

DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES IN THE BREXIT DEBATE:
THE ECONOMY

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THE ECONOMY**

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ABSTRACT

DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES IN THE BREXIT DEBATE: THE ECONOMY

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This thesis aims to scrutinize discursive strategies (*attack, acclaim, and defense*) the Leave and Remain campaigners employed during the section on the economy in the United Kingdom European Union membership referendum debate, which was broadcasted live on BBC on 21 June 2016. The data was selected according to five criteria; time frame, broadcasting medium (radio/television), broadcasting type (pre-recording/ live broadcasting), genre, and public appeal. The debate was transcribed verbatim in ELAN Transcription Software. A quantitative content analysis approach was adopted to operationalize the discursive strategies, and the coding instrument was MAXQDA. In the economy section, the dominant strategy for the Remain campaign, the incumbent or the defendant of the status quo, was expected to be acclaim. As the challenger of the status quo, the Leave campaign's dominant strategy was expected to be attack. Consistent with the expectations, it was found that the Leave campaign attacked more than they acclaimed and defended. Nevertheless, against expectations, the Remain campaign's dominant strategy was proved to be attack. The thesis argues that the degree of public discontent with the status quo and the cumulative effect of

decades-long Euroscepticism caused the Remain campaign to attack more and acclaim less during the economy section of the live European Union referendum debate.

Keywords: live broadcasted referendum debate, Brexit, quantitative content analysis, functional theory of election debates

ÖZ

BREXIT TARTIŞMALARINDA SÖYLEM STRATEJİLERİ: EKONOMİ

AKHAN, Yağmur Lalin

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Bu tezin amacı, Birleşik Krallık'ın Avrupa Birliği'nden ayrılmasını ve Avrupa Birliği'nde kalmasını savunan, Vote Leave ve Vote Remain kampanyalarını temsil eden konuşmacıların 21 Haziran 2016 tarihinde BBC'de canlı yayınlanan Avrupa Birliği üyeliği referandum tartışmasında kullandıkları (*övgü*, *saldırı* ve *savunma*) söylem stratejilerini incelemektir. Tezde incelenen tartışma programı, veri setinin zaman aralığı, yayın organı (radyo/ televizyon), yayın biçimi (bant kaydı / canlı), program türü ve kamuoyu ilgisi doğrultusunda filtrelenmesi sonucunda seçilmiştir. Tartışma, kelimesi kelimesine ELAN Transkripsiyon Yazılımında yazıya aktarılmıştır. Söylem stratejileri nicel içerik analizi yaklaşımıyla işlemselleştirilmiş ve kodlama aracı olarak MAXQDA kullanılmıştır. Ekonomi konusunda Vote Remain kampanyasının Vote Leave kampanyasına kıyasla daha avantajlı konumda olması dolayısıyla, Vote Remain kampanyasının baskın stratejisinin *övgü* olması ve status quo'ya meydan okuyan Vote Leave kampanyasının baskın stratejisinin ise *saldırı* olması öngörülmüştür. Araştırmanın sonucunda, beklentiler doğrultusunda Vote Leave kampanyasının dominant stratejisinin *saldırı* olduğu, fakat Vote Remain kampanyasının dominant stratejisinin öngörüldüğü gibi *övgü* değil *saldırı* olduğu

bulunmuştur. Tezde, kamuoyunun status quo'dan memnuniyetsizliğinin ve on yıllardır süre gelen Avrupa şüpheciliğinin Vote Remain kampanyasını *saldırısı* övgüden daha sık kullanmaya yönlendirdiği tartışılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: canlı yayın referendum tartışması, Brexit, nicel içerik analizi, seçim tartışmalarının fonksiyonel teorisi

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

[AL]: Andrea Leadsom, speaker ID
AL: Andrea Leadsom, speaker code
[BJ]: Boris Johnson, speaker ID
BJ: Boris Johnson, speaker code
[DD]: David Dimbleby, speaker ID
EC: European Communities
ECS: European Coal and Steel Community
EEC: European Economic Community
EU: European Union
Euratom: European Atomic Energy Community
[FO'G]: Frances O'Grady, speaker ID
FO'G: Frances O'Grady, speaker code
FTA: Face-threatening act
[GS]: Gisela Stuart, speaker ID
GS: Gisela Stuart, speaker code
H: Addressee
IO: International Organization
IGO: Intergovernmental Organization
IPA: International Phonetic Alphabet
MP: Member of Parliament
MSP: Member of the Scottish Parliament
NGO: Non-governmental Organization
[RD]: Ruth Davidson, speaker ID
RD: Ruth Davidson, speaker code
S: Speaker
[SK]: Sadiq Khan, speaker ID
SK: Sadiq Khan, speaker code
TC: Time Code
TUC: Trades Union Congress

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

After World War II, it had become clear that a pluralist image of international relations was needed to prevent a third World War. The idea that nonstate actors (international organizations; intergovernmental organizations, and international non-governmental organizations) are as important as states in international affairs, led to the establishment of many international organizations. As a result, in 1945 the United Nations (UN), in 1949 the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and in 1952 the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) were founded. In 1957, The European Economic Community (EEC), the predecessor of the European Union, came into existence via the Rome Treaty. Towards the end of *the short twentieth century*, twelve member states of the European Communities (ECSC, EEC, Euratom), Belgium, Denmark, France, a recently unified Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom signed the Treaty on European Union (also known as the Maastricht Treaty). With the accession of Austria, Finland, and Sweden in 1995, the European Union welcomed the new century in 13 languages, as a regional organization of 15 states. The number of member states increased rapidly during the first decade of the 21st century. By 2016, the European Union consisted of 28 members... until it was not.

The promotion of democratic values, interdependence, and the strengthening of international trade between the member states was hoped to reduce international use of force. However, they have also been among the reasons for the cessation of membership. Because member states' wants may not be in concord with each other, it is not unexpected for member states to cease their membership in the IGOs. Von Borzyskowski and Vabulas (2019) point out the prevalence of membership cessation by stating that "Since World War II, member-states have withdrawn from IGOs about 200 times" (p. 339). For instance, the Republic of Poland (in 1950), Cuba (in 1964),

and Indonesia (in 1965) ceased their memberships in the International Monetary Fund. In 1965, Indonesia announced its decision to withdraw from the United Nations. South Africa (in 1966), Albania (in 1967), Lesotho (in 1971), and the USA (in 1977) withdrew from the International Labor Organization. Although never entirely withdrew from membership, in 1966, France announced its decision to withdraw from NATO's integrated military structure. France's membership in the European Union has also been one of the issues discussed during the 2022 French Presidential election debates.

On 23 June 2016, with a slight margin of 3,8%, the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union, thus becoming the first (and so far, the only) member state to cease its membership in the EU. As a form of democratic rule, referendum was not unfamiliar to the United Kingdom. Until the 2016 EU referendum, eleven referenda had been held in the UK. In fact, the first-ever nationwide referendum took place in 1975, nearly 40 years prior to the 2016 referendum. In capital letters, the ballot paper read:

*Do you think that the United Kingdom should stay in the European
Community (the common market)?*

The 1975 United Kingdom European Community membership referendum resulted in favor of remaining in the Community, with 67% voting "yes" and 33% voting "no". Almost four decades later, in 2016, the United Kingdom held its second European membership referendum. Due to the Electoral Commission's concerns that a yes-no question would "encouraged voters to consider one response more favourably than the other"¹ the question read:

*Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or
leave the European Union?*

51,9% of the electorate voted "leave the European Union" while 48,1% voted "remain a member of the European Union".

After almost six years, two Prime Minister resignations, two United Kingdom general elections, a FIFA World Cup, three Olympic Games, countless Covid variants, and a Megxit later, the UK's decision to cease its membership in the EU, the infamous

¹ The Electoral Commission (2019, June 25). *Testing the EU referendum question*. <https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/who-we-are-and-what-we-do/elections-and-referendums/past-elections-and-referendums/eu-referendum/testing-eu-referendum-question>

Brexit, still manages to be the subject of fictional and non-fictional books, magazine covers, comics, memes, podcast episodes, docu-series, films, TV episodes (even Simpsons made one or two references to Brexit)^{[2][3]} and of countless academic studies.

From an international law perspective, Brexit is distinguishable from the previous withdrawals due to its direct impact on individuals. Wessel (2016) associates the remarkableness of Brexit with the European Union law:

EU law is not just law between States, but also law within States. This implies that leaving the EU has a more direct impact on individuals than leaving the UN or any of its specialized agencies (obviously this impact of the EU was the source of the unease in the UK in the first place) (p. 204).

The 2016 United Kingdom European Union membership referendum has also brought many questions about the functioning of democracy in the United Kingdom. What are the requirements for a well-functioning democracy? “*Will the EU referendum be remembered as a golden moment in British democratic history?*” (Renwick et al., 2016, p. 31). “*Are we living in a post-truth democracy?*” (Banducci, 2016). “*Does it matter if citizens vote against their best interests as a result of accepting weak misleading or false claims?*” (Meyer, 2016, p. 59).

From a sociolinguistic perspective, the European Union membership referendum was also a creative inspiration for neologisms, first and foremost creating *Brexit* (British + exit). In their 2018 research, Lalić-Krstin & Silaški explore that there were *approximately* 71 Brexit-induced neologisms (p. 4). Some words such as *Bremain* (Brexit + remain, as a semantic opposition of Brexit), *Brexiter* (Brexit + supporter), *Brextremists* (Brexit + extremist), *Bregret* (Brexit + Regret), *Bremoaner* (Britain + remain + moaner, also known as *Remoaner*) are uttered noticeably, while others such as *Braccident* (Brexit + accident), *Branalysis* (Brexit + analysis), *Branger* (Brexit + anger), *Bre-do* (Brexit-redo), *Brenial* (Brexit + denial), *Brepression* (Brexit + depression), *Brexhausted* (Brexit + exhausted), *Lexit* (Left + [for] Brexit), *Brexiety* (Brexit + anxiety) are less common. *The Story of*

² Cohen, J.H., Frink, J. & Jean, A. (Writers), & Polcino, M. (Director). (2016, May 8). To Courier with Love (Season 27, Episode 20) [TV series episode]. In: J.L. Brooks, M. Groening, A. Jean, M. Selman & J. Frink (Executive Producers), The Simpsons. 20th Century Fox Television.

³ Cohen, J.H., Frink, J. & Jean, A. (Writers), & Polcino, M. (Director). (2020, November 8). The 7 Beer Itch (Season 32, Episode 5) [TV series episode]. In: J.L. Brooks, M. Groening, A. Jean, M. Selman & J. Frink (Executive Producers), The Simpsons. 20th Century Fox Television.

Brexit, a political satire book in the Ladybird for Grown-Ups series, tried to look at it from the bright side: “*The new words make it harder for foreigners to understand what we are saying. In a tough, new international business world, small advantages such as this can be crucial*” (2018, p. 22). In reality, in combination with the campaigners’ excluding discourse, the exchange of derogatory Brexit-induced words between the campaign supporters incited polarization. The polarization reached its peak in the last weeks of the referendum campaign and led to the murder of the Labour MP, Jo Cox, days before the EU referendum. Studying political discourse can contribute to the prevention of hate speech. Jaworski and Coupland (2006) advocate that “Discourse is language use relative to social, political and cultural formations – it is language reflecting social order but also language shaping social order, and shaping individuals’ interaction with society” (p. 3). Although one can only naively hope that an inclusive language will prevent violence, at least it will not be among the many elements that contribute to it.

The language utilized by the Leave and Remain campaigners was widely researched. The campaigners' online presence has been a research inquiry for various disciplines, including computer science, operational research, computational linguistics, and communication sciences. Content analysis research of digital data has focused on digital propaganda, online trolls, misinformation, disinformation, and many other innovative transdisciplinary studies. The language used in more conventional means of communication (leaflets, posters, campaign speeches, radio, and television) has also inspired many creative studies in various disciplines, ranging from journalism, media and cultural studies to gender studies, social and political philosophy, international relations, linguistics, and public relations.

Although television was the primary medium of information for many voters in the United Kingdom, there are fewer studies on the live broadcasted referendum debates from a quantitative content analysis perspective. Thus, this study intends to explore discursive strategies (*attack, acclaim, and defense*)⁴ deployed by the Leave and Remain campaigners in the economy section of the live BBC referendum debate through quantitative content analysis.

⁴ Strategies in functional theory of political election debates, developed by William L. Benoit.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Unlike natural sciences, since there is a lack of a persistent common understanding of terms between the disciplines of social sciences, it is crucial to indicate the adopted definitions to establish a consensus of understanding. This chapter first provides various definitions of discourse and discourse analysis. It then states how discourse and discourse analysis are conceptualized in the thesis. Next, the chapter introduces the theoretical framework. Subsequently, challenges encountered in applying functional theory to the referendum debate are discussed. Lastly, responses to these challenges are presented.

Defining the term discourse is significant because it is understood diversely and there are various assumption about it. Discourse can be regarded as a confusing phenomenon. As a word, it is sometimes utilized as a mass noun; *discourse*, and sometimes as a count noun; *discourses* (Johnstone, 2008, pp. 2-3). At times it is written with capital *D*, and at times it is written with lower case *d* (ibid.). In the first two pages of *The Discourse Reader*, Jaworski and Coupland (2006) cited ten definitions of discourse from various academics. Aydın-Düzgıt and Rumelili (2019) point out that Michel Foucault alone “used the concept of discourse in 23 different meanings during his famous College de France speech on discourse” (p. 2). Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton (2001) associate the diverse understanding of the phenomenon with its use in various disciplines. The authors (ibid.) advocate that “Given disciplinary diversity, it is no surprise that the terms ‘discourse’ and ‘discourse analysis’ have different meanings to scholars in different fields” (p. 1).

This thesis conceptualizes discourse as language-in-use as a social practice that serves human affairs. According to Stubbs (1983), discourse is “language above the sentence or language above the clause” (Stubbs, 1983, p. 1 cited in Baker & Ellece, 2011, p. 31). Jaworski and Coupland (2006); and Paltridge (2012) emphasize the

interplay between discourse and society in their definitions of discourse. Paltridge (2012) furthermore advocates that:

Discourse [...] is both shaped by the world as well as shaping the world. Discourse is shaped by language as well as shaping language. It is shaped by the people who use the language as well as shaping the language that people use. Discourse is shaped, as well, by the discourse that has preceded it and that which might follow it. Discourse is also shaped by the medium in which it occurs as well as it shapes the possibilities for that medium (p. 7).

Likewise, according to Fairclough (1992), “[d]iscourse is [...] more than just language use: it is language use, whether speech or writing, seen as a type of social practice” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 28 cited in Jaworski & Coupland, 2006, p. 2). As stated by Brown and Yule (1983):

The analysis of discourse is necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs (p. 1).

Similar to the lack of unanimity in definitions of discourse, there is a diverse understanding of how to analyze discourse. This is mainly because *discourse analysis* semantically incorporates both theory and methodology and has been utilized (as a theoretical and/ or methodological framework) in various disciplines. Gil (2009) estimates that “there are probably at least 57 varieties of discourse analysis” (p. 173). Johnstone (2008) suggests that the multidisciplinary use of discourse analysis lies in the definition of discourse. The author claims that “[a]nyone who wants to understand human beings has to understand discourse, so the potential uses of discourse analysis are innumerable” (p. 7). In relation to the above-mentioned conceptualization of discourse, this thesis aims to explore strategies utilized during the live broadcasted Brexit debate through “[...] examining aspects of the structure and function of language in use”, which is how Johnstone (2008, p. 4) defines discourse analysis.

As discourse comprises different components (such as meaning, structure, and function), there is a range of methodologies for analyzing discourse. Although research methodology is mainly discussed in Chapter 3, broad information on content analysis is provided to outline the theoretical and conceptual framework. Researchers benefit from content analysis to describe, analyze, and interpret communicative messages.

Lewis, Bryman, and Liao (2011) paraphrased Krippendorff's inclusive approach in the following way: "[...] content analysis is not a single technique; rather, it is a collection of different approaches to the analysis of texts or, more generally, of messages of any kind—from the word counts of the simplest forms of syntactical analysis to thematic analysis, referential analysis, and prepositional analysis" (Krippendorff, 1980, pp. 60-63 paraphrased in Lewis et al., 2011, p.187). This thesis aims to explore discursive strategies utilized by the speakers of the Leave and Remain campaigns through quantitative content analysis. Prior to frequency analysis, campaigners' utterances were thematically classified according to the pre-established categories of political election debate strategies (*acclaim*, *attack* and *defense*) which were described in functional theory. Benoit (2014) asserts that functional theory of political campaign discourse (henceforth functional theory) is based on the following assumptions; "voting is a comparative act" (ibid., p. 9), "candidates must distinguish themselves from opponents" (ibid., p. 11), "political campaign messages allow candidates to distinguish themselves" (ibid., p. 12), "candidates establish preferability through acclaiming, attacking, and defending" (ibid., p. 13), "campaign discourse occurs on two topics: policy and character" (ibid., p. 19) and "a candidate must win a majority (or a plurality) of the votes cast in an election" (ibid., p. 22). In section 2.1, each functional theory assumption is discussed within the United Kingdom European Union referendum debate context.

