

The British Printed Press and its Impact on the Quality Debate in the 1975 Common Market
Referendum Campaign

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Laurence D. van Ingen S1783521

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Supervisor: E. van Reuler

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Contents

1. Introduction	3
2. Literature Review	4
2.1. European Referendums in a British Context.....	4
2.2. The Role of the Media.....	6
2.3. The Newspapers' Role in a Referendum Debate.....	7
3. Research Outline	8
3.1. Theoretical Expectations.....	8
3.2. Conceptualisation.....	9
3.3. Operationalisation.....	10
3.4. Data Selection.....	12
4. Results	13
4.1. Quantity of Debate.....	13
4.2. Balance of Debate.....	14
4.3. Quality of Reason-Giving in Debate.....	14
4.3.1. Guardian.....	15
4.3.2. Daily Express.....	16
4.3.3. Daily Mirror.....	17
4.4. Analysis.....	19
5. Conclusion and Discussion	21
References List	24
A. Primary Literature (Newspaper Articles).....	24
B. Secondary Literature.....	25
APPENDIX A: ARTICLES	28
APPENDIX B: TABLES	32

The media's performance within its democratic function of providing information and contributing to the debate within a referendum campaign has been heavily scrutinised in the last few years. Especially since the 2016 Brexit referendum, the UK printed press has been under fire. This thesis analyses the British newspapers' performance in the campaign of the 1975 Common Market referendum; the first-ever national referendum in the UK. Building on the earlier works of Pilon (2009) and Renwick and Lamb (2013), this thesis researches the notion of 'debate quality' and the general performance of the press in the context of the Common Market referendum. By means of an in-depth content analysis of three leading British newspapers, this thesis concludes that the newspapers' coverage in 1975 could be described as balanced, plentiful and of a high reason-giving quality.

1. Introduction

In a historic referendum 23 June 2016, the British people voted to leave the European Union. The consequences and implications of the referendum's result have dominated news headlines ever since. The underlying reasons for why the 'Leave' campaign won, have also been subject to scholarly debate and research. A substantial part of this research has been about the role of the media around 'Brexit'. Especially the role of the mass appeal papers (more commonly known as 'tabloids') has been scrutinised. Steven Barnett, Professor of Communications at University of Westminster, writes about in what way the 'mainstream media failed democracy' in a response to the results of the 2016 referendum, published just a few weeks after it was clear that Britain voted for Brexit. He is critical of their role in providing information on the referendum in particular:

In 2016 our mainstream media failed spectacularly. Led, inevitably, by the viscerally anti-EU Mail, Sun, Express and Telegraph papers, most of our national press indulged in little more than a catalogue of distortions, half-truths and outright lies: a ferocious propaganda campaign in which facts and sober analysis were sacrificed to the ideologically driven objectives of editors and their proprietors (Jackson, Thorsen & Wring, 2016, p. 47).

The numbers also tell us most newspapers favoured the 'Leave' campaign in 2016. Loughborough University's report on the news coverage around the 2016 referendum show that in newspaper coverage, 57% of articles advocated leaving the EU (Deacon et al., 2016). If this number is weighted by circulation of newspapers (as the more popular newspapers will be read by more people), no less than 80,5% of articles were in favour of Leave. The report also finds that most newspapers that support EU-withdrawal primarily appeal to arguments based on 'matters concerning political standards and/or corruption in the EU'. Khabaz (2018) also points out the 'significant' support from the British press towards leaving the EU.

What often seems to be forgotten, however, is the fact that the 2016 referendum was not the first of its kind. On 5 June 1975, the British people went to the polls for the first-ever country-wide referendum in the UK. They opted for continued membership of the European Communities (the EU's precursor). The margin was large; the people that voted for 'Remain' outnumbered the 'Leave' voters two to one (King, 1977, p. 130).

These two referendums are of course different in many respects, besides the fact that they are more than forty years apart. Still, it demonstrates that the question of leaving or remaining in the EU (or the EC) has remained relevant and is still on the political agenda in Britain. This makes one wonder about the similarities between these referendums. This thesis will look at the role of the media in this respect. If they 'failed us' in 2016, how could their role in 1975 be best described? Were they sufficiently able – or least better able than in 2016 – to contribute to a quality debate in the referendum campaign? This research will add to the current debate around the media's role in democracies and address these questions above.

After giving an overview of the literature revolving around this topic and setting down the theoretical expectation that emerges from this literature, this thesis will lay down the research outline. Following Renwick and Lamb (2013) this text will work on the concept of 'debate quality'. The research will consist of a content analysis of three leading British newspapers and their coverage of the referendum campaign. This, combined with the already existing literature on the Common Market referendum, will get to a conclusion on how the role of the British printed media can be described in 1975. Lastly, this thesis will make implications for further research in the field.

2. Literature Review

This literature review will analyse the existing literature on the topic of this thesis: the British referendum on membership of the Common Market in 1975, the role of the media in this context in general and the printed press in particular. This thesis is explicitly not trying to formulate an explanation as to why the 1975 referendum resulted in a big win by the pro-European camp; it aims to delve deeper into the role and position of 'Fleet Street' – the centre of the British printed press until the twentieth century – around the referendum campaign ('Fleet Street: A brief history in headlines and pictures', 2016).

2.1. European Referendums in a British Context

A lot has been written on referendums in a European context in general. The book of Mendez, Mendez and Triga (2014) is relevant in this respect. Dealing with the concept of EU referendums, it creates a comparative account of this occurrence. Of special relevance are chapters 1 and 3, developing a

conceptual framework and describing the political dynamics around European referendums, respectively. Atikcan's book 'Framing the European Union' (2015a) deals with the idea of referendums in the EU and describes the 'referendum conundrum'. It creates a detailed historic account of the notion of referendums in the context of European integration and serves as a solid introduction of this phenomenon – also in the case of the United Kingdom. Another work of Atikcan (2015b) deals with the idea of 'double referendums' and why a second referendum might be won by the opposite side. Atikcan asserts that campaigners learn from past mistakes, which could result in a different outcome. However interesting this finding is, treating the 1975 and 2016 referendums as paired is of course a step too far. Thomas and Hug (2002) analyse several referendums and their relationship with the support for European integration. This article states that the 'possibility of referendums may increase citizen support for European integration' (p. 606). This is noteworthy, as the 1975 Common Market referendum is one of the very first in a long list of referendums held on European integration (Atikcan, 2015a, pp. 2-3). Yet, it has failed to completely settle the question on whether the United Kingdom should remain in Europe or not.

The literature mentioned above thus gives us some idea about the notion of (EU) referendums and the reasons why they are held. Also, historical accounts of the 1975 referendum are available. Plenty of literature is available on this first-ever UK-wide referendum, for both general knowledge of the referendum and detailed accounts on the role of the media. King's book (1977) is about the referendum as a whole, also accurately describing the political situation in Britain around the decision to go to the polls on this salient matter. In this way, it proves a quality source for background information on British politics and the larger story of the Common Market referendum. A more recent work is Saunders (2018) – a narrative of British attitudes to Europe and European integration in the 1970s – dealing with the 1973 accession of the UK into the EC and the 1975 referendum. Especially interesting is Saunders' contribution to describing the time period directly preceding the referendum (the renegotiated terms for British EC membership, for example), as well as his overview of the campaign itself and the campaign strategies by both camps. Wellings also writes about European attitudes towards 'Brussels' since the seventies, and identifies an emergence of euroscepticism (which he regards as a form of 'English nationalism') since EC accession in 1973 (2010). These accounts are mainly historical and do not provide much more than a general context for this thesis.

