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The Depiction of David Cameron in the British Press

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THE DEPICTION OF DAVID CAMERON IN THE BRITISH PRESS

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Prohlašuji, že jsem práci zpracovala samostatně a použila jen uvedených pramenů a literatury.

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1 Introduction

The main objective of this Bachelor thesis is to analyze the depiction of David Cameron and his policies in different British newspapers, as well as to establish and describe the frames most commonly used by left-wing and right-wing newspapers to present the Prime Minister in certain – positive or negative – light.

The topic is to some extent controversial since main aspects of David Cameron's policies (such as the so-called "austerity programme" or Brexit, for instance) are still widely discussed and contested by not only British people and mass media but around the whole world. Thus, this topic is of great interest and importance.

The work begins with a theoretical section.

The theoretical part includes a general introduction and a summarized biography of David Cameron, which comprises the most essential of his policies, i.e. policy of cuts, privatization, social policies, Referendum, Brexit, and his resignation. Moreover, the theoretical part contains general information about framing and framing analysis, including the history of the subjects and most commonly used framing devices.

The theoretical part is followed by an analytical section.

In this part the author reviews various British newspapers to establish their attitude patterns towards David Cameron. To achieve this goal five newspapers were selected: *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Sun*, *The Telegraph*, and *The Daily Mail*. This choice was conditioned by the differences in formats and political alignments of the said newspapers, in order to help the author to study different points of view. A corpus of 80 articles was selected from the official online sources, and analyzed.

From this perspective, the analytical part was divided into five chapters according to the number of the newspapers. By the same token, each chapter was divided into five subsections to embrace four aspects of David Cameron's policies (policy of cuts, privatization, social policies, Brexit) plus a conclusion.

In such a manner, it is possible to impartially decompose and study coverage of each important step of David Cameron by each of the selected newspapers. Therefore, the analytical part of this work provides detailed description of each newspaper, as well as a summary and analysis of its articles.

All of the abovementioned allowed the author to establish frames and framing devices most commonly used by left-wing or right-wing mass media sources according to their political stances and whether or not they want to support David Cameron and his government.

The resources used for writing this part are mainly newspaper articles published in period from 2010 to 2017, starting with the year David Cameron became the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom till his resignation and its aftermath. The articles were selected from official homepages of *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Sun*, *The Telegraph*, and *The Daily Mail* through the word search using respective search phrases (for instance, "austerity programme", "David Cameron's social policy", "Brexit", etc.).

2 David Cameron's political career

After spending 13 years in opposition, the Conservative party won the general election of 2010, gaining 306 seats. Since no party was able to achieve 326 seats to obtain a majority, there was formed a coalition government with members of both Conservative and Labour parties, as well as Liberal Democrats. Thus, David Cameron became the first Conservative Prime Minister of the 21st century.

He is the youngest British Prime Minister since 1912, the first aristocratic leader of the Tory party, and the direct descendant of King William IV, which means that his bloodline includes Queen Elizabeth II.

David William Donald Cameron, born October 9, 1966, in London, is the third child in his family. His father, Ian Cameron, was a stockbroker, and his mother, Mary Fleur Mount, is a retired Justice of the Peace. Since the age of six, he attended the Heatherdown Preparatory school, which was one of the most privileged schools at that time. According to *The Telegraph*, the Heatherdown was “one of the great feeder schools for Eton”. [1]

He was educated at Eton College from 1979 to 1984, where his elder brother Alexander studied as well. At college, David was known to take interest in art, literature, and music. In 1983, he was almost expelled from Eton because of cannabis smoking but in the end was fined instead and given a “Georgic” (a type of punishment that consists of staying after classes and copying 500 lines of Latin text). The British press brought this incident into light in 2005 when Cameron ran for leadership of the Conservative party.

After graduating from Eton, David Cameron had a gap year before going to Oxford and worked for Tim Rathbone, his godfather, in Parliamentary office as a researcher.

From 1985 to 1988 he attended Brasenose College, Oxford, where he studied economics, politics and philosophy, and was a member of Bullingdon club (an exclusive all-male Oxford dining club, known for its wealthy member and scandalous behaviour), as was Boris Johnson, now Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs. [2]

After graduating Oxford Cameron was employed by the Conservative Research Department where he worked under the guidance of David Davis, the future Shadow Home Secretary. 22-years old Cameron was working on the developing politics of the Trade and Industry, Energy and Privatisation. In 1991 he was extended to Downing Street to help John Major to prepare for Prime-Minister's Questions, otherwise known as PMQs (a session during which the Prime Minister answer question from Members of Parliament). Cameron's task was to come to the department twice a week early morning, read the press, choose 20-30 topics which could be brought up by the opposition, draft the answers, come up with it to the Prime Minister and sometimes rehearse the answers with him.

In 1992 David Cameron gained the position of special adviser to Chancellor of the Exchequer, Norman Lamont. Lamont appreciated Cameron and allowed him to be present at all meetings of the UK Treasury. In the course of this work, Cameron found himself getting involved in a series of events which is now called "Black Wednesday". September 16, 1992, the spottiness of British economy prompted a sharp fall in the value of pound sterling, because financier George Soros had bought pound sterling for the consideration of nine million dollars, and then sold it all of a sudden, which caused the fall of the pound sterling at the exchange rate. He bought a huge block again for a cut-rate price and sold it, because of the sharp currency rate increase. September 16, 1992, the pound sterling was forced out of European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM). Neither intervention of the Bank of England nor the sharp rise of the interest rates could improve the situation. [3]

The following year David Cameron was employed by Michael Howard, home secretary. As a result, he gained experience of working in another important department. After a year and a half, he decided to leave the politics and began working for Carlton Communications as a director of corporate affairs, which he continued doing for seven years until he joined the Parliament in 2001.

Since 2001 Cameron's politician career experienced a meteoric rise, as future Prime Minister needed only 4.5 years to become a Tory leader. In comparison, Margaret Thatcher needed sixteen years, while Major, Blair, and Brown took eleven and a half, eleven, and twenty four years respectively.

After the resignation of Iain Duncan Smith, a new leader of the Conservative party, Michael Howard, appointed Cameron a Head of policy coordination. Cameron prepared the Conservatives' 2005 election Manifesto. Tories gave most attention to the tax abatement, augmentation policemen, making the hospitals cleaner, strengthening school discipline, and immigration control. [4]

The Tories lost the General Election 2005 to the Labour party, but increased their parliamentary representation by 33 (up to 198). Michael Howard announced that because of his old age he might be unfit for leading the party to a new campaign, so he was willing to resign whenever the younger candidates were prepared for the election. The final four candidates were Liam Fox and David Davis (leaning to the right wing), and Kenneth Clarke and David Cameron (the left).

Cameron was elected because of his personal qualities, but also because of the Conservatives' wish of recoup since all four of their previous candidates could not win for some reasons. Cameron was a young and charismatic politician, who was compared to Prime Minister Tony Blair in many respects and was believed to achieve the same goals: to modernize the party

and take the government. Like Blair, future Tory leader was a family man, father of three children (the fourth, the eldest son Ivan, died 2009, aged six, because of cerebral palsy and severe epilepsy), and he took a paternity leave when his second son was born in February, 2006, despite voting against it a few years ago.

A major role in Camerons' victory was played by not only his party modernization program but also his ability to speak without the teleprompter. His speech about the necessity of fundamental changes in the party, about the implementation of "compassionate conservatism" was met with applause. 78% of party members voted for him. [5] [6] [7]

The party's leadership renewal was supported by the Britons and on local elections on May, 2006, the Conservatives won 39% of the national equivalent vote, whereas Labour and the Liberal Democrats got 26% and 25% respectively. [8]

In December 7, 2005 Cameron had his first Prime Minister's Questions as a leader of opposition. He touched such topics as environment protection, (which was Labor Democrats' prerogative), international development, public schools' conditions, which were all unusual for the Conservatives. Therewith he showed that the Conservative party was changing and becoming more centrists, and could be a sensible alternative for the Labour party. [9]

The shadow cabinet had also changed under Cameron's leadership. His opponents on the election David Davis and Liam Fox became the Shadow Secretary of State for the Home Department and the Shadow Secretary of State for Defence respectively. Four women were among the members of the cabinet as well. One week after the election Cameron announced "a positive action plan, to increase the number of women, black people and ethnic minority representatives as members of the party. [10] As a result, the number of the Black and Minority Ethnic Conservatives Members of Parliament had

increased from 2 in 2005 to 11 in 2010, and 17 in 2015, and the number of female Members of Parliament had changed from 17 in 2005 to 49 in 2010, and to 68 in 2015. [11] [12]