2.1. Functional Theory of Political Campaign Discourse

In elections and referenda, voters have the following options; casting a valid vote, casting an invalid or a blank vote, and not turning out to vote. One of the requirements for casting a valid vote is to choose only one (party, candidate, statement) among the options on the ballot paper. Although there are different theories on voting behavior, functional theory assumes that "a citizen's vote choice is at base a comparative decision that one candidate appears preferable to the other candidate(s) on whatever criterion is most important to that voter" (Benoit, 2014, p. 10). Because functional theory emphasizes the electorate's perception as an integral factor in voting behavior, the case investigated in this thesis (henceforth the Great Debate) was coded both from the perspective of Leave and Remain supporters. To continue with the second assumption, if the options on the ballot paper are identical or appear identical to the voter, then these options are equally preferable for the voter. Therefore,

functional theory asserts that in election debates, “candidates must distinguish themselves from opponents” (Benoit, 2014, p. 11). In the case of the United Kingdom European Union membership referendum, if remaining were identical to leaving, then remaining was equally preferable (or unpreferable) to leaving. Consequently, the third assumption of functional theory emphasizes the function of campaign messages: distinguishing one party, candidate, or option from the other to appear preferable. The fourth assumption asserts that “[c]andidates establish preferability through acclaiming, attacking, and defending” (Benoit, 2014, p. 13). The next assumption advocates that “campaign discourse occurs on two topics: policy and character” (ibid., p. 19). It is vital to evoke that functional theory was developed to analyze election debates in the United States; hence the assumption should not be anticipated to be valid for referenda because, unlike elections, referenda are not held for an office position. Last but not least, functional theory assumes that “[a] candidate must win a majority (or a plurality) of the votes cast in an election” (p. 22). Similar to the previous assumption, the reasoning behind this axiom can be traced back to the origin of functional theory. Although the assumption might be valid for the electoral system in the United States, in some parliamentary democracies, forming coalitions is usual. Nevertheless, in the United Kingdom European Union membership referendum, the above-mentioned assumption maintains its validity mainly because voting to remain in the European Union and voting to leave the European Union are mutually exclusive.

Because functional theory was initially developed to investigate strategies employed by presidential candidates during the United States presidential election debates, it cannot be expected to be valid for referenda, let alone different forms of democracies. Yet, because of its objective to investigate discursive strategies during the election debates, functional theory is benefited in this thesis. Starting from the first-ever nationally televised United States presidential election debate (the famous Nixon-Kennedy debates), the following section provides a glimpse at previous research on functional analysis of presidential and non-presidential political election debates.

2.1.1. Functional analysis of presidential and non-presidential debates in the United States

The earliest nationwide televised political election debates were broadcasted prior to the 35th United States presidential elections of the 1960. The candidates running for the presidency were Vice President Richard M. Nixon and Senator John

F. Kennedy. Research conducted by Benoit and Harthcock (1999) into the discursive strategies (*acclaim*, *attack*, and *defense*) of the first four Nixon-Kennedy debates showed that in the debates, the all-around strategy was *acclaim* (49%), followed by *attack* (39%), and then by *defense* (12%). In terms of the discursive strategies employed by the incumbent and the challenger, the authors (*ibid.*) found that the most utilized strategy by the incumbent was *acclaim* (58%), whereas the most utilized strategy by the challenger was *attack* (48%). In their functional analysis of the 1988 presidential debates, which took place between Vice President George H. W. Bush and Governor Michael Dukakis, Benoit and Brazeal (2002) observed a similarity in the overall ranking of strategies; *acclaim* (59%) was more common than *attack* (33%) than *defense* (8%). Contrary to the 1960 presidential debates, the dominant strategy for both the incumbent and the challenger was *acclaim*. Nevertheless, the authors (*ibid.*) found that the incumbent acclaimed more and attacked less (62% and 25%) than the challenger (56% and 39%). Last but not least, parallel with the findings on the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon and 1988 Bush-Dukakis debates, Benoit, Blaney, and Pier (1998) determined that in the 1996 United States presidential debates between President Bill Clinton and Senator Bob Dole, the dominant strategy was *acclaim* (59%), followed by *attack* (33%), and then by *defense* (7%). Similar to the above-mentioned presidential debates, in the 1996 Clinton-Dole debates, the incumbent's most frequent discursive strategy was *acclaim* (71%). Distinctively, in the Clinton-Dole debates, the challenger acclaimed and attacked equally, with a percentage of 48%. To summarize, in 1960, 1988, and 1996 United States presidential election debates, although the ranking of the overall discursive strategies (*acclaim* > *attack* > *defense*) and the dominant strategy for the incumbents (*acclaim*) illustrated identical findings, the dominant strategies for the challengers differed in all three debates.

Table 2. 1. Percentages of discursive strategies employed by the presidential candidates in the 1960, 1988 and 1996 United States presidential election debates

U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION DEBATES				
ELECTION YEAR	CANDIDATE	ACCLAIM	ATTACK	DEFENSE
1960	NIXON (INCUMBENT)	58	29	14
	KENNEDY (CHALLENGER)	40	48	11
1988	BUSH (INCUMBENT PARTY)	62	25	12
	DUKAKIS (CHALLENGER)	56	39	5
1996	CLINTON (INCUMBENT)	60	27	13
	DOLE (CHALLENGER)	48	43	8

Research conducted by Benoit and Airne (2005) into the functional analysis of the United States vice-presidential election debates of 1976, 1984, 1988, 1992, 1996, 200, and 2004 showed that in the debates, the all-around discursive strategy was *acclaim* (57%), followed by *attack* (40%) and then *defense* (2%). Like the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon debates, the dominant strategy for both the incumbents and the challengers was *acclaim*, and the incumbents acclaimed more (62%) than the challengers (53%).

Table 2. 2. Percentages of discursive strategies employed by the vice-presidential candidates in the 1976, 1984, 1988, 1992, 1996, 2000 and 2004 United States vice-presidential election debates⁵

U.S. VICE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION DEBATES				
ELECTION YEAR	CANDIDATES	ACCLAIM	ATTACK	DEFENSE
1976, 1984, 1988, 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004	INCUMBENTS	62	35	3
	CHALLENGERS	53	45	2

⁵Data retrieved from Benoit & Airne (2005).

Last but not least, in research conducted by Benoit (2007) into the discursive strategies of non-presidential election debates, the author discovered that in senatorial election debates⁶ *acclaim* was more common than *attack* than *defense*. Although the dominant strategy for both the incumbents and the challengers was *acclaim*, the author (ibid.) found that the incumbents acclaimed more (61%) than the challenger (51%). In the same research, Benoit (ibid.) discovered a similarity in the overall discursive strategies between the senatorial and gubernatorial election debates⁷; the gubernatorial candidates acclaimed more than they attacked than they defended. Whether it is the senatorial or the gubernatorial debates, research findings of Benoit (ibid.) illustrate that the incumbents acclaimed more than the challengers.

Table 2. 3. Percentages of discursive strategies employed by the candidates in the United States senatorial and gubernatorial election debates between 1998-2006 and 1994-2004

U.S. SENATORIAL ELECTON DEBATES				
TIME FRAME	CANDIDATES	ACCLAIM	ATTACK	DEFENSE
1998 – 2006	INCUMBENTS	61	21	18
	CHALLENGERS	51	39	11
U.S.A. GUBERNATORIAL DEBATES				
1994 – 2004	INCUMBENTS	68	29	3
	CHALLENGERS	57	40	3

To conclude, independent from the public office, in the United States political election debates, *acclaim* was more common than *attack* than *defense*, and the dominant strategy for the incumbents was *acclaim*. Benoit and Brazeal (2002) suggested that because “the incumbent party has a record in the office sought, arguably the best evidence about performance in that office. This is a ready resource for

⁶ Data size: 21 senate debates with 41 different candidates (14 incumbent, 14 challenger and 14 contested open seats) in 20 states between 1998-2006 (Benoit, 2007). Jim Talent fought for the position of senator from Missouri both in 2002 (where he was the challenger) and in 2006 (where he was the incumbent).

⁷ Data size: 15 gubernatorial debates with 20 candidates (10 incumbent, 10 challenger) in 15 states between 1994-2004 (Benoit, 2007).

incumbents to acclaim and for challengers to attack” (p. 229). The following section presents challenges observed by different authors in applying functional analysis to the election debates in countries other than the United States. Last but not least, section 2.2 introduces adjustments to functional theory for the compatibility to the United Kingdom European Union membership referendum debate.

2.1.2. Applying Functional Theory to Election Debates in Other Countries

As stated by Isotalus (2011), American presidential debates are the foundation of televised political election debates; therefore, “the theoretical development of television debate research [...] also started and concentrated on them” (p. 31). From presidential to gubernatorial elections, much research was conducted by Benoit on the discursive strategies employed during the United States election debates. Although Benoit is the co-author of certain studies that concentrate on the discursive strategies in other countries’ election debates (Lee and Benoit, 2010; Benoit and Henson, 2007; Choi and Benoit, 2013; Paatelainen, Croucher and Benoit, 2016), the scope of functional theory has been criticized for being culturally limited (Isotalus, 2011; Maier and Jansen, 2017). Therefore, research on the applicability of functional theory beyond American election debates has increased. Studies conducted by Isotalus (2011) regarding the Finnish presidential election debates and by Maier and Jansen (2017) regarding the election debates in Germany (both on the state and national level) discovered that functional theory is not entirely compatible with different political systems and forms of governments such as coalition governments, multi-party systems, and parliamentary democracies. Studies conducted by Isotalus (2011) regarding the Finnish presidential election debates and by Maier & Jansen (2017) regarding the election debates in Germany (both on the state and national level) discovered that functional theory is not entirely compatible with different political systems and forms of governments such as coalition governments, multi-party systems, and parliamentary democracies. However, both Isotalus (2011, p. 34) and Maier and Jansen (2017, p. 553) advocate the efficacy of functional theory in analyzing the discursive strategies candidates employed in election debates in different countries other than the United States. Isotalus (2011) suggests that “functional theory is well suited to simplifying the forms of campaign discourse and has proven an excellent analytical tool. It has been used successfully in numerous studies. It has been shown to be practical and capable of predicting forms of campaign discourse” (p. 34).

Therefore, by acknowledging the challenges of adopting functional theory as an analytical tool for the United Kingdom European Union membership referendum, this thesis executed functional analysis with some adjustments to investigate discursive strategies (*acclaim, attack, defense*) employed by the Leave and the Remain campaigners.

2.2. Adjustments

To have a more comprehensive and inclusive grasp, the discursive strategies utilized by the Leave and Remain campaigners during the Great Debate were categorized according to a coherent combination of functional theory strategies and theories of social interaction. More precisely, William L. Benoit's *acclaim, attack, and defense* strategies were incorporated into Erving Goffman's notion of *face* and Penelope Brown & Stephen C. Levinson's politeness theory.

Erving Goffman (2006/1967) studies language-in-use in social interactions, with a particular focus on *talk*, which he views as an everyday ritualistic social speech event. Regarding Goffman's works on social interaction, Jaworski and Coupland (2006/1967) express that "Goffman [...] brilliantly, identifies the goals, strategies, and conceits that are interwoven into everyday face-to-face communication" (p. 291). The two integral concepts introduced in Goffman's studies are *line* and *face*. Goffman (2006/1967) describes the term *line* by noting the social component of language-in-use. The author (*ibid.*) expresses that:

Every person lives in a world of social encounters, involving him either in face-to-face or mediated contact with other participants. In each of these contacts, he tends to act out what is sometimes called a line - that is, a pattern of verbal and nonverbal acts by which he expresses his view of the situation and through this his evaluation of the participants, especially himself (p. 299).

To continue with the notion of *face*, the author adds:

[t]he term face may be defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes - albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself (*ibid.*).

Based on Goffman's notion of face, Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson (2006/1987) describe *face* as "something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction" (p. 311). The authors' primary axioms about the properties of interactants are the followings: "all competent adult members of a society have (and know each other to have) face [...] and certain rational capacities, in particular consistent modes of reasoning from ends to the means that will achieve those ends" (p. 311). Brown and Levinson (ibid.) expand the notion of face and classify it according to interactants' wants. The authors (ibid.) link "[the] want to be liked and appreciated by others, [to] *positive face*, and [the] want to be left free of imposition, [to] *negative face*" (Jaworski and Coupland, 2006, p. 292). They (ibid.) present acts that threaten interactants' faces in social interactions as face-threatening acts (FTA). According to the authors, face-threatening acts can target the interactant's positive and negative face. In their works, Brown and Levinson (2006/1987) investigate 'politeness' strategies utilized by the interactants "to mitigate or avoid the face-threat associated with such speech acts" (p. 292).

Brown and Levinson's conceptualization of face-threatening acts was incorporated in categorizing discursive strategies (*acclaim, attack, defense*) employed by the Leave and Remain campaigners. Yet, this thesis does not provide politeness strategies utilized by the campaigners.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

As a methodology, content analysis has been practiced in various disciplines, including cultural studies, theology, public health studies, communication studies, law, and social sciences. Researchers employ content analysis to describe, analyze and interpret communicative messages. Krippendorff (2010) defines “content analysis [as] a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the context of their use” (p. 234). Lewis-Beck, Bryman, and Liao suggest that what distinguishes content analysis from other methodologies for analyzing discourse (for example, conversation analysis, narrative analysis, and rhetorical analysis) “is [its] concern with numbers” (Lewis et al., 2011, p. 188).

One of the challenges of content analysis (besides being laborious) is data reliability. The main concern around data reliability is grounded on the argument that “you can’t assume that a person’s words are a transparent window” (Preissle, 2007, [personal communication] cited in Roulston, 2014, p. 297). Hermann (2008) suggests that, among other means of verbal communication, interviews and the question-answer section of press conferences provide more reliable data for content analysis because they are more spontaneous. Hermann (2008) acknowledges that “Although there is often some prior preparation (such as consideration of what questions might be asked and, if asked, how they should be answered), [in press conferences and interviews] leaders are on their own” (p. 153). Interviews may provide more reliable data for content analysis than speeches; nevertheless, there is skepticism around the extent of reliability. Hudson (2013) emphasizes that “even in spontaneous interviews the answers given may be shaped, sometimes unnaturally, by the manner in which the question is posed” (p. 61).

On the other hand, debates may have a higher possibility of providing more reliable data for content analysis than interviews. Unlike interviews, in election debates, both candidates are present on the stage. In interviews, the interviewer may

be criticized for not sufficiently challenging (or for over-challenging) the candidate. In debates, the moderator replaces the interviewer, and the leading challenger becomes the opposite campaigner. Speakers challenge not only each other's policy positions, past deeds, and plans but also each other's lines and faces. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Goffman (2006/1967) introduces *face* and *line* as the integral elements of *talk*. Regarding the interactants' *face* or persona, Goffman (2006/1967) offers that "the person tends to conduct himself during an encounter so as to maintain both his own face and the face of other participants" (p. 301). The author explains: "this means that the line taken by each participant is usually allowed to prevail, and each participant is allowed to carry off the role he appears to have chosen for himself" (ibid.). As a rule of considerateness, the interactant refrains from threatening the face of others, which does not derive from imposition but intuition (ibid.). However, in political election debates, lines and faces are expected to be threatened or challenged to secure votes. Therefore, it can be argued that debates can be more reliable than interviews as data. The first section of this chapter describes the data collection and data elimination process pursued in this thesis. The following section, Section 3.2, introduces the debate chosen to be analyzed through content analysis and provides additional explanations for the case selection. In the next section, software used in this thesis for transcription, data management, and data analysis are stated. Lastly, 3.3.1., 3.3.2. and 3.3.3. explains the determined prerequisites that were applied consistently for assigning each discursive strategy to the unit of analysis.

3.1. Data Collection Process

The first step of the data collection process was to list broadcasts related to the United Kingdom European Union membership. The data was retrieved from the British Library, the Newsroom blog (McKernan, 2016). According to the newsroom Blog, between February 2016 and June 2016, 144 selected special programs on the United Kingdom European Union membership referendum were broadcasted (ibid.). The data was eliminated according to five criteria; time frame, broadcasting medium (radio/television), broadcasting type (pre-recording/ live broadcasting), genre, and public appeal. 106 out of 144 programs were broadcasted in June alone. Due to the magnitude, the time scope was limited to June 2016. The data was further narrowed down to programs broadcasted prior to the Referendum. It was found that 49 programs were broadcasted between 1 June and 23 June 2016 on the European Union

membership referendum. After narrowing down the programs according to the defined time scope, five programs broadcasted on the radio were removed from the data set because of their limited reach. To continue, based on the broadcasting type criteria of political debates (Benoit, 2015; Livingstone & Lunt, 2001; Mirrlees, 2013), five audio-visual programs were excluded because they were pre-recorded. As a result, the data set consisted of 39 programs, all broadcasted live on TV between 1 and 22 June. Last but not least, the programs were categorized according to their genres. Broadcasts that did not meet the criteria to be categorized as political debate, such as comedy shows, docu-series, interviews, special news programs, and campaign speeches, were removed from the data set. As a result, the data set was narrowed down to two political debates: *The ITV Referendum Debate* and *EU Referendum: The Great Debate*.

The ITV Referendum Debate was broadcasted on 09 June 2016 on ITV1 and aired live for two hours on prime time (between 20:00 and 22:00). The speakers representing the Remain campaign were Amber Rudd (Conservative MP and Secretary of State for Energy and Climate Change), Angela Eagle (Labour MP and Shadow First Secretary), and Nicola Sturgeon (Scottish National Party leader and First Minister of Scotland). The speakers representing the Leave campaign were Andrea Leadsom (Conservative MP and Minister of State for Energy), Boris Johnson, and Gisela Stuart (Labour MP). The *EU Referendum: The Great Debate* was broadcasted on 21 June 2016 on BBC1. Similar to the ITV Debate, the BBC Debate was aired live for two hours on prime time (between 20:00 and 22:00). The speakers representing the Remain campaign were Frances O’Grady (General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress), Ruth Davidson (Conservative MSP and Scottish Conservative Party leader), and Sadiq Khan (Mayor of London), and the Leave campaign was represented by the same speakers who had debated in favor of leaving the European Union in the ITV Debate (Andrea Leadsom, Boris Johnson, and Gisela Stuart). Unlike the ITV Debate, the Great Debate was not held in a TV studio. Instead, it took place in the Wembley Arena (formerly known as the SSE Arena, Wembley and currently as the OVVO Arena Wembley). It hosted approximately 6,000 live audiences that provided applause, laughter, questions, and occasional utterances during the debate. Even though the utterances are unintelligible, the segment below uttered by the moderator, David Dimbleby, illustrates the presence of an enthusiastic public.

[DD] I just- can I just say- can I just say one thing to you in the audience I did say at the beginning of the debate. Applause fine. Please don't shout out cause what you do is to drown out the debate here, and people at home can't hear it. So if you could just retrain yourselves, applaud points you want, but please don't try to conduct a second debate with the speakers on the panel

TC 00:54:04.136 - 00:54:25.378

Between the two referendum debates, which were both broadcasted live, aired in June 2016, and featured three senior politicians from both campaigns answering questions from a live audience; the BBC Debate was chosen as the case for this thesis due to its proximity to the election day and the public attraction. The ITV Debate was aired two weeks prior to the polling day and attracted 2.71 million views, whereas the BBC Debate was broadcasted less than 36 hours before the Referendum, attended by 6,000 live audiences, and attracted 3.99 million views⁸, which illustrates the scope of the public interest in the Great Debate.