Butler and Kitzinger's account is one of the most acknowledged books on the 1975 referendum (1976). The role of the printed press in the referendum campaign is accurately described by Colin Seymour-Ure, a renowned writer on the media's role in politics. Seymour-Ure's chapter concerns the printed press' performance in particular, and is highly interesting (1976, pp. 214-245). Jowell and Hoinville's book (1976) about public opinion in Britain towards the EEC between 1961-1975 also gives attention to the media and its role within the referendum campaign. Dipak Nandy's contribution to their work

also specifically deals with ‘the media and the messages’ and what he calls the ‘obsessive desire for balance’ from the newspapers (1976, pp. 77-91). Rather than merely historically describing the turn of events, these last two works actually go one step further and include the media’s role in their research.

2.2. The Role of the Media

The media’s role in agenda-setting and elections (and referendums) in abstract terms – as well as in more concrete terms in relation to 1975 and 2016 – is important. McCombs and Shaw (1972) already stress the importance of the agenda-setting role of the mass media and its power to frame what we read. Therefore, the media’s role in providing information should not be underestimated.

As can be expected, the 2016 referendum has seen a lot of attention in the media as well as in scientific research. In this light, the ‘EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign’, which was published shortly after the referendum, is relevant (Jackson et al, 2016). It consists of 79 short responses to the referendum outcome by different scholars on particular topics. Firmstone’s contribution to this publication about the British newspapers and their role, notes that the papers that advocated leaving the European Union were more vocal in this support than their pro-European counterparts (p. 36). Another contribution, by Daddow, discusses the role of British newspapers around the 2016 referendum (p. 50). Daddow states that the printed press has had a considerable influence in the referendum debate, and the coverage of most (tabloid) newspapers is attributed the appropriate name of ‘EU-bashing’.

Furthermore, a substantial part of the literature is about the campaign around the 2016 referendum and ‘the media’. Buckledee (2018) writes about the emotional campaign discourse that made the ‘Leave’ camp win the 2016 referendum. Usherwood and Wright (2017) also talk about the 2016 referendum in general, and analyse the social media strategies of the three strongest campaigning groups in particular. Another work is Khabaz (2018), analysing the UK printed press, their positions and way of framing in the 2016 Brexit referendum. These works are all critical of the British media’s role in contributing to a debate in 2016, and raises questions about how the case of the 1975 referendum compares to this.

That role in contributing to the referendum debate is the main subject of this thesis. An influential work in this regard is Pilon, who connects the role of the media to the idea of deliberative democracy and states that ‘the results tend to confirm previous negative assessments of [the] media’s deliberative performance in referendum contexts’ (2009, p. 2). In this work, Pilon investigates the media as a deliberative space in the context of the 2007 electoral reform referendum in Ontario, Canada. ‘It should be underlined that the relevant academic literature on both media and referendums does not paint a promising portrait of the media’s deliberative potential’ (Pilon, 2009, p. 5). Another Canadian case study – on the 1995 Quebec independence referendum – looks at the relationship between mainstream

and ethnic newspapers, by analysing editorials published by these papers (Bright, Coburn, Faye & Gafijczuk, 1999).

Taking Pilon as an inspiration and building on his findings, Renwick and Lamb (2013) also write about the media's role in the debate quality around a referendum. Their work concerns the 2011 UK referendum on changing the electoral system from a 'first past the post' system into alternative voting.

The work of Daddow puts the British media's position on Europe in perspective. Daddow's article (2012), which analyses the media's role in European integration from 1973 to this decade and identifies the changing position of British media from a 'permissive consensus to [a] destructive dissent', fits into the picture painted above. He describes the movement from a media that is largely benevolent towards Europe, into an outright eurosceptic press. Daddow also notes the role of media magnate Rupert Murdoch and his influence (the 'Murdoch-effect').

Gliddon (2017) writes about the role of the 1975 Wilson government in the referendum and the 'battle for public opinion'. Gliddon finds that the government in question experienced difficulties in controlling events and had a difficult relationship with the mass media. The governments' relationship with the press was particularly strained.

2.3. The Newspapers' Role in a Referendum Debate

Judging from the existing literature, there is reason to not have high expectations about the printed press fulfilling its role in providing information in a referendum context in more recent times. This raises the question whether this was also the case in 1975. One should keep in mind that the 1975 referendum was the first UK-wide referendum ever (after a 1973 Northern-Ireland referendum). Besides, the UK had just had two general elections, and was thus facing its third electoral campaign within a year. This resulted in a sense of 'battle fatigue' and tempted the press to treat the referendum as a third general election (Nandy, 1976, p. 78). Jenkins and Mendelsohn's chapter (2001) adds to this and writes about the news media in referendum campaigns. Their contribution is highly critical of their role: the media, they state, 'does not contribute to informed debate!' (p. 217). The chapter then ascertains that elections and referendums have fundamental differences, and require different kinds of news coverage. Moreover, 'voters may in fact need more information during a referendum campaign than during an election' (p. 218). Analysis of the 1995 Quebec referendum finds that the media actually fail to take up this responsibility, and treat referendums in a similar way to a general election campaign.

This, combined with a low level of knowledge about the European Communities and the Common Market from the general public – a poll in 1975 suggested that less than half of Britons knew what the abbreviation 'EEC' stood for (Davies, 1975) – leads to 'a void' between what voters know and what they perhaps should know in order to make an informed choice in the referendum. As Nandy puts it:

‘there was, in short, a felt absence of information and debate, and the mass media did nothing to fill the void left by the major political parties’ (Nandy, 1976, p. 78).

That statement is, however, not supported by substantial evidence. Research in this area so far has focused on the tone of the media, not on the mass newspapers’ role creating a debate in particular. This makes one wonder about the role of British newspapers in creating a quality debate in the referendum context, in 1975. Conducting this research possesses historical as well as scientific relevance, as a more complete view of the role of the UK media in 1975 could tell us more about the media’s capability of acting in a referendum context (also keeping in mind more recent referendums). This thesis will examine if – and in what way – the British printed press contributed to a quality debate around the referendum campaign, keeping in mind the apparent failure in this respect in more recent referendums, most notably in 2016. In order to research these alternative strains of thought, the following research question will be addressed in this thesis:

In what way did the British printed press contribute to a quality debate during the campaign of the 1975 Common Market referendum?

3. Research Outline

3.1. Theoretical Expectations

Relevant studies concerning the role of the media in creating a quality debate will be discussed below. Hereafter, this thesis will work towards creating a theoretical framework, including conflicting expectations.

The earlier notion of deliberative theory in democracy, is well defined in a media context in the work of Pilon (2009). This would give us reason to assume that – as we have seen to be the case more often – the printed press was not adequately creating a quality debate in the 1975 referendum campaign, but rather made a biased case, built on misconceptions and lies (take another look at the citation from Barnett earlier in the introduction). The comparable studies mentioned above would support this claim.

