

APPENDIX

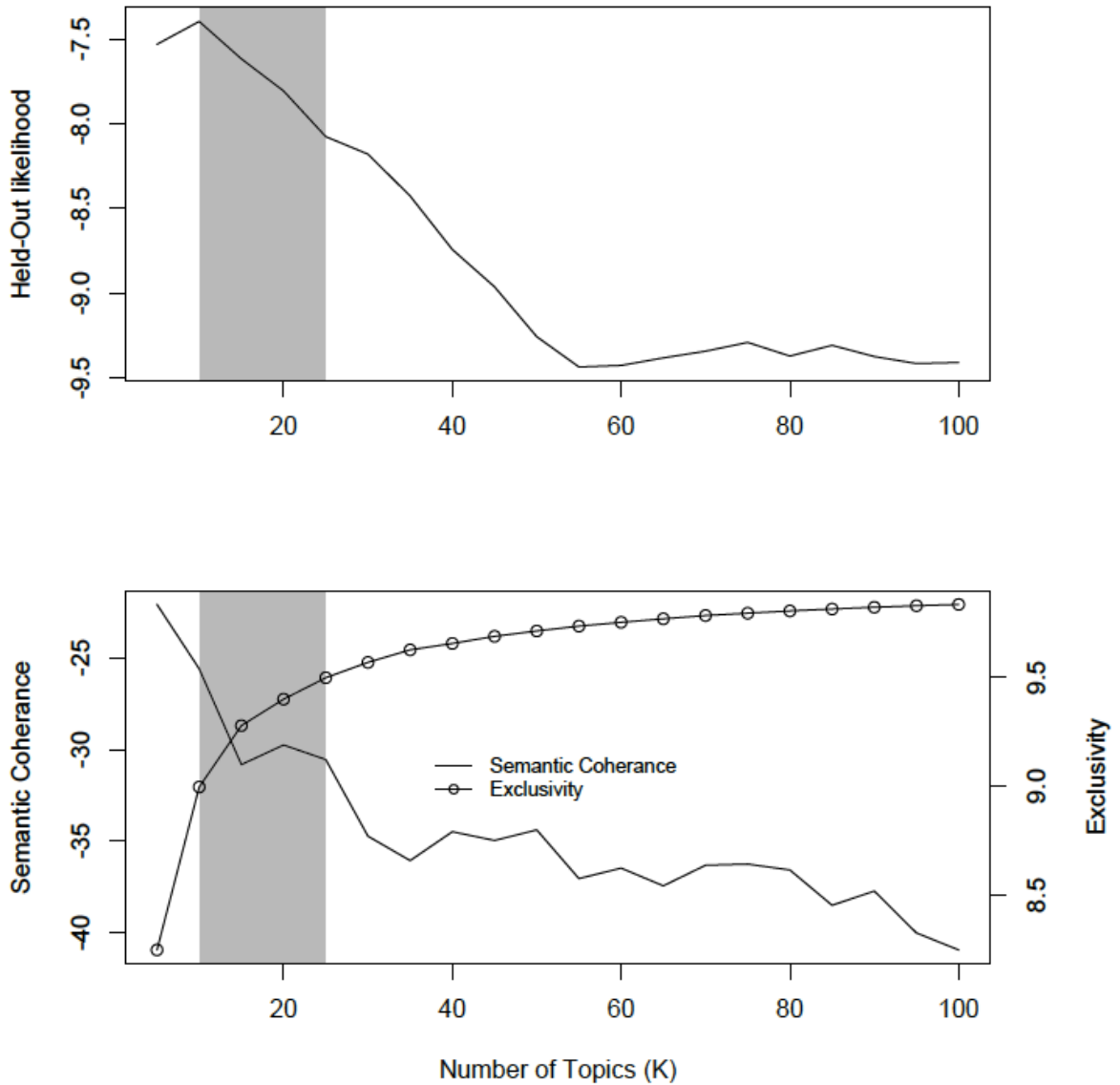
Similarities and differences in the argumentative characteristics of the official Brexit campaigns	<i>James E. Sanders</i>	i
A Politics of the People: Comparing the Use of Populist Discourse in the 2016 US Presidential Election	<i>Joel Pearce</i>	iv
In Place of Labour: The Increased Localisation of Electoral Geographies in Competition Between UKIP and Labour	<i>Jack H. Glynn</i>	vi
From Waterloo to Wembley: A Comparison of International Football and International Warfare in Building Nationalism	<i>Guillaume Paugam</i>	vii
Brexit, Agenda Setting and Framing of Immigration in the Media: The Case of the Daily Mail	<i>Deborah Sogelola</i>	xxv

Similarities and differences in the argumentative characteristics of the official Brexit campaigns