3.2. Case Selection: The Great Debate

Broadcasted on BBC1 on 21 June 2016, EU Referendum: The Great Debate comprises three primary sequences: the opening sequence, the interactional sequence, and the closing sequence.

The opening sequence is similar to an introduction. First, the moderator, David Dimbleby, presents the program, the format, and the speakers on the main stage. Next, the spokesperson for each campaign delivers their opening statements. To make the opening statements on behalf of their campaigns, in order of appearance, the Leave side had chosen Gisela Stuart, and the Remain side had chosen Sadiq Khan.

The interactional sequence is the main component of the debate. The topics covered in the Great Debate are the economy, immigration, and Britain's place in the world. In the opening sequence, David Dimbleby introduces the format of the debate with the following utterance:

[DD] Now the questions that we've picked for the debate tonight come from our huge audience. Obviously, they can't all ask a question. But we've divided the questions up into three sections the economy, immigration, and Britain's place in the world. And the key issues - those three key issues are what we're doing. But what we want to do first before we go to the questions is to try to give you an objective view of the issues that are at stake. So, let's have a look at the issues that both sides have identified on the economy

⁸ The viewership ratings are based on the study conducted by Shaw, D., Smith, C. M., and Scully, J. (2017). Why did Brexit happen? Using causal mapping to analyse secondary, longitudinal data. *European Journal of Operational Research*, 263, 1019-1032.

TC 00:06:12.130 - 00:06:49.996

More precisely, each section begins with a short clip prepared by the BBC to provide background information and an overview of each campaign's argument on the issue, followed by an audience question. For each subject, campaign speakers answer two questions from the pre-selected members of the audience, who had stated their voting choice prior to the debate to the producers. For each section, a Leave supporter and a Remain supporter ask their question related to the subject of the section. To anonymize their identities, the audiences' names who ask questions are replaced with [S#] in the order they appeared. For example, the audience who asked the first question during the debate was identified as [S1]. Before commencing the next section, the speakers from the second stage are interviewed on the debated issue by the second moderator, Mishal Hussein.

Lastly, the closing sequence can be thought of as a final declaration in which the speakers representing both campaigns attempt the last time to convince the electorate to vote for their campaigns. In order of appearance, Ruth Davidson, on behalf of the Remain campaign, and Boris Johnson, on behalf of the Leave campaign, make the concluding statements. As anticipated, the opening and closing sequences of the Great Debate were shorter than the interactional sequence.

3.3. Coding

BBC's *EU Referendum: The Great Debate* was transcribed verbatim in ELAN Transcription Software (see Appendix A for the transcript of the economy section). The transcription has been checked several times to determine inaccuracies in time codes, speakers, overlapping speeches, and utterances. The transcription has been controlled both systematically (from the beginning of the recording to the end) and through random selection.

For data management and frequency analysis, the qualitative data analysis software MAXQDA was benefited. Because the two aforementioned software are found to be incompatible with each other, the transcribed text in ELAN was imported to MAXQDA, and the speaker's IDs, time codes, and overlapping speeches were determined and manually entered. After multiple close readings, a preliminary codebook was created. As the analysis continued, the codes were re-defined, some were removed, and new ones were created. Due to the lack of establishing intercoder reliability, an inclusive, comprehensive, and detailed codebook was created to avoid

bias, and the codes were applied consistently. The truth-value of utterances was not considered as a variable during the coding process, and coded segments were scrutinized many times to avoid inaccuracies and to refrain from partiality. Because Benoit's functional theory of political election debates was developed mainly to study election debates, in order to have a clear understanding, the word *candidate* is replaced with; *campaign*, *speaker (S)*, and *turn holder*. Instead of the word *opponent*, *the opposite campaign* and *addressee (H)* are used.

3.3.1. Acclaim

Acclaim is one of the three discursive strategies utilized in the political election debates by the campaigners to secure the electorate's vote. Functional theory of political election debates defines *acclaim* as "statements that stress a candidate's advantages or benefits" (Benoit, 2015, p. 13). Based on this definition, utterances that boost and praise either the speaker or the campaign during the Great Debate were coded *acclaim*. The equivalent of *acclaim* in the theories of Goffman (2006 / 1965); Brown and Levinson (2006 / 1987) may be the notion *positive face*. Utterances that enhance the speaker's or the campaign's positive face were coded *acclaim*. The following section provides an in-depth description and explanation of the criteria that were followed in assigning the code *acclaim* to utterances of the campaigners. To start with, utterances where the speaker states the obvious, expresses mutual wants, cites experts, and provides quantitative data (independent from the truth value) were coded *acclaim* since the speaker may appear reasonable, rational, and objective to the electorate. In other words, utterances that include the above-mentioned pragmatic components may enhance *positive face*. To continue with, utterances related to *presentation of self*⁹, where the speaker refers to his professional or educational background, were considered coded *acclaim*. Because by adopting these lines, the speaker implies that he is knowledgeable on the issue and may be perceived as an expert or an authority by the electorate. Next, for the Leave campaign, utterances that respond to *why should I vote to leave* were coded *acclaim*. Similarly, for the Remain campaign, utterances that respond to *why should I vote to remain* were coded *acclaim*. In addition, utterances where the Leave campaigners present their immigrational backgrounds were coded *acclaim* because adopting this line may give the audience the

⁹ See Goffman (2006/1967)

impression that the speaker has the ability to empathize or is unable to be an anti-immigrant¹⁰. Last but not least, utterances where the Remain campaigners acknowledge the disadvantages of being a European Union member, followed by a positive utterance about the European Union, were coded *acclaim*¹¹ because by expressing the drawbacks of being an EU member, the speakers may appear objective and reasonable. In addition, the utterance may also assure the electorate that the Remain campaign shares voters' concerns.

3.3.2. Attack

The other discursive strategy employed by the campaigners during the political election debates is *attack*. Benoit (2015) identifies utterances that emphasize “undesirable attributes or policy missteps” (p. 13) as *attack*. Based on this categorization, utterances that present defects and drawbacks of the addressee (the opposite campaign/campaigner) were coded *attack*. The equivalent of *attack* in theories of social interaction is face-threatening acts (FTA). As mentioned in the previous chapter, based on the kind(s) of face that is threatened, Brown and Levinson (2006 / 1987) categorize face-threatening acts (FTA) into two; positive face-threatening acts and negative face-threatening acts. Brown and Levinson (2006 / 1987) describe negative FTAs as “those acts that primarily threaten the addressee’s (H’s) negative-face want, by indicating (potentially) that the speaker (S) does not intend to avoid impeding H’s freedom of action” (p. 313) and positive FTAs as “those acts that threaten the positive-face want, by indicating (potentially) that the speaker does not care about the addressee’s feelings, wants, etc. – that in some important respect he doesn't want H's wants” (ibid., p. 314). The authors categorize *orders and requests; suggestions, advice; remindings; threats, warnings, dares; offers; promises; compliments, expressions of envy or admiration; expression of strong (negative) emotions toward H – e.g., hatred, anger, lust* as negative FTAs (pp. 313-314). Examples provided by the authors for positive FTAs include *expression of disapproval, criticism, contempt or ridicule, complaints and reprimands, accusations,*

¹⁰ The speakers who presented their immigrational backgrounds were Gisela Stuart and Boris Johnson. For the utterances, see Appendix A.

¹¹ An utterance where a speaker from the Remain campaign acknowledges a drawback of being an EU member, followed by a positive utterance about the EU, can also be coded defense, categorized as reducing the offensiveness, subcategorized bolstering. An utterance where a speaker from the Remain campaign acknowledges a drawback of being an EU member, followed by an effort to convince that there isn't a causal relation between X and EU, is coded attack.

insults; contradictions or disagreements, challenges; expression of violent (out of control) emotions; irreverence, mention of taboo topics, including those that are inappropriate in the context; bringing bad news about H, or good news (boasting) about S; raising of dangerously emotional or divisive topics; blatant non-cooperation in an activity; use of address terms and other status-marked identifications in initial encounters (ibid., p. 314). In addition to FTAs, utterances of the Leave campaigners that respond to *why shouldn't I vote to remain*, and the utterances of the Remain campaigners, that respond to *why shouldn't I vote to leave* were coded *attack*.

3.3.3. Defense

The last discursive strategy employed during the political election debates by the campaigners is *defense*. Benoit (2015) describes defense as an attempt “to restore, or prevent additional damage to a candidate’s perceived preferability” (p. 15). Candidates employ defense to save their faces after an FTA.

The following chapter presents *speaker code* and *speaker subcodes*; *interrupter code* and *interrupter subcodes*; *strategy code* and *strategy subcodes*. Due to the dynamic unit of analysis (ranging from a single sound to several sentences), the chapter explains the distinction between *code percentage* and *code frequency*. It clarifies where and how *code frequencies* and *code coverages* benefited from operationalizing the discursive strategies. Last but not least, the chapter presents and analyzes the discursive strategies (*attack, acclaim, defense*) employed by the Leave and Remain campaigners during the economy section of the Great Debate.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

4.1. Speaker Code

For each speaker on the main stage, a code, which constitutes the speaker's initials, was assigned, and utterances made by the speaker were coded with the respective *speaker code*. Speaker codes are different from speaker IDs. The former was utilized for coding, whereas the latter was used in transcription. Speaker IDs were distinguished from speaker codes with brackets ([]).

Subcodes:

BJ: speaker code of Boris Johnson

GS: speaker code of Gisela Stuart

AL: speaker code of Andrea Leadsom

RD: speaker code of Ruth Davidson

SK: speaker code of Sadiq Khan

FO'G: speaker code of Frances O'Grady

Because the unit of analysis of this thesis ranges from a single word to several sentences, the unit of analysis was defined with the broad term *utterance*. For instance, to give an example of the broad range of the unit of analysis, not all utterances in the Great Debate can be grammatically categorized as a sentence. Nevertheless, excluding these utterances from the analysis would be misleading. Examples number 1, 2, and 3 illustrate some utterances that cannot be identified as sentences because of their syntactic structure.

Example 1

[BJ] <22>I think that</22>
TC 00:18:11.254 - 00:18:12.508

Example 2

[SK] <42>But the - but </42>
TC 00:21:51.652 - 00:21:52.703

Example 3

[FO'G] <67><69>/e:::::/ contro::l</67></69>
TC 01:02:51.543 - 01:02:53.725

To avoid any inaccuracy that might be derived from the dynamic unit, both the code frequencies and code coverages were investigated. *Code frequency* signifies how many segments were coded with the code. Consequently, *speaker code frequency* displays how many times a campaigner was detected as the speaker of a segment. On the other hand, *speaker code coverage* signifies how many characters were uttered by the speaker. Example 4 provides an extract where Ruth Davidson is the primary and Boris Johnson is the secondary speaker. In the example, RD code frequency is 1, and BJ code frequency is 5, which indicates that Ruth Davidson was detected to be the speaker of one segment, and Boris Johnson was detected to be the speaker of five segments. Consequently, BJ code frequency is higher than RD code frequency. On the other hand, RD code coverage is 557 (120 words), and BJ code coverage is 41 (10 words)¹². Accordingly, RD code coverage is higher than BJ code coverage, indicating that Ruth Davidson spoke more than Boris Johnson.

Example 4

[RD] =Andrea, we are talking about British jobs and we have the highest level of employment in our country's history. And if you want to trade quotes, let's talk about what your side have been saying. Boris Johnson, his chief economist, he says it will eliminate manufacturing. He also says the EU would generate an <18>economic shock</18>. Michael Gove says it will mean inevitably bumps in the road. <19>He says he can't guarantee</19> that people won't lose their jobs <20>I cannot</20> guarantee that every person currently in work in their current job will keep their job. <21>Boris Johnson</21> asks, said will there be job losses? There might or there might not. That is not good enough (1) <22><23>That is not</22> good enough</23>=

TC 00:17:33.998 - 00:18:13.683

[BJ] <18>Rubbish</18>

TC 00:17:51.294 - 00:17:52.034

[BJ] <19>Come on, come</19>

TC 00:17:55.158 - 00:17:56.831

[BJ] <20>I</20>

TC 00:17:59.100 - 00:17:59.806

[BJ] <21>I didn't</21>

¹² Code coverage and word count do not include speaker IDs ([BJ] [RD]) time code (i.e. TC 00:17:33.998 - 00:18:13.683), overlap markups (<18> </18>, <19> </19>, <20> </20>, <21> </21>, <22> </22>), markups that indicate pauses ((1)), markups that indicates an immediate turn (=), or sounds written in the international phonetic alphabet (IPA).

TC 00:18:04.183 - 00:18:04.760
[BJ] <22>I think that</22>
TC 00:18:11.254 - 00:18:12.508

Based on speaker code frequencies of the campaigners during the economy section of the Great Debate, it was found that the speakers representing the Remain campaign ([FO'G], [RD], and [SK]) spoke more than the speakers representing the Leave campaign ([AL], [BJ], and [GS]). Table 4.1. illustrates that the speakers of 48 out of 87 segments were Ruth Davidson (20), Sadiq Khan (19), and Frances O'Grady (9). The Leave campaigner who was detected as the speaker of most segments was Boris Johnson (21), followed by Andrea Leadsom (9) and Gisela Stuart (9). However, as mentioned previously, speaker code frequencies do not illustrate the length of utterances.

Although AL, GS, and FO'G code frequencies are equal, from Table 4.1. illustrates that AL, GS, and FO'G code coverage percentages differ. AL code coverage percentage is higher than FO'G code coverage percentage than GS code coverage percentage, indicating that Andrea Leadsom spoke more than Frances O'Grady and Frances O'Grady spoke more than Gisela Stuart. To be more precise, 15,1% of the total characters in the transcript of the economy section belong to Andrea Leadsom (596 words), 12,4% belong to Frances O'Grady (496 words), and 8,9% of the total characters belong to Gisela Stuart (353 words). For the Remain campaign, although RD code frequency is slightly higher than SK code frequency, Sadiq Khan (864 words) uttered more words than Ruth Davidson (769 words). The campaigner who spoke the most (both in terms of speaker code coverage and speaker code frequency) was Boris Johnson. Figure 4.1. illustrates speaker code frequencies of the Leave and Remain campaigners, and Figure 4.2. illustrates speaker code coverage percentage of the Leave and Remain campaigners. The difference in the ordering of speaker code frequencies and speaker code coverage is discussed under section 4.2.

Table 4. 1. Speaker code frequencies and speaker code coverages of the campaigners in the economy section of the Great Debate

SPEAKER SUBCODES		Code Freq.	Code Freq. %	Code Coverage	Code Coverage % (valid)	Word Count	Duration
LEAVE	BJ	21	24,1	5.210	24,5	961	00:05:59
	GS	9	10,3	1.900	8,9	353	00:02:11
	AL	9	10,3	3.209	15,1	596	00:04:45
	Total	39	44,7	10.319	48,5	1.910	00:12:55
REMAIN	RD	20	23,0	3.954	18,6	769	00:03:38
	SK	19	21,8	4.699	22,1	864	00:04:35
	FO'G	9	10,3	2.632	12,4	496	00:03:13
	Total	48	55,1	11.285	53,1	2.129	00:11:26
TOTAL (Coded)		87	100,0	21.604	100,0	4.039	00:24:21

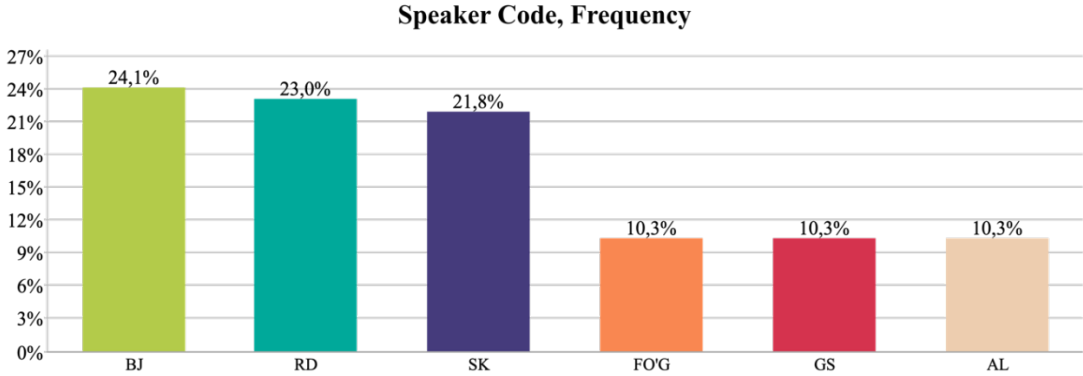


Figure 4. 1. Speaker code frequency percentages of the campaigners in the economy section of the Great Debate

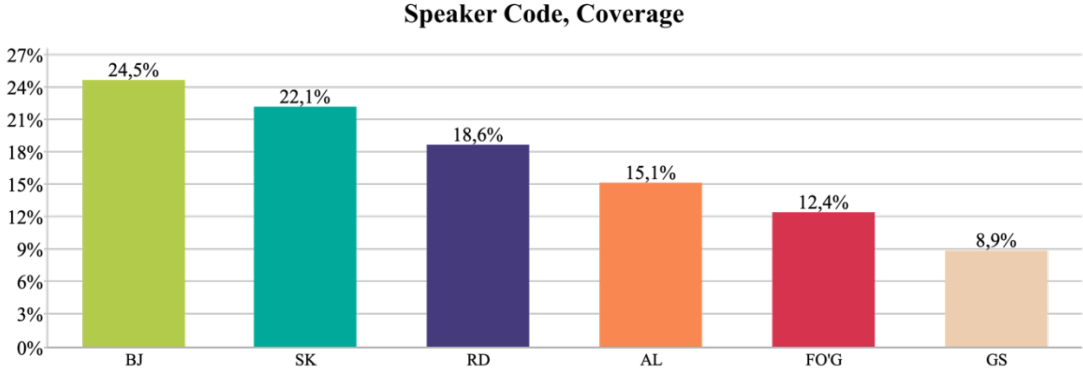


Figure 4. 2. Speaker code coverage percentages of the campaigners in the economy section of the Great Debate

4.2. Interrupter Code

For each speaker on the main stage, a code, which constitutes the speaker's initials and the word *overlaps* merged with an underscore (_) was assigned and overlaps made by the secondary speaker were coded with the respective *interrupter code*. For instance, an overlap initiated by Sadiq Khan was coded with *SK_overlaps*.

