sized sub-corpora in terms of their news values distribution. One challenge that I faced was the different sizes of the sub-corpora under analysis, which made it difficult to compare their news values distribution in quantitative terms. I used a set of statistical tools to normalize and test these differences; otherwise, the numbers I had could not be compared because they were derived from sub-corpora with different sizes. Consequently, this facilitated the investigation of ideological discourses by offering a statistically reliable picture of the variations in patterns of use of news values. The quantitative analysis provided a bird's eye view of a large corpus and

narrowed the scrutiny of the corpus down to yield quantitatively significant collocations and concordances that were then subjected to further qualitative scrutiny. Therefore, the quantitative and qualitative analyses in this study worked hand in hand and synergistically and allowed for the combination of the benefits of the two methods and offset the limitations of each of them in isolation. It was already shown that the patterns by which news values are used are a beneficial tool in mapping the cultural and ideological discourses around certain topics (cf. Fruttaldo & Venuti, 2017; Venuti & Fruttaldo, 2019; Maruenda-Bataller 2021). Hence, besides confirming those findings, this dissertation provides additional tools to map the patterns and make more accurate comparisons.

Future studies can continue this line in different contexts and contribute to finding the potential shortcomings of the procedures suggested in this study and elaborating them accordingly. The procedures and statistical tools provided in this dissertation can be applied, as presented and discussed in the methodology chapter, in other studies. However, when there is enough experience with this method, writing a specific ***open-access R package*** that puts all the features of this method together would be the next step in order to make the contributions of this dissertation available to other researchers. This will also facilitate the application of a similar approach in future studies, and since R is open-source software, it opens it up for further modifications and developments.

As for the study of the ***Brexit referendum, DNVA has the added value*** of constituting a suitable framework for the identification and comparison of discursive practices employed in the coverage of the referendum. When paired with advanced statistical techniques, the model provides the opportunity to compare different media types. In this dissertation, I observed how factors such as ideological stance or political affiliation can affect such discursive practices. However, the factors worthy of further study are not limited to these. Other important factors such as the type of journalism (tabloid-broadsheet) could be included in future studies. Indeed,

the next step would be to build upon the steps taken so far, expand the corpus, and apply a multivariable analysis model to the same framework to see how different factors that influence the discursive practices of journalism might be at work on various levels.

Nevertheless, I should also address some further points regarding ***the challenges of applying DNVA to a large corpus***. Some scholars showed the potential difficulties that are associated with analysing news values. The most salient of these challenges is the possibility of overlap between the categories of news values and the subtleties and indirect ways in which news values are used in many cases (Potts et al., 2015; Maruenda-Bataller, 2021). I should admit that some of these challenges are still present, and the offered statistical tools do not address such challenges thoroughly. However, they are addressed in the qualitative part of the analysis. In this regard, some points should be taken into consideration:

First of all, the ***importance of concordance analysis*** in categorising news values. Potts et al. (2015) show that DNVA could be further developed by taking advantage of a complementary framework in which coding collocations based on the context is possible (or more straightforward). However, both Potts et al. (2015) and the subsequent research (Maruenda-Bataller, 2021) also admit the challenges of such a combination. Practically, as observed in many examples in our data, a single word or expression can convey different news values based on the context in which it is used. This goes further than the models and references already proposed. For example, Potts et al.'s (2015) suggestions are mainly based on the supplementary categorisation of linguistic resources, according to additional information and tags such as part of speech. In addition, Maruenda-Bataller (2021) proposes populating the DNVA model with further linguistic devices. However, in many cases, even such additional clues do not work or are not sufficient, and the only way to decide how to code a specific word is to check the concordance lines directly. Concordance analysis showed great potential in previous research on the discourse of news values (cf. Fuster-Márquez & Gregori-Signes, 2019). In the case of

this analysis, consulting concordance lines before coding news values helped me avoid many possible misinterpretations and mis-categorisation of collocations. This is a manual and time-consuming process, but one that resolves many problems in the coding phase, which is part of the qualitative component of the procedure.

In addition, further qualitative analysis of selected text excerpts helped me interpret news value construction in more depth. For example, how different news values were combined in a certain news story to create a specific narrative or message was only detected through qualitative analysis of the Excerpts. Another example in this regard is when a news value can be used to construct different messages based on the context, as was the case of Eliteness. In many cases, it was only possible to identify whether Eliteness was used as support and legitimization or distancing and dissociation by triangulation and intertextual analysis of each piece.

In this regard, I would say there are challenges and subtleties more than just the cross-categorisation of certain news values. Although I commented on these points in the previous chapter, I should recapitulate some important analytical points regarding how news values were used in our corpus:

The fundamental premise of the DNVA model is that adopting news values to construct newsworthiness has a discursive aspect (Bednarek and Caple, 2014). Nevertheless, one aspect that should be brought into attention is that ***the construction of newsworthiness does not take place by adopting single, independent, or isolated NVs***. On the contrary, it is a large-scale and contextual discursive practice. Delving into the news value distribution in large corpora could show us not only how each news value is used discursively, but also show how news values can be ***used synergistically*** to create a specific bigger picture.