In a paper published 3 months after the election of a new party leader, Cameron called on the Tories to switch the focus from economic policy to the social problems, because according to him, the most serious threat for the country was not the economical, but social decline. Stressing that “there is more to life than money”, he advocated the improvement of the environment, the elimination of the global poverty (as a way of promoting the security of the country), and the control over the immigration. [13] As a confirmation of seriousness of his enthusiasm for the environmental problems, he hired an ‘eco-architect’ to reconstruct his house by adding solar panels, water-harvesting, and a wind turbine. He also cycled to work, before it was found out that his car followed him with his briefcase and clothes. [14]

Overall, the beginning of his political path was a positive one, until he changed his ways and began to impose his infamous austerity programme, otherwise known as policy of cuts, very unpopular among British people. His name became a synonym of unliberal policy that profits the rich at the expense of the poor. [15]

In the general election of 2010 the Conservatives under Cameron’s leadership won the largest number of seats (306), whereas the last time they won a general election was back in 1992. But they were still 20 seats short for an overall majority, but nevertheless, it allowed David Cameron to deliver a public speech where he stated that the Labour government had lost its right to singlehandedly rule the country. Following lengthy negotiations resulted in the nation's first hung parliament since February, 1974. [16]

On 11 May 2010, after more negotiations, Gordon Brown tendered his resignation as the Prime Minister to the Queen and suggested David Cameron

to take over. Thus, at age 43, Cameron became the youngest Prime Minister in 200 years, and his first goal was to form a proper and full coalition government with the Liberal Democrats. He promised that his government would be reliable, stable, and united. [17]

To prove his words, David Cameron assigned Nick Clegg, the leader of the Liberal Democrats, as Deputy Prime Minister. The new governmental program was supposed to include reducing income tax for lower earners, imposing a referendum on issues concerning EU, migration control, acceleration of efforts to reduce the budget deficit, etc. [18]

David Cameron took the office in difficult times, in the aftermath of the financial crash, more often known as the Great Recession, which made the economy a priority. Therefore, the United Kingdom government austerity programme was introduced in order to reduce budget deficit by means of reductions in public spending. The programme was criticized by the Left-wing politicians and economists, and later by the public as well, triggering numerous anti-austerity protests. [19]

David Cameron set a goal to end excessive budget spending, asked people to bear the austerity years, and promised to end the program by 2015-2016, but it was later extended to 2020. It included major tax rises and budget spending reduced by 30 billion British pounds, including 12 billion pounds in welfare cuts. Every government department was expected to spend 25% less budget money, value-added tax was increased to 20%, capital gains tax and levies on banks were raised as well. Overall, even in the beginning it was considered the strictest budget cuts since World War II and a way to reshape the United Kingdom once and forever. [20]

Yet, the economy was not recovering as fast as it had been forecasted, despite the fact that interest rates did indeed fall (and it was assumed that lower interest rates would accelerate economy growth). Therefore, some new

policies were introduced, including extended support for the banks that gave loans to small businesses, involving the Bank of England in export finance, introducing Bedroom Tax, that charges people living in housing association houses for each spare bedroom they have, and Help to Buy program to promote low-rate mortgages and guarantee other mortgages. [21] [22]

While initially the austerity was supposed to be a temporary measure to let economy heal, in 2013 David Cameron announced that restricted budget (including numerous benefit cuts) was to be permanent in order to preserve a leaner, more efficient state that would benefit for every British person. [23]

As it was mentioned above, public opinion on the austerity course was not positive. The UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights expressed an opinion that this program was only widening the gap between rich and poor, - the gap that has already been really wide in the UK. Charity organizations reported that the number of people applying to foodbanks increased drastically, that standards of living did not actually change, that promised affordable housing was not in fact neither affordable, nor comfortable. The aftermath of the program was said to affect most terribly women, young people, ethnic minorities and disabled people. At the same time changes in tax system allowed the wealthy pay less, while the low-earners had to pay comparatively more. [24]

What is more, some experts even believe that Britain's economy actually slowed down because of the austerity years. [25]

One more aspect of Cameron's fight to rescue economy was privatization, which was intended to help government funded sections such as roads or mail to receive private support and sponsorship. In 2014 Royal Mail was privatized, - it was covered widely by domestic and foreign mass media as a very ambitious and bold action. Ever since the intention to privatize Royal Mail in order to commercialize and modernize was announced by the

Government back in 2010, numerous opponents of the idea including worker of the mail expressed their protests against it that eventually were followed by strike actions in several branches. Arguments in favor of the privatization consisted of the idea that Royal Mail would be able to raise capital and invest it in new equipment and technologies which would enable it to compete more efficiently with its rivals such as TNT, and overall would become an independent sustainable business. Counterarguments included a possibility of creating a natural monopoly as well as unnecessary wasteful competition, which doesn't always stimulate growing demand or further development, and rising prices. [26]

After Government first began to discuss National Health Service (NHS) privatization, public replied with countless protest that seized both ordinary people and medical workers. According to surveys conducted by the British Medical Association approximately two thirds of doctors feel uncomfortable about the idea of NHS given to private sector. Even though NHS had already been using money provided by independent sector and had been outsourcing some of its duties to private firms, that money still used to compile about 6.1% of the whole NHS budget. [27]

Even though at the very beginning of privatization David Cameron made a promise that it would not concern the NHS, he had to take these words back. Without engaging with private sources the NHS was predicted to face a £30bn hole in its finances by 2020, and the Government could not let that happen. On the other hand, neither medical workers nor ordinary people could help being insecure about what the new regime might bring to the healthcare. It resulted in numerous strikes by medical workers who nevertheless paid enough attention to not disrupt services vital for their patients. [28]

The privatization programs were widely criticized for not being able to bring as much money as it had been predicted, and accused of being simply a cover for transferring money from the poorest to the richest. While an ordinary

low-earner still earned less because of the inflation, UK billionaires were said to quadruple their profits since 2009. Besides, privatization is a short-term benefit, but a long-term loss; it is merely a temporary solution. [29]

The third aspect of David Cameron policies that is going to be reviewed in the analytical part of this work is his social reforms, his “Big Society” initiative of mutual responsibility and volunteering. [30] Initially its priorities were: giving more power to communities and local authorities, encouraging volunteerism, state support for charities and social enterprises, and more transparent government. [31]

The UK was in need of major social reforms, ones that would grant people with more responsibility and more power over their own state and their own lives. And while many people agreed with this statement, not everybody unanimously joined the social reform initiative. The criticism of the published agenda included its lack of definite plan or central design, its inapplicability for more deprived regions, low funding of voluntary bodies, and an assumption that it was all a cover to distract people from major benefit cuts.

Unfortunately, the initiative had not achieved the promised results. In the areas where it was the most necessary – in the poorest, deprived neighborhoods, it was almost absent, and state funded charities were insufficient. [32]

The fourth and the last aspect to be reviewed is Brexit, or the UK's withdrawal from the European Union, after the Referendum held on 23 June, 2016, where more than 30 million people took part, showed that 51.9% of them voted to leave. [33]

David Cameron was against leaving the EU and organized a large campaign to Remain, since Brexit was predicted to lead to an immediate economic crisis including inflation, rising unemployment rates, falling house prices, and large cuts in spending. [34]

The results of the referendum showed distinct divisions: London and Scotland and most of larger cities voted to stay; smaller industrial and country towns voted to leave whether they tended to support left or right wing. Also, younger people, especially students, voted to stay, older – to leave and take back control over their own country. [35]

David Cameron's warnings about consequences are said to have little effect on British people, they were not afraid of economic recession, but instead they were too tired of uncontrolled migration that put pressure on public services and pushed down wage levels. For many of ordinary workers the EU seemed distant and unaccountable. Moreover, the austerity policies are also believed to have an influence here, since so many of the poorest people in the UK suffered from it the most.

Many experts believe that David Cameron was not obliged to call the Referendum, it was not constitutionally necessary. He has done it out of his deep belief that Britain would resoundingly vote to stay and thus his opponents from the anti-Europe UK Independence Party would lose their impact.

But exactly the opposite happened, and David Cameron had to resign, since he no longer had the authority or the right to remain in charge. [36]

In July 2016 David Cameron officially resigned as the UK Prime Minister. His many achievements on this post included rebuilding the economy after the financial crisis and legislating gay marriage. Yet, his austerity policies made ordinary British workers resent him, since they saw how – while they had to endure cuts and lower wages – the bankers and economists responsible for the crisis were not affected at all. [37]

3 Framing analysis

In order to conduct more accurate research into the depiction of David Cameron in the British press, a method called framing analysis is going to be applied.