On the other hand, there is evidence pointing into a different direction. Pilon (2009) does not take into account the Common Market referendum in his work. One should keep in mind that the media treated the 1975 referendum with a fair amount of balance, both in the printed press and in broadcasting, as Nandy’s chapter – already quoted before – claimed (Nandy, 1976, pp. 84-86). Moreover, Daddow’s article would give us the idea that the media in 1975 could be described as a ‘permissive consensus’ in its position towards Europe and the Common Market. Daddow also notes that the printed press had at that time been largely unaffected by the ‘Murdoch-effect’, entailing that Fleet Street’s performance might have been of higher quality. These findings result in rather different expectations: that the printed

press was, to a degree, successful in creating a quality debate around the referendum (or at least more successful than in recent times). Judging from the literature, this explanation would seem more convincing compared to the earlier formulated expectation mentioned above: as most literature states that the British media landscape was largely sympathetic towards European integration. But does the world of the British printed press in 1975 actually fit better in this picture?

3.2. Conceptualisation

The idea of ‘debate quality’ itself is rather vague and unsatisfying. This requires clarification on its exact definition. The notion of debate quality has barely been researched in the context of a referendum campaign. One of the more recent works – and the only relevant concrete conceptualisation of debate quality in an election or referendum context to date – is Renwick and Lamb (2013). They state that studies on media coverage in referendum campaigns can be divided into two categories: the first focuses on the impact the media has on the result of the referendum, the second category analyses the referendum debate quality (Renwick and Lamb, 2013, p. 294).

One could easily see that this thesis falls into the latter category. In their article, Renwick and Lamb state that the quality of the debate focuses on three elements: the quantity of debate, the balance of debate, and the quality of reason-giving in the debate. The first of these – the quantity of debate – revolves around the extent of media coverage: how often did the various media outlets report on the campaign and debate of the referendum? Secondly, the balance of debate. This is about the balance between the two camps in a referendum campaign and how the media remained neutral. Did one side receive considerably more attention, or was the coverage balanced? Thirdly, the quality of reason-giving in the debate. This concerns the argumentative quality of the reasons given to support a certain side in the debate: do they proceed from good judgment and prudence?. These three factors will determine the quality of the debate (2013, p. 295). This approach is similar to the earlier mentioned work of Pilon (2009). Pilon initially developed this method, while keeping his research predominantly quantitative when analysing the entire landscape of the printed press in the 2007 Ontario electoral reform referendum. This thesis will focus more on a detailed research of a selection of newspapers, for which Renwick and Lamb’s approach is more suitable. Similar to this thesis, their approach entails an in-depth study of newspaper coverage under the Levels of Justification analysis (see Methodology), rather than a more general overview of the campaign (which Pilon provides).

The first two of these elements mentioned above have already been briefly explored by Nandy’s ‘obsessive desire for balance’ (1976, pp. 84-86) and Seymour-Ure (1976, pp. 214-245). Seymour-Ure quantitatively analyses the balance between the two sides of the argument in newspaper coverage (pp. 221-228). His numbers and tables show the amount of coverage for each national newspaper, as well as the balance between ‘pro-EEC’ and ‘anti-EEC’ coverage. This contribution is relevant, but it does

not do much to comment on the overall contribution of the press to the referendum debate quality. For a more complete picture of that concept, all three elements set by Renwick and Lamb (2013) need to be taken into account. Therefore, the notion of ‘the quality of reason-giving in the debate’ needs to be addressed (which has not been done before). Together with the other elements, this thesis will create a comprehensive account of debate quality in the 1975 Common Market referendum campaign, and add to the existing debates on the ability of the media and printed press in contributing to such a debate. More on the exact operationalisation used in this thesis is found in the next section.

3.3. Operationalisation

As mentioned above, the terms ‘quantity of debate’ and ‘the balance of debate’ have already been touched upon by Seymour-Ure (1976, pp. 214-245) and Nandy (1976, pp. 77-91), respectively. However, these accounts are completely separate and lack a deeper interpretation. This thesis will provide this analysis, also linking the two elements to each other, before proceeding onto the third element: the quality of reason-giving in the debate. This thesis will not redo the work of Seymour-Ure and Nandy, but place their findings more in connection with the concepts of quality of reason-giving and debate quality in the context of the 1975 referendum.

Renwick and Lamb’s approach to measuring the quality of reason-giving is twofold: by analysing both the structure and content of the newspaper coverage. The first is done under the so-called ‘Discourse Quality Index’ (DQI). Renwick and Lamb write the following on DQI:

The DQI distinguishes four ‘levels of justification’ for claims: cases in which claims are made with no justification at all; cases in which ‘a reason Y is given why X should or should not be done, but no linkage is made between X and Y’; cases in which a single such linkage is made in the course of a speech; and cases in which multiple linkages are made through the speech (Renwick and Lamb, 2013, p. 295).

Renwick and Lamb’s approach looks at (individual) claims and statements, so therefore there is no difference between the last two categories above (as the text as a whole is not analysed). A certain text or article could thus include several relevant statements, all of which will naturally be included in the research. Statements within the same article only count as separate statements when they are clearly distinct: they are either on a different aspect of the argument, or are made by different people. For each of these statements, the level of justification (LoJ) will be distinguished. This thesis also follows Renwick and Lamb (2013) and Pilon (2009), in identifying two kinds of linkage; linkage based on *evidence* and linkage based on *logic*.

The difference between these two types of linkage could be best described by the following example. When Statement X defends Common Market membership by referring to increasing trade flows

between continental Europe and the United Kingdom, and backs this up with numbers, this statement is classified as based on evidence. Fictional statement Y, on the other hand, speaks against Common Market membership because of the purported ‘loss of sovereignty’. This claim is rather based on logic.

The quality of reason-giving will thus be analysed on the basis of (individual) claims made in the newspapers on the benefits or disadvantages of EC membership and/or the reasons given for voting either in favour or against continued membership. These claims will then be divided into the four categories specified above: no justification at all (1), a reason, but no linkage between X and Y (2), a linkage based on evidence (3) and a linkage based on logic (4). All the individual claims will also be divided between claims in favour of or against membership (‘Pro’ and ‘Con’).

For Renwick and Lamb, the second part of quality of reason-giving in the debate (content of the coverage) is measured through the ‘content of justification’: whether the claims made in newspaper articles are accurate and according to the facts, or not (2013, p. 295). However, in the case of measuring accuracy, Renwick and Lamb concede that it is not easy to exactly determine if a certain claim is right or wrong. Their article relies on a detailed political study on the arguments of the referendum debate for making this judgment call (Renwick, 2011). A source of similar nature is hard to find for the 1975 Common Market referendum.

Besides, in order to copy the approach above, a detailed historical study would have to be conducted – aimed at getting all the facts about the Common Market, its advantages and its disadvantages – in order to be able to judge all the statements in newspaper articles on accuracy. That is far beyond the limits of this thesis. If this thesis *would* involve such a factchecking analysis – without that detailed historical study – there is a large risk of error.

What should also be noted, is that the notion of ‘evidence’ is tough to define. Renwick and Lamb also write about the influence of ‘misleading statements’: statements which are true, but show a selective or subjective representation of the facts (2013, pp. 302-303). Following Pilon, ‘the threshold for an article to be considered to contain evidence was actually quite low’ (2009, p. 21). The same approach will be used for this thesis. Renwick and Lamb go one step further in also checking whether a certain claim is true, but as has already been stated, that is beyond the scope of this thesis. Therefore, the quality of reason-giving will be primarily determined by the Level of Justification (LoJ).