Subcodes:

BJ_overlaps: interrupter code of Boris Johnson

GS_overlaps: interrupter code of Gisela Stuart

AL_overlaps: interrupter code of Andrea Leadsom

RD_overlaps: interrupter code of Ruth Davidson

SK_overlaps: interrupter code of Sadiq Khan

FO'G_overlaps: interrupter code of Frances O'Grady

Similar to speaker code frequency, *interrupter code frequency* demonstrates how many times a campaigner was detected as the secondary speaker of a segment. Unlike speaker code coverage, *interrupter code coverage* indicates the number of overlapped characters in the primary speaker's utterance. Example 5 provides an extract where Boris Johnson is the primary and Ruth Davidson is the secondary speaker. In the example, RD_overlaps code frequency is 4, which suggesting that Ruth Davidson interrupted Boris Johnson's speech four times. RD_overlaps code coverage is 24, which indicates that Ruth Davidson overlapped 24 words of Boris Johnson. On the other hand, in the extract below RD speaker code coverage is 29, which demonstrating that Ruth Davidson uttered 29 words as the secondary speaker.

Example 5

[BJ] [...] And it is no wonder that they have not been as- as Andrea rightly says, they have not been able to do essential free trade deals with China, with India, with all <62>the great</62> economies of the world <63>including</63> America, including America. To <64>the extent<64>-<65>to the point where we cannot (.) /ʌ/ Ruth <un>(one - one) </un> </65> point you Ruth. We cannot- but we cannot because the EU is in charge of our trade negotiations (.) <66>We cannot export- haggis. We cannot export Haggis to America</66>

TC 00:32:15.760 - 00:33:19.535

[RD] <62>Boris</62>

TC 00:32:56.054 - 00:32:56.558

[RD] <63>Boris</63> (.) <64>Boris</64>

TC 00:32:58.855 - 00:33:01.805

[RD] <65>Just, just one question, one question, one question, please one question</65>

TC 00:33:03.548 - 00:33:07.202

[RD] <66>Boris can you name me a single company, one? Come on, come on, come on</66> come on

TC 00:33:11.925 - 00:33:19.578

%4 of the economy section of the Great Debate is constituted from overlapping speech. Based on interrupter code frequencies of the campaigners, it was found that the speakers representing the Remain campaign committed more overlaps than the speakers representing the Leave campaign. Table 4.2. illustrates that the total interrupter code coverage of the Remain campaigners is 589, whereas the total interrupter code coverage of the Leave campaigners is 552. From the same table, it can be observed that the interrupters of 25 out of 46 segments were Ruth Davidson (15), Sadiq Khan (7), and Frances O’Grady (3). The Leave campaigner who was detected as the secondary speaker of most segments was Boris Johnson (14), followed by Gisela Stuart (4), and Andrea Leadsom (3).

Table 4. 2. Interrupter code frequencies and code coverages in the economy section of the Great Debate

	INTERRUPTER SUBCODES	Code Freq.	Code Freq.%	Code Coverage Freq.	Code Coverage % (valid)
LEAVE	BJ_overlaps	14	30,4	359	34,5
	GS_overlaps	4	8,7	169	16,3
	AL_overlaps	3	6,5	24	2,3
	Leave Total	19	43,2	552	53,1
REMAIN	RD_overlaps	15	32,6	448	43,1
	SK_overlaps	7	15,2	117	11,3
	FO'G_overlaps	3	6,5	24	2,3
	Remain Total	25	56,8	589	56,7
TOTAL (Coded)		46	100,0	1141	100,0

Figure 4.3. below illustrates the interrupter code frequency percentages of the campaigners during the section on the economy of the Great Debate.

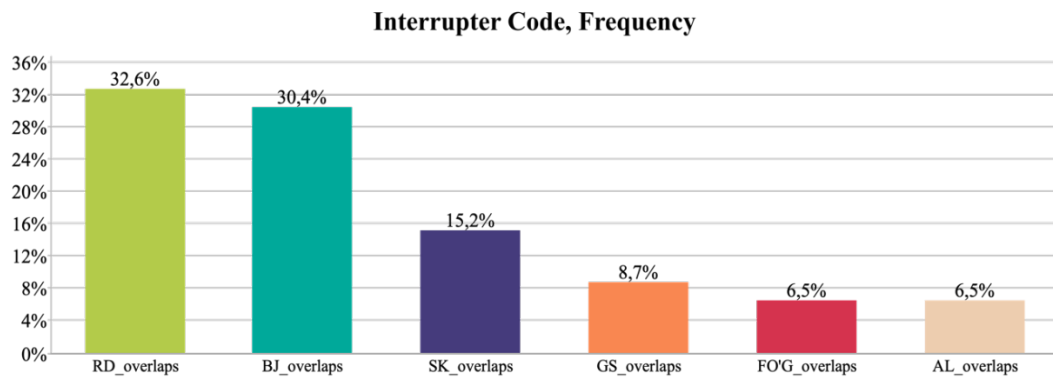


Figure 4. 3. Interrupter code frequency in the economy section of the Great Debate

The number of overlapped words in the primary speaker's utterance is vital to identify since it is an indicator of the secondary speaker's discursive strategy. Systematic overlaps signify *attack* because they may refrain the primary speaker from finishing his turn. Systematic overlaps may also lead to disfluencies in the primary speaker's utterances, which may decrease the speaker's influence, and cause the primary speaker to go off-message (Adda-Decker, M., Barras, C., Adda et al pp. 3107-3109). Similarly, according to the politeness theory, disruptively interrupting the primary speaker's talk, is categorized as a positive face threatening act (Brown & Levinson, p. 314) by suggesting that the second speaker's indifference towards the primary speaker's positive face.

In the case of the EU Referendum: The Great Debate, overlaps may be derived from the need to correct misinformation. According to the Standard Eurobarometer Report on the United Kingdom (2016, p. 4) illustrated in Figure 4.4., based on face-to-face interviews conducted between 21-30 May 2016, in the United Kingdom, the knowledge of European citizens' rights was below (49%) the average knowledge of 28 member states (52%). It was also found that the desire to learn more about these rights was substantially lower in the United Kingdom (52%) than the average (65%), which appears to be correlated to the significantly lower percentage (53%) of UK citizens who emotionally relate themselves with the European Union citizenship. Similarly, Daddow (2012, cited in Startin, 2015, p. 15) and FitzGibbon (2016, p. 16) state that among 28 European Union member states, the least knowledgeable public about the European Union was the United Kingdom.

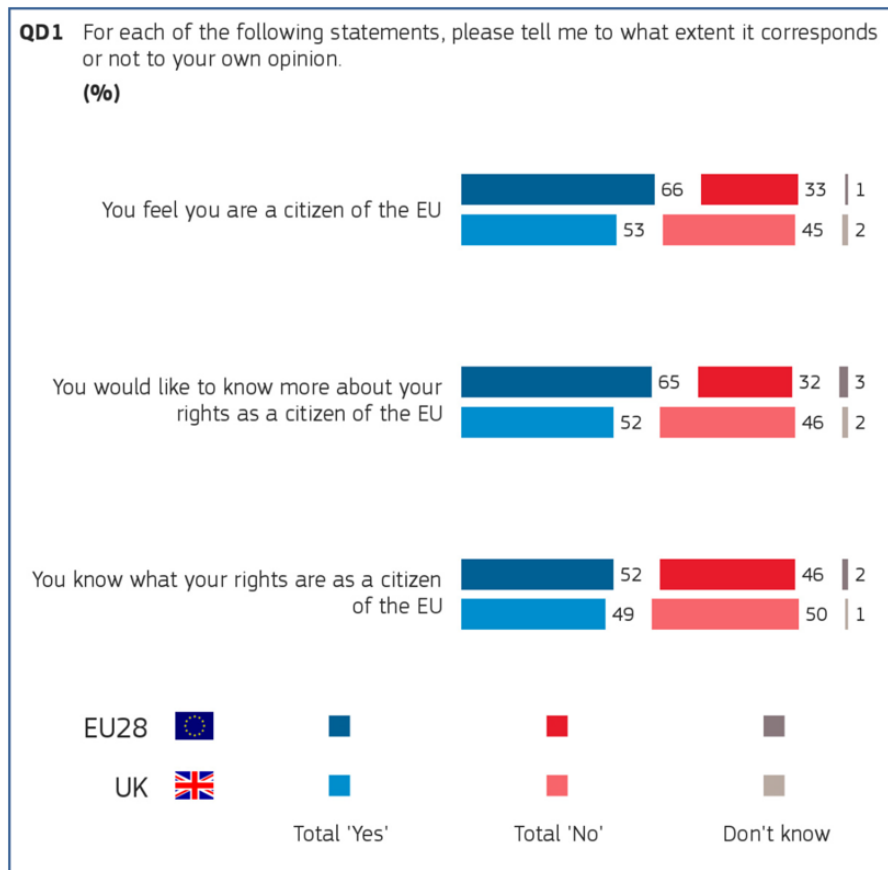


Figure 4. 4. Standard Eurobarometer 85 Factsheets: United Kingdom (2016, 4)*

4.3. Strategy Code

Utterances of the Leave and Remain campaigners were coded according to the criteria presented in section 3.3. of the previous chapter. In the economy section of the Great Debate, 4486 words were transcribed. 97% of them were coded with at least one code. As stated before, a considerable effort was made to consistently assign the codes to prevent any bias that may be derived from the truth value of utterances or from any prior knowledge of the speakers. The utterances were coded from both the perspective of a remain supporter and of a leave supporter. Therefore, many utterances were coded with more than one code.

* European Union Directorate-General for Communication (2016). *Standard Eurobarometer 85 Factsheets: United Kingdom (2016)*. TNS opinion, Brussels [producer]. Retrieved from <https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/2130>

Subcodes:

Attack

Acclaim

Defense

Table 4.3. illustrates that the most utilized strategy in the economy section of the Great Debate was attack (80,6%), followed by acclaim (69,3%). The least utilized strategy was defense (38%). The strategy code coverage frequencies and code coverage percentages illustrate that codes often co-occurred in the transcript. In other words, the same utterance was coded more than one code.

Table 4. 3. Strategy code, code frequencies and code coverages in the economy section of the Great Debate

STRATEGY	Code Freq.	Code Freq. %	Code Coverage Freq.	Code Coverage % (valid)
ATTACK	68	45,3	15263	80,6
ACCLAIM	44	29,3	13119	69,3
DEFENSE	38	25,3	8204	43,3
TOTAL (Coded)	150	100	18936	100

Based on the strategy code coverage percentages illustrated in Table 4.4. the dominant strategy for the Leave campaign and the Remain campaign differs. The dominant strategy for the Leave campaign was *defense*, whereas the dominant strategy for the Remain campaign was *attack*. Benoit (2007) found a correlation between the frequencies of attack and defense in presidential debates. Benoit (ibid.) suggests that “the more frequently a candidate is subjected to attack from an opponent, the more defenses that candidate is likely to produce” (p. 323). The dominant strategies of the campaigns during the economy section of the Great Debate illustrate a similar positive relationship. The Remain campaign’s primary strategy, which is *attack*, aimed to “damage the target’s face, image, or reputation” (Benoit, 2007, p. 321). Consequently, the Leave campaign’s primary strategy, which is *defense*, sought to “redress that damage” (ibid.) through face-saving acts.

Table 4. 4. Strategy code coverage frequencies and code coverage percentages of the campaigns in the economy section of the Great Debate

CAMPAIGN	STRATEGY	Code Freq.	Code Coverage % (valid)
LEAVE	ATTACK	17	27,3
	ACCLAIM	14	26,5
	DEFENSE	16	27,9
REMAIN	ATTACK	43	53,3
	ACCLAIM	25	44,4
	DEFENSE	16	15,0
TOTAL (Coded)		131	100

The reason behind the Remain campaign’s attacks may be the consequence of their efforts to highlight misinformation uttered by the Leave campaign, reveal fallacies in the Leave campaign’s acclaims and attacks, emphasize inconsistencies. The extract provided in example 6 illustrates attacks from Ruth Davidson ([RD]) and Sadiq Khan ([SK]) to intervene against alleged misinformation uttered by Boris Johnson ([BJ]). Example 7 illustrates an attack by Sadiq Khan to reveal alleged fallacy in the Leave campaign’s argument. Last but not least, in example 8 Ruth Davidson emphasizes inconsistencies in the Leave campaign’s arguments.

Example 6

[BJ] [...] And I would also - I would - I would - I would mention Tata Steel. We are told we cannot cut our energy costs to protect jobs in Port Talbot because Brussels says no. <un>xxx</un> it's absolutely= TC 00:27:49.008 - 00:29:04.202

[RD] Not true (.) not true TC 00:28:56.820 - 00:28:59.873

[SK] <51>That's just not - that's just a lie</51>. That's just a lie TC 00:28:59.010 - 00:29:04:179

[DD] <51>Ruth (2) Ruth</51> TC 00:28:59.407 - 00:29:01.368

[SK] <52>One lie after another</52> after <53>another</53> TC 00:29:05.003 - 00:29:07.585

[DD] <52>Alright. Alright</52> (1) <53>Alright</53> just cool - cool it for a moment everybody. Ruth Davidson TC 00:29:07.101 - 00:29:10.515

Example 7

[SK] =And let me tell you this- let me tell you this. There's two points- there's two points- there's two points. Number- number- number one. The- the eurozone is growing faster than our economy and the USA's

<un>xx</un> number one- number two- number one- number two- number two- number two. You and I- you and I both fought an election where these guys were boasting how brilliant our economy is. Right? They were boasting last year how brilliant our economy is. One of the reasons why we are the fifth richest country is because our role is enhanced by being in the European <47>Union</47>. We are at the table helping the rules being made. And you know-

TC 00:27:12.507 - 00:27:48.449

Example 8

[RD] =Andrea, we are talking about British jobs and we have the highest level of employment in our country's history. And if you want to trade quotes, let's talk about what your side have been saying. Boris Johnson, his chief economist, he says it will eliminate manufacturing. He also says the EU would generate an <18>economic shock</18>. Michael Gove says it will mean inevitably bumps in the road. <19>He says he can't guarantee</19> that people won't lose their jobs <20>I cannot</20> guarantee that every person currently in work in their current job will keep their job. <21>Boris Johnson</21> asks, said will there be job losses? There might or there might not. That is not good enough (1) <22><23>That is not</22> good enough</23>=

TC 00:17:33.998 - 00:18:13.683

Remain campaign's lesser degree of *acclaim* can also be related to the public's discontent with the status quo. FitzGibbon (2016, p. 16) emphasizes the extent of discontent by stating that

What makes the Brexit referendum outcome fascinating is that voters had such a negative position towards the status quo of EU membership that they rejected it without a singular or clear alternative being presented to them (p. 16)

The Remain campaign may have chosen to attack more and acclaim less because changing the public's negative perception of the EU might appear more difficult (if not impossible) than convincing the voters that leaving would be worse. Therefore, the Remain campaign aimed to emphasize the Leave campaign's lack of a plan, highlight the uncertainty and the risk of leaving the EU in their utterances. The condemnation of the Commons Treasury of both campaigns supports the abovementioned reasons for the Remain campaign attacks:

The Commons Treasury Committee also condemned both sides for the low standard of campaigning. The Remainers wildly exaggerated the risks involved in leaving, while the Brexiteers brazenly misrepresented the cost and impact of EU membership and its relationship to other issues such as immigration (Becket, 2016, p. 49).

Example 9 and 10 illustrate the Remain campaign's attacks where the campaigners focused on the risks of leaving the European Union.

Example 9

[FO'G] [...] So when we talk about wages, the TUC has looked at all the hard evidence. And what it shows, what we can see is that in the long run, because our economy would be hit, good jobs like the ones in BMW and the car factories would be replaced by worse ones like Sports Direct and Zero hours and Wetherspoons for that matter=

TC 00:15:54.892 - 00:16:34.073

[DD] =Alright=

TC 00:16:36.520 - 00:16:37.302

[FO'G] =Wages-

TC 00:16:37.449 - 00:16:38.354

[FO'G] -wages would drop in the long run by £38 a week. That's- that's filling up your petrol tank in a small car. That is a big hit [and we can't](#) afford it. Don't take the risk=

TC 00:16:39.494 - 00:16:52.022

Example 10

[SK] How would you make sure the terms of trade with the EU are better than they are now? How would you make sure jobs won't suffer? How would you make sure small businesses won't suffer? Let me tell you, the last time there was a recession hard-working people in this country suffered, many lost their homes. What was important Boris is you answer this questions. What is your plan?

TC 00:20:52.804 - 00:21:10.752

Against the Remain campaign's attack, the Leave campaign's dominant strategy was *defense*¹³. As stated previously, Benoit (2007) states that "Studies of apologia or image repair from a rhetorical perspective [...] shows that attacks (criticism, complaints) can provoke defenses from politicians" (p. 321). On one hand, defense can provide the accused an opportunity to correct misinformation and respond to accusations. But, on the other:

Defenses are likely to take a candidate off-message, because attacks are most likely to address a candidate's weaknesses; defenses may create the impression that a candidate is reactive rather than proactive. [...] defenses may remind or inform voters of possible weakness (Benoit, 2004 quoted in *ibid.*).

But Benoit's argument is not sufficient for reaching a conclusion in the European Union Referendum debate. Because, due to the lack of opportunity to establish intercoder reliability, to prevent any bias, the utterances were coded both from the

¹³ According to the strategy code, code coverage percentage

perspective of a remain supporter and of a leave supporter, as mentioned previously. As a consequence, most segments have more than one strategy code.