James E. Sanders

A Extended K Search

Figure 6: Metrics measuring topic quality for $K = 5, 10, \dots, 100$



B Extended list of characteristic words

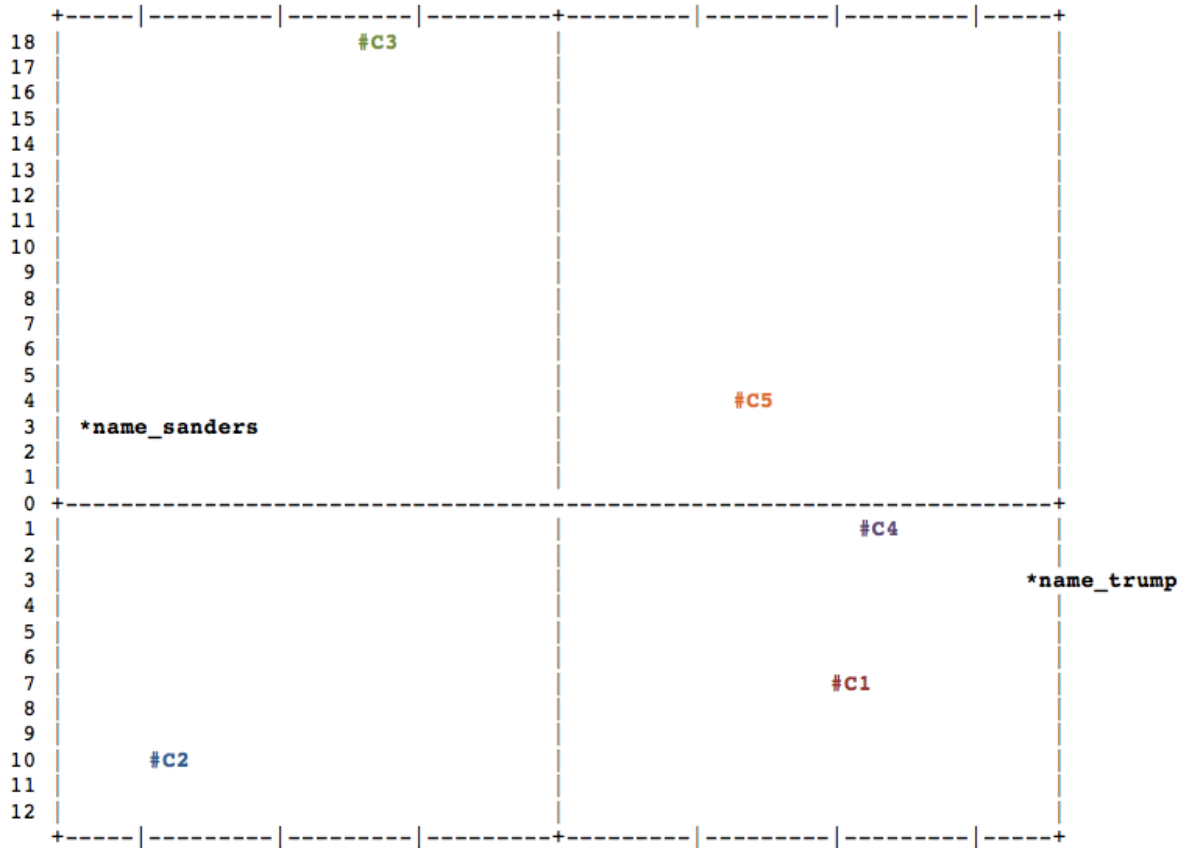
Topic #	Characteristic words by probability
1	european countri court control govern peopl can vote trade said
2	european deal court chang govern treati law vote new legal
3	trade famili job busi mean price market left europ million
4	gove vote say law britain minist prime european leav million
5	farmer must make fine farm regul thing year british day
6	countri vote make fundament reform want europ remain member peopl
7	control can nhs vote take back european law peopl court
8	busi market small trade singl remain export countri british benefit
9	europ britain leav agreement market vote year free singl like
10	union european right countri want leav social worker vote protect
11	leav vote nhs billion money european can countri peopl say
12	european union defenc govern control access polici secur common commiss
13	world leav nato european can chang minist energi govern europ
14	peopl thing think can britain europ come chang govern countri
15	european leav arrest britain economi trade countri europ mean warrant
16	vote school leav place countri control can take migrat european
17	countri european now chang peopl remain year europ singl can
18	said border leav duncan european back britain smith also com
19	rule cost busi singl market power law regul like damag
20	immigr peopl control vote migrat year hous popul come polici
21	trade agreement deal free negoti european commiss countri job leav
Topic #	Characteristic words by FREX
1	forecast charter feel self court safe former crucial crimin refer
2	treati legal promis bind deal court child bound might chang
3	famili price job expert studi lower left fewer higher shop
4	gove immedi measur interview prime motion event agenc justic council
5	fine farmer farm payment cap defra hedg width wife mistak
6	reform fundament possibl flaw buy other question leader issu fault
7	nhs tax health control spend politician problem court hospit perman
8	small busi firm export survey averag growth employe market barrier
9	wto agreement credit gdp altern financi treasuri listen receipt stuart
10	worker social integr currenc union eurozon fiscal protect toward pillar
11	nhs save billion stuart money popul effici rebat cash restor
12	defenc turkish union object turkey common action acceler war procur
13	nato gas energi electr resolv choos help fresh emiss freedom
14	think lot thing obvious sort there big dont whitehal process
15	arrest warrant threat crimin export economi suspect climat lose terror
16	school place addit primari children migrat serbia albania gross futur
17	sens cent argument french now liber cosmopolitan econom contrari told
18	duncan smith german drop refus cabinet border arrest sun tori
19	vat admit drug rule delay cancer cost damag energi legisl
20	hous immigr net popul household migrat rent space local green
21	trade agreement deal free negoti european commiss countri job leav

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

Joel Pearce

A Figure 2

Figure 2: Correspondence Analysis of Trump and Sanders' Combined Discourse

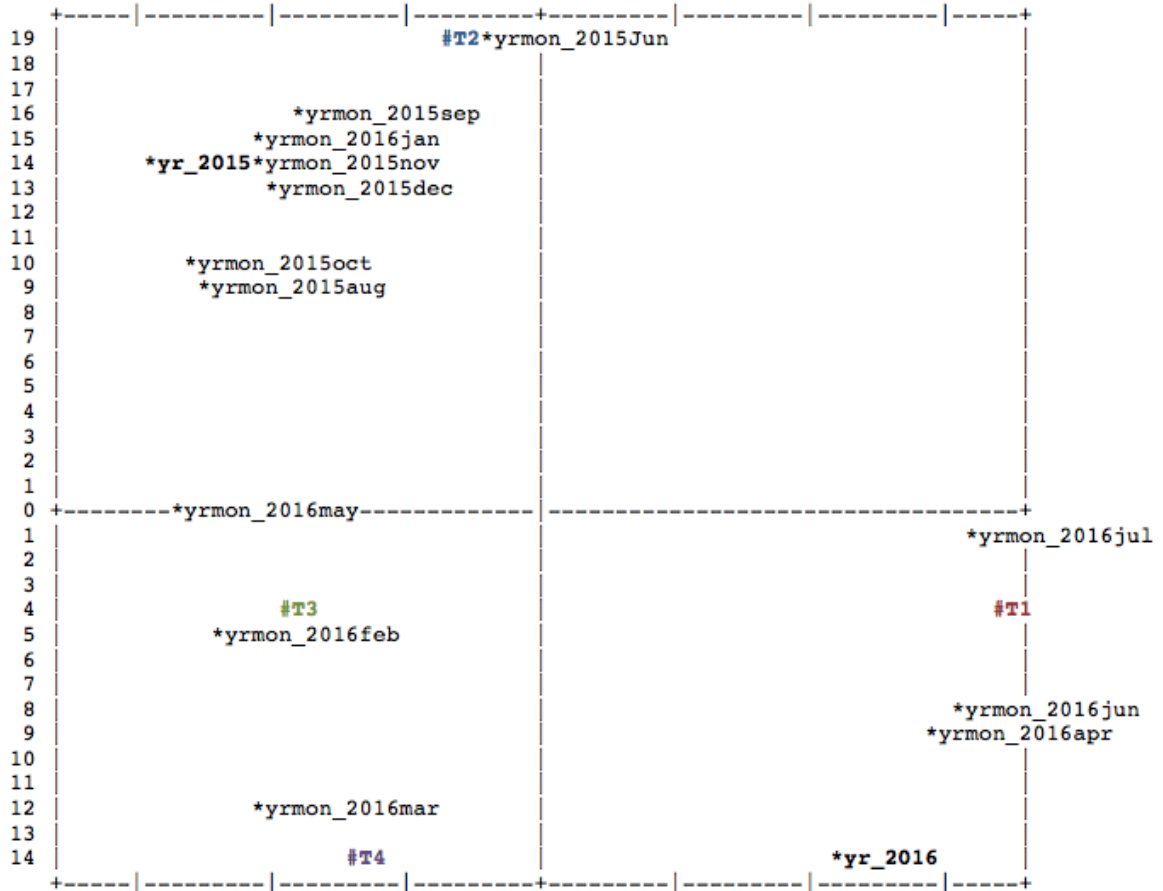


- C1: US global position (trade and borders) – Trump
- C2: Economic inequality and its effects – Sanders
- C3: Campaign finance and the “political revolution” – Sanders
- C4: Trump vs. opponents and the press – Trump
- C5: Campaign strength – Trump