After this qualitative content analysis, the concluding part of this thesis will take into account the three elements and answer the research question stated earlier. A discussion section will also make comparisons between the findings of this thesis on the newspaper’s contribution to the quality debate around the Common Market referendum of 1975 on the one hand, and the other existing literature on the media’s role in referendums in general on the other hand.

3.4. Data selection

The time period selected for the newspaper analysis introduced above will be the same as the time period chosen by Seymour-Ure in Butler and Kitzinger (1976): from 9 May to 5 June – four weeks from polling day and the day of the referendum, respectively. This period marks the most important weeks in the campaign, after the referendum had been officially called in April. Within this period, the articles of leading British newspapers will be analysed. Ideally, all of the major British newspaper of the time (8, according to Seymour-Ure) would be analysed. Unfortunately, largely due to time constraints, in this thesis an in-depth analysis of three newspapers will be conducted during the time period mentioned above.

This thesis wants to get the most complete picture possible. Balance in the newspaper selection is a vital precondition for achieving this. This choice is also based on Seymour-Ure's chapter. In his conclusion, he states that the newspaper performance was 'variable', and identifies two groups: 'the good' and 'the bad' (Seymour-Ure, 1976, p. 245). The most prominent ones from these groups are the Guardian and the Daily Express, respectively. The Guardian is mostly known for its progressive ideas, and historically associated with the left of the political spectrum. The Daily Express, on the other hand, continuously supported the Conservatives for more than a century until the 2001 general election (Cozens, 2001).

The third newspaper that will be analysed will be a tabloid newspaper, taking into account the diverse British printed media landscape. Pilon decided not to include tabloid newspapers in his work, stating that if the quality newspapers' deliberative performance would be bad, the tabloids' performance would probably be even worse (2009, p. 20). Taking into account the variety of different national newspapers in the UK, this thesis does analyse a tabloid. This is done for two main reasons. Firstly, most tabloids have switched sides between supporting progressive and conservative positions in elections, making them less-aligned with a specific political side. Secondly, tabloid newspapers are characterised by a different means of bringing the news to the people. This will provide a counterweight against the more 'quality newspapers' such as the Daily Express, but most notably, the Guardian. Preferably, this thesis would have researched The Sun, Rupert Murdoch's tabloid newspaper. Unfortunately, The Sun has not made its digital archives available. Because of this, the Daily Mirror, another tabloid newspaper, will be analysed. It should be noted that the Daily Mirror has most often backed Labour in election campaigns. As a result of the choice for these three newspapers, in terms of political alignment as well as editorial quality, the analysis conducted in the remainder of this thesis will be as representative for the British media landscape as possible.

Hereafter, the three British newspapers specified above will be analysed. Their articles on the Common Market referendum will be acquired through online archives. The Guardian's archive is available at the website 'newspapers.com', whereas the Daily Express' can be researched at 'ukpressonline.co.uk'. The

Daily Mirror, on the other hand, will be retrieved from the British Newspaper Archive, an online database consisting of most local and national newspapers published in the UK in the last centuries. Through this, the articles are easily accessible. This website does not have the Guardian's or the Daily Expresses' archives. Still, all three websites allow for direct searching in their databases, including the option to select a specific time period (May 9 – June 5 1975) and search for key terms.

For the period May 1 to June 5, the search terms 'referendum' and 'Common Market' were used. Words such as 'Europe' were too broad and gave too many results, whereas 'European Community' or 'EEC' were only sparsely used. Both 'referendum' and 'Common Market' had the best results, but some relevant articles only used either one of these words. In order to make this research as comprehensive as possible, it was decided to let these phrases complement each other. All results have been consulted, even though many of them were not relevant enough for this thesis and thus eventually left out of the analysis.

Any advertisements, political cartoons or government-issued information on the referendum will not be part of this research. Only texts advocating either in favour or against (or at least adding to the debate) will be researched such as columns and editorials, but also articles with a more neutral position which report on claims made in the referendum debate. A list of articles can be seen in Appendix A.

4. Results

As previously mentioned, this thesis will first explain the concepts of quantity of debate and balance of debate for the 1975 Common Market referendum. This introduction will mainly serve to provide context for the second part of this chapter, which consists of the main findings of the conducted research and the analysis which directly follows these results.

4.1. Quantity of Debate

The British printed press paid considerable attention to the Common Market referendum in the months preceding the vote. As it was the first-ever national British referendum, it is interesting to assess in what way they reported on the campaign and how well-prepared they were. In terms of quantity, Fleet Street's performance seems reasonable. Seymour-Ure writes about the printed press' coverage. His tables collected all speeches, articles, photographs, cartoons, advertisements and so forth by all the leading British newspapers. He found that the Guardian reported the most on the referendum and the EEC (with a total number of 7,400 identified items of coverage). All individual newspapers show more than two thousand items, with the Daily Express and the Daily Mirror doing fairly well (3,572 and 3,535 respectively) (Seymour-Ure, 1976, pp. 226-227).

These numbers need comparison and context, however. The UK has not known many national referendums since its first one in 1975, so comparing this data with relevant examples is not easy. Renwick and Lamb (2013) do juxtapose their findings to Seymour-Ure (1976), and see that in 1975, 18 per cent of lead stories by the largest newspapers were on the referendum. In 2011, this number was only 5 per cent for the same newspapers. They therefore conclude that in the campaign of the Alternative Vote referendum, ‘the quantity of coverage was markedly lower, however, than at the time of the UK’s only previous nationwide referendum, in 1975’ (p. 303). This suggests that the 1975 printed press’ performance in this respect was better than in 2011.

4.2. Balance of Debate

The introduction of this thesis previously wrote about the large media bias in the newspapers towards the ‘Leave’ campaign in the 2016 Brexit referendum. This image stands in stark contrast with 1975: during this campaign, the UK printed press was mainly in favour of remaining in the (then still called) EC, or Common Market. Colin Seymour-Ure notes that ‘most papers, (...) had decided in favour of membership ten years ago and had not changed their views’ (Seymour-Ure, 1976, p. 214). Comparing to the numbers for the 2016 case mentioned above, 54% of press coverage can be regarded as pro-EC, with only 21% anti-EC. The remainder of press coverage can be considered neutral (1976, p. 224). Nandy also writes about what he calls an ‘obsessive desire for balance’: out of fear for being accused of bias towards either side of the debate, the media (the press as well as broadcasting) were cautious and thus created a large deal of balance in their coverage (Nandy, 1976, pp. 84-86).

Overall, both in terms of quantity as in balance of the debate, the newspapers seem to have fared quite well in 1975. The main aim of this thesis entails getting a full picture of the situation. The quality of reason-giving in the debate will be covered next.

4.3. Quality of Reason-Giving in Debate

The next section will analyse the quality of reason-giving in the debate. One important thing to keep in mind is that – as earlier explained – this thesis will not conduct a ‘factchecking’ research for several limitations specified in the theoretical framework.

The difficulty of assessing whether a certain claim can be seen to include ‘evidence’ or not, is best described by giving an example. In the referendum campaign, radical Labour MP, Industrial Secretary and vigorous enemy of the Common Market Tony Benn claimed that since EC accession in 1973, 500,000 jobs had been lost in Britain. This claim was highly controversial. The Conservatives and the Liberals accused him of lying, and even PM Wilson declared that he thought that Benn’s ‘jobs claim’ was ‘the opposite of the truth’. Still, the aim of this research does not include the assessment of whether something is true or not. When an article convincingly tries to support a claim with evidence, this thesis will count this as evidence. These claims must, however, be supported by some kind of data or reason.