Framing analysis, or frame analysis, is a social science research method that helps “to analyze how people understand situations and activities”. [38] This concept was first introduced and developed by Erving Goffman in his book *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience* (1974). Erving Goffman’s main idea is that when an individual recognizes any event they tend to imply one or more frameworks or the schemes of interpretation, which structure their perception of the said event. Therefore, frameworks when correctly used may influence reader’s interpretation. [39]

Later, Fairhurst and Sarr evolved the theory and distinguished a range of framing devices such as metaphors, contrast, irony, emphasis (headlines, repetitions, bold letters), emotional attitude, personal accounts (which are easy to relate and therefore be influenced by), positive and negative framing effect (emphasizing positive or negative consequences of a discussed event respectively), etc. [40]

In the practical part of this work we are going to try and analyze framing devices applied by the British press, as well as the goals and the results of abovementioned.

4 The depiction of David Cameron in the British press

The depiction of David Cameron in the British press will be analyzed in this chapter. For this purpose, the following UK newspapers were selected – *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Sun*, *The Telegraph*, and *The Daily Mail*. They were chosen because of their different formats and political alignments. *The Guardian* is a left-wing daily newspaper; *The Independent* is a liberal online newspaper; *The Sun* is a conservative daily tabloid; *The Telegraph* is a conservative centre-right broadsheet newspaper; and finally, *The Daily Mail* is a conservative middle-market newspaper. Therefore, it is possible to attain more accurate results since various opinions, political goals and alignments are included.

Within the period of the research, a corpus of 80 articles published from 2010 to 2017 (starting with the year David Cameron became the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom) were selected that covered main aspects of Cameron’s policies, i.e. policy of cuts (the so-called austerity programme), privatization, social policy, and Brexit. The following purposes were established:

1. to identify frames most commonly used to portray David Cameron;
2. to establish purposes of using different framing devices.

4.1 The Guardian.

The Guardian is a left-wing newspaper, with a reputation of “an organ of the middle class” [41] and mostly assumed to be “linked inextricably to the Labour party” [42]. This fact is reflected clearly in the messages of most articles addressed to low-paid working families and the poorest working people [43], trying to draw more attention to their needs and struggles. Therefore, *The Guardian* is not very supportive of the Conservatives and David Cameron, often describing the later as “blissfully ignorant” and “blissfully unaware” [44],

insistently creating a strong opposition between “blithe” life of David Cameron, and “pain” and “danger” [45] ordinary people have to go through.

4.1.1 The policy of cuts.

In reference to this topic, David Cameron is often portrayed as detached from the consequences of his own actions. In the very first abstract of the article *David Cameron hasn't the faintest idea how deep his cuts go* (and information put forward in the first lines usually frames whole article) the author describes the scene from a famous novel, *The Quiet American* by Graham Greene, where “the US agent stares at the blood on his shoes, unable to make the connection between the explosion he commissioned and the bodies scattered across the public square in Saigon” [46]. It creates a very strong impression combining the name of a well-known writer, and a vivid and horrifying image of explosions and lifeless bodies. The author then compares it to David Cameron’s so called “horror” of the cuts he had made.

The articles on that topic resort repeatedly to the negative framing effect, where the authors predict a large number of negative consequences and future losses. More often than not the statements are based on words of some trustworthy expert who supports the negative attitude, while opinions of any experts who don't aren't presented at all:

“The Institute for Fiscal Studies said in its post-budget briefing that 13 million families will lose an average of £240 a year, while 3 million families will lose £1,000 a year.” [47]

The correspondents write persistently about “the lowest-paid people”, “elderly people”, “children”, and “people who have mental health problems”, that is they write about the weakest and most vulnerable parts of society and how all the cuts put them in danger [48].

They also deliberately use a lot of emotionally charged words and phrases. For instance, “rejects calls to soften” and “hasn’t the faintest idea” are both very strong, emphasized in the titles and repeated later on. Moreover, while the title states “David Cameron rejects” it is clarified later, in smaller font, that it is in fact the chancellor George Osborne who is responsible for the issue. They compare David Cameron to a “slow learner” (although, they present this assumption as based on the writing style of the council leader, Ian Hudspeth) and call his austerity programme “elective”, “unwarranted” and overall wrong [49].

Then there is a pressure frame as well, when the authors intentionally create pressure and tension to get their reader involved into the chosen mood, describing how deep the cuts have already gone, reducing government support for social care, child protection and other vital services, that “have already been slashed to the point at which these can barely function” [50].

4.1.2 Privatization.

Holding true to their left-wing beliefs, the correspondents of *The Guardian* continue to openly disapprove of David Cameron – whether it is a question of cuts or the privatization issue.

In their articles, they call Cameron “vicious” and “inept” (sometimes even “absurdly inept”), his actions are described as “stealthy”, “vindictive”, and “obscene”. The continued and expanded privatization equals destruction of the social system. [51] [52]

In the article *Anti-austerity protesters: 'why we want David Cameron to resign'* written from the first person point of view and framed as a personal account (a framing device making it easier for a reader to relate and thus fall under the influence), the author speaking on behalf of ordinary hardworking people expresses their anger and protest towards government intended “on dismantling the critical infrastructure of this country through a regime of

privatization” [53]. They continue using such powerful phrases as “regime of privatization”, “people are suffering”, “sick to death”, “the real enemy is his government”, etc., that could not leave any reader emotionally unaffected, while the article itself conveys few facts and demonstrates merely several vague stories of several particular citizens.

For them David Cameron is nothing more than “just the public relations man” working for “miserable crew of privatising vampires”, where such framing devices as epithets (“miserable”) and metaphors (“privatising vampires”) [54] are used to deliver the message and – what is more important – the emotions, the certain perception of the situation, to readers.

4.1.3 Social policy.

As far as social reforms concerned, *The Guardian* tries its hardest to show how little David Cameron actually did. It is said that his achievements “seem wrought [...] by accident” which makes readers believe that even successful reforms were nothing more than lucky coincidences.

Reviewed proposal on further social reforms and initiatives “ranging from streamlining the planning system to tackling extremism” are often followed by criticism from some trustworthy source like, for instance, former cabinet minister Iain Duncan Smith who immediately “accuses” Cameron and his colleagues “of watering down potentially controversial changes, to avoid confrontation as the debate rages over Britain’s future in the European Union” [55].

Yes, the authors admit that some people celebrate Cameron as a “social liberal and a Tory moderniser” since he played such an important role in legalising same-sex marriage, for instance. But once again his achievements are shown as unsatisfactory and insufficient by only emphasizing the flaws of his policies, like his handling of the migration issue, “his attitudes to civil liberties or free speech” that do not “suggest a liberal”. “Britain is now more

fragmented, unequal and disaffected than it was,” [56] – concludes *The Guardian*.

The same framing thought implying that even if Cameron did something right, it was not good enough, is used so often readers cannot avoid being affected by it. “He said the aims of Cameron’s prison reform agenda were welcome but did not go far enough” [57].

4.1.4 Brexit.

The Guardian believes that above all David Cameron will be remembered as the leader “who, through his own weakness and inability to unite his own MPs, led Britain out of the European Union” [58].

Losing the EU referendum, after such a long fight to stay in, is shown as the most important and at the same time the worst part of his political life, that triggered his resignation as prime minister [59]. “Big quitter,” – characterized him *The Guardian*. The correspondents mostly blame Brexit on Cameron and Britain’s millionaires, the richest people, who are told to profit greatly from it [60]. Once again the same frame is created: an inappeasable opposition between the rich led by David Cameron and low-paid hardworking people.

The Brexit is presented as nothing less than a drama that “ripped Britain apart” [61], and the “appalling” resignation of David Cameron that followed afterwards is considered to be his own fault and a result of his own actions [62]. Between the lines readers can see the framing thought that occurred in other articles as well – David Cameron had not done enough, had not really tried, - “he never once spoke passionately” about the matter [63], instead of concentrating on positive features, he had speculated solely about the negatives of leaving “and did so often in hyperbolic terms” [64], and so on. He was too confident about the referendum, demonstrating his “personality flaws” (he is called “flawed” repeatedly) that proved to be “the most glaring” – laziness, relaxed attitude, and lack of attention to details [65].

At the same time, negative framing effect is used, as the correspondents focus on the bitterness of the public, the protests, losses, grim predictions for the future apart of the EU. And many articles' last lines are meant to make readers feel insecure – “Start worrying.” [66]

4.1.5 Conclusion

In general, *The Guardian's* depiction of David Cameron is that of a “narrow-minded”, weak leader, a man blissfully ignorant and detached from the ordinary people he is supposed to lead, “a smart operator but lightweight thinker” [67]. Even though they acknowledge him as “epoch-defining” [68] in terms of history and culture, the idea is persistently imposed that all his actions have led “to terrible consequences for the poor, for working families” [69].

