Abstracts

Similarities and Differences in the Argumentative Characteristics of the Official Brexit Campaigns

James E. Sanders

This paper adds to the growing empirical literature surrounding the UK's vote to leave the European Union. Specifically, a series of quantitative and qualitative textual analysis tools are implemented on a corpus consisting of the websites of Vote Leave (VL) and Britain Stronger in Europe (BSE). By breaking down argumentative text into two components, this paper attempts to characterise how the two official campaigns differ in the information they choose to convey (or "focus"), and the style by which this information is conveyed. To analyse variation in focus, a structural topic model and thematic analysis of elementary context units are conducted with the inclusion of document-level metadata. This is then compared to survey data and their potential effectiveness is considered. To study the style of information transmission, an analysis of sentiment is used to calculate sentence-level polarity scores. An unambiguous thematic divide is uncovered with BSE employing a "focussed" approach by singling out topics related to the economy, whereas VL chose a "scattershot" approach by spreading their resources across a broader range of themes. The thematic analysis uncovers little reciprocity in most major areas — a notable exception being public services, which acted as a battleground. BSE's focussed approach allowed it to target the most influential topic for the electorate, but despite this, VL's approach led to a greater targeted proportion. A sentiment analysis yields two results: (A) the variability in sentence-level polarity scores was consistent across campaigns, and (2) BSE's website had a significantly greater mean score.

A Politics of the People: Comparing the Use of Populist Discourse in the 2016 US Presidential Election

Joel Pearce

The 2016 US presidential election saw Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders both being described as "populists", despite running for different parties and coming from different political traditions. This paper empirically assesses the validity of this claim by conducting computer-assisted thematic analysis of their speeches during the presidential primaries. It explores the puzzle of populism being associated with diverse political positions by mapping out the candidates' discourse, finding that both used populist themes but in strikingly different ways. Whilst Trump presented a divide between the American people and the perceived threats of Islam and immigration, Sanders contrasted the people with economic elites. They had a different approach to the campaign, with Trump framing it as a battle between him and his opponents and Sanders as an opportunity for people to come together against the powerful. Most interestingly, their discourse on trade showed little overlap: Trump presented it in both

nationalist and populist terms whereas Sanders associated it with a broader theme of lost opportunities for young Americans. Existing theories account for different aspects of this contrast but none provide a comprehensive explanation of varieties of populism on their own.

In Place of Labour: The Increased Localisation of Electoral Geographies in Competition Between UKIP and Labour

Jack H. Glynn

The emergence of UKIP out of the doldrums and into the limelight has irrevocably transformed politics in Great Britain. The party's newfound ability to challenge the Labour Party in what were thought to be its most secure strongholds, the industrial towns of the North, has, to date, been attributed to the resurgence of the "left-behind" voter with sociological structures such as class being seen as the most influential variables to model this change in electoral behaviours. This paper will challenge this near-monolithic assessment. With the use of local election data, it will demonstrate that regressions using these structural variables produce too much variation for us to simply declare this left-behind thesis as the sole model required for our understanding. Instead it will stress the importance of electoral geography to improve these explanations showing the necessity to integrate the local contexts of each town or city in order to better explicate why some are making the switch to UKIP while others are choosing to remain loyal. Interviews with local political activists in three case studies – Manchester, Liverpool and Rotherham – were then employed in order to begin to extract these local factors. The findings of this research indicate the increased localisation of British politics, denoting a major shift in how we approach electoral geographies as well as political campaigning. We can no longer rely on certain regions, such as the North West, and their constituent towns and cities, to vote in a uniform manner. Local contexts now play a much more authoritative role meaning that each town responds to the same pressures and phenomenon, such as in this study, the rise of UKIP, in a very un-uniform manner.

From Waterloo to Wembley: A Comparison of International Football and International Warfare in Building Nationalism

Guillaume Paugam

International football has often been described as a soft way for nations to go to war. This analysis is too simplistic, but the reference to warfare is not uninteresting and provides the starting point for this dissertation. Having noticed the national fervour surrounding international football, and recognised warfare's nationalist builder power, it seeks to explore the extent to which international football and international war are comparable in building nationalism. It adopts an ethno-symbolist perspective on nations and nationalism, hence seen as modern constructions rooted in more ancient cultures and groups. It argues that international football and international war are, indeed, using the same mechanisms to build nationalism, but that this comparison

might evolve with globalisation, and, especially, the associated immigration flows and diasporas. More precisely, the first part of the answer argues that within the traditional framework of the nation-state, myth building, tradition shaping, and rivalry constructions are nationalist elements shared by international war and football. The second part is more hypothetical and seeks to explore how football can be a new nationalism vector for diasporas, linking national groups no longer sharing a unique territory. This dissertation illustrates each point with two case studies: a small set of detailed interviews with Dutch people to analyse the importance of football myths in building their nationalism, and a questionnaire, carried online and in person near Paris, with 46 members of the Portuguese community in France, to understand how the role of football in building nationalism might evolve.

Brexit, Agenda Setting and Framing of Immigration in the Media: The Case of the *Daily Mail*

Deborah Sogelola

The result of the United Kingdom European Union membership referendum (henceforth the Brexit referendum) was historic as it signified the beginning of the United Kingdom's exit from the European Union. During the referendum campaign, newspapers played a key role in disseminating information and potentially influencing what topics were deemed more important in the public eye. This paper examines the portrayal of both the economy and immigration in the press before and during the Brexit referendum. Used as a data source for this examination is the *Daily Mail*, one of the most widely distributed newspapers in the United Kingdom both in print and online. The author undertook a media content analysis on over 40 articles published by the *Daily Mail* between April 2016 and June 2016 to discern patterns in coverage. This study seeks to offer insights as to how the topic of immigration surpassed that of economics as the most salient topic during the referendum due to agenda setting and media framing by the likes of the *Daily Mail*. While this paper speculates that these measures may have affected the outcome of the referendum, further data and investigation would be required to warrant such a conclusion.