There is a distinction between a claim stating that the UK should simply leave the Common Market (category 2) and actually stating *why* the UK should leave, backing this claim up with arguments based on evidence or logic (categories 3 or 4, respectively).

The three newspapers will each be treated individually in the next section. Hereafter, their results will be analysed in combination.

4.3.1. Guardian

The Guardian is one of the most acclaimed quality broadsheets in the United Kingdom. As can be expected, it devotes quite some attention to the referendum itself, but also equally to both sides of the argument. In the last four weeks of the referendum campaign, the Guardian constantly writes about European matters. European and referendum news has its own fixed slot in the daily paper, usually on page 7 (sometimes 8).

On 10 May, the Guardian issued a series of background articles under the name 'Europe Extra'. The most interesting one is a cross-interview between William Whitelaw (a pro-marketeer, thus campaigning in favour of Common Market membership) and Douglas Jay (an anti-marketeer) each asking six questions to their opponent about the EC and its (dis)advantages (Whitelaw & Jay, 1975). The Guardian published more interviews with people from both sides of the argument. On 12 and 13 May, interviews with Richard Body and Brian Walden were printed, the former against membership, the latter in favour (see Barker 1975a and 1975b).

This fits into the bigger picture of the way the Guardian wrote about the referendum campaign. The writing was professional, the tone neutral. When an article was in favour of membership, another article would be next to it (or published the next day), advocating the opposite, and vice versa.

On 15 May, an article titled "'Fair play' from the Guardian" writes about the fact that the Guardian is one of the only serious newspapers 'to have made a genuine attempt to present both sides of the EEC referendum issue, according to the latest survey on press attitudes...' (Parkin, 1975). This again affirms the professionalism and balance of the Guardian in reporting on the referendum campaign. Also interesting is that on 22 May, Christopher Frere-Smith – the chairman of the 'Get Britain Out' Campaign and a strong anti-marketeer – accused the popular press and regional newspapers of not achieving balance in the reporting on the campaign: '[they] seem engaged entirely with the divisions in the Labour Party and trying to build up stories about Mr Benn' (Popular press criticised, 1975).

In the final days of the campaign, more attention was (naturally) devoted to the referendum. On 2 June, Peter Jenkins published his own account of the campaign thus far in a timeline (P. Jenkins, 1975). In general, the Guardian uses a lot of evidence (or logic) in its articles, this is again in line with the expectations one should have on this quality newspaper. The way it wrote about the referendum campaign is therefore also of high quality.

In total, 66 claims of the Guardian were identified. There is indeed a good deal of balance between the two sides: 31 claims were pro-market, the other 35 were against. In terms of the different Levels of Justification (LoJ), the following division comes forward: 1st category – 6 claims; 2nd category – 23 claims; 3rd category – 22 claims; 4th category – 15 claims. Interestingly, the Guardian's score in this respect does perhaps not completely follow expectations: it is the only of the three newspapers that has claims in category 1 (no justification).

4.3.2. Daily Express

The Daily Express' online archive can be found at 'ukpressonline', another website consisting of several newspaper archives. The archive is not entirely complete, however, as the month of May seems to be missing for the year 1975. Every other month is available, but May is not. This naturally has an effect on the data and the strength of this thesis. In order to try to 'repair the damage', this thesis has included the month of April (and of course the first week of June) for the analysis. This is obviously far from ideal, but in the name of balance, it was decided to keep the Daily Express included as a newspaper in this research. This decision was also supported by the fact that no clear alternative (a quality, Conservative newspaper) was easily available and accessible for research.

Therefore, the claims on the Daily Express' coverage of the referendum campaign are less strong. However, they may still tell us something about the more general tone of this newspaper and the way it reported on the referendum. An interesting article, published on 4 April, interviews the head of the government's Referendum Information Unit; a civil service created to answer questions about the referendum and EC membership. It also shows the Unit's quest for balance in answering questions (Millar, 1975).

The rest of the month of April sees considerable, but not extensive, coverage of the referendum. Compared to the Guardian, the tone could be described as a bit less professional and neutral, while still adhering to a high editorial standard.

The last few days of the referendum campaign obviously results in more attention. Quite a few advertisements (from both sides) are published in the Daily Express in this last week of the campaign. Especially the ones from the National Referendum Campaign (the anti-marketeters) are large: they usually take up half a page. In the last four days, four prominent political figures in the campaign (2 pro-marketeters, 2 anti-marketeters) published an opinion piece on their views of how Britain should vote.

On 2 June, Enoch Powell (a former Conservative minister who left the party because of its position on Europe), emotionally appeals to the sovereignty of the United Kingdom: 'We are being told that something which the smallest nations on earth and the greatest would not sacrifice at any price is now too good for Britain ... to which the British people will return the reply NO' (Powell, 1975).

The next day, it is Edward (Ted) Heath's turn. The former Prime Minister, having led the UK into the EC two-and-a-half years prior to the referendum, advocates staying in the Common Market. He gives facts, builds a historical narrative and rebukes Tony Benn and his jobs claim: 'Inside the Community we influence its development and increase the effective sovereignty of Britain' (Heath, 1975).

Tony Benn himself writes on 4 June, defending himself and his claim on jobs lost, as well as strongly urging the British people to leave the Common Market (Benn, 1975a). The day of the referendum itself sees Roy Jenkins, home secretary, advocating the opposite: "Thirty years of peace are far too valuable to be thrown away on the basis of false statistics about jobs and food prices' (R. Jenkins, 1975).

As was the case with the Guardian, the Daily Express' reporting also demonstrates the search for balance for newspapers. Another similarity between these two newspapers is the reporting on the general apathy of the British public on the matter. In an interview, Mr. Bradbury – leader of the Don't Know Campaign – stated that on 5 June, he would 'spend the day in bed'. It was also mentioned that more than half of Britons did not know what the words 'EEC' stood for (Davies, 1975). This contradicts with the newspapers' (and the media as a whole) role of informing the public about the referendum. This raises questions whether they were sufficiently able to fulfil this role.

Because of the shorter time period for which the Daily Express was analysed, a modest number of 32 claims were identified. Of these claims, 20 were in favour of the Common Market, whilst 12 were against. These numbers are incomplete, however, and therefore not sufficient to say whether this implies that the Daily Express shows less balance in the coverage of the referendum campaign. When looking at the separate categories for the Levels of Justification, the following division emerges: 1st category – 0 claims; 2nd category – 15 claims; 3rd category – 10 claims; 4th category – 7 claims.

4.3.3. Daily Mirror

The Daily Mirror, as one of the largest tabloid newspapers in the UK at the time, has a distinct way of writing to the British public. The Daily Mirror – together with its tabloid counterparts – is accused of unbalanced coverage in the referendum campaign, whereas the Guardian and Daily Express were actually heralded for their quality coverage.

Overall, the Daily Mirror does not spend as much attention to the referendum as the other two papers. The general tone of the newspaper is more sensationalist. It has a section called 'Europe. The big debate', consisting of the latest referendum news. The Daily Mirror appeals more directly to the British people, also in an emotional way. In the last few weeks of the referendum campaign, the paper visits the other Common Market member states and reports on the conditions in these nations and their reasons for joining the EEC.