4.2 The Independent

Due to its nature as a liberal newspaper, *The Independent* usually sides with the ordinary British people and tends to demonstrate actions by David Cameron or the Conservatives in negative light.

4.2.1 Policy of cuts

When speaking of austerity programme, David Cameron is depicted as the sole reason of all adversities. *The Independent* insists that the harm done to Britain because of the cuts was David Cameron's choice [70], nobody's else, and “the number of poor children – who will go cold, or hungry, or homeless – is going significantly to rise over the next few years as a direct result of Cameron's decisions” [71]. Cameron is set in opposition to “the British people” or “us” (“But it was not the choice of the British people. We opposed it” [72]; “we had to obey” [73]), thus making the article more direct, since texts framed as personal accounts make a more profound emotional impact. They even counterpose the British people to the British media, emphasizing that

unlike the media that praised the austerity plans, the British people saw through it from the very beginning.

This pattern is repeated again and again. David Cameron is blamed for the cuts and is opposed – along with the richest groups of the society – to the poor, the ordinary people, or “us”, “you and me”:

“Cameron's greatest talent turns out to lie in the shifting of blame. On his watch, the people who caused this crisis – the super-rich and the City – have been feted and fattened. The bankers are back to paying massive bonuses to themselves for crashing the global economy (with your money and mine).” [74]

They use metaphors saying that David Cameron turned Britain into “a land of broken promises”. It is clarified later that “David Cameron systematically lied to the electorate”, and the examples of his broken promises are given with a lot of quotations (“He said hospitals were “my No 1 priority” to be “totally protected” – and then slashed 20 per cent from the budget of specialist hospitals across the country.” [75]) while none of the promises he kept are mentioned.

Overall, David Cameron is described as unable to comprehend consequences of his own policies, disconnected from the real state of affairs, and aspiring for power.

The examples of irony, a very strong framing device, can be easily found here as well. “Cameron only got 36 per cent of the vote in May, despite being up against a Labour Prime Minister as popular as arsenic-flavoured Fanta” [76] – the article says. And although, it is Labour Prime Minister who is compared ironically to arsenic-flavoured Fanta, the main idea is that David Cameron still wasn't good enough.

4.2.2 Privatization.

The Independent is not overly supportive of the privatization process, but mostly understands that sometimes it might be useful if done right and just.

They do not really argue the privatization of roads, but still raise questions and do not rush to positive conclusions, but quote a head traffic engineer: “The issue is whether the Government is proposing to use the investment to provide new roads [...], where people pay for the advantage of using less congested routes, [...] – or forcing people to pay for roads where they have no other viable choices [...]” [77].

Nevertheless, *The Independent* does not approve privatization of the probation services or benefits.

“Privatising the probation services is privatisation gone mad” [78] – says *The Independent* asserting that because of such a measure the very meaning of the probation services “will be first distorted and then lost”. The authors are sure that these aspects cannot be left to the “rigours” of the market. And then they add that this is “the only conclusion you can draw” which – once again – subtly affects reader’s perception.

The authors establish the atmosphere of uncertainty, implying that the conservative ministers responsible for privatization don’t have any direct “experience of the business world” and do not fully understand the changes they are introducing into “a valuable social service” of which, again, “they seem to have little comprehension”. [79]

And then they continue this frame of uncertainty by suggesting readers to think it over. “Indeed, one is entitled to question the merits of privatisation.” [80]

Altogether it makes readers believe that they are the ones who are drawing conclusions when they were subtly led to these conclusions by the discourse above.

4.2.3 Social policy.

As a liberal newspaper with a target audience of middle class, *The Independent* states out loud that “the UK had – and has – appalling levels of social mobility and income inequality”, and even though David Cameron promised to improve that fact, “absolutely nothing had changed” [81].

Whenever social policies are discussed, David Cameron is framed as a bad father who can forget his own daughter at a pub [82] and does not feel grateful to social services that have been helping his disabled son, letting the government to reduce funding of the said services [83]. *The Independent* makes readers doubt such a father, such a Prime Minister, and ask themselves whether Cameron can really care for people, can he really introduce social changes that would improve something? The implied answer is – no, he cannot. All the social reforms he had imposed were only meant to help the rich “at the expense of the poor” [84].

David Cameron dismantled “one of the biggest sources of affordable rented housing”, artificially shortened council waiting lists of people waiting for houses by simply “kicking people off them”, and despite all the promises did not make houses more affordable for low-earners, because – as it has been openly and numerous implied – he hardly understands what it is to be a low-earner [85].

According to *The Independent*, David Cameron launched “a devastating attack” on multiculturalism [86]; the year he “took the helm” was the year when number of children in absolute poverty began to rise, even though those children had working parents; charities that provides food banks are in extremely high demand [87].

All these articles frame David Cameron as privileged, distant from ordinary people's lives and struggles, unsympathetic, ungrateful man, unable of introducing sincere, functional social reforms.

4.2.4 Brexit.

“David Cameron will go down in history as the Prime Minister who killed his country,” [88] – summed up *The Independent*.

The same framing thought goes from one article into another: David Cameron “allowed” his country to leave EU. He might have voted against it, but he still “allowed” it [89], which makes it easier for a reader to blame it on Cameron: “it was he who took the reckless gamble that changed the course of Britain’s history” [90]. *The Independent* bitterly insists - nothing else he has done matters [91].

The last statement brings us back to the frame frequently used in leftist newspapers – whatever actions Cameron has taken, whatever results he has achieved, (although they acknowledge some of them like “repairing the economy, boosting life chances and bringing in gay marriage” [92]) - it was not good enough, it did not matter.

Brexit is depicted as an “accidental”, “humiliating” action caused by Cameron’s reckless decision to call the referendum he actually did not have to call [93], or at least he could have done later which allegedly could have changed the outcome [94]. Moreover, *The Independent* states, based on words of Jeremy Paxman, former Newsnight presenter, that David Cameron put the interests of his party above the interests of his country, and that is inexcusable [95]. He “didn't even bother” to try to keep Britain in the EU, “a pretty terrible prime minister actually” [96].

But even despite the fact that inflation triggered by Brexit would make things much more difficult for the most vulnerable social classes, for the poor

and struggling [97], Cameron is still described as “unrepentant” [98], encouraging people to respect and implement Brexit results [99]. At the same time, some other correspondents portray him remorseful, “at one stage close to tears” [100].

Nevertheless, from the perspective of everything described above, his resignation is shown as “inevitable”, a fair price to pay “for his failure to secure Britain’s future” [101]. Cameron is blamed for widening the gap between the rich and poor, for low-wages and inequality, and the situation is expected to get even worse because of Brexit [102].

4.2.5 Conclusion

Generally, *The Independent* frames David Cameron as unskillful politician, worried solely about “keeping his job” and nothing else.

His only legacy is Brexit, and anything else he had done is cast away as “nothing”, for instance, lower rates of unemployment are shown to be temporary and unreliable. Over Mr Cameron's reign, house prices have risen, the UK's balance of payments became record low, in the aftermath of Brexit racist hate crimes have risen as well, and overall at the moment of Cameron’s resignation Britain was facing more poverty, more suicides, more homelessness, deflation, etc. [103]

David Cameron is always told to only be defending rights of the rich, the upper-class, while neglecting needs of others. Yet he might be “the sanest PM for decades”, he knows what he has done, he is “not delusional”, and he paid his price for the mistakes [104].

4.3 The Sun.

The Sun is a right-wing tabloid newspaper, targeting mostly working class audience. It is the biggest selling newspaper in the UK [105].

Due to its conservative alignment, *The Sun* tries to represent David Cameron as a hardworking politician and his policies as useful and fruitful measures.

4.3.1 Policy of cuts

In the respect of austerity programme, *The Sun* speaks mostly positively about David Cameron, portraying him as being constantly busy with tiresome renegotiations, describing him through quotation of various politicians as a man “of charm and ability”, who has “so much to offer”, but unfortunately unable to “wisely” judge “strategic issues” and not “the right man for NATO job”. [106]

The Sun insists that David Cameron does not support unnecessary cuts or taxes, especially the increase of taxes for the self-employed workers. He is actually so angry about it he is “red-faced”, which is emphasized several times in the title and throughout the article. He bravely “attacks Tory tax rise” and is not ashamed to outright call it “stupid”. While Theresa May on the contrary is described as afraid of a “potential rebellion” which may be caused by her policies. It creates a subtle, yet strong antithesis, another framing device. [107]

They pinpoint that it was “Mr Cameron's party” that promised “a five year “tax lock” - meaning no increases in VAT, income tax or national insurance” [108].