		% Association	% Cumulative
Factor 1		38.5	38.5
Factor 2		25.1	63.6

B Figure 4

Figure 4: Correspondence Analysis of Trump's Overall Discourse



T1: Political failures and threats
 T2 US global position (trade and borders)
 T3: Trump vs. opponents and the press
 T4: Campaign strength and supporters

	% Association	% Cumulative
Factor 1	42.5	42.5
Factor 2	33.0	75.5

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

Jack H. Glynn

A List of participants in interviews and their affiliations

Cllr. Paul Andrews	<i>Labour Councillor for Baguley ward (Manchester MBC)</i>
Cllr. Maggi Clark	<i>Labour Councillor for Rother Vale ward (Rotherham MBC)</i>
Cllr. Jane Corbett	<i>Labour Councillor for Everton ward (Liverpool MBC)</i>
Cllr. Wendy Cooksey	<i>Labour Councillor for Rotherham East ward (Rotherham MBC)</i>
Cllr. Allen Cowles	<i>UKIP Councillor for Sitwell ward (Rotherham MBC)</i>
Cllr. Nick Crofts	<i>Labour Councillor for Knotty Ash ward (Liverpool MBC)</i>
Cllr. Rob Elliot	<i>UKIP Councillor for Wingfield ward (Rotherham MBC)</i>
Cllr. Beatrice Fraenkel	<i>Labour Councillor for Kirkdale ward (Liverpool MBC)</i>
Cllr. Roy Gladden	<i>Labour Councillor for County ward (Liverpool MBC)</i>
Cllr. Roz Gladden	<i>Lord Mayor of Liverpool and Labour Councillor for Clubmoor ward (Liverpool MBC)</i>
Cllr. Paul Hague	<i>UKIP Councillor for Rother Vale (Rotherham MBC)</i>
Cllr. Joseph Hanson	<i>Labour Councillor for Kirkdale ward (Liverpool MBC)</i>
Adam Heatherington	<i>Former Chair of UKIP Liverpool</i>
Cllr. Ian Jones	<i>Labour Councillor for Rotherham West ward (Rotherham MBC)</i>
Cllr. Malcolm Kennedy	<i>Labour Councillor for Kirkdale ward (Liverpool MBC)</i>
Cllr. Barry Kushner	<i>Labour Councillor for Norris Green ward (Liverpool MBC)</i>
Cllr. Madeleine Monaghan	<i>Labour Councillor for Sharston ward (Manchester MBC)</i>
Cllr. Nathan Murray	<i>Labour Councillor for Bryn ward (Wigan MBC)</i>
Cllr. Luke Raikes	<i>Labour Councillor for Baguley ward (Manchester MBC)</i>
Cllr. Suzannah Reeves	<i>Labour Councillor for Old Moat ward (Manchester MBC)</i>
Cllr. Peter Short	<i>UKIP Councillor for Sitwell ward (Rotherham MBC)</i>
Cllr. Leon Tootle	<i>Labour Councillor for Speke-Garston ward (Liverpool MBC)</i>
Cavin Vines	<i>Branch Secretary of UKIP Rotherham</i>
Cllr. Chris Webb	<i>Labour Councillor for Northenden ward (Manchester MBC)</i>
Ben Williams	<i>Liverpool Walton Constituency Labour Party Secretary</i>

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

Guillaume Paugam

A

1. Questionnaire used with Portuguese people

Vous êtes:

- Une femme
- Un homme

Vous êtes:

- Né en France
- Arrivé en France avant 6 ans
- Arrivé en France pendant votre scolarité (précisez : primaire, collège, lycée)
- Arrivé en France pour vos études supérieures
- Arrivé en France à l'âge adulte pour travailler

Avez-vous suivi des études à l'université?

- Oui
- Non

Quel métier exercez-vous?

Comment définiriez-vous votre intégration en France:

- Parfaitement intégré
- Bien intégré
- Intégré
- Mal intégré
- Pas du tout intégré

Sur l'échelle suivante, quelle est l'importance du Portugal et de la culture portugaise dans votre vie de tous les jours (musique, nourriture, langue)?

- 5 - Très importante: je parle plus souvent/autant portugais que français, la plupart de mes fréquentations sont d'origine portugaise
- 4 - Importante: elle est très présente à la maison notamment, un peu moins en dehors
- 3 - Moyenne: elle est importante pour moi mais pas plus que la culture et les relations sociales du pays dans lequel je vis
- 2 - Peu importante: j'y ai mes racines et de la famille, mais sa culture ne m'influence pas au quotidien, seulement occasionnellement
- 1 - Pas du tout importante: la culture portugaise n'a aucun rôle dans ma vie de tous les jours

Vous sentez-vous plus:

- Portugais
- Français
- Autant l'un que l'autre

Quel est votre rapport au football?

- J'y joue et je suis de près
- J'y joue mais ne suis que vaguement
- Je ne joue pas mais suis de près
- Je ne joue pas et ne suis pas
- Autre : veuillez préciser

Vous supportez un club:

- Au Portugal (précisez lequel)
- En France (précisez lequel)
- Dans les deux pays (précisez lesquels)

Lors d'un match Portugal-France, vous supportez:

- Le Portugal
- La France
- Neutre

Est-ce que le football joue un rôle important dans votre fierté d'être portugais ou d'origine portugaise?

- Oui, très important
- Oui, important
- D'une importance modérée
- Pas important

Eder est-il un héros national ? Cristiano Ronaldo est-il plus important que le Premier Ministre Portugais?

- Eder est un héros national, CR7 est plus important que le PM portugais
- Eder n'est pas un héros national, CR7 est plus important que le PM portugais
- Eder est un héros national, CR7 n'est pas plus important que le PM portugais
- Eder n'est pas un héros national, CR7 n'est pas plus important que le PM Portugais

Quels sont les pays que vous préférez-battre en football?

- Espagne
- Brésil
- France
- Allemagne
- Italie
- Angleterre
- Pays-Bas
- Autre (veuillez préciser)

Translation:

You are:

- A woman
- A man

You:

- Were born in France

LSE UNDERGRADUATE POLITICAL REVIEW

- Arrived here before you were 6 years old
- Arrived here during your schooling (precise: primary, middle-school, high school)
- Arrived here for university
- Arrived here at adult age for work

Did you go to university?

- Yes
- No

What is your current job?

How would you define your integration in France?

- Perfectly integrated
- Well integrated
- Integrated
- Badly integrated
- Not integrated at all

On the following scale, what is the importance of Portugal and Portuguese culture in your everyday life (music, food, language)?