The Daily Mirror also issues 'Mirror Comments': editorial opinions issued by the paper itself. What is interesting, is that these comments are overwhelmingly pro-market and do not try to hide the paper's

position; they want the UK to remain within the Common Market. These 'comments' were not at all present within the Guardian's or Daily Express' coverage as these newspapers remained officially neutral on the matter. It is also interesting to note that a clear majority of advertisements in the Daily Mirror are by pro-marketeers.

A good example of the newspaper's distinct way of covering the referendum debate, is an interview with Paul McCartney, published on 23 May. He admits that he barely has any knowledge on the Common Market, but the newspaper still decides he is worth paying attention to by means of a full-page article (Ward, 1975).

More evidence of the Daily Mirror's editorial bias is provided by an article from May 26 which corrects lies and untruths told about the Common Market. All answers are pro-market, again leaving no doubt about the papers' position. On the economic problems Britain is dealing with, the article reads: 'The Mirror does believe that the solution will be MORE painful and take MORE effort outside the Market than inside' (Lies! More lies and those damned statistics., 1975d). The article is, by the way, full of factual argumentation. Whereas the tone might be far from neutral, the Daily Mirror does not resort to just providing emotional arguments.

The 28 May edition of the Daily Mirror sees an article covering both sides of the argument. It involves leading campaign figures James Callaghan, Shirley Williams, Roy Jenkins (pro-marketeers) and Tony Benn, Peter Shore, Michael Foot (anti-marketeers) (For those who STILL don't know...today the Mirror gives both sides of the big debate., 1975c).

Another good example of the Daily Mirror's sensationalist appeal, is when the paper gives Industrial Secretary Tony Benn the nickname 'Minister of Fear', because of his 'job claim' (The Minister of Fear., 1975e). Highly interesting here is the use of the word 'fear' in the campaign. In 2016, it actually were the 'Remainers' who were accused of telling lies under 'Project Fear'. This contrast is striking. Then on 3 June, the Daily Mirror interviews Prime Minister Harold Wilson on his personal view on the matter (Lancaster, 1975). A day later, Tony Benn's editorial strongly urges the British public to vote against (Benn, 1975b).

The British Consumer's Association also gives its view on the Common Market, strongly advocating for the UK to remain a member while especially appealing to housewives (Calling all housewives. Why the Consumer's Association says YES., 1975b).

The last two days of the campaign see more calls from the Daily Mirror itself on voting for continued membership. On June 4 the Mirror Comment reads: 'The Mirror has no doubt that the people's answer will be a decisive YES to the Common Market' (A vote for your future., 1975a). The day after, the Daily Mirror is even more clear on its advice for the British public: 'The Mirror's verdict is YES to Europe. YES. And YES again' (VOTE! VOTE! VOTE!., 1975f).

Overall, the Daily Mirror can be described as strongly leaning to one side of the debate: the newspaper is undeniably pro-market. This differs from the other two newspapers, but is not completely unexpected considering the nature of tabloids. The Daily Mirror still attempts to bring some balance in the debate, but is generally less successful in this regard compared to the Guardian or the Daily Express.

In the Daily Mirror’s coverage of the referendum campaign, 64 relevant claims have been identified. 42 of those were pro-EC, 22 were against. This backs up the picture described above: the Daily Mirror was a newspaper with a strong favour towards one side of the argument. It is interesting to note that, although the newspaper is a tabloid, the Daily Mirror registered the highest number of claims in the 4th category (logic-based linkage). Overall, the claims of the Daily Mirror were not unjustified. The categories are divided as follows: 1st category – 0 claims; 2nd category – 18 claims; 3rd category – 19 claims; 4th category – 27 claims.

4.4. Analysis

The three newspapers and their articles within the context of the referendum debate have resulted in the identification of 162 claims on the (dis)advantages of being a Common Market member state (Guardian, 66 claims; Daily Express, 32 claims; Daily Mirror, 64 claims). These numbers can be found in Table 1. Of these claims, 57.4 per cent were in favour of the Common Market (Pro), with the other 42.6 per cent against (Con) (see Table 3 in Appendix B). Furthermore, the categories in the Levels of Justification were divided as follows: 1st category – 3.7%; 2nd category – 34.6%; 3rd category – 31.5%; 4th category – 30.2% (Table 2 in Appendix B). A simplified version of Table 2 can be seen below. The last three categories thus seem to be fairly evenly divided. More details on these numbers and tables for the balance of coverage in the individual newspapers can be found under Appendix B (Table 4).

	LOJ = 1	LOJ = 2	LOJ = 3	LOJ = 4	TOTAL
GUARDIAN	6	23	22	15	66
DAILY EXPRESS	0	15	10	7	32
DAILY MIRROR	0	18	19	27	64
TOTAL	6	56	51	49	162

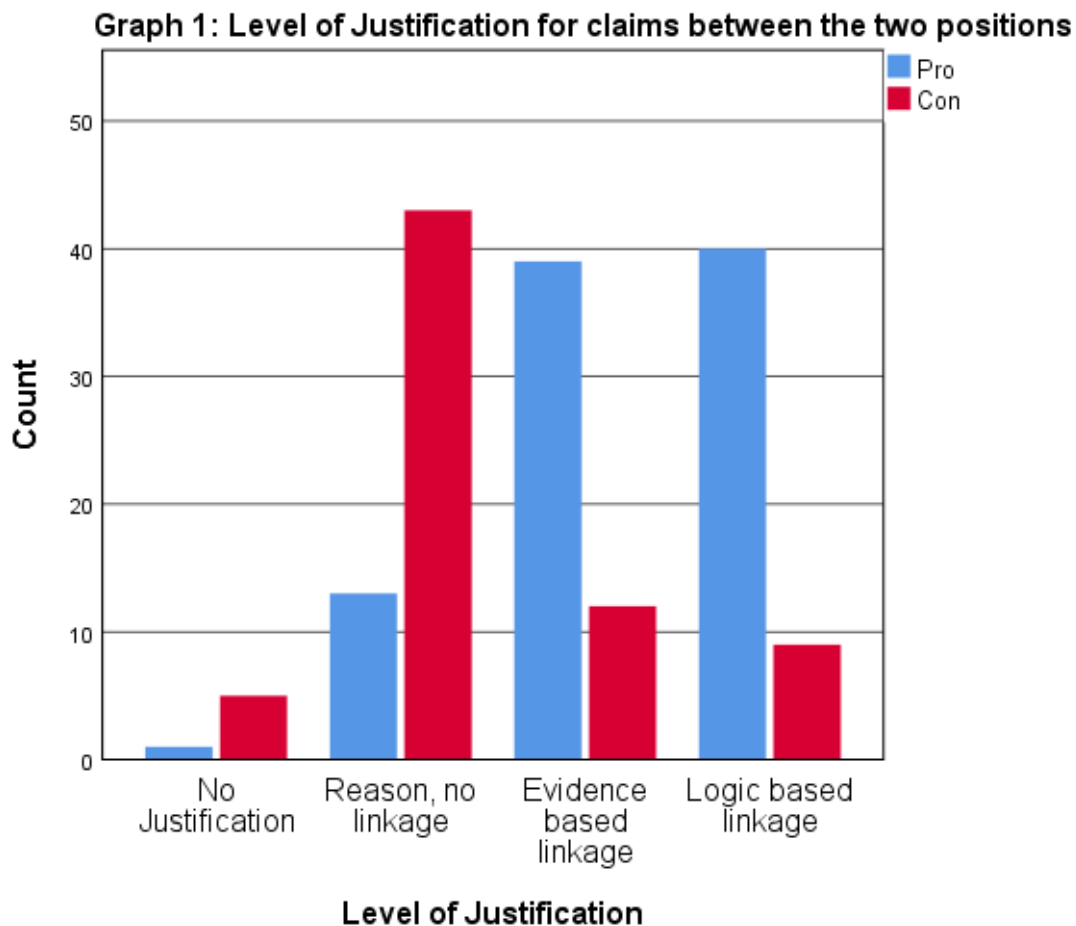
Table 1: Newspaper Claims per Level of Justification