4.3.1. Strategy Code Combinations

Unlike strategy codes (which can co-occur), strategy code combinations are specific. Therefore, for strategy code combinations, code frequencies are looked into. Assume that an utterance is coded <attack+defense>. This means that while an X campaign supporter perceives the utterance as an attack, the opposite campaign supporter can perceive it as a defense. On the other hand, an utterance that is coded with <attack only>, for example, is perceived as an attack by both campaign supporters. Compared to utterances coded with two or three codes, utterances coded with one code only may have a heavier weight because they are understood similarly by a range of audiences. This is especially the case for utterances coded with defense along with other code(s) because defending in functional theory has a negative connotation.

Subcodes:

<attack only>

<acclaim only>

<defense only>

<attack+acclaim>

<attack+defense>

<acclaim+defense>

<attack+acclaim+defense>

Although the least employed strategy by the Remain campaign was *defense* (see Table 4.4), Table 4.5. illustrates that in the economy section, the coverage of co-occurring defense and attack (<attack+defense>) illustrates that it is the third most utilized among the seven strategy combinations. According to Table 4.5. the Remain campaign employed more single strategies than the Leave campaign. The Remain campaign's single strategies (<attack only>, <acclaim only>) constitute 37,9% of their total strategy combinations, whereas the Leave campaign's single strategies (<attack only>, <acclaim only>, <defense only>) constitute 17,5% of their entire strategy combinations. No utterance of the Remain campaign was coded with defense only. Lack of <defense only> strategy does not necessarily illustrate that H is responsible for the offensive act or H's inability to present a convincing defense. Lack of <defense

only> may also signify H's indifference towards S's positive face, which is coded *attack*.

Table 4. 5. Strategy code, code frequencies and code coverage percentages of the Leave and the Remain campaigns in the economy section of the Great Debate

STRATEGIES	CAMPAIGNS			
	LEAVE		REMAIN	
	Code Freq.	Code Freq. %	Code Freq.	Code Freq. %
ATTACK ONLY	3	7,5	16	27,6
ACCLAIM ONLY	2	5,0	6	10,3
DEFENSE ONLY	2	5,0	0	0
ATTACK+ACCLAIM	7	17,5	18	31,0
ATTACK+DEFENSE	13	32,5	12	20,7
ACCLAIM+DEFENSE	4	10,0	3	5,2
ATTACK+ACCLAIM+DEFENSE	9	22,5	3	5,2

The first two most frequent strategies of the Leave campaign have an element of defense. The Leave campaign's dominant strategy is <attack+defense> (32,5%) followed by <attack+acclaim+defense> (22,5%), followed by <attack+acclaim> (17,5%). Although the dominant strategy of the leave campaign is defense, <defense only> constitutes 5% of the total strategies. The strategy code <acclaim only> also constitutes 5% of the total strategies. This is expected because the Leave campaign had fewer arguments for acclaiming during the economy section in comparison to the immigration section. Although the less utilized strategy by the Remain campaign was defense, <attack+defense> is the third most frequent deployed strategy among seven strategies (note that <defense only> was not included in Figure 4.5. because it had a value of 0). The first three most frequently utilized strategies constitute an element of attack and <attack only> is the second most utilized strategy (27,6%) after <attack+acclaim> (31,0%). The least frequently utilized strategies were <attack+acclaim+defense> and <acclaim+defense>, both constitute 5,2% of the Remain campaign's total strategy code combinations. As mentioned earlier, because of the public's strong negative sentiments about the European Union, it is expected for

<acclaim only> to have a lower frequency than strategies that constitute an element of attack.

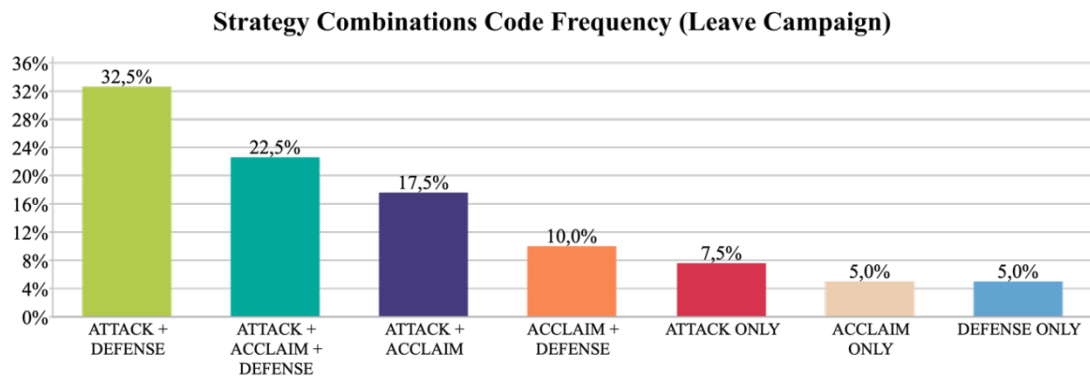


Figure 4. 5. Code frequencies of strategy code combinations of the Leave campaign during the section on the economy of the Great Debate

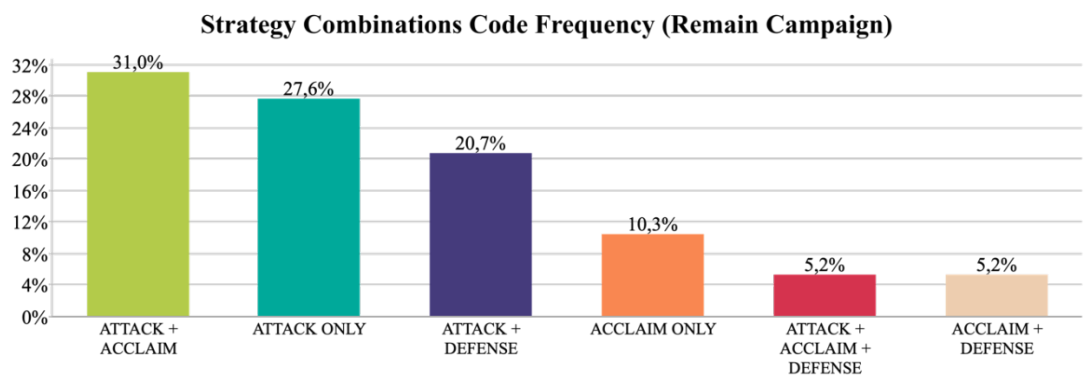


Figure 4. 6. Code frequencies of strategy code combinations of the Leave campaign during the section on the economy of the Great Debate

An attack in the Remain campaign's utterance responds to *why shouldn't I vote to leave*, whereas an acclaim in the Remain campaign's utterance responds to *why should I vote to remain*. Because there are two options on the ballot paper, voting to leave and voting to remain can appear as the only two mutually exclusive options. Meaning that although *don't vote Leave may* appear as a synonym for *vote Remain*, in reality, voters

have two more options; not going to the ballots or casting invalid votes. Assume that there were three choices, vote to Leave, vote Remain, and vote 'Cats'. In that case, for the Remain campaign, *don't vote Leave* would not necessarily mean vote Remain. It may mean that whatever you do, do not vote Leave. It appears that the Remain campaign was not successful in providing the electorate with reasons to remain in the European Union. But this may be because of the Remain campaign's efforts to intervene and correct misinformation in the Leave campaign's arguments.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The code frequencies and code coverages of the speakers representing the Leave and the Remain campaigns during the European Union referendum debate broadcasted live on BBC illustrate that there is no direct proportion between the number of times a speaker spoke and the number of characters the speaker uttered. It is found that the disproportion between speaker code frequency and speaker code coverage originated from the frequencies of overlapping speech. The speaker code frequency of the campaigners who repeatedly overlapped the main speaker was higher than their speaker code coverage because overlapping speeches are often shorter than regular turns. The thesis also explored the dominant strategies of the Leave campaigners (Gisela Stuart, Boris Johnson, and Andrea Leadsom) and the Remain campaigners (Ruth Davidson, Sadiq Khan, and Frances O'Grady). The dominant strategy for the Remain campaign, the incumbent or defendant of the status quo, was expected to be *acclaim* because they were in a more favorable position on the economy than the opposite campaign. On the other hand, the most frequently employed strategy by the Leave campaign, the challenger of the status quo, was anticipated to be *attack*. Consistent with the expectations, it was found that the Leave campaign attacked more than they acclaimed and defended. However, unanticipatedly the dominant strategy for the Remain campaign proved to be *attack*. Firstly, this was because of the Remain campaign's efforts to correct misinformation and misleading information uttered by the Leave campaigners. In many moments, the Remain campaign intervened in the Leave campaign's 'false' claims as soon as they were uttered, which was the primary cause of overlapping speech. Systematic overlaps that interrupt the main speaker's flow are considered attacks as the secondary speaker appears to be indifferent toward the primary speaker's positive face. Secondly, the degree of public discontent with the status quo might lead the Remain campaigners to convince the electorate to vote to

remain in the European Union by emphasizing the drawbacks involved in ceasing the membership. Instead of persuading the voters that remaining was better for the United Kingdom's economy, the Remain campaigners made an effort to convince them that leaving would be worse than remaining. In other words, the Remain campaign's arguments focused on the reasons for not ceasing the membership, leaving the rationales they provided for maintaining it unobtrusive. For further research, the subject of the economy in other live broadcasted televised European Union referendum debates can be scrutinized to explore whether a change had occurred in campaigners' discursive strategies during the ten-week-long campaign.

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APPENDICES

A. TRANSCRIPTION OF THE ECONOMY SECTION OF *THE GREAT DEBATE*

<beg_BBC_clip_S(economy)_00:06:51.202>

[DD] So let's go to our first question, which is from [S1], a leave supporter. [S1]
TC 00:08:19.736 - 00:08:26.661

[S1][S1/last] I run a small business employing ten local staff and have been stifled by the raft of EU legislation that's been imposed on me. What benefits are there for small business owners of remaining in the EU? As I can't see any
TC 00:08:27.888 - 00:08:45.116

[DD] Ruth Davidson
TC 00:08:45.556 - 00:08:46.757

[RD] Well, thank you [S1]. Small businesses are the backbone of our economy. And I know that some people can find the EU a bit frustrating and fussy. But what it does, it provides a level playing field so that you can't be undercut by other companies in other parts of the world. That's why eight out of ten of the CBI's small business members want to stay in the EU. We also help to write those rules. And if we came out of the EU, we wouldn't have a seat at the table, and if we wanted to trade in the EU, the other countries could put on tariffs and taxes so you couldn't sell to all of these other nations, the biggest free trading block in the world, for free. It would cost us more money. That would hurt our economy. It would also hurt jobs in this country. I want our economy to grow and not shrink. And the other side haven't told us what would replace the single market. They haven't told us how many jobs would be lost. They haven't told us how long new trade deals will take. They haven't told us how big the hit would be. I don't think that's good enough when you going to vote on Thursday. You have to know or don't go. Vote to remain to the biggest trade deal that we <1>can get in the world</1>
TC 00:08:48.182 - 00:09:55.866

[DD] <1>Alright</1> Alright
TC 00:09:54.683 - 00:09:56.578

[DD] /s/ I'm gonna trying give equal time to both sides tonight. Boris
TC 00:10:03.687 - 00:10:07.391

[BJ] Thank you very much and I - I must say that I think it was extraordinary to hear that /s/ that we would have tariffs imposed on us /s/ because everybody knows that this country receives about a fifth of Germany's entire car manufacturing output. 820,000 vehicles a year. Do you seriously suppose that they are going to be so insane as to allow tariffs to be imposed between Britain and Germany? I've been - I've been listening, I've been listening to - I've been listening to businesses large and small, up and down our country over the last few months. And I've been amazed how many passionately want to come out of the single market because of the rules and regulation that it imposes. Of 100% of UK businesses even though only 6% actually do any trade with the rest of the EU. And I'm listening - I'm listening to some of the most extraordinary success stories of UK manufacturing. JCB the makers of the fantastic diggers that are building this city, building roads and cities around the world. And they want to come out of the EU. And not just JCB but James Dyson, who is the single biggest manufacturer of vacuum cleaners in Germany. <2>In Germany</2> <3>And he wants to come</3> out. And I can - just let me finish this point. He wants to - and he's telling the papers tonight that he thinks staying in would be an act of economic self <4>harm</4>. And the way to more- more wealth and more jobs is to <5>leave EU. Vote leave and take</5> control on Thursday

TC 00:10:08.083 - 00:11:45.916

[DD] <2>Alright Boris</2> <3>Okay Boris</3>

TC 00:11:25.664 - 00:11:28.063

[DD] <4>Alright</4>

TC 00:11:37.983 - 00:11:38.509

[DD] <5>Alright Sadiq <un>x</un> Boris </5>

TC 00:11:41.667 - 00:11:44.0864

[DD] Sadiq Khan

TC 00:11:45.524 - 00:11:46.264

[SK] Boris. I'm - I'm really pleased you're speaking to people. Hope you're listening too. And one of the people you should listen to-

TC 00:11:51.715 - 00:11:57.478

[SK] - and one of the people you should listen to is a chap called Patrick Minford, you may have heard of him. He's your chief economic advisor. Now Patrick said - <6>Patrick said and I quote leaving</6> will eliminate manufacturing. I quote, over time if we left the EU, it seems likely we would most likely eliminate <7>manufacturing but this shouldn't scare us. Well, let me tell you Boris</7> to those 2.5 million who work in manufacturing it scares them, it scares their family and it scares me.

TC 00:12:01.494 - 00:12:31.920

[BJ] to [GS] <6><un>xxxxxxx</un></6>

TC 00:12:08.739 - 00:12:12.070

[GS] to [BJ] <7><un>xxxx</un></7>

TC 00:12:20.543 - 00:12:24.639

[DD] Okay. I've gotta go over to you. You want to say something? Yes. Andrea Leadsom=
TC 00:12:30.213 - 00:12:34.551

[AL] =Thank you - thank you. Well, I ran financial services businesses for 25 years. And I did a <un>x</un> as city minister and I'm a mom. And I genuinely believe our future will be so much brighter if we vote leave and take back control of our trade. The European Union has been a disaster for UK trade with the rest of the world. And it is true to say if we remain in, we're already one of the biggest contributors to the EU. Their failed euro project is going to cost us so dearly, we will be paying for it forever. And not only that, the EU wants to expand its borders to include Turkey and we simply cannot afford it. We need to take back control and vote leave <8>on Thursday</8>
TC 00:12:34.192 - 00:13:23.715

[DD] <8>Alright</8>
TC 00:13:22.859 - 00:13:23.360

[DD] /3/ Francis, just a reminder, [S1]'s question was about what benefits there are for small business <9>owners</9> in <10>remaining</10>
TC 00:13:31.102 - 00:13:37.823

[FO'G] <9>Yeah</9> (1) <10>Yeah</10>
TC 00:13:35.804 - 00:13:37.519

[FO'G] Well I was gonna say that [S1] your question is about small business. And there are lots of small businesses in Britain that have a pretty tough time. But many of them are also parts of supply chains. And you know the leave side roll out JCB, but that's one company. (And) all the <11>experts</11> - all the expert are saying that the economy would take a big hit if we came out of the EU. That we would - trade would be more expensive, investment would drop. That would hit jobs and wages too. And then you know, if you don't believe the experts then listen to the shop floor because I'm here representing workers tonight. And Union reps from BMW, Toyota, Ford, Nissan, you name it across the manufacturing sector, they are saying we cannot afford to take this gamble with our jobs, our wages, our livelihoods and our rights
TC 00:13:37.744 - 00:14:37.453

[BJ] <11><un>x</un></11>
TC 00:13:57.878 - 00:13:58.263

[DD] Gisela
TC 00:14:37.280 - 00:14:38.284

[GS] [S1]as someone who runs a small business you know you haven't got time to lobby in Brussels. That's why the big companies like Brussels. Because they all just lobbying to have their rules imposed
TC 00:14:44.746 - 00:14:55.754

[GS] -and you are left with having to comply with them. What I find is where the real job generators are the small businesses like yours. And let's just say what will happen after we vote to leave (1) The In campaigner - the chair of the In Campaign, Sir Stuart Rose from Marks & Spencer, he said it's not going to be step change or

somebody is going to turn the lights out. And then he went on <12>very very</12> importantly wages will go up. Now that should be something that is really very important. <13>Because</13> the pressure, cause the pressure at the same time of uncontrolled immigration, which is what the Bank of England has said, that with every 10%, you've got a suppression of 2% on wages. So for small businesses, you are better off. Take back <14>control <15>and leave</14></15>

TC 00:14:59.651 - 00:15:47.832

[AL] <12>Yeah</12>

TC 00:15:30.984 - 00:15:31.615

[DD] <13>Alright</13>

TC 00:15:32.201 - 00:15:32.679

[DD] <14> Alright</14>=

TC 00:15:46.707 - 00:15:48.254

[FO'G]=<15>Yeah</15> (.) Yeah=

TC 00:15:47.024 - 00:15:47.543

[DD] =You will come back on that?