- 5 - Very important: I speak Portuguese more often/as much as French and most people I hang out with are of Portuguese origin
- 4 - Important: very present at home but less outside
- 3 - Medium: important for me but not more than culture and social relations of the country I am living in
- 2 - Not Very Important: I have my roots and some family there, but its culture does not influence me in my everyday life, only from times to times
- 1 - Not Important At All: Portuguese culture has no influence in my everyday life

You feel:

- More Portuguese
- More French
- Equally Portuguese and French

What is your relationship to football?

- I play and follow closely
- I play but do not follow
- I do not play but follow closely
- I do not play and do not follow
- Other: please precise

You support a club:

- In Portugal (indicate which one)
- In France (indicate which one)
- In both (indicate which ones)

In a Portugal-France game, you support:

- Portugal
- France
- Neutral

Does football play an important part in your pride of being Portuguese or of Portuguese origin?

- Yes, very important
- Yes, important
- Of a moderate importance
- Not important

Is Eder a national hero? Is Cristiano Ronaldo (CR7) more important than the Portuguese Prime Minister?

- Eder is a national hero, CR7 is more important than the Portuguese PM
- Eder is not a national hero, CR7 is more important than the Portuguese PM
- Eder is a national hero, CR7 is not more important than the Portuguese PM
- Eder is not a national hero, CR7 is not more important than the Portuguese PM

What are the countries you prefer to beat in football?

- Spain
- Brazil
- France
- Germany
- Italy
- England
- The Netherlands
- Other: please precise

B

1. Interview 1: Isabel

Firstly, can you introduce yourself a bit? (Countries you lived in, what do you study, do you come from a family with many football fans)

Ik ben Isabel en ik ben 19 jaar oud. Ik woon in Nederland, in Huizen. Dit ligt ongeveer 20km ten oosten van Amsterdam. Momenteel studeer ik niet, maar na de zomer ga ik wel weer studeren.

In mijn familie zijn alleen ik en mijn pa fanatieke voetbal supporters, maar ook mijn ooms en neven zijn voetbal liefhebbers.

Wij zijn allemaal voor Feyenoord behalve mijn neef, hij is voor Ajax. Ik kijk alle wedstrijden van Feyenoord en ik ben ook fan van Barcelona en Bayern Munchen . Ik probeer alle wedstrijden van Barcelona en Bayern Muchen te kijken.

I'm Isabel and I am 19 years old. I live in the Netherlands, in Huizen. This is located approximately 20km east of Amsterdam. I am currently not at University, but I will go to University after Summer. In my family, only my dad and I are football fanatics, but also my uncle and cousins (male) are football lovers. We are all Feyenoord fans, except for my cousin, who supports Ajax. I watch all Feyenoord matches and I am also a fan of Barcelona and Bayern Munich. I try to watch all Barcelona and Bayern Munich matches.

Let aside the most recent results which were not that good, do you think the Netherlands National Team has a distinct style of play, that makes it special among the best football nations?

Ja dat denk ik wel zeker, maar in negatieve zin. Alle andere landen spelen agressief en vallen veel aan. Nederland passt over en nog een keer.... dan zijn ze eindelijk een aanval aan het opbouwen en schieten ze weer terug naar de keeper. Niet slim! Nu moeten ze hun aanval weer helemaal opnieuw opbouwen. Super dom natuurlijk!

Ze denken inderdaad dat ze heel wat zijn, omdat ze vroeger super goed waren, maar dat is totaal weg. We zijn toe aan een nieuwe coach (de coach die we nu hebben is waardeloos) en we hebben frisse jonge nieuwe spelers nodig!

Yes I definitely think that, but not in a negative sense. All other countries play aggressively and attack a lot. The Netherlands just passes around ... then they are suddenly building an attack, but next thing we know, they're passing it back to the goalkeeper. Not the end of the world though! Now they need to build their attack from scratch. Super dumb obviously! They definitely think that they're something important, because they were super good in the past, but that is completely gone. We need a new coach (the coach we have now is completely worthless) and we are in need of fresh young players!

Is there a distinct type of Dutch player? (In my imagination it would be a talented, technical player who loves aesthetics as much as the result and is also very self-confident, typically Cruyff but also more recently Robben or Sneijder, what do you think of that?) Do you See Cruyff as a national hero or at least (when he was alive) a great ambassador for Dutch football and the Netherlands in General?

Dat is Tony Vilena van Feyenoord. Hij rent 90 min lang, zeer constant aan de bal, verdedigt mee als hij mee moet verdedigen en trekt het spel open. Hij staat op het middenveld, is begin 20 jaar en is niet te zelfverzekerd. Hij is helaas nog niet gevraagd voor het Nederlands elftal. Johan Cruyff was het talent van Nederland. Ik denk er tot dusver geen Nederlandse voetballer is die aan hem kan tippen. Hij was ook inderdaad een grote ambassadeur voor het NL voetbal. Ik denk dat als je technisch een goede voetballer bent dat je dan ook een betere controle over je lichaam hebt. Kijk maar naar Messi. Hij is meega technisch, weet precies hoe zijn lichaam werkt en heeft nauwelijks blessures.

That is Tony Vilena from Feyenoord. He runs for 90 mins long, very constant with the ball, defends when he needs to defend and speeds up the pace of the game. He is a midfielder, is in his early 20s and is not too self-assured. Sadly, he hasn't been asked to play for the Dutch national team yet. Johan Cruyff was the talent of the Netherlands. I can't think of a player that can beat him in that aspect. He was also an important ambassador for Dutch football. I think that if you're a good technical player, you have better control of your body. Just look at Messi. He is mega technical, knows exactly how his body works and has barely any injuries.

Is football part of your identity as a Dutch person? Do you think it is part of Dutch people's identity in general? Is total football something you are proud of and of which Dutch people are generally proud?

Nee ik denk en vind niet dat voetbal een deel van je identiteit is als Nederlands persoon. Wel vind ik het een identiteit van jezelf. Ook denk ik dat voetbal een sneller deel van je identiteit/leven is als voetbal een van de hoofdsporten in je land is.

Ik ben wel trots dat wij in de voorgaande jaren een goed team hadden en andere landen bang maakte met ons spel. Maar over het algemeen zijn Nederlanders niet trots op hun voetbalteam. De meeste mensen zeggen: 'het is maar een spelletje'.

Soms erger ik me wel eens aan de hectiek als er een groot toernooi is voor voetbal. Ineens is iedereen voor het nationale team en vind iedereen voetbal leuk.

No I don't think that football is a part of the identity of a Dutch person. But I do think that it's an identity of yourself. I also think that football becomes part of your identity/life faster if football is the main sport in your country. I am proud that we had a really good team in the past and that we scared other countries with our skill. But generally speaking, Dutch people aren't proud of their football team. Most of them say "it's just a game" Sometimes it annoys me that it is super hectic before a big football match. Suddenly, everyone supports the national team and everyone enjoys football.

I assume you were not born in 1974; how have you heard of this year's mythical team (parents, friends, media)? Is it something very present still today in Dutch people's imagination? Is it something that is remembered across generations?