Unlike images framed by *The Guardian* and *The Independent*, *The Sun*'s description of David Cameron is that of a politician deeply concerned about wellbeing of ordinary people. He strongly disagrees with any plans to close children's centres, for instance, and is sincerely “disappointed with cuts to proposed elderly day centres and libraries” [109]. Furthermore, *The Sun* criticizes Cameron's “political opponents” for framing his frustration over the cuts as a sign of his detachment and incompetence [110].

And while David Cameron is portrayed as a confident leader, people who opposed cuts are presented as airheaded at best or lazy and having drinking problems at worst. Since *The Sun* could not ignore the protests, correspondents tried to shift blame from Cameron and government to immigrants who allegedly steal working places and thus make lives of honest British people challenging. The concept that the fault lies in immigration, not the cuts, is emphasized with the help of various framing devices: the idea is repeated constantly, placed in titles, or typed in bold letters.

4.3.2 Privatization.

The Sun is more open to privatization policy, than previous newspapers, and, despite acknowledging numerous strikes against it, *The Sun* insists that the issue of privatization should be up for debate, explored and thought over, and supports this view by quoting Paul Nuttall, the leader of the UK Independence Party (UKIP) [111].

Trying to defend the privatization, *The Sun* even calls young people opposing privatization of the health service, Crown post offices, etc. “hypocritical” implying that they do so only while they do not fully understand the financial gains [112]. The correspondents are positive that the protests will not last, with one of the articles’ title saying “93% of junior doctors would back a fully privatised health service” and noting that it would mean increase in payments. Huge number of medics is said to be supportive of “the end of the NHS in its current form”, even those who went on strike “to save the NHS” would change their minds [113].

The other issue triggered by privatization and covered by *The Sun* was the strike of Post Office workers. And while reasons and requests of resented workers are described rather carefully, the strike itself is still characterized as “unacceptable”, it is told that out of the 11,600 branch only 300 were affected which gives readers an impression that strikes were not so serious, and in the

end all the expected future improvements and profits are summed up [114]. In general, the articles framed that way leave readers with a feeling that in prospect the privatization is a necessary measure, and though some people (not so many) oppose it, they will soon understand they were wrong.

4.3.3 Social policy.

The Sun describes David Cameron's policy as "supreme political courage", "the bold vision", and despite the fact that rescuing economy was his main concern, it did not stop him from performing important reforms that would benefit British society for future generations [115]. He is praised by George Osborne, former Chancellor of the Exchequer, for his passion, his determination, for improving education and creating more than a million more good school places. David Cameron improved the welfare system "both to those who need it and those who pay for it", reduced unemployment rates, created National Citizen Service that became a success, and finally legislated gay marriages which may be "one of the great social reforms of our lifetimes — tolerance and equality, delivered by a Conservative Prime Minister" [116].

Contrary to *The Independent* and *The Guardian*, *The Sun* concentrates on good sides of Cameron's social policy, ignoring his failures as if there were none, thus managing to create a very positive framing effect.

On the other hand, not every correspondent of *The Sun* is so supportive of Cameron. Sometimes they do admit he has made numerous mistakes, like in the article *David Cameron hasn't put a foot right since his election victory*, where the title actually sums up the main idea. Nevertheless, even in those cases where the author criticizes Cameron for "showering public money and honours on his mates" [117], it is still pointed out how many successes he has achieved, that he was not "a terrible Prime Minister", that he fixed the economy, created working places, instigated school reforms, and so on [118].

The Sun's infamous intolerance of immigration also played an important role in its perception of Cameron's social policy. The newspaper was accused of racism on several occasions, for example, in 2003, when one of the articles stated that unchecked immigration was increasing the risk of terrorist attacks and infectious diseases, or in in 2015, when columnist Katie Hopkins compared immigrants to "cockroaches" and "feral humans" [119].

Continuing the pattern, *The Sun* responds positively to Cameron's intention to "to shut down twisted Islamic madrassa schools which poison young minds" (the phrase was placed in the first abstract in bold letters, which made it more influential) [120]. *The Sun* openly supports his resentment of "passive tolerance", of extremism "infecting minds from the mosques of Mogadishu" [121]. At the same time *The Sun* approved his intentions to ends discrimination against black and gay people.

David Cameron is framed as a "searingly honest" man, who is not afraid to talk out loud about things that may bring shame on Britain, about all the disadvantages of its social system, and is tough enough to try to fix them, while his opponents and Labour voters mostly framed as "disillusioned" or "foolish". The crowd gave rounds and rounds of applause to the Prime Minister who declared war on "poverty, discrimination and inequality" [122].

4.3.4 Brexit.

The Sun was a huge Brexit supporter, insisting that a vote for it is "a vote for a stronger, better Britain". Brexit was supposed to save Britain's sovereignty and boost the economy [123], which is a very positive framing, in contrast to negative ones, used by leftish newspapers.

To support this point of view the following reasons were listed: more integration, more bailouts, uncontrolled immigration, end of reforms, etc. [124] *The Sun* speaks to voters from simple, hardworking families, making them think that immigration induced by the EU was their greatest concern and cause

of all troubles, predicting incredible increase in population, lack of jobs, fierce competition, housing crisis, and over-subscribed schools. The article is framed with a photo of numerous immigrants “queuing to get in” which cannot fail to leave a deep concern in readers’ minds.

So being out of what is called “the disastrous Eurozone” is shown to be vital necessity. While *The Guardian* and *The Independent*, revised above, claimed that Brexit would be fatal for ordinary people and profitable for only the rich, *The Sun* states right the opposite – EU regulations are “to suit the big businesses” and to oppress “small and innovative” ones [125].

So, David Cameron’s words that Britain is in no danger are seen as “worthless” [126]. Otherwise a proponent of his policy, in that respect *The Sun* turns away, calling his campaign to remain in the EU his biggest fiasco or even “the greatest defeat of any prime minister since Lord North lost America” [127]. Such framing devices as irony and epithets are used over and over. Solely for his calling and losing the referendum Cameron is entitled “one of the worst Prime Ministers in modern history” [128].

His attacks on Brexit are described “cheap”, “incendiary”, and “disloyal”, which are very strong framing epithets [129]. David Cameron is “desperate” over his loss, with his career “in tatters”, he still feels betrayed after his former ministers voted for Brexit, not against it [130]. He was simply fooled by the public polls that are proved to often be wrong.

The anti-Brexit forecasts are cast away as mere “hysterical hype”, and immigration is still blamed for all the problems [131].

4.3.5 Conclusion.

Before the referendum and Brexit, David Cameron in *The Sun’s* articles was a man, uncomplicated and decisive, who has made Britain “the single most influential country in the world” [132]. He bravely undertook the job to

rescue Britain's economy, to perform social reforms that were desperately needed. He was sternly dealing with intolerance and problems triggered by immigration.

Post-Brexit *The Sun* turned bitter and critical towards Cameron, seeing his actions as failures.

4.4 The Telegraph

The Telegraph is a national British newspaper, conservative and centre-right. It maintains "an international reputation for its high quality" [133] and although it is influenced greatly by Conservative activists, its correspondents try to always look at issues from different perspective in order to be objective. [134].

4.4.1 Policy of cuts.

As a centre-right newspaper, *The Telegraph* is actually very measured in its expressions, avoiding giving obvious personal opinions and opting to focus on facts and figures instead.

But the paper still puts a great deal of emphasis on the fact that David Cameron is simply trying to "justify" (the word insistently used over and over) the benefit cuts by stating that "people working on the minimum wage" should pay less tax and receive less benefits and therefore it will be easier for them to create and find better paid employments. The theory that – summarized like this – sounds slightly less conceivable. And it is persistently repeated that David Cameron called the system of benefits nothing more than a "merry-go-round" that has "infected our national life" [135].

Furthermore, *The Telegraph* also resorts to a negative framing effect, vividly describing hypothetical future developments:

“This raises the very real prospect of some of the most severely disabled people in our country losing their lifeline to the outside world.” [136]

David Cameron is said to complain about his own decisions, launching a “bizarre row” where authorities blame the severe cuts on each other, which also does not contribute to a positive image of the Prime Minister.

Eventually, the reporters even go further and outright call his actions of cutting disability benefits “obscene” emphasizing that it “will hurt vulnerable people while saving very little money” [137]. Once again, a newspaper is trying to set an atmosphere of insecurity and a constant threat appealing to the most unprotected parts of the society. There is even a photo of “disability protesters” right above the words David Cameron said before the 2010 general election: “The test of a good society is whether you look after the frail, the vulnerable, the poorest” [138].