The main point of focus for this chapter is on the quality of reason-giving in the debate. Following the approach of Renwick and Lamb (2013), Graph 1 below gives us a picture of the situation in this regard. Interesting to note, is that the amount of claims without any justification, is minimal (also compared to Renwick and Lamb’s study of the 2011 UK AV Referendum). However, this number alone is not

sufficient in order to be able to suggest that the overall quality of reason-giving in the 1975 referendum was better than in 2011. Before being able to come to such a claim, it is imperative to delve deeper into these numbers.

		Frequency	Per cent
Valid	No Justification (1)	6	3.7
	Reason, no linkage (2)	56	34.6
	Evidence-based linkage (3)	51	31.5
	Logic-based linkage (4)	49	30.2
Total		162	100

Table 2: Levels of Justification Frequency



In this light, Graph 1 becomes relevant. As we have learnt from Table 2 above, the three latter categories in LoJ (level of justification) are all almost equally large and each make up about a third of the total number of claims. Looking at Graph 1, however, we see that there actually is a considerable and remarkable difference between these three categories.

As it seems, the balance in category 2 (a reason, but no linkage) sees a lot more claims against the Common Market than in favour. Categories 3 and 4, on the other hand (linkages based on evidence and logic, respectively) are strongly shifted towards the pro-marketeer camp. The difference is undeniable: claims advocating for staying in the Common Market were the more ‘quality’ claims (categories 3 and 4). Again, compared to Renwick and Lamb (2013), the relative number of claims under categories 3 and 4 is incredibly different, and speaks in favour of the press’ performance.

We need to be cautious in drawing conclusions from this. One should note that the more general tone of the referendum debate coverage was in favour of remaining in the Common Market. Daddow described this as the ‘permissive consensus’ (2012). The pro-marketeer camp also received considerably more attention in the printed press, overall.

Simply stating that the newspapers were quite well-equipped in terms of quality of reason-giving, might be a step too far. It is safer to say that the press at least appears to have been *more* able to fulfil their role in this regard than in modern times. Still, this conclusion is relatively weak: as only three newspapers have been thoroughly researched, one of which did not grant access to its publications from May 1975, the most crucial month in the referendum campaign. The fact that this data is missing for this thesis, is of course disappointing, to put it mildly. This undeniably has its consequences for the strengths of the conclusions this work will formulate. Even after including the month of April in the case of the Daily Express, it is still necessary to keep this in mind.

5. Conclusion and Discussion

After having discussed the quantity and balance of the referendum debate, and having analysed the quality of reason-giving in the context of the 1975 Common Market referendum, this thesis has attempted to paint a comprehensive and detailed picture of the coverage from the British printed press. By choosing three distinct newspapers, this thesis created a balanced account of this coverage which adequately reflects the diverse British media landscape.

In all these categories this thesis has found that the British printed press was better able to create a quality debate in the 1975 Common Market referendum than in more recent referendums, most notably the 2011 British referendum. This does not necessarily mean that the British press was exceptionally good at facilitating this quality debate; its performance was not perfect. The most prominent example of this is the fact that the pro-marketeers received considerably more attention than the anti-marketeers, especially in the tabloid newspapers. This is also described by Daddow (2012). On the other hand, it is important not to forget that the Common Market referendum was the first national referendum in the United Kingdom. All in all, it is safe to state that the role of the British printed press in creating a quality debate around the 1975 Common Market referendum was at least decent.

Especially noteworthy is the finding (as shown in Graph 1) that the pro-market claims in the newspapers, when judged on the strength of these claims, were of a higher quality in the Levels of Justification (LoJ) analysis. This raises the question whether a connection with the pro-marketeters' success in the referendum outcome exists: more than 67 per cent of the UK electorate voted to remain in the Common Market. In 2016, the pro-European camp did not find the printed press on its side. Suggesting that there is a pattern here is beyond the scope of this thesis. Further research in this respect would be necessary in order to come to such a conclusion, as this thesis has not focused on the coverage of the 2016 Brexit referendum.

It should be noted that this thesis has its limitations. It created a detailed account of three British national newspapers, but did not include the complete supply of Fleet Street. Moreover, the Daily Express' analysis was hindered by the fact that the month of May 1975 was unavailable in their digital archive. This thesis has also focused on the printed press, not on the media as a whole. Radio and/or tv broadcasts were not included, and future research might be needed in order to create a more complete account of the media's coverage and role in 1975.

Next, it was never the intention of this thesis to conduct a factchecking analysis, because of several reasons specified earlier. Claims which convincingly tried to make a case in favour of or against the Common Market, were therefore included in the category 'evidence'. The judgment on whether something could be categorised as 'evidence' was not subject to a 'second opinion', as Pilon (2009) did. This was largely due to practical constraints. The sometimes thin line between evidence and a selective interpretation of the facts (Mr Benn's job claim, for example) should be kept in mind when judging the strength of this work's conclusions. While this may be true, in Renwick and Lamb (2013), the level of justification (LoJ) is more important than the content of justification. They also concede that measuring accuracy is difficult and that this should be kept in mind. This thesis has sufficiently explained why analysing the content of justification was not viable in this case.

The general view on the accuracy of newspaper article claims that emerged from the analysis, was that the press also did well in this respect. However, that is nothing more than a mere assumption. Again, more research is desirable to get an even more complete account of the 1975 referendum campaign.

We are still left with unanswered questions. How did the newspapers' role in referendums develop in this respect? Some might perhaps say that their current performance is (getting) worse, but in what way did this come to be? And is there a way back? What implications do we need to take in mind considering the newspapers' performance? If and when they are not sufficiently able to fulfil their democratic role of informing the public and creating a quality debate in a referendum campaign, should we be worried? Or are our expectations of the press simply too high? This thesis has attempted to fill out a gap in the literature. More research in this field would be more than welcome and should be aimed at getting a better understanding of the media's performance in a referendum context and the developments in that

respect. Because a media landscape capable of contributing to a quality debate in referendum campaign is undeniably important for a democratic country.

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APPENDIX A: ARTICLES

Note: this list is comprised of all newspaper articles which possessed at least one relevant claim for this thesis. Many articles, however, possessed more than just one relevant claim. Claims found in the same article do not necessarily have the same Level of Justification. Therefore, the LoJ was not included in this list, as it is impossible to attribute a LoJ ‘score’ to an article when it has conflicting or different claims. Following Pilon (2009) this list of articles mentions the position of the article: Pro, Con and neutral (Info). It also shows whether the article as a whole was based on evidence: when at least one of the claims of the article has a score of 3 or 4 (evidence-based or logic-based linkage) for LoJ, this counts as evidence.