Mijn vader heeft wel eens verteld over de wedstrijden uit 1974 en 1988, maar niet zo zeer dat ik er alles van weet. Mijn opa hield van voetbal, maar hij is helaas overleden en ik kan hem niet meer naar de wedstrijden uit de vorige eeuw vragen.

Ik weet dat we een geweldig nationaal team hadden die elkaar uitstekend op het veld konden vinden. Alle voetballers die in dat nationale team zaten zijn allemaal doorgebroken tot zelfs Barcelona. Dat was in die tijd zeer bijzonder.

Ja dit is wel iets dat elke Nederlander weet en waar iedereen trots op is. Als ik later kinderen krijg vertel ik dit uiteraard ook aan hen en ik hoop dat zij dat weer doorgeven aan hun kinderen.

My father has told me about the matches in 1974 and 1988 once, but not enough for me to know it well. My grandpa also loved football, but he unfortunately died and I can't ask him about the matches held almost a century ago. I know that we had an amazing national team who played very well together. All footballer who were in the national team managed to get to Barcelona even. That was really special back then. Yes this is something that each Dutch person knows and is proud about. When I have children later, I will tell them that and hope that they can pass it onto their own children.

In your experience, when you meet someone from another country, does it happen often that he or she relates your nationality to football? To be clearer, does it happen often that football, great Dutch players, coaches, or teams are something that foreign people quickly think about and refer to when they think about the Netherlands?

Ja dat gebeurt heel vaak. Ik hou van voetbal dus als je met mij in gesprek gaat, gaat het snel over sport. En dan beginnen ze er uiteraard ook over. Maar ook als ik op vakantie ben en ik met iemand praat. Ze vragen meestal: 'waar kom je vandaan?'. Ik zeg dan: 'Holland'. De eerste reactie die ik krijg is:

-Sneijder

-Van Persie

-Robben

Ja, als ze aan Nederland denken is het eerste wat ze denken voetbal. En ze weten er ook echt heel veel over! Dat vind ik wel heel leuk dat ze heel erg geïnteresseerd zijn in ons voetbal.

Yes that happens often. I really love football so if you ever have a conversation with me, it'll quickly transition into a conversation about football. And then they'll start discussing it too. But if I'm on vacation and I'm talking to someone. They usually ask: "where are you from?". I'll then say: "Holland". The first reaction that I get is: • Sneijder • Van persie • Robben Yes, when they think about the Netherlands, the first thing they think of is football. And they know a lot about it too! I find it cool that they are so interested in our football.

Do you like beating the Germans more than any other nations? Do you think the Dutch style of football is also constructed in opposition to the more “mechanic efficient and brutal” kind of German play? Is there a similar type of rivalry against other countries (Belgium maybe?)

Haha leuke vraag! Ja natuurlijk! Maar dat hebben we ook met België, daarvan willen wij ook heel graag winnen.

Nee, omdat wij momenteel zo 'n slecht team hebben en een zeer slechte coach kunnen wij niet meer tegen onze burens op. De Duitsers spelen snel en aanvallend. Wij spelen momenteel super traag en passen alleen maar een beetje doelloos rond.

België begint steeds meer als Duitsland te spelen en dat vind ik leuk om te zien, hoe een land die nooit in beeld was met voetbal echt wel een gevaar is geworden.

Nederland heeft het al heel lang goed gedaan in de top, maar elk land heeft een periode van een aantal jaren waarin het niet loopt. Helaas heeft Nederland momenteel deze dip....

Haha nice question! Yes of course! But they have the same in Belgium, we really want to win it as well. No because we have such a bad team right now and a really bad coach, we have trouble against our neighbours. The Germans play very offensively. We are playing really slowly right now and pass the ball around aimlessly. Belgium is beginning to play like the Germans and I think that's cool to see, how a country who was never in the picture of football has become a danger. The Netherlands did really well in the top, but each country has a period in which they don't play very well. Unfortunately, this is the case for the Netherlands right now...

(I don't want to re-open the wound but...) The Dutch are often known to be beautiful losers (74, 78, 2010) do you think that this is something that, paradoxically, has become part of its football identity?

Ja dat denk ik wel ja. Nederland speelt goed en als we dan na hard werken in de finale staan of iets dergelijks dan verliezen we altijd. Aan de ene kant is het heel irritant en vernederend, maar aan de andere kant moet ik er ook wel om lachen.

Yes I think that as well. The Netherlands plays well and if we work really hard and manage to get to the finals, we always end up losing. On the one hand, it find it really irritating and soul-destroying, but on the other hand is it something to laugh about.

Finally, some people think the way Dutch play football is a general reflection of Dutch talents and way of life (creativity which relates to art and the love of aesthetics; the almost scientific use of space on the pitch which relates to how space is managed in real life; making the most of a rather small population etc.) do you think there is some truth in that?

Ja, ergens denk ik wel dat hier waarheid in zit. Maar dit komt, denk ik, door onze regering. Één van de belangrijkste punten is dat ze veel geld geven aan sportclubs. Hierdoor kan elke Nederlander en sport beoefenen en kunnen er veel talenten ontstaan of gescout worden.

Yes, I think somewhere in this question, there's some truth. But this is down due, I think, our government. One of the most important points is that they give a lot of money to their sportsclubs. Through this, each dutch person can practice sport and can develop lots of talented players who can be scouted.

2. Interview 2: Patrick

Firstly, can you introduce yourself a bit? (Countries you lived in, what do you study, do you come from a family with many football fans)

- Born and raised in London.
- Half Dutch and half German.
- Study Geography with Economics.
- My dad has been an avid football fan since a young age, supporting Ajax his whole life as a football fanatic and then supporting Chelsea when he moved to London when he was 18.

Let aside the most recent results which were not that good, do you think the Netherlands National Team has a distinct style of play, that makes it special among the best football nations?

- I mean the whole distinction with total football sums up Dutch football.
- The 2010 world cup other than the final was a recent example where the Dutch outclassed their opponents by playing beautiful football.
- They don't focus on who their opponents are but just try and play their style.
- No other team other than Spain recently has nearly as distinctive playing style.

Is there a distinct type of Dutch player? (In my imagination it would be a talented, technical player who loves aesthetics as much as the result and is also very self-confident, typically Cruyff but also more recently Robben or Sneijder, what do you think of that?) Do you see Cruyff as a national hero or at least (when he was alive) a great ambassador for Dutch football and the Netherlands in General?

- Someone who works hard for their team and aims to play the most beautiful football.
- Work together and focus on passing to each other to open up space and create opportunities.
- Also beautiful skills such as that Cruyff goal and Robben on a regular basis, for example his worldie against Arsenal the other day.
- He is a national hero. He brought out to so many finals and won Euros for us.
- Then when he retired he did so much for Dutch football and football in general- he grew La Masia, and made Barcelona what they are today through their improved youth system.

- He created total football in Holland and made the Netherlands what they are today- probably the best team never to win the world cup in my opinion.

Is football part of your identity as a Dutch person? Do you think it is part of Dutch people's identity in general? Is total football something you are proud of and of which Dutch people are generally proud?