These articles do not fail to bring the air of uncertainty with rhetorical questions (“After that, who knows?” [139]) and constant stress on general lack of information (“those councils have not yet been told exactly how much money they will each get”, “we can hardly hold out much hope”, “don't know yet if they continue to get their funding and, if so, how much and for how long” [140]).

Altogether, it does create a subtle sense of insecurity and makes a reader ask another question of whether or not they can trust their Prime Minister.

4.4.2 Privatization.

In the situations connected to the privatization, *The Telegraph* generally describes David Cameron as committed, taking “painstaking efforts” to help the country that is drastically decelerating, deeply frustrated at “Britain’s increasingly poor and ageing infrastructure” [141]. The privatization and

improvement of roads seems to be a necessary and desirable reform that will get the country “moving again” [142].

The NHS privatization is openly supported, the previous NHS is called a Soviet atavism, “dystopian, Soviet-style calamity”, and although it is simply a metaphor it manages to unleash a chain of negative associations in minds of ordinary British people. The very idea of NHS is considered definitely destined for extinction.

Privatization is called an “urgent need”, since – and it is outlined over and over again – Britain is “virtually unique” in ignoring such a sort of income [143].

The Telegraph infers that “the privatisation is starting to bear fruit” [144]. The authors describe in bright colors how much the privatization has done for the environment and environmental projects that got more money while without the privatization they might have not got off the ground. The Government, led by David Cameron, can finally look at all the “valuable” result of their work, environmental projects are supported through new funds and even more “interested investors” are expected to take their part [145].

4.4.3 Social policy.

“David Cameron's social reforms are right” [146] – says *The Telegraph*, the Prime Minister is doing the right thing even though his traditionally-minded party might be dissatisfied with it. The Telegraph is convinced that the Conservatives had other hopes for David Cameron, not the social reform agenda of modernized prisons, help for children in care and people with mental health problems, and introducing more tolerance. And David Cameron believes in these changes, believes that “the privilege he was born into and the opportunities it gave him should be shared with others” [147].

Cameron's agenda is expected to make "significant difference", to turn out to be a very interesting project. True to its purpose to support the "right side", *The Telegraph* is benevolent of proposed social reforms, framing them as noble actions undertaken by an expedient and pragmatic, but a very philanthropic and idealistic Prime Minister [148].

The Telegraph insists that it is very "Conservative" of him to try "to ensure that as many people as possible can compete for the glittering prizes that an advanced economy offers" [149], when so many vulnerable social groups (like children in care, low-earners, Muslim women) cannot find justice they deserve. And David Cameron is the right man to help those in need, despite the fact the significant part of the Conservative Party does not support him over it. "That's optimistic, to put it mildly" [150].

Planned reforms were even called "a social revolution on the scale of Margaret Thatcher's economic reforms" which creates a very positive framing [151]. *The Telegraph's* Mr Cameron is radical, robust, bold, always sticking to his promises, at least when his social reforms are concerned. He is nothing less than a warrior for social equality and justice, unfortunately doomed to failure [152].

On the other hand, some of *The Telegraph's* correspondents tend to present him as a man who wants desperately to go down in history as "the Conservative Party's greatest social reformer" [153], as a compassionate and progressive Prime Minister. But he still did not manage to demolish inequality and poverty.

His nominal "academization" of prisons is considered "the biggest shake-up of the prison service since Victorian times", but *The Telegraph* does not believe it will change the situation, as its causes go much deeper, it is the infamous cycle of family dysfunction that sends people down the wrong path.

David Cameron's social reform agenda was dubbed "the big society" and focused on getting charities to help "tackle inequality" [154]. *The Telegraph* is still sure that it is Cameron's "fight against social injustice" that will define his legacy in the history; it is his determination to put "increasing life chances at the heart of the government's agenda" [155]. According to the *Telegraph's* opinion, he successfully altered the education system, improved peoples' incomes, health and employment; during his time as the Prime Minister, Britain has come a very long way that the British people might be proud of [156].

4.4.4 Brexit.

The Telegraph was and still is mostly pro-Brexit, stating that they were "right to leave the EU" [157].

"Love it or loathe it, Brexit is happening" [158] – is *The Telegraph* attitude towards the issue. But nevertheless, it is said that there are "good reasons" why British people voted for Brexit, and these reasons are that, first of all, "Britain wants no part of a sovereign Europe" [159]. Others include the following: euro has ruined economies, complex and contradictory approach towards immigration made it almost impossible to handle the refugee crisis, the EU's stubbornness and inability to adapt, and so on.

Notwithstanding the support of Brexit, *The Telegraph* covers multiple cases of protests triggered by it, but describes them as something calm and rather peaceful.

In regard to David Cameron himself, *The Telegraph's* attitude ranges from neutral to outright critical. As any mass media source supporting Brexit it judges him for taking the losing side and launching campaigns to remain. *The Telegraph* believes that "David Cameron could have secured a better deal from Europe" [160]. He could have done more, demanded longer negotiations, played it differently and more effectively. This time again, the same frame, that

has been described above, is used, blaming Cameron for not doing enough, not really trying hard enough. What is more, according to *The Telegraph's* position, David Cameron failed to deliver any "real commitment plan" to bring back control over immigration and reinstate Britain as a powerful country [161].

4.4.5 Conclusion.

The attitude of *The Telegraph* towards David Cameron is controversial and highly dependent on the issue being discussed at the particular moment. The newspaper supports him over his social reforms and partially over privatization, but strongly disagrees with him on the topic of leaving the EU and the possible consequences of the made decision, with David Cameron warning that it might induce a new war, and *The Telegraph* being very skeptical about such prospects.

But whatever the topic is, *The Telegraph* always treats David Cameron with respect, as a man of dignity and vision, almost never framing him negatively or ironically, opting for neutral tone instead.

4.5 The Daily Mail.

The Daily Mail is a middle-market tabloid, traditionally supporting the Conservatives. It was Britain's first daily newspaper whose target audience included the newly literate lower-middle class, and also the first one to provide features especially for women [162]. *The Daily Mail* still has the biggest female audience among other British newspapers.

4.5.1 Policy of cuts.

The Daily Mail depicts British people as "enduring" the imposed austerity that lasts for many years, while David Cameron just tries to "woo" them by empty promises in hope to gain more votes and support. His plans on tax cuts are framed as outright untrustworthy, desperate and mercantile move [163].

Cameron is judged for refusing to impose extra taxes on the wealthier families and further accused of putting “a privileged few over hard working people”, raising taxes on ordinary families and cutting taxes for millionaires [164]. Thuswise, David Cameron is again negatively opposed to the ordinary people and framed as caring only for the wealthy ones.

The same opposition can be found in many other articles as well, with some of the titles, for instance *Cameron REJECTS calls to 'ease' tax credit cuts amid warnings millions of working families are set to lose £1,300 a year* [165], stating it bold and clear and even highlighting his reluctance to help “millions of poor working families”.

While the rest of the Conservative party is shown as concerned and responsible, David Cameron is said to “flatly” reject their concerns, to call welfare budget unreasonably big, and to promise some hypothetical future gains which he is unable to prove [166]. The framing becomes even heavier when sided with quotes by various politicians predicting entirely negative consequences, like that of Unison general secretary Dave Prentis: “The Government must [...] admit tax credit cuts were a huge mistake, before millions of families suffer yet more pain under austerity” [167]. The wider social gap is drawn when, after lengthy discourses about benefit cuts and struggling working families, *The Daily Mail* ironically notes how big Cameron’s pension and office allowance are and that he nevertheless looks for making more profit.

Cameron’s plans to reduce personal independence payments (PIP) that are paid to 640,000 disabled people are described as something awful and evil, scaring the most vulnerable social group, and something he did not even care to apologize for, as *The Daily Mail* heavily implies [168]. Cameron is portrayed persistently as a man who has no idea what he is doing, making “inaccurate” remarks on his own policies.

4.5.2 Privatization.

“The biggest shake-up of the public services” [169] is what *The Daily Mail* calls Cameron’s plans on privatization. It is “controversial”, “misguided”, and “risky” (these words are repeated over and over, in various articles, which cannot fail to persuade readers at least a little bit), and overall *The Daily Mail* tries to make readers insecure and doubtful over these measures [170].

The frame is aggravated when it is supposed that privatization “will leave many lives at risk” [171]. The Government’s reassurances that the new regimes will help and improve the system are presented as weak excuses and challenged by words of various analysts believing privatization to be dangerous [172].