TC 00:15:47.653 - 00:15:49.145

[FO'G]I do (1) I do

TC 00:15:48.992 - 00:15:50.395

[FO'G]Cause let's be honest. Workers in this country have already been through a rough time. And that was nothing to do with this debate. That was to do with all those bankers who crashed our economy. And workers ended up paying the price. So when we talk about wages, the TUC has looked at all the hard evidence. And what it shows, what we can see is that in the long run, because our economy would be hit, good jobs like the ones in BMW and the car factories would be replaced by worse ones like Sports Direct and Zero hours and Wetherspoons for that matter=

TC 00:15:54.892 - 00:16:34.073

[DD] =Alright=

TC 00:16:36.520 - 00:16:37.302

[FO'G]=Wages-

TC 00:16:37.449 - 00:16:38.354

[FO'G]- wages would drop in the long run by £38 a week. That's - that's filling up your petrol tank in a small car. That is a big hit <16>and we can't</16> afford it. Don't take the risk=

TC 00:16:39.494 - 00:16:52.022

[DD] <16>Alright</16>

TC 00:16:49.329 - 00:16:50.004

[DD] =Alright Andrea

TC 00:16:51.821 - 00:16:52.939

[AL] Thank you. Frances, what Len McCluskey, who is the boss of Unite Union, the biggest union has said is that in the last ten years the EU's accession plans has created a gigantic experiment at the expense of ordinary workers. The result has been sustained pressure on living standards, a systemic attempt to hold down wages and to cut costs of social provision for working people. The EU has also created 50% youth unemployment right across southern Europe. It's <17> a total disgrace </un>xxx</un> the prospect for a</17> generation of young people

TC 00:16:53.002 - 00:17:33.856

[RD] <17> Oh we have the highest employment we've ever had in this country
Andrea</17>

TC 00:17:27.767 - 00:17:31.928

[DD] Alright. Ruth=

TC 00:17:33.700 - 00:17:34.508

[RD] =Andrea, we are talking about British jobs and we have the highest level of employment in our country's history. And if you want to trade quotes, let's talk about what your side have been saying. Boris Johnson, his chief economist, he says it will eliminate manufacturing. He also says the EU would generate an <18>economic shock</18>. Michael Gove says it will mean inevitably bumps in the road. <19>He says he can't guarantee</19> that people won't lose their jobs <20>I cannot</20> guarantee that every person currently in work in their current job will keep their job. <21>Boris Johnson</21> asks, said will there be job losses? There might or there might not. That is not good enough (1) <22><23>That is not</22> good enough</23>=

TC 00:17:33.998 - 00:18:13.683

[BJ] <18>Rubbish</18>

TC 00:17:51.294 - 00:17:52.034

[BJ] <19>Come on, come -</19>

TC 00:17:55.158 - 00:17:56.831

[BJ] <20>I</20>

TC 00:17:59.100 - 00:17:59.806

[BJ] <21>I didn't</21>

TC 00:18:04.183 - 00:18:04.760

[BJ] <22>I think that</22>

TC 00:18:11.254 - 00:18:12.508

[DD] <23>Okay alright</23> (don't)

TC 00:18:11.303 - 00:18:13.130

[BJ] =They are back (1) I think it's very surp- it hasn't take'm too long

TC 00:18:13.955 - 00:18:18.503

[DD] Boris

TC 00:18:18.657 - 00:18:19.403

[BJ] It hasn't take them too long <24>they <un>xxx</un> by telling us</24> they will going to have a positive patriotic case and they're back to project fear <26>within</26> moments of this debate. <27>(There) they - (there) they go again. There they go again. They</27> have nothing positive to say and (.) and I <28>just remind everybody it was Lord</28> Rose <30> <un>x</un> Rose</30>

TC 00:18:19.546 - 00:18:42.937

[RD] <24>How many jobs will go Boris - <25>How many<25> jobs?</24>

TC 00:18:20.554 - 00:18:23.559

[DD] <25>Hold on Ruth</25>

TC 00:18:21.794 - 00:18:22.653

[AL] <26>Yes</26>

TC 00:18:28.495 - 00:18:29.046

[RD] <27>Wanting to protect British workers is positive</27>

TC 00:18:31.503 - 00:18:35.340

[RD] <28>Wanting to <29>protect British workers</29> is positive</28>

TC 00:18:37.801 - 00:18:40.503

[DD] <29>Hold on Ruth Ruth</29>

TC 00:18:39.199 - 00:18:39.576

[DD] <30>You have your - you have your</30> everybody will have their chance but <31>if you speak</31>. Hang on one second. <32>If you speak one at a time everybody here</32> can hear and everybody at home can hear. Boris=

TC 00:18:41.201 - 00:18:50.095

[BJ] <31>Lord Rose</31> <32>Thank you (1) Thank you Sir</32>

TC 00:18:43.220 - 00:18:47.105

[BJ] = Thank you sorry - thank you (.) It was - it was Lord Rose who said very clearly that there would be no shock. That things would go on as they - as they are. Except for one thing. He said that people on low incomes, as Gisela whose rightly said, would get a pay rise. And he was supported in that view by somebody on the panel opposite. Because the - it is no less a figure, I'll leave you to guess. Somebody said that in too many places - too many places immigration has driven down local wages. Now who do you think that was on the panel opposite? Actually it was - it was Sadiq Khan. And I think - I think - <33>I think he was</33> making a good point. And in <34>my view- my view</34> as a conservative, and I'm a proud conservative and a believer in free markets, I think the differentials in incomes in our country have become too great. And I think it is wrong that people the FTSE 100 chiefs are earning 150 times the average pay of people on the shop floor. And it would be a fine thing <35>if as - as</35> Lord Rose says <36>people on</36> low incomes got a pay rise as a result of us taking back control of our country and our system

TC 00:18:49.148 - 00:19:58.369

[SK] <33>No it wasn't</33>=
TC 00:19:23.700 - 00:19:24.704

[SX] =Yes it was
TC 00:19:24.504 - 00:19:25.510

[SK] No I wasn't
TC 00:19:25.002 - 00:19:25.805

[SX] No (.) No
TC 00:19:25.606 - 00:19:27.410

[SK] <34>No I <un>xxx</un> No</34>
TC 00:19:27.354 - 00:19:29.601

[RD] <35>Boris?</35>
TC 00:19:48.906 - 00:19:49.805

[RD] <36>Boris?</36>=
TC 00:19:50.602 - 00:19:51.158

[DD] =<un>xx</un> alright?
TC 00:19:51.157 - 00:19:52.00

[RD] Boris
TC 00:19:57.852 - 00:19:58.304

[SK] Boris <37>Boris Boris</37>
TC 00:19:57.852 - 00:19:59.154

[DD] <37>Sadiq Khan</37>=
TC 00:19:58.203 - 00:19:59.056

[SX] =Can I ask you a question?
TC 00:19:59.004 - 00:20:00.010

[SK] I don't think it is unreasonable, people worried about their local hospital, people worried about their local school, worried what would happen if our economy went into recession or if they lost their jobs or business struggles. Because all the experts say, and you know this, that leaving the EU would cause problems for our country. Most recently as today, most recently as today the chap who predicted the crisis in 2008, Nouriel Roubini, what did he say Boris? He said Brexit could stall the UK economy and tip us into recession. It is not unreasonable for a mom and dad worried about paying the bills to ask the question what is your plan? Let me show this. A slogan is not a detailed plan. We want to ask the question what is your plan? (1) How would you <38>make sure</38> how would you make sure
TC 00:20:05.377 - 00:20:51.403

[DD] <38>Alright</38>
TC 00:20:49.456 - 00:20:50.096

[SK] How would you make sure the terms of trade with the EU are better than they are now? How would you make sure jobs won't suffer? How would you make sure small businesses won't suffer? Let me tell you, the last time there was a recession hard-working people in this country suffered, many lost their homes. What was important Boris is you answer this questions. What is your plan?

TC 00:20:52.804 - 00:21:10.752

[DD] Alright. A brief, a brief <un>xxx</un> you've got more questions to come on the economy=

TC 00:21:10.202 - 00:21:15.139

[AL] = This (1) The point - the point is we are, as things stand, spending billions every year that go into a big black hole in the European Union and it's going to get worse. All the Remain side have to talk about is project fear. We are the fifth biggest economy in the world. <39>We will</39> be able <40>to negotiate free trade</40> once we are free of the European Union, that <41>has done</41> a terrible job negotiating free trade for us. Even Switzerland and Singapore far smaller economies have been able to negotiate more than five times the value of the <42>free trade</42> of the <43>European Union. And we should vote Leave on Thursday</43>

TC 00:21:14.441 - 00:21:56.647

[DD] <39>Alright</39>

TC 00:21:33.652 - 00:21:34.403

[SK] <40>How did we get there?</40>

TC 00:21:34.752 - 00:21:36.248

[DD] <41>Alright</41>

TC 00:21:39.601 - 00:21:40.204

[SK] <42>But the - but </42>

TC 00:21:51.652 - 00:21:52.703

[DD] <43>Alright. Alright everybody. Alright. Hold it there - hold it there</43> No - no - no. We've got a - We have a second question. Thank you very much. We have a second question on the economy. And it's from [S2][S2/last], who's supporting Remain. [S2]

TC 00:21:52.552 - 00:22:09.071

[S2][S2/last] As a Black British woman, I am grateful for the protections the EU has provided me in the work place and in wider society. If we leave the EU, will this be the beginning of a slippery slope towards weaker employment and social rights in the UK?

TC 00:22:11.127 - 00:22:33.110

[DD] And - Andrea Leadsom

TC 00:22:36.401 - 00:22:38.235

[AL] Well, thank you very much for your question. And the truth is that, UK governments have led the way in providing good rights for workers even before the European Union came into existence, we had equal pay legislation. It's been -

governments of all parties that have created minimum wage legislation, now a National Living Wage, shared parental leave, child-free tax care - child - child - tax-free childcare. And it's this country that is protecting workers' rights. And we do not need an unelected, bureaucratic, European leaders who none of us can even name let alone who any of us voted for to tell us what our workers' rights can be. We should take back control and look after our own society=

TC 00:22:38.402 - 00:23:28.300

[DD] =Alright

TC 00:23:28.069 - 00:23:28.716

[DD] It's a question - a question about employment - employment and social rights. You want to start

TC 00:23:32.009 - 00:23:37.245

[FO'G]It's a really important question from [S2]. Because too often we hear the word red tape and what they are really talking about is getting rid of vital rights at work that we all rely on.

TC 00:23:35.855 - 00:23:48.572

[FO'G]Now these rights weren't gifted to us. We fought over generations, over borders, trade unions, all of us fought for these rights. But the EU guarantees them. And these are really important to our real lives. And people don't always understand this. This is about, you know if your child is sick getting emergency leave to look after them. It's about equal rights for part timers and agency workers. And you know, we hear a lot about holidays but when the working time directive came in 2 million people in Britain got paid holidays for the first time. Mainly women, mainly young people. Do you - do you trust them? Can they promise us today? Because I've heard a lot from some of these leading lights in the leave campaign and what they plan to do on employment rights. Can you promise us today that you will protect each and every single right that we <44>won</44> through <45>the EU?</45>

TC 00:23:52.860 - 00:24:54.317

[DD] <44>Alright</44> <45>That's the</45> that's the question=

TC 00:24:52.213 - 00:24:55.338

[BJ] =We have done already

TC 00:24:55.993 - 00:24:57.137

[AL] Yes

TC 00:24:57.015 - 00:24:57.822

[GS] I first joined the trade union 45 <46>years ago</46>, when I was an apprentice. And I know that strong trade unions and best supported by Labour Government actually protect rights. I find it extraordinary that I'm being told that I can't trust you, the voter, to make sure we get a government in, which protects workers' rights and we need Brussels to defend you.

TC 00:24:59.313 - 00:25:23.808

[AL] <46>Yeah</46>

TC 00:22:38.402 - 00:23:28.300

[GS] The euro is a broken project. We are going to pay. No. You are going to pay out of your taxes one bailout after another. And the European Union does not protect your jobs. Just a few years ago -
TC 00:25:29.383 - 00:25:44.203

[SX] She's so <un>x</un>
TC 00:25:44.302 - 00:25:45.244

[GS] Transit - Ford Transit actually got money from the European Union so they could take their factory out of the United Kingdom and put it into Turkey. That is wrong=
TC 00:25:45.197 - 00:25:55.831

[DD] =Alright (1) Sadiq - Sadiq Khan
TC 00:25:55.105 - 00:25:59.511

[SK] Bro - bro - brother
TC 00:25:59.510 - 00:26:00.668

[SK] I will answer your question. But Gisela you are so wrong. Every time we've been - every time you and I - every time you and I've been in a lobby, voting for bills to give workers' rights, they've been in the other lobby voting against those rights. And let me and let me say this - and let me tell you this - let me - let me tell you why - let me tell you - let me tell you why you're wrong (.) Because Priti Patel, let the mask slip. Priti Patel has said if we could just halve the burdens of the EU social and employment legislation and let me tell you what that means. That means rights for moms and dads. That means rights for part time workers who've the same rights as full-time workers. That means right for those with the employer changes ownership they have the rights. Let me tell you what else. The worst thing for workers is their bosses business going out - going out of business, them losing trade, losing jobs. And that's why we need a healthy economy. And Gisela you should know better=
TC 00:26:03.003 - 00:27:00.960

[GS] =Sadiq. The most important workers' right is a right to a job. And as long as we are shackled to a failing eurozone, liable to bail out after bail out we will not succeed=
TC 00:27:01.105 - 00:27:13.245

[SK] =And let me tell you this - let me tell you this. There's two points - there's two points - there's two points. Number - number - number one. The - the - the eurozone is growing faster than our economy and the USA's <un>xx</un> number one - number two - number one - number two - number two - number two. You and I - you and I both fought an election where these guys were boasting how brilliant our economy is. Right? They were boasting last year how brilliant our economy is. One of the reasons why we are the fifth richest country is because our role is enhanced by being in the European <47>Union</47>. We are at the table helping the rules being made. And you know -
TC 00:27:12.507 - 00:27:48.449

[DD] <47>Alright</47>

TC 00:27:43.395 - 00:27:44.004

[DD] Alright. Bo- Boris
TC 00:27:47.504 - 00:27:48.854

[BJ] In addition, I think it beggars' belief, it's beggars' belief that the Remain side cannot think of a single one of the EU's multitude of regulations that they would get rid of not even the clinical trials directive that prevents vital pharmaceutical work being carried out. The EU - the EU is, I'm afraid, is a job destroying engine. You can see it all across Southern Europe and you can see it, you can see it alas in this country as well. Gisela who's rightly mentioned the case of Ford. I would - I would also mention what happened to Tate Lyle who had just as tonight announced they want to come out of the EU because of the destruction that the EU's common agricultural policy has wrought upon them. Not just on jobs in <48>in - in London</48> but also cost on jobs in the developing world <49>who want to</49> export <50>cane sugar</50> to the EU. And I would also - I would - I would - I would mention Tata Steel. We are told we cannot cut our energy costs to protect jobs in Port Talbot because Brussels says no. <un>xxx</un> it's absolutely=

TC 00:27:49.008 - 00:29:04.202

[RD] <48>Boris</48>
TC 00:28:35.351 - 00:28:36.096

[RD] <49>Boris</49>
TC 00:28:38.703 - 00:28:39.403

[DD] <50>Alright</50>
TC 00:28:39.905 - 00:28:40.710

[RD] =Not true (.) not true=
TC 00:28:56.820 - 00:28:59.873

[SK] =<51>That's just not - that's just a lie</51>. That's just a lie
TC 00:28:59.010 - 00:29:04.179

[DD] <51>Ruth (2) Ruth</51>
TC 00:28:59.407 - 00:29:01.368

[SK] <52>One lie after another</52> after <53>another</53>
TC 00:29:05.003 - 00:29:07.585

[DD] <52>Alright. Alright</52> (1) <53>Alright</53> just cool - cool it for a moment everybody. Ruth Davidson
TC 00:29:07.101 - 00:29:10.515

[BJ] It's totally=
TC 00:29:10.235 - 00:29:11.005

[RD] =<54>You're gonna be asked to vote</54> in two days' time and all you've heard tonight is trust us and it'll all be fine. And that's not good enough. They won't tell us how much our economy will be hit by. They won't tell us how many jobs might

go. They won't tell us what they gonna replace a single market with. And I'm sorry, this is something if you vote on Thursday you cannot change your mind on Friday. If we vote to come out of the biggest free trade bloc anywhere in the world, there will be tariffs put on British businesses. That will affect our ability to trade abroad. And it is not just the 27 <55>that we trade with, now</55> as part of the EU. But there are 50 other countries in the world that the EU has trade deals with. If we come out, they want to do deals with others too. We go to the back of the queue. That's not what we said. That's not Project Fear. That's what Obama said. <56>They want to</56> do deals with 500 million people not 50 million people=

TC 00:29:10.507 - 00:30:04.153

[SK] <54>It's a lie Boris</54>

TC 00:29:10.904 - 00:29:12.412

[BJ] <55>[unintelligible conversation w/other Leave campaigners]</55>

TC 00:29:43.250 - 00:29:44.997

[DD] <56>Alright</56>

TC 00:29:58.014 - 00:29:58.897

[DD] =Andrea

TC 00:30:03.592 - 00:30:04.494

[AL] The truth is that the 80% of the world's economy is not in the single market. And the free trade deals that Ruth is talking about that the EU has, those free trade deals are many of - most of them, 46 of the 50 countries are not in the single market. Many countries in the world do more business with the EU than the UK does. You do not need to be in the single market. <57>We don't need that</57> We are the world's <58>fifth biggest</58> economy and most economies can agree free trade deals within two years. The European Union is taking ten years or never at all. Why? Because 28 member states cannot even organise a takeaway curry let alone what they're going to do on <59>free trade with the</59> rest of the world.

TC 00:30:04.601 - 00:30:56.269

[RD] <57>So (what) <un>xx</un></57>

TC 00:30:31.731 - 00:30:32.883

[SK] <58><un>x</un></58>

TC 00:30:33.858 - 00:30:34.487

[DD] Yes go on then

TC 00:30:34.701 - 00:30:35.756

[DD] <59>Alright, fine</59>

TC 00:30:53.701 - 00:30:54.653

[DD] Alright

TC 00:30:55.756 - 00:30:56.505

[DD] We (2) the line was, we do not need - we do not need to be in the single market=

TC 00:30:56.992 - 00:31:01.996

[SK] =Hold on (1) When you are 5'6" it's not often you say size matters (4) But size matters because the bigger you are the more <un>x</un> you got. The idea smaller countries gonna shape better deals than the European Union, is rubbish. And you know the reason why we get good deals, because look, if you are a company - if you are a company in China, in America, in India and you want to do business with 500 million customers, you can have your headquarters here in London and have a gateway to 500 million customers. If we left the EU <un>xxx</un> smaller. And you know what else? Boris you should know better. Because I speak to businesses around our city every day of the week. And you know what. Half a million jobs in London directly dependent on the European Union. I speak to companies around the world more than 60% of the world's leading companies; Sony, AIG insurance, Bloomberg have their European headquarters guess where? Here in London. Half our exports go to Europe. Boris why have you suddenly changed your mind?