- Yes it brings the Dutch people together and creates a close bond between me and my dad. Both through Chelsea and Holland.
- We have a season ticket for Chelsea so I get to see him most weekends for that which increases our bond.
- Also, when the major international tournaments are on we come together and support Holland, which increases our bond as well.
- It is definitely part of Dutch people's identify because it brings everyone together no matter how far apart or different they are.
- Yes total football is something I and Dutch people are proud of it because it gives us an identity and shows the beautiful side of football and Holland in general.

Were you told the stories of the mythical teams and players of 1974 and 1988? Is it something you know well despite not being born at that time? Is it something still very present in the collective imagination of Dutch people?

- My Dad always used to talk about those teams as the pinnacle and creation of beautiful football- every time we watch Barcelona he describes them as the Dutch team back then.
- I don't know them that well but have watched several clips and am amazed by the football that they played back then.
- It is still very present in Dutch people's imagination because they were our greatest teams and although we have had some good teams recently in 2010 and 2014 World Cup they don't compare, so there is a sense of living in the past.

In your experience, when you meet someone from another country, does it happen often that he or she relates your nationality to football? To be clearer, does it happen often that football, great Dutch players, coaches, or teams are something that foreign people quickly think about and refer to when they think about the Netherlands?

- Yes very often. Not much else other than cheese that the Dutch people are related to.
- Yes often think about Marco van Basten volley against USSR, or Robben.
- When I went to Ghana for 6 weeks that's all they associated me with. Robben and football.

Do you like beating the Germans more than any other nations? Do you think the Dutch style of football is also constructed in opposition to the more "mechanic efficient and brutal" kind of German play? Is there a similar type of rivalry against other countries (Belgium maybe?)

- Being half German I am a bit torn between Holland and Germany, however I favour the Netherlands because of the beautiful football that they play.
- So when we beat the Germans I am proud.
- Yes completely opposite- they play in the same way- very rigid but effective because of the players they have.
- Belgium is the only other one, but that stems more from hockey where we compete with each other. However, only recently the rivalry between us 2 nations has increased in football as they have become a lot better and compete on the world stage now.

(I don't want to re-open the wound but...) The Dutch are often known to be beautiful losers (74, 78, 2010) do you think that this is something that, paradoxically, has become part of its football identity?

- Ye something of its football identity- put their hearts out and if they don't win then commend the team on beating them.
- However, I feel that in 2010 it wasn't beautiful because we played horrific football and tried to hack down Spain to win when we probably would have won if we had played the amazing football we had been playing all tournament.

Finally, some people think the way Dutch play football is a general reflection of Dutch talents and way of life (creativity which relates to art and the love of aesthetics; the almost scientific use of space on the pitch which relates to how space is managed in real life; making the most of a rather small population etc.) do you think there is some truth in that?

- Definitely- art and culture is huge in the Netherlands and this is only portrayed perfectly in the way we play football.
- It reflects our general lives and how we live them.

3. Interview 3: Remmert

Firstly, can you introduce yourself a bit? (Countries you lived in, are you a student or working, do you come from a family with many football fans and are you a football fan yourself)

My name is Remmert I am 29 years old and have been living in the UK for 3 years now. I also lived in Rome for about 5 months. For as long as I remember I have been an Ajax fan. My parents are not that into football but I would say that their club is Ajax is well. My two older brothers support PSV and Feyenoord

Let aside the most recent results which were not that good, do you think the Netherlands National Team has a distinct style of play, that makes it special among the best football nations?

Yes, it has. We've always been known to have a very distinctive football style, characterised by playing very offensively, with right- and left wing backs who basically play as left- and right wing strikers. Dutch football is, together with the Brazilian, Italian, and Spanish football styles, one of the most famous one.

Is there a distinct type of Dutch player? (In my imagination it would be a talented, technical player who loves aesthetics as much as the result and is also very self-confident, typically Cruyff but also more recently Robben or Sneijder, what do you think of that?) Do you see Cruyff as a national hero or at least (when he was alive) a great ambassador for Dutch football and the Netherlands in general?

Cruyff certainly was the role model of Dutch football and has paved the way for many Dutch manager and footballers who are now, or used to, play for the biggest teams in Europe. The one player that stands out now, and who most closely resembles my idea of Dutch football, is Sneijder (and in lesser extent Klaassen). With regard to the latter, he is still very young but has that typical Dutch/Amsterdam arrogance, combined with great technical skills and strategic insight.

Is football part of your identity as a Dutch person? Do you think it is part of Dutch people's identity in general? Is total football something you are proud of and of which Dutch people are generally proud? (never ask more than 1 question at the same time in a survey)

Dutch football is part of my identity, especially so since I've been living abroad. When people find out you're Dutch, they immediately start to talk about football (Cruyff, Van Basten, Bergkamp, Sneijder etc.). We're a very proud football nation and we think we're still really good at it, even though some may argue we're not.

Were you born in 1974 when the mythical total football team reached the World Cup Final? If yes, is it a memory you try to transmit to generations that were not born at the time? If not, were you told the story of this team (relatives, books, newspapers etc.)? Is it something still very present in the collective imagination of Dutch people?

I was born in 1987 so no. I have heard all the stories from my family about that famous match.

4. Interview 4: Samuel

Firstly, can you introduce yourself a bit? (Countries you lived in, are you a student or working, do you come from a family with many football fans and are you a football fan yourself)

My name is Sam, I'm 26 years old, and I'm currently working as an Account Manager for a digital marketing agency. I was born and raised in the Netherlands, spent a year in the US, and moved to London about 8 months ago. My roots are American and English, and I come from a family with a lot of football fans (especially the English side). I've been playing football since the age of 5, and I really love watching the game too. So it's safe to say I'm a big football fan.

Let aside the most recent results which were not that good, do you think the Netherlands National Team has a distinct style of play, that makes it special among the best football nations?

With the invention of “Total Football”, I think we are the founders of one of the best tactical theory’s in the history of football. Nevertheless, over the past 15 years, we’ve rarely seen the Dutch team play Total Football, and I don’t think the current generation of players (and the manager) will play this way either. So historically yes, we are among the best football nations. But currently we are not.

Is there a distinct type of Dutch player? (In my imagination it would be a talented, technical player who loves aesthetics as much as the result and is also very self-confident, typically Cruyff but also more recently Robben or Sneijder, what do you think of that?) Do you see Cruyff as a national hero or at least (when he was alive) a great ambassador for Dutch football and the Netherlands in general?

I think the best Dutch football players are quick, technical, creative and able to play in different positions. Cruyff, van Basten, Bergkamp & Sneijder are good examples of players with these traits. Cruyff is the greatest Dutch football player of all time, and played a very strong role in shaping the (footballing) identity of the Netherlands, but also for football in general.

Is football part of your identity as a Dutch person? Do you think it is part of Dutch people’s identity in general? Is total football something you are proud of and of which Dutch people are generally proud?

Football is definitely a part of my identity as a Dutch person, and I’m proud of the role that my country has played in football history. I don’t think football is a part of Dutch people’s identity in general. I think there are other nationalities that follow the game more passionately (South American, maybe even the English). Therefore, as a Dutch person, I think you have to be a football fan in order to really appreciate total football.