With privatization covering more and more areas, *The Daily Mail* criticizes it as not only dangerous, but unwise as well, on the ground that time after time the shares are sold too cheaply, which costs taxpayers their money. But this information is said to circulate exclusively among “wealthy clients”, widening – one more time – the social gap [173].

As NHS, Royal Mail, banks, and rescue services get privatized, *The Daily Mail* do not stop doubting Cameron’s promises that there will not be any other cases. Eventually, plans on selling Channel 4 are announced, and David Cameron is accused of lying and trying to cover his lies with elusive phrases about “looking at other options” [174].

Privatization is going to “drain” the economy, *The Daily Mail* is sure, and the Prime Minister does nothing to stop it, on the contrary, he initiates and encourages it [175].

4.5.3 Social policy.

Following the established pattern, *The Daily Mail*, although usually thought of as a conservative newspaper, does not show David Cameron any

support. His programs for troubled families are described as nothing more than a “flop”, an “embarrassment”, though a very expensive one, especially considering the austerity course [176]. The correspondent makes David Cameron look like an airheaded fool, describing how much money and hope were invested into the program, in spite of warnings numerous critics provided [177].

David Cameron did not manage to deliver the promised solution for unemployment, crime, drug abuse, anti-social behaviour and truancy, which did not stop him from promoting it as a success and blatantly exaggerate the results [178]. At the same time various “researches” and “reports” clearly show obvious lack of success or any impact.

In this respect, Cameron is shown as a vain man, comparing himself to Margaret Thatcher, aspiring for “radical” changes in the “broken society”, while constantly failing to perform any real helpful reforms [179]. His “sweeping pledges” are perceived quite skeptically; he is constantly accused of listening to only the rich and not caring enough for the poor [180].

Cameron is presented as a part of “insular ruling class”, that threatens Britain’s democracy, and seeks solely to perpetuate its privileges. “The Prime Minister has long been accused of surrounding himself with people from the same background” [181]. The Daily Mail makes readers ask themselves – how can such a man really improve low social mobility or at least understand challenges of ordinary low-earners’ lives?

4.5.4 Brexit.

The Daily Mail is famous for its avowedly pro-Brexit editor, Paul Dacre, whom David Cameron tried to get sacked because of his campaign for Brexit.

Cameron is portrayed “feeble”, his negotiations before the referendum are called a mere “complete farce”, and these characteristics get even more bitter compared to the image of Theresa May as new Iron Lady [182].

Over negotiations, *The Daily Mail* says, David Cameron did not address any of the big issues, and major problems remained as they were, untouched. Can such a Prime Minister really “restore our national sovereignty and give us the power to pass our own laws and control immigration” [183]. A rhetorical question framed like that does not really need an answer and while few real facts are provided, readers still obtain the intended impression of Cameron’s weakness.

David Cameron is addressed as “Dave”, who “is making such a song and dance” in order to achieve some pathetic little results, and all in all such references give readers a strong feeling of disrespect [184]. And certain prominent forms of addressing are another framing device, since it manages to set a distinct mood.

Every failure of Cameron is accompanied with commentaries like “needless to say” that make readers believe that it is usual for Cameron to be so unsuccessful [185].

4.5.5 Conclusion.

Despite being a conservative newspaper, *The Daily Mail* pictures David Cameron as a weak leader, unable or simply unwilling to keep his promises. His actions are criticized, with many quotes by various experts, while – which is typical – no positive opinions are presented.

Even people who used to support Cameron’s policies, like political analysts and historians, are shown to be regretting it, calling it a mistake [186].

The Daily Mail's Cameron is feeble and self-absorbed, without any concern for ordinary people. He listens to only tiny circle of his closest allies among the richest people and neglects any other opinions.

4.6 Conclusion.

Depending on the purpose of an article – either to defend Cameron's policies or to criticize them – different framing devices are used.

Some newspapers (like *The Sun* or *The Times*, which was reviewed during the research, but was not described in the practical part, and *The Telegraph* on some occasions) frame Cameron as a man of high moral principles, whose main goal is to improve life standards for the poorest and most vulnerable social groups. It is achieved by applying positive framing effect (predicting results to be solely gains and profits), emphasizing successful achievements of Cameron and his emotional commitment to his work.

Others (*The Guardian*, *The Independent*) on the contrary frame Cameron as inept and airheaded, worrying only about keeping his job, gaining more money and making the wealthy even wealthier, while other people are neglected and forgotten. Such newspapers resort to negative framing effect (vice versa, predicting losses and failures only), quoting critics, irony, and numerous articles written from the first point of view to achieve deeper impact.

5 Conclusion.

In this Bachelor thesis, the author pursued the goal of studying the depiction of the Prime Minister David Cameron in the British press. Other purposes included establishing framing patterns and framing devices used by newspapers of different political alignments.

To achieve these goals, the author provided an overview of David Cameron's life and political career, focusing on his most prominent achievements and decisions.

Furthermore, the second part of the work included a detailed, in-depth analysis of five British newspapers – *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Sun*, *The Telegraph*, and *The Daily Mail*, - their political stance, their depiction of David Cameron, and their coverage of the following four steps of his political career: policy of cuts (the so-called “austerity programme”), privatization, social policy, and Brexit (with the resignation resulted from the outcome of it).

The first chapter of the analytical part was dedicated to *The Guardian*, a left-wing newspaper. Due to this political alignment its correspondents tend to frame David Cameron as ignorant, blissfully privileged, distant from British people and everyday struggles of ordinary families, and thus unable to understand real consequences of his own policies. They are highly disapproving of benefit cuts, privatization, and Brexit.

In the second chapter, about *The Independent*, the author reviews how this liberal newspaper frames David Cameron to be guilty of every misfortune happened to British people during his time as a Prime Minister. It is constantly repeated that ordinary British families are struggling, and David Cameron is to blame. *The Independent* is openminded about privatization, but very critical about the cuts and Brexit.

The third chapter covers *The Sun*, a right-wing tabloid that is – unlike the previous two – very supportive of David Cameron and the Conservatives. The articles frame him as hardworking and talented, and his policies – as necessary and profitable. But after Brexit, *The Sun*, agitating to leave the EU, turns against Cameron due to his campaigns to remain.

The fourth chapter deals with *The Telegraph*, another conservative and right-wing newspaper. *The Telegraph* is positive about privatization and Cameron's social reforms, and in articles concerning these two topics this newspaper is most likely to frame Cameron as decisive, radical, a fighter for justice and better future. At the same time, being doubtful about benefit cuts and pro-Brexit, it depicts Cameron untrustworthy and weak, when speaking of these two subjects.

Finally, the fifth chapter follows *The Daily Mail's* coverage of David Cameron's policies. Despite being among conservative media, *The Daily Mail* frames Cameron as an airhead, an unreliable leader, feeble, self-absorbed, and constantly losing. Almost every political step he took is criticized and disapproved, be it the austerity programme, or the referendum.

At the end of the analytical part the author establishes framing devices most commonly applied by the media: positive or negative framing effect (depending on whether a newspaper wants to support certain policy or not), framing an article as a personal account (to make it easier for readers to relate and be influenced), irony and metaphors, and creating an opposition between Cameron and ordinary British people (to make Cameron seem untrustworthy and distant).

In conclusion, the results show that newspapers' attitude towards David Cameron is complicated and controversial. While *The Independent*, despite being liberal supports him on privatization, *The Daily Mail*, conservative and

right-wing, does not approve of any of his steps, although most of the findings are in accordance with the newspapers' political stances.

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8 Abstract

The key objective of this Bachelor thesis is to analyze the depiction of David Cameron and his policies in different British newspapers. The thesis is comprised of two main parts. The first part includes a summarized biography of David Cameron and general information about framing and framing analysis. The second part deals with the chosen newspapers to establish their attitude patterns towards David Cameron. Selected newspapers include The Guardian, The Independent, The Sun, The Telegraph, and The Daily Mail. The Analytical section is divided into five chapters according to the number of the analyzed newspapers, and each chapter is divided into five subsections to embrace four aspects of David Cameron's policies plus a conclusion. The aspects include the policy of cuts, the privatization, the social policies, and Brexit.

9 Resumé

Hlavním cílem této práce bylo provést analýzu obrazu Davida Camerona a jeho reforem v britském tisku. Práce je rozdělena na dvě části. První část se zabývá biografií a politickou kariérou Davida Camerona. Dále je stručně popsána metoda framingu. Ve druhé části byla provedena analýza několika vybraných článků z různých britských novin s odlišným politickým zaměřením. Byly použity noviny The Guardian, The Independent, The Sun, The Telegraph a The Daily Mail. Tato část se dělí do pěti kapitol podle počtu analyzovaných novin. V každé z těchto kapitol byla provedena analýza několika článků ohledně politiky škrtů, privatizace, sociální politiky a Brexitu.