TC 00:31:01.703 - 00:32:02.151

[DD] Alright, well

TC 00:32:02.422 - 00:32:03.702

[BJ] Come back

TC 00:32:04.878 - 00:32:05.622

[DD] Alright (2) Since we have a - a former Mayor of London and the present mayor of London. Perhaps the <60> former mayor of London (want to) answer the present one</60>

TC 00:32:07.748 - 00:32:16.836

[BJ] <60>I - I - I think</60> - I think we've heard an amazing amount of running down of our city and our country <61><un>xxx</un>/61> and he - the astonishing thing I think is that they underestimate - the Remain side continually underestimate our ability to do better deals if we're left to do it on our own. Let me - let me give you an example. Because of the EU system, our entire trade negotiating policy is consecrated. It's handed over to the EU Commission, where only 3.6% of the officials actually come from our country. And it is no wonder that they have not been as - as Andrea rightly says, they have not been able to do essential free trade deals with China, with India, with all <62>the great</62> economies of the world <63>including</63> America, including America. To <64>the extent</64> - <65>to the point where we cannot (.) /x/ Ruth <un>(one - one) </un> </65> point you Ruth. We cannot - but we cannot because the EU is in charge of our trade negotiations (.) <66>We cannot export-haggis. We cannot export Haggis to America</66>

TC 00:32:15.760 - 00:33:19.535

[SK] <61>We're proud of our city. We're proud of our country </61>

TC 00:32:20.407 - 00:32:22.819

[RD] <62>Boris</62>

TC 00:32:56.054 - 00:32:56.558

[RD] <63>Boris</63> (.) <64>Boris</64>

TC 00:32:58.855 - 00:33:01.805

[RD] <65>Just - just one question, one question, one question, please one question</65>

TC 00:33:03.548 - 00:33:07.202

[RD] <66>Boris can you name me a single company, one? Come on, come on, come on</66> come on

TC 00:33:11.925 - 00:33:19.578

[DD] Alright, alright, alright=

TC 00:33:17.203 - 00:33:21.011

[BJ] =Ruth, tell me=

TC 00:33:21.005 - 00:33:22.203

[DD] =Alright. Boris. <67>Boris. Boris</67> <68>Let's leave the haggis. Leave the Haggis <un>xxx</un> Let me go to Ruth. Briefly</68> very briefly before we move on=

TC 00:33:22.209 - 00:33:29.912

[BJ] <67>Brussels</67>

TC 00:33:23.302 - 00:33:25.005

[RD] <68>Come on you. It's not the Boris show. It's not a Boris show</68> One question Boris. Can you name me just one country in the world that is said it will give us a better deal if we come out of the EU? <69>Just one country? Just one country? Obama says we</69> would go back of the queue. Obama <70>says we would go to the back of the</70> queue.

TC 00:33:24.242 - 00:33:43.389

[GS] <69>United States (.) United States</69>

TC 00:33:35.904 - 00:33:39.631

[BJ] <70><un>xxxxx</un></70> (1) <71><un>x</un> (happens) - <un>x</un> (happens) <un>xx</un> congress <un>x</un> </71>

TC 00:33:41.707 - 00:33:48.703

[DD] <71>Alright, alright, alright. <72>On that note</71> (2) On</72> - on this - on that note - on that note. We have to - we have to move on. We've got a lot more to talk about. We take a pause here where we can cool down. They'll warm up again in just a moment. We go over to Mishal at the other end of the hall here, to hear reactions from her guests to the debate so far. Mishal

TC 00:33:43.909 - 00:34:05.908

[GS] <72>Only today - only today a <un>x</un></72>

TC 00:33:45.419 - 00:33:48.205

<end_BBC_clip_S(economy)_00:08:17.403>

B. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Brexit referandumunu ve Brexit adlarıyla da bilinen, Birleşik Krallık'ın Avrupa Birliği üyeliğini referandumunun üzerinden altı sene geçmiş olmasına rağmen, Brexit hâla birçok kurgusal ve kurgusal olmayan kitaba, dergi kapağına, karikatüre, podcast bölümüne, belgesel-diziye, filme, dizi bölümlerine ve sayısız akademik çalışmaya konu olmaya devam etmektedir. Birleşik Krallık'ın Avrupa Birliği'nden ayrılması, bir ulus devletin uluslararası organizasyondan ilk ayrılışı değildir. Von Borzyskowski ve Vabulas, 2019 tarihli çalışmalarında İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan bu yana 200 üye ülkenin, üyeliklerinin bulunduğu uluslararası organizasyondan çekildiğini bulmuştur (s. 339). 23 Haziran 2016 tarihinde gerçekleşen Avrupa Birliği üyeliği referandum sonucu, seçmenlerin %3,8 gibi bir farkla Birleşik Krallık'ın Avrupa Birliği'nden çekilmesi doğrultusunda oy kullandığını ortaya koymuştur. Böylece Birleşik Krallık, Avrupa Birliği üyeliğini sonlandıran ilk ülke olmuştur ve Haziran 2022 itibariyle tek ülkedir.

Brexit, bir üye ülkenin Avrupa Birliği'nden ayrılışının ilk örneği olmasının yanı sıra, Brexit'i önceki 200 örneklerden farklı kılan, uluslararası hukuk penceresinden bakıldığında, Avrupa Birliği hukukunun üye ülke vatandaşlarının hayatlarına olan doğrudan etkisidir (Wessel, 2016). Bunun yanı sıra, toplumsal dilbilim penceresinden bakıldığında, Avrupa Birliği üyeliği referandumu İngilizce leksikonunu etkilemiş, başta *Brexit* (British + exit) kelimesi olmak üzere birçok neolojiye, yani iki sözcüğün birleştirilmesi yoluyla ya da bir sözcüğe ön ek (prefix) veya son ek (suffix) eklenmesi yoluyla yeni sözcüklerin oluşmasına ilham olmuştur. 2018 tarihinde yaptıkları çalışmada, Lalić-Krstin ve Silaški, *Brexit* sözcüğünden üretilmiş hemen hemen 71 neoloji olduğunu keşfetmiştir (s. 4). Yeni kelimeler, Birleşik Krallık toplumunun Avrupa Birliği referandumuna olan ilgisini ve referandumun toplumun gündelik diline -dolayısıyla yaşantısına- olan etkisini göstermektedir. Yeni neolojiler, Birleşik Krallık'ın, Avrupa Birliği üyeliğini sonlandırmasını savunan ve Avrupa Birliği üyeliğini devam ettirmesini destekleyen seçmenler tarafından, karşı görüşü ötekileştirmek ve aşağılamak amacıyla da

kullanılmıştır. Bu durum, kampanya konuşmacılarının ayrıştırıcı ve nefret söylemiyle alevlenmiş ve Avrupa Birliği üyeliğinin sürdürülmesini destekleyen İşçi Partisi (Labour Party) Milletvekili Jo Cox'un referanduma bir hafta kala öldürülmesiyle sonuçlanmıştır. Siyasi söylem çalışmalarıyla, nefret söyleminin içselleştirilmesi ve yayılması engellenebilir. Jaworski ve Coupland'a göre *söylem*, toplumun sosyal düzenini sadece yansıtmakla kalmaz aynı zamanda sosyal düzeni ve bireylerin toplumla olan etkileşimini de etkiler (2006, s. 3). Her ne kadar, siyasi söylem çalışmalarının şiddeti önleyebileceği düşüncesi safça olsa da söylem çalışmaları, siyasi söylemin en azından toplumda şiddete yol açan birçok faktörlerden biri olmamasını sağlayabilir.

Önceki çalışmalarda, Birleşik Krallık'ın Avrupa Birliği üyeliğini sonlandırmasını savunan *Leave* kampanyası ve Avrupa Birliği üyeliğinin devam etmesini savunan *Remain* kampanyasının kullandığı çevrimiçi dil etraflıca araştırılmış ve bilgisayar bilimi, yöneylem araştırması (operational research), bilgisayarlı dilbilim (computational linguistics) ve iletişim bilimleri (communication sciences) gibi birçok disiplinin araştırma konusu olmuştur. Araştırmacılar, dijital verinin içerik analizinde, çevrimiçi propaganda, çevrim içi troller (online trolls), yanlış bilgilendirme (misinformation) ve dezenformasyon (disinformation) gibi birçok konuya odaklanmıştır. Broşür, poster, kampanya konuşması, radyo ve televizyon gibi daha geleneksel kitle iletişim araçlarında kullanılan dil de gazetecilik, medya ve kültürel çalışmalar, cinsiyet çalışmaları, toplum ve siyaset felsefesi, uluslararası ilişkiler, dil bilim, halkla ilişkiler gibi sayısız disiplinde yapılan yaratıcı çalışmalara ilham kaynağı olmaya devam etmektedir.

Birleşik Krallık'taki seçmenlerin büyük bir kısmının ana bilgiye televizyon aracılığıyla ulaşmasına rağmen, televizyonda canlı yayınlanan referandum tartışmalarının nicel içerik analizi ile incelenmesi üzerine sınırlı sayıda çalışma vardır. Bu tez, *Leave* ve *Remain* kampanyalarını 21 Haziran 2016 tarihinde BBC'de canlı yayınlanan referandum tartışmasında temsil eden konuşmacıların, ekonomi bölümünde kullandıkları *övgü*, *saldırı*, *savunma* söylem stratejilerini nicel içerik analiziyle incelemeyi amaçlamıştır.

Söylem analizi birçok disiplin tarafından araştırma metodu olarak kullanılmakta olup, *söylem* kavramı farklı disiplinler tarafından farklı tanımlanmaktadır. *Söylem*, bazen metodolojiyi bazen ise teoriyi ifade etmek için

kullanılır. Bu tezde söylem kavramı, dilin kullanımı şeklinde tanımlanmış, buna ek olarak, söylemin insan ilişkilerine hizmet eden sosyal bir pratik olduğu düşüncesi esas alınmıştır. Tezin teorik ve kavramsal çerçevesinin oluşturulmasında *siyasi seçim tartışmalarının fonksiyonel kuramı* esas alınmıştır. Leave ve Remain kampanyalarının söylem stratejilerini daha kesin kavramak için fonksiyonel kuram, sosyal etkileşim kuramlarıyla birleştirilmiştir. Siyasi seçim tartışmalarının fonksiyonel kuramı (kısaca fonksiyonel teori), Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin öncülüğünü ettiği siyasi seçim tartışmalarında, adayların kullandığı *övgü, savunma, saldırı* söylem stratejilerini incelemek için geliştirilmiştir (bkz. Benoit & Harthcock, 1999; Benoit & Brazel, 2002; Benoit & Airne, 2005; Benoit, 2007). Benoit (2014), fonksiyonel teorinin aksiyomlarını şu şekilde sırlamıştır: 1. Oy vermek kıyas gerektiren bir eylemdir (s. 9); 2. Adaylar kendilerini diğer adaylardan ayırt etmelidir (s. 11); 3. Adaylar farklılıklarını seçmenlere siyasi kampanya mesajları aracılığıyla iletir (s. 12); 4. Adaylar seçmenin oyunu kazanmak için *övgü, saldırı, savunma* söylem stratejilerini kullanır (s. 13); 5. Seçim kampanyalarında adaylar, kendilerinin ve diğer adayların politikalarına (policy position) ve karakterlerine değinir (s. 19); 6. Adayın seçimi kazanması için çoğunluğun oyunu alması gerekir (s. 22). Fonksiyonel teori, başkanlık sistemiyle yönetilmeyen demokrasiler (parlamentar demokrasi gibi) için kapsayıcı olmadığı için eleştirilmektedir (bkz. Isotalus, 2011; Maier & Jansen, 2017). Bu doğrultuda farklı ülkelerde yürütülen siyasi seçim kampanyalarında adayların kullandığı söylem stratejilerinin fonksiyonel analizi üzerine yapılan araştırmaların sayısı gün geçtikçe artmaktadır (ibid.). Birleşik Krallık'ın Avrupa Birliği üyeliği referandum canlı yayın tartışmasında, Leave ve Remain kampanyalarını temsil eden konuşmacıların kullandığı söylem stratejilerini doğru kavramak için, analitik bir araç olan fonksiyonel teori esas alınmış ve bazı düzenlemelerle Brexit referandum tartışmasına uygulanmıştır. Yukarıda da bahsedildiği üzere, fonksiyonel teori esas olarak adayların seçim kampanyalarında kullandıkları söylem stratejilerini incelemek üzere geliştirilmiştir. Tezde incelenen vaka, bir seçim kampanyası değil de referandum kampanyası olduğu için fonksiyonel teorinin Brexit referandum kampanyasına uygulanması için bazı düzenlemeler yapmak kaçınılmaz olmuştur. Bu doğrultuda, fonksiyonel teoriyi geliştiren William Benoit'nın *övgü, saldırı, savunma* söylem stratejileri, Erving Goffman'ın *face* (yüz) konsepti (2006/ 1967) ve bu konseptten yola çıkan Penelope Brown & Stephen C. Levinson'ın *nezaket kuramıyla* (2006/ 1987)

desteklenmiştir. Brown ve Levinson (ibid.) tarafından sunulan, konuşmacının yüzünü/ imajını tehdit eden eylemlerin (*face-threatening act*) özellikle saldırı söylem stratejisinin belirlenmesinde önemli bir yeri vardır; fakat tezde Leave ve Remain kampanya konuşmacılarının *nezaket stratejileri* (politeness strategies) incelememektedir.

Benoit (2007) tarafından Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ndeki siyasi seçim tartışmalarının fonksiyonel analizi üzerine yapılan araştırmalar, adayların aday oldukları kamu pozisyonundan (public office) bağımsız olarak, övgüyü saldırıdan, saldırıyı da savunmadan daha sık kullandığını göstermektedir. Araştırmalarda, *status-quo*'ya meydan okuyan adayların (challenger) stratejilerinde benzerlik olmadığı, fakat iktidardaki ya da iktidar partisini temsil eden adayın (incumbent) dominant stratejisinin övgü olduğu bulunmuştur. Bu doğrultuda Birleşik Krallık'ın Avrupa Birliği üyeliğini devam ettirmesini savunan Remain kampanyası konuşmacılarının, incelenen tartışmada kullandıkları dominant stratejinin övgü olması öngörülmüştür.

Söylem analizi için kullanılan metodolojilerden biri olan içerik analizi, kültürel çalışmalar, ilahiyat, halk sağlığı çalışmaları, iletişim çalışmaları, hukuk ve sosyal bilimler gibi birçok disiplinde araştırma metodu olarak kullanılmaktadır. İçerik analizi iletişim mesajlarını betimlemek, analiz etmek ve yorumlamak için kullanılır. İçerik analizinin, yüksek iş gücünün dışında, zorluğu veri güvenilirliğinin (data reliability) sağlanmasıdır. Veri güvenliğiyle ilgili kaygının asıl sebebi konuşmacıların kullandığı dilin araştırılan kavramı şeffaf bir şekilde yansıtmayabileceği düşüncesidir (Roulston, 2014, s. 294'de alıntılanan Preissle, 2007). Hermann (2008), özellikle röportajların ve basın açıklamalarını müteakiben gerçekleştirilen soru-cevap kısımlarının, içerik analizine güvenilir veri sağladığını savunmaktadır (s. 153). Öte yandan Hudson (2013), röportajlarda sorulan soruların soruluş biçiminin, bilinçsizce de olsa, yönlendirici olabileceğini düşünmekte ve bundan dolayı röportajların güvenilir veri sağladığı argümanına temkinli yaklaşmaktadır (s. 61). Röportajı yapan kişi(ler), röportaj yaptıkları adayı yeterince zorlamadıkları ya da fazlasıyla zorladıkları için eleştirilebilirler. Röportajlardan farklı olarak, seçim tartışmalarında, röportaj yapan kişinin yerini moderatör alır ve adayı asıl zorlayan kişi, diğer adaydır. Konuşmacılar birbirlerinin sadece politikalarını, geçmiş eylemlerini, ya da gelecek için planlarını sorgulamakla kalmaz, aynı zamanda birbirlerinin rollerini (line) ve yüzlerini (face) de sınırlar. Bu doğrultuda, siyasi seçim tartışmalarının röportajlar ve basın açıklamaları

sonrası gerçekleştirilen soru-cevap kısmına kıyasla içerik analizi için daha güvenilir veri sağladığı düşünülmüştür.