Were you born in 1974 when the mythical total football team reached the World Cup Final? If yes, is it a memory you try to transmit to generations that were not born at the time? If not, were you told the story of this team (relatives, books, newspapers etc.)? Is it something still very present in the collective imagination of Dutch people?

I was born in 1990, but my father told me all about that team and that tournament. And of course I’ve read and seen all sorts about it. It is still present in our minds, but I do think it’s starting to die off over time, since we’ve been close to success on quite a few occasions since then.

In your experience, when you meet someone from another country, does it happen often that he or she relates your nationality to football? To be clearer, does it happen often that football, great Dutch players, coaches, or teams are something that foreign people quickly think about and refer to when they think about the Netherlands?

Yes, it happens a lot in my experience. We’re a very small country, and the things we are most known for is clogs & windmills, our tolerant mind-set, and football.

Do you like beating the Germans more than any other nations? Do you think the Dutch style of football is also constructed in opposition to the more “mechanic efficient and

brutal” kind of German play? Is there a similar type of rivalry against other countries (Belgium maybe?)

It's great to beat the Germans, however I believe our respect for the Germans has grown over the past years. We now admit that they have a fantastic team. And it is not “embarrassing” to get beaten by them. Of course, it makes it all the better if we beat them. Apart from the Germans, I'd say historically we have a sporting rivalry with Argentina and Portugal. Belgium was always seen as an insignificant neighbour. But looking at their current and future generation of players, that might turn into a rivalry too. Furthermore, I think all the current successful philosophy's (tiki taka, “german” style) have elements of total football in them.

(I don't want to re-open the wound but...) The Dutch are often known to be beautiful losers (74, 78, 2010) do you think that this is something that, paradoxically, has become part of its football identity?

Yes, we are known as the best football nation never to win a world cup. It's hard to say whether it's part of our footballing identity though. On the one hand, I do believe other countries always “have a weakness” for the Dutch, because of what we did for football, whilst never being rewarded for it properly. But at the same time, whenever we perform well in a tournament ('00, '08, '14) we are always positive that we can win the whole thing (the lost finals don't haunt us).

Finally, some people think the way Dutch play football is a general reflection of Dutch talents and way of life (creativity which relates to art and the love of aesthetics; the almost scientific use of space on the pitch which relates to how space is managed in real life; making the most of a rather small population etc.) do you think there is some truth in that?

I've never stood still and thought about it like that. But after reading this, yes, I do think there is some truth in it.

5. Interview 5: Maarten

Firstly, can you introduce yourself a bit? (Countries you lived in, are you a student or working, do you come from a family with many football fans and are you a football fan yourself)

My name is Maarten, I'm 26 years old and currently work in London as a football analyst (so you can safely say I'm a football fan). Before moving to London I've lived my entire life in the Netherlands but I've had a semester abroad in the United States. Football is quite important in my family and functions as a primary bonding factor between me and my brothers.

Let aside the most recent results which were not that good, do you think the Netherlands National Team has a distinct style of play, that makes it special among the best football nations?

To be honest, it has been a long time ago since we had a distinct football style. I think we once used to be an innovative country but in the last decade or so we have been stagnant, if not

declining. When I think of 'Dutch' football though, I think about creative, attacking and free-flowing football, but the national team has not showcased this in a very long time. Unfortunately, many other countries like Spain and Germany seem to have adopted many of these 'Dutch' principles and evolved them to the next level.

Is there a distinct type of Dutch player? (In my imagination it would be a talented, technical player who loves aesthetics as much as the result and is also very self-confident, typically Cruyff but also more recently Robben or Sneijder, what do you think of that?) Do you see Cruyff as a national hero or at least (when he was alive) a great ambassador for Dutch football and the Netherlands in general?

I think there is some sort of typical Dutch player we like to see and the words you use seem to describe that well. I would also like to add though that they need great football intelligence and read the game well (a word we use is 'gogme'). For me, another example of such a player is Dennis Bergkamp.

Yes Johan Cruyff is most definitely a national hero to me and is probably one of the greatest football minds the world will ever know.

Is football part of your identity as a Dutch person? Do you think it is part of Dutch people's identity in general? Is total football something you are proud of and of which Dutch people are generally proud?

To me it is definitely part of my national identity. Although it's probably not the case for everyone, many people enjoy the atmosphere during Euro Cups and World Cups and many streets are decorated with orange things for the summer.

Also as a football fan I am very proud of our football history as a nation and that we introduced total football as a style of play that is essentially still used by top teams. I think other football fans are equally proud of that, but more casual fans probably not so much.

Were you born in 1974 when the mythical total football team reached the World Cup Final? If yes, is it a memory you try to transmit to generations that were not born at the time? If not, were you told the story of this team (relatives, books, newspapers etc.)? Is it something still very present in the collective imagination of Dutch people?

I was born after this final, but I have been told stories and seen many clips of this legendary tournament. This team is a huge part of our national football identity and probably the best team we will ever field. It has also contributed a great deal to our rivalry with Germany and the idea that we care more about aesthetics than actually winning trophies.

In your experience, when you meet someone from another country, does it happen often that he or she relates your nationality to football? To be clearer, does it happen often that football, great Dutch players, coaches, or teams are something that foreign people quickly think about and refer to when they think about the Netherlands?

When speaking to other men from a footballing nation this happens quite often. Depending on their age they might bring up great players from the 70's, 80's, 90's and more recently players like Van Persie and Robben.

On a more negative note, in the summers after the world cups in 2006 and 2010 we would be reminded about the dirty style and the loss of the final.

Do you like beating the Germans more than any other nations? Do you think the Dutch style of football is also constructed in opposition to the more “mechanic efficient and brutal” kind of German play? Is there a similar type of rivalry against other countries (Belgium maybe?)

Yes. without a doubt! Beating Germany in an important game is the best.

Maybe in the past that was the case, but by now Germany has had such an incredible technical and tactical development that they can combine that on top of their great mental approach.

The rivalry with Germany will always be the biggest I think because they're our big neighbor, and it's still a sore spot in our football history to lose that final.

Belgium is also a rival, but not at all in the same way. I think in general that the Netherlands looks down upon Belgium a bit, and this is also the case in football. In recent years they arguably have a better team than we do, so it increases the importance of the game a bit, but historically they've not had as many good teams as we have.

(I don't want to re-open the wound but...) The Dutch are often known to be beautiful losers (74, 78, 2010) do you think that this is something that, paradoxically, has become part of its football identity?

sad to say it but you're probably right. Although I would like to contest the fact that we were beautiful losers in 2010. we had a pretty negative approach in that tournament and heavily relied on van bommel and de jong as a defensive and ruthless block in midfield. regardless, I think we're known to want to play the game a certain way to provide entertainment, even if it comes at a cost of winning. Obviously it's a shame we haven't won it, but as such a small country I can take pride in the fact that we regularly punch above our weight on the international level due to our approach.