One of the most salient patterns in the data was a combination of ***Negativity or Positivity with Impact***. In the model of Bednarek and Caple (2017), the news value of Impact seems not

to have an evaluative aspect. They define Impact as "relating to the construction of an event as having significant effects or consequences, without restricting these effects/consequences to the lives or experiences of the target audience" (Bednarek and Caple, 2017, p. 60). This means such a construction could be negative, positive, or even neutral. Bednarek and Caple (2017, p. 60), however, note that Impact rarely appears in isolation, and it is normally associated with other news values such as Superlativeness, Proximity, Negativity, and/or Positivity. In our data, there was frequently a high degree of association between the news value of Negativity/Positivity and Impact that shows that in practice, news values are used together to create an enhanced message in the discourse.. In the semantic field of Brexit, one of the critical differences in discursive strategies between pro-Leave and pro-Remain newspapers was that the pro-Leave newspaper associated a much less negative message with the impact of Brexit. Such a pattern was likewise observed in the semantic field of Economy, where a more positive frame was adopted in the pro-Leave newspaper compared to the other outlets.

The possibility of meaningful co-occurrence of certain news values was pointed out already in other studies of DNVA (Potts et al., 2015; Fruttaldo & Venuti 2017, 2018; Fuster-Márquez & Gregori-Signes, 2019; Maruenda-Bataller, 2021). However, on a deeper level and in qualitative terms, instead of cross-categorisation or co-occurrence of news values, we can recognise what I would call a *hierarchy of news values*. In many analysed examples in Chapter 7, we have observed that news values such as Negativity or Positivity were used as the principal way to construct the newsworthiness of a certain topic. At the same time, other news values such as Impact or Superlativeness were used either to amplify or to dilute the Negative or Positive aspects of the news story. Therefore, in many cases, instead of indicating or underlining a news value, or even a number of different news values, we have a hierarchy of news values in which certain news values are used in service of specific representations. Hence, I

would argue that we can talk about the hierarchical use of news values as a discursive practice by itself.

Another specific discursive practice that was observed in our corpus is ***constructing dualities***. That is to say, sometimes news values are used vis-à-vis each other to construct and emphasize divergent news, which can increase the intensity or effectiveness of one side of the representation in certain aspects. News values such as Impact, Negativity, or Positivity were used in some cases in this sense in our data. This can include putting a relatively positive impact of a subject vis-à-vis the extremely Negative impact of the contrasting topic and, thereby, enhancing the degree of Positivity/Negativity constructed around specific issues in the discourse.

These discursive practices should be taken into account in news values analysis, especially because of the effect they have on what could be called the ***intensity*** of news value usage. In this dissertation, I tried to quantify the frequency of the appearance of different news values in the discourse, which would let us compare different sub-corpora for cross-ideological analysis. However, the point that we should be cautious about is that the discursive practices in constructing newsworthiness are much complex. As we observed in various examples in this dissertation, using news values is a multilayered discursive practice. Some news values can be used intentionally together to mutually intensify each other or, on the other hand, dilute certain representations around the constructed subjects with important ideological implications. Therefore, the ***intensity*** of news values is as important as their frequency. I analysed such practices qualitatively in Chapter 7, but offering quantitative ways of measuring this aspect in the discourse of news values is a task that is yet to be done (if possible at all).

Furthermore, the findings of this study once again underline the ***highly cultural, ideological, and interpretive nature of newsworthiness construction in discourse***. In some examples of the previous chapter, I noted how certain news stories could be represented and constructed as Negative, Positive, or Impactful for certain people or audiences. That once again

shows how much the ideological agenda and inclination of the newspaper, and the interpretive processes of its readership can determine the ways in which newsworthiness is constructed in the discourse. In this regard, in addition to the question of how newsworthiness is constructed, one question that could be asked is **"*for whom"*** newsworthiness is constructed. This is highly related to Bell's audience design, discussed in section 2.3, and the basic premise of how socio-linguistic variation in news text can be explained as a strategy to accommodate different target audiences (Bell, 1984). This point is not nuanced and was addressed in some of the previous research (cf. Bednarek and Caple, 2014; Fuster-Márquez & Gregori-Signes, 2019; Makki, 2019; 2020; Maruenda-Bataller, 2021). Nevertheless, in the case of this study and in a topic with profound socio-political and ideological challenges, it once again proved to be vital in analysing the discourse of news values.