10 Appendices

10.1 Appendix 1.

David Cameron with wife Samantha and children Nancy, 12, Arthur, 10, and Florence, 5, out the front of No10 [1].



[1] CAMERON'S CUTIE. PM introduces his children to the world for No10 farewell – and five-year-old Florence steals the show. The Sun [online]. 2016. Available from: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1439753/pm-introduces-his-children-to-the-world-for-no10-farewell-and-they-steal-the-show/>

10.2 Appendix 2.

Bullington Club's former members include David Cameron (back row second left) and Boris Johnson (seated right) [2].



[2] 'My Bullington days were more civilized than Mr Cameron's': David Dimbleby said he never got wildly drunk when he was member of notorious society. The Daily Mail. [online]. 2013. Available from: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2331891/My-Bullington-days-civilised-Mr-Camerons-David-Dimbleby-said-got-wildly-drunk-member-notorious-society.html>

10.3 Appendix 3.

The front page of the Independent presenting the results of the EU Referendum 24 June 2016 [3].



[3] How Great Britain's Newspapers Are Covering Brexit.

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10.4 Appendix 4.

David Cameron meets NHS privatisation campaigners . [4]

David Cameron has met a health care pressure group that advocates full privatisation of the National Health Service a meeting that could infuriate doctors and nurses. David Cameron still insists the NHS should be free at point of delivery



David Cameron still insists the NHS should be free at point of delivery Photo: PA

By Melissa Kite, Deputy Political Editor 7:30AM GMT 27 Dec 2009

The Conservative leader held an hour of talks with the leader of the group Nurses For Reform (NFR) in his private office in the Commons two weeks ago. His decision to meet the radical group, which calls the NHS a "dystopian, Sovietstyle calamity", will be seen as foolhardy after the painstaking efforts he has made to reassure voters that the NHS is safe in Tory hands. The meeting risks reigniting the row which exploded four months ago when Mr Cameron was forced to distance himself from a leading Tory MEP who suggested that the NHS was a "mistake". The Tory leader's meeting with the leader of the group, Helen Evans, is revealed on her internet blog where she claims she was invited by him to present the group's ideas. Among others, she says, these included "the view that the state should not own or have any of its agents manage hospitals." In comments which could embarrass Mr Cameron she says: "If he becomes Prime Minister I have no doubt NFR will meet with him and his policy team again. But whatever happens, he can rest assured that NFR will remain very much on the outside of his – and any other party political – tent. We will remain dangerous and continue to think the unthinkable." A spokeswoman for Mr Cameron said: "David Cameron meets with lots of people of different views but his commitment to the NHS is clear and it should be an NHS that

is free at the point of delivery." However the meeting is bound to be exploited by Labour ministers in the runup to the election. Nurses For Reform, by its own admission, is the most extreme pressure group calling for NHS privatisation in Britain. On its website it denounces the NHS as a "Soviet" organisation which must be dismantled. "The idea that state can do it all, on its own – for everyone – is dead," it says. "Sixty years on from the inception of the NHS, British patients, voters and politicians are rightly moving away from the calamity of fully nationalised health care." Britain is a society "that is fast turning against the dystopian realities of unsustainable Sovietstyle medicine." It says a hugely slimmed down NHS should remain only as a "last resort" provider for those who cannot afford private health care. The vast majority of people would get care through insurance schemes or simply pay themselves. It also calls for controversial "topup" care to be brought in now, so that people currently using the NHS can pay extra to get better treatment, drugs and services if they have the money. The group, which describes itself as a "panEuropean network of nurses" dedicated to health care reform across the world, says the government should "recast" the NHS as "simply a funder of last resort alongside an insurance and selffunder based market." Dr Evans, a senior nurse with more than 20 years experience in the NHS, is now a health policy consultant with Farsight Strategic Political Intelligence Ltd, which describes itself as Britain's leading predictive public affairs consultancy in health policy. She also works with right wing, free market organisations such as the Centre for the New Europe, the Institute of Economic Affairs and the Libertarian Alliance. In August Mr Cameron was forced to distance himself from the Conservative MEP Dan Hannan after he said the NHS "hasn't worked, it's made people iller". Although he did not discipline the MEP, Mr Cameron said: "I don't agree with Daniel Hannan. The Conservative party stands full square behind the NHS ... We back it, we are going to expand it, we have ringfenced it and said that it will get more money under a Conservative government, and it is our No 1 mission to improve it."

[4] KITE, Melissa. David Cameron meets NHS privatisation campaigners. The Telegraph. 20 09. Available from: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/david-cameron/6890179/David-Cameron-meets-NHS-privatisation-campaigners.html>

10.5 Appendix 5.

Cameron pushes tax cuts as 'reward' [5]

The British people "deserve a reward" after enduring years of austerity, David Cameron will say today as he attempts to woo voters with his promise of tax cuts after the election.

The Conservatives have already announced £7 billion of tax cuts and the Prime Minister will suggest people should be able to keep more of what they earn to spend on a holiday, clothes for their children or a "nice meal out".

He will warn that Labour and the Liberal Democrats are the "enemies of aspiration" because their plans for the next parliament would involve tax rises.



David Cameron will try to gain voters's support with his promise of tax cuts after the election

The Prime Minister will point to Treasury analysis showing someone who had been a basic rate taxpayer since 2010 will have paid £8,000 less in income tax by 2020 under Tory plans.

In his third speech this year outlining key manifesto themes the Prime Minister will say that tax cuts are a reward for "years of sacrifice".

The Tories have set out plans to raise the personal allowance to £12,500 by 2020 and to take hundreds of thousands of people out of the 40p band by raising it to £50,000 over the same timescale.

The Conservatives said the analysis by the Treasury showed the benefits for someone earning between £12,500, the personal allowance threshold planned by 2020, and £41,500, the lowest rate at which the 40p band was set between 2010 and 2020, would be at least £8,000 over the decade.

Mr Cameron will say: " I sometimes get asked: why do I believe in tax cuts so much? It's simple, because I trust people more than I do politicians.

"I think people know how to spend their money better than those in Westminster do. I believe that if people have worked hard and earned their own money, they should be able to spend it on a holiday, or a nice meal out, or some new clothes for their children - and that it shouldn't be thrown up the wall to satisfy the latest gimmick dreamed up in Whitehall.

"This is the right thing to do: it's your money, not the Government's, and so you should keep it."

The Tories have committed to eliminating the deficit over the coming years through spending cuts and a squeeze on welfare rather than tax rises.

The Prime Minister will point out that alongside the austerity measures so far, the Government had been able to spend £10 billion on income tax cuts - claiming credit for the policy of raising the personal allowance that the Liberal Democrats have championed as their own.

Mr Cameron will say that the country is at "the tax moment" where "after years of sacrifice, the British people deserve a reward".

He will say: "Let me put it like this: in the wake of Labour's Great Recession, these past few years have been incredibly hard for this country.

"But after some dark times, we are coming out the other side. And as we do, I'm clear - the people whose hard work and personal sacrifices have got us through these difficult times should come first. So it's right that where we can ensure people keep more of their own hard-earned money, we should."

Both Labour and the Liberal Democrats have said that the effort to eliminate the deficit in the next parliament should involve extra taxes on the wealthy.

But the Tory leader will insist that his approach is the right one: "Before us lie what I would call the enemies of aspiration - and they are the Labour Party and the Liberal Democrat Party."

He will add: "We're going to make the argument for lower taxes, and we're going to fight this battle with every bone in our body. Because yes, nothing less than the financial security of every family depends on it."

Shadow treasury chief secretary Chris Leslie said: "David Cameron and Nick Clegg should be judged on their record of raising tax on ordinary families while giving millionaires a huge tax cut. They have put a privileged few over hard working people.

"As the Institute for Fiscal Studies said last week, tax and benefit changes under this government have left households £1,127 a year worse off on average.

"Broken promises on VAT and tax credits have more than outweighed changes to the personal allowance.

"David Cameron is now desperately making £7 billion of unfunded tax promises. He needs to come clean about whether these would be paid for by another Tory VAT rise, even deeper spending cuts or both.

"Labour's economic plan will ensure we earn our way to rising living standards for all and balance the books in a fair way. We will help 24 million working people with a lower 10p starting rate of tax and reverse this Government's £3 billion a year tax cut for the top 1% of earners."

[5] Press Association. Cameron pushes tax cuts as 'reward'. The Daily Mail. 2015.

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