Tez için veri toplama aşaması, ilk olarak Birleşik Krallık'ın Avrupa Birliği üyeliği referandumunu konu alan tüm programları listelemekle başlamıştır. British Library, Newsroom blog verisine göre (McKernan, 2016) Brexit referandumunun ilan edildiği Şubat 2016'dan, referandumun gerçekleştiği Haziran 2016'ya kadar, referandum konulu 144 program yayınlanmıştır. Bu programlar, veri setinin zaman aralığı, yayın organı (radyo/ televizyon), yayın biçimi (bant kaydı/ canlı), program türü ve kamuoyu ilgisi kriterlerine göre filtrelenmiştir. Şubat 2016 – Haziran 2016 zaman aralığında yayınlanmış 144 programın 106'sı Haziran ayında yayınlanmıştır dolayısıyla veri setinin büyüklüğü sebebiyle, zaman aralığı 1 Haziran – 22 Haziran olarak belirlenmiştir. İlk filtrenin uygulanmasının ardından, belirtilen zaman aralığında yayınlanmış 49 program olduğu bulunmuştur. Programların yayın organlarına bakıldığında, radyoda yayınlanan beş program, televizyona göre daha kısıtlı erişimi olduğu için veri setinden çıkartılmıştır. Sonrasında, siyasi seçim tartışması tamında yer alan kriterlerden biri olan yayın biçiminden dolayı, bant kaydı olan beş program veri setinden çıkartılmıştır. Veri seti, yukarıda bahsedilen ilk üç kritere göre filtrelendikten sonra 39 programdan oluşmaktadır. Dördüncü kriter doğrultusunda, komedi, belgesel dizi, röportaj, özel haber ve kampanya konuşmaları türündeki programlar veri setinden çıkartılmış, böylece veri setinde iki program kalmıştır: ITV'de yayınlan *ITV Referendum Debate* ve BBC'de yayınlanan *EU Referendum: The Great Debate*. ITV Referendum Debate isimli tartışma programı, referanduma iki hafta kala, 9 Haziran 2016 tarihinde prime time kuşağında (20:00 – 22:00 saatleri arasında) ITV'de yayınlanmış olup, tartışmaya *Leave kampanyasını* temsilen Andrea Leadsom, Boris Johnson ve Gisela Stuart; *Remain kampanyasını* temsilen Amber Rudd, Angela Eagle ve Nicola Sturgeon katılmıştır. Program canlı izleyicilerin de katılımıyla stüdyoda çekilmiş ve televizyonda canlı yayınlanmıştır. *EU Referendum: The Great Debate* isimli tartışma programı ise referanduma 36 saat kala, 21 Haziran 2016 tarihinde, ITV tartışması gibi prime time kuşağında, BBC'de yayınlanmış olup tartışmaya ITV'de yayınlanan referandum tartışma programında olduğu gibi kampanyaları temsilen üçer konuşmacı katılmıştır. ITV tartışmasında Leave kampanyasını temsilen sahnede olan Angela Leadsom, Boris Johnson ve Gisela Stuart, BBC tartışmasında da Birleşik Krallık'ın Avrupa Birliği üyeliğinin sonlandırmasını savunurken, Avrupa Birliği

üyeliğinin devamını etmesini Frances O’Grady, Ruth Davidson ve Sadiq Khan savunmuştur. BBC’de yayınlan referandum tartışması, ITV’de yayınlanan tartışmadan farklı olarak 6.000 kişilik canlı seyirci karşısında, Wembley Arena’dan yayınlanmıştır. ITV’de yayınlanan referandum tartışma programı 2.71 milyon kişi tarafından izlenirken, BBC’de yayınlanan referandum tartışma programı 3.99 milyon kişi tarafından izlenmiştir. Kamuoyunun BBC tartışmasına ilgisi ve tartışmanın referandum gününe yakınlığı sebebiyle, tezde incelemek için BBC’de canlı yayınlan EU Referendum: the Great Debate seçilmiştir. BBC referandum tartışması açılış sekansı, etkileşim sekansı ve kapanış sekansı olmak üzere üç kısma ayrılabilir. Referandum tartışmasının açılış sekansında, Leave kampanyasını temsilen açılış bildirisini Gisela Stuart, Remain kampanyasını temsilen açılış bildirisini Sadiq Khan yapmıştır. Leave kampanyasının kapanış bildirisi Boris Johnson, Remain kampanyasının kapanış bildirisi Ruth David tarafından yapılmıştır.

Tartışma, kelimesi kelimesine ELAN Transkripsiyon Yazılımında yazıya aktarılmıştır (orijinal transkript için Appendix A kısmına bakınız). Söylem stratejileri, nicel içerik analiziyle işlemselleştirilmiş (operationalization) ve kodlama aracı olarak MAXQDA Yazılımı kullanılmıştır. Bu iki yazılımın uyumlu olmamasından ötürü ELAN Transkripsiyon Yazılımı’nda yazıya dökülen BBC referandum programı, MAXQDA Yazılımı’na aktarıldıktan sonra, konuşmacıların ID’leri, zaman kodları ve bir konuşmacı konuşurken (ana konuşmacı), ikinci konuşmacının konuşması sonucu *çakışan konuşmalar* (overlapping speech) tespit edilmiş ve elle girilmiştir. Leave ve Remain kampanyalarının uyguladıkları söylem stratejilerinin tespiti için MAXQDA’de kodlar tanımlanmış, çalışma ilerledikçe bazı kodlar değiştirilmiş, bazıları kaldırılmış ve yeni kodlar eklenmiştir. Leave ve Remain kampanyalarının söylem stratejilerinin analiz için kapsayıcı, etraflıca oluşturulmuş ve detaylı bir kod kitapçığı yaratılmış ve önceden tanımlanmış kodlar tutarlılık ve süreklilik esas alınarak kısımlara (segment) uygulanmıştır. Oluşabilecek herhangi bir hatadan kaçınmak ve tarafsızlığı korumak amacıyla konuşmaların kodlanmasında sözcelerin gerçeklik/doğruluk değerleri (truth-value) dikkate alınmamış ve sözceler hem Leave kampanyasını destekleyen seçmenler hem de Remain kampanyasını destekleyen seçmenlerin bakış açısına göre kodlanmıştır.

MAXQDA Yazılımı’nda, içerik analizi için tanımlanan dört kod şunlardır; *konuşmacı kodu* (speaker code), *ikinci konuşmacı kodu* (interrupter code), *strateji kodu*

(strategy code) ve *strateji kombinasyonu kodu* (strategy combination code). Sahnedeki her konuşmacıya, konuşmacının baş harflerinden oluşan bir konuşmacı kodu atanmıştır. Örneğin Boris Johnson'ın konuşmacı kodu BJ olarak belirlenmiştir. Çalışmada analiz birimi (unit of analysis) değişiklik göstermektedir. Analiz birimi tek bir kelimedenden oluşabileceği gibi birden fazla cümleden de oluşabilir. Değişkenlik gösteren analiz biriminden dolayı, tezde kapsayıcı bir kavram olan *sözce* (utterance) terimi kullanılmıştır. Yine değişik gösteren analiz biriminden ötürü, sadece *kod sıklığı* (code frequency) değil aynı zamanda *kod kapsamı* (code coverage) da incelenmiştir.

BBC referandum tartışmasında, *konuşmacı kod sıklığı* incelendiğinde, Birleşik Krallık'ın Avrupa Birliği üyeliğinin devam etmesini savunan Remain kampanyası konuşmacılarının (Frances O'Grady, Ruth Davidson ve Sadiq Khan), Birleşik Krallık'ın Avrupa Birliği üyeliğinin sonlandırmasını savunan Leave kampanyası konuşmacılarına (Andrea Leadsom, Boris Johnson ve Gisela Stuart) kıyasla daha sık konuştuğu görülmüştür. 87 kısımdan oluşan tartışmanın 48 kısmında ana konuşmacının sırasıyla Ruth Davidson (20), Sadiq Khan (19) ve Frances O'Grady (9) olduğu görülmüştür. Leave kampanyası konuşmacıları arasında konuşma sıklığı en yüksek olan konuşmacının Boris Johnson (21) olduğu bulunmuştur. Boris Johnson'ı Andrea Leadsom ve Gisela Stuart takip etmiştir (9). Yukarıda bahsedildiği üzere, kod sıklığı konuşmacıların ne kadar konuştuğunu yansıtmamaktadır. Bunun için kod kapsamına bakmak gereklidir. **Konuşmacı kod sıklığı** incelendiğinde Andrea Leadsom, Gisela Stuart ve Francis O'Grady'nin değerleri eşit olsa da **konuşmacı kod kapsamının** incelenmesi sonucu Andrea Leadsom'un konuşmacı kod kapsamının 3.209 (596 kelime), Frances O'Grady'nin konuşmacı kod kapsamının 2.632 (496 kelime) ve Gisela Stuart'ın konuşmacı kod kapsamının 1.900 (353 kelime) olduğu görülmüştür. Remain kampanyasını temsil eden Ruth Davidson'un 20 olan konuşmacı kod sıklığı, Sadiq Khan'ın 19 olan **konuşmacı kod sıklığından** yüksek olmasına rağmen, Sadiq Khan'ın **konuşmacı kod kapsamı** (4.699/ 864 kelime) Ruth Davidson'ın konuşmacı kod kapsamından (3.954/ 769 kelime) daha yüksektir. **Konuşmacı kod sıklığı** ve **konuşmacı kod kapsamı** arasındaki farkın, ikinci konuşmacıdan kaynaklanan çakışan konuşmalar olduğu bulunmuştur. İkinci konuşmacıların kod sıklığı ve kod kapsamının incelenmesi için konuşmacı kodunda olduğu sahnedeki her konuşmacıya *çakışan konuşmacı kodu* (interrupter code) atanmıştır. Atanan kod, konuşmacı kodundan farklı olarak, konuşmacının baş

harfi ve alttan çizgiyle birleştirilmiş *overlaps* kelimesinden oluşmaktadır. Örneğin Boris Johnson'ın çakışan konuşmacı kodu *BJ_interrupter* olarak ifade edilmiştir. Konuşmacı kod sıklığında olduğu gibi, çakışan konuşmacı kod sıklığı da ikinci konuşmacının, çakışan konuşma sıklığını tespit etmektedir. İkinci konuşmacı kod sıklığına göre Remain kampanyasını temsil eden konuşmacılar çakışan konuşmaların %56,8'inde ikinci konuşmacı durumundayken, Leave kampanyasını temsil eden konuşmacılar çakışan konuşmaların %43,2'sinde ikinci konuşmacı durumundadır. Remain kampanyasını temsil eden Ruth Davidson (448), Sadiq Khan (117) ve Frances O'Grady'nin (24) çakışan konuşmacı kodunun toplam kapsamı 589 iken, Boris Johnson (359), Gisela Stuart'ın (169) ve Andrea Leadsom (24) çakışan konuşmacı kodunun toplam kapsamı 552'dir. Çakışan konuşmacı kod sıklığına bakıldığında tespit edilen 46 çakışan konuşmanın 25'indeki ikinci konuşmacının Ruth Davidson (15), Sadiq Khan (7) ve Frances O'Grady (3) olduğu bulunmuştur. Leave kampanyası konuşmacıları arasında en sık Boris Johnson'ın (14) ikinci konuşmacı pozisyonunda olduğu, Boris Johnson'ı Gisela Stuart (4) ve Andrea Leadsom'ın (3) takip ettiği olduğu görülmüştür. **Konuşmacı kod kapsamından farklı olarak çakışan konuşmacı kod kapsamı**, konuşmacının karakter ya da kelime sayısını değil, ikinci konuşmacının sözcelerinin ana konuşmacının sözcesinde kaç karakterle veya kelimeyle çakıştığını gösterir. İkinci konuşmacı kod kapsamı, saldırı söylem stratejisinin belirlenmesinde önemli bir rol oynar. Bunun temel sebebi, sistematik şekilde yapılan çakışan konuşmaların, ikinci konuşmacının, ana konuşmacının *pozitif yüzüne* (positive face) önem vermediğini ya kayıtsızlığını göstermesidir. Bu sebepten dolayı süreklilik teşkil eden çakışan konuşmalara (*overlaps*) *saldırı* strateji kodu atanmıştır. Remain kampanyasını temsil eden konuşmacıların konuşmacı kod sıklığının yüksek olması, Leave kampanyasını temsil eden konuşmacıların sözcelerindeki 'dezenformasyon' ve 'yanlış' bilgileri düzeltme amacından kaynaklandığı düşünülmektedir. Remain kampanyasını temsil eden konuşmacıların Leave kampanyasını temsil eden konuşmacıları düzeltme gerekliliği ise Birleşik Krallık vatandaşlarının, toplamda 28 üye ülkeden oluşan Avrupa Birliği vatandaşlarının ortalamasına göre Avrupa Birliği hakkında en az bilgiye sahip olan toplum olmasından kaynaklanmaktadır (Startin, 2015, s. 15'de alıntılanan Daddow, 2012; FitzGibbon, 2016, s.16).

BBC referandum tartışmasının ekonomi kısmında toplamda 4486 kelime yazıya geçirilmiştir. Bu sözcelerin %97'sine en az bir kod atanmıştır. Leave ve Remain

kampanyalarının kullandığı söylem stratejilerinin toplamı incelendiğinde, dominant stratejinin *saldırı* (%45,3) olduğu görülmüştür. *Saldırısı*, *övgü* (%29,3) ve *savunma* (%25,3) takip etmiştir. Strateji kod kapsamına bakıldığında Leave ve Remain kampanyalarının dominant stratejilerinin farklı olduğu bulunmuştur. Leave kampanyasının dominant stratejisi *savunma* (%27,9) iken, Remain kampanyasının dominant stratejisinin *saldırı* (%53,3) olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Remain kampanyasının status-quo'yu temsil eden kampanya olduğu düşünüldüğünde, fonksiyonel teorinin kullanıldığı siyasi seçim tartışmalarını konu alan önceki çalışmalarda olduğu gibi Remain kampanyasının dominant stratejisinin de *övgü* olacağı düşünülmüştür. Beklentinin aksine, Remain kampanyasının dominant stratejisinin *saldırı* olmasındaki sebeplerden biri, Remain kampanyasının Leave kampanyasını temsil eden konuşmacıların sözcelerindeki 'tutarsızlıkları', 'yanlış bilgileri' ve 'mantık hatalarını' seçmene göstermek olduğu düşünülmektedir. Bunun yanı sıra *saldırı* stratejisinin sıklığının, Birleşik Krallık kamuoyunda on yıllardır süregelen Avrupa şüpheciliği ve kamuoyunun bilgisizliğinden kaynaklanmış olması muhtemeldir. Referandum tartışmasında, Remain kampanyası konuşmacıları, seçmeni, Avrupa Birliği üyeliğinin devamını savundukları argümanlarla (*övgü*) değil, Avrupa Birliği üyeliğinin sonlandırılmamasını savundukları argümanlarla (*saldırı*) ikna etme yoluna gitmiştir. Remain kampanyasını temsil eden konuşmacılarının *saldırı* stratejisinde odaklandığı temel konular, Leave kampanyasının Avrupa Birliği üyeliğinin sonlanması durumunda alternatif ekonomi politikalarının olmaması, Avrupa Birliği'nden ayrılmanın belirsizliğe yol açacağı ve üyeliğin sonlanması sonucu oluşacak riskler üzerinedir. Remain kampanyası, toplamda 10 hafta sürmüş olan referandum sürecinde, vurguladığı bu konulardan ötürü, Leave kampanyası tarafından "*Project Fear*" (korku projesi) olmakla suçlanmıştır.

Önceden de belirtildiği gibi, tarafsızlığın korunması için, BBC referandum tartışmasındaki sözceler hem Leave kampanyasını destekleyen seçmenler hem de Remain kampanyasını destekleyen seçmenlerin bakış açılarına göre kodlanmıştır. Bu sebepten ötürü, birçok sözceye birden fazla kod atanmıştır. Tek bir kodla (<sadece *övgü*>, <sadece *saldırı*>, <sadece *savunma*>) kodlanan sözceler olduğu gibi, iki (<*saldırı*+*övgü*>, <*saldırı*+*savunma*>, <*övgü*+*savunma*>) ya da üç kodun (<*saldırı*+*övgü*+*savunma*>) atandığı sözceler de bulunmaktadır. Tek kodla kodlanan sözcelerin, Leave ve Remain destekçileri tarafından, aynı olmasa da benzer şekilde

algılanma olasılığı, iki veya üç kodun atandığı sözcelerin benzer şekilde algılanma olasılığından daha yüksektir. Remain kampanyasının, en seyrek kullandığı (kod sıklığı en düşük olan) **kod stratejisi savunma** olmasına rağmen, <saldırı+savunma> yedi **strateji kombinasyonu kodu** arasında Remain kampanyası tarafından en sık kullanılan üçüncü strateji kombinasyonu kodudur. Remain kampanyasının sadece bir strateji kodunu barındıran strateji kombinasyonu kodunun sıklığı %37,9 iken, Leave kampanyasının sadece bir strateji kodunu barındıran strateji kombinasyonu kodunun sıklığı %17,5 olarak bulunmuştur. Bu da Remain kampanyasının argümanlarının, seçmenler tarafından benzer şekilde algılanma olasılığının daha sık olduğunu göstermektedir. Diğer taraftan, Birleşik Krallık'ın Avrupa Birliği üyeliğini sonlandırmasını savunan Leave kampanyası konuşmacılarının dominant strateji kombinasyonu kodunun sıralaması şu şekildedir: <saldırı+savunma> toplam strateji kod kombinasyonunun %32,5'ini, <saldırı+övgü+savunma> %22,5'ini ve <saldırı+övgü> toplam strateji kombinasyonu kodunun %17,5'ini oluşturmaktadır. Leave kampanyasının dominant strateji kodu her ne kadar savunma olsa da <sadece savunma> ile kodlanan sözceler, Leave kampanyasının toplam sözcelerinin sadece %5'ini oluşturmaktadır. Leave kampanyasının, Avrupa Birliği üyeliği referandum tartışmasının ekonomi bölümünde, göç bölümüne kıyasla övgü stratejisini daha seyrek kullanması öngörülebilir. Bunun sebebi Leave kampanyasının göç politikalarıyla ilgili argümanlarının, Birleşik Krallık seçmeninde daha çok karşılık bulmasıdır. Remain kampanyasının en sık kullandığı ilk üç strateji kombinasyonu kodunun ortak özelliği, bu kodların *saldırı* strateji kodunu içermesidir. Remain kampanyasını temsil eden konuşmacıların dominant strateji kombinasyonu kodu <saldırı+savunma> olup toplam strateji kombinasyonu kodunun %31,0'lik kısmını oluşturmaktadır. Remain kampanyasının ikinci sık kullandığı strateji kombinasyonu kodu <sadece saldırı> (%27,6), en seyrek kullandığı ise %5,2 ile <saldırı+övgü+savunma> ve <övgü+savunma>dır.

Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde gerçekleştirilen siyasi seçim tartışmalarının fonksiyonel analizi üzerine yapılan araştırmalar, status-quo'yu savunan, iktidardaki ya da iktidar partisini temsil eden adayın dominant stratejisinin *övgü* olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu doğrultuda Birleşik Krallık'ın Avrupa Birliği üyeliğinin devam etmesini savunan *Remain* kampanyası konuşmacılarının, BBC referandum tartışmasında kullandıkları dominant stratejinin *övgü* olması öngörülmüştür.

Beklentinin aksine, Remain kampanyası konuşmacılarının dominant stratejisinin *saldırı* olduđu bulunmuştur. Bunun sebeplerinin, kamuoyunun Avrupa Birliđi üzerine bilgisizliđi, Leave kampanyasının kamuoyu bilgisizliđini lehine çevirme çabası ve on yıllardır süre gelen Avrupa Birliđi şüpheciliđinden kaynaklandıđı düşünölmektedir.

Her ne kadar tek bir referandum tartışmasının sadece bir bölümüne bakarak genellemede bulunmaktan kaçınılması gerekse de, bu tez referandumlarda kampanyaları temsil eden konuşmacıların kullandıđı *övgü*, *saldırı*, *savunma* söylem stratejilerini inceleyecek çalışmalara örnek teşkil edebilir.

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