The final point I want to comment upon in relation to the findings of this dissertation is the importance of the concept of ***hegemony*** (Gramsci & Hoare, 1971) in news discourse. Hegemony is a form of soft power of coercion in which a discourse pattern becomes dominant not because of hardcore external controls but rather through the subtle process of acceptance and normalisation (Stoddart, 2007, pp. 200-203). The significant degree of similarity observed in the use of news values in the discursive construction of different semantic fields in all of our data (Pro-Leave and Pro-Remain) is an example of how specific features of anti-European discourse became dominant even in the so-called left-wing and progressive media.

The most salient area in which such discursive practices were noted in this dissertation is the semantic field of Immigration. As seen in the previous chapter, the news value of Negativity was used almost equally in the left and right, pro-Leave and pro-Remain newspapers. Phrases such as 'mass immigration' or 'uncontrolled immigration' permeated even into the discourse of left-wing media that traditionally used to be the champions of Immigration and immigrants' and refugees' human rights.

It should be noted that this process of legitimization and saliency of the discourse occurs in two ways. First, there seems to be a degree of normalisation about the anti-immigrant discourse. That is to say, the progressive media, in many cases, ultimately accept the very premises of the debate set by anti-immigrant and populist discourse and then merely try to mitigate the consequences. In many of the cases analysed in the previous chapter, the negative impact of immigration on public services was technically accepted as an underlying fact. This comes quite close to the notion of 'liquid racism' coined by Weaver (2011, 2016) and recently shown to be in motion even in seemingly pro-immigration discourses (Tsakona et al., 2020) in which, contrary to the attempt at refuting aggression or general stereotypes against migrants, discursive practices end up naturalising and reproducing assimilative monoculturalist ideologies.

The second way in which such premises become part of the dominant media discourse is by what could be called *perpetuating discourse*. That is to say, in many cases, the pro-remain or left-wing media try to dismantle some of the arguments of the pro-leave camp. However, in doing so, they actually repeat or even finally accept the same talking points to the degree that they become part of an apparently legitimate discussion on the topic. As pointed out by Beckett (2016), in the case of Donald Trump's victory in the 2016 US presidential election, for populist discourse, there is no such thing as bad publicity. That is to say, even if the talking points are repeated to be dismantled in the coverage, their sheer large-scale repetition practically contributes to perpetuating them and, therefore, to the normalisation and acceptance of such debates in the discourse by giving them higher publicity. In these cases, regardless of the stance or even tone of the larger context of the news outlet, after a certain threshold, the mere repetition of the same structures becomes discursively significant in a way that the specific area of discourse is constructed with the same news values. When a set of collocates express similar meanings or discursive functions and occur across numerous contexts, the existence of common representation or a hegemonic discourse can be concluded (Baker and Levon, 2015, pp. 330-331). This

could suggest that such a construction of the newsworthiness of Brexit with news values such as Eliteness finally would serve the anti-elite discourse and associate Brexit with Eliteness. This indeed is in line with previous findings related to the high degree of elite dominance in the discussion around Brexit (Dekavalla 2018a) and further shows how pro-Remain media might have played a role in this regard as well, albeit involuntarily.

The same could be claimed when Immigration was associated with Negativity or Impact. This is mainly in line with previous research that describes the pro-Remain campaign discourse as dispassionate and spiritless (Buckledee, 2018). That is to say, instead of making a compelling case for remaining in the EU, the pro-Remain media seemed to be engaged in dismantling pro-Leave talking points about Brexit. This is especially interesting and worthy of attention in the case of Immigration. The language and discourse of pro-Leave media were described as racist and xenophobic by previous research (Cap, 2017; Virdee et al. 2018), but the share of pro-Remain media in the broader normalisation and acceptance of such concepts and discursive practices is an area that could be investigated further in the future. Maybe it is no longer relevant to produce dyadic, binary, dual analyses of right vs left, as such ideological underpinnings are diluted in news reports. On the other hand, analysing ideology should perhaps be left for the exclusive analysis of OP-ED texts because these are the sections in which the most direct ideological stances of the outlets are manifested.

8.3. Conclusion

In this final chapter of the dissertation, I have brought together all the findings of the study in order to answer the research questions and test hypotheses posed at the beginning. Considering the findings, the study addressed the objectives that were set in the study design,

using the specific framework and procedures designed for the analysis. In addition, we observed some of the contributions of this research to the study of press discourse of the Brexit referendum and the DNVA model, as well as possible shortcomings and specific lines in need of further investigations in future studies. In short, this dissertation offered some new insights regarding the press coverage of the referendum, the most important of which was the pervasiveness of Negativity in the coverage and the relevance of the stance toward Brexit as the explanatory factor for variation in the discursive practices regarding news values, rather than the traditional left-right divide. In addition, the specific statistical tools adopted to apply DNVA to a large corpus showed their promises in analysing discourse with a corpus-based approach. Finally, further tests of the proposed statistical tools in other contexts, multivariate analysis to evaluate other factors potentially affecting the discourse, combining DNVA with sentiment analysis, and more in-depth and exclusive analysis of OP-ED to further explore the role of ideology, are among the main lines to be pursued in future studies.

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