Author	Media	Date	Position	Evidence Y/N
Guardian				
Kerr, John	Guardian	09/05/1975	Con	Yes
Guardian	Guardian	09/05/1975	Con	Yes
Linscott, Gillian	Guardian	10/05/1975	Pro	Yes
Guardian	Guardian	10/05/1975	Info	Yes
Body, Richard	Guardian	12/05/1975	Con	No
Walden, Brian	Guardian	13/05/1975	Pro	No
Mackie, Lindsay	Guardian	15/05/1975	Info	Yes
Williams, Shirley	Guardian	15/05/1975	Pro	No
Jordan, Philip	Guardian	17/05/1975	Pro	Yes
Collins, Rosemary	Guardian	17/05/1975	Pro	Yes
Political Correspondent	Guardian	19/05/1975	Info	No
Parry, Gareth	Guardian	19/05/1975	Info	Yes
Walker, Martin	Guardian	19/05/1975	Info	Yes
McRae, Hamish	Guardian	19/05/1975	Info	Yes
Guardian	Guardian	20/05/1975	Info	No
Smith, Alan	Guardian	20/05/1975	Info	Yes
Leishman, Jackie	Guardian	22/05/1975	Info	No
Guardian	Guardian	22/05/1975	Info	Yes
Hickman, Baden	Guardian	22/05/1975	Con	No

Leishman, Jackie	Guardian	24/05/1975	Info	No
Barker, Dennis	Guardian	24/05/1975	Info	Yes
Guardian	Guardian	26/05/1975	Info	No
Barker, Dennis	Guardian	26/05/1975	Info	Yes
Hoggart, Simon	Guardian	27/05/1975	Info	No
Guardian	Guardian	27/05/1975	Info	Yes
Kerr, John	Guardian	27/05/1975	Info	No
Cole, Peter	Guardian	29/05/1975	Info	No
Walkers, Martin	Guardian	29/05/1975	Info	Yes
Kerr, John	Guardian	29/05/1975	Info	No
McKie, David	Guardian	29/05/1975	Info	No
Guardian	Guardian	29/05/1975	Pro	No
Guardian	Guardian	30/05/1975	Info	No
Walker, Martin	Guardian	31/05/1975	Info	No
Hoggart, Simon	Guardian	31/05/1975	Info	No
Hoggart, Simon	Guardian	02/06/1975	Info	Yes
Jordan, Philip	Guardian	03/06/1975	Info	Yes
Keegan, Victor	Guardian	03/06/1975	Pro	Yes
Aitken, Ian	Guardian	04/06/1975	Info	No
Hoggart, Simon	Guardian	05/06/1975	Info	Yes

Daily Express

Millar, Robbert	Daily Express	04/04/1975	Info	Yes
Lochhead, George	Daily Express	09/04/1975	Info	Yes
Lochhead, George	Daily Express	10/04/1975	Info	Yes
Buchan, David	Daily Express	12/04/1975	Info	No
Daily Express	Daily Express	14/04/1975	Info	No
Buchan, David	Daily Express	23/04/1975	Info	Yes
Brown, Michael	Daily Express	23/04/1975	Info	Yes
Terry, Walter	Daily Express	26/04/1975	Info	No
Buchan, David	Daily Express	29/04/1975	Info	No
Cashinella, Brian	Daily Express	29/04/1975	Info	Yes

Powell, Enoch	Daily Express	02/06/1975	Con	No
Terry, Walter	Daily Express	03/06/1975	Info	Yes
Heath, Edward	Daily Express	03/06/1975	Pro	Yes
Christopher, John	Daily Express	04/06/1975	Info	Yes
Kenworthy, Alexander	Daily Express	04/06/1975	Info	Yes
Davies, James	Daily Express	04/06/1975	Info	No
Benn, Tony	Daily Express	04/06/1975	Con	Yes
Jenkins, Roy	Daily Express	05/06/1975	Pro	Yes

Daily Mirror

Goodman, Geoffrey	Daily Mirror	02/05/1975	Info	Yes
Daily Mirror	Daily Mirror	05/05/1975	Info	Yes
Daily Mirror	Daily Mirror	06/05/1975	Info	Yes
Todd, Rodger	Daily Mirror	07/05/1975	Info	Yes
Daily Mirror	Daily Mirror	08/05/1975	Info	Yes
Desborough, John	Daily Mirror	09/05/1975	Info	Yes
Newson, Dennis	Daily Mirror	12/05/1975	Info	Yes
Ricketts, Ronald	Daily Mirror	14/05/1975	Info	No
Desborough, John	Daily Mirror	15/05/1975	Info	No
Desborough, John	Daily Mirror	16/05/1975	Info	Yes
Desborough, John	Daily Mirror	19/05/1975	Info	Yes
Buckland, Christopher	Daily Mirror	20/05/1975	Info	Yes
Buckland, Christopher	Daily Mirror	22/05/1975	Info	Yes
Ward, Christopher	Daily Mirror	23/05/1975	Con	No
Daily Mirror	Daily Mirror	23/05/1975	Info	Yes
Buckland, Christopher	Daily Mirror	23/05/1975	Info	Yes
Daily Mirror	Daily Mirror	24/05/1975	Info	Yes
Daily Mirror	Daily Mirror	26/05/1975	Pro	Yes
Desborough, John	Daily Mirror	26/05/1975	Info	Yes
Kelly, Liam	Daily Mirror	26/05/1975	Info	Yes
Buckland, Christopher	Daily Mirror	27/05/1975	Info	No
Daily Mirror	Daily Mirror	28/05/1975	Pro	Yes

Daily Mirror	Daily Mirror	28/05/1975	Con	Yes
Goodman, Geoffrey	Daily Mirror	29/05/1975	Info	No
Daily Mirror	Daily Mirror	30/05/1975	Pro	Yes
Buckland, Christopher	Daily Mirror	31/05/1975	Info	Yes
Daily Mirror	Daily Mirror	02/06/1975	Info	Yes
Proops, Marje	Daily Mirror	02/06/1975	Pro	Yes
Lancaster, Terence	Daily Mirror	03/06/1975	Info	Yes
Daily Mirror	Daily Mirror	03/06/1975	Info	Yes
Benn, Tony	Daily Mirror	04/06/1975	Con	Yes
Daily Mirror	Daily Mirror	04/06/1975	Info	Yes
Daily Mirror	Daily Mirror	04/06/1975	Pro	Yes
Daily Mirror	Daily Mirror	05/06/1975	Pro	Yes

APPENDIX B: TABLES

Table 2: Level of Justification Frequency

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid No Justification (1)	6	3,7	3,7	3,7
Reason, no linkage (2)	56	34,6	34,6	38,3
Evidence based linkage (3)	51	31,5	31,5	69,8
Logic based linkage (4)	49	30,2	30,2	100,0
Total	162	100,0	100,0	

Table 3: The Articles' Positions on the Common Market; pro vs. con

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Pro	93	57,4	57,4	57,4
Con	69	42,6	42,6	100,0
Total	162	100,0	100,0	

Table 4: Balance of Newspaper Coverage

		The article's position on the Common Market; pro vs. con	
		Pro	Con
Newspaper	The Guardian	31	35
	Daily Express	20	12
	Daily Mirror	42	22