Finally, some people think the way Dutch play football is a general reflection of Dutch talents and way of life (creativity which relates to art and the love of aesthetics; the almost scientific use of space on the pitch which relates to how space is managed in real life; making the most of a rather small population etc.) do you think there is some truth in that?

yes and no. The way we manage space as a people probably has had some effect on our football, but it probably has more to do with the fact that as kids you learn to play on small streets where you need great technical ability to cope. When it comes to aesthetics I'm not sure if it's necessarily part of our overall culture. I think Dutch are generally very pragmatic, but this isn't necessarily reflected in our football. We are generally quite open minded though and try to foster creative and independent thinking from a young age so this I can see in our style of play.

6. Interview 6: Michiel

Firstly, can you introduce yourself a bit? (Countries you lived in, what do you study, do you come from a family with many football fans)

Football fan, I watch, interested, club teams and national team.

Let aside the most recent results which were not that good, do you think the Netherlands National Team has a distinct style of play, that makes it special among the best football nations?

Yes sometimes, it likes to think it. Drawing on reputation from 70's, total football etc. Does not always live up to that, to its reputation of being spectacular and entertaining football. Traditional view.

Is there a distinct type of Dutch player? (In my imagination it would be a talented, technical player who loves aesthetics as much as the result and is also very self-confident, typically Cruyff but also more recently Robben or Sneijder, what do you think of that?) Do you see Cruyff as a national hero or at least (when he was alive) a great ambassador for Dutch football and the Netherlands in general?

Association that people have yeah, exists to one extent but not always true, technically gifted players exist, not very tough, Berkamp type of players typically, technically gifted but vulnerable to body check. But very different types of players, more robust too.

Is football part of your identity as a Dutch person? Do you think it is part of Dutch people's identity in general? Is total football something you are proud of and of which Dutch people are generally proud?

I think it is to quite a large extent. Some are completely uninterested in football but when national team plays, especially big tournament, many people watch. Big divide between extremely interested in national team and those interested in club football. I don't really get the pride thing but certainly people are proud of it. Cruyff died, all over the news all over the world, in the Netherlands, they showed how much this was covered around the world, small country, so need attention.

Were you told the stories of the mythical teams and players of 1974 and 1988? Is it something you know well despite not being born at that time? Is it something still very present in the collective imagination of Dutch people?

Yes very present. Part of your education I suppose. No escaping this.

In your experience, when you meet someone from another country, does it happen often that he or she relates your nationality to football? To be clearer, does it happen often that football, great Dutch players, coaches, or teams are something that foreign people quickly think about and refer to when they think about the Netherlands?

Yeah, pretty often, not always national team, but players (Berkamp, Overmars here for Arsenal). Hardly ever woman.

Do you like beating the Germans more than any other nations? Do you think the Dutch style of football is also constructed in opposition to the more "mechanic efficient and brutal" kind of German play? Is there a similar type of rivalry against other countries (Belgium maybe?)

Absolutely, I don't think the Germans feel the same way, we have the big brother complex, particularly satisfying for Dutch people, does not happen nearly enough. Style opposition. Rivalry with Belgium too, but in a strange way more acceptable to lose against Germany, humiliating Belgium.

(I don't want to re-open the wound but...) The Dutch are often known to be beautiful losers (74, 78, 2010) do you think that this is something that, paradoxically, has become part of its football identity?

In those terms, they would not like it very much, but there is definitely frustration we never won the WC the three times we went to the final. Nostalgia and celebration of 1988.

Finally, some people think the way Dutch play football is a general reflection of Dutch talents and way of life (creativity which relates to art and the love of aesthetics; the almost scientific use of space on the pitch which relates to how space is managed in real life; making the most of a rather small population etc.) do you think there is some truth in that?

Certainly true that people tend to think that, don't know if that's true. We certainly can make an analogy, we don't have lots of space and people but use them effectively, especially use of offside rule, mocked at the time, used in the 70's effectively, Dutch almost started it.

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

A

1. Content analysis time frames

Period	Code	Chosen time frame in this period (2016)
Before the Campaign	B1	April 5 th – 10 th
Campaign Period 1	C1	April 15 th to 20 th
Campaign Period 2	C2	May 10 th to 15 th
Campaign Period 3	C3	June 10 th to 15 th

2. Articles analysed in period C3 framing analysis

Adams, S. (2016, April 17). 72% of struck off doctors are from overseas: Cases include an Indian GP who ran an immigration scam and a Malaysian medic who secretly filmed female patients . Retrieved October 05, 2017, from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3543899/72-struck-NHS-doctors-overseas-cases-include-Indian-GP-ran-immigration-scam-Malaysian-medic-secretly-filmed-female-patients.html>

Dathan, M. (2016, June 10). Revealed: Migrants try to sneak into Britain at a rate of one every six minutes, official figures show. Retrieved April 06, 2017, from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3634930/Migrants-try-sneak-Britain-rate-one-six-minutes-official-figures-show.html>

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Harding, E. (2016, April 19). Thousands of children miss out on a place at all their chosen primary schools: Up to a tenth in some areas did not receive a spot. Retrieved April 06, 2017, from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3546800/Thousands-miss-place-chosen-primary-schools-tenth-areas-did-not-receive-spot.html>

Pendlebury, R. (2016, June 10). Greediest snouts in the EU trough: Not sure how to vote? Read about the stinking wealth and hypocrisy of those Brussels fat cats the Kinnocks and it may help you decide. Retrieved April 06, 2017, from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3636143/Greediest-snouts-EU-trough-Not-sure-vote-Read-stinking-wealth-hypocrisy-Brussels-fat-cats-Kinnocks-help-decide.html>

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<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3551641/Britain-3-000-refugees-Middle-East-ministers-admit-previous-promises-did-not-far-enough.html>

Sculthorpe, T. (2016, June 14). Nice try! Labour grandee Alan Johnson urges voters to stay IN the EU because it would HELP control immigration. Retrieved October 05, 2017, from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3640641/Nice-try-Labour-grandee-Alan-Johnson-urges-voters-stay-HELP-control-immigration.html>

Slack, J. (2016, April 06). 'Staggering' number of European jihadis: EU's own border agency admits terrorists are exploiting refugee crisis and lax controls - but has no idea how many illegal immigrants there are. Retrieved April 06, 2017, from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3525279/Mass-migration-allowing-terrorists-pour-Europe-EU-s-border-agency-admits-s-revealed-false-documents-not-facing-thorough-checks.html>

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Stevens, J. (2016, April 20). We DO meddle too much, says EU boss: Juncker finally tells the truth on bloated Brussels and admits many laws should have been left to national governments. Retrieved April 06, 2017, from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article3547897/EU-lost-attractiveness-interferes-people-s-lives-admits-Brussels-chief.html>

B

1. Number of Articles written on the topic of Immigration, and the economy in the *Daily Mail*

Period	Total articles on immigration	Total articles on economy
B1	7	22
C1	28	36
C2	21	26
C3	84	86

